Socio-cultural and Economic Factors Affecting Women Political Participation in Dir Districts of Khyber PakhtunKhwa

Researcher

Raza Ullah

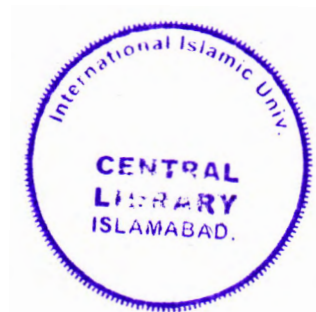173-FSS/MSSOC/S14

Supervisor

Professor Dr. Saif Abbasi

Chairman

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY ISLAMABAD

2016

MS
305.42
RAS

Political participation
Women political activity

Socio-cultural and Economic Factors Affecting Women Political Participation in Dir Districts of Khyber PakhtunKhwa

BY

Raza Ullah

173-FSS/MSSOC/S14

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of

MS

In

Sociology

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY ISLAMABAD
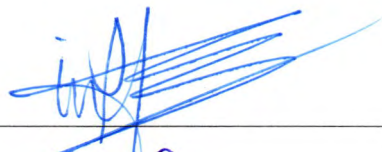
2016

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY ISLAMABAD
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

It is certified that thesis submitted by **MR. Raza Ullah** Registration No.**173-FSS/MSSOC/S14** titled ***"Socio-Cultural and Economic factors Affecting Women Political Participation in Dir Districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhaw"*** *has* been evaluated by the following viva voce committee and found that thesis has sufficient material and meets the prescribed standard for the award of degree of **MS** in the discipline of Sociology.
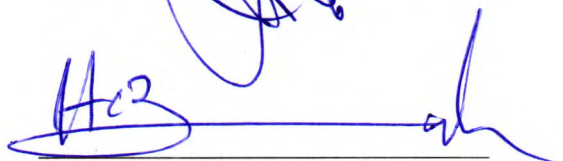
<u>Viva Voce Committee</u>

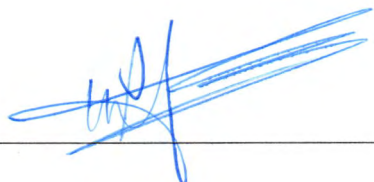**Supervisor:**
Prof. Dr. Saif Abbasi

External Examiner:
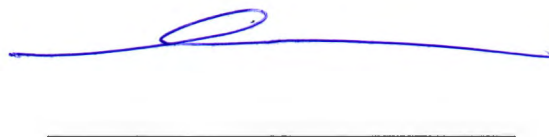**Prof. Dr. Hamad Ullah Kakapoto**

Internal Examiner:
Dr. Hazir Ullah

Chairman,
Department of Sociology:
Prof. Dr. Saif Abbasi

Dean,
Faculty of Social Sciences:
Prof. Dr. N.B Jumani

Acknowledgement

I indebted to almighty Allah, who gave me an opportunity to continue my education in such a prestigious institution under the guidance of affectionate and talented teachers. I love this institution from the core of my heart. The present work was accomplished under the sympathetic guidance and enlightened supervision of Prof. Dr. Saif Abbasi, Deputy Dean Faculty of Social Sciences and Chairman, Department of Sociology, International Islamic University, Islamabad. I am grateful not only to his intellectual insights and academic guidance but also to his encouragement, human support and his timely advice. He spared time for me despite his academic and professional commitments.

I also extend my thanks to Mr. Hassan Raza for his intellectual and technical help. He has always sacrificed his time to guide me to improve the quality of this research.

I must extend my feelings of deepest gratitude to my parents for their never ending love, care and prayers. I am also thankful to my sisters and brothers. Their hearts and prayers were always with me during the span of this study.

RAZA ULLAH

Table of Contents

Abstract

Women political participation is an important dimension of women empowerment. It enhances their representation in various spheres of life. The current study was conducted in two districts of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa namely Lower Dir and Upper Dir. Three Tehsils from these districts and finally one Government Girls Degree College from each Tehsil were selected. A random sample of 342 female students was drawn as respondents using stratified Random Sampling technique. The data was collected using a predesigned questionnaire in the light of study objectives. The study found that illiteracy, lack of awareness, lack of women involvement in decision making process, early marriages, work burden, gender discrimination, patriarchy, strict *purdah* system, poverty, unemployment, and economic dependency of women on men are the main barriers affecting women political participation. It also reported that cultural factors create more barriers discouraging women political participation. It is suggested that women political participation can be enhanced in *Pukhtun* society by giving women equal opportunities of education and jobs and by promoting positive attitude towards women involvements in different spheres of politics.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background of the Study

Despite the increasing involvement of women in various fields of life, they remain much behind than men in the sphere of politics. Politics is the most important field of human life and involvement in political activities and access to political power is a fundamental right of all the citizens. Thus politics is the most important field of human life as it is essential for the existence of state and in settling disputes. Providing equal chance to individuals to participate in activities related to politics and in the decision making of their society ensures the accomplishment of their needs (Abdi, 2007).

