The chapter entitled 'Literature Review' revealed that gender differences exist in attitudes and participation of ordinary citizens and as well as of the elite. A number of studies have estimated the existence of gender impact in representatives' perception regarding women's issues and women's participation in politics. The background or profile of the legislators in general in India and the respondents in particular brought out the gender gap existing mainly in political experience, short and long term legislative services, marital status, kinship relation and occupation. It is also noted that the pathways for women (mainly widowhood qualification) are different from those of men's and that discrimination against fair sex in fielding as candidates is obvious. Role perceptional differences among the respondents revealed that apart from party affiliations, individual psychology, constituency and occupation, gender is having considerable impact on the attitudes of legislators. All this enables us to expect gender impact as far as women in politics are concerned.

Studies intended to identify gender differences in role perceptions and performance of legislators have been, as noted, are limited. These studies found that the perceptions, priorities and behaviour of male and female legislators differ significantly in some respects. Studies of the perceptions of male legislators about women's role in politics, especially in legislative bodies are almost nil. It should be mentioned that the views of male and female representatives should be studied for understanding the dynamics of political processes. The following discussion is based on the views obtained from the male and female legislators in the sample regarding priorities of women representatives, attitudes of political
ROLE OF WOMEN IN POLITICS - PERCEPTIONS OF THE Respondents

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parties towards fielding women candidates, special responsibility if any of women representatives and other related matters.

Participation and representation based on the principle of equality, including equality of sexes is a prerequisite for the successful functioning of democracy. But there is a wide gap between men and women of the world both in influential participation and power sharing, thus indicating violation of equality. In India, women's representation in legislative bodies is presently showing a decreasing trend. Several reasons are given by the political scholars for the marginality of women in political roles. One important reason is, politics is treated as a masculine affair. Society prescribes different standards of roles for men and women due to which man's role revolves around occupation, but woman's role revolves around her family. Children imitate the parents accordingly. Thus, 'social capital' which denotes social knowledge, skills and contacts used as winning strategies of competition in different fields including politics went into the hands of men. Women are left with 'emotional capital' consisting of skills, knowledge and tactics useful for private sphere. Unless women capture social capital by abandoning emotional capital they cannot be seen in political arena.

Political science vocabulary is masculine, which largely excludes women from politics and politics is made inaccessible for women over a period of time. They are prevented from entering the spheres of learning and analytical persuasion. All this led to the establishment of an ideology that politics is meant for men only as women are unfit to handle it. And have only passive orientation towards politics has been allowed in politics only in exceptional circumstances, has been the largest
held view, Sushila Patni feels, all this is a myth accepted by our culture. As Duverger notes, very few women are permitted to resist the idea that politics is a game of men which caused minority protest only. This ultimately made men to monopolise political power.

In 1981, Elizabeth Holtzman contested for a District Attorney office in the US. Her male opponent indirectly gave a message to the voters that women should not come out of their traditional roles. In the electorate also, there is a conflict between the image of a political woman and an ordinary woman. If a woman runs for any political office by not attending to her children's needs at home, the immediate question she has to face is whether she has fulfilled her responsibility as a mother or not? If a woman in the same way campaigns for her husband's election, this question does not arise at all.

To test whether this idea is earned by elected representatives in the sample also, they were asked to express their views on a statement "Only men can handle politics efficiently". Table 4.1 gives details of the respondents' views.

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<tr>
<th>PERCEPTIONS</th>
<th>MEN NO</th>
<th>MEN %</th>
<th>WOMEN NO</th>
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Table 4.1 discloses a changed cultural pattern. It makes clear that 94% of respondents viewed that politics can be handled by women also and is not meant only for men. Men and women who viewed that it is wrong to assume that politics can be handled by men only expressed that the field is filled mostly with men not because women cannot be active in politics, but because women are not given adequate opportunities. Most of the respondents said that women like Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Sirimavo Bhandarnaike, Chandrika Kumaratunga, Margaret Thatcher, Khaleda Zia and Shaikh Haseena proved their efficiency in politics. Some of the responses are given below.

Sarojinipulla Reddy said "women are more capable and do a better job after Mrs. Gandhi no powerful Prime Minister is elected in India" M. Lakshmi Devi denying the statement said that, "any capable person with motivation can handle politics. It is not the question of man and woman. Mrs. Gandhi's services can be remembered here". Outrightly rejecting this statement, Mary Ravindranath said "we have several women leaders in the world who are successful in politics". G. Rudrama Devi said that, a woman works with firmness which enables her to be efficient. Annapurna Devi felt "women can handle politics efficiently Because, they concentrate on any given work with firmness, they discharge responsibilities. They are more hardworking nature than men P. Bharathi proudly said 71 crores of Indians were ruled by a single woman "How can we say that only men are efficient in politics?" Sharing this view, Lakshmi Devamma said "if opportunities are given all can do it well"

The views of some male respondents could also be given here

G. Malles and several other male respondents viewed that women and men equally efficient To them, only difference is, men got opportunities to prove
efficiency but women have not got any scope to exhibit their efficiency. Govind Naik said, "Mrs. Renuka Choudhary (an active TDP and Rajya Sabha member) is a talented woman. That shows women are also able to assume political roles and do justice to them". Rambhupal Reddy felt that, the statement is not correct. Because, women were not provided with opportunity OR par with men. That made several people to form the opinion that women are unfit for politics. E.Haribabu who accepted the statement said that till today politics are almost handled by men only. N.Narsimha Reddy while disagreeing with the statement said that merit is in everybody. But it is based on conditions available to bring out the merit. Puvvada Nageswar Rao who accepted the statement felt "It is due to men's lengthy experience in politics and women's limited presence and late entry, women are not considered to be fit for politics". Ch. Rajeswar Rao while totally rejecting the statement said that any dynamic person, irrespective of sex can fit in politics. Efficiency and skills are possessed by both the genders and women cannot be discriminated. R.Gandhi while supporting the statement said "75% of men are capable, but only 25% of women are fit to handle politics".

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT FIELDING WOMEN CANDIDATES BY POLITICAL PARTIES: Women's involvement in active politics, as is well known, is conditioned by several social, cultural and economic factors. One of the very important of these is the negative attitude of the political parties in fielding women candidates. Considerable gap between promise and performance is seen in the political parties, large and small, in supporting women's entry into political institutions. The discrimination is all the more visible in encouraging women to assume decision-making roles. As pointed out by Kirkpatrick, women are not given 'top level' positions. Door to door campaign, distributing party literature, arranging dinners during party meetings are the responsibilities usually...
given for women members. But rarely they are given opportunity to decide matters of the party. In Indian political parties, with few exceptions, women are conspicuous by their non-involvement in party decision-making bodies. In the politbureaus of the Janata Dal and Left parties, women's presence according to one study is nil. Little involvement is provided for women in the Congress party though it claims to be providing wide range of involvement. It is the male members in all Indian political parties that have a say in fixing candidature.

Andrew Adonis felt that sex discrimination played its part in preventing women to assume the role of parliamentarians in Britain. Local parties have traditionally been hesitant to choose women candidates. Due to this, women's success rate in elections is poorer than that of men. However, gender discrimination is decreasing since the Labour party adopted a pro-women policy in the distribution of party tickets. This indicates that increase or decrease of women's representation in decision-making bodies is largely determined in political parties.

