Lund University

Department of political science

Patriarchy and Women's Parliamentary representation in Bangladesh

Masters thesis within Political Science

Author: Farjana Rahman

Supervisor: Anders Uhlin

Examinar: Kristina Jonsson

Date: 8th January, 2014

1

Abstract

The low representation of women in almost every legislative form of life is an international concern. In reality, very small portion of women representations are seen in the government in proportion to their population. Now a day women participation in the parliament is assumed necessary in modern democracy because decent number of women representation is noticed as crucial for appropriate government. In connection to above discussion my paper tried to reveal the reasons hindering women's representation in Bangladesh parliament. Case study design is a good option to find out the actual factors causing women under representation in the parliament. Research question is set from the logical point of view identifying the elements or factors which are influential on women representation. Posing question consisted with "why" and "how" has helped me revealing the identification of the factors and created a broad aspect of discussing their impact on women representation. For this reason, my study becomes explanatory study as it requires explaining the situation. Furthermore, I tried to figure out if the religion is really a factor causing women low representation or it is a manipulated factor? To problematize my analysis portion I have found "Patriarchy" and "supply and Demand model" theories most suitable. After my going through my discussion, the reader will see I have focused and sorted out male domination as a prime factor hindering women's representation in the parliament and which also makes impact on all the other factors causing women under representation in the parliament. I made some recommendations for future studies at the conclusion part as well.

Key Words: Parliament, Women representation, Patriarchial system, male domination, religion, electoral system, quota and political culture.

Table of Content   **Page No.**

Abbreviations and Acronyms

PM- Prime Minister

MP- Member of Parliament

CEDAW- Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women

UNDP-United Nations Development Programme

UN- United Nations

ADB- Asian Development Bank

NGO- Non Governmental Organization

BBC- British Broadcasting Corporation

BAL- Bangladesh Awami League

BNP-Bangladesh National Party

JP- Jatio Party

JIB- Jamaat - e- Islami Bangladesh

PR- Proportional Representation

SMD- Single-Member District

FPP- First-past-the-post (for electoral system)

MWCA- The Ministry of Women's and Children affairs

1. Introduction:

Bangladesh is actually and conventionally a deeply patriarchal society. Most of the norms, values that are related with the structure of the country are gendered. Most of the time the norms and values of this gendered country support masculinity direct or indirect way. Women are to clash and conflict with the traditional boundaries or gender oriented boundaries that place them a subordinate position within male supremacy thought fundamental aspect of which is dictatorship and supremacy of man and incapability and namelessness of women in all sectors of their lives. The Identical idea of political participation of women in national politics nearly impossible to understand in isolation from its contexts like: cultural, socio-economic factors and historical factors. These factors are most potential variables to improvise the idea while we try to outline the understandings of woman participation in politics from each country's point of view. Political participation can be any activity which aims at influencing the formation of a government, the designation of leaders and the policies they perform or conduct. These activities can have the goal of supporting the existing structures and politics or changing them. They include active and passive actions, collective or individual, legal or illegal, support or pressure actions, by which one or several people try to influence the type of government that may lead a society, the way the state of that particular country is led, or specific government decisions affecting a community or their individual members.

1.1 The background of women involvement in politics and representation in parliament of Bangladesh:

In order to appreciate gender issues in Bangladeshi politics, it is necessary to look at the degree of the participation of women and men in decision-making in different Organizations and to find out the gender gap and unequal scenario in each institution. "Ideas regarding the difference between private and public worlds forcefully restrict the participation of women in decision-making institutions" (Nussbaum et al., 2003: 5). During the British period, local government remained almost the absolute sphere of men. According to Forbes (2002) the entry of women into the political process through a wider franchise and the contesting of elections on both reserved and general seats were first introduced through the achievement in 1935 of the Government of India Act. Quotas for women in Parliament is also experiencing in reaching their present level of 45 out of a total of 345 seats. Since independence in 1971, the Bangladesh has intended to bring women into national politics through electoral quotas. Under the constitution, 15 seats for women (4.8 percent of total seats) were reserved in Parliament. The number of seats reserved for women was increased to 30 (or 9.7 percent of the total) in 1979. But this provision voided in 1987, and for the next three years there were no quotas for women in the national Parliament. "In 1990, a constitutional reform renewed the 30 seats reserved for women" (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1999: 28). The provision, reserving 30 seats voided again in 2000.There have been several controversies about the number of seats to be reserved for women in the Parliament and the way for filling these seats. Finally, a constitutional reform was passed in 2005. The size of the quota for women in Parliament was increased to 45. The amendment also pointed out that the quota for women would be assigned to political parties based on their position or number of seats they have in the Parliament.

The two women Khaleda Zia and Sheikh Hasina are dominating in the political arena of Bangladesh from 1991 to until now. They both were related to powerful leaders and still failed to make any significant improvements for women in Bangladesh. Women in Bangladesh having no family credentials have not failed to mark on politics. Bangladesh has not been insensitive to the

gender issues in the political arena. But still not that much advancement in making pathways for women in parliament is seen by these two women leaders.

Women's Representation in different Parliaments of Bangladesh

Year of Election	Overall percentage of women candidates	Number of Women elected in general seats	Percentage of Women in general seats	Number of Women in reserved seats	Percentage of Women against the total seats
1973	0.3	0	0	15	4.8
1979	0.9	2	0.7	30	9.7
1986	1.3	5	1.7	30	10.6
1988*	0.7	4	1.3	-	1.3*
1991	1.5	5	1.7	30	10.6
1996	1.39	7	2.3	30	11.2
2001*	1.9	6	2	-	2*
2008	3.54	19	3	45	18.6

* There were no provisions for reserved seats in the parliaments of 1988 and 2001

Source: Bangladesh Election Commission

1.2 Purpose and the research question

Aim: To find out, how patriarchy societal system is effecting the political representation in parliament of women in Bangladesh?

Question: Why so few women are elected to the national parliament of Bangladesh?

1.3 Literature Review

Jahan and Kabir (2012) talked about democracy and for the quality of democracy they emphasized women's equal representation in parliament. Still in the different countries they have different legislative body and different picture of political scenario can be seen. The ratio of women representation in the parliament of different countries sets individual picture. But the common thing among countries is women representation is less in the parliament. Because of having both PM and opposition leader position are represented by women, people may think that the country has strong democratic position in terms of fair representation of gender equality in the parliament. But the true picture is the percentage of women representation in Bangladesh parliament is 6.3 percent which state 19 out of 300 seats. It seems we are far away from meeting the target of 30 percent women's involvement in the parliament, which was fixed by United Nations in Beijing Platform for Action in 1995. In a traditional way Bangladesh society is male dominated. Due to inequity and deprivation women are subjects to lower status. The Patriarchial society does not want to let women work outside home. The social positioning process in the family does not give chance women to take a leading role. Male dominated situation adds to women's dependency on men and men have substantial restrictions regarding women in leadership and management positions. The male dominated social system social system restricts women from active in politics. Thus Women have continued banned from decision-making and political participation. Their capabilities broadly stayed concealed and their sacrifice is often neglected. Thus, social, economic, cultural and political factors are all mutilated against women although the ordinance of the Republic assured equal rights for all citizens.

According to Jahan and Kabir (2012) several reasons can be stated to prove that reserved seats become less important for the national politics in Bangladesh as the MPs do not represent any specific constituency. They use Norris and Lovenduski (1995) two interacting causal factors 'supply' and 'demand' which results in women low representation in the parliament. While set-

ting supply factors the usual discussion for the supply side factor is that women do not go ahead or interested in politics. They are afraid to go to political offices. In a male dominated social system in Bangladesh, all the procedures, ethics and norms are gendered. Here besides patriarchal societal system Jahan and Kabir (2012) also mentioned religious factors as a reason of poor representation of women in parliament.

According to Jahan and Kabir (2012) the selectors or different political parties are included in demand side factor. And, these parties show discriminations while nominating women. No individual factor is liable for poor participation of women in Bangladesh national parliament. Moreover, comparatively women's commentary position could be seen as derived from a complicated exchanged of factors – socio-economic, religious, cultural, attitudinal, structural and political, which are all interacted. Paternal norms and values are ingrained in the country's politics. Party relationship is quite significant for women to conquer traditional societal inequity.

Now a day, women's participation in decision making around the world is 15 percent. Though the international community declared the enhancement and participation of women in the parliament will be increased through several steps at international conference of CEDAW, still only 12 countries have more or equal to 33 percent of seats holding by the women in the parliament (UNDP Reports, 2005). The exclusion of women from politics has historical background, which is made by several personal, structural factors. Women should work hard to achieve deeper understanding of societal order where women political involvement is appointed Democracy and development, which posture restricts on women's adequate political involvement. Here Bari (2005) suggested that we have to put the current political and development diagram under scrutiny to analyze the environment of women political representation.

