

## **INTROODUCTION:**

Islamic republic of Pakistan is a developing country. It need a lot of struggle and hard work for progress and development. As we know that more that greater number of the population of our country comprises of females. So it is obligatory for the progression and success of country that women should play their active role in national development. They should work in collaboration with men. But unfortunately the reality is quite different. The Pakistani women are not supposed to be contributing as much as required for national progress. The main reason for this minimal contribution is that the Pakistani women are not much educated.

In this research, researcher have summarized the political role of Pakistani women with special reference of district Attock. This research analyzes that the political inclusiveness of women in district Attock is alarmingly low. In this document the political discourse of women at grass root level has been observed. Resultantly I have been analyzed that even at local government level, the situation of women's political activities is not satisfactory. In most of the union councils, there is mere filling of women seats. Women councilors are appointed just as a formality. Mostly these lady councilors in district Attock are uneducated. They are totally unaware of their political responsibilities and rights. Their role is passive due to different barriers, which have been discussed in detail. Moreover numerous suggestions are provided by the researcher to make the situation better. Hopefully these suggestions will prove helpful for policy makers and scholars.

## **RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY:**

In Pakistani society one can easily observe gender inequality and also the sub ordination of women, which is the principal reason behind the least political participation of women in Pakistan, and is the focal point of this research. If women did'nt take part in politics and in liable and answerable processes at national, provincial and at district level, the policies are likely to be gender blind. Such policies can harm the social and cultural life and interests of women. Like any other developed and civilized society, The Pakistani society can perform better with satisfactory outcomes, if both the genders are considered equal and given same freedom to enter in politics.

The District Attock is not much developed and can be considered as backword socially, politically and economically. Males in District Attock are dominant, while the women in this area are suppressed or passive. Here in this District women's contribution is minimal and can be considered equal to nill.

According to the researcher this low political engagement of women in district Attock is mainly because of socio-cultural, economic, educational as well as institutional factors.

This is the comprehensive study about district Attock, and shows details about the degree of political involvement of women in this district.

In this research, researcher have mentioned the future prospects and some useful recommendations for making the situation better. These recommendations can be proved helpful who are working or have intention to work in future to find reliable and practical solution of diminished appearance of women in politics.

### **RESEARCH QUESTIONS:**

- (I) What is the historical background of Pakistani women in politics?
- (II) What is the relationship between education of women and politics?
- (III) To what extent the women in district Attock are engaged with political activities?
- (IV) What are the impediments that women have to bear while joining politics generally in Pakistan and particularly in district Attock?
- (V) What should be done to enhance the political part taking of women in politics?

### **STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM:**

The participation of women in political sphere is very essential for democracy. But since after the inception of Pakistan on August 14, 1947, the political incorporation of women is minimal despite of the reality that women's population make about more than half of the country's total population. In urban areas of Pakistan the women's political participation is increasing, but the situation is below average in the rural areas like some areas of Balouchistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab. District Attock is one of them, which I have selected as a area of case study in my research. Generally men have seen dominating the political arena almost in every part of country ,same is in district Attock. The communal, intellectual and religious factors have great effect over the political interests of women in district Attock. As in other areas of Pakistan the males in district Attock dominate the political system. The study will elaborate all these factors in detail that decline the political outcome of women in detail.

### **OBJECTIVES OF STUDY:**

Some of the important aims of this research are mentioned as under:

- 1: To highlight the political status of Pakistani women.
- 2: To observe the position of Pakistani women in political institutions.
- 3: To show the relation between education and politics.
- 4: To investigate the extent of political awareness among women in district Attock of Punjab province.
- 5: To highlight the barriers that effect the political activities of women particularly in district Attock.
- 6 : To suggest numerous useful recommendations for the up gradation of the political position of women in Pakistan.

### **TOOLS FOR DATA COLLECTION:**

This section gives a detail of types of sources used to obtain the data and the research methods that are used to analyze the collected data.

I had used direct/foremost as well as indirect sources to compile data which are described as under:-

### **PRIMARY SOURCES OF DATA COLLECTION:**

I have conducted (individual + telephonic) interviews of the lady councilors of different union councils in District Attock.

I have conducted a survey of almost 15 different teachers of Government schools in District Attock to know their views about the political status of women and reasons accountable for lesser political participation of women in district Attock.

The reason for selecting teachers for my research is that teaching is the profession in district Attock, in which large number of females are seen serving. They are all well educated and have good awareness about public issues. Facts and figures about General Elections 2018 were collected from ECP Office District Attock.

The details of different local bodies (i.e district council, Municipal committees and union councils) was obtained from “Deputy Director Local government office” of district Attock.

## **SECONDARY SOURCES OF DATA COLLECTION:**

1. Articles
2. Journals
3. Reports of Asian Bank
4. FAFEN's (Free and Fair election network) report of GE 2018.
5. Global Gender gap report.
6. Human development report by United Nations development program.

## **SAMPLING METHOD:-**

The research study is aimed to know about political rank of women in district Attock.

To get the information about the level of political awareness among women, interviews of lady councilors of different UCs of district Attock were conducted.

As it was difficult for the researcher to visit distant union councils personally, so telephonic interviews were conducted. However, I personally taken interviews of some lady councilors of nearby union councils.

## **SAMPLING SIZE:-**

15 lady councilors form 10 different Union Councils of district Attock were selected. Convenience sample was used to conduct interviews, which is one of the non probability sample technique.

Convenience sample means that the researcher might select people who are easier to obtain information from.

Another survey was also conducted using questionnaire from 15 teachers working in Government Sector in district Attock.

The purpose of this survey was to get knowledge about the views of educated ladies about the involvement of women in politics and to get knowledge about the obstacles, which women have to face in district Attock.

## **PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS:-**

As being the resident of district Attock the personal observations of researcher are also included in the study.

## CHAPTER: 1

### **AREA PROFILE OF DISTRICT ATTOCK**

#### **Location**

Attock is the district sited in the Pothohar Plateau of Punjab province of Pakistan.

#### **Area**

The entire stretch of district Attock is over 6857 sq km.

#### **History**

Attock got the status of “District” in 1904 by merging the tehsils of adjacent districts in it.

Its original name was Attock. It was transformed to “Campbellpur” when the British commander in chief Sir Colin Campbellpur rebuilt the city as “Campbellpur”. Campbellpur was again replaced by Attock in 1978. Attock city is also the district Headquarters.<sup>1</sup>

#### **Political Importance**

Attock also has the political importance because “River Indus” here was travel crossed by the armed forces and commerce course into Afghanistan, through Khyber Pass. It is believed that the great people like Alexander, Tamerlane and Nadir Shah navigated the river Indus at or about this place at the time of their invasions of Indo-Pak sub-continent.

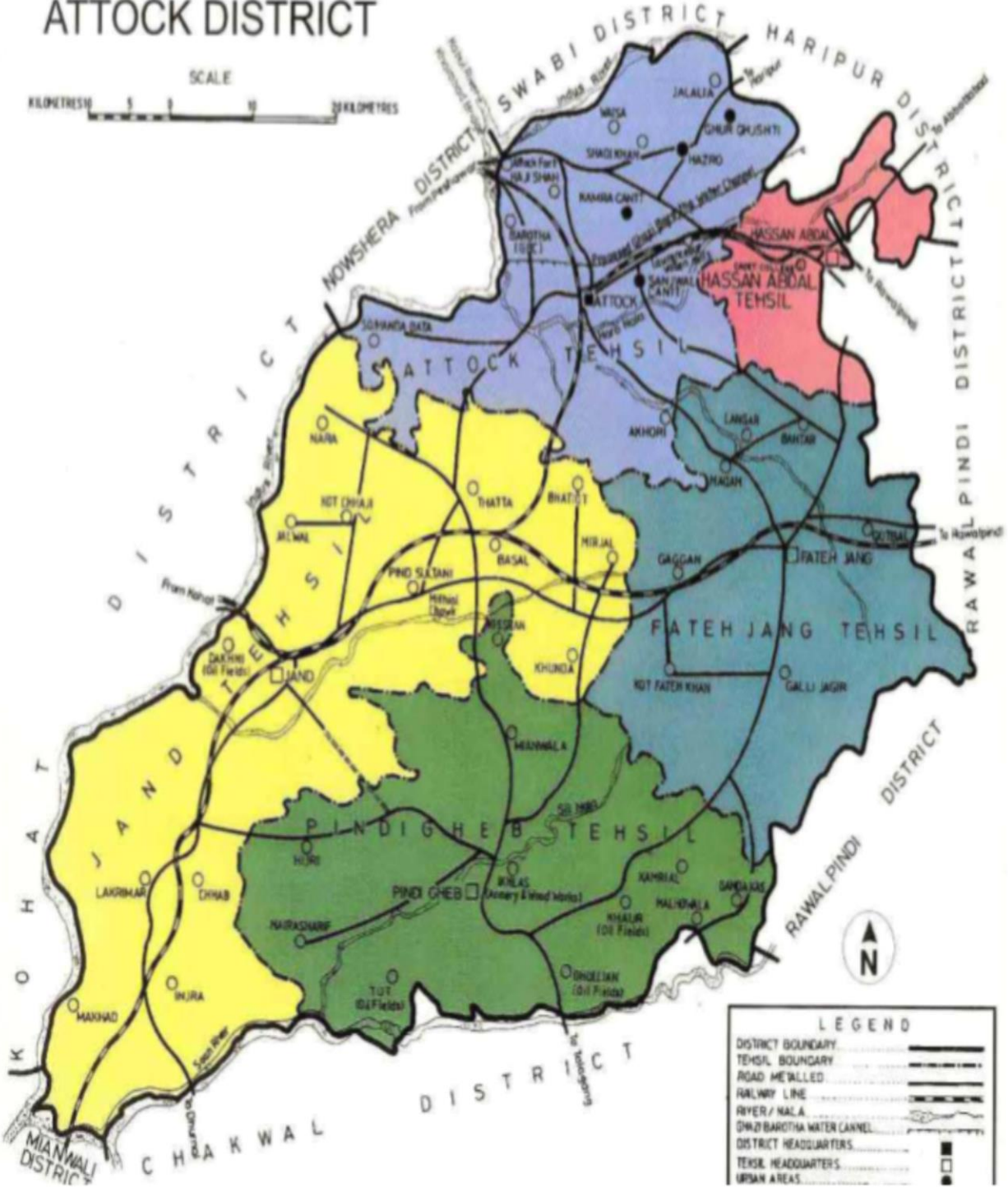
#### **Geographical Boundaries**

Attock lies in the north of Punjab province. Chakwal is located to its south. In the south west there is Mianwali. Rawalpindi is located to the east. In the west there is Kohat. Nowshera is to its North West and Sawabi and Haripur is located towards its north.

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<sup>1</sup> Pre Investment studies, 2012.

# ATTOCK DISTRICT



## **Tehsils**

District Attock consists of 6 tehsils namely Attock, Fatehjang, Hazro, Hassan Abdal, Jand and Pindigheb.

## **Population**

As stated by the population tally of 2017, the total population of district Attock was 1,883,556. The total male population of district Attock was 936,811 and total female population was 946,683. <sup>2</sup>

### **DETAIL OF POPULATION OF DISTRICT ATTOCK**

#### **CENSUS 2017**

	Rural	Urban	Total
Population	1393550	490006	1883,556
Male	686723	250088	936811
Female	706811	239872	946683
Transgender	16	46	62
Household	228435	78214	306649

Source: <http://www.pakinformation.com/population/attock.html>

## **Main Crops**

Wheat, Maize and ground nut are the major crops in district Attock. Jawar, Bajra Sugar cane, Moong Mash, Masoor, gram, oil seeds are also cultivated in district Attock.

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<sup>2</sup> Population of District Attock census 2017 Information report

( Thousand Hectares )

Division / District	Total Area Sown	Un-Irrigated	Irrigated						
			Total	Canals	Wells	Tube-wells	Canal-Wells	Canal Tube-wells	Others
<b>The Punjab</b>	<b>16532</b>	<b>2159</b>	<b>14373</b>	<b>3185</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>2688</b>	<b>278</b>	<b>7862</b>	<b>113</b>
<b>Bahawalpur Divn.</b>	<b>2280</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>2250</b>	<b>1149</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>919</b>	<b>12</b>
Bahawalpur	698	5	693	267	17	72	2	329	6
Bahawalnagar	809	17	792	490	4	52	6	234	6
R. Y. Khan	773	8	765	392	1	13	3	356	0
<b>D.G.Khan Divn.</b>	<b>2057</b>	<b>247</b>	<b>1810</b>	<b>325</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>401</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>927</b>	<b>34</b>
D. G. Khan	430	55	375	133	52	85	23	74	8
Layyah	548	120	428	2	17	125	3	281	0
Muzaffargarh	658	44	614	115	3	79	10	404	3
Rajanpur	421	28	393	75	6	112	9	168	23
<b>Faisalabad Divn.</b>	<b>1987</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>1938</b>	<b>662</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>303</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>917</b>	<b>5</b>
Faisalabad	672	0	672	383	2	28	1	258	0
Chiniot	288	0	288	45	2	93	6	140	0
Jhang	632	49	583	14	8	152	32	372	5
Toba Tek Singh	397	0	397	220	0	30	0	147	0
<b>Gujranwala Divn.</b>	<b>2126</b>	<b>215</b>	<b>1911</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>1074</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>642</b>	<b>2</b>
Gujranwala	505	1	504	80	2	300	6	116	0
Gujrat	293	132	161	32	3	99	1	26	0
Hafizabad	347	0	347	4	9	75	8	251	0
Mandi Beha-ud-Din	317	3	314	10	14	48	16	226	0
Narowal	275	74	201	1	1	185	2	11	1
Sialkot	389	5	384	1	3	367	0	12	1
<b>Lahore Divn.</b>	<b>1449</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1445</b>	<b>237</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>155</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>958</b>	<b>4</b>
Lahore	163	3	160	38	3	26	22	71	0
Kasur	492	1	491	188	7	96	11	187	2
Nankana Sahib	305	0	305	10	5	5	14	269	2
Sheikhupura	489	0	489	1	0	28	29	431	0
<b>Multan Divn.</b>	<b>2086</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>2075</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>1801</b>	<b>37</b>
Multan	470	10	460	11	1	14	12	388	34
Khanewal	515	1	514	29	1	30	8	445	1
Lodhran	456	0	456	30	12	15	4	393	2
Vehari	645	0	645	6	1	47	16	575	0
<b>Rawalpindi Divn.</b>	<b>864</b>	<b>778</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>8</b>
Rawalpindi	224	215	9	2	5	0	0	0	2
Attock	258	230	28	3	16	7	0	0	2
Chakwal	270	259	11	3	5	3	0	0	0
Jhelum	112	74	38	2	6	24	1	1	4
<b>Sahiwal Divn.</b>	<b>1469</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1469</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>1278</b>	<b>0</b>
Sahiwal	445	0	445	24	2	5	12	402	0
Okara	613	0	613	53	3	44	4	509	0

Source:-Punjab development statics, 2017, Bureau of statics, planning & development department, Government of Punjab.



Sr. No.	Division / District	Reported Area	Cultivated Area		
			Total	Net Sown	Current Fallow
	<b>The Punjab</b>	<b>17512</b>	<b>12537</b>	<b>10733</b>	<b>1764</b>
	<b>Bahawalpur Divn.</b>	<b>2144</b>	<b>1704</b>	<b>1503</b>	<b>201</b>
1	Bahawalpur	609	446	340	106
2	Bahawalnagar	742	617	603	14
3	Rahim Yar Khan	793	641	560	81
	<b>D.G. Khan Divn.</b>	<b>3168</b>	<b>1347</b>	<b>1393</b>	<b>464</b>
1	Dera Ghazi Khan	935	454	338	118
2	Layyah	630	482	378	104
3	Muzaffargarh	829	439	356	83
4	Rajanpur	762	472	323	149
	<b>Faisalabad Divn.</b>	<b>1791</b>	<b>1428</b>	<b>1231</b>	<b>146</b>
1	Faisalabad	584	474	473	1
2	Chiniot	264	198	151	47
3	Jhang	616	484	416	68
4	Toba Tek Singh	327	270	241	29
	<b>Gujranwala Divn.</b>	<b>1732</b>	<b>1333</b>	<b>1162</b>	<b>221</b>
1	Gujranwala	367	294	264	30
2	Gujrat	321	249	183	66
3	Hafizabad	235	189	152	37
4	Mand Bahauddin	269	222	197	25
5	Narowal	235	177	176	1
6	Sialkot	305	252	190	62
	<b>Lahore Divn.</b>	<b>1183</b>	<b>911</b>	<b>837</b>	<b>74</b>
1	Lahore	178	94	81	13
2	Kasur	394	317	284	33
3	Nankana Sahib	223	184	162	22
4	Sheikhupura	368	316	310	6
	<b>Multan Divn.</b>	<b>1623</b>	<b>1304</b>	<b>1200</b>	<b>104</b>
1	Multan	378	307	256	51
2	Khanewal	428	358	327	31
3	Lodhran	279	244	232	12
4	Vehari	438	395	385	10
	<b>Rawalpindi Divn.</b>	<b>2243</b>	<b>991</b>	<b>766</b>	<b>238</b>
1	Rawalpindi	524	226	170	56
2	Attock	692	320	235	85
3	Chakwal	669	319	247	72
4	Jhelum	358	126	103	23
	<b>Sahiwal Divn.</b>	<b>1033</b>	<b>351</b>	<b>327</b>	<b>24</b>
1	Sahiwal	320	261	258	3
2	Okara	440	342	324	18

Source:-Punjab development stastic,2017, Bureau of statics, planning & development department, Government of Punjab.

The above table shows the total reported area and cultivated area of District Attock.

### **Main Fruits**

Citrus, guava and apricot are major fruits germinated in the district.

### **Main Vegetables**

Potato, cauliflower, onion, garlic, Brinjal, Lady finger, turnip, carrot, peas, tomatoes, chillies are cultivated in this district.

### **Forests**

In district Attock 10.63% of the total area is under forests, which is about 179947.27 acres of district. Kau, Phulai, Kikar and sheesham trees are mostly grown in the district.<sup>3</sup>

### **Natural Gas**

Natural gas is one of the main source of income of district Attock and is found in Attock, Hassan abdal, Pindigheb, Jand, Fatehjang and Hazro.