Political domain almost everywhere and particularly in developing countries has been dominated by male member of the society. In poor countries, women are confined to household activities while public and political domain is occupied by male mostly in the society. No one can deny the fact that a woman is one of the important segments of the society. Similarly no nation can reach to high success and glory until women are not provided opportunities to work side by side with men (Maccionis, 2009).

Equal involvement of women in various fields is important for the socio-economic development of their country. In spite of their social and economic role in family and economy; they encounter multiple problems in various spheres of their lives. A number of reasons are connected with the male social status in the society and the most dominant one is their physique which makes them suitable for various socio-economic activities (Ramesh, 2000). It is a fact that women from the very start have been facing a lot of problems in various spheres of life

1

especially in political one. Woman at her early ages experience inequality and deals with discrimination in the family (Jalal-ud-Din, and Khan, 2008).

Women political empowerment means the freedom of women to vote and contest election without any barriers. Similarly political participation means the extent to which people are involved in activities related to politics. (Igwee, 2002). It means all those activities which are related to politics mainly voting, campaigning, attending meetings, protesting and contesting election are the part of political participation. Despite the important segment of the society, women have been ignored in social, cultural, economic and political spheres of life. Women confront various problems and challenges in the way of their political participation. Women involvement and participation in politics is of recent emergence dates back to late eighteen century. Women were given the right to vote for the first time in Newzeland in 1883. Finland offered the right of vote to women in 1906; Norway gave them the right in 1913 while Germany bestowed women with the right of vote in 1918. A century ago, almost there was not a single woman holding elected office in the United States, indicating that before 1920 women had no right to cast vote in the United States (Maccionis, 2009).

In Jordan, women were completely ignored in the field of politics up to 1950. Later on, the situation changed and women were given the right to poll vote but still they were deprived of contesting election as a candidate. In Jordanian society the right of polling vote was only given to educated women (Ministry of interior, 2003:33). Women in Greek got political rights in 1952. By 1980 women had only the right to merely cast vote. However, at the end of 1980; women came to participate in political activities and got the right in political decision making. The participation of women in political activities began to increase recently but is still considerably lower (Maloutas 1998).

Further in global perspective as far as women political empowerment is concerned, they hold just 15.2 percent of seats in parliaments across the world. Women political empowerment varies from society to society. Similarly, in the United States little change has occurred in politics. In 2002 national elections, only six of the fifty state governors were women which was very low ratio. In South Asia the women political empowerment is also not satisfactory. In Ukraine various measures have been taken to bring gender equality in public sphere especially in political domain but still there is low level of political participation of Ukrainian women (Fund, 2011).

Similarly in Kenya, women participation is very low and there is not enough representation of women in political activities. Many reasons such as variations in norms, value system and rigid culture are impeding women participation in political activities but the only and common factors which lower their participation is gender discrimination. Low participation of women in politics is because of their low level of literacy (Riley, 2003). Further women traditionally are considered inferior to male which leads to lack of women political empowerment in the South Asia. Women political representation around the globe is very low and received only 33 percent seats for women in the parliament (UNDP report, 2005).

No doubt the reservation of 33% seats is a change in the political history of Pakistan. It is of course one of the positive changes that encouraged women especially in the urban areas. Further the situation is worst in rural areas especially in the traditional and conservative districts of Pakistan. As it is a fact that gender role is not ascribed instead it is greatly in relation with the culture. In Pakistan women are dealt in every domain of life discriminately and even it will not be wrong to say that woman is considered less important for the public sphere especially in politics. They have very low participation in politics in Pakistan especially in rural areas.

3

Political participation of women is one of the core factors in the development of any nation and also a core determinant of women empowerment. But unfortunately socio-cultural factors like norms and values, patriarchy and misinterpretation of religion prevent women from participating in political activities especially in rural areas. In Pakistan especially in the traditional districts of rural areas, socio-cultural, and economic factors come in the way of women political participation (Shaheed et.al 2009).