 According to Bari (2005) it is needed to have a deeper understanding of societal structure from where the women's political participation is built up since different society having different structural and functional set up considering women's political involvement. Besides these, there are some general issues are related to women's political participation, for example, political structure of a country is also important to make favorable environment for women's involve-

ment in politics. The character of politics is a significant factor for the addition or deletion of women in politics. Patriarchy based politics and the nature of formal political hierarchy is another factor that blocks women's political representation. In her discussion gender role is shown as a tool of ideology by patriarchy which sets women in private place as mother and wives and on the other hand place man within public arena. She also clarified that the concept of politics is only belongs to public arena and the private arena is excluded from political activities. Socio cultural factor is one of the key factors which determine the women's participation in politics. The dual role of women as mother and wife may limit their movement in politics. Women have lack of access to financial resources where political system is being commercialized. This is also one of the crucial elements which are becoming reasons for limitation of women's participation in politics. Bari also identifies some strategies which are being used for women political participation such as quotas and women politicians networking. It is unattainable if we do not reduce those above factors which make barriers to women political involvement.

Women's political involvement can be varied with different type of political set up, culture and also with the particular level of socio-economic development. In reality, on the basis of race, class, ethnicity, education and cultural background all women's position are not same in the society. According to Shvedova.N (2002) rejection of women from legislative body is the obstacle for strengthening democratic principles in a society; also the man monopolized political process does not follow equal gender interests. Here, all the problems regarding women's political involvement are considered into three areas: socio-economic, socio-cultural and political.

Man dominated political arena is not usually based on "systematic collaboration"; it has focused more on the concept of "winners and losers" which results in competitions. This idea based on different political party forced women to reject the male style politics or doing political activities altogether. Shvedova.N (2002) also argues that lack of access to information and education also plays a vital role to hamper women's involvement in politics. Whereas women have to spend their much time for family needs and domestic work, it becomes very tough for them to participate in politics. She also mentioned that though women are good at organizing. Also they are good cam-

paigners, but they have lack of confidence which hindering their political involvement and keep them far from contesting elections. In her paper one more thing, which is very related to women`s confidence regarding political activities is the "conception of dirty game". Since women usually recognize politics as a dirty game, they do not feel comfort to involve in politics.

1.4 My contribution to this study

In the previous studies the researchers had shown several reasons for low representation of women. For instance, they have shown religion, socio-economic, cultural factors etc, as barriers. But I have seen lack of attention on specifying main reason behind women low representation in the parliament. From my point of view, in the previous studies the researcher did not focusing on the actual reason or reasons, which is or are needed to be uprooted. Even, they spoke about some barriers, for example, religion (mostly against Islam, in a country like Bangladesh)? I would like to focus on religion to find out how it works as a factor? Is religion an active factor or a manipulated factor?

The real picture regardless what women of Bangladesh have gained in the political arena shows the unequal power relation considering gender. Here, I want to study though the head of both government and opposition are female what factors causing low representation of women in the parliament? From the literature review as we see some factors detected by other authors I want to see is there anymore factors working behind low representation of women in the parliament of Bangladesh along with the detected factors? Moreover, along with factors which have been detected by the other researcher in this field of study, the author of this paper has identified some other factors which are pinned with the supply and demand model. In the analysis chapter I also showed the interaction in between supply demand model and Patriarchy.

2. Theory

2.1 Patriarchy

The word "patriarchy" indicates 'male domination', 'male prejudice (against women)' or simply 'male power'. Bennett (2006) seen that in modern English, the term patriarchy has three meanings. First, it can refer to the ministerial power of men accepted as Christian rulers, specifically in the Greek conventional tradition. Second, patriarchy can states the constitutional right of a husband or father over his wife, children and other dependents. On this area, According to Rajadurai and Geetha (1998, p.5) the term (Patriarchy) means "the absolute rule of the father or the eldest male member over his family".

In this thesis, I would like to contend that patriarchy implicitly influences gender relationships in Bangladesh. For example, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) 2001 refers conventional Bangladesh as a patriarchal and patrimonial social system and indicates that the life of a woman in the country is, therefore, dominated by patriarchal values. Such a system depends on an adamant distribution of labour that restricts women's movements, appearance and duties and also sexual course of action. To evaluate patriarchal system how it is influencing the societal system we must consider to evaluate the women's status in a society. In Bangladesh, the women are in dominated position. They are not getting the actual proportion of their right. "Woman's status is lowest in those societies where they are placed under one man's authority in the home" (Rosaldo 1974:36). According to Hall (1992), made it more specific indicating and introducing the word "patriarchy system". "Women's empowerment is least developed in the most traditional patriarchal societies" (Hall 1992:82).

Patriarchy actually means ruling of the father in a male-dominated family. It is a common and cerebral formation which states men as higher or above to women. "Patriarchy is a system of social constructions and actions in which men dominate, harass and use women" (Walby.S

1990:20).In accordance with Walby I assume patriarchy as a system refusing the idea of biological determinism which differentiate man and women on the basis their biological appearance which assigned them (man and women) different roles as well.

In a Broadway Patriarchy refers to demonstration and arrangements of male control over women and children in the family and the expansion of male authority over women in society in general. It tells that men hold power in all the significant foundation of society and that women have restriction of access to such power. "Patriarchal system refers to male domination, to the power relationships by which men dominate women, and to characterize a system whereby women are kept subordinate in a number of ways" (Bhasin 2006:3).

Patriarchy is the basis of the system of power interactions which are ranked and unequal where men supervise women's production, reproduction and sexuality. It enforces masculinity and femininity character conventional in societal system which makes stronger the unequal power relations between genders. "Patriarchy does not say that women are either totally powerless or totally deprived of rights, influence, and resources" (Lerner 1989:239). Moreover, "the state has a systematic bias towards patriarchal interests in its policies and actions" (Walby.S 1990:20). Patriarchal structure of knowledge maintains patriarchal concept and this is imitated in educational associations, learning management and media which boost male dominance. According to Desai and Krishnaraj (2004), more deep interpretation of patriarchy was over analogical way, which is giving messages of low status of women through traditional focusing on the noble, humble pure image of women and through customary activities which highlight the dominated role of women as a trustworthy wife and dedicated mother. Patriarchy is defined in different ways. "Patriarchy is kinship system in which men exchange women" (Mitchell 1971:24).

Kandiyota (1997) defines the term patriarchal bargain as the distinctions of class, caste and ethnicity. "Patriarchal bargain exert a powerful influence on the shaping of women's gendered subjectivity and determine the nature of gender ideology in different contexts" (Kandiyota.1997 p. 86). According to Kandiyota (1997), they also make impact on the character and form of women's defiance to various types of abasement while being affected to historical conversion which

can lead to new areas of conflict and renegotiation of relations between genders. Here, I can say patriarchy can be reformed considering women's in social class; like women who belong to higher class, they have equal rights to man.

 "existence of set rules and scripts regulating gender relations, to which both genders accommodate and acquiesce, yet which may nonetheless be contested, redefined and renegotiated" (Kandiyota. 1997. p. 97). In relation to this while gender relations is a subject to redefine and negotiable and transformable are not the matter of argument under specific socio-historical consequences and the particular cultural context.

The first lecture of patriarchy is given in the family where the master of the family is a man/ father. Man is treated the head of the family and supervise women's sexuality, labour or production, reproduction and movements. In a male dominated family the birthing of male child is favored compare with a female. The male child is taken as the heir of the family while the female child is treated as burden.

