CHALLENGES AND ISSUES TO ELECTED WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS TO DELIVER EFFECTIVE PARLIAMENTARY SERVICES: A CASE STUDY OF PUNJAB ASSEMBLY

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THESIS/DISSERTATION AND DEFENCE APPROVAL FORM

The undersigned certifies that they have read the following thesis, examined the defense, are satisfied with the overall exam performance, and recommend the thesis to the department of Governance and Public Policy, Faculty of Management Sciences for acceptance:

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Candidate of **Master of Philosophy** at the National University of Modern Languages, do hereby declare that the thesis **"Challenges and Issues to Elected Women Parliamentarians to Deliver Effective Parliamentary Services: A Case Study of Punjab Assembly"** submitted by me in partial fulfillment of M.Phil degree, is my original work, and the research is initiated and developed by me. All other work, including data collection, data analyses, and the write-up, is also done by me.. I also solemnly declare that it shall not, in future, be submitted by me for obtaining any other degree from this or any other university or institution.

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This thesis has been read by me and has been found to be satisfactory regarding content, English usage, format, citations, bibliographic style, and thus fulfils the qualitative requirements of this degree. It is ready for submission to Faculty of Management Sciences for internal and external evaluation.

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CERTIFICATE

It is certified that the research work contained in this titled as **"Challenges and Issues to Elected Women Parliamentarians to Deliver Effective Parliamentary Services: A Case Study of Punjab Assembly"** has been carried out and completed by **Saba Lodhi** under my supervision during her M.Phil in Governance and Public Policy to the Department of Governance and Public Policy, Faculty of Management Sciences, National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad.

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DEDICATION

To My Mentor,

My Beloved Father

Nasrullah Khan Lodhi (Late)

ABSTRACT

Women have become the part of the legislative processes in national as well as provincial assemblies in Pakistan. Often women parliamentarians were viewed and considered as quota filling seaters. Now the trend has been changing. But the question arises what are the issues and challenges they face during the performance of these roles and responsibilities? The study aims at exploring the answer of this broad question by following the ontological stance of interpretive school of thought. A sample of 11 women parliamentarians of Punjab Assembly, 4 male parliamentarians, 4 Punjab Assembly officials and 2 NGO representatives were selected for in-Depth interviews. Thematic analysis technique was used for data analysis. Findings of the study indicate as well as highlight the issues and challenges that women parliamentarian faced i.e. marginalization due to public-private dichotomy, Gender biasness in political preference, extreme party dependency, dual role expectations and lack of political skills and experience a few to mention. This study concludes that the majority of challenges that women parliamentarians face, will be minimized by creating gender responsive culture in parliament.

Keywords: Punjab assembly, women parliamentarians, challenges, service delivery

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Pakistan is constitutionally a democratic state and strives for equal representation of women and men in decision making process. Women have become the part of the legislative processes in national as well as provincial assemblies in Pakistan. Often women parliamentarians were viewed and considered as quota filling seaters (Bano, 2009). Now the trend has been changing as they are no more silent quota filling seaters. But the question arises how effectively they are performing their parliamentary roles and what are the challenges they face during the performance of these roles and responsibilities? Women need an effective voice in order to convey their views; and governments are more likely to respond to the needs and demands accordingly (DRI, 2016).

The understanding towards parliamentary services can be better developed by enlisting the key tasks performed or assumed to be performed by elected women parliamentarians' i.e. questions, adjournment motions, call attention notices, general discussion, putting resolutions and scrutinizing various reports. Now the question arises, what are the issues and challenges that elected women parliamentarians face while performing the assembly tasks? In order to identify these issues and challenges, first need to clarify the difference between these two terms i.e. issues and challenges. For this particular study, challenges consider all those problems which come from external environment thus affect the service delivery of elected women parliamentarians. This can also be called the parliamentary culture which includes patriarchal nature of politics, negative social perception, and gender biasness in political functions, party dependency and structural barriers. Moreover, issues consider as all those problems which come from internal

complexities (of the subjects- either ideological or capacity oriented) and resultantly, affect the service delivery of elected women parliamentarians. This can also be called the Parliamentarian's context which is comprised of all the problems associated with the women parliamentarians themselves e.g. education of the parliamentarian, political skills, political experience, dual role expectations, internalization of public- private dichotomy and self-interest/self-confidence. Detailed description of all issues and challenges with references is in the subsequent chapter of the study.

This study caters the need of the hour and assesses the delivery of parliamentary services by elected women parliamentarians of Punjab Assembly and further explores the challenges and issues they face during effective service delivery.

1.2 Problem Statement

It is established through literature review that multiple social, cultural, religious, educational and institutional factors contribute to hinder women political service delivery in the political arenas. Less democratic culture is of grave concern working in relatively unstable democracies like ours, Pakistan. And for women, who are perceived and treated as incapable to perform public tasks, are they able to contribute towards their country's political profile. Moreover, most political parties are male dominated and neglect women and women's interests.

So, there is a dire need to dig out this less researched phenomenon to seek the existence of critical mass in all parliamentary committees as well as to know the perception of potential stakeholder about their understanding towards challenges faced by women in effective parliamentary service delivery and establish the true factors that challenge the delivery of effective parliamentary services by women parliamentarians in our own political context.

1.3 Research Objective

The objectives of the study are to:

1. Explore the localized issues and challenges faced by elected women parliamentarians to deliver effective parliamentary services

2. Identify the assessment of other stakeholders (male colleagues, assembly officials and NGOs representatives) about the parliamentary services delivered by women parliamentarians

1.4 Research questions of the Study

1. What are the important issues the elected women parliamentarians face while delivering parliamentary services?

2. What are the important challenges the elected women parliamentarians face while delivering parliamentary services?

3. How do women parliamentarians overcome their issues and challenges?

4. What do the other stakeholders (male colleagues, assembly officials and NGOs representatives) think the issues and challenges, women parliamentarians, face while performing parliamentary services?

5. How do the other stakeholders (male colleagues, assembly officials and NGOs representatives) assess the parliamentary services, performed by women parliamentarians?

1.5 Scope of the Study

1.5.1 Content Scope

The study is limited to see the issues and challenges to elected women parliamentarians of Punjab Assembly to deliver effective parliamentary services. Moreover it is limited to check the perception of male colleagues of elected women parliamentarians and personnel' of the

Punjab assembly about the challenges and issues faced by the elected women parliamentarians while performing their assembly tasks.

1.5.2 Geographic Scope

The study is a case study of Punjab Assembly so Lahore is the geographic location of the study where the Assembly exists. The rational of selecting Punjab Assembly is its characteristic of the biggest legislature of Pakistan in terms of numbers of parliamentarians overall, 371 in total and largest number of women are sitting in this assembly particularly, 75 in total including 66 on reserved seats, 8 on general seats and 1 parliamentarian on minority seat.

1.5.3 Time Scope

The study is planned as one time study so its time scope is cross-sectional. Further it took the sample from the elected assembly members of 2013-2018.

1.6 Significance of the Study

Very few studies in Pakistan are yet published with the objective of analyzing the parliamentary performance of women parliamentarians against the roles designated to them as Parliamentarians. This study aims to have a practical as well as social contribution. The practical implications of this study include creating literature that will help in understanding the real factors that challenge the effective service delivery by elected women parliamentarians. The information learned from this study will expand the understanding as well as fix the deficit and create a counter narrative to the current discourse of accusing women parliamentarians about less effective parliamentary services and may help in creating desirable interventions for women political leaders to create the gender neutral polity.

The social significance of this research reflects the social context within which the study is situated. As social issues i.e. the maladjustment and the lack of support to women political

leaders in the political arena which are un-told as well as un-attended, will be highlighted through this research.

1.7 Areas of future research

The study was time and resource bound thus recommend future researchers of same field and interest to continue to more improve the situation of women politicians within the assemblies through their active performance. One important dimension of the research is to analyse the verbatim of the assembly sessions through content analysis to actually highlight the women real contribution to the major political decisions.

Moreover, further research can unveil the issues of politicians by analyzing the facilities provided by the government machinery and suggestions can directly be effective to improve the performance of female politicians.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter focuses on the review of related literature which forms an important part of research. It deals with the serious examination of various published and unpublished literature relating to the present study. An extensive review of some of the studies on the effective performance of political tasks of women has been taken. Likewise review was also taken from the point of socio cultural and institutional factors that affect political performance of women in particular. While conducting this review, various reference books and articles published in various magazines, Journals, Newspapers, Ph.D. Theses, M.Phil dissertations and web sites were reviewed. Thus, for better understanding of the study, the review of relevant literature has been taken.

2.1 Political Participation

The study of mass political participation has grown into one of the most important subfields of political science. Teorell (2006) gives the definition of political participation by introducing three conceptions of participation i.e. influencing attempts, political discussions and direct decision making caused by holding resources and/or incentives and resulted in equal protection of interests, self- development and subjective legitimacy.

Contemporary political theorist Hannah Pitkin, quoted by Ford (2006), describes four types of political representation: formal, descriptive, symbolic and substantive. Formal representation refers to mechanism in a political system that ensures representation exists and allowed citizens to hold representatives accountable for their actions. The next three types of representation refer to how a person is represented. When demands for more women in office stem from claims of justice and equity, descriptive and symbolic representation in play. When

women represent other women simply by their presence in government, women are descriptively represented. Substantive representation occurs when women act for other women by pursuing distinctive interests and policy preferences unique to women.

2.2 World history of women struggle for suffrage

Unfortunately we inherited the exclusion of women in political participation and decision making processes by human history. Even when democracy had birth ancient Athens in 5th century BC, the exclusion of women from political participation and decision making was existed (Blackwell, 2003). The Athenians women had no right to vote or to participate in the democratic process and even they had not considered as a citizens. The only Athenian men had a right to attend meetings of the assembly, a meeting of the citizen body which was called more than 40 times per year. The absence of women in the involvement of the decisions of the assembly had deprived them to have a right to speak and to vote at the assembly. This also prevented from them to have a chance to directly determine what the law should be.

The other European countries women had neither a right to political participation nor involve the decision making and public affairs before 20th century (Kassa, 2015). At the beginning of the 19 centuries Britain electoral system was far from democratic. The Britain electoral system was male adult suffrage and did not provide the means for fair and equal representations. The right to vote and be voted was restricted to men.

After the establishment of the UN in 1946, there is an increasing recognition among international community of women's historic exclusion from structures of power. The UN has been made a global commitment to redress gender imbalance in politics. Thus, to enhance the political participation of women the UN has been adopted several instruments recognizing the women's right to equally participate in politics.

Johnsonn (2008), Secretary General Inter- Parliamentary Union in his Foreword to the IPU study, said "There is a fundamental link between democracy and genuine partnership, between men and women in the management of public affairs and that the equal participation of women in parliamentary processes not only benefits society, but is required in legitimate democracies".

Although these efforts were become fruitful in some areas, women are not still having an enough space in the political involvements. This is true in many countries of Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa as UN Human Rights Committee (UN, 2003) has found that "the right to participate in the conduct of political affairs is not fully implemented everywhere on an equal basis.

2.3 Situation of Women Political Representation around the Globe

Despite women comprising half of the world's population, they continue to be drastically underrepresented in political leadership positions around the world. According to the World Economic Forum's 2015 Global Gender Gap Index, although the world's population has nearly closed the gender gap in health outcomes and educational attainment between women and men, only 21 percent of the political empowerment gap has been closed (World Economic Forum, 2015). While progress is being achieved, the gains have been slow. In 1955, women made up just three percent of members of parliament worldwide; this number increased to 11.6 percent in 1995. The last twenty years have seen particular progress; with women's representation nearly doubling from that in 1995 to nearly 21.8 percent in 2016. The trajectory is similar for women ministers in the executive branch. In 1999, women occupied less than nine percent of all ministerial positions in the executive branch; today, women represent 17.2 percent of worldwide ministerial positions (Inter- parliamentary union, 2016).

However, despite these gains, women's access to public office remains unbalanced with male counterparts, and biases and stigmas against women in politics remain. For example, some have posited that bills sponsored by women are more likely to be scrutinized with hostility and subject to debate than those introduced by men; men dominate policy areas considered more prestigious while women may take leadership on what are considered "social" issues; and women in the legislature find it more difficult to voice their opinions. (O'Brien & Rickne, 2016).

Democracy implies equality for all human persons, men and women. As against this basic notion of democracy what is normally seen is that women are excluded from different walks of life, more visibly in Politics. The U.N. observes that women constitute "world's largest excluded category". For the attainment of true democratic spirit shall be ensured better political participation. (Jain, 2018).

If there is one common factor in the above reasons advanced for women's lack of presence in politics, and the strategies developed in response, it is that they all arise from the perspective that women themselves are lacking in some way. They are not educated enough! They are not confident enough! They are not experienced enough! This is blaming the victim. (Longwe, 2000).

2.4 International Women' Political Rights

The importance of the right to participate for the individual to involve in the political affairs and decision making process of their society is recognized and protected in article 25 of the international convention on civil and political rights (UN, 1966). In exercising the right to participation the men and women shall have an equal opportunity in involvement in the political system in many forms from voting in elections, holding a position as a legislator, ministry or to be a head of the state.

To put in other words the women and men in exercising their rights to participation is entitled to exert influence in the decision making process through public debate, and dialogue with the representatives they elected or through their capacity to organize themselves; or exercise public power by holding public office at different levels of administrations- local, regional national and international. The realization of the effective participation in both women and men in the political and decision making process in an equal manner is the obligation of the state.

Most notable one was the universal declaration of human rights (UN, 1948) which in its Article 21 recognized the right of every one, including both women and men, to take part in the government of their country, directly or through freely chosen representative. To enforce these important rights the UN adapted the convention on civil and political rights, which is legally obliged the state parties to ensure the effectiveness of women's political participation and public affairs without discrimination on the ground of, among others, sex. The UN (1979) also adopted a special convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination of women (CEDAW), which elaborates the nature of women's political rights and the steps required to promote greater equality between women and men in this area.

2.5 Situation in South Asia

South Asia is a home of variety of cultures, languages and religions. Here we can find a number of variations in customs, value systems and ways of life. But one thing is common among all the cultures and regions of South Asia that is gender discrimination. Women traditionally are considered subordinated to the male and this remained a prominent feature both in the rural and the urban areas. In urban areas a little improvement is due to enhanced level of

education and economic independence in women. There is very less distinction of educated and uneducated as that of religion in this regard.

The situation is improved with regard to political empowerment especially with the allocation of 33% seats in local government in South Asia but in most of the cases this change is not satisfactory. The real empowerment would be achieved only if it would be accompanied by the social and economic empowerment. For that purpose, society has to be changed at large. Such change cannot be materialized only through any coercive legislation or strong state action in the blink of an eye. But the fact remains there that in societies where all the changes start from top to bottom these measures along with a strong political will can stimulate a change to improve the situation gradually.

Women's political empowerment is not a goal in itself but it is instrumental in stimulating the society for political and social empowerment which would further stimulate the overall development and refinement in the society. The presence and participation of women in decision making process would enable them to revise the gender discriminatory policies and laws on one hand and would support equality based new laws and policies on the other. As far as the legal position is concerned, the constitutions of almost all the South Asian countries accept equal rights for all citizens and reject any discrimination on the basis of gender alone. But still discrimination in law making and policy making is continued. It has been a complex debate in political science that no one represents the other except the interests. Different classes and the minorities should be represented through their own representatives. So it is truly believed that only women can represent their interests and their presence is inevitable in decision making bodies. (Fleschenberg, 2008).

2.6 Women Political Participation in Pakistan

The great personality of history and Founder of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah at Muslim League meeting at Muslim University of Aligarh on March 10, 1944 said:

> "I have always maintained that no nation can ever be worthy of its
> existence that cannot take its women along with men. No struggle
> can ever succeed without women participating side by side with
> men. There are two powers in the world. One is the sword and the
> other the pen. However there is a third power stronger than both,
> that of the women." (Butt, 2011).

The above inspirational statement by the founder of our country is enlightening enough to establish the endeavor for Pakistani women, to take part in every field of life. Thus, as Qadri and Umar (2015) stated that in 2000, the quota for women's political participation was raised to 33% at the local government level. This quota was effective at three levels of the local government, namely the union council, the tehsil, and the district level. Similarly, before the 2002 election, the number of women was increased to 17% in both the national and provincial assemblies.

A significant increase in the quota also increased women's overall participation in the political system for the election of 2002. As a result, the largest ever number of women contested and won general seats. In the election of 2002, 188 women in total contested general seats, and of these 188, 101 were nominated by political parties, and 39 among them won their respective seats. To compare this to the 1997 election, this ratio was almost one-third: only 56 women contested the election at that time, among them 39 were nominated by political parties, and only 7 managed to win.

However, when we look at the elections of 2008 and 2013 we can observe some fluctuating trends. In the 2013 election, women acquired 70 out of 342 seats in the lower house of the national legislature, almost 20.5% of the total number of seats. In the upper house, women were elected to 17 out of 100 seats, 17% of the total number of seats.

According to Shami (2008), the quota system would be the most effective way of enhancing the political empowerment of women, as envisaged by President Musharraf in his inaugural address to the National Conference on Women's Political Participation in January 2003, where he had stated that, "The women members of the Assemblies must rise beyond party affiliations… influence decision-making… (and) become effective in legislation to ensure that no law detrimental to their rights and interests is passed."

Women legislature representation after 2013 election has been elaborated through the following table in Awan's study.

Table 1: Women Legislature representation after 2013 Election

Table 1	Women legislature representation after 2013 election[24]							
Legislature (Assemblies and senate)	Women elected on reserved seats		Women elected on general seats		Women on minorities seat		Women representation out of total	Percentage of women's representation
	No. of total	% of total	No. of total	% of total	No. of total	% of total	total	
National	60/342	17.5	9/272	3.3	1/10	10	70/342	20.5
Senate	17/100	17					17/100	17
Punjab	66/371	17.8	9/295	3.0	1/8	12.5	76/371	20.5
Sindh	29/168	17.3	2/130	1.5	0/9	0	31/168	18.5
KPK[25]	22/124	17.7	0/90	0	0/3	0	22/124	17.7
Baluchistan	11/65	16.9	1/51	2.0	0/3	0	12/65	18.5
OVERALL	205/1170	17.5	21/847	2.5	2/33	6.0	228/1170	19.5

Source: (Awan, 2016).

We see that a slightly higher proportion of women participated in 2013 when this situation is compared to the 2008 election,. According to Iwanaga (2008) in the 2008 election, 34 women were nominated by political parties to stand for election. In the 2013 election, 36 women acquired nominations by political parties.

Similarly, 108 women were contesting the 272 National Assembly seats in 2013. This number is again higher than in the 2008 election, subsequently increasing, when 76 women in total ran for office. Since the 2013 election, some of the political parties, like the Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) and Mutahida Qaumi Movement, increased women's participation on the party ticket compared to the 2008 election. So, the quota for women's political participation has played a vital role in bringing women into decision making positions at the local, provincial, and national levels.

Naz et al. (2012) found in the study that cultural norms of Pakistani society promote the seclusion of women, often justified through the use of religion. As like, the Council of Islamic Ideology has been liable for some of the most regressive opinion regarding women's legal and social status create huge problems in general and political participation in particular. For example, religiously formulated positions that argue for gender segregation and female seclusion (*purdha)* limits women's access to resources in general; restrict from the simple act of casting vote and their candidature.

Democracy Reporting International, (DRI, 2016) found that women were underrepresented as voters, candidates and election administrators, demonstrating continued compliance gaps with regards to Pakistan's political equality commitments under CEDAW. While the overall number of women registrants increased, the gap between male and female voters in the electoral rolls became more pronounced since the general elections in 2013. Media

outlets and observers reported that some union council in at least six districts saw zero percent women's turnout as a result of 7 local leaders purportedly agreeing to suppress women's enfranchisement. The local elections represented a significant opportunity for women to engage in the political process at the grassroots level. The almost 50,000 directly elected seats depend on smaller-scale campaigns that are less resource-intensive than provincial or national positions. However, less than 300 women contested general seats and few expected winning women candidates. Coupled with the reserved seats for women, this will result in Punjab falling far short of meeting the United Nations" target of 30 percent representation by women.

Many political and civic leaders criticised the late change in the legal framework removing direct election to reserved seats for women, as it inhibits women from building political capacity and grassroots support. DRI (2016) stated that, this, in turn, limits their ability to seek higher office and weakens the mandate of reserved seat holders because they are more reliant on the political party that appointed them than voters. Women were poorly represented in senior election administration positions, with no female Delimitation Officers and DROs, only 25 female Assistant Delimitation Officers (of 225 total) and 20 female ROs (of 770 total) and few female ECP permanent staff members. The ECP has positively committed to addressing this issue in its strategic plan and in its comments to DRI.

The latest situation of women representation in numbers and percentage of Punjab Assembly is given below which clarifies the absence of critical mass from all the hierarchical positions of the Punjab Assembly 2013- 2018.

Table 2: Women Representation in Punjab Assembly

Category	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Members in the Punjab Assembly	75	20.38	296	79.62
Members in General Seats	8	2.72	289	97.28
Members in Reserved seats for Minorities	1	12.5	7	87.5

Ministers in the Punjab Assembly	4	11.76	30	88.24
Parliamentary Secretaries in the Punjab Assembly	5	11.63	38	88.37

Developed by Author; Source: (Provincial assembly Punjab, 2017).

Moreover, the female candidates contested for the general seats in Provincial Assembly in General Election of 2013 (Election Commission of Pakistan, 2013) were 2.73 % only.

Table 3: Female Candidates contested for the general seats in Provincial Assembly in General Election of 2013

Year: 2013	Male	Female
MIANWALI	33	2
HAFIZABAD	40	2
LAHORE	656	31
TOBA TEK SINGH	129	6
VEHARI	143	6
CHINIOT	51	2
FAISALABAD	498	19
OKARA	158	6
BHAKKAR	55	2
JHELUM	55	2
NAROWAL	61	2
NANKANA SAHIB	135	4
RAJANPUR	68	2
SHEIKHUPURA	138	4
GUJRANWALA	314	9
MULTAN	250	7
PAKPATTAN	73	2
BAHAWALNAGAR	184	5
BAHAWALPUR	154	4
RAWALPINDI	219	5
CHAKWAL	44	1
SIALKOT	177	4
LODHRAN	91	2
KASUR	188	4
MUZAFFARGARH	169	3
GUJRAT	173	3
LAYYAH	67	1

RAHIM YAR KHAN	217	3
JHANG	148	2
MANDI BAHAUDDIN	74	1
SARGODHA	174	2
SAHIWAL	89	1
DERA GHAZI KHAN	118	1
ATTOCK	60	0
KHANEWAL	116	0
KHUSHAB	42	0
Total	5361 (97.27%)	150 (2.73%)

So it is evident from above mentioned description of the data that although women are taking part in politics yet they are far behind their male counterparts to achieve parity in politics.

In the speech of 10th March 1944at Aligarh, Quaid-e-Azam said, as Butt (2011) quoted:

"No nation can rise to the height of glory unless your women are

side by side with you. I do not mean that we should imitate the evil

of the western life. But let us try to raise the status of our women

according to our own Islamic ideas and standards"

The country's father was with the views mentioned above, but the practice after Quaid unveiled some different story. Women are historically excluded from political structures and processes in Pakistan. This exclusion, as Bari (2005) stated, is the result of multiple structural, functional and personal factors that vary in different social contexts. The ideological and political factors compounded with women's familial responsibilities leave no time and space for women to aspire for political roles. Women often lack confidence, knowledge, ambition and political skills to enter into politics. These are some of the key socio-cultural, economic, political and psychological obstacles that contribute to a wide gender gap in the formal arena of politics in Pakistan.

