# Management of Engendered Political System of Pakistan: Post 9/11

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*Abstract:* *9/11 political developments in Pakistan has enlarged the component of women status in political system of Pakistan. The significance of this study stems from entwined besiege of women political presence by introverts and extroverts vis-à-vis global trends. The political uplift of women lacks socio-economic development base and seems non-indigenous. The paper values the systematic theory of international politics based on a model of, "nested politics". It describes how the three layers of political authority- individual autonomy nested within state heirarchy, nested within international anarchy-constitute an engine for both changes in state behaviour and changes in the distributions that constitute the structure of state vis-à-vis international system. The paper discusses the concept of representation, the ipso-facto empowerment of women, the three dimensional strategy for generative engenderment (harness,-harmonize-homogenize) of political legislation of Pakistan.*

*Key words:* Women empowerment, Political representation

## 1. Introduction

9/11 political developments in Pakistan has enlarged the component of women status in political system of Pakistan. The closest parallel quota is in Norway and Sweden, who implemented a 40% quota for women's representation in political parties. The change is visible as the politics has passed from fathers to daughters instead of sons only.

The significance of this study stems from entwined besiege of women political presence by introverts and extroverts vis-à-vis global trends. The political uplift of women lacks socio-economic development base and seems non-indigenous. This research intends to highlight this trend in assumption, *"The engenderment of political system of Pakistan has suffixed socio-political structures, and therefore need to be indigenized generatively."*

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The paper utilizes the index of ipso-facto Empowerment (See Table 1.) to determine the lining of political presence.

Table. 1
Index of ipso-facto Empowerment

| *Causes* | *Effects* |
|---|---|
| Illusive development | Economic dependency |
| Non-                  indigenous empowerment | Political          dependency versus independency |

Source: Self made

The paper values the systematic theory of international politics based on a model of, "nested politics" (Branunoeller, 2000:24). It describes how the three layers of political authority- individual autonomy nested within state heirarchy, nested within international anarchy-constitute an engine for both changes in state behaviour and changes in the distributions that constitute the structure of state vis-à-vis international system.

This paper abides by linkages approach while gaining insights into the whole by understanding the interactions and processes between the elements that comprise the whole "system" of internal politics of Pakistan referred to international system[2].

The paper is divided into five sections; following the introduction section two discusses the concept of representation, section three elaborates the *ipso-facto* empowerment of women, section four      provides three

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[2] In 1969 United Nations established a Commision on the Status of Women. 1975-1985 was declared the decade of Women. Nairobi conf 1975, Mexico Conf1980, Coupenhegen conf 1985, they gave a decade period to goverments to propose plans of action for the development of women. After Begiing conf 1995 Pakistan gave National Plan of Action 1996-2002. Strategies for Women Development were proposed, concerning twelve areas as: Women and Poverty, Education and Training of Women, Women and Health, Violence against Women, Women and the Armed Conflict, *Women and the Economy, Women in Power and Decision Making (33% quota was proposed), Institutional Mechanisms for the Advancment of Women*, Human Rights of Women, Women and the Media, Women and the Environment, The Girl-Child. Pakistan has signed the ILO Convention for women rights which include conventions 111 about discrimination against women, Convention 103 abut maternity, Convention 156 about domestic and work affairs.

dimensional strategies for generative engenderment of political legislation of Pakistan, and section five is learning statement.

Although women aspirations in Pakistan had emphasized women's rights, but this had not led to sufficient changes in the representation of women in political positions at national and local level before 2002. The study addresses the following questions:

- Are women the "subject of change" or "agents of change"?
- Should changes be brought about by women themselves instead of these being lauched by some exogenous factors?

## 2. The Concept of Political Representation

*Representation entails, "acting on behalf of the people". It is not the fact of "representation" that distinguishes representative government from tyrrany, rather, it is a set of institutions that legitimate political representation* (Andrew. Rehfeld, 2004:12).

"Political representation is primarily a public, institutionalized arrangement involving in the complex ways of large scale social arrangements. Representation is not a single action by any one participant, but the over all structure and functioning of the system, the patterns emerging from the multiple activities of many people. This is a matter of substantive[3] acting for others; it requires independent action in the interest of the governed and not in conflict with their wishes" (Pitkin, 1967:13).

