

**ISSUES AND CHALLENGES FOR WOMEN IN CREATING SPACES
AT DECISION MAKING LEVELS**

(A Case Study of Pakistan Muslim League-N)

BY

ZAINAB BIBI

**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN GOVERNANCE AND PUBLIC
POLICY**

TO

**DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNANCE AND PUBLIC POLICY
FACULTY OF MANAGEMENT SCIENCES**



NATIONAL UNIVESITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES

ISLAMABAD

December 2019



NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES
FACULTY OF MANAGEMENT SCIENCES

THESIS / DISSERTATION AND DEFENCE APPROVAL FORM

The undersigned certify that they have read the following thesis, examined the defence, and are satisfied with the overall exam performance, and recommend the thesis to the Faculty of Management Sciences.

Thesis Title:

ISSUES AND CHALLENGES FOR WOMEN IN CREATING SPACES AT DECISION MAKING LEVELS – A CASE STUDY OF PML (N)

Submitted by: **Zainab Bibi** Registration No. **1359 MPhil/GPP/S17**
Name of Student

Master of Philosophy

Degree Name in Full

Governance and Public Policy

Name of Discipline

Dr. Syed Waqas Ali Kausar

Name of Research Supervisor

Signature of Research Supervisor

Prof. Dr. Naveed Akhtar

Name of Dean (FMS)

Signature of Dean FMS

Brig. Muhammad Ibrahim

Name of Director General

Signature of Director General

Date



NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES
FACULTY OF MANAGEMENT SCIENCES

CANDIDATE DECLARATION FORM

I, **Zainab Bibi**

Daughter of **Mumtaz**

Registration No. **1359 MPhil/GPP/S17**

Discipline of **Governance and Public Policy**

Candidate of **Master of Philosophy** at **National University of Modern Languages**

do hereby declare that the thesis “Issues And Challenges For Women In Creating Spaces At Decision Making Levels – A Case Study Of PML (N)” submitted by me in partial fulfillment of M.Phil. Degree. This is my original work, and has not been submitted or published earlier. 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.

I also understand that if evidence of plagiarism is found in my thesis / dissertation at any stage, even after the award of degree, the work may be cancelled, and the degree revoked.

Signature of Candidate

Date: 11 December 2019.

Zainab Bibi

Name of Candidate



NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES
FACULTY OF MANAGEMENT SCIENCES

THESIS SUBMISSION APPROVAL FORM

(SUPERVISOR)

A thesis “Analysis of Interrelationship between Organizational Justice and Team Performance (A Case Study of Public Sector Organizations in Pakistan)”

Submitted by **Zainab Bibi**

Registration No. **1359 MPhil/GPP/S17**

Discipline of **Governance and Public Policy**

Candidate of **Master of Philosophy** at **National University of Modern Languages**

This thesis has been read by me and has been found to be satisfactory regarding contents, English usage, format, citations, bibliographic style and consistency, and thus fulfill the qualitative requirements of this study. It is ready for submission to the Department of Governance and Public Policy, Faculty of Management Sciences for internal and external evaluations.

Dr. Syed Waqas Ali Kausar

Name of Supervisor

Signature of Supervisor

Date: 11 December 2019.



NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES
FACULTY OF MANAGEMENT SCIENCES

CERTIFICATE

It is certified that the research work contained in this thesis titled “**Issues And Challenges For Women In Creating Spaces At Decision Making Levels – A Case Study Of PML (N)**” has been carried out and completed by **Zainab Bibi** under my supervision during his M.Phil. in Governance and Public Policy at the Department of Governance and Public Policy, Faculty of Management Sciences, National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad.

Submitted through,

Date: 11 December 2019.

Dr. Syed Waqas Ali Kasuar

Supervisor

Head of Department, Governance & Public
Policy

Faculty of Management Sciences

National University of Modern Languages,
Islamabad.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In the name of Allah, Who is most beneficial and merciful, I want to express my sincere gratitude to Allah Almighty Who has given me the strength to write this thesis. My sincere thanks also goes to my respected supervisor Dr. Syed Waqas Ali Kausar for his kind support, continuous motivation, patience and immense knowledge. I am also thankful to my co-supervisor Madam Saadia Hashmi for her encouragement and insightful comments during thesis work. I also appreciate all the respected faculty members of Department of Governance and Public Policy for their hard work and guidance throughout the course of M. Phil. Last but not the least, I also feel so blessed to have a supportive family

ABSTRACT

This study is about finding out the issues and challenges to women in creating spaces at decision making levels in the major political parties of Pakistan. The overarching aim was to evaluate women political participation and political decision making in the political party of Pakistan, PML (N). In order to fulfill the objective, mixed method approach has been used where data has been gathered and analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. For quantitative data, structured questionnaire has been distributed and received and responses were analyzed through SPSS (Descriptive analysis). For qualitative data, interviews have been conducted from key stakeholders and responses were analyzed through Thematic Analysis as suggested by Braun & Clarke (2006). Collectively, the findings of the study suggests that there are various factors that weaken women political participation and political decision making. The broad issues include culture of male dominance, lack of acceptance by the society, systemic halts, imbalanced political parties in terms of gender, lack of leadership potential in women, threats of social vulnerability, secondary role of women, incapacities for empowering women. There are number of specific issues related to each broad issues have also been identified i.e. social image, persistence of historical patterns, opportunity gap, supposed psychological satisfaction, religious excuses, inferiority complex, weak movement, confrontation of discouraging behavior, less membership in political parties, rigid leadership, less influence of women, motivation gap, lack of essential pre-requisites, weak economic status, vulnerability of scandalization, gender sensitivity, less admiration, less compatible environment, weak gender policies and negligence about women. This thesis is a case study based on the responses gathered from the sample drawn from only PML (N). Further studies can be done based on comparative analysis of two or more political parties to find more specific issues and challenges that affect women political participation and political decision making so as to create more awareness and to empower women politically.

Table of Contents

Chapter I	1
1.1 Introduction:.....	1
1.2. Background of the Study:	3
1.3 Problem Statement:.....	5
1.4 Research Objectives:.....	6
1.5 Research Questions:.....	6
1.6 Delimitation of the Study:.....	7
1.8 Introduction of the case: PML (N)	8
1.9 Rationale of the study:	9
1.10 Significance of the Study:.....	11
Chapter II	12
LITERATURE REVIEW	12
2.1 Theoretical Perspective:.....	15
2.2 Issues and Challenges:	18
2.3 Political Decision Making:	23
Chapter III	27
METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN	27
3.1 Introduction.....	27
3.2 Research Paradigm.....	27
3.3 Research Design.....	28
3.4 Justification of the Case Study approach	29
3.5 Conceptual Framework of the Methodology	30
3.6 Qualitative Approach	31
3.6.1 Data collection	31
3.6.2 Sampling Techniques in qualitative approach	32
3.6.3 Primary Data Collection.....	32
3.6.4 Secondary Data Collection.....	33
3.6.5 Data Analysis	34
3.6.6. Defining Thematic Analysis:	34
3.6.8 Ethical Consideration.....	35
3.7 Quantitative Approach	35
3.7.1 Primary Data Collection.....	35

3.7.2. Population	36
3.7.3. Sample.....	36
3.7.4 Data Analysis	36
3.7.5 Validity:	37
3.7.6 Ethical Consideration.....	37
Chapter IV	38
FINDNGS AND DISCUSSION.....	38
4.1 Qualitative Data:	38
4.2 Discussion	70
4.3 Quantitative Data:	90
4.4 Discussion:	105
Chapter V	109
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION	109
INSTRUCTION SHEET FOR QUESTIONNAIRE.....	113
SCHEDULE INTERVIEW.....	120

List of Figures:

Figure 1 Governance Indicators by World Bank 17

Figure 2 Conceptual Framework..... 24

Figure 3 Triangulation Design 29

Figure 4 Overview of Mixed Method 30

Figure 5 Overview of Qualitative Approach..... 33

Figure 6 Thematic Map (RQ. 1)..... 61

Figure 7 Thematic Map (RQ. 2)..... 63

Figure 8 Thematic Map (RQ. 3)..... 65

Figure 9 Thematic Map (RQ. 4)..... 67

Figure 10 Consolidated Thematic Map..... 69

List of Tables:

Table 1 Party Leadership of PML(N)	9
Table 2 Framework for Thematic Analysis	34
Table 3 Initial Codes	46
Table 4 Preliminary themes	53
Table 5 Categories of themes (RQ.1).....	56
Table 6 Categories of themes (RQ. 2).....	57
Table 7 Categories of themes (RQ. 3).....	58
Table 8 Categories of themes (RQ. 4).....	59
Table 9 Women political participation as an enhancer of welfare of the society	90
Table 10 Cultural barriers hinder women's political participation.....	91
Table 11 Economic constraints hinder women's political involvement.....	91
Table 12 Religious misperceptions about women's political power	92
Table 13 Psychological mindsets of the society affect women political participation	92
Table 14 No motivation by Govt. or political parties for women political involvement.....	93
Table 15 Less recognition of women equal political participation rights	93
Table 16 Community disregards women for higher political positions	94
Table 17 Fostering women's marginalization and disfavoured political sphere	94
Table 18 Less women membership number in political parties.....	95
Table 19 Women do not get fundraising from their clans during political campaigns.....	95
Table 20 Failure of women's organization to politically empower and build up linkages among women	96
Table 21 Lack of political will among women	96
Table 22 Lack of support of women voters to female candidates.....	97
Table 23 Electoral quota is an effective way to empower women's political participation	97
Table 24 Women's civic education and economic empowerment in significant for strong women participation	98
Table 25 Effectiveness of adaption of gender policies in women political decision making	98
Table 26 Awareness raising, advocacy and lobbying can play role in empowering women's political participation	99
Table 27 Women holding political positions face challenges like lack of political experience and skills of leadership.....	99
Table 28 Women's contributions and suggestions in political decision making meetings are disregarded by male members of political party	100
Table 29 Since women have no majority in the seats of the councils, women voice unheard	100
Table 30 Women are not accepted as a clan representative in political and traditional aspects.....	101
Table 31 Women in the decision making positions feel isolated, so they cannot make their self-assertion and lose their self-confidence	101
Table 32 Women lack communications and access to information in decision making process.....	102
Table 33 The only means of overcoming women's political challenges is political empowerment ...	102
Table 34 Overview of quantitative Responses.....	104

Chapter I

1.1 Introduction:

According to Liddle & Mujani (2004), good governance involves the governance traits such as transparency, participation, accountability and professionalism. Researchers define participation as a way through which people can voice their opinion and affect development initiatives (Arnstein, 1969; World Bank, 1996). Participatory governance means the inclusion of all stakeholders in the governmental processes regardless of not only their ethnicity, race or social group association but regardless of their gender too. (Fischer, 2012).

However, women keep facing unattended participation in politics (Abdullah, Kataria, Latif & Usman, 2015). Lapidus (1975) argued that most of the human societies have male dominating patterns of socialization where boys are encouraged to be authoritative, independent and self-reliant while women are usually rewarded for obedience, reliance and depending behavior which lead to their natural tendency to restrain themselves from leadership and decision making activities. Glaser (2013) argued that over the history, man dominated the authority of various fields in most of the societies of human culture and such male supremacy always diminishes women access to political rights.

Caul (1999) suggested that a society is made up of equal women and men so women need to play a vital role in politics for effective running of the state. Moreover, a major part of the society gets neglected if women do not participate effectively in governmental which apply both men and women so their inclusion in political decision making is essential. Burke & Collins (2001) identified that women's political decision making styles are more inclusive and participatory than men.

However, in a developing country like Pakistan, women political participation and political decision making is very scanty. According to the current statistics of legislature of Pakistan, in National Assembly of Pakistan, only 3.3% women are on general (elected) seats are women while including reserved seats for women, they account for 20.4% of the proportion of whole house. In Senate of Pakistan 18% of senators constitutes women's portion out of the whole house. Similarly in Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, the percentage of women MPA's is 20.2%, in Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, it is 15.3%, in Provincial Assembly of Sindh, it is 17.8% and in Provincial Assembly of Balochistan, it is 18.4%. Members in parliament and assemblies are mostly affiliated with various political parties. In other words, political parties make the legislature of a country thus, the good governance traits like participation, inclusiveness and impartiality in their internal decision making is very essential to make a good legislature (Luciak, 2008). Moreover political parties are supposed to be the main players to instil democratic values in political sphere by guaranteeing participation of all stakeholders irrespective of their background, race and gender in the political processes and thus act as essential criterion for political institutionalization in a society, (Sajid, Tariq & Usman, 2015).

National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW), a statutory body for balancing opportunities and socio economic conditions for women and men, conducted a broad review "Gender Review of Political Framework for Women Political Participation", with the aim to measure the level of women's participation in political landscape, their role as decision maker, as a voter or as a candidate. According to the study, female politician are not considered as equal members of parliaments and political parties. Consultation showed that male politicians consider their women colleagues as inferior and try to hold their supremacy in the legislature. Moreover women political decision making remain unattended. Their presence or say in political decision making is very meager. Similarly, Bari (2000) argued that political

parties usually treat women as rank-and-file members with low decision making powers and if they are at higher positions, even though their say in decision making process is not considered seriously. She also identified that party leaders usually do not appoint women to key positions within the party organization and nominate male party campaigners on important party positions. However, despite of these studies, women in Pakistan are still underrepresented in the political parties of Pakistan. In PML (N), being one of the largest party, there are only 10% women in its Central Working Committee (CWC) which is the main organ that takes the party's major decisions. However, there is very limited research available in literature on weak women political participation and decision making that deals specifically with PML (N) which ruled the country thrice.

1.2. Background of the Study:

According to Awan (2016), over the history, political decision making has been viewed as a domain of masculinity and men have been supposed to take decisions and women have been supposed to obey the decisions. The reliance of society on men that they can do better decision making than women is still common today. Even though the quantity of female politicians in legislature has improved but still they are considered as an afterthought. According to Højgaard (2002), traditional social resolutions and control disregarded females, and decision making is regarded as a male-oriented sphere. De la Rey (2005) also discussed that society hardly considers or recognizes women's educational accomplishments and roles in society. This politically deprived women's condition has demanded the need for the liberation of women by their due status, rights and responsibilities and empowering them to take active part in political decision-making activities. Keeping this situation in view, greater steps have been taken in political domain and women's political participation in the freedom fights and democratic practices of many countries have been noteworthy equally. Nevertheless, these

great strides to empower women politically have not always been translated into equal representation in political decision-making processes (Kiamba, 2008).

Liberal feminists suggest that gender impartiality needs, first, to make fair rules of the game and, secondly, to make sure that none of the actors in society who races for goods and services is systematically underprivileged (Mohanty, 2013). According to radical feminist that patriarchal values (attributed by masculine power, masculine dominance, and masculine hierarchy) are sole responsible for lack of decision making power among women. In short, liberal feminists identify systemic challenge for women deprivation while radical feminists blame societal patriarchal patterns for unprivileged women.

Looking back, women still have typically been under-represented in political participation and political decision making since Ancient Greek History up to today. In Pakistan's political realm there is dearth of vigorous participation of women. This research looks at the level of women's political participation and decision making within political parties through their internal procedures and contrivances, by investigating the structures, rules and practices of selected political party (Bari, 2000). It also highlights the issues and forms of political exclusion of women in political parties in Pakistan, analyzing their current level of participation through interviews and questionnaires (using mixed methods for data collection). The study concludes by making general observations about different factors affecting women's' participation in political parties, examining what hampers this participation from being meaningful rather than simply token representation, and offers specific recommendations in this regard.

1.3 Problem Statement:

A great number of plans and policies have been formulated both nationally and internationally to make it possible for women to participate in upper political landscape yet the level of women's participation in political parties is still low not only in Pakistan but all over the world. While total population of Pakistan includes around half of women but their share in political decision making is not relatable to their population proportion. Political parties are crucial players in enlightening variation in female political representation. However, there are no adequate studies investigating why political parties fail to maintain a balanced political participation of men and women. Also, in 2015 and 2016, mostly negative developments are seen in relation to internal democracy of political parties of Pakistan (Internal democracy of political parties, 2017).

Although women have been empowered almost in all professions, women's strength at the top of political realm, or at least among the major actors of the politics i.e. political parties, is very less (Bari, 2000). The presence and inclusion of women at political decision-making is an essential human right and an issue of social justice. Women are usually appointed as secretaries of primary party organizations and they are also found with some frequency as lower staff e.g. secretary of the constituency level party committee, mostly in large urban areas, but they are seen in very less numbers at the top of the hierarchy in political parties. Despite great opportunities, women have still not been able to get rid of the bonds of tradition, customs, ethnic, political, cultural (like patriarchal patterns of society) and gender discriminations. In other words, women are found to be in great numbers in areas of traditional feminine concerns: public health, education, local trade, and services. Moreover, for the fact that women's political activity is seen greater at lower level of political landscape thus the situation does not ensure their political and national level.

As Government decisions and policies pertain to and affect all people of the state including men and women (e.g. laws are applicable to both men and women) so women's share in such decisions and actions needs to equally ensure as that of men. However, PML (N) (subject of this study), being one of the largest party, thrice ruled the country, is male dominated with very less number of women at its decision-making apparatus. This research is investigating the issues and challenges that hinder women political participation and decision making in the political parties of Pakistan, a case study of PML (N).

1.4 Research Objectives:

General:

To evaluate women political participation and political decision making in the political party of Pakistan, PML (N).

Specific:

- To explore the issues faced by women in political participation under the light of political parties' space.
- To identify the challenges that women face in political decision making in political parties of Pakistan
- To explore the previous failures or issues towards the political empowerment of women in Political Parties
- To propose recommendations for empowerment of women to participate in politics and decision-making process aimed at finding solutions towards political imbalance in Political Parties of Pakistan

1.5 Research Questions:

Main question:

To what extent women play a role in political participation and decision making in the political parties of Pakistan?

Driving questions:

- What are the issues women face in political participation under the lights of parties' political space?
- What are challenges faced by women in political decision making in political parties of Pakistan?
- What are previous failures or issues towards the political empowerment of women in political parties?
- How the issues and challenges women face in political participation and decision making process in political parties can be eradicated?

1.6 Delimitation of the Study:

Scope of the study is to dig out the issues faced by women that weaken their political participation and decision making at the apex of PML (N)

- By women, researcher means female party workers at the lower domain of the respective political party as well as female members affiliated with the political party.
- By decision making levels, researcher means middle and top-level decision-making positions.
- Geographical scope of the study ICT (Islamabad Capital Territory) Pakistan.

1.7. Limitation of the study:

Data collection was carried out in the month July-August 2018. Due to the period of General Elections 2018, the party workers were mostly busy in election campaigns and other party related activities in the period of General Elections so only received responses were analyzed for the study.

1.8 Introduction of the case: PML (N)

The Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) is a center conservative party in Pakistan. It is one of the largest political parties of Pakistan and has ruled the country thrice. Nawaz Sharif was the chairman of the party but was dismissed by the Supreme Court. The party's stand is generally conservative, which includes supporting free market capitalism, building a strong national defense, and opposing trade and labor unions. The General Council Meeting (or Central Working Committee) functioned its major board to designate presidents and secretaries while it is also in charge for promoting PML-N activities. The current members of CWC are 108 only 11 are women (10% of the whole proportion). Moreover, the General Council Meeting raises funds, and coordinates campaign strategy while there are local committees every provinces and most large cities, counties and legislative districts¹. The party leadership consists of chairman, president, senior vice president, vice president, secretary general, deputy secretary general, assistant secretary general, secretary finance, information secretary, deputy secretary information and Joint secretary

Party Leadership	
Officiate/Party office	Party bearer
Chairman	Raja Zafar-ul-Haq
President	Shehbaz Sharif Ghaus Ali Shah Sikandar Hayat Khan Sartaj Aziz
Senior Vice-President	Yaqub Khan Amir Muqam Raja Muhammad Rizwan (Vice President Gujrat) Saleem Zia
Vice President	Imdad Chandio Pir Sabir Shah
Secretary General	Iqbal Zafar Jhagra
Deputy Secretary-General	Ahsan Iqbal
Assistant Secretary General	Salah-ud-din Tirmizi

¹ <http://pmln.org/>

Secretary Finance	Lt.Gen. (<i>retd.</i>) Abdul Qadir Baloch
Information Secretary	Pervez Rashid
Deputy Secretary Information	Mushahidullah Khan
Joint Secretary	Khurram Dastgir Khan
	Abdul Sattar Mandokhel

Table 1 Party Leadership of PML(N)

It can be seen in the above table that there is no women at the apex of the hierarchy rendering it wholly male dominated political party.

1.9 Rationale of the study:

There is considerable diversity in the status of women in Pakistan across classes, regions, and the rural/urban divide due to uneven socioeconomic development and the impact of tribal, feudal, and capitalist social formations on women's lives. However, women's situation vis-à-vis men is one of systemic subordination, determined by the forces of patriarchy across classes, regions, and the rural/urban divide. In terms of women political involvement, the Constitution of Pakistan places no restriction on women's participation in politics; nevertheless, their presence in the political parties as well as in the political structure at the local, provincial, and national levels remains insignificant. This research aims to dig out the factors that what issues and challenges women face in political participation and political decision making. The importance of women's political participation and mobilization for a viable Democratic Polity is being increasingly realized in all corners of the world. Women constitute 48% of the Pakistan's population that is not being utilized in the national development due to their low skill, less education and less empowerment in the realm of politics. Any democratic system cannot run successfully with just half of the population and other half is marginalized (Ali & Akhtar, 2012).

PML (N) has thrice ruled the country and decision it took affect all the citizens including men and women. Moreover according to Pakistan Institute of Legislative

Development and Transparency (PILDAT), report PML(N) has been found the least democratic Political Party of the country, thus it needs to evaluate that what is the participation level of women in political decision making and what are the challenges and issues faced by women at decision making levels in the Political Party. Thus, PML (N) is taken as a case study of PML (N) for this research.

Literature Gap:

Although there is corpus of literature on women empowerment and their social standing in the society and in last few years women's political participation has been strengthened to significant levels. According to the world ranking provided by Inter Parliamentary union (2019), around 20 countries in the world have more than 40% of women in their government with Rawanda standing on the top having 61% of women in its government. Whereas Pakistan stands at 100th position out of 193 having 20% of women in the parliaments. The current researches and studies are more oriented and concerned toward increasing the quantity of women in top leadership position in politics rather than increasing the quality of women political participation e.g. by exploring and addressing the issues of women who are already part of political decision making position in politics. Despite of many studies conducted on opening up the ways and opportunities for women and encouraging women social, educational, economic and political empowerment, but there is a dearth of finding out the issues and challenges that women face when they actually are part of that arena (specifically politics as this is concerned with). This study will create an awareness in affected women as well as other party members that what issues to be addressed and what challenges to be overcome for yielding better outcome and performance from women in the politics. Moreover this study could also be considered as a base for further investigation on the issue.