 According to Jagger and Rosenberg (1984), Patriarchy states the regulatory system of male authority. It can be told that patriarchy is a set of social interactions between men and women, which has an actual base, and which, though ranked, authorized or conceived self-ruled and supported among men that empowered them to rule women. Patriarchal philosophy distorted biological differences between men and women, making sure that men always have the commanding, or masculine, behavior or roles and women are always dominated or having feminine roles. This philosophy is so authoritative that "men are usually able to secure the apparent consent of the very women they oppress". Men do this "through institutions such as the academy, the church and the family, each of which justifies and reinforces women's subordination to man" (Millett, 1977.p-35). So patriarchy is such a social system and practice in which women are dominated, oppressed as well as exploited by man.
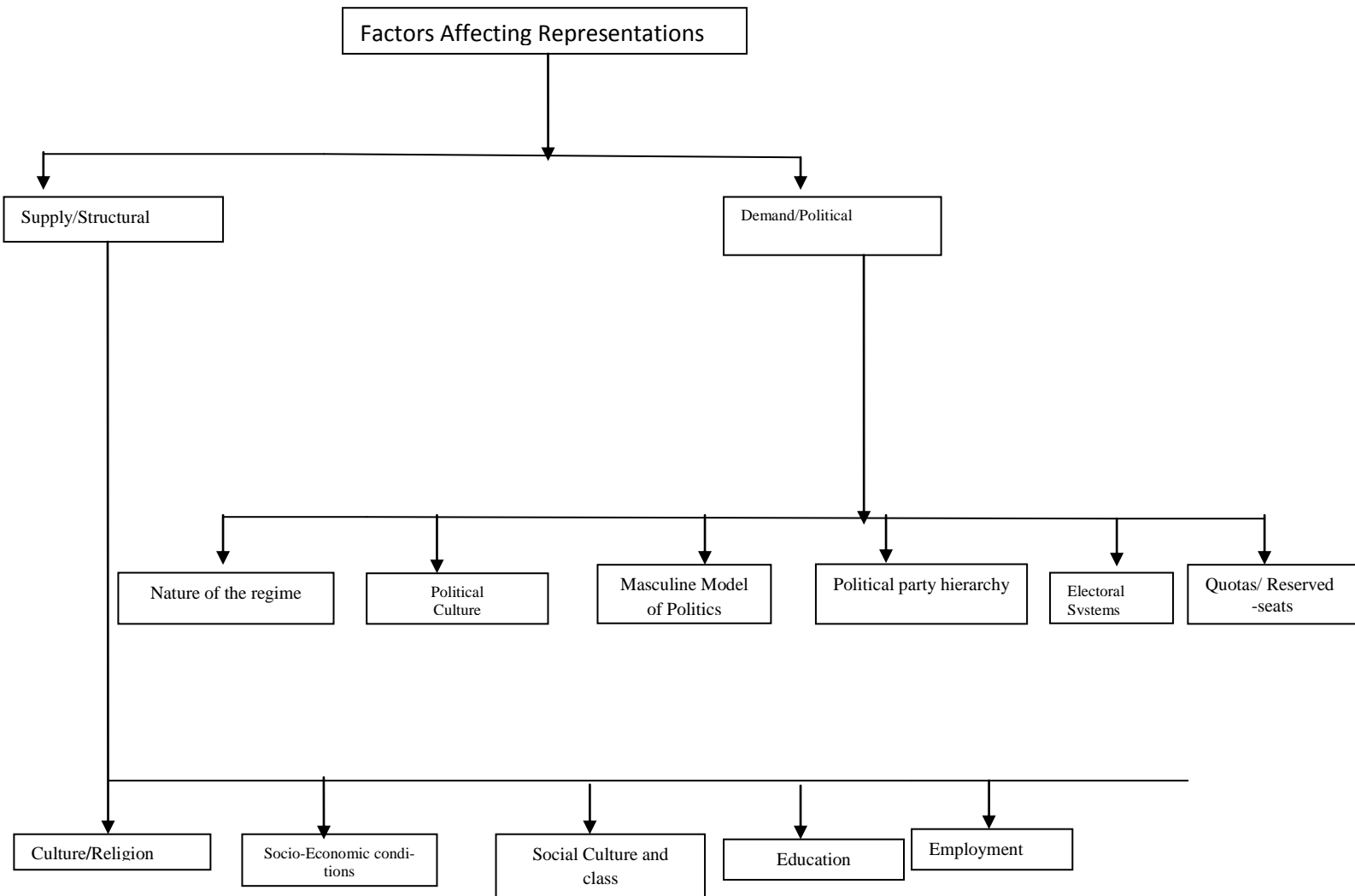
2.2 Supply and Demand Factors

This paper mainly goes with supply and demand model developed by Norris and lovenduski of political selection process. I used this model to highlight male dominance as an actual cause of low level women representation in the parliament rather religion.

The paper shows supply and demand model of political selection, which contends that gatekeeper and selector behavior, candidate income, candidate catalyst and party process integration to affect outcomes. According to Norris and Lovenduski (1995), these capacities of selection map onto demand in the form of gatekeeper and selector approaches, and supply, affected by candidate catalyst, qualification and availability.

According toNorris and Lovenduski(1995) The result of the recruitment procedure reverse the supply of candidate willing to go for a political career and the demands of recruiters who recruits aspirant on the basis of their choice and concept of capability, qualifications and acknowledge possibility of getting elected. Supply and demand collaborate at every lap of the procedure.

According to Lovenduski and Norris (1995) Supply factors limit the maximum numbers of women looking get recruited, cut their percentage below their corresponding existence in the population.

```
                    ┌──────────────────────────────────┐
                    │  Factors Affecting Representations │
                    └──────────────────────────────────┘

┌──────────────────┐                          ┌──────────────────┐
│ Supply/Structural │                          │ Demand/Political │
└──────────────────┘                          └──────────────────┘
```

| Nature of the regime | Political Culture | Masculine Model of Politics | Political party hierarchy | Electoral Systems | Quotas/ Reserved -seats |

| Culture/Religion | Socio-Economic conditions | Social Culture and class | Education | Employment |

"On the demand factors women may loose from discrimination while recruiting if aspirant with resources especially correlated with men are those that are wanted by party recruiters" (Norris and Lovenduski. 1995. p- 14).

Bangladesh is a South Asian nation, where a patriarchal system adds force to women's dependency on men and men have strong authority regarding women in leadership and management positions. In spite of this, two women leaders have ruled the country for more than a decade now. But the picture we see from the above discussion is that the patriarchy system is endorsed with every situation and working circumstances. The supply sector minimizes the number of women

getting involved in politics. On the other hand, the overall demand factors are also controlled by the Patriarchial system. This picture shows how patriarchy system is related to supply and demand factors. Even in this chapter in the following writings I have shown several examples regarding this.

The factors causing women's overall representation in the parliament are common across nations while the level of low participation differs from nation to nation. Therefore, same paths and techniques cannot bring parallel outcome for all nations. This largely used to the Bangladesh parliament.

Factors affecting on woman representation are some time interrelated and difficult to isolate from each other. Norris and Lovenduski(1995) showed two interacting causal factors which are named "Supply" and "demand" which affect in women's participation in the parliament. The explanation of Supply related factors in a very easiest way is women who do not come forward or do not feel interest involving in politics. The demand side factor is related mainly to the decision makers, or political parties, where such parties classify against women's nomination. The authors tried to compare the two factors, as potential candidates may be dejected to go ahead to put their names from the prediction of failure.

To make an analysis on the relationship between patriarchy and supply and demand model we can analyze some common concepts like societal system, political electoral system and women's education rate. In fact, these above concepts are very linked and important as well to judge a country's parliament system or women representation percentage particularly. These concepts show directly or indirectly how the parliament representation system is affected by Patriarchial system.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A case study is a unit of analysis in case research. Meredith (1998) cites three strength of case study which was put forwarded by Benbasat et al. 1987.

a) Phenomenon can be studies in its natural setting and meaningful, relevant theory generate from the understanding gained through observing actual practice.

b) Case studies allow the question of Why, what, How.

c) The case studies lend itself early to exploratory investigation where the variables are still unknown and the phenomenon not at all understood.

"Finally and most importantly theory building is begun as close as possible to the ideal of no theory under consideration and no hypothesis to test" (Eisenhardt.1989.p-532). According to Tellis (1997) in management research the case study is widespread.

The extension of the case study is widespread and sometimes the specific data can rarely be found related to specific study, but the case study can add rich and important understandings about facts and attitudes. According to Yin (1984) it can contribute uniquely to our knowledge of individual, organizational, social, and political phenomena.

According to Yin (1984), Case study is an empirical study that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly seen and in which multiple sources of evidence are used. According to Feagin, Orum and Sjoberg (1991), Case study is an ideal methodology when a holistic, in-depth investigation is needed. The reason for choosing case study method is related to the problem of the study. According to Yin (1994) when how, what and why questions are posed then a descriptive and explanatory research is needed as no event is under control of the researcher while focusing on contemporary phenomena.

According to Yin (1984) there is no formula to use case study research. It depends on the large part of the research questions. The more someone's questions seek to explain some present circumstances for instance "how" and "why" some social phenomenon works, the more that the case study method will be relevant.

In social science, a case study is a descriptive, explanatory or exploratory analysis of a person, group or event. An explanatory case study is used to explore causations in order to find underlying principles. As Yin (2009) defines Explanatory case studies can be used for investigating causal relationships. Descriptive cases need a descriptive theory to be built up before initiating the study.

To develop my justification for case study as my choice of research strategy, I began to check the literature on case study methodology and methods. As per (Bebensat et al. 1987) Phenomenon can be studied in its natural setting and meaningful, relevant theory generate from the understanding gained through observing actual practice. My study focuses on low women representation in parliament in the context of Bangladesh and the reasoning factors behind this. It also contains why and how questions which helped me to use theories to understand the actual situation and insisted me to go for explanatory study as I have "why" and "How" questions. The data collections are based on secondary sources.

