

The cover features a purple background at the top and bottom. A large white area in the center is framed by a thick green border that curves at the top and bottom. The title is centered in this white area.

**Challenges to Women
Parliamentarians**

in

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

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CHALLENGES TO WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA

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1. List of Acronyms

Awami National Party	(ANP)
International Republic Institute	(IRI)
Jammat-ul-Islami	(JI)
Jammiat-e-Ulma Islam	(JUI)
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	(KP)
Minister of Provincial Assembly	(MPA)
National Assembly	(NA)
National Democratic Institute	(NDI)
Provincial Assembly	(PA)
Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf	(PTI)
Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz	(PML-N)
Pakistan People's Party	(PPP)
Pakistan Muslim League- Quaid	(PML-Q)
Qaumi Watan Party	(QWP)
United States Agency for International Development	(USAID)
Women Parliamentary Caucus	(WPC)

2. Executive Summary

The importance of women's political participation and mobilization for a viable democratic polity is being increasingly realized all over the world. Women constitute almost half of Pakistan's population while it is unfortunate that their potential and skills are not utilized in socio political and economic development of the society. The perception that women have low skill, less education and less empowerment in the realm of politics has isolated women from actively taking part in the political sphere. 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 article will explore the underlying constraints which have hampered the growth of equal opportunities for women to play their political role as an active agent of society. The active participation of women in politics has setup a new horizon in the political sphere in many countries around the globe and it is gradually changing the dynamics of politics and democracy around the world. Consequently, Pakistan in the pursuit of good governance and healthy democracy made concrete efforts to increase the participation of women in politics. For this purpose, 17% reserved seat quota is introduced in National and Provincial assemblies of Pakistan in year 2000. The women lawmakers of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are equally involved in active politics, since reservation of 17% seats for women through electoral reforms in the provincial assemblies. Though, challenges still exist that are threatening the existence and role of women parliamentarians in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

This research is aimed to evaluate the challenges faced by women parliamentarians as lawmakers in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Data for the research was collected through primary and secondary sources. Key informant interviews were used as primary source of data, while extensive desk review has been carried out for analyzing the identified sources of secondary data. In this regard, fifteen (15) current women lawmakers and ten (10) former legislators were interviewed while eight (8) current and former male law makers were also interviewed to know their reflection on the issues and to assess the challenges and table possible best solutions to the identified problems.

After analyzing the primary and secondary sources of data, many challenges were identified, while the impact of each challenge on women lawmakers has also been assessed. The challenges identified are listed as: no capacity building programs for parliamentarians, lack of human and financial resources for women lawmakers, caucus member lack interest in active participation in proceedings, problem to women lawmakers for working against party lines, lack of gender insensitivity among male counterparts inside assembly, unwelcoming assembly environment for women lawmakers, lack

of support from male counterparts inside parliament, discouraging remarks from male parliamentarians, lack of facilities for dependent children of women parliamentarians, socio-cultural impediments to women lawmakers, lack of family members support to women lawmakers in their political discourse, facing public humiliation in private life, problems in balancing political and family life, resilience from society, hurdles inside the business of parliament, problems due to reserved seat selection, lack of political party supports on gender issues, reserve seat lacks in demarcated constituency, major factors affecting productivity inside parliament, work undermining by male counter parts (lack of work recognition), incapability of women lawmakers to influence the decisions (Lack of leadership positions) and facing social media harassment.

The possible solution identified and recommended by women lawmakers and this researcher after extensive research study is to review the electoral system/process by enhancing reserve seat percentage from 17 to 33, casting of 10-20 women votes an obligatory factor for declaration of result, introducing laws for extending social, political and financial support to women parliamentarians, strengthening of women parliamentary caucus by extending all kind of support, establishing of institute/department for parliamentarians to build their capacity, provide for legal opinion on drafting of bills, provision of leadership positions and to develop a system for work recognition of women lawmakers.

3. Introduction

Women constitute about half of the Pakistan's population. Their contribution in the social and economic sphere is also very significant by virtue of dual roles in the productive and reproductive spheres. But their participation in the politics remains unattended which is the most important institution of society that is related to the power and decision-making processes. Increasing women's participation in politics and securing their access to political life is necessary for sustainable development. Over the last decade there has been worldwide progress concerning women's presence in national parliaments. Today around the globe, many countries have given some level of space to the women for their role in politics to ensure good democratic norms and halt to gender discrimination in all spheres of life. According to the United Nations, the minimum threshold of 30% is required for women legislators to certify that public policy reflects the needs of women. (Nations, 2005)

Pakistan is a country of multilingual inhabitants from different ethnicities and cultures. The women constitute about 52% of the world population, which is more than half of the world population but yet their active participation in politics is a question mark as they have no role in the decision making and legislations in the presence of male dominance in all spheres of life. In such atmosphere, Pakistan in the pursuit of good governance and healthy democracy is also embattling the dogma of gender discrimination in the politics and their due emancipation in all the spheres of life. The woman active participation in politics of Pakistan is evident from the political history of Pakistan i.e. their struggle and major contributions in Pakistan Movement, in the making and the birth of Pakistan; but yet the women are the ignored part of the male dominant society and politics. The landmark decision by General Musharraf in 2000, who promulgated an ordinance for restructuring of political and electoral reforms, through introducing reservation of 17% quota of seats for women in National Assembly (NA), Provincial Assembly (PA) and Senate of Pakistan while 33% quota seats for women in local Government; which ensured and encouraged women participation in politics and to have their own political representation at legislative assemblies. Such decision for ensuring women participation and their due role in decision making was hailed by many lawmakers around the globe and considered as a major development in the political history of Pakistan.

This productive action gradually yielded large number of positive outcomes . It lead space for women to play their political role and influence decision making by raising their issues on legislative forum, to sensitize their counterparts on gender issues and enact laws that empower women.

Despite increasing the number of women parliamentarians, their real participation in decision making is still a big challenge. Even today women are not considered as an integral part of the decision making and legislations, while the insensitive nature of their male counterparts is a threatening issue in the form that their voices are not taken seriously on many legal issues in the society. Now still the challenges that the women face are undeniable facts that are making the progress of the country steady.

The reservation of quota provided to women of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is an opportunity to be equally involved in active politics. The increase in reserve quota system for women has encouraged these women to play active role in the social, economic and political development of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The current batch of women, who were elected as parliamentarians under the reserved quota for woman, is the third batch of Parliament of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The majority of inhabitants of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are Pashtuns though some portion of the population is from different ethnicities. Although, Pashtuns hold the majority but still the different tribes and areas exhibit diverse culture and traditions.

Like many other patriarchal societies women are considered inferior , less values and often a commodity in Pashtun society. The women are ignored part in the Pashtun society as they have several challenges in getting their basic rights like education, health and justice etc. Violence against women and depriving women from their rights is considered a normal practice in this society where life is governed by strict religious beliefs and tribal values. In such environment the participation of women in politics is threatened by different challenges and obstacles. In the political discourse gender disparity exists in all parts of the world but in Pakistan it is present with much violent face. The political landscape of Pakistan is now changing rapidly and the civic sense and participation of citizens is improving calling for the equal participation of women, transgender and other vulnerable groups in the democratic processes and there is increasing recognition of the fact that women's caucuses amplify women's voices.

In this research study many male and female parliamentarians documented the fact that women mostly make entry on reserved seats are often ignored and sidelined in the decision making and legislative process and most of the time are debarred from their rights to tender gender based issues due to insensitive nature of their male counterparts in assembly. The present research study is an attempt to evaluate the challenges faced by women parliamentarians as a lawmaker in KP. While, the recommendations of this study will be a stepping stone for curbing the menace of gender violence and discrimination; and would also be helpful in active role of women lawmaker to legislate for gender and child issues in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

4. Scope of Research

This research feeds into the project "Policy Advocacy and Research to Strengthen Implementation of Pro-Women Legislation and GBV Response Services in KP" funded by The Australian Government. The findings of the research will be useful to initiate a dialogue among the KP parliamentarians on the challenges face by women parliamentarians in and outside of the assembly and while performing their role as law maker and in their respective parties. We anticipate that this research will contribute towards highlighting the challenges of women parliamentarians and the way forward by developing strategies to address identified challenges. Following were the key objectives of the research study:

- To evaluate the challenges faced by women parliamentarians as lawmakers in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.
- To gauge the perceptions of males about women's participation in politics at different levels and unearth factors that affect these perception.
- To explore the role of power structures, state institutions, existing policies and practices of the state and non-state institutions in forming males 'perceptions towards woman's participation in politics in general and also about the women who occupy decision making positions in political parties/organizations.

5. Structure and History of KP Provincial Assembly

The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly is formed under article 106 of the Pakistan's Constitution having 124 elected members, 99 regular seats, 22 reserve seats for women and 3 seats for non-Muslims, is unicameral legislative body of the KP province.

To administer the province, the Federal Government appoints a Governor as head of the Provincial Government; the province is divided into 26 districts. Each district has a Zilla Nazim, in a District the functions are devolved further to the Tehsil, Town and Union Council Government.

Executive Authority is exercised by the Governor and under Article 105; he shall act in accordance with advice of the cabinet or the Chief Minister.

The Assembly has legislative businesses that involve:

- Session and Sittings
- Legislation of new bill and amendment in existing laws as per need
- While the non-legislative businesses involve:
 - Moving resolutions
 - Questioning the Status Quo
 - Moving privileged motions
 - Call of attention on any burning issue
- The assembly exercises the following powers:
 - To make laws (Article 141 and 142 of the Constitution of Pakistan)
 - To manage the purse of the province (Article 123 (3))
 - To keep checks on the policies and practices of the Government (Article 130)

6. Historical Development of the Representation of Women in the Political Structure of Pakistan

According to a report "Political Participation of Women in Pakistan: Historical and political dynamics shaping the Structure of Politics for Women published in 2016" Many factors like population, school enrollment, literacy rate, access to basic health services, access to justice and life expectancy have suggested a disparity between men and Women in Pakistan. However, in the domain of politics, the last 16 years have witnessed significant developments in terms of women's participation. Most significantly, the political participation of women has increased in legislative bodies.

The change in political participation can be attributed to a number of factors, such as Pakistan's legal commitments to the international community which include: the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). Because of the intentional commitments and need to show compliance to the conventions signed by Pakistan, the governments had shown more inclusiveness in terms of providing spaces to women in Pakistan in the democratic and development process of the country.

In addition to this, the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan also played a vital role in the political development of women. Furthermore, the Election Commission (EC) Order of 2002, the Political Parties Order of 2002, the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies Allocation of Reserved Seats for Women and Non-Muslims rules of 2002, are the contributing factors which has empowered women and ensured their participation in the political structure. The current political system of Pakistan has elements of the presidential as well as parliamentary systems. The shift in political systems is the result of past changes in political structure. Historically, under different political systems, women's participation and their share of the seats in national and provincial assemblies was different. First Pakistan's legislative assembly (Aug. 10, 1947 to Oct. 24, 1954) for example, women acquired 3% of the total seats (the number of total seats was 30, and women acquired 2 out of the total 30 seats.).

According to CIDOB international year book 2012 during the period of 1947 to 1956, there was no office of the president. The head of state was the governor general. During the second legislative assembly (lasting from May 02, 1955 to Oct. 07, 1958) women had 0% representation (the total number of seats was 80 and women acquired 0 seats). During 1956 to 1958, the political structure changed once again. At this time the post of governor general was abolished and Sikandar Mirza, assumed the office as the president. Subsequently, the military ruled country for the next 13 years, from 1958 to 1971.

After the Zia Ul Haq era that lasted from 1978 to 1988, another shift in political structure once again brought changes in the representation of women in politics. By 1988, the 3% assigned quota that existed since the first legislative assembly arose to 10%, and women attained 22 National Assembly seats (the number of women elected to reserved seats was 21, and 1 woman was elected directly) along with 5% of the seats in the provincial assemblies. However, from 1990 to 1997, the provision of reserved seats for women was lapsed. Therefore, no seats were allocated for women in the 1990, 1993, and in 1997 elected assemblies, at neither the provincial nor the national level. As a result, women's representation was minimal – in 1990, for example, it was 0.9% (the number of directly elected women was 2 out of 217). In 1993, women's representation was 1.8% (the number of directly elected women was 4 out of 217), and for the 1997 national assembly, the percentage of women in elected assemblies slightly increased to 2.8% (the number of directly elected women was 6 out of 217).

