

**WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION IN THE  
FIFTEENTH LOK SABHA: A STUDY OF SELECT DEBATES**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University*

*for the award of the degree of*

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

**PRAGYA MILIND**



**CENTRE FOR POLITICAL STUDIES**

**SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY**

**NEW DELHI-110067**

**INDIA**

**2017**



JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY  
CENTRE FOR POLITICAL STUDIES  
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
New Delhi-110067

Telephone No : 011-26704413 Fax : 011-26741504  
email : cpsjnu09@gmail.com

Date: 26<sup>th</sup> July 2017

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "**Women's Representation and Participation in the Fifteenth Lok Sabha: A Study of Select Debates**" submitted by me for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** at Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. This dissertation has not been submitted for the award of any other degree either at this University or any other University.

Pragya Milind

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Prof. Shefali Jha  
(CHAIRPERSON)

 CHAIRPERSON  
Centre for Political Studies  
School of Social Sci  
Jawaharlal Nehru  
New Delhi - 11006

Prof. Narender Kumar  
(SUPERVISOR)

 SUPERVISOR  
Centre for Political Studies  
School of Social Sciences  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi - 110067

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Writing this dissertation was a very fruitful experience for me. I have successfully completed dissertation entitled “Women’s Representation and Participation in the Fifteenth Lok Sabha: A Study of Select Debates” by my efforts. In completing this dissertation many helping hands gave immense support to me. On successful completion of this, now I have this opportunity to thank all those who encouraged me time to time.

Foremost, I would like to express my deep sense of gratitude to my supervisor **Prof. Narender Kumar** for motivating and guiding me whenever I feel. He provided research friendly atmosphere to me. He was always present there to guide me everything on the topic what I desire and also provided suggestions regularly. He gave me this golden opportunity to complete my research work successfully.

I would also like to thank the entire faculty of my Centre for Political Studies especially Prof. Anupama Roy, Prof. Shefali Jha, Prof. Gurpreet Mahajan, Dr. Amir Ali, Dr. Papia Sebgupta and Dr. Sudhir Kumar Suthar for cooperating and providing me valuable suggestions. I am also thankful to all the staff members of the B. R. Ambedkar Library of Jawaharlal Nehru University, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and Parliament Library.

I devote my special thanks to Prof. Sartik Bagh, Prof. Ripu Sudan Singh, Shashikant Pandey (Associate Professor) and Siddharth Mukherjee (Assistant Professor) of Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar Central University of Lucknow who all endowed me with great comments on my work and suggesting me great comments.

Personally, I would like to extend my sincere thanks to Dr. Ajay Bharti and Dr. Shaifali Singh for helping me every moment. I am very much thankful to my friends Arvind Kumar, Bhupendra Ahirwar, Aishwarya Bhattacharyya and Vrinda Acharya for their joyful meetings so that I completed the writing of the dissertation in a very cheerful and peaceful manner.

I would like to thank all of my family members who motivated me in finishing the research work during the period of the study. My special thanks to my Grandfather. I would like to express my deep sense of gratefulness to my parents who provided me every kind of support and cooperation in completing my research work. My father guided me all the time when I was in need. He provided ample support and help in concluding this work. I would like to express my hearty thanks to my brother Rahul who provided me with a sense of strength and resiliency.

Lastly, I would like to thank all those I may have to take their names but they might have helped me directly or indirectly completing the dissertation.

However, if any shortcoming or mistake is found on the part of the dissertation, I will be solely responsible for that.

NEW DELHI

PRAGYA MILIND

## ABBREVIATIONS

AGP	Assam Gan Parishad
AIADMK	All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
AIFB	All India Forward Block
AIMIM	All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen
AITC	All India Trinamool Congress
AIWC	All India Women's Conference
BJD	Biju Janata Dal
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
BSP	Bahujan Samaj Party
BVA	Bahujan VikasAaghadi
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPI (M)	Communist Party of India (Marxist)
Ind.	Independent member
INC	Indian National Congress
INM	Indian National Movement
JD (S)	Janata Dal (Secular)
JD (U)	Janata Dal (United)
JMM	Jharkhand Mukti Morcha
JVM (P)	Jharkhand Vikas Morcha (Prajanatrik)
J&KNC	Jammu and Kashmir National Conference
KC (M)	Kerala Congress (M)

MPs	Members of Parliament
NCRB	National Crime Records Bureau
NCW	National Commission for Women
NFDW	National Federation of Dalit Women
RLD	Rashtriya Lok Dal
SAD	Shiromani Akali Dal
SDF	Sikkim Democratic Front
SP	Samajwadi Party
SS	Shiv Sena
TDP	Telugu Desam Party
TRS	Telangana Rashtra Samiti
UN	United Nations
VCK	Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Katchi
WRB	Women's Reservation Bill

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## CHAPTER-1

### Introduction

*“One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman. No biological, psychological or economic fate determines the figures that the human female presents in society; it is civilization as a whole that produces this creature, intermediate between male and eunuch, which is described as feminine.”*

*-Simone de Beauvoir*

#### 1.1: Background

Women have been regarded as inferior in all the societies of the world. They never gained equal status as men have since ages in human history. They have been denied of political, social and economic rights. Although they constitute *half of the total population* in the world but they never enjoyed equality with men. They suffer deprivation in all spheres so their consideration is must. They were given second status and were confined to household works (Freedman, 2002, p. 10).

For many centuries the rights of the people were limited and to the limited people. The excluded and discriminated category of people includes the slaves, property-less people, illiterate people, people of colour, uncivilized people, indigenous people of countries conquered and annexed by foreigners, people of particular race and women. These people were not treated well through the Ancient times, Medieval times and even during beginning of Modern times. There has been a long history of struggles by people to get their legitimate rights.

The first Charter in the history of Human Rights came to be known as the '*Magna Carta*' constituting fundamental rights and privileges which were given to barons in 1215. The rights were limited and the process of exploitation of different people was continuing.

When women realized their presence in society as being exploited they started raising their voices against men and began demanding equal status as men being human beings.

It can be traced back to Ancient Civilizations of Greece and China. Ancient Greek Philosophers have advocated for equality of all human beings. Plato was the first Greek philosopher who advocated for universal law of equality. He encouraged women to enter in public life and to take decisions among men and to move from traditional domestic roles to public life. "*Book of the City of Ladies (1405)*" written by *Christine de Pisan* is the first literary book that became inspiration for women to get right to education and political influence. Then there was silence for centuries during the Medieval period that was the phase of Colonialism and Imperialism.

During the phase the Dutch, the French and the British were establishing their colonies in different parts of the world. After establishing colonies, they started ruling over the countries and captured the power of governance in their hands. Till 18<sup>th</sup> century almost whole world came under the power of the British Empire. The 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries were the era of colonial powers. The colonial powers exploited the colonised countries all over the world. The rights of the indigenous people were curtailed. As a result, during the Enlightenment Era the great philosophers emerged with their theories of natural rights.

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) talked about virtual unlimited rights of man that can be surrendered completely on entering civil society which results in the establishment of absolute governmental authority where as John Locke (1632-1704) talked about partial surrender of rights when entering to civil society that leads to limited government. John Locke defined the natural rights of man "as the rights to life, liberty and property". On the grounds that Man has inalienable right to life, liberty and property, the English Revolution of 1640s and the English Rebellion of 1688 took place against oppressive rule. Locke's theory maintains that if government violates the rights of citizens then it can be overthrown (Maheshwari, 2013, p. 263).

Rousseau (1712-1778) talked of political freedoms and rights but he was not much concerned for women. People of France were greatly influenced by his political philosophy that really helped in Enlightenment in France and Europe. His philosophy later influenced the aspects of French Revolution.

Though there were struggles going on against the illegitimate exploitative ruling by the peoples for their rights being humans in different parts of the world. Amidst this, the French Revolution and American Revolution took place. The “*American Declaration of Independence (1776)*” and the “*French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens (1789)*” affirmed “*that all men are created equal and possess inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness*” (Maheshwari, 2013, p. 263). The French Revolution in France from 1789 to 1799 ended with the collapse of the monarchy as King Louis XVI was executed in 1793 and Napoleon Bonaparte taking power in 1799 became Emperor in 1804. The French Revolution gave the world the three golden ideals of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity included later in Indian Constitution. Simultaneously, new feminist wave emerged against exclusion of women in the French Declaration when French lady Olympe de Gouges demanded for rights of women. She came forward with her monograph “*A Declaration of the Rights of Women and Citizen (1791)*” to counter attack “*A Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen (1789)*” framed by National Assembly of France. She argued that when women are equal as men then why they are excluded from active political citizenship. On the one side, French Revolutionaries were raising slogans of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity and on the other side women started raising their voices to be given equal citizenship rights as men.

Mary Wollstoncraft came up with her monograph “*A Vindication of the Rights of Women (1792)*” that is regarded as the ‘*first key feminist text*’ that explained and championed the idea of women’s human rights (Kaur, 2009, p. 124). Getting motivated and inspired, women of other countries started raising their voices for civil and political rights as equal to men. “*Declaration of the Sentiments and Resolutions (1848)*” adopted by “*Seneca Falls Convention*” claimed to include women rights as well in the “*American Declaration of Independence*”. “*National Women Suffrage Association*” founded by *Elizabeth Cady Stanton* and *Susan B. Anthony* became a next milestone in this series of gaining rights for women. Mrs. Harriet Taylor played leading role in Britain. John Stuart Mill put forward the question of rights of women in the House of Commons in 1867 and his document “*Essay on the Subjection of Women (1869)*” strongly favoured the advantages to society giving full civil and political rights to women (Kaur, 2009, p. 124).

Marx, Engels, and Lenin also talk of equality of men and women. As Marx considered women as a class and declared that all have equal rights. According to the theory of Class struggle one class exploits other class and this is with the women which should not be favoured at any cost.

In Indian Vedic period, Rigveda states the importance of women in society as they were active in private and public sphere both but Manusmriti depicts the overall opposite picture of women. They were subordinated and were disrespected often by men. Code of Manu made women lives miserable and deteriorated. However, women crossed feet from their homes in modern times in India being active participants of the Freedom Struggle of India. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidya Sagar, Keshub Chandra Sen, Mahatma Gandhi, Mahatma Phule, Savitribai Phule and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar did a lot to liberate women. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar is considered as the feminist and because of his efforts women get equal rights among men as he included all the safeguards for them in the Indian Constitution.

As a result of the struggles, women started gaining benefits as they got suffrage right first in New Zealand in 1893, in Australia in 1902, in United States of America in 1920, in United Kingdom in 1918 and in India in 1947. Then the series of gaining different kinds of rights equal to men began.

In the meantime, people of third world countries were fighting for their rights and struggles to get independence. These colonized countries got independence of foreign rule and have their own governments after "*Second World War (1939-45)*".

Traditionally known natural rights and rights of man after the Second World War popularized as "*Human Rights*". The present notion of these rights is the offspring of the liberal theory of natural rights. Human Rights are the rights possesses by human beings being members of human society. In the "*Oxford Word-Power Dictionary*", the word "*human right is defined as the basic freedom that all people should have such as the right to say what you think, travel freely etc.*" (Maheshwari, 2013, p. 262). The "*United Nations Charter (1945)*" declared equal rights of men and women for the first time. (Maheshwari, 2013, p. 264).

*“The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)”* recognized universal set of rules for whole community of human beings became milestone. Its ‘Art.1’, proclaimed that, *“all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights”*. ‘Art. 2’ provided for *equality of sexes*” (Maheshwari, 2013, p. 266).

The *“U.N. Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)”* came up with *“Human Rights Bill of Women”* in 1979. In this way, women started gaining world focus and got encouraged to lead fight for gender equality. Women from the corners of the world are getting influenced for their active role in public sphere.

Many conventions and conferences have been held at the international level to make women legally strong and give them protection against any type of discrimination. Some of them are as follows- *“International Women's Day (1908)”*, *“Commission on the Status of Women (1946)”*, *“First World Conference of Women (1975)”*, *“The Women's World Bank”*, *“UN Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW)”* (Kaur, 2009, p. 127).

The struggle of women has been ongoing to get property, voting, reproductive and working rights. Now, they have got access in every arena of field- the social sphere, political sphere etc. They have been appointed on various governmental positions and are engaged in the working of the different public and private offices. The famous faces of modern times are *Indira Gandhi* (Prime Minister of India: 1980-84, 1966-77), *Angela Merkel* (Chancellor of Germany), *Dilma Roussef* (President of Brazil: 2011-16).

### **1.1.1: Political Status of women in India before Independence**

India got independence in 1947. The Constitution of India, framed during 1947-49, is deeply rooted in the classical western constitutional values of liberalism, rule of law, judicial review etc. Parliamentaryism, federalism, and economic arrangements based on humanistic social philosophy are the key features (Maheshwari, 2013, p. 269). The Constitution of India provided the Fundamental Rights to its all Citizens irrespective of caste, class, colour, gender, race etc. India is the largest democracy in the world. At *Gettysburg*, *Abraham Lincoln* defined *“Democracy as the government of the people, by the people and for the people”*. *Representative Parliamentary Democracy* is a form of government in which *“the citizens elect their representatives to form an independent*

*ruling body as Parliament charged with the responsibility of acting in the people's interest".* The political power rests with the elected Parliament representing the people so in India too. Democracy talks of sovereignty of the people and their rights being enshrined in the Constitution. Women get Social, Political and Economic Rights equal to men through the Indian Constitution. Even in the Ancient India, there was Constitutional form of Government.

*To quote Dr. B. R. Ambedkar,*

*"It is not that India did not know what is Democracy. There was a time when India was studded with republics, and even where there were monarchies, they were either elected or limited. They were never absolute. It is not that India did not know Parliaments and Parliamentary Procedure. A study of the Buddhist Bhikshu Sanghas discloses that not only there were Parliaments—but the Sanghas knew and observed all the rules of Parliamentary Procedure known to modern times. They had rules regarding seating arrangements, Motions, Resolutions, Quorum, Whip, Counting of Votes, Voting by Ballot, Censure Motion, Regularization, Res Judicata, etc. Although these rules of Parliamentary Procedure were applied by Buddha to the meetings of the Sanghas, he must have borrowed them from the rules of the political assemblies functioning in the country in his time."* (Kashyap, 2014, pp. 9-10).

The concept of the supremacy of Dharma was prevalent in Vedic India (circa 3000-1000 B.C.). During Post-Vedic period there was existence of republics like mention of Sabha and Samiti and other functions in "*Rigveda, Atharveda, Aitareya Brahmana, Ashtadhyayi written by Panini, Arthashastra written by Kautilya, the Mahabharata, inscriptions on Ashoka's pillars, the Buddhist and Jain texts and Manusmriti*" (Kashyap, 2014, p. 8).

Different scholars have different viewpoints regarding the status of women in Pre-Independent India. Colonial writers like James Mill have justified the British Rule as necessary for the protection and support of women from barbaric practices. He argues that women were treated not well in society and he considered Hindu Civilization to be

crude and immoral. On the other hand, national writers like Altekar and R. C. Dutt challenged colonial history writing by presenting the argument that the restriction began to be placed on women as the outcome of the fear of Muslim invaders otherwise Hindu Vedic Era was the golden period for women. Vedic period is considered as golden age of Indian womanhood and status of women was high in that period, the restrictions like purdah, sati etc. began with the coming of Muslims in India (Menon, 2001, p. 2). As it is said that in Ancient Vedic and Upanishadic periods women were respected with dignity. They were considered as Goddesses depicting Shakti and they had social, political and educational rights. They got freedom to move outside homes. They enjoyed high status in society being humble and polite. Rigvedic women used to perform their duties in family and society (Altekar, 1962, p. 339). They were equal to men as co-partners supporting them in good as well as bad times (Thomas, 1964, p. 49). Manu declared that *“all rites and ceremonies are fruitless and that family quickly declines if women are neglected and also where women do not grieve that family always prospers”* (Shah, 1993). They had enjoyed political freedom and rights. They were active part of society and had their intervention in every field. They were imparted education and they used to participate in assemblies of that time like Vidhata and Sabha (Sharma R. S., 1968, pp. 78-102). Nevertheless, women were subordinated and excluded from participating in variety of material transactions, did not own property and women had a certain *“limited recognition as wives and mothers within the patriarchal kinship structure”* (Menon, 2001, p. 4). While Uma Chakravarty and Kumkum Roy retaliate questioning the past history of India on various grounds. Vedic History deals with Brahmanical point of view that only upper caste women have high status. In addition the history is written for specific geographical area. Further Uma Chakravarty mentions debate between Gargi and Yajnavalkya when he threatened her to keep quite. Additionally, they lacked their own property rather were treated as property (Menon, 2001, pp. 2-4).

The status of women got declined in the Medieval periods. They became dependent on male members of their families. And they now treated as inferiors. In the meantime, Muslim invaders came and spread their religion in India. Sikhism founded by Guru Nanak Dev declared the equality of all men and women but in reality women got subordinated status and they were left with the function of child bearing and rearing.

Female infanticide, child marriage and the practice of sati were prevalent as social in the Hindu society (Altekar, 1962, p. 7). They were left to lead miserable lives inside the four walls of house.

The present status of women is the result of experience of British rule, social reform movements and national freedom struggle that led to the implementation of the social and economic policies by the government of Independent India (Arya, 2000, p. 24). India took inspiration from liberal and democratic ideals of the Enlightenment in Europe and so thus the social reform movements carried in India (Jain J. , 2000, p. 49). After taking the British education, Indian men got inspired by western thoughts and ideas. They tried to reform the social evils but the entire focus was on the upper caste Hindu women (Heimsath, 1964, p. 184). As the issues raised by the movements did not affect majority of women as practices like purdah, widow's oppression were more prevalent in upper caste women those who had to follow the Code of Manu (Menon, 2001, p. 5). Nineteenth Century reform movements take inspiration from past (Ranade, 1902, p. 50). Therefore, reform movements were to revive the past culture of India as it was maintained that Sati and eternal widowhood were not present in the past Vedic India (Arya, 2000, p. 33). *Madhu Kishwar* in '*The Daughters of Aryavarta*' talked about glory of the period before 600 B.C.

Whatever were the arguments given by different scholars but it is true in sense that with the advent of Britishers in India sow the seed of Women's empowerment and upliftment in society. As the *evil practices* like "*customs of polygamy*", "*the purdah*", "*the denial of women's rights over property*", "*child marriage*", "*sati and ban on remarriage to widows*" were keeping women confined in homes because of which weakened their personalities (Mathur & Mathur, 2001, p. 25). Influenced by Modern Education *Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Swami Vivekananda, Mahatma Gandhi, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Jawahar Lal Nehru* tried to inject consciousness among women (Mathur & Mathur, 2001). They all thought to eradicate evil practices to impart justice in society. Taking a step forward, National Social Conference was formed in 1887 to give a platform to the reformers to discuss the matter of banishing ill practices prevailed in society (Desai & Krishnaraj, 1957, p. 39). Many

other Institutions came into being like Prarthana Samaj, Arya Samaj, Ram Krishna Mission etc. to work for Social Change. The primary concern of the social reformers was to reform the practices and laws to be made regarding this in addition the education should be granted to women.

Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and M. G. Ranade were active social reformer. They both strongly advocated Widow Remarriage. Sati abolition, Widow Remarriage, Age of Consent and Female Infanticide were the four main concern areas of the reform movements. Raja Ram Mohan Roy must be credited to abolish the practice of sati (1829) (Guha, 2010). As women started taking education they moved out of their homes in public. They also raised voices against male supremacy being exploited through patriarchal norms. They also stood against colonial rulers. Their aim to get educational rights and political rights became impetus for their struggle. They were now trained to step out of their homes.

Mahatma Gandhi took women with him to the public arena. Having feminist agenda on priority women did remarkable performance in National Freedom Struggle Movement. Mahatma Gandhi recognized the importance of women in his Non-violent struggle as women possess soft and sacrificing nature. They took part in all forms of “*Non Cooperation Movement (1921)*” and “*Civil Disobedience Movement (1930)*” very actively. They were now trained in picketing and boycotting foreign goods, liquor shops etc. They did not cooperate with the governmental activities of oppression to Indians. The movement took women of all strata together being urban elite or rural unsophisticated. They reached in public sphere in breaching salt law, picketing shops and prohibiting foreign goods fearlessly. In this way women of urban and rural came together politically by joining Indian National Movement (INM) (Basu A. , 1976, p. 39). Mahatma Gandhi really praised the role of women in Freedom Struggle. He advocated for their legal and political rights as well. He admired the dedicated performance by the women participants of INM (Gandhi, 1918). He was adhered to his social philosophy of Satyagraha and Ahimsa from the beginning to the last that inspired people of whole community in later times. In the struggle all needed was moral courage and spiritual determination. It did not required physical strength so the women were participated actively. This was not merely

freedom struggle but also a means to regenerate and rejuvenate society (Bakshi, 1995, p. 226).