3.1Data Collection Method and limitations for data Collection

Data which were used to make the thesis paper most of them are from secondary sources. These sources are proven useful in the previous studies in this field. As I used multiple sources I had the option to cross check the validity. I gathered the data from sources like Bangladesh Election Commission, Bangladesh demographic and health service etc, Most of the data has been used by the phenomenon authors of Bangladesh and other countries. Bangladesh bureau of statistics was another vital source of data collection. I also went through the publication from UNDP, CPD etc, which are widely accepted by the readers as sources. As readers can see my subject of the study is specific and sometimes the sources should be more reliable authority and reliable organiza-

tions. For instance, I could not use any unauthentic source for showing any table or figure about how many women MPs we have in our parliament. How many reserve seats are available? As crucial parts of my thesis are based on these data, I used the sources like BD election commission, bureau of statistics or some phenomenon authors study. It is also true that it was easier for me to cross check the data from different sources as the authors also used the same sources. In a specific way I used the approached with Data source triangulation as I have been through multiple sources of data. Readers can sometimes identify that they are having different results from different sources. For example, if someone uses the commercial agency to conduct a study on my subject, the agency can find slight difference in terms of education and employment factor statistical charts because may be sometimes it seems that government agencies like bureau of statistics provide some partial information in coordination with the government as it is well known that most of the public even private sectors have political orientation. As this study is firmly based on secondary sources, besides above sources I also went through book, journals, different publication regarding women representation in the context of Bangladesh, women representation in different countries, and internet browsing.

Limitation of the study

It is true that whenever we disclose any issue we face some barriers or limitations, it is not easy to go through human society to come out with result. For me also it was very hard to find out the facts behind the result. Since we have some other research on low level women representation in Bangladesh parliament where some factors are discussed as reason for the fact. When I study Quranic verse I never find something which can influence the situation and at the same time when I look at the Bangladeshi villages since Bangladesh have 64 thousands of village I see there the mullahs are giving different fatwas just to keep their supremacy or position over the village women. As most of the village women are illiterate, so the mullahs easily can control them by giving fatwas. Here one thing need to take into account that the village women are blindly religious, almost every day they read Quran. So may be my readers can have a question regarding the situation where the women mostly read Quran, so why they cannot defend them or

protest the mullahs? Since the village women are taught just to pronounce the Arabic alphabets and read Arabic sentences only, so they do not know the meaning of the Quranic verse. In addition, now we cannot find a single country where proper 'sharia' law (Muslim law) is established or practicing. That's why; it is quite necessary to study sharia or Muslim laws. Moreover, in this era of globalization where people are running after science or busy to do scientific research, it is really tough to find someone doing research based on religion. So it is a very big deal for me to defend my view point or findings through Muslim feminist authors except Quran. Although Quran should be the most strong or acceptable reference since Quran directly came from our God Allah and which is still unchanged.

4. Analysis

Factors affecting on woman representation are some time interrelated and difficult to isolate from each other. Norris and Lovenduski (1995) showed two interacting causal factors which are named "Supply" and "demand" which effect in women's low level participation in the parliament. The explanation of Supply related factors in a very easiest way is women who do not come forward or do not feel interest involving in politics. The demand side factor is related mainly to the decision makers, or political parties, where such parties classify against women's nomination. The authors tried to compare the two factors, as potential candidates may be dejected to go ahead to put their names from the prediction of failure.

One of basic reasons for the women not coming forward is reproductive role of them. Though it is a universal concern for woman not come forward other concerns may vary nation to nation. These may socio-cultural reasons. The nature of regime, women status in the society and the overall structure of a particular society; all have strong influence on political participation of women. So one of the Bangladeshi authors Namita Halder (2004) who is a Government Official and done her Ph.D. on public administration has shown a good effort to coincide the factors affecting parliamentary representation into two categories: Supply /Structural and Demand/Political. I also add some factors to this categorization I found in my studies which are also

crucial for the low level presentation in parliamentary involvement of woman in Bangladesh. These are: on supply side social culture and class and on demand side masculinity model of politics and political party hierarchy. Here, she included socio-economic conditions, culture, religion, education, and employment under the supply/structure category. The Demand/Political category included the nature of the regime, the political culture, electoral system and special instruments such as reserved seats or quotas.

4.1 Bangladeshi women in cultural and religious viewpoint

In terms of power associations between genders, a very irregular interdependence exists within the family. Men are only authority for decision-making and women are regarded as highly dependent partners. This chain of command within the family is related to the breadwinning status of men. According to Kabeer (1998) the usual division of labour, resources, and responsibilities result in dissimilar and imbalanced status for men and women.

Jeane J. Kirkpatrick (1974) a renown congressman recognized significant influence to culture. She stated: "Politics, it is argued, is a good example of arbitrary cultural exclusion. While legal barriers to women's participation in political life have been abolished, cultural norms have preserved the definition of politics as "man's work." … culture is often said to affect women's political behavior by depriving them of the self-esteem necessary for political leadership. In a culture which values the male more highly than the female, women may never acquire the confidence and autonomy required to seek power or wield it effectively."(Kirkpatrick.J.J .1974.p.14-5)

Other authors also state the same thing. "Women's status is lowest in those societies where they are placed under one man's authority in the home" (Rosaldo.1974.P-36). Hall (1992) stated this clearer by fetching 'patriarchy' into the picture: "women's empowerment is least developed in the most traditional patriarchal societies" Hall (1992: 89).All these features; men being more highly respected, performing as family heads, and having women under their control are an outcome of patriarchal society and these are very common in Bangladeshi social system.

Religious view point

The women's rights according to Islamic law often not implemented. Thus, the patriarchal opinion that women are servitude by religion is not true. Rather, the exponent of patriarchy in the social system use religion as a weapon to maintain their control over females.

Among these factors patriarchy is the main reason and other causes are the consequences of patriarchy. As because the main complex of subordination is not, in fact, religion or tradition, but patriarchal dominance and control, it is men who have explained religion, structuring it preserves the patriarchal control which has crucial relation with the fact of gender inequality.

4.2 Contradiction in between patriarchy and religion

Patriarchy social system in Bangladesh, according to Islamic law woman has to cover her self fully with cloth which is called purdah. According to Quranic verses the justification of for "PURDAH" is for modesty. But the "purdah" which refers to modesty is also applicable for male. But patriarchal systems make this purdah system on women's movement to keep women in aloof.

First of all we should take into account that Islam is a religion and Muslims are the followers. Followers are the humans. Muslims are the humans. From any point of view we go forward for discussing the matters like laws or other activities we have to acknowledge the performers performances. If we study Islam as a religion before making any comment, we can see that there are no bindings or unequal judgments for man or woman. All rules from Islamic law (Sharia) are all about responsibilities or code of conducts towards the mankind. There are many misinterpretations and misunderstandings evolve from not understanding the subject as it is truly prevails. Neither His almighty Allah nor His Prophet (peace be upon him) ordered or indicated misjudgments or unequal attitude towards men or women. We can see it from Quran verses; "Their Lord responded to them: I never fail to reward any worker among you for any work you do, be you

male or female - you are equal to one another. Thus, those who immigrate, and get evicted from their homes, and are persecuted because of Me, and fight and get killed, I will surely remit their sins and admit them into gardens with flowing streams." Such is the reward from GOD. GOD possesses the ultimate reward" [3:195]. Other verse says "they (women) are a vestment for you, and you (men) are a vestment for them...." (2:187). No hadith or no Quranic verse shows any discrimination between man and woman.

According to Muslim feminist Heba Rauof Ezzat (2007) access to political positions is dealt with in the dominant feminist discourse as a gain that women should target for power and influence. "Power" is also the reason that Islamists deny them that right so they would have no authority over the supposedly wiser males. It is usually forgotten that political positions are not gains to be sought but rather responsibilities to be carried. They necessitate specific competence which, according to Ibn Taymiyya, is based on two factors: strength and integrity. Strength is dependent on the nature of the jurisdiction. Strength in judgments is based on the knowledge about the Qur'an and the Hadith and the ability to implement them. Personal integrity all depends on the fear of God. According to Jamal A. Badawi (1976) "Any fair investigation of the teachings of Islam into the history of the Islamic civilization will surely find a clear evidence of woman's equality with man in what we call today "political rights". This includes the right of election as well as the nomination to political offices. It also includes woman's right to participate in public affairs".

 However, Muslim women usually face incredible opposition and are often criticized by so - called religious fundamentalists on the basis that there is no stipulation for women to be state leaders under Islam, which is not true. In Bangladesh the case is somewhat same though nowadays this is not that extreme. Illiteracy and wrong education system are leading Bangladesh in a wrong way. There are claims that so-called religious authority in village area, who are known to be religious opinion leaders by the illiterate poor village people interpret religious set of guidelines harshly against women and relegate women to a subordinate status which is totally unrelated to Islam. "Religion in Bangladesh is "misperceived and misapplied with ulterior motives" (Husain .1995.p-39), According to Chowdhury(1994a)and Falguni(1995), in a patriarchal socie-

ty the fanatics' witty appeal seems to draw attention of the people when they back not dragging a mother and sister out of a home, but as an alternative employing the unemployed fathers and husbands.