1.10 Significance of the Study:

The study will benefit women working in political parties by identifying obstacles they face or might face en route to decision making levels and by suggesting how to overcome them. Moreover, the findings of the study will facilitate policy makers to formulate more effective plans and strategies to guarantee balanced political participation of males and females in political parties. Last but not the least, it will also contribute to the corpus of literature on women in decision making in general and in political parties of Pakistan in particular.

There are various sectors where women need to create adequate space to get empowered and strengthen their stand, including educational sector, economic sector as well as political sector. In political sector women do have the chances to represent other women to create opportunities for them and for their better participation in the society. Thus this creates an urge to study women political participation that how far they are able to create spaces at decision making levels in political parties of Pakistan as well as what issues and challenges do women face in this regard.

“When one woman is a leader, it changes her. When more women are leaders, it changes politics and policies.”

MICHELLE BACHELET, PRESIDENT OF CHILE

Chapter II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Globally, the challenges faced by women are; increasing levels of discrimination, dearth of resources, sexism, unequal development and these challenges limit their opportunities, their capability to lead and the skills of decision making (Wilson, 2004).

According to Gustafsson & Kolam (2008), Sweden, being recognized as one of the best country for females for living, still has systemic barriers for women to contribute in political landscape. Similarly, Kasomo (2012) identified that in Africa, customary perceptions of women as inferior to men prevail as many people maintain cultural practices which increase the subordination of women and men continue to be superior to women in political, economic, social, and religious spheres. As Political parties are key players in explaining variation in female representation, they control nomination processes and they decide whether to have quotas, and in that case what type of quotas in nomination of candidates, (Wide, 2006). However, according to Blair (1929) it is reasonable to say that political parties have been inept to strengthen women participation in their organization that ultimately hinder their overall political participation.

Sacchet (2005) conducted a research, according to him, although political parties play their role in political linkages, intended to improve women's active political participation and influence, and at progressing a gender perspective through the political party system but the number of women represented in decision making positions in political parties in Latin America is still low: overall it is lower than 10% and is only higher in those parties that operate internal gender quotas. He recognized that quota system as the main factor. According to UN's

report², only 22.8% of all national parliamentarians were women as of June 2016, a slow increase from 11.3% in 1995. Thus, despite of great number of studies regarding finding out the challenging factors of weak women's participation in political decision making, the issue could not be addressed. However, there is a gap related to specificity of women political parties in the literature i.e. researchers tried to investigate women participation mostly in the overall political arena while not paying adequate attention on political parties specifically.

Similarly, Mufford (2011) conducted a study about South Asian women's political participation and decision making especially in political parties. He argued that structural barriers in the society such as patriarchy and family commitments of women are the factors behind insufficient women's presence and contribution in political leadership. He further identified another factor i.e. unemployment. He explained that in developing countries women are usually prone to carry out household's activities or fulfill family commitments while leaving spaces for men to be in economic and political domains.

In the study conducted by Blomgren (2010), it is assumed that if more female members are represented in decision making bodies within party organization that allot tickets to its candidates, more female candidates are likely to be elected. In other words, women greater presence in the committees that elect candidates and engaged in taking major decisions within the party, is soundly a noticeable factor that increases women's chances of getting elected as candidates and ultimately as member of Parliament. Moreover, according to this phenomenon if women are represented in Parliament they will have more access to get into the Governmental decision making.

² *The Women in Parliaments WPI*. <http://www.womenpoliticalleaders.org/leadership/>

Shami (2009) tried to demonstrate the historical review of women political participation and political contribution in Pakistan. There is no doubt to say that women have contributed keenly in the Pakistan movement. Ms. Fatima Jinnah is familiar character who energetically contributed in the struggle movement. Women participation is considered to be quite substantial in the age of Bhutto, however, During Zia's Martial Law, the women political participation was little. However, Musharraf's time, considered to be very vital in this regard, has took multiple steps to strengthen women's political participation. For this, he allocated more seats for the women in politics both at the district and national level. In short, the history of Pakistan has undergone many ups and downs in terms of women political participation.

Similarly, Awan (2016) identified in his study that despite the substantial progress, status of women political participation is not improved as the current statistics and trends regarding political system and structure seem to indicate.

The noteworthy representation of women in legislative bodies is mainly according to the quota system. However, in Pakistan, not only are the quota seats filled through non-democratic means with a monopoly of male-dominated leadership, but there is resistance within parties for awarding more tickets to women candidates for general elections. In the aftermath of Zahra Shahid Hussain's murder on the eve of the re-poll for NA-250 in Karachi, and in light of the death of Benazir Bhutto in 2007, perhaps it's a good time to examine the importance of women's presence in Pakistani political parties, particularly in leadership positions. Moreover, the percentage of party nominations for women to compete for general seats is still less than it is for men, which indicates less trust with regard to women's capabilities to win elections. Within political parties, women's wings play a less effective role in the decision-making process, with tendency to carry out representative functions rather than executive ones. This is another noteworthy signal for the de-facto lack of women's

participation in political parties. According to NCSW's report (Gender Review of Political Framework for Women Political Participation), political party leaders award tickets to own family women and genuine worker with long association with the parties are ignored. Moreover, Bari (2000) argued that the absence of regular elections within most of parties, makes them family based and undemocratic resultantly, women are one the victims of lack of intra party elections and are not made play their role in party's decision-making process.

2.1 Theoretical Perspective:

2.4.1. Theory of Radical Feminism:

In this thesis, "radical feminist theory" is used in order to spotlight the issues and challenges of women's under-representation at decision making levels in political parties. Theory of radical feminism was not until the late 1960s that it started to be developed thoroughly as a self-conscious theory in 1970s in the USA, (Echols and Willis, 1989)

According to Radical feminists all kinds of oppressions are the outcome of patriarchal system, patriarchy means the systems and structures that put up the influence of men over women (Walby, 1989). According to (Eisenstien 1983), traditionally, radical feminism argued with the belief that the sexes are combatively composed, that men are dominant over women, and that society and its various social relationships can be best understood through their relationship to that circumstances.

Visram (1994) made a historical analysis by comparing women's role and position in communal societies then in colonial capitalist societies. The analysis showed that in order to facilitate the growth of capitalism and to solidify patriarchal values, colonial states significantly altered gender relation. In turn, foundations were laid for men to further control the women and to be beneficiaries of state power

According to Ali (2015) Radical feminists men benefit from domestic labour as dominant tasks are completed by women in their families. According to them gender division of labour is the root of patriarchal social relations that gives advantages to men over women in employment. Radical feminists also states that patriarchy enforces the lower status of women socially and economically. However, some scholars have challenged the concept of patriarchy to explain the contemporary disadvantaged status of women in the labour force

Another important factor to be considered in radical feminism is religion (particularly concept of patriarchy in Islamic society) according to some Islamic Scholars (Hassan, 2001; Mernissi, 1996). It has been have argued for un-reading patriarchy from the fundamental sources of Islamic principles. These scholars argue that a gender egalitarian ideal of Islamic society can be achieved only when Islamic teachings are liberated from male dominated (i.e. patriarchal) influences and interpretations. Yet, there is some scope to reinterpret but not to challenge the Qur'anic ideals of a perfect man and a perfect woman.

2.1.1. Good Governance Theory:

Ekundayo (2017) mentioned the theory of Good Governance based on some principles given by World Bank (1996), such as transparency, participation, accountability responsiveness, rule of law. The World Bank usually needs good governance practices as a condition from the developing countries. Good governance is about how the public sector in third world countries can be developed. World Bank laid down a six-dimensional framework for good governance: Voice and Accountability, Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism, Government Effectiveness, Regulatory Quality, Rule of Law, and Control of Corruption. Later, United Nations extended the number of these indicators and presented good governance model based on eight parameters.



Figure 1 Governance Indicators by World Bank

Participatory and Consensus-oriented governance shows the urge for government to ensure participation and gets voice of common people heard in decision making. Thus, according to this model, in order to ensure good governance, there is need to have a governance that is based on participation where all the stakeholders take part in decision making process. Ensuring good governance indicators and in response to persistent pressure from civil society, the United Nations (UN) Security Council has also adopted nine resolutions on “Women, Peace and Security”. These resolutions are: 1325 (2000); 1820 (2009); 1888 (2009); 1889 (2010); 1960 (2011); 2106 (2013); 2122 (2013); 2242 (2015), and 2467 (2019). These nine resolutions make up the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. They aim to encourage gender equality and strengthen women’s participation, women’s protection and women’s rights. They are based on the agenda of gender perspective to consider the special needs of women

2.1.2. Cultural Dimension Theory:

Hofstede’s cultural dimensions theory is a well-known theory that explains the relationship between society’s culture and behaviors of its members. According to the theory society’s culture affects the values of its members which ultimately shape their behavior. The relationship is explained by a structural framework derived from factor analysis. Cultural

dimension theory was initially proposed by Geert Hofstede between 1967 and 1973 and it has been advanced and refined afterwards.

The theory originally projected four aspects to explain cultural values. These four aspects were individualism-collectivism (self-orientation versus group-orientation); uncertainty avoidance; power distance (rigid social hierarchy) and masculinity-femininity. In 2010, Hofstede added a sixth dimension, indulgence versus self-restraint to explain dimension of values not discussed in the original paradigm.

In this study, the above mentioned theories provided the spotlight to the issue being addressed.

2.2 Issues and Challenges:

2.2.1. Cultural Factors:

Norris and Inglehart (2000) recognized numbers of cultural factors in developing countries that shape the behavior of women towards playing their role at political decision-making positions including traditional attitudes about women decision-making character, division of labor between male and female (i.e. women tend to stay at homes and perform household's affairs while men do work for earning and are part of working sectors of a country like political, economic sectors.

According to Jakobsh (2012) the fundamental structure of Western patriarchal society depends upon an understanding that males are superior, more powerful, and that they represent the "norm," whereas women are understood as inferior, lacking in power and autonomy, and secondary. The power of socialization that underlies this system cannot be ignored. In fact, sexist, patriarchal values are so deeply engrained in society's consciousness that they are largely invisible. Women are generally concentrated in the lower, supportive positions necessary to

keep this male leadership in power. Thus, the power, prestige, and privileges of those in positions of power, generally males, depend on the subordinate position of women. This ordering of power thus has serious consequences for women's leadership

McCarthy and Sultana (2004) carried out a research to identify the possible barriers in the women participation in the politics of Pakistan including political parties. They found that their secondary social and legal standing and domination by men in the family, society and state hinder their participation in public life. Therefore the social privilege to male members in the society was regarded as one of the key issues in weakening the women political participation in Pakistan.

Thus, it can be argued that Pakistan is a country where patriarchal values are highly prevailing and the society is characterized by male dominated structure where males take all the major decisions while women are supposed to obey those decisions. This trend instills the feelings in the minds of women of being subordinate or obedient so they prefer to keep them aside of being a part of decision making activities. Another dimension of patriarchal structure of the society is male's insecurity that male members of the society do not want their women to stand in front of them and taking part in decision making affairs.

Shvedova (2007) probed the barriers women face in participation in politics and classified these restraints into three broad kinds. The first is political for example the masculine model of politics, weak party backing, collaboration with women's organizations and voting system; the next is related to ideology and psychology such as customary roles, lack of self-confidence, and perception of politics as "dirty" the role of mass-media; and lastly, is socioeconomic impediments that comprises of feminization of poverty and unemployment, the dual burden and education and training. Thus, socioeconomic impediments are one of his identified causes for low women political participation.

2.2.2. Psychological Factors:

It is obvious and is in human nature that once a person is discouraged to do something, he/she is not likely to be willing to undertake that task in future. Pakistan is a country where women are meant to be subordinate and strongly discouraged to be on superior positions. Moreover, men usually have inferiority complex to work under women supervision. These all factors lead the element that exist in women to refrain from reaching and even trying to reach on higher levels in political strata. The male's perception about political participation of women has been studied by (Abdullah et al., 2015). They concluded that men do not tend to agree with women in a superior or managerial role. They argued that women need to make effort far more than men but are valued less. Males' narrow mindedness about females' qualities and capabilities is considered to be main hurdle for females' advancement and emancipation. A male, even if he is qualified and show broadmindedness, does not allow a female the same space. Grove and Montgomery (2000) argues that women are appreciated very less as compared to men in seeking decision making positions.

Similarly, Shames (2015) identified the barrier of persistence of suspicion that women are not strong enough to be political leaders. A lack of women in high-powered positions may affect both men's and women's perceptions of women's ability to rule. Another very interesting aspect was found in the study was that women are made believed that they are less prone towards taking risks and being on top political positions is very uncertain, revolutionary and risk-taking kind of job thereby retrained from even thinking about political leadership. Similarly, a society makes women not believing that politics matters for them: Like men, women are often ambitious to change the world, but are far less likely to believe that politics is the most effective or efficient means of doing this.

According to a report, (Barriers and Bias: The Status of Women in Leadership) in the political landscape, rigid stereotypes about women and political leadership, often captured in biased media coverage of female candidate, can influence voters' perceptions of women candidates and discourage women from entering politics. Similarly, as the caregivers for their children, women often leave the workforce during their peak working years. Moreover, women who would continue their careers after giving birth are often forced to leave their jobs because they aren't given paid parental leave (Ali & Akhtar, 2012). When faced with the situation of unpaid leave or no leave at all, many women who have children choose to quit the workforce. Even when worker offer family-friendly policies, workers are unwilling to use them out of a concern that their work commitment will be compromised. In another report, Kalla, Rosenbluth & Teele (2015) found that the fear of negative advertising underscores the problem that political competitors can undermine female candidates with gender stereotypes, and that the media may perpetuate them whether or not they intend to. This is where we see the double bind: gender stereotypes about women's proper roles as wives and mothers perpetuate unconscious bias in the general public against female legislators who do not have children (on grounds that they are "aberrational" rather than representative citizens) or against female legislators who do have children (on grounds that they cannot possibly do the work without abdicating important family responsibilities). Thus, women face multiple obstacles that discourage them to enter in political decision-making positions. The interesting stereotype is, families hesitate spend money and time in educating their girls thinking that when they will get married and they will feed other house i.e. of in laws. Moreover, harassment barriers at workplace are prevalent in the society, if not, then its general perception in conservative minds is very common.

2.2.3 Economic Factors:

Awour (2012) concluded that women's marital status and educational level influence their participation in political leadership. Women are economically disadvantaged therefore that hinders their chances of ascending to political office. Cultural factors also influence women's participation into political leadership. Culture; patriarchy and public opinion repress women and prevent them from participating in political leadership. Anigwe (2014) suggested that financial support is one of influential elements that can create inspiration among females to enter into political life and can help creating equitable political participation irrespective of Gender. Tundi (2015) identified that due to lack of resources, many women aspirations are disadvantaged to run for political office. For women to participate effectively in the political process, substantial amounts of resources are required. These include finances, time, infrastructure and people and of the resources required, finances are the most difficult to access. According to Israel, Meena & Rusimbi (2018) women who are not found in labor force have no financial independence and thus makes it particularly difficult for women to participate in political life. Thus, the argument can be true to a certain extent but we have women who are financially stable, they own big firms and others have well-paying jobs what prevents them from entering into political leadership

2.2.4. Religious Factors:

Religion is an important basis of cultural beliefs in most countries. Arguments about women's subordination to men are present across all dominant religions, and religion has long been used to disregard women from spheres of social, political, or religious life around the world. Ali, Katherine & Rizzo (2007) found that the prominent religions of the world are differentially conservative or patriarchal in their interpretations about the place of women, both in the church hierarchy and in society. Wanglia (2010) investigates the connection between religion and social values that influence women's decision to participate in politics. He stated

that the role of religion in legitimating oppressive and affirming behavior is highlighted as the root of social transformation. The need for religious representatives to recognize and utilize the power they possess to transform social attitudes and behavior is highlighted as a step towards empowering both men and women to appreciate women's contribution to politics. Murtazashvili & Nijat (2015) stated that men usually detached and often indifferent from efforts to promote women's political empowerment, which they associate with physical or sexual attributes rather than intellectual capacity. Moreover, religious groups also do not favor the initiatives for decision-making powers to be in the hands of women.

2.3 Political Decision Making:

The customary view of the role of government is that the government is supposed to maximize social welfare. It is an exogenous agent and its role is to deliver a legal, regulatory and institutional structure. For the reason, it defines the political rules required for decision-making. However, there are now intricate procedures which have been put forward to explain how political decisions are actually made. Political decision making can take place at various levels including, parliament, provincial assemblies, political parties and local bodies. In political parties, various committees are constituted which make decisions and influence the major affairs of the political party. Members of these committees are chosen by the key leaders of the party. Decisions in the political parties not only influence the internal affairs of the party organization but also the society at large in an indirect way through bringing about variations in the whole political arena.

2.4 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

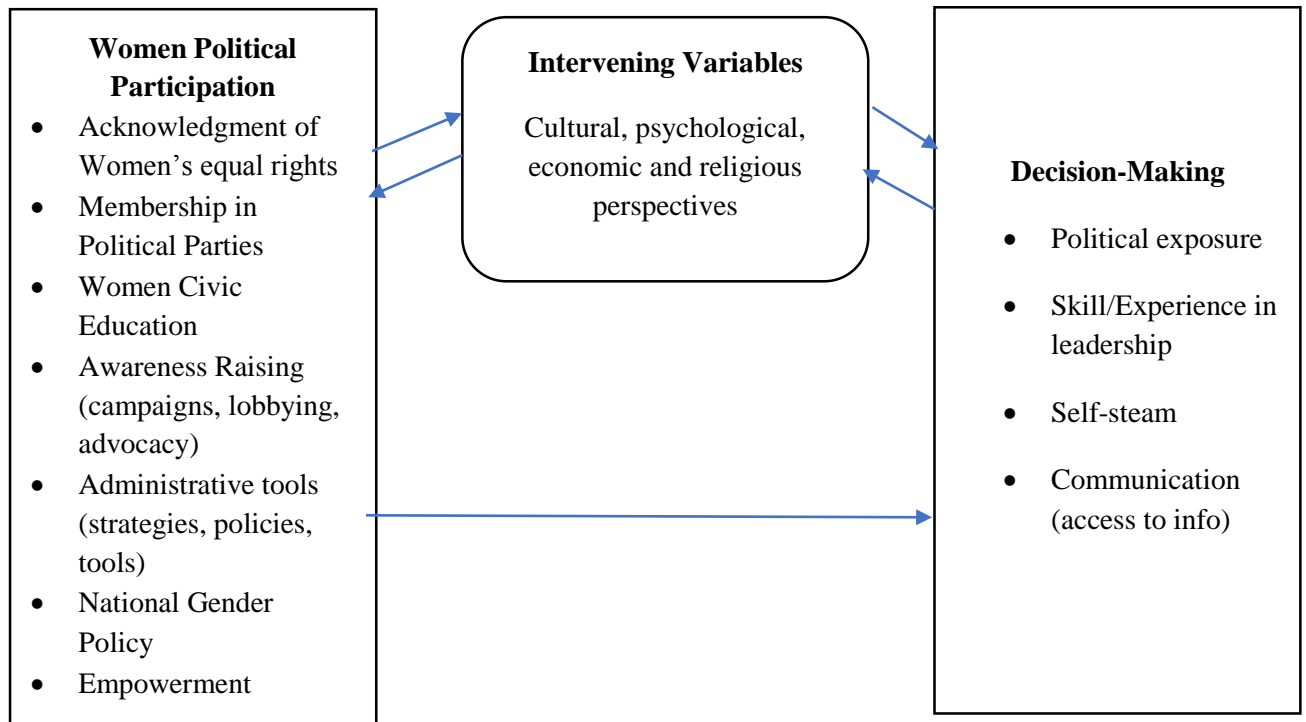


Figure 2 Conceptual Framework

Rationale of Variables in the Conceptual Framework

The following figure 2.2 shows the conceptual framework of the study, the conceptual framework proposes that the political participation of women affects their political decision-making in Pakistan. In order to explore the issue and challenges for women in political parties, their political participation in the party as well as their political decision making needs to be measured so these two factors have been selected as variables in the conceptual framework.

Effective political participation needs following elements i.e. acknowledgment of women's equal political rights, membership in political parties, women education, women financial empowerment and awareness raising such as advocacy (embracing or promoting a cause) and lobbying (influencing legislation), administrative tools as well as national gender policy (National Plan of Action 1995, the Plan addresses the twelve critical areas of concern outlined in the Beijing Platform for Action. With regard to violence against women, it proposes

measures to be taken with regard to sexual harassment in the workplace, and domestic violence). Therefore, to enable women participate in the decision-making process effectively, number of factors are pre-requisites, such as political exposure, experience and skills of leadership, public support, self-esteem and self-assertions, communication or access of information. Nevertheless, social-traditional cultures, customs and the religious perceptions as well as families to which the women belong to can modify this relationship. By addressing these factors, women likely to have effective political participation and emancipation in key decision-making about matters that affect the humanity at local, national, regional, continental and global levels

Dimensions of Intervening Variable:

Cultural Factors:

- Oppression of women by men
- Obedience to male family members
- Social privileges to male family members
- Decision making power in the hands of male members
- Discriminated appreciation by the society
- Family commitments

Psychological Factors:

- Low expectation from female political role
- Gender harassment
- Inferiority among males about female success
- Perception of voters about female candidate

Economic Factors:

- Control of property by male members
- Financial dependence on male members

Lack of financial resources

Division of labour between male and female (Households vs. Job)

Religious Factors:

Religious excuses for male's superiority

Misinterpretation of religion against female empowerment

Honour discrimination

Lack of support for initiatives for female political participation

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the selected research paradigms have been identified and described. In order to address the research questions and the kinds of research outcomes, epistemological and interpretive perspectives underlying the methodology have been defined. Moreover this chapter also justifies the need and suitability of mixed method to answer the research questions. The rest of the chapter comprehensively describes the methodology adopted and techniques administered for analysis of this study.

3.2 Research Paradigm

The first step in research was to explain the ‘world views’ or ‘paradigm’ that directs the research. Gregg, Kulkarni & Vinzé (2001) argues that paradigm is the perspective taken when drawing knowledge from the physical and social world. In simple terms, the “paradigm” is the fundamental view of how we perceive our reality (Goles & Hirschheim, 2000). In terms of research on Women Political Participation and decision-making, interpretivism and constructivism are the two major research paradigms. The paradigm of the interpretivist approach suggests it is impossible to separate facts from values and the inherent subjectivity in any research conducted in relation to people and to the social world (Kincheloe, McLaren & Steinberg, 2011).

