



Impediments of Women Empowerment for Participation in Democratic Process: Evidence from Punjab, Pakistan

Iqra Almas¹, Abdul Waheed² and Faiza Ramzan³

Abstract

Women are one half of the world still they are the marginalized group in population. Despite of the critical role that women play in sustaining the family, and the contributions they make to economic and other development of Pakistani societies, they have largely been excluded from participation in the decision-making processes and mainstream activities of the most facts of life, including politics. The present study was used to find out the impediments of women empowerment for participation in democratic process. The major objective of the study was to examine the causes that hinder the participation of women in democratic process and the factors effecting decision-making of women in democratic process. The present study was a qualitative in nature and the universe of the population was all the women politicians of Local Government. The researcher conducted 05 in-depth interviews from female politicians of councilors by convenient sampling. The major finding of this study was that there are many obstacles are faced by women in their political career and those who had political background didn't face any barriers in their political life.

Keywords: Women, Participation, Empowerment, Councilors, Democratic

1 Introduction

Women's empowerment refers to the ability for women to enjoy their rights to control and benefit from resources, assets, income and their own time, as well as the ability to manage risk and improve their economic status and wellbeing. Equal contribution of women in political system will able good governance and representation of complete human rights in general. Participation of women is merely not a demand to assure justice, democracy and less gender biasness. It is mandatory for the career development as well as crucial for the social structure. Without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspective at all levels of decision-making; the goals of equality, development for all irrespective of gender and peace cannot be accomplished (Dahlerup, 2013).

Equal contribution of women in political system will able good governance and representation of complete human rights in general. Participation of women is merely not a demand to assure justice, democracy and less gender biasness it is mandatory for the career development as well as crucial for the social structure. Without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspective at all levels of decision-making; the

¹ The author is M.Phil. Scholar at Institute of Social Sciences, Bahauddin Zakariya University, Pakistan.
Email: iqra.almas40@yahoo.com

² The author is Graduate in B.S Sociology at the Department of Sociology, University of Sargodha, Pakistan.
Email: raiwaheed772@yahoo.com

³ The author is M.Phil scholar at Special Education Department, University of Punjab, Pakistan.
Email: Faizaramzan29@gmail.com

goals of equality, development for all irrespective of gender and peace cannot be accomplished (Dahlerup, 2013).

Women particularly face a greater amount of social resistance if she tries to enter in the political system. In Asian countries, the general attitude of public is discouraging to the extent of psychological harassment via character assassination. In Asian countries specifically Pakistan, India and Bangladesh politics is only limited to people that have plenty of financial assets or people who have limited social respect. In a typical south Asian society men resist the participation of women in politics due to two main reasons i.e., sexual deprivation and fear of being exploited socially in society (Latif et al., 2015).

Numerous functional and structural constraints encompassed at individual and social level; in a patriarchal society impede the contribution and representation of women in political system (Lounsbury et al., 2003). These include political and social discourses; socio-cultural and functional practices; and political structural and legacy of political institutions (Moghadam & Senftova, 2005).

The overall development of a country depends upon the maximum utilization of her people, both men and women. The status of women is much lower than that of men in every sphere of life. Women are identified with domestic life while politics is viewed as a male-dominated public activity that is typically masculine in nature. With the advancement of time the fact has now been recognized that without ensuring women development, the national development cannot be achieved. Women's equal participation in political life plays a pivotal role in the general process of the advancement of women. It is not only a demand for simple justice or democracy but can also be seen as a necessary condition for women's interests to be taken into account. Without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspective at all levels of decision-making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved (FWCW, 1995). If local government is to meet the needs of both women and men, it must build on the experiences of both women and men, through an equal representation at all levels and in all fields of decision-making, covering the wide range of responsibilities of local governments.(M. R, Khan, & F Ara, 2006).

The political freedom for women accounts the freedom to vote in electoral process, and their participation in system as a candidate. Politics is the right of every individual regardless of their gender, and an amount of representation from all segments is vital in order to maintain balanced governance (Goetz, 2003).