Further in economic factors women poverty, unemployment and inflation prohibit and discourage women political participation. In economic domain, women are dependent upon male and their economic instability do not allow them to participate in political activities (Aderinwale, 1997).

Women active role in politics is essential for their empowerment as it is directly linked with women political participation. Women political participation ensures women representation in various spheres and fields. Thus, when women is given opportunities of entrance to political domain it provides a path of empowerment to women. Political participation makes women to work for social change which is imperative for the upbringing of society (Stromquist and Fishman, 2009).

In *Pukhtun* society women political participation is significantly very low due to patriarchy setup and male dominancy. Lack of women political participation is the outcome of numerous factors in *Pukhtun* society. More significantly along with male domination ,other socio cultural and economic factors i.e. illiteracy and ignorance, lack of awareness, poverty, inflation, unemployment, strict tradition and miss interpretation of religious teachings are affecting women political participation in *Pukhtun* society (Ali et.al, 2010).

4

1.2   Statement of the Problem

Women constitute half of the world population. Pakistan is one of the male dominated societies where public sphere has largely dominated by male members of the society. Women in Pakistan have always been treated discriminately in various spheres of life due to socio-cultural and economic barriers. Majority of the Pakistani population is consisted of women and their equal representation in political sphere is necessary for the development of society. As (Anita, 2010) stated that women political participation is essential for the social uplift of the society. *Pukhtun* society is more patriarchal and traditional in nature where women cannot participate in political activities. In *Pukhtun* society, they encounter various problems due to their absence or very low participation in political sphere. Various socio-cultural and economic factors such as strict norm and values, male dominancy, restriction on women mobility, strict *purdah* system, poverty and honor exclude women from the domain of politics (Women in Pakistan report, 2000). Further due to their lack of participation in political activities in *Pakhtun* society development process is very much uneven and resultantly women folk are facing a lot of problems.

1.3   Objectives of the Study

i.   To study various socio-cultural factors, affecting women political participation

ii.   To explore economic factors, affecting women political participation in *Pakhtun* society

iii. To suggest policy measures for better women political participation in *Pakhtun* society

1.4   Research questions

      i.   What are the various socio-cultural factors that affect women   political participation in *Pakhtun* Society?

      ii.   What are the various economic factors that affect women political participation   in *Pakhtun* society?

1.5   Hypotheses

1.   There is an association between socio-cultural factors and women political participation.

   (a) Higher the education of women higher will be the women political participation in *Pakhtun* society

   (b) The restricted mobility of women in *Pakhtun* society adversely influence political participation

   (c) The better the economic status of family better will be the political participation of women in *Pakhtun* society.

1.6   Significance of the Study

This study is significant in many ways as it focuses to find socio-cultural and economic barriers that inhibit women political participation in *Pakhtun* society. There women have been completely ignored in the field of politics. The higher prevalence of male domination in *Pakhtun* society mostly discourages women participation in politics. There are several incidences in past and even the recent local body's election witnessed that women were not allowed to cast their votes. This study is an effort to empirically the extent and level of participation of women in different political activities. The study will also document various socio-cultural and economic factors which restrict women participation in politics. The outcome of the study will be quite beneficial for academician, researchers and policy makers.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2. Review of literature

Political participation has great importance in democratic country as due to political participation people secure their rights. People take different meaning from political participation. Therefore, various thinkers have defined political participation differently. So there is no universal and uniform consensus on the definition of political participation. Generally political participation is referred to the political involvement and engagement of the people in political activities such as voting, campaigning, contesting elections, meetings and so on. Political participation is the collection of those entire obligation and duties that is related to political activities i.e. casting vote, campaigning for a party and joining a political party (Riley et al, 2010). Diemer (2012) relates the political participation to the active involvement of the public in the political structure like polling vote to a particular party in election or becoming the part of a political party. For instance, political participation is the engagement and access to various political activities such as casting of vote, protesting, to represent their self under the rules of a political system (Munroe, 2002).

Political participation means the engagement of people in the political activities including voting, contesting election, campaigning, protesting, organizing meeting and etc. Political participation simply means giving chance of equal participation to the public to participate in all activities related to politics from polling of vote to contesting election. Similarly, on the other hand, women political participation means active involvement of women in political activities. For instance polling of vote, contesting election, campaigning for a political party, attending party meetings and participating protest. Women political participation also refers to the process

providing rights to the women to participate in all types of activities related to politics on equal ground and without any discrimination (Philips, 1995:33-35). Thus, in a nutshell, women political participation is the process in which women are given the chance of active participation in political activities without any discrimination.