From the interpretivist perspective, causal relationships are simply another, possible construction or explanation for certain aspects of the social world that we are researching. Rather than seeking a ‘true’ match between our research observations and reality, the interpretivist paradigm understands reality as being constructed in and through our observations and pursuit of knowledge (Bowen, 2009; Kincheloe et al., 2011). Not only the specific nature of execution and application and the involvement of power relations is

weakening Women Political Participation (Chambers, 1997) but also the gaps between constitutional provisions of Women Political Participation in Political Parties, actual practices, different inconsistencies and hurdles, that this research intends to discover. Therefore, it can be concluded that there is a need to interpret and then re-interpret the information collected and details involved about the actual understanding of Women Political Participation (Fay, 2004; Gray, 2013; Sayer, 2000)

In constructivist approach, this paradigm is established on the supposition that, there is no single version of reality as a result there can be multiple version of truths (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). They stated that truths and realities are comprehensible on the basis of various intangible mental, social and experimental constructions. These constructions are specific, dependent and vary, on the basis of their forms and content, from person to person or group to group that hold these constructions.

Thus interpretivist/constructivist paradigm suggested that knowledge is constructed by people in social settings (Gregg et al., 2001). So, the interpretivist/constructive' study is meant to give a comprehensive and broader understanding to people so that they can identify the models, practices and traditions of their society in daily life. According to Gregg et al. (2001), through the interpretivist/constructivist' study, the researcher is able conceptualize new concepts based on observing the needs and relationships and experiences of others. The interpretivist/constructivist paradigm in this study will also help the researcher to determine the issues and challenges that affect the Women Political Participation and decision-making in the political parties of Pakistan, Research design is outlined in the following section:3.3

3.3 Research Design

Research design shows the progression and specific direction for whole research process in a methodical way (Creswell, 2014; Creswell & Clark, 2011; Leech & Onwuegbuzie,

2009). Research designs includes outcome driven quantitative methods and process-driven qualitative methods (Yin, 2013).

Since this research attempts to measure the level of challenges for Women Political Participation in the Political Parties, and to explore what challenges do women face in Political Participation in the political parties of Pakistan, therefore, it is appropriate to adopt mixed method for case study design. Guion (2002) asserts the validity and reliability of the research design is strengthened by significant techniques used through the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. Mixed method is done through triangulation that includes use of the various methods including statistical analysis, sampling and research instruments. Moreover, it includes both qualitative and quantitative data for better understanding of the problem. The overview of the triangulation method is depicted in the following Figure 3.1

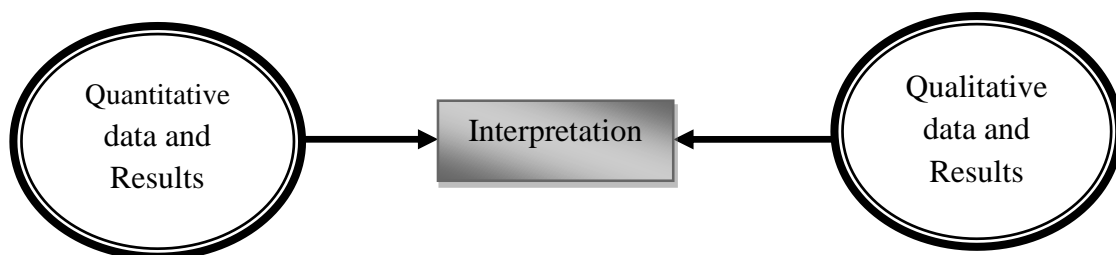


Figure 3 Triangulation Design

Triangulation Design, established by Creswell and Clark (2011)

3.4 Justification of the Case Study approach

According to Thomas (2011), case-studies are meant to analyze persons, events, decision, periods, projects, policies and institutions. The case study approach is selected on the basis of objectives of this study endeavors described in earlier sections. The current study deals with the specific political party i.e. PML (n). This necessitates in-depth analysis of the issue that may not preferably be done using other research methods. In terms of data collection methods such as statistical techniques, questionnaires, in depth interviews and observations, this approach and the tools used by current study are quite flexible. (Punch, 2013)

3.5 Conceptual Framework of the Methodology

The following figure 3.2 shows an overview of the mixed methods approach adopted for the current study.

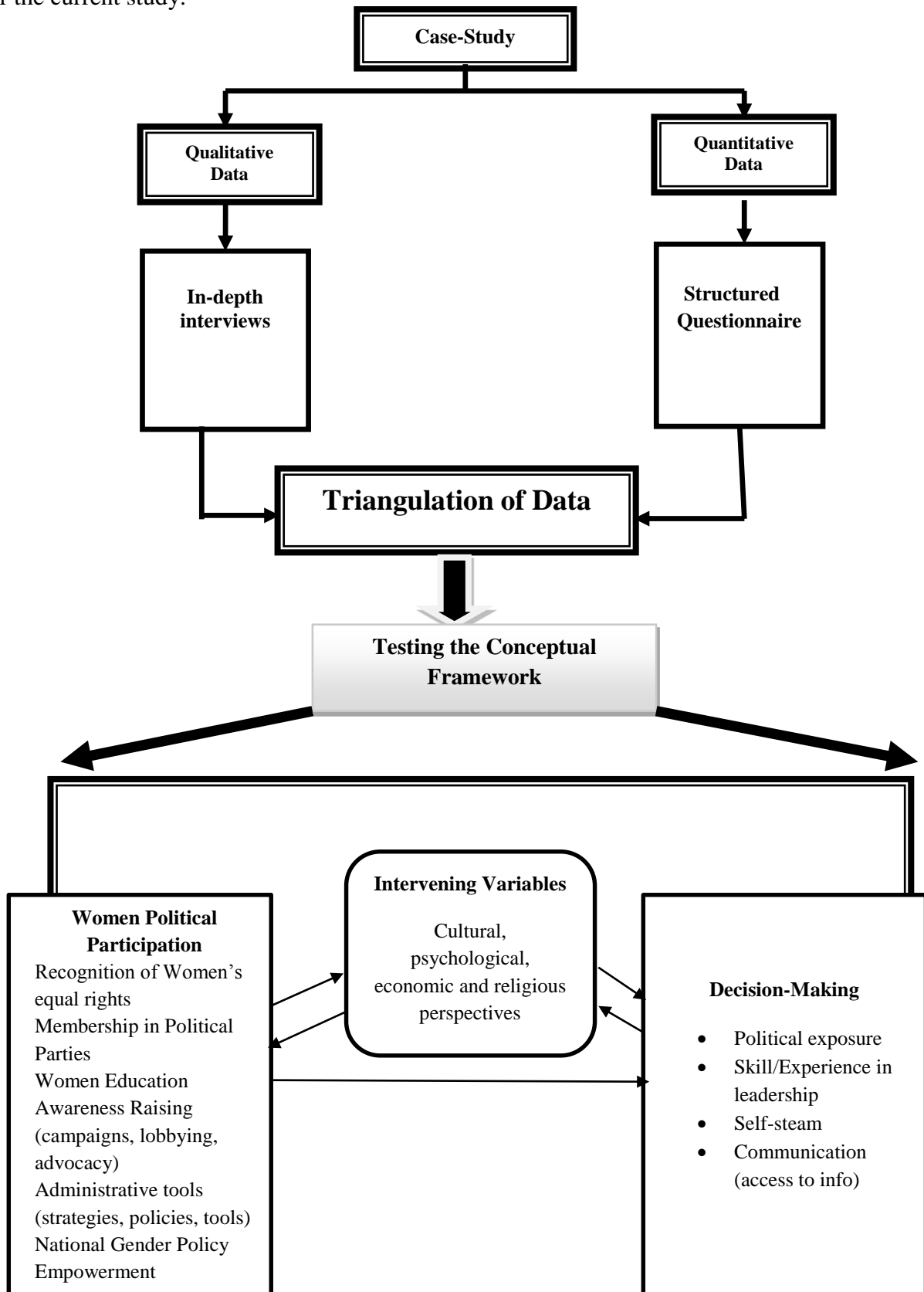


Figure 4 Overview of Mixed Method

3.6 Qualitative Approach

The main objective of the current study aims to explore the level of issues and challenges women face in political participation in the political parties of Pakistan. Moreover, the study also aims to seek the issues and challenges women face in political participation and in influencing the decisions in political parties of Pakistan. Therefore, qualitative approach is chosen to attain a very detailed account of understanding of these problems to address research questions. Moreover, Yin (2013) also suggested qualitative approach, as most appropriate to deal with the issued related to socio-cultural, conventional or phenomenological realities. Thus, qualitative methodology is selected majorly on the basis of context and complexities of these research queries.

Three categories of women of political parties being studied in current study. i.e. Members of CWC (Central Working Committee) of the political party (leaders), general members of Political Parties and Party workers. Due to the fact that much of the questioning is subjective and naturalistic, the qualitative approach is the most appropriate to address the research inquiries.

3.6.1 Data collection

The study has chosen PML (N) offices in the ICT to explore answers for the research questions asked in the first chapter. The following research techniques and tools have been adopted for data collection after detailed and in-depth literature review on Women Political Participation.

3.6.2 Sampling Techniques in qualitative approach

In terms of sampling technique, the study is based on purposive sampling technique. In purposive sampling, the sample is selected based on his own judgment. The sample is drawn from the selected population.

3.6.3 Primary Data Collection

The primary data is collected through face-to-face interviews. The interview guide consists of various open-ended questions so that the relevant information and data can be collected. For interpretation of collected data, triangulation of data is carried out. The methodology of data collection is described in the following sections.

Face-to-face interviews. The mostly used and oldest form of collection of qualitative data is face to face interview or in-person interview. According to Lavrakas (2008) to minimize non response and maximize the quality of the data collected, this form of data collection is effective one. According to Denzin & Lincoln (2009), face to face interviews are also appropriate to derive data through respondents' tone, emotions, behavior.

Ten (10) in-person interviews were conducted from basic stakeholders. Bunce, Guest & Johnson (2006) proposes that saturation often occurs around 10 participants in homogeneous groups. They operationalize saturation and make evidence-based recommendations regarding no probabilistic sample sizes for interviews. Based on the data set, they found that saturation occurred within the first ten or twelve interviews, although basic elements for metathemes were present as early as six interviews. Variability within the data followed similar patterns. Thus for this study 10 interviews have been conducted where researcher has been able to find the saturation point after these ten interviews. Out of these, seven (7) interviews were taken from party workers (5 female and 2 male), and three interviews were conducted from the members of parliament affiliated with PML (n) (2 female and 1 male)

Interviews from the party workers have been conducted through visit to various offices of Pml (N) and elected members of PML (n) have been accessed in the Parliament. The time duration of each interview, on the average, is around one hour. For interview, the researcher took rough notes and recordings of the responses before working out on drawing themes from those responses

3.6.4 Secondary Data Collection

In the current study, secondary data collection comprises the review of research articles, documents, constitution of political parties, party committee reports. The researcher has examined all these resources. The data then interpreted in chapter 4 along with other findings.

The following figure provides an overview of the whole qualitative approach.

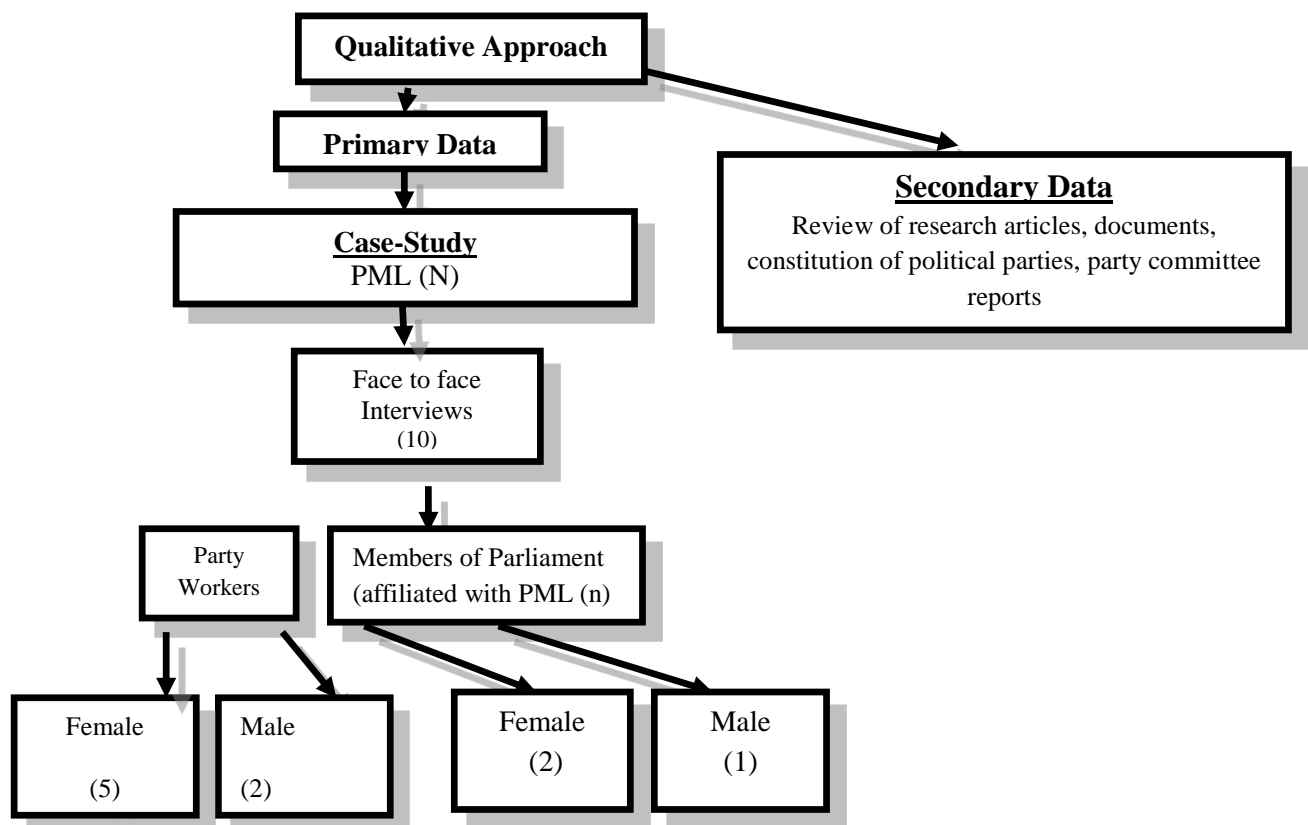


Figure 5 Overview of Qualitative Approach

3.6.5 Data Analysis

In order to address the research questions, data collected was examined and analyzed systematically. In-depth interviews were transcribed and analyzed through the method proposed by (Braun & Clark, 2006). Thematic data analysis is one of qualitative approaches that aims to identify patterns or themes of cultural meaning, coding and data classification. Subsequently interpretation of resulting thematic structure is done by looking for relationships, linkages, commonalities, overarching patters, descriptive principles and theoretical concepts.

3.6.6. Defining Thematic Analysis:

Thematic analysis is defined as the method of finding and developing patterns or themes from the qualitative data. According to Braun & Clarke (2006), thematic analysis delivers basic and essential skills that can be expedient for carrying out many other types of analysis and it is not knotted to a single specific epistemological or theoretical perspective as other qualitative methodologies are. This renders it a very flexible method, a substantial advantage given the variety of work in learning is attached.

The main purpose of a thematic analysis is to finding and developing themes and patterns in the qualitative data that are significant, interesting and thought-provoking, so that these themes can be used to address the research question or problem.

In thematic analysis, themes are identified in each question through summarizing and organizing the data (Brain & Clark, 2006)

3.6.7 Doing the Analysis:

Braun & Clarke (2006) presented a six-staged path that provides a very convenient outline for doing thematic analysis (see Table below). These steps are followed sequentially for the analysis in the research.

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

Table 2 Framework for Thematic Analysis

3.6.8 Ethical Consideration

The ethical consideration has been ensured throughout data collection process. The details of respondents with respect to their responses has been kept confidential. The time and place for interview has been left on the discretion of the respondents without the involvement of third party.

3.7. Quantitative Approach

In the portion of quantitative approach, responses to questionnaire gives a statistical description of attitudes, opinions and tendencies of selected sample from target population. Research can be cross sectional or longitudinal studies in terms of structured questionnaire or interviews, based on the nature of data required (Creswell, 2014). For the current study, to evaluate the Women Political Participation and decision making in the political parties of Pakistan, data for this study was collected from the ICT. Depending upon the the nature of the study and evidence from previous researches, a survey method was adopted, regarded as the most appropriate quantitative data collection tool. Some scholars also suggested that in social sciences survey method is well applied method for data collection (Dan & Dietz, 2008; Flower & Floyd, 2008; Hall, 2008; Kalof, 2008). To evaluate women political participation and decision making, simple descriptive statistics was used.

3.7.1 Primary Data Collection

In this research, stratified and simple random sampling is used for data collection. Tool for data collection is questionnaire. Questionnaire comprises of closely defined pre-formulated questions with a definite scale of agreement or disagreement through which respondents give their opinion (Searan, 2006). For this study, the questionnaire has been adapted from various sources (Adhiambo-Odhoul, 2003; Kasomo, 2012; Nepal, 2009; Pettygrove, 2006). The

questions in the questionnaire were designed on the basis of guided factors derived from the literature.

3.7.2. Population

The targeted population for the research comprises of total members and party workers of PML (N) in ICT.

3.7.3. Sample

As previously mentioned that in the quantitative approach, simple random sampling technique is applied. The justification behind the application if simple random sampling is ease of use and accuracy of representation from a larger population. Moreover it also reduces the chances of sampling bias. Questionnaire were distributed among the party workers and members in party offices. The sample included members and party workers of PML n (including male female)

Population (approx.) ⁱⁱⁱ	7000
Sample	200

3.7.4 Data Analysis

Data collected was processed and analyzed through descriptive analysis in SPSS version 23. Responses were subjected to statistical analysis to identify barriers to women in political participation and political decision making. Descriptive analysis is conducted in order to process and analyze the data. According to Bougie & Sekaran (2010) descriptive statistics helps to report a profile or describes the characteristic of the given factors in a situation.

ⁱⁱⁱ <http://pmln.org/>

3.7.5 Validity:

Face Validity:

The face validity has been ensured by the researcher through providing proper appearance of statements i.e. assertive, proper length, having no negative thought, easily apprehendable.

Content Validity:

Similarly the content validity has been ensured by getting it reviewed by various experts of the relevant field.

3.7.6 Ethical Consideration

The ethical consideration has been ensured throughout data collection process. The details of respondents with respect to their responses has been kept confidential. The questionnaire has been filled on the will of the respondents without the involvement of third party.

Chapter IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Qualitative Data:

The original research question was to find out the extent to which women play role in political participation and decision making in the political parties of Pakistan? The interview questions and management as well the analysis is based on this larger research question. Braun & Clarke (2006) differentiate between a top-down and bottom up approaches for analysis. Top-up approach or theoretical thematic analysis is an approach which is done by the specific research questions and the analyst's focus. Similarly the bottom-up is an inductive one which is more determined by the data itself. The type of analysis which is used in this research is driven by question and more top-down than bottom up. The objective was to generate a clear and straightforward understanding of what issues and challenges women face in creating spaces at higher levels in a political party through analyzing qualitative data by using thematic analysis technique.

Step: 1

4.1.1 Become familiar with the data:

The first step in any qualitative analysis is reading, and re-reading the transcripts.

This step is followed to get familiarized with the whole body of data or data corpus (i.e. all the interviews). At this stage, initial notes were made and early impressions were jot down.

Information about Data: The data is purely primary. However, information about offices and some respondents has been taken online. The analysis is based on an extract (approx. 15 mins) from a single interview. Total 10 interviews are taken so this becomes the extract of interviewed data of 2.30 hours.

Demographics of respondents: Average age of respondents is around 40 years. All the respondents were affiliated with PML-N which includes 7 party workers (5 females and 2 males) and 3 parliamentarians (2 females and 1 male).

Step 2:

4.1.2 Generated initial codes:

In this phase, the responded data is ordered in a meaningful and in a systematic way i.e. coding.

Coding is a way of expressing data that reduces lots of data into small chunks of meaning. By doing this each data set is coded that was relevant or thought-provoking about research question. All text is not coded. However, an open coding process is done as pre-set codes were not specified, but codes were developed and modified along with the process the coding.

Process of Coding: First of all, copied and recorded data of each interview is ordered according to each interview question, then every segment of a response which seemed to me relevant, interesting and addressing that specific interview question is transcribed through process of coding. After finishing transcribing all codes of each interview question of each respondents, codes were compared and modified. This all process is done initially by hand through pens and highlighters then typed in the word in the form of table.