### **Minerals**

Minerals are found in Attock in Kala Chitta Range. Argillaceous clay, Bentonite, fireclay, lime stone and iron ore are found in the district. Industrially these minerals are very important. Their uses are presented in table below:-<sup>4</sup>

Argillaceous clay	Used in Cement
Bentonite	Extracting/drilling of Oil wells, soap, cosmetics etc.
Fireclay	Fire bricks, electric insulators ceramics etc.
Iron Ore	Extraction of iron etc
Lime Stone	Cement, sugar, Soda Ash, building/road construction etc.
Latrite	Steel industry and cement.

Source: Pre Investment studies, 2012.

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<sup>3</sup> Pre investment studies, 2012.

<sup>4</sup> I.b.i.d

## **Road Links**

In district Attock the metalled roads make the total 2100.83 kilometers. District Attock is interconnected through these metalled roads with the neighbouring districts of Rawalpindi, Kohat, Nowshera, Haripur, Mianwali and Chakwal.<sup>5</sup>

According to the official document, one of the briefing was conducted in a high level meeting on 7<sup>th</sup> March 2016 regarding the China Pakistan Economic Corridor. It was about the positioning of Hakla (located near Tarnol)- Dera Ismail Khan road, located on the western route. It was decided that this highway will pass through the districts of Dera Ismail Khan, Mianwali and from various areas of district Attock. These areas include the tehsils of Jand, Pindi Gheb and Fateh Jang.<sup>6</sup>

The package IV of CPEC will cover the area between Swan and Pindi Gheb (District Attock). Similarly package V of CPEC will be started from Pindi Gheb, and will end at Hakla. This package V of CPEC will pass through Fateh Jang, Khunda, Kot Fateh Khan, Jand and also through Tarap and Mukhad. All the areas of package V are the backward areas of district Attock. As we all know that CPEC is meant for the social and economic uplifting of backward areas. It would change the dynamics of commercial and communal well being in the region, would bring prosperity and harmony between china and Pakistan. And the completion of this project will excavate new horizon of development for the citizens of these areas of district Attock.<sup>7</sup>

## **Railway Links**

The different parts of district Attock are also interconnected with each other by railway tracks. These railway networks also join district Attock with other districts like Rawalpindi, Mianwali, Nowshera, Kohat and Peshawar.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Pre investment studies (2012).

<sup>6</sup> The NEWS, 2016.

<sup>7</sup> I.b.i.d

<sup>8</sup> Pre Investment studies, 2012.

## CHAPTER: 2

### **Political Struggle of Women in Indo-Pak Sub Continent**

It is obvious that in Indo Pak sub continent there is a lot of difference b/w the social and political status of men and women, which created hesitation and lack of confidence among women. There was the time when Muslim women were not allowed to attend any social, cultural and political meetings with the male members at any forum. All Indian Educational Conference was founded by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. It was solely for the academic purposes, and was organized in 1886. But unluckily women were not allowed to attend the academic sessions of this conference till 1903. 1903 was the year when women were only allowed to listen its sessions and meetings from behind the screen. But at that time they have no right to participate vocally in these sessions.

With the claim of being the first political party in Indo Pak sub Continent, Indian National Congress was formulated in 1885. In 1889, the Indian National Congress allowed the women to attend its sessions as audience. Mrs. Ganguli was the first women who spoke at this forum in 1900. Any Muslim woman was still unable to attend any one of its session as a delegate.<sup>9</sup>

In 18<sup>th</sup> century women started movements for getting their social and political rights. Women struggled very hard and finally got the right to vote in 1901. In the year 1901, a social club was set up at Hyderabad Deccan, among the Muslim women to increase the communication of rich Muslim women with the western ladies.

In 1907 Anjuman-e-Khawateen-e-Islam was established by Begum Muhammad Shafi (spouse of Sir Muhammad Shafi), Fatima Begum and Rashida Begum, who were the daughters of Maulvi Mahboob Alam. The main objectives of Anjuman-e- Khawateen-e-Islam was to provide a plan of action and to motivate muslim women, and to give direction to their religious and social thoughts for bringing a healthy and positive change in their behavior.

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<sup>9</sup> Syed Shamooun Hashmi, " *Leading the way*", *A handbook for Pakistan's women parliamentarians and political leaders*", Search for common ground (SFCG), 2014. PP 15.

“Women participation in politics remained problematic, women started a movement for their rights in 1920s but the nationalists opposed the adult universal franchise right of women (Bano 2003).

In the year 1915, The All Indian Muslim Ladies Conference was held initially in Indo Pak sub continent. In this meeting the issue of age of marriage for a Muslim woman was brought to notice. A resolution was passed in this session, which was that, any Muslim women would not be married till she become 16 years old, because marriage in early age effect her education and health. A resolution which was passed by All Indian Muslim Ladies Conference, was about polygamy in its second session in 1917, in Lahore. This resolution rose the feelings of rage and cacophony in the traditional and conservative Muslim society.

After the inception of Pakistan in 1947, the new constituent assembly was formulated. The constituent assembly was formed according to the laws by the central legislative of British India. In 1948 the Basic Principles Committee was organized, whose job was to present the outlines for future constitution. Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz was its only female member. Later she was accompanied by Begum Shaista Ikramullah. In the first constituent assembly Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz and Begum Shaista Ikramullah, were the two lady members. The first constituent assembly terminated in 1955 and new constituent assembly was formed in which there was no female representative (Waqas Naeem, 7 Aug 2018)

### **Political Participation of Women in Punjab Province**

In the province of Punjab Muslim women actively participated in Pakistan movement. It is very little known reality that Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah had brought social rebellion in the liberty and empowerment of muslim women.

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah addressed the students of Islamia College for women (Nawakot) on 25<sup>th</sup> March 1940 . He spoke these memorable words:-

There are two major forces in the world: First is ‘pen’ and the second is ‘sword’. The contest is proceeding between these two powers for hegemony. I have frequently announced that there is a third force also, which is more potent then pen and sword. This power is ‘Woman’, which can help man in the time of difficulty. I am not at all suggesting you to follow the west, but the men should essentially acknowledge the reality that woman is a co-

worker, friend and a partner. If men and women work together synthetically, they can build their menage, home and their sovereign state. (Saeed Ahhmed, 1976)

To encourage the muslim women in the Sub Continent, he further spoke these words:-

If women of the house become Muslim League members, then everyone in the house including children, old people and youth will become a Muslim League member. (Misbah ul Haq Saddiqui)

Let's consider an instance of Tehrik-e- Pakistan, during which both men and women worked side by side with each other keeping aside the gender discrimination. In Pakistan movement not only the males served all their capabilities to get a separate homeland, the females also contributed significantly for awakening the Muslim women, and to create political awareness in them. The brave and courageous Muslim women of the Indo-Pak sub continent took the slogans '**Lay k rahin gy Pakistan**' home to home and in every street. These educated and renowned ladies include Begum Shahnawaz, Mrs. Zubaida Latif, Lady Jamal Khan, Lady Abdul Qadir, Miss Fatima Jinnah, Begum Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan, Begum Shahab-ud-Din and Begum Haroon (M.S Naz, 1989).

Quaid-e-Azam kept his female sibling Fatima Jinnah at his side and practically delivered the idea of women empowerment. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Jinnah emphasized on the significance of considering women equal as men to get freedom and a separate motherland for muslims.. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was constantly criticized by religious and conservative muslim parties and their leaders. One of the interesting example in this regard is illustrated as under:

Once Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was invited to address in a public meeting. Before the meeting, some religious leaders requested him not to bring his sister Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah with her in the meeting . He refused their request and not delivered address there.(Saiyid, 2001).

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah spoke at Muslim Convention held in Dehli .He said:

“It is the subject of eminent delight that Muslim women are also going through a profound transformation. This change is of great importance. No nation in the world can get advancement unless its women move beside their men.”<sup>10</sup>

The achievements of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah were unexceptable that gave rise to the social revolution in the Indo Pak sub continent. The culture of Indian sub continent discourage women from going out for taking part in political activities. The situation and demand of the women to get involved in politics at the time of Pakistan movement was totally different in its nature and effect. That’s why Muslim women of Indo-Pak sub continent came out, and did their best. They carried on the Pakistan movement with the men to gain an independent Islamic state. The founder of the nation motivated women at every step. He had a liberal thinking, which proved significant in women’s political participation.

Unluckily Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah died soon after the independence of Pakistan, and the conservative and narrow minded religious leaders tried to discourage women’s entry into politics. Their negative mentality supressed the political participation of women. It is to be noted that during the Pakistan movement, women took active part in politics only because they are supported by their male members. This support helped every woman belonging to every social class to take part actively in all political meetings and processions either as a focal person or as a supporter with their male counterparts.<sup>11</sup>

With the beginning of Pakistan movement, the muslim students coalition and its women’s wing played strong role in mass mobilization with girls student travelling all over Pakistan, even to the frontier province. Many muslim women from all over Pakistan and particularly from Punjab province performed an important contribution in the politics and in Pakistan movement. These women include Fatima Jinnah, Begum Fatima, Begum Jahanara Shah Nawaz, Begum Salma Tassaduq Hussain, Rana Liaqat Ali Khan and many more.

### **Fatima Jinnah**

The sister of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was a distinguished public representative, as she took a major part in Pakistan movement. Fatima Jinnah served greatly for civil rights and in Pakistan movement, she presented the women’s rights movement. She was the co-founder of Pakistan women’s Association (APWA). After the independence she has

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<sup>10</sup> Saira Bano (2009) pg. 26

<sup>11</sup> Shehzadi Zamurrad Awan, “Role of civil society in empowering Pakistani women”, (A research journal of south Asian studies), 449.

basically contributed in the settlement of Urdu speaking mass in Pakistan. She also provides her services for the accommodation of Muhajirs in the nascent state of Pakistan. Fatima Jinnah took part in the Presidential elections of 1965. She was contestant against Ayub Khan. Unfortunately she lost the elections but this election was very important in the respect that for the first time in the history of Pakistan, a woman was contesting the highest administrative position of the country.

### **Begum Jahanara Shah Nawaz**

Begum Jahanara Shah Nawaz was the daughter of renowned political leader, Sir Muhammad Shafi. She was born in April 1896. She completed her education from Queen Mary College Lahore. She got married with Mian Shah Nawaz. She was the first female member of All India Muslim League. She represented Pakistan in the first and second round table conferences in 1930 and 1931 respectively as the only Muslim woman member. She was also the only female representative of women for the British India Council in 1932. She founded the Punjab legislative assembly in 1937. She was the part of women's central subcommittee of the All India Muslim league. In 1947 she played a significant role in civil disobedience. She became the member of Pakistan's first constituent Assembly after independence. In 1948 Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz became the member of the Basic Principles Committee. Begum Jahanara shahnawaz revealed the fact in her book titled as "*Father and daughter*", that she was the only female member of the basic principles committee, objected the objective resolution. Later she was accompanied by Begum Shaista Ikramullah.

Begum Jahanara shahnawaz and Begum Shaista Ikramullah both worked hard for specifying 10% reserved seats for women in central and provincial legislative bodies. However at that time only 3% women reserved seats were accepted.

After independence the Ulema's board opposed the entry of women in politics. They were of the view that, women do not have any right to enter in politics or they argue that women are allowed to enter in legislative bodies, only if they were above 50 years old. They also put the condition for women to enter in politics, that women in political institutions were bound to keep themselves in burqa or naqab (veiled) . Then Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz was the lady that objected the comments of Board of Ulema. She was lucky enough to present a document of women's rights in National assembly in 1951. Greater number of the members of constituent assembly voted in the favour of it. However the chairman of the constituent assembly was not in the favour of this bill. He was of the view that Pakistan is a newly emerged nation and it



can't bear the burden of of this luxury. But inspite of the opposition of the chairman this charter was passed agreeably by all the members of national assembly. According to this charter:-

1. The legal and socio- political status of women should be considered equal to men.
2. Women should provided equal chance to get involved in all the fields of life inclusive of politics.
3. They should be paid equal pay as compared to men for equal job.
4. All the rights were granted to women according to the Islamic personal law of Sharia.

This was the great contribution of Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz regarding attaining the rights of Muslim women in the sub continent. On the other hand the charter was very important because, it was the time when in England Churchill had objected the claim of equal reward for women. Keeping in mind the prevailing situation of that time it was great accomplishment of Jahanara Shahnawaz, the women parliamentarians and for the muslim women of Pakistan.<sup>12</sup>

All were the efforts of these two ladies i-e Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz and Shaista Ikramullah that they succeeded to present and pass several bills in a nationalistic and male dominant legislative body. These bills are as under:

1. **Nationality law:-** This law was for the women who marry the nationals of any other country. In this case women were granted to give the right whether they want to keep their nationality or choose any other option.
2. **Muslim personal law of Sharia:-** This law was enacted by Punjab Legislative Assembly, which demanded for the women's right of inheritance given to them by Islamic law over every kind of property, with the inclusion of land and agricultural property also.
3. Another bill was passed to grant women a right to enter in services and jobs including the foreign services.

### **Begum Fatima**

Begum Fatima was the leading builder of the Jinnah Islamia College for girls in Lahore. She had an immense role in the mobilization of female students. She invited Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Jinnah in November 1942 to visit the college and to address the students of her college. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah spoke these golden words in his sermon:-

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<sup>12</sup> Asma Afzal Shami, "Political Empowerment of women in Pakistan"

“I am glad to see that not only Muslim men but Muslim women and children have recognized the Pakistan scheme. No society can make any progression without the co-operation of its women. If Muslim women help their men, as they did in the day of their Prophet of Islam, We should soon conceive our determination”.

### **Begum Salma Tassaduq Hussain**

Begum Salma Tassaduq Hussain contributed a lot in the politics of Indo-Pak Sub Continent and after 1947 in the politics of Pakistan. She was born at Gujranwala in 1908. She was the daughter of Mian Fazal Illahi. She did her graduation from the Punjab University Lahore . She was an efficient worker and member of Punjab Women’s subcommittee from its emergence. In 1940 she became the secretary of Punjab Provincial Women’s Subcommittee. She served greatly in launching primary schools and industrial homes for women in Lahore. She was chosen as a member the council of All India Muslim League. She was included in the central subcommittee of all India Muslim League in April 1943. In 1944 she took part as an active member in Bengal relief fund committee. She contributed efficiently in the elections of 1946. She competed election on the Muslim League ticket for the seat of Punjab Provincial assembly from the inner Lahore constituency and got victory by distinguishing majority.

In 1947 she took part in some processions of Women’s subcommittee as the secretary, and was taken into custody with other members of Muslim League in Punjab Assembly.

### **Rana Liaqat Ali Khan**

Rana Liaqat Ali Khan as a first lady of Pakistan played an active role in Pakistani politics. She presented reforms for women and child development, for collective wellbeing of women and served greater services for motivating women to take part in Pakistan’s politics.

Rana Liaqat Ali was first woman in Pakistan, went to United Nations as a delegate in 1952. She was appointed as first Muslim Pakistani Ambassador to Netherlands from 1954 to 1961. She had also performed the services of Pakistani Ambassador in Italy and Tunisia.

She was the first woman governor of Sindh appointed by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. She was also the first Chancellor of Sindh University Karachi. Rana Liaqat Ali took part in parliamentary elections held in 1977 but could not get an office, because of martial law imposed by Gen Zia ul Haq. She protested against martial law and hanging of Bhutto.

In 1970, when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto got strength, he rendered special contemplation to formulate a new constitution. It is interesting act that in the constitutional committee there were two lady members. These were Begum Nasim Jahan and Begum Ashraf Abbasi. These two ladies performed an immense role in Pakistan movement. All these were the sincere achievements of these women members that in the constitution of 1973, it was proclaimed that all citizens are legally equal and stated, there shall be no difference on the basis of ethnic group, religion, social class or sex for working in any field in Pakistan.

### **Begum Viqar-un-Nisa:**

Begum Viqar-un-Nisa was born in Australia. In 1945 she got married to Sir Feroz Khan Noon. Before her marriage she was a member of viceroy's cabinet. She left the viceroy's cabinet in 1945, went to Lahore with her husband and left Delhi.

At that time there exist a great emotional strain in the sub continent due to coming general elections. The Muslim men and women had begun practical and successful publicity in the support of Muslim League

Begum Viqar-un-Nisa after coming to Lahore observed the political circumstances and the community's sentiments very deeply, as her husband was an important political figure. She firmly determined to arrange systematically an election campaign. She was appointed the member of the Punjab provincial women's sub committee. (pg 139-140). She had a flourishing role in the processions and presentations against the British aided Khizar administration in the campaign of civil disobedience, and arrested trice at that time.<sup>13</sup>

After the partition in 1947, millions of people came to Pakistan. Millions of deprived and helpless displaced persons came to Lahore. At that time Begum Viqar-un-Nisa provided many crucial and indispensible aid and services to several refugee committees and camps. She worked for the "Red Cross" for many years and she has represented Pakistan very successfully on several instances.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza, "Muslim women's role in the Pakistan movement" Research society of Pakistan, University of Punjab, Lahore. (1981) . 140.

<sup>14</sup> I.b.i.d. 140

## 2. POLITICAL STATUS OF PAKISTANI WOMEN

### Definition of Political Participation

According to Mishra 1984:

“Participation means collaborative and uninterrupted struggle by the people themselves for regulating, pooling resources together and taking action which aim to mke their living condition better”.

“All the personal actions which either directly or indirectly effect the authentic distribution of meagre resources, either material or figurative in their locality or between different communities, either within or outside their society, it is called political participation.”<sup>15</sup>

Mueller (2005) discussed about the intervention of women in decision making in political process. This context of declination of power process in Pakistan shows that it is not enough to only setup or strengthen the democratic and political institutions to gain the perfection in women’s political participation instead the constructive part of state, political parties and civil society is also needed.

The word **Democracy** is derived from two words. **Demos** stands for common people and **Kratos** means potentiality or rule. So we can define democracy as:-

“ The political system in which power belongs to the general public”. There are three aspects about how can people take over or use this political power either in direct or indirect way. These are as follows.

- (i) **Participation:** The people can participate in political process by taking part in elections and voting.
- (ii) **Competition:** Contests between different political parties.