Sex discrimination in political parties is most common in India. It started in pre-independent period itself. In 1936, when the Congress Working Committee was organised for which Nehru was technically responsible, it did not include even a single woman though. Sarojini Naidu from the Congress and Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya from the Socialist party were quite deserving women. Their career had varied, longer and more successful than some men appointed to the Congress Working Committee. A serious criticism was leveled by AH India Women's Conference for excluding these two women. They expressed protest in Sri Dharma (a women's magazine) in the following words: "This is an injustice of very grave order both to a woman who is a pride of her
country as a true and capable patriot as any man in the Congress, an astute national and international politician but her exclusion brings about also injustice to Indian womanhood generally for now there is no woman representative in the Congress Central Committee. These men think no woman good enough to share supreme responsibility. Three or four new young Socialist men may be brought in newly, but not the Socialist woman leader Kamala Devi. No woman need apply.  

Even after Independence, nominating a few women candidates in elections, has become the most common practice though political parties show a lot of peripheral support for women as candidates. There is a steady decrease in the number of women contestants to Lok Sabha. It was 15% in 1962 and got reduced to 11% in 1991. All the major political parties, the Congress, the B J P., the Janata Dal, the C P T(M) in their election manifestoes have promised to bring in 33% reservation for women in the legislatures. The promise became significant for its non implementation, because the parties broke the promise and fielded only a limited number of female candidates. In 1996 Lok Sabha elections, RJP fielded only 23 women out of 477 candidates, 5 women were given tickets by CPI(M) out of 72, 4 by CPI out of 43 and 49 by Congress where its total strength of the candidates is 530.  

In 1994 Assembly elections to the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly the total number of women contestants securing tickets from different political parties is 61 whereas 64 women filed nominations as independents. In states like Punjab, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal women were given limited number of tickets. Due to lack of political parties encouragement there are some state
legislative assemblies like Bihar, Haryana, Maharashtra where women's presence is nil.

Purnima Varma, a BJP candidate elected to Uttar Pradesh Assembly in 1991 said that, though women several times proved that they are not inferior to men, still there are leaders in political parties who feel that women are weaker than men. This orientation is also there among several women. Though females exhibited their capacity on par with men, discrimination is still continuing in distributing party tickets.

Some unconvincing reasons are generally given by political parties for their failure in encouraging women with party tickets. These include the following:

Women are not coming forward to contest. They would be defeated if strong male opponent contests, women are inexperienced and untrained.

Some women seeking political power complain that parties are neglecting them inspite of long service in political field. Husna Subhani an active politician worked with Jaya Prakash Narayan in late 1970s, a reputed social worker, President of All India Muslim Women's Association and a member of Janata Dal National Executive Committee was denied a party ticket successively in 1989, '91 and '93.

Kushama Kushawa, former General Secretary of Congress and later a member of Bharatiya Kisan Kamgarh party which was left in air by Ajit Singh has tried to get a ticket for ten years, but her efforts went in vain. This victim of gender discrimination said “for twenty years I have been doing social work, I have been in active politics for the past 12 years, but have been denied a ticket.”
Discrimination shown by political parties came to the forefront in a recently held Uttar Pradesh elections where none of the parties fielded women candidates, not even one, though they have been active participants in the political battle for Uttarkhand and proved their leadership qualities too.

To identify the views regarding the role of political parties in fielding women candidates, the respondents were asked to answer the question. "Are political parties interested in nominating women?" Table 4.2 helps to understand the position.

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<th>PERCEPTIONS</th>
<th>MEN</th>
<th>WOMEN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
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<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100</td>
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The table indicates that a large portion of male and female respondents agreed that political parties are not giving party tickets to female candidates in adequate number. However, in both the views mentioned in the table, there is exactly 12% gender gap. 12% more women respondents than men perceived that political parties are not giving proper encouragement. 12% more men than women did not agree with that. Though a majority of men and women accepted the first view, the reasons given by them are different. The details are the following.
To Sarojini Pulla Reddy "the main cause is male domination in political parties. They are not at all ready to share power with women". M.Lakshmi Devi said "to give 1/3 rd reservation none of political parties are not coming forward. Do they voluntarily (without rule) allow women to contest in elections through parties?" she questioned. M.Swarjyam who denied that parties are showing discrimination towards women said "as far as our party CPI(M) is concerned, it is not correct. In our party, the number of women members is coming down mainly due to lack of economic sufficiency. Apart from it social reasons and family responsibilities prevent women to be active with political parties". Mary Ravindranath viewed" since it is a power game, men feel deprivation if women are fielded as candidates in election. They try to hold their place very strongly. There are men in Congress who objected to the party leadership's suggestion to give key roles to women". Rajana Ramani felt that parties' discouragement is due to lack of understanding towards women and due to male chauvinism. Political parties always doubt women's leadership qualities. Annapurna Devi expressed that men are afraid of women's advancement. Naturally political parties do not encourage women Therefore women should come forward Bharathi and Lakshmi Devamma also viewed that due to male domination, political parties' encouragement is lacking for women They cannot see women enjoying political power, they emphasised A part of this response is of Md Gatoor's opinion too.

P Aruna, Minister for Women and Child Welfare said "our party (TDP) is encouraging. Otherwise, we would not have come to this place" To the questions why this time TDP gave very less number of seats to women and why women elected previously were not given tickets, she replied that due to
'peculiar' reasons it happened so this time. However she did not clarify what the 'peculiar reasons' are.

Y. Seeta Devi said that her party would like to give tickets, but male opponents are creating troubles to the elected women. Every act of elected women is over scrutinised and they prevent her to be efficient with their misdeeds. Destructive criticism is leveled against women. To counter the acts of opponents, TDP is forced to field male candidates. Bhaskar Rama Rao also felt that due to strong male opponents, women are not fielded by political parties. To K. Vijay Rami Reddy, 'parties have their own problems' before elections due to which gender justice cannot be considered. At a single time, equality cannot be achieved. Women should rely on self-effort which is absent in women. Same is the opinion of members like P. Srinivas Reddy and A.V.S. Raju. K Prakash Reddy said that due to lack of capable women, parties are failing to nominate women. M B Chowhan who came from a tribal area found that touch with public, awareness of public problems and training in taking risks are lacking in women. Hence, they are not fielded. To N. Moola Reddy, women are not coming forward. Those come forward do not have public attraction. Adding to this, Govind Naik said "in some places our party (TDP) had to search for candidates". M Ranga Reddy and A Babu Rao perceived that women are not reacting properly to party's offer and are not able to devote much time to party service. To N. Gade Lingappa, 'the hindering factors are male domination, lack of initiative in women and lack of faith in their efficiency'.

Madhusudhana Chary also viewed that male domination is the primary cause for less number of women being nominated. Other senior members like Vanka Satyanarayana, Venkata Ramakrishna, D Anjaneyulu also shared the
opinion of Madhusudhana Chary. These members also pointed out that lack of economic independence for women and selfishness of political parties as the additional reasons.

The social structure is considered as an important factor for paucity of women contestants through political parties by members like Ambati Brahmanaih, N. Narsimha Reddy, Appala Suryanarayana. For Ch. Rami Reddy and S. Sambaiah, the reason is, women are lacking winning capacities. Haribabu and B. Venkateswar Rao, more or less gave similar reason. They said men feel that women should confine themselves to the home and since times immemorial, women are being suppressed.

