

GLASS CEILING IN POLITICS: A CASE OF WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS IN PAKISTAN

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Declaration

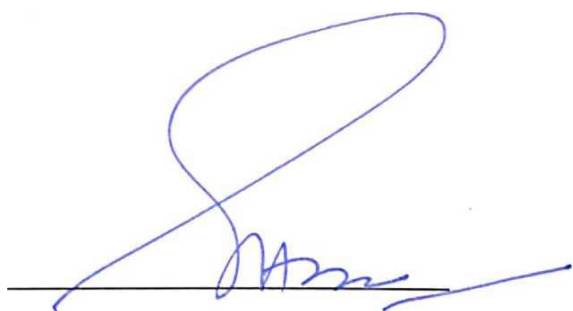
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A handwritten signature in blue ink is written over a horizontal line. The signature is stylized and appears to be 'Zakria Zakar'.

Prof. Dr. Zakria Zakar
(Supervisor)

Dedication

I dedicate my work to my husband and four beloved children may Allah bless them with a bright future and may He be pleased with them.

Acknowledgments

All the praises, thanks, and acknowledgment are for the most merciful, the most beneficent Almighty Allah, Who guides us in the darkness and helps in the difficulties.

I offer my humblest and sincerest words of thanks to His Holy Prophet Muhammad S.A.W the benefactor of mankind, who is a light of guidance and knowledge for humanity. To my parents for their unconditional love and my family who always appreciate me and encouraged me.

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My love and success are for them all.

Abstract

The constant influx of women in politics might suggest that the glass ceiling is a thing of the past. But still, it is very much a reality in the political arena. There is a dearth of women politicians in upper-level positions globally and specifically in Pakistan. The focus of this research is on the fact that a large number of women have entered the political arena through the quota system and due to the pressure of international organizations, but does it indicate that barriers for women's upward mobility have been diminished? And if they exist, in what ways do they create hindrances for women to get decision-making positions? A qualitative phenomenological approach and method were used, to explore the lived experiences of women parliamentarians, facing barriers in their political careers and to examine the possibilities of women to advance to leadership positions in Pakistan. Participants were purposefully sampled to get to the core of common lived experiences of women parliamentarians. Data was collected by conducting in-depth interviews with twenty women parliamentarians who have spent either one or more tenure in parliament and whose careers could provide an insight regarding the presence or breaking of the political glass ceiling. Findings of the present study indicated that women face barriers at every level of their career from induction to get to advanced positions these are based on three major themes or levels, including the 1st level of the glass ceiling as a barrier in their way to politics, then the 2nd level of the glass ceiling in the way to their upward mobility after entering the parliament, and that organization again has more and more layers of barriers that hinder women to reach specific decision-making positions and the third theme is based on coping strategies adopted by women to deal with glass ceiling and for their career persistency. The first type of barriers are those which they face in their pathways to politics, at this stage some elements pave the way for their entry into politics, these include family as a ladder or hurdle, political familial lineage, solitary striving and impediments, behavioral modification of family members,

career aspiration, gender quotas in assembling social support and redesigned religious notion. In addition to that, after crossing these barriers, and reaching parliament, they face the second level of the Glass ceiling as a barrier in the pathway to upward mobility or the advancement of their careers. Women have to go through extra scrutiny, face objectification, sexism, and gender discrimination, along with less support from the party leadership as well as intra-female political discredit, marginalized decision participation, media personification of women as a politician, political false consciousness, party ideology in taking women as a proxy politician, gender stereotyping and prejudice on their way to politics. Then if a few of them rise to a higher position, other parliamentarians view it as favoritism, nepotism, and preferential treatment given to them from party leaders due to their strong family background. Besides, media does not play a significant role in portraying a positive image, rather works for their pity vested interest that adds to their less participation at higher posts. Women parliamentarians on reserved seats do not get funds, they are not considered suitable to be the chair of different committees and are not given strong ministerial portfolios. While facing these barriers, women parliamentarians adopt some coping strategies to survive in parliament and struggle for upward mobility, their coping strategies data indicated, that they struggle to keep themselves up to date with the national and international scenario and to have desired knowledge, so they would also be considered for some decision making positions. If this strategy does not work, then most of the parliamentarians are compelled to comply with the patriarchal structure, they start adopting a media-friendly attitude or show minimum visibility to at least maintain their seat, which gives them hopes of reaching higher positions. Last but not least they have to adopt a very optimistic attitude, as the only way to reach a higher post is to keep on struggling. The study concludes with the idea that women now have entered the second level of the glass ceiling, where party politics and male leaders of the party create hindrances for women, women were unable to achieve their desired roles in politics. This

research recommends that women parliamentarians form legislations to improve the situation of women in all fields, they should draft laws to strengthen their position in the parliament because very few legal reforms are introduced to improve the status of women parliamentarians. This study has contributed to show the real scenario of women in parliament, as well as their struggle to reach higher positions. The present study is a new contribution to the existing literature by adding lived experiences of women parliamentarians regarding the phenomena of the glass ceiling and indicate the areas where improvement is required to aid them in improving their status. These findings can be validated further by focusing on the large size of parliamentarian through survey, to get generalized empirical evidence that was not the focus of the current study.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Women's equal representation in politics is an important issue for all the democracies of the world. Although more women have entered the political arena, women's scarcity at the top level positions remains a universal political phenomenon (Cooper, 2016). In present-day democracies, there is an unequal distribution of power in politics. Currently, the average female representation in legislative assemblies around the world is 23.3% in both houses, while in Asia 19.3%. Overall worldwide 1237 ministerial portfolios are held by women in 186 countries. When it comes to Pakistan, the percentage is 20.6% (70/342) in the lower house and 18.3% (19/104) in the upper house. From the total 27 cabinet ministries, women did not hold any single of those (UN Women, 2017). Such a dearth of women on the highest political posts suggests that society is still keeping them outside of leadership positions and they are not involved in decision making. (Murray, 2014). However, with more and more women entering into politics as compared to the past decade, this constant influx of women in politics might suggest that the glass ceiling is a thing of the past. But in the political sphere, it is still a reality. Women continue to be underrepresented in management positions, particularly in politics, their representation in decision-making structures lags far behind men. Although there is a growing number of women entering the political sphere, then parliament, and having political portfolios including ministries, upward mobility criteria of women's political careers are not defined yet. (Jalalzai, 2013; Krook & O'Brien, 2012; O'Brien, 2015).

Numerous scholars argue that women carry a different perspective on public policy problems (Zamfirache, 2010). The presence of women in upper-level managerial and administrative positions may give different outlooks to the direction of policy outputs. Feminist political theorists argue that increased participation of women is the key to address the gender disparities in the world (Bari, 2005) and women's parity in politics can hide large

gender inequality. Women's low participation in governments can result in severe costs for the political agenda, and for the legitimacy of democratic institutions (Phillips, 1995; Norris, 2004).

The scarcity of women in the important decision-making positions makes it difficult for women parliamentarians to point out the weaknesses and gaps in the existing policies and give meaningful input by representing the overlooked half of the population that is, women. The presence of women at the top level positions is beneficial for effective and sustainable policymaking. Significant advantages may result from the increased representation of women in the upper echelons of the political arena.

Women have the competence to rise to higher positions but they face many obstacles on the way of getting ahead straightforward as men often do (Lahti, 2013), which is linked to the glass ceiling phenomenon. The concept of the glass ceiling symbolizes a distinctive form of career hindrances that explains the lack of women and minorities in decision making positions (Baxter & Wright, 2000; Cotter, et al., 2001; Commission, 1995). Glass ceiling comes across in an organization at the top of the hierarchy and prevents women from achieving the same positions as men (Cotter et al., 2001). Some argue that the glass ceiling has been already shattered and others argue otherwise. Maybe instead of a glass ceiling, women are now facing a glass labyrinth (Eagle & Carli, 2007). However, Eagly and Carli (2007) argue that the term glass ceiling is misleading as it erroneously assumes glass ceiling as an absolute barrier at a specific level, generally near the top, imply that women and minorities have an equal entry at the lower levels. The glass ceiling indeed exists at almost every stage in the development of a woman and other marginalized group's careers, starting from the beginning or already an established career and moving to a higher degree of responsibility (Eagly & Carli, 2007). Besides the inaccuracy of the term implies that the glass ceiling is an invisible barrier hard to recognize therefore cannot be overcome.

Political Glass Ceiling

To measure female political participation, three indicators have been adopted. The first percentage of female parliamentarians, the second number of women in government, and the third one are which positions women hold in parliaments (Paxton, & Hughes, 2015). Political scientists talk about a glass ceiling effect which means that women do not get the highest level of government or business (Nilges, 2005).

From a feminist's point of view, Political Glass Ceiling acts like an unseen barrier that keeps women from rising in the political arena or at least restricting them from rising beyond a certain level in the political hierarchy (Djupe & Olson, 2013). The official acknowledgment of the existence of the glass ceiling by the US government comes as "it is an invisible and un-breach-able barrier that keeps the minorities and women far beyond their actual role regardless of their capabilities, experience, and achievement" (Commission, 1995).

In modern democracies, women's political participation in formal governments is recognized as a fundamental condition for the realization of full democracy. A vital concern of all the democracies, therefore, is to create the full range of enabling conditions for the active participation of women in decision-making structures (Ballington, 2008). Researchers acknowledge the role of the United Nations and the Convention on the Elimination of all types of Discrimination against Women which played a significant role in the political representation of women. On the global level, UN conferences and the CEDAW convention have been especially important for the issue of women's political representation (Krook, 2004).

For this purpose, quotas are adopted as a tool to increase women's participation. It is noted that more women have entered politics due to the adoption of quota but it does not indicate the overall change in the social position of women in society. According to

Dahlerup, the adoption of quota can be the reason for the exceptional historical improvement in women's representation without bringing changes in women's socio-economic position (Dahlerup, 2007). Understandably there is a quota made for women to contest for these seats but how many of these women actually yield the power for change or even how many motivate other females to join politics, is not clear yet.

Paradoxically, women are very welcomed at the initial level of political hierarchy but despite having eligibility, qualifications, and capabilities they somehow, fail to raise enough to reach the leading and decision-making levels. The common reasons that why women politicians fail to reach decision-making positions may not seem very convincing in today's scenario. There is a predominant notion that women lack the desire for power and authority. This notion is instituted on the social expectations that women, by nature, have a nurturing disposition, and thereby they are fit for supporting positions rather than leadership roles (Piterman, 2008). The said norms are ingrained among both men and women through the process of socialization since their childhood. Intergenerational persistence of normative perceptions about capabilities and potentials of women inhibit women's success almost imperceptibly at each step of the professional ladder, thus, perpetuating the metaphoric glass ceiling. Therefore, it is still to be determined that despite significant advances in education and political participation, why, improvements in educational attainment, professional development, and political participation have not translated into significant increases in female leadership in politics and generally in all other fields.

In essence, the metaphor of the glass ceiling refers to the discriminatory forces that limit women's access to top leadership positions. The reason given is that women stereotypically possess the feminine traits that are deemed inappropriate for leadership and thus bring about less favorable evaluations of women's performances and suitability as leaders. It is noted that women often meet with staunch resistance not just from men but also

from women colleagues (Piterman, 2008). Another factor that plays an important role in women's political careers in the political system. Many scholars argue that there are systems within a political party that limit experienced and well-qualified females from top decision-making posts (Paxton, 2007). Whereas females not even making it through the electoral process has been a contributing factor in most Asian countries, mostly in Pakistan and India.

Generally, there is an overwhelming gap between women politician's career track in the East and West, and specifically wider between the European countries and Asian countries (Reynolds, 1999). The glass ceiling appears to remain intact for the vast majority of Asian women in politics even though Asia as a whole has been undergoing a period of rapid socio-economic changes and political restructuring over the past two decades. The women politicians starting from scratch or who were entering politics from various other fields had a more tumultuous time than other women (Palmer & Simon, 2006).

Women have been able to successfully run for office in Europe as opposed to numerous other areas globally and yet under the microscope, we find that Pakistan boasts the most female Parliamentarians in the Asian regions. From the year 2000s, the proportion of women in the political arena has increased, therefore Pakistan has adopted a quota system in 2001 by granting a 33% quota to women at the local government level and further progress was made in 2002 when 17% of the seats at the national and provincial level were reserved for women. Yet the numbers of women who contested for the general seats remained low (Dahlerup, 2009). In the 2008 elections, a total of only 10 women got directly elected and 12 in the 2013 elections. According to the latest figures, 20.75% of the National Assembly seats were occupied by women in Pakistan. The composition and nature of the political decision-making bodies provide sufficient evidence that women still face numerous obstacles in making decision-making levels and playing a meaningful role in political spheres (Dahlerup, 2009). The status and image of female politicians, in addition to the lack of visibility of

women in any meaningful political and decision-making functions, raise questions on the political opportunity structure (Lovenduski & Norris, 2003; Ballington, 2008). The almost invisible representation of women in decision-making processes and structures reflects and reinforces the overall uneven power relations between men and women in public and private spheres. A large number of studies focused on the political, social, economic, and cultural barriers which restrict women's participation in politics and related it with the glass ceiling phenomena however few kinds of research are conducted on the experiences of these women, at present, there is a dire need for additional literature regarding the lived experiences of those women who have entered in politics and facing barriers in their career persistency and upward mobility. A new debate on the role of women as politicians and parliamentarians have started, some argue that the glass ceiling is cracked or diminish as more and more women are entering the political sphere but here comes a question that either these women are playing a constructive role as parliamentarians or they are still facing invisible barriers in their political careers. This study examined the glass ceiling as a phenomenon and tried to understand it through the lived experiences of Pakistani Women Parliamentarians. Though the number of women holding elected office in Pakistan has grown over the past years, slowing progress and stagnation in some positions creates many more questions than answers. We have seen that over the years only one female Benazir Bhutto has managed to secure a position of power and its possible if one scrutinizes her position it can be said that it was ascribed to her, being from a wealthy influential family of Sindh and being the daughter of the Ex-Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Most females in the Pakistani Parliament cannot claim such a position at all, this may be because they are brought into parliament through a quota system (Jalalzai & Krook, 2010). Even so throughout the years, we have seen fewer and fewer females in the office to exercise power for changing the state of society including their particular areas. But undoubtedly there are still other socio-economic factors

that are responsible for females not attaining a political leadership position and exercising their powers for change (Murray, 2010).

When dealing with such factors it is worth mentioning that these factors do not only pertain to Pakistan but can widely be felt all over the world, except the cultural factors which instigate the glass ceiling in Pakistan are unique. Even though there are no real laws prohibiting females from joining politics we still find a thorny path in their advancement in politics (Djupe & Olson, 2013). There is a consensus on the issue of female politicians among the religious segment of society in Pakistan that females shouldn't run for office, as they are unable to handle the pressures of ever-changing politics and running affairs of government usually require a masculine set of traits which no matter how much female tries to adopt can never be the same as a man (Cotellessa, 2015).

The media portrayal of females often is one linking them with scandal and deceit which greatly affects their popularity among the voters. Often the media misleads the public by casting female politicians in compromising positions. According to Made (2008), women in politics are constructed by the media in specific ways, these women generally deviate from the expected norms of society and are framed with controversy and scandal, when engaging in altercations with each other.

The foundation upon which democracy is based is one that sees the governing body formed from the people, by the people to serve the people. It is argued that democracy is present where women have equal representation in politics. Arguments for women's equal representation in politics are debated firstly as formal representation, which means that women have equal rights to participate in politics on an equal basis with men. The second form is the descriptive representation that there must be a descriptive similarity between representatives and constituents. "If women are 50% of the population then they must make up 50% of legislative and executive bodies" (Paxton, 2007). The advocates of descriptive

representation suggested taking actions like electoral laws changed gender quotas introduced to ensure that women are represented in politics in numbers more proportionately similar to their presence in the population. Substantive representation means that women's interests must be advocated in the political arena it requires that politicians speak for and act to support women's issues. It is said that standing for is not the same as acting for. Women's involvement in politics is only a necessary condition for women's interests to be served instead for women's interests to be represented in politics, female politicians have to be willing to and able to represent those interests.

Hoofdar & Tajali (2011) in the book "Electoral Politics making Quotas for women" state that even in democratic countries it has taken considerably longer for women to even be recognized as political entities. "As such, a democratic political system should provide space for the involvement of all citizens in decision-making and neither deny nor capitulate to a particular group" (Phillips, 1993) and their presence in the parliament so that seats could be filled (Norris, 2003). Currently, in Pakistan, there is only a single woman Federal Minister and only three Women State Ministers in the present National Assembly (Mirza, 2011).

Statement of Problem

Women are striving hard to make their existence in the political arena but still, their position in powerful positions lags far behind men (Cooper, 2016; Madi, 2016). All the powerful positions are apprehended by men, the reason for this scarcity in the higher offices is described with the glass ceiling metaphor (Fassinger, 2008; Murray, 2014). A large number of women have entered into politics then why women do not make up to the top? In which way the "glass ceiling" continue to block women from moving to higher positions in politics? The purpose of this research is to qualitatively examine the state of the glass ceiling in politics and to explore the experiences of women parliamentarians through various levels from induction to top-level positions using the theoretical lens of the glass ceiling concept.

Significance of the Study

This study is an effort to explore the real issues that are keeping the glass ceiling intact even after decades of women's struggle to enter and survive in the political sphere. The significance of this study is to give voice to women who have entered into politics and it will provide an insight that why despite the tremendous contributions of women politicians the only handful could come up to be recognized as a political leader. It is an attempt to understand how and why women's entry into the inner world of politics was largely blocked in the context of Pakistan. Specifically, the barriers, including cultural norms and gender stereotypes that limited their choices and access to meaningful leadership positions (Jalalzai & Krook, 2010; Murray, 2014). This also to a great extent will be able to predict whether Pakistani women politicians will be able to break the political glass ceiling or not? This study provides empirical evidence regarding the state of the glass ceiling in the Pakistani political arena. The general overview of the state of the Pakistani women towards the glass ceiling in politics will help to understand the challenges women politicians face and will enable the concerned scholars to find ways to remove those constraints. This study aims to address the barriers women politicians face when they choose politics as a career, specifically when they become parliamentarians and try to get advance in their careers. The study aims at giving voice to the experiences of these parliamentarians with the expectation that efforts would be made to make this formal institution gender-neutral where women can also take part in the policy and decision-making process. Even though so many women have gained seats in the parliament, they are still facing numerous challenges and obstacles in the male-dominant institutions, and their participation in the decision-making process lags behind men. Lot of work has been done on the problems of women who enter politics but this population of female have been understudied. This study is a contribution in a way, that most female parliamentarians form legislation regarding improving the status of females in fields other

than politics. This study presented the current scenario of the status of women in politics and will lead to help the women parliamentarian to make laws to improve their position in parliament.

Objectives of the Study

This study has the following research objectives

1. To examine the state of the glass ceiling in politics and upward mobility of women Parliamentarians in Pakistan.
2. To find out the lived experiences, particularly about career persistency and upward mobility, of women parliamentarians.
3. To explore the coping strategies adopted by women parliamentarians to break the glass ceiling.

Research Questions

1. What is the state of the glass ceiling for women parliamentarians in Pakistan?
2. What are the lived experiences, particularly about career persistency and upward mobility, of women Parliamentarians regarding the existence of the glass ceiling at the individual, societal, and organizational level?
3. What type of coping strategies are adopted by women parliamentarians to break the glass ceiling?

Organization of Thesis

This chapter presents a brief overview of the women's position and representation in politics both the world over and specifically in Pakistan. It has also provided a background of the study, statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, the significance of the study, the research objectives and research questions. Chapter two consisted of a literature review in a manner that shed light on the existing literature in the field of women in politics, the glass ceiling, and overall advancement and issues women faced when they enter a male

dominant field. Theoretical understanding of women's role in politics is also part of the literature review part. Chapter three contains the research design used for this study and the rationale and description of the Phenomenological methods to be used in this study.

It gives details about the procedures of data collection and how study participants were selected. Chapter four is based on the findings and analysis of the collected data for the study. Chapter five is a discussion and conclusion chapter and chapter six presents a Summary and recommendations given for the proposed research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The present study aimed to describe the glass ceiling phenomena through the lived experiences of women parliamentarians and challenges they faced as a politician and then as a parliamentarian in the field of politics, predominantly considered a male domain. Literature is rich in the discussion of women's underrepresentation in politics and impediments which restrict them from upward mobility. Some authors posit that there are several reasons for the small number of female representation in politics. Most of the researchers put it under the umbrella of the glass ceiling phenomenon. The concept of the glass ceiling symbolizes a distinctive form of career hindrances that explains the lack of women and minorities in decision-making positions (Baxter & Wright, 2000; Cotter et al., 2001; Commission, 1995). It is a typical pattern having two distinct features. First, discriminatory career barriers are based on sex or minority status instead of factors related to work that impede the career advancement of women or racial minorities. Second, those discriminatory barriers grow thicker for higher positions in the organizational hierarchy. The stricter career disadvantages at the lower levels of the hierarchies are described as “sticky floor” rather than glass ceilings (Orser & Leck, 2010).

Specifically, a glass ceiling can be claimed to exist in an organization when four types of gender or racial discriminations are present which are “1) unexplainable by other job-relevant characteristics of the employee, 2) greater at higher levels of an outcome than at lower levels of an outcome, 3) unequal chances of advancement into higher levels and current proportions at those levels 4) inequality that increases throughout a career” (Cotter et al., 2001).

There is a wide range of theoretical explanations present in the literature to make sense of the glass ceiling (Barreto et al., 2010; Eagly & Carli, 2007). Diverse reasons have been given by experts from psychology, sociology, economics, and politics to grasp the notion. Psychologists have explained glass ceilings as a likely result of natural selection, the survival of the fittest phenomenon (Browne, 2006). Generally, the dearth of female leaders is seen as a consequence of ongoing prejudice and discrimination against women in that particular organization (Weyer, 2007). Lack of access to the higher-ups, tokenism, shadow jobs (women being subjected to extra scrutiny), plus lack of mentors and role models are the few obvious factors mentioned by Fassinger (2008) acting against women.

The glass ceiling has two distinct facets, the first being that females are not allowed to excel in a strongly patriarchal society not because they are ineligible to work but because they are women (Madi, 2016). The second being that the higher the post the more difficult it becomes to attain. That being said, women are usually given lower-level positions because they would not be able to handle such a tough environment. Thus, the social, psychological, and demographic antecedents of female role and reputation born as the facet of patriarchy are one of the main areas that hinder the making of a female leader which is the manifestation of a glass ceiling that has strong roots in our societies on personal as well as national level. According to Fox and Lawless (2014), the dearth of women in top-level positions is due to the gender differences in political ambition.

This notion is further strengthened in the form of preference theory recognizing gender differences in life goals, values, abilities, and competitive behavior. This difference of preference is further emphasized by stating that the existence of glass ceilings is largely due to different needs' between men and women. She even sums up the whole idea metaphorically as "women prefer career trees whilst men are much more likely to climb career ladders" (Eagly & Karau, 2002).

Above was an overview of the factors which are responsible for women's underrepresentation under the umbrella of the glass ceiling. The below sections explain the factors in detail, such as general factors, cultural factors particularly religion, political socialization, political ambition, family politics, education, and quota system as factors for entrance into politics, leadership roles, and how these roles are linked with gender in the field of politics. Then literature regarding the role of media as an impeding or supporting factor for women parliamentarian is discussed. The researcher then concludes the overall literature and presents the context of Pakistan.

General Factors Responsible for Glass Ceiling and Underrepresentation

The studies of women's career success suggest that women have to choose between family and career if they want professional accomplishments in terms of promotion and recognition. The factors associated with the glass-ceiling are discussed according to the line of work under-discussion. Different lines of work may have different factors leading to the glass ceiling for women, but among the few common factors that can be agreed upon most prominent is self-belief. There are numerous examples of women who lack self-belief because they are demeaned in the workplace and often falling victim to cultural constraints. Paul Smith (2012) posits in a study that women tend to deny the existence of the glass ceiling which consequently perpetuates the problem. She found that denial gives way to passive acceptance which ultimately leads women to accept the invisible glass ceiling and force them to give up any promotion hopes. The dearth of women at a higher political position indicates that society still in denial of involving women at the highest post, doubting their leadership skills, and not even including them in decision making (Folke & Rickne, 2016).

Supply and Demand Issue

The supply and Demand approach explains the underrepresentation of women. When the desired number of candidates, fulfilling all educational, social, and political requirements

are available they are not considered because of limited seats or quota in parliament or any organization. In Canada underrepresentation was attributed by Stewart (2012) to only demand-side discrimination. While in the majority of other countries the supply-side discrimination is the basic reason for under-representation. It refers to when women themselves are not willing to run for office (Ariola & Johnson, 2013), either due to lack of confidence, lack of socialization, educational ineligibility, or lack of self-belief, that they can also fulfill the demand of administrative or political executive posts (Fox & Lawless, 2004). Next, are the patriarchal political socialization and male-centered atmosphere in politics that weaken the ambition of women. It directly impacts the supply of women for political posts (Ezeifeke & Osakwe, 2013).

It is evident that education and economic status are not a source of entry or advancement into politics (Jalalzai & Krook, 2010) rather family ties and kinship play an important role in doing so. In the same context, in most countries, women reach higher political positions due to lack of institutionalization, and high level of political instability, to play a role of unifier that she usually plays in the family (Jalalzai & Krook, 2010). However in countries with higher socioeconomic development, as women have better access to education and paid labor, it helps them move on high status in terms of economic and social roles, which in result increase their influence in politics (Inglehart & Norris, 2003).

Another factor that plays an important role in most countries including western countries for women's entry is ideology. Right-wing parties usually nominate fewer women and parties with left-wing ideas nominate more women as compared to right-wing. This difference might be a result of the difference in support for women/gender traditional roles, and to bring women on top positions. The lack of female leadership is even starker in the highly developed countries like Japan, where according to the World Economic Forum, not

one company named in Japan's Nikkei 225 had a woman CEO. The political participation of women in Japan is almost negligible.

Universally accepted as the cornerstone of all societies, women are generally accepted as the primary caregiver, hence the quantitation is that their place is at home is attached to them. It has taken Years for females to be accepted as an entity in the workplace. However when dealing with politics they are still pushed to the end of the line as their perceived position in society is at home and not controlling the people (Jensen, 2008). Western societies have faced the same prejudice but have been able to advance out of it considerably, unlike Pakistan where women still face the daunting task of being stereotyped as a "bad mother" by the public and have to face their family's criticism as well (Jalalzai & Krook, 2010). Some pointed out that women face a glass ceiling and under-representation because of a fewer number of women qualified for top political positions and that becomes the cause of the "pipeline" situation (Folke & Rickne, 2016; Palmer & Dennis, 2008).

According to Jalalzai et al., (2010), although different countries have their separate characteristics, one feature is still common, that there are fewer women in actual positions of power. Scholars argue that those women who want to enter political, public, cultural, and social environments including media may encounter hostility and other issues. Patriarchy and the male-dominated areas are the biggest barriers that women face in their political escalation in the world. Another norm that plays a major role in prescribing gender roles is the private-public divide and women's legitimacy of political engagement. However, gender stereotypes exist in these countries as well, where gender traits and beliefs are the cause of sexism in the context of politics. As in past, the gender belief stereotypes resulted in the perception of linking gender with the party, in a way that ideologically men were associated with the Republican party/conservatism and women were linked with Democratic/liberalism in America. Based on these stereotypes, men are characterized by toughness, whereas women

are characterized by care and compassion. This result in assumptions that male is better for handling defense and military conflict, while women are suitable for social welfare and poverty alleviation (Jalalzai, 2010). In short, in western countries, women's representation in politics and reaching legislative and executive positions are probably linked with cultural, social, economic, and political reasons for exclusion and inclusion as a political actor (Jalalzai & Krook, 2010). There are very few studies that have been conducted to find out why women perform so badly in politics. Baxter (2003) discussed explanations given by feminists which include law, economy, structural barriers, and most recently the social construction of gender.

Religion Perceived as a Support for Gender Segregation in Politics

A few scholars indicated that political representation is higher in Christian countries, compared to other dominant religions (Jalalzai & Krook, 2010). After the Western region, the women's representation in Arab monarchies varies markedly across countries. Unlike in Western countries, different factors hinder women in Arab countries from entering into politics. Cross-national studies (in the Arab region) find that gender ideology influences representation in the political and social system, and attitude toward the role of women in society (Al Subhi & Smith, 2019; Norris & Inglehart, 2001; Paxton & Kunovich (2003). A few studies found religion as a counter factor, while others take Tribalism that leaves women unable to enter into politics.

The low representation of women is usually linked with Islam (Kenworthy & Malami 1999). Furthermore, the study indicated that in Arab countries men having religious tilt have the reservation of bringing women into the public domain, in general (Subhi & Smith, 2016). If they bring their daughters, wives, and sisters in the public sphere then involve them in female-dominated jobs, like nurses and school teachers, in particular. Religion is one of the crucial cultural factors of any state and Islam as a religion is recurrently considered a specific

hindrance to women's equality. Norris described "Attitudes towards women vary among different religious sects and denominations; in particular, an Islamic religious heritage is one of the most powerful barriers to the rising tide of gender equality" (Lovenduski & Norris, 2003) The equal rights of women granted by the constitution of any country can be constrained by the laws which award greater privileges to men over women, mainly in areas of family laws. According to Doumato and Posusney some countries in the Middle East "continue to enforce sex segregation in schools and in other public facilities, which results in inequalities in educational and work opportunities, and access to community resources. Resultantly, these inequalities would restrict women's entry into the political sphere of the state. Globally, it is evident from the research on women politicians that structural factors play an important role in women's political careers.

Another potential reason behind fewer women occupying serious leadership roles is the choice that family is overlooked (Jalalzai, 2010). It seems a choice that dates back many years but indeed today is very much a part of women's lives. This, however, is a reason why we see many females moving out of the contention for a top-notch job or are forced to abandon a post in a company. Family is the cornerstone of Pakistani Society and women are considered the keepers of it ready and able to leave all behind if their family (husband as well) asks her to do so. Education is already at an all-time low in Pakistan, poverty-stricken families usually put their girls to work instead of educating them, and fewer females receiving an education equals lesser females in key positions which can also be a contributing factor (Mumtaz, 2005). Moreover, the females who have raised their voices for numerous reasons have had their voices stifled as to not disgrace their families. This is a self-esteem killer and psychologically they are programmed not to want a key position instead just accept whatever is given to them.

According to the role congruity theory, the social roles are socially shared expectations from the members of a society belong to a specific category and where the roles are constructed, divided consensually according to attributes of each gender (Eagly & Karau, 2002, p. 574). The constructed and divided roles are not just considered as beliefs, but also considered as distributed according to the tendencies and qualities each gender possesses to fulfill that role, which later on becomes the norms of that society (Eagly, 1987). Thus, social role theory describes that the idea of roles includes two kinds of expectations, consensual expectations that are what members of a group do, and injunctive norms, what that group of people should ideally do or would do. The deeply ingrained ideas of leadership which are associated with masculine and patriarchal characteristics work for the disadvantage of women. The role expectations of leadership positions do not go with the women's natural gender role and tendencies hence, they face prejudice in getting selected or promoted to top-level positions. Although they work hard and have the ability to compete with men in every respect, yet they could barely make up to the higher positions while men get promoted faster and get paid more.

Political Socialization

In the past forty years, the research scholars have provided concrete evidence of the transmission of political behavior as well as activism with the help of key correspondents of political socialization. For instance, the education, family educational capacity, and peer associations as well as media role (Jennings, 2007; Sapiro, 2004; Stoker & Bass 2011). The early socialization of the people is due to the social factors i.e. family structure, family size, ethics of the family, type of education, living standards in the society, and the role of religious clerics. The role of society is a social factor that plays a major role in the grooming of people. It is because, the child grows in society, and a child is a mirror in which one can see the picture of society (Fox & Lawless 2004, 2005, 2014).

Men and women are standing at the same point when they are ambitious about political motives. In the later stage, it is the society that provides different opportunities and threats to both genders. In some societies, women do not get enough support in politics. After all, it is the society that determines the role of gender. Some people say that gender role is naturally determined. But in the real world, the role of gender is socially determined. In some societies, women are doing a job and the same job is being done in another society by a male. Similarly, in some societies, men are doing a piece of work and in another society, the same work is being done by women workers (Bradley-Geist et al., 2015).