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<sup>15</sup> Aziz-ur- Rehman, *Men’s attitude towards women’s political participation in Malakand Division*. 26

- (iii) **Liberty:** People have freedom of speech, freedom to cast vote of one's own choice etc.

So we can say that democracy is the direct or indirect taking over of political power by people through participation.<sup>16</sup>

In this modern age of democracy, the legal power to rule is related to representation. The principle of democracy is that the leaders or representatives are selected by the general public and thus self assured and reliable allotment of assets, wealth and values in the society is made. "Representation" in any democratic system can be considered as a basic element. We can call it "Rule of the game". It tells us that who will rule. Hence to empower women, we must give them representation in democratic system.<sup>17</sup>

### **Political Stature of Women in Pakistani Society**

The constitution of 1973 clearly highlights that:-

"There shall be no distinction on the basis of sex alone". In addition the constitution guarantee the insurance of marriage, family, the mother and child as well as safeguarding full engagement of women in all realms of national life (Gender Review Pakistan).

As far as the above statement is concerned it becomes obvious that state does't prevent women to enter in politics. The constitution of 1973 encourages women to participate in politics and to serve the nation but, unfortunately the practical involvement of women in politics is marginal in Pakistan. Patriarchy, conservatism, religious and many other factors are accountable for the low political participation of women.

Different studies about the life of Pakistani women highlighted that there are a lot of complications for women. The researchers explained different problems that generally Pakistani women have to face. These are male chauvinism, lack of power for decision making and financial deprivation of women.(Rukshanda, 2005)<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Naila Maqsood, "Regime type and women's substantive representation in Pakistan: A study in socio-political constraints on policy making" Department of government and public policy, Faculty of contemporary studies, NDU, Islamabad, (2016), 17.

<sup>17</sup> M Usman Amin Siddiqui, " Examining women empowerment through representation in Pakistan: who gets to represent whom? Oregon State university, (2015) , 39

<sup>18</sup> Nasreen Akhtar & Rifaqat Ali Akbar, "Analysis of life of Pakistani women: views of educated women" Journal of elementary education, 114.

Akhtar (2011) explained that women bear brutality at various stages of their life. As a result it badly effects their personality, destroys their health both physically and mentally and also banishes their creative and productive efforts. It's actually a fact that women who bear several difficulties due to their family or society can't able to do their duties fully and in a better way. These circumstances are the big hurdle in the political development and raising the political position of women in Pakistani society. In such situation there arises a need for the government and other welfare organizations to come forth and to play their productive role to empower women, because the empowerment of women is mandatory to empower the society in real sense. Chaudhary, Chani & Pervaiz, 2012 elaborates in their study that women empowerment give new energy, perceptions and leadership, giving advantage to men and children of their families and can make better caliber of their life.<sup>19</sup>

Women all over Pakistan are working hard to get involved into politics. Their hard work become fruitful when General Pervaiz Musharaf announced reserved seats for women in National and Provincial assemblies.

Women in some backward and rural areas of Pakistan are even not permitted to caste their vote. Women in those areas are excluded of voting and political process and they do not have even their national identity cards nor they are registered as voters.

If by chance women meet these two requirements, the elders of that community and officials of local political parties don't permit women to caste a vote. These circumstances are still practiced in different parts of KPK and newly merged tribal district of KPK (Ishrat Saleem 2019).

“In Pakistani society, first of all it is very problematic for a women to make up her mind to join politics. Once when she is able to do so then she has to convince her family members i.e here husband, parents and children). If luckily she had been able to cross all these barriers, then applying for a ticket is another difficult task for her. It is because when she applies for a ticket, the male opponents against here make up all sort of stories about her. And after all this when her name finally goes to party leaders, they do not agree because they have fear of losing that seat”<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> I. b. i. d. 114

<sup>20</sup> Renuka Chaudhary, " *Issues and challenges of women participation in politics*" National journal of multidisciplinary research and development. (2018)

As stated by the recent global Gender gap report, Pakistan lies on 143<sup>rd</sup> position in economic participation and opportunities and on 87<sup>th</sup> in women's political empowerment.

Sanchitta Bhattacharya clearly shown the difference between our ideology and the prevailing reality in our society. According to her:-

### **The doctrine**

“No nation can rise to the height of prestige nevertheless their women are side by side with them..... It is an offence against mankind that our women are confined within the four walls of the houses as convicts. There is no sanction anywhere for the disgraceful condition in which our women have to live.....” (Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Founder of the Nation).

### **The realism**

“Pakistan was made only for the forceful and for the men. It was not made for feeble and poverty stricken women like me, what are we effective for and what is our social position here? Nothing at all.....” (Basheeran Bibi, One of the numerous female casualty of brutality in Pakistan).<sup>21</sup>

In 2018, total 8 women were able to reach the National assembly on general seats, In 2013 only six female members got elected as MNAs.

Among the 8 women elected as MNAs, in 2018, four belong to Sindh, three from Punjab and one from Balochistan.<sup>22</sup> It is obvious from the statement that the political part taking of women is alarmingly low in Pakistan.

During last few years women in Punjab province have taken several important steps to safeguard and to give protection to women in Punjab Assembly. Punjab Commission on the status of women act 2014 was a crucial step taken by Punjab Assembly. Several amendments were made in it after the criticism on it. Once again in 2016 it was presented by the Punjab provincial assembly as the “Punjab Commission on the status of women act 2016”.

Although the constitution of 1973 had also given legal protection to the right of women empowerment avoiding the difference in socio-economic field, but the prevailing reality in society is quite different.

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<sup>21</sup> Sanchitta Bhattacharya, “*Status of women in Pakistan*” J. R. S. P (2014).

<sup>22</sup> Waqar Naeem, “*New Politics*” (2018)

“The Punjab fair representation act 2014” encouraged women and motivate them to enter in law making bodies in Punjab Province.

There are number of legislations to empower women, but still there are a lot of cases of misconduct with women. Women are discriminated or harassed at home or at work place. To reduce the discrimination between men and men, it is necessary to facilitate political involvement of women.

The women’s rights to participate in politics are mentioned in 1973’s constitution, but these acts help little to achieve socio-economic stability and to strengthen their right of empowerment.

The constitution and Punjab Assembly although have sown seeds to improve the condition the watering and care of land is required to be done by the administrative and judicial systems. According to the programme of United National development in 1997, Human development report states that:-

“A imaginative adherence to gender equality will nourish every area of action to lessen poverty because women can initiate new understanding and a new foundation for organization (Chandler et-at, UNDP, 1997). Arab human development report 2002, world bank 2003) states that “the low empowerment of women is one of the shortfall which have seriously retarded human development in the last three decades”.

Kazuki (2008) pointed out that women in Asia gained political status because of their political inheritance. He described that in Asia the women who have gained prominent position in politics i.e prime minister or the president mostly belong to those families which have strong political background. This type of situation prevails in Pakistan, India, Srilanka and Bangladesh.

There are very numerous women in Pakistan, who lead their political parties successfully. These women include Fatima Jinnah from PML, Benazir Bhutto from PPP, Nusrat Bhutto from PPP, Ghinwa Bhutto from Shaheed Bhutto Group and Nasim Wali Khan belonging to ANP. Interestingly all of these women belong to political families and their brothers, husbands or fathers were great politicians.

Bano (2009) organized the study to notice the condition of women in Pakistan’s parliament. Her main emphasis was the association and contribution of women in politics. The study



observes how fractional influence in parliament has influenced the empowerment of women. The study concluded that in comparable proportions the position of women has upgraded in current civilization with the passage of time, but the perfection of women's empowerment is however a remote nightmare.

The experts studying women issues were of the view that, "women in some areas of Pakistan (such as some areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan), the public and private domains of male and female are separated in such a way that important positions such as economic supremacy and political powers are considered as male domains". (kabir, 2003). In some rural areas women are not allowed to perform any activity or task unless they grant permission from their furious male members, who are heads of their families.<sup>23</sup> This shows the extent of restrictions over female in male dominated Pakistani society.

Philips, (2000) elaborates in her study that if there is the dominancy of one social group, as a consequence there will be over representation of ideas and views of that social group, while under representation will result in lower exposure of opinions and ideas of that particular group. Philips pointed out that the less exposure and less representation of females in politics is because of the structural factor of society.<sup>24</sup>

Killerman & Rhode (2007), Kiamba (2008) and some other researchers pointed out that conventional image of gender was one of the main obstruction in the way of women leadership. He discussed that women have to faught the battle at two fronts, assigned to gender role stereotype, as it is commonly believed that males are considered more compatible to become leaders.

Kunovich, Paxton and Hughes (2007), discussed the fact that culture is an element that have direct impact on the extent and levels of representation in the whole political process. For example from the decision of a single women to join politics, to the selection of candidates by a political party, to the voters decision in the form of their right to caste vote on election day, all are strongly influenced by cultural norms. If the women are given an opportunity to be politically empowered, then betterment in the domains of culture, society, economics and politics can be made (Harris, 2010)

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<sup>23</sup> Shehzadi Zamurrad Awan, " *Role of civil society in empowering Pakistani women*" (2012) , 450

<sup>24</sup> Arfan L atif et. al "*Female political participation in South Asia: A Case study of Pakistan*", A Research journal of South Asian studies (2015).

The ideal form of women's emancipation can be acquired by maximum entrance of women in electoral process, and in legislative and electoral bodies.(Shah Aziz & Ahmed, 2015)

Women can considered to be empowered in political sphere, when they are allowed to participate completely in central and provincial parliament and, if they are given unrestricted and unconstrained adult franchise. Women can be considered personally empowered, if they are free to resolve their private issues themselves at any forum of their public life (Sohail, 2014)

Women have to face problems worldwide when they intend to join politics by participating in political process. The traditional mind set that women are not strong enough and they need the assistance of males that is why they are considered unfit for participation in political process, is the main reason of backwardness of women in politics <sup>25</sup>

All the struggles done to bring development in society will be wasted and will be proved fruitless, if women are not given empowerment and proper representation in political institutions (Naz & Ahmed, 2012)

There are three inter related fields that restrict the political participation of Pakistani women. These are the socio economic conditions, The structure of typical Pakistani society and religion based reasoning. (Shaheed et al, 2009 pg : 26)

The extent of women's involvement in politics is driven by the acceptance and perception of men about the position of women in political field. Presently there are 223 women legislators in parliament and other political institutions. But still they are not enough according to the critical mass theory, which demands to have minimum 33% of the total women seats in parliament. Although it has originated a substantial figure of women politicians or leaders in the political parties, but still a lot of political awareness is needed to make the situation better.<sup>26</sup>

Regarding the number of female members in Pakistani parliament in 2008, Pakistan stood on 45<sup>th</sup> position out of the total 145 country's parliamentary list. In the course of time the women's representation declined, and Pakistan ranked on 65<sup>th</sup> position, because the women's representation dropped up to 20% women both in the senate and national assembly.<sup>27</sup> The political parties can be oftenly hold responsible for this decrease in the number of women in

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<sup>25</sup> Arfan latif et.al (2015)

<sup>26</sup> Shehnila Zardari, "Empty women seats in parliament", The Express Tribune, May, 12, 2018.

<sup>27</sup> I.b.id

political institutions, because it is seemed generally that political parties are reluctant in granting tickets to women, who are interested to come forward in politics.

The political culture can't be effected by the social group of humans like women, with less or minimal participation in the politics, because they do not have any constructive authority. So in order to bring the women's specific issues at culmination in all political forums in such a way that they have consequences on the policy making, the large number of women should be given representation in legislatures and other important governmental forums.<sup>28</sup>(M Usman Ameen pg.39)

A lot of structural components bound the entry of women in politics. These are the objection of males for a women to gain prominent positions in any of the political or electoral bodies, Lack of proper policies and legislative laws that are needed to make sure the maximum participation, appointments and promotions on the basis of discrimination and lack of proper ways for gender generalization. (Smulders, 1998)

If we talk about empowering women, the empowerment of women in political sphere can be considered as the highest level in this regard. And political empowerment of women can't be achieved without empowering them in social and economic spheres of life. The political dispensation of women is the measuring instrument among other things or spheres generally in government and specifically in National and Provincial legislatures.<sup>29</sup> Political authorization of women depends on the social and economic empowerment of women, because generally it is supposed that the extent of political participation of women is the pictorial representation of social and economic stability of women in that society. And if we want to empower women politically we have to empower them socially and economically. And if the women got political empowerment they can work better for the women to empower them socially and economically by influencing the policies and laws in this regard.<sup>30</sup>

In most part of history, the politics in Pakistan is commanded by rich and influential families known as elites. And the political power was seemed shifting between these elites. i- e from fathers to sons, from one family to another and from generation to generation for many years. These elites from different regions, having different linguistic culture were supposed to be rivals of each other for getting political offices. These elite groups tried hard to form

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<sup>28</sup> Muhammad Usman Ameen (2015). 39

<sup>29</sup> I.b.i.d 36

<sup>30</sup> I.b.i.d , 38

associations with other people to enhance their power needed to rule the nation. Generally the elite group was divided into three types these were; military elites, civilian elites and religious elites. There was always seen the confronting battle between these elite groups. In the battle between these elite groups women are not supposed to be important, and are not given a chance to represent themselves in mainstream politics.

These elite groups made the entrance of women in politics difficult. The women who were from the elite families had the opportunity to join the politics at that time. This was the main reason that very small number of women, belonging to those elite families took part in politics at regional and national level.<sup>31</sup>

### **Are women politically empowered today.**

In 2008 elections, greater number of women contested elections, inspite of the fact that political parties did not allow them or grant them tickets and many women who were not given tickets by their political parties contested elections as independent contestant. But inspite of these efforts by female candidates, all the female candidates lost except Mis Robina Watto from district Okara. This shown combatant drift in politics where political parties hold out against the sanctioning of party tickets to female candidates, whereas women's desires to become representatives within public sector are getting through constrains (Bari 2008).

In the history of Pakistan not a single women can reach to the position of chief minister of any province. Once in the history of Pakistan, Begum Rana Liaqat Ali Khan became the governor of Sindh. But after that, this position is considered a golden apple for women. Often it is seemed that women are given less important departments or ministries like education, social welfare, law or population while the salient ministries like industries, economics, finance, health, exercise and taxation, foreign and interior home ministries, defense, media and communication are given to male members and all these ministries are still a bad dream for women parliamentarians.

Undoubtedly women are given less importance than men and are considered secondary creature to men with respect to their place in society.

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<sup>31</sup> Naima Tabassum, "Women in Pakistan, Status in socio cultural and politico- legal domains" Area study centre, Far East & south East Asia, Faculty of social sciences, University of Sindh, Jamshoro. pp 173-174.

Different scholars like Plato, Aristotle, Thomas Hobbes, John lock and Rousseau utilized several vindications and conclude that “politics is male associated profession and women are not able mentally and physically to take part in politics as men can do”.

Ideal empowerment cannot be achieved unless we try hard to empower women politically for the nation’s interest.

In Pakistan almost 50% of the population consist of females. Unfortunately 5 to 10 percent women take part in politics and very often they have access to the prominent positions in politics.

As a practical fact,

“Political accreditation is the form of engagement in administrative and official processes at various points of political campaign”.

It is observed that the persisting problems in state or its political institutions are the major obstacles that hinders political activities or contribution of women. National commission on the status of women (NCSW-2010) in its report suggested that:- “Women are not noticeably mobile regardless of exposing out into the politics . Although women are inserted into political institutions, no endeavor is made to modify the patriarchal nature and culture of political organizations. Therefore even though it assisted a small proportion of women enter the government. Their participation was limited because the structures and the practices that cause inequality are still prevailed in society.

The conclusion of this report was that women in Pakistan are getting involved in politics but their outcome is not good and remarkable due to gender stereotyping.<sup>32</sup>

Women have to strive hard for getting them involved in political process. To bring about healthy political change in society, who have to work as agents of change in open, accountable and in legislative bodies, instead of working as objects? Although it is admitted that there exist lot of deficiencies in political environment, women are also needed to equip with the understanding of political process, policy making and public propagandas and the expertise. They should attend the trainings for capacity building before taking charge of their duties as public representatives in elective or legislative bodies. Many women at present are working in current parliament, but unfortunately their role is suppressed due to lack of training

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<sup>32</sup> Arfan Latif. et.al, “Female political participation in south Asia: A case study of Pakistan” (2015)

Programmes for their political grooming. They need capacity development trainings for the fulfillment of their duties as parliamentarians. If given an opportunity of gaining political experience of running campaigns, raising finance and political knowledge, then women working on reserved seats can be proved a motivational force for capacity building as compared to others.

In several areas of Pakistan, the situation regarding the possession of identity cards and presenting it to the polling staff is an important matter in question for women. In many rural and tribal areas of Pakistan, the holding of national identity card is not considered as necessary as for men. That's why a large number of women can't avail their right of voting. In case if the women got married, or she is divorced, then their national identity cards became invalid, due to changed status of women. And the women that possess proper and valid national identity cards can't vote, because they have to face impediments and opposition from male members of family, in going to the polling stations because of the strict purdah (veil) observed by women in some areas of Pakistan. Then we can say that "purdah" is a crucial factor that limit the participation of women in voting process and only small number of women can be able to cast their vote.

The norms and cultural values are considered superior and more effective as compared to law and state policies, because laws and policies can only become fruitful if the women are considered equal to men by the cultural norms and values. The laws and policies of any country will be applicable practically only if they are welcomed by the general public especially by the males of that society.<sup>33</sup>

The research conducted by Naz, Ibrahim and Ahmed (2012 : 167) about socio-economic obstruction in the way of women's political participation, pointed out that in Pakistani society especially in Pakhtoon and tribal areas "**Purdah**" is one of the basic hindrance for women to take part in political process. In their research 13% women agreed that harsh purdah system is the main obstacle that prevent women to enter in politics.

The report of United Nations Development program (2005) pointed out that:-

Often men stop their women for going out of their homes and especially to private and public places like polling stations, in some areas where purdah is considered the matter of

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<sup>33</sup> Muhammad Usman Ameen (2015), 52

their ego. And the women is not acceptable without observing the purdah strictly (United Nations Development program, 2005 : 14).

