

**WOMEN'S POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT: EXPLORING THE  
IMPEDIMENTS TO WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN  
AZAD JAMMU AND KASHMIR**



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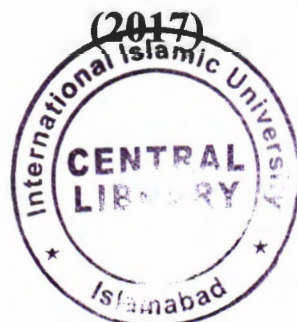
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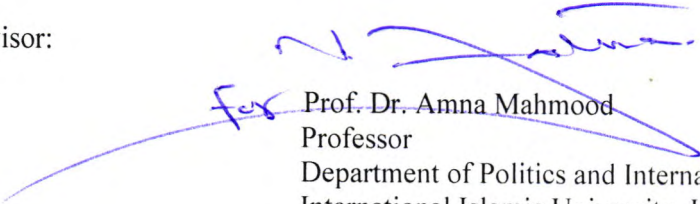
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## Certification


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## **Declaration**

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# **Dedication**

**To**

**My loving Parents**

*Who never stop giving of themselves in myriad ways. Words become worthless when I look at them as an icon of endless forte, inspiration and encouragement for what I am today. May Allah please grant them infinite pleasure, peace of soul and protect them from all dangers.*

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## Table of Contents

<b>CONTENTS</b>	<b>PAGE #</b>
Declaration.....	ii
Dedications.....	iii
Acknowledgement .....	iv
List of Table .....	x
List of Figures .....	xi
List of Acronyms .....	xii
Abstract.....	xiii
 <b>Chapter 1</b>	
 <b>Introduction</b>	
1.1 Rational of the Study .....	4
1.2 Statement of Problem.....	4
1.3 Objectives of the Study .....	5
1.4 Research Questions.....	5



1.5 Significance. ....	5
1.6 Delimitations of the Study .....	6
1.7 Operational Definitions of Major Terms .....	6
1.7.1 Political Empowerment.....	6
1.7.2 Political Participation.....	6
1.8 Methodology .....	7
1.8.1 Qualitative Research Method.....	8
1.8.2 Research Method .....	8
1.8.3 Population .....	8
1.8.4 Sample Technique.....	8
1.8.5 Analysis.....	9
1.9 Review of Literature .....	9

**Chapter 2**

**Theoretical Framework**

2.1 The First Wave.....	16
2.2 The Second Wave .....	16

2.2.1 Cultural Feminism .....	16
2.2.2 Radical Feminism .....	17
2.2.3 Marxist Feminism .....	17
2.2.4 Liberal Feminism .....	17
2.3 The Third Wave .....	19
2.4 The Scope of Feminism Theory.....	19
2.5 Relevance to the Study.....	19

### **Chapter 3**

#### **Historical Background of Women Empowerment**

3.1 History of Women Empowerment in Kashmir .....	22
3.2 History of Women Empowerment in Azad Jammu & Kashmir.....	23
3.2.1 Constitutional Quotas for women in Azad Jammu and Kashmir .....	25

### **Chapter No 4**

#### **Impediments to Women Political Empowerment in AJ&K**

4.1 Political Impediments .....	27
4.1.1 Male Dominating Politics .....	28
4.1.2 Support from Political Parties.....	28

4.1.3 Less Women's Organizations .....	29
4.1.4 Electoral System .....	30
4.2 Socio-Economic Impediments .....	30
4.2.1 The Impact of Development .....	31
4.2.2 The Dual Burden.....	31
4.2.3 Education and Training.....	32
4.3 Socio Cultural Impediments .....	32
4.3.1 Traditional Roles.....	33
4.3.2 Less Confidence.....	33
4.3.3 Politics as 'Dirty' game .....	34
4.4 Mass Media .....	35

## **Chapter 5**

### **Role of Political Parties in Women Political Socialization & Mobilization**

5.1 All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference (AJKMC) .....	38
5.2 Pakistan People's Party Azad Kashmir .....	41
5.3 Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz), AJK.....	42
5.4 Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf Kashmir.....	44

## **Chapter 6**

Conclusion .....47

Recommendations.....47

References .....50

Appendix .....54

## List of Tables

Table 1: Women in AJ&K Legislative Assembly .....	25
Table 2: List of Women candidates nominated by AJKMC in different elections.....	39
Table 3: List of Women candidates nominated by PPP-AJK in different elections.....	40
Table 4: List of Women candidates nominated by PMLN-AJK in different elections .....	42
Table 5: List of Women candidates nominated by PTI-AJK in different elections.....	44

## List of Figures

Figure 1: Jammu & Kashmir Map .....	21
Figure 2: Azad Jammu & Kashmir Map .....	24

## List of Acronyms

AJ&K	Azad Jammu & Kashmir
AJKMC	Azad Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference
BISP	Benazir Income Support Program
J.S Mill	John Stuart Mill
NGOs	Non-governmental organizations
PPP	Pakistan People Party
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf
PMLN	Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

## **Abstract**

*Women have made outstanding inroads to more professional and challenging spheres that are traditionally considered as male domains. The political sphere remains an arena in which women have not gained comparably visible status especially in the context of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Women representation is low in the political structure of Azad Jammu and Kashmir occupying only 10% seats in the legislative assembly. This study looked at the nature of impediments for women's effective political participation from two different stand points i) social context, ii) role of political parties. The major objectives of the study are to understand the nature of socio cultural impediments and the role of political parties for participation of women in the political process of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Present study provided in-depth insights about the experiences of women politicians by using qualitative research approach. For qualitative purpose, 45 in-depth interviews were conducted from women members of three different political parties, male members of political parties, technocrats and students using purposive and snow ball sampling technique. The study suggests that women's participation in the formal political processes is impeded due to the complex social and political factors. Results showed that ideologies regarding women's status and role fairly influence their access to political leadership. The mechanisms and practices of political parties as well as the political culture is dominantly patriarchal which is reflected in terms of party norms, rules, elections, selection of candidates and access to opportunities where women face discrimination at all levels. This study is a significant contribution both from theoretical and practical point of view. From theoretical perspective, it has provided a deep insight by adopting multi-level analysis of the issue. From practical point of view this study has provided a context specific understanding regarding women's participation in the political processes. This*



*study may provide a baseline for future researchers to analyze women's political participation from multiple angles in the context of Azad Jammu and Kashmir.*

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

Since ancient time gender inequality exist and women are treated as inferior to men in status. In 1880s, word feminism was first used and feminist movements were start to overthrow gender inequality. Women have made more progress in all professional fields as compared to men, except politics. Through the indiscriminate in politics women are highly under represented all over the world. From the political and legislative structure priorities of the state women have been sidelined. Women vote less frequently than men, because they have lower level of interest than men in politics as they are not part of discussion as well decision making process (Stockemer, 2009).

Half of the world population consists of women but only 18.5 percent seats occupied by women in national parliaments with a certain variation in percentage of women in developing and developed countries. In Nordic countries, 42.1 percent in America 25.2 percent in Europe 23.5 percent in sub-Saharan Africa 22.9 percent and in Asia 18.5 percent of seats are being held by women (Karam, 1998).

Due to several reasons women less participate in political decision making. Multiple inter-related factors affect women participation in politics that varies across countries. Naturally women are considered inferior to men and mainly defined in relations to the family.

Political thinkers and philosophers have seen politics as totally men's creation and job. Most of the philosophers and thinkers reflected that role of women is appropriate for domestic and private

field. As Aristotle said “with regard to the differences between the sexes, man is by nature superior and leading, women inferior and led” (Von Der Fehr, Jonasdottir, & Rosenbeck, 2005).

Women who participate in politics are mostly those with political background. Benazir Bhutto and Indra Ghandi are the prominent female leaders both have privileged political families in Pakistan and India respectively. Women who come in politics is because of family tree that they establish to remove gender inequalities. Society and rulers both are barriers in women’s equal status. Women empowerment improved the situation of women rights but still they do not enjoy the all basic rights including the right to participate in process of policy making.