The initial codes of each interview question are given in the table below:

Q: 1 Factors affecting women's political participation under the lights of Pakistan's political landscape?	Q: 2 What can be the solutions to factors affecting women's political participation under the lights of Pakistan's political landscape?	Q: 3 Challenges facing women in political decision making under Pakistan's political landscape?
Codes: Male dominant culture plays a major role towards their behavior to participate in Politics. Less women membership in political parties. Women feel less comfortable with making his opinion in the activity which	Codes: Women needs nothing than a quality education They need support by male members This issues need to be resolved from the scratch. Perception of the	Codes: They are submissive, considered to be only a number of a committee, not a member. Women do not face challenge as such in decision making process. Yes comparatively women's

<p>involves more men, i.e. decision making.</p> <p>Lack of will power among both man and women.</p> <p>Limited resources and awareness</p> <p>Religious misinterpretations about working women specially in politics</p> <p>Male dominated society and less educated women.</p> <p>Women are educated but they lack political exposure</p> <p>Financial dependence on family.</p> <p>Women are only restricted to very specific kinds of job like teaching medical but politics is considered to be not suitable form.</p>	<p>society needs to change about women working in politics</p> <p>Empower women, educate women and equal gender opportunities.</p> <p>Effective strategies should be used by the parties to empower women politically</p> <p>Family support, Developing women personal interest.</p> <p>Govt. should come on the board to play its role for women political empowerment</p> <p>Economic empowerment of women</p> <p>Family support and solid background, i.e. education</p>	<p>political decision making skills are regarded as weak.</p> <p>Woman do not want other woman to be prominent and take active part in decision making. They have natural tendency not to obey decision made by other women.</p> <p>Gender discrimination, women are considered to be emotional so their decision lack strength.</p> <p>Households commitments</p> <p>Lack of coordination and integration of women pressure groups in political parties to influence a decision Less effective role of women wings and groups.</p> <p>Media highlights about women's concerns so immediately. That's why women do not want to show up.</p> <p>Male member treat women in the party as they treat their women in home. They give them partial authority</p>
<p>Q: 4 How the challenges facing women in political decision making under Pakistan's</p>	<p>Q: 5 What are previous failures and how to empower women to</p>	<p>Q: 6 What are the main challenges you have faced when</p>

political landscape can be overcome?	participate in the policies and decision making process?	you were member of the Parliament?
<p>Codes:</p> <p>Party leader should play its role to wipe out gender discrimination in the party.</p> <p>Women themselves need to demonstrate themselves as strong convincing and dedicated so that their voice is heard.</p> <p>Women should raise women related issues so that they find an ample space to take part in decision making and policy formulation.</p> <p>If number women increases at decision making levels then these challenges can be overcome up to maximum level</p> <p>Fund raising for women related initiatives.</p> <p>Through capacity building and training of women in political parties. Moreover women should be allowed to take part in political related activities like voluntary</p>	<p>Codes:</p> <p>Of course women is traditionally treated as subordinate to male and even today and that is a big failure.</p> <p>Weak implementations of gender policies</p> <p>From the past wrong religious pronouncements (Fatwa) about working women hinder women empowerment</p> <p>Less appreciation by the society for women instils in their minds a sense of subordination</p> <p>Women equal rights are still not recognized.</p> <p>Weak women movement</p> <p>Inadequate funds specified for women empowerment</p> <p>Wrong interpretation to feminists' movements and supporters of women empowerment</p>	<p>Codes:</p> <p>We women are not given adequate time to speech our opinion is way far. So we have no ample space for our say. Moreover there is lack of flexibility in the system</p> <p>We are made unaware of party affairs.</p> <p>We have challenges but we women need to be strong enough to face the challenges and create our spaces. Until we ourselves are not determined and committed nobody would not be able to create space for us.</p>

<p>works to create space for themselves</p> <p>Quality representation and reducing nepotism in the party. Moreover there is a rigid structure in the party. We can call it as a lack of intra party democracy. Party should create spaces for new comers irrespective of the gender.</p> <p>Establishing women center for creating awareness, addressing their issues in working places</p> <p>Access to information and taking women in confidence</p>		
---	--	--

<p>Q: 7 How socio-cultural barriers are contributing in the under-representation of women in the political party?</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Old traditions about division of responsibilities and duties of male and female</p> <p>Male members of the family enjoys more respect and trust. E.g. If man come late night nobody asks but if a woman get late everybody sees him with doubtful eyes</p> <p>Woman is encouraged for being obedient while man is encouraged for being dominated.</p> <p>Family plays a major role in demotivating women to work in offices.</p> <p>Specification of duties like man is supposed to earn and woman is supposed to stay at home and grow her children</p> <p>Lack of guidance, opportunities and awareness. Govt. should take part in raising awareness</p>	<p>Q: 8 How economic challenges inhibit women in creating spaces at decision making levels in the Political Party?</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Economic status (image) matters a lot to be politically renowned and as women economic status is weak as compared to men so they women cannot develop their strong political image</p> <p>Women do not have economic opportunities to strengthen themselves economically. So with weak economic position they cannot move to higher levels and they cannot get their voice heard.</p> <p>Women are paid with very less amount as compared to men so they are not motivated and dedicated to work efficiently.</p> <p>Politics demands money and unless and until you have economic resources you would not be able to create to space at a good position in the political party</p>	<p>Q: 9 How do you see the relationship of interpretation of religion and women political participation and political decision-making?</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Religious clerics make hurdles by misinterpreting the religious statements to prevent women to participate in politics.</p> <p>They promote the idea of male superiority and retrain women for taking part in decision making.</p> <p>Statements and opinions made by religious clerics are widely accepted by the society and puts a very strong impact on women political decision making</p> <p>Women's religious rights are not recognized however their responsibilities and restrictions are too much highlighted and exaggerated.</p> <p>Society is generally reluctant to take any initiative regarding women empowerment due to</p>
---	---	--

<p>campaigns for women empowerment and their essential role in the progress of a nation</p> <p>Women has not been able to create spaces in their homes so how would they be able to create spaces in the decision making level positions.</p> <p>Women have to hypocritical praise to move upward in the hierarchy and gain acceptability. In other words, women need double efforts than men. So there is an effect of glass ceiling.</p>	<p>Women are always financially less privileged</p> <p>They depend on their family. They are not provided with equal opportunities to be independent financially so their thinking is limited.</p> <p>Lack of incentives to women in political party. Govt. can play its role to encourage women by creating new opportunities as well as giving incentives.</p> <p>Until you are not financially strong you are not influential in any terms</p>	<p>religious extremism about women's role.</p> <p>Women empowerment raising issues are generally misinterpreted</p>
<p>Q: 10 How psychological mindsets and rigid stereotypes about women political leadership undermine women political participation in the political party?</p>		

Codes:

Image about women working in politics is not good in our society.

Male members of the party usually hold the sense of inferiority about female's success. They would never want to be ruled by a women. They always want to rule

Male member of the family never like to take suggestion or decision from a female. Even their opinion is not taken when they are getting married

Women are told since childhood that they are less prominent than males, they are advised to stay off the screen. Similarly Male member of the family also feel proud to keep their women in home

Family pressure in the mind of a female. Women are reminded time and again that they are weak gender and in case of any kind of scandal they will be more criticized than male so they feel less confident. Family pressure rests on the shoulder of male

<p>member if their women are working outside especially in a vulnerable sector like politics.</p> <p>Idea of women empowerment lacks wide acceptance and favor</p> <p>Gender sensitivity among women and men</p>		
--	--	--

Table 3 Initial Codes

Step 3:

4.1.3 Search for themes.

According to Braun & Clark (2006) a theme is defined as “a pattern that captures something important or interesting about the data and/or research question”. They explained, there are no hard and fast procedures about how a theme is identified and developed. Simply, a theme is developed by its significance. My themes were predominately descriptive, i.e. they described patterns in the data relevant to the research question. Following table 2 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 (highlighted in the table below).

<p>Q: 1 Factors affecting women’s political participation under the lights of Pakistan’s political landscape?</p> <p>Male dominant culture plays a major role towards their behavior to participate in Politics.</p> <p>Less women membership in political parties. Women feel less comfortable with making his opinion in the activity which involves more men, i.e. decision making.</p> <p>Lack of will power among both man and women.</p> <p>Limited resources and awareness</p> <p>Religious misinterpretations about working women specially in politics</p> <p>Male dominated society and less educated women.</p> <p>Women are educated but they lack political exposure</p> <p>Financial dependence on family.</p> <p>Women are only restricted to very specific kinds of job like teaching</p>	<p>Q: 2 What can be the solutions to factors affecting women’s political participation under the lights of Pakistan’s political landscape?</p> <p>Women needs nothing than a quality education</p> <p>They need support by male members</p> <p>This issues need to be resolved from the scratch. Perception of the society needs to change about women working in politics</p> <p>Empower women, educate women and equal gender opportunities.</p> <p>Effective strategies should be used by the parties to empower women politically</p> <p>Family support and developing women personal interest.</p> <p>Govt. should come on the board to play its role for women political empowerment</p> <p>Economic empowerment of women</p>	<p>Q: 3 Challenges facing women in political decision making under Pakistan’s political landscape?</p> <p>They are submissive, considered to be only a number of a committee, not a member.</p> <p>Women do not face challenge as such in decision making process. Yes comparatively women’s political decision making skills are regarded as weak.</p> <p>Woman do not want other woman to be prominent and take active part in decision making. They have natural tendency not to obey other women’s decisions</p> <p>Gender discrimination, women are considered to be emotional so their decision lack strength</p> <p>Households commitments.</p> <p>Lack of coordination and integration of women pressure groups in political parties to influence a decision and less</p>
--	--	---

<p>medical but politics is considered to be not suitable form.</p>	<p>Family support and solid background, i.e. education</p>	<p>effective role of women wings and groups</p> <p>Media highlights about women's concerns so immediately. That's why women do not want to show up.</p> <p>Male member treat women in the party as they treat their women in home. They give them partial authority</p>
<p>Q: 4 How the challenges facing women in political decision making under Pakistan's political landscape can be overcome?</p> <p>Party leader should play its role to wipe out gender discrimination in the party</p> <p>Women themselves need to demonstrate themselves as strong convincing and dedicated so that their voice is heard.</p> <p>Women should raise women related issues so that they find an ample space to take part in</p>	<p>Q: 5 What are previous failures and how to empower women to participate in the policies and decision making process?</p> <p>Of course women is traditionally treated as subordinate to male and even today and that is a big failure.</p> <p>Weak implementations of gender policies</p> <p>From the past wrong religious pronouncements (Fatwa) about working women hinder women empowerment</p>	<p>Q: 6 What are the main challenges you have faced when you were member of the Parliament?</p> <p>We women are not given adequate time to speech our opinion is way far so we have no ample space for their say. Moreover there is lack of flexibility in the system</p> <p>We are made unaware of party affairs. Even our input is not taken in making policies.</p> <p>We have challenges but women are also not strong to face challenging situation. We women need to be strong enough to face the challenges and create our</p>

<p>decision making and policy formulation.</p> <p>If number women increases at decision making levels then these challenges can be overcome up to maximum level</p> <p>Fund raising for women related initiatives.</p> <p>Through capacity building and training of women in political parties. Moreover women should be allowed to take part in political related activities like voluntary works to create space for themselves</p> <p>Quality representation of women and reducing nepotism. Moreover there is a rigid structure in the party. We can call it as a lack of intra party democracy. Party should create spaces for new comers irrespective of the gender.</p> <p>Establishing women center for creating awareness, addressing their issues in working places</p>	<p>Less appreciation by the society for women instils in their minds a sense of subordination</p> <p>Women equal rights are still not recognized.</p> <p>Weak women movement.</p> <p>Inadequate funds specified for women empowerment</p> <p>Wrong interpretation to feminists movements and supporters of women empowerment</p>	<p>spaces. Until we ourselves are not determined and committed nobody would not be able to create space for us.</p>
--	--	---

<p>Access to information and taking women in confidence</p>		
<p>Q: 7 How socio-cultural barriers are contributing in the under-representation of women in the political party?</p> <p>Old traditions about division of responsibilities and duties of male and female</p> <p>Male members of the family enjoys more respect and trust. E.g. If man come late night nobody asks but if a woman get late everybody sees him with doubtful eyes</p> <p>Woman is encouraged for being obedient while man is encouraged for being dominated.</p> <p>Family plays a major role in demotivating women to work in offices.</p>	<p>Q: 8 How economic challenges inhibit women in creating spaces at decision making levels in the Political Party?</p> <p>Economic status (image) matters a lot to be politically renowned and as women economic status is weak as compared to men so they women cannot develop their strong political image</p> <p>Women do not have economic opportunities to strengthen themselves economically. So with weak economic position they cannot move to higher levels and they cannot get their voice heard.</p> <p>Women are paid with very less amount as compared to men so</p>	<p>Q: 9 How do you see the relationship of interpretation of religion and women political participation and political decision-making?</p> <p>Religious clerics make hurdles by misinterpreting the religious statements to prevent women to participate in politics.</p> <p>They promote the idea of male superiority and retrain women for taking part in decision making.</p> <p>Statements and opinions made by religious clerics are widely accepted by the society and puts a very strong impact on women political decision making</p> <p>Women's religious rights are not recognized however their</p>

<p>Specification of duties like man is supposed to earn and woman is supposed to stay at home and grow her children</p> <p>Lack of guidance, opportunities and awareness. Govt. should take part in raising awareness campaigns for women empowerment and their essential role in the progress of a nation</p> <p>Women has not been able to create spaces in their homes so how would they be able to create spaces in the decision making level positions.</p> <p>Women have to do hypocritical praise to move upward in the hierarchy and gain acceptability.</p> <p>In other words, women need double efforts than men. So there is an effect of glass ceiling.</p>	<p>they are not motivated and dedicated to work efficiently.</p> <p>Politics demands money and unless and until you have economic resources you would not be able to create to space at a good position in the political party</p> <p>Women are always financially less privileged</p> <p>They depend on their family. They are not provided with equal opportunities to be independent financially so their thinking is limited.</p> <p>Lack of incentives to women in political party. Govt. can play its role to encourage women by creating new opportunities as well as giving incentives.</p> <p>Until you are not financially strong you are not influential in any terms</p>	<p>responsibilities and restrictions are too much highlighted and exaggerated.</p> <p>Society is generally reluctant to take any initiative regarding women empowerment due to religious extremism about women's role</p> <p>Women empowerment raising issues are generally misinterpreted as anti-religious stuff.</p>
---	--	---

Q: 10 How psychological mindsets and rigid stereotypes about women political leadership undermine women political participation in the political party?

Image about women working in politics is not good in our society.

Male members of the party usually hold the sense of inferiority about female's success. They would never want to be ruled by a women. They always want to rule

Male member of the family never like to take suggestion or decision from a female. Even their opinion is not taken when they are getting married

Women are told since childhood that they are less prominent than males, they are advised to stay off the screen. Similarly male members of the family also feel proud to keep their women in home

Family pressure in the mind of a female. Women are reminded time and again that they are weak

<p>gender and in case of any kind of scandal they will be more criticized than male so they feel less confident. Family pressure rests on the shoulder of male member if their women are working outside especially in a vulnerable sector like politics. Idea of women empowerment lacks wide acceptance and favor Gender sensitivity among men and women</p>		
--	--	--

Table 4 Preliminary themes

Step 4:

4.1.4 Review themes:

During this phase preliminary themes are reviewed, modified and developed that were identified in Step 3. All the data that is relevant to each theme is gathered. This is done simply by using the ‘cut and paste’ function in word processing package.

Initially, each code is examined thoroughly and identified all those codes which clearly fit together into a theme. For example, I had several codes that related to factors affecting women’s political participation and I have collated these into an initial theme such “Culture of male dominance” and so on. Similarly, all the codes had been organized into broader themes and sub themes that seemed to be something significant for the main theme or/and sub theme. After finishing this, the themes associated with each broad research question, irrespective of the interview question, was identified. The theme associated with each question is separated. Shuffling and repetition of themes is also made according to the relevance. Data associated

with each theme is carefully read that whether the data really did support it. This step is to think about whether the themes work in the context of the entire data set, in other words to consider how the themes work both within a single interview and across all the interviews.

Themes are chosen on the basis of following things, as suggested by (Braun & Clark, 2006):

- Themes that make sense.
- Theme supported by data
- Overlapping and separate themes
- Themes within theme (Sub-themes)
- Other themes within the data

For reviewing themes first I have stated the research questions and then according to each questions the relevant themes and sub themes are defined under each question, is mentioned.

Research Questions:

- What are the issues women face in political participation under the lights of parties' political space?
- What are challenges faced by women in political decision making in political parties of Pakistan?
- What are previous failures or issues towards the political empowerment of women in political parties?
- How the issues and challenges women face in political participation and decision making process in political parties can be eradicated?

Q: 1. What are the issues women face in political participation under the lights of parties' political space?

First research question of the research is to address the issues or general factors that hinder women political participation through creating spaces at political decision making. All these themes and sub themes and their related codes are mentioned in the table below:

<p>Theme: Culture of male dominance</p> <p>Sub theme 1: Social image</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Bad image of working women</p> <p>Label of being submissive</p> <p>Label of being too emotional to take decisions</p> <p>Less convincing power</p> <p>Sub theme 2: Persistence of historical patterns:</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Division of responsibilities between male and female</p> <p>Honor discrimination</p> <p>Women are told since childhood that they are less prominent than males, they are advised to stay off the screen.</p> <p>Sub theme 3: Opportunity gap</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Lack of quality education</p> <p>Double standard of trust and confidence</p> <p>Women do not have economic opportunities. They have very less economic empowerment. They are paid very less as compared to men.</p>	<p>Theme: Lack of acceptance by the society into politics</p> <p>Sub theme 2: Supposed psychological satisfaction:</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Feel proud to keep their women in home</p> <p>Family pressure rests on the shoulder of male member if their women are working outside especially in a vulnerable sector like politics.</p> <p>Sub theme 2: religious excuses</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Religious clerics make hurdles by misinterpreting the religious statements to prevent women to participate in politics.</p> <p>Unrecognized women rights and exaggerated women's restrictions by religious clerics</p> <p>Strong influence of religious clerics' statement on the society</p> <p>Sub theme 3: Inferiority Complex</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Male members would never want to be ruled by a women. They always want to rule.</p>	<p>Theme: Systemic halts</p> <p>Sub theme 1: Weak women movements</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Less effective role of women wings and groups</p> <p>Wrong interpretation to feminists' movement and supporters of women empowerment</p> <p>Inadequate funds for women related initiatives</p>
--	---	--

Less acceptance for specific kind of positions like decision making.	We daily experience insecurity and enviousness among females and males for our success and progress. Female ahave a natural tendency to obey decisions made by other women.	
--	--	--

Table 5 Categories of themes (RQ.1)

Q: 2 What are challenges faced by women in political decision making in political parties of Pakistan?

The second research question addresses the challenges that women face in political decision making when they are at decision making levels. All main themes and sub themes and their related codes are stated in the table below:

<p>Theme: Imbalanced political parties (in terms gender):</p> <p>Sub theme 1: Less women membership</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Inadequate space for women</p> <p>Glass ceiling for women</p> <p>Nepotism and less quality representation</p> <p>Sub theme 2: Less influence of women:</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Lack of coordination and integration of women pressure</p>	<p>Theme: Lack of Leadership potential</p> <p>Sub theme 1: Motivation gap</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Lack of resources and awareness</p> <p>Lack of political exposure</p> <p>Lack of guidance</p> <p>Lack of will power among male and female</p> <p>Lack of quality education</p> <p>Less appreciation by the society</p> <p>Sub theme 2: Lack of essential pre-requisites</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Less dedication by women</p>	<p>Theme: Social Vulnerability:</p> <p>Sub theme 2: Scandalization</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Women are reminded time and again that they are weak gender and in case of any kind of scandal they will be more criticized than male so they feel less confident.</p> <p>Media highlights about women's concerns so immediately. That's why</p>
--	---	---

groups in political parties to influence a decision Less support by other women.	Less committed Weak ability of facing challenges Lack of personal Interest Households commitments	women do not want to show up. Sub theme 2: Gender sensitivity Codes: Women feel less comfortable with making his opinion in the activity which involves more men. i.e. decision making. Women need hypocritical praise to move upward in the hierarchy
---	--	--

Table 6 Categories of themes (RQ. 2)

Q: 3 What are previous failures or issues towards the political empowerment of women in political parties?

The third question is aimed to identify the previous failures that could not be addressed before to the desired level to improve political empowerment of women in political parties. All main themes and sub themes and their related codes are described in the table below:-

<p>Theme: Secondary role of women</p> <p>Sub theme: 1 Less admiration</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Reluctance to take any initiative regarding women empowerment</p> <p>Less acceptance of the idea of women empowerment</p> <p>Wrong interpretation to feminists' movement.</p>	<p>Theme: Incapacities for empowering women</p> <p>Sub theme 1: Weak gender policies:</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Ineffective implementation of gender policies</p> <p>Inadequate funds for women related initiatives</p>
---	---

<p>Sub theme 2: Less compatible environment</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Male oriented society</p> <p>Male members of the family enjoys more respect and trust.</p> <p>E.g. If man come late night nobody asks but if a woman get late everybody sees him with doubtful eyes</p> <p>Woman is encouraged for being obedient while man is encouraged for being dominated.</p>	<p>Less input from women in policy formulation</p> <p>Sub theme 2: negligence about women</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Less attention paid to women related issues.</p> <p>Male member of the family never like to take suggestion or decision from a female.</p> <p>Even their opinion is not taken when they are getting married</p>
---	--

Table 7 Categories of themes (RQ. 3)

Q: 4 How the issues and challenges women face in political participation and decision making process in political parties can be eradicated?

The fourth question is to find out that how to eradicate the issues and challenges that women face in political participation and political decision making. All main themes and sub themes and their related codes are described in table below:-

<p>Theme: Increasing Women potential</p> <p>Sub theme 1: Quality education</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Support by family especially by males.</p> <p>Women interest</p> <p>Adequate space and opportunities for quality education</p> <p>Sub theme 2: Training and political exposure:</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Through capacity building of women</p> <p>Women should be allowed to take part in political related activities like voluntary works to create space for themselves</p>	<p>Theme: Maintaining gender balanced political parties.</p> <p>Sub theme 1: Increasing women membership</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Quality representation of women</p> <p>Reducing nepotism</p> <p>Bringing flexibility in the structures. Creating spaces for new comers irrespective of the gender.</p> <p>Sub theme 2: strengthening women wings and groups:</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Effective role of women wings and groups</p> <p>Coordination and integration of women pressure groups in political parties to influence a decision</p>	<p>Theme: Supporting role of the Govt.</p> <p>Sub theme 1: Effective strategies</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Gender inclusive policies.</p> <p>Fund raising for women related initiatives</p> <p>Establishing women centers</p> <p>Sub theme 2: Provision of encouragement:</p> <p>Codes:</p> <p>Govt. should play its role to encourage women by creating new opportunities as well as giving incentives.</p> <p>Govt. should run awareness raising campaigns for women empowerment and their essential role in the progress of a nation</p>
--	---	--

Table 8 Categories of themes (RQ. 4)

Step 5:

4.1.5 Defining themes:

After reviewing all themes and sub themes, this step is to state each theme and develop thematic maps for each research question. (Braun and Clark, 2006). To perform this step, following

questions need to be addressed. What each theme tells? If it has sub themes then do they interact with the sub themes of other main themes? How do they relate?

Moreover, in this step, a pictorial representation of all main themes and sub themes. It gives a clearer understanding about themes and their relationships. In each research question, a separate diagram is made showing main themes and sub themes that are developed address that research question.

RQ No.1:

The issues that women face or likely to face in the way to political participation under the lights of parties' political space are highlighted. According to responses by the interviewees, three main themes are developed: *Culture of male dominance*, *Lack of acceptance by the society into politics* and *Systemic halts*. Under the main theme "Culture of male dominance" there are three further sub themes: *Social Image*, *Persistence of historical patterns* and *Opportunity gap*. Similarly, under the second main theme, "Lack of acceptance by the society into politics" there are three sub themes: *Supposed psychological satisfaction*, *Religious excuses* and *Inferiority complex*. In the same way, under the third main theme, "Systemic halts" there is a sub themes: *Weak women movements*.

The thematic map (interrelationship) among main themes and sub themes is shown in following diagram.