4.3 Socio-economic condition in Bangladesh from Woman viewpoint

Monetary status is necessary for Bangladeshi politicians to win electoral nomination. The general failure of women in the 2001 general election was explained in terms of their incapability to tackle the financial stress necessary for victory. Moreover, this truth is not only for women; it is the truth of sorrow for all potential candidates. We can see it from Supply and demand model of political selection, which contends that gatekeeper and selector behavior, candidate income, candidate catalyst and party process integration to affect outcomes. According to Norris and Lovenduski (1995), these capacities of selection map onto demand in the form of gatekeeper and selector approaches, and supply, affected by candidate catalyst, qualification and availability. Corruption, black money and sudden rich and businessmen are increasing in the parliament. They join the relevant parties just prior to the election and money rather than party political skills and field knowledge is the precondition for their assortment. Unparalleled show off of money games occurs during the general election. Many devoted party workers stay last due to not having money and get denied nomination as nomination papers are sold to rich men. The BBC (2001) sorted out this as harmful political traditions and remarked the parliament as a millionaire's club.

Women have lack of access to financial resources where political system is being commercialized. This is also one of the crucial elements which are becoming a reason for limitation of women's participation on politics. The extremely few visible women in the parliament in Bangladesh are from higher economic class. According to Haldar (2004) wealth is one of the strong facilitators for women's representation in the parliament. As far as we know that Bangladeshi women have a subordinate social status as compared to men. Political leaders find it non-benefit to share state power with their female counterparts.

4.4 Why we stand out Bangladesh under the patriarchal system

In a patriarchal society like Bangladesh all processes, norms, values and system are gender oriented. As we know patriarchal values and idea do not show positive and supportive view to women. They always reconcile advantage to male. Patriarchal institutions are strongly related and rooted in the politics of Bangladesh. To them political positions of women is an advantage rather than a right. In accordance with Paxton (1997) we can say if women are excessive in number in disadvantaged positions in social structure, they will not get access to the resources to gain political power. "The structure of patriarchy in Bangladesh are usually recognized by "patrilineal descent" (influence of patriarchy) and patrilocal residence (i.e. the practice of women living with their husband's relatives after marriage)" (Rendall 1982.p.15-34). Patriarchial influence in Bangladesh is mainly organized along the patrilineal rules, "which has direct consequences to the position of women in the society" (Monsoor 1999.p-32). A boy is the executioner of the patriline; he will acquire the family name. Also a girl is considered subordinate to men and values less or little value. After getting married a girl goes to her husband's house. The thought of the families are that girls are troubles for them. Sons are about to generate income and taking care of parents. So the deprivation to a girl starts from her family. When a wife goes to her husband's house after wedding, her husband considers her as in a subordinate position and he is more authoritative over her. So, here a girl is also distressed and face the inequality. This sense of subordination kills women's self-respect, self-confidence and self-esteem and sets restricts on their desires.

Women's dependency upon men is accustomed by a full length of traditional practices installed in the family and the relatives. These are the conditions which provide the ruling elements of the structured system of patriarchy in Bangladesh which regulates the female subservience of women and their dependency on men.

According to Sultana (July 2010-June 2011) Patriarchy is a structural procedure where women are in the subordinate position in a number of ways. The dominance that we see at a daily basis regardless of the class we might belong to, takes various forms – discrimination, disregard, insult, control, exploitation, oppression, violence – within the family, at the place of work, in society. For instance, a few examples are illustrated here to represent a specific form of discrimination and a particular aspect of patriarchy, such as, son preference, discrimination against girls in food distribution, burden of household work on women and young girls, lack of educational opportunities for girls, lack of freedom and mobility for girls, wife battering, male control over women and girls, sexual harassment at workplace, lack of inheritance or property rights for women, male control over women's bodies and sexuality, no control over fertility or reproductive rights. We can see some sorts of discrimination and the nature of subordination in Bangladesh for example; Male child is well received than female child. When a wife or mother gives a birth female child the family member starts to oppress the mother. The inequity in food distribution is a common view in Bangladesh where male child gets more than female child. Burden of households are on the shoulder of women. Man enjoys the economic freedom by getting involved in economic activities. In Bangladesh boys enjoy the educational support from the family more than female so that they can upgrade their qualities other than female child. Wife bashing is quite common in Bangladesh, which is a part of domestic violence. Sexual harassment at workplace which is another alarming situation in Bangladesh is experienced as conduction of male. The female workers are sometimes thrown out if they would not like to full fill the demand of the bosses. Women hold no power in the matter of reproduction. The male decides the family planning. According to Muslim law woman has to cover herself in full with cloth, which is called *purdah*. We know the approval for *purdah*, according to the Quranic verses on modesty which are mandatory for both sexes. But male dominated functions this *purdah* on women. Thus, *purdah* is being as a weapon to oppress women much more than to preserve modesty.

4.5Social culture and class as factors

Culture can be one of these factors which are needed to be explained from Bangladesh perspective. The more powerful factor culture is separated from developmental factor. "the development factor looks at the absolute level of development, while the cultural factor looks at the women's position relative to men's" (Matland1998b. p-114). Development is another factor, which is also important and effective and determines the social status. When women reach to a certain developed level equal to men in terms of university degree, literacy and job status they will be recognized as equal to men in the political atmosphere. Gerda Lerner (1989) asserted that the significance of women's history in women's attempt against patriarchy and for equitability. As she pointed out, patriarchy, precisely, anticipated the construction of private property and social class. In Bangladesh, women who are wealthy (who belongs to higher class) and have the chance to enter into the same level that opportunity as a man in terms of degrees, literacy and other options can be valued as equal to man in the political arena. Even in Bangladesh rich women can afford technological supports and formal childcare facilities (kindergarden or daycare center) which give them relief or more leisure time to go further in approaching political establishment or encourage them to go to the political office. "Economic development has proved to be quite important for gender inequality of other types. Development can indicate some freedom from the daily task of living for the individuals of a country, which would be expected to positively increase the number of women available for political office." (Paxton .1997. p-448) Lack of leisure time is one of the reasons for women not to move for political office. But not all women see the barrier of lack of leisure time. There are also women with higher social status and have the position to afford maids to look after their households and take after their children. This situation also gives them the opportunity to go for political activity. This is a common picture in most of the third world countries. "Almost universally middle-class women because of factors such as economic resources and employment, levels of education and confidence, find it easier to participate than poorer women in the upper echelons of conventional politics" Waylen (1996:12). Ac-

cording to Norris and Lovenduski (1995) these women's economic ability   also lies in the candidate qualification and ability under supply factor.

4.6 Education from the perspective of women of Bangladesh

A research conducted by Wade and Seo (1996) proposed that education brings awareness for political as well as social understandings to women which will make women more active in thoughts and confident while taking part in political discussion. According to Randall (1987) and Chafetz (1991), women's advancement in taking part politics surely depends on education, at least one in part. In Bangladesh many women are short of access to education, which is essential for an identical political position with men, and this may persuade their political viewpoint.

If we focus the conventional educational system the position of women we will see the poor performance of them. The movement of educating Bengali Muslim girls in 19th century which was introduced by several young men with modern vision of social system due to comparing the poor performance of Bengali Muslim women with Hindu and western women.

If we follow patriarchy theory we can see the primary lessons of Patriarchial norms and values are given in the family where the master of the family is a man/ father. Man is treated the head of the family and supervise women's sexuality, labour or production, reproduction and movements. In a male dominated family the birthing of male child is favored compared with female. The former is taken as the heir of the family while the later is treated as burden. In the South Asian situation, according to ibid, (377) affinity systems are mostly built up on the basis of concerned descent, which is the basis of a common patriarchal ideology that justifies the distinct access. Bangladesh is a patriarchal society and despite, free educational amenities and much motivation to educate the girl child, early marriage still remains as a most central societal custom. The gender force within marriage plays a vital role in the women's empowerment. In the year of 1991 a devoted feminist lady Rokeya sakhawat hossain established first Muslim girl's school. From few years' government of Bangladesh taken some initiatives to introduce several steps to accelerate and also introduce some privilege incentives to attract the rural parents to send their female child to school. Even number of steps has been taken to facilitate women's education program nation-

wide. One of the remarkable facilitation, which is given by government is free education up to primary level. According to Rahman (2001); Riaz (2001), the statistics from a research study the present number of girls in primary school is equivalent to that of boys, it is one third in secondary school, and one fourth in higher secondary levels. Over the age of 15, the number of girls who can sign their own name is 40 percent lower than the number of boys. The literacy rate of women is 24.2 percent where 45 percent for men.

Education is one of the prerequisite elements that develop the norms, culture and human individuality. In fact an educated leader can make impacts on policy matters in a supportive manner for national progress and greater attention of the country altruistically. If we see the following chart we can assume the percentage of women MPs having institutional background.