K. R. Suresh Reddy exposed political parties' disinterest in giving party tickets to women in a different way. To him, there are various shackles for women to enter politics which were broken by a very few women. Parties do not encourage women who are really interested and efficient. But in cases where a male MLA vacates seat due to any reason, mostly due to death, his wife is forced to contest. Parties compromise on quality for the sake of party's power. He did not mention the name of parties which are practicing it.

B. Pullaiah felt that women cannot take firm decisions as they are untrained and inexperienced. Lack of awareness about politics in women and lack of recognition to women's capabilities are the causes for not nominating women according to Puvvada Nageswar Rao.

A large number of male respondents who viewed male domination as a cause are elderly persons. Party impact is drawn in this context only on few male and female TDP members. The above answers make clear that the respondents have similar views. though different causes are identified by them. Parochial thinking, constituency influence and male tendencies and feeling of
discrimination could be seen in the responses. The feeling that parties show discouragement is stronger, naturally, in women than men.

CONFRONTATIONAL SITUATIONS ARE UNCOMFORTABLE FOR WOMEN: In any competitive field confrontation is unavoidable. But it is seen more in the political arena since there is a power game in this. The nature of political atmosphere changed tremendously as the growth of competition is unlimited. To capture political power, inhuman and illegal activities are adopted by politicians seeking power. Violence in politics, rowdism, goondaism which were having a minor part in Indian ballot struggle, have become dominant factors today. That there is a growing number of criminals occupying representative roles is strongly felt. Women, who in general are not exposed to the society on par with men, naturally develop a negative tendency towards confrontations. The unpleasant and unlawful political atmosphere kept a large number of women away from politics. Obviously, women who are small in number seeking political power still are in the process of getting accustomed to the existing political culture. Several men and women therefore, developed a feeling that confrontational situations are uncomfortable for women and they cannot face every challenging and problematic situation.

Apart from this, as women, they have to face some abnormal situations which do not arise for men. Uma Bharathi a well known parliamentarian elected from Uttar Pradesh to the Lok Sabha said that women cannot adopt rowdism and can not involved in violent activities which can be easily done by men and which are most common during elections. Due to this, women are finding it difficult to face such situations. A Congress woman Galla Aruna, who contested to Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly from Chittoor district in 1984 revealed...
that women are proved inferior if violence occurs in elections. Through her experience, she learned that, to be successful in elections, if one serves people with dedication, it is not sufficient. But one must be capable of adopting illegal methods also and be able to exhibit physical power. In her view, rigging and violence ruled the 1994 Assembly elections. "Without even seeing that I am a woman, they attacked me and captured booths. When so much male chauvinism is there, how can I face it being a woman?" She questioned.

Women's physique is not exempted from comments when they enter political life. This is present in advanced systems too. When Nancy Kessebaum contested to the Senate in the US, her's small personality which is not an image of power and competence, was referred by a commentator as "wounded wren".

Kim Camp Bell who served as the Prime Minister of Canada was very much appreciated both by her party and the press before and during the initial period of becoming the Prime Minister. When the party thought of changing the leadership and some forces in the party were working against her, the press reported that she was divorced twice with no children and this situation would have influence on her personality and hence it is desirable to have another Prime Minister.

When Clare Short made a speech suggesting banning 'glamour' photographs in newspapers, in the House of Commons in Britain, she was ridiculed by male colleagues. Similarly, in early 1990s, when an excellent speech by Diane Abbott was given, a newspaper confined it only in describing her dressing without reporting the content of the speech.
In campaign tactics, women candidates are targeted in a different way. Personal life often comes up for public debate usually by males. A former ‘Congresswoman’ Maratha Keyes faced such problem at the hands of her opponent Jaffries. Maratha Keyes, a divorcee of Sam Keyes married another ‘Congressman’. Later, in the election campaign she was attacked on this point by James Jaffries, a male opponent, who defeated her. After two years, her first husband Sam Keyes contested elections against Jaffries. Though Sam Keyes lost elections, the divorce dimension’ was never mentioned by Jaffries during the campaign.

Chennupati Vidya a former Indian parliamentarian said that, women after being elected to parliament also, have to face some sexual harassment. Several young female MPs informed to her about this problem. They were afraid to face parliament again, she noticed.

During the assembly sessions in Andhra Pradesh in 1997, Lakshmi Parvathi, who was elected to the House in by-elections from NTR TDP group was referred to as wife of her first husband, by no other than her male colleagues in the House. It became difficult for her to bear with their behavior. In fact, after she divorced her first husband only, she married Mr. N. T. R, the supremo of TDP.

Thus, apart from preventing women from capturing political power, male domination creates additional abnormal conditions. Few women, no doubt, have overcome such situations as easily as men can do. Women politicians of Madhya Pradesh felt that they can easily compete with male counterparts. They expressed that they are not facing any problems as women and have not been the victims of gender discrimination. This is definitely an ideal situation.
Sudha Jain, an MLA and Beena Kak, a woman contestant to Lok Sabha in Rajasthan viewed that, though women are having some disadvantages, there are some advantages also, which are not there for men. They can easily approach female voters personally and can talk to them in their kitchens also. Thus, contrary views were expressed by several female politicians themselves regarding embarrassing, abnormal and confrontational situations.

To identify gender impact on the respondents views regarding the capacities of women, they were asked to express their views on a statement - "Women are uncomfortable with confrontational situations". Table 4.3 discloses the opinions of the respondents in this aspect.

Table 4.3 reveals that, there is a considerable, if not a significant gender difference on the perceptions of the respondents in this respect. 17% more male respondents than female respondents agreed that women cannot face all confrontational situations as men can do. 11% more women than men felt that women can combat any kind of situations.

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Few male and female respondents viewed that it cannot be said that all women would feel difficult to face critical situations. They felt that some men also feel uncomfortable with confrontations. The research has shown a clear evidence of growing self confidence amongst the women respondents in facing confrontational situations. Some worth noting responses are given here under:

To Nannapaneni Raja Kumari "women, efficiency-wise are equal in all fields. They proved it also by overcoming several problems". Rajana Ramani viewed some situations are uncomfortable to men also and hence it is difficult to make out the difference between men and women. V.Ratna Kumari said "I do not accept this statement. Generally people feel it. But in my case, I face situations boldly". Y.Sita Devi and Pratibha Bharathi also viewed similarly.

Annapurna Devi while denying the statement said "usually women do not involve in groupism. Moreover, all it depends on individual mentality".

P.Bharathi who said neither yes nor no pointed out that due to male domination, that feeling is continuing in some men and women. But slowly change is taking place. Singanna Dora also felt the same. Lakshmi Parvathi viewed "Because women are looked down everywhere such feelings exist". P.Aruna felt that due to social conditions, women are not able to solve problems on their own for which they are depending on men. Mental maturity of women is prevented. But today's women are not that dependent on men.

D.S.Redya Naik while accepting the statement, said that women are soft in nature. They get easily hurt by others due to which they cannot bear with all conditions. Asaduddin Owaisi elected from MIM, a minority party said "Yes it is true. "Man is more fit to face confrontation based on nature's law. One cannot fight against nature and God". P.Srinivas Reddy felt, this does not apply to the
present women. Any how, where there is a will, there is a way for a woman or for a man, he made clear. A.V.S. Raju while denying the statement said that what Mrs. Renuka Chowdhary (a powerful woman member of TDP, presently a member of Rajya Sabha) could do in such situations, cannot be done by men also.