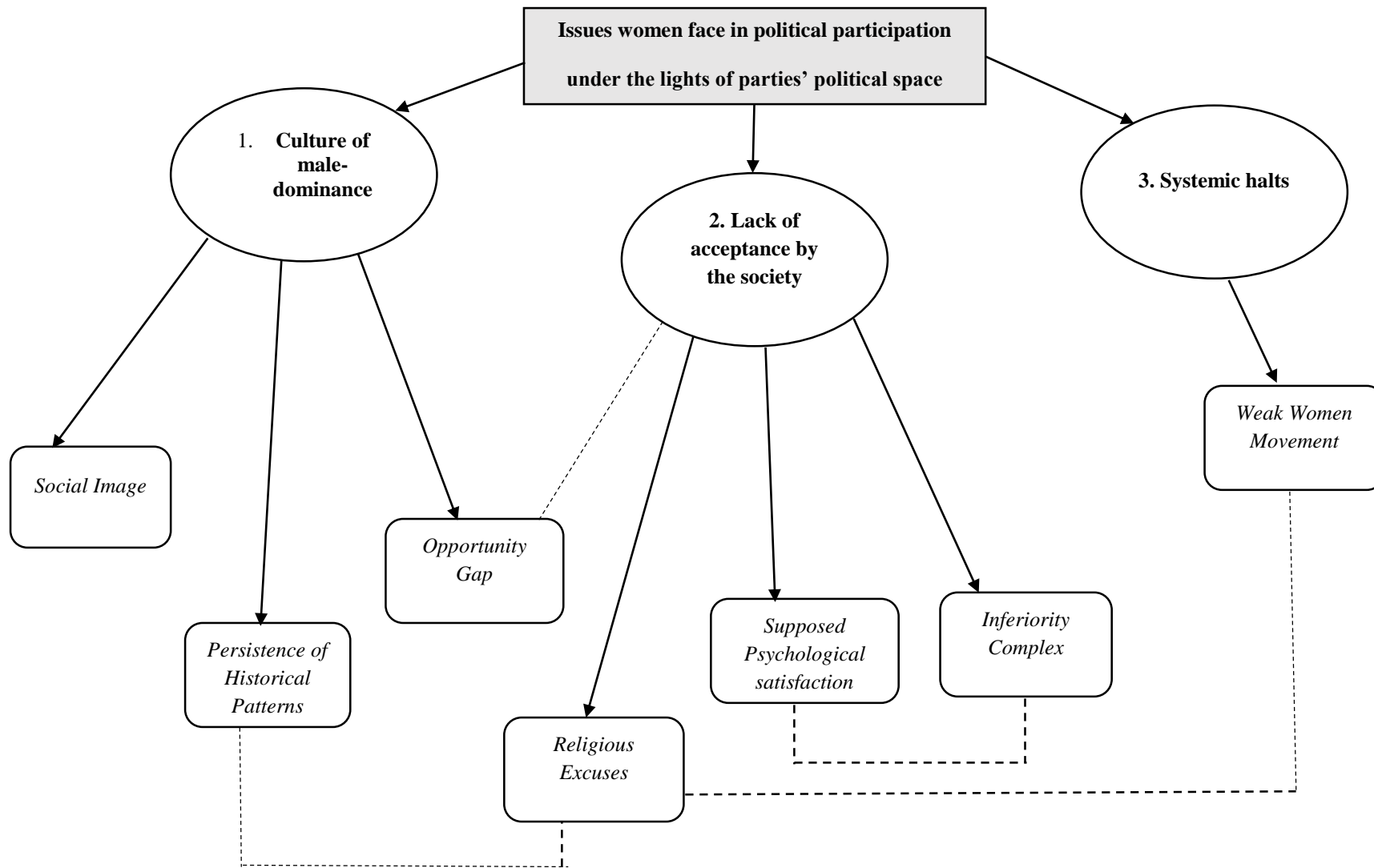


Figure 6 Thematic Map (RQ. 1)

RQ. 2:

In a patriarchal society like Pakistan, when a woman is at political decision making position she faces some challenges, based on the responses of the interviewees. According to the responses by the interviewees, three main theme has been developed: *Imbalanced political parties (in terms of gender)*, *Lack of leadership potential* and *Social Vulnerability*. Under the first main theme, “Imbalanced political parties (in terms of gender)”, there are three sub themes: *Less women membership* and *Less influence of women*. Similarly, under the second main theme, “Lack of leadership potential”, there are three sub themes: *Motivation gap*, and *Lack of essential pre-requisites*. Likewise, under the third main theme, “Social Vulnerability”, there are two sub themes: *Scandalization* and *Gender sensitivity*.

All these themes are related to one or more main themes. Their interrelationship (Thematic map) is depicted in the following diagram.

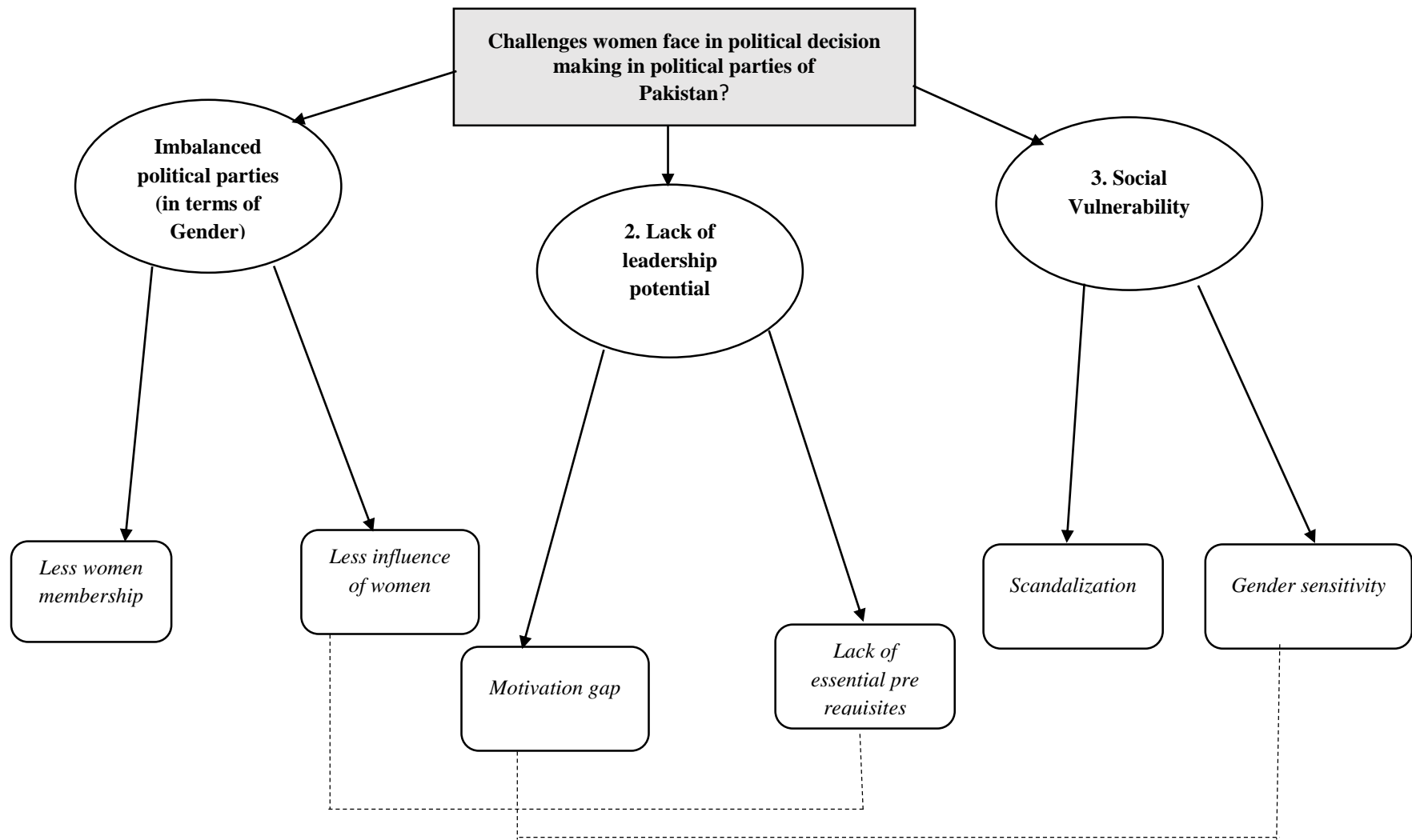


Figure 7 Thematic Map (RQ. 2)

RQ No. 3:

According to the responses by the interviewees, two kinds of previous failures contribute to less political empowerment of the women in political parties, i.e. *Secondary role of women* and *Policy failures*. Under the main theme, “Secondary role of women”, there are two sub themes: *Less admiration* and *Less compatible environment*. Similarly, there are two sub theme under the main theme “Policy failures”: *Weak gender policies* and *Negligence about women*.

All the themes under this heading and their related sub themes and the inter-relationship between them is describe in the diagram (Thematic map).

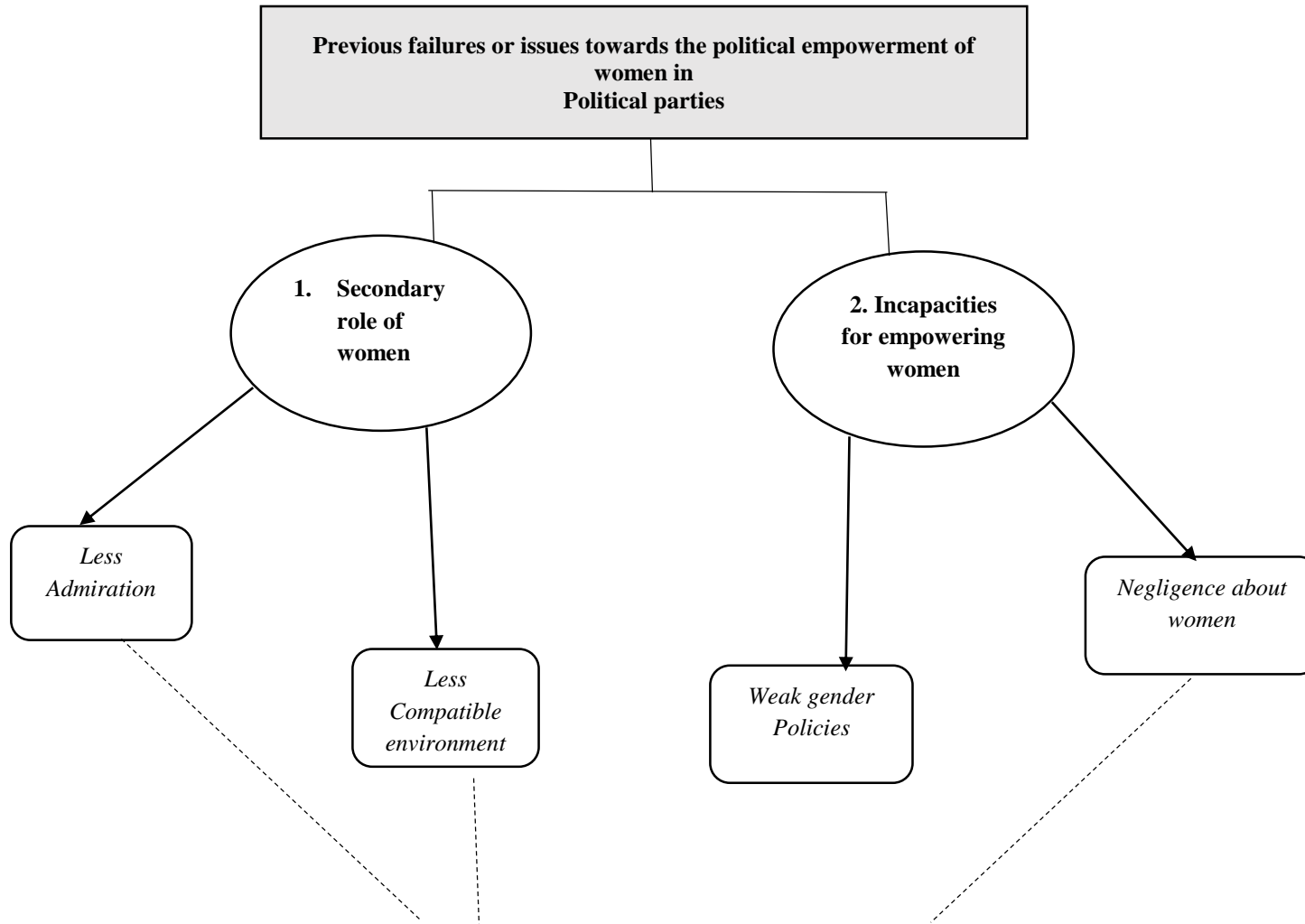


Figure 8 Thematic Map (RQ. 3)

RQ No. 4:

In response to how the issues and challenges to women to participate in political participation and political decision making can be overcome, three kinds of suggestions are distinguished. First a general suggestion i.e. *“Increasing personal interest”*, second to political parties i.e. *“Maintaining gender balanced political parties”* and third is for govt. i.e. *“Supporting role of the Govt.”*. Under the first main theme, *“Increasing women potential”*, there are two sub themes: *Quality education* and *Training and Political exposure*. Similarly, there are two sub theme under the second main theme *“Maintaining gender balanced political parties”*: *Increasing women membership* and *Strengthening women wings and groups*. Under the third main theme, *“Supporting role of the Govt.”*, there are two further sub theme *Effective strategies* and *Provision of encouragement*:

All main themes, their related sub themes and the inter-relationship among them in shown in the following diagram (Thematic map).

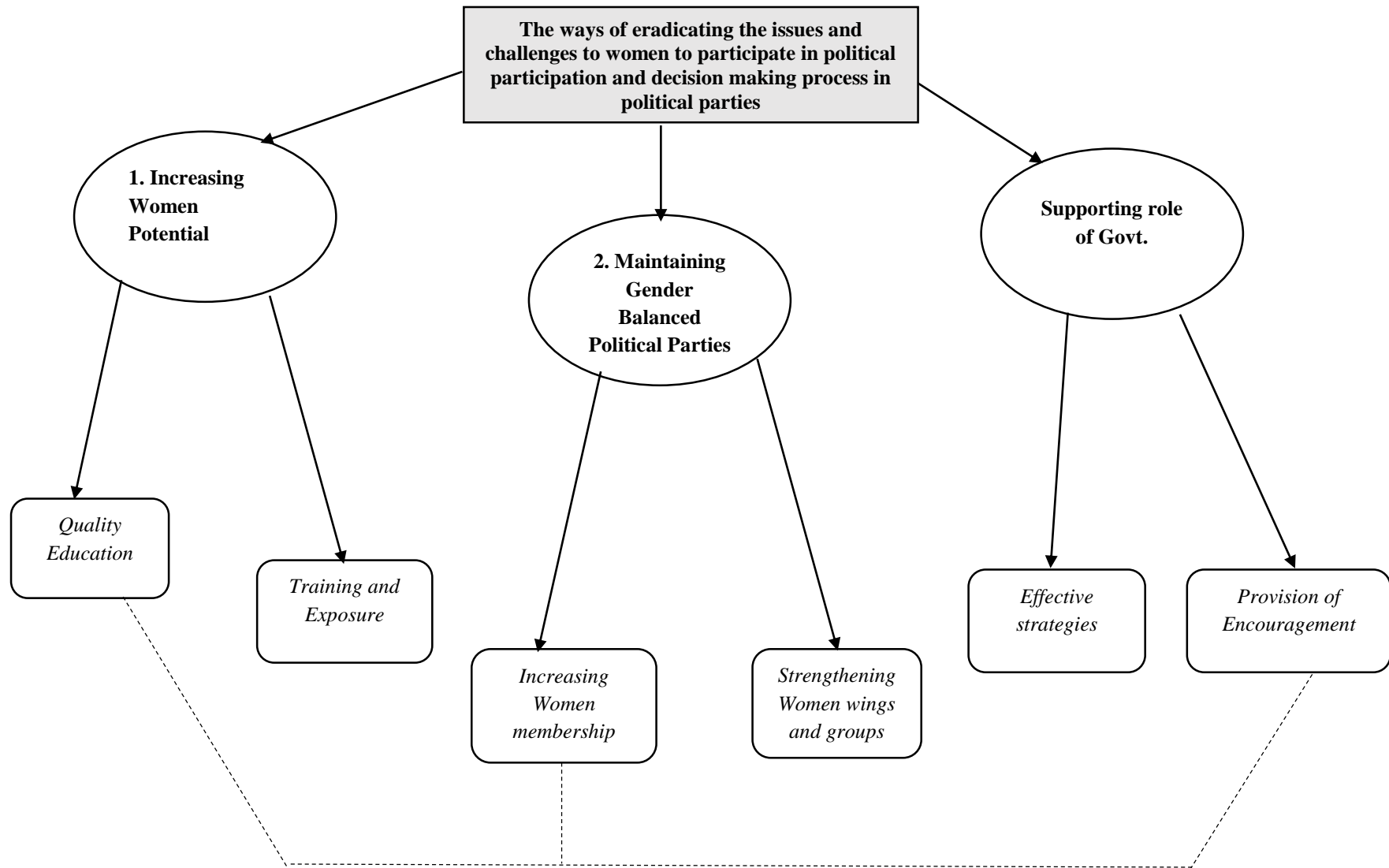


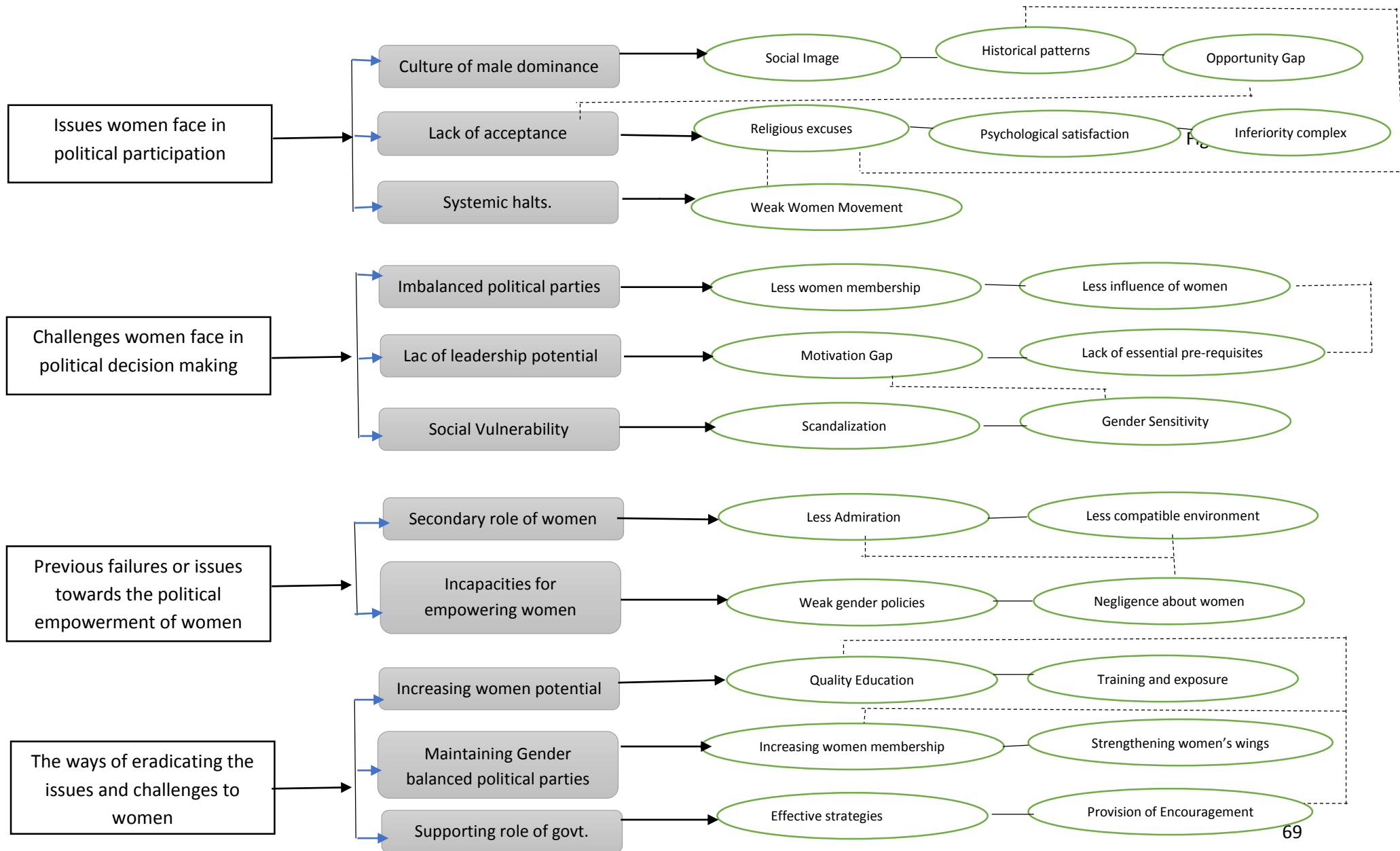
Figure 9 Thematic Map (RQ. 4)

Consolidate Thematic Map:

The figure shows the overall view of main themes and sub themes and their inter-relationships.

In this figure research questions are drawn vertically at the right side of the page and themes and sub themes related to each research question is placed horizontally towards the left side of the page

Figure 10 Consolidated Thematic Map



Step 6:

4.2 Discussion

(Write up)

This step is final and crux of all steps. In this step, discussion and rationale of each themes and sub themes is discussed.

RQ 1. Issues women face in political participation under the lights of parties' political space

Theme 1: Culture of Male Dominance:

Male dominant society, also called as patriarchal society, is a society in which male members usually enjoy the authority over females in all aspects. The most apparent feature of a patriarchal society is that the organizations of that society privilege men. This means that the social relations between people are organized in such a way that always and universally supports male superiority. From morals, customs, and traditions to laws and official institutions like governments, authority within a society is uplifting men under a system of male dominance. The concept of male dominance is the earliest known phenomenon of inequality in the human society. Moreover, according to feminists' theories and socialists' theories, male dominance is a widespread element of a society. The most apparent feature of a patriarchal society is that the organizations of that society privilege men.

Bari (2000) identified that mentally instilled obedience is an important phenomenon to study as responses showed, various codes delivers the sense of masculine society as they refer main issue of women in the way to political participation in political parties' space, is male dominant society. According to one respondent, *"if a girl grows in a male dominant culture, it is instilled in her mind that she will always has to obey her father, brother and even son so when she goes outside then she attribute every male in the same way"* Similarly another respondent said that *"our organization (political party) is a part of and represent society at large so if our society is masculine the how political party can show opposite behavior"*. By taking its significance

into consideration through the responses, this factor is distinguished as a full fledged main theme. Power dynamics in the hands of male plays an important role in building the behavior of the society in terms of dominance. Several sub themes have been drawn from the above phenomenon.