The political representation channeled to women is a mix of endogenous aspirations and exogenous political growth that occurred with out being the result of deliberate politico-economic development. The term arises because neo-classical growth model converge to a steady state in which the per capita political-income [4] is constant overtime. Growth then requires exogenous political support. Now let's visualize the political set up of Pakistan vis-à-vis systemic theory of international politics nested along

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[3] *Substantive*: Expressing existence, while looking at women political empowerment in Pakistan and substance; the substance of the electorate and the substance of original group of affiliation may differ but the original substance may work within the acquired substance of legitimacy.

[4] *Per capita political-income*: power to earn a vote and to cast it as to effect the decision making processes or become a part of decision making process.

individual, national and international facts. "Constitutive representation preserves *individualism* through its formal aspects of "authorization" and "accountability", enhances individuality through its substantive aspect of "descriptive standing", promotes political individuality through its, 'symbolic standing'. And finally, when the representative substantively 'act' she acts for the sovereign" (Nancy, 1988:48). The sovereign referred to political representation of women is the vote bank which has indirectly elected the women for legislation; the women have no constituencies as very few have been directly elected, ie in Balochistan one out of twelve women has been elected directly.

### *Political representation may comprise of substantive and procedural dimensions*.

The notion of political representation is *thick* as if it has authorization, accountability, and limits on the substance of representation of all of which are specifications of theory of legitimacy. Accountability is a procedural device that sanctions a representative to keep his agreement. Combining accountability, authorization and the substance of each, Pitkin forms a theory of legitimate representation that involves acting on behalf of another's interests. This takes into account the meaning of "interests" and the content of what the representative is authorized to do (See Table. 2).

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**Table. 2 Political Representation of Interests**

The interests may be identical to her own. A more complex case arises when the representative is part of the group whose interests she is representing. This turns out to be terribly difficult as representative qua representative is not her own interests but rather of the group.

Additionally, her actions are constrained by mechanisms that authorize her and hold her to account for the achievement of these ends. Disagreements about the substance of these obligations and methods of authorization and accountability are familiar. No less familiar, if less clearly distinguished, are disagreements about the episternic source of these interests should constituents or the nation determine the content of those interests or should the representatives own wisdom be her guide?

Source: Andrew Rehfeld, "On legitimacy and Political Representation", Draft prepared for Political Theory Workshop, University of Chicago, 27th Nov, 2004

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Contemporary accounts of political representation presume it is inextricably bound to a concept of legitimacy. Thus a political representative is said to entail obligations to act on behalf of an other's interest as *ipso facto* what it means to be political representatives (See Table. 2) Representation becomes legitimate, however, just in case a representative needs (or strives to attain) both procedural and substantive requirements. Illegitimate representatives are thus those who satisfy only the substantive or procedural conditions, but not both.

*When the elected does not serve the interest of electorate, the representative really is political representative but not legitimate one.*

The thirty three percent elected women denominate the individual autonomy in their political affairs as they have to go through the check list as elaborated in Table 3.

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**Table. 3**
**Check list of political authority-individual autonomy**

- Natural inhibition as the women are less aggressive by nature and more caring the others, considering more factors in decision making as compared to men.
- Social inhibitions as the women have to pull through the different social bondages where they exist, i-e one of the major causes of demise of Benazir Regime was to serve the interests of her husband.
- Economic inhibitions, as they are not economically independent; though they work but invisibly and lack to make decisions about their earning.
- Political inhibitions, as they have to serve the interest of the sovereign and the sovereign in the situation is the power and political structure of Pakistan.

Source: Self made

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The individual political autonomy has to flourish within state hierarchy comprised of national-provincial-local institutions. Among these institutions the most powerful are the national institutions which also include the power structure of Pakistan. The national elite comprised of civil and military bureaucracy rules over the political institutions in Pakistan, more than half of the rule in Pakistan since its independence has been managed by the military-Ayub era 1958-1969, Zia era 1978-1988, Musharraf era 1999 till

today. The elite have links with international elite of international financial institutions, Most Developed Countries of the world, and Multinational Corporations of the world. The decision to establish 33% quota for women in political set of Pakistan is elite decision (Jabeen, 2003:62). Section three will go into detail of this growth. The overall strategy in the backdrop of war on terrorism commencing from 9/11 carries its social segment, managed by the international managers. The 33% quota for women may be a basic thought of women emancipation of this social segment. The state behavior has been changed towards women and the change in political presence has caused a change in the structure of the state as well.