For the first time and under military rule, in 2000, the quota for women's political participation was raised to 33% at the local government level. This quota was effective at three levels of the local government, namely the union council, the tehsil, and the district level. Similarly, before the 2002 election, the number of women was increased to 17% in both the national and provincial assemblies (with 61 out of 342 members in the national assembly being women). A significant increase in the quota also increased women's overall participation in the political system for the election of 2002. As a result, the largest ever number of women contested and won general seats.

According to IBID PILDAT 2004 during the 2002 election, 188 women in total contested general seats, and out of them 101 were nominated by political parties, and 39 among them won their respective seats. To compare this to the 1997 election, this ratio was almost one-third: only 56 women contested the election at that time, among them 39 were nominated by political parties, and only 7 managed to win. However, fluctuating trends can be observed in the elections of 2008 and 2013. In the 2013 election, women acquired 70 out of 342 seats in the lower house of the national legislature, almost 20.5% of the total number of seats. In the upper house, women were elected to 17 out of 100 seats, 17% of the total number of seats. When this is compared to the 2008 election, we see that a slightly higher proportion of women participated in 2013. In the 2008 election, 34 women were nominated by political parties to stand for election. In the 2013 election, 36 women acquired nominations by political parties. Similarly, 108 women were contesting the 272 National Assembly seats. (Awan, 2016).

6.1 History of Women Parliamentary Caucus and Its Structure in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

Women Parliamentary Caucus plays an important role in the empowerment of women law makers as it creates consensus amongst all women members of the parliament on an agreed agenda for women's socio-economic and political development for the benefit of the readers the role and history of women parliamentary caucus is provided below.

The Women's Parliamentary Caucus, established in November 2008, is considered to be one of the major success stories of the 13th National Assembly. This cross-party forum of women parliamentarians was the first of its kind in the parliamentary history of Pakistan and is seen as a watershed moment for women parliamentarians in undertaking a meaningful participation in the business of the Parliament. The Women's Parliamentary Caucus has made a significant contribution to the 13th National Assembly being judged as the 'most gender sensitive' and 'gender responsive' by the legislative watch groups including Fair and Free Election Network (FAFEN) and the Aurat Foundation.

Historically, women have played a major role in the struggle for Pakistan supported under the leadership of the father of the Nation, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who was a strong believer in the power of women and took them along, side by side, in all his endeavors and decision making. In Pakistan the women have been fortunate enough to have remained part of the legislative assemblies since their very existence.

Women have been part of the Parliament both through direct elections as well as through special reserved seats as provided by the Constitution of Pakistan. Constitutional measures to provide reserve seats were taken in light of deep rooted cultural mind-sets that continued to exclude and dis-empower women, socially, politically, and economically.

With a 22% presence in the 12th National Assembly (2002 – 2007), and despite emerging as strength through their pro-active participation in the Business of the House, there was a sense of dissatisfaction amongst women members. In the 13th National Assembly, with a woman Speaker in placed a sense of confidence in the female leadership within the fraternity of women parliamentarians increased. 'Women's voices got stronger with the presence of a woman Speaker.

Immediately after assuming her office, Speaker Fehmida Mirza, who was well aware of the issues and challenges of women parliamentarians, increased opportunities for women MNAs to establish themselves in their parliamentary legislative, representative and oversight roles. Equal prospects in

contributing to the legislative business were ensured and women MNAs were appointed as chairpersons to the most crucial Standing Committees, including those of Defense and Finance. A deliberate effort to strengthen the role of women parliamentarians was made, in this process, the first ever Women's Parliamentary Caucus (WPC) in the parliamentary history of Pakistan, was established. The idea was to organize a 'critical mass' of women parliamentarians in order to facilitate them in playing a key role in raising issues of critical importance and legislating on them.

Within a few months of being in office, the Speaker brought women members of the national assembly together and built consensus to form the Caucus. Her non-partisan conduct enabled her to win the confidence of women Members National Assembly (MNAs) across the board. This led to the convening of the first meeting of all women parliamentarians by the Speaker on October 20, 2008. The meeting, attended by 58 women MNAs had a one point agenda which was to establish a Women's Parliamentary Caucus. Two objectives were put to the women parliamentarians:

1. To attain a broad based consensus amongst all women members of the parliament on an agreed agenda for women's socio-economic and political development; and
2. To enable women parliamentarians to work beyond and above party lines for advancing the women empowerment agenda of Pakistan.

In the meeting, the Speaker drew the attention of the participants towards the struggle and ideals of three legendary women leaders of Pakistan: Maadr-e-Millat Mohtrama Fatima Jinnah, a great woman leader and sister cum close confidant of the Quaid -e- Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. She was also the first woman Presidential candidate in Pakistan; Begum Rana Liaqat Ali, an active social and political woman leader who was also the first woman provincial Governor of Pakistan and a strong ally of the Quaid; and Mohtrama Benazir Bhutto Shaheed, one of the most charismatic woman leaders and the first woman Prime Minister of Pakistan. Dr Fehmida Mirza, while seeking the consensus for establishing this forum, asked the women parliamentarians to draw inspiration from these role models and to derive strength from each other as a collective voice. The women MNAs were convinced and agreed to endorse the Speaker's proposal for constituting a Women's Parliamentary Caucus. The meeting concluded on a consensus vote of the members authorizing the Speaker to take the lead and necessary steps to formulate the Caucus.

A Steering Committee was constituted by the Speaker to draft the by-laws of the proposed Caucus. The Rules were vetted by legal experts and approved by the Members. On November 21, 2008 the Speaker called the first formal meeting of Women MNAs in which a Resolution to formally launch the first Women's Parliamentary Caucus (WPC) was passed under the Patron ship of the Speaker. MNA Dr. Nafisa Shah was elected as the Secretary of the Caucus to work under the direct supervision of the Patron and in close coordination and cooperation with the Caucus members. The Working Council consisted of the women MNAs from all parliamentary parties in the House.

The Caucus initially comprised of women Members of the National Assembly. After the Senate election in March of 2009, the membership of WPC was also extended to the 17 newly elected women Senators. Since then, the WPC became truly representative of both the Houses of the National Parliament. On August 13, 2009, a seal of approval was received by the WPC from the National Assembly which passed a unanimous Resolution recognizing and congratulating the Speaker on its formation.

Objectives of the WPC:-

The WPC primarily intended to provide a united platform for women parliamentarians to share and discuss their challenges as parliamentarians; to raise a collective voice on issues of concern, to prioritize women's agendas, and to come together to play a key role in supporting and monitoring the implementation of gender responsive legislation.

The resolution was unanimously passed by the women Members of the National Assembly on 21st November, 2008, and established the WPC's mandate as follows:

- 1) To attain a broad-based consensus among all women members of the Parliament on an agreed agenda for women development, empowerment and emancipation, enabling them to work beyond and above party lines for the uplift of the women of Pakistan.
- 2) To enhance the role of women parliamentarians in proposing gender sensitive legislation, reviewing and amending discriminatory laws and policies;
- 3) Ensure effective parliamentary oversight of implementation of international and regional commitments, national policies and programmes;
- 4) Facilitate exchange of views and information sharing on critical areas of concern, particularly social discriminatory practices, both nationally and internationally;

- 5) Liaise and build working relationship with key state and civil society institutions and organizations in order to contribute towards national and international efforts for promoting women's rights, empowerment and gender equality;
- 6) Review Rules, procedures and processes in order to ensure women's continued access to, and participation, in the Parliament;
- 7) To jointly work for the achievement of the social indicators so that the Millennium Development Goals are within reach;
- 8) To connect with women parliamentarians across the globe by forming and strengthening alliances; (Caucus, n.d.)

The women parliamentary caucus of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was established soon after the oath taking ceremony of new incumbents of the provincial assembly in 2013. The main objective of this caucus is to strengthen the voice of women legislatures in the Assembly. This caucus provided a platform to the women parliamentarians to struggle collectively for their own rights and also to bring more business pertaining to women issues in the assembly debate. Keeping this in view, the researcher tested the parliamentarians with questions on the existence, establishment, implications, and importance of Women Parliamentary Caucus in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly and to harness its role in harmonizing the efforts for effective legislation on women and child issues. The parliamentarians endorsed the website of women parliamentary caucus for details on its establishment, objectives, structure, functioning and challenges.

Initially, Mst. Anisa Zeb Tahirkheli being the senior and experienced among women legislators was requested to take charge as Chairperson while Uzma Khan volunteered as General Secretary of the Women Caucus. Later on when Mst. Anisa Zeb took oath as Minister, so it was realized that for efficient working of the women caucus, its cabinet positions requires full time members; subsequently elections were held for these five cabinet positions on 29th March 2016, though four members were elected in through a unanimous decision of the members while a tough competition was observed for the position of Secretary information between Amna Sardar and Zareen Zia, in which later was elected. The current structure of the women parliamentary caucus cabinet is given below in table.

WPC Cabinet	
Name	WPC Designation
Dr. Mehr Taj Roghani (Deputy Speaker)	Chief Patron
WPC Cabinet Members	
Mst. Meraj Hamayun Khan (MPA)	Chairperson
Mst. Bibi Fauzia (MPA)	Vice Chairperson
Mst. Amina Sardar (MPA)	Vice Chairperson
Mst. Uzma Khan (MPA)	General Secretary
Mst. Romana Jalil (MPA)	Joint General Secretary
Mst. Zareen Zia (MPA)	Information Secretary
Mst. Ayesha Naeem (MPA)	Finance Secretary
General Body Members:	22 (MPAs)

7. Rationale of the Study

Men and women are integral part of a society. Politics of the Pakistan is considered male- oriented, male-dominated and female political participation is accepted but with certain limitations. The most important phenomena's that justifies the participation and role of women lawmakers in parliament and legislation are given below:

- Equality and Justice

Men and women both are important wheels of life, besides women constitute approximately 52% of the world population but yet women are debarred from provision of equal rights and justice are considered as marginalized part of the society. Due to stereotype and their perceived role in society even the women law makers in the legislative assemblies often face challenges and barriers to effectively play their role.

- Experience and Perception

Women's different perception adds unique experience to the realm of politics. Their life experiences are different from men's and similarly their perceptions on issues can also be different. This serves to enhance the quality of debate while broaden and balance policy perceptions on wide range of issues of importance. Through which a bigger and broader mix of ideas can be seen.

- Interest and Concerns

The interests and concerns vary from men to women and even conflicting at times, that establishes a fact that women should be an important part of legislative institutions to articulate their interests and to voice their concerns in a befitting manner. A core idea in this strand of research is that there are certain interests and concerns that arise from women's experiences and that these will be inadequately addressed in a politics that is dominated by men. It is commonly argued that societies will not achieve equality between women and men by simply disregarding gender-related differences.

- Electoral Systems

Women's participation in legislative and decision-making bodies is directly impacted by the electoral system. It is observed that countries where the system of proportional representation is adopted; resulted in highest women representation. The proportional system is considered as bonus for the political parties, as it provides support to pursue their manifesto and play a due role in the decision making with fair majority. There is a need for consideration of other aspects of the electoral system that can substantiate women's representation such as to keep minimum threshold level for women

representation in politics, support from male counterparts in women political campaign, educating women politicians regarding their rights and privileges, encourage women representation beyond quota system only and providing an opportunity for leading roles in politics.

- Critical Mass Theory

According to this theory women lawmakers when attain certain numbers that can affect and influence the policy, they represent women interest in better manners by attaining tangible targets. The parliamentary caucus of women is a good example as it reflects solidarity while presenting the interests and issues related to women. It is observed that due to patriarchal mindset often faces challenges to play their role as effective law makers and if these barriers are addressed through policy shift and attitudinal change women law makers can play a very effective role and influence public policy.

Irrespective of the percentage of women in parliament, women in many countries seem to have joined forces in some type of formal or informal caucus to influence government decisions or push for legislation on gender equality or women's issues. In this aspect, quotas provide important means to bring parliamentarians together across political party lines to share information, discuss policy issues, channel common interests and concerns, and engage with civil society. The informal, extra-parliamentary women's caucuses and lobby groups seem to be effective in the advancement of gender equality and in providing support for women parliamentarians in underrepresented countries. The findings of this research strongly support the critical mass theory which says that the following are the challenges that are affecting the legislation and effectiveness of women lawmakers in legislative bodies:

- The low numbers of women parliamentarians in most parliaments render women caucuses too small an organ to enact significant change.
- The inherent difficulty in working across party lines and the pervasive presence of party loyalties make it hard to find common ground on which to join forces.
- The organizational aspect, in particular the leadership issue and the additional workload that comes with establishing or joining a women's caucus.