The women later become more active and enthusiastic and joined political parties and became members of Indian National Congress, Communist Parties and even Revolutionary Terrorist Parties. They took part in editing newspapers and even in manufacturing bombs. In the meantime various organizations were formed like “*All India Women’s Conference (AIWC)*”, “*The National Council for Women*” etc. They started demanding for voting rights in 1917 but it was dropped down. AIWC was founded in 1927. As a result of the legitimate struggle of these women, Nehru Report of 1928 accepted the demands of the women’s organizations. Ultimately, the limited number of women got right to vote through “*the Government of India Act (1935)*”. Gradually they got the way to enter in Constituent Assembly and to have political discussions.

Fortunately, women got all rights equal to men by the Indian Constitution after Independence as the Preamble, Fundamental Rights, Fundamental Duties and Directive Principles talks of gender equality and affirmative action so that their equal position and status will practically be observable. “*The Preamble to the Constitution of India secures the dignity of its all citizens and promote Justice, Liberty and Equality among all*” (Kashyap, 2014, p. 55). Preambular assurance of the dignity basic principle underlying the Universal Declaration of Human Rights incorporated through provisions of “*Part III (Fundamental Rights) and Part IV (Directive Principles)*” (Kashyap, 2014, p. 95). ‘*Art. 14*’ in Indian Constitution provides “*equality of all citizens before law*”. Women constitutionally get all the social, economic and political rights. Although since independence women are entering into outside public world. They are performing well in various fields like Kalpana Chawla, Devika Rani, Karnam Malleshwari, P. T. Usha, Sunita Williams, Indira Gandhi being the first lady Prime Minister, Pratibha Devi Singh Patil being the first Indian President served well in their fields. But when we come to count the numbers of women leaders and politicians, the number is very low as compared to men.

Women are inadequate in number in political field that is not satisfactory. Political Participation of women in Lok Sabha as elected representatives is increasing

simultaneously since First Lok Sabha except for 1977 and 2004 but the percentage of the women Parliamentarians is not more than 12%. They have to face various hurdles in achieving political representation. Constitutionally there is Gender equality but Gender inequality within family still persists in society. Gender roles subjugate women and restrict them to be active in public life. Their participation in politics is limited to urban elite groups as poorer women are more preoccupied with daily bread issues instead of having broader questions of women's development and national politics (Sharma M. ). In spite of reaching the number of women MPs in the Fifteenth Lok Sabha than previous ones, there is need to accommodate more women to Parliament as to get more satisfactory legislations regarding women related issues.

There is debate of inadequacy of women in Indian Parliament. Several arguments have been given related to reservation or quotas of women to bridge the gap between strengths of women and men. Not only reservation but also proper education is needed to bring powerful women leaders in India. Reservation and Education both are necessary factors. Women leaders should be highly capable in taking decisions rather than sitting idle and occupying seats being muted showing their faces.

We are proud to be the citizens of the largest democratic country in the world but question is raised as whether we have favourable political culture for women as "*United Nations Report (1980)*" mentions that, "*Women constitute half the world's population, perform nearly two-thirds of the work hours, receive one-tenth of the world's income, and own less than one hundredth of the world's property.*" Practically democracy will come with the increasing involvement of women in public offices. Some of the findings provide a way for further policy directions. I hope the study will inspire women to come forward to join politics. They will be encouraged to take part in political sphere.

The study made by Intra-Parliamentary Union shows that Nordic countries have highest number of women in legislature having around 42%. Arab States has the lowest number of women representatives in Parliament not more than 10%. Asia including India represents not more than 18.5% of women in Parliament. Sweden has highest percentage and Finland has lowest percentage of women representatives in Lower house. India represents very low number of women in lower house.

To increase the participation and representation of women in legislatures, several measures have been taken into consideration including the provisions of Quota system by the countries of the world in their constitutions such as Argentina, Bolivia, Belgium, Kenya, Afghanistan etc. The countrywise quota provision and reserved seats for women are classified in the following table:

## **1.2: Review of Literature**

The purpose of Review of Literature is to analyze the existed literature related to the topic on which research work is to be done. It helps readers to provide understanding of the prior research studies available by summarizing, classifying and comparing the published works. It informs the readers on the strengths and weaknesses of studies on particular topic.

Below is a survey of some of the relevant contributions and literary works found to be useful to initiate this study categorized under distinguished themes:

- 1) Philosophical works talks about rights of women classified under works by male feminists and female feminists;
- 2) Representation of Women in political sphere has been discussed taking Western works and Indian works; and
- 3) Status of women in Male-dominated society.

Brief accounts of some of the outstanding works on the research topic of the dissertation are described as under distinguished themes.

Writings by Male Thinkers over the women liberation are as follows:

John Stuart Mill presented his idea for women's liberation in his famous essay "The Subjection of Women (1869)" that patriarchal mindset has made women inferior to men on the basis of social discrimination although they are not weak. Those who retain the notion of 'Might is Right' in their minds shall first provide the opportunities to women to

prove the same. Thus women should be given all rights that men have in public sphere as all are biologically equal. He puts arguments for the equality of men and women in “On Liberty”. The works of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar over the social issues concerning women can be regarded as feminist works.

Famous writings by Female Feminists are as follows:

Mary Wollstoncraft put an argument regarding the right of education for women so that they may contribute in the national development being equal competent to men in society. She criticized the double standard given to women in patriarchal society as they are denied of different social and civil rights. She advocated for the equality of the two sexes with the ethical notion as described in “*A Vindication of the Rights of Woman (1792).*”

“*The Second Sex (1949)*” written by Simone de Beauvoir presents feminist arguments that women are inferior because they tend to become because of the social construction. She says women become nothing more than when they conceive and attend to motherhood. *The Feminine Mystique (1963)* written by Betty Friedan, *Sexual Politics (1970)* written by Kate Millet and *The Female Eunuch (1970)* written by Germaine Greer are outstanding writings on women rights.

Political Representation of women in Western works are described as follows:

“*The issue of participation of Women in Politics is of such importance that the United Nations has identified gender equality in representation (i.e. mirror representation) as a good in the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing platform for action*” (Man & White, 2012, p. 89).

David Ruciman presents that representation has been existing since pre-modern times. He describes the importance of representation taking the theory of representation of Hobbes that links representation with democracy. Bryan Garsten stated the necessity of representative government and popular sovereignty through Rousseau’s concept of Popular Sovereignty and Constant’s concept of Liberal Democracy. In the book representation is justified (Shapiro, Stokes, Wood, & Kirshner, 2009).

Drude Dahlerup stresses on the necessity of quotas. She classifies the three kinds of quotas as candidate quotas, reserved seats and gender-neutral quotas. *“Candidate quotes specify the minimum percentage of women as to be candidates for election. Reserved seats assign a definite number of seats to be occupied by women. Gender-neutral quotas specify neither gender should get more than 60% or less than 40 % of positions.”* In addition, she gives examples of quotas through which women of Afghanistan got benefits (Dahlerup, 2006).

Other important fact of less number of women in legislature is that men are not interested to give tickets to women as they feel they will not win the elections. It is investigated in the paper by Carole Spray states that *“Political Parties in India tend to see women as less likely to win elections than men, and therefore prefer not take risks with seats they could conceivably win.”* It shows that the patriarchal mindset consider them as incapable and inefficient (Spray).

Martha C. Nussbaum also talks of importance of education stating that women interact with other women to get information and if she will be illiterate then she will not be able to move outside home. Thus her education is necessary from the point of political participation. Women should have access to newspapers, memos to get political news (Nussbaum M. C., 2004)

Self-confidence is the factor that matters a lot in increasing political participation among Indian women. Martha Nussbaum takes the reason of fear among women to be inefficient. As she says *“In the larger society, violence and the threat of violence affects many women’s ability to participate actively in many forms of social and political relationship, to speak in public, to be recognized as dignified beings whose worth is equal to that of others”* (Nussbaum M. , 2002).

Florence Allen argued that how successfully women have served the Nation as she justified that when women were denied of voting right they were unable to contribute for nation but now how usefully they have made use of their power of voting and being sitting in public offices. The women are performing fairly well in every field taking their

male colleagues with them. Men and women both together can only benefit the nation (Allen, 1947).

Women in developed countries have more access to public offices. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick came up with a study after the interviews held of Women American Senators that became the first major study of public life of women in America. She understands the political behavior of women as she favours that if a woman wants to hold public office she should take responsibility in her own hands both as individually and collectively. As women senators found themselves more dedicated, more hardworking, more knowledgeable and more honest than their male colleagues. All women who wish to hold the offices have to win elections. And during the campaigning they have to prove they will run offices well in a very confident manner. Then only women will take place in Man's world (Kirkpatrick, 1974).

Political Representation of Women in Indian works are described as follows:

Atish Patel throws light on women's role in politics as saying women in India have historically remained marginal in politics and no effective efforts have been made by political parties (Patel, 2014). "*State Politics New Dimensions: Party System, Liberalisation and politics of identity*" written by states the importance of 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Amendement Acts through which 33% of seats are reserved for women. Panchayati Raj Institutions are beneficial for democratization. At the Panchayats and Municipal levels, women are occupying and holding positions but to bring social change in real, women have to walk the way far more. She advocates for the representation of women in political sphere.

Shubhojit describes the record that women have been increasing in numbers since First Lok Sabha in Parliaments but the overall percentage of women Parliamentarians is still low and there should be more women in Parliament to make legislations regarding rape cases and other women related issues (Shubhojit, 2014). He argues that until and unless the representation of women will increase, the issues regarding the women will never solely be solved by men on behalf of women.

As compared to other countries of the world India's position among women leadership is not satisfactory as this is observed by Bhanupriya Rao that the number of Parliamentarians in India is inadequate to take part in decision making. Women Parliamentarians constitute not more than 12% and the conditions in state assemblies are worse and pitiable. Bihar, Rajasthan and Haryana constitute 14% whereas Nagaland and Pondicherry has no women MLAs at all (Rao, 2015).

M. Sharma in his article "Women's Participation in Politics in India" encounters that though there are women coming to political fields but they are urban elite and the position of poorer is still same as before now also the poor women are struggling to earn food. Poor women have no interest in national political issues and they are still confined to private sphere.

Education is must to really bridge the gap in decision making as women sit idle being mocked and devalued in the panchayats if they are illiterate and the work is all done by men in the name of women. Practically, men take decision at the grassroot level government. It is found by Niraja Jayal and Nirmala Buch in their studies.

Study made by Archana Ghosh and Stephanie Tawa Lama-Rewal throws light on the functioning of women in four mega-cities namely Delhi, Chennai, Mumbai and Kolkata at the local Municipal governance. It is generally believed that women in urban areas do not face obstacles like violence, non-cooperation and gender –bias that proved to be wrong as they also have to face all these like rural women but the urban women are more educated than rural women to raise their voice. It was found in the study that many women are elected to just fill the seats vacated by their family members so that the influence of the family will not break in the society. There had long debate on Women Reservation Bill but the success is still has to come (Ghosh & Lama-Rewal, 2005).

In an article of the Times of India, Amitabh Kumar and Vibhuti Patel stress on the issue of women parliamentarians of India and their less number in public arena as compared to neighbouring countries. Amitabh Kumar says there is need to intervene in Male dominated patriarchal society for the upliftment of women to become leaders not being merely as voters. He favours the reservation of seats to make democracy effective. In the

similar way, Vibhuti Patel also notices that quotas helped a lot in Afghanistan to raise women in Parliament that will provide for more transparency, efficiency and decency in Parliament (Kably, 2014).

Romila Thapar makes an argument that women's participation in the Freedom Movement in India results in greater participation of women in post-Independence period than women in western world. She asserts that, "*Participation in the politics of the national movement was an act of patriotism and political life became a respectable vocation for a woman*" (Thapar, 1975). Thus, there is a need for the women to come out of their homes and take part in the governmental activities of the national development.

Reflections on Status of women in Male-dominated Society are as follows:

Women are still subordinated in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. A Report by UNICEF (2006) observes that there are households and cultural attitudes that creates obstacles in women's lives. They are still experiencing double standard in societies. They are not allowed to take decisions by their own and ultimately they do not participate in governance (UNICEF, 2006&2007, pp. 51-87).

Mandakranta Bose focuses on the status of women in three different periods in India. He describes the cultural position of women in rituals and religion during the Ancient and Medieval India. In the Modern India it is described that how women depicted themselves through arts (Bose, 2000).

Carole Pateman (1988), a renowned feminist writer reach to the conclusion that, "*the Patriarchal construction of the difference between masculinity and femininity is the political difference between freedom and subjection*" (Basu R. , 2012, p. 223).

Simone de Beauvoir (1971) in her magnum opus *The Second Sex* develops a critique of the Institution of the male-dominated family (Basu R. , 2012, p. 8)

### **1.3: Research Questions**

The Research questions taken in this study to assess the political status of women in the Parliament are as follows:

- 1) How women participated in Lok Sabha debates during the Fifteenth Lok Sabha?
- 2) How effectively women contributed in the decision-making of the government on different issues?

#### **1.4: Significance of the Study**

Democracy has given opportunity to the women to step out their feet and to delimit themselves from homes to political world. The political status of women of India in the Modern times has become better than in Ancient and Medieval times with the introduction of the Constitution of India as Parliamentary Democratic Government has provided women with political rights. It is to be studied that how they are working in the political field being parliamentarians in India. Being co-partners with male parliamentarians, women parliamentarians how efficiently they participate in policy making. It is to find out that whether it is satisfactory or not. And it is the need of the hour that women should take leadership position to combat different issues related to women safety and other general issues as equal as men. Women are inadequate in number in Indian Parliament to participate in decision-making mainstream. For instance, women are in such number if all will be disagree to a bill to be tabled in Parliament then also it can become a law which can be passed by male majority. As majority rule works in democratic form of government. The representation of women in Parliament is not satisfactory as compared to men so there should be provision regarding this.

#### **1.5: Hypothesis**

A hypothesis is a tentative generalizations or a statement of prediction based on the pre-research assumptions which requires to be tested in the study. The study of the women's reservation and political participation is based on the following hypothesis:

Women do participate in the legislative works but their representation is inadequate in Indian Parliament.

## **1.6: Methodology**

To understand the theoretical and practical framework of the research regarding women's participation in politics during the Fifteenth Lok Sabha the study depends upon both the primary and secondary sources of data, information and literature. The former consist of the various Governmental Documents and Reports, Press Statements, Lok Sabha Debates, discussions, statements of women parliamentarians, member's statements in parliament. The later includes books, articles, magazines, newspaper reports, internet sources, journals etc.

## **1.7: Chapterization**

The study is comprised of five chapters under the following heads:

- 1) Introduction and Research Design-The Chapter is divided into eight sections. The Chapter provides the background to the Research as how the research is to be done and what is it deals with. The first section deals with the historical background of the study and the topic chosen for study. The second section is Review of Literature that will acquaint the readers to be familiar with the topic providing existed literature to give an overview regarding research why the subject is taken into consideration. The third section consists of Research Questions on which the study goes to find out the answers. The fourth section is the Significance of the Study tries to justify the importance of the research. The fifth section deals with the Hypothesis. The sixth section deals with the Chapterization giving the outline of the chapters of the study. The seventh section is Conclusion based on concluding remarks that ends the Chapter.
- 2) Political Participation of Women in India-The Chapter deals with the women leadership in India since Independence.
- 3) Women's Representation and Participation in Fifteenth Lok Sabha-The Chapter focuses on the legislative works performed by MPs while taking part in debates regarding Delhi Gang Rape Case and 2G Spectrum Scam during the Fifteenth Lok Sabha.

- 4) Question Hour: Powerful Tool Of Lok Sabha Members-The Chapter deals with the activities of MPs in interrogating the Government regarding the public policies meant for the Indian Citizens during the period of the study.
- 5) Conclusion- The last Chapter of the Dissertation analyzes and evaluates the whole study of Research.

## CHAPTER-2

### Political Participation of Women in India

*“Now, I want to say to you who think women cannot succeed, we have brought the government...that it has to face this alternative, either women are to be killed, or women are to have the vote”.* -Emmeline Pankhurst

#### 2.1: Conceptual Framework

Most of the countries in the world today are democratic that ensures equality of men and women in every sphere but the reality is that women are still excluded from mainstream. They are excluded in politics. It is observed by UN that *“women constitutes world’s largest excluded category”*. Political Participation is needed to raise the number and efficiency of women in politics for the functioning of true democracy to achieve the goals of liberty, equality, fraternity and justice in the world.

As Usha Narayanan argued, *“In the struggle for gender justice, political participation constitutes the first and foremost step in that direction.”* (Narayanan, 1999, p. 7). Anthony M. Orum defined *“political participation as the variety of ways in which people try to influence the political process”* (Pandey, 1990, p. 4). In other words it is defined *“as the principal means by which consent is granted or withdrawn in a democracy and rulers are made accountable to the ruled”* (Internal Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, 1968, p. 253). It may be defined as *“those actions of private citizens by which they seek to influence or support government and politics.”* (Milbrath & Goel, 1977, p. 2). To Almond and Powell, it is *“the involvement of the members of the society in the decision making process of the system.”* (Almond & Powell Jr, 1975, p. 98). Mc Closky opined that, *“political participation implies those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers and directly or indirectly, in the formulation of public policy.”* (Dowse, 1972, p. 290). It included *“those activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at Influencing the selection of governmental personnel and the actions they take.”* (Verba & Nie, 1972, p. 44).

During the Freedom Struggle Mahatma Gandhi encouraged women for political participation as he declared in 1925, *“As long as women of India, do not take part in public life, there can be no salvation for the country”*. He again added, *“As long as... women do not come to public life and purify... we are not likely to attain swaraj. Ever if we did it would have no use for that kind of swaraj to which women have not made their full contribution”* (Narayanan, 1999, p. 7).

As to attain full democratic ideals people directly or indirectly have to *“participate in politics and decision making processes which affect the daily lives of them”*. They should not act mere as spectator and should raise voice against the wrong doings of the government.

Former Secretary General of UN, Kofi Annan has stated, *“Women's rights are the responsibility of all humankind; combating all forms of violence against women is duty of all human kind and achieving the empowerment of women is the advancement of all humankind”* (UNDP, 2000, p. 69).

I have tried to see political participation as a process in which women contest and reach to the House of the people, and their discussions with other male colleagues on politically-centred and socially-concerned issues. Discrimination prevails in society because of the social construction of sexual division of labour. (Chafe, 1972, pp. 46-47). So, this social traditional structural framewok of gender roles need to modified for the successful political participation of women (Jain D. , 1975, p. 312).

## **2.2: Historical Background**

Indian Constitution provides protection of women from discrimination and violation of rights at the backdrop of continuing male dominating patriarchy system that has been suppressing the women since pre-historic times. Discrimination of men and women prevailed. The Constitution framed after Independence in 1947, contains a chapter on Fundamental Rights which are justiciable in nature—*“right to equality”*, *“right to freedom”*, *“right against exploitation”*, *“right to freedom of religion”*, *“cultural and educational rights”*, *“right to education and right to constitutional remedies”* (Art. 32). It is said by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar that *“the responsibility of the legislature is not just to*

*provide fundamental rights but also and rather more importantly, to safeguard them”* (Maheshwari, 2013, pp. 264-265). As he says that “*Article 32 is the heart and soul of the Indian Constitution*” considering it “*as the Guardian of Fundamental Rights*”. As declared in the words of Geraldine Forbes, “*The Indian Constitution declared equality a fundamental right. This document also guaranteed equal protection of the law, equal opportunities in public employment, and prohibited discrimination in public places. Adult suffrage added women to the electoral roles and political parties pledged their commitment to women’s issues*” (Forbes, 2015, p. 223). Art. 14, Art. 15(1), Art. 15(3), Art. 16, Art. 39(a), Art. 51 (A) (e), Art. 243D(3), 243D(4), 243T provide equality and special provisions for women (Kaur, 2009).