Women constitutes half of the population in Pakistan but their participation in professional fields is limited due to different socio-cultural factors. In Pakistan family, tribe, bradri, local customs, control women’s mobility carrier and life choices. In Pakistan a woman cannot cast vote according to her will. Women’s limited participation is due to socio cultural hurdles which impeded their participation in decision making. Women rejection from politics is also based on the political factors. Political role of women has been examined in the light of results and electoral system which state that women political empowerment is greatly affected by the political elements. Political system depends on political culture and every political system is different from other political system due to difference in culture.

Women’s participation in decision making positions is done through political parties at both party and national level. Diverse interests of all citizens bring together only with the help of political parties. Political parties are measured as main gate keepers to women’s progress to power in every political institution (Day & Shaw, 2006).

AJ&K state is self-governing under Pakistani control, but constitutionally not the portion of Pakistan. Azad Jammu and Kashmir has its own official flag, government, elected president, prime minister executive legislature. Constitutional head of the state is president, the chief executive and council of ministers support prime minister and there is a Supreme Court and high court in state. Government of the Pakistan and government of AJ&K is linked by the Ministry of Kashmir affairs. Azad Kashmir is a portion of princely state of J&K in the southern most political entity within the Pakistani control. It borders in south the Punjab province, in the west North-West Province, in north federally administered northern areas and in the east state of Jammu and Kashmir administered by India. AJ&K is administratively divided in to three divisions and 10 districts. Azad Jammu and Kashmir had a population of 2.973 million according to the 1998 population census which is assessed to be grown-up to 4 million in 2006 with including 52 percent of women of the total population. The ratio of rural and urban is 88:12. According to the 1998 census the literacy rate was 55 percent and now increased to 70 percent. The profession of rural population is agriculture, life-stock and forestry. 600-5000 US\$ is average income in AJ&K.

In 1970 Azad Jammu and Kashmir democratic set-up and system of adult franchise was implemented through the AJ&K act 1970. On the foundation of adult franchise by the refugees of J&K established in Pakistan and people of AJ&K elected legislative assembly and president of AJ&K, assembly contained 24 elected members and there was only one woman appointed in it. In 1974 under the interim constitution act parliamentary system was announced. On the basis of adult franchise, there were 40 members in assembly elected and only 2 women members in it. In present assembly there are 49 members in which there are only 5 women in it. Women are the half population of the AJ&K but they have only 10 percent representation in legislative assembly which

is for below than their actual strength in population (Azad Jammu & Kashmir Election Commission, 2016).

The above stated discussion point out that inequality in the field of politics and political participation of women is intensely established throughout the world. In this study, the researchers will examine women's political participation from two different stand points to get awareness about the issue to major subjects include:

1. Socio-cultural context
2. Role of Political Parties

## **1.1 Rational of the Study**

This study is significant and its rationale is evident from the fact that it is intended take into account depth insight and holistic view of women political participation in AJ&K through measuring the factors that presents a challenges for women's effective participation. This study will try to fill this huge gap between research and practice. It will be good addition to existing literature about role of women members of political parties.

## **1.2 Statement of Problem**

In restructuring societies women played an important role and can bring change from gross root level. In Pakistani society, women's political participation is impeded by societal and socio-economic structure, which prevent women to participate in political matters .The focus of this research is to point out the socio-cultural challenges that the women are facing in political field in Azad Jammu and Kashmir what role political parties are playing in women political socialization

and mobilization and to what extent political empowerment can be achieved in the presence of numerous challenges in Azad Jammu and Kashmir .

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

- To identify various social factors depriving women from political empowerment.
- To study the role of political parties in women's political socialization and mobilization.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

- What are socio-cultural impediments to women's political empowerment in Azad Jammu and Kashmir?
- What is the role of political parties in women's political socialization and mobilization in Azad Jammu & Kashmir?

### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

The findings of the current study can be very useful to enhance women political participation in Azad Jammu & Kashmir. This study could be implied at policy level to increase the women political participation. Such policies could be initiated by the government that may help the women to participate actively in the political domain of the state. Furthermore, the findings of the current study show that socio cultural are the most important and significant factors in restricting the women from politics. Political parties are not playing their significant role in political mobilization of women. So, the political parties can be motivated that they should give space to women in their parties. The findings of the current study is valuable because there is very limited research available on women political participation in the context of Azad Jammu & Kashmir. This study can be utilized by policy makers to enhance the women political participation,

helpful for the general public to understand the impediments faced by the women in political participation.

## **1.6 Delimitations of the Study**

The selection of the respondents was very important segment in the research. The findings of the study are based on the 40 in-depth interviews through purposive sampling. The study was conducted in Azad Jammu & Kashmir hence the findings of the study can only be generalized to the population of AJ&K. Mostly the answers of the respondents were not explanatory rather they mostly defended their parties towards the women's political participation. Hence their responses cannot be treated as explaining the impediments faced by the women in politics and role of political parties in political mobilization and socialization of women.

## **1.7 Operational Definitions of Major Terms**

### **1.7.1 Political Empowerment**

Political Empowerment refers to measures designed to increase the degree of political autonomy of women in people and enabled them to represent their interests in a responsible and self-determined way.

### **1.7.2 Political Participation**

Women's political participation means the sovereignty of women to contest election, to cast vote according to their will, political demonstration and political expressions, power politics, authority, implementation of decisions according to their action, needs and priorities.

## **1.8 Research Methodology**

Research is designed, understood and conducted through methodology. The nature of this research is exploratory. The purpose of this research was to explore the impediments to women's political empowerment and to analyze the role of political parties in women political socialization and mobilization in Azad Jammu and Kashmir. To get in depth understanding of issue from respondents point of view qualitative research method is used.

### **1.8.1 Qualitative Research Method**

To understand and interpret experiences by observing the world through the opinions, perceptions of the individual being studied is the main objective of qualitative research.

### **1.8.2 Research Method**

From respondents point of view to get understanding of issue in depth interviews were taken for qualitative research. Both telephonic and face to face interviews were used to collect the data from women politicians. Semi-structured interview guide line was used according to the theoretical frame work. To collect information all the main themes of the study were cover in interview guide line.

### **1.8.3 Population**

Population of the study was included four groups from different fields in Azad Jammu and Kashmir. One group consists of bachelor student of universities, second group was technocrats, third group was women politicians and fourth group was members of four main political parties of AJ&K. These parties are include Muslim conference (AJ&K), Pakistan Peoples Party (AJ&K), Pakistan Muslim League (N) (AJ&K) and Pakistan Tehreek Insaf (AJ&K).



#### **1.8.4 Sample Technique**

The population of the study was students of the universities, technocrats, women politicians, and members of political parties. Convenient and purposive sampling techniques were used. Group of universities students consisted of 15 members, group of technocrats consist of 5 members, women politician group consist of 5 women members from 4 political parties of AJ&K and group of members of political parties consisted of 5 members from different political parties.

#### **1.8.5 Analysis**

To understand the findings according to theoretical frame-work thematic analysis have been applied. After the study of literature the themes were generated and coded .The data was coded which received from respondents. The replies also helped to developed to new themes.

### **1.9 Review of Literature**

It will be helpful to have an understanding about the concept of women political participation and empowerment. The concept of political empowerment and political participation are often used interchangeably. According to United Nations Research Institute of Social Development (UNRISD) political empowerment can be defined as;

“The organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions on the part of groups and movements of those hitherto excluded from such control’. Political empowerment is characterized by producers organizing collectively and attempting to enhance their influence and bargaining power - not simply with respect to other market actors, but also in terms of the development policy process itself and in relation to bodies such as local and national government, regional and global institutions,

nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and donor agencies, all of which significantly determine whether small-scale producers operate within an enabling or disabling environment. Political empowerment is about the capacity of producers to exert claims on such actors and institutions and to hold them accountable”.

There is abundant literature produced on the subject of gender discrimination, addressing the issue worldwide. The main idea of literature review is to find the missing gap in the previous literature therefore present research can fill the gap in this area of study. According to the review, on the topic women empowerment in Azad Jammu & Kashmir case there was not sufficient literature available. Therefore, it was essential to work on this topic to fill this gap, recognizing the hurdles in women’s way forward in political ground. Some of relevant review is presented as under:

Women create above 50 percent of the population but still they are underrepresented. Numerous tools of regional, national and international nature have covered right to political participation in government and decision making process. Much work has not been done in the context of women problems related to the social impediments to join political events. Very few scholars discussed only social pressures to participate in government but they fail to cover all features. Not sufficient literature available to talk about impediments faced by women in politics in Azad Jammu & Kashmir. Therefore, it was essential to highlight the impediments faced by Azad Jammu & Kashmir’s women to participate in politics.