There is a huge gender gap in different states in the field of political achievements and political ambitions. Even in the most developed states, they differentiate between males and females in the domain of politics. Gender issues are not a problem only in developing countries they are also found in developed and economically progressed states. Therefore, gender biases are an international issue in the field of politics (Schlesinger, 1966).

Women have to face problems on both ends. On one side, they have to face the problems as a political candidate. On the other side, they have to face the complexities as a supporter and a voter of political parties even they are supporting male political representatives. Therefore, the difficulties which are faced by the women who are ambitious about their political career are many in numbers (Hibbing, 1986; Meserve, et al., 2009). In some societies, it is considered a social taboo to think about taking part in politics in any form. Therefore, in such societies, it becomes almost impossible for women to fulfill their ambitious dreams of political life (Hibbing, 1999; Squire, 1988).

Besides all the traditional agents of socialization, a general sense of self-confidence and active participation in political activities develop a sense of running for a political seat or office. Fox and Lawless in their study find out different interests in both genders regarding running for office. These findings revealed that peer, politicized educational experiences,

participation in political activities, and parental encouragement stimulate the young to develop an interest in becoming part of politics and then to run for office. (Fox & Lawless, 2014)Both males and females are found equally interested in achieving a career and aspire to improve their surroundings (Fox & Lawless, 2014). There are numerous studies regarding how political socialization impacts nascent political ambition negatively. The study extracted that self-perceived qualifications, family responsibilities, political culture, and adherence to perceived “women’s issues” negatively impact the potential interest and the decision to run for office as well (Fox & Lawless, 2004, 2005, 2014). As a result, the overall percentage of women in political office is decreasing in many countries, especially in those where women are becoming detached from socialization toward politics. The result shows that due to a lack of chances of increased female leadership opportunities, these countries would not see a decrease in national poverty and class stratification. China and Japan have faced it. It implies that change in political socialization factors decreases female leadership. To complete the deficiency and number count of parliament, leadership is chosen from the wealthy portion of society or those who are most affluent (Richter, 1990).

Gender–Organization–System Perspective

A holistic approach to investigate issues that women face during managerial advancement is Gender Organization System (GOS) perspective, by Fagenson (1990). According to this perspective, the opportunities or the hindrances women faces at an executive post are not just a result of a single event but the consequences of interaction of several events and actions. For example, gender inequality systems and organizations are the main factors of which discrimination is a product of and which women face in the workplace. It is not just differences of experiences of women and men in the workplace. Commonly the other organization structure perspectives and gender-centered approaches are used to understand the inappropriate characteristics responsible for the underrepresentation of women

at executive posts (Akpinar-Sposito, 2013). However GOS perspective by Fagenson reveals that it is not just the structure or gender that responsible for underrepresentation, but the simultaneous interaction of individuals, organizations, and society that influence the workplace and form the behavior of women to work in an organization in a specific way (Fagenson, 1990). Furthermore, the changing life cycle, having children, work-life balance, education of family, age, and culture of an organization impacts the career progression of women.

Another reason explained by Fagenson (1990) regarding the underrepresentation of women after the interplay of gender-organization and system is that women while interacting with the system are socialized in a way that they do not plan goals as normally a man does. Then if she enters into an organization after observing the limited number of career promotions, she focuses more on tasks rather than on progression. Next is as a group of women are not taken as a significant portion of society, so the organization also pays little attention to help them build their capacity for the higher office. This is how the interplay of these three is responsible for the underrepresentation of women (Akpinar-Sposito, 2013).

Political Ambition

In most cases, politicians are ambitious about their political career either they are male or female as many other people in their fields are ambitious. Some politicians want to stay in their current position and do not want any progress in their political careers. This happened sometimes due to the personal nature and habits of people. Some people are pessimists while others are optimists (Fox & Lawless, 2011; Verba et al., 1995). Some people are more social as compared to others. So the nature and habits of the people vary from time to time and from society to society. One cannot change the habit of other people. Habits become part of one's personality. Politicians are more career ambitious as compared to

people in any sector of the economy. It is due to the power, Politics is a powerful game, and only career ambitious people can win this game (Gaddie, 2004; Fowler & McClure, 1989).

While studying political ambition, political science researchers consider it as a backbone and as an inherent characteristic of a political office (Maestas et al., 2006). After the release of Schlesinger's book, *Ambition, and Politics*, scholars started linking rational choice with ambition, that how a candidate weighs the favorable or unfavorable circumstances to run for a political office influences ambition as well (Meserve et al., 2009; Fox & Lawless, 2011). Before discussing the different factors involved in affecting ambition, first look at how Schlesinger classifies ambition into three categories as discreet, static, and progressive ambition. The first one is when a politician wants to stay in a political office for a specific period after that she may withdraw from that office. The second is linked with a politician holding an office, but in the long run, and progresses horizontally and makes it a longer career. While progressive ambition is that when a politician holds a specific office but aspires to attain the next position of authority in the political hierarchy (Davidson-Schmich, 2006; Fox & Lawless, 2014).

According to the Political Ambition Theory, there are many other factors like politicized socialization, upbringing, sex, and race that influence ambition while balancing out the risk and reward of pursuing a political office (Fox & Lawless, 2011). In addition to that before coming into politics, there is a huge gender gap in the field of political achievements and political ambitions in different states.

This variation is due to the different factors in the lives of both genders. As compared to men women have to face many things in their lives. The ambitions of the male and female are different through different age groups and in different areas. Women are considered less ambitious as compared to men. They demand less money from their employer and are not keener to take an interest in pursuing their career. Therefore, men according to the majority's

opinion, are more ambitious in the political field as well as in the different sectors of the economy.

A national survey of almost 4000 students from schools and colleges is conducted by Fox & Lawless, (2014) to find out the gender gap difference in political ambition and the factor associated with it. It reveals that parental encouragement, participation in competitive activities in a positive way, self-confidence, and political socialization urge an individual to aspire for political office. While other scholars emphasize political socialization and political activism as key to deciding to run for political office (Fox & Lawless, 2014; Jennings, 2007; Sapiro, 2004; Stoker & Bass 2011). Both genders are influenced by the same factors regarding political ambition, but the intensity and severity are more inclined toward women before and after joining politics.

The difference in political ambitions in women depends on the nature of society. After coming into politics, politicians are ambitious in their political career either they are male or female as many other people in their fields are ambitious. But on the other side, many politicians want to stay in their current position and they do not want any progress and development in their political career (Meserve et al., 2009). However, scholars argue that all the elected officials have progressive ambition, and according to that they not only influence the legislation but also policymaking, to satisfy their current positions and demands. Also, it helps them to progress in higher political posts. Many types of researches are conducted to see the prospects of the influence of politicians on legislation to seek higher positions, and how it determines their opportunities of progression (Meserve et al., 2009).

Apart from politics, in education and bureaucracy as well, everyone has to wait for a longer time to reach the top level. One has to wait long to achieve a big position in politics due to tough competition in this field. Multiple factors are behind the politician's decisions of taking interest in political ambitions. The variables of the candidationship and the variables to

hold an office for a longer time vary according to the background of the candidate as well as according to the nature of people from different civilizations. Civilization plays a vital role in making and destroying societal values. The values of society develop in a society, which can be different from other social values. Similarly, predictable persons can easily show their future decisions at an early stage (Davidson-Schmich, 2006).

Regardless of the removal of the gender gap in the field of politics as well as in the social field, the representation of women in the political field is still low as compared to the representation of men. The representation of women in professional fields, such as health, education, and the law has increased; as there is a need for an increasing number of women in these fields. In the field of politics, the number of women is very low. Because it is occupied by the male representatives and they do not want their counterpart gender to also take part in the field of politics. In some areas, the constraints of religion, as well as social and cultural barriers, stop women from taking part in politics.

Determinant of Ambition

Politicians make decisions in their personal and political lives according to the future results of their decisions. It is due to the interlink of the political and personal lives of the politically ambitious people. If chances of moving upwards are high in the political arena politicians can take a high risk to achieve a higher position. According to the majority of scholars, the political field is very risky. One has to wait long to achieve a big position in the political field due to tough competition in this field. Multiple factors are behind the politician's decisions of taking interest in political ambitions (Fulton et al., 2006; Gaddie, 2004).

The variables of the candidationship and the variables to hold an office for a longer time vary according to the background of the candidate as well as according to the nature of the people from a different civilization. But it is a common understanding that the women

statesmen are predictable because it is the habit of the female candidates that they show their likes and dislikes to other people. Therefore, women are more predictable as compared to men who are politically ambitious candidates (Moncrief et al., 2001).

According to the majority of the research scholars, young political ambitious people have more potential to lead other people and make progress and prosperity not only for the state but also for themselves. The young politically ambitious people have the potential to collect maximum funds to support the cause of the political parties to which they belong. The young statesmen can mobilize people in a better way. It is because young people have the energy to instill a political desire among people. To make people understand the cause and effect of different events and their results. Such types of leaders are very charming for the people in the modern-day prefer them to the old ones. They do not think about the experience of the old ones, but they only watch the ambitions and activeness of the young leaders. The young leaders try to fulfill the dreams for the betterment of their nation at any cost (Hain & Pierson, 1975).

Some other determinants indicated by (Levine & Hyde, 1977) regarding the potential candidate for political office are their political socialization patterns and common social background, based on that it is possible to predict which individual is most likely to run for office. Social background includes the kind of social capital one has, membership in the political elite, and political attitude. These factors work as an intervening variable to explain how an individual will run or will be selected and finally elected. The next determinant is Change in Life Cycle. That is to say, parental status, marital status, and age affect positively the political participation of an individual. These factors affect the level of political ambition. As younger men and women during their careers are involved in the balancing act of maintaining their family and career. However, younger potential candidates have more energy to engage in political activities, rigorous campaigns, regarding fundraising and

networking. They actively make themselves more potential for running for an office. This affects positively the individual choice of running for an office. On the other hand change in life cycles like divorce, children, and health-related problems, affect the ambition level of becoming a potential candidate over time (Gaddie, 2004 cited in Fox & Lawless, 2011).

In addition to the life cycle, professional status plays an important role as a pathway to a political career. The individual who seeks prestigious occupations and professions are likely to think of aspiring for political position and power (Levine & Hyde, 1977).

Women and men both are part of society since the inception of the cosmos. They both have played a vital role in making the current developed and prosperous world. Therefore, one cannot deny the role of men and women in any field. It is a matter of culture or some other factors that in some fields' women play more important roles than men and in some other fields, men play more important roles than women. Therefore, both have played their roles in the development of our world. Modern-day women are also ambitious of their roles in the political sphere (Palmer & Simon 2008). They are even more active than male candidates in some areas and of the world. Some people think that women are better politicians as compared to men. It is because women's management ability is better than that of men. Therefore, women have more chances of ambitious life as compared to politically ambitious men (Bhasin cited in Reynolds, 1999). Gender dynamics interact with ambition, as in women-friendly districts women are highly likely to emerge as potential candidates as compared to the area where women do not get support from other women. Similarly, paucity in higher offices affects the decision of women who aspire to be a political candidates. It limits their engagement in politics (Campbell & Wolbrecht, 2006).

Gender and Leadership

One of the prominent factors to understand the gap between the genders is to understand the leadership qualities among men and women. Both males and females have a

different styles of administration throughout history. Attributing personality traits to administrative or effective leadership has been controversial in the literature. However, researches revealed that personality attributes play a significant leadership role (Zacarro et al., 2008). Often effective leadership is linked with dominance and aggressiveness which are the masculine traits, in contrast, it required risk-taking, emotional intelligence, and intelligence the mixture of masculine feminine traits (Hoyt, 2010). Women are considered as more lenient as compared to men administrators. But there are lots of factors that play role in bringing leadership qualities among the people. The role of education is one of the main factors which determine the leadership qualities within people. Education teaches the difference between right and wrong. It differentiates between truths and false. It is, therefore, the quality education that instills the leadership qualities within the men and women (Fox & Lawless, 2014, p.504).

One of the good qualities of leadership or good politician is good negotiation skills. Because political leadership has to negotiate in their routine life. In this regard, women are considered the best negotiators as compared to men. It is said that if women were the heads of the states throughout history, the current world would be a nuclear-free world. Men leaders are more prone to war and women always try to abstain from the war. Research proved that the major wars fought in the past were fought between the states that are headed by men. It is, therefore, concluded that women are peace-loving and women with good leadership qualities are the good administration of the world (Rakow & Kranich, 1991; Zamfirache, 2010). “Do men and women lead differently?” has been the hotly debated question that researchers are interested in. The answer ranges from “not really” to “yes” and also in a way “that there may be a difference of leading because of the different roles associated with them” (Hoyt, 2010). It is also evident that women's values are different from that of men, women lead more democratically, as compared to men.

The stereotype of women's role in the field of politics is used as political tactics by the opposite candidates of women. On the opposite side either there is a male candidate or a female candidate. Social and political stigmatization are the main factors, most of the time, which hinder the progress and development of women in the political field (Eagly & Carli, 2007).

The stereotyping and political stigmatization of women is not a good thing for their progress in the political field and the development of women in the political field. There are manifold factors that are behind the politician's decisions to take a concentrate on political ambitions. The variables of the candidanship and the variables to hold an office for a longer time vary according to the background of a candidate as well as according to the nature of people in a society or a civilization (Carroll, 2009).

Media Sexism and Politics

Politics is a unique field among all other fields due to many factors. In the morning the leader is at the climax of familiarity due to good reason and in the evening the same politician will be at the bottom line. In this scenario, it is very difficult for women to sustain themselves with male politically ambitious people where everyone wants to cross the other. The role of electronic and print media and most importantly in the current age the role of social media cannot be denied to give fame and defame to any politician and most importantly women.

The role of media in every society is vital. Media in the modern age plays its role in the making of social and political values. The standards of society develop in society, and different values develop in different societies (Haraldsson, 2016). Eagly & Carlie (2007) cited in (Hoyt, 2010) indicates that women are more vulnerable to face negative reactions, expected to reach the position of power, leadership, and influence. Although there has been a significant change in acceptance of societies for women at the highest political post, because

of media. However, prejudice and sexism still exist, for instance, a poster of “Iron My Shirt” in the political campaign of US presidential election 2008 when Hillary was a candidate (Couric & Co., 2008). Similarly, women are considered caretakers, while men take charge. Women are linked with communal traits of care, while men with agentic traits of self-reliance, confidence, and dominance (Hoyt, 2010), 490). This sexism not only affects the masses but directly women as a bystander get effected where women see themselves as less suitable for this field, as they are also consuming media (Haraldsson, 2016).

Sexism is “Supposition, belief or assertion that one sex is superior to the other. It often expresses in the context of traditional stereotyping of social roles based on sex, with resultant discrimination practiced against members of the supposedly inferior sex” UNESCO (2012, p.54). Haraldsson's (2016) Study also indicates that media is misrepresenting women through sexism, and creating a biased portrayal of women. The media represents women in a biased way. The success of political candidates is not usually highlighted, rather if something bad happens it is broadcasted and highlighted. This is how distorted reality is presented through media. Media focuses more on women’s social and personal traits than the candidacy, gives less coverage to them. According to these studies Bysrtom & Banwart (2001), Devitt (2002), female personality attributes include weak, honest, gentleness, passive, weak leader, emotional, attractive, unintelligent, and uninformed. While male personality traits are untrustworthy, hardworking, vital, strong leader, tough, effective, aggressive, intelligent, independent, knowledgeable, and ambitious. That means a man is more about possessing agentic while a female is more about having communal traits (Thu, 2012). In contrast, media can be used as an equalizing tool to teach civic engagement, civic skills, increase political interest in women, and can also help in reducing the other structural barriers for women to enter into politics.

Media Bias Theory

To understand media sexism, Lavery (2013) first uses ‘media bias theory’ and explains that candidates are framed in different ways. Instead of presenting data to the public in a gendered way, they present it according to gender. Next is ‘mediatization theory’ that refers to the way media influences the power dynamics and distribution in society, as individuals, organizations, and systems adapt to the way of thinking, working and the structural conditions set by the media. This is how media impacts power distribution. The theory of mediatization explains the significance of media for parliamentarian when parliamentarian is not willing or less adaptive to what the media says, then they are either misrepresented or underrepresented (Aalberg & Stromback, 2011). Usually, women are less adaptive to that, and this is how the media’s agenda-setting power links to representation for women politicians (Schlehofer et al., 2011).

Another perspective is the ‘gendered mediation thesis’ add that the media gives privilege to a male, and considered it a norm in politics. The agenda of media houses are male-driven. Media acts as a mediator to promote men among society especially in the field of politics (Ibroscheva & Raicheva-Stover 2009). Explaining how media works as a mediator, Wright and Holland (2014) argued that based on the expected role of both genders, media tends to represent women as a double bind, that being a female she must act with feminine trait along with as she is on the political post then must also exhibit the traits of powerfulness, the masculine one. If she exhibits little difference from it, she faces prejudice and discrimination. This is how media perpetuates the existing patriarchal hierarchical system, by deciding themselves what to be shown to the general public and in what way. This is how a society becomes less questioning about prevailing sexism when the media itself ensures sexism under the pressure of patriarchal forces (Haraldsson, 2016).

Determinants of Women to Enter in Politics

Many other factors determine women's ability to enter into politics, such as political stability and political instability, law and order condition in a state, and the type of political and party system in the country. If a system is under the shadow of political instability, then there are higher chances that women will take part in politics (Jalalzai, 2010). It enhances the opportunity for women to get access to higher executive political posts in replacement of their family members as a result of a military coup or political murders (Jalalzai, 2008). Therefore, the factor of political deadlock is one of the prominent factors which determine the role of women in politics (Feinstein, 2010; Jalalzai & Rincker, 2018). In the majority of the countries, women are considered as a political minority with less adequate consideration in power positions. They share their roles and responsibilities with male executives. Rickner (1990) has explored some of the noticeable variables in the prominence of women leaders in Asian countries and highlighted patriarchy, martyrdom, social class, familial ties female lifestyles, the independence movements, prison experience, and electoral arrangements as the key facilitators through which women came into powerful leadership positions. This could be observed commonly in many countries. However, in Germany, Liberia, and Chile; Angela Merkel, Ellen Johnson, Michelle Bachelet are the women who have shattered the glass ceiling at the executive level. However, what kind of ceiling or hindrances they are still facing, the literature lacks in this area.

Women are currently working as pilots, doctors, political candidates, leaders of the political parties, and most importantly as head of state. The examples of Chile, Germany, and Bangladesh, etc. are in front of us. The thing to find is that how women come to power in societies in which there are a lot of taboos on the social participation of women in different fields. In such a society rise of women as political leaders of a party or as the head of a state is not a normal thing. For such participation, there is a need for high-level political ambitions

and it requires a long struggle to reach the point of success. Women who are head of states have to work more than male heads because on one side women have to fight the social taboos and on the other side, women have to combat the opposition in the political field (Kazee, 1994; Rohde, 1979; Schlesinger, 1966; Stone & Maisel, 2003).

Family Politics and Women Role

Family politics and the role of women are very much important in the field of politics. Some families are so indulged in the field of politics that many members of their family, male as well as female, are actively taking part in practical political activities. Therefore, in such an environment it is very easy for the family women to start indulging in politics and take it up as a political career. Women in such cases do not have to work a lot. They just carry on the legacy of their family. In this way, many women can earn a good name in the political history of the world. This is happening in the developing as well as in the developed world at the same time (Haraldsson, 2016); Wasburn, 2011). Jalalzai (2008) indicates that out of fifty-four women executives, fifteen are either daughters or wives of politicians and act as the successor to their male members for the executive post, like in South Asia. Only in India, the female president had no family ties, but in the past, family played an important role for women to be in politics. The same situation is found in Lucero of Peru. Although she holds much weaker power, she also does not have family ties (Jalalzai, 2010).

The majority of examples can be found where women assume executive political positions and they worked initially according to the principles and structures laid down by males and they have an association with strong political (male) personality. For instance, Indira Gandhi, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Khalida Zia, and Benazir Bhutto, Kamla Bhasin (2006) are referred to in a study related to South Asia (Reynolds, n.d.). Besides, in Burma, the daughter of nationalist leader Aung San, who was assassinated, the extraordinary political and economic decay, and political repression has encouraged her to reach executive office

(Richter, 1990). Furthermore, except for South Asia with the highest percentage of women in an executive political post (although because of association with strong male political figure), no other region has more than ten percent of women as parliamentarian (Khan, 2015; Reynolds, n.d.; Richter, 1990).

Studies indicate that reason for women with the family association to enter into politics or how they become eligible for the post is, that they have received an apprenticeship and political socialization in political strategy from a very young age, and they develop such skills of leading, by using the “name” as brand recognition, greater attention, the trust of voters, can utilize the existing organization, network as well as coverage of media, and reach at the level where could even buy or get out the votes (Jalalzai & Rincker, 2018, Derichs et al., 2006; Hinojosa, 2012 p. 119–120; Mendoza et al., 2014; Cruz et al., 2015).

In the developing and the developed world family leaders who are actively taking part in politics introduce women of their family in a peculiar process. They first introduce them as the new member of the party, then give them the seat of the legislative assembly and then elect them as a minister as well as on other high profile designations. This is how women are introduced to family politics in the practical field of politics. There are many examples in the developing as well as in the developed world where the family head who is performing as a leader of a political party introduces women of his family in the political world. The example of Benazir Bhutto in Pakistan and Indira Gandhi in India as well as Hasina Wajid in Bangladesh from South Asia, where women enter politics through the family head (Richter, 1990). All these women had joined the political field with the help of their family members (Eagly, 2007).

It is observed that about more than 40% of the current politicians are either spouses of existing or late politicians or they are the son, daughter, or any relative of an existing politician. The desire for involvement in political life is a direct result of the lives of existing

politicians who are doing their jobs in politics (Cook & Gronke 2005; Hetherington, 2005). The goal line setting trend is also diverse in the lives of a male and female. It varies due to one or the other reason. This disparity is due to the different complexions in the lives of both genders. Women have to face diverse problems as compared to men. They have to face problems on both ends. On one side, they have to face problems as political candidates and on another side as a woman (Hoyt & Chemers, 2008; Hoyt, 2010 p. 490; Leary, 1995; Major & O'Brien, 2005).

Jalalzai & Rincker (2018) organize a cross-national examination of data of political executive of world region – Latin America, Sub-Saharan, Europe, Asia, North America from 2000-2015. They tested several hypotheses and presented major findings that, as a group (men & women), men benefited more from family ties, as compared to women. This ratio is high in Latin America and Asia also in North America and Europe. Compared to the proportion of women versus men getting benefits from family ties African region gives a slightly greater percentage where women reached executive positions more than men as compared to other regions. It is quite rare that male members get benefits of having female members at executive posts, rather mostly power gain is originated by male political authority.

By and large, the inclusion of women in politics through the passage of family politics is a good thing, because without the help of family even in the modern age development of women in the field of politics is very difficult. Therefore, it can be concluded that family members on the other side also should focus on the inclusion of women in politics because the talent of women can be used in the political field (Wasburn, 2009). There is a fear that without the inclusion of women into politics the talent and knowledge of women can be lost. Women are half of the world population and neglecting women means neglecting half of the potential of the world. It is, therefore, the need of the hour that the leader of women should

focus on women's role in politics. Over time women who are included in politics will include their female friends and the process will end if more women enter into politics (Heilman, 2001).

Women Inclusion and Education Factor

Education is one of the biggest factors which determine women's inclusion in politics. Based on their education, women are progressing in different fields and politics is one of them. Therefore, it is the need of the hour to encourage and provide facilities to women for better opportunities for education so that they can participate in politics and can work for the betterment of the country. Some women are not well educated but they are still on the high posts of the political field due to one or the other reasons discussed in the above sections. But these examples are very rare to be seen because women are treated distinctly and with prejudice. This is a male-dominated society and matters of the world are mostly managed by men instead of women. Therefore, in such an environment it is very difficult for women to survive in a political field without getting an education. It is because education provides them a backup fight for a better future in the field of politics (Hain & Pierson, 1975).

For the education of women, it is the need of the hour that special attention should be paid to girls' education. It is proved through the research that if women are included in real politics, there will be low corruption, war, and poverty. It is because women are more polite and well-mannered instead of their counterpart's men. Men are more prone to war and fight. The history of the world tells that major wars in the world are fought during the rule of the male heads of the states. There are rare cases that there would be a fight between the women-headed states. Therefore, the role and education of women are mandatory for the betterment and progress of the world (Feinstein, 2010).

Women in Politics on Quota Base

In the modern days, there is a quota system for women in the political field in developing as well as in the developed world. This is the best opportunity for women to introduce themselves to the practical field of politics. It is one of the best favors which are given by the male politicians to the women so that women are encouraged to participate in political activities. Based on quota, women are included in politics as well as they are encouraged to apply to the open system where there is no distinction between men and women (Fulton, 2006). According to Dahelrup, two types of tracks were adopted by the states, some countries adopted the incremental track model for the inclusion of women in politics while most of the developing countries adopted the fast track option and bring more women into politics through reserved quota and party quotas. It paved the way for women's easy entry into the political sphere.

Researchers suggest, there should be another system for the inclusion of women in politics so that a better world can be developed for the prosperity of the coming generations. The quota system is a big thing for present women as well as for the coming generations. But it is an irony of fate that the quota system is not maintained in many developing as well as developed states. Therefore, women in such states have to face difficulties while participating in the real political world. So it is the need of the hour that women must be considered a part of the world and they are treated equally (Schlesinger, 2006). Implementation of this system is a tool to compensate for the other structural constraints that hinder women's political participation (Khan, 2015). However there is a lot of disparity in women's representation in politics as compared to males, and then, later on, to reach executive levels. A few link this gap with the traditional gender role and leadership style.

Conclusion Regarding Exiting State of Glass Ceiling

The glass ceiling metaphor is used for the barriers and problems in the way of women's progression towards higher positions. There are many factors in small and big organizations that prevent women to become a part of top management. The biasness from the top male management and male administration are the fundamental reasons for women's backwardness in the field of politics. Women political representatives have to work hard to make a name in the political field (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003). There are cultural and political barriers for women parliamentarians in different states. On one hand, women have less capital to spend on political motives as compared to men politicians. On the other hand, women have to face complexities during the election campaign (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003, p. 212).

Young statesmen can mobilize people in a better way. It is because young people have the energy to instill a political desire among the people, to make people understand the cause and effect of different events and their results. Such types of leaders are very charming for people and people in the modern-day often support them as compared to old ones. The thing to find is that how women come to power in societies in which there are lots of taboos on the social participation of women in different fields of society. In such societies, the rise of women as political leaders of a party or head of a state is not a normal thing (Zaccaro et al., 2008).

There are several barriers in the way of women's political participation which is natural as well as man-made. Mostly male politicians create hurdles in the way of women who want to join politics. From the male side, different tactics are used to pressure women politicians. For example, women who want to join politics are threatened in different ways, and women are easily subdued. Therefore, it is one of the big threats for women who want to join politics. Moreover, there are barriers from family, religion, and society for keeping

women away from joining the political field. Women in many societies are not considered suitable to participate in politics (Squire, 2006).

Women are considered separate citizens in many societies. It can be judged from the examples of the developed states that they allow women politicians to participate in politics and to vote after decades of political movements from women's side. In developing states the inclusion of women in politics is much slower than that of men politicians and this is due to barriers which are made by men in society because this is a patriarchal society and men are at the top of the stage. It becomes very difficult for women to participate in politics in the presence of male politicians. Men politicians do not want that women participate in politics and gain benefits over men politicians (Pierson, 1997).

Seventy years on we see that women continue to make sacrifices and are an integral part of the ever-evolving Pakistani society. A developing country despite its many trials and tribulations over the years has managed to secure a large female representation in parliament (Jensen, 2008). Socio-cultural factors, reinforced by religion, make it difficult for Pakistani women to see themselves as suitable for higher positions, as they are not seen fit to be leaders. Traditionally, women in our culture and religion are treated as young adults unable to make important decisions independently (Mumtaz, 2005).

When dealing with such factors it is worth mentioning that these factors not only pertain to Pakistan but can be widely seen all over the world. Though the cultural factors which instigate the glass ceiling in Pakistan are unique. Although there are no real laws prohibiting females from joining politics we still find it weighing heavy in female advancement in politics (Djupe & Olson, 2013). There is a need to battle against this discrimination, to better the lives of women by raising them on higher-level positions in politics. This bias is unconsciously perpetuated by women themselves, who have come to internalize these stereotypes. By educating women and changing their thinking, women will

become confident in their abilities, resulting in more women breaking their socio-cultural barriers and ultimately improving their economic standing.

Summing up, researchers have found that the underrepresentation of women and their dearth at higher decision-making positions is due to the barriers which restrict their upward mobility and approach to get these positions. Most researches focus on the barriers which are entrenched in culture and societal norms. Some blame women's own beliefs and attitudes, lack of ambition, and socialization responsible for this scarcity. Different researches have outlined the reasons for women's scarcity at the top positions in different socio-cultural contexts. There can't be one instrument to enhance their existence in powerful positions. As increased participation of women will be helpful to change people's minds about their abilities to govern. The knowledge about their experiences can be beneficial to get an understanding of their career paths and their coping strategies that they adopt to fight against these discriminatory barriers and organizational behavior while working in it. Women can break the glass ceiling if equipped with the right attitude and awareness of self-worth. Cognitive and emotional training can be provided to woman parliamentarians to fight their way up. This study aims at mapping the glass ceiling created in political organizations and the lived experiences of women who are facing the glass ceiling while working in formal male organizations. Getting a deep understanding of the experiences of women parliamentarians in Pakistan would be a positive contribution to the existing literature about the glass ceiling and would be helpful to break down gender stereotypes, prejudice, and reasons for inequalities that persist in politics.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of the present research was to describe the meaning women parliamentarians attached to their lived experiences regarding the glass ceiling phenomenon and the barrier they face in a male-dominant formal institution. This research attempted to explore barriers and obstacles women have to face as a parliamentarian. This section explains the research procedure adopted for the current study. It contains information on the method used for this research and justification to adopt the selected methodology. The section additionally portrays the different phases of research, including the selection of research participants, the information data gathering process, and the information analysis process. This section likewise talks about the job of the researcher in subjective research as far as reflexivity. The part closes with an exchange of the legitimacy and unwavering quality of subjective research and clarifies how these two prerequisites were met in this investigation. This study used qualitative methods (In-depth interviews) for understating the state of the glass ceiling for women parliamentarians.

Research Approach

Qualitative research approaches are adopted to contextualize the specific socio-cultural, political issues. In some cases, these approaches are adopted to understand the antecedents and causes to change or transform social conditions. Qualitative research methods attempt to provide predictions about explored phenomena while giving causal explanations (Glsene, 2006).

Qualitative research design is followed in such scenarios where the researcher wants to empower research participants to share their experiences, practices, values, norms, and issues like the lived experiences of women parliamentarians toward the advancement and upward mobility in their political career. The research tries to understand the context that

considered the habitat of the participant's situation or problem. Qualitative research design minimizes the power of researchers that existed in quantitative research and gives open hand to the participants to share as much they can. Further, qualitative research approaches help out to build and explain linkages and mechanisms in causal theories (Creswell, 2007).

The interests of qualitative investigators are to understand how research participants interpret their events and practices. They are much involved in knowing how participants construct their words and what meanings they have regarding their practices and experiences (Merriam, 2009, p. 5).

Investigators of qualitative researches are much interested to understand the human arrangements and their settings from their perspective. Moreover, investigators are interested in knowing the sense of an individual's settings through social roles, social structures, social values, regulation of norms, rituals, and symbols with their surroundings (Berg, 2004). There is diversity in developing perspectives or worldviews related to an event or happening, culture to culture, or environment to environment. These perspectives and worldviews are based upon individuals' culture, situation, and race (Van Manen, 1990). For understanding the experiences of the people, it is compulsory to know the perception or worldview of people regarding specific situations. Here investigator able to explore the available obstacles that are existed in the belief set of individuals and alternatives (Becker, 1970).