Many attempts have been made for the upliftment of women as the year 1974 was celebrated as the “*International Women’s Year*” in the whole world. And the World Plan of Action was adopted in 1975 to implement the Objectives of the International Women’s Year. India set up the Committee in 1971 “*on the Status of Women in India that published its report titled ‘Towards Equality’ in 1975*”. Women’s Bureau was established under the Department of Social Welfare, Government of India in 1976 for the development of women. Centres for the betterment of women’s status began to set up in 1985 in the universities. And the “*Department of Women and Child Development*” was set up under the ‘*Government of India*’. Since 1992, India has been monitoring “the implementation of constitutional and legal safeguards for the protection of women’s rights and privileges through National Commission for Women.” The “*National Credit Fund for Women (1993)*” established to provide credit facilities to help women for self-employment, micro-enterprises, small business etc. Today, numerous Institutions are championing women’s cause and working towards mainstreaming women into national development process. (Maheshwari, 2013, pp. 225-226). Some of the legislations, laws and acts formulated are as follows : provisions in “*Indian Penal Code*”, “*Dowry Prohibition Act (1961)*”, “*Equal Remuneration Act (1976)*”, The “*National Commission for Women Act (1990)*”, A “*National Plan of Action for the Girl Child*”, The “*Protection of Women from Violence Act (2005)*”, “*Protection of Civil Rights Act (1955)*”, “*Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act (1956)*”, “*Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act (1986)*”, “*Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act (1971)*” etc. In spite of the great

changes and measures provided they are still lagging behind and facing violation of their social, political and economic rights in the family and community. (Kaur, 2009).

This is what in facts written in papers that *“all men and women got the same rights with the Indian Independence but the full implementation of the Constitution is still taking time”*. Gender-justice is the primary concern for full participation of all the citizens to accelerate national developmental process. Women historically occupied lower position in all spheres—social, political, economic, educational etc. so they should have an equal share in social, political, economic and other spheres of life.

Many of the women who participated in the Freedom Struggle of Indian Independence were pleased with new beneficial opportunities. Women’s organizations assisted government in making five year plans and became part of economic policy of India. The communist women were dissatisfied *“with constitutional provisions, five-year plans and government promises”*. Consequently, Vibhla Farooqui (CPI) *“organized a national conference in 1954 to address women’s issues”*. *“National Federation of Indian Women (NFIW)”* was founded to formulate policies for women (Forbes, 2015, p. 225). Leftist women fought against feudal ideas within their parties and in society (Desai & Patel, 1985, pp. 68-9). Gandhian women too were dissatisfied with the legal policies and considered social and economic change as more important. *‘Toward Equality’* revealed the reality of equal status in 1974 (Forbes, 2015, p. 226). It was appointed by the *“Ministry of Education and Social Welfare”* in 1971 to address the educational and employment status of women (Toward Equality, 1974, p. xii).

The place of women in Indian politics reflects the opportunities and constraints which are associated with the democratic system (Basu A. , p. 168). Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Telugu Desam Party (TDP), Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) have not only considered women as vote banks but also gave them opportunities to become leading political figureheads and spokespersons for their parties breaking traditional gender roles. Still they have not attained lasting institutional power and have to wait to possess autonomic roles in the families (Basu A. , p. 169). *“Women who have been elected to Parliament without the support of an organized constituency have been few in number, and relatively ineffective in challenging gender inequality...The power of women MPs is*

*generally very limited. They are expected to strictly adhere to party policy with respect to women, and none of them have placed questions concerning gender inequality high on their agendas.”* (Basu A. , p. 178).

Representative democracy provides opportunity to disadvantaged groups for enjoying rights in electoral politics that helps in excavating democracy (Hasan, 2014, p. 46). Electoral politics has witnessed two democratic upsurges in 1950s and 1990s (Yadav, 1999, pp. 2393-9). The second democratic upsurge provided platform to lower and backward castes to enter in electoral politics (Yadav, 2000, pp. 134-5). Women have been historically under-represented in politics (Hasan, 2014, p. 48). As Zoya Hasan says that participation of women in politics is very low in spite of political leaders like Sonia Gandhi, Jayalalitha Jayaram, Mamata Banerjee and Mayawati. This is contrary to gender equality what written in the Constitution. She adds until the 1992s reservation came being in local government, the gender bias pervaded all levels of governance (Hasan, 2014, p. 229).

Women need to challenge male dominated political monopolies and should enter political institutions leaving token of wife and daughter behind in their homes. Dalit women have different say of their own for themselves. Assertion was made by dalit women that their issues should be resolved by their representatives (Guru, 1995, p. 2548).

### **2.3: Arguments regarding reservations for women**

Different arguments have been given. The percentage of women in the Lok Sabha has fluctuated between 8.1 percent in 1984, 3.4 percent in 1977, and in 1996 was 7.1 percent and in 2009 it got high with 11 percent. The Constituent Assembly raised the issue of reservations for women that was rejected by women representatives as it was felt that it was underestimating the strength of women to compete as equals. Twenty-five years later the Committee on the Status of Women in India raised the same issue considering rural women empowerment problems of being undervalued and invisible. Then the Committee recommended the establishment of statutory women's panchayats (Menon, 2001, p. 27). In favour the arguments are made that due to patriarchal nature of Parliament women issues are stayed unresolved (Menon, 2001, p. 28).

The attempt has been made to reserve 33 percent of seats in parliament for women, as embodied in the “81st Amendment Bill of 1996” but the Bill could not get success to get passed. Feminists mainly left party women argue in favour of reservations laying stress on reaffirming the principle of equal rights, and making a link between presence of women in parliament and gender justice seeing it as affirmative action. Having experience of reservations in PRI which was not satisfactory the *Shetkari Mahila Aghadi* from Maharashtra made argument against reservation. Caste-based argument has been made against reservations by *Sharad Yadav* that reservations would only benefit parkati mahilaen (women with cropped hair) whereas the *Bharatiya Janata Party* favours the reservation (Menon, 2001, p. 29). Thus there is lot of politics on political inclusion of women through reservation as Women Reservation Bill has not been passed yet but lapsed.

#### **2.4: Parliament of India**

The Preamble of the Constitution of India says, “We the people of India having solemnly resolved ...to give to ourselves this Constitution” through which sovereignty rests with the people (The Constitution of India, 2007, p. 1). And the people choose their representatives through elections which serves the country being members of Legislature. Parliament is the Premier people’s Institution of Governance in India. The Members of Parliament as being representatives of people have to decide the future of billions of population. They need to be very keen to their work as they make public policies that ultimately affect in one way or other way all the Citizens of India. The word “*Parliament*” has derived from the French word “*parler*” meaning “*to talk*” (A Short History of Parliament (pdf), p. 1).



The Parliament of India (the Union Legislature) consists of following three organs:

- 1) The President
- 2) The Rajya Sabha (Council of States)
- 3) The Lok Sabha (House of the People).

The President is the Constitutional head of the Government. He is elected by the electorate consisting of elected members of the Rajya Sabha, Lok Sabha and Legislative Assemblies of the States. He never sits or participates in either of the houses but have the power to summon the Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha to meet from time to time, can prorogue the two houses but can dissolve only Lok Sabha. His assent is needed for every bill to become a law. He can pass ordinances when neither of the two Houses is in session if needed. He addresses both the Houses assembled together at the commencement of the first session after each General Election and at the commencement of first session of each year. He states the causes of summons, delivers his messages regarding bills and some of the bills are required to proceed by him only. He appoints the Speaker *pro-tem* of Lok Sabha and acting Chairman of Rajya Sabha if needed. He summons the joint sitting of the Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha when there is disagreement arises on any bill. He lays down the “*Annual Financial Statement*” and other reports of Comptroller and Auditor-General of India, Finance Commission, Union Public Service Commission, Special Officer for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes Commission before the Parliament. He nominates 2 Anglo-Indians to the Lok Sabha and 12 members to the Rajya Sabha (Kashyap, 2015, pp. 25-26).

Rajya Sabha is the Upper House of the Parliament which consists of the representatives of the States. The members of the Rajya Sabha are elected by the elected members of the State Legislative Assemblies based on Proportional Representation and Single transferable Vote System. It consists of not more than 250 members—238 elected and 12 nominated. The representation for different states differs from one and another that depends on the population of the states. It is a permanent body and cannot be dissolved. While each member is elected for six years and in every two years one-third of its members retire. Vice-President is the ex-officio Chairman of the Rajya Sabha and Deputy

Chairman is elected by its members (Kashyap, 2009, p. 115). There are at present 245 members in Rajya Sabha, distributed among different States and Union Territories.

Lok Sabha is the Lower House of Parliament which consists of the representatives of the people elected directly by election. Anyone who has attained the age of 18 years can vote being a Citizen of India except those who are disqualified under law as described in Art. 326. The members have fixed tenure of five years unless the Lok Sabha is otherwise dissolved before. It consists of not more than 552 members—out of which not more than 530 from the states, 20 from the Union Territories and 2 Nominated Anglo-Indians. There are seats reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as per their population in their respective States (Kashyap, 2011, pp. 212-213). There are at present 545 members in the Lok Sabha.

Thus, the Indian parliament consists of bicameral system having two houses namely the Rajya Sabha (Upper House) & the Loksabha (Lower House). The party (or a coalition) in a majority in the Loksabha forms the central government. The term of office is for a maximum period of 5 years or until such time the party (or a coalition) enjoys a majority in the Loksabha, whichever is earlier.

## **2.5: Historical Journey of Parliament in India**

Modern institutional framework of parliamentary democracy came into being in India on 26 January 1950. There were representative bodies present in Ancient India. Modern Parliamentary Institutions came into existence with the colonial British rule. Charter Act of 1833 was the first to introduce legislative changes and established one Legislative Council for entire British territories in India. Governor-General's Government came to be known as Government of India and his council as India Council for the first time. "*Charter Act (1853)*" made changes in council and included six special members. "*Indian Councils Act (1861)*" made better provisions introduced the system of legislative devolution in India. Indian National Congress (INC) was founded in 1885 to make legislative reforms and to give the country representative government of its own. Indian Councils Act of 1892 recognised the representative element satisfying indigenous people. "*Indian Councils Act (1909)*" or "*Morley-Minto reforms*" extended the legislative

functions and provided for separate electorates. Several changes were made in the Indian Constitutional System by “*Government of India Act (1919)*”.

Many effective changes were made through the “*Government of India Act (1935)*”. It can be considered as the “*Mini Constitution for India*”. “*Indian Independence Act (1947)*” made recommendations to bring changes in Government of India Act of 1935 until the Constituent Assembly frames the Indian Constitution for Independent India. Constituent Assembly framed its constitution under the Presidentship of Dr. Rajendra Prasad. *Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Chairman of Drafting Committee) drafted the Constitution*. Members of the Constituent Assembly framed the Indian Constitution (Kashyap, 2015, pp. 1-21).

The women members in the Assembly who participated well during the working of the sessions were Purnima Banerji, G. Durgabai, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Hansa Mehta, Sarojini Naidu. They represented the women of the country in the Assembly. Their significant contribution in framing the Fundamental rights and Duties cannot be underestimated though their representation was less in the male majority Assembly. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar being a socialist and feminist considered all the recommendations given by these women members and incorporated the same in the Indian Constitution (Austin, 2013).

## **2.6: Participation of Women MPs**

Women parliamentarians performed their legislative work in the House of the people (Lok Sabha). They sit in the sessions, asked questions, introduced bills and motions, and took part in other legislative works. The first general election held in 1951-52 to have first Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha members in 1952. During the First Lok Sabha, the women members tabled private members’ bills such as “*The Dowry Restraint Bill (1952)*”, “*The Women’s and Children’s Institutions Licensing Bill*” and “*Hindu Marriage (Amendment Bill)*” by Uma Nehru, “*The Workmen’s Compensation (Amendment) Bill 1955 (Insertion of New Section 3-A)*” and “*The Factories (Amendment) Bill (Substitution of Section 59)*” by Renu Chakravartty etc.

Minimata moved the resolution on ‘Introduction of legislation for the punishment of the practice of untouchability’ and Smt. Tarkeshwari Sinha moved resolution regarding

*“Appointment of Law Commission”*. Renu Chakravartty was active in discussions and was the star performer. Annie Mascarene, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Mrs. Sucheta Kriplani, Mrs. Sushma Sen, Rajmata Kamalendu Mati Shah and others participated highly.

During the Second Lok Sabha the women members who made remarkable performance in asking questions and taking part in debates and discussions are Ila Palchoudhuri, Sahodra Renuka Ray, Tarkeshwari Sinha, Maimoona Sultana, Mafida Ahmed, Renu Chakravarty, Parvathi M. Krishnan, Dr. Sushila Nayar etc.

During third Lok Sabha Savitri Nigam, Renuka Barkataki, Renu Chakravarty, Jyotsna Chanda, Maimoona Sultana, Ramdulari Sinha, Tarkeshwari Sinha, Vimla Devi and others asked questions during Question Hour, Miss M. Chandrasekhar participated in motion under rule 191. Renu Chakravarty, Renuka Roy, Savitri Nigam, Tarkeshwari Sinha participated well in Half-an-hour discussions.

During fourth Lok Sabha Suseela Gopalan, Ila Palchoudhuri, Dr. Sushila Nayar, Tarkeshwari Sinha, Sushila Rohatgi and others participated in asking questions. They did well. During the fifth Lok Sabha 10 adjournment motions taken up for discussion out of which on 3 motions women members namely Mrs. Maya Ray, Mrs. Parvati Krishnan and Mrs. Subhadra Joshi spoke. Out of the 25 women members of the Lok Sabha, 21 took part in asking questions. Some of them are Mrs. Bhargavi Thankappam, Miss Kamla Kumari, Mrs. Savitri Shyam, Parvati Krishnan, Rosa V. Deshpande, Bibha Ghosh Goswami. The sixth Lok Sabha held 9 sessions. Mrs. Parvathi Krishnan asked maximum number of questions. Mrs. Mrinal Gore, Mrs. Parvati Devi, Mrs. Ahilya Rangnekar, Mohsina Kidwai also asked questions in large numbers. During the seventh Lok Sabha 10 women MPs participated in legislative work that included private member resolution, starred, unstarred, short notice question, adjournment motion, urgent public importance matters, motion under 191 & 342, half-an hour discussion. They are Geeta Mukherjee, Pramila Dandavate, Krishna Sahi, Susheela Gopalan, Nirmala Kumari, Vidya Chennupati, Kishori Sinha, Smt. Sanyogita Rane, Smt. Madhuri Singh and Smt. Usha Parakash.

During eight Lok Sabha women MPs were less in opposition but they participated satisfactorily. Dil Kumari Bhandari, Bibha Ghosh Goswami, Dr. T. Kalpana Devi, N.P. Janki Laxmi, Geeta Mukherjee did well in legislative work (Bhatt, 1995, pp. 99-147). In the ninth Lok Sabha (1989-91) the number of women members declined to 28 (5.29 per cent of the total number of seats). It had two women Ministers. National Commission for Women established to study the problems relating to women and protection of their rights.

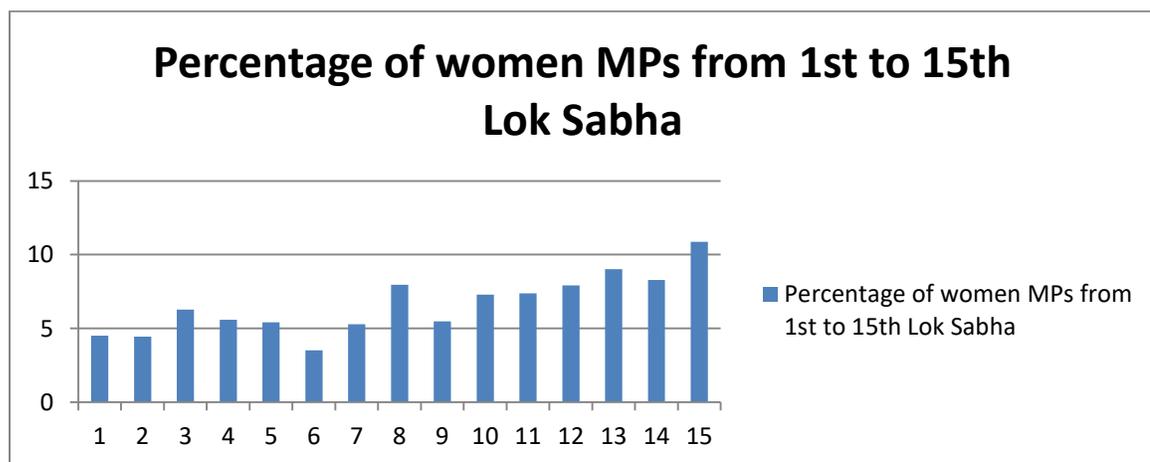
Participation of women in the tenth Lok Sabha increased considerably. Out of 39 women members 5 were the members of the Union Council of Ministers. A number of bills were moved by Basava Rajeswari such as "*the Constitution (Amendment) bill (1991)*", "*the Married Women (Protection of Rights) bill (1991)*", "*the Banning of Sex Determination Tests bill (1991)*", "*the Abolition of Beggary bill 1991*" etc. "*The Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Workers Family Security bill (1991)*" was introduced by Uma Bharti. Other important bills introduced by women members are: "*The High Court of Gujarat bill (1991)*", "*The Medical Termination of Pregnancy (Amendment) bill (1991)*", "*The Constitution (Amendment) bill (1992)*", "*The National Population Policy bill (1992)*" and "*the Representation of the People (Amendment) bill (1992)*". They successfully made use of parliamentary devices for extracting information and for introducing resolutions. They have proved their worth by their active performance as the spokeswomen of the people and by contributing their best to the growth and development of parliamentary democracy in India (Devi, 1994, pp. 414-415).

During thirteenth Lok Sabha Sonia Gandhi, Maneka Sanjay Gandhi, Margaret Alva, Dr. Anita Arya, Sandhya Bauri, Krishna Bose, Bijoya Chakravarty, Nisha Amarsinh Chaudhary participated in legislative work in lok sabha. During fourteenth Lok Sabha Smt. Susmita Bauri, Smt. Anuradha Choudhary, Smt. Renuka Chowdhury, Smt. Sonia Gandhi, Smt. Maneka Gandhi, Smt. Bhavana Pundlikrao Gawali, Smt. Tejasvini Gowda, Smt. Meira Kumar and others participated in various legislative works. They have served at leading positions as Ministers in Union Council of Ministers since first Loka Sabha (See Annexure I). Indira Gandhi was the "*First women Prime Minister of India*". She had remarkable and charismatic personality.

It was a record of sorts in 2009 in 15<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha when 59 women were elected to the lower house of Parliament. 59 women MPs out of 543 meant the Lok Sabha was represented by 11 per cent of women. That was the highest number of women MPs elected to the Parliament since Independence. Simultaneously, Rajya Sabha witnessed 10.6 per cent women’s participation. In the 16th Lok Sabha, 61 women leaders have made their way to the Parliament. This is the highest ever number of Lok Sabha seats won by women and constitutes 11.23 per cent of the total 543 Parliamentary seats. Going back to the initial days after independence, it appears that the situation had been more than grim. The first Lok Sabha had only 4.4 per cent women members. The sixth Lok Sabha in 1977 witnessed the smallest proportion of women in Parliament at mere 3.5 per cent.

Although the number of women MPs increased from 59 to 61 under the Modi government, it still remains far below the global average of 21.3 per cent. In a recent study conducted by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), India is placed at 111th position in the list of 189 countries having women representatives in Parliament. Even the lesser developed neighbors of India such as Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal have around 20, 19 and 30 per cent women members in their respective parliaments.

**Chart 2.1** Percentage of women Member of Parliament from first Lok Sabha to Fifteenth Lok Sabha:



Source: Prepared by the Researcher

**Table 2.1**

Women Presence in the Lok Sabha since 1952:

Year	Total Seats	Women MPs	% of Women MPs
1952	499	22	4.41
1957	500	27	5.40
1962	503	34	6.76
1967	523	31	5.93
1971	521	22	4.22
1977	544	19	3.29
1980	544	28	5.15
1984	544	44	8.9
1989	517	27	5.22
1991	544	39	7.17
1996	543	39	7.18
1998	543	43	7.92
1999	543	49	9.02
2004	543	45	8.03
2009	543	59	10.86
2014	543	61	11.23
Average	531.06	36.87	6.91

Source: women's empowerment through political participation in india by Kuldeep Fadia, indian journal of public administration vol. lx, no. 3, july-september 2014 p.543.