8. Research Methodology

This study employs a mixed method approach in order to examine, analyze and understand challenges to women parliamentarians in KP. The study involves both quantitative and qualitative methods. The mixed method approach has been accepted as being superior to a single method design because the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods deepens the understanding of processes, attitudes, and motives. The mixed method approach also capitalizes on the strengths of quantitative and qualitative methods while offsetting their different weaknesses.

For precision and authentication, the research study was employed in three different phases given:

- **Phase I: Preparation**
- **Phase II: Data Collection, Analysis and compilation**
- **Phase III: Reporting**

Each of the phases is detailed as:

1. Phase I: Preparation

During this phase an inception study has been conducted through desk review to prepare the primary data collection tool.

Data Collection Tool

Keeping in view the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the study, semi-structured questionnaire was prepared for data collection. The questionnaire was used to collect data that was comprised of open and close ended question. The information's derived from this source were analyzed as first-hand information and were used as primary data source to develop the report.

Afterwards, situational analysis sources have been identified. For this purpose, a deep research has been conducted to collect as many possible sources of information for desk review i.e. reports, articles, journals and existing researches in this context for analyzing the existing situation in KP to support the data collection and findings. This information served as secondary data for the research on which some of the analysis in the report are built, but majorly the report reflects the first-hand information from the respondent directly as a primary source of data collection.

Data Sampling and Sample Size

In study convenient sampling technique with random sampling is used to approach to respondents for gathering and collecting the data. 15 women current women parliamentarians' seven of which are from government benches and eight are from the opposition and then former women parliamentarians were interviewed to gather the information. While eight male parliamentarians including four current and four former parliamentarians were interviewed to have their perceptions and understanding on the role and challenges of women parliamentarians in KP assembly.

2. Phase II: Data Collection, Analysis and compilation

Data Collection:

In second phase, the pre-testing of the questionnaire was conducted to address the shortcomings of the data collection tool. For this research the data has been collected from two types of sources i.e primary and secondary described as follows:

Primary Data Collection:

For the purpose of primary data collection, the data tool developed has been used for conducting KIIs with the identified and selected sample.

The Primary data has been collected in two phases as per divided groups, as the KII were conducted with Ex-Parliamentarians initially and then the Current-Parliamentarians were approached for the purpose.

Secondary Data Collection:

For situational analysis of the ground realities through other data sources an extensive desk review has been carried out to analyze the identified sources of secondary data.

Data Compilation and Analysis:

After data collection, the close ended question was compiled and analyzed through statistical program SPSS scientifically for generating the final report. Though, the qualitative data has been analyzed in comparison with the secondary data derived from the existing reports, articles, journals and researches.

3. Phase III: Reporting

The analysis derived from the collected data from both the primary and secondary sources are narrated in this report. The information has been divided into situational analysis, challenges and way forward to segregate the data.

8.1 Ethical Consideration

Ethical considerations have remained an important aspect of the research projects. At one level, ethical considerations involved in gaining informed consent from the research participants. Keeping in view the nature of study explores, it was assured to the participants that their participation would not expose them to any risk. Moreover, they were also informed that their participation would need to be voluntary and that complete confidentiality would be observed by using pseudonyms if required. Consequently, the knowledge or information they shared has been kept anonymous. Within this context the participants were provided with full information regarding their participation in the study.

9. Demographic Information of the Respondents:

1. Marital Status of Women Law Makers of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

In this research study, twenty five (25) women lawmakers and Eight (8) male lawmakers were interviewed and the data about the marital status of female law makers is given below in the table:

Marital Status	Current MPA's	% age	Ex- MPA's	% age	Total	Total % age
Single	4	27%	2	20%	6	24%
Married	11	73%	8	80%	19	76%
Total	15		10		25	

The above table shows that the 76% of women law makers interviewed were married while 24% were single. To See the impact of marital status, this data will be further be correlated to their behavior and performance in the business of assembly.

2. Education

Ignored Education plays a critical role in effective legislation . It is assumed that law makers with better education performs well and contributes more into the legislative business of the assembly. Out of the interviewed law makers for this research all the women law maker have done graduation while some have done post-graduation and dual degrees. The table below shows the status of education of women law makers of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa who were interviewed for this research:

Education Level	Current MPA's	% age	Ex-MPA's	% age	Total	Total % age
Graduation	6	40%	5	50%	6	45%
PostGraduation	9	60%	5	50%	19	55%
Total	15		10		25	

The table shows that in the current batch of parliament (2013-18) has experienced high percentage of post graduated women law makers who have capacity to contribute in the democratic and political process.

3. Number of Women Representative of Party

Women in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa assembly are selected on the basis reserved seat quota and it is learned that till now, none of the parliamentarians of all batches have ever contested on general election seat. The details of the current and previous two batches of women representative of each party in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly are given below in the table:

No. of Women Representatives in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa		
Party Name	Current Batch 2013-2018	Batch of 2008-2013
PTI	11	0
JUI	3	3
PML(N)	3	1
QWP	2	1
JI	1	0
ANP	1	8
PPP	1	4
PML(Q)	0	1
Others	0	4
Total Seats	22	22

The above table shows the number and percentage of women representation of each party in the parliament. PTI is leading the table with eleven (11), JUI and PML (N) with three (3) each, QWP with two (2), JI, ANP, and PPP with one (1) each women reserved seat.

4. Mode of Election to the Parliament

There are two modes of election for women to parliament i.e. to contest general election or to elect on reserve seat quota. The percentage of women who contested on general seat is very small as compared to men in Pakistan. The reasons for not contesting the general election are various which are discussed in detail this research.

The women parliamentarians were inquired on the mode of selection/election to parliament, in response to which they informed that all the current and ex-parliamentarians were elected on reserved seat of party and that they have never contested on general seats. The women parliamentarians of the KP assembly identified the following as a key barriers in contesting the elections on general seats i.e. lack of financial resources, lack of family support, socio-culture issues, inability to run a campaign, lack of political party support, flawed electoral system, lack of education and awareness, non-serious attitude of men counterparts and limited role in decision making and legislation.

10. Literature Review

According to the research report by SFCG (Search For Common Grounds) published 2012 in Asia, women's participation and representation is an issue that is much discussed and examined by students, researchers and policy makers. It is interesting to analyze how women (of different ages and from diverse backgrounds such as different ethnicities, socio-economic statuses, religions and nationalities) strive for women's participation and representation in politics and for participation in the decision-making processes in their country.

Under the Constitution, Article 25, both men and women have equality of citizenship without any discrimination on the basis of sex. Article 27 further safeguards against discrimination in services on the basis of race, religion, caste, sex, residence or place of birth. The Constitution also allows for affirmative action for women by the State. Article 34 emphasizes on the full participation of women in all spheres of national life. Whereas, article 32 of the Constitution promotes local government institutions composed of elected representatives with special representation to peasants, workers and women.

The history of politics and privileges for women in Pakistan has been checkered because the political empowerment for them has been either (a) inherited – belonging to apolitical family (b) acquired – having struggled as political activist (c) grabbed – being promoted and/or part of a vested group like military and/or (d) legally dished out through reservation mechanism. Role of women in politics cannot be understood without drawing a reference to our constitutional and electoral developments. The 1935 Government of India Act was the interim Constitution of Pakistan which had reserved seats for women on the principle of female suffrage. The first Constituent Assembly had only two women representatives and in 1954 no women was elected.

The Constitution of 1956 maintained female suffrage and had 15 women's reserved seats. The Constitution of 1956 was abolished in 1958. The Constitution of 1962 abolished female suffrage and introduced reservation of seats for women i.e., 8 in the national assembly and 5 in each provincial assembly. The Constitution Committee of 1972 had three women members. The Constitution of 1973 maintained reservation to 10 seats for women at national level and 5 in each provincial assembly that lapsed in 1988. Between 1988 and 2002, women's representation in assemblies was reduced to a negligible 3-4 seats who could manage an open seat with the support of their strong political house hold. In 2002, electoral reforms increased reserved seats to 60 at national and provincial level and 17 in Senate, which is maintained to date. Women's presence in mainstream politics remained weak but reservation maintained their political existence. Pakistan was the first country in the Islamic world to have a female Prime Minister and a Speaker to National Assembly.

In March 2000, the Government of Pakistan issued the Local Governance Ordinance (LGO) to initiate decentralization of power from national to local government. A thirty three (33) per cent quota for women at the District, Tehsil and Union councils was adopted, resulting in an unprecedented number of almost 40,000 women councilors in Pakistan. With the devolution process, this level of government was expected to have the most impact on people's lives and offered the greatest hope for social change. The basic question was how women could use this critical mass to affect public policy, particularly policies affecting gender issues especially related to poverty reduction, the biggest challenge in Pakistan and mainstream themselves in political arena. The local government is under suspension since 2010 and respective provincial assemblies are in the process of finalizing the provincial laws which will be the basis for the next local government elections. The level of reservation for women is expected to be maintained at 33%, however, the size of the Union Council may be reduced.

In Pakistan's political history, many events have led to change in its democratic discourses for better or worse; one of them was the military coup of October 1999, which may have been detrimental for the democratic journey of Pakistan, but proved to be a blessing in disguise for women in Pakistan. Pakistan ratified CEDAW and formally endorsed Platform of Actions, adopted at the 4th World Conference for Women in Beijing in 1995. The GOP's national commitments are stated through its National Plan of Action (NPA) for women launched in 1999, which includes promoting women's political empowerment. Building on Pakistan's international commitment and decades long efforts of the civil society for empowerment of women, the National Commission on Status of Women (NCSW) was established in 2000. The National Policy for the Development and Empowerment of Women (NPDEW) launched in 2002, elaborated on the National Plan of Action and focuses on the empowerment of Pakistani women, building on Articles 25 and 37 of the Constitution. The Gender Reform Action Plan (GRAP) was initiated in 2002 to translate international commitments into national responses. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) was also signed by the GOP in 2010. (Hali, 2013)

A research, "Gender and governance issues in local government" by Mc Carthy and Sultana was conducted in 2004 to explore the possible hindrance in the women political participation in Pakistan. Domestic violence and other forms of violence are flourishing in families, society and also in the state as a means of controlling women. The legal rights of women are curtailed by the introduction of the sharia law and the Muslim family law, which bestow unequal rights upon men and women in matters regarding inheritance, marriage, guardianship of children, etc. Their subordinate social and legal status and domination by men in the family, society and state obstruct their participation in public life. Hence the patriarchal mind-set is considered to be a key issue in limiting the women political participation in Pakistan. (F McCarthy, 2004)

According to a study, *Women's Political Participation: Issues and Challenges* published in 2005 despite Pakistan's strong commitment to international laws and conventions and domestic legal cover on women empowerment and gender equality there are certain elements that are impeding the women role in politics and legislation. The study suggests that these barriers are based on ideological, political, socio-cultural and economic aspects of life. The study further suggested that the practicability of women empowerment and gender equality laws depends on the will of the influential electoral system. Some important factors which hinder the women political participation are Ideological factors, political factors, socio-cultural factors; economic factors besides these lacks of capital and strategy for women political participation are also in the same regard.