To P. Keshav, women are uncomfortable with confrontation due to the existing social conditions, discrimination against women and in some respects physical inequalities.

N. Moola Reddy felt that there cannot be a generalisation "in our women MLAs only there are members like Y. Sita Devi and Pratibha Bharathi who are bold and strong to challenge anything. At the same time, there are also some women who are dull and not equal to these two women.

N. Gade Lingappa who accepted the statement viewed that 'it is because women are not trained with education. Added to it our social conditions make them to be weak.'

Gone Hanumanth Rao while discarding the statement said that Mrs. Gandhi faced several confrontational situations boldly. Y. Kista Reddy felt that women can face any situation except where the physical power is needed. Mentally women are stronger than men but are having some physical weaknesses. Juvvadi Chandra Sekhar Rao and Jakka Venkataiah expressed that by nature women can fight. But due to male domination and oppression they are unable to face tough situations. Women who are above these, proved their capability.

Rambhupal Reddy, Karanam Rama Chandra Rao and Hariswar Reddy said that women are not uncomfortable to such conditions. But percentage wise, women are less in politics than men in numbers. Mainly it is due to socialization process also inequalities are perpetuating.

Gade Venkat Reddy expressed that by nature there are differences between men and women. Hence, some circumstances are favourable to women.
and some are favourable to men’’ E.Han Babu said "women are more tactful and have keen observation which enable her to be confident in all situations".

N.Yethi Raja Rao who could not confirm the statement said that all that depends on socialization, training and education. For some men also this statement applies K R Suresh while supporting the statement viewed that women are facing 'rough weather' everywhere - in RTC buses, at work place, at home, in public and also in politics. But they have to go through all these and build confidence. Marri Sasidhar Reddy viewed "some men may feel uncomfortable with confrontations, while some women may not feel the same". Puvvada Nageswar Rao while agreeing with the given statement said that "societal changes contributing to promote consciousness in women have not come".

Bodepudi Venkateswar Rao's response is "yes. But there are some women who take them easily. There is nothing that women cannot learn" Ch.Raji Reddy's answer is "No It was in the past But changing conditions are enabling women to fight with every situation In previous years women's participation in agitations used to be very less But now it has increased tremendously".

WOMEN REPRESENTATIVES GIVING PRIORITY TO WOMEN'S ISSUES : A good number of research workers give evidence to the fact that women representatives give priority to women’s issues both in India and in other nations. This is considered as special 'qualitative bias'. The chapter literature Review' dealt with this aspect in some detail.

Available evidence suggests that legislative efforts for women welfare policies were put largely by women members or Indian Parliament Bills related
to subjects like prohibition of dowry, women and child welfare, marriage, divorce and immoral traffic in women are introduced by women. Bills relating to equal pay for equal work, divorce, judicial separation, payment of maternity and medical benefits for women, prohibition of Devadasi and Murli in India, compulsory registration of marriages in India, protection of civil rights of married women, prohibition of test for pre-birth sex determination, Viswa bharathi marriage laws, prohibition of sati, welfare of widows, medical termination of pregnancy, mother's lineage, working women's welfare are introduced in Lok Sabha by women members.

Women members in the legislature of Andhra Pradesh have also made similar efforts. Some examples can be given in this context- M.N.Vijaya Lakshmi, an MLA of Andhra Pradesh moved a private bill in 1978, urging government to take immediate decision for providing equal rights and opportunities for women on par with men. There were also events where women members forced the Speaker to allow debates on atrocities against women. The best example for that is Lakshmi Kantamma's adjournment motion on 31st March, 1978 to have a discussion on the incident of rape, that took place in Nallakunta police station in Hyderabad on 30th March 1978. The Speaker refused to accept adjournment motion, but the lady members, of course some male members of opposition parties also brought pressure on the Speaker. In this act, Lakshmi Kantamma went to the extent of walking out of the Assembly. Finally, she was successful in persuading the Speaker to move the motion and was given reasonable time to express her feelings relating to injustice towards the woman and the brutal behaviour of police. She specifically mentioned the way police were insincere, irresponsible and inhuman with Rameza Bee the
victim and her husband in the police station. Lakshmi Kantamma demanded judicial inquiry into the incident.

For the first time in the history of Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly, a two hours discussion especially on atrocities against women was held on the demand of four female legislators and a male legislator. This discussion gave wide opportunity to women representatives to express their views relating to unfair treatment of the fair sex. Several incidents of gender discrimination, violence against women were brought to the notice of the House by them. While detailing some incidents, they became ferocious too. The day on which the discussion took place was referred as the Day of Eves' by a well known daily, Indian Express. All this shows that women representatives are giving priority to women's issues and react differently from their male counterparts when such issues arise.

To know the perceptions of the sample in the study in this regard, they were asked to answer a question - are women legislators giving priority to women's issues? Differences in the opinions of the respondents can be noticed from Table 4.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.4</th>
<th>Women Legislators Giving Priority to Women Matters</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>82</td>
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186
There is not much gap between the sexes regarding women legislators giving priority to women's issues. 4% more female respondents than that of male respondents viewed that women members of Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly are giving importance to women matters, 4% more men than that of women of the respondents denied the view that women representatives prefer to raise and discuss women's issues. Women respondents falling under the two categories of perceptions are divided into two equal proportions. But among men, 8% more male respondents of their total strength felt that women issues are not the priorities of women legislators. The following responses, for clear understanding, are given:

Mary Ravindranath viewed that, 'first of all' women legislators try to attend to women's problems. P. Bharathi said that women MLAs are not giving priority to 'women concerned' matters. But they should emphasise on women's problems by taking every opportunity. P. Aruna viewed that women representatives are giving importance to women's issues. The people who approach women MLAs are mostly women. Hulikuntappa felt that women representatives are much aware of women's problems and feel a sense of responsibility in focusing them. Male respondents like G. Mallesh, Govind Naik, C. Baganna, Ch. Ram Reddy, J. Ranga Roddy expressed that, when 'other than women concerned matters' come for discussion, women are not given time to express their feelings. Generally, when women issues arise, they take chance to speak. B. Durga Prasad who agreed that female members of the House give preference to women's problems, immediately said that sometimes women members in the House get into quarrels also while expressing their opinions.
Respondents like Nandhyala Narsimha Reddy, A.V.S. Raju, M.Mallesh, M.Kodanda Reddy mentioned that women MLAs react more to 'women concerned issues', as they have keen observation over them.

Gade Lingappa and Vanka Satyanarayana rightly said that in general women's issues are given less importance and so, women members have to give preference to those matters and also due to suppressed feeling in them. E.Haribabu felt that women in the House compete with men in representing women related issues. That obviously and unintentionally is making them to speak more for women. Ch.Vidvasagar Rao thought that 'male chauvinism' in the society is making them to give more attention to women issues.

Jakka Venkaiah mentioned that women MLAs do not have specific priority, but when issues like atrocities on women arise in the House they speak ferociously. He also narrated an event of the House in 1985 as an example. Then during the Question Hour, a question related to an atrocity against woman was raised. During that discussion, one of the male legislators in the House asked the Home Minister whether government would pay any compensation to the female victim. All women in the House angrily reacted saying that compensation is a very light punishment and only separation of hands and leus of the culprit from the body is the right solution to the problem. Jakka Venkaiah also said that men will not react in such a way as women do.