Degree	AL	BNP	JP	JEI	Total
Secondary	3 (11.11%	3 (12%)	-	-	6
Higher Secondary	1 (3.70%)	5 (20%)	-	-	6
Bachelors	9(33.33%)	8(32%)	2 (50%)	1 (100%)	20
Masters	14(51.86%)	9 (36%)	2 (50%)		25
Total	27(100%)	25 (100%)	4 (100%)	1 (100%)	57

Education Background of Different Parties' MPs

Source of statistics (Women in the Fifth and Seventh Parliaments of Bangladesh: A Study On Opinion of Women Members of Parliament by Jalal Firoz)

4. 7 Employment from the perspective of Bangladeshi Women:

According to Togeby (1994) in developed countries women who before worked in the home and have now gone for paid work outside the home are the crucial reason of the raise in women's labor force contribution. Entering in to the paid work force frequently into low paying or public sector professions, has a realization creation impact on the political involvement of women and

their urge to utter political demands. Though in many less developed countries have their women in minimum level of earnings work sector, the realization raising effect is different from developed countries. According to Rechard E. Matland (1998b) labor force participation in developed countries and less developed countries have different significant rate. So the impacts are also different in case of political participation as well. From Matland we can say employment is one of the most determining and crucial factor regarding political participation of women. The more women will work outside the voice of women for understanding political association will increase. The more women will join labour force, the more women will stand for competing for the parliament representation.

Women in Bangladesh have poor educational background so they have poor occupational background as well. Though now a days the number is becoming considerable. The stats have been shown as follows who are now women MPs and their occupational background.

Profession	AL	BNP	JP	JEI	Total
Housewife	7	14	1	1	23
Professor/Teaching	11	4	1	-	16
PrivateService/NGO Background	5	2	-	-	7
Full Time Politics	1	3	-	-	4
Business	3	2	-	-	5
Advocates/Journalist	-	-	2	-	2
Total	27	25	4	1	57

Professional Background of Different Parties' MPs

Source of statistics (Women in the Fifth and Seventh Parliaments of Bangladesh: A Study

On the Opinion of Women Members of Parliament by Jalal Firoz).

4. 8 Women perspective: The nature of regime of Bangladesh:

Countries have different outlook and different point of view to rule or control. The nature or the character of regime refers to the quality and the status of the citizen and to what extent they can practice their humanitarian rights. The nature of regime is the measurement tool to evaluate the condition of citizen status and their voice over the national movements. "The result of the recruitment procedure reverse the supply of candidate willing to go for a political career and the demands of recruiters who recruits aspirant on the basis of their choice and concept of capability, qualifications and acknowledge possibility of getting elected. Supply and demand collaborate at every lap of the procedure" (Norris and Lovenduski 1995. P-15).

In speculation, the right to position oneself for election, turn out to be a nominee and to get elected is depending on the right to vote. The truth is, on the other hand, women's right to vote is still restricted, predominantly because the nominees are majority male. This is a true fact not only for fractional and rising democracies, but for reputable democracies as well. The low level of women's representation in some European parliaments should be measured as a contravention of women's basic right and, which is a violation of their basic political rights. This imbalanced rate of symbol in lawmaking bodies indicates that women's participation, rather than being a result of democratization, is more an indication of a state of affairs.

If we see the exception we can get an understanding: 'The most interesting aspect of the Swedish Parliament is not that we have 45 per cent representation of women, but that a majority of women and men bring relevant social experience to the business of parliament. This is what makes the difference. Men bring with them experience of real life issues, of raising children, of running a home. They have broad perspectives and greater understanding. And, women are allowed to be what we are, and to act according to our own unique personality. Neither men nor women have to conform to a traditional role. Women do not have to behave like men to have power; men do not have to behave like women to be allowed to care for their children. When this pattern be-

comes the norm then we will see real change.' Birgitta Dahl, former Speaker of Parliament, Sweden (N.Shvedova. 2002. Chapter 2.p-36)

Bangladesh having experience of military decree several times still the following voted governments failed to withdraw completely from reliance on military direction. This type of democracy cannot be an indicator or fruitful or enough hold up for women's political representation. In the 42 years history of Bangladesh, the democratic constitution has been deferred by two military coups and the people have experienced extended military ruling.

From report of the Task Forces on Bangladesh Development Strategies for the 1990s recognized significant obstacles to women's involvement in politics. It emphasized the need for the abolition of the corrupt grouping of black money and arms in political power. The consequence is much worse now-a-days. The collapse of institutional politics suitable for mobster politics has made things much tougher for women. As women are toward the inside into other aspects of public life, they usually are not attracted to politics to the identical level because of its aggressive character. To add more, women are defenseless to police cruelty and aggression. According to Mamun (2002) abusing women is one of the trendy tricks to depress them from political participation. Some pictures of violence are: The police pull out a woman's cloth while she was protesting against the ruling party in May 1999. Cultural bigotry meant that the woman was held responsible for attending the protest. It seems women are rarely ready to bear this kind of shame in a male dominated culture and still avoid formal institutional politics. Citing to this type of police torment, one of the high court judges remarked the police in Bangladesh as 'Frankenstein'.

4. 9 Political culture

The source of empowering women is giving chances to access in politics. "If women gain access to political power, they will go for politics and policies that promote social and gender equality, peace and sustainable development."(WEDO, 2005, P: 12). The contribution of women leader-

ship towards socio-political development process of independent Bangladesh has already been recognized by the civil society. The constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh has pledged itself to ensure women liberty and women's participation in the political framework of the country. Amusingly, two women leaders as the prime minister and the opposition leader at the highest level Bangladesh Politics for a long time. However, it is almost evident that the average contribution of women in Bangladesh politics and in the decision making process is regretful inadequate. But it is a fact that the women are the integral part of development process of any country. Women and women leadership, in fact, play huge role in establishing the enlightened nation and ideal society.

The selection and candidature procedure within political parties is also unfair and against women in that male domination are highlighted and repeatedly become the criteria in selecting nominee. This in turn influences on the observation of women as practical candidates as those who supply money for election campaigns. To add more, Most of the time women are not thought in winning stand on party lists. Bangladesh is a South Asian nation, where a patriarchal system adds force to women's dependency on men and men have strong authority regarding women in leadership and management positions. In spite of this, two women leaders have ruled the country for more than two decades now. But the picture we see from the above discussion is that the patriarchy system is endorsed with every situation and working circumstances. The supply sector minimizes the number of women getting involved in politics. On the other hand the overall demand factors are also controlled by the Patriarchial system. This picture shows how patriarchy system is related to supply and demand factors. Women's contribution is therefore better recognized when there are wards or reserve seats with a position order. Present political environment and culture is unfavorable to women in Bangladesh. Among the political obstacles that women face, the following trait notably:

• The commonness of the male characterization of political cycle and of elected government positions;

• Insufficient party support, for example, limited monetary help for women candidates, lack of women access to political networks, and the more harsh criteria and credentials applied to women;

• Non-reorganization of constant communication and co-ordination with other public organizations for example; trade (labour) unions and women's groups

• The standard of the electoral system, which may or may unfair women candidates.

'The two most overwhelming obstacles for women in entering parliament are lack of constituents and lack of financial resources. Women move from their father's home to their husband's home. They are like refugees. They have no base from which to develop contacts with the people or to build knowledge and experience about the issues. Furthermore, they have no money of their own; the money belongs to their fathers, their husbands or their in-laws. Given the rising cost of running an effective campaign, this poses another serious hurdle for women in the developing world.' Razia Faiz, Former MP, Bangladesh (N. Shvedova.2002. chapter 2. P-41).

No exacting adherent nature is evident in the big political parties in Bangladesh, which are largely centered. The Bangladesh Awami League (BAL) is categorized as left-of-centre, the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) and the Jatio Party (JP) are right-of-centre and the Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh (JIB) is a right-wing party. Political establishments and institutions are powerfully impacted by cultural barriers. They stressed for women's protection and purity. Chowdhury (1994b) insisted that the constitution of the AL did not include women's role in the conventional affairs of human resources development, education and other areas. But now the situation slightly different as the first lady speaker and the foreign minister are still in the position and the former home minister was women in this term of Al being in the power though it put women under a different title, 'Women and National Development. The BNP states equal status for women, but this refers to achieving greater respect and value for women as mothers and wives.

4.10 Masculinity model of politics:

Political area in Bangladesh is controlled by men to a larger extent. Usually men formulate the rules of political field. They also set the standard for evaluation. Moreover, the political understandings are based on male norms and values. Politics is often based on the view of"winner and losers", Competition and contest rather than systematic association and consent beyond the party lines. Often output becomes women rejecting politics altogether or refusing male-structured politics so the number of women in politics becomes lower. The male-dominated working structure is seen in the parliamentary work schedule, which is often identified as a lack of back up framework for working mothers in general, and for women MPs specifically. In addition to their party and parliamentary work, and dealing with different committees, women MPs are called upon to organizational work within their parties, at different levels within the parties. In addition to this, they have to play the socially recommended caretaker roles of mother, wife, sister and grandmother. Most party activities and Parliamentary activities as well as parliament sitting times are not adjusted considering this type of dual burden women has to carry out. According to Waylen (1996) it is realized that poor party structures and different timing of meetings confuse women from active involvement in the political parties. It is visual in Bangladesh that political parties do not practice democratic norms and values. In the national elections of Bangladesh the usage of black money, Muscle power as well as pre and post election violence is very common in Bangladesh. According to Jahan and Kabir (2012) the failure of institutional politics in favor of gangster politics has made thing much tougher for women. Women do not feel comfortable with this situation and the political parties do not prefer to nominate them. According to Haldar (2004) violent nature of politics indirectly works as a barrier of women involvement in politics.

