Socio-Cultural Determinants Affecting Political Participation And Satisfaction Of Women Councilors In Faisalabad

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Abstract

Women encountered various challenges in political participation such as social, cultural, political and economic that hinder their empowerment. Women wellbeing are attained on social, economic and cultural grounds when they were politically empowered. This current study deals with the socio-cultural determinants and women councilors satisfaction via political involvement during session 2008-2010. The researcher employed the quantitative approach and selected 352 women councilors via systematic sampling technique from three different levels of councils in district Faisalabad. In this study, 83% of the sample was drawn from union council, 8.5% from the town/tehsil and district council. The data were analyzed through SPSS version 20. The findings revealed that most of the women were politically participated in different developmental activities and having a membership of monitoring committee. Most women representatives frequently responded to community problems. However, they encountered obstacles like lack of funds, non-payment of honorarium, salary problem, freedom of choice, mobility and health problems, lack of financial authority, educational attainment, decision making disengagement, separate washroom and waiting room. Bivariate analysis conducted between socioeconomic background of women councilors and political participation. Results indicated that women were more politically groomed and have political opportunities such as affiliation with political parties, having close relatives in politics and having knowledge about Local Government ordinance were more incorporated in political participation. In crux, higher education, professional training, provision of honorarium and freedom of decision making enhance women participation in political activities.

Keywords: Political Participation, Satisfaction, Women Councilors, Political Development.
Women are an integral part of society and make almost half of the globe. The pragmatic role of women has complemented the canvas of men's success almost in every field of life. All religions show high reverence to women but Islam gives more value to the position of females in a community. The law of Pakistan promises the same rights for both genders. Women status in Pakistan has improved somewhat (higher literacy rate of 47% in 2011-12 and lower unemployment rate of 1.18% in 2010-11 (ECOSOC, 2010; & GoP, 2013); however, women still do not hold equal power to make decisions about their own lives, in their households, in the workplace and broader political issues of the country (Mahmood, 2002 & Ali, 2010).

The social and political status of the women in Pakistan always is considered as a matter of discussion at domestic and international levels. It is a fact that women's status in Pakistani society is low by all social, economic and political benchmarks. Due to this place of women in society has become a subject of great concern. In the patriarchal system, men shape the political relationships of women. The subordinate position of women thwarts their participation in all areas of their lives is it in the home or in the public area. In the developed countries women's participation in politics is visibly apparent so is their progress and participation in those countries (Tariq, 2002 & Repila, 2013).

Women can achieve politically empowered status when they set full representation on central and parliament level. Women are given liberty to take their decision regarding their personal matters then she is considered empowered. The traditional notion and
patriarchal society hindered the women political participation at the local and global level (Sohail, 2014 & Latif et al., 2015).

Cultural perceptions, social prejudices, and financial shortcomings are the key obstacles that impede the participation of women in politics. While taking an account of both the genders. Men were more active participants of parliamentary and political activities than women. It is also observed that domestic responsibilities hindered women political involvement. It was acknowledged that there are some economic, social, moral and political transformations which have gradually transmuted the patriarchal order of the Pakistani society. The precarious situation of Pakistani women in politics was alleviated to challenge the existing bottlenecks in politics in Pakistan (IPU, 2015; Kiev, 2011; Tahri, 2003; UNDP report, 2000 & Latif et al., 2015).

National Commission on the status of women (2010) found that female participation in politics was minimal before the military government 2002 elections at three levels. PILDAT (2004) reported that women representation was increased to 33% at the local level under military rule 2000. In Pakistan National Assembly only 3% seats are assigned to women (7 out of 217), In Senate, there are 2.3% seats for women (2 out of 87) and the overall ratio of a seat in the four provincial assemblies is (2 out of a total of 483). While in Punjab local bodies system, 12.5% seats are allotted to women, while in Baluchistan assembly the ratio is up to 27.6%. Women in Pakistan are always been active in participating in politics as candidates, voters and political activist, in spite of this progress we are unable to produce a large number of female leaders of high caliber. The reason behind the fact is the male dominance and patriarchal uprightness in the political structure which hinders women's progress. Women in the political parties are not awarded a decisive status within the parties and are often not emerged as competitors during elections considering them devoid of political insight. The nature of political parties and the lifestyle of dissipation pervade in society. The fear of character termination effectively becomes a barrier in the participation of females (Latvia, 1995 & Awan, 2016).