Ch.Rajeswar Rao felt that it is not that women give priority to an issue. Because of their self experience they can articulate them in a better way than men.

More than through table 4.4, through the responses we can notice the depth of the gender differences in such matters.
SHOULD WOMEN LEGISLATORS REPRESENT WOMEN’S PROBLEMS:

Around the world, women as a gender, are facing problems. They have only secondary status. Women in the Third World societies are deprived of the right to live due to female infanticide. There is a tremendous increase in dowry deaths, eve-teasing, rapes other atrocities against women and negative exposure of women by media. Frequent occurrence of dowry deaths, eve teasing and rapes is a common feature in India. Long standing problems like gender discrimination and harassment at workplace are born out of the marriage between male domination and power game. Neither required attention is paid to these problems nor practical remedies were made. Education and high earning jobs were not equally accessible to men and women. Only 25% of earned income is shared by women and only 39% women’s literacy is there. In states like Rajasthan the situation is still worse. Women are regular victims of violence at home. Overall, sexual abuse is a growing menace. Who can articulate all these problems in a better way - men or women? Several women representatives rightly claimed that it is their additional responsibility. The gradually growing number of women in decision making structures in America, Britain, Canada and other Western countries has changed the agenda of legislative bodies which has shown great impact on policy making, representing women’s problems and interests.

The impact of women members in the House of Commons, has resulted in the devotion of longer time to women’s and children’s issues than it used to be. Private members’ bills introduced by women representatives are usually those involving women’s interests.
It is crucial for elected women to use their office for betterment of common women. Elizabeth, an American political woman felt that women legislators have been able to attack gender discrimination and their consequences. Congress would have never passed key legislation removing discriminatory barriers against women in areas like insurance, pension, education, health benefits and employment fund, without the presence and initiative of female members in the House. Politically involved women give serious attention and top priority to women's issues which are not cared by male politicians by considering them as under related social concerns. This disinterest of male politicians towards women's matters made Democratic Vice-President candidate Ms. Geraldine Ferraro in 1984 to frustrate. There is also a little number of women who would not like to be stamped as pro-womanists or feminists by giving priority to women's issues. They viewed all issues are equally important for them.

Through the above discussion, we can expect gender-wise variations regarding the ideology that women should represent women's problems. The respondents were asked whether it is a special responsibility of women legislators to represent women's viewpoint. Table 4.5 discloses the details.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.5. Should Women Legislators Represent Women Interests?
The wide differences in the perceptions of the respondents regarding female legislators representing women's interests. In two kinds of views mentioned in the table, there is more than 50% difference between the genders. 52% more female respondents than the male respondents felt that representing women's problems is an additional responsibility of women legislators. 52% more respondents regarded, it is not only that of women representatives but also that of male representatives. The two women respondents who denied that representation of women's interests is a special responsibility of women MLAs are P. Aruna and Lakshmi Devamma. The general opinion is that a woman can understand women's problems well.

Annapurna Devi felt that women representatives are acquainted with women's needs which brings clarity in representing them. Bharathi made it clear that common women's voice can be voiced in the House through women representatives. But they can influence policy making with more number of women in the House. Lakshmi Devamma viewed that it is not a special responsibility of women legislators but they avail even opportunity to represent women's issues.

Uma Venkatram Reddy felt "it is most natural since they are women. Further, the growing number of women's problems makes us feel that responsibility" Pratibha Bharati said "obviously it is women legislators' responsibility since they are neglected by men. One cannot expect the same reactions from men and women to the problems of women. As a Women Welfare minister, I served women and I would like to serve in future also."

To Asaduddin Owaisi, every women representative is elected to work for the entire constituency not only for women. Representing women's issues is only one of her duties.
Varadarajula Reddy felt that women should take more initiative in matters related to women and children especially, if reservation is enforced.

Md Gafoor and M Mallesh expressed that it need not be a special responsibility of women MLAs. But women know more about women's problems and needs than men. G Hanumanth Rao who felt it is not a special or added responsibility of legislators representing women said that they are problems of human kind, therefore it is responsibility of all MLAs.

Appaiah Dora while agreeing that it is the responsibility of women expressed that women elite can fight for women's rights. But at the same time they should work for other matters also. Yathi Raja Rao viewed that women legislators should share the feelings of 50% of the population. Some women cannot reveal their problems to men. So through women representatives they get their problems noticed by government. Appala Suryanarayana thought that it is the responsibility of women representatives because in a male dominated society men always relegate such issues to last position.

K Madhusudhan Rao felt that it is essential for women representatives. But justice to womanhood cannot be done with a small number of women in the House. Their number is needed to be increased to get their rights.

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT 1/3 RESERVATION FOR WOMEN IN LEGISLATIVE BODIES: A true participatory democracy is that where avenues for political authority are laid open to all by removing the existing obstacles and creating a favourable atmosphere.

India, the largest democratic nation in the world failed miserably in distributing political power equally between men and women despite of the fact that women took active roles in several agitations and movements which are
politically important and influential. In these movements, they exhibited their leadership talents too.

There is a gradual growth in the number of women occupying decision-making roles in the Western countries like Britain, America, Canada and others over which Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark are far better. But in India, instead of an improvement in the political status of women, there is a steady decrease in it almost in every state. As mentioned previously, there are some state legislatures working with 'zero number' of female members. India is ranked 93rd among the member states of UNO in empowering women and only 23% is the share of women in administrative and managerial positions.

Women of India and also some men are demanding for improvement in the political status of women. The first step to this extent was taken in 1993 with the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments providing reservation of 1/3 scats for women in local self-government bodies. This has brought reasonably good amount of awareness amongst women at the grass root level in acquiring and exercising their rights. But the situation at the state and national levels decision-making structures remains unsatisfactory. To bridge the gap an initiative is taken by the United Front government by proposing 1/3 reservation for women in suite and national legislative bodies through the 81st Constitutional Amendment Bill.

One of the objectives of the Ninth Five Year Plan is the empowerment of women and socially disadvantaged groups. To realise these objectives it has suggested to adopt 1/3 quota system for women in administrative spheres.

As Jayanti Natarajan writes “the arguments against reservation ranges from the openly chauvinistic to the pseudo intellectual and from synthetic
concern for the OBCs to a new found reluctance to further divide the category through reservation”. Madhukar Saropdar, elected to Lok Sabha from Shivsena ielt that "there is no legal restriction on fielding women by political parties and where does the need for law on reservation arise?".

The main opposition for the approval of the 81st Amendment Bill came from the members of parliament like Ramkripal Yadav, Muktar Anees, P.N.Siva, Nithish Kumar belonging to Janata Dal, Samajvadi, DMK and Samata Dal parties respectively who demanded to include the OBCs clause. These champions of OBC determined not to allow reservation for women until justice is done to OBCs. The BJP is divided on this issue. It is brought to light that OBCs representation has been more compared to the nominal representation of women in the legislature since care is taken by the social justice parties like SP, BSP and JD Sharad Yadav's own admission reveals that there are some 280 MPs belonging to OBCs among total number of members in the Lok Sabha. Therefore, it has to be argued that more than caste based struggle, gender based struggle for reservation is needed. In OBCs, minorities and other categories like SCs, STs, women are neglected.

