

Chapter - 5
Findings
on
Hypothesis

FINDING OF THE HYPOTHESIS

The **First Hypothesis** is that being a newly independent Nation, most of the Women members of Lok Sabha must have belong to the Active Social and Political groups.

TABLE - A
PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND

PROFESSION	1ST	2ND	3RD	4TH	5TH	6TH	7TH	8TH	9TH	10TH	AVG%
AGRICULTURE	2	4	4	4	10	2	11	14	4	10	
	9%	15%	12%	13%	18%	10%	39%	32%	14%	24%	18.6%
BUSINESS	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	
						5%		4%	3.5%		1.35%
JOURNALISM	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	
	4.5%				4.5%				3.5%		1.25%
MEDICINE	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	1	
		7%		6%		5%		2%		3%	2.30%
SERVICE	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	
	4.5%	4%	3%	3%	4.5%		4%	2%		3%	2.80%
POLITICAL & SOCIAL WOKR.	12	13	18	15	8	11	13	15	13	15	
	55%	48%	53%	49%	37%	60%	55%	35%	46%	37%	46.5%
TEACHING	4	2	3	4	4	2	2	8	2	4	
	18%	7%	9%	13%	18%	10%	8%	18%	7%	11%	11.9%
EX-RULING CLASS	1	4	6	4	3	-	-	1	-	1	
	4.5%	15%	17%	13%	14%	-	-	2%	-	3%	6.85%
LAWYER	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	4	
						5%			7%	11%	2.3%
ARTIST	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	
								2%	7%	6%	1.3%
TRADE UNION	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	
									7%	-	0.7%
NON-AVAILABLE	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
	4.5%	4%	6%	3%	5%	5%	4%	2%	3.5%	3%	4%
TOTAL	22	27	34	31	22	19	28	44	28	39	

The Hypothesis stands correct **Table -A** on Professional Background of the Lok Sabha women member exhibit clearly that:

The majority of them have been political or social workers, however their percentage have been declining after First Lok Sabha, during Sixth Lok Sabha it was revived sufficiently, but again declined. Highest percentage of this group of members were in Sixth Lok Sabha with 60% , and minimum were with 35% during 8th Lok Sabha and during other Lok Sabha the percentage were in between 35 to 60%, which can be considered as sufficient.

Women belongs to teaching profession have been able to get a satisfactory, in fact higher percentage of representation in some Lok Sabhas, but during few Lok Sabhas, for instance 2nd and 9th Lok Sabha the percentage is lesser.

Women belonged to former ruling class was nominal during the 1st House but have increased substantially during the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th House; apart from these classes few other women having different profession had entered in Lok Sabha but nominal in percentage.

So far the Agriculture is concerned, women having such background begins with 9% during the 1st Lok Sabha but during the 7th Lok Sabha members having Social and political activities background headed with 45% , again during 10th Lok Sabha women with Agricultural background reduced to 24%.

In average also Women Parliamentarian belonged to Social - Political workers group leading with 46.50%, followed by Agricultural family with 18.60%, Teaching with 11.90%, Ex-Ruling class with 6.85% and other were less then 3 percents.

Second Hypothesis is, it is assumed that the 1st Lok Sabha had been consisted of few candidates (women) who have had previous experiences of British Legislature and few were new. And at the same time the other (2nd to 10th Lok Sabha) are also consisted of partially the women who had previous experiences of either previous parliament or state legislature and partially of fresh and new faces.

The hypothesis stands correct , which is evident from the **Table - B**.

It is found in the study that the 1st Lok Sabha consisted with 50-50, experienced and new faces. The ratio of percentage of the other 9 houses were as follows:

48:52 ; 65:35 ; 80:20; 77:23; 74:26; 68.5:31.5; 62:38; 51:49 & 70:30% from the 2nd to 10th Lok Sabha the ratio is divided as between the Experienced : New (Fresh) Parliamentarian.

The average division is 64.5% women parliamentarian were experienced where as 35.5% women were new to parliament.

TABLE - B
LEVEL OF ENTRANCE

	1ST	2ND	3RD	4TH	5TH	6TH	7TH	8TH	9TH	10TH	AVG%
Central or Provincial Legislature	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.25%
Constituent Assembly or Provincial Legislature	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1%
State Legislature or CA or PL	5	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.25%
State Legislature	-	2	6	8	2	4	8	4	3	7	15%
Parliament	-	6	12	10	9	8	5	10	6	10	26%
State Legislature and Parliament	-	3	2	7	6	1	5	12	5	10	16%
Local Bodies	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	1%
Freshers	11	14	12	6	5	5	9	17	14	12	35.5%
TOTAL	22	27	34	31	22	19	28	44	28	39	

Third Hypothesis is that as the Indian Parliament based on the system of equal representation therefore every state must have sent sufficient number of women representative to Lok Sabha . According to Article 81 (2) (a) there shall be allotted to each state a number of seats in the House of the People in such a manner that the ratio between that number and the population of the state , is so far as practicable, the same for the all state; this hypothesis does not stand correct. The cause would be clear with **Table - C**.