J.S Mill in his book differs with the argument that women are less talented than men, in fact men are unaware of women capabilities, because they do not permit women to perform in full capacity to their abilities. On this assumption one cannot restrict women on certain activities, that

they might not be capable of performing it, hence this becomes a speculation. Mill further argues that women's freedom contains multiple benefits, but two of them are major, one is for the betterment of society and other is for personal benefit to women. In his view, the existing gender relations in the world are nothing just legitimate subordination of one gender to the other. This subjugation is key obstacle to development of human, and the perfect equality between the both sexes should change it. The author further argues that education has the power to mold and change this prevalent inequality and can develop the independent thoughts in women. He also supported the idea of women's presence in every career, as that of men (Mill, 1993).

Phillips offered comprehensive discussion on an issue of presence, to be occupied as democratic value as participation, equal representation, ethics, accountability and interests of group. Her discussion rotates around gender in elected assemblies and political existence of underprivileged groups. In her view, when we create ethnic or gender arrangement of elected assemblies then what happen to the meaning of representation. Upon this influence to the representation theory; in Canada multilayered politics have appeared, in Europe debates about gender quotas appeared and in USA voting rights of minorities (Phillips, 1998).

Mumtaz and Shaheed, in their book explained with the origin of Pakistan Movement how women's political actions have been started. They described that to strengthen political activities of the Muslims involvement of women in the freedom struggle became a necessity of the time. In 1940 Mr. Jinnah said, "Women are supposed to create a sense of general political consciousness. They should stand shoulder to shoulder with men in practical politics" that describes the importance of women as political participants. More explained, from the creation of Pakistan, Muslim women of sub-continent faced numerous social, religious, cultural hurdles in their

participation (Mumtaz, 1987).

Mahmood discussed in her article, in South Asia the steps taken by governments to attain the objective of political empowerment and in the decision making process ensure women participation at all level and the social impediments faced by women in politics. The constraints described by author are not sufficient and there is a need to describe these impediments (Mahmood, 2007).

Bari in his article describes the elimination of women from political matters and identifies few of the internal and external factors. Though, this paper is not sufficient to describe the social issues behind women's less representation in politics (Bari, 2005).

Women are considered underrepresented in politics generally all over the world and particularly in Pakistan. In Pakistan women political participation is out of question because in many areas women as voters are not even registered. Women participation in politics is very important for national development. When half of its population is underrepresented democracy cannot alone deliver.

Bano in her article described political participation of Pakistani women in decision-making, she examined the participation of women in decision making process is negligible according their population. She explained that with the passage of time awareness increased and it showed that gender balanced society can address better the issues of women regarding politics. By giving the comparison of various regions she explains the variation in participation of women in politics. She presents the case of Pakistan by inspecting various regions of the world that which factors increase number of women in legislatures. She focused on Pakistani women's role in the

political pitch. She tried to give possible solutions by describing various factors influencing participation of women in politics but this is not sufficient it needs more explanation (Bano, 2009).

In party based political systems, political parties play the role as a gatekeeper to elected positions because parties nominate and select which nominees are selected for seats (Moghadam, 2009).

In the view of Lawless and Fox (2005) for enhancing women's level of representation candidate recruitment processes are critical. This proposes that parties have the hold for getting women in public offices because parties are accountable for nominating applicants into candidates and candidates into leaders (Hinojosa, 2005).

To women's development in politics political parties are considered as the main "gatekeepers". Political parties play important role in bringing women forward to various positions in decision making process at party and national level both as they are accountable for selection of the nominees. At party level political parties have direct influence on women's entree to decision making process. (Lovenduski, 1997).

## **Organization of the Study**

This study is organized into two major themes. In the first theme, women's political participation has been analyzed under the socio cultural and societal impediments. Women's political participation has been discussed under three major features of AJ&K society. These sub themes are consisted of i) Political Impediments ii) Socio Economic Impediments iii) Socio Cultural Impediments. In the second theme, the role of political parties has been discussed and it highlights those hidden and critical factors that directly affect women's access to political

empowerment. At last recommendations are given through which women political empowerment can be enhance.

## Chapter 2

### Theoretical Framework

Feminism is political theory that works to obtain equal status of women to men in society. Feminism demands for same rights for women which men have. This movement suggests that structure of society must be re-shaped in which that political, social, and economical setups introduce which accommodate women's rights (Hilson, 2000).

Feminists are centrally with freeing women to shape our own lives, to define who we (each) are, rather than accepting the definition given to us by others (men and male – dominated society), in particular (Nedelsky, 1989).

It is difficult to define feminism because it has diversity in socio-cultural life and due to this diversity it has no single theoretical formulation. There are three waves in the history of feminism. The first wave of feminism starts in 17<sup>th</sup> century and ended in 19<sup>th</sup> century. Equal property rights for woman right to vote first time in history discussed in first wave of feminism. Second wave of feminism started in 1960s and ended in 1980s. In this wave different school of thoughts produced for the purpose of achieving feminism goals. In second wave of feminism four major theories, liberal, cultural, radical and socialist feminism are developed. Feminism third wave concerns to gay and lesbian issues post-colonial issue and racial issues. According to the post-colonial issues globalization is feminism issue. Third wave of feminism is less political than second, it is more cultural.

## **2.1 First Wave of Feminism**

The first wave of feminism started in 17<sup>th</sup> century and ended in 19<sup>th</sup> century. The term "feminism" firstly used in late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The exponents are Harriet Mill Taylor and her husband John Stuart Mill. Initially feminism focused on equal rights of women and men. English feminism came from French feminism, as a result of American war of independence and French revolution feminism emerged, because both supported principles of equality and liberty. In first wave better education and equality for women demanded (Mill and Mill, 1970).

## **2.2 Second Wave of Feminism**

In 1960s second wave of feminism started and ended in 1980s. In 1960s socialist and civil rights movement started that gave energy to second wave of feminism. After that liberation movement started which gave new turn to the second wave of feminism. Second wave of feminism emphasizes on faith that personal is political. It states that women suffer due to wider political and social system. Second wave highlights the structure of society in which women were troubled. Second wave of feminism focused on the psychological and physical differences between men and women. Some feminists highlighted the ways in which the genders have been used to lower women to men (Evans, 1995).

### **2.2.1 Cultural Feminism**

Focal points of cultural feminists were distinction between men and women. Cultural feminists believe that women and men have differences in their personalities and the differences of women are special. They said women are gentler than men, there should be no wars if women ruled. Cultural feminist's through special qualities of women like their behavior, cultural feminist



wants to triumph over sexism. According to cultural feminism women and men deal with issues in different ways (Kourany, Sterba et al, 1999).

### **2.2.2 Radical Feminism**

Radical feminism arisen in 1960s. Radical feminists focused on reordering the society in all social and economic contacts in which supremacy of men eliminated. According to radical feminist society have a social set up in which women are suppressed by men. Radical feminist said that oppression of women is the most essential type of oppression. Women oppressed by the men due to sexism and the aim of this harassment is to get self-satisfaction and forte. Social structures created when norms of sexual behavior controlled by men and women had to express against all men's (Cockburn, 1991).