In the past, it was noticed that in some conservative areas of Pakistan some political or linguistic groups, belonging to a specific party signed an agreement to prevent women to get involved in politics. They agreed that their women should not be allowed to cast a vote. Some religious minded members of political party even used the loud speakers in the mosques for this illegal and ignorant practice. They used to announce that according to Islamic law, it is not allowed for us to cast a vote for any women contesting the elections from any platform. They tried to fear the women that if she will use her right to vote, then she and her family will be punished.

In another case, let's consider if the women managed to reach the polling stations, they are not given permission to cast their vote according to their will, rather they are bound to follow the instructions given to them. All this happens because, the women in these areas are mostly uneducated or they do not have even a little political awareness.<sup>34</sup>

Most of the political parties in Pakistan are reluctant to grant tickets to women to take part or to contest the general elections. Before the year 2002, the number of women that were capable to receive party tickets were very small.

There is increasing harmony between the arising literature in the civil society and the community with evolutionary thoughts. Also the positive and encouraging attitude is required by political parties and by the public sector institutions to gain the political independence of women.(Naz, 2010). A lot of watchfulness and advocacy is needed to change the political culture. In spite of the presence of different laws about women in politics, women were ceased casting a vote in Shangla, one of the constituency located in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, after the decision of jirga. The women in Shangla then brought their case to Election Commission of Pakistan. Election Commission of Pakistan then ordered to re-vote in that constituency.(Chaudhary, 2018).

The minimal activation of women in traditional politics can be observed by measuring the extent of their representation at various tiers of traditional politics, and by analyzing their roles they play at these tiers. According to the commission on the status of women the two basic procedures for demarcating the women's political involvement are voting and search for a

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<sup>34</sup> Naima Tabassum, 187.

political office. The third indicator for gauging the political participation is their representation in government. All these three indicators regarding the Pakistani women are very low.(1985; 120). The participation of women in all these three levels is very restricted.

The possibility for a woman to cast a vote is dependent on the mentality and mood of their male family members. They can cast a vote only if they are permitted to cast their vote. The possibility for a woman to get a political office at any level is dependent on the political parties. Their participation in the Parliament, Assemblies and councils is dependent on the instructions of male party leaders who aided them for becoming elected members on reserved seats.<sup>35</sup>

Carroll (2008) pointed out that the significant representation of women is effected by individual as well as institutional factors. She was of the view that generally women are considered to work in legislative committee by their will in spite of marginalization. But the reality is quite different. The personal interests and political priorities of women legislatures also effect the extent of their significant representation in political institutions.<sup>36</sup>

Rheingold conducted a research to show that how much the attitude of women is effected by the institutional components such as the composition of political parties, the ratio of male and female members in any political party and also the rules and regulations for the selection of members.

If the female politicians show their intention to strive for women's rights, then the institutional factors described above bring them towards separation and isolation in the male dominated political system. On the other hand if the female legislators do not have tendency required for resolving women's issues, then these political institutions give them chance to give rise and reconsider them.<sup>37</sup> Normally it is suggested that women's representation cannot be supported by democracy alone if the social, cultural and economic barriers are not removed.

In the male commanding politics of Pakistan, the interests of women are normally disregarded. The incorporation of the women in traditional politics is supposed to be important to represent women's interests. It is stated that the occupancy of women in politics is not only crucial figuratively but it is also important to bring about significant change in politics. Women

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<sup>35</sup> I.b.i.d, 174

<sup>36</sup> Naila Maqsood, 13

<sup>37</sup> I.b.i.d, 14



in political institutions are supposed to present and to express issues of women's interests in legislative laws and public policies.<sup>38</sup>

In the political party generally the women members are not considered as much important as their male counterparts. That is why important ranks and positions are not allotted to them within their own political parties. In all the political parties in the country there exists non democratic environment, which make the situation discouraging for women members. The party leaders select the members of their own choice on the important positions in political parties and the method of regular elections is not used.<sup>39</sup>

Farzana Bari further concluded in her research that women's issues can be rightly anticipated in the political institutions if they are presented and expressed by the women at society and political party level.<sup>40</sup>

In October 2017, the total 11 parliamentary secretaries were selected by the prime minister, of which only two secretaries were female. In spite of improving the number of women in legislator and political institutions, the female politicians have to face chauvinism, stereotyping because of gender and the typical women hater or misogyny. Numerous incidents shows that women politicians often faced stress in the political institutions. Unluckily the women in legislators are not an exception in facing criticism from the male members in the political institutions.

In the provincial assembly of Sindh it was reported once, that the male member said to her female colleague to 'come to his chamber' to get an adequate answer to her inquiry. Similarly in 2017 Nighat Orakzai in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa assembly was mistreated by Shah Farman, in which the later used very shameful and disrespectful attitude against her.<sup>41</sup>

In one of the study many of the male respondents favoured the laws to bring about advancement and development for women ( i-e pro- women legislation). However not the single male member tried to implement such laws during their occupancy. Alone in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa assembly 62% male members appreciated the pro- women laws, if the laws are according to Islam and the prevailing culture. On the other hand maximum number of women showed their apprehension or fear about the non- execution of pro- women laws. The male

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<sup>38</sup> Farzana Bari, 372

<sup>39</sup> I.b.i.d, 379

<sup>40</sup> I.b.i.d, 374

<sup>41</sup> Shehnila Zardari.

members in legislative bodies said while speaking about the participation of women in electoral politics that, it is hard for women to join politics because it is very disputable arena and also due to the restrictions the women have to face like limited adaptability and social prohibition. 18% male members in the study were of the view that reserved seats should not be available to women. He further said that women should take part in politics on equal grounds with the males.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> I.b.i.d

## CHAPTER: 3

### EDUCATION AND POLITICS:-

Here in this section the relationship between politics and education has been discussed. The importance of education can't be denied by anyone. Education is the force that runs the national, economic and political system. Islam has given great importance to education. If we talk about the first revelation of the Holy Prophet (S.A.W), the urgency of education in Islam become apparent. Seeking education is declared as the obligation for every muslim man and woman. If we consider western school of thought then according to Nelson Mandela:-

“Education is the topmost influential armament, you can utilize to transform the world”

Pakistan is an Islamic state. It aimed to assure same rights of men and women, but practically the condition is different because number of obstacles such as lack of female education, economically backward situation, women's dependency on men for getting social and economic advantage, old customs and traditions, or the biases against women, lack of facilities for the continuous progress of women.

In today's modern world, with everyday changing values and attitudes, Education is the only tool to get experience of basic knowledge. It is necessary for the provision of firmness and trust to the individuals with others. It means that education gives proper ground for reasonable and justible progress, for all citizens with the inclusion of all human groups, and by avoiding the gender difference. To meet the demand of today's modernized era, the latest technologies and other audio visual aids help to make the educational progress more up to date and help in developmental process of any nation. Educated citizens of any nation can be considered more productive for country's economy. They can become good politicians, with the broad vision to contribute positively in country's integrity and progress. Therefore government must try to give education to all, and to give them opportunities to use this knowledge and education for the progress of country in future. (Anderson, 2006)

The most crucial resource or asset for national development include the manpower or human labor force. According to Humla:- A high-yielding labor force furnished with constructive guidance and intelligent management competency is essential demand for eminent

national blooming. (Khalid, 1996). The children (Both boys and girls) in the population at present will be the manpower for national development after a decade. So we have to work and to plan to improve the health, education and the socio-cultural situation of our younger generation to achieve the productive manpower. Family is considered the first training institution of children. Mother in a family is very important trainer. But unluckily in Pakistan majority of mothers are unable to brought up their children in a better way because they are uneducated. They are unaware of health care methods and they do not have awareness to avail their social and legal rights. So we can say that literacy is the first and foremost step for progress. Educating women is an effective pathway to lessen the difference between male and female making validate the greater participation of women in the progress of country.<sup>43</sup>

Todaro (2007) explains to answer the question that why is female education important? He pointed out the fact that in education system, there exist a lot of gender difference that suppress the economic and social progress of women. This prevailing gender difference can be removed by increasing the opportunities for a woman to get education. He further explained that female education is very important, and it can be justified by several arguments given below:

- i- In case of women's education, the yield is greater as compared to men. As according to Nelson Mandela:- "Give me educated mothers , I will provide you an educated nation." It means that educated mothers can only give birth and brought up an educated and civilized nation.
- ii- Giving education to more women would be helpful to gain productivity from our fields and it will also cause lower fertility keeping the population in control, it will create awareness in them about child care, child's health and child's nutrition. Finally it will give greater labour force.
- iii- The healthy effect of educated women and mother put the long lasting influence on the standard of nation's human labour force over many coming generations resulting in continuous betterment in child health care and their diet.
- iv- Illiterate and uneducated women became a burden on country's economy and society, and provide an important cause for increasing poverty. But by providing

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<sup>43</sup> Saleha Parveen, "Female education and national development: As viewed by women activists and advocates" Bulletin of education and research, june (2008) pp 34.

them education, they can be prepared to play their constructive role in nation's development, and to eliminate poverty.

Coleman suggests that 'Education is an agent and the main factor that can change every field of life. (James S. Coleman pg. 3). For the advancement and prosperity of any country, education is considered as a basic element. It can produce better human capital. But positive changes in education system must be adopted to meet the requirements of society and the worldwide market. And it must be reachable to all social classes without making any difference.

The women's political character in Pakistan movement was solely because of the efforts of appealing chief Quaid-e- Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. But after the independence movement, women from lower and middle classes in Pakistan were unable to continue their political activities because, they were not given an opportunity to gain education, that's why illiteracy made their mobility restricted.

Unfortunately in Pakistan the education of sons is considered more important as compared to girls because of the conservative mind set of their parents, that their sons will support them financially and socially in future when they become old. Women's education has never been considered as much important as for men. One of the main reason for situation is that, the politics in Pakistan was seemed a battle between power and securing personal interests, for most of the time. Major part of budget was allocated for the election campaigns by the politicians in past.

Naqvi & Shahnaz (2000), pointed out that the decision making of women is effected by numerous factors such as demography, social and economic conditions and human capital related factors. They further conclude that the educated women can have greater ability to make any decision about their employment, while the uneducated women cannot do so due to the lack of confidence and exposure to external environment<sup>44</sup>

On International ranking, Pakistan is the third country having highest number of illiterate adults. (Ashraf et-al-2015). This poor situation is because of the absence of awareness about the necessity of education in public and particularly in females.

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<sup>44</sup> Goher Fatima, "Female education as a determinant of economic growth: A case study of Pakistan", Contemporary issues in education research, Foundation university. College of liberal arts and sciences, Pakistan.(2011) pp 17.

Although the male's educational situation is not up to the mark, but the female's education is alarmingly low. Its main reason is that the people in Pakistan generally consider education not a necessary thing for women. They were of the view that women have to stay in houses and have to perform the domestic tasks. They don't need to get schooling. The conservative mentality is the basic reason of low literacy rate of Pakistani women. And the second most important reason is the male dominance over females in the society.

Before the elections, in election campaign the political parties arrange their manifestoes. In their manifestoes they make many announcements. For example in education sector they promised to open schools in rural areas, and they also promise to take serious steps for the provision of quality education. But unluckily all these promises are not fulfilled after the election campaign when they got seats in election.

It had generally observed that no any government either military or non-military, had shown their interest to introduce an education policy. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was the only incredible commander who showed his personal interest and enthusiasm for education and tried to formulate such education policies, which were seemed as the combination of Islamic values with the modern scientific and educational values. Quaid -e- Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah addressed the first All Pakistan Education Conference. He said:-

“The future of our nation will and must be dependent on the type of pedagogy that was given to our students by ourselves. Our future will also depend on the methodology, which we use today to nurture them as the civilized natives of Pakistan.

But unluckily no any government acted upon the advice and the great words of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. All the governments are seem striving for power, during its tenure. As a result education sector was not given as much importance as was required for the developing countries.<sup>45</sup>

Toor (2000), explained the reality that for a healthy change to come both government and public have to work collectively. He further said that government is trying hard to remove gender difference in education system. In the education policy

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<sup>45</sup> Amna Mehmood Sandhu, “*Politics of women's education in Pakistan: Analysis of government policies and their implementation*”, Pakistan journal of history and culture.(2012) pp 110.

of 1998-2010, the government's aim was to achieve 90% enrollment of students of early age (i-e from the age of 5 years upto the age of 9 years), by using all available resources. But unfortunately the government is failed to gain the target due to many reasons. These reasons are:-

- Poor governance.
- Lack of efficiency and proper management while utilizing resources.
- The behavior of illiterate parents that declined girls education in comparison with the boy's education, i-e 35% and 59% respectively.

Education can be proved a milestone for the eradication of all social evils like gender difference that minimize women's political participation. All this is possible if our education system became free of all such differences in it. But in reality our education system itself has great gender inequalities, which is a big challenge. In our country the literacy rate of male is 56% while the literacy rate in females is 44%.<sup>46</sup>

Education is the basic right of every human and every child whether a boy or a girl. It is very important for our progress, because it is the only way to get a successful and productive future. Today if we are able enough to give our children an education system in which there is no discriminatory line between male and female on the basis of sex, then this type of quality education will have long lasting effects on several coming generations.<sup>47</sup>

Pervaiz Hoodbhoy described the fact that quality of education is the main determinant that will identify the connection of human security with the education. In future the quality of education will determine the quality of lives of Pakistani nation. the quality of education will determine the types of livelihood provided to them, the extent of stability of political system and the way through which the citizens will solve their disputes between themselves. The quality education will also determine the nature and extent of country's relations with all other countries of the world.<sup>48</sup>

If we consider the policies of government regarding female education, it was to be noticed that although there is not any clear or direct distinction in terms of gender, but

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<sup>46</sup> Pakistan education statistics 2015-2016 pp 5.

<sup>47</sup> I.b.i.d pp 2

<sup>48</sup> Pervaiz Hoodbhoy, "Education reform in Pakistan: Challenges and prospects", pp 1.

still there is lack of devotion for the provision of feasible and long term developmental and educational programs for women. There is a great gap between the eloquence and policies of policy makers, because often it is considered by the women that the policies of government are just like “Lip service” to them in many women relating issues.

The education for girls and women is very necessary for making them beneficial and economically and socially productive member of society in their homes as well as to the environment outside their homes. Education will help women to fulfill their home activities and their social and political responsibilities outside their homes.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Saleha Parveen, “*Female education and national development: As viewed by women activists and advocates*” pp 35.



## CHAPTER: 4

### WOMEN IN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF PAKISTAN

#### Women's Reserved Seats in National Assembly (1956-2018) An overview

In Pakistan's history we can distinguish the first era of disputable performance of women in National Assembly, which arose after the great advocacy shown in the movement of independence by the muslim women. At that time they were given symbolic and infrequent representation. For instance only two women participated as representative in the first constituency. At that time women made 2.5% of the total members of National Assembly. The traditional landlords and the well known political figures were the active members in the first constituent assembly of newly emerged state of Pakistan. (Hussain, 1976; 1979 : 4; Rashid, 1978: 169). They overcome the politics in such a way that did'nt left any chance for women to join politics for the first 10 years in the political chronicle of Pakistan. The first constituent assembly was dismissed soon after its emergence. The second constituent assembly was formed, but unfortunately there was no female member in it in 1955.(Mumtaz, 1998: 354)

In 1956 new constituent assembly was formed according to the constitution of 1956. In this assembly 10 seats specified for women were allocated. These reserved seats were divided evenly b/w east and west Pakistan.

The Constitution of 1956 declared under article 44(2) (1) about the women's reserved seats and announced 10 seats for women with the time period of 10 years, equally distributed between east and west Pakistan (PILDAT , 2004)

At that time women had dual right to poll vote according to the concept of female franchise and women's specified seats. They can caste their vote for women's reserved seats, as well as they can vote for the candidates of general seats.

In 1958 due to the abrogation of the constitution of 1956 women have been deprived of this opportunity without enjoying it in the true sense.

The second constitution of Pakistan was formulated in 1962 by General Ayub Khan. In this constitution 6 seats were reserved for women in National Assembly. Three seats for east Pakistan and three for west Pakistan. Women were elected in assemblies by indirect elections.

## Women Reserved Seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan

(1962-1965).

Sr. No	Name	Constituency
1.	Begum Roquyya	East Pakistan
2.	Begum Seraj Un Nisa Choudhary	East Pakistan
3.	Begum Shamsun Nahar Mehmood	East Pakistan
4.	Begum Mujjebun Nisa Muhammad Khan	West Pakistan
5.	Begum Khadeeja G.A Khan	West Pakistan
6.	Begum Zari Sarfaraz	West Pakistan

**Source; Library of National Assembly Records.**

In 1965 again 6 women were appointed on reserved seats in National Assembly of Pakistan. Their names and constituencies are given in the table below :

## Women Reserved Seats in National Assembly of Pakistan

(1965-1969)

Sr. No	Names	Constituency
1.	Mrs.Mariam Hashimuddin	East Pakistan
2.	Begum Dolly Azad	East Pakistan
3.	Begum Razia Fiaz	East Pakistan
4.	Begum Mujjebun Nisa Muhammad Akram	West Pakistan
5.	Begum Khadeja G.A Khan	West Pakistan
6.	Begum Zari Sarfaraz	West Pakistan

**Source; Library of National Assembly of Pakistan Records.**

In 1970 Legal framework order was presented by General Yayha Khan. In LFO total 13 seats were allocated for women. 6 women from west Part and, 7 from East part of the county. In 1971, East Pakistan isolated from west part and became a separate country as Bangladesh.