## **2.7: Summing up**

Available evidences throws a light that there is substantial increase in political participation which underline the strength and legitimacy of the political system on the one hand and simultaneously on the other hand uncover the difficulties regarding political representation. Political participation, in the form of voting, attending public meetings, participating in demonstrations and rallies is on the increase, but the polity that provided the genuinely equal opportunity to participate in public meetings and so on does not produce the same kind of equality among the people elected. The true ideals of democracy will be fulfilled when there will be proper representation of women and others in the representative institutions. Women's rights and equity should be an integral part of the development and welfare policies of the country. Welfare measures should be implemented by the state. The State should organize awareness campaigns. Women should be imparted education and should be motivated to gain benefits of their rights and legal laws.

There have been movements for gender equality and gender sensitization. Women in India have a history for their political participation since when the freedom movements began in which women participated actively. And their active participation during national freedom movements paved the way for them to take positions in electorates and political parties later in Independent India. But there are cultural and societal barriers in the women's participation in politics like sexual violence, discrimination and illiteracy including child marriage, domestic violence and patriarchy in which male dominated in every field. There have been studies and surveys which reveals the hidden ground reality of the reservations of local village and zila panchayats. Women are just positioned as rubber stamps as they are the representatives but the real authority of power behind them are of their male family members. Moreover people consider them as inferior in society, abuse them and see them with discriminatory attitudes. This ultimately leads to decline in self-confidence of women as they do not get proper support in political field. Family support is must for their empowerment.

There are 24 registered parties at the national level with three largest parties - Indian National Congress (INC), the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), and the Communist Party of

India (CPI). The parties also have women's wings such as the BJP Mahila Morcha (The BJP's wing), the All India Mahila Congress (INC's wing), and the National Federation of Indian Women (the CPI's wing). Women's involvement in political parties has high demands for equal rights.

In June 2009, Meira Kumar became first speaker of Lok Sabha, and Pratibha Patil became India's first female president. Women were involved in the early establishment of the BJP. The political parties have encouraged greater representation of women by developing women's leadership programs, financial assistance for women candidates, and implementing a 33% reservation for women in party leadership positions. The political parties and their women's wings have started supporting gender inequality issues and initiating steps to address the social barriers. But then also the percentage of women participation in politics especially in Indian Parliament is very low in comparison to other countries. Family orientation programs are needed for gender sensitization for women and men both. Political field positions and public offices are not regarded as careers in society. Women of families with political background are taking initiatives more than the other families with non-political background. Until and unless women are not properly educated for the political orientation they will not gain courage to step out of their homes to contest and take up political positions as their voter turnout is high as equal as of men but their representation in public offices is very low. That means they vote for male candidates and elect them to acquire positions to represent them and when they will have insight not to be represented only but they have enough guts and rights to be elected and represent the citizens of India.

Thus, Larger Women Representation in Parliament is the Need of the Hour. With gender-based violence ripping the country apart and appalling apathy becoming more and more evident across political class, it is argued that greater representation of women in Parliament will see an end to it. Even during the campaigning for the 2014 Lok Sabha Elections, most of the parties had vouched to bring in more reforms and make laws more 'women-friendly.'

Although the 15th Lok Sabha had the largest number of women ever before, India still has to be more accommodating to induct more women MPs so that issues concerning

them get more prominence and are raised frequently in Parliament. Be it setting up of proposed rape crisis centres or bringing in stringent changes in anti-rape legislations, greater voice for women populace in the form of larger representation in Parliament will push the stalled agendas.

## CHAPTER-3

### Women's Representation and Participation in Fifteenth Lok Sabha

*"I measure the progress of a community by the degree of progress which women have achieved."*

- Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

#### 3.1: Introduction

*"Because I feel, however good a constitution may be, it is sure to turn out bad because those who are called to work it, happen to be a bad lot. However bad a constitution may be, it may turn out to be good if those who are called to work it, happen to be a good lot. The working of a constitution does not depend wholly upon the nature of the constitution."*

-Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

*[Concluding speech delivered on 25<sup>th</sup> November 1949 in the Constituent Assembly] (Shekhar, 2010, p. 17).*

In Indian Parliamentary Democracy, representatives of the people take decisions for their betterment and for the development of the country. *"A 'representative' is to protect and advance the interests of the individuals or the group who she or he is representing"* (Kumar N. , 2004, p. 20). Responsibility and representation are interlinked in the liberal democracy.

*"Legislation or law-making is deemed to be the predominant function of Parliament. The initiative in law-making is mostly with the executive although private members can also initiate proposals"* (Kashyap, 2000, p. 817).

Societal Issues are addressed in Parliament while formulating policy. Public policies have been defined as the guidelines to take action likely to address problem and reach to the outcome (Poister, 1978, p. 1). Public policy concerns over *'broader goals like socio-economic development, liberty, and equality'* or *'narrower goals like educational development or family planning which are more palpable and instant'* to address while considering *larger and smaller sections of society*. Policies are formed through decision-making which is *"an integral part of policy making, but every decision may not*

*constitute a policy*” (Kumar N. , 2004, p. 11). Once these decisions are enacted are bound to be implemented in society (Michels, 1969, p. 391).

Lok Sabha sits for three times every year in February-May during Budget Session, in July-August during Monsoon Session and in November-December during Winter Session. The normal hours of the sittings are from 11.00 a.m. to 1.00 p.m. and from 2.00 p.m. to 6.00 p.m. from Monday to Friday. A sitting of the House is presided over by *the Speaker or the Deputy Speaker or a member of the Panel of Chairmen* when minimum *one tenth of the total number of members of the House* are present (Kashyap, 2000, p. 392). Though the women also have right to be elected to the Parliament they have made their significant place in the Parliament. Women do participate in politics but tend to do so in small numbers. In 2009 women got the highest representation in the Fifteenth Lok Sabha than ever before. The representation of women crossed 10 percent for the first time, bringing in a line-up of fresh faces. First Female Lok Sabha Speaker Meira Kumar, President Pratibha Patil, UPA President Sonia Gandhi, Leader of Opposition in Lok Sabha Sushma Swaraj -all women made considerable contribution during the Fifteenth Lok Sabha. Although the number increased as compared to before but the overall functioning key of Parliament is still in men’s hands.

The success and legitimacy of elections depend highly on citizen’s participation as voters and also as campaigners that not only help in increasing the participation but also help in bridging the gap between elites and masses. *“Elections are a key activity around which a representative democracy revolves”* (Kumar, 2009, p. 47). An analysis made by Yogendra Yadav talks about democratic upsurge in 1990s (Yadav, 1996) and analysis made by Suhas Palshikar shows that the upsurge had declined in later period (Palshikar, 2004). Yogendra Yadav and Suhas Palshikar (2009) while making the analysis of 2009 elections stated that electoral politics has led to saturation of upsurge as for the last two decades the voter turnout remained at an average of 58.8%.

The success of the democracy lies in the conduct of free, fair and transparent election process. The 15th Lok Sabha election was carried for a month and held over five phases from 16 April to 13 May 2009 and the counting of votes commenced on 16 May 2009 (Bora, 2009, p. 105). The 15<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha elections went in favour of the Congress Party

led United Progressive Alliance (UPA). The Alliance managed to win 261 seats with 206 seats won by Congress itself. The UPA became winner in 17 states out of 29 states including National Capital Territory of Delhi. The Congress gained the confidence of the people and was successful in inspiring electorates to its efforts towards national security. Implementation of “*National Rural Employment Guarantee Act*”, the “*Bharat Nirman Programme*” and other social and welfare measures made by Congress in previous Lok Sabha proved to be fruitful for Congress to win election in 2009. (Ramani, 2009, pp. 11-12). Indian voters look towards Government to provide them basic amenities and improve their livelihood (Suri, 2009, p. 69). Manmohan Singh was sworn in as Prime Minister for a second five-year term after J. L. Nehru to be elected for second full term (Sharma, 2010, p. 140).

The new history was made by the Indian women as their number increased by crossing the 10 percent in Lok Sabha. They took part in debates and discussions, in balloting to pass bills, in decision making as to reach conclusion and make laws regarding issues.

Golda Meir once quoted, “*To be successful, a woman has to be much better at her job than a man*” as she observed and argued, “*whether women are better than men I cannot say – but I can say they are certainly no worse*”.

Dwivedi states, ‘*among equals law should be equal and equally administered*’ (Dwivedi, 1990, p. 11).

Wherever there is a need to discuss on the serious issues for national unity and integration and for the rights of the people in society issues are taken up in Lok Sabha during Question Hour, Zero Hour, discussions under Rule 193, and matters under Rule 377 etc. The members of the Lok Sabha took part in the discussions and legislations. The Chapter throws light on Lok Sabha Debates regarding two significant themes of Violence against women focusing specifically on Nirbhaya Case and Corruption in India focusing specifically 2G Spectrum Scam during Fifteenth Lok Sabha which provides impetus in decision-making process on the issues of social and national concern. These themes try to focus on the women political participation over the rhetoric and substantive issues in

Fifteenth Lok Sabha. This helps in finding out the working of women in taking and making decisions during debates, discussions and legislations.

### **3.2: Background to the concerned themes**

Women came up with the issues against the historically happened cases of rape (Dutta & Sircar, 2013, p. 296). Mathura (1972), Rameeza Bee (1979), Maya Tyagi (1980), Suman Rani (1989), Bhanwari Devi (1992) have been brutally sexually assaulted and they all belonged to different marginalized sections. The judgements produced regarding Mathura Case and Bhanwari Devi was not satisfactory. The court acquitted the two police officers who raped Mathura, a young girl from an *adivasi* (tribal community) on the grounds that Mathura was already sexually active and was of loose moral character because she eloped with her boyfriend. Enraged by this judgment, four law professors wrote an open letter to the Chief Justice accusing the judgment of sacrificing human rights of women under the law and the constitution and the letter served as the foundation for mobilizing protests and a nationwide campaign to demand changes in rape law. Thus, “*the 1978 Supreme Court verdict in the Mathura case stands out for provoking the first nationwide, concerted feminist mobilization around sexual violence in India*” (Dutta & Sircar, 2013, p. 296).

The decade of 1970 has been remarked as an important decade for women’s mobilization in history of India. Publications such as *Manushi* proved to be fruitful to create national awareness of gender concerns from the 1970s onward (Batra, 2016, p. 846). The “Towards Equality” report of 1974 by the Committee on the Status of Women in India revealed the truth reiterating that three decades into India’s independence made very little progress toward achieving gender equality. Still women face lots of hurdles for the sustenance of their lives. “Media reports of increased violence against women, including rape, sexual harassment, dowry deaths, and widow immolations led to a nationwide galvanization of which the *Manushi* collective was a small but significant part” (Batra, 2016). “*Prior to the 1980s, violence against women in India received little attention either by women’s organizations, political parties, or the media*” (Chaudhuri, Krishnan, & Subramaniam, 2015, p. 6). Violence against women has been following since times. Women from marginalized communities have brutal experience of sexual assault. But it

was the only time when the incident of 16 December 2012 got much media coverage and protests from the entire world. *“In 2012 there were swift changes in Article 370 of the Indian Penal Code dealing with rape and others forms of sexual violence”* (Batra, 2016, p. 847).

As we have two other examples of the years 2005 and 2013 before and after Nirbhaya case respectively that did not get much attention. In 2005, a Delhi Student from Mizoram was gang raped did not get media focus as she belonged to the marginalized region and marginalized community too. She was working at call centre and in Delhi northeastern woman is stereotyped as sexually available. Another example when there has been little public outrage anywhere in India apart from Bhandara when on February 14, 2013 three minor siblings were brutally raped and murdered in the Bhandara district of Maharashtra. Thus, it can be examined from the facts that location and identity are essential qualifiers in determining whose rape is worth being the subject of urban, middle-class concern and rage (Dutta & Sircar, 2013, p. 298). *Mohan Bhagwat* commented that rapes cases generally happens in Urban areas (Shandilya, 2015, p. 472).

There has been *“biopolitics of representation of female body”* as on the one side Nirbhaya represents the *“everywomen”* across the world and at the same time she represents the middle class, upper-caste, Hindu women in India. This distinction has been made due to following history of sexual violence against women in India (Shandilya, 2015).

As for instance, after Nirbhaya Case the Sanyogita Rape Case on 10 January 2013 and Dalit girl rape case on 23 March 2014 did not get much attention. In the first case the Sunita, the mother of the victim made statement that they have less hope to get justice as they belong to lower caste. In the second case, the similar statement was made by Jagdish, dalit activist criticized that the dalit women are ignored often (Shandilya, 2015, p. 470).

Corruption in India adversely affects the country's economy. Credibility of central, state and local government also got affected adversely due to which development of India got stunted. India has been witnessing Corruption scams since 1947 like Bofors scam, Telgi

scam, the Hawala Scandal, Harshad Mehta and Ketan Parekh Stock Market scam etc. Public servants in India can be imprisoned for several years and penalised for corruption under the “*Indian Penal Code (1860)*”; “*Prosecution section of Income Tax Act (1961)*”; “*The Prevention of Corruption Act (1988)*”; “*The Benami Transactions (Prohibition) Act (1988)*”; “*Prevention of Money Laundering Act (2002)*”. Referring to ‘India Shining’, PM Manmohan Singh once said, “..... *A change in the manner in which this country is run, a change in the national priority and a change in the process and focus of the Government .....*” But what be if the change leads to hindrance and creates hurdles in National Development as happened due to the loss of revenue to the government made by 2G spectrum scam.

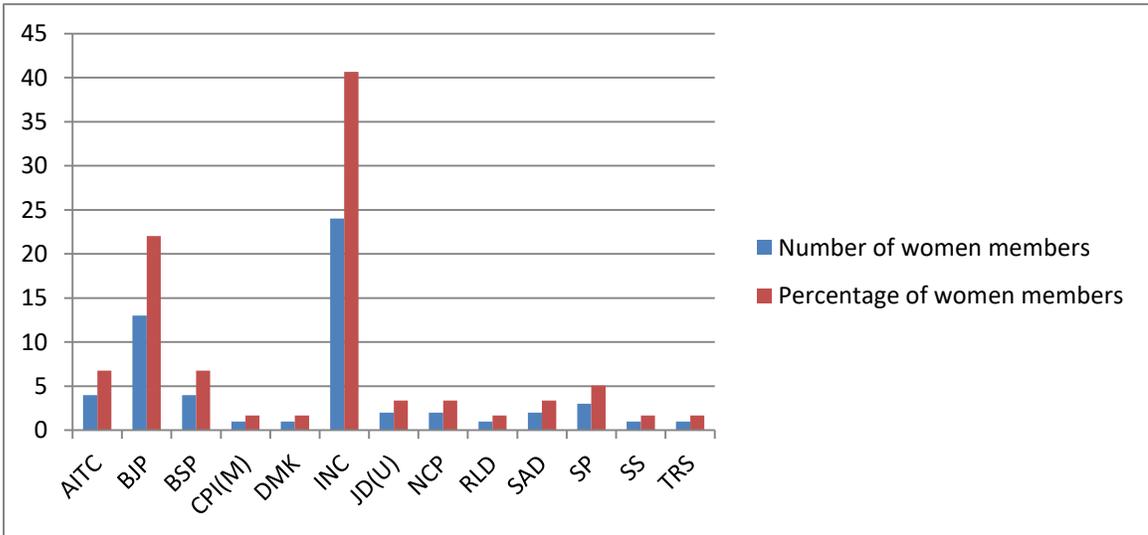
### **3.3: Women’s Representation and Participation in Fifteenth Lok Sabha**



It was for the first time in the history of Lok Sabha elections since first Lok Sabha that in 2009 the number of women increase tremendously as they got 59 seats out of 545 seats in total. The Fifteenth Lok Sabha made history when the representation of women crossed 10% for the first time (Basu T. , 2009).

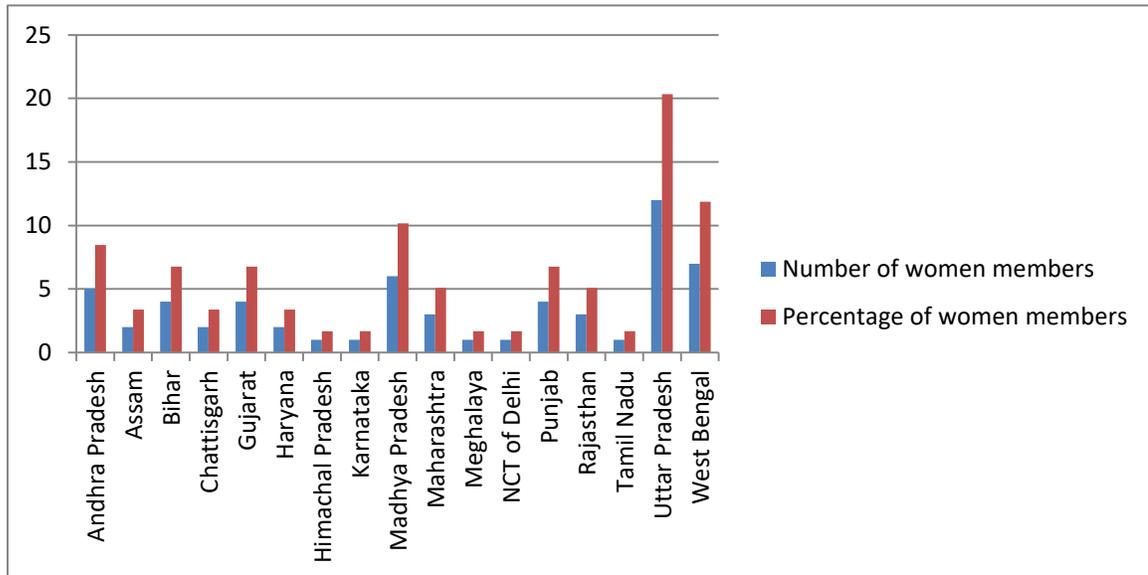
Below are the two charts which show the representation of women members in Fifteenth Lok Sabha. The classification is done on the basis of their parties and states to which they belong. Women from the Indian National Congress have highest participation. Women belonging to Uttar Pradesh got more votes than women from other states.

**Chart 3.1: Representation of women members in Parties during Fifteenth Lok Sabha:**



Source: Prepared by the Researcher

**Chart 3.2: Representation of women members in States/ Union Territories during Fifteenth Lok Sabha:**



Source: Prepared by the Researcher

### **3.4: Debates in Fifteenth Lok Sabha**

The fifteenth lok sabha was mainly known for debates as there were many scams and atrocities against women occurred during the period. Debates in lok sabha helps in formulating policies regarding various subjects. The major debates taken up during the period of the study are Nirbhaya Case and 2G Scam which are described in detail.

#### **3.4.1: Debate on Delhi Gang Rape**

Jyoti Pandey, 23 year old, a physiotherapy student while returning home with her male friend Awindra Pratap Pandey after watching the film *Life of Pi* at 9 p.m. boarded a bus at Munirka bus stand inside which she was gang-raped. The accused were five adults – Ram Singh, Mukesh Singh, Vinay Sharma, Pawan Gupta, Akshay Thakur and one Unnamed juvenile defendant who all raped and assaulted her with a rusted iron instrument. Her friend was beaten up by the accused. They robbed the belongings of the victims and left them by the side on NH-8 in Mahipalpur area. Nirbhaya fought for life in Safdarjung Hospital and Singapore Hospital but died on 29 December 2012. And out of the six rapists one (Ram Singh) committed suicide in Tihar Jail, four accused were hanged till death and one juvenile was freed later. Advocates refused to defend the accused when they were produced in Saket District Court in South Delhi. She was called as “*Amanat*” (cherished property), “*Nirbhaya*” (fearless), “*Damini*” (lightning), and “*Jagruti*” (Awakening) and “India's brave heart daughter” until her real name was revealed by media.