1.2 Women participation in politics

Pakistan is a country whose 51% of population consists of women. In our society, women are revered in their roles as mothers, sisters, wives and daughters, but the fact that they are a sublime creation of Almighty Allah equal in status to males, is totally unheeded. Article 34 of the Constitution of Pakistan 1973 guarantees that "Steps shall be taken to ensure full participation of women in all spheres of national life," and that dignity, freedom and equality of all citizens (Sattar. S, 2015).

1.3 Women & politics

In 2013 elections, only 36 women candidates were awarded party tickets on 272 general NA seats. Women are present at different levels of their representation like union council, provincial assembly and the parliament. In Pakistan, the Devolution of Power Plan was adopted in March 2000, reserving 33 percent seats for women in legislative councils at the local, tehsil, municipality district levels. In local councils, with an increase in the number of councils, about 70,000 women were gaining experience in self-government. Members of the tehsil and district councils are indirectly elected by the elected councilors at the local

level. Women in Pakistan also feel a clear benefit from the quotas. They have faced problems, including hostile male attitudes, lack of a constituency due to the process of indirect elections, and being at the mercy of the male councilors who elect them and often assign them to committees dealing only with 'women's issues'.

In context of Pakistan, as per the Inquiry commission report "Equal participation of men and women in decision-making is a prerequisite for effective and genuine democracy", therefore the significance of women's role in legislation primarily lies in the potential of the society that enable their active alliance in political system (Miranda, 2005). In the early years of Pakistan's life (1947-58), the orthodoxy was looked upon with disdain the irrelevance by the political leadership.

Pakistan was declared an Islamic Republic under the Constitution of 1956 and the Ulema were provided with an advisory role in the legislature. The **Islamization** campaign in Pakistan seeks to curtail women's rights. In reality, Islam is not who stands in the way of Muslim women participation in politics life of their countries. It is rather the actions of certain Islamic doctrines combined with local customs that subjugated women did a consensus develop that in Islam women should be barred from politics (Mahmood, 2011).

The situation keeps on evolving and woman representation gain weightage in corresponding years. As per reports, in Pakistan; 33% of seats have been allocated to women in local governance under the local government ordinance of 2000. Yet conventional customs and social norms limit their participation due to pre-specified domestic roles and status lower to men. It is largely assumed that women are incompatible to deal in public and making procedures while men and more professional. These set of stereotyping attitudes are faced by women in every profession not only in politics, thereby limiting their involvement in political organization (Jabeen & Jadoon, 2009).

Female have facing resistance by male dominated systems of local government, low working or decision making power, lack of training, established stereotyping of politics as male domain, mobility issues, families' concern and regarding their security and deliberate in and exclusion from major decision making processes at the council, but at least the quotas have provided them opportunity to make an initial and massive entry in the political field which was not possible otherwise due to men and elite class dominated patriarchal political culture in Pakistan. The local government of non-elite female politicians (Tabassum et al., 2015).

Gender politics frames the current debate on women's role and position in Pakistani society (Krook, 2010; Powell, 1999). Women in Pakistan are in incredibly grim situation due to lack of economic opportunities, denial of access to education and health and under representation in politics and decision-making. Pakistan who arguably present the giant threat to the women empowerment of Pakistani women on the grounds of deeply ingrained patriarchal mentality. The patriarch's support bestows power and prestige on the daughter, facilitates her presence in the public domain and legitimates her political authority and activities, thus working to silence her detractors, is a paradox of patriarchy" (Sharma, 2014).