The election of 1970 were conducted according to the Legal Framework Order (LFO) of 1969. Although after the elections, the Awami League party got victory on most seats in East Pakistan, and Pakistan People's party (PPP) was the party with most of seats in West part of Pakistan. But the results were not acceptable to all parties and they claimed that there was large scale corruption in the elections. PPP's aim was to reduce difference between the social classes and to provide them basic necessities of life. The wife of PPP's leader Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Nusrat Bhutto actively run the election campaign in Pakistani women and encouraged them to caste their vote for her husband, and surprisingly at that time her election campaign was very successful in which above 50% women used their right of voting, and as the result of her election campaign at that time it became the largest turnout ever. (Law Division 1976) Total

13 reserved seats were provided for National Assembly according to the Legal Framework order.<sup>50</sup>

New Assembly was formed in west part (Pakistan). The first meeting was held on 14<sup>th</sup> April 1972. Six women's representatives on reserved seats took part in meeting. Women members on reserved seats are given as under:

**Women Members on Reserved Seats in National Assembly of  
Pakistan (1972-1975)**

<b>Sr No</b>	<b>Names</b>	<b>Constituency</b>
1.	Shireen Wahab	N.W.F.P
2.	Mrs. Nargis Naeem	Punjab
3.	Nasim Jahan Begum	Punjab
4.	Zahida Sultana	Punjab
5.	Dr.Mrs Ashraf Khatoon Abbasi	Sindh
6.	Mrs.Jehanzeba alis Jeneffer Mosa Qazi	Baluchistan

Nusrat Bhutto actively took part in politics, until her husband Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto remained in an office. She headed the delegation in 1975, and participated in Mexico in the first World Conference on Women. Later women's rights committee was formulated, that was responsible to work in order to uplift the legal ranking of women. It also recommended the formation of such laws that can be proved helpful to maximize the women's participation in elected and legislative institutions. They stated that there is absence of accountability in case of women members on reserved seats, because they do not possess any electoral area. It also presented a lot of recommendations, that can be become helpful to incorporate more women in the political activities. One of the important suggestion of women's rights committee was the direction given to the political parties and were asked to make sure the proper participation of women at different positions of party politics. It also suggested to appoint maximum women in the Election Commission in order to secure their basic rights during elections and to increase their participation to maximum in both the houses of parliament, at higher offices and government ranks (Law Division 1976 : 97-8). Unfortunately very little improvement has been made in these areas after passing 40 years to these reforms.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Ayesha Khan & Sana Naqvi, "Women in politics: Gaining ground for progressive outcomes in Pakistan", IDS working paper,(2018) pp 8.

<sup>51</sup> I.b.i.d pp 9.

In the constitution of 1973, there are two chambers of legislature. In 1973's constitution there are 10 seats specified for women in the lower chamber (National assembly). Besides of these 10 women members on reserved seats, one woman was elected on general seat. This woman member was Begum Naseem Wali Khan, who took part and got victory in these elections on the general seat. At that time his husband was in jail. That's why Begum Naseem Wali Khan took part in these elections on behalf of his husband. This was the first chance that a woman was granted a party ticket to compete in the elections on general seat in National Assembly for the first time in political record of Pakistan.(Zia & Bari, 1999, pg 37). Nasim wali khan got victory in the elections, but unluckily she did'nt begin to operate her duties because her party banned all their political activities in assemblies. Her party blamed the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, due to large scale corruption in 1973 elections. These women members were appointment by the members of national assembly. There were no reserved seats for women in senate at that time.

In 1977 martial law was enforced by General Zia-ul-Haq and all type of political affairs and activities were banned. Military government did' nt allow any political activity from 1977 to 1988.

In 1983 Zia-ul-Haq made a committee. The aim of this committee was to prepare an Islamic political framework. This committee suggested that there should be an isolate electorate for both men and women. This committee posed a ban on women and non muslims, that they can't be the head of state and put the extention that women in legislative and elective bodies must be above 50 years of age. And they have to seek approval in written form their husbands or heads of their families.(Hanif, 2009)<sup>52</sup>

All these efforts of Zia-ul-Haq was to keep aside Benazir Bhutto, who was the daughter of Prime Minister, he overthrow to come out as a prominent political force. Zia-ul-Haq expanded the quota of reserved seats for women for National and Provincial Assemblies from 5 to 10 percent and expand the period of quota to three general elections. This report also recommended that there must be 20% female members in political parties before taking part in elections. And there must be 2 women members in each Union Council.<sup>53</sup> (Hanif, 2009)

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<sup>52</sup> I.b.i.d pp 9.

<sup>53</sup> I.b.i.d pp 10

In 1986 the report of Commission on the status of women suggested that, In the National and Provincial Assemblies there should be minimum 20% reserved seats, but to provide stability to his rule, he banished the release of this report.

Farida Shaheed and Khawar Mumtaz (1987) discussed that Zia-ul-Haq imposed a restriction on women's rights as his government was pure dictatorship government. His aim was to make his government acceptable or legal. Therefore he made such policies which affected women rights in Pakistan.

After General Zia's regime a lot of positive changes were made in Pakistan about the political part taking of women in different political establishments of country.

According to Jalalzai (2004) at that time there was seen a rise in women quota up to 10% and women got 22 seats in National assembly, whereas 21 female members were elected on reserved seats by indirect elections. 5% seats were given to women at provincial level. In addition to these members on reserved seats, one of the female member Abida Hussain got victory on general seats in these elections. She was a member of a rich and landlord family of Jhang in the Punjab province. Another women Naseem Majid was nominated as a general member of the National Assembly in the bi-elections of 1985. She was the resident of Bahawalnagar of Punjab province. So there were 23 females elected on reserved and general seats in the National Assembly. 20 were muslim members elected on reserved seats. And the two Abida Hussain and Naseem Majid were elected members of National Assembly on general seats. This was the time when a female minister of state was selected first time in the history of Pakistan.

### **Women Reserved Seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan**

**1985-1988.**

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Names</b>	<b>Constituency</b>
1.	Begum Afsar Raza Qazalbash	Punjab
2.	Begum Sarwari Sadiq	Punjab
3.	Begum Silvat Sher Ali Khan	Punjab
4.	Mrs. Khursheed Begum	Punjab
5.	Mrs. Dureshahwar Mazari	Punjab
6.	Mrs. Rafia Tariq	Punjab
7.	Begum Rehana Aleem Mashahdi	Punjab
8.	Shehzadi Mehmooda Begum	Punjab
9.	Begum Ishrat Ashraf	Punjab
10.	Dr. Attiya Inayatullah	Punjab

11.	Mrs. Farrukh Mukhtar	Punjab
12.	Mrs. Nisar Fatima Zahra	Punjab
13.	Mrs. Afroze Nazir Ahmed	Sindh
14.	Begum Salma Ahmed	Sindh
15.	Mrs. Rashida Pasha Khoro	Sindh
16.	Mrs. Qamar-un-Nisa	Sindh
17.	Mrs. Bilquis Nasar-um-Minallah	N.W.F.P
18.	Begum Kalsoom Saifullah	N.W.F.P
19.	Bilqees Begum	Baluchistan
20.	Dr. Miss Noor Jahan Panazai	Baluchistan
21.	Mrs. Leela Wanti	Minority member
22.	Syeda Abida Hussain	General Member
23.	Naseem Majid	General Member

Bari (2005) explained that from 1990 to 1997, there was seen a decline in women participation on reserved seats as women got elected on general seats but quota for reserved seats was not allotted to them. At that time the political parties were made dominating and they have religious extremist mentality. So they opposed women's participation from the platform of their party.

In the 1990's general elections women were not provided any reserved seats at national and provincial level.

In the general elections of 1997 women won only 6 seats out of 217 with an increase of 28% seats at national level. (ECP 2018).

In 1999 women's representation in Federal legislative bodies and in provincial assemblies were given as under:-

Women got 7 seats out of the total 217 seats in National assembly (3%). In senate women won 2 seats out of 87 (2.3%) and got 2 seats out of the total 483 in the four provincial assemblies of Pakistan.

First of all Awami National Party (ANP) and Jammiyat-e-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) provided women's wing in their party and gave a platform for women to enter in politics. Now in Pakistan every main political party has women wings, which shows the progressive journey towards betterment regarding political awareness in Pakistani women.

Although women have got the right to vote in 1935 in united India, which was retained after the emergence of Pakistan in 1947, the first women got elected in 1973. Women

reserved seats were 40049 in 2001 and were reduced to 28582 in 2005 (Aurat Foundation 2005). In spite of this decrease, progress is visible at the union councils and district level in Pakistan. 96.97% women seats were filled at UC level, while in 2001 this ratio was 89%. There was competition in the number of women, who were taking part in the election for the nazim and naib nazim. Number of women electing for the post of nazim and naib Nazim was 16 in 2001 and increased 100% (32) after 2005 elections.

“It is remarkable that this single measure of reservation of women seats has uplifted Pakistan’s rating on the Gender empowerment Measurement (GEM) from 100<sup>th</sup> out of 102 countries in 1999 to 58<sup>th</sup> in 2003 (SPDI-Pakistan country gender profile 2001-2008 pg-13”.

According to (NCSW 2010) General Pervaiz Musharraf introduced legal framework order (LFO implemented on 21 Aug 2002). He initiated 33% reserved seats for women and 17% in local authorities and state legislature respectively.

In Musharraf’s regime women were given chance to enter the upper house of federal legislature for the first time in the history of Pakistan. These notable changes motivated Pakistani women a lot and enhanced their political participation at every level in the country i.e local, provincial and national. The initiative of President General Pervaiz Musharraf to increase the women reserved seats to 33% at all the three levels i.e Union Council, Tehsil Council and District of local government proved a decisive moment in the political narrative of Pakistan. He also suggested that women members in National Assembly and in all Provincial Assemblies should not be less than 17%. This decision dramatically modified the political perspective of the country.<sup>54</sup>

After this revolutionary decision approximately 36,105 women participated in local government and about 205 women were brought into the 12<sup>th</sup> National and Provincial Assemblies and in Senate. Consequently this increase in gender quota proved helpful in raising the position of Pakistan considerably on the women’s empowerment index.<sup>55</sup> But at that time the method of selection of women members was indirect. The practice of indirect elections for women’s reserved seats was by the women’s rights groups. These groups were of the view that indirect method of election meant to ward off and repel women from the conventional political

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<sup>54</sup> Farzana Bari, “*Women parliamentarians, challenging the frontiers of politics in Pakistan*”, Gender, technology and development ( 2010). Asian institute of technology SAGE Publications, Los Angeles, London, pp 364.

<sup>55</sup> I.b.i.d .364

processes and does not allow them to have a chance to develop political awareness and expertise. It also does not permit them to have their own constituency. its main reason was that women on reserved seats were considered to be nominated or proposed by their party pioneer . The party leaders are generally from the rich and influential families. This strengthen the already reliant ranking of women in political parties and their dependence on the political leaders of their party.<sup>56</sup>

Farzana Bari conducted a research in which she observed that several women politicians or the female members of parliament said that as they were selected on the reserved seats and they do not have direct constituencies, so they were asked by the leaders of their parties to give up their development grants and should give these funds to the male members who have direct constituencies.<sup>57</sup>

Women's participation in politics became better in the year 2002, when certain quota was allocated to them. At that time the percentage of women in National Assembly rose to 21% and 18% in senate in the year 2003. Surprisingly this was the time when overall world's average of women's participation in both the houses was 15.1%, and at regional level in Asia, the representation of women in both the upper and lower houses of parliament was 14.2%.

This was the time when Pakistan was enjoying this unique position for about 10 years regarding the political contributions of women at national level in formal politics. But unluckily further progress was not observed in political participation of women in National Assembly and Senate. And in 2016, thirteen years after the allocation of quota for women, no any significant increase was observed in the number of women in political institutions. In 2016 the women's representation in National Assembly was 20.6% and in Senate women's political representation was 18.3%. This average was less than the global average of women's representation in both the upper and lower houses as 22.7%. So according to the situation Pakistan needed to increase women's representation in both National Assembly and Senate.<sup>58</sup> (Naima Tabassum, pg 177).

The struggle of different political parties to win elections is major part of election in a democratic country. The members of different parties that are going to contest in elections encourage and give awareness to the voters, that they should take part in politics. For a woman

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<sup>56</sup> I.b.i.d . 365

<sup>57</sup> I.b.i.d . 374

<sup>58</sup> Naima Tabassum pp 177.



candidate who wants to contest election from any platform, it is very difficult to run an election campaign freely not only in rural areas but also in urban and civilized areas. But surprisingly according to FAFEN's observation report Pakistani women struggled a lot and set in motion the election campaigns eagerly in the general elections of 2013. They not only struggled for themselves as a candidate but they also worked well for their relatives, friends, husbands or fathers.

For instance Maryam Nawaz carried on a campaign for his father Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, the president and leader of Pakistan Muslim League. At that time Muhammad Nawaz Sharif was contesting elections in Lahore constituency.(Ghosh, 2013). This magnificent change was seen all over the country, almost in every electorate in the general elections of 2013.(Anwar & Ahmed, 2017)

There were seen variations in the general elections of 2008 and 2013. Women gained 70 seats out of the total 342 in National assembly and got 17 seats in senate.

In 2013 general elections the women's participation go higher and women were given remarkable importance. All political parties cordially welcomed the women candidates and allotted tickets to them. Number of ticket allotted to women by several political parties in National and provincial assemblies are shown under:-

<b>S.No</b>	<b>Name of Political Parties</b>	<b>Women tickets for National Assembly &amp; Provincial assembly</b>
1.	Mutahida Quami Movement	25
2.	Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (PPPP)	24
3.	Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN)	20
4.	APML	16
5.	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI)	12
6.	Pakistan Muslim League Quaid (PMLQ)	11
7.	Pakistan Muslim League Functional (PMLF)	5
8.	PP (SB)	5
9.	PNML	4
10.	MWMP	4

Source:- (Women political participation in Pakistan, Steps towards reshaping the political environment. Dec 2017).

In the general election of 2013 there were 577 elected seats in the four provincial Assemblies (PAs) of Pakistan. About 300 women took part in elections from 210 different provincial constituencies.

Pakistan's General elections 2018 were supervised under the election act 2017. The election act 2017 stressed on the participation of women in political process in Pakistan. It also paid attention to reduce the gender disparities in registered voters and in voting turnout.

The two basic steps of the elections Act 2017 for women are stated as under:-

1. "Power of the commission to declare a poll void" (Section: 9).

It states that due to "serious lawlessness or such contravention..... that greatly affected the result of the poll at one or more polling stations or in the whole constituency including execution of an agreement preventing women from casting their votes-----". The election commission can call for a repoll. The act further states that if the turnout of women voters is less than 10% of the total votes polled in a constituency, the commission may suppose that women voters have not been given excess through an agreement from casting their votes and may proclaim polling at one or more polling stations in the whole constituency invalid."

2. Section (206) It states that all political parties make it possible to grant minimum 5 percent representation to women candidates on general seats.<sup>59</sup>

There are the outstanding steps taken by ECP to promote political involvement of women in political process.

Inspite of the socio-economic and structural hurdles a lot of women took part in the general seats of National assembly.

In the National assembly 8 women were able to become MNAs by direct elections as compared to six women in 2013.

Among the total 8 women MNAs elected, four belong to Sindh, three belong to Punjab province and one from Balochistan. No any women was able to become MNA from Khyber Pakhtunkhawa.

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<sup>59</sup> Election Act (2017).

According to election commission of Pakistan there were 286 women candidates for the election of four provincial assemblies, 79 women from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and 42 women candidates from Balochistan contested election for provincial assemblies but none of them got any seat. 297 women took part from Punjab and only 5 of them got victory. However only 2 women won direct elections for the sindh assembly.

In this way only 7 women won provincial assembly's seats in the elections of 2018 reminding us that still the situation is alarming and not enough to ensure national development.

### **WOMEN IN SENATE:**

In Pakistan the Parliament comprises of two houses. The lower house is called National Assembly and the upper house is called Senate. As in other institutions of Pakistan, there is a large ratio of gender gap in the senate. This bicameral parliamentary system was first presented in the constitution of 1973. But the drawback of 1973's constitution was that there was the lack of equal quota for women in senate. The reservation of quota in senate started very late, first time in 2002.<sup>60</sup>

The participation of members of different provinces in the National Assembly was according to their population i-e the province with larger population have maximum participation in National Assembly. So the senate was designed to abolish the influence of one province and, equal representation was granted to all federating units in the upper house of parliament for making the decision making process more effective.

The study of the Pakistani history shows that there were very numerous women representators appointed on the general seats of the senate. During the time period from 1973 to 2009, most of the time their participation on general seats in senate was nil or their were just one or two women members on general seat in senate. After the year 2000, a lot of women got entry in senate on reserved seats, but at that time it was troublesome for a women to be a member of senate on general seats. From 2003 to 2009 there was only one female member of senate on general seat, while there was no any female member on general seat in senate from 2009 to 2012.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Naima Tabassum pp 197

<sup>61</sup> I.b.i.d pp 197.

In the upper house of parliament (senate) the members are selected by the elected members of the National Assembly. The method of direct election is not applicable. Therefore it is convenient for the political parties to incorporate women in senate, but unluckily they don't show any interest in this regard. So the women are unable to be elected in senate.

<b>Period</b>	<b>Quota Reservation (In Number)</b>	<b>Quota Reservation (In Percentage)</b>	<b>Number of women selected on reserved seats</b>	<b>Percentage of women selected on reserved seats</b>	<b>Number of women selected on general seats</b>	<b>Percentage of women selected on general seats</b>
1973-1975	0	0	0	0	1	2.22
1975-1977	0	0	0	0	1	2.22
1985-1988	0	0	0	0	0	0
1988-1991	0	0	0	0	1	1.14
1991-1994	0	0	0	0	1	1.14
1994-1997	0	0	0	0	2	2.29
1997-2000	0	0	0	0	2	2.29
2003-2009	17	17	17	17	1	1
2009-2012	17	17	17	17	0	0
2012 onward	17	17	17	17	0	0

Source: Naima Tabassum.

In the year 1997, there were only three women members in the senate making 3.4 % of the total members of senate. In 1998 there was not seen any improvement in the situation and there was only a single woman in the senate as its member, making 1.1% of the total members of

senate. At that time, at the international level there was 9.8% women members were in senate while at Asian level, 9.9% women were the members of senate. It means that in Pakistan the average was alarmingly low regarding the women's membership in senate. According to the statistics Pakistan was on 95<sup>th</sup> position in the year 1997 and on 100<sup>th</sup> position in 1998, in terms of women participation in senate.

<b>Sr No</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Total seats in parliament</b>	<b>Women members</b>	<b>Percentage of women members</b>	<b>Global percentage of women members</b>
1.	1997	87	3	3.4%	9.8%
2.	1998	87	1	1.1%	9.8%
3.	2003-2004	100	18	18%	15.1%
4.	2006-2011	100	17	17%	18.7%
5.	2012-2014	104	17	16.3%	20.1%
6.	2015-2016	104	19	18.3%	22.0%

Source: Inter Parliamentary union (2016).