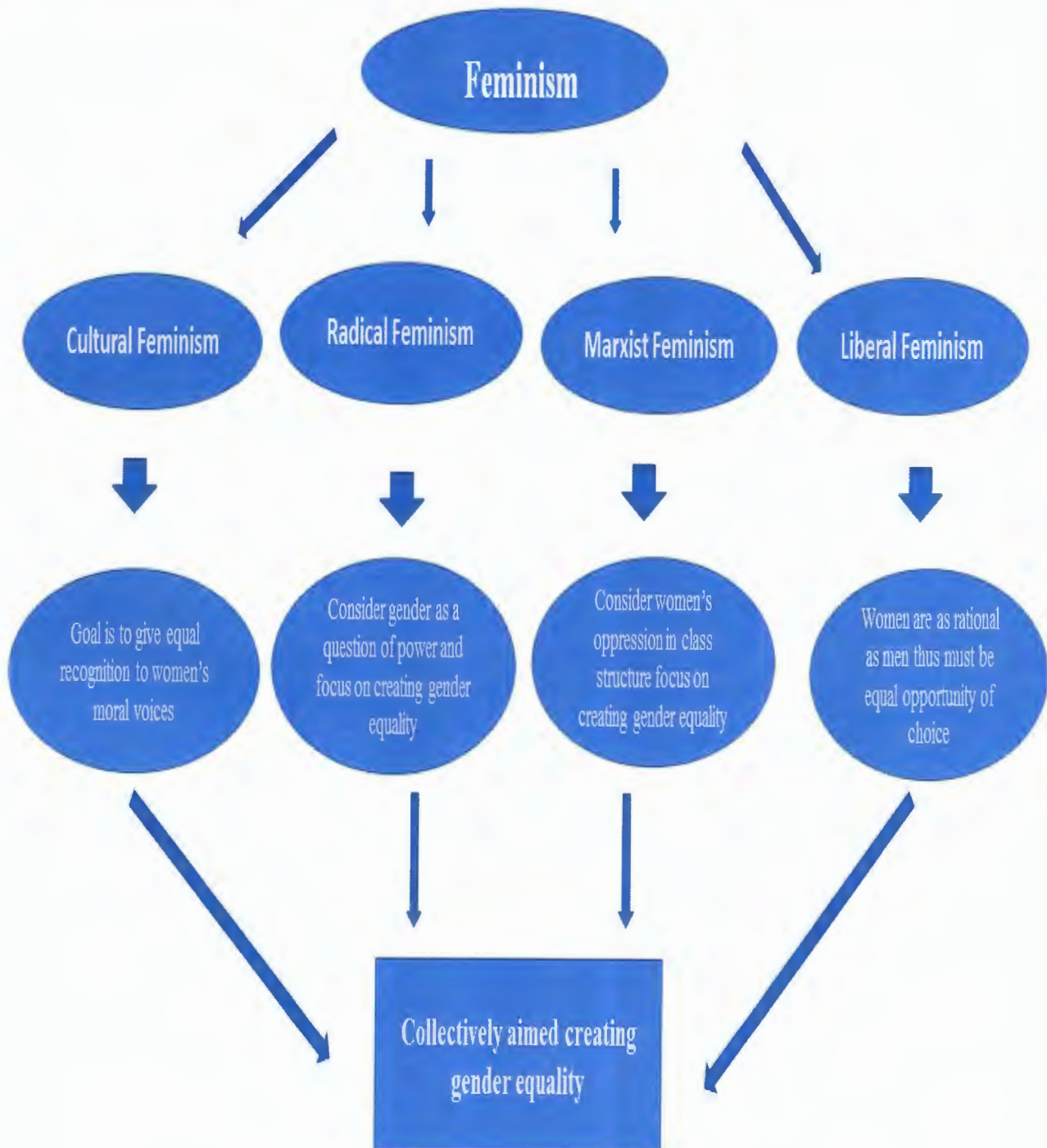
### **2.2.3 Marxist Feminism**

Marxist feminists link women's oppression to the class structure Marxist feminist believe that women are oppressed through the system of private property and capitalism. The exponents of Marxist feminism are Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Marxist feminist said that through the radical re-structuring of economy women's liberation can be achieved. Men supports family and women play reproductive role, thus women are proletariat and men are bourgeois, just as Marxist class structure (Tong, 2013).

### **2.2.4 Liberal Feminism**

Liberal feminist said that through legal and political reforms gender equality is achievable. According to liberals gender inequality is social not biological phenomenon, men and women should be given equal opportunities because they are created equal. Gender inequality becomes

the primary hurdle in rights equality. Politics plays an important role in equality and empowerment. Liberal feminism is mainly focused on giving equal chances to both men and women in property and voting rights, education and job opportunities (Thornton, 2015).



### **2.3 Third Wave of Feminism**

Third wave of feminism started in early 1990s. This wave arises in the response of failure of second wave. Third wave feminist focus on the challenges of the second wave and micro politics. Third wave also focus on debates between feminists who believe that there is no inherent difference between sexes and who believe on the differences between sexes. Third wave of feminism concerns to gay and lesbian issues post-colonial issue and racial issues. According to the post-colonial issues globalization is feminism issue. Third wave of feminism is less political than second, it is more cultural (Jaggar, 1983).

### **2.4 The Scope of Feminism Theory**

Initially the purpose of feminism theory was to provide equal basic rights like, political rights, job opportunities and right to vote to women. In present time human are more concerned to words tradition of society, human rights have gained high standards in society. Pakistan is a developing country in which gender gap is prominent and women are fighting for rights, representation and status. Since independence women laws are being formulated but women are still fighting for their rights. Under Pakistani control Azad Jammu and Kashmir is self-governing state. In AJ&K there is low participation of women, liberal feminism theory is very much useful in this study because it provides a base of information for bringing changes to make women's political participation as equal to male.

### **2.5 Relevance to the Study**

Feminism is a political theory having range of many opinions while focused the suppression of women as well to formulate and develop strategies in order to get rid of this

situation. Feminism mainly emphasizes over gender equality. Later on it focused on women's domination. Single level explanation is not sufficient to describe the situation of political participation of women. To judge women responsibilities in private life it is necessary to examine their political status. Institutions are the image of its culture therefore in separation political institutions cannot be inspected. To understand nature of women to access the political decision making, it is essential to investigate the issues which effect participation of women in politics. Theory of liberal feminism explains gender division in private and public. According to this theory as human beings both sexes are equal. Regardless of their gender both have same political, economic, and civil rights, therefore human rights and women's rights are same. For the present study theory of feminism will be applied as a theoretical model. To defend the problem discussed in the present research liberal feminism has been under taken. Liberal feminism is mainly focused on giving equal chances to both women and men in property and voting rights, education and job opportunities. The present research is conducted in AJ&K where there is low participation of women. AJ&K society is subjugated by a philosophy place of woman. In the light of this philosophy, only 'working mother' is the role of women. AJ&K's traditions, restrict women to only play their role as house wives. Women participation in politics is influenced by cultural and traditional values. In AJ&K women perceive that politics is a dirty game. This perception upset their self-confidence and capability to join the political process. In fact, this perception is predominant in whole world. Unluckily, this view mirrors the reality in AJ&K. Women carry a top-heavy part of domestic work in AJ&K society. Low rate of literacy, information access and poverty are also the impediments to women political participation in AJ&K. When the main concern of women is survival then it's hard for them to take part in political life. There is no option for them other than use their time to meet the desires of families. Many women have other full

time careers with full time jobs as house wife. Women have faith that participation in politics means selecting among public and a private life. It is needed to improve the level of education in AJ&K society. Education is the best significant network for boosting women to express. In AJ&K in addition to basic education, it is necessary to train the women about politics because in some areas of AJ&K women even do not know how to cast a vote.

In AJ&K electoral system is gender biased. In AJ&K society women's representation is low due to the less development in the state. Liberal feminism theory is very much useful in this study because it provides a base of information for bringing changes to make women's political participation as equal to male.

## Chapter 3

### Historical Background

#### 3.1 History of Women Empowerment in Kashmir

In October 1947 before the division, three provinces namely Kashmir Valley, Jammu and Ladakh including Baltistan contained by the Kashmir state. In mid 1930s before the union Gilgit Agency and Poonch areas were additional components. The area of whole state 84,471 sq. miles. On the basis of area Kashmir is larger than 86 out of almost 200 countries of the world (Raina, 2002).

Under Pakistani and Indian control all three provinces and Gilgit Agency divided. Some territory captured by China during war 1962 from India and in the same year some territory presented to China by Pakistan.



Figure 1: Jammu & Kashmir Map

There are three women who have made an imprint on Kashmir's history. Yashomati who is supposed to have been crowned by Krishna himself. Kalhana comments about her rule as, "The eyes of men which viewed woman kind with scanty courtesy, considering it as one of the objects of pleasure, looked upon this mother of her subjects as if she were her goddess." Sughandadevi who ruled in the beginning of the tenth century, first as a regent and then directly. However, she had a very short stint of two years only and was killed by her courtiers (Asad, History of Jammu & Kashmir, 2016).

