

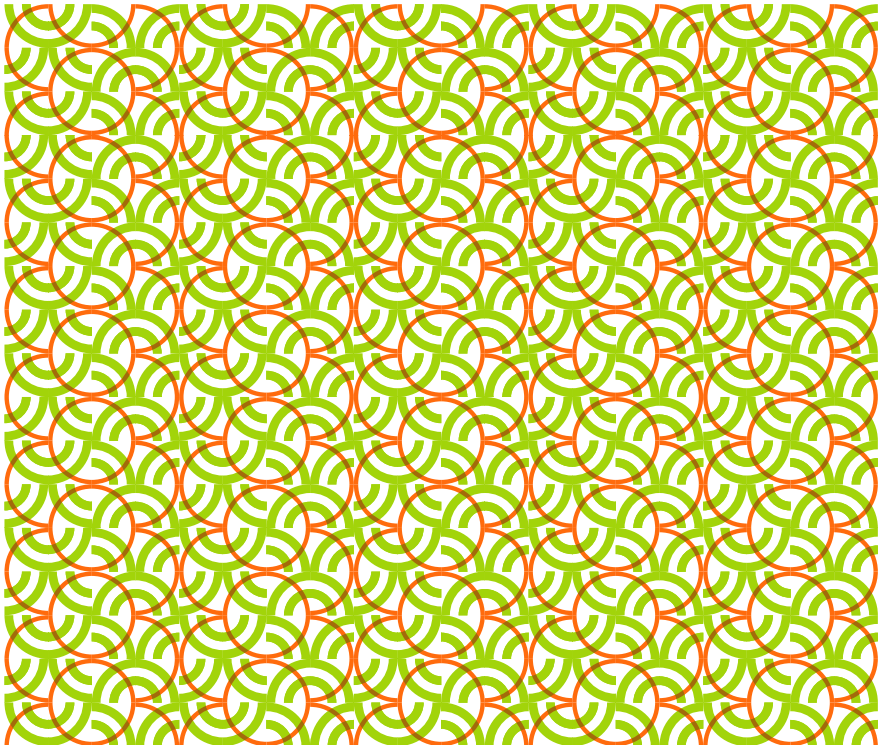


HEINRICH BÖLL STIFTUNG
PAKISTAN



Unseating Political Patriarchy A Toolkit for Debate and Action

Andrea Fleschenberg with Nighat Khurshid, Jeannette Higiroy and Denice Heiselbetz
(based on the Publication Series Writings of Farzana Bari and Andrea Fleschenberg)



Working Series "Strategising Women's Political Representation in Pakistan"
2016

Unseating Political Patriarchy **A Toolkit for Debate and Action**

Working Series "Strategising Women's Political Representation in Pakistan"
2016

**Andrea Fleschenberg with Nighat Khurshid,
Jeannette Higiro and Denice Heiselbetz**

(based on the Publication Series Writings of
Farzana Bari and Andrea Fleschenberg)

HEINRICH BÖLL STIFTUNG

The Heinrich Böll Stiftung is a German foundation and part of the Green movement that has developed worldwide as a response to the traditional politics of socialism, liberalism, and conservatism. Main focus of our work worldwide is on ecology and sustainability, democracy and human rights, self-determination and justice. We place particular emphasis on gender democracy, meaning social emancipation and equal rights for women and men. We are also committed to equal rights for cultural and ethnic minorities. Finally, we promote non-violence and pro active peace policies. To achieve our goals, we seek strategic partnerships with others who share our values. Our namesake, Heinrich Böll, personifies the values we stand for: protection of freedom, civic courage, tolerance, open debate, and the valuation of art and culture as independent spheres of thought and action.

For further information on our programme in Pakistan please visit our website:

www.pk.boell.org

Disclaimer:

This toolkit is part of the comparative action research project "Reviewing Gender Quotas in Afghanistan and Pakistan" and its publication series were prepared with the support of the Heinrich Böll Stiftung, Afghanistan and Pakistan offices. The views and analysis contained in the publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Heinrich Böll Stiftung.

Unseating Political Patriarchy - A Toolkit for Debate and Action

Working Series "Strategising Women's Political Representation in Pakistan", 2016

Author: Andrea Fleschenberg with Nighat Khursheed,
Jeannette Higiuro and Denice Heiselbetz

Editor: Farman Ali

Cover & Design: Suffi Bilal

Printer: Art Impact

Islamabad, 2016

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introductory Remarks



5

Brief Overview of Quota Designs and Experiences Worldwide



11

How to Unseat Political Patriarchy? Spotlights on Experiences & Assessments of Gender Quota Parliamentarians in Pakistan - Food for Thought on Debate and Action

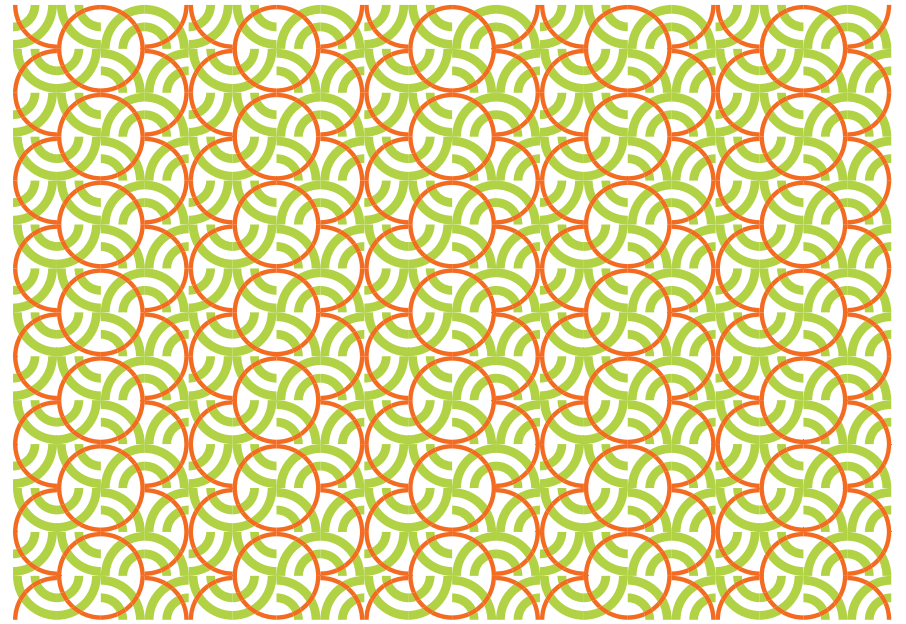


20

Suggested Further Reading / Current Policy Reports



39



Introductory Remarks

The past fifteen years of quota-induced increase in female representation and participation in Pakistani politics still have not substantially addressed the disconnect between women's increased presence in legislative bodies and their second-class citizenship status, i.e. gender-based cross-sectoral discrimination and deprivation, as visible in an overall categorisation as low human development, in particular in gender-specific disaggregation and comparison, leading some to put a question mark on women's empowerment through gender quotas.

Action Research and Toolkit Rationale - Focus on Women's Political Effectiveness



Guiding our quest into reviewing gender quota experiences, we apply the concept of women's political effectiveness of Goetz and Hassim (2003), which is "understood as the ability to use 'voice' to raise issues of concern to women in politics, to use electoral leverage to press demands on decision makers, to trigger better responsiveness from the public sector to their needs, and to enforce constitutional commitments to women's equal rights". This 'voice-to-representation-to-accountability' relationship is not linear; it is "a matter of (...) mobilising women around issues of concern to them, advancing those issues through the political process, and implementing solutions to women's problems through legal and administrative system". This happens:

- across different spheres, namely the political system, the state apparatus and civil society
- at horizontal and vertical levels of politics, via elections, institutional supervision as well as state-citizen interactions
- through three types of public engagement, namely access (consultation and dialogue), presence (representation) and influence (accountability and enforceability).

In this regard we highlighted in our preceding action research on the review of gender quota experiences (see Bari 2015, Fleschenberg and Bari 2015, Fleschenberg 2016) that gender quota parliamentarians are under constant scrutiny and pressure of justification by various sections of the society - be it by (proclaimed feminist or not) women activists accusing them for capitulating to the patriarchal state and male-dominated political parties when not representing women and their issues to the level and extent expected. Or be it by conservative, predominantly male veto actors at societal and political levels, for example male parliamentarians, who challenge the very notion of positive discrimination, resent women's public participation and quota in parliament, for enjoying a similar political status, perks and privileges despite being subjected to the same extent of electoral competition, such as having to build constituencies or to ensure a similar high number of votes cast to qualify for a parliamentary mandate. Or be it by the general perception in media and the public scrutinising and more often than not harshly judging them for not being 'true' representatives of people, or the female populace for that matter. This scrutiny is further exacerbated given their asymmetric socioeconomic background, higher levels of dependency and weaker support systems. Such judgments might include labels like (i) elite women belonging to influential political families, (ii) proxies and tokens for male power brokers and

thus serving specific vested interests in addition to (iii) not being 'proper', 'descent' (read: socio-culturally 'authentic') women who comply with dominant (patriarchal) gender roles prescriptions, values and subsequent behaviours in public.