2.7 Introduction of the Case (Punjab Assembly)

Punjab is the most populated Province of Pakistan according to the latest census report (Pakistan Bureau of statistics, 2017). The Provincial Assembly of the Punjab is a unicameral legislature of elected representatives of the province of Punjab, which is located in Lahore, Pakistan. The Assembly was established under Article 106 of the Constitution of Pakistan (Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973) as having a total of 371 seats, with 66 seats reserved for women and eight reserved for non-Muslims.

According to clause 2-A of Article 130 (Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973), the Governor of a Province invites the member of the Provincial Assembly to be the Chief Minister who commands the confidence of the majority of the members of the Provincial Assembly as ascertained in the session of the Assembly summoned for the purpose in accordance with the provisions of the constitution. Subject to the Constitution, the executive authority of the Province shall be exercised in the name of the Governor by the Provincial Government, consisting of the Chief Minister and Provincial Ministers, which shall act through the Chief Minister.

2.8 Parliament and Parliamentarians

Women political participation can contribute to democratic legitimacy, good governance and sustainable development. It can generate positive multiplier effects and can change status quo via transformative leadership. A parliamentarian as a member of Provincial Assembly of Pakistan is an important link between the citizens of Pakistan and the State.

According to Provincial Assembly of the Punjab (2016) Member Provincial Assembly (MPA) referred to the Member of Provincial assembly of any of the province of Pakistan. MPAs are elected directly by the voter of their representative constituencies, and they are indirectly

nominated for women and minorities reserved seats. According to Article 107 of the constitution (Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973), the tenure of the Member of Provincial Assembly is five years.

According to the Constitution of Pakistan, certain qualifications are required to be a member of Provincial Assembly. Article 62 and 63 of the Constitution (Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973) stipulates, a person must fulfil following conditions to be a member of national as well as provincial assembly;

- He (or She) is a citizen of Pakistan;

- He (or She) is not less than twenty-five years of age;

- He(or She) is enrolled as a voter in any electoral role of Pakistan;

- He (or She) is of good character and is not commonly known as one who violates Islamic injunctions;

- He(or She) has adequate knowledge of Islamic teachings and practices obligatory duties prescribed by Islam as well as abstain from major sins;

- He (or She) is sagacious, righteous, non-profligate, honest and *amen*;

- He (or She) has not, after the establishment of Pakistan, worked against the integrity of the country or opposed the ideology of Pakistan.

Constitution (Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973) also provides detailed attributes, which disqualify a person to be an MPA; these are as follows:

- He(or She) is of unsound mind and has been so declared by the competent court;

- He(or She) is un-discharged insolvent;

- He(or She) ceases to be a citizen of Pakistan, or acquires a citizenship of foreign state;

- He(or She) holds an office for profit in the services of Pakistan other than an office that is declared by law not to disqualify its holder;

- He (or She) is in the service of any statutory body or anybody which is owned and controlled by the Government or in which Government has a controlling share and interest.

Note: written material "(or She)" is added by the Author herself.

2.9 Responsibilities of Members Provincial Assembly

Article 123, 130, 141 and 142, 143 of the Constitution of Pakistan (Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973) establishes the role and responsibilities of the Member of the Provincial assembly. The primary responsibility of the MPA is to participate in legislative process with respect to provincial departments such as education, health, agriculture, revenue, irrigation, social welfare and others. Nevertheless, the Provincial Assembly cannot make any law in conditions of an emergency declared in the country, or the proposed law is against fundamental rights or if it is not in conformity with the injunctions of Islam.

The second significant function of MPAs is to manage the financial matters of the province through Provincial Consolidated Fund. Provincial Assembly keeps checks over executive branch through control over the financial matters. Constitution of the Pakistan provides for the custody and withdrawal of money from public account of province through the act of Provincial Assembly. The other prime responsibility of MPAs is to keep oversight upon policies, practices and performance of the provincial government and provincial departments.

According to the constitution (Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973), provincial cabinet shall be collectively responsible to the Provincial Assembly. They being

public representatives, MPAs are responsible to raise issues of public interest for discussion in the assembly.

2.10 Challenges and Issues to Women Parliamentarians in Pakistan

The public-private dichotomy defines politics as a male prerogative. The problem is so innate in nature that it considers male dominated field as quite 'natural'; as National Commission on the Status of Women in its report (NCSW, 2010) describe that, despite the constitutional right, women themselves do not consider politics as their appropriate sphere due to internalization of patriarchal ideologies. Politics is generally perceived by women as 'dirty'. Moreover, because of social perception of women's primary roles as mothers and wives in the reproductive domain, the family and state capitalize fewer resources in increasing women's human capital as compared to men (Awan, 2016). Women are not given equal access to opportunities and resources which result in their dependent social and economic status vis-à-vis men. Moreover, subordinate position of women in the family and society as a result of the public-private divide is the key ideological barrier to women's political participation. (Bano, 2009).

Latif et al. (2015) discussed the issues of less educational qualifications and less independent financial means or social capital faced by women while plan to enter into politics. Another key barrier to women's political participation is the male domination and masculine nature of politics. Above all, Political parties are the doorkeepers to politics. The male leadership of political parties does not treat women workers as their equals. The culture of political parties is highly undemocratic and authoritarian. Most of the parties are run by political dynasties. Women were not only fighting for their political rights of casting vote and running for election but also with the established beliefs that politics was a male's domain. (Chafetz & Dworkin,

1986). So, participation is still not a prime concerned challenge but to eradicate the undemocratic beliefs-politics is not for females- attached with the democratic politics is of prime concern.

Moreover, Rai (2002) stated that women are not given opportunities to work at the decision- making positions within the party structures. At the time of election, they are not granted party tickets to contest elections. There are less or no opportunities within political parties for women to learn political expertise. Women are not given any financial support by the political parties to run their election campaigns. Women's priorities and concerns are often not reflected in party manifestos. The attitudes of political leadership and the culture of political parties simply mirror the private patriarchy at home. Moreover, the increasing commercialization and criminalization of Pakistani politics is another structural barrier to women's political participation through decision making in government.

According to Adamu 2009 quoted by Ahmed (2013), the gender role ideology is used as an ideological tool by patriarchy to place women within the private arena of home as mothers and wives and men in the public sphere .This is one of the vital factors that shape the level of women's political participation. According to gender-related socio-political indicators, quoted by Fleschenberg (2008) such as the Gender-related Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), Pakistan is considered patriarchal and paternalistic in terms of both their gender ideology and political record.

All these researches mentioned above discussed somehow or the other the issues and/ or the challenges of the women parliamentarian with a partial perspective and did not highlight the issues as internal and challenges as external problem. Thus, the overall responsibility of women parliamentarian's low performance in parliamentary business comes on the women themselves.

They are considered even themselves ineffective not to be vigilant in performing parliamentary tasks. This controlled representation results in mere face saving of country's international commitments to empower women politically and promote gender equality in all spheres, including political arena. The current study would explore the major challenges and issues to women parliamentarians of the Punjab Assembly in terms of effective service delivery after assessing their critical mass existence in all parliamentary functionaries. Therefore, the current study analyses the factors that challenge the women elected parliamentarians in effective parliamentary services.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH PARADIGM, PHILOSOPHICAL ASSUMPTIONS AND THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the research paradigm, philosophical assumptions and some theoretical concepts and prior researches referenced and used in this study to translate it into a useful research. All this effort helps to design procedures and methods employed to explore the localized factors challenging women parliamentarians to deliver effective Parliamentary services in our indigenous culture.

3.2 Research paradigm

In any kind of work or study, we always bring a certain set of beliefs as well as philosophical assumptions. Qualitative researchers understand the importance of beliefs. John Creswell (2013) in his book "Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design" describes these assumptions and frames them into interpretive frameworks so we can understand their significance to our own research. For my thesis, I am exploring the issues and challenges to elected women parliamentarians in delivering effective parliamentary services with qualitative research design. When researchers undertake a qualitative study, they are in effect agreeing to its underlying philosophical assumptions, while bringing to the study their own world views that end up shaping the direction of their research. The philosophy applied by researchers greatly influences which subjects they will study and how the research is conducted.

Researchers' views on these matters are partly influenced by their personal beliefs. Other factors of influence are their scientific schooling and the prevailing set of concepts and thought patterns which are collectively known as the 'paradigm'. The term paradigm refers to a

theoretical tradition or accepted method in a certain discipline, which guides a coherent research agenda and is coupled to a certain scientific approach. A paradigm is shared and supported by a large number of researchers also called 'school of thought'.

3.2.1 Interpretative Approach

Interpretative approach can be considered a basic set of beliefs that guide action. Researchers who take an interpretative approach to science assume that there is not just one empirical world, but everyone (individuals or groups of people) has their own perspective or personal view of reality. (Creswell, 2013).

In the interpretative approach, when two people are subjected to one and the same event, the way they experience things can differ significantly. Reports on the event in question will often diverge on several points: think, for example, of the discrepancies between eyewitness accounts in police investigations.

This basic assumption of reality being subjective has far-reaching implications for the way in which research is conducted. With respect to the phenomena under study, interpretative researchers try and reach a certain level of understanding. They begin by studying people's perceptions: how certain events are experienced, and what kind of meaning or interpretation is assigned to these events. In order to arrive at a clear understanding of people's perceptions, a holistic approach is followed, which means that events are studied in their totality. As a rule, a study concentrates on only one event or situation; however, all the different elements of the event or situation are taken into consideration. Whether or not these findings can be generalized depends on the number of units of study. Usually the research involves only a few units of study.

A final point to be mentioned, that I am using interpretative research to read people's actions and interactions in their own unique context. Different labels are used to refer to this

context. Terms frequently applied are: social network, configuration, system, or institutional context. These labels correspond with the different schools of thought in interpretative research, such as social constructivism and institutionalism. Usually the context is examined by means of qualitative methods.

3.2.2 Social Constructivist Framework

Social constructivism is an interpretative framework whereby individuals seek to understand their world and develop their own particular meanings that correspond to their experience (Creswell, 2013). These meanings are not innate within each individual. Rather, meanings are formed through interaction with others (Creswell, 2013). Also referred to as interpretativism, social constructivism has been associated with the post-modern era in qualitative research. Social constructivists view knowledge and truth as created by the interactions of individuals within a society. Some researchers suggest that language predates concepts and allows an individual to structure the way their world is experienced (Andrews, 2012).

I applied the interpretative framework of social constructivism by asking research participants open-ended questions (suggested by Creswell, p.25). This approach allowed the research participants to fully and freely describe their own experiences. As the researcher, my role was to listen carefully to their views and interpret the findings based on their experiences. The interpretation of their experiences revealed a significant amount of information regarding the phenomenon under study and also offered new insight to the overall study. Applying the social constructionism framework was the most useful approach in gaining access to the views and nuances that influenced the individual worlds of my research participants.

3.3 Philosophical Assumptions of the Study

Creswell describes the following four philosophical assumptions. The philosophical assumptions (ontology, epistemology, axiology, and methodology) are embedded within interpretative framework that I use.

3.3.1 Ontological position

Ontology is a branch of metaphysics which concerns itself with the nature or 'being' of what is studied; it poses the question if reality truly does exist. This harps back to the old problem of whether certain phenomena can be said to be real or tangible, or whether they only exist as ideas in our heads. I hereby embrace the idea of multiple realities and report on these multiple realities by exploring multiple forms of evidence from different individuals' perspectives and experiences.

3.3.2 Epistemological position

Epistemology is the branch of knowledge that studies the nature of knowledge. It concerns itself with the question whether we can actually know reality and, in particular, whether there is just one reality that is the same to each and every living person. If the latter were true, we should be able to study phenomena in an objective manner, and research findings would be understood by everyone in the exact same way. Here I try to get as close as possible to participants being studied. Subjective evidence is assembled based on individual views from research conducted in natural field.

3.3.3 Axiological position

Researchers make their values known in the study and actively report their values and biases as well as the value-laden nature of information gathered from the field. Moreover, in the social sciences, people occupy a central position, as units of observation, as the cause of a certain phenomenon, and as the ones undergoing the consequences of a certain phenomenon. With respect to research, the most important aspect of the model of man applied is whether human beings are thought to have free will – which can make their decisions difficult or even impossible to foresee – or whether their actions are entirely predictable, because they follow from certain deterministic principles. The underlying concept of human behaviour and its causes is usually reflected in the philosophical assumptions made. In this research, I believe that all human beings are thought to have free will so their thoughts and decisions are impossible to foresee.

3.3.4 Methodological position

In social sciences we try to formulate the laws that describe man and human behaviour. A human being is a conscious entity with a mind that can learn things. Because of this, certain scientists consider the approach generally followed in the natural sciences unsuitable for doing research in the humanities. So my methodology for doing this research is inductive, emerging, and shaped by the experiences in collecting and analyzing the data. Clear links are established between research objectives and summary findings derived from raw data. A framework of the underlying structure of experiences or processes that are evident from the raw data is developed.

In adopting this approach the research questions might change in the middle of the study so that the research problem is better understood. Due to this, the strategy to collect data, which

is usually developed before the study begins, has to be modifies to accommodate new questions. The researcher analyzes the data to develop an in-depth knowledge about the topic under consideration.

3.4 Major Theoretical Concepts

3.4.1 Standpoint Theory

Dorothy Smith is well known as one of the originators of standpoint theory. Smith uses the notion of standpoint to emphasize that what one knows is affected by where one stands (one's subject position) in society. We begin from the world as we actually experience it, and what we know of the world and of the "other" is conditional on that location (Smith, 2005). Yet, Smith's argument is not that we cannot look at the world in any way other than from our given standpoint. Rather, her point is that (1) no one can have complete, objective knowledge; (2) no two people have exactly the same standpoint; and (3) we must not take the standpoint from which we speak for granted. Instead, we must recognize it, be reflexive about it, and problematize it. Our situated, everyday experience should serve as a "point of entry" of investigation (Smith, 2005).

Smith emphasizes that the standpoint of men is consistently privileged and that of women, devalued. This idea that not all standpoints are equally valued and accessed in society clearly reflects Smith's Marxist roots. She explains how "objective social, economic and political relations shape and determine women's oppression". It is a method of inquiry that works from the actualities of people's everyday lives and experience to discover the social as it extends beyond experience. A standpoint in people's everyday lives is integral to that method. It is integral to a sociology creating a subject position within its discourse, which anyone can occupy.

3.4.2 The Ruling Relations

The Ruling Relations conform to and is integrated with that ordinary yet complex kind of relations that connect us across space and time and organize our everyday lives—the corporations, government bureaucracies, academic and professional discourses, mass media, and the complex of relations that interconnect them. (Smith, 2005). At the inception of this early stage of late-twentieth-century women's movement, women were excluded from appearing as agents with the ruling relations. However we (women) might have been at work in them, we were subordinates. We were women whose work as mothers reproduced the same gendered organization that subordinated us; we were the support staff, store clerks, nurses, and social workers doing casework and not administration, and so on.

3.4.3 Critical mass theory

Critical mass theory by Child (2008) has set as a background of this research that is defined as the critical number of personnel needed to affect policy and make a change not as the token but as an influential body in political actions. This number has been placed at 30%, before women are able to make a substantial difference in politics. However, other research suggests lower numbers of women working together in legislature can also affect political change. For the purpose of the analysis of this study, 30% women at each parliamentary functionary can be considered the critical mass.

When the concept pertains to Parliament, focuses its attention on individuals that represent power and authority (theoretically women parliamentarians). By using symbolic interactionist perspective the study perceives that in reality, much of politics consists of face-to-face backroom meetings and lobbyist efforts. Where women may not be considered to be present and in case they are present, may not be allowed to take dynamic amount of the course of action

or may be set aside agendas presented by the women. Nevertheless the face which public often sees is the front porch of politics, that may be sanitized by giving due share to women parliamentarians in each course of parliamentary service.

3.5 Effective Parliamentary Services

The parliamentary performance of women parliamentarians through the roles and responsibilities designated to them as Parliamentarians is the locus of the study.   Article   123, 130, 141 and 142, 143 of the Constitution of Pakistan (Constitution of Pakistan, 1973) establishes the role and responsibilities of the Member of the Provincial assembly. The primary responsibility of the MPA is to participate in legislative process with respect to provincial departments such as education, health, agriculture, revenue, irrigation, social welfare and others. Nevertheless, the Provincial Assembly cannot make any law in conditions of an emergency declared in the country, or the proposed law is against fundamental rights or if it is not in conformity with the injunctions of Islam.

The second significant function of MPAs is to manage the financial matters of the province through Provincial Consolidated Fund. Provincial Assembly keeps checks over executive branch through control over the financial matters. Constitution of the Pakistan provides for the custody and withdrawal of money from public account of province through the act of Provincial Assembly. The other prime responsibility of MPAs is to keep oversight upon policies, practices and performance of the provincial government and provincial departments.

Moreover, MPAs are responsible to raise issues of public interest for discussion in the assembly in the form of questions, adjournment motions, call attention notices, general discussion, putting resolutions and scrutinizing various Reports.

The understanding towards parliamentary services can be better developed by enlisting the key tasks and its measuring activities, performed or assumed to be performed by elected women parliamentarians' i.e.

Table 4:Activities performed by Women Parliamentarians

To participate in legislative process	• Attendance in Assembly sittings • Bill Development • Questions
To manage the financial matters	• Motion(no confidence; reduction) • Demands for Grants
To keep oversight upon policies	• Participation in standing committees • Scrutinizing reports • Adjournment motion
To raise issues of public interest	• Call attention notice • Resolutions • General Discussion • Point of order (Agenda)

Developed by: Author, Source: (Provincial Assembly Punjab, 2016)

Here is given some explanation of all these parliamentary functions according to the rules of Procedure of Punjab Assembly (Provincial Assembly Punjab, 2016).

3.5.1 Attendance in Assembly sittings. "Sitting" means a meeting of the Assembly or that of a Committee on a day. So attendance in each meeting is a key variable to check the parliamentary performance of elected women parliamentarians.

3.5.2 Bill Development. "Bill" means a motion for making a law. A proposal to make or amend a law is brought before the Assembly in the form of a Bill i.e. the proposed draft law. A notice of a Bill must contain a statement of objects and reasons; however, no such statement is required in the case of an Ordinance laid in the Assembly. A Bill with respect to any matter within the Provincial legislative field may, subject to the rules, be introduced in the Assembly. "Private Member" means a member who is not a Minister or a Parliamentary Secretary;

3.5.3 Questions. Questions are presented on the floor of the house during the session. "Starred question" means a question for an oral answer and "Unstarred question" means a question for a written answer.

3.5.4 Motion. "Motion" means a proposal made by a member relating to any matter which may be discussed by the Assembly; Motion can be of no confidence and of reduction to discuss the important financial particularly budgetary issues. Adjournment motion can also be placed by members Punjab Assembly.

3.5.5 Demand for Grants. A separate demand shall be made in respect of the grant proposed for each Department: Provided that the Government may cause to be included in one demand, grants proposed for two or more Departments or a demand to be made in respect of expenditure which cannot readily be classified under a particular Department. Each demand shall contain a statement of the total grant proposed and a statement of the detailed estimate under each grant divided into items.

3.5.6 Participation in standing committees. Standing Committees are elected by the Assembly after a general election. Each Standing Committee shall consist of ten members to be elected by the Assembly. The Minister and the Parliamentary Secretary concerned shall be *ex-officio* members of the Committee. The member-in-charge of the Bill, and in the case of any other matter referred by the Assembly to the Standing Committee, the member who has proposed the subject or matter for reference to, or study by, the Committee, may attend the meetings of the Committee but shall not vote unless he is an elected member of the Committee.

3.5.7 Scrutinizing reports. The parliamentarians are bound by law to scrutinize different reports laid in the house i.e. Financial report by Minister for Finance, Report of Auditor-General,

Report on observance of principles of policy, Report of the Council of Islamic Ideology and any other report required to be laid.

3.5.7.1 Discussion of Reports. After a report referred to in rules 130, 131 or 132 is laid in the House, the Speaker shall fix a day for its discussion. On the day fixed, the Minister concerned may move that the report be discussed by the Assembly and may make a brief statement explain the salient features of the report. The Assembly may, by a resolution, express its opinion or make any observation or recommendation on the report. Once a report has been discussed in the Assembly, no other motion shall lie for its discussion.

3.5.8 Resolutions. Resolution means a motion for the purpose of discussing and expressing opinion on a matter of general public interest.

3.5.9 Call Attention Notices. Call Attention Notice means a notice by which a special question of public importance involving law and order may be raised. The Call Attention Notice shall be in the form of a question addressed to the Chief Minister and shall be given in writing to the Secretary not less than forty-eight hours before the commencement of the sitting on the day on which it is proposed to be fixed.

3.5.10 Points of Order. A point of order shall relate to the interpretation or enforcement of these rules or such Articles of the Constitution as regulate the business of the Assembly and shall raise a question which is within the cognizance of the Speaker. A point of order may be raised in relation to the business before the Assembly at the moment: Provided that the Speaker may permit a member to raise a point of order during the interval between the termination of one item of business and the commencement of another if it relates to maintenance of order in, or arrangement of business before, the Assembly.

3.5.11 General Discussion. A Minister or a member may give notice of a motion that any policy or situation may be discussed by the Assembly. The Assembly shall proceed to discuss the motion after the mover has concluded his speech and no question shall be put at the conclusion of the debate unless a Minister or a member, with the consent of the Speaker, moves a substantive motion in appropriate terms in which case a question shall be put: Provided that substantive motion shall be moved immediately after the original motion has been put to the House by the Speaker.

3.6 Issues and Challenges to Parliamentary Service Delivery

Now the question arises what are the issues and challenges elected women parliamentarians faced while performing these tasks. In order to identify these issues and challenges, first need to clarify the difference between these two terms i.e. issues and challenges. Challenge means difficulty in a job and something that needs great mental or physical effort in order to be done successfully and therefore tests a person's ability. For this particular study, challenges consider as all those problems which come from external environment thus affect the service delivery of elected women parliamentarians. Moreover issue means to have difficulty with or disagreement with something while performing any business. For this particular study, issues consider as all those problems which come from internal (of the subjects either ideological or capacity oriented) or attached with the subject themselves thus affect the service delivery of women elected parliamentarians.

As both the concepts are the clusters of different issues and challenges so, rather copying all the studies again and again in the theoretical framework, researcher has designed a brief chart of issues and challenges against its reference of the study.