In the context of appropriation of research design, a qualitative research design is adopted when there is a lack of literature on under-study issues or phenomena but quantitative research is appropriate when there is enough literature (Creswell, 2003). In the case of the glass ceiling for women parliamentarians, there is a dearth of literature in the context of Pakistan, most of the stories or events regarding the role of parliamentarian are usually read in the newspaper and TV shows, however, no specific study taking women parliamentarian, and exploring their lived experiences rarely come into sight of the

researcher. Based on this fact, qualitative research is an appropriate approach to explore the phenomena effectively and to capture the maximum lived experiences of women parliamentarians in the present research.

Phenomenological Research Methods

To understand the core of lived experiences of women parliamentarian phenomenological approach was used. Phenomenology is a method of interpreting research that seeks to capture the meaning or essence of experiences of a phenomenon perceived by people (McMillian, 2004). In phenomenological research methods, researchers attempt to discover the underlying meaning of shared experiences to better understand the phenomenon (Van Manen, 1997). Qualitative phenomenological methods contribute to understanding people's life experiences through their perspectives.

In historical context, before the First World War, phenomenology had turned into rationality in Germany and from that point forward had a noteworthy position in present-day theory (Dowling, 2007). Phenomenology was resulting from worries about logical research that some did not consider the creator and the connection between human cognizances (Husserl et al., 1994). A focal epistemological technique for phenomenology is the idea of phenomenological reduction. The reduction is a specialized term that depicts the phenomenological solidarity that enables researchers to recognize unconstrained waves in the realm of life (Van Manen, 1990). The reduction is an approach to come back to the advanced and improved world (Van Manen, 1990).

A German mathematician Edmund Husserl founded an epistemological philosophy called phenomenology (Dahlberg et al., 2001). The object of phenomenological research is to conduct an unbiased and rigorous study to achieve a point where the researcher can understand human experiences and consciousness (Valle et al., 1989). In phenomenological studies, a major focus is to understand how social phenomena are in the consciousness of

people and how the meanings of phenomena are constructed (Kvale, 1996). Husserl pointed out that phenomenology clarifies the actual existence of this world. He also argued it doesn't neglect the existence of the real-world (Husserl, 1962, p. 1). Kvale (1996) argued that the roots of meanings individuals create are rooted in the interactions of these individuals.

According to Bernard & Ryan (2010), phenomenological research consists of six steps.

- 1- Identification of a phenomenon that the researcher wants to study or understand
- 2- Identification of personal biases and efforts to put these aside
- 3- Collection of narratives from well-experienced people through in-depth interviews and running interviews through probing
- 4- Usage of researcher's wisdom to the recognition of essentials of event or phenomena
- 5- Preparation draft of essentials of phenomena in writing with the support of reported narrations and quotes
- 6- Repetition of point four as well as five to cover all the essentials of the phenomena about lived experiences of the understudy participants.

Based on the provided steps by Bernard & Ryan (2010), initially, the researcher in this study identified phenomena of glass ceiling regarding lived experiences of women parliamentarians in Pakistan. To deal with 2nd point researcher set aside all her biases with the phenomena. According to the 3rd assumption, the researcher conducted in-depth interviews of women parliamentarians of Pakistan. The process of in-depth interviews was made effective and maximized knowledge-oriented about phenomena through probing, where interviews went up to 90 minutes and more as well. Interactions between researcher and participants enable to research explore multiple experiences and truths. Eide (2008) said researcher-participant interaction and dialogue source to investigate truths and realities. Then

the researcher recognized elements that proved responsible for the glass ceiling in Pakistan. After identification of these essentials, the researcher-made report and quoted these essentials with narrations raised by the participants. Lastly, the researcher tried to identify more essentials of phenomena and relevant narration again and again till the final analysis report.

Moran (2000) argued that for a better understanding of phenomenology, the researcher shouldn't impose explanations before studying phenomena within the actual context. It is the exquisiteness of qualitative research it provides roots of phenomena and lived experiences of associated people to understand the context and phenomena in a better way. The process of the phenomenological approach is much scientific that enriches the expression of realities through processing coherent resources, systematic and logical discussion in the analysis that enables a researcher to synthesize information more accurately and help out to provide a clearer picture of essential phenomena (Moustakas, 1994).

In phenomenological research, the researcher aims to describe the phenomena in the light of emerged information while avoiding the influences of the existed framework (Van Manen, 1997). In the initial stages, the researcher needs to define the understudy phenomena and their essential elements or basic structure of the phenomena. The researcher takes help from preconceived ideas to meet this object (Creswell, 2009).

In conclusion, phenomenological research intends to understand and describe the phenomena as practiced, experienced, and believed by a human (Bentz et al., 1998). In the case of the present study, a phenomenological approach is best suitable to explore and describe the lived experiences of Pakistani women parliamentarians to understand the gender-based political glass ceiling in the Pakistani sociopolitical system. This research followed the interpretive perspective of phenomenology to find out the experiences and views of Pakistani women political representatives about the existence of the glass ceiling in political organizations. The main objective of this research is to explore the personal experiences of

women parliamentarians about their career path and the main obstacles or barriers which these women still face in their mobility to get top decision-making positions.

Research Questions

There is a need for considerable work to draft a central research question as it has the tendency and breadth of some to specific questions based upon traditional training. The central question in qualitative research should be broad that enable to pose research problem of the study (Creswell, 2007). In data collection and doing analysis, the central research questions set the concentration and focus of the researcher (Glesne, 2006). To reach the stage of or writing a precise research question, there is a need to do enough literature review. The central research question of the study presents the whole intent of the research (Cooper & Schindler, 2006).

In qualitative research, research questions are open-ended and general. These questions the researcher seeks the answer. Further, these questions guide the research (Creswell, 2003). In phenomenological research, research has to explore the phenomena and interpret the phenomena with the local expression and belief. Open-ended questions allow research participants to express their ideas in their own words that are considered fruitful to interpret how things work in a context (Bernard et al., 2010). Due to this reason, open-ended questions have special importance in phenomenological research (Moutakas, 1994). In phenomenological research, the researcher explores the phenomena and reaches reality by asking good open-ended research questions and probing to beseech response.

This research aims to explore the personal experiences of women parliamentarians about their career path and the main obstacles or barriers which these women still face in their mobility to get top decision-making positions. To establish the argument that women parliamentarians in Pakistan do face invisible glass barriers, following open-ended research questions were formulated to focus and guide the study object.

1. What is the state of the glass ceiling for women Parliamentarians in Pakistan?
2. What are the lived experiences, particularly about career persistency and upward mobility, of women Parliamentarians regarding the existence of the glass ceiling at the individual, societal, and organizational level?
3. What types of coping strategies are adopted by women parliamentarians to break the glass ceiling?

Research Population and Sampling

The research method, as well as research participants, are dictated by research phenomena (Marshall, 1996). The participants in phenomenological research should have lived experience about the phenomenon; the researcher has to explore it (Creswell, 2007). Based on the objectives of this research to explore the glass ceiling to women parliamentarians in Pakistan, women parliamentarians who were experiencing these hurdles were the most appropriate research population to explore. All the women parliamentarians of Pakistan are the population of this study. The population of this study was comprised of female parliamentarian tenure from 2013 to 2018. The target population was comprised of female members of provincial and national assemblies.

The researcher adopted the purposive sampling technique to select the participants in this study. This sampling approach is more fruitful to capture the lived experiences of individuals who have lived experience with the phenomena under investigation. Participants in purposive sampling have rich knowledge and understanding of phenomena and research problem as he/she has a direct association with the phenomena (Creswell, 2017). For this study researcher purposively selected parliamentarian with either one tenure—consisted of five years, and a maximum with 4 tenure who was well experienced in parliamentary affairs and politics. Besides, to get the maximal variation in the sample, the researcher integrated those cases that were as different as possible, participants were selected for this study who

have different backgrounds, different parties, and different areas. For the selection of exceptional cases, renowned female parliamentarians were selected and their experiences were recorded. Based on the above criteria names of women parliamentarians were purposively shortlisted for in-depth interviews as “the logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in-depth” it proves beneficial to collect in-depth data about the research (Patton, 1990). Data were collected using in-depth qualitative interviews with twenty member parliamentarians (MNAs & MPAs) details given in the table below.

Name/Code	MNA/MPA	Party	Tenure	Seat Type
1.	MNA	PML-N	2 nd	Reserve
2.	MNA	PML-N	1 st	Reserve
3.	MNA	PML-N	1 st	Reserve
4.	MNA	PML-N	1 st	General
5.	MPA	PML-N	1 st	Reserve
6.	MPA	PML-N	1 st	Reserve
7.	MPA	PML-N	1 st	Reserve
8.	MPA	PML-N	1 st	Reserve
9.	MPA	PML-N	2 nd	Reserve
10.	MPA	PML-N	1 st	Reserve
11.	MNA	PPP	2 nd	General
12.	MNA	PPP	4 th	General
13.	MNA	PPP	2 nd	Reserve
14.	MNA	PPP	2 nd	General
15.	MNA	PTI	2 nd	Reserve
16.	MNA	PTI	1 st	Reserve
17.	MNA	PTI	1 st	Reserve
18.	MNA	JUI-F	2 nd	Reserve
19.	MNA	JUI-F	2 nd	Reserve
20.	MNA	PSP	2 nd	Reserve

Tools for Data Collection

A semi-structured interview guide was developed to assess the political glass ceiling in Pakistan. It was acknowledged in the introductory section of the interview guide, “this is strictly an interview guide only for Pakistan Female Members of Provincial and National Assembly. A distinction will be made from those women who are elected via 2013 elections

general election and winning quota seats.” This means the interview guide was general and flexible. Further, the researcher acknowledged in the introductory section that, “any question that feels inappropriate or bordering on personal issues may be struck or amended according to participant liking.”

Generally, the interview guide was classified into three sections. The first section of the interview guide deals with the demographic information about participants that included names of the participants, position in parliament, year of service, affiliated political party, selected-quota status, factors to win quota seat, upbringing, family surroundings, wealth status, and influencing persons, and reasons for contesting the election.

2nd section of the interview guide focused on the individual level information of participants. In this section, the researcher explored participants’ political ambition, education backgrounds, entry to politics, a mentor in politics, family political background, political career, issues/obstacles to entering politics, the self-image of politics, and media influence.

3rd section of the interview guide contained questions about participants’ perceptions and behavior of society before and after entering into parliament, the role of gender in politics, religious beliefs in politics, and political preferences. These sections provided the basic platform for the researcher to conduct interviews. Researchers mostly initiated interviews with these questions but as she finds the chance to probe; it was utilized to explore all the aspects and dimensions of the phenomena.

Interview Protocol Questions

Right, and clear questions are necessary to accurately explore the phenomena through eliciting experiences of the research participants (Fortune, 2013). So, in phenomenological research, all questions should be clear and understandable. Ambiguity and clarity in the questions alter the meaning of questions or confuse the meanings that create hurdles in the data collection procedure (Lockett, 2005).

In this research, interview protocol questions were classified into three categories; all sections contained seventeen questions. All questions aimed to explore the various domains that need to answer the central research questions of the study.

The procedure of Data Collection

The Procedure of Data Collection

Data is a core element of research that provides the raw material for analysis, results, and conclusion. The quality of collected data depends upon the efficiency of the data collection procedure. In the case of quantitative research (mostly) data is collected through a questionnaire (response of respondents on close-ended statements that are used to compute variables). Generally, in qualitative research, data is collected in four ways (Marshall et al., 2006).

- 1- Direct observation
- 2- Researcher's participation in setting
- 3- In-depth interviews
- 4- Analysis of material culture and documents

Initially for the selection of participants for this research, the name of a parliamentarian was selected through a list obtained from the library of the provincial and national assembly, containing basic information of the parliamentarians. All those parliamentarians were shortlisted, who were selected through a quota or general election had one or more tenure in parliament, and 20 of them were interviewed at the place of their ease (during the parliamentary sessions, in women caucus). In this research, the researcher collected data through in-depth interviews. The in-depth interviews were designed to gain a detailed understanding of participants' emotional and subjective perceptions about the glass ceiling, and challenges of career advancement revealing the meanings women parliamentarians attach to their actions experiences and the type of ambition they have.

In-depth interviews from selected parliamentarians provide an insight regarding the presence or breaking of the political glass ceiling. The information obtained was aimed to illuminate the dynamics of politics specifically about their experiences with top leadership perceived or experienced barriers including cultural, religious, and normative barriers, media role, gender stereotyping on their pathway to politics as well as on their way to upward mobility after entering in parliament.

In-depth interviews from the women parliamentarians provided firsthand knowledge of their suggestions of the ways and methods to remove the political glass ceiling. For this research, the researcher conducted interviews with selected women parliamentarians to generate the themes and ceased when the participants desisted from lighting new information on the topic of investigation. Researchers in phenomenological researches warned to allow facts to generate as these can be because conducting phenomenological research means assessing enough information about settings and phenomena (Kensit, 2000). Through in-depth interviews, researchers put efforts to describe the phenomena as accurately as can be based on provided facts and avoiding pre-given frameworks (Groenewald, 2004).

Through in-depth interviewing, the researcher captured the lived experiences of each participant in the study about phenomena. The researcher put efforts to unfold the phenomena by capturing the experiences and views of participants. According to Marshall & Rossman (2006), participants' attitude is the most important aspect of qualitative research. While conducting interviews, the researcher used memoing to indicate participants' emotions, attitudes, gestures, impressions, and expressions regarding various aspects of the phenomena.

The researcher also made field notes. In these notes, the researcher noted her descriptions, questions, comments, and other points that the researcher thought necessary to write. The researcher wrote field notes while conducting interviews or sharply after

interviews for avoiding errors. Delay in writing field notes leads to more errors (Bernard & Ryan, 2010). After each interview, the researcher filtered information; she endured the information and observation into themes.

In qualitative research, all interviews are valuable as they all touch on some facts or experiences related to phenomena of study. So, all the interviews should be recorded (Merriam, 2009). The researcher in the present research recorded all interviews. Before recording, permission from participants was granted. The audio recording of all interviews was made. These recordings were used to process the data in future steps.

Epoche/Bracketing in Data Collection

The term epoche means freedom from supposition. It is a Greek word coined by Husserl's first time in history (Moustakas, 1994). This practice is considered essential to meet the requirements of phenomenological research. Husserl (1962) explicated biases, prejudgments, pre-experiences, pre-beliefs, and all such other things set aside while studying phenomena. It is called epoche in qualitative phenomenological research. Epoche is the result of compromising on pre-investigation beliefs, judgments, and information by researchers to set aside these and focus on the phenomena with a neutral mind. This enables to purposeful opening by an investigator to the phenomena. Epoche helps out a researcher to refrain from his/her prejudices about the phenomena and promote the investigation of phenomena as a neutral world independently of any pre-conception.

In the process of data collection engaging in epoche means creating a cool, polite, and friendly openness to the phenomena-oriented facts while refraining from all personal biases. This leads to uplift the confidence of the participants to share. As they think; the researcher wants to listen to them. Further, participants believe that one is respecting their views and experiences. All these lead to enhance the frankness among the researcher and the

participants that prove fruitful to explore maximum hidden dimensions of the phenomena of study.

While collecting data, the researcher, tried her best to generate a fully open environment and positive accepting attitude to beliefs, perceptions, experiences and thinking of the women parliamentarians. The researcher didn't speak any phrases even words to hurt the exploratory process but always support the ongoing interviews through respecting gestures with wise probing phrases. Moreover, the researcher didn't probe any praise to initiate the area of prejudgments and personal biases. The basic aim of the researcher was to explore the realities in the context of phenomena through the exploration of the experiences of the participants. All these epoche/bracting processes not only support the environment of the data collection process but also enhance the collection of experiences and refrained the biases at this level of study.

Data Analysis

In a qualitative study, data analysis is stated as the researcher interacts with the participants. This interaction and analysis of the data continued throughout the study (Gay et al., 2009). In qualitative research data analysis consists of multiple tasks. It is included the preparation of data for analysis, coding of data, condensing of codes, reducing data into themes, and tabular and figural presentation of the data (Cresswell, 2007). In phenomenological research, a researcher analyzes with an open mind (of participants' experiences and stories) to explore the meaning and structures the data has (Rossman et al., 1998). In phenomenological research all the participants are valuable and listening to them is equally important to explore more facts and clear the reflection on the facts (Moustakas, 1994).

Throughout the process of data collection, the researcher read the field notes for reconsideration of the non-verbal data and clarity in the verbal data. Further, the researcher

listens to the recorded audio of each participant's response to the raised questions and probing. After listening, the researcher transcribes the interviews verbatim. These transcriptions were analyzed many times to capture the experiences and meanings attached to the experiences of the participants. Special attention was given to transcription of the interviews and the researcher personally did the transcription and translation to stay closer to the data and to remove any chances of meanings being lost during this stage.

In this investigation, the researcher analyzed the data of this qualitative research by following the Moustakas (1994) method of data analysis for phenomenological research. This method of data analysis consists of seven steps. The purpose to organize the analysis method is to capture maximum experiences, structures, and attached meanings to these experiences and structures.

Horizontalization

Initially, the researcher listed out all the expressions of the participants relevant to their experiences. These expressions were further classified into groupings. For doing this, researcher, read the transcriptions of all interviews and highlighted all expressions in each interview. Then these highlighted expressions were classified. The researcher found all statements about how participants are experiencing the phenomenon. The list of these statements, quotations, or narrations was made. Initially, all statements were given equal value and respected all responses. This way researcher prepared a non-overlapping and non-repetitive list of statements.

Phenomenological Reduction and Elimination

In the second step of data analysis, the research reduced or eliminated the unnecessary statements from the groups that were made in step 1. In reduction, vague, confused, repetitive, and overlapping expressions were deal with. These expressions were made

meaningful and descriptive. Further, the focus of this step was non-verbal communication, paragraphs, sentences, phrase, and even every word.

Data analysis, in phenomenological research, is conducted reduction methodology. The researcher analyzed the themes and expressions rose by the participants and put energy to capture all meanings (Polkinghorne, 2005). In the present research, the researcher relied on the frequency of mentioned meaning and nature of mentioned not only literal content.

As the researcher found all units of general meanings, irrelevant and unnecessary statements were eliminated that were proved irrelevant to the phenomenon of study. Here, the researcher again re-consulted all the interview transcriptions to sure that these statements are irrelevant to the phenomena. Finally, the statements that were irrelevant and not involved in their lived experiences were eliminated.

Clustering of Units of Meanings to Form Themes

In this step, the researcher did an effort to determine those units that have relevant meanings. The researcher made clusters of such units. Hycner (1985) said words, phrases, para-linguistic or non-verbal expressions that present coherent meanings are called units of general meanings. Through dealing with the units of general meanings and determining the natural clusters, the researcher identified common themes. A theme or essence provides those units, those need to understand the structure of experience.

After this step, the researcher reviewed the transcriptions with more deep concentration and care and attempted to develop core themes of participants' statements. Moustakas (1994) elaborated that as the researcher had noted the units of general meanings, research questions can be addressed. Moreover, if the researcher thinks the units of general meanings are relevant to understudy phenomena; it proved that the responses provided by the research participants are also relevant to the investigation. After this confirmation, these

responses are noted. At this stage, the researcher found twenty-three minor themes or clusters.

Validation

Core themes emerge through experiences' from relevant constituents themes. Here researchers again need to interact with the recordings and reviewing the transcriptions by concentrating on keywords in all interviews to generate a cluster of themes.

Boyatzis (1998) said the cluster of themes has much importance in ongoing study and future studies. In ongoing research, it facilitates the process of presenting research findings. In case of future research, these clusters guide and support the research background and operationalization of the variables.

In phenomenological research, a researcher has two methods to organize the themes into clusters or larger themes. 1) Organization of themes by following any theoretical or conceptual framework. 2) Organization of themes in the context of other themes in the same study. This organization may be done in a hierarchy or as independent categories (clusters) of themes. In the present research, the researcher adopted the last one.

At this stage, the researcher did cross-examination for the determination of one or more major/central themes that able to express the essence of these clusters. Here researcher processed the contrast process by moving one stage to another. The researcher moved between transcriptions, constituents, and clusters. Here researcher found three central themes of study include the pathway to politics—1st level of a glass ceiling and the pathway to upward mobility—2nd level of a glass ceiling and the coping strategies to handle the glass ceiling or breaking it. The researcher followed the hierarchy approach to present its central themes.

Textural Description

At this level of analysis, the researcher wrote the description of the lived experiences of research participants. Here all the phrases and narrations are equally weighted and included in the description. In this section, the researcher's major concern is to present the experiences of the participants in the phenomena of understudy.

Structural Description

In the 6th step, the research aimed to describe how the participants of the research have experienced the phenomena. Here researcher focused on the structure as well as the context of the phenomena to present the description more accurately. The researcher gave this level description by concentrating on the settings, context, and structure of the phenomena. After a complete understanding of these essentials of the phenomena, the researcher attempted to write the structural description of how the research participants experienced the phenomena under study.

Synthesis of Meanings and Essences

The 7th step of the phenomenological research process aimed to develop integration and clarity in the textual and structural descriptions. Here research converted descriptions made in various steps into unified statements. These statements presented what the participants experienced and how experienced the understudy phenomena. In short, this step synthesizes the information arranged in different steps. Then all the facts of the phenomena are presented comprehensively.

Ethical Consideration

The researcher will not use any information regarding the women parliamentarians' professional and personal life to harm them or to damage their political image. Their personal views will not be stated with their names without their permission. Neuman (2005) emphasizes that the ethical considerations associated with research involving interview

conversation should be taken as a moral enterprise. Since the topic revolves around highly personal, emotional, and confidential information, the anonymity of the respondents holds supreme importance. To strengthen anonymity, institutions, as well as the respondent's identity, are not to be disclosed at any point in the research document without their prior permission and consent. Deliberate informed consent of the respondents sought before data collection detailing them thoroughly the details of the nature of the research and assurance of their anonymity and confidentiality. This also entails their approval regarding the audio recording of interviews. Voluntary participation was ensured so that respondents feel the utmost ease in participating in research. Moreover, the interviews were conducted in their respective comfort places to ensure their level of comfort. This research was approved by the Ethics Committee of the University of The Punjab.

Informed consent

Informed consent is the primary concern of the researcher in an investigation. The researcher needs to tell the objective of the research to the research participants. They are also informed about the risks they might be taken by giving information in research (Seidman, 1986). Through informed consent, participants should be aware that their participation is voluntary and aspects associated with their well-being. Participants were communicated that they can stop participation whenever they want (Glesne, 2006). For this study participants were informed about the object of the investigation. The participants were communicated about the different aspects of the study. They were also told about the measures to protect their confidentiality. Further, they were told to stop the interview when they don't want to continue or they can withdraw questions that they didn't want to respond to.

Confidentiality

The institutionalized research speculation expresses that the member's character is unknown in studies containing in-depth interviews (Seidman, 1998). Every participant should

provide an acknowledgment before engaging in research. The acknowledgment should secure the rights of participants in the research process (Creswell, 2009). In the present research, all information and views provided by the participants were made confidential.

Validation Strategies

An attempt to assess the accuracy of research findings reported by the participants and the researcher is validation in qualitative research (Creswell, 2007). The extent to which the results of qualitative research are credible, authentic, dependable, and trustworthy is called validity (Creswell, 2007; Creswell, 2009 & Lincoln et al., 1985). Lincoln et al., (1985) wrote validity and credibility interchangeably in their work. According to Marriam (2009), the confirmation or match of research results with reality is the validity of the research. She believed validity is assessed in terms of outer than facts.

There are eight validation strategies recommended by Cresswell (2007) to ensure validity in qualitative research.

- 1- Validity in qualitative research could be uplift through tenacious observation and extended engagement in the field.
- 2- The researcher should verify the evidence through multiple and numerous sources, theories, methods, and investigators.
- 3- The findings of the research should be repeatedly peer-reviewed or debriefed to strengthen the bond of the study with facts and eliminate extraneous things.
- 4- To work on working hypotheses and refine these hypotheses to inquire about the advances
- 5- The biases of the researcher should be clarified from the outset of the study.
- 6- The accuracy of the research should be improved through member checking (feedback of informants).

- 7- The researcher should utilize thick and rich descriptions that allow readers to make decisions regarding transferability.
- 8- External audits of findings should be ensured to enrich the validity of the results.

While conducting qualitative research, to ensure and strengthen the validity of reported facts of the phenomenon at least two strategies should be adopted. In this research, the findings of the research repeatedly peer-reviewed and debriefed to strengthen the bond of study with facts and eliminate extraneous things. Moreover, the accuracy of the research improved through member checking (feedback of informants).

Chapter Summary

For this study qualitative research, more specifically phenomenological approach was adopted to understand the phenomenon of the glass ceiling through the lived experiences of women parliamentarians of Pakistan, all the steps of qualitative research were used for data collection while the step of phenomenological approach was used for data analysis are described in the above chapter. The next chapter is related to the analysis of the findings of collected data about the phenomenon.

CHAPTER 4

FINDING AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

To get an insight into the experiences regarding career persistency and upward mobility in political careers interviews of women parliamentarians were conducted. Twenty women parliamentarians were selected predominantly from four major political parties with few from other parties. Ten parliamentary members were selected from the National Assembly representing all the four provinces of Pakistan and ten from the provincial assembly of Punjab exclusively representing Punjab. As the incumbent party was Muslim League (Nawaz) so the parliamentarians selected from Punjab were mostly of Muslim League. The participants of the research were selected through purposive-convenient sampling because of the unapproachability and unavailability of the parliamentarians to the researcher.

Basic Information

A total of 20 participants were interviewed, 6 were MPAs, all were on reserved seats, and from that time incumbent party Muslim League-(N). While the other 10 were MNAs from different political parties, where 4 were from PTI, 4 from PMLN, 3 from PPP, 2 from JUI-F, and one from PSP. Only two of the participants interviewed entered into parliament through the general election, while all other participants were of reserved seats. Similarly, only one of the participant has spent 4 tenure, while the majority were spending 2nd tenure in parliament, and also few of them has their 1st tenure in parliament.

Two of the participant firstly contested provincial assembly seats on a general basis, but one of them couldn't win and get only 1800 votes, later on, she was selected for a reserved seat for the National Assembly. However, the second participant received more

votes even more than the candidates running for national assembly seats. The reason for this according to her was that female have an edge that she can visit door to door, and the family members in the Pakistani context respect woman when she is on the doorstep. Secondly, she also belongs to that area and knows the indigenous language. Few of the participants switched their parties after 1st tenure depending on the party's manifesto. For instance, the new member of PSP, who was in MQM, switched due to its manifesto. One of the participants also contested in the general election for a provincial assembly seat, according to her the reason behind contesting the general election was her belief in gender equality and she was brought up in such an environment where no difference between son/daughter was maintained, she also brought up her children in the same way (she was politically socialized; discussed later in details in a theme). However, she could not win the election due to whatever reason [i5]. Although she got more votes than her national assembly member, due to her door to door campaign. She also added that in the Pakistani context women have the advantage of easy entry into someone's house, where one can motivate women to cast vote. She also established the women's wing in that area, where women together worked for the campaign.

According to her, it was not as easy as it seemed so, especially in the environment of Karachi when the law and order situation of Karachi was so disrupted. She entered into politics, along with running a medical clinic as she was Doctor by profession. Upon asking why she engaged herself in politics after so much busy schedule, she replied, "I am doing so to empower women, I don't want women to beg from men during the time of crisis" [i5].

Another important thing to notice that most of the participants who were on reserved seats, were not interested in politics, they joined politics to replace their family members after the compulsion of Graduation Degree in the Musharaf regime, and some of them due to the

invitation from the party leadership. According to them, the interest was developed later, after entrance into politics [i9].

Beginning from basic personal information, the aim was to comprehend their lived experiences that played a role in their political journey. To identify the obstacles that women face during their career persistency, and the coping strategies they adopted to overcome the obstacles in their way to parliament. The underlying common factor turned out to be some association with the political culture. The researcher found that all the women that have entered the political arena essentially have political family backgrounds even at a higher level or at the grass-root level.

The majority of the women parliamentarians had their immediate family members in the parliament. Notwithstanding unlike other professions, not a single woman has reached the parliament without having any other family member involved in politics even at the party worker level. It was found that the majority of women parliamentarians had at least one family member who was already in politics. However, few members had inspiration like Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah, and Benazir Bhutto, and had their political socialization from gross-root level as a political worker, and not have any family member on a strong political post. This chapter discusses the findings of the interviews. In the methodology chapter, basic demographic information of participants is given in a table. In this chapter different developed themes including their pathway to politics and the next theme was developed based on their societal level lived experiences which they face while entering into politics and working as a member of parliament. The next theme is based on the coping strategies to deal with barriers and the future for women in parliament/politics.

Then the researcher also induced a few more themes from data discussed later in the chapter. Below is the explanation of the barriers woman parliamentarian face while entering into politics.

Theme 1 Pathway to Politics—1st level of the Glass Ceiling

The first theme that emerged from the data collected by research participants 'responses pertained to different aspects and factors which contributed to the influx of women into parliament. Specifically, participants shared their experiences about challenges and barriers related to their entry in the politics besides, few factors cleared their pathway to politics to cross the hindrances and move to the next level. These are based on the wider idea of pathways to politics. Upcoming themes will discuss, the macro-level lived experiences in the pathway of women parliamentarians before entering into politics.

Subthemes: Family—a Ladder or Hurdle

This theme explained the role of the family as support or hindrance. Most of the participants shared their experiences regarding the role played by their families for their inclusion in the parliament. The role of family is very important in determining the position of women in politics in the context of Pakistan, the family is a prime pillar that decides women's career or women's mobility into different social settings. A women's career is somehow linked with the support or opposition she receives from her immediate family or even extended family members. As in Pakistan, many decisions of the immediate family are affected by extended family '*baradari*', a structure of patriarchal rules. Extended family can be considered as '*social capital*' that helps an individual in many aspects. Baradari is a vote bank in the Pakistani political system. To get into politics or in any other profession, women have to rely on this patriarchal structure. They need support from their father, brother, and then their husbands if they are married, even from their relatives. According to majority of the participants the very first hurdles a female faces is from her family if she can cross them she would be able to cross others . When you go to contest an election, whether you are male or female, you can contest it easily if your family supports you. But if your family does not

stand with you, then you cannot contest regardless of your gender. One of the participants gave example in a way:

Look... if one brother is contesting the election and other family members or even the immediate brother does not support him, will he win? This situation becomes more critical in the case of a woman. If you stand alone, then the community or society will object that how we can support him or her – as the family is not standing with him/her.

One can say that a person can even cross other barriers of society if the immediate/extended family is supporting him/her. Another participant portrayed it in a way:

A female becomes a lioness, when her father, brother, or husband is backing her, then she does not consider any other things as a barrier.

In the present context, it becomes very difficult for a woman, if she does not get the cooperation of a male, either her brother, husband, or father. Few participants received support from family adding in a way:

Alhamdulillah, I get full support from family, never faced issues with my children. My husband supported me a lot, my brother similarly. Children supported me in a way that they did their stuff by themselves.

Similarly another said:

...having the backing of my husband helped a lot. Sometimes it happened that, when I asked him that I get ordered from the party to bring a specific number of women in limited time, I used to ask him what I should do, he usually said, Okay no issue, I'll cook. If you have this support, then women can move forward. Although I was interested in politics he was too when he was – that's why he supported me.

Similarly, another said that if you have a support system then you can come to politics, it then only depends on the effort u put in your work. But if you think that “I can also leave my family or husband for politics then it is not possible, then you cannot prove yourself, as you are divided into two.”[i7] while discussing, the kind of support or opposition they received from family members, most of the participants shared their experiences, that women do face some hurdles from their family, but most of the time they did get the support of their husbands [i5], rarely any moment came when they were restricted to attend any political meeting. Similarly, another participant talked about the support from her father,

saying that she received a lot of support from her father. Her father compelled her to enter into politics, and she also received support from her husband and father-in-law – both families in short. [i6]. Another participant said

My husband supported me on every step. He respected my desire to join politics and freed me of doing all the domestic chores myself. He used to cook himself at times so it won't be a hindrance in my path.[i7]

In addition, participants shared other issues related to their pathways. The remainder of this theme is discussed below with regard to subthemes, political familial lineage, reliance on patriarchal structure, career aspiration, inspiration and actuation, solitary striving and work life equilibrium and redesigned religious notion.