The most famous ruler has been Rani Didda who ruled for 40 years from 958 to 1003 AD. She is supposed to have been physically disabled, clever, manipulative, and ruthless. Her rule represents the peak of women power in Kashmir. She has been called the Catherine of Kashmir like the Catherine of Russia who was ruthless and ruled for a long time with her favorites whom she purged from time to time (Asad, 2009).

Women rulers were not very much encouraged during the Hindu period because of a negative observation in Mahabharata about women rulers, "The country where a woman, a child or a gambler rules, sinks helplessly as a stone raft in the river." Kota Rani was the last Hindu ruler of Kashmir in Medieval Kashmir, ruling until 1339. After the advent of Islam, Kashmir did not have a woman ruler. However, the last Queen of the independent sovereign Kashmir was Habba Khatoon (Asad, 2012).

### **3.2 History of Women Empowerment in Azad Jammu & Kashmir**

In 1947 liberation war started against India by the Muslims of Kashmir. On 24 October, 1947 as a consequence of this war the AJ&K Government formed. In the south-western part Azad Jammu and Kashmir covers an area of 5,134 sq. miles. By 700 km long line of division through

the Jammu it is separated from Indian occupied part of Kashmir on the Eastern side. Pakistani province of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa lies to the West and Gilgit-Baltistan region of Kashmir directly occupied by Pakistan to the north and in the south Punjab Province of Pakistan is situated.

Under Pakistani control AJ&K state is self-regulating state, but is not the part of Pakistan according to the constitution. Pakistan and government of AJ&K is linked by the Ministry of Kashmir affairs. AJ&K assembly influenced by the any change in the political system of Pakistan.



Figure 2: Azad Jammu & Kashmir Map

In 1970 Azad Jammu and Kashmir democratic set-up and system of adult franchise was implemented through the act 1970. By the refugees of J&K established in Pakistan and people of AJ&K on the foundation of adult franchise elected AJ&K president and legislative assembly as



well for the first time in AJ&K assembly contained 24 elected members and there was only one woman appointed in it.

In 1974 under the interim constitution act parliamentary system was announced for the first time in the history. On the basis of adult franchise, there were 40 members in assembly elected and only 2 women members in it. In 1975 to 1977 under the interim constitution act parliamentary system was announced. On the basis of adult franchise, there were 40 members in assembly elected and only 2 women members in it. This assembly suspended after the work of two year.

In present assembly there are 49 members in which there are only 5 women in it. Women are the half population of the AJ&K but they have only 10 percent representation in legislative assembly which is for below than their actual strength in population (Mahmud, 2006).

### **3.2.1 Constitutional Quotas for women in AJ&K**

In 1970, a democratic setup was announced and the system of adult franchise was implemented in AJ&K on the basis of act 1970. On the foundation of adult franchise for the first time by the public of AJ&K and migrants of J&K living in Pakistan the Legislative Assembly and President of AJ&K were also elected. In that assembly only one lady member appointed and total 24 members were in assembly.

Parliamentary system under the interim Constitution Act 1974 was announced in Azad Jammu & Kashmir. This act has experienced about 11 amendments. At start in 1974, there were 40 members in assembly and two lady members were appointed on the base of adult franchise. Since 1975 the members of legislative assembly elected the prime minister. Under the Interim constitution act 1974 the President is the constitutional head and Prime minister is the Chief Executive of the State.

There are 49 members in current legislative assembly, directly elected members are 41 and indirectly elected 8 members. Women have only 10 percent representation in the legislative assembly. The representation of women in legislative assembly is very low in comparison to their strength in the population. In legislative assembly of Azad Jammu and Kashmir 10% seats are reserved for women (Hayat, 2015).

<b>Legislative Assembly</b>	<b>Women seats</b>
1970	1
1975	2
1985	2
1991	5
1996	5
2001	5
2006	5
2011	6
2016	6

Table 1: Women in AJ&K Legislative Assembly

## **Chapter 4**

### **Impediments to Women's Political Participation in AJ&K**

Women have less representations in socio cultural and political field in AJ&K. The elements that empower women politically diverge according to growth of economy, culture, and the type of political system. There are many differences between the women of AJ&K on the basis of class, culture, social background and education, they are not identical group.

The removal of women from policy making organizations restrict chances of establishing democratic society, preventing the growth of economy and depressing the achievement of gender equivalence. The process of decision-making does not balance the benefits of female and male all the time, if political process is dominated by men, passing rules and regulations which distress the social order at large. Women's equal contribution with men in process of decision making and power is principal of gender equality and is the part of women's essential right to link with political life.

The political and social atmosphere is unfriendly to women who want to join politics. The present structure of political decision making body in AJ&K indicate that women face various impediments in shaping and expressing their interests. The difficulties that women face in political participation can be classify as political, socio-economic, and socio-cultural.

#### **4.1 Political Impediments**

Enrollment of women in politics is based on political structure. A voter's political knowledge plays important role in women political empowerment. Following are the political impediments that women face in political empowerment:

- Male dominating politics

- Support from political party
- Less women's organizations
- Electoral system

#### **4.1.1 Male Dominating Politics**

Generally political pitch is dominated by men. Men plan the rules and standards for the political game. Political life is structured on the basis of male norms and values. For example, particularly across party lines competition rather than orderly cooperation is the base of politics. It may result either elimination of women from politics or male dominating politics. Therefore, women have a tendency to do so in small numbers, when they do join politics.

In AJ&K society according to the priorities and content of decision making process differences between men and women appear, which are firm by the working styles and interests of both genders. Like women to be certified to care for their children men do not have to act, like women do not have to act because men have power. Women incline to give importance to social concerns like communal safety, issues and health care of children. In the political work schedule, the male subjugated working pattern is also mirrored by deficiency of helpful organizations for working mothers in general. In addition, women have to play the roles of grandmother, mother, wife and sister. Presently, political databases, sitting times and programmes are not adjusted by considering the double load that women carry. Most of the women fight to create balance between domestic and official demands of work (Arif, 2016).

#### **4.1.2 Support from Political Parties**

In campaigning and mobilizing backing for their parties women play vital role, however they hardly occupy decision-making positions in the party. Less than 11 percent women are the party leaders worldwide. In AJ&K women rarely benefit from the resources for conducting

increased. The effect of women's organizations on political parties is the cause of this rise. Organizations worked with government organizations to protect changes in electoral system to enable women's nomination.

In AJ&K there is no organization which do work for the women political participation issues. Women's organizations are needed which do work for women issues relating to the women political empowerment.

#### **4.1.4 Electoral Systems**

Electoral system comprises of the set of guidelines which are followed to consider a vote legal, and how final result given by counting votes. The method by which on the base of policy referendum or in an election selection between candidates made by voters is called electoral system. In political participation of women, the electoral system of AJ&K society have a vital role.

In AJ&K electoral system is gender biased. The number of women elected to office is based on the electoral system. If in AJ&K quota system will be adopted the number of women participation will be increased. When the quota system implemented it will be effective tool for promoting women's participation in electoral processes in AJ&K.

#### **4.2 Socio-Economic Impediments**

In the enrolment of women in legislatures socio-economic settings play an important role in both new and ancient democracies. The In AJ&K society women's social and economic position has a direct impact on their political participation.

- The Impact of Development
- The Dual Burden

- Education and Training

#### **4.2.1 The Impact of Development**

Level of representation of women in politics is associate with the state's development. Development weak the traditional values, increase urbanization, increase women's participation and literacy rate, and changes the opinions of people about the role for women.

Culture is associated with development, and development rises women's standing more equal to men in society. Although culture steadily has been believed to be significant, it has been challenging to test straight for consequence.

In AJ&K society women's representation is low due to the less development in the state. Development upturns the number of women who have positions and skill, for example in different specialized organizations. If there will be development in the AJ&K society it will increase the women representation.

#### **4.2.2 The Dual Burden**

Women carry a top-heavy part of domestic work in AJ&K society. Less access to information, lack of education and poverty are also the impediments to women political participation in AJ&K. When the main concern of women is survival then it is hard for them to make participation in politics. There is no choice for them to spend much of their time to meet the basic needs of families.