The study is address all the key aspects of impediments of women empowerment for participation in democratic process, women's political participation (as voters, members of political parties, election candidates, legislators and cabinet members decision making power etc). Its focus will be on women in the local government, since these are the forums where women can begin to play a key role as public representatives. The significance of women's presence and participation in legislative bodies lies in the potential they offer to change the nature of politics in Pakistan (Phillips, 1995). "Equal participation of men and women in

decision-making is a prerequisite for effective and genuine democracy”. Inquiry Commission Report (2015). “Success without democracy is improbable; democracy without women is impossible.”-Madeleine K. Albright

1.4 Research Objectives

1. To find out the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the respondents
2. To find out the level of participation and representation of women in politics.
3. To check the level of women empowerment through their political participation
4. To examine the causes which hinders the participation of women in democratic process?
5. To study the factor effecting decision-making of women in democratic process.
6. To observe the male’s behavior with females while empowering women in the democratic process.

2 Methodology

The present study was conducted to explore the impediments of women empowerment for participation in democratic process. The present study used qualitative method to investigate the “Impediments of women empowerment for participation in democratic process”. However this topic requires a more detailed and in-depth understanding to know the issues and challenges faced by the women in political arena. So the researcher used qualitative method to investigate the phenomena of women political participation and obstacles which create hurdles. In this present study exploratory research design has been applied to explore the impediments of women empowerment for participation in democratic process. As the nature of the present research is qualitative. So the researcher used the case study method by way of its data is more detailed. All the qualitative research based on in-depth knowledge of case. The current study has been conducted in Punjab Pakistan and the target population was female councilors.

The researcher selected female politicians of different political parties. Key position holders of the political parties were selected. They all were from different backgrounds and socio-economic statuses. Age group of the respondents ranged from 30 to 55. Participants were selected on the basis of their role/function that they performed. As a result, participants represented mixed groups in relation to socioeconomic class, family background, qualification and age groups. Female were also selected from elite groups (political parties), upper middle social groups, and those who belonged to political parties.

Being the qualitative research and the topic investigation required an in-depth understanding of topic. Interview guide is the best suited method when the researcher wants to unpack the in-depth understanding of the topic being investigated. So keeping in view the complexity and sensitivity of the topic in-depth interviews were conducted. 05 in-depth interviews were conducted from female politicians.

The data was analyzed on the basis of themes. At the first stage interviews were transcribed and were reviewed many times to come up finally with some themes. The data were categorized based on commonalities and differences across emerging themes. The current study used the domain analysis technique to analyze the qualitative data.

3 Results/ Analysis

Table 1
Case No. 1: Demographic information of Gazala Ejaz

Name	Gazala Ejaz
Husband name	Rana Ejaz Ahmad
Age	40 years
Academic qualification	B.A
Profession	Politician
Status	Councilor
Marital status	Married
Children	Three sons

Gazala Ejaz was born in Sailkot. Her age was 40 years. She served as a counselor in Jalalpur. She has been elected from the councilor in 2015. Gazala Ejaz was married and has three sons. She completed her education from degree college Sailkot. Her husband was businessman. She belonged to an educated family her father was government teacher. Gazala Ejaz's family was very supportive and cooperative. When she got married her husband was fully supported in politics, when she showed her interest in politics. She said that I never felt any discrimination in my family and politics. Gazala Ejaz said that I am entered the politics in her personal interest. She liked the party of Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN). Gazala Ejaz told that her husband was financially supported during elections. Gazala Ejaz told that she performed her all tasks honestly and faced no problems in politics. Gazala Ejaz agreed that our society is based on patriarchy system. Males have authority to take decisions in every field of life. She said that females have no particular role in decision-making in politics because of male dominance or male ruling behavior.

3.1 Analysis of case

Gazala Ejaz was a politician. She was elected from councilor in Jalalpur. She belonged to an educated family, politics was her personal interest. **“My family is very cooperative and supportive”**. Family played a very important role without their cooperation and support female cannot precede any matter. She was confident towards her family without their cooperation she could not achieve her goals. **“I never felt any discrimination in my family and politics”**. **“I didn't face any difficulty or problems in political domain”**. In political domain she is very confident to work with male members of the councilors. It was a bitter reality that due male dominancy and patriarchy system in our society females faced many problems. The social lives status and role are also crucially influenced by dominant cultural ideology and discriminatory social structure.