Khan (2009) identified that women quota enhanced in 2002 & 2008 elections. Mode of election and women's presence in the parliament play a crucial role in politics. Indirect mode of election in Pakistan influenced the women's participation in the patriarchal scenario of Pakistani society.

National Commotion on the Status of Women (NCSW, 2009) proposed an idea, that in spite of joining the field of politics, women are not very independent and active in their activities and concerns. It is due to the fact that they are brought to the field of politics by men, but they are not given a proper environment to flourish as independent politicians as the patriarchal orders remain the same. The robust hegemonic rule, overwhelming influence, and strong patriarchal notions haven't lessened the female politician's precarious plight. The structures of inequality remain the same. This dilemma is the
foremost hindrance to bring some transformation in the patriarchal culture of the Pakistani society (Shirkat Gah, 2009; Tabassum & Afzal, 2015).

Parpart et al. (2003) argued that struggles to get chances for frequent participation in the field of politics, culture, and decision making the role of institutions is quite necessary for women empowerment. The women empowerment on an economic level is considered as a necessary factor for palpable development (betterment in education, sanitation, health problems) i.e. as it would enable the women to fight against the economic hurdles which may come during their journey of political participation.

A study deducted in remote areas of district Pishin and Mustang of Baluchistan province reported that the social and cultural values are considered as prominent obstacles for women's passive involvement in the activities related to their economic position. Those women that belong to the rural areas prefer their domestic earning activities which provide them small financial support for household as compared to out of a home-based income generating activities (Khan, 2000 & Bayeh, 2016). The current study aims to explore the councilor’s socio-cultural determinants influence political participation. The researcher identifies threats and opportunities encountered in the way of political activity.

**Literature Review**

The main concern of this research study about the political empowerment of women. There are three levels of empowerment discussed at the intercultural level namely; the individual, the group and the conceptual. The first level of empowerment can be achieved through attaining skills by developing consciousness and by participating in networks or decision-making process. The second level of empowerment is at the local, national and global levels; where a group of people gains power through collective action. Finally, the third level of empowerment is called conceptual empowerment, which is considered as a process as well as the consequence of it. It includes power relations at all levels of society (Kabeer, 1999). A study conducted in rural areas of district Pishin and Mustang of Baluchistan province reported that the social and cultural factors are considered as major barriers for women passive participation in the financial activities. Women belonging to the rural areas prefer their domestic earning activities which provide them small financial support for household as compared to out of a home-based income generating activities (Khan, 2000).

A study conducted on women's involvement in politics reported that by facilitating female's active participation in politics and improving their position socially and economically, the state can increase their visibility in governance. This helps in achieving women rights and women’s equality in society. Women’s empowerment is quite necessary for improving all aspects of women’s empowerment (Inayatullah, 1999; & Girls, 2014).
Role of Women Councillors

During the Pakistan movement, the leader of the Muslim nation, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah encouraged women's prominent involvement in the freedom struggle. While addressing the processions on many occasions, he stated that the victimization of Muslims is not possible if they are involved in this struggle as same as men (Saiyid, 2006). Quaid-e-Azam; the father of the nation said that women should not confine themselves to the culturally assigned roles as a housewife (Samar, 2008). The military government of General Pervaiz Musharraf reserved 33% quota for increasing involvement of women in politics at a provincial, domestic and national level. The purpose of reserving a quota of 33 percent is to establish equality on political grounds for women as guaranteed in the constitution. This generated interest among women at the grass root level.

Political Participation of Women Councillors

Women participation in politics aims to increase the number of females in politics, to enhance their effective participation in taking a decision. The national awareness campaign is framed by the government, NGOs, academics, researches, and agencies working for the social welfare of women and highlighted the vital role of women as role models at political, historical, artistic and scientific forums. Capacity building of women representatives should be initiated. The importance of capacity building can be judged from the fact reported by NRB (2004) that before the training programs started, the Nazims or the other male councillors used to say that women councilors could not contest. But the training program improved their understanding to a great extent and they began to perform their role in a better and effective manner. The capacity building of women councillors also includes teaching the rules and regulations and requirements outlined by the social safety net for extending financial assistance to poor people. The capacity building sessions should also involve women who are active in formal and informal political structure for incorporating their input and suggestions as there is no match for the personal experience (Drage, 2001).