## 3. Ipso-Facto Empowerment of Women

*"I wish to impress upon you that no nation can rise to the heights of glory unless your women are side by side with you."*

Quaid-e-Azam, Address at the Muslim University
(Aligarh, 10th March, 1944)

The political representation has not been evolved as different stages of development rather it is spout growth and lacks support system comprised of social (See Table. 3) and economic factors. This section will dilate the index of ipso empowerment given in Table. 1. Two factors are accounted here as to focus political poverty:
1. Availability of opportunity
2. Socio-political restraints to avail opportunity
Poverty is denial to opportunity but this study tries to evaluate the restraints to avail the opportunity.

The link between gender and poverty is evident all over the world. Out of 1.3b people living in poverty, 70% are women. Feminization of poverty is a global phenomenon. The poverty line drawn over 38m in Pakistan pushes back the women figure even below than this as due to our socio-economic practices; the resources first go to the males, so females are the poorest of the poor. (See Table. 4) It is knowledge that makes one conscious of one's rights. Women empowered with information generally remain in the forefront of their communities. The literacy gap between men and women was 25%, 25 years ago, and by 2001 it had increased to 29%. Given our population growth rate, though literacy rates have gone up, the number of illiterates too has doubled since 1951. Even worse the number of illiterate women has tripled (Quraishi, 2004:9).

| Table. 4 Basic Facts |
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| Per capita income:<br>1999-2000, US$ 443<br>1990-1991, US$ 426 |
| Health<br>Population Per Doctor (1999) 1,578<br>Population Per Dentist (1999) 35,757<br>Population Per hospital bed (1999) 1,495 |
| Education<br>Total 45%<br>Male 56.5%<br>Female 32.6% |
| Source: Asian Development Bank, http://adb.org, 10 Oct, 2004 |

There are historical, traditional and customary elements which marginalize women's participation and have kept their work invisible. The general view is that the occupation and property from father should go to son and not to daughter. Reduced mobility of women reduces the income of women as well. Social set ups of property ownership where the property does not go to women (Krishna, 2004:172).

The rate of dependency in Pakistan is 37%, the unemployment rate (among those aged 10 and above) 6.1% for men and 17.3% for women. (ADB, 2000)

Harassment of women at workplace and various other reasons come between her work and mobility, access and control. 50% women still need permission to step out of the house, while only a small percentage are able to go out work with out any male chaperone. Regarding the earnings and savings most of the earnings of women are spent on household needs and requirements without any acuity about savings, as they do not have any control over their earnings (Khattak, 2003:6)

In recent developments, there is a change on private level in the attitude of the male members of the family regarding women working outside the house. 91% women now get the support as they start to earn. But at public level there is hardly any change. 50% married women prefer home-based work due to fear of harassment at workplace and other social pressures. About women work force in various fields, in Pakistan 97% women work in plastic industry, 84% in the pharmaceutical and 93% in food and agriculture sector. 90% of women have no knowledge about laws and legal aspects (Ibid).

Some labour laws provide legal cover to women in broad terms, even then the problem is often lack of proper implementation and also lack of awareness among women about their own rights (Rizvi, 2004:8)

The labour force participation rates for women are grossly underreported by the official sources of data. The 1997 Labour Force Survey reported the refined actively rate for women as 13.6% and 70% for men while the crude activity rate was 9% and 47% respectively. National Plan of Action, committed 25% quota, later on a consensus was reached on 5% quota for women in public sector jobs. Sindh province and Northern Areas responded by notifying the 5% reservation of the quota, but the NWFP government reduced it to 2% and the government of Punjab and Balochistan did not endorse the proposal at all. All these policies did not take an effect (National Commission on Status of Women of Pakistan, 2004).

The author has been in Pashin (a district in Balochistan) for social impact evaluation of World Bank Female Primary Education Project 1994-99, where the female teachers were doing the job but their salary was spent according to the will of their husbands. Above all the services of women are not recognized as of men, when the man earns for the family he is respected and exalted and not the woman.