Sub theme 1: Social Image:

Social image is not commonly used term but in this research it is referred to as a how one is perceived in a society. It is common that in a society of male dominance a woman is always perceived to be subordinate of man. Lorber (1991) described the concept of sociology/social construction of gender. She explained that difference in gender is legitimated by religion, science, law and the society's entire set of values. In a social setting individual learn what is expected, they see what is expected and they act according to the expectations thus simultaneously maintains gender order. Gendered norms and expectations are set through informal gender-inappropriate behaviors by peers and by formal punishment or threat of punishment by those in authority.

Sub theme 2: Perception of Historical Patterns:

Literature guided that the phenomenon of male dominance emerges from the beginning that male are supposed to take all the decisions (Shvedova, 2007). According to the responses, there are division of responsibilities in our society, "*Male member of the family is supposed to earn and female is supposed to run the household affairs*" so there is clear cut line between the supposed responsibilities of male and female. Thus according to this distinction of responsibilities women cannot be motivate to work outside and especially in a political set up. She cannot manage to come out of that patriarchal set up. Another fact come into the view is that since early times there has been a culture of honor discrimination. Honor discrimination is generally attributed to giving punishment by peers to save honor, but in this research it is used to describe the fact, in our society women are more vulnerable to be suffered in case of any

scandal. A respondent used term “*Weak, helpless and exposed*” to such scandals. So this kind of fear make women stay at offstage. Another factor is seen in the response is that over the history, girls are told since childhood that they are less prominent than males, they are advised to stay off the screen. In a patriarchal society, women have less prominent role in working sector especially in a political set up (Blomgren, 2010). Politics is generally thought of as a profession of male and politics is the most exposed profession so women being less prominent in the society will never be encouraged to go into most open sector i.e. politics. Thus all these identified factors showed that they are being practiced since the earliest times and did not removed even in today’s modern society.

Sub theme 3: Opportunity Gap:

Opportunity is defined as a chance of doing and accomplishing something, in any aspect of life. One of the supporting sub theme of a male dominant society is that women are less privileged than men as identified by (Mufford, 2011). In other words male members enjoys more opportunities than a female does in the society. First and basic gap is about education. According to a respondent, “*Parent tend to spend more time and effort to educate their son than their daughter*”, as it is an understood fact that every profession needs quality education. Similarly politics is also a sector that demands quality education and exposure. So unless or until a member is less educated his/her voice is not heard with proper attention, therefore women who have not obtained quality education will not be able to deliver what they supposed to deliver. Similarly another significant fact is that in a society of male dominance there are double standards of trust and confidence. It can generally be observed that in a family male members enjoys more trust and respect as one of the respondents said that “*If man come late night nobody asks but if a woman get late everybody sees him with doubtful eyes*”, therefore women lack confidence and consequently are less motivated to take part in an exposed and demanded profession like politics. Furthermore, according to the respondents, another disparity

that women face is less economic opportunities as it is said earlier that there is a division of responsibilities in our society i.e. man is supposed to earn and woman is supposed to stay at home and perform household activities. This clearly means that women do not have opportunity to earn for themselves and knowing politics as a sector that demands full time money and independence, it is suspected that female cannot survive in it. Likewise there is another trend that has been observed about the society in the responses is that there is less acceptance for specific kind of positions like decision making. Again, it describes that it is generally thought that women are not meant for decision making positions. According to a respondent, *“We female are generally meant for doing administrative kinds of activities in the political parties, we are not involved in decision making process as such. It is the job of the male members. Although if there is need to gather information at lower level to make a decision only male staff is consulted”*. So taken together all these gaps and disparities, these some under the sub theme of culture of male dominance, named as “Opportunity gap”

Theme 2: Less Acceptance by the Society into Politics:

The rationale of using this term as a name of the main theme is that it constitutes all those responses that delivers the impression that women lack acceptance in politics. Acceptance is a general term used to refer admiring someone in a certain set up. In a patriarchal structure, a women is supposed to run the households or in some cases she is allowed for specific kind of profession such as teaching or medical, but she is never encouraged to come into politics because of *“Gendered Vulnerability”*, a term coined by (Lazarus & Steigerwalt, 2018). They investigated the factors that make female politicians more electorally vulnerable than their male colleagues. For example, female candidates receive less and lower quality coverage from the media; they have more and better quality political rivals; and they get less support from their political parties. These issues combine to put a pressure on women that they must work harder to win elections. Since women feel continuous pressure to guarantee that they can win

reelection, they dedicate more of their time and energy to winning their voters' favor by compromising their social lives to an extent. For example, women have to secure more funding for their constituencies; they have to introduce more bills and resolutions; and their policy positions have to be more responsive to what their voters want. Female members have to simply do a better job of representing their constituents or survive in politics than male members.

As a response states that *"If she is working in a political party she needs to strong, independent and confident enough to adjust, survive and create her space in such environment, she has to create her acceptability by her own self"*. The theme constitute sub themes such as "Supposed psychological satisfaction" "Religious excuses" and "Inferiority complex". Each of them is described individually.

Sub theme 1: Supposed Psychological Satisfaction:

As the name suggest, supposed psychological satisfaction expresses the assumed satisfaction of men and women to keep woman inside home and not to allow her to work in a profession that demands so much interaction and time such as politics. According to an interview respondent argued that, *"They feel proud to keep their women in home"*. The pronoun *"they"* she used is referred to both men and women as per discussion of the interview going on at that time. Another interviewee commented that *"Family pressure rests on the shoulder of male member if their women are working outside especially in exposed sector like politics"* so this pressure ultimately turns into dissatisfaction in males to let their women to work effectively because a women has to balance her social and working life. This factor was also highlighted in the work of (Abdullah et al., 2015). So this factor act as a halt that women face in political participation.

Sub theme 2: Religious Excuses:

The society like we living in has diversity of religion and is strongly driven and influenced by religious practices. Since the core of every religion is doing right by everyone in society and is

the belief that all people are equal, but this is not always the case. Religious clerics misconceive its teachings, for example, religion is itself taken as a superior and above all, so some religious clerics strive to gain authority for themselves rendering the opposite gender as a second class citizens. Ali & Katherine (2007) argued that found that the prominent religions of the world are differentially conservative or patriarchal in their interpretations about the place of women, both in the church hierarchy and in society. According to a respondent, “*our religious scholars has exaggerated the restrictions ignoring the alternative ways for women to play their role socially such as ‘Naqaab’*. Instead of opening up the paths our Molanas are covering the allowed ways for women. Rizzo, Subsequently male member of the family as well as take into their advantage and logic to restrain women to rise to the higher levels. Another respondent, straightforwardly commented that “*Religious clerics make hurdles by misinterpreting the religious statements to prevent women to participate in politics*”. This makes women religiously bound to play a prominent and effective role in political party.

Sub theme 3: Inferiority Complex:

Inferiority is defined as a sense of subordination and dependency. Inferiority complex is a psychological term, originally coined by Alfred Adler^{iv} according to him, “one can have the feelings of inferiority as the result of being surrounded by others who are stronger and more capable”. The rationale of using this term as name of a sub theme is that by examining the responses the fact is observed that a man cannot want woman to be stronger than him financially or any aspect. According to a respondent “*Male members would never want to be ruled by a women. They always want to rule*”. Such as Growe & Montgomery (2000) argued that women receive less appreciation by the society. In a society like we living in, a man is

^{iv} Adler, A. (1964). *The Individual Psychology of Alfred Adler*. H. L. Ansbacher and R. R. Ansbacher (Eds.). New York: Harper Torchbooks. ISBN 0-06-131154-5.

meant to be superior so if he cannot bear if he sees anything that could damage his superiority. So in a political party set up decision making is considered to be the job of superiority so mostly male member do not want women to be involved in decision making positions. The aim is not to obey even to take into consideration the decisions in which women are involved. Another parliamentarian commented in the interview that *“We women are not given adequate time to speech our opinion is way far so we have no ample space for their say.”* Another considerable fact is that, in a political party only men do not have sense of inferiority, women also don't want other women to be superior and hold higher position in the party as a respondent said *“We daily experience insecurity and enviousness among females and males for our success and progress”*. Therefore based on above arguments it is clear that one of the issues to move higher in a political party structure is sense of inferiority by men and other women.

Theme 3: Systemic halts

The word “systemic” is used to describe “general or concerning the surroundings”. The purpose of naming this theme as systemic halts is to express that political participation of women in political parties is caused by some factors in the surroundings like weak women movement, and miscellaneous discouraging behavior from their family as well people in general. As it is a fact that human beings are social animal, and women being a human face different kind of people in her surroundings. If she faces discouraging behaviors then she would be least motivated to work in an exposed sector like politics. Moreover if she continues facing such challenges would never be able to manage to survive in a controversial entity like political parties. There are two sub themes under this heading described below:

Sub theme 1: Weak women movements

As political party is an organization with diversity of people from all over the country so in such environment one needs support and influence at larger stand. It can be through creating influential groups (Group theory by David Truman) or wings that are meant to address the

issues of specifically female. So unless these groups and wings are not playing their effective role, they would be able to strengthen women in the organization and women's interests, opinion and say will not be heard, as a respondent indicated "*Less effective role of women wings and groups*" as a major factor of short women political space at the higher levels of political parties. According to her, "*These wings and groups only satisfy their own interest rather than benefiting and supporting women at large in the party*". Similarly another, factor that come into the view by examining the responses is opposing feminists' movements like radical feminism. As a respondent argued that, "*society wrongly interprets feminists' movement and supporters of women empowerment*", it is argued that people mostly religious extremist take these feminists' movement in a wrong way and portray them in the bad way. According to the response Inadequate funds for women related initiatives as an issue for women in also indicated, without funds, ineffectiveness of a project is justified.

Research Question no. 2: Challenges women face in political decision making in political parties of Pakistan

Theme 1: Imbalanced Political Parties (In terms of Gender):

A political party is made up of and represent the society at large. As it is discussed that the society we living in, is male dominant in nature so within political parties a sense of masculinity is felt by examining the responses. Blair (1929) also commented that political parties have been inept to strengthen women equal participation. Of course, less number of women, together with their minimum representation at decision making levels and a rigid and least democratic set up of the political party make a party male-oriented and masculine in nature. Despite more countries announcing so-called gender quota that dictate a percentage of seats (at least 30 percent) be filled by women based on specific criteria mentioned in countries' constitutions or in the electoral laws. Yet women in positions of power are still a rare find on the country's legislative map. Under such circumstances, a political party loses its balance in terms of gender.

By reviewing the responses, the need for this factor to be included in as a main theme is felt. As a political party represents and is supposed to highlight the issues of society at large so if it lacks the major segment of the society i.e. women, then it would not be able to address the issues of all the general public. This main theme includes three sub themes as sequentially described below:

Sub theme 1: Less membership of women in Political Parties:

Women hold almost half of population in the society we living in, but this ration is reflected by the membership of the political party. Unfortunately, in political parties there more men than women which makes it male oriented and it loses the gender balance. For example, the highest organ in PML (N), Central Working Committee constitutes only 10% of women, which is supposed to elect president and secretaries of wings and oversee other party's activities. Various respondents gave their opinion about this issue in their own way. Such as a respondent commented that "*There is inadequate space for women in the party*". So, if a party which has less space for women how it would be able to represent the interests of the society at large as women account for half of the population so the representation of their issued remain unattended. Similarly another respondent used a term "*Glass ceiling*" for women career path in the political party which lessens women at each next higher position. . Thus, it is clear fact that political parties represent less number of women.

Sub theme 2: Less influence of women:

Less membership of women in political parties make them less influential in party's affairs Blomgren, (2010). Research has revealed that women are not actually psychologically handicapped for leadership. Rather, they face a barrage of gendered assumptions and stereotypes about their fitness for leadership, which are then translated into discriminatory norms and organizational practices in areas such as recruitment and promotion. To deal with these stereotypes women need to strive collectively through grouping and coordination within

the political parties. Grouping is one of the ways to influence the organization's affairs that is discussed before (i.e. Group theory). But according to the responses it is revealed that women groups are so weak, as a respondent stated that "*there is lack of coordination and integration of women pressure groups in political parties to influence a decision*", it will be discussed in the next sections where a respondent argued that women tend about their colleagues women and do not see them to progress so it decreases the coordination and cooperation among them. Another respondent also commented that "*We have less support by other women*". Under these circumstance women loses their influences on the party's affairs.

Theme 2: Lack of Leadership potential

This theme deals with the leadership skills. Korn & Ferry (2015) defined leadership potential as "*the capacity and interest to develop the qualities required for effective performance in significantly more challenging leadership roles.*" To be able to make effective decision, a women need to possess some leadership traits. It is observed from the replies of the respondents that women are deprived of essential pre requisites required for holding position at decision making levels in politics. These are expressed under three sub themes of this main theme, these include: Opportunity Gap, Lack of essential Pre-requisites, Weak economic status. Each of them is describe below:

Sub theme 1: Motivation Gap

According to Robert Dubin (1970), "Motivation is the complex set of forces starting and keeping a person at work in an organization. Motivation is something that moves the person to action, and continues him in the course of action already initiated". As Bari (2000) argued by that women are always discouraged to work outside in a place where she needs frequent interactions. So if women lacks motivation she will lose confident and will not be motivated to work effectively. One of the motivation gaps the respondents identified is "*Lack of resources and awareness*" A respondent commented that "*politics is the game of resources and money,*

if one lacks he/she cannot create his/her space” thus this account for one of the motivation gap for women. For example women are economically being more vulnerable because they have less earning opportunities than men. For leadership positions one needs to have ample awareness and political exposure but according to response women have very less awareness and political exposure enough for making them fit for leadership positions. Other factors that comes out from the data are *“Lack of quality education, Lack of guidance and Lack of will power among male and female.* Together all these factors contribute to motivation gap in the women due to which they cannot create their spaces at the upper strata of the political party’s structure.

Sub theme 2: Lack of essential pre-requisites

Pre-requisites is used to describe “initial requirement of an initiatives”. Various respondents agreed that women themselves need to make themselves stronger and more convincing to create space in a political realm where they face better quality opponents. According to a respondent *“Until you are not determined and committed by yourself nobody will create space for yourself”*. She further argued: *If you are in the menu you are not on the table”*. So according to her women need dedication and commitment to be convincing and influential. She added that *“In politics, yes women have to face lots of challenges but they have to have the ability to face the challenges and this is the main quality you need to possess in politics, i.e. adaptability, and tolerance”*. Kiamba (2008) also argued that strong women movement and their will power is essential in demanding equal opportunities. Another respondent commented about lack of dedication of women, according to her *“Household’s commitments and health issues”* act as barrier in the way of women effective political participation.

Theme 3: Social Vulnerability

Vulnerability refers to the chance or likeliness to be exposed or suffer from certain mishap. The rationale of using this term is that, in a society like we live in, women are more vulnerable

gender of being suffered in case of affairs involving reputation. So this causes a sense of fear among women to stay off the screen because media plays an important role in exposing such kinds of affairs about politics. As a respondent used a word “*reserve*” which means women stay reserved in the political party and do not want to take responsibility of a decision. Therefore vulnerability turns into fear and halt in the way of women’s confidence. This theme constitute sub themes, as described below:

Sub theme 1: Scandalization:

The term scandalization referred to making rumor or gossip cause by scandalous action or event. This is entirely a new issue guided through responses. This term can be taken in two ways in political world; first defamation and second is to become prominent in political environment. The purpose of using it as a sub theme of vulnerability is to argue that women are more vulnerable to scandalization in first aforesaid way because of the expectations of saving honor of their families on their shoulders. According to a respondent, “*Women are reminded time and again that they are weak gender and in case of any kind of scandal they will be more criticized than male so they feel less confident*”. As described earlier, losing confidence make them less motivated and less encouraged to take part in decision making activities. Similarly according to another respondent, “*Media highlights about women’s concerns so immediately. That’s why women do not want to show up*”. Again, politics is an area which demands openness and transparency so media involved so much in highlighting about political affairs so frequently and in a competitive environment of political parties, the issues and affairs of political parties are also highlighted often. Although everyone wants to be prominent in politics as politics demands prominence and popularity but at the sometime women feel less secure to be too highlighted in case of any scandal. So scandalization is considered to be one of the halts of increasing vulnerability of women to be effective to creating space at decision making levels in political parties.

Sub theme 2: Gender Sensitivity:

In this research, the term “Gender sensitivity” refers to the sense of being gender sensitive or consideration gender while taking any kind of action (s). In other words, one performs or chooses to perform certain activity in a specific way taking his/her gender into account. Ali (2015) highlighted describe that women are meant to perform specific tasks only e.g. carrying out household works. This factor also comes under harassment that women face in political party. The rationale of using this term in this research is that women is of course opposite gender to men so there are certain efforts that women have to make in a political party set up. For example according to a respondent, “*Women need hypocritical praise to move upward in the hierarchy*” that gives a connotation and expression that women have to use their gender to survive and rise in the political party. Similarly, according to another respondent, “*Women feel less comfortable with making his opinion in the activity which involves more men, i.e. decision making*”. In a society like Pakistan, politics gives a negative connotation and being a worker in political party, mostly women tend to be reserved and do not interact with men immediately. Therefore there is another halt that women face a political party set up which minimize their political activity and participation.

Research Question no. 3: Previous failures or issues towards the political empowerment of women in political parties?

Theme 1: Secondary role of women

The purpose of naming this theme as a secondary role of women is to describe woman subordination in the society. They are treated as second class citizens. During the interview, in the discussion on women education the respondent argued that, “*No matter how qualified a women is, it is always treated as secondary*” she further argued that “*From a child to an adult then to become a women, a daughter is treated secondary in terms of her education, working and independence*”. The role of religious scholars comes to play in maintaining these assumed

thoughts (discussed in page no. 67). Similarly another respondent argued that, “*Woman is always think of one step behind than man and unfortunately, and this is appreciated by the society*”. Thus, this situation ultimately leads to the culture of woman subordination. This phenomenon includes following sub themes, described below:

Sub theme 1: Less admiration

The term “admiration” is used to describe the idea women respect and appreciation by society. Shami (2009) in demonstrating the historical review of women political participation and political contribution in Pakistan, argued women have not been provided with incentives by the government to motivate them to combat the issues they face in the way to move toward higher levels in their lives. According to the responses there is a sense of reluctance to take any initiative regarding women empowerment because of upholding patriarchal norms in the society. Women earn respect and are admired in certain professions like teaching and medical fields but there are certain other spheres where women are not warmly welcomed and politics is one of them. The factor can also be seen on religious grounds; because in teaching and medical field women do not have to interact with male openly as in political field; and on domestic grounds because politics demands full dedication so they have to overlook their families. Respondents agreed that some people including male and female do not support the idea of women empowerment, instead they give them negative connotations and pretend that women empowerment is a misleading thought like women liberalism. So there is less acceptance of the idea of women empowerment. Murtazashvili & Nijat (2015) identified the same issue that women are not welcomed to the higher levels of decision making. In a competitive political situation, men can manage to deal with controversies but women are kept aside from these affairs hence they are not given prominent role in the party. But this has to start from homes. A respondent commented, “*Women has not been able to create spaces in their homes so how would they be able to create spaces in the decision making level positions*”.

Thus, firstly, women need motivation from their homes then it comes to their working place. Similarly another respondent commented that *“In our society women are only restricted to very specific kinds of job like teaching medical but politics is considered to be not suitable form”*. Again she revealed that political sector is not considered to be the appreciated and suitable professions

Sub theme 2: Less compatible environment

“Compatibility” is used to describe the state of togetherness and harmony, and that is obviously between both genders. To survive in an environment one need compatibility so as to adapt in that atmosphere. *In a society where male members of the family enjoys more respect and trust. E.g. If man come late night nobody asks but if a woman get late everybody sees him with doubtful eyes* (respondent’s comment) how come a women earn confidence and motivation to move to higher levels of job status such as leadership. Similarly, Ahmed (2018) & Awan (2016) argued that in a patriarchal society like Pakistan, women are usually restrain from entering into politics because political sphere is thought of incompatible area for women. Moreover, doing any kind of job one needs appreciation, respect, confidence but living in a society of male dominance where woman is encouraged for being obedient while man is encouraged for being dominated, women is less motivated and less interested to stand in the competition with men.

Theme 2: Incapacities for empowering women:

The purpose of using incapacities for empowering women is to describe “failure and ineffectiveness” for empowering women. It includes weak gender policies and negligence about women. According to the respondents, although there are more govt. institutions exists to address women’s empowerment related issues like, Provincial Commissions on the Status of Women and Women Action Forum etc., still the situation of women in political sector is devastating. In other words, by viewing women political participation in the upper hierarchy of political parties, one can’t help noticing the proliferation of govt. institutions working on

women's problems. According to responses these failures are due weak gender policies and negligence for women.

Sub theme 1: Weak gender policies:

A policy is defined as program of action carried out to meet certain purpose or goal. As women are almost equal to man according to population proportion. Women cannot play effective and influential role in the society until they are backed and supported by government. Ahmed (2018) while referring to the report of World Economic Forum (WEF), argued that the performance of four Muslim countries including Pakistan have been recorded as the lowest in creating adequate and effective policies for women. According to the responses, the issue is *"Ineffective implementation of gender policies"* is seen. When voice of women is heard and considered in shaping public policy, it enhances their economic potential which is crucial to attaining national growth. Moreover, a respondent identified that *"There are inadequate funds for women related initiatives"*. Women being a major portion of the society need to be consulted for making any public policy regarding the welfare of the society at large.

Sub theme 2: Negligence about women

Negligence is defined as "failure to take proper care over something/carelessness". In a male dominant society, over the history, in making major decisions even in deciding marriage, consent of women is not taken. According to a respondent, *"we have witnessed that women related issues are always neglected"*. Moreover, women also do not take adequate space in employment opportunities, as in 2013-14, the federal government (all grades 1-22) inducted 444,521 persons in the civil service; only 20,428 were women (Gender Inequality, 2018). A respondent commented that *"In the circumstances of discrepancies, political parties do behave in the same way as they see the treatment with women in their surroundings"*

Research Question no. 4: The ways of eradicating the issues and challenges to women to participate in political participation and decision making process in political parties

Theme 1: Increasing women Potential:

On the question of solutions to women issues that they face in participating effectively in politics political decision making process in terms of political party's space, the majority of respondents were agreed that, on first basis women's potential required for effective political participation need to be enhanced such as quality education, training and political exposure (Caul, 1999), they further identified that they are areas in which women are lacking their potential as compared to man. A respondent commented that "*women are not less in talent but what she needs is training and exposure*". This main theme includes two sub themes: Quality education and training and exposure, described individually below:

Sub theme 1: Quality Education:

It is a generally accepted phenomenon that unless people at large are enlightened through education, there are little chances of any social/ economic and political breakthrough. Although women education is improving as compared to previous decades, however, there are specific fields in which girls tend to be studying more, such as medical and languages, the degrees like political science women are found to be lesser than men (Awour, 2012). A respondent revealed that, "*Politics is seen to be the least interested subject for women in a society like Pakistan*". Thus, there is need to develop a sense of interest and awareness about politics among women along with men, may be through media or creating role model women for them as a motivation. Moreover, family plays a major role in shaping the interest of the women in education. On the question about lack of education for girls, a respondent highlighted that "lack of education is also more pronounced amongst girls living in poverty". Therefore there is need to have free and incentive-based education so girls are motivated for studying.