After the publication of our studies, a number of consultations in Pakistan as well as Europe with women parliamentarians, activists and other political stakeholders took place over the course of the past year - a starting point in a longer series of critical engagement. In a 2016 workshop, we followed an interactive approach, bringing together women politicians and activists from across Pakistan and different levels and arenas, discussing concerns of intra-party reforms, capacity-building and electoral reform issues as well as capacity-building and macro-level lack of coordination along with gender accountability concerns, generating a series of recommendations in working groups. These complement recommendations presented to us during the course of the action research, which we would like to showcase in this Toolkit for Debate and Action in a more concise manner while addressing some blindspots and knowledge gaps identified.

Key Issues to Revisit for Debate and Action



A series of issues need to be revisited by different stakeholders which are explained in detail throughout the course of this Toolkit, including:

- intra-party reforms and concerns of political parity and changes in political culture
- electoral reforms and discussion of available quota designs and the issue of critical mass - or revisiting how to engineer the rules of the game to create actual avenues
- networking / exchange / connectivities - or how to build bridges to allow for coalition- and alliance-building and thus address accountability concerns and ensure subsequent responsiveness at various levels and across various arenas
- review of the role of certain national actors and institutions as well as international training organisations in terms of outcome and impact upon capacity-building
- assessment of skills needed to compete and mainstream successfully in politics
- gaps in understandings and communication between (i) youth and politicians, (ii) politicians and general public on roles, duties and mandates of politicians - or a question of political communication-cum-education

- problem of military rule and ruptures in civilian electoral politics upon parliamentary institution-building, parliamentary politics and gender quotas
- lack of spotlight on male political performance
- lack of concern with terminologies employed, their semantic and political baggage in labeling and thus shaping people's perceptions and public debates
- lack of resources as well as party-based approach for detailed research support, beyond Islamabad, in terms of technical assistance, transparency of ministerial workings and politicised ministries and specific difficulties of opposition politicians
- lack of trust - trust in research provided, people using it and among stakeholders - as well as lack of solidarity which circumvents a trickle-down effect of increased women's substantive representation, resources and intended changes.

Blindspots to Consider for Debate and Action



There were a number of blind spots that could be identified to varying degrees and intensities, e.g. the issue of gender budgeting, youth, centre-periphery / inter-provincial relations and differences in experiences-cum-challenges, state-society-civil society-relations, legacies of dictatorial rule and multiple conflict configurations-cum-extremist violence upon electoral politics, gender politics and civil society activism, political masculinities or class politics intersecting gender concerns, among others. A series of important observations over points raised or blind spots encountered put further issues into the limelight of potential follow-up discussions and actions, as outlined below.

- **Revisiting Spoilers - Not Only the Usual Suspects** - Critically reflected was the role of the international community, i.e. (non-)governmental international actors involved in technical, financial and political development cooperation such as capacity building, governance reforms, civil society networking projects, understood as problematic and even obstructive civilian interventions into Pakistan's gender politics. This is not only related to the well-documented issue of lack of coordination among different actors operating in the same arena or the depoliticisation of feminist advocacy and lobbying through depoliticising gender mainstreaming projects, understood as technical rather than also as political, transformative interventions.

- **It's About Institutions or a Flashlight on the Nexus of Bureaucracy and Implementation** - Many international programs rather focus on electoral politics and the political arena - be it in terms of politicians at different levels of the polity or be it on civil society in all its diversity when it comes to gender democracy interventions. One of the most productive lines of discussion emerged from the question of how to create awareness among the bureaucracy, how to review and address the role that bureaucracies play in the preparation as well as implementation of gender-specific legislation and policy measures. The role and configuration of the state, thus its institutional arrangements, has been a key focus of our action research series, as not only political masculinities and patriarchal biases are enshrined in such configurations, but also because their workings and access largely remain a black box left out of gender democracy projects. Regardless of public engagement and political debates, norm diffusion is a key challenge when it comes to changes in the political culture as practices by various state representatives, be it at the ministerial level, be it in law enforcement, do not necessarily follow political decision-making. The result is the widespread and well-documented phenomenon of dormant laws, circumventing and diametrically opposing intended protection measures, access to and practice of citizenship rights and ultimately the very implementation of the intended initiative. The bureaucracy - neither a neutral actor, nor necessarily an outright spoiler - has its own institutional politics as well as interests vis-a-vis other political institutions as well as civil society.

- **Women's Political Vulnerability & Issues of Political Masculinity** - So Where is the Critical Mass of Men? One key theme surrounds the notion of a particular political vulnerability of women, that can only be partially addressed and mitigated by gender quotas, given a perceived omnipotent political masculinity within the political culture, political institutions, political processes and political debates. At the same time, most spoilers identified - be they individual, collective or institutional - are often regarded as being expressions of an embedded patriarchal political masculinity as well as emerging mostly from those adhering to the male gender or women captive within the framework of political masculinity as the only expression of a politician. The outright majority of gender democracy projects focusses solely on women, neglecting the need for reviewing gender relations as well as notions of political masculinity to pave the way for transformative processes and politics. Having said that, such concerns of a lack of a visible, vocal thus effective critical mass and/or acts of critical men - when it comes to gender politics and concerns of gender democracy - are intersecting with our key recommendation of the need for strategic essentialism among politically active women across arenas. Hence, it would be crucial to further understand the specific parameters and components of women's political vulnerabilities, which differ given women's diversity and heterogeneity.

- **Shrinking Space for Gender Democracy Activisms and Feminist Politics -**

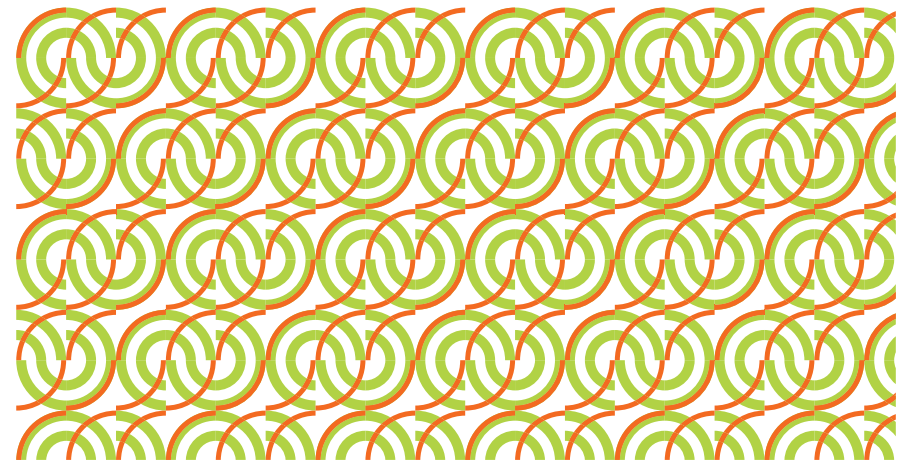
(i) in part due to an ever expanding violent transnational conflict configuration, focussing, among others, on gender relations, gender roles prescriptions and rigid interpretations of femininities and masculinities in its ideological contestation and sociopolitical projections; (ii) in part due to state-society relations and a widespread criticism - governmental as well as societal - of civil society activism, intersecting with class politics, centre-periphery relations and subsequent political agenda-settings. Therefore, measures should include a concern on how conflict, as well as state-society-civil society relations, intersect with questions of women's political vulnerabilities, concerns with political masculinities (often transforming into hyper masculinities with subsequent misogynist expressions and manifestations in contexts of violence and war) as well as the challenge of shrinking spaces.

- **Gender Quotas in Multi-Level Governance Systems - Decenter Lenses & Approaches, Connect with Peripheries -**

While many debates focus on the national level in terms of gender quota experiences, there is an adamant need to conceptualise centre-periphery, inter-provincial along with inter-governance level differences to capture a comprehensive picture of political experiences, narratives as well as practices, with gender quotas and political patriarchy.

In this Toolkit, we, therefore, aim, in a very brief and pointed manner, to

- revisit different gender quota modalities and lessons learnt from research on gender quota experiences worldwide
- share assessments of experiences and challenges of women parliamentarians on gender quota seats in Pakistan and their subsequent recommendations
- identify food for thought and further action to increase women's political effectiveness in order to generate further debate at a larger level ahead of the 2018 elections
- provide a brief overview of further reading resources / policy reports.



Overview of Quota Designs & Experiences Worldwide

During the past decades, women have made substantial gains in terms of achieving political representation in parliaments worldwide, but changes and achievements are unevenly distributed across regions as well as within regions. Currently, the worldwide average shows that men represent 77.1 percent of parliamentarians, albeit prevailing significant regional differences.

In top-performing Scandinavia, men represent 58.4 percent of national legislators, bringing the region close to parity levels. In contrast, in the lowest performing Pacific and Arab countries, men dominate with 83,7 percent and 81,9 percent in policy- and legislative decision-making processes of national parliaments. Asian countries fall short of meeting the worldwide gender ratio in parliament with a regional average of 80,8 percent of male and thus a mere 19,2 percent of female legislative representation¹.

After the 1995 Beijing Platform of Action process, quotas became one of the preferred tools to generate a historic jump in women's political participation at different levels of a given polity. As of 2015, 117 countries employ one or the other type of gender quotas at the subnational or national levels, covering sixty-five percent of parliaments worldwide. According to the QuotaProject database, twenty-one out of forty-seven Asian nations apply quotas as an enhancing support mechanism for women's political participation - five with voluntary political party quotas, ten with legislated candidate quotas and eleven with reserved seat provisions and different ratios².