4.11 Political party hierarchy

As because of very few women are interested in politics in Bangladesh considering socio-economic, cultural and other barriers and men are the majority in numbers in different political

prties; these situations encourage men of commanding women or making a hierarchy followed by man. "The courage of man is shown in commanding of a woman in obeying" (learner 1989.p-8-11).

Women in the Party Hierarchy of Major Political Parties in Bangladesh.

Name of Party	Name of the position	Total Member	Women Member	% of Women
Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)	National Executive committee	148	11	7.3
Bangladesh Awami League (AL)	Executive Committee	71	8	11.68
Jatiyo Party (JP)	Central Committee	346	10	2.89
National Socialist Party (Ja-shod)	Executive Committee	112	4	3.57
Workers Party of Bnagladesh	Executive Committee	53	2	3.77
Communist Party of Bangla-desh (CPB)	Executive Committee	45	4	8.89
Gonforam	Executive Committee	100	6	6.00
Jammat-E-Islam	Majlish-e-Amela	24	0	00

Source: Hashmi, et al, 2010.

4.12 Electoral System's impact on women of Bangladesh:

'We have several explanations for the high presence of women in the Nordic parliaments. One is the proportional electoral system. In Finland, there is a proportional list, but the individual choice of the voters also comes into play. Another explanation is to be found in ideological debates in the country. In this area in Scandinavia, politics is, so to speak, in the lead. The business world is falling behind, and the academic world lags behind as well. We have not enough women's university professors, and women are also poorly represented in the trade unions.' Bjorn von Sydow, Speaker of the Swedish Riksdag (N.Shvedova.2002. chapter 2.p-39).

According to Rule (1987); Matland and Studlar (1996); Matland (1998), the participation of women in industrial democracies have a notable steady relationship between electoral systems and the proportion of women elected to parliament. In developing democracies, proportional representation (PR) systems have a tendency to make higher levels of women's involvement than single-member district (SMD) elections. Nevertheless, Matland has shown that there is no methodical association between PR and the election of women in less developed countries. He argues that there may be a least level of threshold of political development that needs to be surpassed before women can effectively organize and use institutions such as the electoral system to their further interests. According to Matland 1998 Prior to reaching this threshold, factors that commonly affect women's representation in industrialized democracies do not have an effect in less developed nations. Even as PR systems have been thought to be in favor of women, Bangladesh employs the least favorable system for women. According to Goetz (1992) indicated the existing patriarchal culture of Bangladesh as 'among the least negotiable in the world'. Therefore, even with the PR system, political parties may distinguish against putting women's names on the list. It is also the actual incident that the two Bangladeshi major parties always took the chance to use the 30 seats reserved for women to shape a single party government, which might not have been potential under a PR system.

"Supply factors limit the maximum numbers of women looking get recruited, cut their percentage below their corresponding existence in the population. On the demand factors women may lose from discrimination while recruiting if aspirant with resources especially correlated with men are those that are wanted by party recruiters "(Lovenduski and Norris 1995. P-14). Using reserved seats and quotas for minority groups and women often get the priority among these groups. "Women are a 'political' minority rather than a 'numerical' minority" (Lijphart. 1999:200). Many countries have already adopted this system because to increase the numerical participation of women in the parliament. According to Karvonen (1995); Matland (1998a); Mørkhagen (2002), for Scandinavian countries quotas have merely become a recognized tool for equality in politics; it seems natural to extend them to other areas as well. The Constitution of the Peoples Republic of Bangladesh is consisted with a 300-member parliament (the Jatiyo Sang-

sad). In the primary stage, the parliament encompasses a total of 315 seats out of which 15 were reserved for women for a period of 10 years. Members who were elected to Parliament from the 300 "general" seats represent single-member territorial electorates that both men and women are entitled to compete. The 15 reserved seats for women were ultimately elected. Members elected to general seats comprised the Electoral College for the reserved seats. In 1978 a presidential declaration distended the number of reserved seats to 30 (increasing women's least amount guaranteed participation in parliament from 4.7 per cent to 9.9 per cent) and extended the period of reservation to 15 years from the date of circulation of the statue of the republic in December 1972. To outline the later advancement in short, the constitutional stipulation failed in December 1987 and was re-structured and incorporated in the constitution by an alteration in 1990 to be effectual for 10 years from the first meeting of the parliament elected next. This proviso also failed in 2001. The present parliament elected in 29th December 2008 the (9th parliamentary Election) has 50 reserved seats for women which are apportioned on elected party position in the parliament.

Separate in the "separate enclosure", since it were, the reserved seats also worked as "vote bank" for the party in power because it is the numerical majority of the party that allowed all its nominees to get elected to the reserved seats. The reserved seats also came to be exchanged for the sake of structure a majority coalition with a willing partner. The trade took place following parliamentary election when parties were in a place to review their particular numerical power in the parliament, and earlier than the formal nomination procedure to the reserved seats began. In such circumstances, the leading party communicated support of an alliance partner in barter, among other thoughts, of a firm figure of reserved seats. Such political considerate untied the monopoly grasp of the ruling party on the reserved seats, as the combining partner established two or three seats to propose and get its women members elected as members of parliament. The condition of legislative quotas or reservation of seats for women in the parliament helped the ruling parties, which give details to some extent the approach of the two major parties in Bangladesh to the ongoing conversation on quotas. The proviso also privileged male politicians in control of the

male dominated equipment, who confirmed no political promise to divide the general seats that, being straight linked to electorates, could add to or strengthen women's political power.

To make an analysis on the relationship between patriarchy and supply and demand model we can analyze some common concepts like societal system, political electoral system and women's education rate. In fact, these above concepts are very linked and important as well to judge a country's parliament system or women representation percentage particularly. These concepts show directly or indirectly how the parliament representation system is affected by Patriarchial system. Norris and Lovenduski's supply and demand model has been used to show the interactions among causal factors which are influencing women representation in the parliament. Moreover, we tried to show those factors are influenced by Patriarchal society itself. As therefore we can assume directly or indirectly male dominated society is the prime cause for low level representation. We said religion is not the bias to women representation. So, for the reader's convenience we tried to show factors identically. Patriarchal society is the prime factor for low representation of women and male dominated society is manipulating religion as a barrier for women representation in the parliament. So far, we can say the religion itself making no barrier for women representation.

5. Conclusion

Not a particular factor is liable for low representation of women in the parliament. But the root of these factors is male dominated society or Patriarchial society as it seems. I tried to show several factors like socio-economic, cultural and political factors. Even many authors tried to show religion as a main bias. But I argued with that. Actually I wanted to show that Male dominated society always trying to manipulate the things in the favor of male and always try to deprive female from their rights directly or indirectly. The male dominated society has a nature of exploiting things in terms of prosperity. This nature eventually makes less progress for a country and deprivation for the women. I also mentioned that Islam as a religion always gives the equal right for both men and women. Sometimes the responsibilities are different for man and women. Illiteracy

about Islam is the main cause for not understanding the word of God Allah. My point is the people who takes stands against Islam he or she does it because of not knowing Islam properly. Not only one verse or few verses are all about the Quran, but whole Quran and Sunna of dear Prophet Muhammad (saw :) making Islam. We are talking about Islam because Bangladesh is a Muslim country and my case is about Bangladesh parliament women presentation. So, I did not go through other religion. The recruitment and nomination processes show the actual situation of our political system. The country overall system should change its attitude and point of view towards women. The planning of reserved seats has only expanded the number of women in parliament, but it has failed to improve the quality of women's involvement. A radical Change would come if women come to the parliament through direct election. Bangladesh has Patriarchial social structure supported by male exploited economic and political values; it is complex to go further with the cause of women. The leaders of political parties need to play a vital role in forwarding the program of women's Participation in the parliament and they also need inter party viewpoint change to put women in hierarchy as they can be optimistic. However, any considerable increase in the capacity and standard of women's participation in parliament rely mainly on the solid political promise of the major political parties. Political parties can make less the barriers and give place for women. The government, political parties, NGOs and women's organizations can participate in their own path in developing the systematic social and behavioral diversification that we intensely require by providing options. Women face barriers as patriarchal system has a strong influence on all the sphere of socio-economic, political system and socio-cultural sections, so in this case more studies are needed to inactivate the patriarchal system existing in Bangladesh. Already there are several steps has been taken to enhance the women's representation in parliament like quota system. But at present the steps which are taken for enhancing women's representation are not working properly because of the existing political culture. In this regard we need to do more studies also to effectively activate the steps which are taken so far. In connection to this, I would like to add more that further research should be conducted to modify and improvise the tools which will accelerate the women's effective representation in the parliament.