**Public and Media:** Delhi witnessed the public movement on large scale after a heart-touching incident of gang rape took place on 16 December 2012. India's middle-class youth took to the streets. Media coverage brought public outrage and mobilized people to occupy roads. The protest marches led to the president's residence in Raisina Hill, encountering police violence and curfew in the city. Similar protests were held in other metropolitan cities across the country and the world. People across world demanded justice for Nirbhaya and asked for chemical castration punishment for sexual assault. The family of Nirbhaya demanded execution of the rapists.

Media coverage, commentary on facebook and twitter drew attention on the event across the world. Leslee Udwin in her documentary *“India’s Daughter”* reveals the ill mindset of Mukesh Singh, one of the accused that he made argument that, *“A decent girl won’t roam around at nine o’clock at night. A girl is far more responsible for rape than a boy”* (BBC News Magazine, 2015). In India’s patriarchal and male-dominated society, the lives and dignity of women are under constant threat. India is facing violence against women as because of rape culture:- the so-called social culture of verbal abuse (burdened social stigma). Every now and then, women have to face such kinds of vulgar comments in public. Pathetic socioeconomic conditions and wretched life of a considerable section of Indian populace, sense of rejection and alienation among the poor, declining urban living standard, slum and ghetto culture, culture of poverty, increasing moral corruption, culture of abuse, ethical corrosion, defective socialization and broken homes, lack of education needs to be addressed as to combat violence against women. Gender sensitization need to be spread as the foremost task of humanity. As rightly put by the *Dalai Lama* that, *“Delhi rape incident represents the degenerating moral values in society and in this regard he makes a call to revive India’s traditional cultural values”* (Shah, 2013, pp. 43-51). Arvind Jain discloses the truth behind the crime datas and women exploitation (Jain, 2015). As per NCRB-2009, 68% of Delhi’s rapists were illiterate or school dropouts, 24% studied up to class 10<sup>th</sup> and 21.9% were graduates. Due to the increasing rape incidences in Delhi it has been termed as “Rape Capital”.

The issues enraged people a lot that the issue took its place to be discussed in Parliament. Parliamentarians debated, discussed, suggested and made statements regarding the issue. Voice of women MPs could be heard that they participated with full vigour. The overall debate over the issue taken place in Lok Sabha Debates has been described under the following themes:

**Violence against women and Curtail of Rights:** The *Minister of Home Affairs*, Sushil Kumar Shinde showed his grief towards Incident of Gang Rape that took place in South Delhi on 16 December 2012. This was considered a heinous crime by him (Shinde, Lok Sabha Debates, 2012, pp. 696-697). The lady Members of the House expressed their anguish and pain over this inhuman incident. Sushma Swaraj made an argument

criticizing the Government that where Chief Minister was Sheila Dixit, a lady there happened a heinous crime with a lady, a shameful event for whole nation. (Lok Sabha Debates, 2012). Botcha Jhansi Lakshmi while urging upon the Government for strict enforcement of law to ensure the protection of women and girl child tried to focus on honour and respect given to women in India. She said, *“the official statistics show a declining sex-ratio, health status, literacy rate, work participation and political participation among women. While on the other hand, the spread of social evils like dowry deaths, child marriage, domestic violence, rape, sexual harassment, exploitation of women workers are rampant in different parts of India. Humiliation, rape, kidnapping, molestation, dowry death, torture, wife-beating etc. have grown over the years”* (Lakshmi, 2013, p. 37). The rhetoric issues were taken up. Jitendra Singh Bundela remarked that, *“Increase in Violence against Women is the failure of Government”* (Bundela, 2013, p. 677). Dilipkumar Manshukh Lal Gandhi said that women have to face or deal more than men in the aftermath of natural or man-made disasters whatever it may be (Gandhi, 2013, p. 915).

**Women Safety and Dignity of women:** Sushma Swaraj raised an issue of concern for women safety. She considered Delhi the unsafe place for women (Lok Sabha Debates, 2012). The same point has been raised by Poonam Veljibhai Jat that the government has failed in ensuring security of women. She recognized the Delhi as most unsafe place (Jat, 2013, p. 828). However, on the other hand Sushil Kumar Shinde discarded the use of word unsafe.

Girija Vyas commented that we are become aware of other issues but not for dignity of women (Lok Sabha Debates, 2012). Lok Sabha Speaker made a statement that the delhi gang rape was the shameful event for the country and society where women are not respected with dignity (Lok Sabha Debates, 2012). Meira Kumar asserted that the maligning of the character of the victims by anyone should be banned strictly as per to maintain the dignity of the women (Kumar M. , 2012, p. 502). Supriya Sule asserted that women are supposed to live with dignity and internal security (Lok Sabha Debates, 2013).

Sumitra Mahajan showed her concern for stricter laws for the safety of women so that women feel confidently that government and laws are there for them. Kumari Saroj Pandey talks for equal status for half of the population that is of women. Meena Singh asserted that women should be respected and admired in society. (Lok Sabha Debates, 2013).

**Fear among women in Patriarchy Society:** Girija Vyas tried to focus on rape incidences that happen in all over the country on regular basis because of which girls and women are afraid to step out of their homes. Though Delhi is Capital women from all parts of the country come here to study, to work and for other purposes but these sorts of incidences happen on regular basis. She mentioned that the girls who are raped die everyday taking “*Sakshi Vs Union Government*” Judgement into consideration (Lok Sabha Debates, 2012). Thus, women are found to be in constant fear.

Sushma Swaraj over the statement made by CM those women should not step alone outside in public in night replies that the incident happened around 9:30 p.m. and she was not alone then why women are restricted instead of taking strict actions against accused (Lok Sabha Debates, 2012).

Programme “*Parivartan*” started on 29<sup>th</sup> August 2005 has been extended to other areas to make aware people about gender equity so that patriarchal mindset of the people towards women can change (Lok Sabha Debates, 2013, pp. 31-36). Though Parliament has passed stricter laws to prevent rapes but there is no decline in rape cases shown therefore Law alone cannot prevent violence against women until change comes in the attitude of people and society (Kumar M. , 2013, p. 4). The issues were went substantive. These rape incidents occur due to ill patriarchal mindsets of the men that have to be changed as soon as possible. Jaya Prada was much concerned for the increase in cases of violence against women like rape, domestic violence etc. She tries to focus attention social ill-mindsets. She says in addition until the laws are implemented in society they have no use being political in papers only (Lok Sabha Debates, 2013). Satabdi Roy throws light on male-dominated patriarchal society in which we still live. She questions over equality issue and finally concluded hoping to build confidence in women being members of the society (Lok Sabha Debates, 2013).

**Justice for Victims:** Meira Kumar assured that the justice to Nirbhaya be given in time. Urban Development Minister and Parliamentary Affairs Minister Kamal Nath further added that every citizen of India was in tension so that the government would take strict steps (Lok Sabha Debates, 2012). The public and some politicians, including the Minister for Women and Child Development, called for punishments, ranging from chemical castration to execution. All the suggestions put forward by the Chief Secretaries and the Director Generals of Police were considered by the Government as assured by Sushil Kumar Shinde.

Sushma Swaraj was in the favour that accused should be punished hanged till death as they committed heinous crime that damaged body parts; intestinal parts of the girl which was then fighting for death. She questioned Delhi Police, Central Government, Home Ministry and Chief Minister of Delhi that what they were doing regarding this. She asserted that they should take strict steps to combat women related violence rather blaming women. (Lok Sabha Debates, 2012). Sajjan Verma suggested that the accused should be hanged till death and if the police officers show their carelessness in these matters they should be debarred from government services. (Verma, 2013).

Satabdi Roy expressed her desire that all accused should be hanged till death (Lok Sabha Debates, 2013). Sajjan Verma disappointed with the increase in rape cases suggested the need to set up fast track courts in whole country to ensure safety and security of girls and women. The judicial judgement should come within 15 days or 1 month (Verma, 2013). According to *Poonam Veljibhai Jat*, “*only bringing in new bills like sexual harassment of women at workplace Bill will not help but strict laws against the wrong doers should be implemented more strongly which will make the women feel safe*” (Jat, 2013, p. 828).

**Issue of Age of Consent:** On 31 August, the juvenile was convicted of rape and murder under the Juvenile Justice Act and given the maximum sentence of three year’s imprisonment in a reform facility (TNN, 2013). Nirbhaya’s parents Badri Nath and Asha Devi wanted the juvenile to be hanged till death. In a March 2015 interview with the Tribune, Women and Child Development Minister Maneka Gandhi said that Government is going ahead with a law treating juveniles as adults in grave crimes (Tandon, 2015)

though Juvenile was released after 3 years under detention on 20 December 2015 (Basu & Singh, 2015). Harsimrat Kaur Badal was much concerned about the age of consent while talking over issues like acid attack, stalking etc. (Lok Sabha Debates, 2013).

**Gender Sensitization and Safety Training of women:** Girija Vyas suggested measures to improve the condition of women in society. She laid stress on imparting training under self defence programs to women by the states. She asserted that women should be educated regarding the laws so that the proper punishment should be given to accused on time (Lok Sabha Debates, 2012). Meira Kumar had the same view that for Gender Sensitization training should be availed to women (Kumar M. , 2012, p. 502).

**Safeguards and Measures taken by the Government:** The Government set up three-member “*Justice Verma Committee*” headed by *Former CJI J. S. Verma* with two key objectives: “(i) to look into *Nirbhaya’s* case and (ii) to suggest measures for improving the safety of women.” The Commission came up with 657-page report. The Commission underlines the government’s responsibilities under the Constitution to protect the “*right to life with all aspects of human dignity for women*”; in turn, every citizen of India has a “*fundamental duty*”, under ‘Art. 51A’, “to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women”. In this way, the punishments set out for convicted sex offenders in India have been reformed in response to the ‘Nirbhaya’ case.

Sexual assault was invented as new term to include all kinds of sexual offences. New definition of rape came into existence and punishments become severe for the offenders. The significant changes were made under “s. 375, s. 376, s. 376D, s. 376A, s. 376E of *Indian Penal Code*” (Gill & Harrison, 2013). Delhi police officers took necessary steps be taken to combat such cases of violence against women. The roads were covered by PCR vans at night, the Emergency Response Vehicles, PCR vans and motorcycle patrols were increased in number, three help lines for women were set up (Shinde, Lok Sabha Debates, 2012, pp. 696-697). All public vehicles were to be made GPS enabled and police verification of the drivers was made mandatory. Special Task Force headed by Union Home Ministry was constituted on 1<sup>st</sup> January 2013. Women personnel were increased in Delhi Police. PCR vehicles were increased in number.

Under the “*Safe City Project*” Delhi came under surveillance of CCTV cameras (Lok Sabha Debates, 2013, pp. 31-36). A pilot project called “One Stop Crisis Centre” was supposed to implement by the National Mission for Empowerment of Women in public hospitals in 100 districts to provide specialized facility for women subjected to violence (Patil, 2013). Shri Ratan Singh appreciated the government initiative of Women Bank (Singh, 2013, p. 1021). Nirbhaya Fund was a major step taken by the government. “*Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act*” came into being that provides for stringent punishment for persons who commit or abet such offences. “*Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Bill, 2013*” was introduced. The “*Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2013*” came into force on 3 February 2013. Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2015 was introduced which came into force from 15 January 2016.

**Criticism:** Shrimati Supriya Sule focused on gender-biasness prevalent in the house that few men in parliament take up issues seriously (Lok Sabha Debates, 2013). The Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2013 brought in new crimes such as stalking, voyeurism, and acid throwing and enacted stricter punishments. Feminists welcomed the expansion of the definition of rape beyond penile-vaginal penetration. However, the state fixed age of consent at eighteen, exempted marital rape, and retained the death penalty, the army remained immune from prosecution for sexual assaults, and the state did not recognize sexual violence against women from marginalized communities as aggravated forms of the crime and treated rape as a gender-specific crime excluding transgender persons from the purview of legal protection from rape (Dutta & Sircar, 2013, pp. 301-302).

#### **Political Measures for Social and Economic Justice:**

Patriarchal mindset should be changed. Awareness of gender equity should be imparted to people. Proper implementation of the law is needed. Firmness and sensitivity should be mirrored in governance for social welfare and for the proper functioning of democratic values. If these national concerned issues are properly managed then this will lead to India a way ahead for being developed country and superpower in world.

#### **3.4.2: Debate on 2G Spectrum Scam**

2G Spectrum financial scam is the largest political corruption case and one of the biggest scams in the history of modern India. Minister of Communications and Information Technology A. Raja was arrested on 2 February 2011 by the Central Bureau of Investigation as he issued 2G licenses to private telecom players like Unitech, Swan Telecom, Videocon, S tel, R-Com etc. at very cheap rates in 2008 violating the law. R. K. Chandolia and Siddharth Behura were also arrested later.

There has been long series of debate took place in Lok Sabha during the period of the study that is described below under the following heads:

**Civil Society Movement:** During 2011-12, India Against Corruption became a popular movement. Arvind Kejriwal, Kiran Bedi and Anna Hazare were the prominent public faces. Anti-Corruption Movement is somewhat that is associated with (Right to Information) RTI (Menon & Nigam, 2011, p. 18). Arvind Kejriwal and Aruna Rai, retired IAS filed a Public Importance Litigation (PIL) in Supreme Court by making use of '*Right to Information Act of 2005*' to extract information regarding the scam as the public money is used in the functioning of the governance. Getting information about public money is right of the citizens in democracy. During the '*Boston Tea Party*' it was taken into consideration when people started agitating "*no taxation without representation*" during AWI.

Once Dr. A. P. J. Kalam stated that "*Information is Power*" while delivering speech in Educational Institution's Convocation in Bhopal. The voices of the people were raising to fight against corruption by public officials as the corruption cases were severely occurred during Fifteenth Lok Sabha. The major corruption related issues and scams in a series included Satyam scam, Coalgate scam, Commonwealth Games (CWG) scam, Adarsh Society scam, Fodder scam and the most popular 2G spectrum scam. People agitated and party in opposition demanded highly to punish the officilas and to change laws accordingly. Shri Anna Hazare was arrested but released afterwards to protest declining the rules provided by Delhi Police. He demanded the formulation of his Jan Lokpal Bill that he has framed to fight against corruption under "*India Against Corruption*" as he was opposed to the Lokpal Bill of the government. The whole nation and the team of Anna Hazare was engaged in fighting against corruption on roads. "*Anna Hazare's*

*movement has snowballed into an explosion of revulsion and anger among citizens against corruption in public places” (Paul, 2011, p. 17).*

**Responsibility of Government:** It is universally popular that Democracy is the Government of the people, by the people and for the people where it should be Citizen-oriented transparent and fair. But every now and then there have been complaints of corruption in the government officials as it happened during the allocation of 2G licences. The names of the Government officials involved in this corruption scam when media disclosed the ‘Nira Radia Tapes Controversy’. Telenor and Etisalat were given licences illegally. G. Sampath, the deputy editor of the Daily News and Analysis (DNA) newspaper wrote, “the complete blackout of the Nira Radia tapes by the entire broadcast media and most of the major English newspapers paints a truer picture of corruption in the country” as it became International news through internet. The chief Government officials accused of the 2G Spectrum scam were A. Raja (Minister of Communications and Information Technology), M. K. Kanimozhi (Rajya Sabha MP), P. Chidambaram (Minister of Home Affairs), Siddharth Behura (Former Telecom Secretary), R. K. Chandolia (Raja’s Private Secretary) and Nira Radia (Corporate lobbyist).

**CAG Report:** As Dr. B. R. Ambedkar observed the Comptroller and Auditor General of India as most important officer (Devadas, 1989). “*CAG is the custodian of the Indian Constitution*” (Basu D. D., 1992).

CAG has the duty to keep the records of revenue that not a single money from the Consolidated Fund of India should be extracted without legislative approval. He performs his duty during the 2G Spectrum Scam that he revealed that there was loss of cost Rs 1.76 lakh crore found while issuing 3G licenses in the year 2008. This revenue loss corruption scam was made public after the investigation of Nira Radia by Income Tax Department. Subramaniam Swamy moved an petition application against A. raja in Supreme Court of India that received much attention of media. Vinod Rai, Ex – CAG speaks of how the political system was exploited to violate laws in 2G Spectrum (Rai, 2014). Favouritism was followed that cripples the life of our democracy. The CAG highlighted that the entire process of allocation of Unified Access Service licences "lacked transparency" and was undertaken in an "arbitrary, unfair and inequitable manner," in the process "flouting

every canon of financial propriety, rules and procedures." The 77-page report of the CAG was tabled in Parliament revealed the truth by disclosing that the TRAI rules were not followed properly. On this Manmohan Singh stated, "The Comptroller and Auditor-General has no duty or power to challenge policy decisions taken by the government. It also said that CAG Act, 1971 nowhere provides that he has any duty or power to question the wisdom of the policy/lawmakers as policy decisions may involve trial and error theory. CAG, CVC and other watchdog no doubt play a very significant role in any democracy but they being constitutional/statutory functionaries cannot exceed the role assigned to them under the constitution/ law. Even the courts refrain to question wisdom of government in policy matters unless the policy decision is patently arbitrary, discriminatory or mala fide." Law minister Veerappa Moily supporting A. Raja made a statement, "CAG is an important institution to safeguard the interests of the exchequer. There is a process involved under which queries are raised by the CAG following which the opinion of the particular ministry or department is obtained. Then the report is presented to Parliament and becomes its property." After a petition filed by Janata Party President Subramaniam Swami, the Supreme Court asked the sanctioning authority i.e. the Prime Minister to answer on the 2G spectrum scam. An SC bench comprising Justices G S Singhvi and A K Ganguly was hearing the 2G spectrum case. Senior BJP leader L.K. Advani said PM should take serious initiative against A. Raja. As the UPA and Congress under Prime Minister Manmohan Singh helping and defending A. Raja from every corner. Dr. M. Thambidurai stated that the country had big loss of revenue in this unfair deal. The Chief Vigilance Commissioner (CVC) also confirmed these irregularities. He further added, "On May 29<sup>th</sup>, the Delhi High Court observed that the spectrum allocation was done on the lines of 'sale of cinema tickets'". He suggests the Prime Minister to intervene and cancel these 2G licences that is affecting Indian Economy. It created a lot of controversy and the Government was accused of malpractice as was stated by the C&AG in his reports that blamed the Government for tardy implementation of several programmes. Thus, now its Government turn to come clean on this. (Thambidurai, 2009).

**Safeguards taken by the Government:** Everywhere there was discussion on corruption even the Lok Sabha sessions were getting disrupted. Dr. M. Thambidurai showed much concern about corruption in the country that is expanding in leaps and bounds needs to be

eradicated. He regarded “allocation of 2G spectrum by Telecom Minister is considered as the mother of all scandals” (Thambidurai, 2009). Prabhat Jha, the editor of Kamal Sandesh and Rajya Sabha MP said that after maintaining long time “conspiracy of silence” and shielding Raja finally PM Manmohan Singh declared to appoint Joint Parliamentary Committee. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said, “our Government is committed to root out corruption and has acted expeditiously and transparently in this direction. A CBI investigation into the allocation of 2G spectrum is being supervised by the Supreme Court. Also, the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament is seized of the matter and the Government is fully cooperating with it.” Independent Inquiry Committee set up under the Chairmanship of Justice Shivraj Patil has also submitted its report. The Ministry of Communications and Information Technology is also acting expeditiously. The Government has taken all effective steps and also agrees to the setting up of a Joint Parliamentary Committee to resolve confrontations between ruling party and party in opposition for successful working of sessions in the Parliament. (Singh M. , 2011, p. 4). For the democracy the step to set up JPC announced by PM Manmohan Singh was appreciated by Sushma Swaraj and Mulayam Singh Yadav. Shri Gurudas Dasgupta says that, ‘the Parliamentary session can only run on the basis of consensus’ as it is the duty of the government to consider demands of the opposition party regarding national concerned issues as the opposition party was demanding the constitution of JPC for two and half years (Lok Sabha Debates, 2011, pp. 5-11). PM Manmohan Singh appealed the members and requested all party leaders to run the parliament smoothly and to join hands in dealing with the cancer of corruption (Singh M. , 2011). Sushma Swaraj laid stress on the corruption issue very effectively and also countered the comments made by ruling party regarding the same. Joint Committee of both the Houses consisting of 30 Members - 20 from Lok Sabha and 10 from Rajya Sabha be appointed:-

*“(i)To examine policy prescriptions and their interpretation thereafter by successive Governments, including decisions of the Union Cabinet and the consequences thereof, in the allocation and pricing of telecom licenses and spectrum from 1998 to 2009; (ii)To examine irregularities and aberrations, if any, and the consequences thereof in the implementation of Government decisions and policy prescriptions from 1998 to 2009; and*

*(iii)To make recommendations to ensure formulation of appropriate procedures for implementation of laid down policy in the allocation and pricing of telecom licences.” (Lok Sabha Debates, 2011).*

P. C. Chacko presented the report of the JPC to the House in pursuance of provisions laid down in the Rules 279 and 280 of the Rules of Procedure and Direction 71A of Directions by the Speaker, Lok Sabha. (Lok Sabha Debates, 2013, pp. 609-610). Shri V. Narayanasamy introduced “*The Lokpal Bill*” inspite of having objection by opposition leader Sushma Swaraj that the Prime Minister has got immunity in the bill. (Lok Sabha Debates, 2011). Pranab Mukherjee made a statement regarding Lokpal Bill that should be enacted. He clarifies that the bill was introduced in Lok Sabha after having long discussions between Civil Society and the Government constituting Joint Draft Committee. Then after, Anna Hazare agitated and demanded his Jan Lokpal Bill to be enacted. The different views have been emerging on the issue of corruption. (Mukherjee, 2011). After the statement, there was a long discussion went on the issues regarding corruption and Lokpal Bill in the house. Sushma Swaraj initiated discussion on the statement. She had a long discussion the issue. Poonam Veljibhai Jat stressed that the Lokpal Bill should be passed and agreed to the reservations for the SC, ST, OBC and women. Jyoti Dhurve supported the historic Bill that is fair, free, transparent and powerful tool to fight against corruption. Meena Singh assured that the Government will come up with strong bill and asked Anna Hazare to break his fast.