¹ Calculated with data provided by the Inter-Parliamentary Union Database on Women in National Parliaments as of 1st November 2016, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm> as of 01.12.2016.
² Calculated with data provided by the Global Database of Quotas for Women, <http://www.quotaproject.org/uid/search.cfm#> as of 01.12.2016.

The choice of quota system is influenced by the election system used, the prevailing sociopolitical culture and gender ideology and the status of women in general, among other factors. Reserved seats, as the ones used in Pakistan, are a method of choice particularly in societies with a significant gender disparity, an uneven level playing field for women as political actors as well as in certain (post-) conflict contexts along with heterogenous societies.

The following boxed content elucidates on some of the contesting arguments on gender quotas, positive discrimination and notions of equality, along with an overview of types of quota provisions that exist worldwide.

Food for Thought from "Quota Project - Global Database of Quotas for Women"

(Source: <http://www.quotaproject.org/aboutQuotas.cfm>)

Contesting Arguments on Gender Quotas

Contra:

- undemocratic as violating the principle of equal opportunity for all and other democratic principles, e.g. voters decisions are prime
- positive discrimination violates the principle of meritocracy and qualifications in favour of gender concerns
- narrows women's political representation to women's constituencies and issues
- leads to conflicts within political organisations / institutions

Pro:

- democratic as quotas address the gender democracy deficit of politics - women as citizens have the right to participate in politics and elections primarily aim for people's representation, not male elite capture in terms of educational, political qualifications and capacities in political systems marked by androcentrism and patriarchy
- no level playing field - quotas thus address gender-specific structural and institutional barriers, also those by gatekeepers who control the candidacy pool
- create critical mass and avoid the stressful experience of women as tokens
- inclusive - quotas allow for women's experiences and needs to be addressed in otherwise androcentric politics
- transformative and democratising - conflicts, if caused, are temporary and address (i) crucial societal inequalities, which are forms of everyday violence and conflict, and (ii) lack of accountability, formalisation and thus transparencies of political nomination processes

Positive Discrimination and Notions of Equality

In her writings, leading gender quota scholar Drude Dahlerup contends: "Real equal opportunity does not exist just because formal barriers are removed. Direct discrimination and hidden barriers prevent women from getting their share of political influence. In general, quotas for women represent a shift from one concept of equality to another. The classic liberal notion of equality was a notion of 'equal opportunity' or 'competitive equality'. Removing the formal barriers, for example, giving women voting rights, was considered sufficient. The rest was up to the individual women. Following strong feminist pressure in the last few decades, as expressed for instance in the Beijing 'Platform for Action' of 1995, the second concept of equality is gaining increasing relevance and support: the notion of 'equality of result'. The argument is that real equal opportunity does not exist just because formal barriers are removed. Direct discrimination and a complex pattern of hidden barriers prevent women from being selected as candidates and getting their share of political influence. Quotas and other forms of positive measures are thus a means towards equality of result. The argument is based on the experience that equality as a goal cannot be reached by formal equal treatment as a means. If barriers exist, it is argued, compensatory measures must be introduced as a means to reach equality of result. From this perspective, quotas are not discrimination (against men), but compensation for structural barriers that women meet in the electoral process" (quoted from: <http://www.quotaproject.org/aboutQuotas.cfm> as of 27.10.2015).

Types of Quota Provisions

Quota Project distinguishes between three major types in existence worldwide: reserved seats, legislated candidate quotas or voluntary political party quotas. Quotas are not only used to ensure women's political mainstreaming, but a popular tool to engineer inclusive political representation and participation. "In some countries quotas apply to minorities based on regional, ethnic, linguistic or religious cleavages. Almost all political systems apply some kind of geographical quotas to ensure a minimum representation for densely populated areas, islands and the like. (...) Quota systems aim at ensuring that women constitute at least a 'critical minority' of 30 or 40%. Quotas for women entail that women must constitute a certain number or percentage of the members of a body, whether it is a candidate list, a parliamentary assembly, a committee, or a government. The quota system places the burden of recruitment not on the individual woman, but on those who control the recruitment process. The core idea behind this system is to recruit women into political positions and to ensure that women are not only a token few in political life. Previous notions of having reserved seats for only one or for very few women, representing a vague and all-embracing category of 'women', are no longer considered sufficient. Today, quota systems aim at ensuring that women constitute a large minority of 20, 30 or 40%, or even to ensure true gender balance of 50-50%. In some countries quotas are applied as a temporary measure, that is to say, until the barriers for women's entry into politics are removed, but most countries with quotas have not limited their use of quotas in time" (quoted from: <http://www.quotaproject.org/aboutQuotas.cfm> as of 27.10.2015).

TYPE 1

Reserved Seats - Equality in Outcome



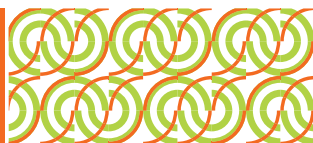
Currently, twenty-three countries employ reserved seat provisions, i.e. a specific number of parliamentary seats is reserved as the outcome of any election via the Constitution and/or Electoral Law, generating an average representation of women of 20.8 percent. The current worldwide average of women's parliamentary representation stands at 22.9 percent. Modalities include direct election or indirect election/appointment via reserved seats.

The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan with a bicameral parliament has reserved seat provisions for the Lower and Upper Houses and at sub-national levels. Women hold 69 of 249 of seats (28 percent) in the Wolesi Jirga. The Constitution allocates women 68 seats out of the total 249 (27 percent) with no less than two women representing each province and through direct elections. In the Upper House (Meshrano Jirga), 50 percent of women are nominated by the President of Afghanistan and the recently reserved seat provision at the national level standing at 20 percent will be restored to the previous 25 percent as recommended and endorsed by the Electoral Reform Commission.

The United Republic of Tanzania with a unicameral parliament has reserved seat clauses enshrined in the Constitution and the Electoral Laws that women shall not represent less than thirty percent of legislators at subnational and national levels. Currently, women hold 126 out of 350 seats (equal to 36 percent) in the National Assembly. Similar to Pakistan, political parties contesting elections submit a list of women nominees for the 102 reserved seats, which are then appointed depending on each party's percentage in the elections. In addition, two women out of five represent Zanzibar. Similar to Pakistan, this leaves women parliamentarians on reserved seats without a direct legitimisation from the electorate and thus without a very much needed constituency.

TYPE 2

Legislated Candidate Quotas - Equality in Opportunities



Currently, 54 countries use legislated candidate quotas, i.e. a specific number of candidates must be women as mandatory requirement codified in a constitution or electoral law, with an average representation of 24.9 percent women parliamentarians. The current worldwide average of women's parliamentary representation stands at 22.9 percent. There are a series of different modalities employed, combining different concerns for diverse representation and constituency-building requirements as well as catering for special social groups such as youth or disabled. Legislated candidate quotas mean that women have to seek direct election, either on a universal ballot alongside male candidates or via women-only ballots. Examples of two top-performing countries are outlined below - Rwanda and Tunisia.

In the case of Rwanda, the bicameral parliament has legislated quotas for the Lower House and Upper House as well as at the sub-national level. In the Chamber of Deputies (Lower House) women hold 51 seats out of 81, representing an extraordinary 64 percent of parliamentarians and thus the majority. Constitutionally, under the legislated quotas, women form a minimum of 30 percent of representation in decision-making bodies. Within the Chamber of Deputies, out of the total 80 members, 53 are directly elected under a proportional representation modality with closed lists of which at least 30 percent of seats are allocated to women as per the Constitution. The electoral law stipulates that 24 women are elected by specific bodies or organisations, ensuring the representation of all provinces plus the nominations of the National Youth Council as well as the Federation of the Associations of the Disabled. In the Senate (Upper House), women represent 38 percent of parliamentarians through indirect election/appointment and exceed the quota provision of at least 30 percent under the Constitution.

Tunisia has a unicameral parliament with legislated quotas for women as per the Constitution and the Electoral Law. Women currently hold 68 of 217 seats, amounting to a share of 31 percent in the Assembly of People's Representatives. This share is well above the regional average of Arab countries which currently stands at 19 percent for Lower Houses. The Constitution assures equal representation of both men and women in elected councils through a parity clause and the Electoral Law stipulates a list-based proportional representation system for 33 constituencies, using a zipper principle, i.e. alternating male and female candidacies nominated at any given list.

TYPE 3

Political Party Quotas



Currently, in 54 countries political parties and/or electoral alliances employ voluntarily agreed gender quotas for their candidates' lists at the subnational and national levels with different rationales and degrees of compliance to commitments made. While some parties opt for mirroring women's share among party members on their electoral lists, others pledge to commit to parity or different levels of a critical mass of women in decision-making. While some employ a gender-specific ranking rule such as the zipper principle, alternating male and female candidates on a list to ensure higher degrees of opportunity and thus electoral outcome in gendered representation, others allow for women to be placed anywhere on a list, thus altering their chances of being voted for, depending also on the size of the list or if a closed or open list system is employed. In some countries such as Sweden or Spain, major political parties employ the same voluntary party quotas in terms of numbers, while in other countries such as South Africa or Germany either not all parties follow such provisions or only to different degrees. This quota system is more frequently chosen in Europe, Latin America and a few countries in Africa.