Table 5: Summary table of Issues and Challenges

Sr.No.	Issues and Challenges	Studies in which discussed or conceptualized
1	Education of Parliamentarians	Bari (2005);Khan et al (2014); Awan (2016)
2	Political Skills	Rai (2002); Bari (2005)
3	Political Experience	A.Q. Mushtaq (2013); DRI (2016)
4	Dual Role Expectations	Bari (2005); Ahmad (2013)
5	Internalization of public-private Dichotomy	Bari (2005); NCSW (2010)
6	Self- interest, Reliance, Confidence	Bari (2005); Naz et al (2012); Ahmad (2013)
7	Masculine/Patriarchal nature of Politics	Rai (2002); Bari (2005); Fleschenberg. A (2008); Bano (2009);Ahmad (2013)
8	Negative Social Perception	Bari (2005); Fleschenberg. A (2008); NCSW (2010); Naz et al (2012); DRI (2016)
9	Gender Biasness in political functions	Rai(2002); Bano (2009); DRI (2016)
10	Party Dependency	Rai(2002); Khan et al (2014); DRI (2016); Awan (2016)
11	Structural Barriers	Rai (2002); Khan et al (2014)

Source: Author

For the purpose of constructing this table, rigorous effort has been furnished and consequently 10 studies were selected on the basis of their high relevance to the required data. The timeframe of 2008-2018 was initially selected to select the sample but two studies- one is of 2002 and the other is of 2005- was included due to their grave importance and relevance. Furthermore, all the studies are highlighting the issues and challenges of Pakistani women politicians in some way or the other. No such study is selected which is highlighting only a single issue/ challenge. Moreover, no study conducted outside the geographical location of Pakistan is the part of the table. Most importantly, this table helped a lot in constructing the interview guides for data collection.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the methodology used to conduct this research. All this effort helped to design procedures and methods employed to explore the localized factors challenging women parliamentarians to deliver effective Parliamentary services in our indigenous culture. The research conducted by following the ontological stance of interpretive school of thought and epistemological stance of social constructionist (Thiel, 2007).

4.2 Research Methodology

Qualitative methodology was used for the purpose of this research. Thematic research technique was utilized to deal with the data collected through IDI (In- Depth Interview). The researcher prepared an interview guide, but also allowed the conversation to flow naturally, meaning that questions did not necessarily have to be asked in order. Additionally, there was an opportunity for the researcher to go "off-script" and ask additional questions to the participants to gain greater detail in response.

4.2.1 Population of the Study

All member of provincial assembly and official of Punjab Assembly were considered as the potential target population of the study. Moreover, the representatives of different NGOs (who attended the sessions of Punjab assembly) were also considered as the potential sample for this study. However, women parliamentarians were considered as the major sample of the study who was seventy five in total according to the official provincial assembly Punjab website (provincial assembly Punjab, 2016), out of which sixty six were elected on reserved seats for women, eight were elected on general seats and one elected on minority seat.

4.2.2 Sample Size and Sampling Criteria of the Study

The sample comprised of four major categories of respondents i.e.

1. Women parliamentarians

2. Male parliamentarians

3. Officials of Punjab Assembly

4. Reporters of NGOs designated for attending the assembly sessions

Within probability I opt for non-probability Purposive sampling technique. It was used to acquire the desired sample for this study. As the target population of each category except 4th one, was large enough for a qualitative study. The fourth category would only have two officials and both have become the part of the study sample. The inclusion criteria would be set for above 3 categories for choosing the sample size of the study.

For category 1:

- The women parliamentarians who have at least 50% attendance in assembly sessions in 5 year tenure. (The rationale behind attendance criteria was that the priority was given to those who at least did some assembly business during assembly sessions and could better respond to the questions.)

- At least **Two** women parliamentarian of each government and opposition alliance. (The criteria was set for not to get the biased results of the study on either side.)

For category 2:

- The male parliamentarians who have at least 50% attendance in assembly sessions in 5 year tenure. (The rationale behind attendance criteria was that the priority was given to those who at least did some assembly business during assembly sessions and could better respond to the questions.)

- At least **one** male parliamentarian of each government and opposition alliance. (The criteria was set for not to get the biased results of the study on either side.)

For category 3:

- The officials who designated by the speaker to attend the assembly sessions and attended at least 50% assembly sessions in 5 year tenure.

- The officials who have the direct interaction with the women parliamentarians.

So the sample comprised of total 21 interviewees including 11 women parliamentarians, 4 male parliamentarians, 4 assembly officials and 2 representatives of the NGOs.

4.2.3 Data Collection Tool

Two different interview guides were designed to collect the data from the respondents of the study. One interview guide was for category 1 only and the other interview guide was for the remaining three categories. The interview questions were informed by a comprehensive literature review on challenges faced by women members of assemblies. (See table on page 36). The interview guide was reviewed by three experts/subject specialists before going to the field. Both interview guides were pilot tested and were proved responsive to collect the required data.

4.2.4 Data Analysis

Interviews were audio-recorded with permission of the respondents. The audio-recordings were transcribed verbatim, with minor editing applied to facilitate reading. The transcripts were examined following Braun and Clarke (2006) method of thematic analysis (TA), to identify themes and patterns within the data. Briefly, Thematic Analysis involved becoming familiar with the data by transcribing the interviews, and then reading the data multiple times. Initial codes were generated across the data set, and then collated into potential themes. A

thematic 'map' was formed and ongoing analysis refined the specifics of each theme, with clear definitions and names for the themes generated.

Extracts that best represent each theme was identified for inclusion in the discussion and write up of the themes. These extracts were read by experienced academic supervisor to achieve consensus concerning the interpretation of the themes and their appropriate classifications.

CHAPTER V

DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

Qualitative methodology used thematic research technique to deal with the data collected through IDIs (In- Depth Interviews). Through IDI, I explored and understood the challenges and issues to women Parliamentarians to deliver effective parliamentary services. Semi-structured interview guide was used. This format helped me in preparing an interview guide, but also allowed the conversation to flow naturally, meaning that questions did not necessarily have to be asked in order. Additionally, there was an opportunity for me to go "off-script" and asked additional questions to gain greater detail in their response. Thematic Analysis technique has been used here for interpretation of the data because that is the best way to summarize the qualitative data collected through this research.

5.2 Definition of the terms using in thematic analysis

I am here defining the terms which would be used all through the analysis and are specific to the analysis technique used in this study i.e. Braun and Clarke model. (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). Those are Data corpus, Data set, Data Item and Data extract. Data corpus refers to all the data collected for a particular research project, while data set refers to all the data from the corpus that is being used for a particular analysis.

There are two main ways of choosing data set. First, data set may consist of many or all individual data items within data corpus. Second, data set might be identified by a particular analytic interest in some topic in the data, and data set then becomes all instances in the corpus where that topic is referred to. Data item is used to refer to each individual piece of data collected, which together make up the data set or corpus.

Finally, data extract refers to an individual coded chunk of data, which has been identified within, and extracted from, a data item. There will be many of these, taken from throughout the entire data set, and only a selection of these extracts will feature in the final analysis. (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017).

5.3 Division of Data Sets

According to the categories of the respondents, the collected data distributed into two large data sets, one comprised of all interviews of women parliamentarians and the other comprised of male parliamentarians, Punjab assembly officials and NGOs representatives together.

Table 6: Division of Data Sets

Data Set I	11 interviews of women parliamentarians
Data Set II	10 interviews of male parliamentarians, Punjab assembly officials and NGOs representatives

In first data set, the data was collected through eleven interviews with women parliamentarians. While in the second data set, the data was collected through ten interviews, four from male parliamentarians, four from Punjab assembly officials and 2 from NGOs representatives. The rationale behind creating two data sets was that 2 different interview guides were used to collect data from two different sample categories.

5.4 Doing Thematic Analysis

This was an initial tool for data analysis in qualitative research. Following step by step guide of Braun and Clarke method of thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006) , I presumed to share the steps with my readers identified by the aforementioned researchers below:

Table 7: Steps of Thematic Analysis

Step 1: Become familiar with the data,	Step 4: Review themes,
Step 2: Generate initial codes,	Step 5: Define themes,
Step 3: Search for themes,	Step 6: Write-up.

5.4.1 Step 1: Become familiar with the data (Data Set I)

Getting started with the analysis, it was important to know about my data, so this stage has been acquired through listening the audio recording of the interviews transcribe it, translate it into English (where needed) and reading, re-reading and re-reading the interviews to be familiar with the data I collected. The rough transcription of the interviews was made at this stage without emphasizing on the tone, pitch and mood of the interviewee.

5.4.1.1 Demographics of the respondents. Demographic information of the respondents were collected through the Punjab Assembly official website (Provincial assembly Punjab, 2018) e.g. their age, education, marital status, political experience, profession, dynastic information and parliamentary tasks they performed.

Average age of women parliamentarians, those interviewed, was 50 years. The marital status of all those ladies, were ever married (including widowed and/or divorced who were ever

married) with limited information of children as 6 out of 11 members' profile did not contain the information about children.

Many of them had experience of performing political functions as they were in the assembly for 2nd or 3rd term. Only three members who were interviewed, was first time in the assembly. Remaining all had a long experience of either as member of provincial assembly or had a long way from general councilor to district councilor to member provincial assembly Punjab. Education of the women parliamentarians, who interviewed, had a huge variation from middle to matric to B.A to LLB to MA.

Elected women parliamentarians selected for this research were least keen to share their profession. One interesting observation regarding their profession on the official website of Punjab assembly was that 4 out of 11 did not write any of their profession while two of them considered house wife as their profession (considering their Membership of Provincial Assembly not worthy to mention as their profession). However, two of them considered politics as their profession. Moreover, five of them had their political dynastic information in their member's profiles. The average attendance of the selected women parliamentarians was 73%.

Eleven women parliamentarians those interviewed posed 988 starred questions, 170 un-starred questions, 135 point of orders, 34 call attention notices, 46 resolutions, 256 adjournment motions and participated in 181 proceedings and 16 reports. One thing that I encountered while reading the data and their official performance statistics was that the women who were in opposition alliance were more active in performance of assembly tasks instead of women of government alliance.

5.4.2 Step 2: Generate Initial Codes. (Data Set I)

In this step I organized my data in a systematic way. I did data scattered enough to be coded easily. Coding helped me to reduce lots of data into small chunks of meaning. I was concerned with sorting the data addressing specific issues and challenges. I coded each segment of data that was relevant to or captured something important about broad questions of my research. I did not code every piece of text and used open coding as I worked through the coding process. I had a rough idea about codes when I finished Step 1. For example, education along with requisite skills emerged as the biggest issue that kept coming up (in all the interviews, across the data sets).

I developed some preliminary ideas about codes. I worked through each transcript, coding every segment of text that seemed to be relevant to or specifically address the research question. I had a detailed sitting with my supervisor to discuss and modify the themes wherever needed. I did this by hand initially, working through hardcopies of the transcripts with pens and highlighters.

Data set I interviews of women parliamentarians are coded. Firstly, I combined the codes in to the major categories with the help of interview questions in the table below.

Q 1: Decision to join politics Codes	Q2:Family support/roles and responsibilities Codes	Q 3: Role of education/education as a challenge Codes
Father was in politics and support me to join politics, Personal decision with support of male family members, Father was in politics and his party was in need of women members so father gave her name to party, Join the party with her own decision Forcefully come to politics by father when condition of B.A (education) was applied, Join party as well as politics after getting inspired by party leadership, Was not interested but come to the	Managed home herself with full support of in-laws, All family was against except my father when entered in politics. By the time things settled down, Husband was so supportive through all the time, Yes both family and in-laws are so supportive, Being women my first responsibility is my home, I managed all my responsibilities of family, in-laws and relatives along	Yes education is must for politics for understanding parliamentary business, I supported the idea of qualification criteria that should be B.A., understanding of law should also be must because that becomes a big challenge sometimes, Education itself is important but training for doing assembly business must be available, Yes education creates a big difference in active and Inactive

politics, Father and husband convinced me to become politician, Was active party worker so party offered the MP ship	with my constituency, Husband was supportive but resisted whenever I travelled out station, My son supported me a lot and was always with me, Father was so supportive, All family and friends did not demand any undue time from me due to my political responsibilities	MPAs, Only educated can play their due role in assembly. Educated people also prepared themselves to speak on the floor, Although educational criteria is against the democratic lines but preferred for all the members to be educated. The people who cannot even read the agenda, can participate in the debate of law –making, The decorum of the floor demands the representatives to be educated,
Q 4: Political skills/failures without skills/ experience Codes Much important to have skills to perform parliamentary tasks, otherwise ladies only do "tasbeeh" within the parliament and reply against each question that "I don't know I was doing tasbeeh" Skills have to be learnt after much time spent in the parliament, I learnt all the skills through my senior party colleagues, A lot of trouble I came across without skills of drafting a bill, at last I took the professional help for that, Yes, once I tried a lot to submit a bill but that was not technically sound enough to be submitted. I tried a lot, have assistance of many but in vain. So I quit and did not submit the bill, For political skills, we are not trained enough by our parties to perform well. To be master and skillful in performing parliamentary tasks is a time taking task itself, I was totally blank when I first time elected by my party as MPA, I worked hard then and observed my seniors a lot. Sometimes I stopped myself to speak on the floor because of confusion about the process of the assembly.	**Q 5: Self- confidence/ self – perception** Codes Limit myself wherever my husband does not allow me to go, Consider confidence most important, without which one cannot even sit in the parliament, I am so lucky to be the part of this profession as women do not dare to come in politics, Didn't have self -confidence before then father groomed me a lot In start yes, I faced this problem of blaming myself when my children were small and sometimes I stuck in my work badly enough to give them time. But now I perceived myself an iron lady, Confidence works many times, especially when you are on air, many colleagues get disturbed because of low confidence, Yes confidence matters a lot, and education contributes a lot in grooming self- confidence. The ladies with less knowledge lost their confidence on the floor and made them a fool, This is pathetic that we have such ladies in the parliament who cannot speak even a single word either due to their ignorance or due to their less confidence.	**Q 6: Response of public/social perception** Codes People do criticize me especially the elder ladies of my family and clan, As such negative perception does not harm my political career, so I didn't bother whatever one says, Every time I went interior city I faced the problem. They called bad names, used curses and pointed fingers on all doings and non-doings of me and my party leadership, Social perception is quite positive, people do respect me whenever I got a visit of my area either along with my husband or alone. Your own character should be sound enough. Observing veil is itself give a positive message to the people to perceive me as a respectful women, Perception of people actually triggered through some big decision by the party either in favour of public or not and public perceived all the members as equally responsible of that decision. I faced a lot of scandals from public as well as my male colleagues that some of my female colleagues were hesitated while sitting with me but I faced it with courage because I knew I was clear,
Q 7: Nature of politics Codes Politics is male friendly as they are more in the parliament in terms of numbers Politics is not a tough job if we have a clear vision in our mind. The voice in the parliament is yet important	**Q 8: Role of party** Codes Important role of party, gives a patronage to young parliamentarians, Sometimes party gives parliamentarians a safe zone to keep quiet and say yes to all the party	**Q 9: Assembly tasks/legislative task** Codes I witnessed the people who could not even read the agenda, Political tasks are not complicated enough if all parliamentarians did according to the rules of procedure but actually not the situation,

when the suggestions we recommend would incorporated in its true sense, Our politics is not result oriented actually. We raise the issue of public interest once, and leave that half done. No comprehensive solution in terms of policies come across, We have a very biased nature of politics towards females who were kept quiet by the male counterparts even the worthy speaker sometimes got biased and did not allow women parliamentarians to speak or cut their time to speech etc., We do not have any system at all to follow within the assembly. No true legislation took place within these five years. We are just copy pasting the laws. Many of the parliamentarians are not informed about the problems of their constituencies. Some bill introduced anywhere in the world and we did a copy paste and tried to implement it as it was, which is practically impractical without any alteration according to our own needs, priorities and moral and ethical considerations, Very non serious attitude of parliamentarians for legislation, No serious discussion on policies, males do not take women agenda seriously, they mocked many a times, hooting Politics is the other name of leg pulling others and criticize others either willingly or unwillingly. Taunt me a lot, There is no respect in parliament. I endured the names like "sweet dish" "trifle" and "kheraati seaton pe bethney wali". Other than respect, there is no acceptability for women in parliament. Especially for Molvi Hazraat "un k liye aurat ko braabar bithana bht mushkil he", who do not bear women working side by side with men.	policies, Party play a big role actually in case of women on reserved seats often listen and face the remarks like "party ki meherbani", Party serves to their parliamentarians as they can use their party face whenever they needed, There is no doubt a great role to enter women in the political arena but afterwards no assistance would be given to the women to perform their parliamentary duties, which I think, should be the foremost responsibility of all the political parties, Party influenced a lot on all the assembly business through its members. Actually we raise the party agenda on the floor. I saw both the government and the opposition tenure and I knew that when we are in the government we should be more party bound in terms of our speeches on the floor of the house, Party sometimes bind their members to go beyond the party lines, Being party worker cannot go for women agenda, being women minority, we cannot fight for women rights jointly due to party restraints	"reference chalta he", Functions are less biased but the functionaries are more biased towards women parliamentarians, 80 percent of the assembly business were performed by female parliamentarians, because males wouldn't consider it as important as their constituency's linkages and works, their top priority was "halqey k kaam ho jain bs" to get votes in the next election Women are not trained to perform legislative tasks, we heavily relied on the training got through a non-governmental organization, Many issues remained sidelined from the agenda just because it was females' agenda, I took up the issue of home based workers but no one was there to stand with me just because I was a woman, Assembly tasks are not the matter of concern. The matter of concern should be the after effects of those functions performed by women parliamentarians. I think Im in the assembly to represent the women agenda on the floor of the house and if I'm not performing my duty well, I wouldn't deserve to sit in the parliament. Women parliamentarians hired their assistants even form the secretariat, privately, give money to them from their own pocket and do all assembly business through them,
Q 10: Financial tasks Codes Financial policies are not designed within the assembly, No special input is given by me in the budget because that were predefined,	Q 11: Oversight tasks Codes Oversight is possible when we know about the budgeting and the running projects, which I'm sure, 90% of the women parliamentarians do not know,	Q 12: overcoming strategies Codes Civil society organizations' role is remarkable in terms of lobbying and help in bill development, I was so surprised when CSO gave us training about assembly tasks and

A proper function is followed for budgeting, everyone can give suggestions to the pre-budget sitting, The budget making function is all "topi drama" nothing else, Budgetary functions are performed by women, even the finance minister was also the women parliamentarian, Yes we perform the assembly tasks related to budget making but, yes males are more active in performing these tasks, Financial matters are resolved by bureaucracy, the suggestions we submitted never be addressed or incorporated in the budget, Assembly has nothing to do with financial business and heavily relied on bureaucracy, and just passed that bill within the assembly.	Oversight is also an important function but honestly we leave this to the opposition only, Extra vigilance is required for this task which is missing, and even males are not trained in the way to perform this functional responsibility of assembly, No one get interested in oversight as everyone had their own development funds to expend on their constituencies which are not good. No MPA should get the development fund. This should be the responsibility of the local bodies, Oversight should be the most important task as to ensure the transparency of the fund utilization. We did of course.	almost all the MPAs who got training, were better in their performance afterwards, Yes they (NGO) are performing very well indeed, helped a lot, They gave me assistance in start of my career, Sometimes, their workers provide assistance in drafting, A lot of work is done by NGOs within parliament, even they perform the government role to set the priorities for policy making, I witnessed their work for labour laws, highlighting the issues of home-based workers, sanitation issues, livestock issues, health and hygiene issues etc., So we cannot deny their role of pressure building as a strong interest group for sustainable development.

5.4.3 Step 3: Search for themes (Data Set I)

As defined earlier, a theme is a pattern that captures something significant or interesting about the data. There are no hard and fast rules about what makes a theme. A theme is characterized by its significance. There may be considerable overlap between the coding stage and this stage of identifying preliminary themes.

Major themes were generated with the help of using codes. Data set I was arranged through codes and interview questions, converted into phrases initially for the steps of the research. The codes which strongly went along with suggested initial themes were highlighted in the table below.

Theme: Male supremacy in females decision to join politics Codes	Theme: Family responsibility- an issue Codes	Theme: less education as an issue Codes
Father was in politics and support me to join politics, Personal decision with support of male family members, Father was in politics and his party	Managed home herself with full support of in-laws, All family was against except my father when entered in politics. By the time things settled down,	Yes education is must for politics for understanding parliamentary business, I supported the idea of qualification criteria that should be B.A., understanding of law should also be

was in need of women members so father gave my name to party,
Join the party with her own decision,
Forcefully come to politics by father when condition of B.A (education) was applied,
Join party as well as politics after getting inspired by party leadership,
Was not interested but come to the politics,
Father and husband convinced me to become politician,
Was active party worker so party leadership offered me the MP ship

Husband was so supportive through all the time,
Yes both family and in-laws are so supportive,
Being women my first responsibility is my home,
I managed all my responsibilities of family, in-laws and relatives along with my constituency,
Husband was supportive but resisted whenever I travelled out station,
My son supported me a lot and was always with me,
Father was so supportive,
All family and friends did not demand any undue time from me due to my political responsibilities

must because that becomes a big issue sometimes,
Education itself is important but training for doing assembly business must be available,
I witnessed the people who could not even read the agenda,
Yes education creates a big difference in active and Inactive MPAs,
Only educated can play their due role in assembly. Educated people also prepared themselves to speak on the floor,
Although educational criteria is against the democratic lines but preferred for all the members to be educated. The people who cannot even read the agenda, can participate in the debate of law –making,
The decorum of the floor demands the representatives to be educated,

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Theme: unskilled entry
Codes
Much important to have skills to perform parliamentary tasks, otherwise ladies only do "tasbeeh" within the parliament and reply against each question that "I don't know I was doing tasbeeh"
Skills have learnt after much time spent in the parliament,
I learnt all the skills through my senior party colleagues,
A lot of trouble I came across without skills of drafting a bill, at last I took the professional help for that,
Yes, once I tried a lot to submit a bill but that was not technically sound enough to be submitted. I tried a lot, have assistance of many but in vain. So I quit and did not submit the bill,
For political skills, we are not trained enough by our parties to perform well. To be master and skillful in performing parliamentary tasks is a time taking task itself,
I was totally blank when I first time elected by my party as MPA, I worked hard then and observed my seniors a lot. Sometimes I stopped myself to speak on the floor because of confusion about the process of the assembly.

Theme: Low/no liberty/confidence
Codes
Limit myself wherever my husband does not allow me to go,
Consider confidence most important, without which one cannot even sit in the parliament,
I am so lucky to be the part of this profession as women do not dare to come in politics,
Didn't have self -confidence before then father groomed me a lot
In start yes, I faced this problem of blaming myself when my children were small and sometimes I stuck in my work badly enough to give them time. But now I perceived myself an iron lady,
Confidence works many times, especially when you are on air,
many colleagues get disturbed because of low confidence,
Yes confidence matters a lot, and education contributes a lot in grooming self- confidence. The ladies with less knowledge lost their confidence on the floor and made them a fool,
This is pathetic that we have such ladies in the parliament who cannot speak even a single word either due to their ignorance or due to their less confidence.