Women comprise more than half of the world population across the globe (Maccionis 2009).Women throughout the globe are the victims of gender discrimination. They are facing discrimination everywhere in family and outside of family. Women are confronted with the problems like domestic violence, sexual abuse, rape, honor killing, illiteracy, work burden, economic exploitation all over the world especially in the poor and developing countries. Thus, it is a fact that despite the most populated group they have been ignored and treated discriminately in every sphere of life. Everywhere women are far behind in various domains such as education, economy, health and politics. This disequilibrium and injustice against women is more severe in the developing and poor countries of the world as compared to the developed nations. On one hand work burden of women in home and in private spheres affects their active participation in public sphere while on the other hand views of people, traditions, beliefs, norms, culture and male dominancy weaken the position of women in the public and authoritative domain. There is a great disparity between women and men in terms of the right given to them although women are more populated group in the world. It should be remembered that development of a nation is not possible without the equal contribution of women. The role of men and women are not similar and equal throughout the world however women are playing their productive role in society (Dijkstra, G & Hanmer L, 1997).

Thus, if a nation has to progress they have to provide equal opportunities of work to their women like men. Women almost everywhere, more dominantly in the third world countries are

8

limited to the boundaries of home. In third world countries women have been cut off from public sphere and engaged in the caring and raring of children and in all other domestic works. The status of women and as well as their role is more dominantly affected by various socio-cultural and economic factors. For instance: lack of education, poverty, traditional socialization, norms and values, customs and traditions and more dominantly male dominancy especially in the developing countries. It is a fact that women have been confined to indoor activities where their prior tasks are the socializing, rearing and caring of the children along with the other household activities. In each and every society there are common barriers and various views i.e. conservatism, practice of strict *purdah* system , strict culture along with women biology that keep women away from public sphere (Qureshi and Rarieya,2007).

Further in most societies of the world, household is the world of women and the public and political sphere is the domain of men. Women are primarily assigned the core responsibilities of the house and working in the subordinate position not only in the family but also in the public and authoritative spheres. Similarly their subordinate and inferior position in the family further reflects outside the family. For instance, in education, health, economy and political domain they are the most deprived segment of the society. Around the globe patriarchy set up and male domination in the society which is stronger especially in the poor countries strictly discourage women and keep them in subordinate position in the various spheres of life. So various socio-cultural and economic factors are thought as barriers and the core reasons of the deprivation and exclusion of women from public sphere. These are considered core barriers in the way of advancement of women in all spheres of life (Bano, 2009, pp.19-35).

This deprivation of women from public and authoritative sphere and other outdoor activities creates impediments and barriers in the way of ensuring their participation in the public

domain. Not only socio-cultural and economic factors are responsible for the subordinate position of women but the biological difference between man and woman is also responsible for this disparity. Almost everywhere in the world and especially in the poor countries man enjoys more respect as compared to woman due to their strong physique. For instance women give birth to children and due to their biological difference they are bound to perform domestic activities. On the other hand men because of their strong physique and body remain engage in public sphere and in authoritative roles and activities (Rustagi, P, 2000).

Women are far behind in all fields of life but one of the field where women representation is very low almost everywhere in the world is politics. They are all over the world having very disappointing and low participation in political activities. For instance, throughout globe, women have very less representation and most importantly they are completely ignored from decision making process at all level (Shvedova, 2005:33). Now like other spheres such as education, schooling economy, work place and property, women political participation has also affected by their biology and various socio-cultural and economic factors such as illiteracy, lack of awareness, norms and values, poverty and male dominancy. Similarly, culturally approved patterns, that women has to shoulder responsibilities and duties in home makes their active participation in political activities difficult (Stolle and Micheletti, 2013). Thus, creating equilibrium in their work of homes and political activities is impossible. Because they face work burden at home and get no or less time to participate in political activities. Thus such conditions strictly discourage women participation in all those activities which are conducted outside home.

Discrimination and unjust treatment against women can be reduced through their active participation as well as representation in politics. But along other spheres of life, unfortunately women have very less and in some societies of the world no participation and access to political

activities. However, women positive participation and representation in political activities will be a significant and positive step towards gender equality and all discrimination faced by women in various fields and it will be a positive step toward economic development and prosperity of the country (Kumari and Kidwani,1998:4).