The Republic of Philippines has a bicameral parliament which follows a parallel voting system and employs a number of provisions ensuring women's political representation such as voluntary party quotas and legislated financial incentives for political parties, which support female candidates and thus can claim at a small percentage the reimbursement of electoral campaign costs if used to foster women's electoral participation. After the end of dictatorial rule in 1986, the Constitution stipulated a quota provision for so-called marginalised social groups, including women, peasants, indigenous or urban poor, among others, for some of the seats allocated within the parallel system. There are also initiatives to change from voluntary party quotas to a 30 percent critical mass provision of women's representation at all levels of political decision-making and public service institutions. At the sub-national level, quotas are already specified under the Electoral Law, stipulating that women represent at least one-third of legislators in municipal, city- or province-level councils. Currently, women hold 79 out of 289 seats (27 percent) in the House of Representatives. Quite unique is the case of the Gabriela Women's Party given that there are few women-specific political parties competing successfully in elections and leading to significant levels of political representation. Gabriela is an umbrella political party under which 250 women organisations are represented, but only receives electoral support in the single digits. The country's left-wing Democratic Socialist Party follows a 25 percent gender quota.

The Republic of Korea uses different quota provisions at the subnational and national level under a parallel election system as well as financial incentives to political parties like in the Philippines. Women occupy 51 of 300 seats, equal to 17 percent, in the National Assembly. The Electoral Law codifies legislated candidate quotas for 56 out of 300 seats elected under a list-based proportional representation system, foreseeing that a parity clause (i.e. 50 percent rule) applies to all lists of political parties. Non-compliance invalidates a party list running for these 56 seats. For the remaining 243 parliamentary mandates elected at district-based constituencies, thirty-percent of a political party's candidates should be women. In addition, ten percent of public funding for political parties is earmarked for those who support women's political participation and subsidies provided for female candidates are allocated to parties depending on their share in the final election results for the National Assembly. Non-compliance of party lists with quota rules are also applied at the subnational level, as per Electoral Law, meaning that political parties should include at least 50 percent of women as candidates, and applying a zipper principle for local council seats contested under proportional representation. In addition, one of the major political parties, the Grand National Party, follows a 30 percent quota for its party candidates.

WHERE DO WE STAND?



Lessons Learnt from Research on Worldwide Quota Experiences

In the past decades, rich experiences with quota designs and their implementation have been generated world-wide, leading more often to mixed findings, ambivalences as well as the need for context-sensitive approaches rather than easy-applied, catch-all best practices to be followed. "The features of each country's political, institutional, and cultural background play a central role in shaping the effects of quotas on all aspects of women's political representation" stress Franceschet, Krook and Piscopo (2012) in their worldwide review. The following represents some of the relevant food for thought in a brief overview - more information can be accessed from the sources identified in the bibliography.

Quota Designs Impact on Implementation Practices and Women's Political Effectiveness

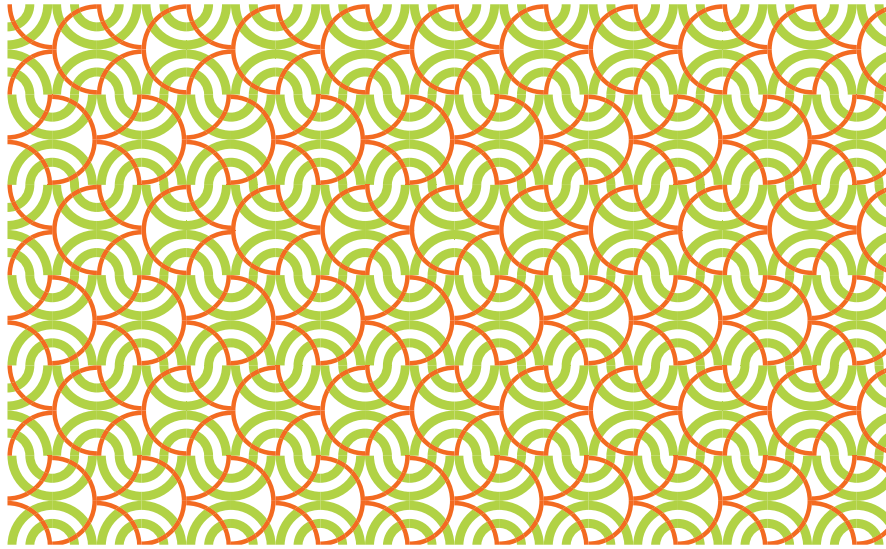
- Quotas "may interfere with existing gender dynamics" and thus generate public contestations and controversies from a variety of stakeholders as well as certain expectations of quota parliamentarians, argue Franceschet, Krook and Piscopo (2012). This needs to be addressed, negotiated and strategised about carefully. Women's inclusion in politics through quotas is not a linear process without stagnation, backlash, spoilers and challenges, but rather dynamic and complex, requiring a number of strategies, tools and continuous reflections from key stakeholders.
- Depending on the design of the quota as well as the combination with other measures such as financial incentives, existence or lack of compliance rules the desired effect of quotas, is to ultimately alter the composition of political elites along with recruiting rationales and practices, in addition, to allowing for women's sustainable political mainstreaming.
- The very design of gender quota provisions impacts on quota legislators' capacities "to pursue legislative change and [it] may shape the broader meaning of quotas for democratic legitimacy and women's political empowerment", problematise Franceschet, Krook and Piscopo (2012). This can be reflected in credibility issues faced with peers within the assemblies or stakeholders across different arenas like the ministerial bureaucracy, lack of access to crucial funding needed to ensure constituency work or standing vis-a-vis one's own political party leadership.

Quota Designs Impact on Changes of Political Culture and (In-)Formal Institutional Powers

- Research demonstrates that the introduction of gender quotas can lead to different trajectories when it comes to changes in a given political culture - ranging from a feminist turn among male politicians to a gender-conservative, even misogynist backlash and obstructive legislative behaviour among male politicians and societal stakeholders.
- Establishing women's political representation and thus voice is not sufficient to "produce changed policies nor (...) change the behaviour of bureaucrats, the police, or politicians, without some changes in the norms and procedures of accountability institutions" (Goetz and Hassim 2003) of the state as well as society, in particular within civil society, public institutions as well as necessary checks and balances in the form of judicial review, women's machineries (Commissions on the Status of Women, Gender Units, Gender Budgeting, Gender Auditing etc.) or compliance measures by law enforcement agencies.
- Informal institutions can exert substantial power over formal institutions and processes, impacting on gender roles prescriptions and the societal position of women. In that regard, the interplay of politics and religion can create specific state power dynamics given the ever increasing informal power of religion "through everyday effects that shape people's attitudes and lives", argue Razavi and Jennichen (2010) in their worldwide review. The same is true for informal community institutions in the field of agenda-setting, conflict resolution and opinion-building such as jirgas, for instance.
- There is a need for alternative, discursive politics, accompanying for example gender quota initiatives, as well as a strong capacity of civil society to address constraints posed and contestations raised over women's political participation. Razavi and Jennichen (2010) quote Farida Shaheed who argues that there is a "need for human rights and women's rights advocates to utilise a vocabulary and sociocultural agenda that has greater social resonance" and to address the "failure to represent a credible agenda for combating economic and social deprivation that responds to popular concerns and anxieties about increasing inequality, unemployment and insecurity", exploited by a variety of religious conservative actors.
- Overall, the impact of informal institutions on the arenas of formal politics, its key institutions, and civil society are diverse and create a difficult field for women parliamentarians to navigate in. According to Waylen (2013), it is important to improve our understanding on this matter - be it in "formal and informal guises" to be able to strategise on how to achieve gender equitable institutional change, to increase women's political effectiveness and sustain women's political mainstreaming through quota provisions as well as women machineries put in place.

Quota Designs Generate Diverse Accountability Concerns

- Studies generated ambivalent results as to the number of political representation required to achieve changes in the political culture, parliamentary proceedings, policy-making, and legislation. In some cases, a smaller number of united women parliamentarians can be more effective to dismantle male dominance and bias in decision-making, being perceived as less of a threat to veto actors and spoilers than when women form a critical mass of at least 25-30 percent in an assembly. A larger number of women legislators can also mean increased diversity and heterogeneity when it comes to express and follow through with women's interests and women's issues, thus strategise on a joint women-specific agenda-setting.
- Gender quota politicians remain divided on the issue of who is their constituency and to whom they are accountable as well as how to communicate these accountability concerns to the wider public and society at large given gender-specific constraints and contestations of electoral politics. While some quota politicians clearly and openly pledge allegiance to women as their prime constituency, others might be more covert and reluctant to do so given biases, threats, attempts of manipulation by power-brokers as well as demands for ideological and agenda-specific loyalty from political parties. In that regard, women who are directly elected as quota politicians are usually in a stronger position than those who are indirectly selected and thus lack their own constituency support (Francheschet, Krook and Piscopo 2012).



How to Unseat Political Patriarchy?

Spotlights on Experiences & Assessments of Gender Quota Parliamentarians in Pakistan - Food for Thought on Debate and Action

Our action research in 2015-16 focussed in particular on gender quota parliamentarians' experiences on constituency-building and work, legislative and policy-making interests, political performance and challenges thereof given the existing formal and informal institutional structures in place - be it the state apparatus, parliamentary work proceedings, bureaucratic encounters, societal pressures or the practices of the political system as such, for example the election modalities.