A research study *Obstacles to women's participation in Parliament, In Women in parliament: Beyond numbers* by the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, IDEA investigated the limitations on women political participation and divided these limitations into three broader categories. The first is political such as the masculine model of politics, lack of party support, cooperation with women's organizations and electoral system; the second is ideological and psychological for example traditional roles, lack of confidence, the perception of politics as "dirty" and the role of mass-media; and the last one socioeconomic obstacles which include feminization of poverty and unemployment, the dual burden and lastly, education and training. (Bari, 2005)

UNDP conducted a study named *Gender and society* in 2008 to find out the difference between the presentation of women and actual outcome of that particular representation. This study suggested that gender in politics has two sides and although separate, it is associated with each other. One is women's representation and the other is concern for women's issues. Representation increases the likelihood for considering women's issues as well as brings in gender perspective; however, representation on its own cannot guarantee the desired outcome. This study concludes that steps are being taken to increase the representation of the women both at national and international level still their issues are not being addressed adequately. (Sumbadze, 2008)

National Commission on the Status of Women, in its annual report '*Gender Review of Political Framework for Women Political Participation, 2010* states that allocating women a 17 % quota on reserved seats is definitely an important development, but not without basic flaws. The formula of reserved seats is based on the election results i.e. the most successful party in the election would get the highest number of seats, which makes the women's reserved seats dependent on the winning and losing of male members of political parties in the general elections. The present system is also criticized for nepotism in granting tickets on reserved seats while ignoring committed women workers. (NCSW, 2010)

In year 2009 a study Women in Parliament in Pakistan: Problems and Potential Solutions was conducted by Saira Bano to observe the situation of women in Parliament in Pakistan. The focus of this research was on the role of Pakistani women in the political arena. Throughout the history of Pakistan, the 2002 and present parliament has shown the maximum representation of women. The study observed how this numerical strength in parliament has contributed to the empowerment of Pakistani women. The study concluded that in relative terms, the status of women has improved in contemporary Pakistani society with the passage of time, but the ideal of women's empowerment is still a distant dream. (Bano, 2009)

A briefing paper on Political Participation of women in Pakistan by M. Ali Awan supported by Frankfurter Globaler Islam (FGI) published in 2016 focuses on the historical development and contemporary situation, the article highlights social hurdles that have presented challenges for women to participate in the political system. Political participation rests not only on being able to get elected to the legislative assembly. It also encompasses women's roles as voters, as members of a political party, and other aspects of participation in the political process, structure, and system. Analysis along these dimensions can produce some fruitful recommendations for the fuller political participation of women in the future. (Awan, 2016)

A study on female political participation in South Asia conducted in 2015 reflects the male's perception about female political participation and study illustrates that a mindset with religious, socio-cultural and patriarchal factors are the main obstacles in the progress and achievements of women in politics and legislative body. It was suggested in the study that findings of the research could be an effective tool for increasing productivity of women in the political arena, if considered at national level for policy making. (Arfan Latif, 2015)

The study "Gender and local governance in Pakistan: Representation vs. participation 2009 reflects that the policy of reserved seats quota has increased the numerical strength of women in legislative bodies but yet not fruitful in narrowing the gender gap as promised in international laws and agreements by Government of Pakistan. The study pointed out that reserved seats quota may not be sufficient for removal of hurdles in the way of women's political career, but will be helpful for their active participation in politics and will provide a platform for potential women politicians to act as leaders and as a role model for other women. The Government needs to adopt such policies that ensure the women participation in politics ultimately to play role in legislations for provision of basic rights of education, health, justice, shelter, foods etc. to all the women in a society. (Jadoon, 2009)

According to the study "Gender Quota and Women's Descriptive Representation in Pakistan 2016 Women's presence in legislative bodies is productive for better human resource development, curbing poverty alleviation and promoting good governance. The author of the study endorsed Pakistan determined efforts by provision of 17% representation to women in reserved seat quota system. But they lamented that women are incompatible to politics as compared to men due to socio-cultural norms and male supremacy in political arena. These socio-cultural norms hinder their legislative role in the Government. The study observed that women's inactive role in legislation has grave implications for gender disparity, human resource development and poverty alleviation and recommended that policies of electoral system needs to be reviewed for better facilitation and participation of women in politics and legislative bodies. (Roofi, 2016)

The research 'Women in State Legislatures and State Legislative conducted in 2004 reflects that in countries where women exists in legislative bodies, experienced good standard of living, better health and education system and improved infrastructure. Similarly, a research study concluded that the best feature of democracy is the presence of women in legislative bodies as it results in tangible gains and better sustenance for good governance. (Anne Marie Cammisa, 2004)

According to the study by UNICEF 'Women and Children: The Double Dividend of Gender Equality 2006, the gender of legislators clearly affects their policy priorities, as the increase in strength of women in legislative body, supports points to a corollary increase in policy-making that emphasizes the priorities of families, women, and ethnic and racial minorities. Women must be actively engaged in governance to represent the concerns of women and other marginalized voters, and to suggest policy alternatives. (Moccia, 2012)

A study on examination gender styles in legislative committees conducted in 2001 found that women's leadership and conflict resolution styles embody democratic ideals. The study also concluded that women's have certain critical skills which is proven from their working across the party lines, which is considered to be an important skill for women's caucus. These leadership skills of women tend to work in a less hierarchical, more participatory and more cooperative manner than their male counterparts. (Cindy Simon, 2018)

According to the study Strengthening Women's Roles in Parliaments and Parliamentary Affairs 2012, women's caucuses amplify women's voices. By uniting in a formal caucus, women are more likely to successfully shape the parliamentary agenda. By sharing resources such as staff time, training materials and research budgets, women caucus members can more efficiently and strategically advance their

agendas. Such caucuses not only advance women's policy priorities, they provide an important model of democratic governance and collaborative policy-making, particularly in post-conflict or highly polarized environments. (Markham, 2012)

The study 'Equality in Politics: A Survey of Men and Women in Parliaments conducted in 2008 found that establishing and maintaining women's caucuses is not free from any kind of challenges. More often in political systems, women who are elected reserved seat or directly through party platform feel bound to their party leadership and it is believed that if they run against party lines, so they may thus risk their seats in future elections. (Ballington, 2008)

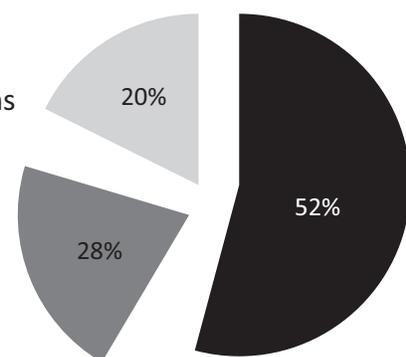
11. Challenges Identified

11.1 Capacity Building Programs For Political Workers And Parliamentarians

The interviewers were asked question about availability of capacity building programs at party, parliament or government level for the new incumbents of parliament, besides were asked that how would you recommend its effectiveness and importance for better understanding and practice of the rule of business of the parliament? Fifty two percent of the lawmakers reported that there is no such capacity building program available at party or government level although there are some organizations i.e. National Democratic Institute (NDI), International Republic Institute (IRI), and United States Agency for International Development (USAID) who are sponsoring and providing trainings to parliamentarians in understanding of the political terms, rule of business of parliament, drafting and formulating of policies and legislation etc. Twenty eight percent of the respondents informed that Pakistan Parliamentary Institute is established by federal government for capacity building of parliamentarians from all over Pakistan but they mentioned that this institute is not well functional and such institute should be established in all provinces of Pakistan. Twenty percent of the parliamentarians mentioned that in their parties there are a kind of programs in which the new party's workers are educated about party constitution, rule of businesses and other related customs. Besides, the only source they revealed is that the senior experienced legislators in the parties and in parliament do provide guidance but yet it cannot be considered a right solution. Furthermore, they recognized the effectiveness and importance of Capacity Building Programs for parliamentarians.

One of the parliamentarian while giving recommendations said "Government should establish an organization or department with allocation of resources that must specifically meant for capacity building of parliamentarians to better understand the affairs of parliament and for their due role to play in legislation, to cater the needs of public and ultimately to ensure good governance as the basic aim of democracy.

- No Capacity Building Program at Party or Govt. Level
- Available at Federal Govt. Level but Not at Provincial level
- Available at Party Level, Rely on Senior Experience Politicians



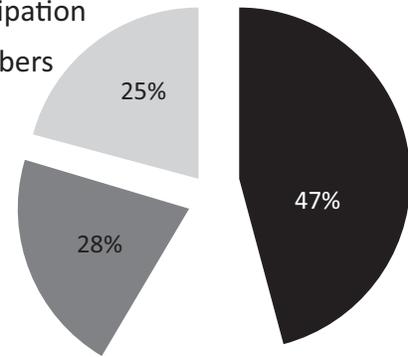
11.2 Lack Of Human And Funding Resources:

The women parliamentarians were asked about the impediments to the active functioning of Women Parliamentary Caucus wherein 70% of the parliamentarians mentioned that low number of representation, lack of human resources for the affairs of caucus and lack of separate budgetary allocation to run the business of caucus it has to renders women caucus role in effective legislation for women and child issues. One of the respondents while discussing about the performance of WPC mentioned "the women parliamentary caucus depends on the budget of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa assembly for day to day expenditures. And the low budgetary allocation resists caucus to perform." They highlighted that despite of insufficient resources, the work of WPC is worth appreciating as it has impacted the legislation on women pro laws. Currently, WPC has launched "Zama Awaz Helpline Project" for women aimed at providing them a platform to take their issues directly to the legislature and to get help of the province's' most powerful forum. This project was launched by WPC with support of Pak Women and USAID. This project is considered as a milestone achievement of WPC in KP. They recommended that for better functioning of WPC government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa should allocate separate budget and capacitate the Secretariat of WPC with required human resources.

11.3 Caucus Members Lack of Interest in Active Participation

The respondents were asked about the role of caucus members and their active participation in the business, strengthening of WPC, resultantly 46% of the respondents mentioned that most of the members do not actively participate in the proceedings of caucus, while added that the reasons behind their lack of interest are their unwillingness to go across party lines, lack of will power for active participation and lack of incentives. 30% of the respondents remarked that the member on executive positions of the caucus cabinet enjoys extra perks and privileges which is a reason for their regular involvement in the proceeding of caucus. 24% of the women lawmakers the due to the lack of facilities, perks and privileges the caucus members feel no charm to actively participate in caucus proceedings. One of the parliamentarians said that "Cabinet is the main body of every organization/network because it is the cabinet which gives you guidelines and your vision. Unfortunately, the WPC Cabinet has not been fully functional and the members are still unfamiliar with the concept of a Caucus and how to strengthen it. There is a lack of coordination among cabinet and other members. Successful results can be achieved if each MPA put her share in the Caucus activities and responsibilities and co-operates with other beyond their party line".

- Members do not actively participate
- Executive positions hold charm for regular and active participation
- Lack of incentives, perks and privileges hold interest of members



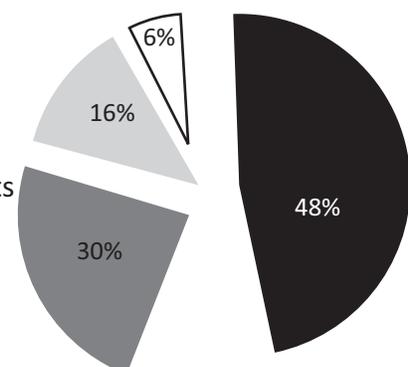
11.4 Problem of Working Against Party Lines:

The women legislators were asked "what political barriers inhibits the effective and efficient working of the women parliamentary caucus", subsequently forty eight percent (48%) among the women lawmakers revealed that in our socio-political environment, political party is the only gateway for women to successfully enter the domain of politics; hence once they are selected against reserved seats that makes them bound to work for the interest of the party and be loyal to the political party leadership and due this factor they are unable to work against the party leadership and constitution. Thirty percent (30%) of the respondents mentioned that working against party lines may risk losing their selection against reserved seat in future and may also be ousted from party.

One of the current parliamentarians while mentioning issue said "women lawmakers face a big challenge to work against party lines in such socio-political environment. We depend on our political parties for our nominations. Once we are elected, we have to follow our party agenda strictly. We can't go beyond it".

The sixteen percent of the parliamentarians revealed that working against party lines involves a risk of facing isolation in party and lack of support from colleagues, while six percent (6%) of the women legislators informed that they never face any such barrier in their political career from their counterparts for working on social, political and economic aspects of life in the interest and that they were allowed to work across party lines for important issues of public nature.

- Bound to Interest of Party and loyalty to party leadership
- Risk of losing reserved seat
- Risk of facing isolation and lack of support from counterparts
- Face no Problem in working across party lines

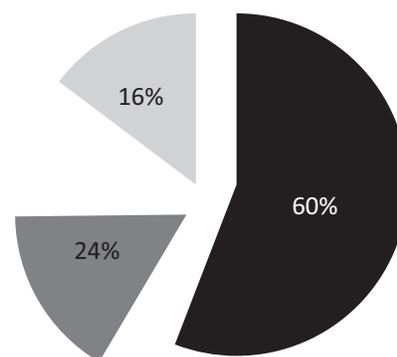


11.5 Lack of Gender Sensitivity Among Male Members Inside Assembly

The respondents were questioned that "how their male counterparts inside the assembly reacts to the gender based issues", interestingly sixty percent (60%) of the women legislators mentioned their male counterparts are very insensitive to gender based issues, they added that they never feel the pain of under represented part of the society. one of the female interviewer added "our male counterparts inside the parliament usually ignore discussion on topics related to women and child issues with remarks that it is wasting time of the house/assembly.