3.2 Personal Observation

Researcher observed that respondent was quite friendly and fully confident. Politics was her own interest. She said that females play the major role in politics and they are very confident to work with male members of the councilor. She is very cooperative lady.

Table 2

Cases No.2: Demographic information of M.s Shagufta Noreen Butt

Name	Shagufta Noreen Butt
Husband name	Haider Ali Butt
Age	34 years
Profession	politician
Status	councilor
Academic qualification	B.A
Marital status	Married
Children	Two daughters and one son

Shagufta Noreen was born in Sargodha. Her age was 34 years. She is currently working as an councilor in Tehsil Shujabad. She was elected as a counselor. Shagufta Noreen was married and has two daughters and one son. Shagufta Noreen's father was a businessman she has two brothers and three sisters. She was married and her husband was businessman. Shagufta Noreen family was very supportive and helped her through thick and thin. Her father in-laws are also very supportive and cooperative. There was no restriction towards her family when she showed her interest in politics. Her husband was very supportive. Her husband supported her financially. Shagufta Noreen said that women are the important part of the society. She said that Women have abilities to serve their families, community and country in a well-mannered. She said that time management is very necessary, if u good management abilities than you can serve your family and profession in a proper and well-mannered. Being a councilor we must be managed the time for family and community peoples.

Shagufta Noreen told that sometimes men discriminate women in all sector same situation was present in politics. She said that women have ability to overcome their problems. She said that females want to become a leader males will not accepted us as a leader because they will not want that females stood equally with them. Shagufta Noreen had great positivity in her thoughts regarding females. She said that women are equally participating in every field and if they struggle they can come up to the level of men. Males will not accept us as a leader because they will not want that females stood equally with them. Females are the building blocks of our society but males don't value them due to their superiority complex.

3.3 Analysis of case

There were many factors that hindered the under-representation of females in politics for example patriarchy system, male domination and economic etc. she believed on women empowerment in regards to the political context "**Men discriminate women in all sector same situation is present in politics**". A number of issues arose for women in this profession mainly because of the male dominance in this society. In this political profession no particular role or freedom is given to female candidates during decision making. Such

responsibilities and duties are mostly given to male denoting those superiors. Sometimes in meeting male members ignore the point of views.

Due to dominance and patriarchy mind set, women face difficulties and problems. The ideology of female member being inferior displays them as weak individuals who have no ability to take important political and work decisions on important issues. Men get the impression that they have power and more authority to take control of work. **“Males become more dominant in all sector of politics so, females are discriminated by male due to their ruling behavior”**. The study is address all the key aspects of impediments of women empowerment for participation in democratic process, women’s political participation (as votes, members of the political parties, election candidates, legislators and cabinet members decision making power etc.) Its focus will be on women in the local level, since these are the forums where women can begin to play a key role as public representatives. The significance of women’s presence and participation in local bodies in the potential they offer to change the nature of politics in Pakistan (Phillips, 1995).

3.4 Personal Observation

Shagufta Noreen was very confident lady. She had great positivity in her thoughts regarding females. She was very cooperative lady. She was very friendly. She replied each and every question properly.

Table 3

Case No.3: Demographic Details of M.s Naima Chaudhry

Name	Naima Chaudhry
Husband name	Muhammad Naveed Chaudhry
Age	50 years
Profession	Politician
Status	Councilor
Academic qualification	Master
Marital status	Married
Children	Three sons and two daughters

Naima Chaudhry wife of Muhammad Naveed Chaudhry was born in Multan. Her age was 50 years. She served as a counselor, union council No. 23. She has been elected from the councilor. M.s Naima did matric from Multan. She did M.A Urdu from Punjab University. Naima’s father was a lawyer she has one sister and two brothers. Brother’s qualification was engineering and his sister was a government teacher.