Experiences highlighted engage with a conservative social order while facing structural barriers like lack of social capital, independent resources in the context of high levels of political corruption and/or commercialisation, along with a prevailing gender-specific voters' bias linked with a reluctance of political parties to award general seats' election tickets to women. Gender quota parliamentarians also outlined that they have to engage with an insecure political setting (e.g. Talibanisation, youth radicalisation), more prevalent in some parts of the country than in others, more for certain political parties' members than others. They are critical of high levels of diverse political contestations and political competition which can add to generally geared disempowering institutional settings. Women parliamentarians more than often feel like having to work against all odds in a

larger setting of dysfunctional governance structures and increased expectations of parliamentarians as problem-solvers. The result is a high level of demands, expectations, workload and women's double burden when engaging with constituency work.

Experiences narrated also point towards a different scale of men's autonomy and capacity to negotiate and navigate within the given political environment due to predominantly androcentric (read: male-oriented) political support systems and access to resources, cultural norms for agency and mobility, along with gender-specific requirements of protection in volatile environments. Women parliamentarians and women's activists criticised pervasive male-dominated institutional cultures, linked to a lack of support and responsiveness from the government, technical staff in parliament, the ministerial bureaucracy in addition to a perceived lack of political clout to enforce the commitment of stakeholders and authorities.

However, two contradictory trends emerged: on the one hand, there is an increased acceptability and visibility of women politicians while, on the other hand, there is increased pressure from extremist and misogynist counter movements and veto actors/spoilers. This makes the role of political parties even more crucial when it comes to unseating political patriarchy and to ensure women's political effectiveness. The study found again a number of concerns within a wider contradictory trend, featuring an (i) increased recognition amongst party leaderships of women's political capacities and competencies: along with (ii) a mismatch between women's political aspirations and parties' responses, reflected in a predominance of androcentric patrimonial politics and in a response to a growing number of independent women candidates as well as gender becoming a bargaining chip if political expediency demands.

There are no shortcuts to power argue Goetz and Hassim (2003). Women's political effectiveness depends on their ability to use 'voice' to raise issues of concern, to use electoral leverage to press for demands vis-a-vis stakeholders, to trigger better responsiveness from the various authorities and sectors involved. Further factors are (i) the type(s) of women elected, (ii) their ability to voice certain policy issues and their capability to follow them through, (iii) a supportive, resourceful gender equity lobby in civil society, (iv) credibility of women politicians and policies in competitive electoral politics, (v) coalition- and alliance-building across arenas, tiers and levels of the polity, along with (vi) the capacity of the state and the political system to respond to new policy issues to accommodate new political actors and to implement new, transformative policies (ibid.).

In the following, we present spotlights, i.e. brief overviews of experiences shared by stakeholders interviewed in parliamentary politics, bureaucracy and civil society on key issues such as party structures, reserved seats, accountability, constituency, networking, political culture, performance and impact of legislative work, budgeting, among others. This is combined with food for thought generated from parliamentarians, bureaucrats, and civil society activists about what is on their To-Do List for required additional measures and/or changes to address gaps, challenges and blind spots related to the realities of gender quota politicians in Pakistan's National Assembly.

SPOTLIGHT 1 Capacity-Building

Most of the women parliamentarians argued that political parties should mobilise more women workers in far off areas to further their party's objectives and augment their presence in such areas.

Women parliamentarians were supportive of increasing the number of young women in politics which in turn necessitates more leadership-based trainings to make them aware of rules, procedures and methods of parliamentary affairs. Additionally, political parties should cooperate with other organisations to develop capacity-building mechanisms, groom tiers of women leaders which would be able to speak up, among others, on gender issues.

Some parliamentarians considered the available capacity-building mechanisms/institutions as insufficient or inadequate for new entrants into politics to handle different stakeholders and circumstances as well as to understand technicalities of legislative work and its implementation. One remedy could be a mentoring role/network of seasoned women parliamentarians, sharing coping strategies, building alliances and networks (also to decrease potential conflicts in legislative work among women legislators. The training sessions should engage potential candidates, making them aware of parliamentary as well as party modalities, procedures and rationales besides enabling them on how to effectively raise their voice on women's issues.

Touching upon the issue of a significant number of women parliamentarians who remained silent in the Parliament, respondents underlined the need to train women at the local as well as at the intra-party level before they enter the Parliament.

To Do 1

Implement Capacity-Building Measures at All Levels of the Polity

- Since a vast majority of women parliamentarians are first-timers, there exist shortcomings in terms of knowledge of and experience with legislative procedures and methods. Therefore it is essential that the candidates, both women as well as men, are provided with government-funded trainings on the essentials of legislative work (e.g. terminologies, responsibilities, women issues), political culture (e.g. gender role prescription), administration and public relations etc. The trainings must be provided continuously, in order to ensure adequate preparation for the upcoming tasks and responsibilities. The essential knowledge on rules, procedures, terminology, methods, coping strategies etc. must be put down in writing in the form of a handbook.
- There should be opportunities and spaces for female politicians to gain experience in other political offices and party work prior to the assumption of office in a legislature.
- At the core of the entire set of measures in different arenas stands a change of mindset of male politicians, party leaders and members as well as family members towards female candidates. They should be encouraged to respect women MPs elected on reserved seats as equal, trustworthy and valuable politicians so that the latter can perform successfully.
- Women wings of political parties have more of a marginalising effect than contributing to women political mainstreaming. A prerequisite for substantive representation of female politicians is psychological as well as ideological support by all the stakeholders involved in shaping their career.

SPOTLIGHT 2

Political Parties and Party Structures

A number of key points were highlighted, starting with the experience that party structures neglect the capacities and requirements of women parliamentarians within their party and within parliament. Parliamentarians confirmed that women were given fewer tickets by their parties. Those who were able to secure tickets were considered as inexperienced. In this context, capacity building was deemed of increasing importance.

It was also argued that the existing political culture would not change due to dynastic politics thereby weakening the efficiency of deserving candidates and impeding genuine change in women politicians' roles. There was a consensus among interviewees that women parliamentarians elected on reserved seats should be selected on merit. They should be judged by their performances in their respective constituencies (or prior community-based work) and their commitment to work within party ideologies. Gender and personal relationships should not be criteria for awarding party tickets, but a candidate's track record and responsiveness in addressing issues of constituents. Intra-party elections play a dynamic role in establishing suitable candidates. This, as ascertained by some parliamentarians, needs not be centred around academic qualifications because most of them acquire undergraduate degrees.

Performance cuts both ways - so underperforming male politicians should mean that those women candidates engaged in hard work should be assigned constituencies where men underperformed. Important coping strategies of successful women candidates on reserved seats are, among others, supportive party members. Such support involves distribution and sharing of workload such as assigning secretaries to do research work, control administration and documentation etc. In addition, interview partners highlighted the need for a continual grooming of potential new candidates as well as capacity-building of new parliamentarians by more experienced ones.

Those who were critical of quotas listed names of some women in the history of the country who had managed to build their constituencies with their hard work. Those women were seen to be more eligible for the party ticket. Hence, hard work and merit were considered significant by the party that maximised opportunities for women politicians. This was considered even more important, given credibility challenges of quota politicians, often in the case of a new / emerging politician lacking experience of serving in important positions and/or party support. A number of women parliamentarians proposed that party leadership should consider

inclusion of at least one-fifth of women in key decision-making processes and bodies.

To Do 2

Reform Intra-Party Structures

- Party leaders are requested to address major inequalities within party structures regarding electoral modalities. Party nominations do not guarantee an equal and democratic treatment of quota women. Therefore, intra-party elections must be held to increase the candidates legitimacy. Especially candidates lacking funds and family support should be given preference.
- Deeply rooted family politics is leading to preferred treatment of women affiliated with the political elite marginalising others. Thus it must be guaranteed that the selection of candidates through intra-party elections is made strictly on merit.
- An overall commitment to the recruitment of women from diverse backgrounds on reserved seats must be made. Therefore, party leaders are required to diversify the recruitment pool in terms of class, age, ethnicity, religion and rural-urban divide. Monitoring by an independent body is critical to ensuring an efficient implementation of the suggested reforms.
- Parties play a key role in providing opportunities and building capacities for the success of quota women and they must commit to developing an agenda for gender equality and dedicate themselves to the political mainstreaming of women.

SPOTLIGHT 3

Requirements for Legislative Work

Most female parliamentarians agreed that they have a good legislative understanding but lack human resources to provide for the much-needed policy/legislative background research, despite the Pakistan Institute for Parliamentary Services (PIPS). Women parliamentarians viewed PIPS, more focused on conducting conferences and research rather than on training and capacity-building of legislators, as an institution difficult to reach from their usual routes for participation in trainings offered. According to

them, trainings should ideally be offered within the premises of the National Assembly. Furthermore, this should be aligned with a proper setup of a team of assistants for preparing speeches, writing bills etc., currently non-existent, thus hampering the effectiveness of parliamentarians.

Due to the prevailing patriarchal system and mindset, women parliamentarians find it difficult to join politics and/or serve in leadership positions such as leading a committee, becoming minister or state minister. Some women legislators considered parenting needs incompatible with addressing constituency-related matters and thus to continue as parliamentarians given the lack of adequate child care provisions/structures. On the other hand, many others narrated a series of coping strategies to ensure legislative work performance and organise a more enabling environment, which resulted in an overwhelming number of women parliamentarians contributing to the National Assembly's legislative work.