Theme: Negative Social perception
Codes
People do criticize me especially the elder ladies of my family and clan due to my entry in politics,
As such negative perception does not harm my political career, so I didn't bother whatever one says,
Every time when I went interior city I faced the problem. They called bad names, used curses and pointed fingers on all doings and non-doings of me and my party leadership,
Social perception is quite positive; people do respect me whenever I got a visit of my area either along with my husband or alone. Your own character should be sound enough.
Observing veil is itself give a positive message to the people to perceive me as a respectful women,
Perception of people actually triggered through some big decision by the party either in favour of public or not and public perceived all the members as equally responsible of that decision.
I faced a lot of scandals from public as well as my male colleagues that some of my female colleagues were hesitated while sitting with me but I faced it with courage because I knew I was clear,

Theme: hostile nature of politics Codes	Theme: Party as a pressure group Codes	Theme: legislative tasks Codes
Politics is male friendly as they are more in the parliament in terms of numbers Politics is not a tough job if we have a clear vision in our mind. The voice in the parliament is yet important when the suggestions we recommend would incorporated in its true sense, but hierarchies are there for women to follow within the parliament which is purely undemocratic, Our politics is not result oriented actually. We raise the issue of public interest once, and leave that half done. No comprehensive solution in terms of policies come across, We have a very biased nature of politics towards females who were kept quiet by the male counterparts even the worthy speaker sometimes got biased and did not allow women parliamentarians to speak or cut their time to speech etc., We do not have any system at all to follow within the assembly. No true legislation took place within these five years. We are just copy pasting the laws. Many of the parliamentarians are not informed about the problems of their constituencies. Some bill introduced anywhere in the world and we did a copy paste and tried to implement it as it was, which is practically impractical without any alteration according to our own needs, priorities and moral and ethical considerations, Very non serious attitude of parliamentarians for legislation, No serious discussion on policies, males do not take women agenda seriously, they mocked many a times, hooting Politics is the other name of leg pulling others and criticize others either willingly or unwillingly. Taunt me a lot, There is no respect in parliament. I endured the names like "sweet dish" "trifle" and "kheraati seaton pe bethney wali". Other than respect, there is no acceptability for women	Important role of party, provides a patronage to young parliamentarians, Sometimes party gives their parliamentarians a signal to keep quiet and say yes to all the party policies (routined government alliance practice), Party play a big role actually in case of women on reserved seats often listen and face the remarks like "party ki meherbani" by their male party members, whenever they want to speak for the larger interest of women community, Party serves to their parliamentarians as they can use their party face whenever they needed, There is no doubt a great role to enter women in the political arena but afterwards no assistance would be given to the women to perform their parliamentary duties, which I think, should be the foremost responsibility of all the political parties, Party influenced a lot on all the assembly business through its members. Actually we raise the party agenda on the floor. I saw both the government and the opposition tenure and I knew that when we are in the government we should be more party bound in terms of our speeches on the floor of the house, Party sometimes bind their members to go beyond the party lines, Being party worker cannot go for women agenda, being women minority, we cannot fight for women rights jointly due to party restraints	Political tasks are not complicated enough if all parliamentarians did according to the rules of procedure but actually not the situation, "reference chalta he", Functions are less biased but the functionaries are more biased towards women parliamentarians, 80 percent of the assembly business were performed by female parliamentarians, because males wouldn't consider it as important as their constituency's linkages and works, their top priority was "halqey k kaam ho jain bs" to get votes in the next election Women are not trained to perform legislative tasks, we heavily relied on the training got through a non-governmental organization, Many issues remained sidelined from the agenda just because it was females' agenda, I took up the issue of home based workers but no one was there to stand with me just because I was a woman, Assembly tasks are not the matter of concern. The matter of concern should be the after effects of those functions performed by women parliamentarians. I think I am in the assembly to represent the women agenda on the floor of the house and if I'm not performing my duty well, I wouldn't deserve to sit in the parliament. Women parliamentarians hired their assistants even form the secretariat, privately, give money to them from their own pocket and do all assembly business through them,

in parliament. Especially for Molvi Hazraat "un k liye aurat ko braabar bithana bht mushkil he", who do not bear women working side by side with men.		
Theme: Financial tasks **Codes** Financial policies are not designed and produced within the assembly, No special input is given by me in the budget because that were predefined, A proper function is followed for budgeting, everyone can give suggestions to the pre-budget sitting, The budget making function is all "topi drama" nothing else, Budgetary functions are performed by women, even the finance minister was also the women parliamentarian, Yes we perform the assembly tasks related to budget making but, yes males are more active in performing these tasks, Financial matters are resolved by bureaucracy, the suggestions we submitted never be addressed or incorporated in the budget, Assembly has nothing to do with financial business and heavily relied on bureaucracy, and just passed that bill within the assembly.	**Theme: Oversight tasks** **Codes** Oversight is possible when we know about the budgeting and the running projects, which I'm sure, 90% of the women parliamentarians do not know, Oversight is also an important function but honestly we leave this to the opposition only, Extra vigilance is required for this task which is missing, and even males are not trained in the way to perform this functional responsibility of assembly, No one get interested in oversight as everyone had their own development funds to expend on their constituencies which are not good. No MPA should get the development fund. This should be the responsibility of the local bodies, Oversight should be the most important task as to ensure the transparency of the fund utilization.	**Theme: Role of civil society** **Codes** Civil society organizations' role is remarkable in terms of lobbying and help in bill development, I was so surprised when CSO gave us training about assembly tasks and almost all the MPAs who got training, were better in their performance afterwards, Yes they (NGO) are performing very well indeed, helped a lot, They gave me assistance in start of my career, Sometimes, their workers provide assistance in drafting, A lot of work is done by NGOs within parliament, even they perform the government role to set the priorities for policy making, I witnessed their work for labour laws, highlighting the issues of home-based workers, sanitation issues, livestock issues, health and hygiene issues etc., So we cannot deny their role of pressure building as a strong interest group for sustainable development.

At the end of this step the codes had been organized into broader themes that seemed to say something specific about the important research questions of the study. My themes described patterns in the data relevant to the research question. Table above shows all the preliminary themes that are identified along with the codes, associated with them. Most codes are associated with one theme although some are associated with more than one theme. The modification in the themes was reviewed in the next step.

5.4.4 Step 4: Review themes (Data Set I)

During this phase, I reviewed, modified and developed the major themes by converging some of the themes given above. At this point it is useful to get together all the data that is relevant to each theme and sub theme. Themes which were labelled initially were reviewed. Some strong sub themes which were needed, added and some codes were altered. Many of the codes were re- shuffled, re- arranged or double used as to support or strengthen more than one theme.

Initially I put all the information in one table; in this step I divided it according to the first three research questions of the study i.e.

1. What are the important issues the elected women parliamentarians face while delivering parliamentary services?

2. What are the important challenges the elected women parliamentarians face while delivering parliamentary services?

3. How do women parliamentarians overcome their issues and challenges?

I had drawn three tables below each requisite to categorize the answer of one research question mentioned above.

5.4.4.1 Important issues of women parliamentarians

In the table below, the themes were reviewed. For example, we felt that the preliminary theme, *Male supremacy in females' decision to join politics* did not the overarching theme as male supremacy was not only in females' decision to join politics. So I altered the main theme into *Male supremacy in females' political decisions* and made three sub themes under this main theme i.e. *joining politics, Party choice and Mobility* with their related codes. Similarly

Internalization of family responsibility was converted into *Internalization of womanhood* to broaden its scope.

Theme: Male supremacy in females' political decisions Codes	Theme: Internalization of womanhood Codes	Theme: Less education-an issue Codes
Sub theme 1: Joining Politics Father was in politics and support me to join politics, Decided to come in politics with support of my son and my husband, Join party as well as politics after getting inspired and convinced by party leadership, All family was against except my father when entered in politics. By the time things settled down, Father and husband convinced me to become politician, Was active party worker so party leadership offered me the reserved seat of MPA **Sub theme 2: Party Choice** Father was in politics and his party was in need of women members so father gave my name to party, Forcefully come to politics by father when condition of B.A (education) was applied, **Sub theme 3: Mobility** Husband resisted whenever I travelled out station, My son supported me a lot and was always with me whenever I went outstation, Limit myself wherever my husband does not allow me to go	**Sub theme 1: Family responsibility** Being women my first responsibility is my home, Managed home herself with support of in-laws but yes whenever woman gets step to serve out of home , she has to sacrifice a lot, I managed all my responsibilities of family, in-laws and relatives along with my constituency, All family and friends did not demand any undue time from me due to my political responsibilities, Husband was so supportive through all the time. He cared children a lot in my absence Yes both family and in-laws were so supportive **Sub theme 2: Low/No interest in politics** I witnessed the people who could not even read the agenda, so they were not interested in sessions, The decorum of the floor demands the representatives to be educated, parliamentarians without education cannot participate in the assembly sessions, and even they did not use to come in the session. Women had gained nothing from	**Subtheme 1: comprehension issues** Yes education is must in politics for understanding parliamentary business, Only educated can play their due role in assembly. Educated people also prepared themselves to speak on the floor, Although educational criteria is against the democratic lines but preferred for all the members to be educated. The people who cannot even read the agenda, how can participate in the debate of law – making, I supported the idea of qualification criteria that should be B.A., understanding of law should also be must because that becomes a big issue sometimes, Yes education creates a big difference in active and Inactive MPAs, **Sub theme 2: unskilled entry** Much important to have skills to perform parliamentary tasks, otherwise ladies only do "tasbeeh" within the parliament and reply against each question that "I don't know I was doing tasbeeh" Skills have learnt after much time

these sessions. Who got development funds should do all the efforts also.

Oversight is possible when we know about the budgeting and the running projects, which I'm sure, 90% of the women parliamentarians do not know, Yes also did this,

Oversight is also an important function but honestly we leave this to the opposition only,

No one get interested in oversight as everyone had their own development funds to expend on their constituencies which are not good. No MPA should get the development fund. This should be the responsibility of the local bodies,

spent in the parliament,

I learnt all the skills through my senior party colleagues,

Extra vigilance is required for oversight task which is missing, and even males are not trained in the way to perform this functional responsibility of assembly,

Women are not trained to perform legislative tasks, we heavily relied on the training got through a non-governmental organization,

A lot of trouble I came across without skills of drafting a bill, at last I took the professional help for that,

Yes, once I tried a lot to submit a bill but that was not technically sound enough to be submitted. I tried a lot, have assistance of many but in vain. So I quit and did not submit the bill,

Training for doing assembly business must be available which not the case was. No political party worked on it.

For political skills, we are not trained enough by our parties to perform well. To be master and skillful in performing parliamentary tasks is a time taking task itself,

I was totally blank when I first time elected by my party as MPA, I worked hard then and observed my seniors a lot. Sometimes I stopped myself to speak on the floor because of confusion about the process of

		the assembly.
Theme: Low self-image Codes **Sub theme 1: Low/no self confidence** Consider confidence most important, without which one cannot even sit in the parliament, Didn't have self -confidence before then father groomed me a lot Confidence works many times, especially when you are on air, many colleagues get disturbed because of low confidence, Yes confidence matters a lot, and education contributes a lot in grooming self- confidence. The ladies with less knowledge lost their confidence on the floor and made them a fool, This is pathetic that we have such ladies in the parliament who cannot speak even a single word either due to their ignorance or due to their less confidence. **Sub theme 2: Self Blaming** In start yes, I faced this problem of blaming myself when my children were small and sometimes I stuck in my work badly enough to give them time. I repented a lot, when I missed many of my family's deaths due to my official visits. Once I thought to resign from my political duties when my grandmother expired and I couldn't reach on her funeral.		

5.4.4.2 Important challenges of elected women parliamentarians

Theme: Prejudiced nature of politics	Theme: Party as a pressure group	Theme: Negative Social perception
Codes	**Sub theme 1: Task segregation**	**Codes**
Sub theme 1: Gender Biasness	**Codes**	**Sub theme 1: Negative perception about character**
Politics is male friendly as they are more in the parliament in terms of numbers	Important role of party, provides a patronage to young parliamentarians,	People do criticize me especially the elder ladies of my family and clan due to my entry in politics,
Politics is not a tough job if we have a clear vision in our mind. The voice in the parliament is yet important when the suggestions we recommend would incorporated in its true sense, but hierarchies are there for women to follow within the parliament which is purely undemocratic,	Sometimes party gives their parliamentarians a signal to keep quiet and say yes to all the party policies (routine government alliance practice),	I faced a lot of scandals from public as well as my male colleagues that some of my female colleagues were hesitated while sitting with me but I faced it with courage because I knew I was clear,
Many issues remained sidelined from the agenda just because it was females' agenda,	Party play a big role actually in case of women on reserved seats often listen and face the remarks like "party ki meherbani" by their male party members, whenever they want to speak for the larger interest of women community,	Social perception is quite positive; people do respect me whenever I got a visit of my area either along with my husband or alone. Your own character should be sound enough.
I took up the issue of home based workers but no one was there to stand with me just because I was a woman,	Party serves to their parliamentarians as they can use their party face whenever they needed,	Observing veil is itself give a positive message to the people to perceive me as a respectful women,
Assembly tasks are not the matter of concern. The matter of concern should be the after effects of those functions performed by women parliamentarians. I think I am in the assembly to represent the women agenda on the floor of the house and if I'm not performing my duty well, I wouldn't deserve to sit in the parliament.	There is no doubt a great role to enter women in the political arena but afterwards no assistance would be given to the women to perform their parliamentary duties, which I think, should be the foremost responsibility of all the political parties,	As such negative perception does not harm my political career, so I didn't bother whatever one says,
		Sub theme 2: Negative perception about performance
Women parliamentarians hired their assistants even from the secretariat,	Party influenced a lot on all the assembly business through its members. Actually we raise the party agenda on the floor.	Every time when I went interior city I faced the problem. They called bad names, used curses and pointed fingers on all doings and non-doings of me and my party leadership,
	I saw both the government and the	Perception of people actually triggered through some big decision by the party either in favor of public

privately, give money to them from their own pocket and do all assembly business through them, Functions are less biased but the functionaries are more biased towards women parliamentarians, We have a very biased nature of politics towards females who were kept quiet by the male counterparts even the worthy speaker sometimes got biased and did not allow women parliamentarians to speak or cut their time to speech etc.,

Males do not take women agenda seriously, they mocked many a times, I personally faced hooting many a times by male as well as female colleagues

Sub theme 2: Intricate procedures

We do not have any system at all to follow within the assembly. No true legislation took place within these five years

Our politics is not result oriented actually. We raise the issue of public interest once, and leave that half done. No comprehensive solution in terms of policies come across, legislative tasks are not complicated if all the parliamentarians did according to the rules of procedure but actually this was not the situation, every time you wants to submit your business, there is used reference. "reference chalta he",

We are just copy pasting the laws. Many of the parliamentarians are not

opposition tenure and I knew that when we are in the government we should be more party bound in terms of our speeches on the floor of the house,

Party sometimes bind their members to go beyond the party lines,

Being party worker cannot go for women agenda, being women minority, we cannot fight for women rights jointly due to party restraints

80 percent of the assembly business were performed by female parliamentarians, because males wouldn't consider it as important as their constituency's linkages and works, their top priority was "chorein ji, halqey k kaam ho jain bs" to get votes in the next election

Sub Theme 2: Benevolent sexism Codes

Financial policies are not designed and produced within the assembly,

No special input is given by me in the budget because that were all predefined,

A proper function is followed for budgeting, everyone can give suggestions to the pre-budget sitting,

The budget making function is all "topi drama" nothing else,

Budgetary functions are performed by women, even the finance minister was also the women parliamentarian,

Yes we perform the assembly tasks related to budget making but, yes males are more active in performing

or not and public perceived all the members as equally responsible of that decision.

Not only the words, have we born the violence of people on "blasphemy law issue". The wrath of public we had to face because of our sheer mistake.

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informed about the problems of their constituencies. Some bill introduced anywhere in the world and we did a copy paste and tried to implement it as it was, which is practically impractical without any alteration according to our own needs, priorities and moral and ethical considerations, Very non serious attitude of parliamentarians for legislation, No serious discussion on policies	these tasks, Financial matters are resolved by bureaucracy, the suggestions we submitted never be addressed or incorporated in the budget, Assembly has nothing to do with financial business and heavily relied on bureaucracy, and just passed that bill within the assembly. **Sub theme 3: Agenda Setting** Many issues remained sidelined from the agenda just because it was females' agenda, I took up the issue of home based workers but no one was there to stand with me just because I was a woman, Assembly tasks are not the matter of concern. The matter of concern should be the after effects of those functions performed by women parliamentarians. I think I am in the assembly to represent the women agenda on the floor of the house and if I'm not performing my duty well, I wouldn't deserve to sit in the parliament. Women parliamentarians hired their assistants even from the secretariat, privately, give money to them from their own pocket and do all assembly business through them	
Theme: behavior of parliamentarians **Sub Theme 1: Disrespectful behavior towards women Parliamentarian by Male**		

colleagues

There is no respect in parliament. I endured the names like "sweet dish" "trifle" and "kheraati seaton pe bethney wali" from my male colleagues.

There is no acceptability for women in parliament. Especially for Molvi Hazraat "un k liye aurat ko braabar bithana bht mushkil he", who cannot bear women working side by side with men.

Subtheme 2: Mutual distrust of women parliamentarians

Politics is the other name of leg pulling others and criticize others either willingly or unwillingly. My colleagues taunt me a lot,

Females are so jealous form one another. No one can see others excelling their position within the party.

Females were more with mal intentions than males within the assembly,

No woman either of my own party or of the other party encouraged their junior female colleagues on good participation in the session, afterwards. The situation is vice versa in males. They do encourage the new comers' males on their participation in assembly business.

Males parliamentarians mocked women parliamentarians many a times, I personally faced hooting by male as well as by female colleagues

5.4.4.3 Strategies to overcome issues and challenges

Theme: Government Commitments	Theme: Parliamentarians' Strategies
Codes	**Codes**
Sub theme 1: International Commitments	**Sub theme 1: Private hiring of advisors**
Punjab Assembly helped a lot in arranging Study visits to House of Commons	They (private legal advisor) gave me assistance in start of my career,
Assembly has the collaboration with Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, European Union's Project 'SUBAI', Pakistan Institute of parliamentary services, Democracy Reporting International for capacity building of parliamentarians	I personally know a lady who has hired a private assistant for doing all the legislative business,
Sub theme 2: National Commitments.	**Sub theme 2: Paid help by secretariat staff.**
Civil society organizations' role is remarkable in terms of lobbying and help in bill development,	Women parliamentarians hired their assistants even from the secretariat, privately, give money to them from their own pocket and do all assembly business through them, and get their names on the top performers.
I was so surprised when CSO gave us training about assembly tasks and almost all the MPAs who got training, were better in their performance afterwards,	
Training through Pakistan Institute for Parliamentary services	
Yes they (NGO) are performing very well indeed, helped a lot, DRI for Networking and relationship	
International commitments of the Punjab Assembly helped a lot in arranging Study visits to house of commons, west-minister and Scottish parliament	
I witnessed their work for labour laws, highlighting the issues of home-based workers, sanitation issues, livestock issues, health and hygiene issues etc., So we cannot deny their role of pressure building as a strong interest group for sustainable development.	
Help through Young Parliamentary Associates, Sometimes, they provide assistance in drafting,	
A lot of work is done by NGOs within parliament, even they perform the government role to set the priorities for policy making,	

5.4.5 Stage 5: Defining themes (Data Set I)

This is the final refinement of the themes and the aim is to identify the essence and the core of the theme. If there are subthemes, how do they interact and relate to the main theme? How do the themes relate to each other? So this is the final stage of defining theme. Stage 5 of the data set I is guided by the results of stage 4 because much of the work has been refined at stage 4. The classification of the data according to research questions has also been the principle of the stage 5 of data set I.

5.4.5.1 Important issues to women parliamentarians

Four overarching issues were highlighted through this research question i.e. what are the important issues to women parliamentarians? Here as I explained earlier issues considered all those hurdles which are somehow or the other affect the parliamentary performance of female parliamentarians but not related to the procedures or external challenges in and out of the parliament. The issues which are highlighted are males' supremacy in females' political decisions, internalization of womanhood, less education and low self-image. Many sub themes supported these four major themes including joining politics, party choice, mobility, family responsibility, low/ no interest in politics, comprehension issues, unskilled entry, and low self-confidence and self-blaming.

Thematic Map 1: Important issues of women parliamentarians

Important Issues to Women Parliamentarians

Male Supremacy in Females' Political Decisions

Weak Self Image

Internalization of Womanhood

Less Education- An Issue

Joining Politics

Party Choice

Mobility

Family Responsibility

Low/no interest in Politics

Comprehension Issues

Unskilled Entry

Low Self Confidence

Self-Blaming
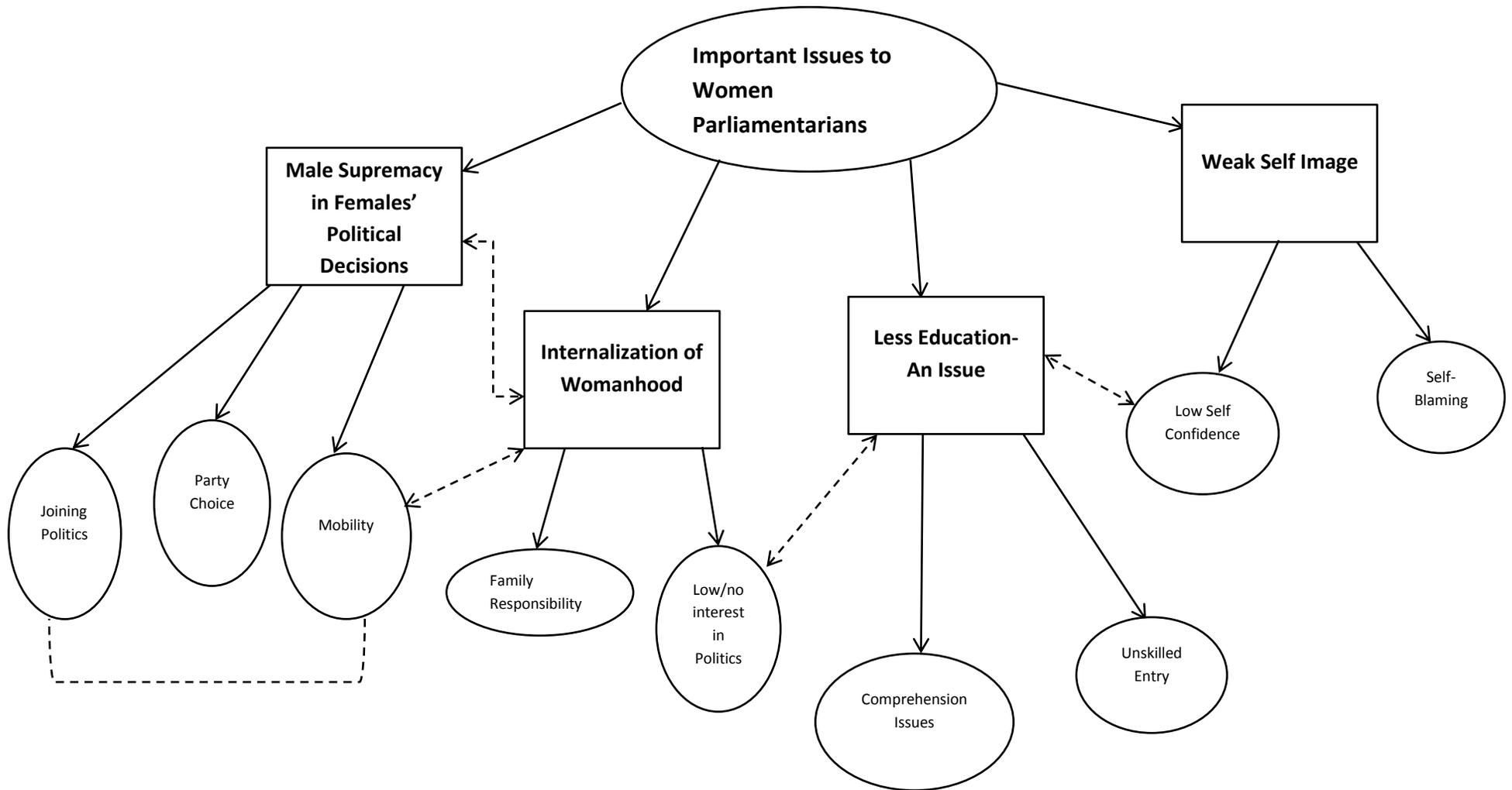
5.4.5.2 Important challenges of women parliamentarians

Four overarching challenges were highlighted through this research question i.e. what are the important challenges to women parliamentarians? Here as I explained earlier challenges considered all those hurdles which are somehow or the other affect the parliamentary performance of female parliamentarians but not related to their internal issues e.g. education and skills or family pressure etc. The challenges which are highlighted are prejudiced nature of politics, party as a pressure group, negative social perception, and misbehavior of parliamentarians. Many sub themes supported these four major themes including intricate procedures, gender biasness, task segregation, agenda setting, benevolent sexism, and character, and performance, disrespectful behavior of male colleagues and mutual distrust of women parliamentarians.