Yashodhara Rajee Scindia focused attention on scams and corruption cases prevalent in administration. Admiring Anna Hazare, Harsimrat Kaur Badal argued that the Government is for the people and it should not cheat people and these representatives should do their assigned duties very actively. Sushila Saroj argued that all are equal before law and so the Prime Minister should not be immune to Lokpal Bill. Jayshreeben Patel made a statement that democracy is not structure but way of life. And corruption is like cancer for democracy that should be cured on time. Kamla Devi Patle also presented her view regarding the action to combat corruption. Shrimati Seema Upadhyay laid stress on bill that should be enacted fulfilling the norms of the Constitution and she also favoured the representation. Rama Devi focused that alongwith the Lokpal Bill awareness

among citizens and government officials should be created for successful working of the democracy. Dissatisfied with the functioning of ruling government, Darshana Jardosh favours for the strong Lokpal Bill in the country. Annu Tandon also had views to fight against corruption by bringing Lokpal Bill. Shrimati Bijoya Chakravarty supported Anna Hazare and Sushma Swaraj while stressing for strong Jan Lokpal Bill.

J. Shantha presented her grief towards corruption and the people distress in the country. She talked about corruption took place in CWG scam, Adarsh Society etc. and also threw light on money deposited in banks of other countries. She demanded to include law makers, Prime Minister, CBI, NGOs, advocates, Doordarshan and media too under the sphere of Lokpal Bill. Sumitra Mahajan talked about effective parliamentary democracy to come that satisfies the citizens and the proper working of the Parliament is the need of the hour. Putul Kumari expressed her views regarding sad picture of the people of the country and hoped that the balanced Lokpal Bill will be enacted. (Lok Sabha Debates, 2011). Lokpal and Lokayuktas Bill, 2011 duly passed by Lok Sabha on 27 December 2011 was returned by Rajya Sabha with amendments that were considered into the House and discussion went on this. Sushma Swaraj highly stressed on the bill that should be constitutional and that can better combat with corruption in India. The bill was duly supported by Supriya Sule that paves the way for corruption free society. (Lok Sabha Debates, 2013).

Pranab Mukherjee, the Minister of Finance introduced "*the Prevention of Money-Laundering (Amendment) Bill*" to amend the Prevention of Money-Laundering Act, 2002 (Lok Sabha Debates, 2011, p. 19). Prevention of Corruption (Amendment) Bill, 2012 with the amendments of sections 7, 17 and 19 was introduced by Shri Bhoopendra Singh in the House. (Lok Sabha Debates, 2012, p. 626). The "*Lokpal and Lokayuktas Act, 2013*" came into force from 16 January 2014, seeks to provide for the establishment of the institution of Lokpal to inquire into allegations of corruption against certain public functionaries in India. Whistle Blowers Protection Act, 2011 received the assent of the President of India on 9 May 2014, which provides a mechanism to investigate alleged corruption and misuse of power by public servants and also protect anyone who exposes alleged wrongdoing in government bodies, projects and offices.

### **Criticism:**

Sushma Swaraj threw light on two demerits of the bill. She provided argument regarding the representation of members of not less than 50 % by SC, ST, OBC and women. She had other argument with making bill mandatory under 253. She tried to prove the bill unconstitutional (Lok Sabha Debates, 2011). Although in the Bill, Lokpal was provided with investigative arm to have jurisdiction over Civil Servants and Ministers and for the investigation there will be no prior permission and the Lokpal will be funded by Consolidated Fund of India (Panchu, 2011, p. 19). Interim attachment of property of the accused be made open to public.

Sushma Swaraj argued that the corruption issue in public offices is a matter of citizen's rights who are being affected from this corruption. Harsimrat Kaur Badal and Meenakshi Natarajan talked about violation of rights of citizens due to corruption prevailing in Government offices (Lok Sabha Debates, 2011).

### **3.4.3: Discussion over Women's Reservation Bill**

Jaya Prada advocated in favour of the Women's Reservation Bill (WRB) that has been pending for long in Lok Sabha passed by Rajya Sabha. Thousands of bill are passed on regular basis but the WRB is still lagging behind. Devji M. Patel, Shiv Kumar Udasi, Kamal Nath and Basu Deb Acharia favoured the bill (Lok Sabha Debates, 2014, pp. 532-534). Botcha Jhansi Lakshmi urged the government to pass the bill. Though some MPs were in favour like Mulayam Singh Yadav but some had contradictory issues like Dara Singh Chauhan while explaining the importance of Mayawati government said that prior to WRB is social and economic equality of dalits. Therefore consensus was failed to built among the Lok Sabha members to pass WRB (Lok Sabha Debates, 2009).

*"Former Chief Election Commissioner M. S. Gill suggested that, rather than institute seat reservations, political parties should be required to run a minimum agreed percentage of women candidates"* (Randall, 2006, p. 65).

Women's Reservation Bill was introduced in the Parliament under *"the Constitution (108<sup>th</sup> Amendment) Bill, 2008"*. It was passed by Rajya Sabha on 9<sup>th</sup> March 2010 but

never went for voting in Lok Sabha since then and finally lapsed in 2014. It could not pass because of the political will and patriarchy that is prevalent in Lok Sabha.

*“Reservation by law should be made for atleast 30 percent of organizational positions at various levels in every political party and the same percentage of party tickets for parliament and state legislatures, seats to women with failure to do so inviting penalty of the party losing recognition” (Kashyap, 2008, p. 381).*

#### **3.4.4: Why Male participation high over Female Members**

As the majority of representation is of men in the House they took discussions ahead very effectively. This is analyzed through the study made in this Chapter that though the number of men is much higher as compared to women they have high participation in the legislative debates. But in addition, it is also found that women are more concerned and serious over the women related issue than their male counterparts. Male MPs showed much interest over general issue in which women have less curiosity and concern.



#### **3.5: Summing up**

*Dr. B. R. Ambedkar stated “on 26<sup>th</sup> January 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradiction. In politics, we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality,” as he observed that, “Political democracy cannot last long unless there lies at the base of it social democracy. What does social democracy mean? It means a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principals of life.” And he clarifies that, “we are having this liberty in order to reform our social system, which is*

*full of inequality, discrimination and other things, which conflict with our fundamental rights.”*

India is a Parliamentary democracy with supremacy of Parliament. Parliament gives platform to the members of parliament to discuss and debate on different issues of national concern. The members in the legislature also legislates the bills that applies to the citizens of the country. Due to the provisions made in the Constitution women also have rights as equal as men. They have been entering to the parliament beings members of parliament as representatives of the people. Women do participate in the working and functioning of the parliament but they still a minority representation in the parliament. As Dr. Girija Vyas mentioned concerning about women that in the last five years we have women all around from Space to athlete, in politics like Pratibha Patil, Meira Kumar, Sonia Gandhi and Sushma Swaraj. We have Women Commission and laws for women. We have constitutional rights as “*articles 14, 15, 15(3), 16, 16(1), 39, 42, 51A, 51(2) that protect women*”. We have bills and acts too but still violence against women is still flourishing in society. (Vyas, 2009).

The study made in this chapter mainly deals with the participation of women in Fifteenth Lok Sabha. The study shows that women do participate in the debates and discussions in the Lok Sabha Sessions. During the period of the study two specific issues were taken to reach to the conclusion. These were ‘Nirbhaya Case’ and ‘2G Spectrum Scam’. These issues were of great concern as these become burning issues for the entire population of the country as ‘Nirbhaya Case’ and ‘2G Spectrum Scam’ deals with generalized themes of rape and corruption in the country respectively. ‘Violence against women’ and ‘Corruption’ are two blots on Indian face of democracy. On these two issues, long debates and discussions took place in Parliament. New bills were introduced and were enacted in accordance of the need of the hour.

The participation of women was there in the debates, discussions and making legislations during the period of the study. Women participated well on the two issues in the Lok Sabha. During the Nirbhaya Case debates and discussions Sushma Swaraj was very powerful in expressing her views in effective manner. She took part in every debate on the issue of Nirbhaya held during the period of the study. Next active participant was Dr.

Girija Vyas who put necessary measures to be taken. Sumitra Mahajan, Darshana Jardosh, Jayshreeben Patel, Jyoti Dhurve, Harsimrat Kaur Badal, Meira Kumar, Pratibha Devi Singh Patil, Poonam Veljibhai Jat expressed their views regarding the rape case on the floor of the Lok Sabha. The long discussion went on Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 2013 in which women members participated very actively like Sumitra Mahajan, Supriya Sule, Harsimrat Kaur Badal, Saroj Pandey, Priya Dutt, Jaya Prada, Satabdi Roy and Meena Singh. They presented their different views. Botcha Jhansi Lakshmi also expressed her view on the dignity of women. This is how the women parliamentarians in Lok Sabha participated in the debate on Nirbhaya case during the Fifteenth Lok Sabha.

The following measures should be taken into consideration such as reducing Juvenile age, educating children and imparting sex education to the students, women dignity as human right has to be considered effectively, policing should be made more active, security of women should be maintained by police, community, civil society, free legal aid is to be given to victims and the cases to be speedily registered, the dignity of the victims to be ensured to protect victims from committing suicides, bio-datas of accused should be made public to create fear of public shame.

On the issue of corruption specifically taking 2G Spectrum scam, the study focuses on the participation of women members on the issue. During this issue too, Shrimati Sushma Swaraj participated in almost every debate. She discussed the matter of corruption in the Lok Sabha. And strongly put arguments regarding the formation of JPC and also enquired the government's implementation. She was the only woman who supported the JPC formation strongly and was in favour till the last until it was formed. Women members participated on the issue of corruption and Lokpal Bill were Sushma Swaraj, Harsimrat Kaur Badal, Meenakshi Natarajan, Poonam Veljibhai Jat, Jyoti Dhurve, Meena Singh, Yashodhara Raje Scindia, Sushila Saroj, Jayshreeben Patel, Kamla Devi Patle, Seema Upadhyay, Rama Devi, Darshana Jardosh, Annu Tandon, Bijoya Chakravarty, J. Shantha, Sumitra Mahajan, Putul Kumari and Supriya Sule.

It is the responsibility of the government to run it with transparency so that corruption like crimes should not sustain in the country as they are meant to be accountable to the

people. Therefore, it should be ensured that money from the “*Consolidated Fund of India*” should not be extracted unnecessarily.

The two events became historic as they got attention of the media and people in large numbers. And everyone had concern regarding the two. Though women members participated actively during the Lok Sabha debates but some or more women remain silent. And the representation of the women in Lok Sabha is inadequate. Women should try to express their voice as they are meant to govern the clock, not to be governed by it. As Aung San Suu Kyi says, “*you should never let your fears prevent you from doing what you is right*”. Therefore, all women in the parliament should take part in the discussions very confidently as being representatives of the people.

Indira Gandhi was “*one of the three Iron ladies in the world*”. She was very powerful being a woman among the male members and powerful too than men. Another Iron Lady of Britain, Margaret Thatcher says, “*In Politics, if you want anything said, ask a man; if you want anything done, ask a woman.*” As Cher observed too that “*women are the real architects of society*”.

Finally, the outcome of the debates is that the participation of the women members over the men members is higher on the women specific issue. Therefore, it can be said that though men and women have equal population approximately, the percentage of women should be equal to men so that women related issues be resolved on time where men lacks interest.

## CHAPTER-4

### Question Hour: Powerful Tool Of Lok Sabha Members

*“If we wish to maintain democracy not merely in form, but also in fact, what must we do? The first thing in my judgement we must do is to hold fast to constitutional methods of achieving our social and economic objectives...When there was no way left for constitutional methods for achieving economic and social objectives, there was a great deal of justification for unconstitutional methods. But where constitutional methods are open, there can be no justification for these unconstitutional methods. These methods are nothing but the Grammar of Anarchy”*  
-Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (On 25 November 1949).

#### 4.1: Introduction

Parliament concerns itself with policy matters on various occasions. Parliament controls the government in two ways, namely, direct and indirect. The latter is operated through the minister that is the intermediary between the administrative department and the representative parliament. *“In a parliamentary system, where ministers are grilled on the floor of the house, the administration ‘ipso facto’ stands accountable to the sovereign will of the people. The Minister being a servant of the Parliament and a master of his department, is pulled up by the former for the lapses of the latter”* (Sharma & Sharma, 1976, p. 97).

Members of Parliament influence the *decision-making of the government* by participating on two grounds: *“(1) by asking questions during Question Hour, either to elicit the required information or to prepare ground for influencing the decisions; (2) by participating in debates where important resolutions are moved, bills passed and statements made on the floor of the House. The former constitute the indirect or the preparatory phase influencing decision-making, the latter is a more direct way of taking decisions”* (Kumar, 2008, p. 81). Here we are concerned with the first part of asking questions.

Members of Parliament formulate *basic constitutional policies enshrined in the Preamble, Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy and other governmental policies* (Kumar, 2004, p. 17).

*“The legislative control over policy concerns, starts with the opening of the first session of the parliament after the elections or in the new session annually, with the President’s Address. Further, Question Hour, debate on proposed legislations, Motions, Resolutions, and various Parliamentary Committee reports are the instruments to give rise to occasions for extending parliamentary influence over the activities of the government. On some occasions such as levying or modifying taxes, voting on grants, etc., Parliament asserts its power to make Executive accountable to the masses”* (Kumar, 2004, p. 17).

Interrogating government during the Question Hour is the powerful tool of MPs. The purpose of questions is to elicit information by addressing it to competent who is expected to be able to answer through response or reply (Kashyap, 2000, p. 593).

*“The right to elicit information from the Executive Government by means of questions was explicitly conceded to the Indian members of the Imperial Legislative council for the first time in 1892 under the Indian Councils Act of 1892”* (Kashyap, 2000, p. 593). The procedure follows through ‘*Indian Councils Act of 1909*’, ‘*Montague Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, when the first hour of the meeting of the Council was earmarked for asking questions and the practice continues*’ (Kashyap, 2000, pp. 593-594).

As it is observed that, *“a skilful and determined backbencher can use parliamentary question to extract much information or to conduct a campaign in favour of or against a particular policy”* (Rush, 1976, p. 91). Question Hour provides the opportunity to the members to scrutinize the policies and programmes of the regime in power. The Ministers extract information regarding specific policy and sometimes force the government to consider over the specific policy. The first hour of each working day of Parliament is set for asking questions. Under the *Rule 32 of the ‘Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha’* it is stated that *“unless the Speaker otherwise directs, the first hour of every sitting shall be available for the asking and answering of question.”* The members interrogate the several ministries and departments regarding the

status of Government schemes and policies. The questions are of three kinds:- (i) Starred Questions to which oral answers are expected to be given, (ii) Unstarred Questions to which written answers are given, (iii) Short Notice Questions that are meant of urgent public importance can be expected to be answered orally by giving notice prior within 10 days. *“It is a unique parliamentary device to exercise surveillance over the administration. It is an important instrument in the hands of the members of Parliament to ensure answerability or accountability of the administration for its acts of omission or commission to the Parliament and the people. The entire range of governmental activities comes under the scrutiny of Parliament by this procedure”* (Kashyap, 2000, p. 593).

The Question Hour becoming an indirect tool allows the members to investigate policy development. In this way, the members make use of this tool for calling information on the Government's decisions, policies, and its performance. Apart from the questioner, the other members can also join the debates on starred questions by asking supplementary questions. *“Sometimes the interventions of the members keep multiplying, leading to a full-fledged discussion on a particular policy of the Government”* (Kumar, 2004, pp. 142-143).

*“Question time is to be judged by its value in effectively and intelligently controlling the policy and the administration of the government”* (McCulloch, 1933, p. 975). It is the most operative in influencing the government by leading public attention on subjects of policy and changing public opinion. *“During the Question Hour, MPs may voice demands and air grievances on behalf of their constituents”* (Chi-Hung, 1976, p. 552).

The questions in Lok Sabha are put to ministers, to the Speaker, and to private members. The questions put to the Speaker are of little importance only deals with matters of order and privilege. Questions asked to private members deal with only a very limited group concern Questions asked of ministers are said to be most important.

*“The realization that real development cannot take roots if it bypasses women, who represent nearly half the country, has been the guiding principle in the formulation of our plans from the very beginning”* (Devi & Lakshmi, 2005, p. 76).

*As Rabindranath Tagore opines, “Woman is the builder and moulder of nation’s destiny. Though delicate and soft as a lily, she has a heart, far stronger and bolder than of man...She is the supreme inspiration for man’s onward march...She is, no doubt, her commanding personality, nevertheless is grimly solemn” (Jain, 1991, p. 23).*

Politicians are meant to be made accountable to the people and are expected to solve the complexities of political, social and economic problems. *“It is said that there are three types of administrators:- (i) those (the many thousands) who have no idea at all about what is happening and also do not care; (ii) those who merely watch what is happening; and (iii) a few motivated people who make things happen” (Ramachandran, 1996, p. 242).*

#### **4.2: Main objectives**

The chapter is meant to focus on the representation of women in Fifteenth Lok sabha dealing with their performance during Question hour in the Fifteenth Lok Sabha. The main focus is on the unstarred and starred questions during the period of the study. The study of unstarred questions covers the eight sessions of the Fifteenth series. It includes first four and last four sessions during which the House sat for discussion. In this part, it is studied that how men and women performed in asking questions over women associated matters that may be fruitful in making legislations to resolve the concerned issues regarding the same. Dealing with the starred questions, it is going to find out that how women members came up in asking questions as to interrogate government which helps in analyzing the particular policy or issue.

#### **4.3: Question Hour in the Fifteenth Lok Sabha**

The questions are asked by MPs on different issues regarding the policies formed. The questions here taken up are from Sessions II, III, IV, V, XII, XIII, XIV and XV. There were total 14 sessions in which Questions were put up. The nature of Questions asked are shown in the following table:

**Table 4.1**

Nature of Questions			
Sessions	Starred	Unstarred	Total
Session II	500	4896	5396
Session III	440	4848	5288
Session IV	620	7029	7649
Session V	460	5283	5743
Session XII	400	4600	5000
Session XIII	600	6883	7483
Session XIV	300	3450	3750
Session XV	420	4688	5108
Grand Total	3740	41677	45417

Source: Lok Sabha Questions Session II, III, IV, V, XII, XIII, XIV AND XV of Fifteenth Lok Sabha

This section throws light on women related different issues that were interrogated during the period of the study. The questions are categorized into various themes under the four sectors : 1) Social Development, 2) Economic Development, 3) Political Development and 4) Miscellaneous. The Social Development has been categorized into education, health, atrocities, safeguards, hostel facilities and welfare schemes. Economic development classified under the categories of employment, financial assistance and land holder. Political development includes various categories of reservation, leadership development and gender responsiveness. Sectorwise classification of questions asked by men and women as shown in the table below.