To Do 3a Provide Necessary Framework for Effective Legislative Work

- There is a crucial nexus between women's political effectiveness with other support mechanisms and institutional setups. In order to efficiently carry out the assigned functions and to ensure sustainable constituency building, corresponding structures must be provided such as: steady office structures, technical support for policy-making, administrative staff and a parliamentary research service that is well qualified and responsive.

To Do 3b Create Critical Spaces for Dialogue

- It is necessary to debate political patriarchy, gender quotas and women's participation in politics. Critical spaces for dialogue must be provided such as in the form of round table discussions and reading circles on topics such as women's political vulnerabilities, political masculinities or terminologies serving as labels to enforce political patriarchy in language and its manifestations, or on feminist imaginaries. Guaranteeing opportunities to discuss ideas, to read texts and thus to reflect on national and international experiences will trigger an important debate among stakeholders themselves.

PRESENCE

SPOTLIGHT 4 Reserved Seats

Key parliamentarians interviewed highlighted a lack of merit and focus on win-ability as major issue. According to the parliamentarians, mainly merit should have been considered while giving party tickets to women on reserved seats. In order to decrease the gender gap in politics, it was further emphasised not to nominate women candidates based on family ties. It was for this reason that most male parliamentarians linked reserved seats to charity seats. On the other hand, women legislators mentioned that although they continued to work in their constituencies, it was uncertain whether they would succeed in contesting elections on reserved seats since people did not know them and voters were not directly linked to the candidates' working zone. It was observed that parties contested for the sake of winning different constituencies, therefore, win-ability mattered to them. Hence, only strong candidates were preferred for the party tickets. Furthermore, men would not want to change the status quo unless a candidate (whether female or male) was considered as a winning horse for a particular seat. While female candidates won their parties seats that they were losing for decades, however, there was uncertainty about the selection criteria for reserved seats, regarded as highly biased towards those from political families or with personal connections. Suggestions focused on legitimising reserved seats through intra-party elections. This approach was seen to empower women candidates, particularly where winning via general seats required strong financial support not available to many women candidates. Development work was regarded as crucial to building a constituency and thus a source of effective representation, positioning women to build trustworthy and effective connections with the people of their constituency and, finally, to entering the political mainstream.

Parliamentarians identified a number of barriers such as a low literacy rate in the country or the distinction between general and reserved seats, the latter regarded as not symbolic/representative of their constituency given lack of an electoral support base. It is for this reason that women legislators on reserved seats are viewed as blindly following their party setup, remaining at the back benches of parliament, cheering the party leadership and thus allegedly being hardly aware of the type of work they need to do and the kind of solutions they should deliver people.

Stakeholders interviewed highlighted that representation matters and that women on reserved seats can become a tool to eliminate class and gender differences between members of the parliament. In contrast, gender quota legislators see themselves as accountable to party workers and not to the central leadership, because the former elected them and hold high expectations.

In the current context a huge disconnect is identified between society, government and its institutions, which needs to be addressed with accountable and responsive legislation and development work, involving legislators, political parties, concerned government authorities as well as (inter-)national non-governmental organisations.

To Do 4a Reform Electoral Modalities

- Quota seats are essential for female politicians as an entrance ticket to politics. Nevertheless, in the long run, women parliamentarians must build their own constituencies and contest elections on general seats alongside men to gain power in a sustainable way and to enhance political mainstreaming. A number of recommendations for reforming the quota system and the electoral process were gathered, which were: (i) increase quota provisions to 33 percent as well as (ii) introduce a quota within the quota to ensure diverse recruitment, e.g. for Non-Muslim women.

To Do 4b Establish Intra-Party Equality

- Party leaders must implement a system of assessing individual performance of all Members of the National Assembly, men as well as women. Good performance should be rewarded by appointing women in decision-making positions and awarding tickets to women for the next general elections. The competition created by scrutinising men will encourage them also to perform better.
- Introducing intra-party quotas for general seats will further contribute to achieving complete gender equality.



SPOTLIGHT 5 Bureaucratic Accountability

The points raised related to bureaucratic accountability surrounded several issues, including the lack of support of and importance given to women parliamentarians, much like the fellow male parliamentarians, from the bureaucracy at large. This attitude was regarded as a reflection of the prevailing societal mindset of male superiority as well as a reflection of perceptions of abuse of power and control from the bureaucracy in the exercise of its functions. Disagreeing with this notion, some were of the view that this is not a gender-specific phenomenon, arguing that not letting go of their powerful position, bureaucrats are said to behave rudely with politicians and parliamentarians regardless of their gender and affiliation with the treasury or opposition benches. Unreliable cooperation of bureaucrats (by not revealing required information) was seen as major obstacle for parliamentarians who seek relevant data for legislative or policy initiatives.

There are no mechanisms in place to counter women's harassment in government institutions or to counter favouritism and corruption within the bureaucracy, leading to a neglect of crucial issues of national importance. Condescending attitude towards women was considered as yet another feature of the bureaucracy, observed to be common both among male and female bureaucrats. Another point highlighted was the powerful position of the bureaucracy in the field of financial resources and budgeting, including vis-a-vis ministers. Finally, it was observed that the bureaucracy was reflective of a perpetuated colonial mindset of closed-door policies where performance, monitoring and evaluation systems were not sufficiently established and enforced, helped by the fact that, unlike the government and parliaments with a limited time in office, the bureaucracy was not subjected to public (electoral) scrutiny. Reforms were suggested to diversify (by involving private sector officers) and depoliticise (by emphasising their function as public servants) the system.

Women legislators frequently mentioned experiences of masculine bias and rude attitude of ministerial bureaucrats and local administrators and their not being taken seriously by them.

Women parliamentarians noted that such bureaucratic behaviours made them realise and adjust to the need to prove their worth by speaking up, acting tough and taking firm decisions.

To Do 5

Address Male Bias Within State and Bureaucracy

- More women in bureaucracy will have a positive effect on the state's commitment to gender equality, and the development of a strong network to support women parliamentarians' full engagement and effectiveness within the system. This can be achieved by changing the bureaucratic environment by increasing the number of women in bureaucracy or by providing additional secretaries for women, minorities and disabled persons under the auspices of the Prime Minister's Office.
- Solidarity among women parliamentarians is a critical factor for promoting women's issues and securing development funds for women on reserved seats. Therefore, they must build networks and cross-party alliances. Women parliamentarians are especially advised to engage in networking across different levels of the polity such as provincial women parliamentary caucuses and/or commissions on the status of women.
- The National Assembly's Women Parliamentary Caucus's effective working is crucial in serving as a platform to build those networks, hence all women representatives are recommended to join and engage actively.

a number of women parliamentarians argued that they should not be limited to women's issues only, but also, as their male counterparts preferred, to speak about matters of (inter-)national interests such as security issues and foreign affairs.

Engaging with arguments highlighting meritocracy (instead of quota concerns vis-a-vis structures of inequality), current leadership positions and decision-making structures are characterised by the absence of women, e.g. as heads of standing committees and other key positions due to their perceived lack of experience and seniority. Parliamentarians interviewed, which engaged with this line of thought and challenged the dynamics of quotas, argued that it was through hard work that women were successful in winning seats and enter the parliament rather than through specific quota protections. Although there were structural disadvantages to newcomers, the parliamentary environment allegedly suited further grooming so that women parliamentarians should be more proactive, replicate male-oriented approaches to political success and keep away from complaining about discrimination. Overall, it was strongly advised that women should come out of the limitations posed by reserved seats by actively involving themselves in legislation and development works.

Due to a male-dominated parliamentary culture and androcentric state institutions, quota women politicians face significant constraints in terms of government oversight and pro-women policy-making. The overall patriarchal nature of the Pakistani state and its institutions in conjunction with the male-dominated political parties serve as key gatekeepers and obstacles to women's substantial political representation.

To Do 6

Rethink Political Culture

- There is a current coping strategy of women adapting to men's style of doing politics, which is perceived as necessary in order to assert themselves as women politicians. This issue concerns all political actors and therefore must be tackled and changed at all levels.
- A debate on political masculinities and how to deal with this style of politics needs to be induced since there is a strong desire to change those androcentric structures and practices and review gender relations.

SPOTLIGHT 6

Political Culture, Patriarchal Bargain and Meritocracy

Strategies to change a male-biased political culture reflected upon adapting men's way of doing politics or not in an uneven level playing field, i.e. taking a cue from men's strategies to contest elections and talk about national issues that required policy-making (instead of addressing people's issues in the local police stations and law courts). [One could call it a patriarchal bargain rather than transformative politics.] Women should approach major constituency-based issues like men did and seek representation on general seats. For this reason,

SPOTLIGHT 7

Networking for Legislation

The issue of networking and caucusing was centred around the role of the cross-party Women Parliamentary Caucus (WPC), which should include women from both houses and whose impact would be reflected in how far women parliamentarians are able to intervene, to call attention notices, motions, etc. Moreover, the crucial role to be played by the WPC could also extend to addressing the needs of newcomers in smaller training and mentoring sessions by developing their capabilities, which would highly impact the effectiveness of those gender quota parliamentarians. This improvement would then be seen in legislations coming from the WPC as a result of their networking and alliance-building. However, interview respondents underlined that it required cross-party women solidarity in order to achieve that change much sooner.