They think that such issues are not so important to be discussed on assembly floor and such issues shouldn't be included in the list of orders of the day of parliamentary session". Twenty four percent (24%) mentioned that most of their male counterparts consider gender based issues as secondary issue and it is evident with the fact that gender issues are always entertained as lowest on the agenda of the parliamentary session; which sometimes remained unentertained due to the unexpected closure of assembly session. Sixteen percent (16%) of the women lawmakers mentioned that their male counterparts are welcoming to gender based issues.

- Male legislators are very Insensitive to gender issues
- Male legislators consider gender issues as secondary
- Male legislators are sensitive



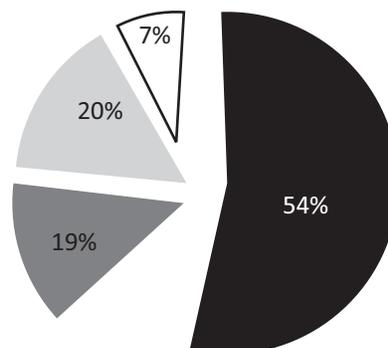
11.6 Over All Assembly Environment for Women Lawmakers

It is now a universal fact that parliament/assembly environment is a critical factor for the productive role of women legislators in legislation of interest to public and under represented class of society. Relevantly to the fact, in this research study respondents were asked that "how they rate the overall assembly environment for women lawmakers?", when analyzed it was recorded that fifty four percent (54%) of the respondents rated the overall environment of the assembly as hostile; nineteen percent (19%) rated it as very hostile; and twenty percent (20%) opted for neutral while seventeen percent (17%) graded it as friendly.

One of the ex-female parliamentarian said "we are not given opportunity to share our views. There is a time constraint problem and everyone want to avail opportunity to express and share their problem

therefore, we rarely get chance to speak up ad share our views on matter or issue. So while we are in parliament, but we have little space to raise voice for change".

- Hostile
- Very Hostile
- Neutral
- Friendly

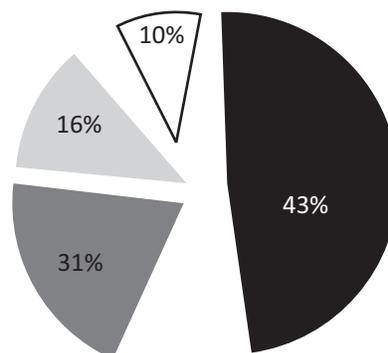


11.7 Support From Male Counterparts In Parliament:

When the women parliamentarians were inquired that "how they rate support from male counterparts in parliament", so it was observed that forty three percent (43%) of the respondents rated the support from male counterparts as very discouraging, thirty one percent (31%) graded as discouraging only while sixteen percent (16%) opted as neutral while ten percent (10%) rated as encouraging. Broadly, the above results indicate that support from male counterparts inside assembly is a more discouraging for the women parliamentarians which affects their performance as law makers. Women parliamentarians often receive resistance from male legislators not only from opposition parties but also from their own political parties who belief that women politics in the assembly should be limited to issue related to women and children.

One women law makers added "our male counterparts do not encourage us to move to the fore and play our due role. They always try to build hurdles in our progress. We are tolerated as long as we do not challenge our male colleagues".

- Very Discouraging
- Discouraging
- Neutral
- Encouraging



11.8 Discouraging Phrases from Male Counterparts:

The women lawmakers were queried about the kind of discouraging remarks they hear from male counterparts. To which that eighty one percent (81%) of the women parliamentarians documented that most of the time their male counterparts pass discouraging comments like that you are not elected member but selected, you have no constituency, women cannot run politics and they should sit and take care of their families and due to which they added that they feel that electing on reserve seat is a nightmare for them.

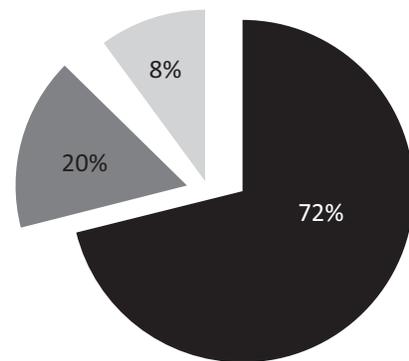
One of the interviewers while adding the effects of such remarks said “an unenthusiastic remark from our counterparts’ causes psychological harm to us. They don’t consider us to be their equals, but always try to make us to feel inferior. Discouraging comments and remarks about our private life, issues, character and ability are very common.”

Whereas nineteen percent (19%) of the women lawmakers submitted they were well respected by their male counterparts and had not countered any discouraging remarks from male parliamentarians.

11.9 Lack Of Facilities For Dependent Children's Of Women Parliamentarians:

Traditionally, it is a common notion that women's primary roles are to work as mothers or housewives and they are restricted to these roles; various research have evaluated the impact of woman primary responsibilities i.e. taking care of their families (dependents and infants children), on women lawmakers presence and performance in the absence of friendly working and tolerable parliamentary environment. Keeping this aspect in mind the women lawmakers were questioned on facilities for their dependent children's inside the parliament. It was documented by seventy two percent (72%) of the women lawmakers that the environment of assembly is not tolerable as the parliament lacks in facilities for dependent children's and due to which they cannot bring their dependents children's to the parliament. Twenty percent (20%) mentioned that the environment inside parliament is tolerable but they are personally not in favor of bringing their dependents to parliament, as the best place for them is home, daycare or schools. While, eight percent (8%) recognized that assembly environment is tolerable and they usually bring their children to parliaments. Although all the parliamentarians recommended that day care unit should be established in civil secretariat nearby parliament so whereby infants could be sustained during business of the assembly.

- Environment intolerable can't bring dependent children
- Tolerable but don't want bring dependent children
- Tolerable and bring dependent children



11.10 Socio-Cultural Impediments to Women Lawmakers

The respondents were asked interrogated on socio-cultural impediments to women lawmakers, wherein eighty four percent (84%) of the women lawmakers mentioned that it is cultural belief in our society that women are made-up to be led but not to lead and such stereotyped concepts about women create major obstacles; they added that public opinion about leadership inability of women and women lack of decisiveness are barriers that hampering the participation of women in politics. Sixteen percent (16%) of the lawmakers mentioned that due to strong political family background they faced no such socio-cultural impediments although endorsed the concept that the ultimate decision maker in our society is the men as in our society leadership is considered as masculine trait. Hence, the results above show that socio-cultural impediments hinder women's levels of representation and progress throughout the political career.

One of the ex-female parliamentarian said "Women in Pakistan have always been considered as second-class citizens because of socio-cultural, patriarchal norms, economic and legal obstacles. Although half of the Pakistani population consists of women folk but their political empowerment is not encouraging. It is a fact which must be recognized that any efforts or programs taken for the uplift of society would be futile without women's representation and empowerment."

11.11 Lack Of Family Members Support In Political Career

The family is considered as the main foundation of patriarchy, as this concept better explains the gender disparity. Literally patriarchy refers to society lead and dominated by men over women. The family is important factor in conserving this patriarchal lineage across generations. In many societies women are described as weak and incompetent of making decisions. The continuous reinforcement of these ideas that women are inferior to men in all aspects of life, makes it hard for the women's to pursue their political career as an active participant. Such patriarchal arrogances towards women still exist and are tough barriers for women entrance to politics.

One of the respondent added "it's very difficult to leave behind your family for your career. At every stage of life, we need to have back up. But unfortunately we are completely denied in our political career to any kind of support by our families. And in such case it's very difficult being a female to prolong your career bearing hostile behavior of your family."

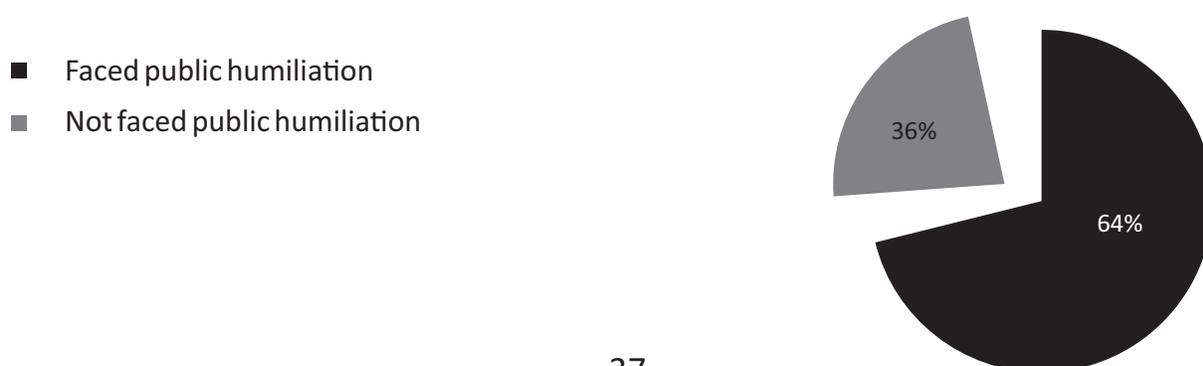
Keeping in view the above notions the respondents were questioned on family support in their political life; wherein sixty seven percent (67%) of the respondents mentioned that they are lacking family support and at the start of the career their family showed resistance to joining politics. Twenty seven percent (27%) revealed that due to their family political background they carry the support of their family in their political life. Whereas six percent(6%) of women lawmakers mentioned that they are fully supported by their family in their political discourse.



11.12 Public Humiliation Affected the Private Life

The respondents were inquired if ever they faced public humiliation which has affected their private life; reacting to question sixty four percent (64%) of the women lawmakers revealed that yes they have faced public humiliation in the form of people involvement in their personal matters and humiliating phrases for their presence in politics. Thirty six percent (36%) mentioned that they never faced any public humiliation which has affected their private life.

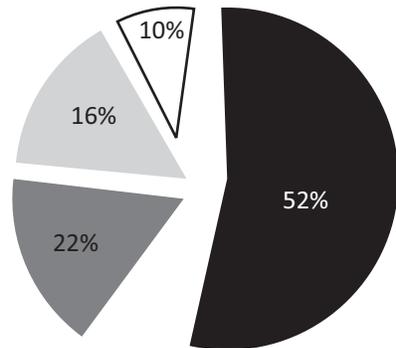
One of the female interviewers while commenting on it said "being a politician we do represent public and people have the right to know what we are up to do for country. But it doesn't mean that people have the right to access to our personal life that where we are going or what kinds of issues do we have in our private life. If our life is published to public, how can we enjoy our private peaceful life".



11.13 Problems in Balancing Political and Family Life

The women lawmakers were asked that how they rate the hardships in balancing political and family life; to which fifty two percent (52%) of the women parliamentarians rated the problems in balancing political and family life as affected, twenty two percent (22%) marked as very affected, sixteen percent (16%) opted for neutral while ten percent (10%) graded no problems in balancing political and family life.

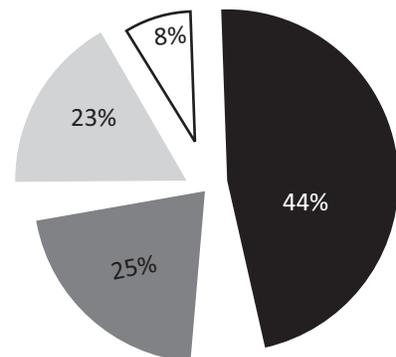
- Affected
- Very Affected
- Neutral
- No Problems



11.14 Resilience From Society

The women parliamentarians were interrogated for factors on resilience from society during their political career, commenting to which forty four percent (44%) of the respondents termed the general public more resilient, twenty five percent (25%) characterized the bureaucracy, gender insensitive people and religious factions as more resilient, twenty four percent (23%) pointed out that they face resilience from families, while eight percent (8%) revealed that they face resistance from their relatives.

- General Public
- Bureaucracy, Gender insensitivity & Religious factions
- family
- relatives



11.15 Challenges Inside The Business Of Parliament

Challenges to women not only exist on entry to politics, but they do exist for women lawmakers in the business of Assembly. Such challenges are more dreadful for women as they are debarred of their rights to play active role in legislation and decision making.