Dismissing the gender discrimination as the cause for low representation of women, V.S.Chandralekha President of Tamilnadu state unit of Janata Dal said that unattractiveness of political career coupled with its moral degradation is the root cause. She considered reservation policy as a 'top down' approach and hence not acceptable.

Another pretext shown by the opponents of reservation is 'women are not yet ready for political office' and they have 'to be sensitized and educated.'
before giving them key role. But the counter argument to this is that there is nothing good to be educated about male dominated politics. It is well known that a large number of male representatives are chargesheeted in several cases like murder, dacoity and economic offences.

Madhu Kishwar argues that marginalisation of women is connected to marginalisation of decent and honest people as political field has become a citadel of corruption and crime. Since a large number of women are not ready to take risk of joining politics, reservation would be cornered by dominant male politicians by fielding their wives and daughters who act as dummies. Thus biwi-beti brigades would create further maladministration. Such situations would emerge initially, but true grass roots women leadership would finally come into force after facing some teething troubles. Answering the question relating to 'biwi-beti brigades', Sushma Swaraj said that women's wings of political parties would take care of not giving scope for the entry of wives of political bigwigs. It can be seen that several women have gone ahead and worked for the parties and these women deserve to have due share in politics.

Women's interest cannot be isolated from economic, social and political problems of the society as mentioned in 'Towards Equality' the first comprehensive document giving details of Indian women's status. But it is to be remembered that whatever be the problems of society, strata, groups or classes suffers and victims among women are far more than those among men. If such problems are seen from women's point of view, more practical solution would have come for solving the problems as well as to attain gender equality. To get women's opinion, adequate number of women must
An illogical argument of an editorial in a leading daily is that 33% of reservation for women would deny representation to 50% electorate in 33% constituencies. If the same point is seen from the other angle, it is clear that in 100% constituencies where 49% population is women, they received less than 6% representation in the parliament, (only 32 women got elected to Lok Sabha in 1996 general elections). If the writer of the editorial feels that 33% reservation would result in deprivation of 50% electorate in 33% constituencies, the 50 years experience of women in India is that they have always been in low level representation as their strength in parliament and state legislatures did not cross 10% at any point of time. This criticism against reservation is based on a wrong notion that women representatives would represent women only.

Describing the reservation as a bad solution to the problem, another criticism is raised against it. The reservation method adopted till now has reached the tolerance limit, so, it has to be ended. Empowering women and women taking care of interests can be achieved even without reservation and hence no reservation is needed. The writer also felt that there is no guarantee of development in women's status by having more number of women. For the better representation of women's interests, best hearted persons are required whether they are men or women. But studies relating to women legislators role in the proceedings of the Houses made clear that women can best articulate women's interests. Any method other than reservation, to realise the objective would only serve as an impractical method.

Reservation is considered as a gimmick and is unlikely to make any positive impact on the existing position of women. In fact there is no equality in
social life and elimination of exploitation and reduction at the worst can be expected through reservation. Reservation would provide an atmosphere conducive to achieve equality of opportunity given by the constitution. Reservation is a device to change patriarchal attitudes which imposed disabilities on women.

Opinions against reservation are strengthened by projecting the experience of India on reservation system. The SCs and STs are enjoying reservation facility since the enforcement of the constitution. In 1980s Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh introduced the same for women in local bodies and the 73rd and 74th Amendments allotted 1/3 seats for women in local bodies. Critics argue that all these reservations did not yield the expected fruits. Reservation for SCs and STs have brought marked benefits. These deprived sections have freer recognition as forming important components of political process. The constitutional guarantee of equal status has helped to reduce the number and nature of atrocities on them and gave scope for raising consciousness as well as voice. The politics of the governments at the centre and states will have to be in accordance with the principle of social justice, leaving aside operational realities. These sections definitely have improved their status and dignity as well as assertiveness. Their existence is recognised by the "forward sections. All this would indicate that reservations have been gainful. Implied in the principle of equality is the need for providing special protection to the deprived. Amongst those sections, that are considered to be deprived, there are some personalities who have come up on their merit and talent. The President of India, K. R. Narayan is the best example of the equals though belonging to unequals.
Similarly, the 73rd and 74th Amendments brought a positive impact on women's empowerment. Prior to these constitutional changes, women's presence in Panchayat Raj Institutions was very insignificant. A different picture has come out through these amendments.

The Parliamentary bodies today have a minimum of 1/3 women members on them which is really an encouraging situation. Some women have contested with personal interest. A good percentage of women in these institutions have 'on behalf of others status', while others were dummies whose only function is that of either signing or placing thumb impressions on the records sent to them. The situation is not an altogether gloomy. Many females are showing enthusiasm to assert political rights like contesting and gaining candidacy which were not there even in the dreams of a majority of them.

Some find reservation for women as a very humiliating act which also suppresses article 14. Before assessing the value of this opinion, it is to be remembered that women suffered several indignities through centuries past and any humility that might be caused by reservation is definitely a bearable one. Supporters of reservation have a strong argument that it would realise the spirit and purpose of articles 14 and 15.

Another argument is that material and social factors are major restraints for women's political power and hence it is essential to improve education and the economic independence rather than choosing reservation as a solution. But the point is, Kerala women are having better socio-economic status but do not have equal political status. Gang rapes have become relatable and the matriarchal laws of Kerala which gave women dominion over their properties have
Moreover, laws introduced for better socio-economic status of women did not bring any marked improvement in women's status. The reason is simple to some analysts. It is the lack of pressure on their implementation which should come from the representatives.

Another suggestion given by an intellectual is through a scheme. To this, in half the constituencies only women will vote and in the other half, men will vote, but there would not be reservation for candidates on the basis of sex. Women's interest can best be represented by conducting elections one term for women voters and the next for male voters. Those representatives elected by men also definitely give importance to women's aspirations as they should face re-election. Moreover, this also allows women to choose those candidates who can focus on women's interests whether it is a man or a woman.

Another argument by the same writer is, this scheme will not give scope for men complaining that merit is denied. It makes men to pay attention to women's issues and reduce the election expenditure to half as men and women vote separately in separate terms. The scheme is silent over the number of women contestants. The author viewed that, women can choose either of the sexes when their turn of election comes. This again leads to non-felidng of women candidates by the political parties. They can offer male candidates only to speak about women's issues and project themselves as protectors of women which situation again prevents women from playing important roles in decision making. There is a possibility of bringing narrow outlook in public if elections are held for men and women at different times.
Three member constituency system instead of opting for reservation is another suggestion. The writer felt that reservation of $1/3$ seats for women in law making bodies would be applicable and benefit only in a $1/3$ area. According to the model suggested, the number of constituencies should be reduced to $1/3$ of the number. And from each such constituency, a man and a woman must be elected and the third member can be of either sex. This would make the occupation of more than $1/3$ seats by women possible. In practice, it creates several problems. If voters choose three representatives belonging to three political parties, problems arise. The possibility of women occupying more than $1/3$ of the seats is remote because, the political parties which are not genuinely ready to approve the 81st Amendment Bill, could not be expected to field more women candidates. $1/3$ reservation of seats for women should be rotated all over the nation so that women of the entire nation get chance to avail it. However, this would not be less than the reservation of seats for women in decision-making bodies.