***Non-indigenous empowerment***: In post 9/11 scenario the transnational stakes in Afghanistan have been trying to strengthen the progressive elements in Pakistan. The engenderment of Pakistan political system has some links with that strategy as well. Though there is evidence that the National Action Plan 1996-2002 had measured the action of 33% quota but it soon crystallized after 9/11. The decision seems political lacking the strong lining of evolution. Even if we go through the different international instruments signed by Pakistan---as they are international and not specific to the conditions of Pakistan---and Pakistan has become forward to grant this quota to women, which is not even available to US women.

In real terms there was a need to give 33% quota in political representation as the society is patriarchal. There are many stages of development and this is one stage of growth that the women should be provided the opportunity at political level to become the part of development (Aurengzeb, 2004)

The political representation has been not granted because of socio-political imperatives and it is not effective to promote the cause of women. It is granted to them as symbolic and not actual. The fact is that the decision has been taken to portray the society of Pakistan as progressive (Mir, 2004).

The political set up has been changed as the common girls have come in political set up, now the grass root level people are there including

all women with different potential. The politicians think that the women are dummy and they have no potential in decision making. The women have been selected indirectly (the directly elected politicians say that the women have come on "KHAIRATI" seats) only few seats have been contested by women. For example in Balochistan only one seat was contested by Nasreen Khaitran as her husband was defaulter and the wife provided an opportunity to reach the provincial assembly (Durrani, 2004).

95% women selected as councilors in local government lack literacy and awareness, the main thrust to become councilor is to get the amount as monthly salary from Rs. 1000 to Rs. 5000. The general knowledge of councilors about their job is to serve the Nazim at district level (Rahman, 2004).

Women holding policy making positions sometime have a backward mindset and lack proper vision to think of some thing new to bring change in the existing policies or to take initiative and give recommendations that would play a positive role in the true empowerment of women of the country (Majida. Rizvi, 2004:op cit).

## 4. 3-D strategy for Generative Engenderment of Political System of Pakistan: harness-harmonize-homogenize

Here the study provides 3 dimensional strategies for generative engenderment of political system of Pakistan. Female population of Pakistan is 52%; undoubtedly supporting to any sort of politico-economic change. The potential needs to be cost analyzed firstly to turn the process in righteous way and the second to sustain the process.

The logic to *harness* the women potential aims at seeking the truth through a method that relies on an appreciation of the richness of human diversity and a desire for unity. Because it is based on universal spiritual principles, it is adaptable to any culture. It is regarded that human diversity is an asset. In decision making, for instance, a diverse group, drawing on the wisdom, knowledge, and experience of each person, can solve complex problems more effectively than any single individual (Bahai International Community, 2000).

Women make decisions that are as good and as important as those made by men. In fact, women may even make better decisions than men for the simple reason that they take more factors into consideration in the contexts within which they make decisions (Veeder, 1992:1).

The second stage is to *harmonize* the change with the socio political processes (See Table. 5). Women have to justify the social as well as new political roles vis-à-vis traditional roles. *Here we need to evaluate that; who*

*is paying the cost for this change and who is benefiting*. One may also feel that women are treated as subjects of change more than the agents of change. In fact the anthropology of change also administers that first they become the subjects of change and then the agents of change.

Political party act should be amended as to incorporate that each party increase its women membership to minimum of 30% and representation in the central working committee to a minimum of 25% to ensure that women participate in the process of decision making (National Commission on Stats of Women of Pakistan, 2002).

*Homogenize:* Here the feeling of we-ness should be created that the status granted to women and reflected back on society is not only beneficial to women but also to men. Rather this is a time to tell the nation through media and research that the women are paying more cost to this engagement of women in the process of new paradigms of development. (See Table. 6)