Political Familial Lineage

Most of the women participants who have entered the parliament have political family backgrounds. Particularly, women who contest the general election, are already having family members in politics since the inception of Pakistan, hence they have traditional authority in their principality, because of the struggle of their grand-parents. Secondly, those who are on reserved seats are somehow the family members of the male parliamentarians. However there are few of them who struggle from the grass-root level and then reach the national level. Most of the participants who enter into politics, conversed about their family background as, one participant stated that her husband was in politics as a party worker, she also had an interest in politics and when in 2002 she got married she submitted her documents and contested for the general seat for provincial assembly and was elected as MPA [i2]. Another participant was a niece of the renowned politician, who had different portfolios and ministries including Water & Power, agriculture, education --- she also belonged to a family with a strong political background. Another parliamentarian was the wife of a renowned parliamentarian with a strong political family. According to her, in 1996 when a critical situation was created for the government of that time, the then Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto

[BB] called her to work with her. In 1996 when the PPP government was dissolved, BB requested her to work for her party. The participant was not keen at that time, but according to her “I have the habit that, whatever task was assigned to me, I worked with full devotion, not just for sake of position”. So BB asked her to work on the front and contest election. That was a very difficult time but “Alhamdulillah I got a very positive response” [i4]. Because of her political socialization, the participant contributed a lot when she got a higher position, she contributed and worked a lot for women parliamentarians.

Most of the participant’s fathers were the member of either Provincial assembly or the National assembly. As one participant said “my father was in politics, during the Musharaf regime when the condition of graduation was imposed, but my father was not graduated. I was doing an MBA, my brother was not of age to contest the election. But I also did not get a chance to contest the election in place of my father [i5]. She opined, chance was not given to her due to attached traditional gender roles. In contrast to that, another participant gets the opportunity of contesting the election in place of her father, due to imposed graduation conditions. In 2008 she contested the general election for her 1st tenure but in the second tenure, she did not contest for the general seat but came on the reserved seat in 2013[i6]. The participant related that her father contested for the National Assembly general seat three times but could not win even for a single time, but the party kept on giving the ticket to him [laughter] [i6]. If one takes it in another way then it could imply that usually, parties consider a male member more strong candidate as compared to a female. Secondly, if the party tried to give the ticket to a female instead of a male, then male members usually opposed it.

Another participant’s brother-in-law was in parliament and her cousin was the Chief Minister, when she got married, there was no concept of a woman in politics in her in-laws. When she joined politics, she faced issues from family, and only get support from her children as she was a widow, but started a business to stand on her own. She also started

volunteer work that helped her to collect political support from the community [i7]. Similarly, another participant also belonged to a family with a strong political background. Her uncle was CM, while a member of the extended family is linked to major political parties [i8]. Another participant who was on the reserved seat, was a clinical psychologist by profession, her father was MNA in the 90s from that time till now, and she became a member of the national assembly three times [i9].

The researcher observed that majority of the participants had a strong political background and family relations with political members. With the exception of 2 to 3 women interviewed, a web of familial relationships can be seen among the female parliamentarians. These parliamentarians later said regarding others that all the woman parliamentarians come into politics because of their interest, motivation, educational background, with the desire of doing something for the masses, not because of family background – but when asked if they entered into politics by choice their answer was “No”. They also suggest that, whoever wants to enter politics, should start from grass root level (local government), even below that, by involving in volunteer community work [i9].

Few of the participants had a very strong political background, which means their family members were not only parliamentarians but also held few ministries. That helps them in political socialization. On the other hand few parliamentarian’s father or husband were the members of either Provincial Assembly or National Assembly but did not hold strong positions as a parliamentarian. But when the condition of graduation was imposed then they (male members) were unable to contest, so they let their female contest for their seats. The third category of the participant were those, who do not have the background of direct politics but their family members were a political worker or working as a member of the local government. The participants of this category also had a political struggle from scratch.

My mother was in politics, she worked for Fatima Jinnah. My mother used to tell me, that at the time of partition we were told, that the number of Hindu/Sikh women you will give, the more we return the Muslim women to you. My mother said that we also started searching for that, she was young at that

time. After gathering the women, they asked them to wear full gowns so that Muslim men could not be caught. After taking them to the border, they get Muslim women. Since then my mother was involved, and later in the election, my mother went on campaigns. I used to watch her, and after matric, I also joined her.

From the experiences of women parliamentarians regarding their entry into politics familial lineage was an important factor that played a decisive role in their access to parliament.

Reliance on Patriarchal Traditions & Behavioral Modification of Family

A couple of participants discussed that they have to comply with patriarchal rules, the main thing women parliamentarian focused on; was not 'breaching the trust of the family' especially husband. Usually, in the present context, the 'trust' husbands seeks from the female is not to be in relation with another [male]', or have informal relationships with others except for professional work. Females consider breaching the trust of their husband as 'dishonesty' 'Amanat main khayanat krna' [i5]. A few of them also considered that if they will not breach that trust they will not face any hurdles. Several participants were of the view that this is true that at times men do not allow their females to enter into politics, because of the certain insecurity they have. Male consider females just like their possession, once they have possessed them, females cannot free themselves. She is bound to the will of male members of her family. Otherwise, she is considered as breaching the 'honor' of family. Another point of view is if a woman educates herself well, then she may enter into politics but the female parliamentarians had strong belief that they are the 'honor' of males (also of their family). They also tried not to breach that trust, this notion was observed, when a few of them opined that, the other way to fulfill their trust is to just focus on work, instead of involving in other extra affairs.

According to them, a woman faces hurdles because she sometimes crosses her 'limits'[these limits are the expected and defined roles from society], when she focuses on both work and life i.e is fulfilling family responsibilities and does house chores then she will not face hindrance from family. The role of a husband is significant in defining career and

even the duties of women who enter into politics. Before doing so, usually, women made some commitments with their husbands, in the form of give and take, that if she wants to maintain her career, then she will also sacrifice a few of the roles expected from her in the profession to fulfill her family responsibility. One of the participants narrates her story:

When I first day started my political work, the night before my first day my husband asked me, to try to be at home at night time, I want you to be with your children at night he said ... from that day till now I never attended any night event or political activity.[i6]

One of the participant had the view that

It is very important for a woman to fulfill her responsibilities towards her children. She has to prioritize her family and the upbringing of her children as it is imperative for establishing a healthy community hence a woman should join politics after her children are sound adults.

According to them if women want to work smoothly then few things are expected to be sacrifice. Some people think ‘sacrificing’ is a way of missing opportunities, in contrast, participants believed that opportunities come to you for a short period, however, the family need is permanent. They believe that women have two core responsibilities – family is above all. If you cannot take your family along, then you must quit your career. That indicated “women have to rely on or comply with patriarchal rules to get their self-interest met.” Another participant who was a member of the religious political party added that there are few limitations on women from her religion, women should work in within those limitations given from religion and family as well [i7]. One of them further added that to encounter patriarchal compliance in a way that women should come out of their house, and ‘work’. The reason is during life, the situation does not remain the same.

Besides, the support of the father and husband, the in-laws also the part and parcel of the story. Most of the participants responded that they did not get much support from in-laws and other relatives, instead faced their irritating behavior. They talked ill like: ‘they are wandering without having cared for children, coming late from the political commitments is the major issue for them, they think that because of that, women cannot take care of their

children, and to go for any political commitment they usually locked their children inside the house – what people of the community think. To tackle all this, they had adopted some strategies as one of them told, “we try to provide all the facilities to our children at home, and teach them not to go out of the home without any reason”... she further added that “People will talk ill about you, everyone says that what you’re doing is wrong, but now that I have a political post, they all say.... ‘no she is doing the right thing [laughter].” [i5]

According to them attaining a career goal is not an easy task, it is not easy to reach your goal without facing any difficulties, you need a lot of struggle, you need to sacrifice a lot of things, u need to listen to what people have to say about u no matter how harsh it is. One of the participants said that her in-laws were of a religious mind, they did not like her in any way, but now when they need her for their work, they always come to her – as now she has political authority. Once who were critical of her every action, are seeking her help. She said, that it made her feel good [i5]. Another participant told that when she used to go to party meetings and gatherings people of her community tried to defame her as , they said, “Awain hee K***** bndion kol lgia phrdian en, awain bdmashi krti phrti hain. Hmain kya pta kdr jati hian,” (Ill reputed women go around with men engaging in nefarious activities. How can we know where they go?) Now that I am a MPA, they have very different behavior.

One of the participants had the opinion that one should not be bothered by such trivial things. Another reason for feeling better is their belief that they should not be bothered by small things or what people think about them. In this way women parliamentarians kept themselves motivated in their work keeping themselves busy in a way that they did not get time to listen to or say such things. One of the participants also recommended that ‘I suggest women not to get involved in ‘gharailo politics’ [family politics], there is no benefit of staying at home.’ The reason could be, according to her observation, family politics is a waste of time and also very dangerous for family life. So when one will keep oneself busy then will

not get time for such things [i5]. According to them when one person is dependent on another, then she also has to listen to all these ills, but when a woman is independent then the problem usually does not remain for the long run.

In contrast to the above, few participants believe that the nature of barriers a woman faces vary from family to family, culture to culture. At present women are taking interest in politics, awareness has also increased in male members than females are human 'independent of their possession', and they have a right to choose their career to progress not necessarily by his will [i7].

Career Aspiration, Political Inspiration and Actuation

The next theme that emerged from that data was the inspiration or motivation behind their decision to enter or stay in politics. The experiences of women about their decision to adopt politics as a career was their aspirations. Many women ask for help from women parliamentarians, due to their financial issues, their parents, husbands (died or divorced) are no more with them, they start begging, and rely on Zakat funds for their livelihood. Pursuing a career is the best thing to avoid such circumstances. As one of the parliamentarians narrated her story that, her husband died, and it happened suddenly. According to her, if it was another woman she could not have handled all that she has been through, but she managed it, as she was habitual of working, instead of relying on others.

When Mian Nawaz Sharif was exiled and the party still had to function, it was (us) who gave money out of our pockets to support it. During martial law we were taken from our home and tortured us they would not hold back and I have been beaten on numerous occasions but I would retaliate. Once I even slapped a DSP on one such occasion I was beaten up, my clothes were torn and I had to cover myself with my dupatta my husband remained angry with me for 4 years because of my affiliation with my party which led me to be on the verge of a divorce, I had packed my belongings and was willing to walk out. My children stopped me and said that if I went they would go as well so my in-laws stopped me from leaving that was how strong my affiliation with my party was.

Few of the participants pointed out the personalities who were the source of their inspiration, different circumstances that motivated them to enter into politics. The source of inspiration range from no one to father or immediate family member and even the political

party leader was the source of inspiration. For the participant of the Pakistan People Party, the major source or the person who bring them into politics was Benazir Bhutto. Some women were interested in political activities by themselves, by involving themselves in local government. The Father of one of the participants was interested in political activities, he used to watch current affairs programs in front of his kids, which developed an interest in her for politics. In addition to that according to her, her father took her to a political procession at the time of Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (Ex. PM of Pakistan and Founder of PPP). Where ZAB also greeted her father, which created a spark in her toward politics. According to that participant, BB was getting popular at that time, so she got inspired by the personality of BB, she used to keep her picture in books when BB become prime minister for the 1st time, the participant personally worked as a political agent [i5].

According to her, the person who could deliver to the country was ZAB, she also got inspired by labor policies, policies related to women. If any government allowed women was of PPP, she opined. Another reason for her tilt toward PPP, in Pakistan's political system when anyone wants to contest the election or get a reserved seat, then s/he has to deposit a certain amount into funds of that party. According to her, she also does not have enough money to pay that fund, but the party leadership by themselves paid that for her [i5].

However, another participant's story is a little different, she belonged to a religious family, after completing matric, got married in a religious family. She was not even allowed to talk/speak while traveling. Later on, after the death of her husband, her life totally changed. She became a philanthropist and started to participate in different welfare organizations – based on her interest. During the 2005 earthquake, she established a medical camp, due to her efforts in different fields she received the Fatima Jinnah Award and Fatima Jinnah Star of Sacrifice. According to her, she gets different training and certification. In addition to that, in 2009 huge in-country migration in Swat valley she established Camp for

250. She was doing this all on her own, due to her efforts she was approached by the leadership of one major political party to join the party, in contrast, she was not interested in politics and kept on refusing the offers. Later on, the party chairman himself met her, explained to her that instead of just serving a community or city, why not serve the whole country --- this was the reason for her entry into politics [i7].

That means that the political socialization of females is not restricted in society, they are unintentionally involved in the process, now it depends on them whether they took it as an opportunity, or just spend that activity for sake of activity.

My mother was involved at the local level in a political campaign. When I looked toward my sisters, they were not interested. I put myself forward and took myself into politics. She was not involved in local government. The reason is you have to nominate yourself, no one will ask you to come and take a seat. Until and unless you do not take a step, no one else lets you come forward.

One of the participant who was a member of Pakistan Tehreek-e Insaaf was businesswomen, she started her career as an entrepreneur, who also used to train other women, during the time of extreme terrorism in Pakistan. She runs her factory in the area of Taliban, she won entrepreneurship award from the USA, later on, and was among the 100 successful women of Asia. According to her, “you excel in any profession, if you make your own rules, follow them, and maintain certain personal space, and made others respect that space. Then you will not face any kind of harassment, never show any of your weaknesses before anyone must educate with the changing trend of society. She also groomed her with the other hard skill needed in business development become the member of Chamber of Commerce – where she encounters different personalities including the politician, different people from different political parties started offering her to join their party, but later on she preferred to join Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI) due to Imran Khan. According to her “I tell my whole story wholeheartedly to everyone that I reached at this position after facing all this” [i8]. According to her she never thinks of joining politics, but in 2013 when she started receiving offers from different parties, so she considers PTI due to its political manifesto.

The majority of the participants get inspired by the party leader of their respective party, until and unless that leadership has approached them personally they were not interested to join, but when they were approached then they develop an interest of joining politics. But the majority of them were independent and they can make their own decision instead of relying on any male of the family to decide about their entrance.

This theme could be seen as what kind of support and obstacle a woman receives from larger secondary groups of society. When a woman decides to take politics as her career, it rarely happened that she has made her own political party, with the support of other political members. Rather she joins the existing parties, whether the major or small political parties depending on the seats a party has or the vote bank. In Pakistan political parties are based on either ethnic basis or religious basis. Religious parties usually give less representation to women. However other parties have little more representation of women but still depends on the manifesto or ideology of that party. Only one party in Pakistan was headed by a female, due to family background, she was BB, who took charge of the party after her father was executed. One can see PPP has given more seats, ministries, and decision-making positions to their woman members, although less compared to men.

Gender in Assembling Social Support

A number of participants discussed and explained , how does gender hinders or aids them in collecting support, participants narrated in a way that our culture is too diverse, education level is also low, but our country is becoming more politically aware. When people see other women coming into politics they somehow let their woman come into too. Women themselves started developing interest. When gender quotas were introduced in the political structure of Pakistan as a fast track model then gradually it paved the way for women's inclusion in politics and women started getting social support from the family and society. One answered that “when the woman saw me as a speaker, then they also started developing

interest to come forward” [i4]. What is happening now was once seemingly impossible. In the past, parties used to have their manifestos, then they contest elections. But now the whole system comes toward “finance and money” how much do you have for contesting the election. This is a barrier for women, now when they are not economically strong, then they have to rely upon and need the support of male members of their family and society.

Another barrier that people face is the mentality of the society and the patriarchal ways and how females are portrayed in society. Imran Khan says change is coming but 70 years on and I believe it will take Pakistani society longer to adjust to female politicians in society. Finally, religious clerics who promote violence towards females have become a threat to females in politics they are truly the individuals who need to be taught about the respect shown towards females, they have justified the husbands to beat the wife at any time he chooses.

Although men also need support in another way around, women do need it more, not only economically but on other things as well. It is usually considered that child caring and household responsibilities are the sole responsibility of women. Then she also fulfills these tasks designated by society. When you will not include 50% of the population in policymaking then it is rarely possible to bring improvement in society.

The majority of women thought that, when General Musharraf impose the graduation degree compulsory for entering into politics, then the same male member who think of “woman for household” bring their women into politics to save their seat in their principality. So instead of just this condition of graduation, if one thinks, that woman is capable enough then must bring them into politics if she wanted to.

Secondly, there are many barriers, currently, due to the lack of policies in favor of females. Rarely anyone will bring, or let a middle class or economically dependent woman come into politics, “because she does not have money” [i8]. The majority of the participant said that every party prefers male over female. However, now the legislation is being formed that every party will give 5 seats to women, to contest the election. In contrast in the context of Pakistani society, there is a huge difference between women contesting on general seats and men, especially during the election campaign. One of the participants narrated it “I

belong to a Pashtoon family, it is very different and difficult for the women like me to move into different areas and to address in political processions. Now it's the responsibility of the party to protect us." But parties just take the woman as a worker who will campaign for their male members [i8].

There is a great interplay of gender and financial status in politics. If either male or female is not economically strong then his or her inclusion in politics is challenging. Now politics has become the game of wealth. If you have wealth to run your campaign, money to deposit in party funds whether you are male or female then you will face no difficulty in running for elections and getting a seat in parliament. However still, in context of Pakistan women are usually considered as a minority, they are also an economic minority, with no or less inheritance right, with low chances of deciding her economic status, so being a female they also face the barrier to come into politics, because of less economically independent gender.

Solitary Striving and Work-Life Equilibrium

Individual-level struggle varies from person to person, those who were financially strong were their own bosses, as they were not dependent on anyone for their work. Few of them told that they were financially independent, but not in a way that they become extravagant. However to fulfill the political commitment, few of them cut their expenses and personal desires. A similar story narrated by one

I had enough to run my politics, but not for extra affairs, I minimized my desires. The clothes I used to buy before, I cut them down. The frequent outing I used to do I cut it down for sake of saving money to spend on politics and her community welfare.

These are kind of sacrifice a woman usually made, they also cut down their family time to help their community another explained:

Police station and prison that I never visited, I started going there. Visiting the emergency department of the hospital to arrange a bed for someone from my community after requesting the doctors. Going to Bait-ul-Maal for arranging funds for the needy people who were in hospital [i7].

Similarly another participant shared her struggle as,

I've lost 2 children due to politics leaving me with one daughter only. My daughter was sick but I couldn't be there for her. I didn't give her the attention she needed and eventually lost her. Another time I had my duty in a polling station where I had to stop fake voters from casting votes. I got into a small fight with a woman who tried to do just that as I stopped her from entering the polling booth she called a few more acquaintances and a group of around 7 women began hitting me. During this fight I lost my baby and with that my ability to give birth again.

Another participant narrated

I was introduced to politics as soon as I opened my eyes because of my mother's active participation in politics. Politics fascinated me a lot I knew I had to achieve something in this field and strived for 35 years. It is through solitary striving and a lot of hard work that I have reached this spot after struggling for 35 years. I faced hardships on every point in life, I've strived on every step. I started by collecting voters for political parties, asking women to come out and vote. I later became the secretary general of my area and then with a lot of effort I'm an MPA now.

So for such things women made time, according to them, they must pay back to their community. They believe that when a person enters into politics so s/he does not have his/her own life, that life is then become the life of the community.

Few of the participants who were in other professions, left these after entering into politics -- "politics is a very difficult job [laughter]" [i8] one of them said, she had left her own business. While others said, that they struggled in their way to learn how to present a bill "I took the help of others, asked people to draft my bills, as I didn't know how to draft a bill, I gave the idea/frame to others, and then they drafted it for me"[i7]. It all depends on capability, but the capability is not about just having a degree, but also about knowing how to apply the knowledge to practical work. As, if you want to become a minister then you must need to know the issues your ministry is facing, how to do an amendment, how to do legislation. It's all about learning, knowing, and making time to know.

"In every field, women face a lot of problems as men are most dominant in every work field, the case of politics is very similar and in the Pakistani scenario, the problem is more pronounced. Although many political parties claim to be working for female rights very little is done on practical grounds."

The above struggles were for sake of the community, however, a few women narrated that they struggle into parliament in a way that when a new member of parliament who have no background knowledge of roles and responsibilities in parliament. What is expected from

a parliamentarian, what is her job in parliament? So they learned by themselves. A few of them said that parliament is a large setup when they come here on the very first day, there was no information desk, and they had no information about what to do and where to go. So they struggle for two years in understanding the whole setup. They suggested that there must be training for the new parliament members. Although a lot has changed, still parliamentarians themselves are not educated enough, they also face issues in the parliament.

Participants explained it in a way:

I did not understand the parliamentary setup for 2 years, I learned by myself after meeting the senior members, the administrative officers, and so on --- there is a gap in parliament that could be filled by arranging the training. So that the parliamentarian who waste their time in learning what they supposedly know off, can spend that time on what is expected from them.

Few of them defined their struggle more broadly, that they started their political career as a member of local government, as a counselor [i9], then gradually moved toward contesting on the general seat for provincial assembly and heading in the national assembly on reserved seats, still not on general seats. According to them their struggles are not enough and have limited scope to fulfill the criteria of contesting on general seats for the National assembly.

The researcher also found out a difference, that those who were on general seats have soft struggle (in the form of education, having or developing social capital, strong family background with someone at the highest political post), as compared to those who were in reserve seats had other kinds of struggle to get even a reserve seat. They started their work as a party worker, campaigned for other male members of the party during the election, gather/collected people for any political protest in favor of their party, few of them even spent time in prison during political chaos. After that party chooses them to reserve seats for their 1st tenure. It was little surprise, that 3, 4 members of a party interviewed, were given seat after their struggle of more or less 35 years.

While describing, why it took so long for them to reach this level, participants were of the view, that one is only used for vested interest. No one will let one come forward, not even the female of a party who are senior to them. Not even the party leader for whom they worked a lot. “To get rid of this exploitation, one has to be courageous, to talk in front of party leaders.” Next thing the member on reserve seats are more conformist to their party and leaders, as compared to members on general seats. The reason is a member of general seats reaches national or provincial seats by the power of the public vote, but a member of reserve seats reaches with the consent of party leaders. Because of that their behavior or work also get influenced by this, a majority of members on reserve seat agreed that they will usually speak less, ask question less, confront less to any decision or legislation given my party leader or a male member of the party with the fear, that if they get angry they would not let them come for next tenure, and will not select.

The woman is considered a domestic worker, her basic domain is “home”. Whatever social field she wants to join, she can join it or be allowed to join depending on the family context as described in the above theme. However, after fulfilling the responsibility of her profession she also has to play her ‘primary’ role of housekeeper, mother, and wife. The majority of the female parliamentarian played the same role of child-rearing, caring along with the husband or both families. However few of the parliamentarians have nurtured their children in a way that they support their mothers in saving time for their political activities. Another [i2] participant told that she had two children, one of her daughters is pursuing a medical degree, while the son is in four class, but they are habitual of doing their work by themselves. Her husband also cooperates with her, she ends up spending a good time with her family. While other participant narrated that, she raised her children in a way they never have a feeling of deprivation: “mother left us for her job, I prepare breakfast for them in the

morning, make them ready for school, making lunch so that when they came back, they did not face the issue.” This is how a woman fulfills her responsibilities.

I belonged to a very religious conservative family after I did my matric I was married in an equally conservative society at the age of 17. After I was divorced I started working for the community volunteering for many welfare projects and setting up relief camps myself. I was then approached by the PTI leaders to join the party.

But the situation varies from person to person, few of them afford this, while others do not, according to them politics is a choice, but the role of mother is a blessing of God, and it's women's responsibility. With this belief, one of the females agreed with her husband that she will not attend any political event at night time, but will spend time with children. She believes that she had committed, now she will not breach it. The reason for not breaching the agreement is that in return husband will also stand along with her, and support her in a difficult time. But sometimes due to this, they also miss many opportunities for their upward progression and mobility. She also told that:

There were exams for my children so I did not attend any of the political meetings, as I know that my children are my responsibility. In return when I get any political responsibility then my husband is also with me [that makes me feel proud] [i6].

Basic thing is that women take the double burden for the sake of their ambition or career. She left with no option behind. One of the members of the major political party told that she has been a housewife for the last 15, 16 years; looking after children and family responsibility. But after the death of her husband, her life changed, then responsibilities increased... when a woman does not have a husband then society rarely accepts her, especially in an area like KPK. However now many people have entered into politics according to her she was so disappointed, but collecting courage she started a business to keep herself busy and for sake of her children's future. She established a factory, along with a business of exporting medicine and oil [i8]. From this one can interpret that women can

perform 'perceived' male roles when she wants to. There is no limitation that women can perform a certain job and do not perform others.

“ It is very hard to gain work-life equilibrium being a politician. U cannot do well in both fields as both of them require all your effort. U cannot be on two boats together and have to manage your family affairs before joining politics”

Redesigned Religious Notion

The researcher found that the members of parliament from religious political parties give the interpretation for their entrance into politics is very different from what was used to give a decade ago. When we search literature, we can see that at that time woman entrance into politics was interpreted as a “violation of religious rule” and “it is prohibited for a woman to get any decision making position”. One participant who enter into politics with her individual level struggle said that religious people created a lot of hindrances .My neighbors were very religious they used to lock my door or put pamphlets regarding the wrongs of women going out of their houses on my car.[i7]

Similarly, now the member of those religious parties give (has changed their interpretation in a way) that politics is like a “taking recommendation and suggestion for the betterment of society”. According to them the Holy Prophet (SAW) used to take suggestions and used to discuss different matters with Hazrat Khadija (R.A) and Hazrat Ayesha (R.A). “Shu’ara (discussion and suggestion) is started from the beginning. Now politics is according to rules of Islam, it is part of our Deen (religion). According to them “we do not say that women should not be included in the discussion, it’s a wrong conception that Islam prohibits women” [i2]. However another member of religious party narrated same as researcher explained earlier that “a woman can become part of discussion or legislation, but she cannot rule” [i10]. Still, religious parties used the same narrative to keep women behind the scene.

Similarly, religious groups caused a lot of trouble for women's entry. A member from PPP told that in 2002 when she was contesting the election and campaigned for it. There was

a mosque, belong to a religious group (not to Allah – they also divided worship places for their self-interests). “Election was on Sunday, and they announced in Jumma Procession that whoever will vote this woman, his Nikah gets nullified [laughter] [i5]. Using that sacred place for this purpose was very low. According to her, she also has a master's degree in Islamic studies, but she did not find anything like that in the Quran that prohibits the woman to do so. Rather the Quran talked about equality, and first orders the men to lower their gazes than to a woman.

...they [member of local clergy] used to lock me, there was a house in front of our home. Once they write a letter and kept it in my car. I read that, and understood their point, but thought to myself that now I cannot return. I was a district member city of Lahore. Whatever I used to do, I kept it to myself. But on the other side when I became a district member a few people enquired why I did not celebrate. When I was contesting the elections for MPA. I was the favorite gossip for ladies who used to best that I would not win, but my husband was with me, that he did not let anything come in my way.

However, later on, participant usually ended their answer that now the situation is getting change, now even the people of FATA {now part of KPK}, people are getting open-minded, it's not the case that the whole province does not support, or whole society does not support.

Personal religious beliefs along with the broader societal religious belief also play their role as either support or hindrance for women in politics. Over time the religious parties change their interpretation of women's role in politics, along with the international pressures to bringing more and more women into different sectors especially politics. In the same way, the belief of women changed accordingly. However, women linked other than religious parties, faced backlash from the religious segment of society before having seats. They were of the view “In our context majority of religious parties do not work for religion but their vested interest, and use religion as a cover.”[i9]

Theme 2: Pathway to Upward Mobility—2nd level of Glass Ceiling

Women face barriers in their pathways to politics these are labeled as the first level of the glass ceiling but when they enter parliament as parliamentarians there is a new type of

barrier they have to face. In the context of Pakistan, women did not make their way to politics after breaking all the existing socio-cultural barriers which are ingrained into the culture of Pakistan. Women get the opportunity to enter the parliament due to international pressure and the treaties Pakistan is a signatory of and the international commitments of gender equality in all fields. Pakistan is among those countries that adopted the fast track model (quota and reserved seats) for the representation of women in politics.

Subtheme: Deemed as Proxy Parliamentarian

In Pakistan, the parliamentarians are considered the custodians of their “principality” instead of forming legislative laws. Instead of just doing legislation, parliamentarian focuses more on the “welfare” of their specific constituency. Further, it has differences and a setback that those who come on reserved seats even don’t have a specific area or principality [i4]. In addition to that, those who are elected through general seats received funds for their area, but women on reserved seats do not get even a single penny. As one of them added: “as last 5 years are a concern, no one gets even a single penny (Dhaila), if given to, then to very few close ones”.

Those who received funds did no focus on the welfare of faraway areas of their principality, neither on the education of that area. Most of them agree that everyone thinks very narrow, not as a Pakistani, as put in words “from where prime minister won the election you may change the structure of that area, remaining whole Pakistan is striving for their rights.” This is an unfortunate situation for the parliamentarians.

Women on reserved seats are to complete the “number count” of parliament. Although during election campaigns their services are used for collecting more and more votes, this task is mostly assigned to them by party leadership [i5, i11]. When it comes to parliament they are entitled to different labels, but when it comes to working, they are considered as “hr-awl dasta”, who work for door-to-door campaigns during the election and

considered as “backbone” of a campaign. But after the election, they are ignored. In parliament, most of the participants indicated that 80 to 90% of the legislation is done by women parliamentarians, the party making the women works in parliament (women deal with the overall working of parliament) but do not get funds to spend on the locality. While men are made to interact with their society, parties give them funds to utilize in their locality.

According to them, they always try their best to complete the assignment given to them by higher party leaders, but in parliament, when it comes to getting any benefits, then a woman on reserve seats is neglected by putting an objection that they belong to reserve seat. As one of them gave an example, “last year it was said that Hajj quota will be given to those who are on reserved seats. We were to give the names of 4 people for that, later on, we were said to give only two names, and then one. We were okay with it given to only one person too, but unfortunately, we are separated by entitling us as “reserved seats” [15]. This is the dilemma that women in parliament are facing.

Catcalling is a major problem that females face as they enter the political arena this is a clear indication that the manmade society plays a role in confining women inside their houses. Women are expected to stick to the task of asking questions and doing all the paperwork like drafting resolutions while men face the public and are active on the political ground.

When the women on reserved seats want to contribute to the development of their areas from where they belong, then the elected parliamentarian (on general seats) intervene, does not let them work. If that developmental work is about to materialize then they want to get the credit for that, by having their name on inaugural plates. As one of the member narrated:

I wanted to get the permission of establishing a Degree College in my area which is a backward one. But the MPA of that area who was a member of the forward block said that he will be with me if I let him establish it in his village. I struggled a lot, because there was no benefit of the college getting established in his village as it is too far to reach for people of other areas. Unfortunately, things getting worse, instead of foreseeing the benefit of that project, they label it in a way that you cannot do this because you are on a reserved seat. Party then took the side of those who are elected representative, and the party does not want them angry.

In this way, woman parliamentarians are not involved in the contribution of welfare work. According to them, there are women even on reserved quota who can contribute a lot, if they get are given chances... Added on, another said, “if they even enter through general election they will not get the same status as male [i7]”. The next thing they indicated is that males are more in number as compared to females, this is the very first difference that should be removed.

Another narrated in a way that:

There was a broken bridge on a canal, which has a width equal to a river. But when the bridge fell, then on time of the release of water from India the adjoining areas got disconnected from the main area due to flood. One of our representatives struggled to get acceptance of the construction of that bridge, but again the MNA of that area took a stay on that. I went to him, to request that it is for the benefit and welfare of people, 300 villages will be beneficiaries --- talks went on, later on, negotiation ended up with the name of that MNA being entitled on the inaugural stone. This is a perfect example of how just for sake of taking credit and ownership of the welfare project. All they wanted was to take credit of that, when it was going to happen [i6].