She was an elder sister. M.s Naima was married and had three sons and two daughters. Her husband name was Muhammad Naveed Chaudhry. He was a businessman. M.s Naima’s family was very cooperative and supportive in every field of life. Her father was fully supported and gave full rights regarding to education and has full opportunity to take her decisions herself. The family environment was very friendly. Her husband and in-laws was also very supportive. Both husband and wife take decisions related to their children’s education or any other issues by mutual discussion. Her two sons was an engineer and they settled in the USA.

M.s Naima’s family was economically strong so, financially she did not face any problem or difficulty towards her family and in-laws too. M.s Naima said that Mian Shahbaz Shrif was her favorite political leader. Politics was her personal interest. She said that I am not facing any problems her political career. Male members of the councilors treated equally and equal participated in decision-making. Throughout in her political she did not face any discrimination and difficulty.

3.5 Analysis of the case

M.s Naima has two brothers and one sister. Her father was a lawyer. She had the right to take decisions of life herself. Her father and husband were very supportive **“My family is very cooperative and supportive in every field of life”**. She didn’t feel any discrimination in her political career. There were no difficulties or problems she has to face in her political profession. Having the knowledge of her rights and equal responsibilities, she was very confident to work with male member of the councilors. **“I am very confident work with male members of the councilor and face no problems in politics I have never felt any type of discrimination in politics”**. When females are given a stand to make decisions and are aware of their rights, it gives them the knowledge and confidence to face difficulties and problems that arise in work force and few people create hurdles for them.

3.6 Personal Observation

The researcher went to the female councilor M.s Naima’s home for her interview. The respondent was a very cooperative lady. She was very sweet and humble lady. His nature was very cooperative. But she was quite reserved in answering to my questions. Her point of view was neutral throughout the whole conversation.

Table 4

Case No.4: Demographic information of M.s SaminaMunircase

Name	Samina Munir
Age	39 years
Husband name	Munir Iqbal
Profession	Politician
Status	Councilor
Academic qualification	B.A
Marital status	Married

Samina Munir was born in Multan. Her age was 39 years. She served as a counselor in Shujabad. She has been elected from councilor. Samina Munir’s qualification was B.A from degree college Multan. She belonged to a family having strong political background. There were many family members participate in politics. Samina Iqbal told that her husband wants to join the politics. So she enters the politics and she was elected the councilor in Shujabad in 2014.SaminaIqbal admitted that women empowerment prevail in society and in democratic process she also accepted that men is a power holder of the society. Women has generally has to face problems when she works outside the walls. Samina Iqbal said that she found herself lucky because of her political background. Her husband was support and help when she needed. She said that my husband was supported throughout the political domain. Samina Iqbal told that she did not face any discrimination in politics because her husband. Her husband helps throughout the politics. She said that government announced the funds from the councilor to the community development. She accepted that males are assumed that

females have no sense to spend the money from community development. So she said that it is the wrong assumption.

3.7 Analysis of the case

Females who belongs to strong political background giving who have a significant stand in politics. Having strong political status they do not feel discriminated. They did not face any difficulties and problems. **“I found myself lucky in this regard because due to political background I found support and help whenever I needed”**. **“My husband was very supportive and they help throughout the political domain”**. In our political system, money and power matters matter more than the hard work and commitment. Nominated females belonging to the family of strong background so they do not face any issues from others such as discrimination. Such representation can be called “puppet representation”.

3.8 Personal Observation

Respondent invited researcher at her home and gave a very warm welcome. She introduced her family members. The respondent was a very cooperative lady. She was very confident because of her strong political background.

Table 5

Case No. 5: Demographic Details of M.s Rubina Malik

Name	Rubina Malik
Husband name	Razzak Malik
Age	35 years
Profession	Politician
Status	Councilor
Academic qualification	B.A
Marital status	Married
Children	Two daughters and one son

Rubina Malik was born in Gujranwala. Her age was 35 years. She served as councilor, union council No. 20. She has been elected from councilor in 2014.