The table shows that the states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar , Madhya Pradesh, Maharastra , Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal have invariably returned women member in the Lok Sabha; the state of Gujrat , Kerala, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Delhi have returned women representation intermittently ; the state of Assam only returned women representative in Lok Sabha till the 6th House , After that no trace of women representative to Lok Sabha is found from this State.

TABLE - C
GEOGRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION

	1ST	2ND	3RD	4TH	5TH	6TH	7TH	8TH	9TH	10TH	AVG%
Andhra Pradesh	-	3	4	3	3	1	2	2	5	2	
		11%	12%	10%	14%	5%	7%	4.5%	18%	5%	8.7%
Arunachal Pradesh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Assam	1	2	2	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	
	4.5%	7%	6%	3%	4.5%	11%					3.6%
Bihar	2	5	7	4	1	-	5	7	3	3	
	9%	18%	20%	13%	4.5%		18%	17%	11%	8%	11.85%
Delhi	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	
	4.5%	4%			9%			2%			2%
Gujrat	2	1	2	1	-	1	-	2	-	2	
	9%	4%	6%	3%		5%		4.5%		5%	3.65%
Goa	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	
							3.5%	2%			.55%
Haryana	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	
						5%			2.5%		.75%
Himachal Pradesh	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	4.5%	4%									.85%
Jammu & Kashmir	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	
						11%		2%			1.3%
Kerala	1	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	2	
	4.5%			3%	4.5%		3.5%		3.5%	5%	2.4%
Madhya Pradesh	3	4	5	5	3	1	3	2	3	5	
	14%	15%	15%	16%	4%	5%	11%	4.5%	11%	13%	10.85%
Meghalaya	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Maharastra	1	2	2	3	1	3	3	3	2	3	
	5%	7%	6%	9.5%	4.5%	16%	11%	7%	7%	8%	8.1%
Manipur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Karnataka	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	3	
						5%		4.5%	3.5%	8%	2.1%
Nagaland	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	
						5%					.50%
Orissa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	
								2%		2.5%	.50%
Punjab	1	1	-	2	-	-	2	1	2	2	
	4.5%	4%		6%			7%	2%	7%	5%	3.55%
Rajasthan	-	-	1	1	2	-	1	2	1	4	
			3%	3%	9%		3.5%	4.5%	3.5%	10%	3.65%
Sikkim	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	
								2%		3.5%	.55%
Tamil Nadu	2	1	3	-	1	2	-	2	2	3	
	9%	4%	9%		4.5%	11%		4.5%	7%	8%	5.7%
Tripura	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
										3.5%	.35%
Uttar Pradesh	6	3	6	8	6	2	8	11	6	3	
	27%	11%	17%	26%	27%	11%	28.5%	25%	21.5%	8%	20.2%
West Bengal	1	3	2	2	1	2	2	5	2	3	
	4.5%	11%	6%	6%	4.5%	11%	7%	12%	7%	8%	7.7%
Mizoram	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
TOTAL	22	27	34	31	22	19	28	44	28	39	

The state of Jammu and Kashmir , Karnataka, Nagaland, Orissa , Sikkim have not returned any women representative to Lok Sabha till 5th House. After that their representation is still meagre. The state of Goa , Haryana , Tripura may also be included in the above category.

The state of Himachal Pradesh has not been able to return a single women since the 3rd Lok Sabha.

The most unfortunate state who were unable to return a single women to the Lower House since the independence or their formation are , Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Manipur , Mizoram and it would be relevant to mention that all these states are located in the North Eastern India. The position of other North Eastern States such as Nagaland , Tripura have already been mentioned that their representation have been negligible or inadequate .

The contribution of states according to average , above 20% goes to Uttar Pradesh precisely 20.2%. Above 10% are Bihar with 11.85%, Madhya Pradesh with 10.85%. Above 5% are Andhra Pradesh with 8.7%, Maharastra with 8.1% , Tamil Nadu with 5.7% and West Bengal with 7.7% .Below 5% are Assam with 3.60, Delhi with 1.95 , Gujrat with 3.65 , Jammu & Kashmir with 1.30, Kerala with 2.40, Karnataka with 2.10, Punjab with 3.55 and Rajasthan with 3.65%.

Below 1% on an average are Goa, Haryana , Himachal Pradesh , Nagaland, Orissa, Sikkim and Tripura. But states of Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Manipur and Mizoram are NIL.

The **Fourth Hypothesis** was that a woman member of Parliament can go easily on Foreign Tour as Government Delegate,

This hypothesis was made after the interview conducted with the women members of 10th Lok Sabha as they were busy in making and chalking out their programme to attend the World Women Conference held at Beijing in China in 1995.

The hypothesis stands partially correct , because the **Table - D** shows that though the strength of women members who have been to Foreign Countries has recorded a consistent increase , in the 1st Lok Sabha altogether 41% had been to Foreign Countries , but out of that 19% only visited as Indian

Delegation whereas 22% were visited on their own. As delegation except 10th Lok Sabha the percentage increased upto 46.5% (During the 7th Lok Sabha).