During the interview one of the female respondent mentioned "We have to face greater obstacles while incoming politics. Prejudice and cultural perceptions and norms about the role of women in our society, together with a lack of financial resources and support from family, are among the utmost hurdles to women entering politics".

Keeping in view, the researcher asked the respondents on the challenges they encountered during inside business of the parliament. Sixty four percent (64%) of the respondents pointed the discouraging behavior, lack of women leadership positions, gender insensitive environment and lack of work recognition as the major challenges inside the business of the parliament; twenty eight percent (28%) revealed that religious party's intolerance towards women lawmakers, low number of representation and women member lack of participation in assembly session as major challenge to women parliamentarians inside business of the parliament, while eight percent (8%) mentioned that women lack of knowledge and inexperience are major challenges to women inside the business of the parliament.

11.16 Challenges Due To Reserved Seat Selection:

The women lawmakers were inquired of the challenges they face due to reserved seat selection, wherein fifty six percent (56%) of the respondents termed that reserved seat means a proxy for stamping men dominance and quiet endorsement to their decisions. They also added that it would not be fair to even compare reserve seat with general seat; as selection on general seat offers you freedom and power to execute your planning and decisions besides also helps in career and personality development.

One of the current female parliamentarian during the interview commented "The quota system has increased the seats for us in assemblies but it is an impermanent measure to reach gender balance. It does not smooth the progress of the real political empowerment and the democratic participation of women. Women are used as mere fillers for statistics without real political and economic power. This system provides only figurative representation to women".

Ultimately there are more chances for better legislation and as per needs of the public. Thirty two percent (32%) of the lawmakers characterized the existence of reserve seat as a virtual seat and that it lacks parameter to gauge/measure women lawmakers 'performance. While twelve percent (12%) of the respondents believe that it all depends on the person in business, the more one is actively involved the more she will be able to perform. Though most of the respondent's view was that reserve seat is an impediment to women productivity inside parliament.

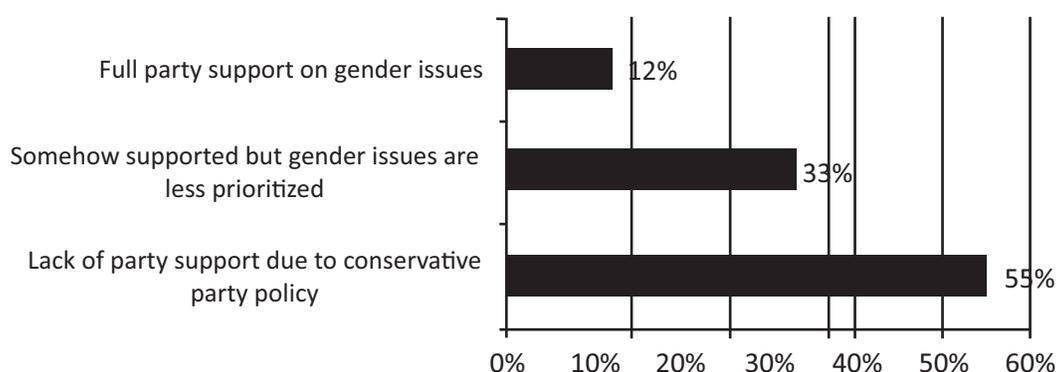
- Stamping men dominance
- Endorsement to men decisions
- Virtual Seat
- Lack of gauging parameters
- Self work interest



11.17 Lack Of Political Party Supports On Gender Issues

The women parliamentarians of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa were interrogated about political party support on gender issues, upon which fifty five percent (55%) revealed that women legislators lacks the support of their political parties on issues related to women or children's due to conservative nature of party policy and their party counterparts, thirty three percent (33%) mentioned that al-thought their party support women legislators on gender issues but usually these issues remain ignored or unaddressed because are less prioritize in party policy, while twelve percent (12%) hailed that they are fully supported by their political parties on gender based issues.

One of the respondents added “The most common way to reach elected office is through our political parties. We depend on our parties for our nomination, electoral support, and help during the election campaign, financial resources, and continued assistance after election but on most of gender related issues we lack their support due to male dominant, traditional and patriarchal norms.”



11.18 Reserves Seat Lacks In Demarcated Constituency

The women lawmakers were asked about the scope of reserve seat demarcation to specific area or constituency, wherein interestingly all the interviewed lawmakers responded that reserved seat lacks in demarcation to any specific area or constituency. They added that the lack of their scope of working boundaries is a worrisome and dreadful factor for their presence and also for representation of under represented segment of society in parliament. They further mentioned that due to lack of demarcated constituency, the women lawmakers cannot focus on their work and ultimately cannot address the public issues in true manner.

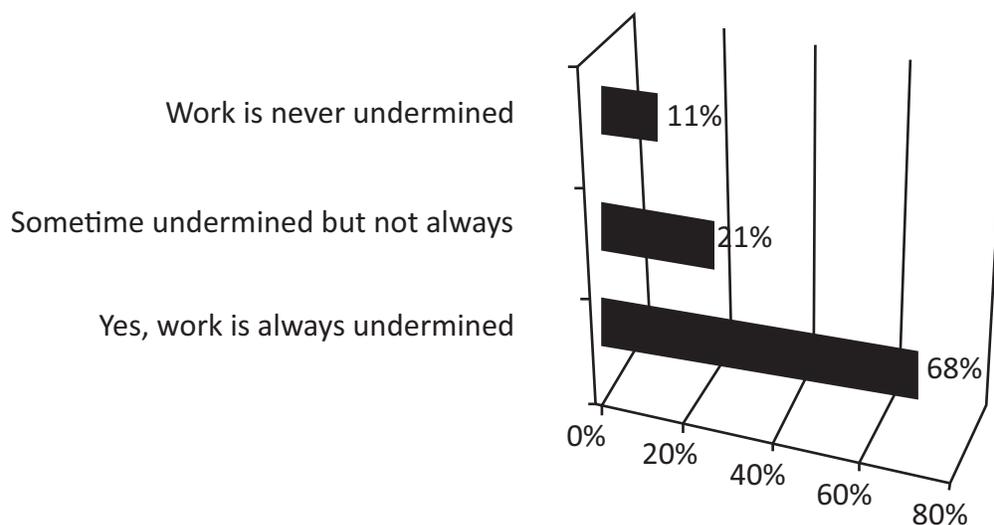
11.19 Major Challenges Affecting Productivity Inside Parliament

The women legislators of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa were inquired that what major challenges are affecting their productivity inside parliament, to which fifty four percent (54%) of the women legislators

pronounced that discouraging behavior, disagreement to opinion and harassment from male members are major challenges to their productivity inside parliament, twenty eight percent (28%) recognized that low number of women representation, work undermining and harassment from male members as major issues, twelve percent pointed out that beside other issues public and media humiliating statements are also major challenges, whereas six percent (6%) also recorded for verbal abuse as major challenge with all other issues.

11.20 Work Undermining By Male Counter Parts (Lack Of Work Recognition)

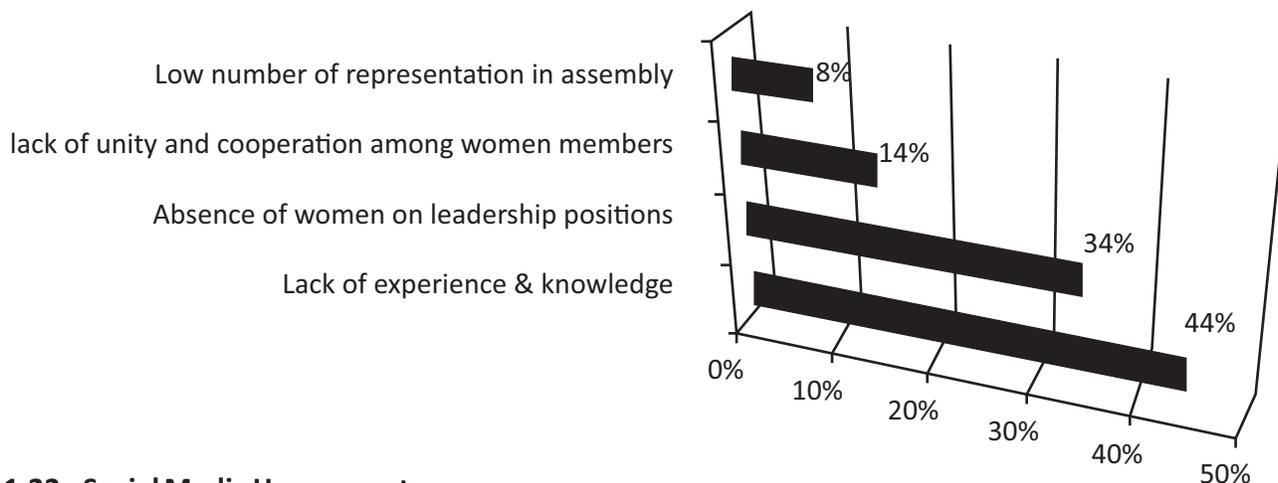
The respondents were asked that if ever their work is undermined by their male counterparts, upon which sixty eight percent (68 %) responded that their work is always undermined by male counterparts. They added that most of the time their male colleagues pass discouraging remarks and creating hurdles in the work try to undermine women legislators' performance. Twenty one percent (21%) of the respondents mentioned that sometime but not always, their work is undermined by their male counterparts due to the conflict of interest in work. Eleven percent (11%) remarked that they are never undermined by their male counterparts throughout their political career.



11.21 Incapable to influence the decisions

It is a common notion that politics is men business and women are incapable to deal with politics, based on this notion the women parliamentarians were inquired that why women are incapable to influence the decisions on legislation at party level and parliament level, reacting to which forty four percent (44%) of the respondents mentioned that due to lack of experience and knowledge the women parliamentarians are incapable to influence decisions, thirty four percent (34%) declared that absence of women on leadership positions is a limiting factor to influence of decisions; fourteen percent (14%)

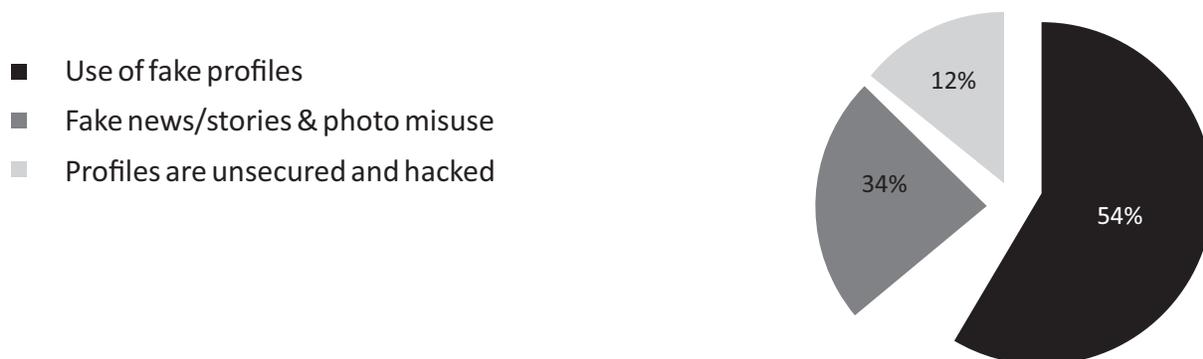
stated that lack of unity and cooperation among women parliamentarians makes them incapable to influence the decisions, while eight percent (8%) pointed out due to low number of women representation, these women parliamentarians are incapable to influence decision for legislation of interest to women and child based issues.



11.22 Social Media Harassment

The women lawmakers of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa assembly were asked that how their counterparts and the general public use the social media as a tool of harassment, upon which the sixty one percent (54%) responded that social media has 3-5 fake profiles on their names that are being used for character assassination of women lawmakers, twenty six (34%) mentioned that on social media fake news/stories associated to them are shared and their photos are misused, whereas twelve percent (12%) expressed that on social media their profiles are unsecured and as were usually hacked by hackers.

One of the ex-parliamentarian added "social media now a days is the number one place in which psychological violence particularly in the form of misogynistic remarks, humiliating images, mobbing, intimidation and threats are perpetrated against women parliamentarians by our male counterparts and other people. Our personal life is discussed and published over there. When in was in government I usually received threats by e-mail or social media. It was very difficult for me to prevent or stop such messages and even more complicated was to identify their sender".