Rubina Malik was did B.A from degree college Gujranwala. She was married and she has two daughters and one son. Her husband was businessman. She said that her family was very supportive in every field of life. Rubina Malik talked about the male dominating society of our country, and put forward her views that our society women got abundant rights and lack of awareness about them, she told that implementations does not count when people are themselves unawares. Rubina Malik told that politics is throne rose that could turn worst at any level. Being a politician she declared that fact that many times ladies have to accept what men order them, to avoid these she said that mental growth and mind growth is needed. Even Islam provided equal rights to men and women then it'll. Be our failure if we don't follow it further. She said that funds are announced to the government for the councilors and she said that males are assumed that females have no sense to spend them.

3.9 Analysis of the case

Male-domination in politics, political parties and culture of formal political structure is another issue that impedes women's political participation. Often male-dominated political parties have a male view on problems f national status that dissatisfies females as their view

is often ignored and not reflected in the politics of their parties. Females are usually not elected at the position of power within party structure because of gender biases of male leadership like all the chairman's and vice-chairman only the male not one woman is the chairman and Mayor in the local government. **"Politics is throne rose that could turn worst at any level"**. Respondent talked about the women rights and told that females did not know about their rights what's why they faced difficulties and problems. There are many laws made for the women rights and for their protection but females not know that them and these laws not implementation in the country. **"There is no particular role of females in decision-making that's why they were discriminated by men"**. In this political profession no particular role or freedom was given to female candidates during decision making. Such responsibilities and duties are mostly given to males denoting them as superiors. Sometimes in meetings male members ignore the point of views female follow members thus women feel degraded. As we are living in male dominating society that's why males have superiority complex. They think that females should not be given funds equal to them for development purposes that's why females always face many problems to get funds as compared to male.

3.10 Personal Observation

Respondent invited the researcher at her home and gave a very warm welcome. She was very cooperative lady. She was very comfortable in answering to my questions. Respondent gave all her statement very boldly. Consequently, she become a successful and confident lady because to her family.

3.11 Personal Observation

Researcher reached the respondent home and introduction about the researcher and the topic. She answered all the questions that researcher asked plus she did very long and informative discussions on researcher's topic. Respondent was very cooperative and supportive lady.

4 Discussion

Women in Pakistan are one of the most marginalized segments of society. This marginalized group always remained neglected and exploited throughout the history. Although women are in slight majority in number, but in reality, they are always at the receiving end. In Pakistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan are more backward in their attitudes and approach towards women. Comparatively, Punjab and Sindh are liberal and in transformation phase. Women participation in election is seen more in these provinces.

There are number of reasons behind the slow progress of women. Due to powerlessness and poverty, women are generally not taking part in economic activities and remain dependent on male. One of the respondent told, "women want to excel, but there are number of issues, one of them is financial support". It seems that only rich and influential people can be the part of political affairs. Men belonging to modest background remained under stress due to economic constrains. Therefore majority of males are reluctant to take part in election; so women, who are dependent on males, can take part in elections even local level.

Pakistan is a country where cultural, social, and religious factors have given a very narrow space to women. They are allowed to take part in social and economic activities. They have been compelled to undertake household responsibilities, which keep them busy throughout their life cycle. Women are not free to take decision even about their education, going outside of house, marriage, number of children, and about economic matters: so how they can take part in politics. They eventually lose their interest as their male family members do not given them freedom to express themselves.

In urban areas people are more educated and liberal it is seen that even educated women do not take part in political affairs. Only a small number of female participation in political matters. These women are generally asked to take part in politics by their male family members just to enhance their political power. Their male members compel them to do politics for their own advantage. Most of women politicians are not conscious about their rights and reluctant to better the conditions of female community. It is found that no free will is provided to women to participation in the elections. Due to our cultural restrictions and male dominations, women are not empowered. In our political system, “Nominated females belong to the family of political backgrounds don’t face any difficulties and problems or they don’t feel any discrimination due to their political background. Such representation can be called “Puppet representation”.