Many women have full time jobs as wives and mothers as well as other full time careers. Women have faith in that participation in politics means selecting between a private life and a public life.

Presently, political databases, sitting times and programmes are not adjusted by considering the double load that women carry. Many women fight to create balance between the demands of work with the family life.

#### **4.2.3 Training and Education**

It is problematic for women to conversation, to debate, to reporter for their interests. Perhaps a woman who is leaving in a hut has so many ideas, but for talk there is a need to boost her about politics. It is needed to improve the level of education in AJ&K society. Education is the best significant network for boosting women to express.

In AJ&K in addition to basic education, it is necessary to train the women about politics because in some areas of AJ&K women even do not know how to cast a vote. The development of the lake of women who are skilled for enrolment to political professions is consequently required. From an early period by giving women entrance to work patterns that are supportive to political leadership, such as special training in community based this can be done. For the procedure of training women for political professions common understanding of the interests of women, gendered political consciousness raising, lobbying skills and networking are important.

#### **4.3 Socio Cultural Impediments**

The conceptual and emotional interferences for women in enrolling politics contain the following:

- Traditional Roles
- Less confidence
- Politics as a 'dirty' game
- Mass media

#### **4.3.1 Traditional Roles**

AJ&K society is subjugated by a philosophy of 'place of women'. In the view of this philosophy, role of women is only as a 'working mother'. In AJ&K traditions, restrict women to the role house wives and mothers. Women's political participation is influenced by the traditional value system. Women have no concept about the politics in some areas, even men tell them how to cast vote. This is the situation which women face in a certain shared appearance of them in political and traditional roles remains to dominate. Woman leader needs that she be a sexual in her manners and speech.

It is considered to be dishonorable in the mass awareness for women to be open about their feminine nature. In fact, the more commanding woman is more corresponds to the implicit male principles of the game. In the political field some women politicians have to overcome the trouble of feeling not easy in ways that are not ordinary to them. In politics women have tried to look similar to men but it did not work. It is needed to carry their emotions, their dissimilarities, their perception seeing things.

#### **4.3.2 Less Confidence**

In AJ&K women's under-representation in formal political institutions is due to the lack of confidence. In politics women can reach at top level with self-assurance and determination. That is why women should get rid of the perception that only men can be their leaders and should believe in themselves. Men and women are equal and the perspective of women is similar to the men, but they can compete only for their privileges. Anxiety sometimes stops women from participating in politics otherwise women are very good activists and backing mobilizers.



### 4.3.3 Politics as 'Dirty' Game

In AJ&K perception of women about politics is not good most of the women consider politics as a 'dirty' game. This perception upset women confidence and ability to join the politics. This perception is predominant in whole world. Unluckily, this view mirrors the reality in AJ&K. Though the causes for this diverge, there are some shared trends. In addition to this, there is a clear growth in the cost of election campaigning, and as a result it increases the corruption. Corruption exist in various ways. The key indicators of corruption is bribery in the government sector.

AJ&K require to stop corruption which is rooted in political system. Additional in AJ&K new organizations are developing, economic and political changes are made in the absence of civil society and corruption is rooted in whole system. Nevertheless, in numerous places where the changes in the economic and political system have already made, economy has become trapped in the hand of mafia and corruption.

Furthermore, double standard is a progressively shared feature in AJ&K politics. In AJ&K in the development of democracy, the existence of an independent press and financing of political parties are the main problems. For a society high cost of corruption has been recognized.

Most of the governments wanted to remove the corruption. But this is not easy task because every system have corruption in its roots. Corruption results in the formation of opportunities and circumstances for the presence of planned criminality. These issues fright women and needle the doubts of losing their families, all of which influence in contradiction of their political participation.

#### **4.4 Mass Media**

The mass media influence the public perception and public opinion and it is the power's fourth branch. In any society media play two role as a reporter of occasions and as a public opinion informer.

In determining voter's attention media play a vital part and about election's approaches. The way in which media represent women have a main influence on women's contribution in an election. This is true in all elections in many countries media have direct influence on women's contribution in an election.

In overall, for the role of the media in elections media and election laws collectively make outline. Usually the media governing rules for reporting of aspirants are gender neutral. Nevertheless, media guidelines eventually disadvantage women. In AJ&K society due to careless rules of media, women face discrimination established in their incapability to get on the air. To recommend and support women nominees some states offer additional broadcast as encouragement for political parties.

Rather than transmitting women's positive image as political leaders the media continue categorizes women in their traditional roles. Rather than on their political positions women candidates may get more coverage on their personal qualities. In newspapers, women candidates are referred to the "women's pages". The progress of women as a voter and candidate is influenced by the media. Women political participation can increase by representing women as active political participant on media. In countries with high illiteracy rates, television and radio can play significant role in endorsing political participation of women.

The mass media incline to reduce coverage of women organizations and events. Public is not informed by media about the roles and rights of women in society; nor they do measures to

improve the position of women. Media overlooked the fact that women are mainly withdrawn from the process of decision-making in politics. Media still need to recognize the equal respect and value for women as men.

In the light of above discussion, it is concluded that more limitations for women to effectively participate in the politics is created by the socio-cultural perceptions about their roles. Results showed gender segregation, traditional values, cultural, patriarchy and stereotyping ideologies have strong impact on political participation of women. More limitations are created for women in the light of these ideologies and they face more problems to their social position which do not appreciate participation of women in politics. The key root cause behind the less political participation of women in AJ&K is the overall socio economic and political setup. Results also showed that media is also not playing its positive role to increase women political participation.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Role of Political Parties in Women Political Socialization & Mobilization**

Group of people with same ideology who work collectively as a unit to effect the general public, contest elections to get control over the government is called political party. Objectives of them member of same political party are the same. Political parties with their ideologies and aims to influence the public view and strategies compete with each other. Government run by the winning party, on work of the government opposition keep a watch.

For nomination candidates depend on their parties, their electoral help, support in the election campaign, economic resources and constant support after election. Without the support of a political party it is difficult to win the election, particularly at the state level. Therefore, women looking for join the politics generally go to political parties. Every political party pursue to support women in different way and at different level to appoint as party nominees into leadership positions and address socio political matters about women. For local elections, appointing women as nominees political parties incline to be extra open, it is easier for women moving forward to national office by starting from this level.

In AJ&K political parties are vital institute influencing women's participation in politics. In AJ&K political parties regulate which aspirants are selected and which subjects attain state importance. In political parties the part of women is consequently important factor of their views for empowerment in politics, mainly at the level of state. Since political organizations are so

powerful in determining political prospects of women, international groups and governments are looking for to enhance the women participation in elections incline to emphasis on the part of political parties.

Though beyond parties political participation spreads. Through independent action by connection with civil society organizations mainly at the local level women can join certain parts of the electoral process. By contributing in non-elected assemblies women can gain political experience. Media, NGOs and political parties can offer ways for participation of women in politics.

### **Political parties of AJ&K**

AJ&K has a multi-party system such that no one party is likely to gain absolute control alone (excluding one case), and by forming coalition government parties work together.

#### **5.1 All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference (AJKMC)**

In the Pakistani administered Kashmir AKJMC is the main political party. It is group struggle for unarmed. Sheik Abdullah launched first political party of Kashmir AKJMC in 1932 with the mandate for fusion of Kashmir into India. In 1939 this party name was changed as National Conference following kind of secular culture of Kashmir. Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah run the AJKMC. In 1939 the AKJMC was transformed into a secular party, the constitution of the party amended, aims changed and by the Muslim leaders membership for party open to the State's whole public. The erstwhile Muslim Conference the splinter blocs of the National Conference recovered on 13 June 1941.

AKJMC professed its backing for an independent J&K State on the guidelines of the Muslim League at start. About their future Kashmiris had made a decision before the approval of the Partition of India Plan. In July 1947 in Srinagar trying attainment of the Kashmir state to Pakistan, AKJMC convention held which adopted the "Accession to Pakistan Resolution". Looking for Kashmir's attainment to Pakistan, reversing an earlier resolution for the state's freedom AJKMC operational committee meeting passed the resolution held at the place of Sardar Ibrahim in Srinagar. Government was shaped by Sardar Ibrahim on October 24, 1947 when he reached Pakistan from Srinagar.