11.23 Perception of Male Parliamentarians

Interaction with male Parliamentarians indicates that the patriarchal mindset present in the political party structures and assembly floor stops women from accessing and participating significantly in the political process. We found that discriminatory gender ideology is widespread and has resulted in systematic gender based discrimination for women political workers and activist.

The interviews recorded the common perception of male laws makers that women are unsuited to the nature of politics which needs money, power and affiliations. They were of the view that women are more appropriate to contribute in the fields of health and education rather than politics. According to the male law makers women have hard times in controlling their emotions which can be dangerous in the sensitive political scenario where patience is required. Our interaction with men law makers reflects that religious, economic and patriarchal mind-set are the main factors that impede women in the field of politics. Insecurity, lawlessness is one of the main excuses which are used by men to stop women from effective political participation. It was also observed that even the male law makers do not consider the political parties' environment friendly for women. If a woman is determined to enter arena of the politics she faces, structural hurdles, discouragement and even character assassination.

The law makers reflected that because most of the women are financially not independent therefore the males in their house decides if to allow them in the active politics and they by their own have not means to contest elections.

One male law maker said "Politics is about power and linkages, women who are not from the political families have little capacity to handle powerful positions. Women in assemblies have even little say in their homes how can they make themselves heard in assembly while they fail to do so in their homes"

One ex male law maker said "Even women councilors have no value at a grassroots level. She cannot handle even her male family members. She has no identity of her own, all her work is being handled by her brother; husband and fathers .women need to take control and be more assertive when they take positions of power which we hardly see in this society".

It was the general view of the male law makers that politics is more suitable for men where a show of power is essential while women most of the time fails to show strength. Male legislators believed that the MPAs have to run between the government structures to get the work done of their voters while we hardly see any women legislators going to police stations and katchehri and deal with SHO and patwari to get things sorted out for the people of the constituency and thus fail to muster support from the communities.

Religious texts, interpretations and beliefs also up as a very strong determinant in restricting the role of women in playing a leadership role in the politics while the male respondents said that despite all circumstances they appreciate that women are playing their role there is challenge that cannot socialize with opposite sex openly, because religion does not allow or permit them to do so.

One of the Ex law maker also quoted a Hadith from Holy prophet (PBUH) .The Holy Prophet PBUH said: "That Nation can never make its mark which lets itself be reined by the women (Bokhari, 4425).

Male law makers were of the view that because religion does not encourage women participating in politics this creates a genuine challenge for women in taking leading positions in the political sphere of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

The interviews with male legislators reflect that they male law makers have difficulties in accepting women in a superior role in politics especially if she is young women. One of the participants' male law makers also seriously questions the capacity and capability of women as law makers. The male law makers are of the view that male political workers and activists have to go through a long struggle before establishing his credibility and name in the political party structure while women from elite and political families easily grab the seats in the name of quota.

The interviews of male current and ex law makers reflected women law makers and political workers are vulnerable because of the gender blindness, prejudice and biases present in the society and also inherited in the political system and legislative bodies which continue to pose challenge to women's participation in politics.

The findings of research are based on the interviews. The results of the current research cannot be generalized to the larger population being the qualitative interviews with individual male law makers therefore it cannot be generalized to larger population. Also we have concluded that the answers of the respondents were not explanatory rather they mostly defended the male's behavior and attitude towards the female's political participation. Hence their responses cannot be treated as explaining the issues and hurdles faced by the female in politics.

12. Findings and Conclusion

The findings of the study are based on the data analysis. The findings of the current study can be very useful to enhance women political participation in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It will help government, political parties and civil society to understand what kind of policies could be initiated by to facilitate the women parliamentarians.

The findings of the current research show that patriarchy and tribal mindset is the main factor in restricting the women from participating freely in politics and specially at decision making positions also religion is often used as an excuse to discourage the woman leadership. It is observed that misinterpretation of religious texts creates cultural environment which makes a bar around a woman and her mobility which is often not easy to cross for women and making informed decision for her. Therefore there is need to motivate the religious leaders to interpret the religious guidance. The research also highlights the need and importance of awareness at grass root level to promote the women participation in the politics.

The research highlights a few over lapping factors that continue to contribute to women's subordination: the cultural legacy; the-class based socio-economic and political structure; urban/rural divide; the patriarchal practices; and the role of religion in the polity. Following are key challenges that are faced by women parliamentarians:

- Patriarchal structures and conservative attitudes that saturate the political life of women.
- Lack and insufficient party support.
- Limited social and financial support for women candidates by family and political parties.
- No or Limited access to political networks at community and party level.
- Lack of contact and cooperation with civil society, media and other groups.
- The absence of a well-developed education and training system to promote women's leadership and orient women in politics especially at the grassroots level.
- The nature of the electoral system which may or may not be favorable to women candidates.

The research establishes that defamation of women parliamentarians is a common phenomenon which is present in varying degrees at various level of the political structures. Devaluing the potential 60 of women is entrenched in the deep-seated patriarchal structure of society which inhibits women from acquiring power, and where the perpetration of such violence is a way to sequester women from the public space.

The progress and support to women parliamentarians is mostly based on the level of support she receives from her family. Women parliamentarians faces less violence where the family takes the decision for her to enter politics and her husband or fathers supports her and are willing to protect her.

The research reveals that that woman in politics, especially those who are first generation, face violence of multiple types, dimensions and at all levels. Gender discriminatory, autocratic, patriarchal and elitist mind-sets prevail within the family, political parties and the public. Forms of violence against women in politics such as character assassination, physical violence and even sexual harassment have been mentioned by women parliamentarians For sexual harassment, it seems that a rule of silence still prevails, as very few Respondents mentioned it, whereas it was clearly stated by participants that women takes the distress of not being allowed to make decisions, usually side-lined within the party, not given a ticket, portraying low winnability, facing political isolation for not following the line drawn by male party members/leaders.

The existing and ex women parliamentarians reflected that they have been manhandled during election campaigns and other visits to political constituencies. The research shows that in the given scenario all women in active politics are not in a position to clearly reject their roles as prescribed by patriarchy but the struggle of the women parliamentarians continues and they are trying to create conducive environments and safe spaces for women in the political arena. The factors that inhibit women from exercising their right to participate in the political process, shows that the paucity of laws and the laxity to implement these to discourage women from decision making process are responsible this. The research also brings out the interesting fact that there is hardly any case in the court by women parliamentarian which challenges discrimination against them. For the women parliamentarians the fear of violence in her private domain and political isolation in the public domain is a bitter reality; the unreported cases keep increasing the consequential violence, reinforcing the vicious cycle.

The research also reflects that there has been a significant and perhaps qualitative change as number of women has emerged into politics at the local level which is an irreversible process and will takes its discourse. Restricted mobility, perceived weak decision making power, family responsibilities and cultural as well as religious "norms" and practices were among the main issues that surfaced during discussions. The discussion with the male and female parliamentarians gives reflection that people in the low socio-economic slab are found more resistant and rigid to women's political activism and participation. Whereas, people representing middle and upper middle class mostly supports women's right to take active part in politics. While within the social classes, youth are proactively in favor of women participation as compared to other age groups.

The discussion with male law makers reflects that a significant majority of male politicians considers women participation in politics as deviation from social and religious norms. The social mindset is strongly influenced and restricted because of the convergence of feudal –cum-patriarchal interests which is of the view that prevailing environment in Pakistan is not conducive for women to participate in politics and that they that women are not safe outside the house.

Constitutionally and legally, women have been guaranteed equal rights to participate in politics but deep rooted gender inequality was perceived to be a significant factor inhibiting women politicians from equal political participation; Male political leaders were perceived to be supportive of women in terms of engaging them for party organization, mobilizing women voters and other such activities. However, male political leaders were reluctant to assign leadership role to women within the party hierarchy

Key informant interviews and literature review done for this research reveals that despite the increase in the percentage of women's seats, women's political participation and representation continues to be inadequate. The reasons can be assessed at different levels: at social level women and politics remain a profession or priority for political elite than common person. Second, women as voters are categorized as passive stakeholders having limited interest in politics and choice of vote being influenced by the family or the trends set by the males in their tribe. All the interviewees endorse that as political stakeholders; political parties as well maintain a step down and categorized space for women members and reach out to women voters. Women Wings and members are used for election canvassing and political campaigning yet their representation in party's decision-making forum is negligible.

Women politicians are confident about their competency in establishing connectivity with voters and running election campaign but according to them they lack support from families and political parties. According to women legislators they have reasonable level of knowledge and skills needed

for making legislation and policies while male legislators have negative views about women politicians' ability in this area;

Women politicians are considered to be weak in establishing political alliances with local influential leaders and less popular choice of voters as political leaders; Political family background is considered a significant determinant of women's ability to be effective in the politics. Family support especially from the male elders was reported to be an important factor in enhancing women's political participation.

The key areas and specific needs identified by the research includes the following:

- Improving the capacity and ability of women politicians to run for election.
- Support from the party and family members for active participation in party politics.
- Improved skills and communication strategy to form political alliances with local influential leaders.
- Support from print and electronic media to highlight the role of women in legislative bodies and improve visibility.
- Capacity building programs to improve knowledge and skills for policymaking and legislation.
- Improve cultural acceptance for women's equal opportunity to run for election by changing patriarchal mind set discouraging women's role in politics.
- Improve the role of women in central cabinets of the political parties and assigning leadership roles within the party and awarding them party tickets to run for elections.
- Increase political patronage to women politicians from union council level to provincial and national level by party leaders and male counterparts.
- Run special capacity building programs to improve working relations between government departments and women politicians and increase the inclusion of women legislators in government committees.

13. Recommendations

In light of the above findings the following potential recommendations were identified by the respondents during interviews.

- Because citizenship is the base for accessing and influencing politics and governance in any country, therefore Government of Pakistan shall ensure full and equal citizenship rights for women which will ultimately improve the women participation in the politics.
- Despite of the fact that the quota provides a unique opportunity for women to join political mainstream it does not authenticate the role of women in the decision-making process of the country. The electoral system needs to be reviewed to further enhance the reserved seat quota from 17%(currently) to 33%.
- The process of election should be made easy to encourage women join the political career. While, the women should be empowered with provision of separate polling booths, security, funds and at-least casting 10 to 20% votes of women should be made obligatory in every constituency for declaration of result or otherwise the result may-be declared as null and void due to the absence of specified women votes' percentage.
- The Election Commission of Pakistan must adopt special gender policy that promotes ethical, safer and adequate legislative measures for making women's equal representation and participation in election not only as voter but as a candidate, political campaigner and election observer as well as electoral officials.
- The declarative liberal democracy cannot ensure women's proportionate participation, Therefore the democratic system must be reformed to be more progressive, women friendly and able to recognize and adequately respond the women's needs.
- Families, Societies, Political parties and Government as whole should support the inclusion and participation of women in the active politics so that the legislative bodies should reflect on the needs and aspiratioOn of all genders.
- Women parliamentary caucus should be strengthening through provision of required funds, human resource, own separate building etc.
- Strategic alliances of likeminded people can be a model combination for addressing the issues they face commonly. Women should actively participate in other multi groups and women parliamentary caucus and should work in collaboration so that they can raise voice for their issues and have strong influence on legislative process.
- Civil society organizations especially organizations working for women and gender issues can play important role in enhancing effective role of female legislators. Civil society organizations should highlight issues related to women representations. They should also organize capacity building trainings for females to develop their skills which can contribute in legislative process.

- For example for female who are the first generation in politics, to build their capacity on legislative drafting, running campaigns, raising finance, contesting election, public communication etc.
- Political empowerment, effective participation of women, women's roles in the political system, and political structure must be enhanced through changes in normative practices at the local level and in societal institutions (particularly in the family and the economy) and through the promotion of awareness.
- Women parliamentarians need to work actively in harmony with each-other beyond party lines and adopt a code of conduct and procedures for effective role of caucus in provision of sound environment for purposeful activities and better legislation. Men should be given membership caucus in-order to sensitize the male counterparts over issues related to women and child issues and for better environment of parliament.
- Criminalization of politics and corruption in political system has further hindered women's participation and representation in governance, therefore political parties, governments, civil society and media must expose the crimes and corruption in politics and to seek accountability and political integrity from political parties.
- Provincial and federal Governments must initiate capacity building programs also the, the Government of KP needs to establish department/institute/organization specifically for capacity building of lawmakers and for legal support over drafting of bills for legislation; and for providing them with necessary coaching and mentoring through-out their presence in the parliament and politics.
- Women politicians need more skill based training. Provincial and federal Governments must initiate capacity building programs also; the Government of KP needs to establish department/institute/organization specifically for capacity building of lawmakers on technical areas such as legislative drafting, budgeting, and public speaking/communication to be more effective in legislative process. And for providing them with necessary coaching and mentoring through-out their presence in the parliament and politics.
- Political parties must allocate quota for women parliamentarians in their Party cabinets so that they can be represented in the decision making spaces with in political parties similarly they must include more women party members in central and selection committees and in Parliamentary committees.
- Political parties should conduct regular elections within the party to bring able female participants on front by giving them space in party cabinet or committees. The wing of female politicians should be enlarged within the party so that their influence in decision making process can be made visible.