Sub theme 2: Training and Political Exposure:

In the circumstance of gender discrepancy in education, skills and potential, a fruitful training can allows her to strengthen her skills to become an effective and influential leader. Similarly

only robust training and exposure can ensure that a person has a consistent experience and background knowledge that makes him valuable and convincing (Luciak, 2008). According to the responses there are two actors that can play their role in women's capacity building through training and political exposure. First, the family as a respondent commented that "*Women should be allowed to take part in political related activities like voluntary works to create space for themselves*", secondly, besides the educational institutions, the workplace acts as a learning place for the employees as they get exposure and experience so in a political party, the party management can play role to give equal opportunities and provide adequate training so that women are able to compete in a competitive environment

Theme 2: Maintaining gender-balanced political parties:

To represent the society at large in true meaning, it has to ensure equal proportion of male and female members. Additionally women need to be given equal opportunities to move upward in the hierarchy regardless of the issues of gender discrepancy (Sacchet, 2005). Maintaining gender balance is not only in terms of numbers but in terms of opportunities as well. According to the responses, number of suggestive comments are received which are covered in its sub themes. Its sub themes include: Increasing women membership and strengthening women wings and groups. Both are described in each sections below:

Sub theme 1: Increasing women membership:

The first and foremost need is to create adequate space for women in the political party (Blomgren, 2010). Similarly according to the respondent, one way of improving women membership proportion in the political party is to bring flexibility in the structure as a respondent suggests, there is need to abolish traditional styles of rigid leadership and create space for new comers irrespective of gender. However, a respondent stated that "*highest leadership bring women from their intimated groups to higher positions*" (Page: 82) this indicates the severe menace for women political participation. A political party need to

consider the quality women irrespective of nepotism so that they could set an example and become a motivation for rest of women.

Sub theme 2: Strengthening women wings and groups:

Another way for improving women proportion in the political party is to make them influential and convincing as men (Mufford, 2011). This cannot be done without strengthening women wings associations and groups within the political party. According to the responses, it has to be ensured the effective role of these associations what they are meant for, and this can only be attained through coordination of women groups in the party as a respondent stated that “*there is lack of coordination and integration of women pressure groups in political parties to influence a decision*” (page: 82), which a sign of ineffectiveness of women groups to safeguard the interest of women in the political party.

Theme 3: Supporting role of Government:

It is a known fact that Government is meant for the welfare of the public. And if the major segment of the public is ignored then it will consider a big failure of the govt., so there are certain responsibilities of the govt. to ensure the equality in the society as according to characteristic of good governance given by (World Bank, 1996), one of the traits of good governance is equity and equality. Therefore a govt. need to devise such policies which are gender inclusive and ensuring gender equality. This main theme consists of two sub themes: effective strategies and provision of encouragement. Each of them is described as:

Sub theme 1: Effective strategies for politically empowering women:

Strategies are defined as a long term plan attended to meet a certain goal. According to number of responses, it has been suggested that there is need to revise gender policies in terms of its implementation and also new policies which are more gender inclusive and deliver gender equality. Moreover, a policy cannot be meaningful unless it has been provide with adequate funds. Ahmed (2018) suggested that govt. need to raise adequate funds specifically for women

related initiatives. A senior party member suggested that there is need to establish women centers for addressing women related issues, like health harassment, injustice so that they could be motivated and confident to stand for their own rights. She further argued that unless govt. is not playing a supportive role, political parties will remain male oriented.

Sub theme 2: Provision of encouragement:

A person achieves something through inspiration, motivation and encouragement. Shvedova (2007) argued that women need party support and collaboration with women's organization and Govt. in order to improve women political participation. According to a respondent, "*Govt. is playing effective role by creating awareness and giving incentives and women's stand is improving*". She further complained that "*However, this motivation is only for SMEs, there is no initiative witnessed by the govt. to strengthen women in political sector*". A similar suggestion has also been made by (Tundi, 2015) that govt. need to work on the provision of encouragement for the women in monetary terms to ensure their effective progress in politics and to make them grasp the higher levels of political decision making.

CONCLUSIVE ARGUMENT:

The major shortcoming in women's political participation in PML (N) is, according to the narratives of the interviews, derived from many interconnected factors. These are blend of psychological, societal and structural and other situational barriers that hinder the women to create spaces at decision making levels in the political parties. Moreover the problems vary with respect to context and background. The women interviewed in parliament do not see themselves in the problem of getting access to decision making level positions in politics, they have talked about issues on general level. However the party workers highlighted more prominent issues like male-oriented society, acceptability and under-represented women in legislature. Similarly the issues talked about also varied from male interviewees to female interviewees. Female interviewees talked about discrepancies while male interviewees talked

about perceived incapacities in women for leadership. Under such circumstances it is difficult to draw a general argument encompassing all stakeholders. Nonetheless, the overarching argument of this study can be that it is not sex that determines what was happening to women in the politics, but power, position and the effects of being a token.

4.3 Quantitative Data:

The quantitative data has been collected through circulation of questionnaires. To ensure an open and a genuine response, the respondents were guaranteed for confidentiality. The questionnaires encompassed two sections; one for Women Political Participation, one for Women Political Decision Making. All the respondents were given the questionnaire through random sampling. Data collected through questionnaires is presented and analyzed according to the statements of respondents.

4.3.1 Descriptive Analysis:

Response to these questionnaires were analyzed by drawing crosstabs of each statement in the questionnaire through Statistical Package for the Social Science (Version 20).

The following tables show the frequency and percentage that how many respondents indicated Not Relevant, Somewhat Relevant, Relevant or Very Relevant to the statements of questionnaire in order to conduct descriptive statistics.

Women political participation is important aspect as it enhances welfare in the society.

	Frequency	Percent
Somewhat Relevant	10	13.3
Relevant	34	45.3
Very Relevant	31	41.3
Total	75	100.0

Table 9 Women political participation as an enhancer of welfare of the society

The table shows that majority of the respondents of the respondents regarded the statement as Relevant and Very relevant. Few of responses showed somewhat relevance, however, none of the respondents marked it as Not relevant. Hence the respondents accepted the statement that women political participation is important aspect for the welfare of society.

Cultural barriers hinder women's political participation

	Frequency	Percent
Not Relevant	3	4.0
Somewhat Relevant	9	12.0
Relevant	33	44.0
Very Relevant	30	40.0
Total	75	100.0

Table 10 Cultural barriers hinder women's political participation

The table shows that respondents accepted the fact that women do not effectively participate in political space in terms of political parties of the country, due to the cultural barriers. A minimum number of respondents also regarded it as Not relevant. However, the statement is accepted by the majority of respondents.

Economic constraints hinder women's political involvement?

	Frequency	Percent
Not Relevant	1	1.3
Somewhat Relevant	9	12.0
Relevant	45	60.0
Very Relevant	20	26.7
Total	75	100.0

Table 11 Economic constraints hinder women's political involvement

In the table, more than half of the respondents believed that women do not effectively participate in political space in terms of political parties of the country, due to the Economic

barriers. Thus economic constraints reduce women's independence thus act as hurdle for women to be fully empowered.

Religious misperceptions about women's political power?

	Frequency	Percent
Not Relevant	1	1.3
Somewhat Relevant	10	13.3
Relevant	40	53.3
Very Relevant	24	32.0
Total	75	100.0

Table 12 Religious misperceptions about women's political power

Similarly in the above table also, majority of the respondents agreed that women do not effectively participate in political space in terms of political parties of the country, due to Religious Misperceptions

Psychological mindsets of the society affect women political participation?

	Frequency	Percent
Not Relevant	2	2.7
Somewhat Relevant	8	10.7
Relevant	44	58.7
Very Relevant	21	28.0
Total	75	100.0

Table 13 Psychological mindsets of the society affect women political participation

The table shows that 86% of the respondents accepted that fact that women have no power to participate in the politics of the country, due to Psychological Mindsets. However 10% of respondents showed conditional relevance to the statement and only 2.7% were disagreed.

Government and political parties are themselves not motivated for women's political involvement?

	Frequency	Percent
Not Relevant	4	5.3
Somewhat Relevant	31	41.3
Relevant	35	46.7
Very Relevant	5	6.7
Total	75	100.0

Table 14 No motivation by Govt. or political parties for women political involvement

For the statement, the response ratio is around 60:50. Many respondents believe that government and the political parties themselves are not willing and do not play active role in making women’s political participation effective.

Pakistan customary laws and practices do not recognize women equal political participation Rights with men in appointments and candidacy for the elections?

	Frequency	Percent
Not Relevant	2	2.7
Somewhat Relevant	11	14.7
Relevant	51	68.0
Very Relevant	11	14.7
Total	75	100.0

Table 15 Less recognition of women equal political participation rights

The overall ratio of agreed respondents is 82% to the fact that Pakistani customary law and practices failed to acknowledge women’s equal political participation rights with men in appointment as well as candidacy for the election.

Community disregards women for higher political positions?

	Frequency	Percent
Somewhat Relevant	5	6.7
Relevant	43	57.3
Very Relevant	27	36.0
Total	75	100.0

Table 16 Community disregards women for higher political positions

In the above table almost 95% of respondents agreed that women’s power of represent their clan in the political positions is disregarded by clan elders and community themselves

Negative customs and practices foster women's marginalization and disfavoured political Sphere?

	Frequency	Percent
Somewhat Relevant	8	10.7
Relevant	46	61.3
Very Relevant	21	28.0
Total	75	100.0

Table 17 Fostering women's marginalization and disfavoured political sphere

Similarly, for that above statement majority of the respondents agreed. Many respondents agree that there is a dearth of adequate governmental policies, strategies and laws that can address the negative customs and practices, which leads to women’s marginalization and disfavorable political sphere.

Less women membership number in political parties limits women to have equal opportunities in candidacy for the elections?

	Frequency	Percent
Somewhat Relevant	14	18.7
Relevant	34	45.3
Very Relevant	27	36.0
Total	75	100.0

Table 18 Less women membership number in political parties

Cumulatively 81% of the respondents agreed membership of women in the political organizations/parties is comparatively very less, that reduces equal opportunities for women in candidacy for the elections. However, 18% of the respondents showed situational relevance to the statement and none of the respondents disagreed.

Women do not get fundraising from their clans during political campaign?

	Frequency	Percent
Not Relevant	1	1.3
Somewhat Relevant	12	16.0
Relevant	38	50.7
Very Relevant	24	32.0
Total	75	100.0

Table 19 Women do not get fundraising from their clans during political campaigns

In the above table 82% of the respondents agreed on the point that that women face difficulty in getting fundraising from their clans for their campaigning. Thus, the majority has accepted the fundraising issue for women

Women's organizations failed to politically empower and build up linkages among Women?

	Frequency	Percent
Somewhat Relevant	19	25.3
Relevant	44	58.7
Very Relevant	12	16.0
Total	75	100.0

Table 20 Failure of women's organization to politically empower and build up linkages among women

In table: 12, according to the majority of respondents, women’s organizations failed empower women politically and to develop linkages among women which is very essential element to politically empower the women. However, around 25% of the respondents showed conditional relevance to the statement.

Lack of political will among women?

	Frequency	Percent
Not Relevant	10	13.3
Somewhat Relevant	26	34.7
Relevant	39	52.0
Total	75	100.0

Table 21 Lack of political will among women

It is seen in the above table that almost half of the respondents denied the statement and half of the respondents accepted the statement. So this statement can be taken as conditional in the way that their political will is subjected to the motivation of their family or male members of the family and surrounding.

Lack of support of women voters to female candidates?

	Frequency	Percent
Somewhat Relevant	8	10.7
Relevant	42	56.0
Very Relevant	25	33.3
Total	75	100.0

Table 22 Lack of support of women voters to female candidates

The statement that, women candidates do not get adequate support from voters, however they choose to vote for a man who belong to their birth clan, is accepted by majority of the respondents. However around 11% of the respondents showed conditional relevance.

Electoral quota is an effective way to empower women's political participation?

	Frequency	Percent
Not Relevant	2	2.7
Somewhat Relevant	10	13.3
Relevant	33	44.0
Very Relevant	30	40.0
Total	75	100.0

Table 23 Electoral quota is an effective way to empower women's political participation

In the above table, it is widely accepted by the respondents that an effective way that can strengthen women's stand in political participation is adoption of electoral quota. However few of them also considered it as irrelevant. But the statement can be regarded as confirmed on the account of its wide acceptance by the respondents.

Women's civic education and economic empowerment in significant for strong women' Political Participation?

	Frequency	Percent
Somewhat Relevant	1	1.3
Relevant	40	53.3
Very Relevant	34	45.3
Total	75	100.0

Table 24 Women's civic education and economic empowerment in significant for strong women participation

It is believed by the major portion of the respondents that Women’s civic education and economic empowerment are significant for the empowerment of women in political participation.

Adaption of gender policies can be effective for women political decision making at all levels?

	Frequency	Percent
Somewhat Relevant	11	14.7
Relevant	30	40.0
Very Relevant	34	45.3
Total	75	100.0

Table 25 Effectiveness of adaption of gender policies in women political decision making

Ample response to the above statement indicated it as a need of the hour that adoption of gender policies is an effective way to empower women politically that addresses the customs and practices impeding women’s active political participation and their decision-making processes at all levels.

Awareness raising, advocacy and lobbying can also play role in empowering women's political participation?

	Frequency	Percent
Somewhat Relevant	7	9.3
Relevant	40	53.4
Very Relevant	28	37.3
Total	75	100.0

Table 26 Awareness raising, advocacy and lobbying can play role in empowering women's political participation

Almost 90% of respondents agreed to the statement that awareness raising, advocacy and lobbying aimed at altering the public misperceptions towards women’s political participations rights are another means that can empower women’s political participations.

Women holding political positions face challenges like lack of political experience and skills of leadership?

	Frequency	Percent
Somewhat Relevant	5	6.7
Relevant	50	66.7
Very Relevant	20	26.7
Total	75	100.0

Table 27 Women holding political positions face challenges like lack of political experience and skills of leadership

It can be concluded from the above table that women who hold political positions actually face many challenges among others lack of political experience and skills of leadership because about 95% of the respondents regarded this statement as true.

Women's contributions and suggestions in political decision making meetings are disregarded by male members of the political party?

	Frequency	Percent
Somewhat Relevant	11	14.7
Relevant	28	37.3
Very Relevant	36	48.0
Total	75	100.0

Table 28 Women's contributions and suggestions in political decision making meetings are disregarded by male members of political party

Around 85% of the respondents agreed on the fact contributions and suggestions of women in the decision making meetings is disregarded or not seriously considered because traditionally women were not allowed to attend meetings with men.

Since women have no majority in the seats of the councils, women voice unheard?

	Frequency	Percent
Not Relevant	4	5.3
Somewhat Relevant	7	9.3
Relevant	35	46.7
Very Relevant	29	38.7
Total	75	100.0

Table 29 Since women have no majority in the seats of the councils, women voice unheard

In the table above, it is indicated as a relevant by most of the respondents that women’s voice is unheard because women are very less in numbers in the seats of the councils. A minimum number of respondents also marked it as Not relevant. However, the statement is regarded as true on the account of majority of the responses.

Women are not accepted as a clan representative in political and traditional aspects?

	Frequency	Percent
Not Relevant	1	1.3
Somewhat Relevant	9	12.0
Relevant	37	49.3
Very Relevant	28	37.3
Total	75	100.0

Table 30 Women are not accepted as a clan representative in political and traditional aspects

The ratio of the response to this statement is also inclined towards accepting the above statement.

Women in the decision making positions feel isolated, so they cannot make their self-assertion and lose their self-confidence?

	Frequency	Percent
Somewhat Relevant	10	13.3
Relevant	52	69.3
Very Relevant	13	17.3
Total	75	100.0

Table 31 Women in the decision making positions feel isolated, so they cannot make their self-assertion and lose their self-confidence

It can be seen in the above table that majority of the respondents agreed that women in the decision making levels or processes feel isolated, for this reason women can't make their self-assertions and lose their self-confidence. However, 13% of the respondents showed a conditional relevance to the statement.

Women lack communications and access to information in decision making process?

	Frequency	Percent
Not Relevant	10	13.3
Somewhat Relevant	20	26.7
Relevant	34	45.3
Very Relevant	11	14.7
Total	75	100.0

Table 32 Women lack communications and access to information in decision making process

The statement that women have less access to communications and of information in decision making process, is agreed and disagreed by the ration of 70:30, i.e. approximately 70% of the respondents regarded it as relevant and remaining 30% showed little or no relevance.

The only means of overcoming women's political challenges is political empowerment such as leadership training, financial support, awareness and mobilization?

	Frequency	Percent
Somewhat Relevant	5	6.7
Relevant	43	57.3
Very Relevant	27	36.0
Total	75	100.0

Table 33 The only means of overcoming women's political challenges is political empowerment

According to the response demonstrated in the above table, almost 95% of the respondents completely agreed on the fact that the only means in which women can overcome their political challenges is to get political empowerment such as leadership trainings, financial supports, awareness and mobilizations.

The table 34 gives an overview of the quantitative responses of the questions by the respondents. It can be seen in the table that the highest agreed statement is “women holding

political positions face challenges like lack of political experience and skills of leadership”.

The rest of the proportion of the responses are shown in the following table 4.

1. Women's participation in Pakistan politics is very important aspect as it enhances the welfare of our society	2. Cultural barriers hinder women's political participation	3. Economic constraints hinder women's political involvement.	4. Religious misperceptions about women's political power.	5. Psychological mindsets of the society affect women political participation.	6. Government and political parties are themselves not motivated for women's political involvement.	7. Pakistan customary laws and practices do not recognize women equal political participation rights.	8. Community disregard women for higher political positions.	9. Negative customs and practices foster women's marginalization and disfavoured political sphere.
86.9%	84.0%	86.7%	85.3%	86.7%	53.4%	82.7	93.3%	89.3%
10. Less women membership number in political parties limits women to have equal opportunities in candidacy for the elections.	11. Women do not get fundraising from their clans during political campaign.	12. Women's organizations failed to politically empower and build up linkages among women.	13. Lack of political will among women.	14. Lack of support of women voters to female candidates.	15. Electoral quota is an effective way to empower women's political participation.	16. Women's civic education and economic empowerment in significant for strong women's political participation.	17. Adaption of gender policies can be effective for women political decision making at all levels.	18. Awareness raising, advocacy and lobbying can also play role in empowering women's political participation.
81.3%	82.7%	74.7%	52.0%	89.3%	84.0%	98.6%	85.3%	90.7%
19. Women holding political positions face challenges like lack of political experience and skills of leadership.	20. Women's contributions and suggestions in political decision making meetings are disregarded by male members of the political party.	21. Since women have no majority in the seats of the councils, women voice unheard.	22. Women are not accepted as a clan representative in political and traditional aspects.	23. Women in the decision making positions feel isolated, so they cannot make their self-assertion and lose their self-confidence.	24. Women lack communications and access to information in decision making process.	25. The only means of overcoming women's political challenges is political empowerment such as leadership training, financial support, awareness and mobilization.		
93.4%	85.3%	85.4%	86.6%	86.6%	60%	93.3%		

Table 34 Overview of quantitative Responses

4.4. Discussion:

In this section, analysis of quantitative data is discussed:-

4.4.1 Women Political Participation and Decision Making:

The major purpose of this research was to investigate the “Issues and Challenges for Women in creating spaces at decision making levels in the major political parties of Pakistan; A case study of PML-N”. For this objective the data was collected from members of that political party including male and female. 200 questionnaires were distributed and 75 were received. On many facets, the opinions of the respondents were similar but on few facets there was difference of opinions. Average views showed that women face number of issues and challenges like cultural, economic, psychological and religious in creating spaces at decision making levels in the political party. All the respondents were found concerned and worried about less women political participation and decision making.

Pakistan is a developing country, and it has witnessed political instability and crises. A government without sound political stability cannot run the state effectively. One of the way to achieve political stability maintain balance in the political structure in terms of representation. Less representation of women at higher positions in govt. body would ignore half of the population of the country as it consists of around half of the women. If the interests of half the population are underrepresented in the legislature, the policies of the state are less likely to represent the interests of women, and result in less legislation that meets their needs. Political parties are one of the major actors in the government that play their role in the formation of the government. Unfortunately, in Pakistan women face greater challenges to move to the higher levels in political party so their political contribution in terms of participation and decision making is meager. The same fact also become evident from the survey in which respondents have shown the importance of women political participation. During the course of the research respondents were found appreciating the role of women in politics and their sound political

participation and decision making. Moreover, according to the respondents, political parties should allow women to participate in party matters just like men and should be provided with decision making positions since they are also representative of the society.

4.4.2 Cultural Barriers:

Female oppression is caused due to the patriarchal family system with husband or father as the head of the family as argued by (Jakobsh, 2012). In male ruled society, the most of the women in Pakistan have no right to take decisions and choices even about their marriages. This research was to seek and investigate the issues and challenges related to culture to women in political participation and decision making. The results of this research explain that a number of factors such as family environment and back ground, approaches towards cultural norms, enlightening attitude, and dissatisfaction with job and media violence are significant reason in causing male dominance and discrimination towards the women in each and every field of the life. The thesis discusses the biased attitude and stereotype of female subordination which are the main hindrances in women empowerment in politics as identified by (McCarthy & Sultana, 2004).

4.4.3 Religious Misinterpretation:

Religion is often understood as a barrier to gender equality (Wanglia, 2010). This research also identifies that stories related to gender-based violence done on the basis of religion. So the issues of religion and gender parity are often not highlighted and regarded as too complicated to address. There appears to be no way to unwind this complex multi-institution. Unless there is religious freedom and check and balance on religious clerics, minority groups, including women, will not be at the table and their active, productive and creative voices will not be heard.