Pakistani government came in contract with AKJMC that all political cases would not be inculpated, after the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1950 to 1951. In Pakistani administered Kashmir AKJMC was the party in power in 1955. In Azad Kashmir elections were held in 1996 in which PPP run by Benazir Bhutto wanted to coup Sardar Abdul Qayyum. In Pakistan AKJMC was closely associated with opposition organizations. In the AJ&K legislative assembly elections in July 2001 AKJMC gained a majority form a government in Azad Jammu & Kashmir overcoming Pakistan Peoples Party. In Pakistani administered Kashmir Sardar Sikandar Hayat Khan was professed the Prime Minister. The AJKMC was run by Sardar Abdul Qayyum.

In Pakistani administered Kashmir AKJMC selected President Major Gen Sardar Mohammad Anwar Khan on 29 July 2003. Leader of the party Sardar Abdul Qayyum had refused to become President because he desired his son to become Prime Minister, but he was refused. After that he rejected to receive President post.

On 31 July 2004 President Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim Khan died in Islamabad. He served four time in office, two time selected by the territory's oldest AJKMC party and two time as

elected president. From 25 August 1996, to 24 August 2001 was his last term in office, after that he parted company with the PPP.

Sardar Attique Ahmed Khan present President of All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference functioned as the Prime Minister of AJ&K two time between July 2006 to January 2009 and July 2010 till July 2011. AJKMC has a women wing and Mehrunnisa is the president of women wing. AKJMC has awarded ticket to only one woman Mehrunnisa in 2016 elections (Atiq, 2016).

<b>Elections</b>	<b>Ticket Given to Women Candidate</b>
2006	1
2011	0
2016	1

Table 2: List of Women candidates nominated by AJKMC in different elections

### **5.3 Pakistan People's Party Azad Kashmir**

After leaving from Ayoub Khan's cabinet, Zulifqar Ali Bhutto launched PPP in Lahore in 1967 with the ideology, Islam as faith, socialism as economic system and democracy as political system. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was first chairman of PPP. In 1973 party came into existence in AJ&K. The manifesto recognized the party's final goal the achievement of "classless society", which was supposed to be achievable through socialism. By criticizing the governing process for equal

measures of government the party raised its voice from beginning and party became popular in very short time in Pakistan. Using the slogan of Roti, Kapra and Makan party took part in elections. The party preserves its position as the leading party in Sindh, as well as the major party in the national senate. PPP is the only mainstream party that showed firm commitments and determination to women rights and empowerment since Benazir's times. PPP has highest women contestants on general seats. Its evidence is their efforts made till the last government's initiatives taken for women's advancement, since the time of Benazir; some of recent efforts include Benazir Income Support Program (BISP), appointing women at high level decision making positions (Munir, 2013).

From day first women participate in PPP (AK) party. Farzana Yaqoob was the 1<sup>st</sup> elected lady in PPP (AK) party. In general elections 2016 in Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJ&K) party had issued two tickets to women Miss Shamshad Aziz and Miss Farzana Yaqoob. PPP (AK) has women wing, this wing actively functioning for women's political rights. First time in history PPP (AK) party gave tickets to women and gave duties of Ministries and gave position of district coordinators.

<b>Elections</b>	<b>Ticket Given to Women Candidate</b>
2011	1
2016	2

Table 3: List of Women candidates nominated by PPP-AJK in different elections



## 5.2 Pakistan Muslim League (N), AJ&K

Among the political parties of Pakistan, Pakistan Muslim League (N) is a center and traditional party. Before partition, the PML was recognized as the All India Muslim League and it is the oldest party of Pakistan. Before the formation of the All India Muslim League, a political party existed that had come into being in 1885, referred to as the Indian National Congress. With the passage of time, it became the most powerful political party in India. The Indian National Congress's attitude towards Indian Muslims was not favorable, and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan advised Muslims not to join this party. According to him, the Congress was a Hindu party and it only worked for the interests of the Indian Hindus. At that time, Muslims needed a proper political forum for their projection and a safeguard of their political interests. All India Muslim League was formed on 30 December. Nawab Wiqar-ul-Malik was appointed as president, and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk was appointed as General Secretary of the All India Muslim League. After independence of Pakistan this party split into different groups.

PML-N's AJ&K is the newly emerged political party of Kashmir. Raja Farooq Haider launched Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz), AJ&K in 2010. PML (N) has same political agenda in AJ&K as in Pakistan. The PML-N's manifesto for AJ&K have been included a chain of promises; supreme dominant is to bring development in women legislation and fresh rules to place an end perception against women comprising violence against women. Party's policy promised that it would effort to support women rights and equality and also protect their rights of inheritance. Inclusion of women in socio-political and economic circles, finance, monetary foundation, law, judiciary, health, education and law implementation institution has also been assured. Inclination to employ women teachers for primary school; special care on specialized and higher education

for women; progress of women's health; economic empowerment of women through targeted micro-credit and overview of women entrepreneurship supporting scheme are also part and parcel of the party's policy (PML-N manifest, 2013).

The PML-N manifesto includes some fine positive general statements about equality of rights for women and minorities and women's representation in central policymaking bodies, but it also lacks in practical and proposed measures. The Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz PML-N has presented ticket to only one woman, Noreen Arif in 2016 election (Farooq, 2016).

Elections	Ticket Given to Women Candidate
2011	1
2016	1

Table 4: List of Women candidates nominated by PMLN-AJK in different elections

#### 5.4 Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf Kashmir

In 1996 Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) was originated by national cricket captain Imran Khan in Pakistan. It claims to be the only non-family party of Pakistani politics. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf Kashmir is the newly emerged party of Kashmir. Barrister Sultan Mehmood launched PTI (K) on 5 February 2015. PTI (K) has same political agenda in AJ&K as in Pakistan.

Pakistan Tahreek e Insaf Kashmir's policy predicts a modern Islamic republic that promotes individuals' welfare through public support. The party's constitution goals for harmony,

commonality, societal fairness and success. PTI (K) desires to set AJ&K on a development to governmental permanency, harmony in community and financial prosperity for all groups. PTI (K) has a program to get shared objectives by mixing socio cultural, religious and traditional values in AJ&K. The party policy comprises a wish to deliver trustworthy management, to reestablish AJ&K's political and economic sovereignty, to establish a strong system of responsibility and to fight against corruption.

The manifesto of PTI (K) show that they make strong commitments on women's rights and welfare on paper but they lack in taking practical steps to achieve their claims. Such statements seem plain expressions for attracting more vote bank and political support than essence. Manifesto's lacks in providing practical support to ensure gender balance and women's empowerment in different sectors (Mehmood, 2016).

PTI developed a policy "Gender Policy" in its elections manifesto 2013 in Pakistan, according to it promised to allocate special funds for women's health care and highlighted the need to address discriminatory laws hindering women's progress in every sector. For implementing this policy, they promised to ensure provincial ministries for women, along with other provisions of training programs, subsidies, monetary incentives to increase opportunities for women's economic empowerment (PTI) Election campaign, 2013). PTI manifesto offers more concrete steps for women's empowerment. PTI also references exact movements as returning the women ministry at provincial and federal level to deal with women issues, setting up one step "Insaf Gahs" at union council level to deliver economic and legal assistance to women and presenting a 20 percent jobs quota for women (Munir, 2013).

In general elections 2016 in Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJ&K) quite surprisingly, not a single woman contested the election from Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf Kashmir (PTI K) because the party had not issued ticket to any woman candidate. The PTI claims to have provided 50% representation to women in federal and provincials legislatures (Mehmood, 2016).

Elections	Ticket Given to Women Candidate
2016	0

Table 5: List of Women candidates nominated by PTI-AJK in different elections

In the light of above discussion, it is concluded that political parties are not playing their role in women political participation. Results showed that parties do not have set up to support women's representation at party level. Party members remain unaware about different party activities. Members are not formally informed and invited for party meetings. Information about new party policies is not shared with them on regular basis. Political parties do not provide women any platform to polish their political skills and abilities. The political system within the party is masculine dominant where men are considered as traditional custodians of this field and women's participation is not appreciated.