Nadezhda Shvedova (2005) has broadly discussed challenges and problems to women political participation under three domains. According to him, that first of all the political structure is male oriented and it supports man more as compared to woman. The second is psychological problems like, lacking confidence, negative thinking of people regarding women political participation and more importantly the socio-economic impediments like poverty, lack of jobs, illiteracy, and lack of awareness and work burden of women in home. Women political participation and decision making process may be thought as one of the controversial issues everywhere in the world especially in the poor and underdevloping nations. For instance, usually everywhere in the world, various traditions and beliefs give leadership skills to male members of the society which makes women inferior and subordinate from the very first time (Nagaad, 2007).

Women physique and biology also affect their political participation. Usually there are stereotypical views all over the world that politics is masculine activity and considered inappropriate for women. Similarly, the well known thinkers and philosophers like Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, Thomas Hobbes and John Locke rank woman secondary to man in all public and authoritative sphere of life. They keep the views that woman is not fit for such roles and activities. According to theses scholors,thinkers and philosophers politics is male oriented activity and woman is not suitable to participate in political activities due to various reasons i.e. social and as well as biological (Bari 2009). Thus, biology and gender of the women is also one

of the factors which causes gender discrimination against women in various spheres of life like education, health, economy and especially in politics.

Women are not considered fit for politics mentally and as well as physically. Therefore, various challenges are being faced by women with regards to their access to education, health, economy, work place and more apparently to political participation. Thus like other social activities women biology and traditions and social setup make women unsuitable for political activities too. These situations prevail in each and every society but vary in nature and intensity. For example, these are more severe in nature in poor and conservative societies. So challenges and problems to equal women political participation in governance are merged with the social and cultural pattern. The patriarchal setup and male power and control over society have lessened women participation in political activities (Omvedt, 2005, p.4746).

Women political domain is greatly affected because of various socio-cultural, religious and economic factors. Similarly patriarchy attitude and behavior towards women is not only barring women from political participation but also affecting women performance in politics hence making it unsatisfactory. Similarly, a woman who is in the politics and is getting opportunities and having access to political participation still due to male pressure her role is not effective. Therefore, on one hand although various measures are taken for ensuring women political participation but on the other hand, attention is not given to the patriarchy nature of society as well as the institutions which create inequality and problems in the way of women political participation . Thus women are coming in political domain and also participating in political activities but due to the prevalence of male dominancy as well as stereotyping the work, their participation is not up to mark (NCSW,2010).

12

Socio-cultural and economic factors prevail everywhere but these factors has greatly affected women political participation especially in the poor and under developing countries. In this regard, Karl (1995) has mentioned various socio-cultural and economic factors i.e. lack of education, illiteracy, rigid cultural, lack of jobs, religion and socialization which mainly stop women from political participation. The issue is more severe in poor countries because of more traditional and conservative attitude as well as various socio-cultural and religious practices. In Nigeria women always face difficulties and problems in the way of their political participation. They face hurdles and impediments first from the family. According to Muoghalu and Abrifor (2012), women are strictly prevented by their husbands, brothers and more significantly from their parents from entering into the authoritative sphere. In Nigeria due to severe male dominancy, most of the Nigerian women are agreed with the traditional structure and accept their subordinate and inferior position in the society. They consider politics the game of male and they do not consider women fit for taking participation in political activities (Ngara, et al, 2013).

Likewise, various religious practices as well as misinterpretation of religious teachings also keep Nigerian women restricted to the boundaries of home. For example, giving stress on *Purdah* system in Nigeria keeps women away from the political participation even they are not allowed to poll a vote or become part of any political campaign (Nwankwo and Surma, 2008). On the other hand tradition and culture makes politics more masculine activity and thus exclude women segments from the domain of politics. For instance it is more difficult for women to move and speak in public spaces and bear in mind that these entire things are compulsory parts of the politics and these things are not considered legitimate in various traditional societies of Africa (Tripp, 2001). Over all the traditions of Nigerian societies discourage women role and participation in politics.

13

Religion in other societies also creates obstacles in the way of women political participation and prevents them to involve in male oriented activities because of their beliefs. In this regard, various norms and beliefs are attached with women social and political sphere in various societies of the world. For example, in Burmese society women are not allowed to enter into the authoritative sphere because they think that their entrance is considered a threat to male member because women in this society is considered spiritually lower than their male counter parts (Belak, 2002). Thus various traditions, norms and values, misinterpretation of religious teachings and beliefs cause low level of participation of women in political activities.