Tabassum and her other fellow researcher (2014) focused their research concerning the participation of Pakistani women in senate. They highlighted the fact that although senate's aim was to ensure participation of all provinces or all cultural groups in the country on equality. But practically there exist a wide gender inequalities in the framework of senate, as everywhere in Pakistani society. By having a look on history, most of the time the senate is seen male dominant in its composition, and very small number of women got its membership, which were not more than one or two women in several time periods from the year 1973 to 2000. There was lack of special quota for women on reserved seats till the year 2000.

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Total members of Senate</b>	<b>No of women members</b>	<b>Percentage of women members</b>
1.	1973-1975	45	1	2.22%

2.	1975-1977	45	1	2.22%
3.	1985-1988	87	0	0
4.	1988-1991	87	1	1.14%
5.	1991-1994	87	1	1.14%
6.	1994-1997	87	2	2.29%
7.	1997-2000	87	2	2.29%
8.	2003-2009	100	18	18%
9.	2009-2012	100	17	17%
10.	2012-2015	100	17	17%
11.	2015-2018	104	19	18.2%
12	2018- onwards	104	20	19%

Compiled by researcher herself.

The list of women senators from 2015 to 2018 is mentioned as under:

<b>Sr no</b>	<b>Name of women members</b>	<b>Time period of membership</b>
1	Gul Bashra	2015- 2021
2	Kalsoom Perveen	2015- 2021
3	Naseema Ehsan	2012- 2018
4	Rubina Irfan	2012- 2018
5	Rahila Magsi	2015- 2021
6	Rubina Khalid	2012- 2018
7	Samina Abid	2015- 2021
8	Sitara Ayaz	2015- 2021
9	Zahida Khan	2012- 2018
10	Ayesha Raza Farooq	2015- 2021
11	Begum Najma Hameed	2015- 2021
12	Khalida Parveen	2012- 2018
13	Nuzhat Sadiq	2012- 2018
14	Khushbakht Shujat	2012- 2018
15	Nasreen Jalil	2012- 2018
16	Nighat Mirza	2015- 2021
17	Sassui Palijo	2015- 2021

18	Sehar Kamran	2012- 2018
19	Sherry Rehman	2015- 2021

Source: List of senators in the 14<sup>th</sup> Parliament of Pakistan, en. m. Wikipedia. org.

The list of women senators from 2018-2019 are given as under:

<b>Sr. no</b>	<b>Name of women senators</b>	<b>Time period of membership</b>
1	Khushbakht Shudat	March 2015- March 2021
2	Sherry Rehman	March 2015- March 2021
3	Engr. Rukhsana Zuberi	March 2018- March 2024
4	Abida Muhammad Azeem	March 2018- March 2024
5	Ayesha Raza Farooq	March 2015- March 2021
6	Gul Bashra	March 2015- March 2021
7	Kalsoom Parveen	March 2015- March 2021
8	Keshoo Bai	March 2018- March 2024
9	Najma Hameed	March 2015- March 2021
10	Nighat Mirza	March 2015- March 2021
11	Nuzhat Sadiq	March 2018- March 2024
12	Pro. Dr. Mehr Taj Roghni	March 2018- March 2024
13	Qurat-ul- Ain	March 2018- March 2024
14	Rahila Magsi	March 2015- March 2021
15	Rubina Khalid	March 2018- March 2024
16	Samina Saeed	March 2015- March 2021
17	Sana Jamali	March 2018- March 2024
18	Sassui Palijo	March 2015- March 2021
19	Seemee Ezdi	March 2018- March 2024
20	Sitara Ayaz	March 2015- March 2021

Source: Senate of Pakistan, senate. Gov. pk.

The senators are selected for six years. And half of the members of senate complete their tenure after every three years, which are replaced by half new members of the senate.

## **2. (WOMEN IN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN DISTRICT ATTOCK**

The participation of women in politics of district Attock is alarmingly low. At national level the situation of women's political intervention is very poor. Very few women contested elections at provincial level. No any women from district Attock was able to reach in National assembly.

Mussarat Sultana w/o Sardar Muhammad Sadiq Khan contested provincial assembly's elections and become MPA in 1990 and 1993 from PP-2. Luckily both the times she got victory.

Another political figure of District Attock is Eman Tahir, the daughter of former MPA Major (Retd) Tahir in 2005-06 in Musharraf regime and now MNA from NA-55 in District Attock. Eman Tahir contested for the elections of National assembly from NA-59 in 2001 and become MNA. Again in 2008 Eman Tahir contested from NA-57 but did not become successful<sup>62</sup>

### **Women in Local Government**

Women in District Attock took part in local government elections for the first time in 2001. In these elections women took part in elections at Union Council level.

Before the local government ordinance 2001, there was indirect participation of women in Tehsil, Municipal Administration and District government. There are 6 Municipal committees in district Attock. The detail of the members of Municipal committees is given as under:-

<b>S. No</b>	<b>Name MC</b>	<b>Male Members</b>	<b>Female Members</b>	<b>Total</b>
1.	MC Attock	21	04	25
2.	MC hazro	15	03	18
3.	MC Hasan Abdal	15	03	18
4.	MC Fatehjang	15	03	18
5.	MC Pindigheb	15	03	18
6.	MC Jand	13	03	16

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<sup>62</sup> Office of Deputy Director, Local Government, District Attock



### WOMEN'S IN DISTRICT COUNCIL ATTOCK

Total Members	Male Members	Female Members
95	80	15

#### Women's representation at Union Council Level

In District Attock there are total 71 Union Councils. Women's representation at UC level in District Attock is given as under:-<sup>63</sup>

S. No	Name UC	Total Members	Male	Female	Name of female member
1.	Haji Shah	12	10	2	Nosheen Bibi (PML-N), Pashmina Afia (PML-N)
2.	Kamra	11	10	1	Fiaz –Un-Nisa (PML-N)
3.	Golra	12	10	2	Mehr-u- Nisa (PML-Q), Aqeela Rani (PML-N)
4.	Mirza	11	9	2	Safeda Bibi (PML-Q) Begum Noor (PML-Q)
5.	Bolianwal	11	9	2	Rashida Zubair (PML-Q), Akbar Jan (PML-Q)
6.	Akhori	12	10	2	Nafees Fatima (IND), Kousar Bibi (PML-Q)
7.	Sheenbagh	11	9	2	Azran Perveen (PML-Q), Raisa Jan (PML-Q)
8.	Sarwala	10	8	2	`Safia Begum (PML-Q), Afshan Bibi (PML-Q)
9.	Surg Salar	11	9	2	Fouzia Gulsatt (PML-N), Islam Khanam (PML-Q)
10.	Dakhnair	11	9	2	Irshad Bibi (PML-N), Sajda Bibi (PML-N)
11.	Haroon	10	9	1	Rafia Jan (PTI)
12.	Shainka	10	9	1	Niazmeen (PTI)
13.	Jalalia	11	9	2	Noreen Sakhawat (PML-N) Musarat Bibi (PML-N)
14.	Ghourghushti	12	10	2	Mehr-un-Nissa (PML-N), Meer Jan (PML-N)
15.	Malik Mala	11	9	2	Asmeena Begum (PML-N), Saima Saleem (PML-N)1
16.	Nartopa	11	9	2	Sajda Perveen (PML-N),

<sup>63</sup> I.b.i.d.

S. No	Name UC	Total Members	Male	Female	Name of female member
					Naimat Jan (PML-N)
17.	Khagwani	11	9	2	Aziza Bibi (PML-N), Zaryab Bibi (PTI)
18.	Musa Kudlathi	11	9	2	Mehfooz Jan (PML-N), Shazia (PML-N)
19.	Bahadur Khan	11	9	2	Naseem Bibi (PML-N), Shahjahan (PML-N)
20.	Shamasabad	11	9	2	Shazia Bibi (PML-N), Attia Kousar (PML-N)
21.	Hameed	11	9	2	Noreen Akhtar (PML-Q), Sahadat Bibi (PML-Q)
22.	Kamalpur Musa	11	9	2	Jameela Bibi (PML-N), Samina Bibi (PML-N)
23.	Tajak	11	9	2	Naveeda Bibi (PML-N), Kiran Bibi (PML-N)
24.	Formuli	Info Missing			Not known
25.	Mullan Mansoor	11	9	2	Shumaila Bibi (PML-N), Shaheen Akhtar (PML-N)
26.	Jaloo	10	8	2	Zonaiba (PML-N), Summera Bibi (JI)
27.	Sultanpur	11	9	2	Akhtar Jan Bibi (PML-Q), Naseem (PML-Q)
28.	Bhalarjogi	11	9	2	Jabeen Akhtar (PML-N), Afshan Bibi (PML-N)
29.	Pind Mehri	11	9	2	Shamim Akhtar (PML-Q), Tanzim Bibi (PML-Q)
30.	Pourmiana	10	8	2	Nighat Afzal (PML-Q), Ghousia Bibi (PML-Q)
31.	Kot Sundki	11	9	2	Nasim Akhtar (PML-Q), Shaheen Bibi (PML-Q)
32.	Burhan	11	9	2	Parveen Akhtar (PML-N), Noreen Bibi (PML-N)
33.	Jabbi	12	9	3	Zaib-un-Nisa (PML-Q), Shazia (PML-Q), Humaira Razzaq, A Non Muslim member (PML-N)
34.	Dhareak	10	8	2	Yasmeen Akhtar (PPP), Eid-un-Nisa (PPP)
35.	Bahter	11	9	2	Imtiaz Begum (PML-Q), Azra Parveen (Awami Tehrek)
36.	Jhang	11	9	2	Imtiaz Begum (PML-Q), Natho Bram, A Non Muslim member (PML-Q)
37.	Qutbal	10	9	1	Rukhsat Shaheen (PML-N)
38.	Jangle	11	9	2	Nagina Tahir (PML-N), Aamira Bibi (PML-N)

S. No	Name UC	Total Members	Male	Female	Name of female member
39.	Dhurnal	11	9	2	Sadia Butt (PML-N), Musarat Bibi (PML-N)
40.	Malal	11	9	2	Naseem Bibi (PML-N), Yasmeen Bibi (PML-N)
41.	Gali jageer	11	9	2	Samina Bibi (PML-N), Raiz Bibi (PML-N)
42.	Shahra-e-Sadullah	10	9	1	Chandni Begum (PML-N)
43.	Ajuwala	12	9	3	Asmat Jan (PML-Q), Sultan Bibi (PML-Q), Asia Bibi – A Non Muslim member (PML-Q)
44.	Gulial	10	9	1	Shehzadan Begum (PML-Q)
45.	Kot Fateh Khan	11	9	2	Shahzadi Begum (PML-N), Falak Naz (PML-N)
46.	Mianwala	11	9	2	Zaitoon Bibi (PML-Q), Antal Bibi (PML-Q)
47.	Dandi	11	9	2	Kousar Nasreen (PML-N), Mahboob Jan (PML-N)
48.	Ikhlas	11	9	2	Safia Begum (PML-N), Asmat Sultan (PML-N)
49.	Ahmedal	12	10	2	Rubana Naz (PML-N), Chandni Begum (PML-N)
50.	Kamrial	11	9	2	Anila Batoool (PTI), Jamila Bibi (PTI)
51.	Khour	12	10	2	Zakia Zahoor (PML-N), Shazia Arif (PTI)
52.	Ghareebwal	11	9	2	Asia Bibi (PML-N), Zaib un Nisa (PML-N)
53.	Chakki	11	9	2	Kousar Bibi (PML-N), Aziz Begum (PTI)
54.	Maira Sharif	11 (4 vacant)	7	0	It has no female member
55.	Maluwali	11	9	2	Rasham Jan (PML-N), Zaib un Nisa (PML-N)
56.	Kharpa	11	9	2	Fozia Yasmeen (PTI), Razia Begum (PTI)
57.	Jalwal	10	8	2	Robina Alam (PML-Q), Musarrat Shaheen(PML-Q)
58.	Nara	11	9	2	Niaz Bibi (PML-Q), Azrah Bibi (PML-N)
59.	Saghri	11	9	2	Shazia Naseem (PML-N), Janat ul Firdous (PML-Q)
60.	Thatta	11	9	2	Shamshad Begum (PTI), Saleema Bibi (PTI),

S. No	Name UC	Total Members	Male	Female	Name of female member
					Samina Masih ;A Non Muslim member (PTI)
61.	Basal	11	9	2	Nadia Naseem (PML-Q), Kousar Parveen (PML-N)
62.	Khunda	11	9	2	Haleema Bibi (PML-Q), Jahan Begum (PML-Q)
63.	Mathial	10	8	2	Riffat (PML-Q), Surriya Begum (PML-N)
64.	Pindsutani	11	9	2	Parveen Akhtar (PML-N), Naseem Akhtar (PML-N)
65.	Langar	11	9	2	Parveen Bibi (PML-N), Ujrat Bibi (PML-N)
66.	Chapri	11	9	2	Bagh Barri (PML-Q), Darya Bano (PML-Q)
67.	Jaba	11	9	2	Ghulam Anfia (PML-N), Falak Naz (PML-N)
68.	Chabb	10	8	2	Shahnaz Begum (PML-N), Mehr un Nisa (PTI)
69.	Tarap	11	9	2	Kiran Rasheed (PML-N), Zohra Begum (PTI)
70.	Makhad	11	9	2	Awal Jan (PTI), Ameer Jan (PTI)
71.	Dakhnair	11	9	2	Gul Nisa (PTI), Shahida Parveen (PTI)

Source: Office of the deputy director local government, District Attock.

### **3. VOTING BEHAVIOR AMONG WOMEN IN DISTRICT ATTOCK**

‘**VOTE** means to show the legal option of contender in an election’’ (Hornby, 1995 :1333)

**VOTER** is an individual who is eligible to caste a vote, particularly in a political election’’ (Hornby, 1995: 1334).

**VOTING** is the process in which individuals of a country or place use their right to vote, to select a particular contestant. (Hornby, 1995: 1334).

Voting behaviour is an effective tool to test the capability of general public to participate in the political operation freely.

According to the constitution of 1973, the article 25 discusses that all the inhabitants of Pakistan (men & women) are given equal rights by avoiding any difference on the base of gender. Similarly women in Pakistan have a right to caste their vote with their own will having at least 18 years old, and she must possess the national identity card and her name must be included in the voter’s list issued by Nadra.(IFES, 2013)

In the general elections of 2013 there were total 37.6 million female voters. However there were 48.6 million male voters on the record. According to these statistics the percentage of female voters was 43.6% and there were 56.4% male voters. (ECP, 2013) . According to the research, in the general elections of 2013 there were total 564 female polling stations all over in the country in which not a single women casted their vote. Of the total 564 polling stations, 478 polling stations were located in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In Punjab there were 31 such polling stations. 11 polling stations were in Sindh. In Balochistan 20 polling stations were reported with 0% females voting turnout. 20 polling stations were in Fata and 1 was reported to be in Federal Capital Islamabad. The percentage of these polling stations is given below in table.

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Province</b>	<b>Number of polling stations in which no women had casted vote</b>	<b>Percentage of polling station with no women voter</b>
1.	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	478	84.8%
2.	Punjab	31	5.5%
3.	Sindh	11	2.9%
4.	Balochistan	20	3.5%
5.	FATA	23	4.1%
6.	Islamabad	01	0.2%

compiled by researcher herself.

As already mentioned earlier that according to the demographical statistics of 2017 female population of district Attock was 946,683 which makes about 50.26% of the whole population in the district. It means that half of the population of district Attock is female. For the political progress of the district, the maximum participation of female is needed. But unfortunately the reality is quite different. And the female turnout in most constituencies is low as compared to male in that particular constituency.

If we talk about the prevailing gender gap in number of voters that casted their vote and according to gender disaggregated data from 2006 to 2018, we can conclude that the number of women voters had shown decrease from 46.1% to 44.1%. (Asian Development Bank 2016, ECP 2018 b). It become obvious that there is gender gap of almost 12.5 million ,which was greater before the elections of 2018.

To reduce the gender disparities between men and women, ECP strived hard with the co-operation of all civil society organizations before the elections, but ECP did'nt succeed in doing so. In 2018, few months before the July's elections the expenditure for making an ID card become doubled, which make it more difficult for the poor people to get an ID card from Nadra. It effected the turnout and widened the difference between the poor and the possibility of having a computerized National Identity Card. (Khan, 2018).

The Election Commission of Pakistan is striving hard to bring political awareness in Pakistan, and to motivate females to take part in political activities at every level. ECP announced its seven important initiatives to improve the political environment of the country. These are mentioned as under:

- 1: ECP announced that there should be individual counting of both male and female polling booths. So that the sex aggregate voter turnout can be achieved.
- 2: As in Pakistani society, mostly in rural areas women are not assigned permission to go out of their homes without taking any other male member of the family with them. So ECP solved this issue by establishing combined polling stations with separate voting booths for both males and females. So that large number of women could use their right to cast a vote.
- 3: ECP will be responsible for the establishment and management of all female polling booths and polling stations.
- 4: ECP will be responsible to arrange female staff and to train them to carry out the process of voting smoothly at female polling stations.
- 5: ECP have right to declare the voting process as invalid in any constituency where the women are not given permission or they are forced to not cast their vote, due to any agreement between the political parties. ECP also have right to declare the polling null if in any constituency the female's voting turnout has been reported to be less than 10%.
- 6: ECP will work and will take initiatives for the large scale incorporation of women in political process.
- 7: ECP will work to minimize the gender inequalities between the total count of male and female voters, which was about 10 million in the electoral rolls of 2012 elections. Steps will also be taken with the co-operation of NADRA (National database registration authority), political associations and community corporations to find and to put on record the unregistered female voters, all over the country. <sup>64</sup>

In General elections 2018, District Attock had two constituencies for National Assembly. But in General elections 2013 there were 3 National Assembly constituencies in district Attock.<sup>65</sup> The given data in table show the statistics of District Attock for the General elections of 2018:-

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<sup>64</sup> FAFEN'S Counting female observation Report, March 8, 2013.

<sup>65</sup> Election Commission Office, District Attock.

**NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**

S. No	District / NA	Total no of Registered Votes		
		Male	Female	Total
1.	AA-55 - Attock-I	303770	268034	571804
2.	NA-56 - Attock-II	335872	303065	638937
	<b>Total</b>	<b>639642</b>	<b>571099</b>	<b>1210741</b>

Source:-ECP Office, District Attock.

**PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY**

S. No	District / PP	Total no of Registered Votes		
		Male	Female	Total
1.	PP-1 – Attock-I	114899	104689	219588
2.	PP-2 – Attock-II	133522	115174	248696
3.	PP-3 – Attock-III	119078	105085	224163
4.	PP-4 – Attock-IV	127799	115586	243385
5.	PP-5 – Attock-V	144344	130565	274909
	<b>Total</b>	<b>639642</b>	<b>571099</b>	<b>1210741</b>

Source:- ECP Office, District Attock.

The detail of polling stations and polling booths in district Attock is given as under:-<sup>66</sup>

**NATIONAL ASSEMBLY – POLLING STATIONS AND POLLING BOOTHS IN  
DISTRICT ATTOCK**

S/No	No and Name of Constituencies	Total count of polling Stations	Total count of Polling Booths
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<sup>66</sup> l.b.i.d



		Male	Female	Combined	Improvised	Total	Male	Female	Total
1.	NA-55 - Attock-I	180	167	146	0	493	898	829	1727
2.	NA-56 - Attock-II	137	130	309	0	576	1035	884	1919
	<b>Total</b>	<b>317</b>	<b>297</b>	<b>455</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1069</b>	<b>1933</b>	<b>1713</b>	<b>3646</b>

Source:- ECP Office District Attock.

**PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY – POLLING STATIONS AND POLLING BOOTHS IN DISTRICT ATTOCK**

S/No	No and Name of Constituencies	Total No of polling Stations					Total No of Polling Booths		
		Male	Female	Combined	Improvised	Total	Male	Female	Total
1.	PP-1 – Attock-I	79	77	39	0	195	345	323	668
2.	PP-2 – Attock-II	71	65	73	0	209	389	359	748
3.	PP-3 – Attock-III	57	50	89	0	196	361	313	674
4.	PP-4 – Attock-IV	36	35	151	0	222	399	333	732
5.	PP-5 – Attock-V	74	70	103	0	247	439	385	824
	<b>Total</b>	<b>317</b>	<b>297</b>	<b>455</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1069</b>	<b>1933</b>	<b>1713</b>	<b>3646</b>

Source:- ECP Office District Attock.

**FEMALE VOTING TURNOUT IN 2018 ELECTIONS**

As mentioned earlier there were 2 NA and 5 PP constituencies in district Attock in general elections of 2018. Voting turnout in each constituency is shown in the table below:-

**NA CONSTITUENCIES OF DISTRICT ATTOCK**

S.No	Constituency	Male Turnout	Female Turnout	Overall Turnout
1.	NA-55 Attock-I	58.17	48.14	53.47
2.	NA-56 Attock-II	62.20	63.04	62.60

Source:- FAFEEN's Election observation report  
Voter turnout in GE-2018, 12 Aug 2018 pg-12

### PROVINCIAL CONSTITUENCIES OF DISTRICT ATTOCK

S.No	Constituency	Male Turnout	Female Turnout	Overall Turnout
1.	PP-1 – Attock-I	58.23	49.92	54.27
2.	PP-2 – Attock-II	55.38	43.21	49.74
3.	PP-3 – Attock-III	65.54	58.88	62.42
4.	PP-4 – Attock-IV	65.75	67.88	66.76
5.	PP-5 – Attock-V	57.22	60.61	58.83

Source:- FAFEEN's Election observation report  
Voter turnout in GE-2018, 12 Aug 2018 pg-12

FAFEEN's report shows the voter's turnout in the GE-2018 in percentage. We can get the exact number of female that casted their vote with the help of statistics obtained from ECP office, District Attock. We can get the number of female that casted their vote by using the following formula.

$$\mathbf{F. c.v} = \frac{\mathbf{F.R.V} \times \mathbf{F.T.O}\%}{\mathbf{100}}$$

Total female that casted their vote in a constituency = **F. c.v**

Total female registered voters in a constituency = **F. RV**

Female Turnout in a constituency (in percentage) = **F.T.O**

Here I will calculate the exact female that casted vote (F.c.v) in NA and PA constituencies respectively.

S. No	Constituency	F (RV)	F T.O (%)	F. (c.v)
1.	NA-55 Attock-I	268034	48.12	$= \frac{268034 \times 48.14}{100}$ F c.v 129031
2.	NA-56 Attock-II	303065	63.04	$= \frac{303065 \times 63.04}{100}$ F c.v 191052

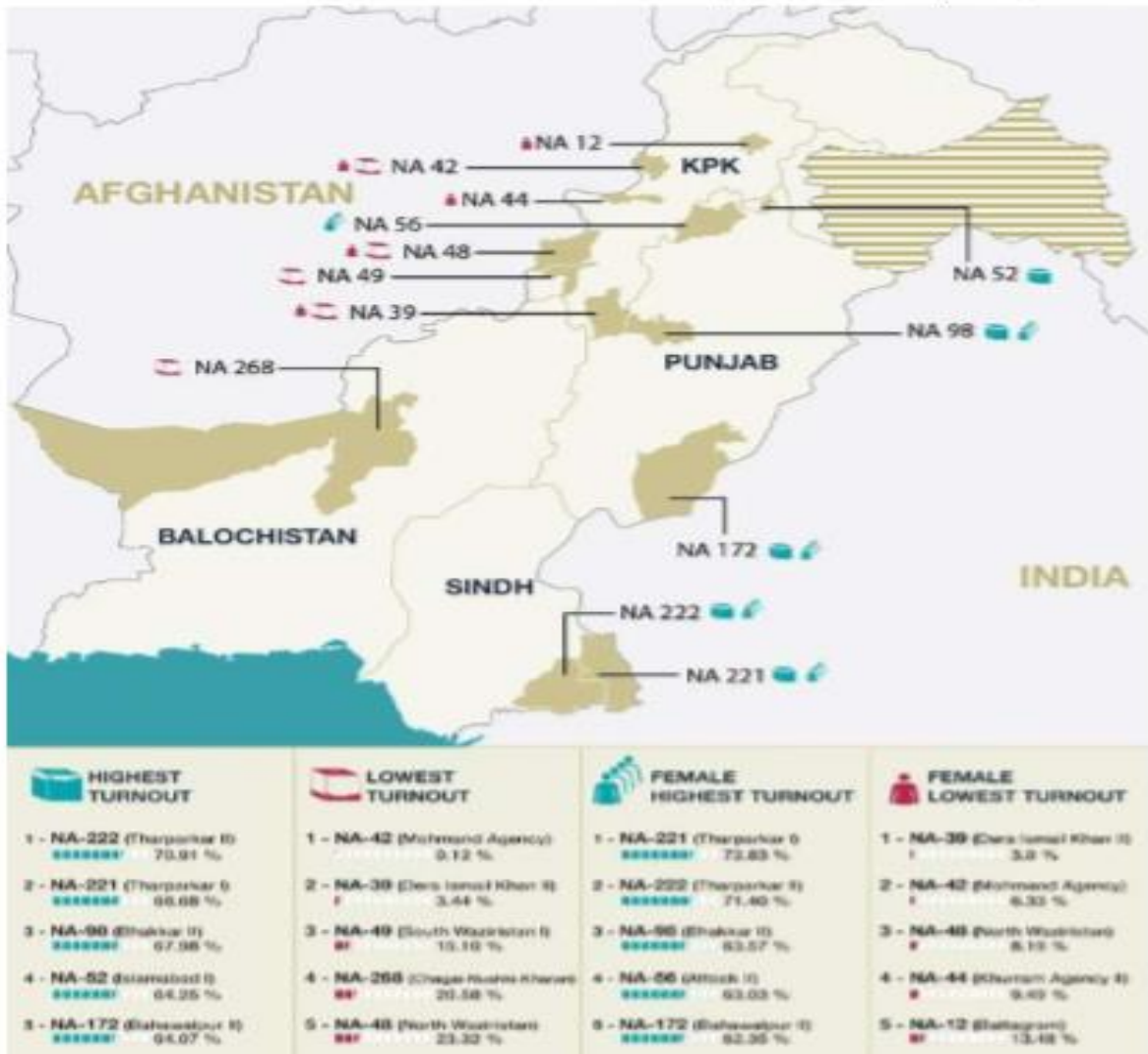
It is concluded from the above table that the total **F (R.V)** in both NA constituencies were 571099 (268034 + 303065). Out of which 320083 (i.e 129031 + 191052) women casted their vote. So overall turnout of district Attock was 56.04%.

The number of female that casted their vote for PA constituencies are given as under:-

S. No	Constituency	F (R.V)	F T.O (%)	F. (c.v)
1.	PP-1 – Attock-I	104689	49.92	= $\frac{104989 \times 49.92}{100}$ F c.v 52260.7488
2.	PP-2 – Attock-II	115174	43.21	= $\frac{115174 \times 43.21}{100}$ F c.v 49766.6854
3.	PP-3 – Attock-III	105085	58.88	= $\frac{105085 \times 58.88}{100}$ F c.v 61874.046
4.	PP-4 – Attock-IV	115586	67.88	= $\frac{115586 \times 67.88}{100}$ F c.v 78459.7768
5.	PP-5 – Attock-V	130565	60.61	= $\frac{130565 \times 60.61}{100}$ F c.v 79135.4465
		<b>571099</b>		

In provincial constituencies out of 571099, 321496.706 women used their right to vote (i.e 56.29%).

However it is interesting to know that NA-56 Attock-II is included in the constituencies which has highest female turnout in Pakistan in GE-2018.



Source:- Voter turnout in 2018 dropped by more than 3% Express tribune

## Chapter-5

### DATA ANALYSIS AND PROCESSING OF DATA

(Interviews of Female UC Members)

As discussed earlier that the research conducted interviews from 15 lady councilors belonging to 10 union councils.

The data obtained is analyzed by using different variables such as age, education and the level of Political awareness, the analysis of raw data is explained as under;

#### Respondents by age:-

**Table 4.1**

Ser	Classification (Age in years)	Age Group	No of Women	Percentage
1.	25-40	Young	4	26.66%
2.	40-55	Middle aged	0	0
3.	55 and above	Old aged	11	73.33%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	-	

Table 4.1 shows that when we classify females of different union councils with respect to their ages, we can see that the young and energetic women are very less in union councils. Only 26.66% young ladies are engaged with politics (i.e 25-40 years. While the middle age group (40-55 years) has 0% participation in politics, as no female member in union councils fall in this group. Most participation in politics is seen by old age group (i.e 55 and above) which is about 73.33%.

#### Respondents by the level of education:-

**Table 4.2**

Ser	Classification	No of Women	Percentage
1.	Illiterate	9	60%
2.	Primary	3	20%
3.	Middle- Matric	2	13.33%
4.	Intermediate – Master	1	6.66%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	

Table 4.2 shows the interviewee by the educational attainment they possess. This table shows that respondents are classified into 4 classes according to the level of education. From table 4.2

it is obvious that most of the UC members are illiterate (i.e 60%). 20% members are educated upto primary level. 13.33% members are from middle to matric and only 6.66% members are educated upto master level.

**Respondents by the level of Political awareness in them:-**

Table: 4.3

Ser	Classification	No of Women	Percentage
1.	Have no awareness at all	9	60%
2.	Have little awareness	3	20%
3.	Have awareness	3	30%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	

Table 4.3 shows that 60% female members of different UCs are those who have no political awareness. 20% females are having little political awareness in them. While 20% women are working willingly. They want to serve the society and are fully aware of their jobs and rights.

The analysis of above processed data shows that most of the female members of UCs belong to old age group (i.e 55 and above) and these ladies are mostly uneducated and have no awareness about their jobs and rights.

One of the respondent “Darya Bano” who is 72 year old, told that she doesn’t know that why had she been made the member of UC. She became a member just because the males of her family have suggested her name. She was unable to read and write (even she can’t write her name).

The uneducated ladies described more or less same situation as described by Darya Bano.

It means that the female participation in different local bodies is not productive or it is just the more filling of women seats.

Contrarily the educated lady councilors were very energetic and young.

One of the respondent Shehnaz Begum told in an interview that she want to work for public. She wants to work for women in locality.

Another respondent Batool Bibi was M.A/ M.ed. She told that she is working willingly in this sector. Her father and husband support her. She told that there are a lot of educated females in district Attock, but they do not came forward in politics because it is not a rewarding job. One has to work without incentives. She told that often people ask her a question that why she is not doing any other government Service?

She replied that money is not everything. She loves to work for others. She has completed different projects in locality like pavement of streets.

Two respondents Shehnaz Begum and Kiran Rasheed are young ladies. They are working willingly in their areas. They both are working with the support of their husbands. But both of them told that due to unavailability of funds no progress is seen in an area during this period. They further told that they have to face a lot of problems from society and sometimes they are even not informed to attend the meetings held in their respective union councils respectively.

## DATA ANALYSIS AND PROCESSING OF DATA

(Questionnaire solved by Government teachers)

I have conducted a survey by using a questionnaire with 15 teachers in government sector. The details are given as under:-

### Question No 1

Should women enter in politics?

**Table 5.1**

Number of Teacher	Yes	No
	12	3
Percentage	80%	20%

Table 5.1 shows that 80% teachers replied that women should enter in politics while 20% teachers answered that women should not join politics.

### Question No 2

Do you want to enter in politics?

**Table 5.2**

Number of Teacher	Yes	No
	4	11
Percentage	26.66%	73.33%

Table 5.2 illustrates that majority of answerers (73.33%) told that they are not interested personally in joining politics while 26.66% respondents told that they are interested in joining politics but there are a lot of barriers for women to enter politics.

### Question No 3

Does our culture allow women to enter in politics?

**Table 5.3**

Number of Teacher	Yes	No
	0	15
Percentage	0%	100%

Table 5.3 depicts that all the participants strongly agreed that culture is a strong barrier that prevents women from entering in politics. No one of the respondents denied this reality.

### Question No 4

Do male members of society prevent women's entry in politics?

**Table 5.4**



<b>Number of Teacher</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>
	15	0
Percentage	100%	0%

Table 5.4 clearly shows the negative perception of males regarding entry of women in political arena. All of the members were of the view that males in male dominating society does'nt allow them to join politics.

**Table 5.5**

<b>Ser</b>	<b>Question</b>	<b>Response in Yes</b>	<b>Response in No</b>	<b>Total respondents</b>
1.	Should women enter in politics?	12	3	15
	<b>Response in Percentage</b>	<b>80%</b>	<b>20%</b>	-
2.	Do you wants to join politics?	4	11	15
	<b>Response in Percentage</b>	<b>26.66%</b>	<b>73.33%</b>	-
3.	Do our culture allow women to enter in politics?	0	15	15
	<b>Response in Percentage</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>100%</b>	-
4.	Do male members of society prevent women to join politics?	15	0	15
	<b>Response in Percentage</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>0%</b>	-

Table 5.5 clearly shows the views of educated women. The educated women knows that entry of women in political affairs is essential for the betterment and stability in political system, but mostly these women hesitate in joining politics because they are being discouraged at every step and they are afraid of the obstacles of society and culture. They strongly agreed that culture and the male dominating society prevent them from entering in politics.

## CHAPTER : 6

### **BARRIERS IN WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**

A lot of barriers; women have to pass through while entering politics. These are:-

1. **Social Barriers**:- There are many social barriers for women to enter politics. Women in Pakistani society are often less educated or uneducated at all. Also the discrimination between male and female is obvious in Pakistani society.

“The discrimination between boys and girls begin with their birth and prevails in society throughout of their life till death. The discrimination is also seen in education of boys and girls. Educating a boy is a priority for parents. They spend money on boy's education open heartedly, because they thought that they will get reward of this investment in future. While girl's education is a matter of no importance because they thought that after marriage of a girl, its reward will be gained by another family”.

This discrimination between boys and girls is obvious in all spheres of life. Due to this prevailing disparity girls are often deprived of their right to get education and once they are not sent to schools they develop in them the sense of inferiority and subordination to men. The social norms and the elders of the family further strengthen their thoughts.

I have personally observed that in some families boys are sent to an expensive and high standard school, while girls went to an ordinary or free government school to get education.

So females are kept far from the political process by keeping them away from education because education is a key factor for developing confidence and social mobilization of females.

According to Watters and Mason (1994):-

“Education effect and control the societal advancement of women. Schooling which is imparted in educational institutions generate chances for guidance and convey the techniques needed for leadership.”

As Pakistani women have less education they are unexperienced to work outside their homes or in paid sectors, which makes them bound to their home and family.

The Pakistani women are less exposed to society and culture which became a big social hurdle for them to enter politics.

The exposure of women in politics and their authorization as equal individuals like males is necessary for national development and peace.

Besides discrimination and less education, patriarchy is another social barrier that hinders women's entry into politics. We can interpret the term patriarchy as:-

“The dominance of male member in a household system is known as patriarchy”.

Patriarchy refers to as bodily, communal and profitable power of men over women in a family structure.

Patriarchy is a great social hurdle that undermines the social and political development of women. As according to Mies (1986):-

“The phenomenon of patriarchy has been incorporated in the theories relating to gender and growth, in order to confront the relations that belong to gender, but also unequal commercialism relations, often seemed as promoting patriarchy”.

Patriarchy can be easily observed in almost all areas of Pakistan. As according to Caldwell (1982):-

“Pakistan is geologically situated in an area that is often termed as patriarchal belt”.

In patriarchy there is strict labour division and women in this system have less or no freedom to express their ideas and thinking’s.

In Patriarchy women’s first and foremost role is to give birth and to brought up her children. She is accountable for nourishing all family members and to serve the family by doing house hold jobs (Adad Uet at 26 May 2017).

individually Pakistani women are adopted to live in society in such a manner that they do not think about themselves as competent for elections at any level or they do not suppose themselves to be able to serve the people as guiding light at the local, provincial or the national level.

This self-contemplation is actually the outcome of low literacy and and less disclosure to the public.

They do not have an opportunity to be trained formally for entering politics. In society their exists negative perceptions about politics and people normally don’t think it as a noble profession. So keeping in views these perceptions mostly women do not show any interest in joining politics and considered it as an evil and a dirty field for women. They develop a firm belief that this sector is only for men.

It is often seemed that even when women have qualities that are needed to be a good politician, they are not appreciated by the society to step forward and to take part in politics, that is why women perceives themselves not be able to join politics.