## Chapter 6

### Conclusion & Recommendations

The present study discovers the impediments to women political empowerment and part of political parties in women's political socialization and mobilization in AJ&K. To efficiently contribute in political field, the socio cultural setup about roles of women create more barricades for them. Gender based ideologies create more constraints for women in political participation. Political parties do not support women political participation. At party level parties do not have system to support women. In contrast to men, women have less introduction to public life and less economic resources. The percentage of women in the political parties is very low. Women don't have and helpful environment within the party. As level of dissemination of power is lowest within the party women access to power is very limited. Political parties have masculine dominant culture where women face discrimination at all levels. The findings of the current research is valued because in the context of AJ&K on participation of women in politics there is very limited research available. This research can be utilized by policy makers to enhance the women political participation, helpful for the general public to understand the impediments faced by the women in political participation.

Determinations are necessary by women, Governments, political parties, media and society to enhance women's political participation in AJ&K.

- To increase the women political participation, start from the family and society level to discourse the destructive views that politics is dirty job for women. No one is born with the ideology of equality or idea that one sex being dominant over the other. Men make opinions about women parts in society through their observations. Logical start is changing

of perception of men about women part by concentrating on system of education. The syllabus should not support gender stereotypes.

- Political parties should adopt internal democratic structures; quota system to guarantee that women in quantified amount are placed as candidates and also should provide financial support during the election.
- Government actors should take in to account legislation necessitating political parties to carry democratic measures for the operations within the party, provide motivations for political parties to promote women candidates.
- During elections femininity reporting by giving positive descriptions of women as leaders avoiding negative stereotypes and focusing on issues of special concern to women in news programming should be provide by the media.
- NGOs should play role in enhancing women political participation in AJ&K.

The results of the present research are valuable to increase political participation of women in Azad Jammu & Kashmir. This research could be used by policy makers to design a policy for enhancing political participation of women. Government could be introduced such policies that may benefit the women to play a part actively in the political field of the state according to this research. Results of present research show that socio cultural factors are the most vital and important in limiting the women from politics. Political parties are not playing their significant role in political mobilization of women. So, the political parties can be motivated that they should give space to women in their parties. The findings of the current research is valued because on women participation in politics in AJ&K there is very limited research available. This study can be utilized by policy makers to enhance the women political participation, helpful for the general public to understand the impediments faced by the women in political participation.

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## **APPENDIX: Semi Structured Interview**

### **WOMEN'S POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT: EXPLORING THE IMPEDIMENTS TO WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN AZAD JAMMU AND KASHMIR**

I am student of MS Political Science from International Islamic University. I am conducting research on "Women's Political Empowerment: Exploring the Impediments to Women Political Participation in Azad Jammu & Kashmir." The purpose of this research is to explore the impediments to women's political participation and to study the role of Political Parties in Political mobilization of the Women in Azad Jammu & Kashmir. It is assured that all the information will remain confidential under the academic research ethics standards.

1. What was the pattern of women participation in politics before partition?
2. How this concept emerge that women should take part in politics?
3. When women took part in AJK politics? And who was the 1<sup>st</sup> elected lady?
4. Why there was no participation of women in BD election?
5. What amendments were taken in the constitution to give women participation in politics?
6. When your party came into existence in AJK?
7. When women participation were started in your party?
8. Who was the 1<sup>st</sup> elected lady in your party?
9. How many women given tickets to contest election in 2016 election in your party?

10. Is women wing working actively for women equal political participation? Your party arranges any meetings specifically on women issues?
11. Your party has any women wing?
12. Your party has any formal mechanism to join the party?
13. How the selection of candidates done within the party?
14. How the selection of candidates for different positions is done?
15. Who have more control over candidate selection within party?
16. Are women given equal chance to contest election for different positions within party?
17. Is selection of candidates within party fair?
18. Is selection of women candidates fair?
19. Are women's regularly invited for party meetings?
20. Are party policies and other party matters shared with women on regularly basis?
21. In your party is it mandatory for women to attend party meetings?
22. Are women provided equal resources by the party to participate in different political activities?
23. Your party encourage women political participation?
24. Are women given full working space within the party?
25. Is there any difference in responsibilities of male and female members in the party?

26. Your party provide any women training, workshop opportunity to flourish their skill and abilities?
27. Your party provides any access to different political and social networks?
28. Your party provide any funds for different political activities to women?
29. In your party male members encourage women political involvement on different political matters?
30. Are women with same position within party free to exercise their power?
31. What steps your party took to empower the women?
32. Your party has a defined quota for women's representative?
33. Why women political participation is less?
34. Why still there is no prominent role of women in AJK politics?
35. What are the reasons behind the less political participation of women in AJK politics?
36. What you suggest, how women political participation can be increased?



# GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

Reg. No. \_\_\_\_\_  
To be Filled by NTS

Application Form for the Posts of  
BS-11 to BS-16

**B**

**Picture 1**  
Paste your recent  
passport size color  
photograph not older than  
6 Months having  
blue background with gum  
تصویر لازماً منسلک کریں بصورت  
دیگر فارم عمل میں نہیں لایا جائیگا۔

1. Bank Online Deposit of Rs: 500/- from Designated Bank Branches.

Bank Code	Deposit Date
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\*Note: Application Form will not be entertained without Original Deposit Slip (NTS Copy)

02. **Desired Post:** (Mandatory) A candidate may apply for maximum 2 below mentioned posts by paying single fee. However, to apply for more than one post, please use separate form. This form will be considered valid only for the first selected post in the sequence.

01. <input type="checkbox"/> Traffic Analyst Supervisor (BS-16)	02. <input type="checkbox"/> Assistant Private Secretary (BS-16)	03. <input type="checkbox"/> Sub Divisional Officer (B&R) (BS-16)
04. <input type="checkbox"/> Assistant (BS-15)	05. <input type="checkbox"/> Sub Inspector (BS-14)	06. <input type="checkbox"/> Traffic Analyst (BS-14)
07. <input type="checkbox"/> Technician (BS-14)	08. <input type="checkbox"/> Sub Engineer-II (BS-14)	09. <input type="checkbox"/> Stenotypist (BS-14)
10. <input type="checkbox"/> Upper Division Clerk (BS-11)	11. <input type="checkbox"/> Draughtsman (BS-11)	12. <input type="checkbox"/> Supervisor (BS-11)

03. **Desired Test City:** Fill One Box Only (Mandatory)  
(Subject to a minimum of 200 candidates, other wise the candidates will be assigned next nearest test city)

01. <input type="checkbox"/> Islamabad / Rwp	02. <input type="checkbox"/> Lahore	03. <input type="checkbox"/> Sargodha	04. <input type="checkbox"/> Sahiwal
05. <input type="checkbox"/> Faisalabad	06. <input type="checkbox"/> Multan	07. <input type="checkbox"/> Bahawalpur	08. <input type="checkbox"/> Muzaffarabad
09. <input type="checkbox"/> Karachi	10. <input type="checkbox"/> Hyderabad	11. <input type="checkbox"/> Sukkur	12. <input type="checkbox"/> Peshawar
13. <input type="checkbox"/> Abbottabad	14. <input type="checkbox"/> D.I. Khan	15. <input type="checkbox"/> Quetta	16. <input type="checkbox"/> Gilgit
17. <input type="checkbox"/> Sakardu	18. <input type="checkbox"/> Khuzdar	19. <input type="checkbox"/> Gawadar	

04. **Province / Region of Domicile:** Fill Only One Box. (Mandatory)

01. <input type="checkbox"/> Punjab (Including Federal Capital)	02. <input type="checkbox"/> Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	03. <input type="checkbox"/> Balochistan	04. <input type="checkbox"/> Sindh (Urban)
05. <input type="checkbox"/> Sindh (Rural)	06. <input type="checkbox"/> AJK	07. <input type="checkbox"/> Gilgit Baltistan	08. <input type="checkbox"/> FATA

Note: Residents of Districts Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukkur will apply on Sindh (Urban) quota and residents of remaining districts will apply on Sindh (Rural) quota.

05. **District of Self Domicile:** Write Name of District (Mandatory)

District Code	District Name

**Only for Married Female Candidates**

06. Are you applying against your Husband's Domicile?  Yes  No

07. **Husband's Domicile District:** Write Name of District (Mandatory)

District Code	District Name