TABLE - D
FOREIGN TOURS

	1ST	2ND	3RD	4TH	5TH	6TH	7TH	8TH	9TH	10TH	AVG%
As Delegate	4 19%	7 26%	7 21%	9 29%	8 36%	6 31%	13 46.5%	14 32%	8 38%	39 100%	37.85%
Non- Delegate	5 22%	7 26%	15 37%	14 45%	7 32%	6 31%	8 28.5%	19 43%	10 36%		30%
Non Travelled	13 59%	13 48%	12 35%	8 26%	7 32%	7 38%	7 25%	11 25%	10 36%		32.4%
TOTAL	22	27	34	31	22	19	28	44	28	39	

Non official visit to abroad increased from 22% to 45% during the 4th Lok Sabha and 43% during the 8th Lok Sabha.

Fifth Hypothesis is that each Lok Sabha must have been dominated by the women of middle aged group (46-55 yrs.)

TABLE - E
AGE COMPOSITION

	1ST	2ND	3RD	4TH	5TH	6TH	7TH	8TH	9TH	10TH	AVG%
25-35	3 14%	2 7%	4 12%	3 10%	3 14%	-	-	3 7%	3 10.5%	6 15%	8.95%
36-45	5 23%	13 48%	19 56%	9 29%	6 27%	3 16%	7 25%	10 23%	7 25%	11 28%	30%
46-55	7 32%	9 33%	5 14%	12 39%	11 50%	10 53%	10 36%	17 39%	10 36%	11 28%	36%
56-65	4 18%	1 4%	4 12%	5 16%	1 4.5%	5 26%	10 36%	9 20%	5 18%	7 18%	17.25%
66-75	1 4%	1 4%	-	1 3%	1 4.5%	1 3.5%	1 3.5%	5 11%	3 10.5%	3 8%	5.2%
75 and above	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 3%	0.3%
Non-Available	2 9%	1 4%	2 6%	1 3%	-	-	-	1 2%	-	-	2.4%
TOTAL	22	27	34	31	22	19	28	44	28	39	

The Hypothesis is correct. The **Table- E** shows that, the age group between 46 to 55 is over occupies then 36 to 45; in 7 Lok sabhas this age group is leading, in one Lok Sabha it is ties up with the age group between 36 to 45, and in two houses 46 to 55 is in second position. In average also the age group between 46 to 55 is leading with 36% followed by 36 to 45 with 30%.

But the age group between 36 to 45 and 46 to 55 constitutes together Lok Sabha wise 55,81,70,68,77,69,61,62,61 and 56% from first to 10th Lok Sabha respectively.

Causes of such leading may be explained as, the women of this age group are less likely to have small children in their care and are comparatively free to devote their time in Politics. One more reason may be mentioned here that the social inhibitions which prevents young members from coming out in the open are also absent in their case. This is evident from the percentage of the younger members (25 to 35) which begins with 14% , some where it is nil also, and in average it is 8.95 (9)% overall.

Being the highest legislative Body (Parliament) the **Sixth Hypothesis** made that most of the women must be qualified, means have minimum educational qualification of graduation or even more than this.

TABLE -F
LEVEL OF EDUCATION

	1ST	2ND	3RD	4TH	5TH	6TH	7TH	8TH	9TH	10TH	AVG%
Secondary and below	9 40%	6 22%	4 12%	7 23%	3 13.5%	5 26%	9 32%	15 34%	8 28.5%	7 18%	24.9%
Graduation, Post Graduate & Others	12 55%	16 59%	22 65%	22 71%	18 82%	14 74%	19 68%	29 66%	20 71.5%	32 82%	69.35%
Not Available	1 5%	5 19%	8 23%	2 6%	1 4.5%	-	-	-	-	-	5.75%
TOTAL	22	27	34	31	22	19	28	44	28	39	

This Hypothesis is correct, the **Table - F** shows that, majority of women members of each Lok Sabha had have been to college or University. The percentage of these women have recorded a consistent increase. In the first Lok Sabha the percentage of above ladies were 55% which reached upto 82% during 10 Lok Sabha . This indicates that college and university educated women have better chances of being elected to the Lok Sabha. This trend is logical for a country where the general rate of literacy is only 36%, according to census-report, Government of India,1981, and the rate of women literacy is only 24.88% ; The percentage of secondary or less educated women have been declined from 40 to 18% , this shows the intention of the electorate to elect the educated women too.

Indian modern womanhood is the result of long struggle of women against the reason less barriers which were placed on them by the male dominated society. Therefore, it is **Hypothesised (7TH)** that at least 70% or more than that women parliamentarian must have participated actively in the parliamentary business.

TABLE - G
PARTICIPATION IN DEBATES

	1ST	2ND	3RD	4TH	5TH	6TH	7TH	8TH	9TH	10TH	AVG%
Nil	7 29%	9 33%	11 29%	12 39%	6 27.5%	NA	8 29%	11 23%	23 82%	4 10%	33.5%
1 - 50	17 71%	17 63%	27 71%	8 26%	11 50%	NA	6 22%	18 41%	5 18%	19 49%	45.6%
51 -100	-	1 4%	-	2 6.5%	2 9%	NA	4 14%	3 7%	-	11 28%	7.6%
101 - 400	-	-	-	7 22%	1 4.5%	NA	9 32%	10 23%	-	5 13%	10.5%
Above	-	-	-	2 6.5%	2 9%	NA	1 3%	3 7%	-	-	2.8%

(Average excluding Sixth Lok Sabha)

This hypothesis stands correct, the **Table - G** shows that 33.5% women parliamentarian in average had not participated in the parliamentary business.