The socio-cultural studies explored that various dimensions of participation of women in politics introduced, that such participation is generally asserted to be very overwhelming at the local level (Poland, 1997; Blair, 2008). In Bolivia, a law of equal participation came into practice in 1994 and in India under 73rd and 74th amendments in the constitution, exercise of authority at the local level organizations (Panchayats) were given more power and number of quota of 33% and resources were reserved for representation of women in this level of governance. In Pakistan too, the reservation of 33 percent quota in local self-government during 2000 proved a revolutionary step to ensure women's enrolment in politics at a local level. These local politics serves as the first training step for the women who want to be exposed to a vast public life (Esteva & Parkash, 1997; Sachs, 1997). The studies while emphasizing the importance of females’ role at the
Socio-Cultural Determinants Affecting Political Participation and Satisfaction of Women Councilors in Faisalabad

domestic level also directed that such politics also presents its own contest for women. Women are living in a village that is not a place of liberty or social security. In these villages, women experience culturally validated oppressions, exclusions, violations and surveillance at an extremely high level. Here most of the women population is living a miserable life and demands that democratic struggle should be organized to minimize the sufferings of the women (Stienstra, 2000; Liebowitz, 2002; Sawer, 2003; Staudt, 2003).

Dahlerup & Freidenvall (2003) highlighted three arguments in accordance with women's participation on an equal level in formal politics; justice argument, the experience argument, and the interesting argument. The justice argument says that women are one of the two parts of the population and therefore deserve to be represented. The experience argument states that women's experiences differ from male experiences and should be involved in the discussion, dialogue, and debates for women-friendly policy-making and implementation. The last and third argument, interest argument, emphasized that the interests of males and females are quite different and this demands women reasonable representation in political institutions to articulate the interests of women.

Research Methodology

Quantitative approach and descriptive research design utilized, in addition, data was collected by self-administrated survey method. The universe of the study was limited to district Faisalabad of the Punjab province during session 2008-2010. A questionnaire with five points Likert scale utilized in this research. The multistage sampling technique used to locate the eligible respondents such as women councilors at three levels namely union council, town council, and district council. The total sample size comprised of 352 women councilors. In this study, 83% of the sample was drawn from union council, 8.5% from the town/tehsil council and 8.5% from the district council. At the third stage of the sampling, respondents were selected by employing a systematic random sampling technique. The questionnaire was distributed in all levels and dully filled and collected back. There was no missing data were located in question because the researcher administered this survey process. Data were analyzed using through SPSS version 20. Univariate data analysis showed in the tabulated form with frequency and percentage indication. Hypothesis testing is done with the help of a cross tab to check the effect of socioeconomic background on women's political participation.

Results and Discussion

This section elaborates the general description of socio-economic, cultural and political participation and empowerment of respondents (women councilors). Both Univariate and bivariate analysis incorporated in this section. In this analysis frequency distribution and percentages are presented to explain the different socioeconomic, demographic and political factors studied for this research.
Table: 4.1
Socio-economic background of the women councilors

| Variable                        | Frequency (%age) | Variable                        | Frequency (%age) |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| Area of residence              |                 | Family Type                     |                 |
| Urban                          | 187 (53.1%)     | Nuclear                        | 188 (53.4%)     |
| Rural                          | 165 (46.9%)     | Joint                          | 164 (46.4%)     |
| Status of councilors’ residence|                 | Marital status of the women councilors |                 |
| Own house                      | 293 (83.2%)     | Married                        | 330 (93.5%)     |
| Rented                         | 40 (11.4%)      | Widow                          | 22 (6.5%)       |
| Free of cost                   | 19 (5.4%)       | Educational attainats of the women councilors |                 |
| The current age of women councilor at time of interview | Illiterate | 130 (36.9%) |                 |
| Up to 34                       | 37 (10.5%)      | Primary                        | 30 (8.6%)       |
| 35-44                          | 109 (31.1%)     | Middle                         | 62 (17.6%)      |
| 45-54                          | 137 (38.9%)     | Matric & Above                 | 130 (36.9%)     |
| 55- and above                  | 69 (19.6%)      | On which seat you were elected? | Frequency     |
| General seats                  | 162 (46%)       | Minority seats                 | 21 (6%)         |
| Reserved seats                 | 33 (9.4%)       | Special seat                   | 28 (8%)         |
| Peasant and worker seats       | 104 (29.5%)     | Town member                    | 4 (1.1%)        |
| Total                          | 352 (100)       |                                |                 |