On the workings of the WPC, coping mechanisms across party lines could be developed, if all representatives were provided equal opportunities to speak and agree on issues of mutual interests, raising the value of the WPC among women parliamentarians beyond ad hoc initiatives during parliamentary sessions and ensuring a unified will and commitment to address women's issues. Taking cue from the 2010 Women Protection Ordinance Act, its missing implementation was perceived to be due to a lack of concern among women parliamentarians. There is a need to ensure genuine women political representation, for instance by codifying that parties conduct elections on reserved seats lists. Furthermore, women legislators were critical of unresponsive political and bureaucratic institutions towards gender quota parliamentarians that need to be remedied.

To Do 7

Create Networks across Arenas / Collective Voice and Agency Power

- Due to a lack of visible and vocal critical mass and/or acts of critical men when it comes to gender politics, strategic essentialism among politically active quota parliamentarians must be created. Gender quota politicians could lead the way by cracking, and ultimately unmaking, patriarchal political institutional structures to deliver on women's substantive representation and political mainstreaming.

SPOTLIGHT 8

Questions of Constituency and Legitimacy

With regard to building political legitimacy and thus sustainable constituencies, a number of barriers were identified such as the absence of substantive representation which affects the performance of women on reserved seats. Although this issue was twofold, both party-based relationships and non-serious attitude in the Parliament affect the status of women on reserved seats. It was suggested that women candidates should represent institutions or constituencies where they were actively involved. The constituency was seen as imperative to the legitimacy of reserved seats, however, women on reserved seats were denied development funds because they represented no constituency. Disappointment was observed among women parliamentarians for the fact that they are labelled as people who were needed to either raise their hands or increase the strength of their party in the Parliament. However, gender quota parliamentarians viewed that winning through general elections was quite challenging in view of insufficient funds. Moreover, the required ability to compete with strong opponents on general seats means that strong candidates are perceived to be required. More often than not, most women lack resources and abilities and are thus considered to be more suitable contenders for reserved seats.

Repeatedly views were expressed that women legislators are torn between legislative work at the federal level and constituency work at the community level - workload not necessarily distributed according to capacities, resources, space and time available. Responsibilities should be so balanced that neither constituency nor legislative work is affected. Assigning development work to the local government authorities concerned may lessen the burden of national parliamentarians and create capacities for required legislative work.

Further assessments of women politicians mostly centred around the need to build grassroots representation, stronger and reliable constituencies based on detailed problem-solving knowledge, trust, close connections, and legitimacy with local counterparts. There should also be a review of the size of constituencies for gender quota politicians, potentially increasing the number of seats to allow for a proper quota mandate to be exercised and to strengthen women's substantive representation as active, visible members. Quota mechanisms should be seen as a springboard where close cooperation with various NGOs for development works could be used to actively represent a constituency.

To Do 8

Clarify Accountabilities

- There is an omnipresent debate involving very diverging opinions on quota legislators' accountabilities. They face the question to whom they are accountable - to the party leadership, the party workers or their constituency. On the one hand, women on quota seats are supposed to represent women's interests; on the other hand, they are expected to go beyond women's and children's issues, which results in a conflict of interests. It is necessary to openly address this complex conflict and thus create spaces for self-reflection, debates on priorities and individually dealing with the question of what the constituency should be.
- Overall Members of the National Assembly find themselves torn between legislative work and on the ground constituency work. The government must take over local development work to enhance the capacities and space for women to engage in legislative business.
- To tackle the challenge of disparate expectations, political parties need to develop agendas for gender equality as a driving force for their politics.
- Given the propensity for elite democracy, policies should be accountable to women from all social backgrounds, especially the silenced and marginalised majority.
- Building constituencies from grassroots levels with women-specific, community-based organisations and women's networks is recommended.

SPOTLIGHT 9

Budgetary Accountability

Obstacles to budgetary accountability were, first, observed in the government's discriminatory attitude towards women on reserved seats compared with those on general seats. Development funds were not allocated to women on reserved seats, understood to not represent a particular constituency. Women solidarity across party lines on this crucial issue appears to be missing. Many women parliamentarians considered the lack of access to development funds as discriminatory and recalled that in previous legislatures, when women were more prominent in power, they were offered considerable incentives for development works. Women on reserved

seats identified particular constituencies they want to work in and they want to represent, in terms of specific social groups as well as geographic spaces identified. In addition, those gender quota legislators serving more than one constituency find it even more difficult to tap into development fund provisions. It was shared that women parliamentarians working on issues such as women empowerment, women education and health were denied development funds due to gender discrimination, lack of gender-specific awareness and sensitivity as well as missing provisions for gender budgeting. Consequently, there was no awareness about gender budgeting. The indirect selection modality of the reserved-seat provisions in place is thus a key challenge for women to build constituency-based support and accountability needed for electoral success beyond quota provisions and genuine substantive representation.

To Do 9

Ensure Accountabilities and Compliance

Accountabilities must be put in place on a systemic level when it comes to budgeting, with structures and mechanisms that ensure implementation and compliance of gender-specific measures - be it in government, judiciary or bureaucracy.

- **Government:** One can not only scrutinise the political performance of national legislators, women and men alike, but also needs to look at the state and its accountability in terms of procedures and institutional setups. Legislation and policy-making require subsequent implementation and insurances of compliance with laws and policies made. In that regard, government outputs and outcomes need to improve, so that a higher number of women in parliament can translate into an advancement in women's overall socio-economic and political status.
- **Judiciary:** The judicial system and the subsequent enforcement of laws are required to cater to women's interests and needs in an accountable manner. That can be achieved by (i) recruiting more female police officers and judiciary personnel; (ii) establishing women desks at police stations country-wide; (iii) setting up women courts; and (iv) ensuring that judicial staff works in a gender sensitised manner.
- **Bureaucracy:** Reforms are required and suggested. For example, (i) involve the private sector for the provision of officers to ensure diversification and capacity building; (ii) depoliticise a kind of "state within the state" and change androcentric bureaucratic mindsets of the "bureaucratic class"; along with (iii) ensuring gender sensitisation of bureaucrats, in regard to acceptance of and responsiveness towards women parliamentarians. The Protection against Harassment of Women at Workplace Act should be strictly adhered to and implemented within the different levels of the ministerial bureaucracy. Correct implementation and compliance must be assured at all times.

- **Budgeting:** Discrimination against quota legislators regarding development funds must be banned and incentives created to allocate funds to women and women's issues, especially at the local government level. Gender budgeting should be a key tool to ensure this objective. The above-mentioned accountabilities and compliance with gender equity policy goals can be ensured through independent monitoring mechanisms in the form of strong, fully functional and endowed women machineries, i.e. national and provincial commissions on the status of women (CSWs), the establishment of gender equality offices and/or gender units.

SPOTLIGHT 10

Impact of Women's Parliamentary Presence

In line with the above-mentioned notes on reserved seats, some viewed gender quotas as superficial changes to an overall androcentric political system, not leading to women's substantive political representation as women's selection was more often alleged to be based on concessions and relationships with their party while women remained isolated from core decision-making within political party structures. In the absence of a legal structure in place to promote their participation within political parties, this male-centred hegemony was viewed to diminish the idea behind pushing for more women representatives. This observation indicated a trend that in an increasing atmosphere of discouragement and paucity of support from political parties there was a decreasing number of women parliamentarians on general seats. Women's wings of political parties were regarded as a tool to marginalise women representatives by restricting them to women's issues only. Although the WPC was seen to benefit from across party lines with an equal opportunity to talk, most women parliamentarians agreed that women should also speak on matters other than gender issues, particularly defence and foreign affairs.

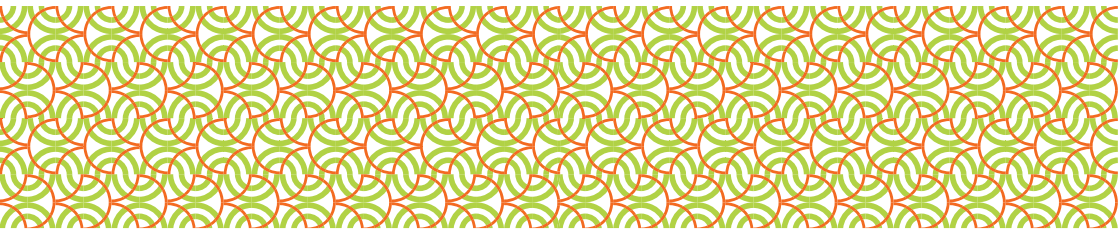
There were contestations over the impact of women's parliamentary presence with a mixed opinion pattern emerging. Despite all limitations and criticisms, one camp argued that the quota system generates a positive change in attitude with people becoming accustomed to the presence of women alongside raising confidence, awareness and performance levels of women parliamentarians. In contrast, in another line of argument, it was stressed that gender quotas do more harm because women representatives do not truly reflect the issues of their larger constituencies when highlighting predominantly gender concerns. Some labeled women as acting as 'cheerleaders' or sitting on the back benches without much to

do in face of an outright male majority in the Parliament. However, others argued, supported by studies (e.g. FAFEN 2015), that women parliamentarians on general and reserved seats were more serious and better performing than men, i.e. they were comparatively more pro-active on calling attention notices, in undertaking strong legislative work and were considered as highly authoritative hence influential enough to make changes by raising local issues in the Parliament.