The situation becomes more severe with the addition of economic factors. No one can deny the fact that a sound economic status of women increases their level of participation in politics but on the other hand economic factors and poor economic position of women also affect their political participation. In this regard, due to severe poverty and lack of financial resources, inflation and lack of jobs, Nigerian women do not have representation in politics. Probably 90 percent women in Nigeria is living under the line of poverty so such situation creates problem and challenges in their way of political participation (Ngara et al,2013). Lack of economic resources, poverty and unemployment of women is also a significant resistance in the way of women political participation. Women in contrast to men face more severe economic issues. For example, women have no access to property, and their unequal approach to other economic assets make it difficult for them to be involved in political activities (Nagaad, 2007).

Socio-cultural factors also affect women political participation throughout the globe. For example, women remain engage in home tasks and get less time to participate in outdoor activities. In Kenya, mainly people's views and tradition, norms and values prevent women from participation in political activities. Similarly other socio-cultural practices and activities like

14

early marriages of women by their parents and having limited opportunities of education especially higher education make women more fit for indoor activities and consider political sphere more appropriate and suitable for male members of the society(Thomas,1994). Similarly in Ethiopia, a number of problems and issues are being faced by women and these problems make difficult the access of Ethiopian approach to various public sphere and more dominantly the political arena. Thus it can be said that majority of women in Ethiopian society do not have any representation in the decision making process (Hora,2014). Further patriarchy is more dominantly creating inequality in Ethiopian society. Women face opposition from their family male members in the way of political participation. Thus, overall patriarchy promotes the inferior position of women in Ethiopian society (Haregewoin and Emebet, 2003).

Women are facing a number of hurdles in their way of political participation. Problems and challenges to women political empowerment and participation emerge from cultural stereotypes and Stereotypical views of people that women are followers not leaders also has an impact upon women political empowerment. Thus gender roles come as a major block to women participation in political activities. The subordinate status of women versus men is universal phenomenon but there is a difference in the nature of the subordination across various societies. Gender role ideology not only creates duality of femininity and masculinity but also push woman in hierarchal structure in which female sex is less valued than male sex. For instance traditional gender role has confined women to domestic activities such as children upbringing and maintenance tasks. These are the primary obligations and duties of women while their participation in politics and other outdoor activities is secondary (Center for social Research, 1999).

Patriarchy and male dominancy has always created gender disparity everywhere in society. Patriarchy is a tool in some societies which is used to dominate women. Patriarchy is a social system of male domination which promotes and creates an environment where no doubt men are privileged (Eisenstein 1984). According to Adrienne Rich, Patriarchy is a familial-social, ideological, political structure in which men by force, direct pressure or through ritual, tradition, law, and language, customs etiquette, education, and the division of labor, determine what part women shall or shall not play in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male. Women in most part of the world are not enjoying the basic rights due to various due to male domination in public sphere. For instance women are less healthy, less educated and completely ignored in politics. Thus the status and position of women not only in the family but also in the society is not satisfactory but are discriminated (Tisdell, 2002).

In Pakistan it is a fact that women are dealt with a number of challenges and problems in the public sphere such as education, economy and more importantly political one. There is a clear and dominant disparity in various fields of life. Women in contrast to men face more difficulty in various fields. Therefore, Pakistan is among the countries where gender disparity and discrimination in all fields of life is apparent. According to the latest report of the United Nations Development programs Pakistan stands at 123 out of 148 in 2012 Gender Inequality Index (Malik, 2013). In Pakistan women are not allowed to enter in the public sphere and have been deprived from their basic rights as Pakistan has been declared one of the worst place for women in the world as it ranks 134 out of 135 countries (Yartey, 2012). It is a fact that various measures and legislations have been made for making women empowered but unfortunately these legislations and measures are only confined to paper. Women in Pakistan are struggling in each and every field and various problems and challenges barring their development in the field

16

of education, work, economy as well as politics. Therefore women remained the victim of inequality and have been excluded from the public domain (Bhattacharya, 2014).