**Table 4.2**

Classification of Number and Percentage of Women Related Questions asked during the Question Hour in the Fifteenth Lok Sabha:

S. No.	Sectors	No. of total questions	No. of questions asked by men	% of questions asked by men	No. of questions asked by women	% of questions asked by women	No. of questions asked by both	% of questions asked by both
1	Social Development							
A	Education	56	45	80.0	6	10.7	5	8.9
B	Health	78	54	69.2	4	5.1	20	25.6
C	Atrocities	131	110	83.9	11	8.3	10	7.6
D	Safeguards	66	55	83.3	6	9.0	5	7.5
E	Hostel facilities	25	19	76.0	3	12.0	3	12.0
F	Welfare Schemes	97	69	71.1	14	14.4	14	14.4
2	Economic Development							
A	Employment/ Recruitment/ Reservation	145	119	82.0	12	8.2	14	9.6
B	Financial Assistance/ Fund Allocation/ Loans Provided	44	38	86.3	4	9.0	2	4.5
C	Land Holder	1	1	100	0	0	0	0
3	Political Development							
A	Reservation/ Representation	9	6	66.6	1	11.1	2	22.2
B	Leadership Development	3	3	100	0	0	0	0
C	Gender Responsiveness	1	0	0	0	0	1	100
4	Miscellaneous	213	171	80.2	22	10.3	20	9.3
Grand Total		869	690	79.4	83	9.5	96	11.0

Source: Lok Sabha Questions Session II, III, IV, V, XII, XIII, XIV AND XV of Fifteenth Lok Sabha

It is clear from the above table that women are more concerned about welfare schemes particularly whereas men have more issues regarding atrocities.

#### 4.3.1: Starred Questions during the Fifteenth Lok Sabha

During the five years from 2009 to 2014, total 6504 starred questions were put up during Question Hour on the floor of the Lok Sabha. Out of the total questions scheduled for oral answers only 9.7% of questions were answered orally. The maximum number of questions were 660 asked during X session and minimum number of questions were 300 asked during session VII and session XIV. Sessionwise number of starred questions asked during Fifteenth Lok Sabha are shown in the following table:

**Table 4.3**

Starred questions asked in Fifteenth Lok Sabha:

Session	Starred Questions
II	500
III	440
IV	620
V	460
VI	480
VII	300
VIII	520
IX	400
X	660
XI	404
XII	400
XIII	600
XIV	300
XV	420
Total	6504

Source: Lok Sabha Questions Session II, III, IV, V, XII, XIII, XIV AND XV of Fifteenth Lok Sabha

### 4.3.2: Starred Questions asked by women members

As in the Indian Parliamentary democracy, women have got the equal opportunity to be elected to the Parliament, these elected women being MPs make use of their opportunity to ask questions during Question Hour perform their duty as active and representative members of the House. Women members asked 850 starred questions during the period of the study. The maximum number of questions were 111 asked during session X and the minimum number of questions were 41 asked during session II. The sessionwise number of starred questions asked by women members are shown in the following table:

**Table 4.4**

Starred questions asked by women members in Fifteenth Lok Sabha:

Session	Starred Questions by Women members
II	41
III	58
IV	80
V	59
VI	61
VII	43
VIII	72
IX	48
X	111
XI	55
XII	45
XIII	88
XIV	44
XV	45
Total	850

Source: Lok Sabha Questions Session II, III, IV, V, XII, XIII, XIV AND XV of Fifteenth Lok Sabha

Though starred questions are meant to be answered orally and to be discussed during Question Hour, there were only some questions which were answered orally and others were given written answers. Due to disruptions, the Question Hour suspended several times during the Fifteenth Lok Sabha. Out of the total 6504 starred questions, 636 starred questions were answered during Question Hour. The maximum number of questions answered orally were 86 during the session III and minimum number of questions answered orally were 5 during session VI. Out of 636 starred questions which were answered orally 76 questions were asked by women members. Sessionwise details of oral answers to starred questions is shown in the following table:

**Table 4.5**

Oral answers given to Starred Questions:

Session	Oral Answers to Starred Questions	Oral Answers to Starred Questions asked by Women MPs
II	75	6
III	86	9
IV	76	10
V	46	4
VI	5	0
VII	47	10
VIII	50	5
IX	41	5
X	82	17
XI	13	2
XII	49	1
XIII	38	5
XIV	11	1
XV	17	1
Total	636	76

Source: Lok Sabha Questions Session II, III, IV, V, XII, XIII, XIV AND XV of Fifteenth Lok Sabha

The maximum number of starred questions asked by women members were 17 given oral answers during X session and the minimum number of starred questions asked by women members was 0 during session VI. These 76 questions are classified into 11 sectors as Finance, Rural Development, Communication and Information Technology, Transport, Consumer Affairs, Agriculture, Textile, Environment and Resources, Women Issues, Health and Miscellaneous. The maximum number of questions asked were from Environment. The number of questions asked under the said categories are shown in the following table:

**Table 4.6**

Questions asked by women over different issues:

S. No.	Sectors	No. of Questions
1	Finance	3
2	Rural Development	6
3	Comm. and IT	5
4	Transport	8
5	Consumer Affairs	6
6	Agriculture	4
7	Textile	2
8	Environment and Resources	11
9	Women Issues	3
10	Health	5
11	Miscellaneous	23
12	Grand Total	76

Source: Lok Sabha Questions Session II, III, IV, V, XII, XIII, XIV AND XV of Fifteenth Lok Sabha

Out of these total 76 questions, 3 questions were related to women issues. The 3 questions were asked by Shrimati Meena Singh and Shrimati Sumitra Mahajan; Shrimati J. Shanta; and Deepa Dasmunsi and Sumitra Mahajan during session III, IV and VIII respectively. The women members who asked these starred questions which were answered orally in the House are listed in detail in the following table:

**Table 4.7**

Number of questions asked by women members over different issues:

S. No.	Women Members	Questions Asked
1	Botcha Jhansi Lakshmi	5
2	Supriya Sule	6
3	Susmita Bauri	4
4	Bijoya Chakravarty	1
5	Sumitra Mahajan	7
6	Sushila Saroj	2
7	Yashodhara Raje Scindia	2
8	Rajkumari Ratna Singh	6
9	Meena Singh	3
10	J. Shantha	3
11	Bhavana Gawali Patil	1
12	Usha Verma	3
13	Jayshreeben Patel	1
14	Maneka Gandhi	3
15	Deepa Dasmunsi	5

16	Meenakshi Natarajan	1
17	Ratna De (Nag)	2
18	Jaya Prada	2
19	Annu Tandon	3
20	Jyoti Dhurve	3
21	Paramjit Kaur Gulshan	1
22	Seema Upadhyay	2
23	Shruti Choudhry	1
24	Jyoti Mirdha	1
25	Priya Dutt	1
26	Harsimrat Kaur Badal	3
27	J. Helen Davidson	1
28	Kamla Devi Patle	2
29	Rama Devi	4
30	Putul Kumari	2
31	Tabassum Hasan	1
32	Darshana Jardosh	1

Source: Lok Sabha Questions Session II, III, IV, V, XII, XIII, XIV AND XV of Fifteenth Lok Sabha

Out of the total 59 women members these 32 women MPs were concerned over different social, economic and political issues. Sumitra Mahajan was the one who asked the highest number of questions as she was very much concerned about the contemporary issues and policies formed by government. It is found that 45.76% of women MPs remain silent over the issues.

### **4.3.3: Review of Women Related Questions**

Meena Singh and Sumitra Mahajan asked question on 15 December 2009 during Question Hour in Lok Sabha regarding security to women that “(a) whether the Government has issued any advisory to the State Governments for ensuring safety and security of women and control of crimes committed against them in the country including the National Capital Territory of Delhi; (b) if so, the details thereof; (c) whether the Government has suggested specific steps through such advisories for improving the effectiveness of the administration of the criminal justice system and the machinery in tackling the various crimes and atrocities committed against women including amendments in the existing laws; and (d) if so, the details thereof?.” It was answered by P. Chidambaram in very effective manner over safety, court procedure guidelines and trafficking. Supplementary questions put up by Ponnambal Prabhakar, Ratna De and Jaya Prada over the safety issue, atrocities and violence against domestic helps respectively were answered by the Minister taking all the measures into consideration.

The question asked by Inder Singh Namdhari and J. Shantha regarding decline in Sex-ratio on 5 March 2010 during Question Hour in Lok Sabha was “(a) whether there has been a decline in the sex ratio in the country during the last three years; (b) if so, the details thereof, State-wise and year-wise alongwith the reasons therefor; (c) whether the incidents of female foeticide are on the rise; (d) if so, the details thereof; and (e) the steps taken/proposed to be taken by the Government to save girls from this menace in the country?.” Dinesh Trivedi answered this question over the issue of female foeticide. J. Shantha put up the question regarding misleading advertisements on Internet. Supplementary questions were asked by Chaudhary Lal Singh, Mulayam Singh Yadav, Supriya Sule and Harsimrat Kaur Badal over the issues related to illegal sonography, marriage, female foeticide and increasing cases of foeticide respectively. Suggestions were taken into consideration while he answered the questions. This discussion was fruitful to extract information and suggesting new measures that will help in future.

Deepa Dasmunsi and Sumitra Mahajan asked question regarding violence against women on 19 August 2011 during Question Hour in Lok Sabha that “(a) whether the cases of domestic violence including emotional, sexual and physical violence are on the rise in the

country; (b) if so, whether the Government has conducted any survey in this regard; (c) if so, the outcome thereof; (d) whether Protection Officers have been appointed to protect the women throughout the country under The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005; and (e) if so, the details thereof, State-wise, and if not, the reasons therefor?." The discussion over this could not flourish as Deepa Dasmunsi deviated from the central theme however Krishna Tirath in answer provided some data.

#### **4.4: National Commission for Women (NCW)**

NCW is "the apex nationalized organization of India with the mandate of protecting and promoting the interests of women" ([www.ncw.nic.in](http://www.ncw.nic.in)). It was set up in January 1992 as a statutory body under the "National Commission for Women Act, 1992" to fulfill the four main objectives to:- "(i) review the constitutional and legal safeguards for women; (ii) recommend remedial legislative measures; (iii) facilitate redressal of grievances and (iv) advice the government on all policy matters affecting women".

It works for the safety and security of women. It receives complaints in large numbers and addresses them. It runs awareness programmes regarding female foeticide, violence against women, women trafficking etc. It keeps an eye on the status of women regularly. It is functional for the women empowerment in India. Women victims can file cases regarding domestic violence, rape and other severe violence against women. Those who file cases they are provided with legal aids through Legal Delhi Legal Service Authority if they are not able to avail advocates. Counselling is done in the Mediation Centre and if the case is not resolved then it is sent to court.

#### **4.5: Summing up**

The study was initiated to make judgement over the representation of women while participating in questioning the government over women related specific issues and general issues meant for public concern. It helps in making decisions while formulating public policies. It is the remarkable feature of democracy that helps in national development when issues are resolved by the legislators.

The questions were asked by men and women both but the high percentage of asking questions was of men over the women regarding different issues. It is well noticed that there is interlinked relationship between representation and participation. Mathematically, it can be said that Participation is directly proportional to Representation, for instance if the number of women will increase then automatically the percentage of participation of women will increase. This is the reciprocity of both the terms.

Thus, it is the duty of every citizen to obey the constitutional directives to raise women in society that will ultimately lead them to take leadership positions in various organizations, state assemblies and legislative assembly of the union. For the advancement of women it is needed that gender sensitivity issue should be considered effectively and women should be encouraged and motivated to get education that will help in raising the national gross development leading a way ahead to become a developed country in the world.

The framers of the Constitution of India gives the responsibility to all its Citizens as citing in the Preamble “We, The People Of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic ...do Hereby adopt, enact, and give to ourselves this Constitution” to participate politically and socially as the government derives of the people that it will not function properly unless its citizens participate. So the opportunity must be availed by women to contribute in national policy making.

The National Human Rights Commission protects human rights, defined as ‘rights relating to life, liberty, equality and dignity of the individual guaranteed by the Constitution or embodied in the International Covenant and which are enforceable by the Courts in India’.

Lastly, it can be said that women can make the impossible things possible taking India to the rising superpower if they are entertained to reach altitudes of different public offices by giving helping hand to them.

## CHAPTER-5

### CONCLUSION

*“...one of the biggest responsibilities of the educated women today is how to synthesise what has been valuable and timeless in our ancient traditions with what is good and valuable in modern thought...there is no job that is too small; there is no person who is too small. Everybody has something to do. And if he or she does it well, then the country will run well.”* *-Indira Gandhi*

The subjugation of women through the ideology of gender discrimination under patriarchal society has been a part of world history for centuries. The deprivation of the women has largely been threefold: wretched economic conditions, secondary status in society and lack of access to political power. To provide opportunities for political development of women is the function of the government. When these opportunities are provided in transparent, fair and well functioned society, then women empowerment in political development becomes a powerful tool for the political uplift of the nation. As Dr. B. R. Ambedkar quoted, “Democracy is the sustenance of life based on the ideals of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity”.

Women double status has been disproved by famous female writers like Madhu Kishwar, Shobha Dey, Arundhati Roy while acknowledging the importance of women in every arena of public field. Though women had vulnerable condition throughout the period of the history then also there always have been contribution of women in society. However they did not have official rights and majority of the women were treated miserably. Some of the them performed their duties being administrators and rulers. Lichhavi Mahajanpad during 6<sup>th</sup> B. C. has been regarded as ‘Mother of Republics’. During this period, Gautam Buddha provided equal rights to women in Sangha taking the consideration of Anand. Women played significant role in diplomacy during Ancient period as Sanghmitra was sent to Sri Lanka by Ashoka for the political purpose. Chandra Gupta Maurya married her daughter to Selucas Nicator being a part of diplomatic relations. The role of the influence of women can be traced to Medieval times during 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century. Razia Sultana, daughter of Iltutmish and Chand Biwi led the state while

ruling over the governance. Meira Bai and Sant Kabir helped in the empowerment of women during Bhakti period. Peticot Governance is very famous in history when Mahab Anaga ruled over the state when Akbar was under the Guardianship of Bairam Khan.

Modern times brought new phase in the history when Modernization emerges as the outcome of Industrial Revolution which provided opportunity to women to come in public space. Due to the increase in number of companies the work load increased because of which women started taking part in industrial work apart from household work. British India became fruitful for the empowerment of women. Through the British Legacy notion of democratic powers evolved.

Florence Nightingale served well the injured soldiers of the Crimea War. There was influence of Joseph Boer Nai over Napoleon which was reflected in French Revolution. Napoleon was the one which provided a platform for women to come forward as to driven by the principal of 'Equality'. He brought golden ideals in the World History. He used to say that, "Impossible is a word to be found in the dictionary of fools". He laid more stress on 'Equality' than 'Liberty'. He started to provide the award "Lieson of Honour". Democratic ideals of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity brought awareness among women. These rights paved the way for women to take lead in various fields.

During the two legend wars of world history there was high loss of lives of soldiers due to which Sex ratio was disrupted and male ratio was seen declined at high rate. Women population increased. They used to serve the injured soldiers and every house became workplace as they started making clothes for the soldiers in their homes. Due to the increase in number of women, they started agitating for the equal rights among men. Labour Act and Barkhana Act brought new changes.

On 24<sup>th</sup> October 1945, the United Nations formed to serve welfare of the people in the world. On 10<sup>th</sup> December 1948, the UN Charter brought in known as "Declaration of Human Rights". Human Rights gained international entity. Later series of generation of rights evolved to include civil, political, economic, cultural rights etc. The remarkable features can be visible in Indian Constitution because of this HR Declaration as Constitution makers incorporated rights equal to both men and women in the Preamble,

Article 14, Article 15 etc. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar considered *Article 32, 'Right to Constitutional Remedies'* as the *'heart and soul of the Indian Constitution'*. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit represented India in United Nations Organization.

Sarojini Naidu, Annie Besant, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur presented their remarkable personality being politically active. During the first Lok Sabha elections, all citizens of India including both men and women got opportunity to avail franchise right. Nargis Dutt was the first lady to be nominated in the Rajya Sabha. Who can forget the outstanding figure of Indian polity - Indira Gandhi who ruled for 17 years and was known for her Charismatic personality. She was powerful among women and also among men in political field due to which she is known as one of the three Iron Ladies in the world. She played a significant role in the liberation of Bangladesh. She gave outstanding speech after the victory in the Lok Sabha addressing Parliament. 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment Acts brought significant changes as the women got 33% of reservation as political representation in Local Government in the years 1993 and 1994 respectively incorporated under 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> schedules in the constitution. Women are demanding reservation in the Parliament but the Women's Reservation Bill is still pending in the Parliament.

During the fifteenth Lok Sabha elections the milestone change emerged in as the representation of women crossed 10% in Lok Sabha making a history of the times. This is the period I have taken in my study. I have worked out on the performance of women MPs during the period of the study specifically dealing with their participation and representation regarding the debates taken up in the study.

The first chapter is the introduction to the study. The objective set for the study was to deal with debates and discussions in the Fifteenth Lok Sabha to find out the women representation and participation in political field. The hypothesis was related to the inadequate number of women in legislature that is why women's political participation is less otherwise they have capability to change the ways. In the second chapter I have tried to focus on women participation and their political status in the country since Independence. Through the stages of fifteen lok sabhas how women actively participated in making historical milestones. In the third chapter I have looked into the Lok Sabha

Debates during the period of the study. It is found that men and women are not poles apart but the lack of gender sensitization and prevalent patriarchal mindset of people is biggest hurdle in keeping women away from mainstreaming politics. They have discussed and debated over the issues efficiently. Thus their participation must increase. Fourth chapter deals with Question Hour of the Lok Sabha focuses on the performance of women. The chapter made a judgement that there is reciprocal relationship between participation and representation as participation is found to be directly proportional to the representation. The fifth chapter is the last one that throws light on my entire work. The study comes with the outcome that women are trying to speak on significant issues taken up in the Parliament but they are very less in number so their voices went unheard in the male-dominating legislature often as happened with the women's reservation bill. In spite of this they are making significant contribution in the decision making process as per their representation satisfactorily. During the period of the study the two debates on Delhi Gang Rape and 2G Spectrum Scam was taken into consideration. On the Nirbhaya Case, women MPs take outstanding participation rather than men as it was related to women safety issue. But on the corruption case specially 2G scam their participation was less as compared to their male counterparts. But women are actively raising questions over different issues apart from women related in the Question Hour in the Lok Sabha during the period of the study. Mainly the women from opposition party raise their loud voice like happened with Sushma Swaraj of Bharatiya Janata Party who took part in every debate which I chose for the study. To solve the problems of women there is need to accommodate more women in parliament as women related violence happens in the society each day.

The Hypothesis taken in the beginning of the study has been proved successfully. Female do participate but though they are few in number their percentage of asking questions and taking part in Lok Sabha Debates is lower than their male counterparts. Thus, they are inadequate in number their representation is less. Because of the low representation they have failed to pass the Women's Reservation Bill. Their representation should be increased so that effective measures can be taken regarding women safety because male members pay little attention to women related issues as happened in case of debate regarding Delhi Gang Rape. As male members are in majority they represent the

dominating attitude in Lok Sabha. Therefore, there is ample need for gender sensitization in the country because many of the rural and poor women are not aware of their rights to contest in elections and become legislators although they contribute as the major voter turnouts in the elections. Only some parties are leading to give positions to women that is sometimes seen biased. They give tickets to the women belonging to families politically active.

In last, I can say that, *“the wind of change is blowing through the country as the gender sensitivity and consciousness among women is a political fact. We must all accept it and our national policies must take account of it”*.

As Parliament is the apex legislative body that functions to build rapport between people and government. The members of parliament are meant to serve in the government being accountable to the people. They have the responsibility to work efficiently and transparently for the successful working of the democracy. They should take effective measures towards gender sensitivity and to discharge political training to women so that they can make use of their political right to take part in decision-making process as developmental agenda keeping at high.