Similarly, the (women) did not get credit for the work they did, they are not being credited because they come on “reserve quota”. The reason usually government explains is that they do not have principality [halqa], however, women fight for why they don’t have any principality, we should be allocated certain principality, area or locality where we can serve. Researchers also found out that when females receive funds they try to utilize them for the given purpose, but they also face opposition women on reserved seats are seen as not deserving the funds. There is a difference in priorities and interests in spending the given funds. Most of them said that in 2008 funds were given to everyone in the regime of the Pakistan People Party, but they did not get after that. When women raise their voice for funds, then male members reply in a way that, what is need of women on reserve seats to work in the field, their task is to sit in House and full the house with complete attendance. This is the mindset of male parliamentarian for female. Such behavior and mindset exist in all political parties.

There is another kind of discrimination that participants believed, female face being the member of the opposition party when they present a bill then usually it gets rejected or not forwarded because it belongs to the opposition party. A member said, “I presented a bill, was rejected, but when the same bill was presented by a member of the ruling party, it gets accepted” [i7].

The participants have a very strong self-concept [belief] in the form of, that if women are given opportunities, then they can perform even more than men. A woman takes every assignment as a challenge, along with putting efforts from the core of her heart. A member of PPP gives an example of BB, that when her daughter was born and she was at the office of Prime Minister, then she used to have her cradle in office, similarly, when the 2nd daughter born, she was campaigning for elections. According to them females rarely have fear of these barriers or get tired of these barriers. Others told that she and her husband spent equal time outside of the home, but when on return the husband will think that he is too tired, but she has done nothing --- in this way on return she has to complete her household task of housekeeping.

This lead to the building of a concept that Allah has made women stronger than male, starting with the process of childbearing and rearing, and bear all the pain of hardship during that time, however, if a men (husband) have even headache, he cannot even bear that –most of them pointed in this way “Allah knows well, how strong a woman is”. The next thing they indicated that women only need is “acknowledgment”, when she gets that, then she does not even express her tiredness.

When a woman is unable to contribute then this directly affect the perception of people, not to vote these woman, as when they cannot contribute for the welfare of the people, then people think that they are of no use, “ان کا اپنا کچھ نہیں بنا یہ اپکو کیا دیں گی”. “Nothing has shaped up for them so what can they give you”

Similarly, along with, not getting the administrative support, they do not get support from the bureaucratic staff, they discriminate between completing the task of male as compared to the assignment of female members of parliament. The majority of the participant agreed that they face discrimination at a different level in parliament, and outside of the parliament. When the researcher told one of the participants that few are opined that “they are treated equally”, then along with a burst of laughter she said, “Possibly they have treated equally [satire]”. But still, everyone has a different experience, there are chances that few are treated equally, they do not face discrimination in any or few aspects. Maybe they do not face any hindrance in completion of the task, besides, many of the participants answered that “you cannot generalize this for all women, if male or parties were not constitutionally bound, then they had not let any of the women enter into parliament.”

There is another dilemma that women on reserved seats are facing, as they are on reserve seats, so they do not actively participate, with the fear that if they participate boldly, then next time the party will not select them for this quota too. Sometimes this leads to saying “right” to the “wrongs”, besides knowing the reality, they will not tell the truth to the leadership, with the fear that if party leadership get angry, this is dangerous for their future selection, “we have the only relation with our seat”. Similarly, another said that “if you stay quiet, praise the leader” it’s fine, but you must condemn the wrong and praise the right. Other members said she usually gets punishment, as she is bold, and a journalist also told him that she asked difficult questions from ministers that’s why she did not get anything (funds). Those who are bold, and active, said that a seat is not a permanent thing, but the responsibility you have because of the seat is too much, so they must differentiate between right and wrong, however, still they have fear of seat. The researcher found a difference between the working and in getting the opportunities between the members who were selected/elected for the first time as compared with those who have passed two or more

tenure. Those who were passing their 1st tenure, according to them they usually participate less, as compared to those with more tenure. The reason could be, they are not equipped with public speaking skills or other professional skills. One of the members confessed that in the beginning she was shy, had public speaking issues. However, a member of the national assembly is supposed to be well aware of the national as well as the international scenario. She felt that “I jumped into university from school after skipping college [laughter] [i7].” There is a need for training and capacity building of those who enter for the 1st time.

The next participant said that there is also a lack of political maturity, the male is part of parliament from the very start, and females get chances a decade ago, that’s why women are not getting confidence. The second reason why male does not let women come on the front is, male mostly come through general election spend a lot of money when they find anything where women parliamentarian are competing against them, they raise the question on that, “female does not have a locality, we have, and we came through that, female come through the quota, then why they are getting such chances”. This lead to decide the party not to give an equal or little unique role to the woman parliamentarian.

On the other side, few of them think that every kind of respect is given to them by the government and parliament, they are called in every meeting, they are included in any new committees. But still they also of the opinion that many things are needed to improve, for instance “on Woman Day all the speeches were made by a male member, instead of female, they must have got chance first.[i8]” Similarly, males get more time in parliament for speeches as compared to women. One of the members said that in her party Ms. Shereen Mizari is a bold woman, who leads, she said to the researcher that when you asked the question about the women parliamentarian role, then “It reminds me of her”.

The second thing they indicated that the party does not give development funds to women, but they also said that spending on development is not the task of parliamentarian

rather government or local government. The parliamentarian is elected for legislation, so they must work on legislation and policymaking. According to them, male members focus less on legislation, more on developmental work and community involvement.

Political False Consciousness

Another theme which is interpreted by the researcher from getting a common perception and the experiences of women is that they are indulged in false consciousness “According to Marxist theorist it is a way of thinking that prevents a person from perceiving the true nature of their social or economic situation”. The danger in false consciousness is that women are not understanding their place in the structure and allowing the status quo to exist or continue without knowing that it will never be in their interest. The idea of false consciousness has also been used by Marxist feminists and radical feminists concerning women’s studies. Women have the little choice but working within this male dominant institutions according to the norms set by the dominant male class

Women in politics disregard the true nature of class relations because they believe in the probability or possibility of upward mobility.

Women are letting the injustice remain the characteristic of this organizations .in this way blocking their upward mobility .oppression is obscure capitalism hide its oppression from their roles

Another nature of discrimination is, women struggle and worked a lot in parliament, but the ministries are usually given to less-educated males compared to women. One of the members belong to a religious party said that she was too active in her party, was responsible for dealing with foreigners, without any office/designation, “but the same question was asked from me that why I was not made CM [laughter], this is a question mark, if I will be a member of some other party, then I might also get some position” [i10]. In continuing this talk then she suddenly changed her stances and said that she is happy with the respect, and

admiration she receives from her party. This is basically where the researcher found many of the participants indulging in political false consciousness. Besides all the exploitation and knowing that they are discriminated against, still they justify or try to cover-up the discrimination with the kind of “respect” they receive from either party or members. Then start focusing on appeasing the members or party leader, as one of the participants has written poetry in “respect” of her leader and she kept on saying that “let me read a piece of poetry that I have written for my leader”... When asked for sharing her poetry she went on:

“Which one should I tell the one when he came back from heart treatment:
The world is so cruel, they know the truth,
They recognize you but they do not accept it,
This is the cruel world of today.
Here is false politics and false commitments,
The time of social media and offerings of the internet.
Lust is the want for wealth and they love it.
You are truthful that you speak from the heart like the downtrodden you feel the pain of the dispossessed.
Halt at this destination as the light of truth and wipe away the darkness.”

These lines were written when the leader of the participant was ailing, and going under heart surgery. At one side it shows the commitment of women parliamentarian toward their leaders, on the other side, it becomes the reason for their exploitation, which keep them in deception.

On the other side, they have the awareness that males are using their sentiments, and by giving them “respect”, along with the stereotypes—what you will be doing after getting ministries, or decision-making posts—they do not let them come forward. Same apprehension of the participant put into these lines:

I am a picture (reflection) of you but still separate
I don't comprehend (understand) that I have brought you into this world but am perceived as your half.
When a ray touches the sky the moon does not lose its shine. Hands are fragile for bangles chains don't suit them.

She then added:

All women are equal I say they should be respected. Like I said "when the ray of light (sun) touches the sky the moon does not lose its shine" this means that when a woman achieves a higher position, men don't lose their value when a woman progresses or works. However, I notice men have developed a complex about this thing. They want women in specific areas.

According to them, women in Pakistan do not get the status even if she is a teacher, doctor, lawyer, businesswomen, wherever she is, she does not get the status to contribute in that field. They suggested that here the role of government, to make women inclusive policies, like the women caucus played in passing harassment bills, and woman empowerment programs. But still, this caucus is not independent. There is another committee on “Status of Woman” that should be dissolved to make a commission. According to them, it was made as Commission for Status of Women, but not having much authority, it is not playing the role expected from this commission.

There are participants with belief that, they and another woman should accept that this is a male dominant society, and in male dominant society woman has to work according to them, then you will set expectation according to the scenario, you will work, and fight for your right accordingly, and will make legislation according to the situation. As the researcher discussed in section 1, that few of the females have the belief that they can excel if they comply with patriarchal rules. Similarly, an answer was given by another participant, that difference of opportunity between reserve seat and elected seats are that who come through general election they spend lot and lot of money, they came through votes, and they hold a position. In the same way, there is and will be a difference in needs, as they work harder, and accordingly, they are treated differently, and females are treated differently and don't get funds. But the elected member get the funds, as they came after spending, so they have to spend back.

We only get funds for once, it was time when for senate election they need our vote too. It starts happening that other parties, started to deal with members and asked them if they vote for us then we will give you Rs. 5million. Then the party leader called the party meeting, and that was the only meeting, where they announced funds of Rs. 5million.

Another member said, that there is little difference, and women are getting equal privileges, she gives the example that many of the state ministers were now made cabinet

ministers. When the researcher told that now the tenure is about to complete, and they are just made cabinet minister to “give happiness for the time”. The participant replied: “they are made on an honorary basis, in acceptance of their contributions”, it is a positive step she said. Besides one of the members said to keep gender aside, we should focus on the issues. If the existing male members who are in parliament, start working for the betterment of the system then there left no need for women to come into politics or even parliament. According to her reason is the whole environment is corrupt, in one way or another way you get stuck in between, instead of breaking the glass ceiling. But she also said that she is in favor of an equal number of seats for males and females [i10].

The researcher found that most of the parliamentarians accepted that they are not getting equal opportunities, besides entering into politics, they do not get empowered in the name of empowerment, and not get funds for utilization on the principality in the name of “reserve seats”. If they want to contribute to developmental work they have to work under the elected representatives of those areas. Another thing was that most of the women who come on reserved seats were the family members of existing or previous politicians, a participant name if they enter through “family Proxy”. This family proxy should be dealt and other women are usually the workers but educated should be brought forward.

Gender or gender quotas as a Hindrance in Getting Higher Position

Participants were of the view that gender is one of the factors in reaching a decision-making role. The participant explained in a way that, sometimes they face such issues being a “female”. But this is not just an issue of Pakistan, but in the whole world, it is a nature of male dominant society [I2]. One can see that in the United States Hilary Clinton lose the election because she was a “female”. In contrast, a female has been a Prime Minister, a speaker has been a female in Pakistan. However this society still has certain values, traditions, one has to keep those in mind while working. One of the participants said that in

Pakistan females have more opportunities, there is a system of a reserved seats, now the constitution is allowing 5% to come through the general election, now a woman can enter through the general seat, and can campaign openly for this. We still have to work a lot on our society, there is a need to change the mindset so they can vote for women. As there was a general perception that Hilary Clinton will not get the vote, if the American society did not vote for women, then our society is bound to take more time in developing that mindset. Currently, in our parliament, there are 7 women in the general seat, so it is not impossible.

Many of them give credit to Gen. Pervez Mushraf that in his regime the condition of graduation paved the path for women to enter into politics, and he constitutionally bound the parties to reserve the quota for women. These are not the parties who are letting women come into parliament, but his constitutional standing, if parties were not bound to this, then rarely will they let them come even on reserve seats.

While talking about the equal weightage given to women to present the bills, then few participants said, when bills are presented in parliament, gender is kept aside, the importance of the bill depends on how it was pursued. One of the participants said that she pursued her bills, she was announced as “Best Parliamentarian”. She also indicated that the majority of the legislation work is done by women. When one sees the top ten parliamentarians, then six are female, and if examined on the basis of their attendance ratio in parliament then women have more attendance as compared to men. Then the problem arises is they are selected on reserved seats, and because of that they do not get funds, even female senators did not get, because they do not have a “specific locality”. When women of the particular area come to get help from the women parliamentarian in different aspects like basic health units, schools, community center, or industrial homes for women for the empowerment of the women of the locality. In this situation, these female parliamentarians cannot do anything, as they do not have any kind of development funds. In contrast, the male members have, and they do

whatever they want to [i5]. According to them, they protest against this discrimination during the Nawaz Sharif regime, that why they face discrimination in this regard, that males received funds of 10 crore every year but women did receives funds at all. [i5].

Participants said , they are not provided with equal rights, usually, senior leadership and the other senior member decide the overall scenario, that what kind of bills will be presented, what motion will be taken, even the calling attention of women are blocked. If they present any bill on their personal efforts as a private member, then, later on, it is opposed, even if the bill moved into committee, then the committee usually does not approve that. one of the members said that she presented three bills one was about the Gujarat incident, the other was for Child abuse, but unfortunately, the members of the committee rejected by objecting that “how could this have happened”. When I presented at that time, they rejected, however now they said that if the bill (Asma Case) had been passed at that time, then it would have been good. According to her that bill has content “the culprits should be investigated under terrorism sections, they immediately kept in jail, and in prison, the decision should be made soon.” She said that she heard on many television channels “that the bill was need of the hour”. At that time it was rejected because I was on the reserved seat”.

They also pointed out that the party does not cooperate with them, one of the members said that when she submitted her bill a member of her party asked her to withdraw her bills. According to her, in reply she asked him to reject the bill in the parliament by voting. He was of the view that a female member should not be presenting bills like that. According to another participant, there is a private member day in parliament, when they can submit their bill as a private member then when that bill is presented in front of the committee the committee rejects those bills because either we are female or because we are on reserve seats. Such kind of behavior leads them to make the perception they had to lobby for this. Another member said that she had 2 different bills in front of two different

committees, one is in Law & Justices, and the other is in the Interior Committee. Bill was for the “Guardian act” fewer Children are the responsibility of the government so, the government should have data of all those, or give them an ID card, to save them from becoming the victim of crime, or becoming criminal. Now that bill is under consideration of the committee, later on, it will be rejected or if the tenure end then that bill will be wasted. Unfortunately, this is the level of seriousness, this is how the social issues are given importance in this way.

Another bill she presented was related to establishing the High Court bench, so that people have access to justice, when she presented the bills she was asked if she was a lawyer and in case she wasn't her bill did not hold value. Means it is considered that a person who belongs to a certain field will deal with that particular field, not the other person who could also have the information and awareness about the situation of a department or institution. Here again, the researcher found that participants lauded Musharaf, for giving equal status to women. In the current regime, women are considered to work in parliament for legislation, but when they do that, their work and efforts are rarely acknowledged [i10].

Ambition and Uncertainties

The majority of the participant believed that there is no difference in the ambition of males and females, being ambitious. When you enter a field and understand its working, chain of command, and fulfill its role then you desire for more or higher. Being ambitious is not gender-specific, it is not necessary that to be ambitious one should either be a male or female. The extent to which a man can be ambitious, a woman can also be [i4]. Sometimes it happens that an individual who joins a certain profession due to circumstances, regardless of his/her interests, later on s/he accepts that and plays her best part in that specific field. Similarly one of the participants was in the medical field, she did not enter into politics by her choice but by the choice of Party Leadership. However, when she became a parliamentarian,

she contributed more to policy-making on health issues, as she can relate with her past field experience. According to her, when she was part of the previous government her ambition increased more, as

I feel that when I am in a good position, I can deliver in a better way. As far as ambition is concerned it's across the board, gender has nothing to do with it. If there are ambitious men, then there are ambitious women" [i4]..." Until and unless your ambition takes a negative side.

In the present study, as most of the woman interviewed were on reserved seats, while others were the beneficiary when a condition of graduation degree for parliamentarian arose [i10] during Gen. Musharraf regime, they pointed out that they were not interested in joining or coming into politics [i7, i8, i9].

Few of them said that they never dreamed of becoming parliamentarian, or entering into parliament, neither had dreamed of becoming ministers. They put their trust in God, and according to them, they pray from God "to make their life purposeful", and that's how He planned their life accordingly [i7]. One of the parliamentarians posits that now she has entered into politics, but she doesn't want to become CM, but it depends on the party and it's the task of the party that they empower their women members, bring them in front, and present them the choice of becoming CM and even Prime Minister. Pakistan is a country having a female Prime Minister in history [i8]. Although this track is full of hindrances, parliamentarians also believe that the main thing is commitment, dedication, and adding up the ambition, then a woman can reach higher at her career ladder [i9].

People sometimes asked me, how much salary you got [novice]. I usually

Reply to them I do not get a salary rather I spend. Then they enquire, why you go [attend political events], we do not go! I reply to them, an addict lost his everything for a single dose that he needed [he get nothing]. We also have an addiction to politics [laughter]. But this addiction is not bad, it is helpful for you.

Even though they were of opinion that ambition depends on personal beliefs, the woman can also work like a man, and sometimes more than a man, as she also has to fulfill her responsibility of a "Woman" [i5]. On contrary what about, a woman entering politics just

for the sake of a seat, and she is not ambitious, that could be the reason for a fewer number of women in the higher position. As higher positions have their liabilities, few of the individual especially women think that their life become so public, and fear of media who is always in the role of “*Paparazzi*”.

Sometimes women believe that they do not have the capacity and capability of fulfilling the responsibilities attached to higher positions, can face the media this can also be the reason for a woman not to have ambition for the higher position. But one needs to develop little courage even men – “whether he could face these things or not” [i9]. In addition to that, they also believe that women can do anything, she has in-built [bestowed by God] flexibility, to encounter the toughest of the tough situation. But it depends on percentage, and also on how she has been socialized [i10], or if she has any inspiration in the field of politics.

Party Duality Obstruction or Encouragement for Upward Mobility

While describing the role of party ideology in bringing women forward and helping them in way to upward mobility, the majority of them agreed that party leadership and party ideology matter a lot in the entry and position of a woman into politics. The members from PML-N believed that their party has always been reluctant in bringing women forward. According to them, the party leaders want the “headship” of the party to remain within his family, but still, unfortunately, they do not bring their family women forward as much. At the time when party leaders were exiled during the time of Musharraf regime, Kalsoom Nawaz started a movement against “dictator” “How she faced the dictator, I am the witness of that time” [i6], but when that difficult time passed, they put Kalsoom Nawaz on the sideline, instead of giving her, even letting her contest election, while she should have at least got a key position at party level.

According to them, this party was not in favor of even bringing women to a reserved seat. In 2002 only 4 women of PML-N come into parliament. According to one of the member:

I was not interested but the party asked me to contest, when I agreed, due to an uncertain situation they did not give me a ticket to contest the election, rather bring me on a reserved seat, I even did not want to come through the reserved seat.

According to her, when a party perceives that from a specific place, they will win the seat, then the party does not take risk of letting a woman contest on that seat, even if she can. The member of PML-N confessed that there is a lot of difference in party position toward a female in PML-N and PPP, and also of PTI (three major political parties). Few of them defined the role of the party in a way that if a person is eligible then the party gives them a position. One makes it “you are a source of respect or disrespect for the party, if you are the source of respect then the party will definitely bring you on the front, but in a contrasting scenario party will drop you out” [i8]. But it is up to the woman, one gives the example that, “Shireen Mazari is good at Strategic Studies, now the party is bringing her up on front [i7]”

A member from one of the religious parties answered this “I think the only base is party ideology, when you enter into politics you have certain goals and objectives, and you work accordingly [i10]”. She is used to wearing the veil, but she is also a member of the parliamentary committee. According to her, it depends on the ability one has, those who are a newcomer and more educated they are doing well, parties also bringing them in front.

According to another member from a religious party “Yes party supports women, since the last three years, new members who are coming, do not wear the veil, and no one forced them to do so anyway.”[i2] According to her it is only the honor of JUI that they bring women forward besides their religious affiliation if a woman works then the party can bring her on front. For this, the party should give training to the member from the local level, by making them a member of local body government, so that she can learn the responsibilities

from the grass-root level, in this way the general public will also become familiar of them, and in the case, at the larger level they want to contest on the general seat, then they can also.

Men are more winnable in elections hence are preferably given tickets, however, if a woman is capable enough to win the election she is most definitely given a ticket too

However, others believe that rarely any party has an ideology, but in PPP BB as a woman rose as head hence wanted more female participation. That was the reason for people accepting her, she was the one who inducted majority of the women into politics. Thus after the death of BB, the entry of women got a setback [i4].

Currently, political parties can be categorized into; conservatives (based on their affirmation of cultural and religious values), neutral (changing the strategy according to the situation), liberals (who challenge cultural and religious values). Depending on that according to participants, PML_N, and other religious parties who adhere to cultural and religious norms are reluctant to bring their women forward at any decision-making position. The reason could be they do not think women are capable to perform such tasks, or only men can perform them, and so such positions should be given only to men. However, one thing researcher observed was that member of PML-N accepted and challenged the stance of their party, but the members of other religious parties besides knowing that their party is reluctant to bring them forward, continued justifying their party stance by having the same belief that male members of their parties have. In contrast some participants said “The situation in the parliament today is far worse than it was a few years back. There is male dominance and glass ceiling exists. It would not shatter till women are at decision making positions.”[i5]

According to participants, PTI and PPP are different in their ideologies towards women's roles. However, PPP is more open in bringing women forward because this party was also headed by a woman who brought other women forward into politics. Related to PTI, participants opined that still, the position of PTI is undecided, although they are bringing

forward women in their political campaign, it would be too soon to reach a conclusion before the PPP actually comes to government.

Intra-Female Political Discredit

Above all, while participants were narrating their stories, another important aspect researcher extracted from their experience was that, female parliamentarian were not much satisfied with the other fellow females. There was a tussle between the female on the general seats and the female on the reserved seat. Female on reserve seat highlighted that, those who come on general seats, rarely helped them in raising any women-related issues. They say they have nothing “kakh vee nae” (absolutely nothing) to do with the female issue “ساڈا تے لین دین” (the way we conduct our work is different) [i6]. Their priority remains maintaining their seats. When a respondent was telling us, she repeated this line two or three times that members on general elections behave in a way that “we have nothing to do with female issues, we are on general seats.”

The biggest barriers females face in politics are females themselves with their constant bickering, backbiting, pulling other legs to get what they want, and to prevent you from succeeding in your position. They have become irresponsible.

Another thing a few of them indicated that female play negative role and hindrance for other women, instead of letting them develop professional relation with party leadership, those who are close to party leaders, they want other (junior) women to remain their subordinate. [i12]It means some females do not give space to other women, those who are on the front, they want their order to be obeyed in different matters, “If I say sit, other should sit, if I say standup, others should stand up” one of them narrates, while defining the role of females for each other. Although professional jealousy remains in every workplace, a member told that in the scenario of the parliament it has crossed all limits. As few close to leadership make a shield, do not let others come close to them, the end product is, usually those who are sincere in their work gradually leave the position they are capable of, but they

do not get the position they deserve [i10]. Another called it “a harassment of women for women” [i8]. Other females should promote, and motivate the newcomers, as, how long would they stay on seat for 2 or 3 or even more tenure at least they will be leaving that seat one day but unfortunately they make it “I am only eligible for this”.

No, no females. Female is enemy of female [laughter], not all but few. I have no issue if someone progress more than me. I just have to take my right. After facing lots of difficulties, one does reach his/her destination, all that's needed to understand is that one must be ambitious, and have enough money for small expenses.

The same problem prevails among the male members as well, the male members promote only those females who campaigned for them during general elections. However, bringing forward a party worker is a good thing, but if she is not eligible then she should not be given that seat even reserve. Party should bring forward those females who can contribute positively.

Anyone can excel if he struggles. But some entered with the help of someone *کسی کے کندھوں پہ چڑھ کے*, (to ascend on someone's shoulders) with the drawing-room politics. [When asked what does mean *kandho py chr'h k*, they have their father or any family member in politics]. She answered no, that try to understand [what she mean is by using explicit means]. Our media is playing a very active role in it.

Although the majority of the respondents were not happy with the behavior of other colleagues, few of them narrates that if we want a female to come forward, it is only possible if the females support each other. Women will not face any issues related to harassment, gender stereotyping if all women become the voice of each other, in a way that if a male stereotyped a female, then other females must condemn the action, so that next time male members would be vigilant before commenting. And this is how women can bring other women forward, by becoming a helping hand. They give the example of BB that she worked a lot for bringing women forward, and her party also took her legacy. In contrast, the members belong to PML-N said that their party did not encourage many women to come forward. One answered: “...If the constitution would have not bound them to do so, they

would have never done it. We complain a lot about the dictator [Gen. Musharaf], but if women are sitting in parliament then the whole credit goes to him” [i6].

Another participant said that instead of looking for the help of a leader, and giving credit to others for bringing women forward, if a female kept on delivering positive, then a time usually comes that everybody starts recognizing your efforts, and then they [party leader] brings you forward. So instead of blame gaming, one should identify their own potential and keep on contributing one said [i7]. But it is important that one should see all sides of issues before solving them, a female could be a hindrance and support for other females, which also depends on how others perceive it.

Marginalized Decision Participation

Participants discussed their role in the parliament and had the view that they are not considered real parliamentarians .A couple of them responded “There is no doubt that there have been barriers, the glass ceiling still exists one of the participant said “ I feel that the women have to work harder to prove that they are parliamentarians , men do not have to work so hard to get into committees, for women it takes quiet an effort sometimes twice or thrice” “The women have entered politics that does not mean that the glass ceiling has reached an end. Women have to work harder than male members.”[i2] Females do not get privilege in a committee where males without much work, get it naturally in the form of heading a committee or at a decision-making forum. But for women, it takes lots of effort to prove themselves, but still, they are ignored.

As one of the participants who was too optimistic and described her experience that when she first came in parliament and narrated her poem:

A normal girls from a normal village
Representative from my community
I think about this, every day
While going to the national assembly
I'll talk about the day to day affairs
And how the city is doing
My self-esteem is not protected
My four walls (home) are not protected

There is darkness on all four sides
Dread has engulfed me today
I'll go to the national assembly
And talk about the day to day affairs

According to her, this ambition was tarnished when she sees the actual situation and not getting much representation in different committees. However, the female is a member of different committees, one of the participant said that she is a member of the foreign committee that committee is considered as one of the large committees similarly, there is another committee she is a member of, according to her that there is not a single committee headed by a female. But females are only appointed as a member of the committee but in the majority of the committee that doesn't have even a single woman. Much other decision-making forum exists where females are not included, according to one of them there are 30 standing committees, but not a single committee is headed by a female. However, another member said a committee was established one month ago that is headed by a female. "Still if you look at the ratio, 1 out of 30 can be used as an argument that glass ceiling has reached its end" one argued. Similarly, there is no federal minister in the current [when the research was conducted] government, in contrast, there were few women who were a federal minister in the PPP government. Instead of an increasing number of women, there is no cabinet minister now in the current government, there is no female cabinet minister, and only 2 state ministers are there.

Many of them, agreed that there is a lot of difference in bringing women forward in PPP and PML-N, they consider PPP as a liberal party that brings their women forward while other parties do not bring them besides they are capable of doing that [i3].

There is a lot of male domination, the glass ceiling still exists, until women are included in the decision-making process and decision-making forum, otherwise it is just an eyewash [i3, I4]. This problem exists in every political party, but each party makes big claims that they bring their women forward, but they need to include them in policymaking, make

them ministers, give them chairmanship of different committees. One of the participants who was once speaker of the national assembly told the reason behind women not coming forward, is that party leadership think that they let the women enter into parliament through reserved seats, that's enough! They consider it as a good deed [ehsaan] done on women, now then they come to parliament when there is no need of bringing them forward at the decision-making level.

We work hard on doing all the legislation, we put all our efforts into drafting bills. However, when these bills are presented in front of our committees comprising of 90% male chairpersons they are rejected. Men think of our bills as mere jokes, they ignore bills presented by female parliamentarians, and no matter how important the issues are the draft bills are not prioritized. Influence peddling is required to get these bills passed.

One participant narrated, what she contributed to women by making Women Parliament Caucus so that they get different avenues for bringing women in streamline [i4]. However the situation is getting a little better, a bill was approved in assembly by giving 5% tickets to the women on general seats, it is a step towards bringing women forward, now each party is constitutionally bound to give the ticket to women. Participants explained that women do not get equal weightage for legislation and present bills, in one way, but in another way, everyone can do legislation, but the issue is when more focus is given to government bills, and less focus is given to private member bills, and women mostly present their bills are a private member. Before presenting bills they struggle a lot, but their bills are not given much importance. A participant said that during her tenure, she used to encourage private member bills. Most of the bills presented during her tenure were of private members including; acid burn victims, guardian bills, the role of the women parliamentary caucus was great in this.

Although the situation is not much optimistic, women parliamentarians are becoming part of different committees, one thing researcher noticed that few of the women were part of the committee which are usually considered as 'only male' members like the defense

committee [i6]. A participant who was a member of a defense committee told, that it is usually considered as an only male task. She further added that “I came by choice, and it was my desire to be part of this committee” she further added it depends on the leader of your party on how many opportunities does he give or how close you are to them – with the help of any other male leader of the party. Another said,

Women are not given space to breathe to explore their talents to give their best. They are supposed to be voters only. As soon as a woman starts to voice her opinion the society begins to dislike her. They do not like to be given orders by women.

Similarly, each of the participants was a member of at least three committees where they are contributing in different ways; human rights, education, health, industrial and Production, commerce and trading, Public Account Committee (PAC), religious affairs, interfaith harmony are named the few. As one added that:

In PAC we have divided our work, as there is a lot of back lock, we divided the work year-wise. I am the chairperson of one of the sub-committee, you have some powers but not the authorized or written one, but I have to work the same as a chairman does. I have to work a lot including reporting but I am happy. [i10].

Some committees refuse to have women work with them saying that they are no use to them and cannot prove beneficial.

In contrast, very few of them were of opinion that opportunities are given to the woman for decision-making level, in a way by making them part of the committee – no doubt as a member though, not chairman. Another member said that on the acknowledgment of her contribution in parliament she once get a chance to be a Panel Chair, during that session one of the members talked about a very sensitive issue and she handled it in a great way. According to the majority of participants that when women are given chance to contribute at the decision-making level, they contribute beyond their capacity, but it depends on how many chances are there for upward mobility of women after entrances into parliament.

Next thing they indicated that in House (parliament) the male member is constitutionally bound to give them little chance that helps them to contribute accordingly. As

when they press the Mic, they get the chance. On the other hand, they indicated that during a party meeting, women are not given opportunities, and are snubbed in a way “what do you want to talk, you want to talk, leave them (women), listen to us.” They consider it that women do not talk anything of benefit [stereotype].

Decision-making roles are divided into two categories, one is at the party level and the other is in parliament. At the party, the level researcher gets to know through the voices of participants that the majority of parties did not include their female members in decision-making regarding the strategies or future policies of the party. Rather many indicated that they come to know when the meeting is ended and they are just informed that the party has made this decision, and they are not even called into meetings. This situation is a little discouraging for those who worked for the party wholeheartedly. Next is involvement in the decision-making forum of parliament. The same is the situation that females are made only the members of committees rarely any committee is headed by women. Many committees are only male committees.

Political Suitability and Objectification of Women Parliamentarians

According to many of the participant, the criteria that the party has adopted for bringing women on the reserved seat is just based on that one should be “Presentable” instead of knowing that what kind of skills she has, does she has awareness of the issues, what kind of professional skills she has, if she has awareness of the international issue. If you are not making this as your criteria, then you are not doing justice even with your own country, by not bringing those who are capable. According to them, many members do not know what kind of bills are being presented, they labeled them as “Angotha Chaap” (thumb impressionist). Every organization has decorum, and protocol, when you recruit a primary teacher there exists a criterion, similarly, for university teacher, there are different criteria, why do not the party has criteria for the custodian of the country [i6].