It is found from the results that religion does not bound women as society does rather they are misinterpretation by religious clerics to spread gender inequality in the society. The main target of such attempts are to stop women from going outside of home and force them to stay home

and carry out household activities but if a woman do work outside then she always face doubtful eyes of the society. Political career demands full acceptance so unless or until a doubtful question mark remains on the face of a woman she cannot prosper and cannot create spaces at higher levels in politics.

The respondents are found agreed on the point that religious scholars falsely create women subordination which makes women less empowered in political arena as identified by (Ali, Katherine & Rizzo, 2007). Within a political party a member to be heard needs full support and acceptance by other members so women lack this support and acceptance so they find it very difficult to reach to the higher levels in a political party. So respondents regarded religious misinterpretation as one of the main issues facing women in a political party to create space at higher levels.

4.4.4 Economic barriers:

All over the world men tend to earn more than women. Majority of the respondents agree that economic barriers are holding women back. Women's potential cannot be fully exploited until we break down economic barriers. They need access to equitable education and training as suggested by (Tundi, 2015). As well as access to and control over economic resources and opportunities. During the survey it was found that women are often underrepresented in senior positions within firms, while at the same time they tend to be overrepresented in low-paying jobs. Their voices are not heard and their influence on policy is not felt. Moreover, early forced marriages are still common in some traditions, and can prevent young women from contributing economically to society. Girls who marry young are often required to end their education to stay at home and look after their family. Similarly men are more likely to own land and control productive assets than women. Women often have limited influence over important household decisions, including how their own personal earned income is spent. Therefore, such behavior instill in the minds of female as well as male that women are

economically dependent and ultimately perceiving women as economically weak gender hinder their political empowerment. So women are unlikely to create spaces at the higher positions in the politics as argued by (Meena, Rusimbi & Israel, 2018) also. Moreover, political party as an institutions plays a crucial role in determining the glass ceiling. How to promote female leadership and the presence of women in top positions is a task of the institution. They have been proved to be effective not only in increasing the number of women in top positions, but also in inducing a better selection process and a beneficial renovation of the gender equality.

4.4.5 Psychological Mindsets:

According to the psychological mindsets of our society women are generally perceived to be subordinate gender (Shames, 2015). Statistics of the response also showed the same. The competence and confidence of one's abilities and high effectiveness in many spheres of activity are generally found among men. Mental state of low social competence create a real impediment to the emergence of women's leadership. Moreover, success or failure is linked with expectations of success or failure and their later experience. Success stories of women in our society is comparatively very low as identified by (Rosenbluth, Kalla & Teele, 2015). So women and even men attribute women's assessment on the basis of such scanty achievements of women. Majority of the respondents agree that there are rigid stereotypes about men superiority. These stereotypes not only affects male's perception about women but also female's perception about themselves.

Chapter V

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1. Conclusion

The overarching aim of this research was to identify the issues and challenges that women face in political participation and political decision making under the lights of political party' space. As per the findings of the data, gathered and analyzed through mixed methods, number of issues and challenges have been identified. These issues can be categorized into six categories: Cultural issues, economic issues, religious issues, psychological issues and educational issues, and party's structural issues.

Broad issues under these categories include culture of male dominance, lack of acceptance by the society, systemic halts, imbalanced political parties in terms of gender, lack of leadership potential in women, threats of social vulnerability, secondary role of women, incapacities for empowering women. There are number of specific issues related to each broad issues have also been identified and clearly described in previous chapter like social image, persistence of historical patterns, opportunity gap, supposed psychological satisfaction, religious excuses, inferiority complex, weak movement, confrontation of discouraging behavior, less membership in political parties, rigid leadership, less influence of women, motivation gap, lack of essential pre-requisites, weak economic status, vulnerability of scandalization, gender sensitivity, less admiration, less compatible environment, weak gender policies and negligence about women. There is instant need to overcome such issues to empower women politically and to create space for them at decision making levels so as to incorporate their precious input in party related affairs.

When the findings of the research on issues and challenges to women effective political participation were compared to previous researches, presented in chapter 2, it is concluded that they are similar in many aspects. However, an important complement that this research

contributed to previous researches in a way that it has deepened approach on causal mechanisms and explanatory issues to women in political parties. While exploring the previous failures or issues towards the political empowerment of women in Political Parties, several theories have been identified and discussed including Good governance theory, and cultural dimension theory. The traditional norms regarding women's activities as noted by different theorists have been carried generation to generation unquestioningly. The general assumption is that the political activities belong to the "Public Sphere" and women by nature belong to the "Private Sphere" and "Politics" is something 'alien' to their nature. This research explored the underlying constraints which have hampered the growth of equal opportunities for equal political participation. The research highlighted the problems being faced by women in the case of PML (N). This study has explored the context, psychological, societal and structural and other situational factors making further research and comparisons possible, since research is based on previous research.

5.2 Recommendations:

On the basis of the findings and conclusions of the study, following recommendations are made.

General:

- Since education triggers the notion of equality, so first and foremost need is to provide equal opportunities of education to boys and girls through bringing intervention in education ministry.
- There is need to provide leadership opportunities at lower level projects, for boys and girls equally through partnerships with higher education institutions for the purpose of creating the culture of women leadership.

- There is need to combat traditional gender-based stereotypes among young boys and girls, by creating awareness and through dialogue and peer exchange, and mentoring
- Government may work on the agenda of encouraging political parties to create cross-party alliances of women politicians in order to promote women's leadership and empowerment.

To Political parties:

- Political parties may provide training to female members
- Political parties need to build up unions for women's political empowerment, including linkages of women leaders, the women's movement, and male allies
- Political parties may adopt voluntary party measures to help women's access to their structures and elected office more easily
- Since women are not a homogenous group so political parties may ensure that all the groups of women, mainly from under-represented groups can feel represented at all levels including decision making levels in the political party.
- Political parties need to develop the confidence and motivation in young women who are engaged as political worker with the party, through facilitating their access to party's affairs and through providing them incentives
- Political party need to make sure that that women's needs, issues, interests and priorities are properly articulated and represented, so that they feel motivated and a respected part of the political system.
- Party leadership may divert its focus on rigid leadership, rather it should open new opportunities for new comers on merit and the process should be made transparent, that would build trust and confidence in candidates and they will feel motivated.

To government:

- Government may take special policy measures to ensure women's equal political representation and participation and to strengthen their influence in political and private life.
- Govt. may also play its role by working with political parties to ensure gender equality in candidacy for elected office.
- Govt. may provide capacity building to civil society organizations to support for women's participation in political sphere and governance processes. Moreover, it should be responsible for skill building and leadership training of women civil society members, women's organizations, and female journalists as well to increase their potential for raising voice for their rights.
- Govt. may also facilitate women's access to justice and expand women's participation and representation in the justice sector, so they would have sense of security to fight with social evils.
- Govt. may support and encourage local efforts to campaign for the rights of the women that enable them to participate fully in the political and economic sector of their societies
- Govt. need to create new sources and forms of fundraising, for example crowd funding, in order to provide financial support and training for women political candidates
- Govt. may introduce effective institutional reforms to strengthen women's stand in politics and compel political parties for their equal representation

INSTRUCTION SHEET FOR QUESTIONNAIRE

Asslamu Alaikum

Dear Respondent!

The questionnaire is in pursuance of M.Phil. research on “issues and challenges for women in creating spaces at decision-making levels in political parties of Pakistan. Perception based questions on likert scale have been designed. The responses will be highly confidential. By accurately replying to the question, you’re actively helping to determine the level of Women Political Participation and Political Decision-making so as to take measures for empowerment of women to participate in politics and decision-making process and to find solutions towards political imbalance in Political Parties of Pakistan

. You can also ask queries (if any) at zainabmughal735@gmail.com

YOUR PARTICIPATION IS HIGHLY APPRECIATED.

ZAINAB BIBI

NUML,

ISLAMABAD

JazakAllah

Name & Signature _____

Direction: On the space provided before each option, indicate your best Choice by using the rating system below:

Response Mode Rating Description

Very relevant (4) very important

Relevant (3) important

Somewhat relevant (2) somewhat important

Not relevant (1) not important

WOMEN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Please write your rating on the space before each option which corresponds to your best choice in terms of Challenges Facing Women in Political Participation

1. Women's participation in Pakistan politics is very important aspect as it enhances the welfare of our society

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

2. Women have no power to participate in the politics of the country, due to the Cultural barriers.

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

3. Women have no power to participate in the politics of the country, due to the Economic barriers

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

4. Women have no power to participate in the politics of the country, due to Religious Misperceptions

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

5. Women have no power to participate in the politics of the country, due to Psychological Mindsets

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

6. The government and the political parties themselves are not willing women's political participation, because they believe that women's political involvement are excluded them from their supremacy in the political arena

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

7. Pakistani customary law and practices were not recognized Women's equal political participation rights with men in both appointment and the candidacy for the election.

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

7. Clan elders and the community themselves do not consider that women have a power to represent their clan in the political positions

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

8. Women lack an adequate governmental policies, strategies and laws that addresses the negative customs and practices, which foster women's marginalization and unfavorable political sphere

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

9. Women have less membership number in the political organizations/parties, which limits women to have equal opportunities in candidacy for the elections

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

10. Women do not get fundraising from their clans during political campaigns.

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

11. women's organizations failed to politically empower and to build up linkages among women

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

12. Women themselves have no political will and that is why their participation in the politics become very poor

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

13. Women voters are not supported by women candidates, instead they prefer to vote for a man who belong to their birth clan

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

14. The adoption of electoral quota is an effective way that can empower women in political participation

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

15. Women's civic education and economic empowerment are significant for the empowerment of women in political participation

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

16. Women can be empowered by the adaption of gender policies that addresses the customs and practices hindering women to participate in the politics and decision-making processes at all levels.

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

17. Awareness raising, advocacy and lobbying aimed at to change the public misperceptions towards women’s political participations rights are another means that can be empowered women’s political participations.

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

Questionnaire to Establish the Level of Challenges Facing Women in Political Decision Making

Please write your rating on the space before each option which corresponds to your best choice in terms of Challenges Facing Women in Political Decision Making.

1. Women who hold political positions face many challenges among others lack of political experience and skills of leadership

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

2. Men do not seriously consider women’s contributions and suggestions in the decision making meetings because traditionally women were not allowed to attend meetings with men

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

3. Since women has no majority in the seats of the councils, women's voice is unheard

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

3. Women are not accepted as a clan representative in political and traditional aspects

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

5. Women in the decision making positions feel isolated, for this reason women can't make their self-assertions and lose their self-confidence

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

6. Women lack communications and access of information in decision making process

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

8. The only means in which women can overcome their political challenges is to get political empowerment such as leadership trainings, financial supports, awareness and mobilizations.

Very Relevant	Relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
4	3	2	1

SCHEDULE INTERVIEW

Introduction

This interviews schedule will be used during interviews with the parliamentarians and party members of under study. This will enable the researcher to collect the relevant data for this study.

Q1: what are the factors that effects women's political participation under the lights of Pakistan's political landscape?

Q2: What are the solutions of the factors that effects women's political participation under the lights of Pakistan's political landscape?

Q3: What are the challenges facing women in political decision making under the Pakistan's political landscape?

Q4: How to overcome the challenges that facing women in political decision making under the Pakistan political landscape?

5: What are the previous failures and how to empower women to participate the policies and decision-making process?

Q6: What are the main challenges you have faced when you were member of the house of elders and why you resigned from your membership of the house of elders?

Q7: How socio-cultural barriers are contributing in the under-representation of women in the political party?

Q8: How economic challenges inhibit women in creating spaces at decision making levels in the Political Party?

Q9: How do you see the relationship of interpretation of religion and women political participation and political decision-making?

Q10: How psychological mindsets and rigid stereotypes about women political leadership undermine women political participation in the political party?

END NOTES

- i. Ahmed, A. (2018). Pakistan among worst performer on gender Equality. Islamabad: DAWN . Retrieved from <http://www.dawn.com/news/1452284>
- ii. Ali, F. (2015, 4). Gender Equality at Workplace. Pakistan: ResearchGate. Retrieved from Resear: <http://www.researchgate.net/publication/280559937>
- iii. Anigwe, A. (2014). Perceptions of Women in Political Leadership Position in Nigeria. Walden University Scholar Works.
- iv. Arnstein, S. R. (1969). A Ladder of Citizen Participation. *Journal of American Planning Association*, 35(4), 216-24.
- v. (2017). *Assessment of the Quality of Democracy in Pakistan 2016*. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency.
- vi. Awan, M. A. (2016, 8). Political Participation of Women in Pakistan; Historical and Political Dynamics Shaping the Structure of Politics for Women. 4-5. Frankfurt, Germany: Frankfurter Forschungszentrum Globaler Islam.
- vii. Awour, O. M. (2012). FACTORS INFLUENCING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP. 8-9. Kenya: University of Nairobi Press.
- viii. Bachrach, P. (1967). *The Theory of Democratic Elitism. A Critique* (9th ed.). Boston: Little Brown and Company.
- ix. Bandura, A. (1977). *Social Learning Theory*. Englewood cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice Hall.
- x. Bari, F. (2000). *WOMEN IN PAKISTAN*. ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK, Programs Department (West), Division 1, and Office of Environment and Social Development.
- xi. (n.d.). *Barriers and Bias: The Status of Women in Leadership*. American Association of University Women.

- xii. Bishop, P., & Davis, G. (2002). Mapping Public Participation in Policy Choices. *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 61(1), 14-29.
- xiii. Blair, E. N. (1929, 5). Women in the Modern World . *American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 143, 217-229.
- xiv. Blomgren, E. (2010). Women and Political Participation A Minor Field Study on Hindrances for Women's Political Participation in Georgia. 34-35. Linnaeus Univesity: The School of Social Sciences. Retrieved from <https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:384843/FULLTEXT01.pdf>
- xv. Burke, S., & Collins, K. M. (2001, 9). Gender differences in leadership styles and management skills. *Women in Management Review*, 16(5), 244-77.
- xvi. Carole, P. (1970). Participation and Democratic Theory. Cambridge University Press.
- xvii. Caul, M. (1999). Women's Represenatation in Parliament: The Role of Political Parties. *Research Note*, 5(1), 79-98.
- xviii. Easton, D. (1957, 4). An approach to the Analysis of Political System. *World Politics*, 9(3), 383-400.
- xix. Echols, A., & Willis, E. (1989). Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America,, 1967-1975.
- xx. Eisenstein, H. (1983). *Contemporary Feminist Thought*. Boston: G. K. Hall & Co.
- xxi. Ekundayo, W. J. (2017, 5 17). Good Governance Theory and the Quest for Good Governance in Nigeria. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 7(5).
- xxii. Empowering Women in Political Participation and Leadership. (2015, 5 25). New Tactic in Human Rights. Retrieved from <https://www.newtactics.org/conversation/empowering-women-political-participation-and-leadership>
- xxiii. Ferry, K. (2015). *Assessment of Leadership Potential*. Research guide and technical manual.
- xxiv. Fischer, F. (2012). *Participatory Governance: From Theory To Practice*. Oxford handbook of Governance. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199560530.013.0032

- xxv. Foster, R. (2000, 03). Leadership in the Twenty-First Century: Working to Build a Civil Society. *National Civic Review*, 89(1), 87-94.
- xxvi. *Gender Inequality*. (2018, 3). Retrieved from Dawn.com: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1393265/gender-inequality>
- xxvii. (n.d.). *Gender Review of Political Framework for Women Political Participation*. National Commission on the Status of Women, Islamabad.
- xxviii. Glaser, K. (2013, 4 30). Female Participation in Politics in Algeria. 8-9. Vienna, Algeria: Modul vienna university.
- xxix. Grove, R., & Montgomery, P. (2000). WOMEN AND THE LEADERSHIP PARADIGM: BRIDGING THE GENDER GAP. *National Forum, The Phi Kappa Phi Journal*, 17E, 1-10. .
- xxx. Gustafsson, G., & Kolam, K. (2008). Political Women's Leadership in Sweden: Developments and Challenges. *The University of Chicago Press Journals*, 34(1), 27-32.
- xxxi. Hassan, R. (2001). Challenging the stereotypes of fundamentalism: An Islamic feminist perspective. *91(1/2)*, 55-69. Muslim World.
- xxxii. Husnain, Z. (2008). The Politics of Service Delivery in Pakistan: Political Parties and the Incentives for Patronage, 1988-1999. *The Pakistan Development Review*, 2(47), 129-151.
- xxxiii. Jakobsh, D. R. (2012, 01). Barriers to Women's Leadership.
- xxxiv. Kasomo, D. (2012). Factors Affecting Women Participation in Electoral Politics in Africa. *2(3)*, 57-63. Scientific & Academic Publishing.
- xxxv. Kayes, A. I. (2015, 3 31). *What is Human Relation Management ? What are the principles of Human Relations approach to Management ?* Retrieved from Bayt.com: <https://www.bayt.com/en/specialties/q/187505/what-is-human-relation-management-what-are-the-principles-of-human-relations-approach-to-management/>
- xxxvi. Kethusegile-Juru, B. M. (n.d.). *Intra-Party Democracy and inclusion of Women*. IPU, SADC secretariat. European Imaging and Sound Association.

- xxxvii. Lapidus, G. W. (1975, 10). Political Mobilization, Participation, and Leadership: Women in Soviet Politics. *Comparative Politics*, 8(1), 90-118.
- xxxviii. Laswell, H. (1936). *Politics- Who Gets What, When, How*.
- xxxix. Latif, A., Usman, A., Kataria, J. R., & Abdullah, M. (2015, 7). Female Political Participation in South Asia: a Case Study of Pakistan. *South Asian Studies*, 30(2), 201-213.
- xl. *Leadership and political participation*. (n.d.). Retrieved from UN WOMEN: <http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/leadership-and-political-participation/facts-and-figures>
- xli. Liddle, W., & Mujani, S. (2004). The rise of susilo bambang yudhoyono asian survey . *Asian Survey*, 45(1), 119.
- xlii. Lorber, J. (1991). *The social construction of gender*. Cooperation with Sociologist for Women in Society.
- xliii. Luciak, I. (2008). Parliamentary oversight of the Security Sector and Gender. *The Gender and SSR Toolkit*. (D. Megan Bastick and Kristin Valasek, Ed.) Geneva: UNITED NATIONS-INSTRRAW.
- xliv. MacPherson, M. C. (1977). *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*. Oxford University Press.
- xlv. Mason, R. M. (1982). *Participatory and Workplace Democracy. A Theoretical*. Southern Illinois University Press.
- xlvi. McCarthy, F., & Sultana, M. (2004, 12). Gender and Governance Issues in Local Government. *Regional Report of Technical Assistance: Regional Report of Technical Assistance*. Manila, Philippines: Asian Development Bank.
- xlvii. Meena, R., Rusimbi, M., & Israel, C. (2018). Women in Political Leadership: Facilitating factors in Tanzania. 40-41. UONGOZI Institute.
- xlviii. Mernissi, F. (1996). *Women's Rebellion and Islamic Memory*. London: Zed Book Ltd.
- xlix. Mufford, T. (2011). *The role of Women in Political Parties*. The International Republican Institute. Retrieved from www.wdn.org

- I. Nijat, A., & Murtazashvili, J. (2015, 9 4). Women's Leadership Roles in Afghanistan. Retrieved from <https://www.usip.org/publications/2015/09/womens-leadership-roles-afghanistan>
- li. Norris , P., & Inglehart, R. (2000). Cultural Barriers to Women's Leadership: A worldwide Comparison. Harvard University Press.
- lii. Nyirenda, B. (2015). Factors Determining Women's Participation In Decision Making In Zambia Revenue Authority. Zambia: University of Zambia.
- liii. Perry, G. L. (2017, 10 3). *Human Relations Management Theory Basics*. Retrieved from Business.com: <https://www.business.com/articles/human-relations-management-theory-basics/>
- liv. Rizzo, H., Katherine, M., & Ali, Y. (2007). Women's Political Rights: Islam, Status and Networks in Kuwait. Kuwait: Journal of Scientific Study of Religion.
- lv. Rosenbluth, F., Kalla, J., & Teele, D. (2015). *The Female Political Career*. Women in Parlimaments, Global Forum.
- lvi. Sacchet , T. (2005 , 10 27). Political Parties: When do they work for Women? *Expert Group Meeting on Equal participation of women and men in decision-making processes, with particular emphasis on political participation and leadership* . United Nations. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/eql-men/docs/EP.10_rev.pdf
- Ivii. Shames, S. (2015). Barriers and Solutions to Increasing Women's Political Power. *Scholar Strategy Network*.
- Iviii. Shami, A. A. (2009). Political Empowerment of Women in Pakistan. *10(1)*. Pakistan Vision.
- lix. Shvedova, N. (2007). "Obstacles to women's participation in Parliament". International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, IDEA.
- Ix. Sirmed, M. (2014, 05 06). Women's representation in parliament. The Nation.

- lxi. Smulders, A. (1998). *Creating space for women; Gender-linked factors in managing staff in higher education institutions*. UNESCO: International Institute for Educational Planning, Paris.
- lxii. Tariq, J., Usman, A., & Sajjad, A. (2015). Politics of Defection in Struggling Democracies. *Pakistan Perspective*, 20(1), 117-127.
- lxiii. *The Women in Parliaments WPI*. (n.d.). Retrieved 2017, from <http://www.womenpoliticalleaders.org/leadership/>
- lxiv. Tundi, T. E. (2015). Factors influencing women participation in political leadership. 4(1), 001-031. *Global Advanced Research Journal of Geography and Regional Planning*.
- lxv. Vandeleene, A. (2014). Conceptualisation of intraparty democracy: the case study of selection of a candidate in Belgium in 2014. Belgium: European Consortium of Political Research.
- lxvi. Visram, A. (1994, 12). *Gender Politics and the state: A study of women in Kenya and Zimbabwe*. Canada: Simon Fraser University.
- lxvii. Walby, S. (1989). Theorizing patriarchy. *British Sociological Association*.
- lxviii. Wangila, N. M. (2010). *Religion and Women in Politics: The Kenyan Experience*. ResearchGate.
- lxix. Wide, J. (2006). Kvinnors politiska representation i ett jämförande perspektiv nationell och lokal nivå. Print & Media, Umeå universitet. Retrieved from <https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:145055/FULLTEXT01.pdf>
- lxx. Wilson, S. (2004). Building and supporting young women's leadership for social justice. *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*(60), 16-21.
- lxxi. (1996). *World Bank*. World Bank, Private Sector Development and Finance Division, South Asia Region, The World Bank.
- lxxii. Zaidi, H. B. (2017, 03 09). Women MNAs go 'unheard' on Women's Day. Islamabad: DAWN.