Even if there is a great variation lies with other 66.5% participant women parliamentarian. The Participation is not at all equal. According to their participation four categories are made, and the placing of questions from one to 50 (1-50) is found in highest numbers, though during Ninth House it is found that 82% women parliamentarian had not participated and 18% had placed questions in between 1 to 50 it seemed natural because the House existed only for one and half years. During the 7th Lok Sabha the participants in between 1-50 were 22%, but during this term 32% women parliamentarian placed questions in between 100 to 400. Apart from these two houses (9th,7th), in between 1 to 50 questions the percentage of women participants were in between 41% to 71%, and in average it is 45.60%.

During 6th House few women parliamentarian had placed questions between 50 to 100.

During 5th house few women parliamentarian had placed questions between 100 to 400 and above 400 questions were placed by maximum 9% women during the 5th Lok Sabha, 7% during 8th Lok Sabha, 6.5 during 4th Lok Sabha and 3% during 7th Lok Sabha.

Therefore though approximately 67% women members had participated in the parliamentary business but with variations.

Women had been the subject of long suffering, therefore it is **Assumed** that they must have placed maximum question related to women development in India.

The above **Hypothesis (8th) does** not stand, because the Table - **H**, shows that, except 10th Lok Sabha, during other houses miscellaneous questions are in leading position. During the 10th House highest questions were placed on National Issues whereas during other houses the questions related national interest occupied the second position.

So far the questions on women issues are concerned it was maximum during 1st Lok Sabha 14% and minimum was less than 1% means 0.90% during 4th and 5th Lok Sabha.

In average, after the miscellaneous questions the position is as questions on National Interest with 23.5%; on concerned state with 9.20%; on

International Relations and UNO with 7.90%; on Indian Railways with 5%; Women with 4.10% and lastly on SC and ST with 3.30%; This shows very poor response to women questions by women parliamentarian.

TABLE - H
PARTICIPATION IN DEBATES

(According to Subjects/Issues)

	1ST	2ND	3RD	4TH	5TH	6TH	7TH	8TH	9TH	10TH	AVG%
National	41 24%	56 19%	92 23.5%	578 24%	305 13%	NA	646 22%	1081 22%	4 20%	920 44.5%	23.5%
State	3 1.75%	12 4%	9 2.5%	147 6%	599 25%	NA	430 14%	545 11%	2 10%	170 8.5%	9.2%
Railways	14 8%	18 6%	19 5%	145 6%	218 9%	NA	155 5%	145 3%	-	51 2.5%	5%
SC/ST	5 3%	11 4%	15 4%	38 2%	62 2.5%	NA	42 1.5%	44 1%	2 10%	32 1.5%	3.3%
Women	24 14%	18 6%	4 1%	22 .9%	21 .9%	NA	117 4%	157 3%	1 5%	47 2.5%	4.1%
International Relation & UNO	6 3.5%	20 7%	28 7%	204 9%	97 4%	NA	316 10.5%	535 11%	2 10%	188 9%	7.9%
Miscellaneous	78 45.5%	161 54%	224 57%	1246 52%	1060 45.5%	NA	1300 43%	2375 49%	9 45%	653 31.5%	47%
TOTAL	171	296	391	2380	2362	NA	3006	4882	20	2061	

It is **Assumed** that if the women parliamentarian have participated in the legislation and in introducing Bill, then they must have introduced more bills on Women emancipation and to fill up the loopholes in the existing laws and Act for women.

This **Hypothesis (9TH)** is correct to a great extent. Because the **Table - I**, shows that, Total Number of 209 Bills from 1950 till 1994, (1950 to 1994 Lok Sabha; 1952 to 1989 Rajya Sabha together) were introduced by women parliamentarian. In average the women bills number is undoubtedly is less, 66 out of 209 means 31.5% .

TABLE - I
BILL INTRODUCED BY WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIAN

Duration	No of Bills Introduced	Passed	Lapsed	Not known	Bills on Women	Passed
1950-51	3	1	2	-	2	-
1952-57	26	6	17	3	17	1
1958-62	14	3	10	1	4	-
1963-67	16	6	5	5	-	-
1968-70	3	-	3	-	2	-
1971-77	26	17	9	-	2	-
1978-79	4	-	2	2	-	-
1980-84	37	3	31	3	14	-
1985-89	43	9	16	18	13	4
1990-91	14	-	11	3	5	-
1991-94	23	-	-	23	7	-
TOTAL	209	45	106	58	66/209	5/66
		21.5%	50.75%	27.75%	31.5%	7.5%

But duration wise from 1950-51; 1952-57 and 1968 to 1970 more than 65% bills were on women, During 1980-84; 1990-91 the bill were more than 35%, During 1958-62, 1985-90, and 1991 to 1994 the number of women bills were more than 25% ;

In average the percentage is reduced to 31.5% because from 1963 to 1967 and during the 1978-79 no bill were introduced on women at the same time during 1971-77 only 7.70% bills were on women, introduced by women parliamentarian. If these three duration are not included the percentage goes upto 45.