It is clear from the facts that half of the world’s population constituted by women was not in mainstream and were exploited since ages in every corners of the world so in India. Women’s struggle is the fight for the idea that women should have equal rights with men. As a result of these struggles today women are on parity with men. Therefore, their recognition and presence in public sphere is considerably important. Gender sensitization should be made compulsory subject in educational institutions to provide knowledge to students pertaining to gender sensitive issues.

Finally, I conclude this study with my words that there is need to lead women to lead India.

## Annexures

### Annexure I

Percentage representation of women in legislatures in various countries (2009):

Country	Percentage of women representatives in legislature (Lower house)
America	16.8
Bangladesh	18.6
Brazil	9.0
Canada	21.1
China	21.3
Cuba	43.2
Denmark	38.0
Finland	4.5
France	18.2
Germany	32.8
India	10.7
Indonesia	18.2
Japan	11.3
Nepal	33.2
Pakistan	22.5
Russia	14.0
Sri Lanka	5.8
Sweden	47.0
United Arab Emirates	22.5
United Kingdom	19.5

Source: Intra-Parliamentary Union, 2010

## Annexure II

### Representation of women members in Fifteenth Lok Sabha:

S. No.	Name of Member	Party Name	Constituency & State
1	Agatha K. Sangma	NCP	Tura –ST (Meghalaya)
2	Annu Tandon	INC	Unnao (Uttar Pradesh)
3	Ashwamedh Devi	JD(U)	Ujiarpur (Bihar)
4	Begum Tabassum Hasan	BSP	Kairana (Uttar Pradesh)
5	Bhawana Gawali (Patil)	SS	Yavatmal-Washim (Maharashtra)
6	Bijoya Chakravarty	BJP	Gauhati (Assam)
7	Chandresh Kumari Katoch	INC	Jodhpur (Rajasthan)
8	Daggubati Purandeshwari	INC	Visakhapatnam (Andhra Pradesh)
9	Darshana Vikram Jardosh	BJP	Surat (Gujarat)
10	Davidson J. Helen	DMK	Kanniyakumari (Tamil Nadu)
11	Deepa Dasmunsi	INC	Raiganj (West Bengal)
12	Girija Vyas	INC	Chittorgarh

			(Rajasthan)
13	Harsimrat Kaur Badal	SAD	Bathinda (Punjab)
14	J. Shantha	BJP	Bellary –ST (Karnataka)
15	Jayshreeben Patel	BJP	Mahesana (Gujarat)
16	Jhansi Lakshmi Botcha	INC	Vizianagaram (Andhra Pradesh)
17	Jyoti Dhurve	BJP	Betul –ST (Madhya Pradesh)
18	Jyoti Mirdha	INC	Nagaur (Rajasthan)
19	Kaisar Jahan	BSP	Sitapur (Uttar Pradesh)
20	Kakoli Ghosh Dastidar	AITC	Barasat (West Bengal)
21	Kamla Devi Patle	BJP	Janjgir-Champa –SC (Chattisgarh)
22	Krishna Tirath	INC	North West Delhi – SC (NCT of Delhi)
23	Kruparani Killi	INC	Srikakulam (Andhra Pradesh)
24	Kumari Selja	INC	Ambala –SC (Haryana)
25	Lakshmi Panabaka	INC	Bapatla –SC (Andhra Pradesh)

26	M. Vijaya Shanthi	TRS	Medak (Andhra Pradesh)
27	Mamata Banerjee	AITC	Kolkata Dakshin (West Bengal)
28	Maneka Sanjay Gandhi	BJP	Aonla (Uttar Pradesh)
29	Mausam Noor	INC	Maldaha Uttar (West Bengal)
30	Meena Singh	JD(U)	Arrah (Bihar)
31	Meenakshi Natrajan	INC	Mandsour (Madhya Pradesh)
32	Meira Kumar	INC	Sasaram –SC (Bihar)
33	P. Jaya Prada Nahata	SP	Rampur (Uttar Pradesh)
34	Paramjit Kaur Gulshan	SAD	Faridkot –SC (Punjab)
35	Poonam Veljibhai Jat	BJP	Kachchh –SC (Gujarat)
36	Prabha Kishor Taviad	INC	Dahod –ST (Gujarat)
37	Pratibha Singh	INC	Mandi (Himachal Pradesh)
38	Preneet Kaur	INC	Patiala (Punjab)
39	Priya Sunil Dutt	INC	Mumbai-North-Central (Maharashtra)

40	Raj Kumari Chauhan	BSP	Aligarh (Uttar Pradesh)
41	Rajesh Nandini Singh	INC	Shahdol –ST (Madhya Pradesh)
42	Rajkumari Ratna Singh	INC	Pratapgarh (Uttar Pradesh)
43	Rama Devi	BJP	Sheohar (Bihar)
44	Ranee Narah	INC	Lakhimpur (Assam)
45	Ratna De (Nag)	AITC	Hooghly (West Bengal)
46	Santosh Chowdhary	INC	Hoshiarpur –SC (Punjab)
47	Sarika Devendra Singh Baghel	RLD	Hathras –SC (Uttar Pradesh)
48	Saroj Pandey	BJP	Durg (Chattisgarh)
49	Satabdi Roy (Banerjee)	AITC	Birbhum (West Bengal)
50	Seema Upadhyay	BSP	Fatehpur Sikri (Uttar Pradesh)
51	Shruti Choudhry	INC	Bhiwani- Mahendragarh (Haryana)
52	Sonia Gandhi	INC	Rae Bareli (Uttar Pradesh)

53	Sumitra Mahajan (Tai)	BJP	Indore (Madhya Pradesh)
54	Supriya Sadanand Sule	NCP	Baramati (Maharashtra)
55	Sushila Saroj	SP	Mohanlalganj –SC (Uttar Pradesh)
56	Sushma Swaraj	BJP	Vidisha (Madhya Pradesh)
57	Susmita Bauri	CPI(M)	Bishnupur –SC (West Bengal)
58	Usha Verma	SP	Hardoi –SC (Uttar Pradesh)
59	Yashodhara Raje Scindia	BJP	Gwalior (Madhya Pradesh)

Note:

- Smt. Ingrid Mcleod was Nominated Anglo-Indian (Chattisgarh),
- Smt. Putul Kumari (Independent) succeeded Digvijay Singh after his death on 24 June 2010 at Banka, Bihar seat,
- Smt. Mala Rajya Laxmi Shah of BJP succeeded Vijay Bahuguna at Tehri Garhwal seat, Uttarakhand seat,
- Km. Ramya Divya Spandana of INC succeeded N. Chaluvarya Swamy after his resignation in May 2013 at Mandya, Karnataka seat,
- Smt. Dimple Yadav of SP succeeded Akhilesh Yadav at Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh seat.

Source: Lok Sabha official website: [www.loksabha.nic.in](http://www.loksabha.nic.in)

### Annexure III

Women Members who hold positions in Union Council of Ministers from First to Fifteenth Lok Sabha :

Lok Sabha	Lok Sabha wise order of numbers	Minister
First	1	Rajkumari Amrit Kaur
	2	C. Maragatham
Second	1	Lakshmi N. Menon
	2	Violet Alva
	3	Tarakeshwari Sinha
Third	1	Indira Gandhi
	2	Lakshmi Menon
	3	Sushila Nayar
	4	C. Maragatham
	5	Jahanara J. Singh
	6	R. Soundaram
	7	Nandini Sathpathy
	8	Tarakeshwari Sinha
Fourth	1	Indira Gandhi
	2	Phulrenu Guha
	3	Nandini Sathpathy
	4	Jahanara J. Singh
	5	Sarojini Mahisi
Fifth	1	Indira Gandhi
	2	Sushila Rohatgi
	3	Sarojini Mahisi
	4	Manorama Pandey
Sixth	1	Satyavani Muthu
	2	Renuka D. Barakataki

	3	Abhja Maiti
	4	Rashida H. Choudhury
Seventh	1	Indira Gandhi
	2	Mohsina Kidwai
	3	Sheila Kaul
	4	Ram Dulari Sinha
	5	Kamala Kumari
	6	Kumudben Joshi
Eighth	1	Mohsina Kidwai
	2	C. Margatham
	3	Rajendra K. Bajpai
	4	Margaret Alva
	5	Sheila Dikshit
	6	Saroj Khaparde
	7	Sumati Oraon
	8	Sushila Rohatgi
	9	Krishna Sahi
	10	Ram Dulari Sinha
Ninth	1	Maneka Gandhi
	2	Usha Singh
Tenth	1	Sheila Kaul
	2	Kumari Selja
	3	Krishna Sahi
	4	Sukhbans Kaur
	5	Basava Rajeswari
	6	Mamata Banerjee
	7	Margaret Alva
	8	D. K. Tara Devi

	9	Girija Vyas
Eleventh	1	Sushma Swaraj
	2	Renuka Chowdhury
	3	Kanti Singh
	4	Kamala Sinha
	5	Ratnamala D. Savanoor
Twelfth	1	Vasundhara Raje Scindia
	2	Sushma Swaraj
	3	Maneka Gandhi
Thirteenth	1	Mamata Banerjee
	2	Sushma Swaraj
	3	Maneka Gandhi
	4	Vasundhara Raje Scindia
	5	Uma Bharati
	6	Bijoya Chakravarty
	7	Jayawantiben N. Metha
	8	Rita Verma
	9	Sumitra Mahajan
	10	Bhavnaven D. Chikalia
Fourteenth	1	Meira Kumar
	2	Panabaka Lakshmi
	3	Suryakantha Patil
	4	Subbulakshmi Jegadeesan
	5	Kanti Singh
	6	Renuka Chowdhury
	7	Kumari Selja
Fifteenth	1	Mamata Banerjee
	2	Ambika Soni

	3	Kumari Selja
	4	Krishna Tirath
	5	D. Purandeshwari
	6	Panabaka Lakshmi
	7	Praneet Kaur
	8	Agatha Sangma

Source: Calculated by the Researcher

## Annexure IV

Members of Parliament participated in the Fifteenth Series Lok Sabha Debates:

S. No.	Member	Gender	Party	Debate Issue
1	A Sampath	M	CPI (M)	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
2	A T. Nana Patil	M	BJP	2G Scam
3	Ajay Kumar	M	JVM (P)	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
4	Anand Sharma	M	-	2G Scam
5	Anant Gangaram Geete	M	SS	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
6	Annu Tandon	F	INC	2G Scam
7	Anto Antony	M	INC	2G Scam
8	Arjun Charan Sethi	M	BJD	2G Scam
9	Arjun Ram Meghwal	M	BJP	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
10	Arvind Kumar Sharma	M	INC	2G Scam
11	Asaduddin Owaisi	M	AIMIM	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
12	Ashok Argal	M	BJP	2G Scam
13	Badri Ram Jakhar	M	INC	2G Scam
14	Bal Kumar Patel	M	SP	2G Scam
15	Baliram Jadhav	M	BVA	2G Scam
16	Basu Deb Acharia	M	CPI (M)	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam; WRB
17	Bhakta Charan Das	M	INC	2G Scam
18	Bhartruhari Mahtab	M	BJD	2G Scam
19	Bhaskar Rao Patil Khatgonkar	M	INC	2G Scam
20	Bhisma Shankar Alias Kushal Tiwari	M	BSP	2G Scam
21	Bhola Singh	M	BJP	Nirbhaya Case

22	Bijoya Chakravarty	F	BJP	2G Scam
23	Bishnu Pada Ray	M	BJP	2G Scam
24	Botcha Jhansi Lakshmi	F	INC	Nirbhaya Case; WRB
25	C. R. Patil	M	BJP	2G Scam
26	Chandu Lal Sahu	M	BJP	2G Scam
27	Danve Raosaheb Patil	M	-	2G Scam
28	Dara Singh Chauhan	M	BSP	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam; WRB
29	Darshana Jardosh	F	BJP	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
30	Datta Meghe	M	INC	2G Scam
31	Devji Patel	M	BJP	2G Scam; WRB
32	Dhananjay Singh	M	BSP	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
33	Dharmendra Yadav	M	SP	2G Scam
34	Dilip Kumar Mansukhlal Gandhi	M	BJP	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
35	Dinesh Chandra Yadav	M	JD (U)	Nirbhaya Case
36	Dushyant Singh	M	BJP	2G Scam
37	G. V. Harsha Kumar	M	INC	2G Scam
38	Ganesh Singh	M	BJP	2G Scam
39	Ghanshyam Anuragi	M	SP	2G Scam
40	Girija Vyas	F	INC	Nirbhaya Case
41	Gorakhnath Pandey	M	BSP	2G Scam
42	Gurudas Dasgupta	M	CPI	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
43	H. D. Devegowda	M	JD (S)	2G Scam
44	Hansraj G. Ahir	M	BJP	2G Scam
45	Haribhau Jawale	M	BJP	2G Scam
46	Harin Pathak	M	BJP	2G Scam
47	Harsha Vardhan	M	INC	2G Scam

48	Harsimrat Kaur Badal	F	SAD	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
49	Hassan Khan	M	Ind.	2G Scam
50	Hukmdeo Narayan Yadav	M	BJP	2G Scam
51	J. Shantha	F	BJP	2G Scam
52	Jagdambika Pal	M	INC	2G Scam
53	Jaya Prada	F	SP	Nirbhaya Case; WRB
54	Jayant Chaudhary	M	RLD	2G Scam
55	Jayshreeben Patel	F	BJP	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
56	Jeetendra Singh Bundela	M	BJP	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
57	Jitendra Singh Malik	M	INC	2G Scam
58	Jose K. Mani	M	KC (M)	2G Scam
59	Joseph Toppo	M	AGP	Nirbhaya Case
60	Jyoti Dhurve	F	BJP	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
61	Jyotiraditya M. Scindia	M	INC	2G Scam
62	K. Chandrasekhar Rao	M	TRS	2G Scam
63	K. D. Deshmukh	M	BJP	2G Scam
64	Kabindra Purkayastha	M	BJP	2G Scam
65	Kalyan Banerjee	M	AITC	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
66	Kamal Kishor 'Commando'	M	-	2G Scam
67	Kamal Nath	M	INC	Nirbhaya Case; WRB
68	Kameshwar Baitha	M	JMM	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
69	Kamla Devi Patle	F	BJP	2G Scam
70	Kamlesh Paswan	M	BJP	2G Scam
71	Kapil Sibal	M	INC	2G Scam

72	Kirit Premjibhai Solanki	M	BJP	2G Scam
73	Kirodi Lal Meena	M	Ind.	2G Scam
74	Lalit Mohan Suklabaidya	M	INC	2G Scam
75	Lalu Prasad	M	RJD	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
76	M. B. Rajesh	M	-	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
77	M. Thambidurai	M	AIADMK	2G Scam
78	Mahendrasinh P. Chauhan	M	BJP	2G Scam
79	Maheshwar Hazari	M	JD (U)	2G Scam
80	Manish Tewari	M	INC	2G Scam
81	Manmohan Singh	M	INC	2G Scam
82	Meena Singh	F	JD (U)	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
83	Meenakshi Natarajan	F	INC	2G Scam
84	Meira Kumar	F	INC	Nirbhaya Case
85	Mirza Mehboob Beg	M	J&KNC	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
86	Mohan Jena	M	BJD	2G Scam
87	Mulayam Singh Yadav	M	SP	2G Scam; WRB
88	Mullapally Ramachandran	M	INC	Nirbhaya Case
89	N. Kristappa	M	-	2G Scam
90	Nama Nageshwara Rao	M	TDP	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
91	Narahari Mahato	M	AIFB	2G Scam
92	Naranbhai Kachhadia	M	BJP	2G Scam
93	Neeraj Sekhar	M	SP	Nirbhaya Case
94	Nirmal Khatri	M	INC	2G Scam
95	Nripendra Nath Roy	M	AIFB	2G Scam

96	O. S. Manian	M	AIADMK	2G Scam
97	Om Prakash Yadav	M	Ind.	2G Scam
98	P. Chidambaram	M	INC	2G Scam
99	P. K. Biju	M	CPI (M)	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
100	P. T. Thomas	M	INC	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
101	P. Viswanathan	M	INC	2G Scam
102	Pakauri Lal	M	SP	2G Scam
103	Panna Lal Punia	M	INC	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
104	Pawan Kumar Bansal	M	INC	2G Scam
105	Pinaki Mishra	M	BJD	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
106	Poonam Veljibhai Jat	F	BJP	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
107	Pralhad Joshi	M	BJP	2G Scam
108	Pranab Mukherjee	M	INC	2G Scam
109	Prasanna Kumar Patasani	M	BJD	2G Scam
110	Prasanta Kumar Majumdar	M	RSP	2G Scam
111	Pratibha Devi Singh Patil	F	INC	Nirbhaya Case
112	Praveen Singh Aron	M	INC	2G Scam
113	Prem Das Rai	M	SDF	2G Scam
114	Priya Dutt	F	INC	Nirbhaya Case
115	Putul Kumari	F	Ind.	2G Scam
116	R. Thamaraiselvan	M	DMK	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
117	Radhe Mohan Singh	M	SP	2G Scam
118	Rajaram Pal	M	INC	2G Scam
119	Rajendra Agrawal	M	BJP	Nirbhaya Case; 2G

				Scam
120	Rajiv Ranjan Singh	M	JD (U)	Nirbhaya Case
121	Rakesh Sachan	M	SP	2G Scam
122	Ram Kishun	M	SP	Nirbhaya Case
123	Ram Singh Kaswan	M	BJP	2G Scam
124	Rama Devi	F	BJP	2G Scam
125	Ram shankar	M	BJP	2G Scam
126	Ramen Deka	M	BJP	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
127	Ramsinh Rathwa	M	BJP	2G Scam
128	Ratan Singh	M	INC	Nirbhaya Case
129	Ravinder Kumar Pandey	M	BJP	2G Scam
130	Rewati Raman Singh	M	SP	2G Scam
131	S. D. Shariq	M	J&KNC	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
132	S. S. Ramasubbu	M	INC	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
133	S. Semmalai	M	AIADMK	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
134	Sajjan Verma	M	INC	Nirbhaya Case
135	Sameer Bhujbal	M	NCP	2G Scam
136	Sandeep Dikshit	M	INC	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
137	Sanjay Dina Patil	M	NCP	2G Scam
138	Sanjay Jaiswal	M	BJP	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
139	Sanjay Nirupam	M	INC	2G Scam
140	Sanjay Singh Chauhan	M	RLD	2G Scam
141	Sanjeev Ganesh Naik	M	NCP	2G Scam
142	Saroj Pandey	F	BJP	Nirbhaya Case
143	Satabdi Roy	F	AITC	Nirbhaya Case

144	Satpal Maharaj	M	INC	2G Scam
145	Saugata Roy	M	AITC	Nirbhaya Case
146	Seema Upadhyay	F	BSP	2G Scam
147	Shailendra Kumar	M	SP	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam; WRB
148	Sharad Yadav	M	JD (U)	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
149	Shiv Kumar Udasi	M	BJP	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam; WRB
150	Shivram Gouda	M	BJP	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
151	Sk. Saidul Haque	M	CPI (M)	2G Scam
152	Sudip Bandyopadhyay	M	AITC	2G Scam
153	Sumitra Mahajan	F	BJP	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
154	Supriya Sule	F	NCP	Nirbhaya Case
155	Sushil Kumar Shinde	M	INC	Nirbhaya Case
156	Sushila Saroj	F	SP	2G Scam
157	Sushma Swaraj	F	BJP	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
158	T. K. S. Elangovan	M	DMK	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
159	Tarun Mandal	M	Ind.	2G Scam
160	Thangso Baite	M	INC	2G Scam
161	Thokchom Meinya	M	INC	2G Scam
162	Thol Thirumaavalavan	M	VCK	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam
163	V. Narayanasamy	M	INC	2G Scam
164	Varun Gandhi	M	BJP	2G Scam
165	Vijay Bahadur Singh	M	BSP	Nirbhaya Case
166	Virender Kashyap	M	BJP	2G Scam
167	Virendra Kumar	M	BJP	Nirbhaya Case; 2G Scam

168	Yashodhara Raje Scindia	F	BJP	2G Scam
169	Yashvir Singh	M	SP	Nirbhaya Case
170	Yashwant Sinha	M	BJP	2G Scam
171	Yogi Adityanath	M	BJP	2G Scam

Source: Calculated from the Lok Sabha Debates by the Researcher

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