- Women's political participation and representation in governance structure is adversely influenced by discriminatory and harmful cultural practices including early marriages, dowry, violence against women, exclusion from education and economic engagement. Government and civil society must work together to take effective actions to end such kind of structural cultural barriers against women's equality in society.
- The patriarchal mindset among the male dominated parliamentary system has not fully recognized the potential and competency of women parliamentarians. There must be focused interventions on changing the patriarchy mindset among political leaders and parliamentarians.
- To makes Women's participation effective in the political discourse of Pakistan there needs to be a progressive socio-cultural change, which should be initiated through a bottom- up approach.
- Changes in the electoral systems should consider proportional representation systems with quotas of women's representation both within parties and in the parliament.
- There is also a need to ensure that quotas are be implemented effectively so that women can make a difference in legislative assembly which means there must be focus on how women can bring changes in rules and norms and increase rights for other women.
- There is need to oversee how the quotas have been used in a specific context. Clear guidelines are required for implementation of the system, i.e. who gets party nominations and how it has been selected.

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15. Annexures

Annex1:

“Questionnaire to Identify the Challenges Faced By Women Parliamentarians as a Lawmaker in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa”

***Note:** Name of the interviewee and any personal information regarding the public figures and personal incidences shared in the interview would be kept confidential and will not be made part of the report. Only general inferences would be drawn from the narrative incidences during the interview.*

Name _____ Age _____

1. Marital status _____ # of Kids _____

2. Education _____

3. Name of party _____

4. Area/constituency you represent _____

5. Have you switched your party in past? _____

6. If yes? Which party you represented previously?

7. How have you been elected?

General Election	
Reserve Seat	

8. Have you contested on general party seat?

Yes	
No	

9. If yes? Did you win election?

Yes	
No	

10. If you have marked yes on question 10 what were the significant challenges and resistance you faces when you tried to run for election?

11. Is there any capacity building program available for new female political worker and parliamentarians at political party level and at parliament level?

12. How would you recommend the need, importance and effectiveness of capacity building programs for new female worker and parliamentarian?

13. Are you member of women parliamentarian caucus (WPC)?

Yes	
No	

14. How would you rate overall assembly environment for a women parliamentarian?

Hostile	
Somehow hostile	
Neutral	
Friendly	
Very Friendly	

15. Are you fully supported by your family members in your journey in politics?

Yes	
No	
Somehow Supportive	

16. How do you rate balance between political life and family life?

Affected	
Somehow Affected	
Neutral	
Somehow good	
Good	

17. Have you ever been subjected to public humiliation which has affected your private life?

Yes	
No	

18. If yes- Would you like to share.

19. Have you ever received any security threats? If yes, so please elaborate that how much it has affected your personal life and political career?

20. How do you find your male counterparts inside the parliament?

Very encouraging	
Encouraging	
Neutral	
Discouraging	
Very Discouraging	

21. What are the major challenges affecting your productivity inside parliament

Please select more than one if applicable?

Harassment from male colleagues	
---------------------------------	--

Discouraging behavior	
Scandalizing	
Sexual harassment	
Verbal abuse	
Disagreements to opinion	
Degrading/humiliating public statements	
Any other please specify	

22. What are the common discouraging phrases you usually hear from your male counterparts?

23. By whom you faced the resistance more?

Family	
Constituency public	
Relatives	
General public	
Any other	

24. How the reserved seat selection does affect your performance?

25. How tolerable the environment inside the parliament is to bring your dependent/infant children?

26. How much the male counterparts are sensitive on gender and child issues?

27. How/in what ways are you stopped from presenting your opinion by male parliamentarians?

28. How do you think the party manifesto affect women related legislation?

29. Is your work undermined for being selected on reserved seat?

Yes	
No	

30. What are other major challenges and resistances you face inside parliament which affect your performance?

31. How is media (print and electronic both) used by your male counterparts for undermining your work or creating hindrances for your smooth and effective performance?

32. Do you think that social media is being used as medium of exploitation by your male counterparts and the general public as well? What are your views about it, please comment.

33. How effective the woman wings in political parties, parliament, legislations and empowerment of woman?

34. How effectively do you think the WPC will be, in creating friendly environment and strengthening women parliamentarians?

35. Alternate solutions for strengthening women parliamentarians and encouraging more women to join the political arena?

Annex2: questionnaire for male parliamentarians

“Questionnaire to Identify the Challenges Faced By Women Parliamentarians as a Lawmaker in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa”

Note: Name of the interviewee and any personal information regarding the public figures and personal incidences shared in the interview would be kept confidential and will not be made part of the report. Only general inferences would be drawn from the narrative incidences during the interview.

Name _____ Age _____

Sex _____

1. Marital status _____ # of Kids _____

2. Education _____

3. Name of party _____

4. Area/constituency you represent _____

5. Have you switched your party in past? _____

7. If yes? Which party you represented previously?

--

8. Have you contested on general party seat?

Yes	
No	

9. If yes? Did you win election?

Yes	
No	

10. If you have marked yes on question 8 what were the significant challenges and resistance you faces when you tried to run for election?

11. Have you ever been subjected to public humiliation which has affected your private life?

Yes	
No	

12. If yes- Would you like to share.

13. Have you ever received any security threats? If yes, so please elaborate that how much it has affected your personal life and political career?

14. What is your perception about female as a politician? How you describe their role or ability they can contribute to their political career?

15. What do you think can women play major role in decision making or do they have strong voice to influence legislation?

16. What do you think about the environment of our political parties and their support for female politicians?

17. Is there any capacity building program available for new female political worker and parliamentarians at political party level and at parliament level?

18. How would you recommend the need, importance and effectiveness of capacity building programs for new female worker and parliamentarian?

19. How would you rate overall assembly environment for women parliamentarians?

Hostile	
Somehow hostile	
Neutral	
Friendly	
Very Friendly	

20. How do you find your male counterparts inside the parliament for female parliamentarians?

Very encouraging	
Encouraging	
Neutral	
Discouraging	
Very Discouraging	

21. What are the major challenges affecting female parliamentarians productivity inside parliament
Please select more than one if applicable?

Harassment from male colleagues	
Discouraging behavior	
Scandalizing	

Sexual harassment	
Verbal abuse	
Disagreements to opinion	
Degrading/humiliating public statements	
Any other please specify	

22. What are the common discouraging phrases you usually hear from your male counterparts used for female parliamentarians?

23. What do you think that by whom female parliamentarians face the resistance more?

Family	
Constituency public	
Relatives	
General public	
Any other	

24. What do you think that how the reserved seat selection does affect female parliamentarians performance?

25. How tolerable the environment inside the parliament is for female parliamentarians to bring their dependent/infant children?

26. How much the male parliamentarians are sensitive on gender and child issues?

27. How/in what ways female parliamentarians are stopped from presenting their opinion by your male counterparts?

28. How do you think the party manifesto affect women related legislation?

29. Do you think that being selected on reserved seats, work of female parliamentarians is undermined?

Yes	
No	

30. What are other major challenges and resistances for female parliamentarians inside parliament which affect their performance?

31. What role media can play in raising the smooth and effective performance of female parliamentarians?

32. Do you think that social media is being used as medium of exploitation by male parliamentarians and the general public as well? What are your views about it please comment.

33. How effective the woman wings in political parties, parliament, legislations and empowerment of woman?

34. How effectively do you think the WPC will be, in creating friendly environment and strengthening women parliamentarians?

35. Alternate solutions for strengthening women parliamentarians and encouraging more women to join the political arena?



Annexure 3: Consent Form

**CHALLENGES FACED BY WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS AS LAW
MAKERS IN KHYBER PAHTUNKHWA**

If you agree to participate, please complete this consent form and return to Muhammad Sohail at qazisohail9@gmail.com

	Yes	No
I have read and understood the information leaflet about the research.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to participate.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am happy for my interview to be audio recorded.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that all data will be treated confidentially and anonymously.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that I can withdraw from the project at any time, and that if I choose to do this, any data I have contributed will not be used.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that I can contact Muhammad Sohail and Blue Veins at any time.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that the results of this research will be shared with wider audience and may also be published.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Name _____

Signed _____

Researcher's name: Muhammad Sohail

Signed _____

Annexure 4: Information Sheet

CHALLENGES FACED BY WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS AS LAW MAKERS IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA

Information sheet

Who is conducting the research?

My name is Muhammad Sohail and I am conducting project research i: e CHALLENGES FACED BY WOMEN PARLIAMNETARIANS AS LAW MAKER, IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA, PAKISTAN, for which I request you to participate. I am working as consultant for this research. This project is funded by Trécaire and Australian Government.

My aim is to explore the challenges and difficulties faced by the women parliamentarians in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. I very much hope that you would like to take part. I would really appreciate your participation. This information sheet will try and answer any questions you might have about the project or research, but please don't hesitate to contact me if there is anything else you would like to know.

Why am I doing this research?

I want to identify the following:

- key challenges faced by female politicians inside the parliament
- How reserved quota contributes to the role of female parliamentarians
- Role and challenges to women parliamentary caucus
- Entire environment of assembly floor for female law makers
- To gauge the perceptions of males about women's participation in politics at different levels

Why are you being invited to take part?

As the subject of research is to evaluate the challenges of female participation. Being a law maker, you directly contribute in legislation. It is the general perception that female representative can

reflect better the gender related issues and raise voice for legislations than male parliamentarians. Therefore you are indulged to know how you can play your role and what hurdles you face in your career.

Will anyone know you have been involved?

All data will be treated confidentially and will be completely anonymzed. I will change your name and remove any personal details from my research, if you want, to ensure that you cannot be identified.

Could there be problems for me if I take part?

You are very unlikely to face any problems when taking part but if there are any questions to which you feel uncomfortable to answer, you have the right to stop the interview at any time. It's your choice whether to answer the question or not. You also have the right to withdraw from the research at any time. If you discontinue participation, any information already collected will be discarded.

What will happen to the results of the research?

I will write up the results of the research to Blue veins who will share the finding of the results with wider audience. I will make sure anonymity is given. All data will be securely stored with me and I will not disclose your information. And your reflections will be used positively.

Do you have to take part?

It is entirely up to you whether you choose to take part. I hope that if you do choose to be involved then you will find it a valuable experience. Your participation is completely voluntary.

Thank you for your time and consideration in this matter.

If you would like to be involved, please complete the following consent form and return to me at qazisohail9@gmail.com

If you have any further questions before you decide whether to take part, you can contact me at qazisohail9@gmail.com

About Blue Veins

Blue Veins is born out of a need for information, activism and grass root organizing towards the empowerment of women and other socially isolated groups. Today Blue Veins works to empower communities towards improving their status which is essential to realizing the full potential of social, political and economic development.

Blue Veins has a vision of a world where every individual despite of their sexual orientation and gender identity lives healthy educated, free and safe lives. Where equality and dignity are rights not privileges. Where people spend, their life creating and thriving, rather than surviving victimization and recovering from atrocities.

Blue Veins is committed to end all forms of Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and all over Pakistan. Blue Veins runs a 24 hours helpline in Peshawar which provides free Counseling, Rights Education and Legal Aid to victims of domestic violence and work communities to bring about holistic change. We work to provide victims/survivors of violence choices that include working with their families to the break the cycle of abuse

Blue Veins is:

- Secretariat of Provincial Alliance to End Early Child and Forced Marriages
- Co-Chair National Action Coordination Group (NACG)
- National CSO Caucus to End Child Marriages
- Member of the Civil Society Advisory Group to KPCSW
- Provincial Focal point of National Working Group to End Child Marriage
- Secretariat Partners for Prevention and Response (P4PR) Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