Further due to unequal treatment of women, they deprive from various rights like education, employment, property and so on. In addition there are a number of socio-cultural and economic factors like illiteracy, lack of awareness, culture, patriarchy and religion behind women subordinate and inferior position. Illiteracy and low literacy throw out women from their social activities especially from politics. It also makes women weaker with regards economy which strengthens male power. Further these factors also cause low participation in their political, economic and social activities. Women rights are exploited and violated. Thus, in Pakistan women are experiencing disadvantages and discrimination from the time they born. This situation has caused social and economic dependency of women which in turn ensure male dominancy in society. Further due to male domination gender disparity is created in society. At early age of life female child is treated differently. She suffered from discrimination from the very start in a family. For instance; the female child receives less food, less access to education and less health care with contrast to male child (Kazmi, 2005: 94).

Woman in Pakistan is the victim of gender inequality first in the family and then in the society. This is in the socialization of the female child that she is for home and face restriction and challenges from family on their movement outside home. Various norms and values, tradition and more dominantly observation of strict *purdah* system make women participation in the authoritative activities difficult. For instance, due to the prevalence of *purdah*, women mainly remain at the home in Pakistan. In this regard, in some parts of the province of the Punjab due the observance of *purdah* women movement outside home is very low (Sathar and Kazi,2000). Thus, such conditions make women exposure to public sphere difficult which resultantly make

them subordinate in the society. That is the reason that various socio-cultural and economic obstructions and impediments keep majority of Pakistani women away from public roles and tasks (Jabeen and Jadoon, 2009).

Women in Pakistan are completely ignored in the political aspect. Politics is male oriented activity in Pakistani society because one will find very limited participation of women in politics. No doubt various measures have been taken for the encouragement of women in the field of politics. For instance, the type of local body government was started in March 2000, and one third i.e. 33 percent seats were specified for women at the tehsil, union council and districts level. But due to male dominancy and other socio-cultural and economic factors women faced various obstacles and discriminate attitude from the society especially in traditional society. In this connection, according to Farzana Bari, this plan was successful in modern and urban society it does not work in the traditional society where patriarchy dominates (Bari,2009).

Thus, patriarchy is one of the dominant social systems of Pakistani society and this system restricts women freedom and confines women to domestic duties. Women in the family due to various means like violence and illiteracy are subordinate to men. The subordination position of women with the passage of time is extending to various fields and more significantly their political life. There are societies where women participation of voter is also not possible due to the traditions and patriarchy. Overall, the entire patriarchal attitude toward women first in the family and later in the public sphere more specifically in their participation in political activities is one of the core obstructions in Pakistani society (McCarthy and Sultana, 2004).

Further, due to such patriarchal setup there is a great disparity between female and male not only in political sphere of life but also in the field education, employment, decision making, controlling the resources and access to health facilities. Even they face disparity in side family.

18

For example, women have been treated discriminately in terms of their education right, health, property and more significantly in political right. Similarly when women enter politics in such strong patriarchal setup, they are unable to play their actual role rather they play their role on men's term. Thus male control on politics and women subordinate position due to various factors affect women active participation in political activities. Various socio-cultural and economic factors like rigid culture, norms and values, male dominancy, limitation on women movement, honor and poverty cause discrimination and unjust behavior with women and exclude them from authoritative sphere such as education, health and more dominantly politics (Women in Pakistan report, 2000).

In Pakistani society especially in *Pukhtun* society, there is a huge disparity between male and female almost in every domain of life. Women are more deprived from their basic rights but as far as their political right is concerned they are completely ignored in this regard. Even they have no right and access to cast their vote. In *Pukhtun* society women are not given the right to involve in various political activities (Bose and Rossi,1983). Now various factors have been associated with this deprivation of women from their political right in *Pukhtun* society such rigid culture, male dominancy, *purdah* system, and traditions. On the other hand ,overall Pakistan is a patriarchy society in all aspects i.e. social, economic, politics, health and in education, but this is more severe in intensity in *Pukhtun* society. Parents like to provide good education to their male as they deem to investment. Because in such conservative and backward society parents consider them their support in the last days of their age. On the other hand things do not come in the favor of women because in such traditional society women face troubles and difficulties and that's why they have no access to health, education and more dominantly to politics and therefore women in such society become socially paralyzed.

In *Pukhtun* society, due to patriarchal nature, women are provided with fewer chances to acquire property, having no access to education, health facilities, and work especially in the rural areas and more significantly, they have no access and opportunities to participate in politics. In their routine life women do not have their own choice and goals but work and respond to the needs and demands of others. A woman is mostly considered the honor of the home and therefore they are not allowed to work outside of home. In such traditional and conservative societies women entry to public places and their involvement in the political activities is considered threat to their family life. In *Pukhtun* society, the foremost task and duty of woman is that of wife and mother which is only extended to the circle of their homes. Other activities in such traditional societies especially political one is in the third category for them (Matland, 2004).