Parliament is the highest legislative body in India, while formulating the constitution of India the framers made the reservation of seats on the basis of caste but, forget to reserve seats for them, who constitutes the 50% of the total population as well as 50% of total electorate too. They were no body but "WOMEN" in Society.

Therefore the question on "RESERVATION OF SEATS ON CASTE BASED WHY NOT ON GENDER BASED"! has its own relevance.

Previous studies and chapters made it clear that women have significant role in the socio-economic structure of the society; and they are the subject too of different violence such as social, economical, mental, physical etc.

The political participation of women has been a question of major dilemma since long back! On the one hand The Constitution of India declares that , it is

the fundamental right of every citizen to contribute to the decision making process. It is in fact, the duty of the citizen which is based on the presumption that each member has adequate means and conditions to achieve a full realisation of his or her personality as an entity in society. The New Delhi document on Women Development (1985) recognised that despite the growth of informal political activity by women, their role in the formal political structure had virtually remained unchanged. Various studies refer to the fact of marginalisation of women in all sectors including political and despite the proclamation of "**GENDER-EQUALITY**" in various legal and constitutional provisions. The presence and participation of women in formal democratic process have been awfully inadequate at all the levels-Centre, States and local/grassroots. Consequently women oriented policies and programmes are neither formulated nor implemented with the desired women perspective. The Declaration of the World Conference of United Nation held in Nairobi in 1985 also affirmed

"Women by virtue of equal access to power structure discrimination in terms of denial of their Gender, experience discrimination in terms of equal access to power structure that controls society and determines development issues and peace initiative"-

For true equality to become a reality for women, the sharing of power on equal terms with men should be the major strategy, so that they can play an effective role in decision making process, specially where various policies have direct bearing on their well-being. This realisation has led to a constant search for evolving a set of strategies for participation of women in decision making position at all levels.

Empowerment of women for effective participation at various levels in Panchayet Raj Institution (PRI) has been discussed and debated in different forums particularly from 1957 onwards. The issue was first brought in focus in Balwant Rai Mehta Committee Report in 1957, which recommended induction of two women members in Panchayats to carry on the specific programmes for women and children. Same proposal was recommended by CSWI in their report "Towards Equality in 1975" (Chapter VII).

First concrete measure to give constitutional sanction to it was taken by Sri Rajiv Gandhi's Government by introducing 64th Constitution Amendment

Bill on Local Government on 15th May, 1989. The Bill aimed to revitalise panchayati Raj Institution, by bringing changes in their Powers, structures and functions. The Bill was defeated with a small margin in Rajya Sabha. Narshima Rao's Government had been successful in enacting the Constitution 73rd and 74th Amendment Act, which includes various provisions for strengthening Panchayats at all levels, including 33% reservation of seats for the women at Panchayat, Cities, Towns, Municipalities and Municipal Corporation .

So far as the contribution of women in Parliament is concerned, they have not been an exception to this. Changing atmosphere in Parliament was too affected them, the lady members who give precedents to matter of public interest over party politics feel isolated . They have to lost their importance in their party . In parliament they get limited time to speak.

The internal politics of the party becomes so overwhelming that they are unable to contact other lady members of parliament. The principles and policies of their party always prevent them from establishing such interaction. Veena Verma (Member , Rajya Sabha) said that she had such experience time and again during her entire parliamentary career. Lady members are not free and frank with one another to the desired extent. The development of their personality hampered due to their party affiliations which limits their interaction and discussions. Lady members of all the parties should come forward, after natural discussion and jointly voice their demands vigorously on National Issues, irrespective of party affiliation so that their voice may become the voice of the entire womanhood. ⁽¹⁾

Various process of social changes which have been followed up since before independence, did not affect the different sections of women in a uniform manner.

Most people will be surprised to know that some of the social laws of India are the boldest in the World. But all these rights are mere printed lines in our law books. In real life the picture is just opposite. The social legislation were enacted with aims to put an end to discrimination against women. The Dowry Prohibition Act was passed in the sixties was amended a few years ago. The suppression of Immoral Trafficking Act was also amended, making the man equally guilty in commercialised prostitution. More teeth have been provided

to the Rape Law and the law concerning Indecent Exhibition of Women in Advertisement. On the labour front, there is the Equal Remuneration Act and the Maternity Benefit Act.

But if the laws could have changed status of women, they would now be enjoying the place under the sun. Without any doubt, the major responsibility for this situation goes to our age old system. While the system used technological and economic progress to better the life styles of the educated (men), the system made women the victim of conservatism and revivalism. Male laws makers have neglected to create the right machinery for the implementation of our laws.