5.4.5.3 Strategies to overcome Issues and challenges of women parliamentarians

Two broad themes were highlighted through this research question i.e. what are the strategies women parliamentarians adopt to deal with their issues and challenges? Here I developed two broad categories rather would say it as to bifurcate the dealing mechanism with the issues and challenges by women parliamentarians. The strategies which were highlighted through this research were Government commitments and private member strategies. Many sub themes supported these two main themes included international commitments of the government and national commitments of the government, private hiring of advisors and paid help by secretariat staff.

Thematic Map 2: Important Challenges to women parliamentarians

Important Challenges to Women Parliamentarians

Prejudiced Nature of Politics

Behavior of Parliamentarians

Party as a Pressure Group

Negative social Perception

Intricate Procedures

Gender Biasness

Agenda Setting

Task Segregation

Benevolent sexism

Character

Performance

Disrespectful Behavior of Male colleagues

Mutual Distrust of Women Parliamentarians
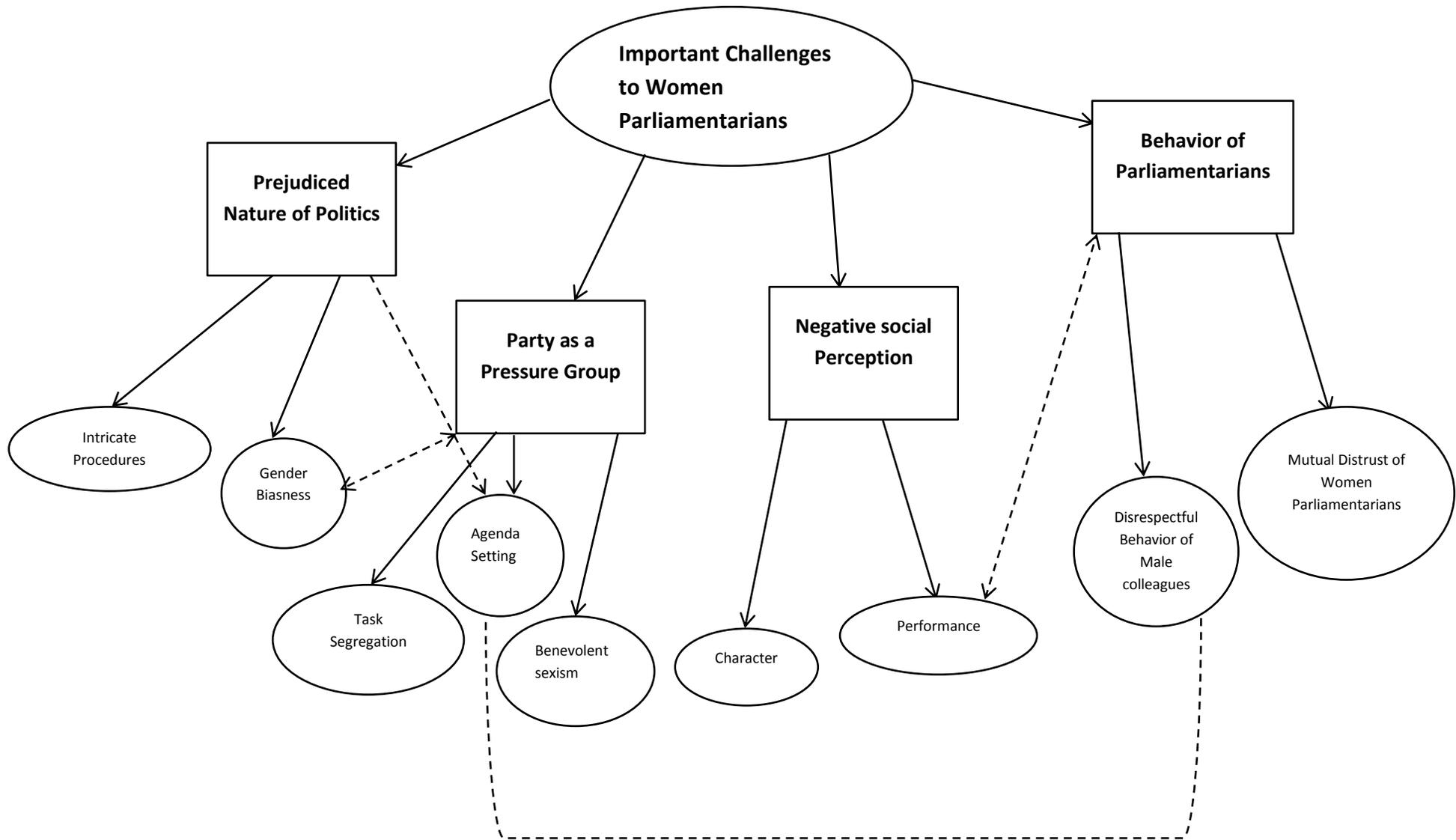
Thematic Map 3: Strategies to overcome issues and challenges of women parliamentarians

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                    │ Strategies to overcome │
                    │ issues and challenges  │
                    │ of women               │
                    │ parliamentarians       │
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          │ Government   │      │ Parliamentarians' │
          │ commitments  │      │ Strategies        │
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    │Commitments │ │Commitments│ │hiring of │ │ by        │
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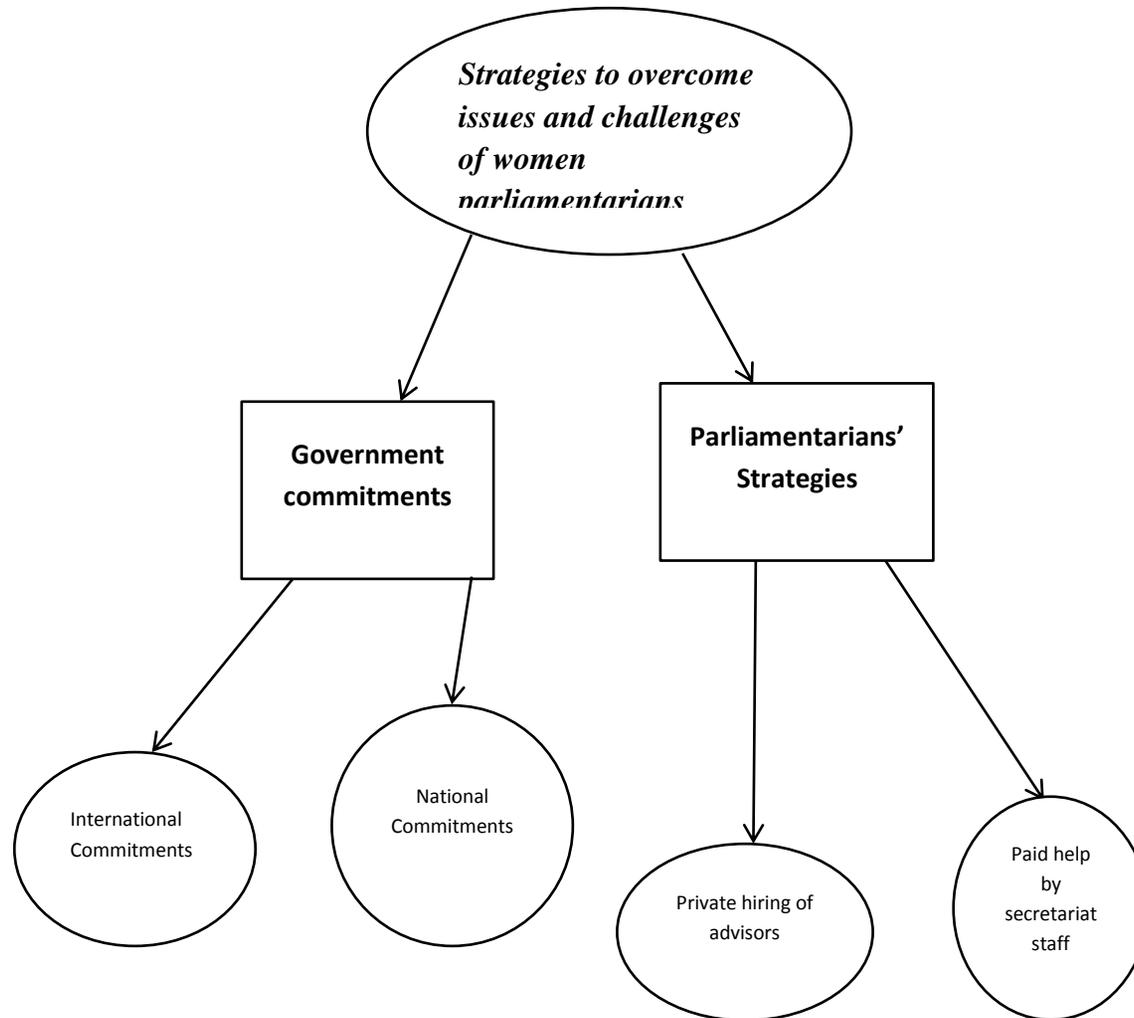
5.4.6 Stage 6: Write up (Data Set I)

Pakistani women had a remarkable contribution in the campaign of independence and after that in the rehabilitating campaigns of refugees under the leadership of mohterma Fatima Jinnah, Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan, Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, Begum Shaista Ikram ullah, who were all present in the first legislative assembly of Pakistan. So, women have the legacy to be in the political roles, although they were forcefully excluded and marginalized by their male counterparts. (Iwanaga, 2008). Keeping the legacy of devalued standpoint in politics as Smith (2005) argues, the women parliamentarians were very much open to share their issues and challenges to the researcher.

5.4.6.1 Theme 1: Male supremacy in females' political decisions

Male supremacy is considered a driving tool of society in general within our country even in the familial institution where it comes as obvious, as food for living. Headship of the family is held by males of the family which consequently give also the decision making power to the males of the family. And when it comes to public matters, the effect of male supremacy becomes worsened as the females who socialized in such a familial environment where males practice all the powers, withhold to get the power and/or the position of decision making.

5.4.6.1.1 Sub theme 1: Joining Politics. My study findings supported the results of previous studies. Even, the decision of joining politics had not been taken on their own by females who interviewed. Every subject, somehow or the other, recounted their family males' potency regarding their presence in the politics. Most of the subjects have their male relations in the same field. So the study would also second the political dynastic culture of the Pakistani

polities. The official website of the Punjab Assembly also gives the information regarding the family relations in the politics of women parliamentarians.

Most of the female politicians gave credit to their male family relations to drive them towards politics with (or without) their consent. One of my interviewee said that "*Father was in politics and supported me to join politic*". Similarly one female told me the story of joining politics that she "*Decided to come in politics with support of my son and my husband*". Then another female who was B.A., she also claimed "*Father and husband convinced me to become politician*".

So joining politics of females was decided largely by their male family relations, is one of the key findings of the study which may become the issue in their political performance in the assembly as they were already under the influence of the patriarchal culture of the family where decisions were taken by the males of the house even if they were related to the females of the family and even that was as important as the life career of the family women.

5.4.6.1.2 Sub theme 2: Party Choice. The overarching theme of male supremacy in females' political decisions covered all the issues related to the decisions of female politicians which were influenced by their family males even within the polities and affect their due performance. One of those was party choice. Some of the female politicians were disempowered enough that they have not chosen or joined party on the basis of its agenda or their choice but on the basis of their preference and/or affiliation of the male family members with some party.

One of the respondents told her story as "*Father was in politics and his party was in need of women members so my father gave my name to the party*". Even one of the respondents was still considered herself unfit for the field of politics as she said that she "*forcefully comes to*

politics by father when condition of B.A (education) was applied and I was the only B.A degree holder in my family. We had a fixed seat in the assembly which my father did not get away with". So another important decision to join party according to their own choice was taken by the male members of the family. Here the question arises that the woman, who is so suppressed in her family settings, how can be good politician in the public setting?

The research findings responded to this question, above mentioned, through more than one themes as this male supremacy in decisions most of the time resultant in women' internalization of public private dichotomy which leads towards females' confinement of and association with the tasks which were of familial or private nature and leave all public matters to their male counterparts. So the ladies with such background and socialization do not perform well while becoming politicians. Pakistani polities have a lot of examples in them and Punjab assembly is not the exception.

5.4.6.1.3 Sub theme 3: Mobility. Male supremacy in females' mobility is again considered an issue by the study findings as it was also the decision which was taken by the male family members. Moreover the shocking thing is that the phenomenon is treated as quite normal by the respondents of the study. The study found that the women who were telling me about their restricted mobility were also considered it as their males' legitimate right to restrict them and to decide for them where they should go as they know better and/or accompany them where they (Males of the family) did not feel them going safe.

Some of the respondents' views were as followed. *"Husband resisted me whenever I travelled out station".* Moreover, the woman felt proud in her son's accompany her everywhere *"My son supported me a lot and was always with me whenever I went outstation".* But she

herself provoked questions from her stance of being accompanied by her son, about her independent stance and will for work for the rights of the oppressed groups for whom she was there to raise voice against oppression.

The ladies who were very much bound to the family relations would not mobilize enough to play a better role in the assemblies. The ladies who interviewed were judged as better loyal wives but poor political worker as one of those said, *"I limit myself wherever my husband does not allow me to go"*. They showed more commitment with the family and its related responsibilities and/or obligations rather than with the political tasks and their performance.

5.4.6.2 Theme 2: Internalization of Womanhood

The above discussed theme indirectly supported to create another theme which appeared as Internalization of womanhood as a key issue of women parliamentarians. Internalization means that one person is quite familiar with one phenomenon and dealing with that so frequently and practicing that they considered this as normal as natural. So that phenomenon becomes engrained in them.

In our society, oppression of women is so widespread that according to one of my respondents "*being woman means being oppressed*". This leads towards creation of the concept of womanhood in our culture which is silent, quiet and oppressed woman. The public-private dichotomy lags behind then the concept of womanhood. So that theme named after the concept given by Welter (1978) about the true womanhood. He explained it as "The attributes of true womanhood by which a woman judges herself, and was judged by her husband, her neighbors and society could be divided into four cardinal virtues i.e. Piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity".

If I analyse the concept of true womanhood in our own culture, that has not much difference. Women perceived themselves and to be perceived by others as good women if they were submissive and preferred domesticity, regardless of their profession they had. The responses of my research respondents also presented this internalization of womanhood.

5.4.6.2.1 Sub theme 1: Family responsibility. Very interestingly, not even a single lady claimed that she preferred her political commitments. All preferred their domestic roles to be performed first and considered the domestic performance as a proof to be considered them good in politics. Although it is against the concept of true womanhood as this concept demanded domesticity and submissiveness while the field of politics demanded courage and free will to take decisions for others for which they are not trained to. So the responses like "*being women my first responsibility is my home*" and "*managed home herself with support of in-laws but yes whenever woman gets step to serve out of home, she has to sacrifice a lot*" were received by me and I was bound to consider it as a sub-theme of the major theme which actually represent the concept of internalized womanhood.

Some responses set another short pattern of family support as "*I managed all my responsibilities of family, in-laws and relatives along with my constituency*" and "*All family and friends did not demand any undue time from me due to my political responsibilities*" and "*Husband was so supportive through all the time. He cared children a lot in my absence*" and "*Yes both family and in-laws were so supportive*" etc. All these verbatim guided me towards same theme that women had internalized the responsibilities attached of being female enough that they considered it a support of family for her to take care of her responsibilities and gave her some spare time to deal with the political tasks which were of secondary importance to them.

5.4.6.2.2 Sub theme 2: Low/No interest. The sub theme has a direct connection with this major theme and a dotted connection with the next theme i.e. less education. I scrutinized it a lot to develop a strong rationale to connect it with this major theme. When I was collecting my data I observed some of the respondents who were good at education did not perform well in the parliament, had the same womanhood *syndrome* in mind.

They had the logic of their low interest especially in performing the financial tasks were, *"these are males' tasks, let them deal with that stuff"* and *"males are good at budgeting, I did not present any cut motion in the assembly, as I don't think so I am good in all these things".* These statements of the respondents are showing a lack of interest not mainly due to their lack of knowledge but due to their womanhood which demands submissiveness from them to be considered a good woman in the society.

The theme also had a dotted connection with next major theme of less education because some women are really facing the issue due to their lack of knowledge that they did not get interested in some political tasks due to lack of knowledge. The statements are *"I witnessed the people who could not even read the agenda, so they were not interested in sessions"* and *"The decorum of the floor demands the representatives to be educated, parliamentarians without education cannot participate in the assembly sessions, and even they did not use to come in the session"* self-explanatory.

5.4.6.3 Theme 3: Less education-an issue

We do not have any least education criteria as a requirement to enter into the politics field. So there are a lot of members who do not have even the basic education. Education and

political skills are of utmost importance when it comes to tackle the public issues in the assembly.

5.4.6.3.1 Subtheme 1: comprehension issues. As per my study findings, comprehension of the rules of procedures to comprehension of assembly tasks emerged as a theme. Less education of the parliamentarians resulted in their low or even no comprehension of whatever happening around them. Respondents themselves consider education important for better understanding of the rules of the procedures and for the overall performance of the women parliamentarians.

Many of the respondents gave remarks as *"Yes education is must in politics for understanding parliamentary business"* and *"Only educated can play their due role in assembly. Educated people also prepared themselves to speak on the floor"* which means to take time in the general discussions is not the easy task as one of my respondents said *"Yes education creates a big difference in active and Inactive MPAs"*. One of the respondents considered unethical to have uneducated people to make policies for the educated ones. *"Although educational criteria is against the democratic lines that the people who cannot even read the agenda, how can participate in the debate of law –making, but preferred for all the members to be educated.* Similarly one said "*I supported the idea of qualification criteria that should be B.A., understanding of law should also be must because that becomes a big issue sometimes"*.

5.4.6.3.2 Theme 2: unskilled entry. Women parliamentarians were all at one step while discussing skills regarding performing parliamentary tasks which were unavailable from any particular forum. Neither political parties nor election commission of Pakistan take any steps to

train the prospective members of the assembly as *"Training for doing assembly business must be available which not the case was. No political party worked on it"*.

According to respondents *"much importance should be given to have skills to perform parliamentary tasks, otherwise ladies only do "tasbeeh" within the parliament and reply against each question that "I don't know I was doing tasbeeh"*. Women parliamentarians claimed that they learnt their skills with experience as *"Skills have learnt after much time spent in the parliament"* and *"I learnt all the skills through my senior party colleagues"* and *"I was totally blank when I first time elected by my party as MPA, I worked hard then and observed my seniors a lot. Sometimes I stopped myself to speak on the floor because of confusion about the process of the assembly"* So to be mastered and skillful in performing parliamentary tasks is a time taking task itself.

Women parliamentarians complained about unavailability of beforehand skill provision in the following comments. *"A lot of trouble I came across without skills of drafting a bill, at last I took the professional help for that on my own expense"* and sometimes ended up in failure as *"Yes, once I tried a lot to submit a bill but that was not technically sound enough to be submitted. I tried a lot, have assistance of many but in vain. So I quit and did not submit the bill"*. So less education couple with unskilled entry of women parliamentarian made their performance low in particular.

5.4.6.4 Theme 4: weak self-image

Some of the patterns in the data drive me to highlight one of the major issues that women parliamentarians are facing was their weak self-image. This has become a separate theme because it deals with the personality of the parliamentarians. No doubt personality is the outlet of

socialization and as living in patriarchal society, the women did not have a groomed self-image. To be aware of oneself is to have a concept of oneself. Baumeister (1999) provides the following self-concept definition: "The individual's belief about himself or herself, including the person's attributes and who and what the self is". I followed this definition to derive the results.

5.4.6.4.1 Sub theme 1: Low/no self-confidence. One of the most important personality traits is self-confidence. Majority of my respondents stayed indefinite while responding to this question was my significant finding which actually support the weak self-Image. Although all the respondents considered self-confidence as important element of the sound personality but many women parliamentarian did not considered themselves low in self-confidence. But every woman reported that she witnessed some evidences of women parliamentarians who had no self-confidence at all.

> *"I consider confidence most important, without which one cannot even sit in the parliament"* and *"I didn't have self -confidence before then my father groomed me a lot. He accompanied me to the assembly, introduced me with all the secretariat staff. I personally felt that confidence works many times, especially when you are on air, many colleagues get disturbed because of low confidence".*

The comments like *"Yes confidence matters a lot, and education contributes a lot in grooming self- confidence. The ladies with less knowledge lost their confidence on the floor and made them a fool".* Similarly, *"This is pathetic that we have such ladies in the parliament who cannot speak even a single word either due to their ignorance or due to their less confidence".*

Most of the respondents considered self-confidence as similar to confidence but this is not the case. I used self-confidence as a parameter to assess their conceptual clarity of what they were doing and why they were doing and withstanding their arguments. But unfortunately no lady came in to this field with a solid vision. That was either accidental or by dynastic pressure or in one case by the inspirational book of one of the party leaders. No single argument guided about the solid agenda of any women parliamentarian about what actually they were meant for doing in the parliament. So I claimed this theme as the main issue of women parliamentarians.

5.4.6.4.2 Sub theme 2: Self Blaming.

A very brief data highlighted this sub theme of self-blaming by women parliamentarians for working as parliamentarians which is still in the acceptance phase as profession for women and still treated as a non-traditional field. Two of my respondents actually provided data which did not come under any other theme or subtheme and compelled me to define it as a separate sub theme. The extracts were: "*In start yes, I faced this problem of blaming myself when my children were small and sometimes I stuck in my work badly enough to give them time".* And the other said *"I repented a lot, when I missed many of my family's deaths due to my official visits. Once I thought to resign from my political duties when my grandmother expired and I couldn't reach on her funeral".*

The extracts guided me that both ladies were undergone situational crisis and repented upon their choice of politics as a work field which established this fact again that, women parliamentarians were not in the parliament with mindfulness. As I explained earlier in the start of this theme description that self-image should be higher enough not to shatter with some situations or accidents in life which was actually missing from women parliamentarians.

5.4.6.5 Theme 5: Prejudiced nature of politics

When I came towards the challenges that women parliamentarians face within the parliament and with its functions and functionaries, a huge data compiled. Thematic map 2, given above, had a full length description of themes, sub themes and their inter-relationships.

Prejudiced nature of politics was an overarching theme and had two direct sub themes and one dotted (indirect relationship) sub theme. Prejudiced nature of politics used to assist to create two main challenges of intricate procedures and gender biasness which resulted in low parliamentary service delivery of women parliamentarians.

5.4.6.5.1 Sub theme 1: Gender Biasness. One of the important challenges that women parliamentarian facing, was gender biasness. Politics as a field was considered male friendly as they were more in the parliament in terms of numbers. If we considered the universal rule of majority is authority, it could then be possible to create a rationale of practicing biasness towards female politicians to limit their performance and affect their parliamentary service delivery.