To Do 10

Address Gender Accountability Concerns

- There is a need to create awareness among stakeholders and society at large on the imperative and benefits of ensuring gender accountability and its nexus with full and sustainable socioeconomic and political development.
- Gender-sensitive checks and balances have to be established within the bureaucracy at all levels, with civil society as an important watchdog.
- Gender mainstreaming is a crucial policy principle.

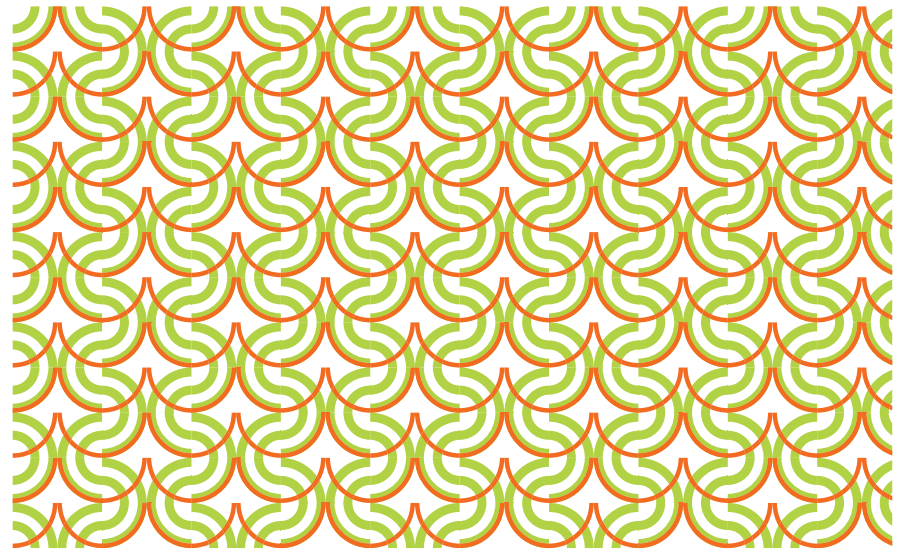


On The Bucket List

Questions for Further Action Research / Policy Studies

As is the case with any kind of action research, new questions arise and some old ones cannot be answered. Here are some of the questions that remain open for debate, action and reflection:

- How could we address the disconnect between different arenas of public affairs (parliament, government, bureaucracy, civil society) and the subsequent lack of enforcement of laws and policy measures?
- How can intra-gender divisions, polarisations and heterogeneity on prioritising 'women' as quota-based constituency be overcome in order to achieve strategic essentialism?
- How can new norms, such as of gender equality or breaking with androcentric politics, be diffused and lead to changes in political culture and changes in practices by various stakeholders? And how can mindsets particularly of male politicians, family members as well as other socio-political stakeholders be fundamentally changed to a more trusting, respectful and appreciative one towards female politicians?
- What are ways to include female bureaucrats, their insights and experiences and food for thought to the debate and connect femocrats across different arenas, allowing for their exchange and extra-institutional learning?



Selected Further Reading / Current Policy Reports

- Aurat Foundation (2012): Legislative Quotas for Women. A Global & South Asian Overview of Types and Numbers, Legislative Watch Programme for Women's Empowerment Islamabad: Aurat Foundation, www.af.org.pk/pub_files/1358744372.pdf.
- Aziz, Naheed and Abdullah, Tahira (2012): Suggestions on Women's Empowerment for Election Manifestos of Political Parties. Islamabad: Aurat Publication and Information Service Foundation, http://www.af.org.pk/pub_files/1365680811.pdf.
- Bari, Farzana (2015): Bridging the Fault Lines? Rethinking the Gender Quota Approach in Pakistan, Publication Series "Reviewing Gender Quotas in Afghanistan and Pakistan", Islamabad: Heinrich Böll Stiftung, https://pk.boell.org/sites/default/files/uploads/2016/01/bridging_the_fault_lines_rethinking_the_gender_quota_approach_in_pakistan.pdf.
- Free and Fair Election Network (2015): Women Legislators Performance in the National Assembly, Islamabad: FAFEN, <http://fafen.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/FAFENS-Performance-Analysis-of-Women-Legislators-in-the-14th-National-Assembly.pdf>.
- Fleschenberg, Andrea and Bari, Farzana (2015): Unmaking Political Patriarchy through Gender Quotas?, Publication Series "Reviewing Gender Quotas in Afghanistan and Pakistan", Islamabad/Kabul: Heinrich Böll Stiftung, https://www.boell.de/sites/default/files/uploads/2015/12/unmaking_political_patriarchy_through_gender_quotas.pdf.
- Fleschenberg, Andrea (2016): "It's not Charity, it is a Seat of Power" - Moving Beyond Symbolic Representation in Afghanistan's Transition Politics?, Publication Series

- “Reviewing Gender Quotas in Afghanistan and Pakistan”, Kabul: Heinrich Böll Stiftung, https://af.boell.org/sites/default/files/it_is_not_charity_research_eng.pdf.
- Foust, Joshua and Haring, Melinda (2012): M.: Who cares how many women are in parliament?, in: Foreign Policy, June 25, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/06/25/who-cares-how-many-women-are-in-parliament/>.
- Francheschet, Susan, Krook, Mona Lena and Piscopo, Jennifer M. (2012): Conceptualizing the Impact of Gender Quotas, in: idem (eds.), *The Impact of Gender Quotas*, Oxford et al.: Oxford University Press, pp. 3-24.
- Goetz, Anne-Marie and Hassim, Shireen (2003): *No Shortcuts to Power. African Women in Politics and Policy Making*, London/New York: Zed Books.
- Hofmeister, Wilhelm, Sarmah, Megha and Kaur, Dilpreet (eds., 2015): *Women, Policy and Political Leadership. Regional Perspectives in Today’s World*, Singapore: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_42047-1522-2-30.pdf?150715094603.
- Inter-Parliamentary Union (2016): Issue Brief - Sexism, Harassment and Violence against Women Parliamentarians, Geneva: IPU, <http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/issuesbrief-e.pdf>.
- Inter-Parliamentary Union (2016): *Women in Parliament in 2015. The Year in Review*, Geneva: IPU, <http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/WIP2015-e.pdf>.
- Inter-Parliamentary Union (2012): *Plan of Action for Gender-sensitive Parliaments*. <http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/action-gender-e.pdf>.
- National Democratic Institute (2013): *Increasing Women’s Political Participation through Effective Training Programs: A Guide to Best Practices and Lessons Learned*, Washington: NDI, <https://www.ndi.org/files/Training-Manual-Increasing-WPP-Through-Effective-Training-Programs.pdf>.
- National Democratic Institute and UNDP (2012): *Empowering Women for Stronger Political Parties. A Guidebook to Promote Women’s Political Participation*, no place: NDI and UNDP, <https://www.ndi.org/files/Empowering-Women-Full-Case-Study-ENG.pdf>.
- Naveeda, Noreen and Mussarat, Razia (2014): *Women Struggle for Legal Empowerment in Pakistan Historical Overview*, *Journal of Public Administration and Governance*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 135-166, www.macrothink.org/jpag.
- Norris, Pippa (2012): *Gender Equality in Elected Office in Asia-Pacific. Six Actions to Expand Women’s Empowerment*, Bangkok: UNDP, <http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/presscenter/pressreleases/2012/09/20/undp-offers-six-point-plan-to-fast-track-women-in-politics-in-asia-pacific/>.
- QuotaProject (n.n.): *Quota Database*, <http://www.quotaproject.org/>.
- Razavi, Shahra and Jenichen, Anne (2010): “The Unhappy Marriage of Religion and Politics: Problems and Pitfalls for Gender Equality”, in: *Third World Quarterly* 31(6), pp. 833-850.
- Rojini, Pande and Ford, Deanna (2011): *Gender Quotas and Female Leadership*, *World Development Report 2012*, Washington: World Bank, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/>
- INTWDR2012/Resources/7778105-1299699968583/7786210-1322671773271/Pande-Gender-Quotas-April-2011.pdf.
- United Nations Development Program (2016): *GUIDANCE NOTE. Strategies and Good Practices in Promoting Gender Equality Outcomes in Parliaments*, no place: UNDP. http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/democratic-governance/parliamentary_development/guidance-note---strategies-and-good-practices-in-promoting-gende.html.
- United Nations Development Program (2013): *Parliaments and Gender Equality: Gender Mainstreaming in Legislatures*, Panama: UNDP, http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/democratic-governance/parliamentary_development/parliaments-and-gender-equality.html.
- United Nations Development Program (2010): *Power, Voice and Rights - A Turning Point for Gender Equality in Asia and the Pacific*, Colombo: UNDP, http://www.undp.org/content/dam/india/docs/power_voice_and_rights_turning_point_for_gender_equality_in_asia_and_pacific.pdf.
- UNWOMEN and Centre for Social Research (2014): *Violence against Women in Politics. A Study Conducted in India, Nepal and Pakistan*, New Delhi: UNWOMEN and Centre for Social Research, <http://www2.unwomen.org/~media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2014/violence%20against%20women%20in%20politics-report.pdf?v=1&d=20141110T204441>.
- Waylen, Georgina (2013): “Informal Institutions, Institutional Change, and Gender Equality”, in: *Political Research Quarterly* 20(10), pp. 1-12.