The study shows that mainly (53.1%) of the women councilors were living in urban areas, nuclear family system (53.4%) and has their own houses (83.1%). The study indicated that majority 38.9% women were in the 45-54 years age group and 93.5% were enjoying the family life (married) while 6.5% were living without their husbands as either their husbands died or they were separated. This study revealed that 36.9% of women councilors were illiterate, while 17.6% got education up to primary level. Similarly, 17.6% got education up to middle level while 36.9% were either matric or above matric. This study narrated that majority of the respondents were illiterate due to lack of facilities. These illiterate women councilors may be elected at the union council level. The study revealed that slightly less than half (46%) of the women councilors were elected on general seats, 9.4% on reserved seats, 29.55% on peasant and worker seats, 6% on minority seats, 8% on special seats and about 1.1% on town member seats.

Mosel and Jackson (2013) reported that Pakistan is amongst one of the top South Asian countries where the majority population living in urban areas for better facilities and can afford their own house due to government housing schemes (Alam, 2012). Khan et al. (2010) reported that a woman becomes empowered as she matures and it may be the reason that the majority of women councilors were aged. Pattan Development Organization (2001) & Asifa (2006) reported that most women that entered in politics at
the local government level belonged to low-income strata of the society. The recent study confirmed this finding.

Table: 4.2
Women close relative in politics, the attitude of male councilor/nazim, political background, and affiliation with political parties

| Close relative in politics          | Frequency(%) | Percentage |
|------------------------------------|--------------|------------|
| i. Yes                             | 123 (34.9)   |            |
| ii. No                             | 229 (65.1)   |            |

**If yes, explain the relation**

|                      | Frequency(%) | Percentage |
|----------------------|--------------|------------|
| i. Family member     | 21 (17.7)    | 17.07      |
| ii. Parents family   | 77 (62)      | 62.60      |
| iii. In-laws family | 18 (14.6)    | 14.63      |
| iv. Others (councilor)| 7 (5.7)     | 5.69       |

**Politically affiliated with some party in the past?**

|                      | Frequency(%) | Percentage |
|----------------------|--------------|------------|
| i. Yes               | 136 (38.6)   | 38.6       |
| ii. No               | 216 (61.4)   | 61.4       |

**Would you like to contest the election in favor of that party?**

|                      | Frequency(%) | Percentage |
|----------------------|--------------|------------|
| i. Yes               | 136          | 38.6       |
| ii. No               | 216          | 61.4       |

**An attitude of male councilor/Nazim**

|                      | Frequency(%) | Percentage |
|----------------------|--------------|------------|
| i. Democratic        | 312          | 88.6       |
| ii. Authoritative    | 40           | 11.4       |

**Would you like to contest election again?**

|                      | Frequency(%) | Percentage |
|----------------------|--------------|------------|
| i. Yes               | 241          | 68.5       |
| ii. No               | 111          | 31.5       |

**If yes, for which position**

|                      | Frequency(%) | Percentage |
|----------------------|--------------|------------|
| i. Local Council     | 138          | 57.26      |
| ii. District Council | 74           | 30.71      |
| iii. Provincial Assembly | 20      | 8.30       |
| iv. National Assembly/Senate | 9       | 3.73       |
| **Total**            | 241          | 100.00     |

The study approximately one third (35%) have close relatives already active in politics while the majority (65.1%) of them have no close relative in politics. Moreover, 17.07% of women councilors have their close relatives from the family while 62.60% from their parent's family. Only 14.63% of the women councilors have their in-laws family members in politics, while 5.69% of the women councilors have relative in politics. The study thus indicated that more than 60% of women councilors have close relatives from their parent family. In earlier studies, Bari (2001) and Yazdani (2003) also reported that the most women councilors who involved in the local government had full support and
appreciation from their families who encouraged them to participate actively in politics through the local government system.