According to my respondents *"Politics is not a tough job if we have a clear vision in our mind. The voice in the parliament is yet important when the suggestions we recommend would incorporated in its true sense, but hierarchies are there for women to follow within the parliament which is purely undemocratic"* and similarly women opined *"Many issues remained sidelined from the agenda just because it was females' agenda"* which highlighted the issue of biasness towards one sex on the basis of their perceived gender.

Several times respondents faced gender biasness; as *"I took up the issue of home based workers but no one was there to stand with me just because I was a woman".* Sometimes they

considered themselves even unproductive at all due to this marginalization on the basis of gender biasness they faced.

> *Assembly tasks are not the matter of concern. The matter of concern should be the after effects of those functions performed by women parliamentarians. I think I am in the assembly to represent the women agenda on the floor of the house and if I'm not performing my duty well, I wouldn't deserve to sit in the parliament.*

A very strong point was also pointed out by one of my respondents as below, which was actually depicting the prejudiced nature of politics through gender biasness.

> *We have a very biased nature of politics towards females who were kept quiet by the male counterparts even the worthy speaker sometimes got biased and did not allow women parliamentarians to speak or cut their time to speech etc.*

Many times it happened that male parliamentarians degraded their female colleagues as *"Males do not take women agenda seriously, they mocked many a times, I personally faced hooting many a times by male as well as female colleagues".*

5.4.6.5.2 Sub theme 2: Intricate procedures. It happened several times that the intricate nature of procedures appeared as hurdle for women politicians to perform fully in the parliament. Respondents claimed *"We do not have any system at all to follow within the assembly. No true legislation took place within these five years"* and *"Our politics is not result oriented actually.*

We raise the issue of public interest once, and leave that half done. No comprehensive solution in terms of policies came across".

Women parliamentarians complained about *reference* as a key to unlock the procedural deadlocks. *"legislative tasks are not complicated if all the parliamentarians did according to the rules of procedure but actually this was not the situation, every time you wants to submit your business, there used reference. "reference chalta he".* One of the respondents said,

> *We are just copy pasting the laws. Many of the parliamentarians*
> *are not informed about the problems of their constituencies. Some*
> *bill introduced anywhere in the world and we did a copy paste and*
> *tried to implement it as it was, which is practically impractical*
> *without any alteration according to our own needs, priorities and*
> *moral and ethical considerations. I observed very non serious*
> *attitude of parliamentarians towards legislation, No serious*
> *discussion on policies".*

5.4.6.6 Theme 6: Party as a pressure group

Political parties have a key role to perform in the politics within as well as outside the parliament. But it was observed that sometimes, parties interrupted into the political performance of tasks by parliamentarians and gave undue pressure to parliamentarians to do whatever political parties want to do for them.

5.4.6.6.1 Sub theme 1: Task segregation. Party pressurized their members in the parliament either males or females and defined tasks to be performed by females differently from

the male counterparts. One thing important to note was that women parliamentarians did not consider this segregation upright as well as accepted.

One of my respondents of government party said, "*One routine government alliance practice was to give their parliamentarians a signal to keep quiet and say yes to all the party policies*". To compel women parliamentarians to be seated in the parliamentary sessions and made the quorum and to allow male members to keep on doing their constituency tasks was again a routine practice.

> "*80 percent of the assembly business were performed by female parliamentarians, because males wouldn't consider it as important as their constituency's linkages and works, their top priority was "chorein ji, halqey k kaam ho jain bs" to get votes in the next election*".

Moreover women parliamentarians couldn't say no to the tasks assigned by the party as they had to face humiliation regarding their selection on quota by the party. As one women reported that, "*Party play a big role actually in case of women on reserved seats often listen and face the remarks like "party ki meherbani" by their male party members, whenever they want to speak for the larger interest of women community*". Similarly, "*Being party worker we collectively cannot go for women agenda, being women minority, we cannot fight for women rights jointly due to party restraints*".

The representatives of public were no more public representatives when they were in the parliament. They were there meant for party preferences which were hardly derived through real

public issues. They themselves accepted, "*Party influenced a lot on all the assembly business through its members. Actually we raise the party agenda on the floor*".

One of my respondents reported the difference between government and opposition tenures of herself regarding party role that,

> "*I saw both the government and the opposition tenure and I knew that when we are in the government we should be more party bound in terms of our speeches on the floor of the house, because Party sometimes binds their members to go beyond the party lines*".

5.4.6.6.2 Sub Theme 2: Benevolent sexism. Glick, Fiske, and colleagues (2002) proposed that sexism has two aspects; one of them is benevolent sexism which is defined as having positive attitudes towards women, which in turn actually lead to belittling women, and to their Subservience. And as a consequence of this perception, women are seen as weak, less competent, more in need of protection than men. Therefore it can be assumed as favorable trait that is associated with women stereotypically, but actually perpetuate their lower status.

This also became a sub theme of main theme which was party as a pressure group. Because several times women parliamentarians were given a relief in the acknowledgement of their previous work but that would actually prove an avoidance of women members to be the part of those decisions which were of utmost importance, most of the time of financial nature.

> "*Financial matters are handled by bureaucracy; Male higher-ups of the party got their deals of development budgets with them. We never become the part of those meetings. Assembly has nothing to*

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do with this business and heavily relied on bureaucracy, and just

passed that bill within the assembly. I did not allow to present a

cut motion in budgetary meeting with the comments by male party

members like "leave these matters madam, why are you working

hard on all this stuff as you will not get even a single penny out of

it, we are here to see all these things".

Moreover one of my respondents said:

"The budget making function is all fake, "topi drama" nothing

else. Even, the suggestions which we submitted in the pre

budgetary meetings never be addressed or incorporated in the

budget. So, financial policies are not designed and produced

within the assembly. No special input is given by me in the budget

because that was all predefined".

Sometimes party save their party members apparently by treating them through benevolent sexism. As comments like, "*Party serves to their parliamentarians as they can use their party face whenever they needed". A*nd, *"party provides a patronage to young parliamentarians".*

5.4.6.6.3 Sub theme 3: Agenda Setting. Party as a pressure group controls the agenda of the private members also if they are their party members. The case becomes worsened when party deals with female members. They were not allowed to initiate any private member bill without the consent of the party higher-ups. And of course party did not put women agenda on top. As one of my respondents said, "*Many issues remained sidelined from the agenda just*

because it was females' agenda", and once, *"I took up the issue of home based workers but no one was there to stand with me from my party just because I was a woman".*

> *"Assembly tasks are not the matter of concern. The matter of concern should be the after effects of those functions performed by women parliamentarians. I think I am in the assembly to represent the women agenda on the floor of the house and if I'm not performing my duty well, I wouldn't deserve to sit in the parliament".*

5.4.6.7 Theme7: Negative Social perception

Negative social perception has become an overarching theme as women parliamentarians reported very relevant statements to this theme. However, the theme has sub divided in further two dimensions of this theme as negative social perception about character and negative social perception about performance of women parliamentarians.

5.4.6.7.1 Sub theme 1: Negative perception about character. Many respondents reported the negative perception of society about the character of the woman parliamentarian. The very reason is again the deep rooted patriarchal culture in which the woman who worked outside the home was not considered as respectable woman. Women reported comments like *"People do criticize me especially the elder ladies of my family and clan due to my entry in politics".*

> *"I faced a lot of scandals from public as well as my male colleagues in my career. People threw a lot of rubbish stuff on me even some of my female colleagues were hesitated while sitting with me but I faced it with courage because I knew I was clear".*

5.4.6.7.2 Sub theme 2: Negative perception about performance. The performance of women parliamentarian was the issue that was debated a lot in the society as well as in the media. So, one subtheme was drawn from the overarching theme of negative social perception about the performance of the women.

Women considered party was responsible mainly for creating negative perception of the people towards their performance. As one of the respondents, pointed out: "*Not only the words, we born the violence of people on "blasphemy law issue". The wrath of public we had to face because of our sheer mistake"*.

One of the respondents highlighted the issue as:

> "*Every time when I went interior city I faced the problem. They called bad names, used curses and pointed fingers on all doings and non- doings of me and my party leadership. Perception of people actually triggered through some big decision by the party either in favor of public or not and public perceived all the members as equally responsible of that decision"*.

5.4.6.8 Theme 8: Behavior of parliamentarians

Behavior of parliamentarians was of grave concern. So it has become an umbrella theme covering two sub themes. One is of disrespectful behavior of male colleagues and the other is named as mutual distrust of women parliamentarians. This was awfully awkward theme that I draw and I was surprisingly shocked about the restless working environment in which women parliamentarians work.

5.4.6.8.1 Sub Theme 1: Disrespectful behavior towards women Parliamentarian by Male colleagues. Women parliamentarians reported dreadful names of them called by the male colleagues. The women parliamentarians reported against the male parliamentarians of Islamic political parties that they did not have acceptance for women to be in the parliament, especially run for election.

> *"There is no respect in parliament for a woman. Male mindset is just the same in and outside of the parliament to discriminate women. If a woman does competent enough to compete with the males of the parliament, they go for her character assassination. And what a society we have, masha Allah, which admitted abruptly all the stories as truth without investigating. I endured the names like "sweet dish" "trifle" and "kheraati seaton pe bethney wali" from my male colleagues".*

Similarly one of my respondents replied so annoyingly about the behavior of *Molanaa hazraat* that they were *intolerable creature. "There is no acceptability for women in parliament. Especially for Molvi Hazraat "un k liye aurat ko braabar bithana bht mushkil he", who cannot bear women working side by side with men".* And, *"Male parliamentarians mocked women parliamentarians many a times; I personally faced hooting by male as well as by female colleagues".*

5.4.6.8.2 Subtheme 2: Mutual distrust of women parliamentarians. This theme was highlighted accidently when I observed that women avoid talking about other women. When I

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provoked them, I came up with such data which dragged me towards creating one subtheme dealing with the relationship of women vs. women parliamentarians.

> *"My (female) colleagues are like taunting machines. Females are*
> *so jealous from one another. No one can see others excelling their*
> *position within the party. Politics is the other name of leg pulling*
> *others and criticize others either willingly or unwillingly".*

Another respondent claimed that *"Females were more with mal intentions than males within the assembly".* Another important finding of the study was that female politicians did not support junior colleagues, as reported:

> *"No woman either of my own party or of the other party*
> *encouraged their junior female colleagues on good participation in*
> *the session, afterwards. The situation is vice versa in males. They*
> *do encourage the new comers' males on their participation in*
> *assembly business".*

5.4.6.9 Theme 9: Government Commitments

Punjab government considered its prime responsibility to reduce the challenges of parliamentarians. For this purpose, Punjab Assembly connected with a lot of international as well as national forums to enhance their capacity of working.

5.4.6.9.1 Sub Theme 1: International engagements. International commitments of the Punjab Assembly helped a lot in arranging Study visits to House of Commons, west-minister and Scottish parliament under Westminster Foundation for Democracy. Similarly, Australia Awards

Pakistan Programme for short courses on effective and efficient management of parliamentary committees.

As above Assembly has the collaboration with Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, European Union's Project 'SUBAI', Pakistan Institute of parliamentary services, Democracy Reporting International for capacity building of parliamentarians.

5.4.6.9.2 Sub theme 2: National engagement. Punjab assembly provided an open platform for civil society organizations and non-governmental organizations to contribute in capacity building of the parliamentarians. Civil society organizations' role is remarkable in terms of lobbying and help parliamentarians in bill development. Moreover, they gave training on parliamentary tasks especially bill development.

The NGOs are performing very well indeed, helped a lot e.g. DRI for Networking and relationship. *"I was so surprised when CSO gave us training about assembly tasks and almost all the MPAs who got training were better in their performance afterwards".*

Another women parliamentarian said,

> *"I witnessed their work for labour laws, highlighting the issues of home-based workers, sanitation issues, livestock issues, health and hygiene issues etc., so we cannot deny their role of pressure building as a strong interest group for sustainable development".*

Women parliamentarians admired the Young Parliamentary Associates Programme, who provided trained and well informed interns for their help in performing parliamentary tasks through providing assistance in drafting of bills etc.

5.4.6.10 Theme 10: Parliamentarians' Strategies

Women parliamentarians had have some strategies as private members to deal with their issues and challenges which included two main strategies one was private hiring of advisors and the other was paid help by secretariat staff.

5.4.6.10.1 Sub Theme 1: Private hiring of advisors. Women parliamentarians reported some of the strategies they personally devised to get some help in performing their political tasks. As one woman reported, *"They (private legal advisor) gave me assistance in start of my career".* Secondly, some women reported the other ladies using the assistance of private assistance. As *"I personally know a lady who hired a private assistant for doing all the legislative business".*

5.4.6.10.2 Sub Theme 2: Paid help by secretariat staff. Somehow or the other, women got the services of secretariat officials and staff for their legislative tasks by giving them illegitimate money. As one parliamentarian reported that, *"Women parliamentarians hired their assistants even from the secretariat, privately, give money to them from their own pocket and do all assembly business through them, and get their names on the top performers".*

5.5 Thematic Analysis of Data Set II

Second data set is comprised of male parliamentarians, Punjab assembly officials and NGOs representatives together. While in the second data set, there were data collected through 10 interviews, four from male parliamentarians, four from Punjab assembly officials and 2 from NGOs representatives designated to attend the assembly sessions. Same procedure was repeated on Data set II to extract important themes which was used to analyse data set I. Whereas, male parliamentarians are denoted as Category a of Data Set II, Punjab assembly officials are denoted

as Category b of Data Set II and NGOs representatives designated to attend the assembly sessions are denoted as Category c of Data Set II.

5.5.1 Step 1: Become familiar with the data (Data Set II)

I wanted to become familiar with my data set II so, getting started with the analysis, it was important to know about my data. This stage has been acquired through listening the audio recording of the interviews, transcribing it, translating it into English (where needed) and reading, re-reading and re-reading the interviews to be familiar with the data I collected. The rough transcription of the interviews was made at this stage.

5.5.1.1 Demographics of the respondents

Demographic information of the respondents of data set II was distributed in further three categories. Male parliamentarians were denoted as Category a of Data Set II, Punjab assembly officials are denoted as Category b of Data Set II and NGOs representatives designated to attend the assembly sessions are denoted as Category c of Data Set II.

The average age of male parliamentarians was 48 years and average years of parliamentary experience were 6 years. All the respondents of Category b of Data Set II i.e. Punjab assembly officials were on grade 18 and/or above 18 and all were male. The average age of Punjab assembly officials was 52 years and average years of service experience were 16 years. Whereas, the third category of NGOs representatives were with average age of 37 and had three years' experience of parliamentary observation each. Both the NGOs representatives were females. So over all Data set II had eight male respondents whereas 2 female respondents.

5.5.2 Step 2: Generate Initial Codes. (Data Set II)

In this step I organized my data firstly, by scattering data enough to be coded easily. Coding helped me to reduce lots of data into small chunks of meaning. I was concerned with sorting the data addressing specific issues and challenges highlighted by all the respondents of data set II. Secondly, I coded each segment of data that was relevant to or captured something important about broad questions of my research. I did not code every piece of text and used open coding; that means I did not have pre-set codes, but developed and modified the codes as I worked through the coding process.

Thirdly, by reading data again and again, I developed some preliminary ideas about codes. I worked through each transcript, coding every segment of text that seemed to be relevant to or specifically address the research question. I did this by hand initially, working through hardcopies of the transcripts with pens and high lighters, then converted all the data in soft form to further utilize it for analysis.

Data set II had interviews of male parliamentarians, Punjab assembly officials and NGOs representatives. Firstly, I combined the codes in to the major categories with the help of interview questions in the table below.

Q1. education and political skills/experience as an issue	Q2. Do you think women parliamentarian experience any barriers?	Q3. Do you think women parliamentarians face family role expectation as an issue?
Codes	**Codes**	**Codes**
Very educated ladies were there in the parliament this year, Education plays an important part in the parliamentary functions, yes less education can become a big challenge to the women parliamentarians,	There are barriers for women in every field but in politics those are of somewhat different nature. In politics women are not considered as the potential candidates by the parties as they do not/cannot show	I don't know, I can't say something on this question Yes of course they would face as that should be their priority, we always believe in "the woman who cannot run home, must not run

Political experience matters a lot, the ladies who came first time in the parliament cannot perform in the start of their career at least one year, you can see the verbatim of the assembly sessions, this is on the record,

I think power of speech is the most important to convey the message on the floor instead of education, convincing power can be the second important element to become a good politician, some women have both, some have nothing,

Education should be in hand, experience can gain with practice of doing tasks time and again,

Educated parliamentarians present the serious business in the assembly always,

Parliamentary functions are performed through some rules and the ladies who knew these rules whether experienced or not can perform well in the parliament,

I observed all the ladies who performed in the sessions were qualified (at least B.A.) and conveyed their message well to the house,

I think so that less education is an issue not only for females but also for male parliamentarians and we are striving for training of female as well as male parliamentarians to become skillful in performing all the parliamentary functions. But the

their vote bank or "bradri". They cannot promise the financial assistance on their own etc. these things remain women far behind men to be in the politics,

Many barriers women face like they cannot move any bill towards the passing stage until and unless they lobby some of their male colleagues with them as they are very less in numbers in the parliament, so women related issues for which they raise their voice cannot be resolved through women candidate only,

Sometimes they face some issues regarding public meetings where they are supposed to defend party decisions which mostly women denied to take part such meetings because of little knowledge about party decisions and the rationale behind those decisions,

I think women face issues regarding less information from the other parliamentarians share with them. e.g. the women who are the members of standing committees were not informed about the committees decisions and the reports would be forwarded without their inputs incorporated,

Yes they face some trouble while they want to raise some issue of women interest as domestic violence issue, they face much critique on it, and the bad thing is that they were left alone to face the backlash

anything else"

Family role is must, there should be no excuse for that, by parliamentarians they face it or not, I think they would better response for that question,

Majority f the ladies are married and have families and smoothly running their families so I think the women who have full support of family would enter into politics,

I don't think so that the families from which the most women parliamentarians' belong to, would have some issue like this,

Obviously, our society does not spare any woman from family responsibilities completely so they would also have some responsibilities as I can quote here a woman parliamentarian who had the responsibility to take care of her bedridden mother in law (either with some assistance but has to do),

Family roles are far behind the role they perform for the larger public good, so I don't think so that they would face any issue related to family roles,

The real issues would not be as much big as they portrayed their issues, so "*issue choty hoty hein, rony ziada hoty hein*"

I think they had some issues specially those who have small babies and had to come from outstation to attend the assembly

response rate of female parliamentarians to join these training sessions is far better than male parliamentarians. So I think female parliamentarians are more progressive and conscious about their duty towards public and they show more respect to the floor of the house.	whenever the situation like this come, I observed a lot of issues women parliamentarians are facing there, the biggest is that they have no voice there to be heard, No one bother to take women' questions seriously, Most unanswered questions would be raised by women parliamentarians, No separate sitting room would be given to women, around 2% of the officials of the Punjab assembly were females and I did not witness any area or room designated for them even I saw a woman official breastfed her child in the library which is considered a place open for all, so parliamentary environment is not female friendly at all, I think they face barriers by the party authorities, not give them chance to speak publically or not utilize their potential fully by not giving them hierarchical positions within the parties and/or in the assembly	sessions, those ladies were really in trouble during session days, I cannot say that every lady would have this issue but yes some of them would have, but I don't know any one personally, The women parliamentarian can better response this question,
Q4. Do you believe that our society is patriarchal so our parliament? **Codes** Society does not response equal to males and females….yes, this practice can impact the parliament as well Actually difference in males and females' roles is natural, the issue	**Q5. What do you think women have the confidence required in politics?** **Codes** Generally women who were in parliament had no confidence at all, but some ladies were so confident, but I cannot tell exactly, what is the reason behind this variation? That	**Q6. What does society think about women politician?** **Codes** Society has a good view about women politicians as they expect from them the rights women are denied, but unfortunately our political system does not steam lined enough to use their potential in

comes where women deviate their responsibility of home and try to become a public figure, so society does not accept this deviation

Parliament is the institution within the society and will act upon as the society requires that,

Society does not accept politics as females' task, should be performed by males, and the actual condition is just the same as society requires, if women are in the parliament, they are there just for quorum,

The patriarchal setup is basically in favor of the females, they should not do any work for coming in the parliament. Without election they come and give their input for legislation,

Society's culture if we follow in the parliament that because we are from this society, and women are not admired as much for their role as politician by the society because they do not prove themselves as better politician than men of the society,

Yes patriarchal culture basically restrict women's participation at every public forum so is the case with parliament, women could not perform well in general discussions, in pre-budget discussions etc. they were there just to be counted as voters for any bill, passed,

They even do not know the issue for which voting is required and see the

can be, difference in education, family background, geographical background, political background etc.

Obviously this decision to join politics itself advocate their confidence that they are ready to take part in politics,

Confidence has many faces, within the parliament, outside the parliament, in front of media, in front of public etc. so different women have different form of confidence to project in different environment.

Within parliament, women do serve with confidence. They pose questions very confidently on the floor,

Politics is all about convincing other people to vote for you because you can better represent your interests within the parliament, women are exempted from this duty by law because they have fixed quota to come to the parliament,

Our parties are actually responsible for not grooming their women workers in such a way to build confidence in them, only the educated ladies can perform well on the floor of the house,

Yes women parliamentarians are confident may be more than male parliamentarians in some way or the other but they are not treated equally as men, they are given very less time

policy making,

We are in the bounds of patriarchal setup so you can think what would society think about women politician,

Women are not supposed to do the tasks like politics by the society.

Under the international commitments, we amend our laws and fix a quota for women but still women wouldn't be considered as the first option for public for law making(examples are there: Hilary's defeat being a women…American civilized first world nation didn't vote for a women, how can our society?),

No high hopes are there attached with female politicians. Women are not seen as game changer in the politics, and whenever I talked to female parliamentarians, they wouldn't have any clear goal to achieve through policy making which can change the women' lives at large. So as politicians, I do not see them as good as men,

Society in general does not accept female politicians. They are been accepted by the society as they are very less in numbers, secondly they do not contest elections and get the reserved seats for women as we have the quota for minority, so if honestly we see, women politician have no respect either within the parliament or in public at large as long as they

hand of their monitor (most of the time male) for vote against the issue under discussion or not,	to elaborate their point "baat clear hi nai krny di jati, point a gya, ka shor" When everywhere is monopoly of males, either within the parliament or within the party, confidence of women is of no use	have quota seats, They will be respected by the society when they will contest on general elections on equal basis, rejecting the charity (quota) seats,
Q7. Do you think male colleagues listen and respect female colleagues **Codes** Not entirely the case, sometimes hooting does happen, but that is actually invited by the victim herself. Moreover that is not the thing which just happen to the females, male parliamentarians are also mocked by the female as well as male colleagues, Yes all the parliamentarians do listen the female colleagues' point of order and respect all the ladies, Within parliament no issue would they (women parliamentarians) face, I'm cent per cent sure about this, Many females are not familiar with the rules of the procedures of the assembly, go against the rules and become the target of the speaker by shutting her up and they think it as insult when other people laugh, but that is just the ignorance nothing else, intentionally no one target the other, I personally believe that sometimes males do practice some biasness and create unfriendly environment for	**Q8. Do you think that women can be as good of politicians as men?** **Codes** Yes, why not, we have a lot of margin in male parliamentarians also to be the better politician as well as for females, actually we do not have the true politicians indeed who can legislate truly according to the demands of the country and draw original priority lines between the agendas, Women are as good politicians as men; they attended more sessions than men, Male politicians have many role models to follow, whether female politicians are facing dearth of role models in this field. This is the reason that they are far behind males in this field, Politics is just like cricket which is considered as the males' game, so I think I made up my point very clear that what do I think, does not matter but what do society think at large, matters a lot, I think government should focus on the trainings of female colleagues to become as good politicians and to become the active politicians,	

female politicians, A latent behavior is accepted as well as practiced by all the parliamentarians by whom female parliamentarians have internalized themselves as they are second class politicians and males have a sense of superiority being elected by the public and respect the general seat holders only. The women on reserved seats have not same respect either in front of their party colleagues or in front of all the parliamentarians. Women's agenda wouldn't be the priority of the day to be discussed, least priority would be given to the females' suggestions in general discussions and pre-budget sessions,	Females can be very good politicians, actually I think their potential is under-utilized and their capacities are unexplored yet in this remarkable field. They can make a difference, Yes women can be as good politicians as men but the issue would remain the same if women will not be accepted as politicians by the society, how would they serve? So first we need to create the acceptance of female politicians in the society.