So far, the views of detractors on the question of reservation for women in law making bodies are examined. It is appropriate to see the other side of the coin also. Power occupies a predominant place in all human, national and international interactions. Political power is all the more important because all problems in society, in one way or the other are related to political decision, where the power game is prominent. Political development helps to bring forth other kinds of development. It is an established fact that women around the world have not gained equal status with men importantly because they are kept away from political power positions. That political empowerment would be useful to achieve women’s empowerment in general is a widely accepted opinion now. The existing gender inequalities and discrimination could be attributed to a considerable extent to the absence of political empowerment to women. As
rightly pointed out by the participants of Beijing women's conference, to bring fundamental changes in socio-economic fields, women should be given hall-share in political decision-making. For that reservation is to be adopted. Indian women's half a century experience with political discrimination in the post-independence period forces them to rely heavily on 1/3 reservation as the best weapon to achieve gender equality and status. In countries like Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland, the reason for having more number of women in decision making roles is due to their legal enablement.

There is vivid expression of the realities of women's status in one important study. Men of the government never cared women's sufferings. To some, they begin before birth itself. As an infant, as a girl, as a wife, as a widow, as a working girl, a woman has to face female infanticide, under-nourishment and illiteracy or less education, dowry death, life long seclusion and social harassment respectively. Woman is looked as a butterfly, decorative piece and as a window dressing in politics. According to the data given by National Crimes Records Bureau, for every 54 minutes a woman is raped, for every 102 minutes one dowry death takes place, for every 51 minutes an act of teasing occurs and for every 7 minutes a criminal offence against women happens. In controlling these crimes and in developing the nation in areas like education, health, environment, food production, distribution, urban and rural development and drinking water there has not been satisfactory implementation. Women working in Panchayati Raj institutions now are confident of saving the country from maladministration, criminal politics and corruption.

Involvement of women in the agitations like anti-arrack, water shortage, violence and discrimination is indicating their agenda. In particular, the anti-
The arrack movement in Andhra Pradesh received a special place in the larger dimension of Indian politics. This movement, not only succeeded in influencing government to impose prohibition on liquor (though for a temporary period) but also sent signal about women’s unity in such issues which can pose a challenge to political parties in voters' mobilisation. Women need a rifle place in government to implement their agenda. Reservation or quota system makes this possible.

The perpetuating low political status of women and further degradation in it led to change in attitudes of women who were against reservation. Post independence women's movement in India brought out two shades of opinions regarding reservation. Some prominent women registered views against reservation in Towards Equality. But a shift in their stand, that is pro reservation could be seen in different feminist groups, as today, fielding of female candidates is opposed by stubborn political parties. Begum Rasool, who was a member of the Constituent Assembly, in a recent interview said that, there had to be reservation for women for their meaningful role in the development process. When the drafting of the constitution was taking place, all women members of the Constituent Assembly met Nehru and expressed that, they could fight on their own in elections and need not have reservation. Begum Rasool regretting to her previous perception said it has been proved wrong.

Several freedom fighters adopted the innovative methods like Ahimsa and Sathyagraha followed under the guidance of Gandhiji though they have no belief in them. But such experiments gave good returns like national liberation. Similarly, reservation for women in political offices is regarded as a creative measure for the political equality of women. In fact, this has been in force in the
local bodies with the enactment of 73rd and 74th Amendments. Their implementation to some extent, removed the myths and doubts leading to the argument that reservation would bring dummies and proxies. If not all, 10% of those women elected to Panchayati Raj Institutions are movers and shakers. They have changed the priorities and programmes and set a new style of functioning. In Karnataka, an elected woman representative told an official, “I am the chairperson of the council. I walk and BDO drives in a jeep, who do you think the citizens will respect more?” Later, the official ordered jeeps to follow her likes. It is removing the doubts raised about women’s efficiency in a rough atmosphere of Indian politics. In Karnataka, women have crossed the 1/3 quota by capturing 44% of the seats. A Scheduled Caste woman was fielded for Gram Panchayat President post in Kodugu district of Karnataka, inspite of her husband’s refusal. Her husband did not favour the wife entering ‘dirty polities’ and also had no faith in her capacity. But today, she is recognised as the best president for handling tough situations and working for local development. These are only few examples to cite. There are many such cases reported from other parts of the nation. This provides enough evidence to the fact that reservation has brought moderate change in the participation of women in local decision-making process. They could assert their right to contest in elections because of this measure, which came out of women’s thought previously. One can expect more optimistic results if this is extended to state and national legislatures also.

Informal reservation of portfolios like women and child welfare which are light and soft and gender stereotyped should be brought to an end. Though it is true that women can articulate and handle women’s problems in a better way than men, it should not lead to women confining to those activities only. The
general trend in India is, women are always given responsibility of the departments like women welfare, social welfare and education. Never they were heads of finance, railways, external affairs and home departments. Mostly they shared responsibility of the departments under the supervision of males by not assigning them with cabinet ranks. This let to the feeling that women are not self-esteem or capable of handling other portfolios which are treated as male’s job. To breach this practice, there is an urgent need to increase the number of women in legislative bodies.

Appearance of a number of women in political positions, elevates the morale of women in general. Political empowerment through reservation speeds up the required change in the status of women. It is not the ‘substantial measure’ or alternative for women’s development. It is only a transitory weapon to exist until women enjoy a reasonably equal status with men. In short, the 81st Constitutional Amendment would be a natural extension of the 73rd and 74th Amendments.

To bring out the perceptions of the respondents regarding 1/3 reservation for women in law-making bodies, an attempt is made here. It is to be noted that in 1995, Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly passed a resolution appealing to central government to make an amendment to provide reservation for women in state and national legislatures. However, it is found that some of the male members are personally against reservation for women. Table 46 reveals the views of the respondents about 1/3 reservation for women in legislatures.
Table 4.6.
Perceptions on 1/3 Reservation for Women in Legislatures

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The table no doubt, makes clear that above 90% of the respondents, both males and females, viewed that representation of women through reservation is necessary for different reasons. The gender difference existing in two categories of perceptions are least and negligible since it is only 3% that is, only 3% more female respondents than male respondents supported reservation and 3% less women respondents than that of men opposed reservation.

But the views supporting reservation expressed by male respondents are largely doubtful. Are they really mean what did they view? When there is strong opposition shown on different grounds with real intention of not to promote gender justice at the loss of political power at the central legislature to approve 81st Constitutional Amendment Bill, are male legislatures of Andhra Pradesh different from MPs? Are they really egalitarian in mind?

One of the male respondents belonging to the TDP who frankly opposed reservation said that several men of his party whom the researcher has interviewed might have given a supporting opinion towards reservation. But it is not a true opinion he felt. Because within the party, most of the men vehemently
criticised the very idea of TDP leader’s proposal to pass a resolution requesting the central government to make 1/3 reservation for women in legislatures. Men approved the proposal in the House only at parties orders. This sort of opposition cannot be ruled out in other parties. Added to it, many women respondents came out with a feeling that political parties are not at all willing to empower women. AM this, compels us to believe that hypocrisy is well maintained at least by some of the male respondents.

M.Lakshmi Devi felt that reservation for women is needed as efficient women are there to participate in politics and exercise political power. Women’s talents are not recognised. Though they are capable of handling any department, they are given women welfare only. When women members of the previous Assembly asked the C.M to give place for more women in the cabinet, then Mrs.Lakshmi Devi was given housing. Women’s efficiency, motivation, capacity and interest should be encouraged.