The chances of upward mobility depend on what are the criteria used for upward promotion or mobility. When going through data, the researcher found that participants have the feeling of frustration, over the different informal criteria used for bringing woman forward. If you want to bring forward anyone then there must be a criterion that is related to measuring the contribution, knowledge, and improvement a person brings after entering. Everybody should be made aware of those criteria so that everyone can work accordingly to get the promotion. In contrast, the participant answered that this criteria is not used:

It should not be that you come to parliament just for attendance, rather about how you address the issues, do you have awareness of what's happening on the national and international level. What level of input you are giving, what kind of decision you are making – this should be criteria – but unfortunately criteria are something else! [i6].

According to them the criteria is what kind of relation one has with leadership, how good lobbying, flattering and excessive useless praising of leadership one can do – these things are considered instead of what contribution does one makes. One added that

When you make flattering, criteria, lobbying a criterion, then people like me will only sit quite on their seats, will contribute in a way they can, and usually do not have useless interactions with anyone.

Participants said that their performance is not judged, many people struggle a lot, but cannot speak, and usually, they are ignored when the time of reward comes. The roles in parliament, decided for women are also objectified they are selected based on their presentable personality, not based on awareness of national and international issues. The criteria of their selection are highly questionable. Participants anticipated that a woman who can achieve the higher office now, or they think has more chances of upward mobility is “Maryam Nawaz Sharif”, because she has a background of belonging to a family of politicians, her father is prime minister, and she will be the one who could also be the future prime minister. Most of them also answered in the same way that those have more chances who have the background, but they also indicated that unfortunately there is a difference and

most of the member of PML-N personally admitted that PML-N does not have the custom of bringing women forward, but PPP has – they made their women prime minister, a speaker, cabinet ministers, now deputy speaker in a provincial assembly, and member of senate including Sherry Rehman and Karishna Kumari.

Participants also want that family or political background should not be the criteria. But they are optimistic that now the criteria of 5% in electoral reforms help them to get more chances when each party will have women on general seats.

Gender Role Cliché

The next theme devised from the data is related to gender stereotyping, in our society it is considered that women do not have managerial or administrative skills, they are docile and polite. For administration, you need a strong authoritative attitude, but women do not have, that's why they cannot be good administrators or decision-maker. Participants were agreed that this thinking exists in our society. However they disagreed with the notion of, women do not have skills and cannot be good decision-makers or administrators. Most of the participants agreed that females have administrative skills, they say that by default Allah has bestowed them with the ability to raise up to 4 children on average of different nature and attitude, they deal with them, and know where to deal with them softly, wherewith aggression, how to socialize, and choose what should they be providing and they should be careful of. They face a different crisis, they have the sensitivity that one must have to understand the severity of an issue. Men should accept, that women could be authoritative, but it varies from woman to woman. Few women are there with authoritative personality traits while others have a democratic style. If one thing that speaking loudly and in aggression and forceful voice, then the woman can also exhibit that when needed.

Women think that females are good decision-maker, as at home she is one who takes the decisions regarding all the matters and another dilemma is that male member of family keep her fearful, and in fear and pressure rarely anyone can decide in a better way.

They were of opinion that one can establish authority with softness, and the creator has created both males and females based on equality. It is not the case that one is created as a dumb, while the other is wisest. One participant gives the example that when 1st revelation was brought on Prophet Muhammad (SAW), then He (SAW) narrated this incident firstly to His wife Hazrat Khadija R.A, not to another man. If it had been the case that women are not wise, then He must have not shared that with Her. The researcher inferred that every participant has her own way to justify and endorse the stance that women can contribute and exhibit administrative skills.

But males still have the mindset that females are usually dumb, and docile and they cannot perform well. One of the members during an interview said: “let me tell you an interesting thing”. Upon asking yes carry on, she said that “I once argued with them, a male member of a committee (senior politician). He said that “خواتین کا کیا کام ہے اسمبلی میں، جائیں، انکا کیا کام ہے، ایسے ہی فالتو میں گھروں میں، ہانڈی چوبلا کریں، انکا کیا کام ہے، ایسے ہی فالتو میں (What work do females have in parliament, go home and cook just a waste).

I asked him then why you bring us in your political processions. He said, “Yes, U can come in political procession but what is need of you people to sit in assembly”. When he got the highest portfolio I asked him, yes, Brother! I still remember how you disgraced women, you think that women come into parliament after begging. He said, “yes that is my personal opinion”. I asked him, now do one thing, it is your government, so make the amendment, and end the reserved quote. He replied: “if it was in my capacity then I amend it in a minute.” I said now you are a senior politician then amend it, you have the authority he said: “آپ نے

”مجھے جوتیاں پڑوانی ہیں، سارے بی بیوں سے (Do you want me to get hit with shoes by all the women?)

This was a little shocking for the researcher, that when it comes to number games and a party wants power show, they use women, but when it comes to giving representation in assemblies, to give ministries, chairmanship of committees, and decision-making forum they are disgraced and put at the end of the list. Those who are part of some committees have string background or approach, few of them opined.

The situation will remain the same until policies are formulated, in Pakistani society, there is an issue that males linked a sense of their Collective Respect “izzat”[i8] with the female, if a bad situation prevails then mostly people restraint sending their female into politics. One thing that females suggested was, such members who use inappropriate language, parties should not let them come forward. But according to the overall situation, it is not possible, as males are considered as an asset because they win the seats.

Participant agreed that gender stereotyping exists in parliament, underestimation of women, undermining the potential of performance is there. That’s why women had to work three times more than the male members to prove. It is said that everything is good, it is just to give a soft image, but things are different in reality on the floor of House? Every member has to fight the different barriers to come forward. And those who come forward after a fight with this are the “genuine performers” [i3]. A participant said that here the role of media comes, that media also high light what women contribute.

However, there also exists a certain mindset, women are still treated as an object of happiness and pleasure, a participant told that one male member told her that “you people are brought into parliament so that we can make ourselves happy چلو دل بی خوش ہو جائے”[i6]. Few members also abuse females, and they use a very aggressive tone while talking to them. The

responsibility lies on the party not allow to such people come forward and in parliament. The participant said that they cannot get this point that why male does not understand this, a woman can also do whatever she wants to – as the wife of our beloved Prophet (SAW) was a businesswoman. Now male says that “what is the link of a woman into fieldwork”, “they are not suitable”. Participant answered that it is not the case, that they are not suitable for work other than household.

Few participants suggested that if you think that females are not capable, then work on their capacity building, provide them different opportunities. And when more and more women will come forward, then people will take inspiration from them [i9]. However now the situation is also getting better, people are becoming aware and letting women enter into politics and it is a good thing. Next thing that one of the members suggested that, women should not get discouraged by such kind of stereotyping, and keep on working to change the mind of people, gradually it will work.

Preferential Treatment

It was noticed that most of the members have frustration that, those who come on reserved seats are given quota seat work as a political gift (nawaznain) – by leadership of a party depending on the contribution of someone’s father, brother, or any of family members’ recognition of efforts for the party. When you set criteria that graduation is the least qualification for the eligibility of a candidate then it should be followed, without giving favor to a member of one’s family. One member indicated that those who are the bearer of country legislation, don’t know what actually legislation is, what are the step involved in this, they are just brought because of having a political family background. She added “when you have a focus of your wears and tears – then the kind of legislation will be in the same way, but if we bring forward to able-individuals, then they will only do policymaking. It is only possible when all the differences will be abolished, including the gender if a person is male or female

if s/he belongs to the political class. Rather there should be an executive body, whole legislation should be done under that umbrella, and they answered. If these all legalities are abolished then no one will enter into politics for the sake of apparent interest rather who are ambitious, and wanted to deliver something will enter into politics.

Circumstantial Bedevilment (Harassment)

Parliament reflects the overall picture of society, as it is a representative formal institution where overall legislation for the different social problems is carried out. As society is engrained in patriarchal values and interests, there are chances of those interests could be reflected in this institution as well. Participants pointed out the issues they face, and one of the issues is harassment. Participants said that this is the problem they do feel, someone may pass comments, say something inappropriate, night over appreciate a female to the extent that she feels uncomfortable [i3], and these are forms of harassment they face in parliament. Sometimes female discuss these issues with each other, but most of the time they avoid that. However it should not happen in parliament, an Anti-Harassment bill has been passed, and it was recommended that females would be a member of those commissions. A member who was once the speaker said that she committed that time, now she is unaware that if the commission is working or not [i4], asked the researcher to check this out.

It was a little intimidating when a member revealed that females on reserve seats are considered as “Lao g, yee too mufti ka maal” [bring them here, they are object free of cost] – to satisfy the illicit need of a male. They treat the female on the reserved seat as “Lao g” she repeated it twice. She further added that females who are in politics or parliament, if they reached in parliament without any strong background or cushion, then she has to face lots of difficulties [she lowered her voice while telling this]. The ways they adopt are really painful she added. That means, besides working for the political campaign of male members of their party, they also sometimes be used as an object to satisfy their illicit needs.

A member narrated an incident that

“We have a female parliamentarian who was a widow [not much influential background] and there was a male member. It is not that I heard from someone, rather I have seen and heard on my own. That male member had engaged the female and was discussing inappropriate stuff with her. She was feeling ashamed to be there, also worried if someone may hear their conversation. The male member wanted to pursue that talk, but she was reluctant to stay there I approached and I just wanted to slap him. I asked that female don't you know that what he was talking about? She said, S***a I don't want to talk to him. I said: for now I just want you to do not talk to him”.

The males are also the party of the larger community, they are not as pious as they seem, “unfortunately, they have been blessed with what they do not deserve, only Allah knows the wisdom behind” another said.

However few are of opinion that, it is more about “one-sided traffic”. Although there is the perception that females on reserve seats reached here after using illicit means. When the same questions were asked from participants few of them said that “yes it is, right”. Means, female also use such means to reach this post quickly. Taking a few examples, male members generalized it to other females as well. A member told that how a male member tried to imply this generalization on her, “he asked me that madam is this your 2nd tenure. I said, yes. He replied, it seems that you have a very strong reference”. That means you have strong illicit backing, who let you enter a second time. According to him that the females who enter into politics used that way.

According to that member “I said, my reference is Allah”. This incident influenced her a lot, and she usually discusses every happening with her husband. Her husband endorsed that, male member considered this, they somehow have this in the back of the mind. This is the dilemma of our society that male consider female as not good in this way, however, consider themselves as a “Haji”, “Peer” and “we are too pious to even think about this”, and female are the only culprit who makes us do so. It is not that this perception just prevails among male members, female themselves considered other females as the culprit and responsible for what happens to them.

One makes it in a way, that “If you keep a beautiful dish, I might resist it for once. But if you keep in front of me again and again then I would rarely resist it. So, why do females make themselves as barby, that people look at them again and again? Similarly, if a male member sits in front of us, we would not resist seeing him [i7]. It is human nature.” According to her, females invite others, by themselves. This thing is continued from the time of Hazrat Adam [A.S], rarely any society where such things do not happen. If women want to keep themselves up-to-date and “she wants that I should be well-prepared, and male should not see me.” So this is not going to happen all the time [i7].

According to them, a female should take care of herself, if males are talking and joking with each other than a female should stay away from that place, if she gives them leverage, then male members harass her. Few members said that such things do not happen in parliament, individual matters, the way a person behaves, others make perception accordingly [i9], but a parliament is a place where educated individual enter, so they try to maintain the sanctity of parliament. According to the majority of the members, there might be few exceptional cases that might have happened in parliament but they rarely have seen such things happening in parliament. However, members also indicated that there is a decrease in such incidents after the harassment bill was passed.

The second thing those members who are strong and reply on the spot to such incidents are usually named as ‘fighters’ [a member said with laughter]. The senior members who were interviewed said that they are immune to these things, and rarely observe such things in parliament [i10]. While others said that they do not face such things even at their party level, they are given respect, rarely any stereotypes and words are used for women. Researchers also found that members negated that such things happened in parliament, but also said that these are representative of society, the pathologies of societies are reflected in this [i5]. But when asked about the specific incident, then they bypass it to another

workplace, and make it in a way that they have heard such things happening in other private organizations, educational institute, and health education but not in parliament. Most of them avoided to narrate specific incidents, however, one of them narrated her personal experience:

“It was time when I was emerging as an active female politics. I talked to the then highest provincial authority of the province on the phone that there are issues of women, they are not getting funds for different projects. He said okay you people should come to meet me. When I along with many other females of the area went to his office. Only a red light was switched on at that time (I did not get why just red light is on, not other—may be an indication of some danger), there were 7, 8 other females with me. He asked that you are representative, so you should stay here to talk, while other females can sit in another room. I was general secretary at that time. He said, how much amount you need as funding. I replied almost 1 to 2 million. Meanwhile, I felt very strange—Allah has bestowed females with special sense—he stared at me and stood up with a strange smile. When I further noticed he had not put his shoes even, advanced toward me. I screamed to other ladies, that lets move from here, I asked the same to him. I took the other female along with me and moved from there as quickly as I can. These kind of things we face”

The researcher interprets it as, male members who are of such mind, and see women as a source of pleasure for them, and try to exploit them while parliamentarian is trying to fulfill their responsibilities. Very few who fell prey to them, based on that, these males generalize it to others and considered that those who come into parliament always enter after using these kinds of means. But this is not the case, all the time.

Media Personification of Women

Media is a strong medium of dissemination of information, at the same, there is another side of media as well. Discussing the role of media in the representation of women, the participants shared both sides of pictures. According to them, media contributes positively as well as negatively in portraying women. Media give exposure to females but more to males [i3]. But it could play a more effective role. Unfortunately, media in our society and the journalist specifically are always in search of any different and personal story [with proof or without proof] even tried to invade the privacy that usually affects the working and rapport of parliamentarian.

I was sent to an area for a campaign, I had no idea the people were unruly, once there I received word that the people had become hostile and I was taken to a safe location I was assured of my protection, as the crowd grew angrier I noticed the two people who had accompanied me had also left and I was all

alone the crowd rallied up against me, I had to endure physical and mental torture from the crowd it was telecast live and ran for 4 days, of course, the media edited it and made to show 10% of it. Furthermore, I was harassed and I remained angry with the people often speaking ill of them. I haven't endured such circumstances ever in my years in politics. I have remained angry with the media for several reasons as well. They portray females in a very negative way focusing on our style and fashion usually not taking us seriously in matters and often asking us questions that we do not have the answer to, except for PTV I do not trust any other channel, of course, you will say it's a government-run channel but the other media networks take advantage of their viewers and cast a very bad image of female politicians.

Media considered the private life of politicians as public domain, take it as their right to follow their personal life. But on moral grounds, rarely the personal life of someone is public domain. Here comes the need for training journalists to ensure they fulfill moral duty. Media freedom is necessary, but every freedom has a few responsibilities along with, when that freedom is misused, the end product will not be beneficial for society as a whole and particularly for females. In current society, women are already facing hardships, they are struggling a lot to prove themselves, their potentials, and it would be good they should not be discouraged by the invasion of private life. As in our society, the label of "honor" 'ghairat' is attached to the female, the respect of the whole family is linked with the honor of female – that is a separate question why this is so!

Due to that women become a very easy target, [participant stressed a lot while uttering this word], and for her, the respect "honor" is very important. Although media is considered as a 4th pillar, the journalist blackmail the women parliamentarian, a participant shared an experience of her colleague "a media person come for an interview to my colleague, he also captured my[her colleague] pictures. Every month he comes to me and said, "ma'am I have few pictures of you [could be mis-used] – my mobile balance has ended". She said to me that I am stuck. I said to her why she let him capture the pictures." This is how a journalist blackmails the women and threatens them to abuse their pictures if they do not help them financially.

I would suggest, not to confront any media personnel. If someone confronts any media personnel, then they will keep a grudge. Those who are not financially well, they sometimes demand an amount for their fuel. We usually give them, in this way they do not behave ill with them.

It is not just female are facing these issues, male members are also facing the same in the hand of media journalist. Usually, male members considered it privileged “that their affairs are being discussed in media” they get privileged due to their patriarchal authority.

A participant said that one of the senior male colleagues, suggested staying away from media, as for women the top most priority is her respect, but for media, it is the easy target. Another member said the same. The media should not be doing this. In contrast, a participant said that if a women's slate is clean [her past is free of such things] then what would media get to highlight? So it is again in the hands of females to make them eligible, then media would get nothing to highlight. When a media person does not get much information about the personal life of a parliamentarian then they started giving news in a way that “female are just focusing on their appearance, their makeup, their dresses” [i7] instead of doing legislation and focusing on issues of the country. When the media portray female this way, then public perception would be the same. It would directly influence the voting behavior of the masses, they might take it, as females are not contributing to our betterment, and then they should not get elected for the next tenure.

Media needs spices- it is a reflection of our society. It sees women as objects to gain popularity. They are judged based on the clothes they wear. The media highlights the brands of their bags more than their contributions in the parliament. Everything a woman says is exaggerated and an issue is created out of it. Most parliamentarians have to keep their head low and walk fast to avoid media

Issue of highlighting personal life, a member said that although personal issues and private domain should not be made public, however, to avoid this, a person should be clean by him/herself, then s/he would not be fearful of anything. Although respect for family and the party you are affiliated with is more important but before that, personal respect should be the priority, a member answered that if you protect your own respect, then you will be able to

protect other things as well. Women usually get fearful, but one should not be fearful, rather dare to answer the exploitation [i9]. Media should be bound ethically, as what you portrayed on media is viewed globally. Mean if media will portray the way it is “women are wearing goggles, the expensive clothes, watches, shoes” mean you are portraying that women are just showpiece.

The participant said that people seek personal promotion, they go to the media house, personally for this purpose. Media organizations are good and have another side as well. Few have transparency in the form that they highlight government in-efficiency, also highlight the very exceptional and outstanding contribution of the female. According to them, media always highlight those who work, media channels called them again and again on their shows to promote them. Next said, that whatever media is reporting is correct, as what they see the report, what is happening they report. It is up to the person, what s/he want to be reported for him or her. When you enter into politics then you have to reform everything, you come here for people [i8].

As mentioned above what media portrayed is globally broadcasted, this way the image of the country gets distorted, where less constructive things are framed. The next thing that media framed about women is the fighting scenes, and during the political campaign or parliamentary session if any fight or conflict of opinion happened then media start live streaming it [i9]. A member said that during her tenure as a Speaker media had not highlighted any positive contribution she made, but if unluckily any bad thing happened they start broadcasting it as “breaking news”[i4]. So it is an ethical responsibility, that media is not fulfilling. A member said that the negative image what media portrayed about female, if there are 100 female in parliament, then what media represent could be of 5, 6 person. But not the other 94 are the way what media generalize [i10]. Instead of just framing negatively, their

positive contributions should also be highlighted, if it gets highlighted then others will get inspiration, and try to come forward.

Coping Strategies to Deal with Barriers

This theme is related to different strategies adopted by women parliamentarians to deal with barriers created within the organization, and other different factors that create hindrances to their career persistency and upward mobility, or to at least remain in parliament.

Imperceptible Participation

Before narrating any strategy or suggestion, most of the participants said that politics is a race, where rarely anyone can see a positive competition, but leg-pulling is always there. The first tactic that females used as a coping strategy to stay in parliament, is not to ask questions that are against the will of party leaders, this helps them in a way they are not identified as a threat to the party manifesto. There will be more chances for them to be selected for the next tenure. Few of the female parliamentarians usually interact less with the male members. According to them, a female should take care of herself, and stay away from all men gatherings.

A majority of members on reserve seat agreed that they usually speak less, ask few questions, and confront less to any decision or legislation given by party leader or male members of the party with the fear, that if they are angered they would not let them come for the next tenure. There is another dilemma that women on quotas are facing, as they are on reserve seats, so they do not actively participate, with the fear that if they participate boldly, then next time the party will not select them for this quota too. Sometimes this leads to saying “right” to the “wrongs”, besides knowing the reality, they will not tell the truth to the leadership, with the fear that if party leadership gets angry, it would be dangerous for their future selection,

Look, no one tells the actual thing. Our only relation in the parliament is with our seat. No one says the right thing, the fear of losing our seats has a significant impact on our participation in parliament, ... the wrongs are deemed right. U cannot stand up for what's right in front of the leadership even if u are aware of the realities.

Similarly, another said that “if you stay quiet, praise the leader” it’s fine, but you must condemn the wrong and praise the right. Other members said she usually gets punishment, as she is bold, and a journalist also told him that she asked difficult questions from ministers that’s why she did not get anything (funds). Those who are bold, and active, said that a seat is not a permanent thing, but the responsibility you have because of the seat is too much, so they must differentiate between rights and wrong, however, still they have fear of seat.

-“Our society does not like vocal women”

As media considered the life of parliamentarians as a public domain. It is always in search of something personal and sensational. Journalists blackmail not only females but also males if they do not help them financially. So the only strategy they adopt is to stay away from media.

Conversant with Contemporary Politics

The next thing is those who are coming to politics, should educate themselves regarding issues, procedures, rules, and regulation, to deal with the problems at a larger level. So, one must equipped with these required skills to flourish, this is the only way to participate in this system. The next thing is to reach a higher position gradually, by equipping with the required skills, and then reached higher skills, this can make a person more experienced [i9].

Parliamentarians indicated that parliament is a large setup and those who come for the first time having no knowledge of roles and responsibilities. So they learn from the senior members, who are sometimes willing or not to make them learn. However, they learn the required knowledge and skills after entering to cope with the pace of working in parliament. Most of them posit that when they came into parliament they knew nothing about the law or drafting of legislation .when we entered into parliament

Too mgy aisaa lga k ‘mein School sy University mein aage, college mainy skip kr dia’[laughter].(I felt like I just got admission in the university skipping the college)

“Politics is a very difficult job [laughter]” one of them said, as she left her business because politics needs your attention it is a 24-hour job and if you are not equipped with the desired knowledge you cannot survive in this profession. It demands not only national-level know-how but one must be aware of the international scenario. While others had to struggle to learn how to draft and present a bill “I took the help of others, asked from people to draft my bills, as I don’t know how to draft a bill, I gave the idea/frame to other, then they draft for me”[i7]. It all depends on capability, but the capability is not about just having a degree, but also about know how to apply the knowledge to practical work.

our voters should be educated. Male parliamentarians should be given more awareness about issues regarding gender equality

As if you want to become a minister then you must need to know that what are issues your ministry is facing, how to do an amendment, how to do legislation. It’s all about learning, knowing, and making time to know.

Women need to be very strong they need to have a body language that demands respect, that is only possible if they are well aware of all the issues and are confident

Compliance with Patriarchal Structure

Women face hindrances from their family when they go out of the certain boundaries established by them. If they obey the rules set by the men in this patriarchal society and keep their family happy they shall not face any difficulties in perusing their careers. They should balance both their household chores and their workload from the parliament. They should not ignore their home and family for politics in order to gain family support.

“a woman can do anything staying within the limitations set by her religion and society.”

Women opined that they must take care of their outlook and dress to avoid harassment in the parliament and for this, they must have to dress properly

Women are like candies they tend to attract people if they dress up in a certain doll-like manner she is most certainly harassed

The role of the husband is significant in defining career and even the duties of any woman entering into politics. Women have to develop strong trust with their husbands to remove from their minds all fears and insecurities. She has to negotiate with her family obeying to follow some of the rules set by them for their satisfaction. One of the participants narrates her story:

When I first day started my political work, on that night my husband asked me, that try to be at home at night time, I want you to be with your children at night ... from that day till now I never attended any night event or political activity. [i6]

A participant told that she has put a few limitations on herself so that she can give time to family as well. According to her, she does not attend any political event schedule at night time. According to her, the male member would start considering that now after becoming parliamentarian female start doing whatever they want to. Then such things usually are not bearable to males. There are participants with belief that, they and other women should accept that this is a male dominant society, and in male dominant society woman has to work according to certain rules set by men, to set up their expectation according to the scenario, you will work, and fight for your right accordingly, and will do legislation according to the situation.

As the researcher discussed in section 1, few of the females have a belief that they can excel if they comply with patriarchal rules.

I was aware of the fact that I represent my family and carry the weight of their respect and esteem. I set boundaries for myself I knew that I would not let my family be disgraced in any manner. I did not want people to say foul things about me or my family.

You determine people's attitudes towards u hence u should have a very ethical conduct and dress up in a decent way that demands respect

The next thing is all females at the party level should convince the party leader that along with getting the assistance of women for voting campaign also bring them forward at the decision-making level, instead of just making them members of committees, they should be made chairperson as well. This should be endorsed at each level, and in every meeting [i6].

Optimistic Attitude

Another coping strategy used by parliamentarians is not paying heed to the ill saying or the abuse of others. They should be much focused on their work and not kept other peoples statements determine their worth or affect them in any way, they should not be involved in family politics and stay away from the matters created by their immediate or extended family. They should use their time wisely and prioritize their career.

Most of the participants are of the opinion that, women usually work more seriously and work hard, but the situation is that the seats (decision making) are few. Those who cannot get that position start getting jealous of those who reach there. According to a participant (once a speaker of the national assembly) said that I try to make the females understand the caucus level that you must become the strength of each other. If one is in a top position, others should support her. Those who are on top should allow those who are at a lower level of the position. This is how women can help other women to come forward [i4].

“A woman should be independent she should take her own decisions and set her boundaries.”

One of the participants added that women should not adopt the illicit way, as it creates a generally negative perception about females, it will create difficulties for other females who want to enter into politics. Next is, politics is not a job of 9 to 5 but it is 24/7, this, in turn, affects family life.

The next strategy is in parliament everyone should focus on their performance. Constitution allows you to question, and do legislation, do a speech in parliament. When a person keeps working then others also recognize your efforts. One shared her example that “I always raise the question in parliament, deputy speaker usually says that we should take her question, she usually has a valid question.” Another makes it in a way that parliamentarians should focus on delivering, and gain the trust of a leader, with respect [i7]. Then the party leader will bring you forward.

Political leaders should be more supportive. They should bring women forward to prove themselves as worthy candidates and prove helpful to the community instead of on choosing women with strong family alliances to improve their party repute.

Although the majority of the respondent was not happy with the behavior of other colleagues, few of them narrates that if we want the female to come forward – it is only possible when the females will support females. Women should all act as one force and stand up for their fellows they should use their power and strength of unity to make the male members in the parliament understand their worth. They should set rules and form legislations to aid each other, if all females become one force and act against all the evils in the society that are hindrances in their way they would succeed. All issues like harassment, gender stereotyping and ill representation of women by public and media will be eliminated.

Conclusion

The diagram given below conclude the finding of the study with three major themes, including the 1st level of the glass ceiling in the form of barriers in their way to politics, and 2nd level of the glass ceiling in the form of their upward mobility after entering in parliament, and that organization again have more and more layers of barriers that hinder women to reach specific decision-making posts and the type of struggle she has to put to reach a decision making level. The study indicated that 1st level of the glass ceiling includes, work-life equilibrium, ambition, political knowledge, the behavior of religious segment, media in

portraying women as a politician, party ideology in taking women as proxy politics, gender role clique, and prejudice on their way to politics. In addition to that, after crossing these barriers, and reaching parliament, they then face the barriers in reaching a top-level position, for this, they have to go through extra scrutiny, face objectification and sexism, again gender discrimination, along with less support from the party leadership as well as from female senior colleagues. Then if a few of them arise in the higher position, other parliamentarians take it as favoritism and nepotism given to them from party leaders and due to their strong family background. Besides, media do not play a significant role in portraying a positive image, rather work for their pity vested interest that adds to their less participation at higher posts, and they do not get funds as well as they are not made the chair of different committees, and not given with strong ministerial portfolios. While facing these barriers, women parliamentarian adopt some coping strategies to survive and struggle for upward mobility, their coping strategy data indicated includes, that they struggle by themselves, by keeping themselves up-to-date with the national and international scenario to have desired knowledge, so that they also be considered for some decision making posts. If this strategy did not work, then most of the parliamentarians rely on to comply with the patriarchal structure, start adopting media-friendly attitudes or show minimum visibility so that at least they can maintain their seats, instead of getting higher posts. The last thing, as they have an optimistic attitude, the only way to reach the highest post is to keep on struggling. However this research indicated that women parliamentarians do legislation to improve the situation of women in other fields, however, there is very little legislation they have formed to improve their status in parliament.