This study indicated that 38.6% women councilors were politically affiliated with political parties in the past and they agreed to contest election in favor of that party while 61.4% have no affiliation with any party in the past and they did not contest election in the favor of any party. Moreover, 68.5% of women councilors were ready to contest election again while 31.5% were not interested to contest election again. Among the women councilors who agreed to contest election again, 57.26% were willing to contest at local council level, 30.71% at the district level, 8.30% at the provincial assembly level and 3.73% at national assembly or Senate level.

| Problems                          | Not at all Frequency (%) | To some extent Frequency (%) | To a great extent Frequency (%) |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Lack of funds                     | 47 13.3                  | 47 3.3                      | 258 73.3                      |
| Negative attitude of males        | 157 44.6                 | 111 31.5                    | 84 23.9                       |
| Non-payment of honorarium         | 78 22.2                  | 85 24.1                     | 189 53.7                      |
| Ineffective political role        | 76 21.6                  | 132 37.5                    | 144 40.9                      |
| Salary problem                    | 25 7.1                   | 86 24.4                     | 241 68.5                      |
| Lack of proper guidance           | 70 19.9                  | 130 36.9                    | 152 43.2                      |
| Separate washroom                 | 91 25.9                  | 64 18.2                     | 197 56.0                      |
| Separate waiting room             | 105 29.8                 | 50 14.2                     | 197 56.0                      |

This study indicated that majority of women councilors (73.3%) have faced problems of lack of funds to a great extent, while some women councilors (3.35%) have faced this problem to some extent. However, 13.35% of women councilors have never faced the problem of a lack of funds during the performance of their duty. Likewise, 29.3% of women councilors reported that male attitude towards them was negative to a great extent, while 31.5% claimed that male attitude was negative to some extent. However, 44.6% said that male attitude was not negative. Moreover, the majority of women councilors (53.7%) to a great extent claimed that honorarium was not paid to them, while 24.1% claimed about the nonpayment of honorarium. However, 22.2% said that honorarium was paid to them. This seems to be due to system inefficiencies or likes and dislikes which need to be corrected.

This study also deals with the ineffective political role that is faced by the women councilors in society. Our findings showed that 49.9% of women councilors faced this problem to a great extent, 37.5% to some extent, while 21.6% of women councilors have never faced this problem. Another problem faced by the women councilors in society is the salary for their services. They are paid so less that they feel dissatisfied with the amount received in return of the laborious and arduous efforts done for the public service.
This is the problem due to which they do not perform their duties with full dedication and responsibility. Mostly women councilors (68.5%) were facing a salary problem to a great extent, while 24.4% were facing this problem to some extent. Only a few women councilors (7.1%) have never suffered the problem of payment of salary to them. Lack of proper guidance is also a problem for women councilors who faced these problems while performing their duties. A higher number of women councilors (43.2%) were facing this problem to a great extent, while 36.9% were facing this problem to some extent, while 19.9% women councilors never faced this problem. Other problems faced by women councilors are the separate washroom and waiting room. Majority of the women councilors (56%) claimed that they suffer the problem of the separate washroom to great extent, 18.2% suffered this problem to some extent, while 25.9% women councilors said that separate washroom was not a problem.

The majority (56%) of women councilors argued that availability of separate waiting room was a problem for them to a great extent, 14.2% claimed that this was a problem to some extent, while 29.8% said that separate waiting room was not a problem. This study indicated that women councilors face a large number of problems viz. lack of funds, negative attitude of males, salary problems, ineffective political role and lack of proper guidance, separate washroom, and separate waiting room. These problems must be addressed by the concerned authorities to improve the working efficiency of the women councilors. Zulfiqar (2001) also suggested that women councilors were not given allowances across provinces while most of them belonged to the low-income group.

**Testing of Hypothesis**

The bi-variate analysis deals with the testing of the hypothesis. It explores the relationship between predicting and response variables through tables corresponding to each hypothesis. The nature and strength of the relationship is examined through the application of Pearson Chi-square, and gamma statistics.