Mallu Swarajyam while supporting reservation established its need with her self experience as the background. “I myself faced several problems in getting party tickets. None but my own brothers who were also active politicians opposed my nomination when party gave decision in my favour My brother joined hands with the TDP and worked for my defeat“.

Nannapaneni Raja Kumari, who served the Assembly for two terms strongly supported reservation on various grounds. She felt that “women’s quantitative strength in legislature should increase to fight for the cause of women and to fight against dowry, sati, polygamy, obscenity in press ami films and atrocities against women. These problems are not receiving proper attention mainly due to less number of women in legislature. Women parliamentarians
failed to bring pressure on government to make an affective policy to control polygamy mainly because of their little strength. As a woman, I faced problems in the political field. Character assassination is one among them. When I switched over to Nandendla Bhaskar Rao's group in 1984, along with some male colleagues, my house was attacked by some of the supporters of NTR. Such incidents did not happen to others. If more number of women come to the Assembly, naturally such attempts can be curtailed, mainly character assassination.

To Mary Ravindranath and Rajana Ramani, there will be some redressal for women's grievances if the number of women legislators increases. Rudramma Devi felt that justice can be done to women through reservation. V.Ratna Kumari supported reservation mainly because women are neglected by political parties. She said "political parties are deliberately not giving tickets to women. Therefore, the alternative left is the reservation system. P.Bharathi viewed that more women are needed to emphasize on the need to take steps against injustice and inequalities that women in general are facing. E.Sitaramamma expressed that women too can express their views and suggestions required in legislation. They are also capable of representing others instead of being represented by others. Lakshmi Devamma felt that give political encouragement and involvement for women in decision-making. Reservation is necessary. Without reservation, several families do not allow women to enter politics. This view is similar to that of M Anjaneyulu Annapurna Devi, the only woman respondent who opposed reservation said that women elected through reservation do not get proper respect and recognition.
Members like G.M.N.V Prasad, N.Nageswar Reddy, Juvvadi Chandrasekhar Rao made clear that reservation not only brings political power but also enhances the status of women. They get some dignity and recognition in the society. Appearance of more women in the political arena would develop self-confidence in common women.

Other supporters like G.Mallesh, K.Lakshminarayana, Appala Surya Narayana and Ch.Rajeswar Rao felt that reservation is needed to promote equal rights, to give women a role in legislation to strengthen the argument that democracy needs representation of all sections and also to display that women are also equally responsible. Saraiah viewed that reservation is useful for the quick development of women. A strong opponent of reservation felt that it is not required as women are not coming forward. He also said “first of all women should be brought into mainstream”. One Congress and two TDP male respondents opposed reservation on the grounds that it is not right time as women are not yet developed to that level. In local governments, husbands are dominating where seats are reserved for women. Women in present politics are some what mild and not that active in debates. K.Prakash Reddy said "we want more women to be in the House, but they should be knowledgeable persons" Govinda Naik felt that through reservation, minimum justice can be done for women. G Hanumanth Rao made clear that women cannot compete with men and for some time at least reservation is necessary.

Rambhupal Reddy and Madhusudan Rao viewed that without appropriate role to women a nation cannot be maintained. Similarly the nation also cannot be maintained without reasonable role to women. Construction and destruction of home and country depend on the role of women.
Naga Raja Reddy mentioned that through reservation, women can seek their own welfare. K.R. Suresh Reddy made clear that unless it is made a rule, male domination will not reduce and improvement in women's lives is not possible.

Another opponent of reservation from Congress party said that he does not like the very idea of reservation whether it is for women or for other categories, though it is good for social upliftment. But it has to be respected since providing opportunities is an obligation. A TDP male respondent while opposing reservation for women in law making bodies said that women cannot move in rough weather as practical difficulties arise. He mentioned some problems like travelling in a car with male colleagues, eating whatever is provided wherever they go, as situations that cannot be faced by women.

To Puvvada Nageswar Rao to give key role for women in social change, reservation is necessary. Narra Raghava Reddy, a senior most member of CPM while supporting reservation strongly, said “it is ashaming that so far, women are not given their share of power”.

To J.Ranga Reddy, as women are doing more service as mothers as wives and as employees, their voice should be heard in decision making.

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT REQUIRED FACTOR FOR WOMEN’S DEVELOPMENT: A study of women’s movement in the developed and developing countries reveals that the nature of the demands has shifted over a period of time. If in the 1960s the demand was for equality, in the 1970s justice was demanded. The 80s have seen the demand for contributors’ role along with the beneficiaries role in the process of development. The 90s have witnessed the increasing emphasis on empowerment. The respondents have been asked to identify their priority factor for the upliftment of women through empowerment.
The options given to them are economic power, political power, social equality and all the three. Table 4.7 gives a picture of the respondents' views.

Table 4.7.
Primary Factor for Women’s Development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FACTORS</th>
<th>MEN</th>
<th>WOMEN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic Power</td>
<td>15 (18)</td>
<td>7 (39)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Power</td>
<td>14 (17)</td>
<td>4 (22)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Equality</td>
<td>37 (45)</td>
<td>5 (28)</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>16 (20)</td>
<td>2 (11)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>82 (100)</td>
<td>18 (100)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.7 enables one to say that more number of women viewed that economic power is required for the development of women whereas, more male respondents felt that social equality is most important for women’s development. 21% more female respondents than male respondents felt the need of economic power whereas 18% more male respondents than that of females perceived that social equality has to be achieved for the empowerment of women. Among the respondents who mentioned the need of political power, 5% more women are there over men. However, 9% more male respondents than female respondents expressed that all the mentioned factors are equally important for the development of women.

M.Lakshmi Devi who felt social equality as the primary requisite for women’s development said that when women have proper respect in the society, obviously that would bring economic and political power  K.R. Suresh Reddy.
who mentioned that primarily women need political power said that political power followed by economic power would definitely bring confidence in women and also change the picture of society but social equality is a myth that cannot be defined.

The above study makes clear that gender is the chief determinant of perceptions of the respondents than any other factor as far as women's role in politics is concerned. Women felt that they can represent women's problems in a better manner than men. This opinion is accepted by some male members only. Women's views are largely different from those of men regarding political parties fielding women candidates. Though a majority of the respondents, both male and female, accepted that parties are not fielding enough number of women, they gave different reasons. It is right to mention that some male respondents are also having strong concern for the development of women in politics but not at the loss of their power.
FOOT NOTES


2. Lovenduski, Joni. op.cit. p. 208.

3. Patni. op.cit. p.89.


10 Agnew, Vijay. Elite Women in Indian Politics. 1979, pp. 86-87.

11 Ibid. p. 87


14 Times of India 17th September. 1996.

15 Ibid.

16 “Women’s Potential Cannot Be Ignored Any Longer” Times of India 29th November, 1996.

17 Eenadu. 5th April. 1996.

22. Duverger. op.cit. p.123.
24. Ibid.
29. Times of India. 13th September, 1996.
30. Times of India. 5th December, 1996.
32. Ibid.
34. Kishwar, Madhu. Times of India. 22 September 1996
36. Speech of Sushma Swaraj, a BJP MP given in Panel of Discussion Organised by Programme for Women’s Development. Published in Women’s Ink Vol 3 p.6.


43. Ibid.


45. Vasundhara, Eenadu. 15th April, 1996.


49. Ibid.