6. References

1. Al Quaran. Verse, 2: 187

2. Al Quaran. verse, 3:195

3. Asian Development Bank (ADB). 2001. Report on Women in Politics in Bangladesh. Retrieved December 19, 2003, Available from
   http://www.onlinewomeninpolitics.org/bangla/bangmain.htm

4. Badawi.A Jamal.(1976) The Status of Women in Islam, www.ifir.org

5. Bari.F (2005) *Women's Political Participation: Issues and Challenges,* UNDAW

6. BBC World News. 2001a. *only rich people get electoral nominations*.
   http://www.bbc.co.uk/bengali/) Accessed 2 October, 2001

7. Bennett, J. M. (2006) History matters: patriarchy and the challenge of feminism. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

8. Benbasat, I. Goldstein, D.K. and Mead, M (1987). "The Case Research Strategy in Studies of Information Systems," *MIS Quarterly* (11:3), pp. 369-386.

9. Bhasin, K. 2006. *What Is Patriarchy*? Women Unlimited: New Delhi.

10. Chafetz, J. S. 1991. 'The Gender Division of Labor and the Reproduction of Female Disadvantage: Toward an Integrated Theory', In R. L. Blumberg (ed), *Gender, Family and Economy*, Sage, London**:** 74-94.

11. Chowdhury, N. 1994a. 'Bangladesh: Gender Issues and Politics in a Patriarchy' In B. J. Nelson and N. Chowdhury (eds), Women and Politics Worldwide, Yale University Press, London: 92-113.

12. Chowdhury, N. 1994b. 'Women in Politics', In N. Chowdhury (ed), *Empowerment*, Women for Women: A Research and Study Group, Dhaka: 37-59.

13. Commonwealth Secretariat (1999). Women in Politics: *Voices from the Commonwealth*. London: Commonwealth Secretariat.

14. Desai, Neera and Krishnaraj, Maithreyi (2004), "An Overview od the Status of Women in India" in Manoranjan Mohanty, (ed). Class, Caste, Gender. Sage Publications, New

Delhi,.

15. Eisenhardt. M.K. (1989) "Building theories from case study research", The Academy of Management Review, Academy of Management, Vol. 14, No. 4, October

16. Ezzat .R.H. (2007), *Women and the interpretation of Islamic sources,* www.irfi.org

17. Falguni, A. 1995. 'Women's Political Empowerment: Bangladesh Perspective', In R. Karmaker (ed), *Unnayon Padokkhep*, Steps Towards Development, Dhaka**:** 9-26.

18. Feagin, J., Orum, A., & Sjoberg, G. (Eds.). (1991). *A case for case study*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

19. Forbes, Geraldine (2002). "Women of Character, Grit and Courage: The Reservation Debate in Historical Perspective," in Lotika Sarker, Kumud Sharma and Leela Kasturi (eds), *Between Tradition, Counter Tradition and Heresy*. Delhi: Rainbow Publishers.

20. Goetz, A. M. 1992. 'Gender and Administration', IDS (Institute of Institute of Development Studies) Bulletin 23(4): 6-17.

21. Hall, C. M. 1992. *Women and Empowerment: Strategies for Increasing Autonomy*. London, Hemisphere Publishing Corporation.

22. Halder. N(June, 2004) Female Representation in Parliament: A Case Study from Bangladesh: 27-63: New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies,

23. Hashmi, R. K. et al (2010), *Report on National Parliamentary Election 2008*, Dhaka: Bangladesh Nari Progati Sangha

24. Husain, D. S. A. 1995. 'Women's Empowerment: Education and Culture', In R. Karmaker (ed), *Unnayon Padokkhep*, Steps Towards Development, Dhaka: 35-41.

25. ibid, 377

26. Inter Parliamentary Union, (February 28, 2005), Women in National Parliaments

27. Jagger, M. A. and Rosenberg S. P. (ed) 1984. *Feminist Frameworks.* New York : MC Grew-Hill.

28. *Jahan.M, kabir.L(2012) A Review on Women's Representation Parliament: Bangladesh Perspective Nepalese Journal of Public Policy and Governance, Vol. XXXI, No. 2,*

29. Jalal Firoz, study report on Women in the Fifth and Seventh Parliaments of Bangla-

desh: A Study on opinion of women members of parliament(MPs),USAID

30. Kandiyota, Deniz(1997) "Bargaining with Patriarchy" in *The Women, Gender and Development Reader*, Nalini Visvanathan, Lynn Duggan, Laurie Nisonoff and Nan Wiegersma (eds). London and New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd., Dhaka: University Press Ltd., Bangkok: White Lotus co. Ltd., Halifax, Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing Ltd., Cape Town: David Phillip

31. Karvonen, L. 1995. 'Trade unions and the feminization of the labour market in Scandinavia', In L. Karvonen and P. Selle (eds), *Women in Nordic Politics: Closing the Gap*, Dartmouth, Sydney: 133-53.

32. Kirkpatrick, J. J. 1974. *Political Woman*. New York, Basic Books, Inc., Publishers

33. Lerner, G. 1989. *The Creation of Patriarchy*. Oxford University

34. Mamun, M. 2002. Frankenstein Police: what is the fate? Accessed 14 January,
http://www.janakantha.net/

35. Matland, R. E. and D. T. Studlar. 1996. 'The contagion of women candidates in single-member district and proportional representation electoral systems: Canada and Norway', *The Journal of Politics* 58(3): 707-33.

36. Matland, R. E. 1998b. 'Women's Representation in National Legislatures: Developed and Developing Countries', *Legislative Studies Quarterly* XXIII(1): 109-125.

37. Meredith, J. 1998. Building operations management theory through case and field research, in: Journal of Operations Management, 16:441-454.

38. Millett, K. 1977. *Sexual Politics*. London: Virago.

39. Mitchell, J. 1971. *Women's Estat*e. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

40. Monsoor, T. 1999. *From Patriarchy to Gender Equity : Family law and its Impact on Women in Bangladesh*. The University Press Limited: Dhaka

41. Mørkhagen, P. L. 2002. The Position of Women in Norway. Accessed 6 June, 2002
http://www.explorenorth.com/library/weekly/aa053101a.htm

42. Norris, P. and J. Lovenduski. 1995. *Political Recruitment: gender, race and class in the British parliament*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

43. Nussbaum, M. et al., eds (2003). Essays on Gender and Governance. New Delhi: Human Development Resource Centre, UNDP.

44. Paxton, P. (1997), "Women in National Legislatures: A Cross National Analysis" in *Social Science Research*, Vol.26, No.4, pp442-464.

45. Rahman, A. 2001. Majority parents want sons. Accessed 9 October, 2001, http://www.janakantha.net/

46. Rajadurai. S. V. And V. Geetha (1998) Towards a Non-Brahmin millennium: from Iyothee Thass to Periyar. Calcutta: Samya.

47. Randall, V. 1982. *Women and Politics.* London. The Macmillan Press Ltd.

48. Randall, V. 1987. *Women and Politics: An International Perspective*. London, The Macmillan Press Ltd.

49. Riaz, S. 2001. Women's Empowerment. Accessed 9 November, 2001, http://www.janakantha.net/

50. Rosaldo, M. 1974. 'Women, Culture and Society: A Theoretical Overview', In M. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere (eds), Stanford University Press, Stanford.
Rule, W. 1987. 'Electoral Systems, Contextual Factors and Women's Opportunity for Election to Parliament in Twenty-Three Democracies',*The Western Political Quarterly* 40(3): 477-98.

51. Shvedova. N ed. (2002) Chapter 2 *Women in Parliament*, Stockholm: International IDEA

52. Sultana. A. (July 2010-June 2011) Patriarchy and Women's Subordination: A Theoretical Analysis. *The Arts Faculty Journal,* Vol.4 .p.1-18.

53. Tellis, W. (1997, July). Introduction to case study. *The Qualitative Report* .Vol 3, No.2.

54. Togeby ,l 994 "political implications of increasing numbers of women in the labor force ". *Comparative political studies* 27.211-40

55. United Nations in Beijing Platform for Action in 1995

56. UNDP report 2005.

57. Website of the Bangladesh Election Commission, www.ecs.gov.bd/Banla/Elec_par.php accessed on July, 2012.

58. Wade, L. L. and J. W. Seo. 1996. 'Women, Education, and Political Volitions in the South Korean Mass Public', Comparative Political Studies 29(1): 27-51.

59. Walby, S. 1990. *Theorizing Patriarchy*. Blackwell Publishers Ltd.: Oxford, UK and Cambridge USA.

60. Waylen, G. (1996),"Analyzing Women in the Politics of the Third World," in H. Afshar (Ed), *Women and Politics in the Third World*, London: Routledge, pp7-24.

61. WEDO report (2005) *Beijing Betrayed.*http://www.wedo.org/themes/global-governance/beijing-betrayed.

62. YIN. K. Robert (1984) *Case Study Research: Design and Method*. SAGE Publications. California.

63. Yin K.Robert (1994) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 2nd Edition. SAGE Publications. California,

64. Yin.k. Robert Case *Study Research: Design and Methods*. Fourth Edition SAGE Publications. California, 2009 in the South Korean Mass Public', Comparative Political Studies 29(1): 27-51.