While on the one hand, there has been an increase in the number of Pro-Women laws enacted by the Government along with a growing media consciousness on discrimination and growth in the spread of women's movement, there has been a corresponding rise in violence against women. **Table J** showing the evidence in support of this. ⁽²⁾

TABLE - J

Incidence	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	% Variation		% of Crimes in 1993
						1993 OVER 1989	1993 OVER 1992	
Rape	9150	9518	9793	11112	11742	22.9	1.2	13.4
Kidnapped & Adbuction	11673	11699	12300	12077	11837	1.4	2	14.1
Dowrey Deaths	4215	4836	5157	4962	5817	38	17.2	6.9
Torture	11603	13450	11949	19750	22064	90.2	11.7	26.3
Molestation	20497	20194	20611	20385	20985	2.4	2.9	25
Eve-Teasing	9934	8620	10283	10751	12009	20.9	11.7	14.3
TOTAL	67072	68317	74093	79037	83954	25.2	6.2	100

This is reflective of the diminishing status of women and is telling commentary on the progress we have made as a Society even after 50 years of Independence.

However, as strong sense of responsibility and an overwhelming concern for social approval inhibit the women from self assertion. Basic statistic

according to latest United Nation figures nearly 80.6 percent of Indian women are illiterate, working 10-14 hours daily. Undergoing four to six pregnancies, and running the low income house holds with limited means remaining grim. ⁽³⁾

Women as a force in development are still a largely untied in the country's development planning. Despite all talks about women's involvement in nation building activities, women's access to effective functioning in the affairs of governance, development and local politics is still dependent on the environment in their society and immediate families. It has taken many years for women in rural areas to realise that they do have personalities and lives of their own, that they have a right to develop, to think and live as active participants and partners in the development process and not merely as passive target of propaganda, governmental or otherwise.

Agriculture and Allied fields provide the largest sector for women's employment. It largely determines the rural women's socio economic status. This is the sector where women role as unpaid labour in productive activities is most prominent and is responsible for conferring women a non-working status. ⁽⁴⁾

A majority of women are to be found in the vast rural and urban unorganised sector. According to an estimate by the National Commission on Self Employed Women, 94 percent of the total female work force operates within this highly exploited sector. Employment in this sector is characterised by low pay, long hours of work, low productivity, low skill and lack of job security. ⁽⁵⁾

A recent United Nation report says-Two out of every three people who cannot read or write are women. Women who make up around 50 percent of the World's population, work twice as hard as men, but receives merely 10% of the world's income and own 1% of the world's property. ⁽⁶⁾

Ila Bhatt says- In our country one more problem is there that is the issue of sexual harassment at work. It is a form of discrimination, intimidation which affects the majority of women sometimes during their working life. ⁽⁷⁾

Women's oppression in India has dual character - Economic and Socio-Cultural. Of course both are inter linked. Added to this is the sheer have prevented a women's lobby from being formed effectively. If there has been

great development on the national level, women have been the recipient of only the crumbs of such achievement. The Government's programme or the uplift of the vast number of women have amounted to lip services.

Women who form almost 50% of the country's population are not even 10% of the total members of the National Parliament. It was not better earlier, inspite of all the constitutional and legal guarantees and a galaxy of outstanding women leaders including a Prime Minister for 16 years. Women have not been able to get adequate and proportionate representation in the Lok Sabha, the highest representative body in the country. The 8th Lok Sabha had the distinction of having the largest number of women representative (44) , with the 9th and 10th Lok Sabha showing a decline to 28 and 39 respectively . See pg.37.

FACTORS OF LESS REPRESENTATION

Indian history is standing as an evident that women in India had to scarifies thousands drops of toils and sweat to get equality in every sphere of life. Female political representation was considered as a powerful stimulates for women's education and social reforms, therefore different women's organisation agitated for the women enfranchisement and representation in the legislature during the pre-independent period, which in consequence they received.

With the inauguration of the New Constitution of free-India, a new chapter was begun, the constitution through its Fundamental Right Chapter has given emphasis on equality on the principle of dignity and worth of human person. The Constitution has guaranteed to the people that no discrimination will be made on the ground of sex. (See pg. 36.)

But the Table No. IV of Pg. 37 had proved it that inspite of the factory that women in India constituted almost 50% of the total electorate, the representation of women in Lok Sabha could not accede 8%, and the highest percentage of contestant were 29% during the 8th Lok Sabha.

The factors which have prevented women from being elected to the Lok Sabha proportionate to their electoral , can be summarised as under, In opinion of Dr. J.K. Chopra, a distinguished member of Indian Council of World Affairs

New Delhi - According to the Indian tradition, the proper place for women is within the four walls of her home and her chief duty is to look after her domestic chores. No doubt the traditional position of women has been greatly affected by the various steps in the direction of their emancipation by the grant of equal legal rights. But, the inequalities and disabilities imposed by a tradition of countries can not be easily eradicated. In many sections of Indian Society, the Public appearance of women is still looked down upon by those who do not adhere to these norms faces the risk of 'social ostracism'. Apart from the traditional position there are certain practical hurdles also in the way of women participating in politics. The burden of child bearing and child rearing keeps the Indian women so engrossed in her domestic sphere that she hardly gets any time to enter public life and seek elections. The membership of the Lok Sabha requires the presence of the member at new Delhi for the greater part of the year and keeps the members away from their families. Because at strong attachment to their families women are reluctant to seek elections to the Lok Sabha.