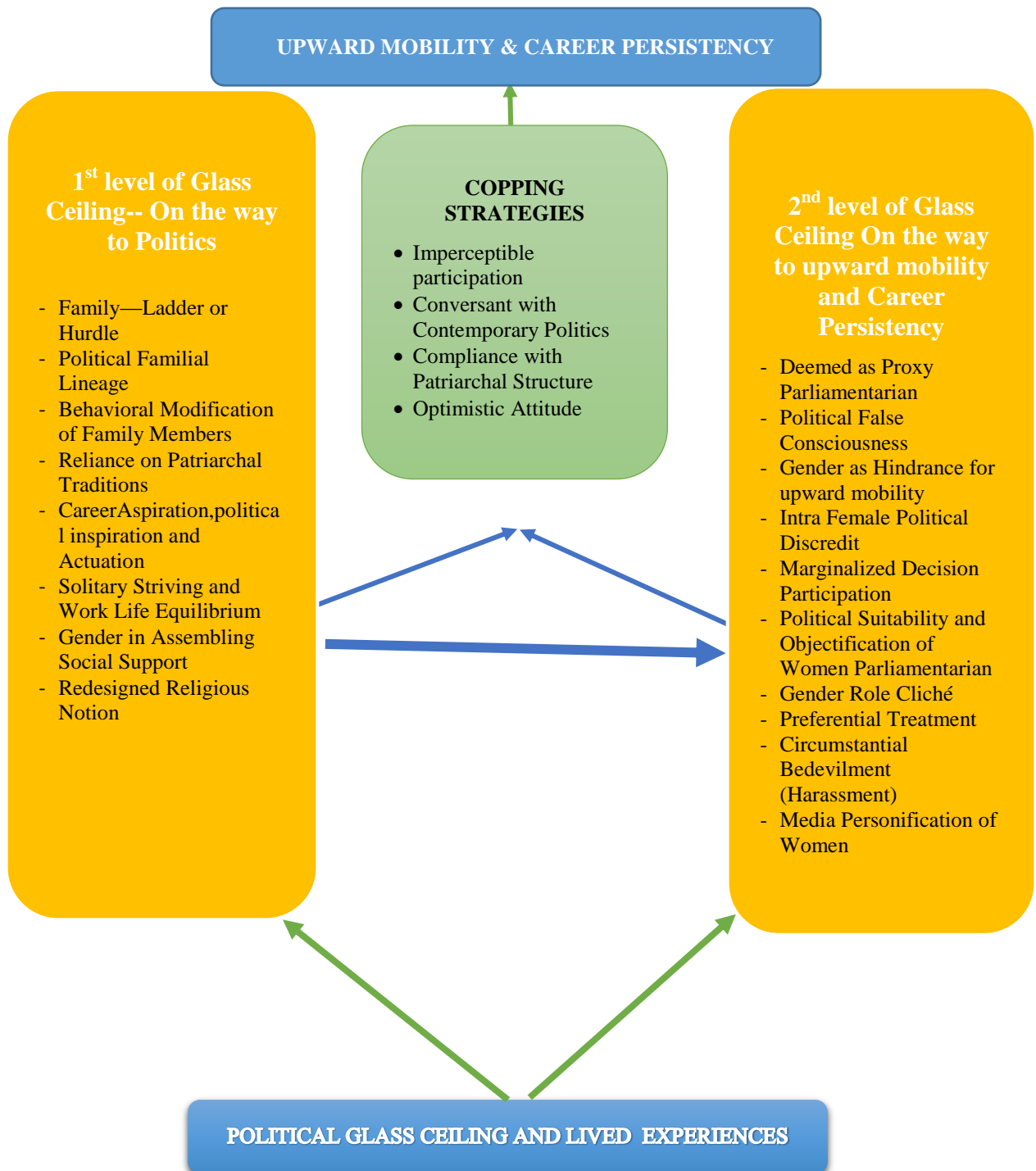


Figure 1: Subjective Experiences of Female Parliamentarian toward Upward Mobility and Career Persistency

Themes	Sub-Themes	Supporting Quote
Pathway to Politics—1st Level of Glass Ceiling	Family—a Ladder or Hurdle	<p>“Look... if one brother is contesting the election and other family members or even the immediate brother does not support him, will he win? This situation becomes more critical in the case of a woman. If you stand alone, then the community or society will object that how we can support him or her – as the family is not standing with him/her.”</p> <p>Females also become loin, when her father, brother, or husband is backing her, then she does not consider any other things as a barrier.</p> <p>...having the backing of my husband. Sometimes it happened that, when I asked him that I get ordered from the party to bring a specific number of women in limited time, I used to ask him what I should do, he usually said, Okay no issue, I’ll cook. This support of husband, if you have this support, then women can move forward. Although I was interested in politics he was too when he was – that’s why he supported me.</p>
	Political Familial Lineage	<p>My mother was in politics, she worked for Fatima Jinnah. My mother used to tell me, that at the time of partition we were told, that the number of Hindu/Sikh women you will give, the more we return the Muslim women to you. My mother said that we also started searching for that, she was young at that time. After gathering the women, they asked them to wear full gowns so that Muslim men could not be caught. After taking them to the border, they get Muslim women. Since then my mother was involved, and later in the election, my mother used to campaign. I used to watch her, and after matric, I also joined her.</p>
	Behavioral Modification of Family Members	<p>‘they are wandering without having cared for children</p> <p>“People will talk ill about you, everyone says that she is doing wrong, but now when I get a political post, they all said.... ‘no she is doing right [laughter].”</p>
	Reliance on Patriarchal Traditions	<p>When I first day started my political work, on that night my husband asked me, that try to be at home at night time, I want you to be with your children at night ... from that day till now I never attended any night event or political activity.</p>
	Career Aspiration and Domestic Life	<p>When Mian Nawaz Sharif was exiled and the party still had to function it was (us) who gave money out of our pockets to support it. During martial law we were taken from our home and torture us they would not hold back and I have been beaten on numerous occasions but I would retaliate once I even slapped a DSP on one such occasion I was beaten my clothes were torn and I had to cover myself with my dupatta my husband remained angry with me for 4 years because of my affiliation with my party which led me to be on the verge of a divorce, I had packed my belongings and was willing to walk out. My children stopped me and said that if she went they would go as well so my in-laws stopped me from leaving that was how strong my affiliation with my party was.</p>
	Work-Life Equilibrium	<p>There were exams for my children so I did not attend any of the political meetings, as I know that my children are my responsibility. In return when I get any political responsibility then my husband is also with me [that make me feel proud]</p>
	Solitary Striving and Impediment	<p>I had enough to run my politics, but not for extra affairs, I minimized my desires. The clothes I used to buy before, I cut them down. The frequent outing I used to do I cut it down” for sake of saving money so she can spend on her politics and for her community welfare.</p>

Themes	Sub-Themes	Supporting Quote
		<p>Police station and prison that I never visited, I started going there. Visiting the emergency department of the hospital to arrange a bed for someone from my community after requesting the doctors. Going to Bait-ul-Maal for arranging funds for the needy people who were in hospital [i7]</p> <p>I did not understand the parliamentary setup for 2 years, I learned by myself after meeting the senior members, the administrative officers, and so on --- there is a gap in parliament that could be filled by arranging the training. So that the parliamentarian who waste their time in learning what they supposedly know off, can spend that time on what is expected from them.</p>
	Political Ambition	<p>I feel that when I will be in the position, then I can deliver in a better way. As for ambition is concerned it's across the board, gender has nothing to do with it. There are ambitious men, then there are ambitious women" [i4]..." Until and unless your ambition takes a negative side.</p> <p>Reply to them I do not get a salary rather I spend. Then they enquire, why you go [attend political events], we do not go! I reply to them, an addict lost his everything for a single dose that he needed [he get nothing]. We also have an addiction to politics [laughter]. But this addiction is not bad, it is helpful for you.</p>
	Political Inspiration and Actuation	<p>My mother was involved at the local level in a political campaign. When I looked toward my sisters, they were not interested. I put myself forward and took myself into politics. She was not involved in local government. The reason is you have to nominate yourself, no one will ask you to come and take a seat. Until and unless you do not take a step, no one else lets you come forward.</p>
	Party Duality Obstruction or Encouragement for Upward Mobility	<p>I was not interested but the party asked me to contest, when I agreed, due to an uncertain situation they did not give me a ticket to contest the election, rather bring me on a reserved seat, I even did not want to come through the reserved seat.</p> <p>"I think the only base is party ideology, when you enter into politics you have certain goals and objectives, and you work accordingly [i10]"</p>
	Gender in Assembling Social Support	<p>Another barrier that people face is the mentality of the society and the patriarchal ways and how females are portrayed in society. Imran Khan says change is coming but 70years on and I believe it will take Pakistani society longer to adjust to female politicians in society. Finally, religious clerics who promote violence towards females have become a threat to females in politics they are truly the individuals who need to be taught about the respect shown towards females, they have justified the husbands to beat the wife at any time he chooses.</p>
	Redesigned Religious Notion	<p>...they [member of local clergy] used to lock me, there was a house in front of our home. Once they write a letter and kept it in my car. I read that, and understand, but think that now I cannot come back. I was a district member city of Lahore. Whatever I used to do, do it with silence. But on the other side when I became a district member then few people enquired why you did not celebrate? [In support]. When I become MPA, during that process, few ladies visited other houses to tell them that I am going to become MPA. They respond in a way that, bet with us, if she became! [Mean I cannot become MPA]. But my husband was with me, that he did not let anything hinder me.</p>

Themes	Sub-Themes	Supporting Quote
Pathway to Upward Mobility— 2nd level of Glass Ceiling	Deemed as Proxy Parliamentarian	<p>There is an area near the border, I want to get permission for establishing a Degree College there. But the MPA of that area who was a member of the forward block, I will be with you if you let it establish in his village. I struggled a lot, as if that college get established in his village then there was no benefit of that as that village is too far to reach for people of another area. Unfortunately, things getting worse, instead of foreseeing the benefit of that project, they label it in a way that you cannot do this because you are on a reserved seat. Party then take the side of those who are elected representative, and the party does not want them angry. [i6]</p> <p>There was a broken bridge on a canal, which has a width equal to a river. But when its bridge fell, then on time of the release of water from India the other areas get disconnected from the main area due to flood. One of our representatives struggled to get acceptance of the construction of that bridge, but again the MNA of that area took a stay on that. I went to him, to request that it is for the benefit and welfare of people, 300 villages will be beneficiaries --- things went on, later on, negotiation end up with that the name of that MNA will be entitled on the inaugural stone. This is the way how just for sake of taking credit and ownership of the welfare project, that they do not even bother to think of, always want to take credit of that, when it going to happened [i6].</p>
	Political False Consciousness	<p>“Which one should I tell the one when he came back from heart treatment: The world is so cruel, they know the truth, They recognize you but they do not accept it, This is the cruel world of today. Here is false politics and false commitments, The time of social media and offerings of the internet. Lust is the want for wealth and they love it. You are truthful that you speak from the heart like the downtrodden you feel the pain of the dispossessed. Halt at this destination as the light of truth and wipe away the darkness.”</p> <p>“All women are equal I say they should be respected. Like I said "when the ray of light (sun) touches the sky the moon does not lose its shine" this means that when a woman achieves a higher position, men don't lose their value when a woman progresses or works. However, I notice men have developed a complex about this thing. They want women in specific areas.”</p> <p>We only get funds for once, it was time when for senate election they need our vote too. It starts happening that other parties, started to deal with members and asked them if they vote for us then we will give you Rs. 5million. Then the party leader called the party meeting, and that was the only meeting, where they announced funds of Rs. 5million.</p>
	Gender as a Hindrance in Getting Higher Position	
	Intra-Female Political Discredit	<p>The biggest barriers females face in politics are females themselves with their constant bickering, backbiting, pulling other legs to get what they want, and to prevent you from succeeding in your position. They have become irresponsible.</p> <p>No, no females. Female is enemy of female [laughter], not all but few. I have no issue if someone progressive more than me. I just have to take</p>

Themes	Sub-Themes	Supporting Quote
		my right. After facing lots of difficulties, one reaches here, but the need is one must be ambitious, have little money for small expenses.
	Marginalized Decision Participation	In PAC we have divided our work, as there is a lot of back lock, we divided the work year-wise. I am the chairperson of one of the sub-committee, you have some powers but not the authorized or written one, but I have to work the same as a chairman does. I have to work a lot including reporting but I am happy. [i10].
	Political Suitability and Objectification of Women Parliamentarians	It should not be like that you come to parliament just for attendance, rather how you addressed the issues, do you have awareness of happening on the national and international level. What level of input you are giving, what kind of decision you are making – this should be criteria – but unfortunately criteria are something else! [i6]. When you make flattering and lobbying a criterion, then people like me will only sit quite on their seats, will contribute in a way they can, and usually do not have useless interactions with anyone.
	Gender Role Cliché	“What work do females have in parliament, go home and cook just a waste”
	Preferential Treatment	when you have a focus of your wears and tears – then the kind of legislation will be in the same way, but if we bring it forward to able-individuals, then they will only do policymaking
	Circumstantial Bedevilment (Harassment)	“We have a female parliamentarian who was a widow [not much influential background] and there was a male member. It is not that I heard from someone, rather I have seen and heard on my own. That male member had engaged the female and was discussing inappropriate stuff with her. She was feeling ashamed to be there, also worried if someone may hear their conversation. The male member wanted to pursue that talk, but she was reluctant to stay there I approached and I just wanted to slap him. I asked that female don’t you know that what he was talking about? She said, S***a I don’t want to talk to him. I said: for now I just want you to do not to talk to him”.
	Media Personification of Women	I was sent to an area for a campaign, I had no idea the people were unruly, once there I received word that the people had become hostile and I was taken to a safe location I was assured of my protection, as the crowd grew angrier I noticed the two people who had accompanied me had also left and I was all alone the crowd rallied up against me, I had to endure physical and mental torture from the crowd it was telecast live and ran for 4 days, of course, the media edited it and made to show 10% of it. Furthermore, I was harassed and I remained angry with the people often speaking ill of them. I haven’t endured such circumstances ever in my years in politics. I have remained angry with the media for several reasons as well. They portray females in a very negative way focusing on our style and fashion usually not taking us seriously in matters and often asking us questions that we do not have the answer to, except for PTV I do not trust any other channel, of course, you will say it’s a government-run channel but the other media networks take advantage of their viewers and cast a very bad image of female politicians. I would suggest, not to confront any media personnel. If someone

Themes	Sub-Themes	Supporting Quote
		confronts any media personnel, then they will keep a grudge. Those who are not financially well, they sometimes demand an amount for their fuel. We usually give them, in this way they do not behave ill with them.
Coping Strategies to Deal with Barrier	Imperceptible Participation	“We have the only relation with our seat”. “if you stay quiet, praise the leader”
	Compliance with Patriarchal Structure	The night before the day I officially started my political working my husband asked me, that try to be at home at night time, I want you to be with your children at night ... from that day till now I never attended any night event or political activity. [i6]
	Conversant with Contemporary Politics	“I took the help of others, asked people to draft my bills, as I don’t know how to draft a bill, I gave the idea/frame to others for them to draft it for me”
	Optimistic Attitude	“I suggest women not to involve in ‘gharialo politics’ “not pay head to useless things or comment to what other say

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

To find out the state of the glass ceiling in Pakistan present study went long way in shedding light through an in-depth examination of lived experiences particular about career persistence, and upward mobility of women parliamentarians in Pakistan, the different strategies adopted by women parliamentarian to sustain in the lieu of glass ceiling. This chapter discussed the major finding of current studies, and their relevance to the literature, how much the current study has contributed in the form of presenting the current situation of women parliamentarian in Parliament. How parliament is contributing to bringing women upward, or they still have to struggle a lot to reach any decision-making role. To reach at the top level the environment of an organization, the setup plays a significant role, in a way if the organization is helping the candidates learning roles and responsibilities then there are chances of upward mobility (Akpinar-Sposito, 2013). But if the organizational setup is such that the candidate did not know how to work then it could lead to creating more barriers in their upward mobility. Similarly, the present study indicated that females struggle a lot when they enter parliament in a way that when a new member of parliament who has no background knowledge of roles and responsibilities in parliament regarding; what is expected from a parliamentarian, what is her roles in parliament? So they will learn by themselves after entering. Parliament is a large setup when they come here on the very first day, they do not find the information desk, and they had no information about what to do and where to go. It took them two years to understand the whole setup. There is a gap in parliament that could be filled by arranging training sessions, so that the parliamentarians who waste their time in learning what they supposedly know off, can spend that time on what is truly expected from them. These are different findings from the previous studies, as parliamentarians are supposedly those who are running for the seat, must have the background knowledge about

the roles and responsibilities. If a woman/man by themselves are not equipped with the required skills then the chances of upward mobility get minimized. Or it will lead to triple their struggle to attain a specific position. However in another way, if the concerned department is letting them run for election to the new candidate then it must arrange training for them on an equal basis for male and female.

Before going into further detail, moving upward depends on the ambition or interest of individuals. In contrast to that, the present study found out that the majority of participants had not entered into politics because of their self-ambition or interest rather the leadership of a specific political party had approached them personally although they were not interested to join. But when they were approached they developed an interest in politics. However, they were independent and they could make their own decisions instead of relying on any male of the family to decide to enter into politics for them. While others entered politics when the condition of graduation was imposed during the Musharaf regime. The current study indicated a different condition of women's influx into politics in the context of Pakistan, however previous studies indicated that the chances that more women enter the office in a politically unstable context, chaos, or struggle against martial law (Jalalzai, 2008). As in past Pakistan has witnessed this during the Zia regime when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was hanged and his daughter replaced him (Richter, 1990) and become 1st female prime minister. In the current scenario, the male member who was not much qualified, to retain their political power brings forward their women either on reserve or general seats, although the ratio of women running on the general seat is very minute.

Here in Pakistan for running an election on the general seat demands a lot of wealth. There is a great interplay of gender and financial status in politics (Paxton & Kunovich, 2003). If both males and females are not economically strong then their entrance is difficult. Now politics has become the game of wealth. If you have wealth to run your campaign,

money to deposit in party funds whether you are male or female then you will face no difficulty in running for elections and getting a seat in parliament. However still, in the context of Pakistan, a woman is usually considered as a minority, she is also an economic minority, with no or less inheritance right (Mumtaz, 2005), although now women in Pakistan have got their legislative inheritance rights with low chances of deciding her economic status, so being a female she also faces barriers in entering in politics, because of less economically independent gender (Reynolds, 2015).

Male-centered socialization process, unable female to express free will and to involve in the decision-making process. In developing countries, women are usually economically dependent on males; the financial problem is a major obstacle for them. Therefore, women should get support from the family and society as a whole to enter into the formal socioeconomic workforce (Khan, 2014; Reynolds, 2015). If a woman is economically solvent and independent from the family, her self-confidence increases. Lack of institutional training, and political awareness, lack of effective timely planning, lack of political background, absence of proper socio-economic and political environment, lack of organizational framework, lack of skill and training to prove their competencies compared to their male counterparts (Khan, 2014). One thing to be noted is that political mentoring lacks in Pakistan, there is no such institution exists that helps the parliamentarian or the aspirants to learn the required skills. But in western countries, such practices exist. German parties, for example, have begun to offer public speaking courses and mentoring for female aspirants, helping the latter feel better suited for a run for office and more comfortable with political institutions. As mentoring programs become institutionalized and parties routinely encourage certain women to run, individual women may become more confident in their abilities due to the outside confirmation of their qualifications (Schmich, 2006).

Another reason for fewer women in general seats is the heads of the political parties do not give preference to women candidates due to the nature of women. Women candidates are generally considered as cowards and shy and there is a need for courage and determination to face the criticism of the opposition parties (Iannello, 2010). So, the political heads of the political parties give preference to the male candidates so that they can win the election. Women in the developing states are mostly selected on a quota basis. The number of women who are selected for the general seats is very negligible. Therefore, the problem of women's under-representation in the fields of politics is a matter of great concern for not only the women but also for the rest of the population. As in the present study participant narrated that, her father contested for the national assembly general seat 3 times but could not win a single time, but the party kept on giving a ticket to him. If one takes it in another way then it could imply that usually, parties consider a male member more strong candidate as compared to a female.

Again there is variation in these findings, 1st category of candidates, had a very strong political background, i.e their family members were not the only parliamentarians but also held a few ministries. That helps them in political socialization. While the rest fall in the second category, whose father or husband was a member of either provincial assembly or national assembly but did not hold a strong position as a parliamentarian. Similarly in literature, a study was done by Cook & Gronke, (2005) observed that about more than 40% of their current politicians are either the spouse of the existing or late politicians or they are the son, daughter, or any relative of the existing politician. The desire for involvement in political life is the direct result of the lives of the existing politician who are doing their jobs in politics (Cook & Gronke 2005; Hetherington 2005). In the current scenario when the condition of graduation was imposed then they (male members) were unable to contest, so they let their female contest. Literature indicated that family politics and the role of women is very much

important in the field of politics. Some families are so indulged in the field of politics that many members of their family male, as well as female, are actively taking part in practical political activities. Therefore, in such an environment it is very easy for family women to start politics and make politics their career. Women in such cases do not have to work a lot. They just carry on the legacy of their family. In this way, many women can earn a good name in the political history of the world. This is happening in the developing as well as in the developed world at the same time (Wasburn, 2011).

The third category of the participant were those, who did not have a strong political background but their family members were a political worker or working as a member of the local government. The participants of this category also had a political struggle from scratch.

One of the prominent factors to understand the gap between the genders is to understand the leadership qualities among men and women. Both males and females have different styles of administration throughout history (Hoyt, 2010; Licea, 2013). Women are considered as more compassionate as compared to the male administrative. But there are lots of factors that play role in indulging leadership qualities among the people (Fox and Lawless, 2014, p.504). On the one hand, the researcher found that participants believe that in our society it is considered that women do not have managerial or administrative skills, they are too docile and polite. To be administrators, you need a strong authoritative attitude, which women are thought to lack, that's why they cannot be good administrators or decision-makers. Eagly & Carli, (2007) argued that aggression and dominance – masculine traits are usually associated with leadership. If it is so, then, on the other hand, participants of the present study believed that men should accept it, that women could be authoritative, but it varies from woman to woman. Few women are there with authoritative personality traits while others have a democratic style. If one thing that speaking loudly and in aggression and forceful voice, then the woman can also exhibit it when needed.

It is an inherent tradition of society, institutionally and structurally, that women play a homemaking role. “The social forces, which are creating gender differentials, are based on the age-old patriarchal traditions and values” and the “perceptions about the role of women as home-makers persist” (Ferdaush & Rahman, 2011, p. 6). Universally accepted as the cornerstone of all societies, women are generally also accepted as the primary caregiver, hence the quantitation attached to them that their place is at home. It has taken Years for females to be accepted as an entity in the workplace, however, when dealing with politics they are still pushed to the end of the line as their perceived position in society is at home, not controlling the people (Jensen, 2008). The current study revealed according to the participant they faced the same gender stereotyping that “female has nothing to do in parliament, they must go home and cook. What they are doing here, needlessly. “خواتین کا کیا کام ہے اسمبلی میں، ”۔ جائیں گھروں میں، ہانڈی چوبلا کریں، انکا کیا کام ہے، ایسے ہی فالٹو میں

Such gender stereotyping exists in parliament, underestimation of women, undermining the potential of performing is there. That’s why women had to work three times more than the male members to prove. In same with western societies have faced the same prejudice but have been able to advance out of it considerably, unlike Pakistan whose women still face the daunting task of being stereotyped as “bad mother” by the public and have to face their family’s criticism as well (Jalalzai & Krook, 2010).

Besides the gender stereotyping women faced as discussed above, the current study disclosed that there also exit a certain mindset, women are still treated as an object of happiness and pleasure, in a way that: “you people are brought into parliament, so that we can make ourselves happy چلو دل ہی خوش ہو جائے”. Such a mindset in parliament is the reflection of the society that needs to be educated. Another important thing was noticed that most of the members have a frustration that those who come on reserve seats are in return quota seat work for them as political gift (nawaznain) – leadership of a party depending on the

contribution of someone's father, brother, or any of family members' recognition of efforts for the party. Culture of nepotism and bestowing is pervasive in Pakistan besides following criteria of bringing or promoting a candidate depending on education, skills, or experiences one has. Political parties bring forward to women of those members who served and worked for parties. Along with the criteria of nepotism researchers found upon indication of participants that

chances of entrance or upward mobility depend on an "informal" criteria. Here the criteria are based on what kind of relation one has with other leaders, and the amount of good lobbying, flattering, and excessive useless praising of leadership one can do. Instead of the contributions one person makes in parliament, the number of bills s/he presents, the attendance one has, and so on. Because of this many members who are contributing well get ignored at the time of reward. Next thing that most of the participants considered that those who have strong family background have more chances of upward mobility, but again it may depend on party ideology and traditions of bringing women forward.

As mentioned above the role of party ideology, literature indicated that Ideology also matters: Right-wing parties usually nominate fewer women, and parties with left-wing ideas nominate more women as compared to right-wing. Parties with right-wing ideology are more adhesive to their traditional roles, and usually do not involve women in decision making (Jalalzai & Krook, 2010). Although the current finding is similar to the former study, little different in a way that it categorized political parties into conservatives (based on their affirmation to cultural and religious values), neutral (change the strategy according to the situation), liberals (who challenge to cultural and religious values). Depending on that according to participants, PML_N, and other religious parties who adhere to cultural and religious norms are reluctant to bring their women forward at any decision-making position. The reason could be they do not think women have the abilities to perform such tasks—

indicated participants— or the only male can perform, or they should be given such positions. However, one thing the researcher observed that members of PML-N accepted and challenge the stance of their party. The members from PML-N were of the opinion that their party has always been reluctant to bringing women forward. But the member of other religious parties besides knowing that their party is reluctant to bring them forward, but they justify their party stance by having the same beliefs that male members of their parties have. In addition to that over time, the religious parties change their interpretation of women's role in politics, along with the international pressures to bringing more and more women into different sectors especially politics. In the same way, the beliefs of women changed accordingly. However, women linked other than religious parties, faced a backlash from the religious segment of society before having seats. But when they get a seat or position then they started respecting them. In our context majority of religious parties do not work for religion but their vested interest, and used religion as a cover. Studies have shown that rarely religion is the reason for female ascension to the leadership position (Jalalzai, 2010) but instead cultural constraints that embody our daily lives change our perception (Subhi & Smith, 2016).

Next according to participants, PTI and PPP are a little different in their ideology toward women's roles. However, PPP is more open to bringing women forward because this party was also headed by a woman who brought other women forward into politics. Related to PTI, participants opined that still, the position of PTI is undecided, although they are bringing forward to women in their political campaign, it would be before time, to say anything, until it comes to government and how much decision-making position it will give to women.

A very significant study found that women tend to deny the existence of the glass ceiling which consequently perpetuates the problem (Smith et al., 2012). She found that denial gives way to passive acceptance which ultimately leads women to accept the invisible

glass ceiling and give up any promotion hopes. The dearth of women at a higher political position indicates that society still in denial of involving women at the highest post, doubting their leadership skills, and not even including them in decision making (Folke & Rickne, 2016). Similarly, in current studies women parliamentarians hold different beliefs, that the glass ceiling is still pervasive, and bringing women on reserved seats and not giving them decision-making roles is just an eyewash. Here exists a perception that hindrance for the female is across the board, for instance in a society like USA Hilary Clinton did not win because they did not give her much vote (Smith et al., 2012). Then society like Pakistan will get time to change its stance toward the female. Besides vote females also faces discrimination in the form of their presenting their bills in assembly usually did not get that much importance, they do not get time to present their bills or less time as compared to males. The role and duties in parliament are decided by the party leaders, it is upon them to choose people to do a certain task or present a certain stance. If a member wants to present the bill as a private member with her efforts then later on her bill gets rejected. In contrast to that, the female is working hard in parliament, depending on attendance based performance the majority of female was the best parliamentarian and have more attendance as compared to male members. Similarly, male mostly focuses on developmental work, and to interact with the community. While the actual work of legislation is mostly done by the female. Here in parliament women are also objectified they are selected based on their presentable personality, not based on awareness of national and international issues. The criteria for their selection are highly questionable.

The next level of the glass ceiling for decision-making roles they face in two levels, one is at the party level and the other is in parliament or cabinet. At the party level, the researcher found that the majority of parties did not include their female member in decision-making regarding the strategies or future policies of the party. Rather many indicated that

they come to know when the meeting ended and they get to know that party has made this decision, and they were not even called in the meeting. This situation is a little discouraging for those who worked for the party wholeheartedly. Next is involvement in the decision-making forum of parliament. The same is the situation that female is make only the members of committees, rarely any committee is headed by women. Many committees are only male committees. Women on reserve seats are considered to complete the “number count” of parliament. Although during election campaigns their services are used for collecting more and more votes, this task is mostly assigned to them by the party leadership. When it comes to parliament they are entitled to different labels, but when it comes to working, they are considered as “har-awl dasta”, who work for door-to-door campaigns during the election and are considered as “backbone”. But after the election they are ignored, this is a different aspect of previous studies.

When talked about self-belief, the belief related to their working abilities, participants have a very strong self-concept [belief], that if women are given opportunities, then they can perform even more than men. The women take every assignment as a challenge, along with putting efforts from the core of her heart. Also, a very different kind of belief exists in a female that if the existing male members who are in parliament, start working for the betterment of the system then there left no need for women to come into politics or even parliament. That leads to infer that women are somehow less ambitious and they do not want to take part in the political process.

Above all, another important aspect the researcher extracted from their experience is that female parliamentarians were also not much satisfied with the other fellow females. There was a tussle between the female on the general seat and the female on the reserved seat. Female on reserve seat highlighted that, those who come on general seats, rarely helped them in raising any women-related issues. Female play a negative role and hindrance for

other women, as those who are close to party leaders, they want other (junior) women to remain subordinate. Women's support toward other women is not supportive, as women who enter into parliament on general seats have a difference of commitment in their work in parliament, as compared to those who are on reserve quota. (Franceschet and Piscopo, 2008), while those who enter with the help of male party leader, those leaders do not let them work for other women as well (Goetz and Hassim, 2003) besides that, to become part of the power structure, a few of them only worked for a specific issue, to avoid any difficult situation for their future (Childs, 2004). This indicated that power politics is still ingrained in the political sphere, where women are also sometimes reluctant to support other women, however, the positive thing is that at least women have entered into politics (Jalalzai & Krook, 2010). The same problem prevails among the male members as well, the male members promote only those females who campaigned for them during general elections. However, bringing forward to a party worker is a good thing, but if she is not eligible then she should not be given that seat even a reserved seat. Party should bring forward those females who can contribute positively.

As far as harassment is concerned the problem women do face is catcalling, people pass inappropriate comments rather than appreciating a female that makes her feel uncomfortable. It was a little intimidating that when a member revealed that females on reserve seats are not given due respect with men having the opinion “Lao g, yee too mufti ka maal” (bring them here, they are object free of cost) – considering them objects to satisfy the sexual needs of a male. Females who are in politics or parliament, if they do not have a strong background, cushion, or family support are not honored (she lowered her voice while telling this). The ways they have to adopt are very painful she added. That means, besides working on the political campaign of male members of their party, they are also sometimes used to satisfy their illicit needs. It was a little different to note that few of them opined that females

are themselves responsible for the behavior of male members towards them. Why do females make themselves a mere barby for people to look at to amuse themselves? Females can avoid this by not going to gatherings with all-male participants sitting together to protect themselves from any uncomfortable circumstance they suggested. Victim blaming is an issue in Pakistan, harassers are usually set free, and while the victim is blamed as she/he oneself is responsible for what happens.

Next, comes the role of media, Politics is a very unique field than that of all the other fields due to many factors. In the morning the leader is at the climax of the familiarity due to good reason and in the evening the same politician will be at the bottom line. In this scenario, it is very difficult for the women to sustain with the male politically ambitious people where everyone wants to cross the others. The role of electronic and print media and most importantly in the current scenario, the role of social media cannot be denied to give fame or to defame any politician especially the women. Since females, reputation is a very sensitive matter in the Pakistani society male candidates use it in their favor defaming women to weaken them. The stereotype of the women's role in the field of politics is used as a political tactic by the opposite candidates of the women be it a male opponent or another female opponent. Social and political stigmatization are the main factors most of the time which hinder the progress and development of women in the political field (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Hoyt, 2010). In Pakistan specifically, the media considered the private life of politicians as a public domain and tried to search personal stories, invading their privacy. Sometimes journalists threaten female members to abuse their pictures. In our society, the female is considered as the honor of the whole family, with the responsibility of protecting that "honor" parliamentarians are usually reluctant to face media. Another thing researcher found that few of the participants considered that there is no need of fearing media until and unless you have a controversial background. If one's slate is clean then the media will not get

anything to harass. Another different finding in the present context is that media journalists demand money for their domestic needs considering it their pocket money and a right. Those females who fulfill their demands or seem to be threatened are frequently blackmailed by media reporters to hide their bad deeds to protect their repute.

Turning back to the organizational level barrier, women struggle and worked a lot in parliament, but the ministries are usually given to less-educated males compared to women. The glass ceiling phenomenon is used to show the problems in the way to women's progress to the top position. There are many factors in the small and big organizations which prevent women to become a part of the top management. The biasness from the top male management and the male administrative are the reasons for women's backwardness in the field of politics. The women parliamentarians have to work hard to make a name in the political field (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003). Above discussed barriers were faced by women in general however in specific to women on reserve seat, the biases they face from the top level is – In Pakistan the parliamentarians consider them custodian of their “principality” instead of doing legislation. They do not make the policies that parliamentarians are expected to format for the country, for the nation, for Pakistan, instead of just thinking for “welfare” of a specific territory. Male members received funds for the welfare of their principality but women do not. When women raise their voice for funds, then male members reply in a way that, what are women doing in the field of politics where they are not needed, their task is to sit in House and fill the house with complete attendance. This is the mindset of male parliamentarian for female. Such behavior and mindset exist in all political parties. Those male members who received funds do no considered far away areas of their principality, not for the education of those areas.

Another thing that the current study indicated that along with, not getting administrative support, women do not get support from the bureaucratic staff, they

discriminate between completing the task of male as compared to the assignment of female members of parliament. If concluded then the glass ceiling is still pervasive, and all participants indicated being personally impacted by it. Comparable role in decision making is still an issue, occupational segregation is still commonplace, work-life conflict is a barrier in the current context to advancement, and despite in many cases women surpassing men in educational attainment, the disparity at the top continues (Licea, 2013). The status of women's involvement in executive and political spheres remains minimal. This is fueled by entrenched unconscious biases of party leaders, which hinder women's effective participation in politics and leadership roles (Eghobamien, 2013).

Conclusion

This chapter discusses the findings according to the objectives of the study. The first objective was to *examine the state of the glass ceiling in politics and upward mobility of women Parliamentarians in Pakistan* study concluded that besides the number of women has entered into politics, but still, gender discrimination, stereotype, and prejudice exist there. The upward mobility is restricted through party politics, traditional gender roles, and they are not welcomed in decision-making positions as chair of the cabinet committee, as state or federal ministers. The present study concludes with the idea that women now have entered the second level of the glass ceiling. Where party politics and male leadership of the party create hindrances for women. Women remained unable to achieve their desired roles in politics much work has been done on the cultural, social, and political obstacles for women now there is a need to understand the glass ceiling phenomena through a new dimension and perspective by understanding the lived experiences of women.

The next objective was to find the *lived experiences, particularly about career persistency and upward mobility, of women Parliamentarians*. The present study contributed in a way that lived experiences regarding the obstacles that restrict their upward mobility and

career persistency are the interplays of individual-organization and society. At the personal level the first indicator from socialization a female received, plays an important role in her entrance and toward developing an ambition for a political post. Socialization includes as the majority of the female on general seats have members of their family already on political posts and higher offices, then they get an environment of political activism, and they assist their family members differently. Later on when during the Musharaf regime restriction of specific qualification was made, then education played important role in bringing more women into parliament. As the male-member had less education, and to maintain their power, authority, and relation in principality they bring the women forward. This was the reason for women to enter.