Though women have very limited social space but have prospects of growth. Social acceptance for female in politics is missing, a lady political said, “We face problems, because male dominating societies don’t accept us”. It is noticed women in politics do not seem empowered as majority of them are being dictated by the male family members.

In Pakistani politics, it is observed that women take part mostly on reserved seats and avoid general elections. “General elections are purely a game of money”. It is observed that if the female belong the political background, the male family members support them. “In Pakistan, females are used to bargain the power for their male family member. Need of the hour is to encourage women participation and the contest should be between female members.

Female political workers are encouraged and supported more as they are trained and belong to grass root level. Majority of the women who contest elections on the reserved seats must work to come upon general seats as well. More attention should be given to the female education as, “Women want to come but they are not educated.

“Females who are educated and trained can’t be misused”. For the real empowerment, local bodies system should be promoted. “Local bodies develop direct relationship with people to people and discuss their problems,” and Local representation must be used as a training center.

5 Conclusion

Despite women’s central role in sustaining the family and their contribution to nations’ development, they have largely been excluded from political life and decision making processes. An attempt has been made in this study to impediments of women empowerment for participation in democratic process. The deep socio-cultural barriers that serve to impede women’s inclusion have been found to still subsist. These barriers are reflected in local traditional beliefs and patriarchal system.

Women’s economic dependence on men has been found to further compound women’s ability to become meaningfully involved in democratic politics. The continued denial of land and other property ownership rights serves to perpetuate this problem. The consequence of this is that majority of the women remain in a position in which they cannot actively participate in democratic politics.

References

- Dahlerup, D. (2013). *Women, quotas and politics*. Routledge.
- Goetz, A. M. (2003). Constraints on Women's Political. *No shortcuts to power: African women in politics and policy making*, 3, 110.

- Jabeen, N., & Jadoon, M. Z. I. (2009). Gender and local governance in Pakistan: Representation vs. participation. *International NGO Journal*, 4(5), 264-276.
- Khan, M. R., & Ara, F. (2006). Women, participation and empowerment in local government: Bangladesh union Parishad perspective. *Asian Affairs*, 29(1), 73-92.
- Krook, M. L. (2010). Women's representation in parliament: A qualitative comparative analysis. *Political Studies*, 58(5), 886-908.
- Latif, A., Usman, A., Kataria, J. R., & Abdullah, M. (2015). Female Political Participation in South Asia: a Case Study of Pakistan. *South Asian Studies*, 30(2), 201-213.
- Lounsbury, M., Ventresca, M., & Hirsch, P. M. (2003). Social movements, field frames and industry emergence: a cultural-political perspective on US recycling. *Socio-economic review*, 1(1), 71-104.
- Mahmood, S. (2011). *Politics of piety*. Princeton University Press.
- Miranda, R. (2005). *Equal Participation of Women and Men in Decision Making Process: With Particular Emphasis on Political Participation and Leadership*. Expert Group Meeting Organization by United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 24th-27th October.
- Moghadam, V. M., & Senftova, L. (2005). Measuring women's empowerment: participation and rights in civil, political, social, economic, and cultural domains. *International Social Science Journal*, 57(184), 389-412.
- Phillips, A. (1995). *The politics of presence*. Clarendon Press.
- Sattar, T., Yasin, G., & Afzal, S. (2012). Socio-cultural and economic impediments of inequality in provision of educational right to female: A Case of Southern Punjab (Pakistan). *International Journal of Human Resource Studies*, 2(1), 122.
- Sharma, P. (2014, July). Oligarchic patriarchal political culture of women participation in South Asia, with special reference to India, Bangladesh, Pakistan. In *Conference Paper presented in Canada: IPSA, 21ST July* (Vol. 13).
- Tabassum, H., Syed, N. T., & Afzal, T. (2015). Women's representation in national assembly of Pakistan. *Grassroots*, 49(1).