**Table. 5 Harmonizing the Women Empowerment**
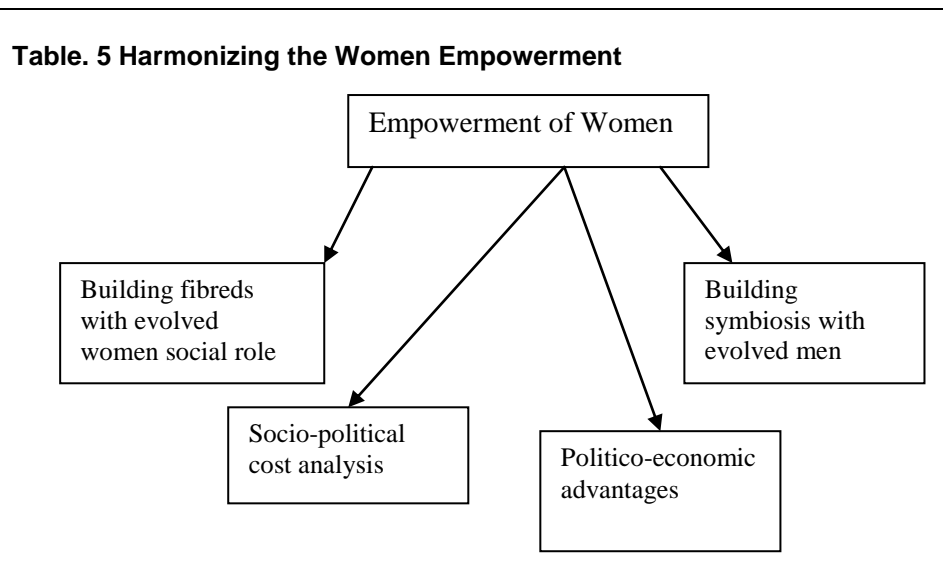
**Table. 6**
The working women is five times exploitation of a source
Following are fast facts:
1. Women abide by the natural process of reproduction and social responsibilities.
2. Women try to be best of their job tasks.
3. Women lack decision making about their earnings, as soon as they start to earn the males start to evade their financial responsibilities.
4. The working women have to justify other out door duties, managing grocery, driving or kids education, footing the bills.
5. The fellow callous men and women point out that the working woman is exploiting the two earnings one of her and the other of husband.

Source: Self made

In fact it is the question of acknowledgement of women's role in development, which needs to be managed.

## 5. Learning Statement

*Most anthropologists, developmental psychologists, and sociologists have evolved a static deterministic model of female personality development, which is said to be affiliative rather than active.*

The study has found that the political presence of women in the political system of Pakistan has illuminated different socio-political strategies in different ways. The progressive elements in the society has taken the lead by facilitating the process at political level, the non secular elements also supported the development as; at women level they have implanted their representatives to forward their ideas, the feminist movements in Pakistan have owned the virtue beneath their slogans.

The bases of action are profound because this political development has initiated the development of another layer of conflict within the society the following facts need to considered:

- A segment of society deflates the progressive elements in the society --- the women emancipation is on the agenda of non secular parties, which intend to topple the existing regime.
- Intelligently the violence has been increased against women in family institution by the elements which intend to suppress the awareness in

women folk---they cannot undo the law but can constrain the women not to opt for that.

- Conflicting laws of local systems; Tribal Jirga in NWFP prevented women to cast vote in election 2002.

The evidence suggests that the concept of representation is a continuing tension between ideal (thick notion) and achievement. This tension should lead us neither to abandon the ideal, nor to abandon its institutionalization and withdraw from political reality. Rather it should present a continuing but not hopeless challenge: to construct institutions and train individuals in such a way that they engage in the pursuit of the public; and, at the same time, to remain critical of those institutions and that training, so that they are always open to further interpretation and reform.

The matter of fact is that the women invisibly exist and persist in the economic system as deliverer of service and does not hold the benefits proportionally. Ironically, at the same time a great deal of rhetorical attention has been paid to gender issues at national level (policy making) but not actually.

The referendum, local government elections, the Oct 2002 polls and the recent election of Shaukat Aziz are justified more on *procedural* than substantive grounds. The oblique changes have been always brought in Pakistan from top to down and women representation is no exception to this fact.

The feminization of the process is not self sustaining as it is found that the economic lining is lacking whether it is the political quota or institutions formation, i-e the National Commission on Status of Women is not an independent institution, because its all requirements are met through government funding, no institution can be independent unless there is financial autonomy.

The evidence suggests that the men support the case of women only when they think that the interests of men would be served profoundly. We need to go from gender sensitivity to encompass the dimensions of collective gender rights. Changes are brought to be within if they are to be sustained.

Many women elected belong to politicians who have been already in power in Pakistan previously this trend may manipulate the process of change in the interest of power regimes. The inaugural status of this quota may provide a base for future strengthening of women status in Pakistan.

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