## 2. **Cultural Barriers**

“The culture is defined as:- The traditions and social attitude of distinct group of people or community. In Pakistani culture the essentials of life (like pedagogy, sanitarium, capacity building, men power involvement and potentiality and political activities) for women are out

of reach and not easily accessible. They do not have any authority over the assets. Such a culture can be called as culture against women and is seen prevailing in countries like Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh and India". (Moghadam 1993).

Several elite groups are seemed to rule over Pakistan's political culture since after the creation of Pakistan. They constantly resumed the political field of the country.

On the other hand the "Army" also become on elite group and started striving to get hold to the political office. Both these elite groups couldn't flourish without bureaucracy. So unfortunately the battle to get power started between these three elite group i.e army, government and influential families.

As women are with low schooling or literacy, lack of training expertise and with less vulnerability to political environment are unable to come forward to attain place in public.

The Pakistani culture is male dominated and women are considered as sub ordinate to male members. Women have to work according to the terms and conditions set for them in such society and they have to accept all this, thinking it as a part of culture so male doesn't allow their females to come out of homes and to take part in political activities.

Opposition from male members of the society is the main impediment for women to flourish politically. It banishes the political and voting rights of women. Once in the course of the elections of local bodies in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the religious political parties called a meeting in which by discussing different strategies women were tried to keep away from contesting elections by signing an agreement between them.

Bradari system is another main obstacle in Pakistani culture that hinders political participation of women in Pakistan.

While conducting interviews an interesting fact was told by one of the male respondent that they allow the female lady councilors belonging to their party to attend the meetings only when the opposite party allows their lady councilor to do so. They thought that it is shameful for them that they allow their women to come out and take part in political process while others not do so.

Another lady councilor told in an interview that often she is not informed by the male members of their UC to attend the meetings. She told that the male councilors try to keep themselves away from the political process. Furthermore the females are mostly unaware of their social and political rights. They have firm belief that they are secondary to men and can't do the jobs like men. They don't strive to get proper place in society they lack the ability to recognize their rights in political sphere and the males in such culture consider themselves

stronger because they didn't have to face any resistance from females. The attitude of common people is also a great barricade for the females to participate in political system.

Public attitude is the key factor that determines how many candidates are considered and got nomination for office it also decides that how many female candidates wins the general election (Welch & Sigelman 1982).

The Pakistani culture bounds the women and do not permit them to avail their rights given to them by legal and Islamic laws. In Islamic society of Pakistan useless arguments are given in case of women's rights by relating it to cultural traditions.(Ibrahim 2005 : 103).<sup>67</sup>

Male's ego is another hurdle in political participation of females. It is very laborious for men's ego to see women at the superior position. Generally it is noticed that women struggle greater than men but they are not encouraged as much nor they are given any appreciation. Men's think about women's capabilities with narrow mind and it is the main hurdle for female's progress. Even a well civilized and highly qualified men have narrow perception about women's achievement and abilities. The males are of the view that inspite of politics women are suitable to take part in health and in field of education, because the physiology and the psychological position of females make them inappropriate in the political system.

The prevailing system of justice in the traditional society of Pakistan like jirga and panchayat seemed uninterested in solving women's issues. The legal and religious arguments prevent involving them in political and social structure. Women feel fear in this situation due to which they hesitate to stand up for getting their rights. The jirga and panchayat illegally condemn those who stand up for their personal rights at individual level, against the advise or ethics of the certain ethnic or residential groups. (Bari and Khattak 2001: 230). Thus the hostility of the narrow minded culture appear more prominent than Islam, which is the religion of peace and equality.<sup>68</sup>

### 3. **Economic Barriers:-**

Women in Pakistani society are often found home and family life. They are generally not paid for their great services towards their family.

Women are financially weak and are dependent on the males of their family i.e father, spouse or sons. So they can't participate in politics with the financial dependence on

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<sup>67</sup> Sanchittta Bhattachaya.(2014) pp 182.

<sup>68</sup> I.b.i.d pp 183.

other family members. “When they are commercially self reliant they can claim themselves as resolution builders.”<sup>69</sup>

Commonly women have no earning or they earn less as compared to men. She also has to bear the unseen burden of labor force in home and society. In such condition women have to bear a tri fold freight when they join politics. They strived to do their best professionally, have to give time to their family and if they became engaged with politics they have to do a third full time job also (Report of expert group meeting 2005).

People normally don't allow their females to join politics because it is not rewarding job.

It is agreed by the experts that women in addition to financial aid also need the assistance of influential individuals of locality, groups and network to enter and *stay* in politics. Without monetary, social and reputational capital women are unable to attain actual authoritative actions.

#### 4. **Religious Barriers:-**

As the Pakistani society has special inclination towards religion. So the common thinking outcome is that as women cannot mingle with opposite sex (males) so she should not join politics and the religion doesn't allow here to do so.

One of the authentic Hadith Holy Prophet (PBUPH) is:-

That nation can never be succesful which lets itself be ruled by the women. (Bukhari: 4425).

In the light of above quotation people doesn't allow their females to join politics. People with religious mentality restrict their women to join politics.

The growing tendency of orthodox Islamic Fanaticism and radicalism supported terrorism in Pakistan, which in turn promoted the flood of violent stream against Pakistani women. A research done by Thomson Reuters Foundation in 2011 declared that Pakistan ranks on third position, and is considered the third most menacing country for women's rights.(The Nation, 2011).<sup>70</sup>

The Islamist terrorists aimed to frighten people especially girls and women, so that they could eliminate them out of the activities of public and social life.and they could not have access to the facilities needed to attain education.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Latif Arfan et.al. “*Female political participation in South Asia: A case study of Pakistan* ” A research journal of South Asian studies.(2015).

<sup>70</sup> Sanchitta Bhattacharya, pp 195

<sup>71</sup> I.b.i.d pp 196

Pakistan came into existence to get the piece of land where Islamic principles could be implemented. And it was decided that Pakistan will be an Islamic country. But unfortunately it is very discouraging to observe that in Pakistani society the teachings of Islam are mostly confronted, transformed and misused particularly relating the position of women. And the symbolic protector and defenders of Islam consider it necessary to tease and punish women and exclude them from the social and political arenas of life. The argument of brutality and violence against women and relating it to Islam must be strongly condemned.<sup>72</sup>

In the Islamic country, Pakistan all the rules and regulations are according to Islam, because Islam gives us complete information and guidance about every aspect of life. But unluckily traditional practices that are opposite to Islam are also in exercise in Pakistani society.(UN, 2011 pg :20)

### **Institutional Barriers:-**

The electoral system in democratic countries directly effect the representation of women in electoral bodies.It is observed in different researches that the countries in which there is implementation of proportional representation system, have highest share of women in politics.In proportional representation (PR) system, political parties need to balance their elective authorization, which makes more women vocal to acquire equitability in electoral bodies.In most majoritarian systems nomination of one candi date per district is required, and most of the parties prefer to nominate a male candidate (Report of the expert group meeting,2005).

The local government has brought the large number of lady councilors to the local bodies,but it is failed to make their access possible to the higher posts of district Nazims and Taluka Nazims. Mostly such positions are inhabited by men. Men belonging to rich and powerful families can only get these positions in an electoral office.

We see women in politics mostly on reserved seats. It is very rarely seen that very small number of women are seen occupying general seats, and they are able to get this position because they belong to highly political and influential families.

The family politics is very commom in Pakistan. Political parties try to adjust their family members on reserved seats. This family politics show the lack of commitments of political parties, and also the lack of fulfillment of those promises which they have towards the public during their election campaigns .Also most of the political parties show very non serious behavior about the participation of female in country's political system.

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<sup>72</sup> I.b.i.d pp 197

Party politics has prominent impact over Pakistani politics. Often the females that are appointed as parliamentarians show lack of interest in solving issues of their class. They are just interested to follow the instructions, given to them by their party leaders. And this issue can be considered a big hurdle in women's political development in Pakistani society.

There exist certain laws in political parties act 1962, for women to take part in elections at various tiers. Each party was forced to make sure the participation of women in elections, without any gender difference in the amendments made in constitution in 2002, 2004 and 2011. But all this does'nt happen practically in elections. And even the women are not granted an opportunity to take part in election process. As a result women's role became negligible in present and future politics.

Generally politics in Pakistan is supposed to be the arena of male. It is considered a dirty, dishonest and a scandalous sphere in which women hesitate to come forward due to their glory, piety and devotion. And those women who accept the challenge and enter in politics either as a voter, as a candidate, as a party member or as a political office holder are generally not supposed to be good women. That's why most of the women are not concerned to join affairs of state at any level of political system.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Naima Tabassum.



## CHAPTER: 6

### **FUTURE PROSPECTS**

This research clearly states the alarming situation of women in politics. The condition will become worse, if no serious steps would be taken to motivate women to enter politics. To bring development in areas like District Attock, it is necessary to develop such political environment in which there is no discrimination in both men and women.

#### **Recommendations:-**

Hereunder are the recommendations that should be incorporated in country's political and social environment, to bring the situation towards betterment.

1. First of all serious attempts are needed for the improvement of girl's education, because an educated female can easily understand the importance of the involvement of females in political sphere.
2. Election commission of Pakistan can do a lot to encourage women to enter politics. Several amendments are needed in election act regarding the female participation in politics.
3. As mentioned earlier that political parties act as the "gate keeper" because they decide that who will be going to contest election. They can play their significant role by giving a chance to more and more women to come forward and contest elections.
4. Every political party should be bound to setup women wings, to make possible the entry of women in politics in large number.
5. The environment of political institutions should be made gender friendly with no gender discrimination.
6. To solve the financial problems of females, special funds are needed to be allocated for female so that they can easily participate in politics.
7. To increase the participation of female in politics, female electoral quotas should be increased, which means that:- "To increase a compulsory ratio of women candidate in common offices and general elections". Quotas should be allocated on gender basis. Allocation of quotas on the basis of gender can be argued for the following reasons:-
  - i. Keeping in view the population of females in any country, it can be justified that they should be given equal participation in legislative and electoral bodies.
  - ii. women possess definite point of view about different political issues. They can bring a positive change in politics, if given an opportunity to express their ideas and point of view about any political issue, from any political forum.

iii. Because of their reproductive role and inferior position in male dominant social system, they have their specific interests and needs. Therefore women in political institutions are needed to safeguard their interests. (Bari, 2006).

The main focus of quota system is to make sure the incorporation of more women in politics to overcome the under representation of women. Quota system can be considered a convenient way to increase women's entry in appointive bodies.

Quota system is directly is proportional to the number of women representatives. Quota system is a temporary measure to enhance the number of women in political bodies, because the women that came forward through quota system do not have real political power and empowerment. They are just seem as symbolic representatives. Hence we can say that quota system can be proved effective only in quantitative terms, but in order to obtain substantial women's strength and gender equality, a lot of practical measures are needed to be taken.

8. It is evident from the examples of different sovereign states of the world that increasing female quotas can put direct and immediate effect on enhanced the number of women in electoral process. For example in Argentina women's representation was expanded from 5 to 25 and then to 30% between the two consecutive elections.

Due to increase in women quotas "Rwanda" is on the top with 48.8% women's representation in politics (Report of expert group meeting, Oct 2005).

9. For the proper and effective implication of quotas, both male and female politicians are needed to provide training to improve their skills and confidence level. In training programmes male should be addressed to play their positive role for eliminating gender discrimination in society and should be made aware of the necessity of encouraging women to join politics for the development of country.

11. According to the experts different women's movements can work as an initiative for increasing the women's percentage in legislatures.

12. Men themselves can play its constructive role for the promotion of gender equality policies. They can also encourage women in their efforts for elimination of discrimination. The panel of experts confessed that:- " Focusing attention on men can be proved as a fundamental change that authorize political actors to emphasize on gender equality training for men in representative and participation domains ". (Report of expert group meeting Oct 2005).

13. Civil society institutions can play their important role that can pressurize the politicians and political institutions to make possible the maximum representation of females in political offices.

Civil society associations can do considerable work by bringing the theme of gender nondiscrimination in decision making.

Community organizations should work for the betterment of cultural environment to root out gender discrimination in politics.

14. The culture of accountability to the electorates should be needed to strengthen the effective entry of women in politics.

15. Electronic as well as print media should be used to aware the women and to develop political interest in them.

16. Such laws and legislations are needed to be made and are required to be implemented that bound the political associations to specify maximum seats to women, and collective attempts are needed by the society for the implementation of such legislations.

17. Direct election of women is also suggested by some women's organizations, by using the method of common electorate for both men and women in enlarged constituencies, which can be formed by the combination of two normal sized constituencies. Normal sized constituency should be considered in case of general seat's elections. All the eligible voters should have the right to cast two votes. Out of these two votes casted, one should be for the reserved seat in the large constituency, and the second one should be for the general seat in normal or small constituency. (Possible Election Modalities, Legislative watch, 2001).

18. Educational institutions especially universities can play a significant role regarding women's effective sharing in assemblies. In most of the universities, centres for women studies are established throughout the country. The detail of some women centres are given as under:-

- (i) Department of women studies in University of Punjab, Lahore Pakistan
- (ii) Women study centre, University of Peshawar, Peshawar Pakistan.
- (iii) Women study centre, University of Karachi, Karachi Pakistan.
- (iv) Women study centre ,University of Balochistan, Quetta Pakistan.
- (v) Institute of women development studies, University of Jamshoro, Sindh Pakistan.
- (vi) Women study centre in Allama Iqbal open University, Islamabad Pakistan.
- (vii) Department of women studies in Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad Pakistan.

All these educational institutions can help to bring a rebellion in women's political participation by playing their effective role. They can encourage and motivate more women to enter in politics.

The women universities like Fatima Jinnah University lies near parliament, so it can work a lot in developing a connection between academics and women related issues, and women issues and position in the legislative and electoral bodies.

19. Educational institutes can also contribute to make women active by offering opportunities of training and grooming to girls, interested to take part in politics. It will be helpful in future in producing women political leaders at grass root level. Young girls are motivated to enter politics by making certain amendments in curriculum, that encourage women entry in politics. Chapters are needed to be add in curriculum about the life and achievement of well known political leaders in Pakistan movement and also about women political leaders of Pakistan after its freedom. Such institutions can change the insignificant and ordinary girls in a renowned political leader with great political enthusiasm.

20. Different trainings are needed to be given by the government to the females that join politics. These trainings will help them to deal in better way with the day to day changing matters. Unfortunately our political system lack such training programmes. Taking into view the socio cultural status of Pakistani women, they are either kept out completely of the administrative affairs or they are not granted permission to play any major role in politics. So such type of trainings motivate them and help them to polish their capabilities, or they will gain confidence for the meaningful incorporation in political matters of the country and more specifically of their own locality. It is therefore suggested that government should arrange such trainings for both men and women on regular basis. These training programmes could be proved a milestone for women to join politics.

21. Such laws and codifications are needed to be implement that encourage the political outlook of women at various levels, in party elections. In spite of the presence of legislations at certain platforms, the women's involvement is less in internal bodies of political parties. Due to this reason, women politician do not get a chance to develop political understanding and confidence needed for their grooming. The only solution to this problem is to make the participation of women mandatory in elections of political parties, at various levels i-e from the low level of union council upto the central legislative bodies.

22. Media can play its significant role in this regard. Media can mobilize the women for entering in politics. Media can encourage the common women to enter in politics by highlighting the contributions of women politicians, especially at district level. Media can telecaste the documentaries about the important women politicians, in the Pakistan movement and others that contributed in Pakistan after independence. it could be proved helpful and motivate women. It also will be helpful in making their mind set for taking part in politics.

23. Evidences proved that local elections are more beneficial to introduce women into politics in comparison to elections on any forum at a large scale. Because in local elections the voters are familiar with the women candidate and there are greater possibilities for a woman to be

elected as member. The expenditure on election campaign is also low at local level as compared to city or a big constituency. This is helpful for more women to contest elections at local level.

24. Women representation can work comparatively better than male representatives because they have more chances to communicate with the women in their localities. They can easily interpret their needs and demands and finally they propose useful suggestions.<sup>74</sup>

25. Improving the figure of women in law and policy building institutions can help them to declare their ideas to shape and to give prime concern to the governmental policies about women related issues. It will result in changing the socio- cultural and economic situation that will positively effect the entry and control of women over social and economic wealth and assets, education and health care. Thus we can say that the political participation of women in any country must not only aimed to get women empowerment, rather it can be considered significant to increase the women empowerment.<sup>75</sup>

26. We should not only formulate new laws, but the existing laws should also be revised. Moreover the result of any policy or law can be achieved by its proper and complete execution. So application of existing laws is very important for the provision of suitable and favourable environment to Pakistani women in future. ‘‘Legal Assistance Centers’’ for women are required to set up at National, Provincial and District level. (Jabeen, 2013 ).<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Muhammad Usman Ameen, *‘‘Examining women empowerment through representation in Pakistan; Who gets to represent whom?’’* (2015), pp 39

<sup>75</sup> I.b.i.d, pp 40

<sup>76</sup> Sanchitta Bhattacharya, pp 115.

## CONCLUSION

This research clearly shows that the situation of political participation of women in Pakistan, specifically in district Attock is very poor. The women in this district have no political awareness in them. They are mostly uneducated. In union councils, (which are the lower political platform) there are very few women lady councilors. Interestingly most of the lady councilors shows only the mere filling of seats. They do not have any interest in their job. Very small percentage of women showed their interest in politics.

Women have to face a lot of barriers to join politics. The low political participation by women is effected by the economic, community based, cultural and institutional barriers. The women belonging to influential and political families can only are able to cross these barriers.

The ill and bad political system, Bradriism, Male dominant society, Illiteracy, Absence of political consciousness in women, and the absence of social networking to create political understanding in females are some of the main reasons responsible for minimal participation of women in district Attock. There is also found the lack of confidence in women, that is why they hesitate coming forward in politics.

Many serious and collective efforts are needed to ameliorate the prevailing environment of political participation of women in all over the country. Serious efforts are needed to transform the outlook of public, specially men. The environment of political institutions is needed to be made gender friendly. Steps are needed to reduce the socio cultural impacts over women to join politics. And also women's quota should be increased to make possible the greater participation of women in political sphere. Women should be motivated by different NGO'S and social movements to take active part in politics. All these and many other such efforts are needed to improve the political future of Pakistani women, because it is needed for the long term progress and development of country.

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