The predominantly agricultural economy is another contributory factor for the low percentage women members in the Lok sabha. The majority of the Indian works in the field as a part of the family unit without claiming any wages. The trend of Urban migration which takes their men folk to the cities for work further increases their burden. With no economic independence and an ever increasing load of works it can hardly be expected from the rural women to take active part in politics. In urban areas no doubt there has been a growing urge amongst middle class women to be economically independent and they have been freely working side by side with men. But, the majority of urban women are still not economically independent of their men folk. Only when they become as economically free as men, will it be possible to develop a large group of women legislators truly representative of the Indian women's interests.

In many cases, women who have the means and the ability to participate in the active public life, are reluctant to offer themselves for the elective offices, because of the expenses and difficulties involved in conducting campaign.

The low percentage of educational amongst Indian women also responsible for the low percentage of their representation in the Lok Sabha. In India before independence the education of girls was mainly confined to

elementary school, with their number dropping sharply in secondary school and becoming almost negligible in college and Universities. Detail of literacy rate in India from 1901 to 1991 is given in **Table -K**.

TABLE - K
ACCORDING TO CENSUS REPORT
BY GOVERNMENT OF INDIA (1901 -1981)

CENSUS DECADES	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
1901	9.83	0.69	5.26
1911	10.56	1.05	5.80
1921	12.21	1.81	7.01
1931	15.59	2.93	9.26
1941	22.6	6.0	14.3
1951	24.95	7.93	16.44
1961	24.44	12.95	23.70
1971	39.45	18.69	29.07
1981	46.74	24.88	36.0

Yet another factor responsible for the low percentage of women members in the Lok Sabha has been the relatively low percentage of women members in profession like law and journalism (**Table - A**).

Thus we find that the low percentage of women in the Lok Sabha has been partly due to their traditional place in society. The reluctance of women members to keep away from their families are the burden of election campaign and their expenses as well as their low rate of literacy and economic dependency on men folk, (See **Table L**).

TABLE - L
PERCENTAGE IN WORK FORCE
(SOURCE CENSUS REPORT)

Percentage of Working Population among Total

PERSONS	33.09	33.44
MALE	52.61	51.23
FEMALE	12.13	14.44

Taking into the consideration the above factor and explanation we may not agree with those persons who speak that there should not be any reservation but "Let Women come up naturally, like Indira Gandhi or even Uma Bharati did" (8).

Apart from all these, **Table -I** shows that there were almost 209 Bills introduced by the women in the parliament. Out of all 66 Bills were on women problem which could be divided into 26 categories. Ten categories were there on which Bill introduced only ones, but on the other categories Bills were introduced time and again. As it has already been mentioned that the laws on women in India are boldest in the world, but the position of Indian Women perhaps worst also in the universe.

According to need and changing phenomenon and time the bills had been introduced but only 5 bills were passed and the fate of other 61 bills of 20 categories were either lapsed or not known.

Taking into consideration Article 39 of the Indian Constitution relating to Directive Principles of State Policy, which has declared that "the State shall in particular directs its policy towards securing that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment. The bill to Regulate and Licence Institutions caring for women and children under 18 years of age introduced five times with a view to stop a large number of bogus children's houses and orphanage which are exploiting the destitute women and children with their inhuman activities. But none of the Bills could have passed. (Pg. 248.)

The bar against transfer of property by a Hindu widow was prescribed many centuries ago in the interest of the widow to save her from unscrupulous persons. The condition of the society have now entirely changed. A childless is now hardly looked after or maintained by her relations as before, as she is now to protect her interests herself, it is therefore desirable that a childless widow should be given the freedom to alienate the property which she has inherited to meet her necessities. They should be conferred upon absolute right over such property, but the Bill on Hindu Law Governing childless Widow's Right to property also could not passed. (Pg. 251.)

Three bills were introduced to reduce the number of Divorces, it is said that women should get the right to the property of the husband, to feel herself

economically secured, but these bills were could not come up for discussion and lapsed.

Four bills were introduced to amend the Cr.P.C. 1973, first was to amend the Indian Penal Laws to provide deterrent punishment to the dowry offenders , second was that Rs.500 is not sufficient money for a deserted wife as maintenance; and two bills were also concerned with Hindu Marriage Act,1955, to give protection to the married women, as their life are effected because of maximum influence of western culture in our society. Perhaps all this bills were important but none of them were passed. (Pg. 265.)

Two bills were introduced for the Payment of Maternity and Medical Benefit to Women, in 1958 and in 1969 but none of the bills were passed. Though in 1988 a Bill was passed known as The Maternity Benefit (Amendment), Bill 1988, Bill No. XLIX-F of 1987.

Seeta Parmanand's Bill to amend the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act,1956 had also lapsed. In which nothing except the increase of the Boys age from 5 to 10 years under Mothers Custody and girls age till marriage was demanded.

Two Bills were introduced by Smt. Gopalon and Smt. Ghosh Goswami to provide welfare to the working women in industries and other establishment. They said that the existing facilities were not sufficient and satisfactory for them as well as for their children. Existing Act has so many loopholes for the employer to escape even without fulfilling the needs. Both the Bills were lapsed even without discussion.