On the other hand, those who come on reserve seats, majority of them were political workers, while others were the female family member of any politician who has made a tremendous contribution toward a specific party, then to acknowledge their efforts, the party leadership decided to bring their women on reserve seats. Participants considered it a “blessings” of the party leader to let them be a member of the assembly. Those who were the workers struggled a lot they worked for even 35 years for the party, in the end, they just get a reserved seat in the provincial assembly, not any other headship of committees. Next, personal belief according to findings played important role in upward mobility and persistency in politics. A few of the participants believed that if the male member is efficiently playing their role then there is no need for women to come into parliament or decision-making forums. In addition to that majority of them were of believing that politics is a game of trouble, that man can handle as he is socialized in a way and had more exposure than women, in contrast, women are restricted to the home, or just to any education institution for education, then it would rarely be the case that they even think to adopt politics as a career. In contrast, the women on general seats were of the optimistic belief that women

have competitive traits, and it's not that everything should be handled in a masculine way. Personal religious beliefs along with the broader societal religious beliefs also play the role of either support or hindrance for women into politics. Over time the religious parties change their interpretation of women's role in politics, along with the international pressures to bringing more and more women into different sectors especially politics. In the same way, the beliefs of women changed accordingly. However, women linked other than religious parties, faced backlash for the religious segment of society before having seats. But when they get a seat or position then they started respecting them. In our context majority of religious parties do not work for religion but their vested interest, and used religion as a cover.

The lived experiences having societal factors in an interplay of women upward mobility include the interplay of gender and financial status into politics. If either male or female is not economically strong then their entrance is difficult. Now politics has become the game of wealth. Those who had the wealth to run their campaign, money to deposit in party funds whether they are male or female then face no difficulty in running for elections and getting a seat in parliament. However still, in context of Pakistan women is usually considered as a minority, they also an economic minority, with no or less inheritance right, with low chances of deciding her economic status, so being a female she also faces the barrier of entering into politics, because of less economically independent gender. To persist in her career and to be selected more than one time she needs wealth to spend in her locality, on the party, and in politics. Participant believes that only those can survive who have wealth, otherwise, they are not usually selected on reserve seats for the second time. Next, the traditional gender role, of the childbearing and rearing female is considered as a caregiver, study indicated that female made lots of compromises even after entrance into politics, and restricted their political activities that directly affected their upward mobility. Prejudice and stereotyping and the pressure from the religious segment restrict women to enter and also

taking any decision-making position after entrance. It was observed that the extreme right-wing parties do not consider women for any administrative post even at the party level, but just make them manage the women wing for the political campaigns. The present study categorized parties into conservatives (based on their affirmation of cultural and religious values), neutral (change the strategy according to the situation), and liberals (who challenge cultural and religious values). Depending on that according to participants, PML_N, and other religious parties who adhere to cultural and religious norms are reluctant to bring their women forward at any decision-making position. The reason could be they do not think women have the abilities to perform such tasks, or the only male can perform, or they should be given such positions. However, one thing the researcher observes that members of PML-N accepted and challenge the stance of their party. but the member of other religious parties besides knowing that their party is reluctant to bring them forward, but they justify their party stance by having the same believes that male members of their parties have.

Next according to participants, PTI and PPP are a little different in their ideology toward women's roles. However, PPP is more open to bringing women forward because this party was also headed by a woman who brought other women forward into politics. Related to PTI, participants opined that still, the position of PTI is undecided, although they are bringing forward women in their political campaign, it would be before time to say anything until it comes to government and how much decision-making position it will give to women.

Next is the media play an important and significant role in highlighting the role of women, but currently in Pakistani social media is playing role in another way, media sexism is prevailing in Pakistani society. If we discussed the role of media in the context of parliament, that was indicated by the majority of the participant, that by considering the life of women parliamentarian as public domain, the journalists are always in quest of searching something negative to threaten the women, and in our society, the female is considered as the

honor of the whole family, with the responsibility of protecting that “honor” parliamentarians are usually reluctant to face media. As a result women, parliamentarians do not want them to be highlighted even in a neutral way. Next thing, media rarely highlight the contribution of women parliamentarians as the majority of the participants indicated. Encouragement is always needed, and whenever media highlight something it has a great impact. And masses get awareness that women are also contributed positively, then they demand from the party to bring them forward and at a higher level. But unfortunately, this role is lacking in media. The third and the most important level is the venue of women upward mobility and career persistency where women parliamentarians can excel under the constitution but still here according to experiences of participants, the parliament is the arena of 2nd level of the glass ceiling, that gives a platform to patriarchy to exercise its power, that it has not exercised otherwise.

Adding on, in parliament, women are discriminated against based on the seats they are members of Parliament, the member on reserve seats are given less privilege, compared with those on general seats. The similarity is that both women in quota, as well as general seats, did not get funds to spend on the area they belong to, sometimes the member on general seats get funds, but it happened rarely. Next is only one or two women are the state ministers, none of the women are federal ministers. When it comes to other decision-making forums, like parliamentary committees, this study found out that women are only the members of committees, rarely any of the committees are headed by a woman. Even many parliamentary committees do not have any single woman members.

Male members of Parliament considered women to belong to the kitchen and women still received such comments, during parliamentary sessions, or calling attention. On the other hand, male members considered women on reserve seats as those who entered parliament using illicit means, as an object of happiness. Many of the members narrated the stories of

harassment, and intimidating comments they have to bear from the male members, to survive and to come for the second tenure. However, the majority of the women are bold enough and they confronted the male-counterpart to restrict them to their limits. But according to participants, they are the same male and reflection of society and are not the angles you considered them a purified version. As for the female role of the female is concerned. The female parliamentarian was also not much satisfied with the other fellow females. There was a tussle between the female on the general seat and the female on the reserved seat. Female on reserve seat highlighted that, those who come on general seats, rarely helped them in raising any women-related issues. The same problem prevails among the male members as well, the male members promote only those females who campaigned for them during general elections. However, bringing forward to a party worker is a good thing, but if she is not eligible then she should not be given that seat even reserve. Party should bring forward those females who can contribute positively.

The chances of upward mobility depend on the criteria for mobility. The study indicated that criteria are based on the kind of relation one has with leadership, how good lobbying, flattering, and excessive useless praising of leadership one can do. Instead of the contribution one person is making in parliament, the number of bills s/he presented, the attendance one has, and so on. Because of this many members who are contributing well get ignored at the time of reward. Next thing that most of the participants considered that those who have strong family background have more chances of upward mobility, but again it depends on party ideology and tradition of bringing women forward. Next is career persistency depends on the same criteria for reserve seats, this is not much concern for the member on general seats.

The first level of the barrier can be broken as Association, family, the second level of barriers within the political party barriers pressure which is the real level of glass ceiling

deception for face-saving .executive lounge leadership fear of slipping back you have to sustain which thing is the web of political relationships essentials for glass ceiling 2nd level of glass ceiling .in the middle of research.

In the above paragraphs, the researcher concluded how the first two objectives were met, now the third was *to explore the coping strategies adopted by women parliamentarians to break the glass ceiling, and to survive in parliament*, very few of the participants narrated any specific strategy they used to survive. The researcher extracted the coping strategies from their lived experiences and put them in the following way: women tend to minimize their visibility, tried to comply with patriarchal structure, they tried to keep themselves up-to-date with the current national and international scenario, and lastly, they keep them motivated with the positive attitude and hope. Instead generally concluded that there is a need for women to become the strength of other women. According to participants, this was observed that when women caucus was established it developed the culture of sharing and caring among woman parliamentarian. Next thing is that instead of using any mediator to report their progress or work to party leadership, they suggested and did that direct contact with the party leader. The majority of the women parliamentarian adopted the way of “being bold” and giving “shut up” calls to those who were the source of creating useless trouble. However others adopted staying quiet and just focused on working, and they were of the view that one should keep on working hard, until the hard work speaks itself, and become the source of upward mobility. Next thing was to stay united and work for a constitutional amendment to bring more and more women into parliament, and so far they are successful now, as now every party is bound to give 10% ticket to women for general seats. This is a positive way forward, for women at decision-making forums and as executive political posts.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATION & LIMITATIONS

Summary

There is a dearth of women politicians in upper-level positions globally in general and specifically in Pakistan. The focus of this research is on the fact that a large number of women have entered the political arena through a quota system and due to the pressure of international organizations, but does it indicate that barriers for women towards upward mobility have been diminished? Or if it exists in which way it is hindering them to reach decision-making positions? To address these questions, a qualitative phenomenological approach was used, and data was collected through in-depth interviews to explore the lived experiences of women parliamentarians facing barriers in their political careers and to examine women's possibilities to advance to leadership positions in Pakistan. Purposive sampling was used to conduct in-depth interviews with women parliamentarians who have spent either one or more tenure in parliament; whose career could provide an insight regarding the presence or breaking of the political glass ceiling.

Findings of the present study are based on three major themes, including the 1st level of the glass ceiling in the form of barriers in their way to politics, and 2nd level of the glass ceiling in the form of their upward mobility after entering parliament, and that organization again have more and more layers of barriers that hinder women to reach specific decision-making posts. Following themes were generated from data regarding the first level of glass ceiling; family ladder or hurdle, career aspiration and domestic life reliance on patriarchal traditions, behavioral modification of family member, work-life equilibrium, solitary striving and actuation, political familial lineage, party duality obstruction or encouragement for upward mobility, redesigned religious notion. In addition to that, on their pathway to upward

mobility, researcher extracted the following themes from data; women are deemed as a proxy parliamentarian, get involved in political false-consciousness, intra-female political discredit, marginalized participation in decision making, political suitability, and objectification of women, gender role cliché, preferential treatment, circumstantial bedevilment, media personification of women. Explained as, women have to go through extra scrutiny, face objectification and sexism, and again gender discrimination, along with less support from party leadership as well as from female senior colleagues. Then if a few of them arise in the higher position, other parliamentarians take it as favoritism and nepotism given to them from party leaders and due to their strong family background. Besides, media do not play a significant role in portraying a positive image, rather work for their pity vested interest that adds to their less participation at higher posts. Women parliamentarians on reserve seats do not get funds as well as they are not appointed as the chairpersons of different committees, and not given strong ministerial portfolios. While facing these barriers, women parliamentarians adopt some coping strategies to survive and struggle for upward mobility, their coping strategy data indicated includes, that they struggle by keeping themselves up-to-date with the national and international scenario to have desired knowledge so they would also be considered for some decision making posts. If this strategy did not work, then most of the parliamentarians to comply with the patriarchal structure, start adopting media-friendly attitudes or show minimum visibility so that at least they can maintain their seats, instead of getting higher post. The last thing was their optimistic attitude, the only way to reach a higher post is to keep on struggling. A researcher named coping strategy themes as; imperceptible participation, conversant with contemporary politics, compliance with patriarchal structure, optimistic attitude.

However this research indicated that women parliamentarians do legislation to improve the situation of women in other fields, however, there is very little legislation they

have formed to improve their own status in parliament. This study has in a way contributed to show the real scenario of women in parliament, as well as their status at higher executive posts. This study will help them in doing legislation to improve their status in indicated areas as per requirement.

Suggestion and Recommendation

Following are the suggestion and recommendation given for the women parliamentarian, policymakers to improve the status of women in parliament, and lessen the barriers toward their upward mobility in their political career

1. Although there is a Commission for Status of Women is functional in Pakistan, however establishing a Ministry of Women Affairs can play a significant role in the rise of women in every field and especially in politics. Here the role of government is important, to make women inclusive policies, like the woman caucus played in passing harassment bills, and woman empowerment programs. But still, this caucus is not independent. There is another committee on “Status of Woman” that should be dissolved to make a commission.
2. Re-education and mobilization of male parliamentarian and other male members of society regarding bringing women forward, as it depends on interest, awareness of male members that female are human ‘independent of their possession’, and they have right to choose their career to progress not necessarily by their will.
3. When at the party level priority list is made for the selection of women for reserved quota, then training should be given regarding all the roles and responsibilities in the parliament including legislation—responsibility lies on the party leadership. The reason is women should be given training, more as compared to males as finding indicated that females have gone through extra scrutiny. When they will have training then they will be eligible for a decision-making post. If the party thinks that females are not capable, then work on their capacity building and provide them with different opportunities.

4. The party instead of taking women as proxy politicians should also include them in party-level meetings where decisions are taken, and further action on them is taken upon.
5. Training should start at the grass-root level, by making them the member of local government, so that they can learn the responsibilities, in this way the general public will also become familiar with them, and in the case, at the larger level they want to contest on the general seat, then they can also contest for the general election.
6. Another possible way that more women can enter politics and move towards upward mobility, is by the role of already existing female senior parliamentarian to support newcomers and make a conducive learning environment and provide guidance. When more and more women will enter the political arena, then people will take inspiration from them. Women will not face any issues related to harassment, gender stereotyping if all women become the voice of each other, in a way that if a male stereotyped a female, then other females must condemn the action, so that next time male members would be vigilant before passing comment.
7. As findings indicated that there are still male parliamentarians who use inappropriate language, and also stereotype women, such members who use such language party should not let them come forward.
8. Women should not get discouraged by such kinds of stereotyping and keep on working to change the mind of people, gradually it will work.
9. Media is considered as the 4th pillar, big media houses should play their role in a way to have monitoring on the reporters and journalists. There is also a need for training journalists to ensure they fulfill moral duty. Media freedom is necessary, but freedom has some responsibility along with, when that freedom is misused, the end product will not be beneficial for society as a whole and particularly for females.

10. At the individual level, the recommendation for a parliamentarian is that they can excel in any profession, if they made their own rules, follow them, and maintain certain personal spaces, and made others respect that space.
11. Those who enter parliament should keep themselves up-to-date about the national and international scenarios, and keep working on improving the legislature's work.
12. Female parliamentarians should provide support to junior members at the party level, and should become the voice of a female.
13. As mentioned above female parliamentarians are working on legislation for improving the status of women in the overall scenario, but there is a need to form legislation to improve their own status in parliament, and by raising their voice to also have quotas in the ministerial portfolio.
14. After bringing women into politics through reserved seats, their performance should be monitored. On basis of how they performed in their first tenure, they should be brought forward a second time through general seats.
15. Women should be given proper training. They should be taught how to draft bills.

Limitations

This study examined women's possibilities to move up in politics especially for higher offices. The thesis handles the topic primarily in a Pakistani context, thus looking at the situation in Pakistani society and political culture. The research focused on barriers that restrict women from reach top-level positions in the political arena. For the current study particular population was interviewed, however, this research does not focus on female entrepreneurship and executive-level female from other institutions. The participants for this study are specifically female parliamentarians who are elected in the 2013-2018 assembly of

Punjab and National Assembly. However, the female members of other provincial assemblies were not included due to time and geographical constraints.

Besides, parliamentarians the focus of the study was who entered parliament, but the other female politicians were not the participants of the present study, who are struggling to become part of parliament. Some limitations in qualitative research can be imposed by the adopted methodology. The phenomenological, qualitative study focused exclusively on the twenty participants who had spent time in the parliament for one or two tenures and had experienced the obstacles for a long period and the phenomena of the glass ceiling. Furthermore, to enhance the scope of this study quantitative study with a survey technique could be used to get the empirical evidence of the existing glass ceiling in the upward mobility of women parliamentarians.

The researcher herself conducted in-depth interviews and let the data emerge from the experiences of the participants. The findings of this study cannot be generalized to a larger population of women in other fields because it focused only on female parliamentarians. Male members can also be included to get another side of opinion regarding the under-representation of women in parliament and the less participation of women in decision-making roles.

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Semi-structured interview guide sample of my study on the Glass ceiling in politics in the context of Pakistan.

This is strictly an interview guide only for Pakistan Female Members of Provincial and National Assembly. A distinction will be made between those women who are elected via 2013 elections and winning quota seats.

Interview Guide:

1. MPA/MNA full name, position in Parliament, years of service, political party affiliation, Quota, or election.
 - A. If elected then area of the election, number of votes, male or female opposition in that area. Reasons for running through general elections
 - B. If quota then seat area, opposition for that seat, general factors for winning the seat (husband, family, wealth or cast. Reasons for quota seat.
 - C. General questions about upbringing. Family surroundings, wealth status, siblings influence, teachers, or other influences.
2. Individual-level:
 - A. Political Ambition.
 - B. What is your educational background and how did you enter the fold of politics. Who were your influences and mentors?
 - C. Do you have a familial political background if so then who are they or feudal backgrounds who have motivated you to enter politics?
 - D. Educationally were you always poised to join politics or did this occur after graduation/marriage/career?
 - E. Have you molded your political career after a politician?
 - F. On a personal level what would you say was your biggest obstacle entering politics/post-politics?

G. How have you been perceived among your peers/contemporaries in politics/parliament has that ever been an issue.

H. Self-image who are you in politics, has the media misrepresented you in any way that has caused hindrance in your campaign/personal life(family included)

I. (rest will be added later)

3. Social Level:

A. What perception does society have of you in politics, family, children, and as party workers?

B. Does your gender hinder or aid you in collecting support, monetary or otherwise? Have you heard any obscene rumor about yourself that has caused the incident?

C. Have your societal and religious beliefs been compromised for your ascending to a higher place in politics?

D. What have people said about your ideology and your political preferences, has that been a barrier for you to attain a higher position?

4. Organizational Level (Within Parliament)

a. After entering into politics, do you still face a different kind of barrier? If so (what are those?)

b. Role of the party within the parliamentary setting

c. Attitude of party leader in promoting women

d. How you face gender stereotyping and prejudice in parliament

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Zakria Zakar^{**}
Anayat Ali^{***}
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An overview of Women Representation in National Assembly of Pakistan and their career persistency

Abstract

To examine the strength of women in National assembly of Pakistan, on general and reserve seats and their career persistency in all the constituent assemblies since the inception of Pakistan secondary date was used. The percentage of women who came through general seats and their career persistency in parliament is very low. The findings indicated that the majority of the women win the election only one time on general and selected on reserve seats once. As the number of tenures increases the strength of women parliamentarians decreases, which could increase the prevalence of glass ceiling.

Keywords: Women Parliamentarians; Political Glass Ceiling and Pakistan Politics, career persistency

Introduction

Women are about half of the world population but their participation and representation in politics are solemnly low. Globally, women are facing obstacles in their political careers. Existed structures of society and socio-economic factors are considered the cause of glass ceiling in their political advancement (Zardari, 2018). In 2019, only 24.3% of the total representation had achieved by women around the globe (The World Bank, 2019). This is evidence of glass ceiling for women in politics as about 50% population holds only 24.3% of representation in World (UN Women, 2017).

Women's representation in politics varies in different states and it is based on the societal patterns of society (Bano, 2009). Miserably, in Pakistan, the percentage of women is only 20% of the total number of parliamentarians (UN Women, 2017).

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Moreover, only 3% women Parliamentarians came in National Assembly of Pakistan through general election and 17% are those who entered on reserve seats (Zardari, 2018). These statistics indicate that there are some obstacles that hinder the political participation of women in Pakistan.

Like other social institutions of Pakistan, the political system is also male dominant. Women have to face social taboos, criticism, sexism and other cultural constraints to participate in Pakistani Politics as well as their entrance into parliament (Hadi, 2017). Currently three parties are the major stakeholders in the political scenario of Pakistan: Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz and Pakistan People's Party (Mushtaq, 2018). These parties are dominated by male political elites of Pakistan. This class not only exploits values of democracy but also creates barriers to women's participation in Pakistan (Ali, 201).

According to research, barriers that hinders the women participation are related to lack of education, socialization in male-dominated political system, personal belief, socio-economic and political background, patriarchy, traditional gender roles, gender discrimination, prejudice and gender stereotype (Ali et al., 2012; Bari, 2010 & Iwanaga, 2008). The era 2000 is proved as a landmark for bringing more women into Pakistani politics when General Musharraf brings constitutional changes in Pakistan for women representation.

The present research was aimed to answer the following research questions.

1. What is strength and difference of number between women parliamentarians elected through the election and selected on reserve seats in all the constituents' assemblies since inception of Pakistan?
2. What is the career persistency of women parliamentarians on general seats in Pakistan?

Research Methodology

This research was based on secondary data; that was collected from the Library of National Assembly of Pakistan records. The collected data was organized on the basis of research objectives and entered into Microsoft Excel. This way, researchers made graphic presentation of answers to their research questions.

Research Results

This diagram is representing the number of women parliamentarians (elected as well as on reserved seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan). Two females were members of first constituent assembly of Pakistan. In next four constituent assemblies, the numbers of women parliamentarians were 8, 6, 6 and 10 respectively.

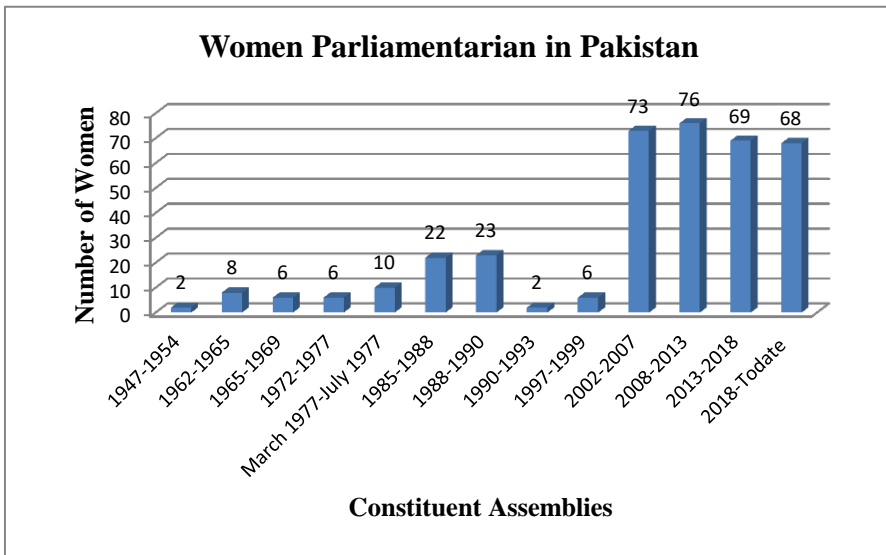


Table 1: Women Parliamentarians in Pakistan

The next two constituent assemblies sudden boom came as 22 women in 1985 and 23 women in 1988 came in National Assembly of Pakistan as women parliamentarians. Contrary to this, a significant fall occurred in the strength of women parliamentarians in the National Assembly of Pakistan in 1990 and 1997 as only 2 and 6 women entered parliament respectively. Interestingly, in 2002 elections due to constitutional changes and later, the presence of women parliamentarians in the National Assembly of Pakistan was significantly uplifted. It has jumped from 6 members in 1997 to 73 members in 2002. In 2013 and 2018 a slight decrease was seen but the number of women parliamentarians still remained justified on the basis of historical strengths of women in national assembly of Pakistan.

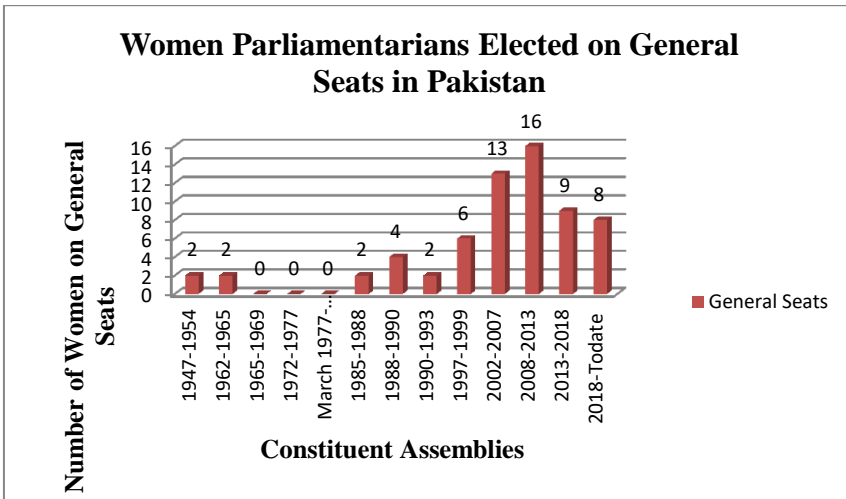


Table 2: Women Parliamentarians Elected on General Seats in Pakistan

This chart represents the presence of women in the National Assembly of Pakistan on general seats. These women participated in general elections and contested against other candidates and secure their seats. In first two constituent assemblies there were only two women members who secure their seats in National Assembly. Later, incoming three constituent assemblies there were no women parliamentarian in National assembly who came on general seats. In 1985 and next three constituent assemblies 2, 4, 2 and 6 women secured their seats on general seats. In 2002, 13 women candidates won the election and with the increase of 03 in 2008, 16 women won the election on general seat. It was highest number in the history of the national assembly. Later, in 2013 and 2018, the strength of women parliamentarians was 9 and 8 respectively.

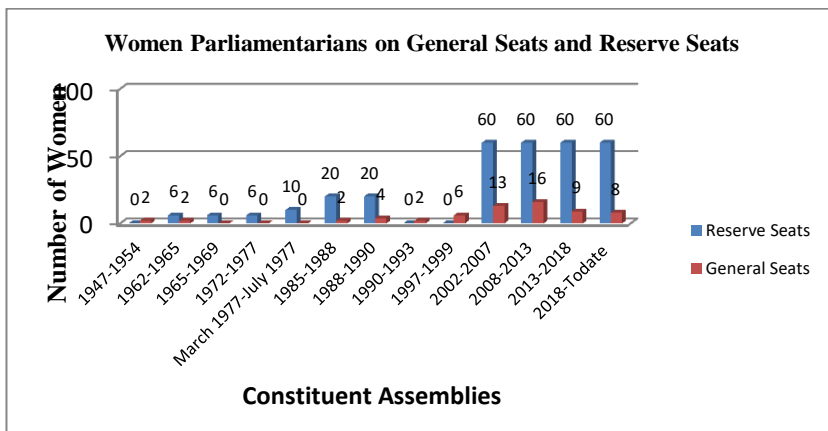


Table 3: Women Parliamentarians on General Seats and Reserve Seats

This chart provides a comparison between women parliamentarians who achieved membership on general seats and on reserve seats. There is a significant difference seen between these two categories. In three constituent assemblies including 1947-1954, 1990-1993 and 1997-1999, the reserved seats for women were excluded that is why in these constituencies the strength of women parliamentarians was lowest. Except these three constituencies, in all the constituent assemblies of Pakistan women parliamentarians selected on reserve seats remained higher than those who elected in general elections. With the passage of time the strength of women parliamentarians on reserved seats increased. In 1962-1965, 1965-1969 and 1972-1977 the reserve seats for women was 6. In March 1977-July 1977 this number was increased to 10. In 1985-1988 and 1988-1990, the reserve seats for women were 20. In next two constituent assemblies, women’s reserve seats were excluded but in 2002 to onward the reserve seats for women are 60. Contrary to reserve seats the highest members of women parliamentarians who elected on general seats are 16. This shows the strength of women elected on general seats is very less than those who selected on reserve seats.

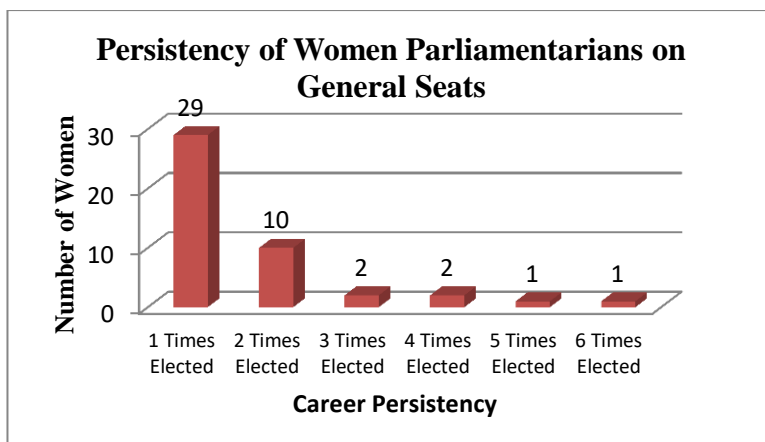


Table 4: Persistency of Women Parliamentarians on General Seats

The above chart represents the persistency of women parliamentarians on general seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan. There is lower persistency of women on general seats. Statistics showed that 29 women elected 1 time and 10 women elected 2 times as a member of National assembly. 2 women elected 3 times and 2 elected 4 times as a member of National assembly. The women parliamentarians who were elected 5 times are 1 and who was elected 6 times was also 1. The chart represents that as elected times increase the number of women decreases.

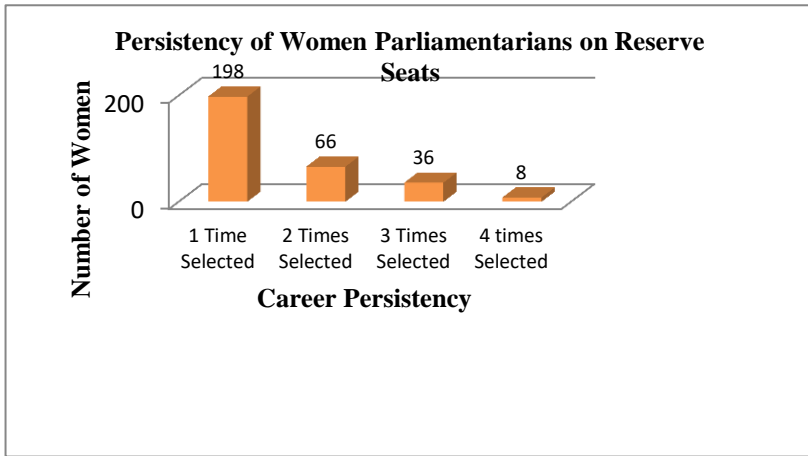


Table 5: Persistency of Women Parliamentarians on Reserve Seats

The majority of the women parliamentarians serve in National Assembly of Pakistan by availing opportunity of reserve seats. The statistics showed persistency of women on reserved seats is extremely lower in the National Assembly of Pakistan as greater proportion of the women served only one time in the National Assembly of Pakistan. The strength of women who were elected two times is 66 which is significantly lower than those (198) who elected once only. Same way, the strength of those women parliamentarians highly dropped who selected three times (36) and four times (8).

Conclusion

The present research aims to evaluate the strength of women in National assembly of Pakistan in all constituent assemblies on general seats and on reserve seats since 1947. Moreover, this research aims to evaluate the career persistency of women parliamentarians on general seats of National Assembly.

This research was based on secondary data. The collected data was organized on the basis of research objectives and entered into Microsoft Excel. This way, researchers made graphic presentation of answers to their research questions.

The strength of women parliamentarians was increased historically. In first constituent assembly of Pakistan the strength of women was two and in the constituent assembly of 2018, the strength was 68. Ups and downs occurred in the strength of women parliamentarians but overall strength is significantly increased.

No doubt, the strength of women parliamentarians is significantly increased in the National Assembly of Pakistan but it does not mean women have overcome political glass ceiling in Pakistan. The basic reason for women's increased strength

in parliament is reserved seats. The overall strength women who came by contesting general election is still low. In 2008, highest figure of the women abled to win the general seats in the history of Pakistan that figure was thirteen. It shows, in Pakistan women are still facing glass ceiling and unable to participate and win the general seats.

The career persistency of women parliamentarians is very low on general seats. The majority of the women win the election only one time. As the number of wining times increases then winner women decrease. Only 1 woman elected 4 times and only 1 woman elected 5 times as a member of National Assembly in the history of Pakistan. Contrary to this, 29 women elected 1 time. It shows lower career persistency of women parliamentarians in Pakistan. Similarly, the career persistency of women parliamentarians is lower on reserve seats. The majority of them selected only once. The strength of women who selected two times, three times and four times was 66, 36 and 8 respectively. This proves lower persistency of women parliamentarians on reserved seats. Although one reason for this lower consistency might depend on winning of their respective party overall, however if comparison of career persistency is done with number of times a party win, then it still has lower career persistency of those who were chosen in last terms. This lead to infer that there is some other reason that hinders women to firstly contest election, secondly if selected for reserve seats, then there are some factors responsible for their selection in second time in case if their party win.

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