5.5.3 Step 3: Search for themes (Data Set II)

A theme is a pattern that captures something significant or interesting about the data. There are no hard and fast rules about what makes a theme. A theme is characterized by its significance. There may be considerable overlap between the coding stage and this stage of identifying preliminary themes.

Major themes were generated with the help of using codes. Data set II was arranged through codes and interview questions, converted into phrases initially for the steps of the research. The codes which strongly went along with suggested initial themes were highlighted in the table below.

Q1. Less education and political capacity	Q2. Misc. barriers?	Q3. Family role expectation as a privileged serious considerations
Codes	**Codes**	**Codes**
Very educated ladies were there in the parliament this year,	There are barriers for women in every field but in politics those are of somewhat different nature.	I don't know, I can't say something on this question
Education plays an important part in the parliamentary functions, yes less education can become a big challenge to the women parliamentarians,	In politics women are not considered as the potential candidates by the parties as they do not/cannot show their vote bank or "bradri".	Yes of course they would face as that should be their priority, we always believe in "the woman who cannot run home, must not run anything else"
Political experience matters a lot, the ladies who came first time in the parliament cannot perform in the start of their career at least one year, you can see the verbatim of the assembly sessions, this is on the record,	Women cannot promise the financial assistance on their own etc. these things remain women far behind men to be in the politics,	Family role is must, there should be no excuse for that, by parliamentarians they face it or not, I think they would better response for that question,
I think power of speech is the most important thing to have, to convey the message on the floor instead of education, convincing power can be the second important element to become a good politician, some women have both, some have nothing,	Many barriers women face like they cannot move any bill towards the passing stage until and unless they lobby some of their male colleagues with them as they are very less in numbers in the parliament, so women related issues for which they raise their voice cannot be resolved through women candidate only,	Majority of the ladies are married and have families and smoothly running their families so I think the women who have full support of family would enter into politics,
Education should be in hand, experience can gain with practice of doing tasks time and again,	Sometimes they face some issues regarding public meetings where they are supposed to defend party decisions which mostly women denied to take part such meetings because of little knowledge about party decisions and the rationale behind those decisions,	I don't think so that the families from which the most women parliamentarians' belong to, would have some issue like this,
Educated parliamentarians present the serious business in the assembly always,		Obviously, our society does not spare any woman from family responsibilities completely so they would also have some responsibilities as I can quote here a woman parliamentarian who had the responsibility to take care of her bedridden mother in law (either with some assistance but has to do),
Parliamentary functions are performed through some rules and the ladies who knew these rules whether experienced or not can perform well in the parliament,	I think women face issues regarding less information from the other parliamentarians share with them. e.g. the women who are the members of standing committees were not informed about the committees decisions and the reports	Family roles are far behind the role they perform for the larger public good, so I don't think so that they would face any issue related to
I observed all the ladies who		

performed in the sessions were qualified (at least B.A.) and conveyed their message well to the house, I think so that less education is an issue not only for females but also for male parliamentarians and we are striving for training of female as well as male parliamentarians to become skillful in performing all the parliamentary functions. But the response rate of female parliamentarians to join these training sessions is far better than male parliamentarians. So I think female parliamentarians are more progressive and conscious about their duty towards public and they show more respect to the floor of the house.	would be forwarded without their inputs incorporated, Yes they face some trouble while they want to raise some issue of women interest as domestic violence issue, they face much critique on it, and the bad thing is that they were left alone to face the backlash whenever the situation like this come, I observed a lot of issues women parliamentarians are facing there, the biggest is that they have no voice there to be heard, No one bother to take women' questions seriously, Most unanswered questions would be raised by women parliamentarians, No separate sitting room would be given to women, around 2% of the officials of the Punjab assembly were females and I did not witness any area or room designated for them even I saw a woman official breastfed her child in the library which is considered a place open for all, so parliamentary environment is not female friendly at all, I think they face barriers by the party authorities, not give them chance to speak publically or not utilize their potential fully by not giving them hierarchical positions within the parties and/or in the assembly	family roles, The real issues would not be as much big as they portrayed their issues, so "*issue choty hoty hein, rony ziada hoty hein*" I think they had some issues specially those who have small babies and had to come from outstation to attend the assembly sessions, those ladies were really in trouble during session days, I cannot say that every lady would have this issue but yes some of them would have, but I don't know any one personally, The women parliamentarian can better response this question,
Theme: Patriarchal setup in and	**Theme: women have the**	**Q6. What does society think about**

out of the parliament	confidence required in politics?	women politician?
Codes	**Codes**	**Codes**
Society does not response equal to males and females….yes, this practice can impact the parliament as well	Generally women who were in parliament had no confidence at all, but some ladies were so confident, but I cannot tell exactly, what is the reason behind this variation? That can be, difference in education, family background, geographical background, political background etc.	Society has a good view about women politicians as they expect from them the rights women are denied, but unfortunately our political system does not steam lined enough to use their potential in policy making,
Actually difference in males and females' roles is natural, the issue comes where women deviate their responsibility of home and try to become a public figure, so society does not accept this deviation	Obviously this decision to join politics itself advocate their confidence that they are ready to take part in politics,	We are in the bounds of patriarchal setup so you can think what would society think about women politician,
Parliament is the institution within the society and will act upon as the society requires that,	Confidence has many faces, within the parliament, outside the parliament, in front of media, in front of public etc. so different women have different form of confidence to project in different environment.	Women are not supposed to do the tasks like politics by the society. Under the international commitments, we amend our laws and fix a quota for women but still women wouldn't be considered as the first option for public for law making(examples are there: Hilary's defeat being a women…American civilized first world nation didn't vote for a women, how can our society?),
Society does not accept politics as females' task, should be performed by males, and the actual condition is just the same as society requires, if women are in the parliament, they are there just for quorum,	Within parliament, women do serve with confidence. They pose questions very confidently on the floor,	No high hopes are there attached with female politicians. Women are not seen as game changer in the politics, and whenever I talked to female parliamentarians, they wouldn't have any clear goal to achieve through policy making which can change the women' lives at large. So as politicians, I do not see them as good as men,
The patriarchal setup is basically in favor of the females, they should not do any work for coming in the parliament. Without election they come and give their input for legislation,	Politics is all about convincing other people to vote for you because you can better represent their interests within the parliament, women are exempted from this duty by law because they have fixed quota to come to the parliament,	Society in general does not accept female politicians. They are been
Society's culture if we follow in the parliament that because we are from this society, and women are not admired as much for their role as politician by the society because they do not prove themselves as better politician than men of the society,	Our parties are actually responsible for not grooming their women workers in such a way to build confidence in them, only the	
Yes patriarchal culture basically restrict women's participation at		

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every public forum so is the case with parliament, women could not perform well in general discussions, in pre-budget discussions etc. they were there just to be counted as voters for any bill, passed,

They even do not know the issue for which voting is required and see the hand of their monitor (most of the time male) for vote against the issue under discussion or not,

educated ladies can perform well on the floor of the house,

Yes women parliamentarians are confident may be more than male parliamentarians in some way or the other but they are not treated equally as men, they are given very less time to elaborate their point "baat clear hi nai krny di jati, point a gya, ka shor" When everywhere is monopoly of males, either within the parliament or within the party, confidence of women is of no use,

accepted by the society as they are very less in numbers, secondly they do not contest elections and get the reserved seats for women as we have the quota for minority, so if honestly we see, women politician have no respect either within the parliament or in public at large as long as they have quota seats,

They will be respected by the society when they will contest on general elections on equal basis, rejecting the charity (quota) seats,

Q7. Do you think male colleagues listen and respect female colleagues

Codes

Not entirely the case, sometimes hooting does happen, but that is actually invited by women themselves.

Moreover that is not the thing which just happen to the females, male parliamentarians are also mocked by the female as well as male colleagues,

Yes all the parliamentarians do listen the female colleagues' point of order and respect all the ladies,

Within parliament no issue would they (women parliamentarians) face, I'm cent per cent sure about this,

Many females are not familiar with the rules of the procedures of the assembly, go against the rules and become the target of the speaker by

Q8. Do you think that women can be as good of politicians as men?

Codes

Yes, why not, we have a lot of margin in male parliamentarians also to be the better politician as well as for females, actually we do not have the true politicians indeed who can legislate truly according to the demands of the country and draw original priority lines between the agendas,

Women are as good politicians as men; they attended more sessions than men,

Male politicians have many role models to follow, whether female politicians are facing dearth of role models in this field. This is the reason that they are far behind males in this field,

Politics is just like cricket which is considered as the males' game, so I

shutting her up and they think it as insult when other people laugh, but that is just the ignorance nothing else, intentionally no one target the other,

I personally believe that sometimes males do practice some biasness and create unfriendly environment for female politicians,

A latent behavior is accepted as well as practiced by all the parliamentarians by whom female parliamentarians have internalized themselves as they are second class politicians and males have a sense of superiority being elected by the public and respect the general seat holders only. The women on reserved seats have not same respect either in front of their party colleagues or in front of all the parliamentarians.

Women's agenda wouldn't be the priority of the day to be discussed, least priority would be given to the females' suggestions in general discussions and pre-budget sessions

think I made up my point very clear that what do I think, does not matter but what do society think at large, matters a lot,

I think government should focus on the trainings of female colleagues to become as good politicians and to become the active politicians,

Females can be very good politicians, actually I think their potential is under-utilized and their capacities are unexplored yet in this remarkable field. They can make a difference,

Yes women can be as good politicians as men but the issue would remain the same if women will not be accepted as politicians by the society, how would they serve? So first we need to create the acceptance of female politicians in the society.

At the end of this step the codes had been organized into broader themes that seemed to say something specific about the important questions of the study. My themes were predominately descriptive, i.e. they described patterns in the data relevant to the research question. Table above shows all the preliminary themes that are identified along with the codes that are associated with them. Most codes are associated with one theme although some are

associated with more than one theme. The modification in the themes was reviewed in the next step.

5.5.4 Step 4: Review themes (Data Set II)

Initially I put all the information in one table; in this step I divided it according to the last two research questions of the study i.e.

1. What do the other stakeholders (male colleagues, assembly officials and NGOs representatives) think the issues and challenges, women parliamentarians, face while performing parliamentary services?

2. How do the other stakeholders (male colleagues, assembly officials and NGOs representatives) assess the parliamentary services, performed by women parliamentarians?

During this phase I reviewed, modified and developed the preliminary themes that I identified in Step 3. At this point it is useful to get together all the data that is relevant to each theme and sub theme. Themes which were labelled initially were reviewed. Some strong sub themes which were needed, added and some codes were altered. Many of the codes were re-shuffled, re- arranged or double used as to support or strengthen more than one theme.

5.5.4.1 Perception about the issues and challenges to elected women parliamentarians

Theme: Lack of Political Capacity **Sub theme 1: Lack of convincing power** I think power of speech is the most important thing to have, to convey the message on the floor instead of education, convincing power can be the second important element to become a good politician, some women have both, some have nothing,	**Theme: Discrimination by the party** **Sub theme 1: due to lack of financial assistance** There are barriers for women in every field but in politics those are of somewhat different nature. In politics women are not considered as the potential candidates by the parties as they do not/cannot show their vote bank or "bradri".	**Theme: Undemocratic parliamentary culture** parliamentarians in some way or the other are not be treated equally, they are given very less time to elaborate their point "baat clear hi nai krny di jati, point a gya, ka shor" When everywhere is monopoly of males, **Sub theme 1: Lack of information sharing**

Sub theme 2: Lack of training

Political experience matters a lot, the ladies who came first time in the parliament cannot perform in the start of their career at least one year, you can see the verbatim of the assembly sessions, this is on the record,

Sub theme 3: Lack of education

Parliamentary functions are performed through some rules and the ladies who knew these rules whether experienced or not can perform well in the parliament, Education plays an important part in the parliamentary functions, yes less education can become a big challenge to the women parliamentarians,

Education should be in hand, experience can gain with practice of doing tasks time and again,

Educated parliamentarians present the serious business in the assembly always,

I observed all the ladies who performed in the sessions were qualified (at least B.A.) and conveyed their message well to the house,

Sub theme 4: Lack of confidence

Generally women who were in parliament had no confidence at all,

Politics is all about convincing other people to vote for you because you can better represent their interests within the parliament, women are

Women cannot promise the financial assistance on their own etc. these things remain women far behind men to be in the politics,

Sub theme 2: little knowledge about party decisions

Sometimes they face some issues regarding public meetings where they are supposed to defend party decisions which mostly women denied to take part such meetings because of little knowledge about party decisions and the rationale behind those decisions,

Our parties are actually responsible for not grooming their women workers in such a way to build confidence in them, only the educated ladies can perform well on the floor of the house,

I think women face issues regarding less information from the other parliamentarians share with them. e.g. the women who are the members of standing committees were not informed about the committees decisions and the reports would be forwarded without their inputs incorporated,

Sub theme 2: Non serious behavior towards women' issues

Yes they face some trouble while they want to raise some issue of women interest as domestic violence issue, they face much critique on it, and the bad thing is that they were left alone to face the backlash whenever the situation like this come,

Women's agenda wouldn't be the priority of the day to be discussed, least priority would be given to the females' suggestions in general discussions and pre-budget sessions

I observed a lot of issues women parliamentarians are facing there, the biggest is that they have no voice there to be heard,

No one bother to take women' questions seriously,

Most unanswered questions would be raised by women parliamentarians,

Not entirely the case, sometimes hooting does happen, but that is actually invited by women themselves.

exempted from this duty by law because they have fixed quota to come to the parliament,		Moreover that is not the thing which just happen to the females, male parliamentarians are also mocked by the female as well as male colleagues, **Sub theme 3: unfriendly physical environment** No separate sitting room would be given to women, around 2% of the officials of the Punjab assembly were females and I did not witness any area or room designated for them even I saw a woman official breastfed her child in the library which is considered a place open for all, so parliamentary environment is not female friendly at all, **Sub theme 4:Quota issue** Women get the reserved seats as we have the quota for minority, so if honestly we see, women politician have no respect either within the parliament or in public at large as long as they have quota seats, Many barriers women face like they cannot move any bill towards the passing stage until and unless they lobby some of their male colleagues with them as they are very less in numbers in the parliament, so women related issues for which they raise their voice cannot be resolved through women candidate only, They will be respected by the society when they will contest on general elections on equal basis, rejecting the charity (quota) seats,

		They do not contest elections and get the reserved seats for women as we have the quota for minority, so if honestly we see, women politician have no respect either within the parliament or in public at large as long as they have quota seats,
Theme 4: public-private divide Codes Obviously, our society does not spare any woman from family responsibilities completely so they would also have some responsibilities as I can quote here a woman parliamentarian who had the responsibility to take care of her bedridden mother in law (either with some assistance but has to do), The real issues would not be as much big as they portrayed their issues, so "issue choty hoty hein, rony ziada hoty hein" I think they had some issues specially those who have small babies and had to come from outstation to attend the assembly sessions, those ladies were really in trouble during session days, Society does not response equal to males and females….yes, this practice can impact the parliament as well Actually difference in males and females' roles is natural, the issue comes where women deviate their responsibility of home and try to become a public figure, so society		

does not accept this deviation

Parliament is the institution within the society and will act upon as the society requires that,

Society does not accept politics as females' task, should be performed by males, and the actual condition is just the same as society requires, if women are in the parliament, they are there just for quorum,

The patriarchal setup is basically in favor of the females, they should not do any work for coming in the parliament. Without election they come and give their input for legislation,

Society's culture if we follow in the parliament that because we are from this society, and women are not admired as much for their role as politician by the society because they do not prove themselves as better politician than men of the society,

Yes patriarchal culture basically restrict women's participation at every public forum so is the case with parliament, women could not perform well in general discussions, in pre-budget discussions etc. they were there just to be counted as voters for any bill, passed,

They even do not know the issue for which voting is required and see the hand of their monitor (most of the time male) for vote against the issue under discussion or not

5.5.4.2 Evaluation of the parliamentary services performed by elected women parliamentarians

Theme 1: Unclear goals of women parliamentarians	Theme 2: Underutilization of women' potential	Theme 3: women working as second tier of politician	Theme 4: dearth of role models for women parliamentarians
No high hopes are there attached with female politicians. Women are not seen as game changer in the politics, and whenever I talked to female parliamentarians, they wouldn't have any clear goal to achieve through policy making which can change the women' lives at large. So as politicians, I do not see them as good as men,	I think they face barriers by the party authorities, not give them chance to speak publically or not utilize their potential fully by not giving them hierarchical positions within the parties and/or in the assembly and males have a sense of superiority being elected by the public and respect the general seat holders only. Females can be very good politicians, actually I think their potential is under-utilized and their capacities are unexplored	Under the international commitments, we amend our laws and fix a quota for women but still women wouldn't be considered as the first option for public for law making(examples are there: Hilary's defeat being a women…American civilized first world nation didn't vote for a women, how can our society?), The women on reserved seats have not same respect either in front of their party colleagues or in front of all the parliamentarians. A latent behavior is accepted as well as practiced by all the parliamentarians by whom female parliamentarians have internalized themselves as they are second class politicians	Many females are not familiar with the rules of the procedures of the assembly, go against the rules and become the target of the speaker by shutting her up and they think it as insult when other people laugh, but that is just the ignorance nothing else, intentionally no one target the other, we do not have the true politicians indeed who can legislate truly according to the demands of the country and draw original priority lines between the agendas, Male politicians have many role models to follow, whether female politicians are facing dearth of role models in this field. This is the reason that they are far behind males in this field

5.5.5 Stage 5: Defining themes (Data Set II)

This is the final refinement of the themes and the aim is to identify the essence and the core of the theme. If there are subthemes, how do they interact and relate to the main theme? How do the themes relate to each other? So this is the final stage of defining theme. Stage 5 of the data set II is guided by the results of stage 4 because much of the work has been refined at stage 4. The classification of the data according to research questions has also been the principle of the stage 5 of data set I. I had two main research questions at this stage.

5.5.5.1 Perception about the issues and challenges to elected women parliamentarians

Four overarching themes were highlighted while defining the perception of male politicians, officials of the parliaments and the designated members of non-governmental organizations. Thematic map 4 on the next page is defining the relationship of the themes and subthemes. Lack of political capacity, discrimination by the party and undemocratic culture of the parliament and public private divide are four main themes.

5.5.5.2 Evaluation of the parliamentary services performed by elected women parliamentarians

Four overarching themes were highlighted while defining the evaluation of male politicians, officials of the parliaments and the designated members of non-governmental organizations about the performance of elected women parliamentarians. Thematic map 5 on the next page is defining the relationship of the themes and subthemes.

Thematic Map 4: Perception about the issues and challenges to elected women parliamentarians

Perception about the issues and challenges to elected women parliamentarians

Public private divide

Lack of Political Capacity

Lack of confidence

Lack of convincing power

Lack of Training

Lack of Education

Discrimination by the Party

Lack of financial assistance by the females

Little knowledge about party decisions

Undemocratic Parliamentary Culture

Unfriendly physical environment

Quota issues

Lack of information sharing

Non serious behavior about women issues

Thematic Map 5: Evaluation of the parliamentary services performed by elected women parliamentarians

Evaluation of the parliamentary services performed by elected women parliamentarians

Unclear goals of women parliamentarians

Underutilization of women' potential

Women working as second tier of politician

Dearth of role models for women parliamentarians
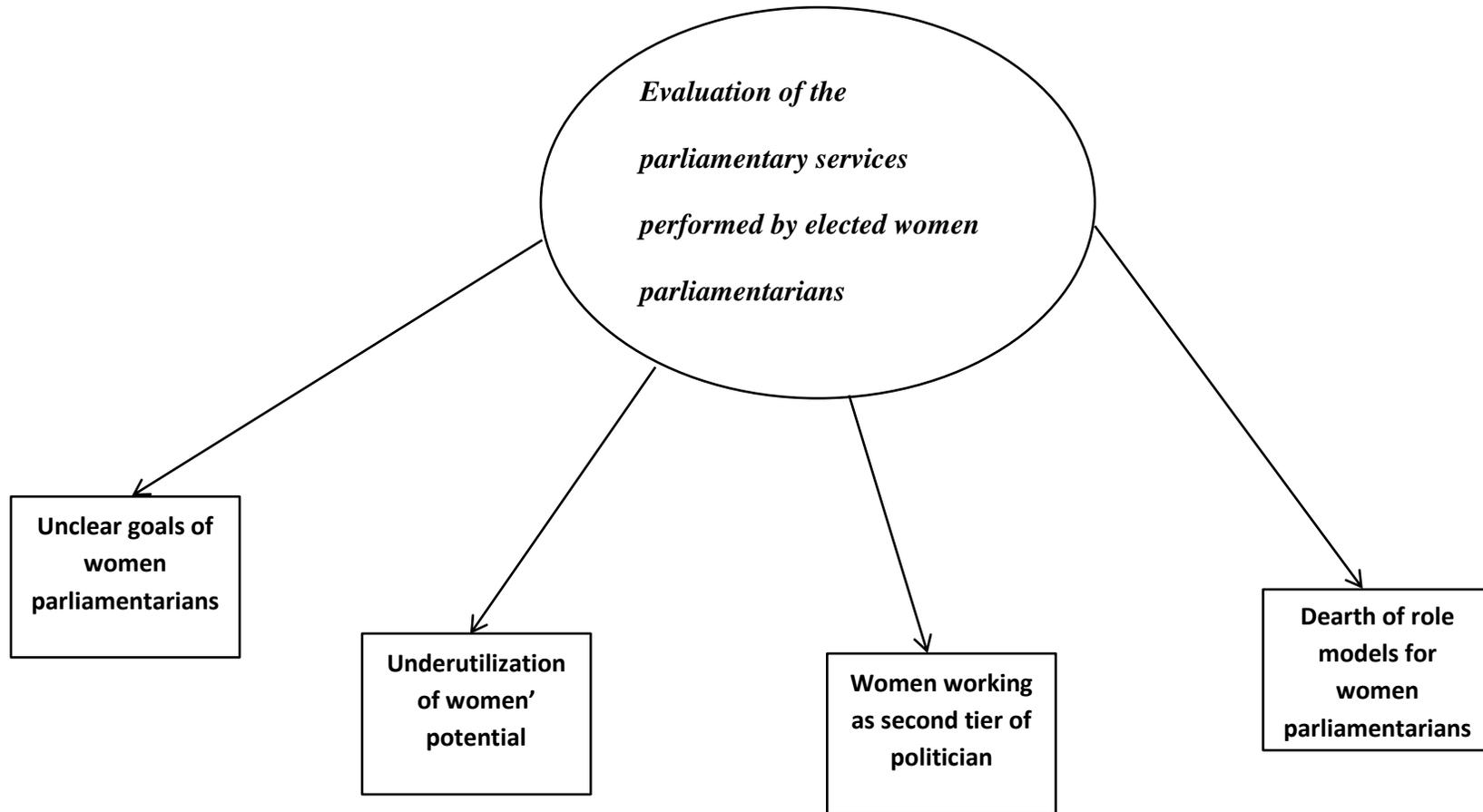
5.5.6 Stage 6: Write up (Data Set II)

5.5.6.1 Lack of Political Capacity

Four main themes are related to perception of respondents about issues and challenges to women parliamentarians, described below in detail with their suitable extracts of the respondents.