**Hypothesis 1: Political affiliation of the respondents with parties has an association with their satisfaction in politics as women councilors**

| Politically affiliated with a party? | Satisfied with their participation in politics as women councilors | Total |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
|                                     | Low | Moderate | High |                        |
| Yes                                 | 12  | 64       | 60   | 136                     |
|                                     | 8.8%| 47.1%    | 44.1%| 100%                    |
| No                                  | 52  | 90       | 74   | 216                     |
|                                     | 24.1%| 41.7% | 34.3%| 100%                    |
| Total                               | 64  | 154      | 134  | 352                     |
|                                     | 18.2%| 43.8% | 38.1%| 100%                    |

Chi-square = 13.36  P-value = 0.001**  ** = Highly significant

Gamma = 0.277  P-value = 0.002**  df = 2
The relationship between political affiliation of women councilors with political parties and their satisfaction as women councilor. Chi-square value (13.36) shows a highly significant association between political affiliation of women councilors with political parties and their satisfaction as women councilor. The gamma value shows a positive and highly relationship between these variables.

Bennett, L. (2002) reported that women affiliated with an institution had good mental satisfaction than those having no affiliation. These findings confirmed that the affiliation of women with political parties was an essential element for empowering them. Furthermore, our findings of the study suggested that affiliation with political parties improve women to establish a network of social connection with the other members of that party.

Hypothesis 2: Higher the decision making the power of the respondents, more will be the satisfaction with participation in politics as women councilors

| Decision-making power | Satisfied with their participation in politics as women councilors | Total |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
|                       | Low               | Moderate | High |       |
| Low                   | 41                | 60       | 21   | 122   |
|                       | 33.6%             | 49.2%    | 17.2%| 100%  |
| Medium                | 13                | 62       | 84   | 159   |
|                       | 8.2%              | 39.0%    | 52.8%| 100%  |
| High                  | 10                | 32       | 29   | 71    |
|                       | 14.1%             | 45.1%    | 40.8%| 100%  |
| Total                 | 64                | 154      | 134  | 352   |
|                       | 18.2%             | 43.8%    | 38.1%| 100%  |

Chi-square = 50.23  P-value = 0.000**  ** = Highly significant
Gamma = 0.382   P-value = 0.000**
df = 4

The results indicate that the power of decision making and their satisfaction as women councilor. Chi-square value (50.23) shows a significant association between the decision-making power of the respondents and their satisfaction as women councilor. The gamma value shows a highly significant positive relationship between these variables.

In our current party structure, women are not given chances to involve in the decision-making process within the group which lowers their satisfaction to participate in politics. In a study, the women councilors reported that they were given more respect by their families after their political participation and male family members started them to involve them in the decision-making process at a family which further increased their satisfaction with participation in politics as women councilor (Bari, 2009). Drage (2001) stressed that there was a need to adopt specific strategies to promote the involvement of women in decision making.
Conclusions

Women being half of the world population cannot be secluded from the process in decision making for the development of their societies and nations. Now in the twentieth-century women themselves are aware of their rights, are struggling hard to get equality for women in all walks of life. In spite of all the hurdles and obstacles women are gathering momentum and are raising voice for their rights.

Empowerment of women is directly involved in the participation of women in political activities because a powerful and trained woman is more capable of changing the fate of society. In Pakistan, the dream of democratic and harmonious society cannot flourish without the equal participation of women in the whole process of development. To achieve the proper status of women in society, it is very essential for Pakistani women to take an active part in political organization.

It was observed during the research that most of the women councilors included in the study sample were residing in urban areas, living in the joint family system, having low family size; moderate age, high education, satisfied with their monthly income, political participation and their political involvement in developmental activities. Similarly, women councilors having affiliation with political parties, having knowledge about LG ordinance and monitoring committee, having close relatives in politics and given more chances to speak, felt more satisfied with political participation and made more development through political involvement.

In crux, higher education, professional training, decision making in family matters increase women participation, satisfaction, and development in political involvement. Moreover, the respondents' husband education, the democratic attitude of male councilors, positively affected the participation of women councilors in politics. Providing incentives like payment of honorarium, daily allowance, training allowance, and transportation charges increase women's participation in politics related professional activities, their satisfaction, and development through political involvement.

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