Smt. Geeta Mukherjee in her Bills -The Problem of Unemployment stated that most of the industries, including the match and tobacco are retrenching the women employees, and for some families women are not only the bread earner but sole family runner, therefore to solve the ever increasing problem 25% of all the jobs in public industry, government service and educational institutions should be reserved. But this bill had also been lapsed without discussion.

Smt. Gopalan had also introduced a Bill for the reservation in job for women which had also lapsed.

One of the most important Bill was introduced by Smt. Usha Prakash Chowdhury in 1982, the bill could not come up for discussion and lapsed, whereas it was supposed to be passed according to subject matter. The Bill was to Abolish the Practices of Devdasi and Murlis. The Practice which snatches the right of a girl to family; a child's right of his or her father's name, recognition of society, the system which is only advice to meet the urge of lustful person to exploit helpless and innocent girls.

Two Bill were also could not come up for discussions and lapsed were on compulsory Registration of Marriage in India.

Four Bills were concerned with protection of Civil Rights of Married Women had to face the same fate as the other above written Bill had faced.

There were two bills on Prohibition of Tests for Pre-Birth Sex determination and two bills were to amend the Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act, 1971, but none of them were discussed. The aim of all four bills were to stop the Female Infanticide, to stop the misuse of the Act, to avoid the imbalance in male-female ratio.

Jayanti Patnaik's Bill to amend the marriage laws for the purpose to give the part of property as alimony to the divorcee wife, had also been lapsed.

Other bills, Mother's Linage Bill, working women welfare bill and widow welfare bills. All were lapsed, even most of the bills in the house could not discussed which is nothing but humiliate the women member of the parliament as well as to humiliate the whole women society.

Not the non-passing but the non-discussion of the bills shows the dominating character of male society, because all of the above written subjects were important and related to effective matter in the society. Only 19 or maximum 44 women among 544, what can they do or capable of doing anything ! The representation seems few drops of waters in the ocean or may be said a hut or few hut of papers which can not exist in a violent storm .Point to note that maximum of the Bills which had lapsed were introduced in connection of CSWI's report.

During the independence movement, the pattern and movement of the struggle was quiet different till Mahatma Gandhi joined it, as soon as he joined,

he had insisted the mass to join the movement including the women. The joining of mass had given a new turn to the freedom struggle.

Therefore, if the women's participation could have the power to change the fate of British India, why they can't now? But the prevailing socio-economic, political culture system resists them to contest the election and to enter parliament. Therefore the Reservation is the only way that can provide women's possibility to enter into, and can change the fate of millions of women through the enactment of vital legislation and Bills. The majority of 33% or 181 women can easily create pressure on the majority to get pass the important bills.

Subject to note that taking into consideration the factors, purpose and process of violence against women, Government appointed the Committee on the Status of Women in India to make a study on above subject, Consequently a National Perspective Plan for Women was prepared in 1988, but the ever increasing crimes against women have proved the failure of the plan. Actually plan needs policies, policies are needed actual implementation which depends upon the desire of the Government Machineries. Though few recommendation have been implemented such as Family Courts, Reservation at Panchayat level, Setting up of National Commission for Women, etc.

According to CSWI report :

Demands were raised from groups of women in some States for a system of reservation for women in the legislative bodies in the States and in Parliament. The details are in below:

The difficulties being experienced by women in obtaining adequate representation and spokesmen of their cause in these bodies, and the declining trend in the number of women legislation is the result of the reluctance of political parties to sponsor women candidates. The parties reflect the established values of a male dominated society, which would be difficult to alter without certain structural changed in the socio-political set up. The parties would continue to pay lip service to the cause of women's progress and the policy of 'tokenism' by having a few women in the legislative and executive wings of government whose minority and dependent status offer serious obstacles of their acting as spokesmen for women's rights and opportunities.

If this process continues over a period of time more and more women, losing faith in the political process to change their condition in life, opt out of the political system and become either passive partners or rebels. In the present context in India the greater majority would undoubtedly follow the first path because most of them have not shaken off the feelings of subjugation and inferiority generated by centuries of subordination.

A system of reservation of a proportion of seats for women in these bodies would provide an impetus to both the women as well as to the political parties to give a fairer deal to nearly half the population in the various units of government. If women enter these bodies in larger number the present inhibitions that result from their minority position in these institutions may disappear faster and give them greater freedom to articulate their views.

A system of reservation may also increase the women legislator's sense of responsibility and concern for the problems affecting women, thus ensuring the presence of a body of spokesmen of the women's cause in the representative bodies of the States. Such a system would also help to increase the degree of political mobilisation of women both in the electorate and within the parties.

Therefore perhaps this (Reservation) is the most and only important path for the proper emancipation of women, even if economic source plays an important role in the life of women, but they are the subject to be exploited through the unequal distribution of wages in different working sectors. Different laws and acts have been made by the Government of India, but all of them are full of loopholes, which is one of the cause of ever increasing of violences and crimes against women in India.

Thus reservation of 33% for women in Lok Sabha might replace the theoretical words of preamble of the constitution of India, into reality the words are-

***“JUSTICE - SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL;
LIBERTY OF THOUGHTS EXPRESSION, BELIEF, FAITH AND WORSHIP;
EQUALITY OF STATUS AND OF OPPORTUNITY;”***

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