5.5.6.1.1 Sub theme 1: Lack of convincing power. Most of the respondents think that women politicians lack the convincing power on the floor of the house. Women parliamentarians did not elaborate the issue in detail thus, showed low capacity of legislative business. As one of the respondent while discussing the females' low confidence, said *"convincing power is the most important thing to have, to convey the message on the floor instead of education, power of speech can be the second important element to become a good politician, some women has both.. but majority are silent seaters"*

5.5.6.1.2 Sub theme 2: Lack of training. Training and political experience matters a lot. Majority of the ladies directly came to the provincial assembly without going through the procedure of local governance and knew nothing about the assembly business. One of the respondents from assembly officials highlighted the matter that in first year of the assembly women usually remained less active, *"the ladies who came first time in the parliament cannot perform in the start of their career at least one year, you can see the verbatim of the assembly sessions, this is on the record",* afterwards when they got some trainings from formal or informal sources, understood the assembly business and became active member in the parliament.

5.5.6.1.3 Sub theme 3: Lack of education. Most of the respondents carried this question seriously especially by the non-governmental members. Parliamentary functions are performed through some rules and the ladies who knew these rules whether experienced or not can perform well in the parliament. Education plays an important part in the parliamentary functions; yes less education can become a big challenge to the women parliamentarians. Education should be in hand, experience can gain with practice of doing tasks time and again. Male parliamentarians were of the view that educated parliamentarians present the serious business in the assembly always. The other one said *"I observed all the ladies who performed in the sessions were qualified (at least B.A.) and conveyed their message well to the house".* But at the same time when saying that the women had lack of confidence made these statements less accredited.

5.5.6.1.4 Sub theme 4: Lack of confidence. The NGO representatives were of the view that *"generally women who were in parliament had no confidence at all".* Politics is all about convincing other people to vote for you because you can better represent their interests within the parliament, women are exempted from this duty because they have fixed quota to come to the parliament.

5.5.6.2 Discrimination by the party

Party was considered responsible for many of the discriminations against women parliamentarians from many of the research responses both in data set one and data set two. A new subtheme which was not emerged while talking with the female politicians was emerged now when talking with male parliamentarians, which I put as sub theme 1.

5.5.6.2.1 Sub theme 1: due to lack of financial assistance. There are barriers for women in every field but in politics those are of somewhat different nature. In politics women are not considered as the potential candidates by the parties as they do not/cannot show their vote bank or "bradri". Party does not differentiate in members in black and white but the heads of the parties know well the difference between the donors and the beneficiaries in the party. Majority of the male candidates are the potential donors of the party and almost all the women have the status of the beneficiaries of the party. While discussing this thing, one of the male parliamentarians commented, *"The difference is innate and inevitable, you cannot deny it".* Moreover, *"Women cannot promise the financial assistance on their own".* These things remain women far behind men to be in the politics,

5.5.6.2.2 Sub theme 2: little knowledge about party decisions. Women have less knowledge about party decisions as they did not attend party meetings. Sometimes they face some issues regarding public meetings where they are supposed to defend party decisions which mostly women denied to take part because of little knowledge about party decisions and the rationale behind those decisions. Our parties are actually responsible for not grooming their women workers in such a way to build confidence in them, only the educated ladies can perform well on the floor of the house. As one of the respondents said, *"Our parties do not take the responsibility of ensuring democracy within the parties, the result is this you are here to investigate the issue".* According to him, parties did not give them due rights as democracy allotted them so that is not surprising if they are unaware about party standing on any issue.

5.5.6.3 Undemocratic parliamentary culture

Parliamentary culture itself hinders a lot due to its undemocratization. *Parliamentarians in some way or the other are not be treated equally, they are given very less time to elaborate their point "baat clear hi nai krny di jati, point a gya, ka shor shuru ho jata he".*When everywhere is monopoly of males; women could not perform in that culture and resultantly get blamed for low performance.

5.5.6.3.1 Sub theme 1: Lack of information sharing. One of the respondent said*, "I think women face issues regarding less information from the other parliamentarians share with them. e.g. the women who are the members of standing committees were not informed about the committees decisions and the reports would be forwarded without their inputs incorporated"*. This was again the issue reported and highlighted by the male politician.

5.5.6.3.2 Sub theme 2: Non serious behavior towards women' issues. This was really the disturbing element that was highlighted by the assembly officials and I maintained a separate sub theme on it. They said:

> *"Yes they face some trouble while they want to raise some issue of*
> *women interest as domestic violence issue, they face much critique*
> *on it, and the bad thing is that they were left alone to face the*
> *backlash whenever the situation like this comes. Women's agenda*
> *wouldn't be the priority to be discussed".*

Least priority would be given to the females' suggestions in general discussions and pre-budget sessions I observed a lot of issues women parliamentarians are facing there; the biggest is that they have no voice there to be heard. No one bother to take women' questions seriously. Most unanswered questions would be raised by women parliamentarians. Male parliamentarians were of the view that, *"if hooting does happen, it is actually invited by women themselves".* Moreover that is not the thing which just happen to the females, male parliamentarians are also mocked by the female as well as male colleagues.

5.5.6.3.3 Sub theme 3: unfriendly physical environment. This sub theme was derived from the interview extract of one of the NGO representatives. She said,

> "No separate sitting room would be given to women, around 2% of
> the officials of the Punjab assembly were females and I did not
> witness any area or room designated for them even I saw a woman

official breastfed her child in the library which is considered a place open for all, so parliamentary environment is not female friendly at all".

5.5.6.3.4 Sub theme 4: Quota issue. Women are treated as minority in the parliament. Women get the reserved seats as we have the quota for minority. She said, *"so if honestly we see, women politician have no respect either within the parliament or in public at large as long as they have quota seats".*

Quota has manifold effects. One effect was highlighted as:

> *"Many barriers women face like they cannot move any bill towards the passing stage until and unless they lobby some of their male colleagues with them as they are very less in numbers in the parliament, so women related issues for which they raise their voice cannot be resolved through women candidate only".*

5.5.6.4 Public-private divides

The division of public -private sphere leads towards women' responsibility of private sphere. One of the male respondents said,

> *"Obviously, our society does not spare any woman from family responsibilities completely so they would also have some responsibilities as I can quote here a woman parliamentarian who had the responsibility to take care of her bedridden mother in law (either with some assistance but has to do)".*

One of the respondents showed his attitude towards women' household responsibility as under: *"The real issues would not be as much big as they portrayed their issues, so "issue choty hoty hein, rony ziada hoty hein".*

"I think they had some issues specially those who have small babies and had to come from outstation to attend the assembly sessions, those ladies were really in trouble during session days". Society does not response equal to males and females. This practice can impact the parliament as well. One of the male parliamentarians responded, *"Actually difference in males and females' roles is natural, the issue comes where women deviate their responsibility of home and try to become a public figure, so society does not accept this deviation".* This statement showed the perception towards female which is quite pathetic.

Society does not accept politics as females' task, should be performed by males, and the actual condition is just the same as society requires, if women are in the parliament, they are there just for quorum. The patriarchal setup is basically in favor of the females, they should not do any work for coming in the parliament. Without election they come and give their input for legislation. Society's culture if we follow in the parliament that because we are from this society, and women are not admired as much for their role as politician by the society because they do not prove themselves as better politician than men of the society. Patriarchal culture basically restrict women's participation at every public forum so is the case with parliament.

> *"Women could not perform well in general discussions; in pre-budget discussions etc. they were there just to be counted as voters for any bill, passed. They even do not know the issue for which voting is required and see the hand of their monitor (All the time, male) for vote against the issue under discussion or not".*

5.5.6.5 Unclear goals of women parliamentarians

All the respondents, in some way or the other, came up with similar responses that the women parliamentarians did not have any agenda collectively to debate on or for legislation. One of the respondents said,

> "N*o high hopes are there attached with female politicians. Women are not seen as game changer in the politics, and whenever I talked to female parliamentarians, they wouldn't have any clear goal to achieve through policy making which can change the women' lives at large. So as politicians, I do not see them as good as men".*

5.5.6.6 Underutilization of women' potential

Many of the respondents were of the view, while evaluating the women' performance, that their skills and potential were underutilized.

> *"I think they face barriers by the party authorities, not give them chance to speak publically or not utilize their potential fully by not giving them hierarchical positions within the parties and/or in the assembly and males have a sense of superiority being elected by the public and respect the general seat holders only".*

Another respondent said, *"I believe females can be very good politicians, actually I think their potential is under-utilized and their capacities are unexplored".*

5.5.6.7 Women working as second tier of politicians

Some of the respondents, women as well as men, evaluated the performance of women as they worked as second tier everywhere in the politics. One officer of the Punjab assembly gave example which was self-explanatory.

> *"Under the international commitments, we amend our laws and fix a quota for women but still women wouldn't be considered as the first option for public for law making(examples are there: Hilary's defeat being a women…American civilized first world nation didn't vote for a women, how can our society?)".*

Some facts reported by male politicians, were: "The women on reserved seats have not same respect either in front of their party colleagues or in front of all the parliamentarians". And, *"A latent behavior is accepted as well as practiced by all the parliamentarians through which, female parliamentarians have internalized themselves as they are second class politicians".*

5.5.6.8 Dearth of role models for women parliamentarians

This theme was also highlighted by NGO representatives that,

> *"Many females are not familiar with the rules of the procedures of the assembly, go against the rules and become the target of the speaker by shutting her up and they think it as insult when other people laugh, but that is just the ignorance nothing else, intentionally no one target the other, they don't have model to follow"*

And another respondent said,

> *"We do not have the true politicians indeed who can legislate truly according to the demands of the country and draw original priority lines between the agendas. Male politicians have many role models to follow, whether female politicians are facing dearth of role models in this field. This is the reason that they are far behind males in this field."*

The politics has created serious issues and challenges that affect the parliamentary services of women parliamentarians. Patriarchal structure that excludes women from power has had an extremely important influence on Pakistan's political fabric. The Fundamental Rights laid down in the constitution pledge the equality of all citizens before law and prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex alone, while permitting the state to take affirmative action measures for women. A provision for reserved seats for women in the legislatures raised their political participation in terms of numbers but not in terms of substance. Pakistan also has a strong women's movement, which has played a key role in defending and extending democratic processes. Unreliability and gender biased policies of political parties directed the attention towards creating spaces for women at grass root level.

CHAPTER VI

FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Major findings of the study

1. Male supremacy is considered a driving tool of society in general in our country. Headship of the family is held by males of the family which consequently give also the decision making power to males of the family. And when it comes to public matters, the effect of male supremacy becomes worsened as the females who socialized in such a familial environment where males get all the powers, withhold to get the power and/or the position of decision making.

2. The decision of joining politics had not been taken on their own by females who interviewed. Most of the subjects have their male relatives in the same field. So the study would also second the political dynastic culture of the Pakistani polities. Some of the female politicians were disempowered enough that they have not chosen or joined party on the basis of its agenda or their choice but on the basis of the preference and/or affiliation of the male family members.

3. The study found that the women who were telling me about their restricted mobility were also considered it as their (males) legitimate right to restrict them and to decide for them where they should go as they know better and/or accompany them where they (Males of the family) did not feel them going safe.

4. Internalization of womanhood is a key issue of women parliamentarians. Internalization means that one person is quite familiar with one phenomenon and dealing with that so frequently and practicing that they considered this as normal as natural. So that phenomenon becomes engrained in them.

5. The study found that Education and political skills are of utmost importance when it comes to tackle the public issues in the assembly. Respondents themselves consider education important for better understanding of the rules of the procedures and for the overall performance of the women parliamentarians. Women parliamentarians complained about unavailability of beforehand skill provision.

6. Some of the patterns in the data drive to highlight one of the major issues that women parliamentarians are facing were their weak self-image. One of the important challenges that women parliamentarian facing, was gender biasness. Politics as a field was considered male friendly as they were more in the parliament in terms of numbers. Sometimes they considered themselves even unproductive at all due to this marginalization on the basis of gender biasness they faced.

7. Women parliamentarians complained about *reference* as a key to unlock the procedural deadlocks. Political parties have a key role to perform in the politics within as well as outside the parliament. But it was observed that sometimes, parties interrupted into the political performance of tasks by parliamentarians and gave undue pressure to parliamentarians to do whatever political parties want to do for them.

8. Party pressurized their members in the parliament either males or females and defined tasks to be performed by females differently from the male counterparts. One thing important to note was that women parliamentarians did not consider this segregation upright as well as accepted. Moreover women parliamentarians couldn't say no to the tasks assigned by the party as they had to face humiliation regarding their selection on quota by the party.

9. The representatives of public were no more public representatives when they were in the parliament. They were there meant for party preferences which were hardly derived through

real public issues. Several times women parliamentarians were given a relief in the acknowledgement of their previous work but that would actually prove an avoidance of women members to be the part of those decisions which were of utmost importance, most of the time of financial nature.

10. Women parliamentarians reported dreadful names of them called by the male colleagues. The women parliamentarians reported against the male parliamentarians of Islamic political parties that they did not have acceptance for women to be in the parliament, especially run for election.

11. Prejudiced nature of politics was an overarching theme and had two direct sub themes and one dotted (indirect relationship) sub theme. Prejudiced nature of politics used to assist to create two main challenges of intricate procedures and gender biasness which resulted in low parliamentary service delivery of women parliamentarians.

12. One of the important challenges that women parliamentarian facing, was gender biasness. Politics as a field was considered male friendly as they were more in the parliament in terms of numbers. Female politicians faced restrictions to limit their performance.

13. Women complained that they are compelled to be seated in the parliamentary sessions and made the quorum and to allow male members to keep on doing their constituency tasks was a routine practice by political parties especially government parties.

14. Several times women parliamentarians faced benevolent sexism that they were given a relief in the acknowledgement of their previous work but that would actually prove an avoidance of women members to be the part of those decisions which were of utmost importance, most of the time of financial nature.

15. Party as a pressure group controls the agenda of the private members also if they are their party members. The case becomes worsened when party deals with female members. They were not allowed to initiate any private member bill without the consent of the party higher-ups

16. Mutual distrust of women parliamentarians emerged as a subtheme as data collected through interviews supported the elements of jealousy and leg pulling in female- female relationship. Moreover, female politicians did not support junior colleagues.

17. Respondents appreciated the support given to them through government sources to enhance their political skills. International commitments of the Punjab Assembly helped a lot in arranging Study visits to House of Commons, west-minister and Scottish parliament under Westminster Foundation for Democracy. Similarly, Australia Awards Pakistan Programme for short courses on effective and efficient management of parliamentary committees.

18. Punjab assembly provided an open platform for civil society organizations and non-governmental organizations to contribute in capacity building of the parliamentarians.

19. Women parliamentarians admired the Young Parliamentary Associates Programme, who provided trained and well informed interns for their help in performing parliamentary tasks through providing assistance in drafting of bills. It also showed their interest in taking the benefits of the opportunities provided. The complaint was recorded as the scarcity of these resources and insufficient according to demand.

20. Women parliamentarians reported some of the strategies they personally devised to get some help in performing their political tasks. One of them was to hire a legal advisor for assistance in assembly business and the other was paid services of secretariat staff could also be availed. Moreover, this was considered as open secret.

21. The other stakeholders (Male politicians, assembly officials and NGO's representatives) were also interviewed as what they perceive the challenges women parliamentarians face. Most of the respondents think that women politicians lack the convincing power on the floor of the house. Women parliamentarians did not elaborate the issue in detail thus, showed low capacity of legislative business

22. The other stakeholders (Male Politicians, assembly officials and NGO's representatives) considered lack of training as a big issue. Moreover less education was also established as a big challenge to the women parliamentarians. Male parliamentarians were of the view that educated women parliamentarians present the serious business in the assembly.

23. The other stakeholders (Male Politicians, assembly officials and NGO's representatives) considered Party, responsible for many of the discriminations against women parliamentarians.

24. One excuse that was given by the male parliamentarians about party practice of discrimination towards women was their inability to show the vote bank.

25. The other stakeholders (Male Politicians, assembly officials and NGO's representatives) claimed that women have less knowledge about party decisions as they did not attend party meetings. Sometimes they face issues regarding public meetings where they are supposed to defend party decisions which mostly women denied to take part because of little knowledge about party decisions.

26. The other stakeholders (Male Politicians, assembly officials and NGO's representatives) considered non seriousness about women' agenda as a big issue. Least priority would be given to the females' suggestions in general discussions and pre-budget sessions. They

mentioned as they observed a lot of issues women parliamentarians are facing there; the biggest is that they have no voice there to be heard.

27. The other stakeholders (Male Politicians, assembly officials and NGO's representatives) considered that the potential of women parliamentarians was under-utilized. They can better even far better that what they are doing.

28. The other stakeholders (Male Politicians, assembly officials and NGO's representatives) considered that female politicians had not had the role models in politics beyond party identities which may cause their low performance in this field.

6.2 Conclusion of the Study

The present study was aimed at seeing the issues and challenges to women parliamentarians in service delivery. The study highlighted many of the issues as well as challenges. Major issues which were highlighted by the women parliamentarians were male supremacy in females' political decisions, internalization of womanhood, less education and low self –image. Major challenges which were highlighted by the women parliamentarians were prejudiced nature of politics, party as a pressure group, negative social perception and inappropriate behavior of parliamentarians. The study also highlighted the strategies used by women parliamentarians to overcome the issues and challenges. Most common strategies were use of government and non-governmental trainings either within or outside the country and personal hiring of advisors.

Moreover, the study included the other stakeholders' perception towards issues of women parliamentarians and evaluation of their performance. The other stakeholders (including male parliamentarians, assembly officials and NGO's representatives) perceived that women parliamentarians face major challenges of lack of political capacity, discrimination by the party, undemocratic parliamentary culture and public- private divide. The other stakeholders (including male parliamentarians, assembly officials and NGO's representatives) evaluated their performance as unclear goals of women parliamentarians, underutilization of women parliamentarians' potential, women working as second tier of politicians. All the other stakeholders are convinced that women parliamentarians have dearth of role models for them in their respective field.

6.3 Suggestions and Recommendations

The study presents some constructive suggestions and recommendations to the government machinery for improvement in the mechanism of assembly functions to promote gender equity in performing the parliamentary services.

The first and foremost suggestion is to create a gender specialist post in the assembly functionaries whose job description is to analyse and remove the gender disparities from the assembly functions which will ultimately reduce the challenges faced by women parliamentarians while delivering assembly functions.

Secondly, some affirmative actions should be taken by all the assembly members to amend the rules of procedures to make these more "user friendly" as this was complained by many of the women respondents that it took a long time (6 months on average) to be familiar with the rules of procedures.

Thirdly, steps should be taken by the government, for gender sensitive training for the assembly staff on regular basis.

Fourthly, non-governmental organizations should take initiative to enhance the capacity of male as well as female politicians for effective service delivery. Moreover, Gender sensitive trainings should be organized for all the politicians irrespective of gender.

Fifthly, the curriculum of the country should be revisited for incorporating the political activism at all levels of education and remove gender biases and present politics as gender neutral field so that the deficit for female models in this particular field may reduce.

Last but not least, female politicians are specifically and women of society in general should take this as their own responsibility to enhance their political capacity by knowing their roles and responsibilities as potential change agents/ voters in general and as women politician in particular.

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Annexure

Challenges and Issues to Elected Women Parliamentarian to Deliver Effective

Parliamentary Service: A Case Study of Punjab Assembly

Research Information and Consent Form

Hi, my name is Saba Lodhi. I am a student of Department of Governance and Public Policy, National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad. This study is part of my M.Phil. Degree. You are invited to participate in the said study, carried out through an interview. The interview will take approximately 20-30 minutes. If there are any questions that you do not want to answer, you are under no obligation to do so.

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. Neither the analysis nor the report will contain information that identifies you as an individual.

Thank you for your assistance in this research.

Sincerely

Saba Lodhi

Please sign for confirmation of your participation with full consent.

Participant's Name   _____

Signature of the Participant   _____

Please feel free to contact myself on mobile +92-3214110940 or by e-mail at saba.lodhi786@yahoo.com.au .I am happy to discuss with you any concerns you may have about this study.

Interview guide for Women Parliamentarians

Q. 1: Can you briefly tell me about your background? How did you come to be involved in politics?

Q. 2: Did you get support from family members to join politics?

Q. 3: Do you have family responsibilities? If so, how do you balance your family and political life?

Q.4: what is in your opinion important for politics, education or vision to serve the nation?

> Sub Q: Do politics demand specific education, political skills to manage the tasks, their education and expertise relevant to the service they perform.

Q. 6: What do you think, does experience matter in performing the parliamentary functions?

Q. 5: In general how public behave while meeting women politicians?

> Sub Q: remarks of public for tracking social perception

Q. 6: How do your male coworkers behave with you?

> Sub Q: Any remarks, good or bad memory, and experience you can share

Q.7: What and how does your party play its role in your parliamentary functions?

> Sub Q: how would you evaluate their assistance?

Q. 8: What are the problems you face while performing your parliamentary tasks?

> Sub Q: Can you remember a specific time or instance when you wanted to make a suggestion and felt that you had something important to say but were not able to? What do you think prevented you from speaking out then?

Q. 9: How do financial matters resolve in the assemblies?

> Sub Q: who presents cut motions, demands for grants or even no confidence motion on any financial decision and why?

Q. 10: How frequent you take part in general discussion about scrutinizing different reports?

> Sub Q: If no or low response, what are the major hindrances?

Q. 11: How important do you think your political role is?

> Sub Q: for whom it is important? (Answer will lead to their self-evaluation)

Q. 12: How would you overcome your issues as well as challenges for the smooth functioning of your parliamentary work?

Interview guide for other stakeholders (Male Parliamentarians, Assembly officials and NGO representatives)

Q1. Do you think education and political skills/experience is important for women to be a politician?

Q2. Do you think women parliamentarian experience any barriers in their political career?

Q3. Do you think women parliamentarians face dual role expectation as an issue?

Q4. Do you believe that our society is patriarchal in nature so as our parliament?

Q5. What do you think women can have the confidence required in politics?

Q6. What does society think about women politician?

Q7. Do you think women rely on their parties to become politicians?

Q8. Is it easy for a woman to get nomination as a candidate like a man?

Q9. What are your views on quotas for candidates based on gender?

Q10. Do you think male colleagues listen and respect female colleagues' as much as male colleagues? Do you think their attitudes are a barrier for women?

Q11. Do you think that women can be as good of politicians as men, if not better?