In *Pukhtun* society of *Khyber Pukhtunkhwa*, the feudal set up as well as strong male dominancy is a great threat to women political participation. Even women are not allowed to poll a vote. In some districts of *Khyber Pukhtunkhwa*, such as Sawabi, Swat and more importantly in Dir districts women face severe restrictions and impediments from society. They are prevented on socio-cultural grounds as the values, norms, traditions do not allow them to participate in political activities. Similarly, due to the patriarchy nature of *Pukhtun* society, especially in Malakand division, women are strictly limited to the boundaries of their home. For instance in Swabi, Swat and Dir women strictly prevented from polling vote. Further in Malakand division, women are prevented from participation in political activities on religious ground. In this connection, religious scholars do social boycott of the women who contest election or even who poll the vote (Bano, 2009).

Similarly in *Pukhtun* society, like family, the feudalistic system is also a threat to women political participation. The famous words of the *Pukhtun* language i.e. *Zar, Zan, Zameen* (Money, Women and Land) is considered the roots of all evils in the society. These local words of *Pukhtun* language are always used against women and favor the status of men and resultantly promote gender disparity and gender discrimination in society (Ali and Gavino 2008:202). Women in *Pukhtun* society are restricted to home and their mobility outside home is prohibited because of the socio-cultural factors and due the fear of labeling social stigma. Women who go outside home face problems from society and even from family and it should be remembered that political participation is a public sphere activity. Similarly norms, values and strict and rigid culture and male dominancy push women away from authoritative spheres (Isran and Isran,2012). Various challenges and issues that women face in *Pukhtun* society are a threat to the respect of their family and that's the reason those women remain confined to the walls of home. *Pukhtun* traditions, norms and values based on *Pukhtunwali* strictly prohibit political participation of women in *Pukhtun* society (Naz, Ibrahim and Ahmad,2012:167).

In traditional society family honor is linked with the women. Woman in such society has more respects when she lives under the walls and boundaries of home. Similarly strict *purdah* system is observed and followed in the society by women which ultimately comes a hurdle and obstacle in the way of their participation in the political activities. For example, in case of going outside home, she has to cover herself completely from head to feet (South Asian for Human Right, 2009:5). In *Pukhtun* society, due to such restrictions and tradition women do not get equal approach to participate in political activities and face hurdles and impediments in the way of their participation of political activities (Bose and Rossi, 1983). Multiple factors in *Pukhtun* society promote discrimination against women not only in politics but also in education, health

21

and work place. The most important factors that affect women political participation are illiteracy, male dominancy, strict *purdah* system, strict culture, norm and values, misinterpretation of religious teachings, economic instability of women and stereotypical opinions of people regarding women.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Theoretical framework is one of the significant parts of the research process. The present study has its roots in feminist theories. There are different feminist theories about women empowerment but liberal feminism supports the current study.

2.2.1 Liberal Feminism

Feminist ideologies have not of the recent emergence but it is a quite long history. The main aim of the feminism is that women subordination can be questioned. Liberal feminism wants the equal access of women to various public domains and strictly discourages unequal treatment on the basis of gender. Friedan (1981) also supported the idea that society should make continuous effort to reduce the gender gap and to develop more human social system. Similarly to reduce gender inequality, liberal feminism suggests planned actions like mobilizing existing political changes channels for change developing equal economic opportunities. The founder of liberal feminism is considered to be Mary Wolsten Craft. However, most of the work of liberalism in the past is associated to John Locke, David Hume, Jeremy Benthan, and John Stuart Mill. It is also called equalitarian or mainstream feminism.

Gender inequality is the result of male dominancy and sexist way of the division of labor in society (Ritzer, 2000). Thus, it means that liberal feminism demands the elimination of sexism that leads and causes gender inequality. Similarly, liberal feminism accepts the existing set up of the society but want to expand the circle of the rights of women. The liberal feminism wants the implementation of gender balance law and also lay stress that women should have equal chance of access to these laws. Liberal feminism agrees with the existing setup as said by Jagger (1993) that liberal feminism does not want any change in the structure of basic organization. Mary Wollstonecraft has focused basically on the eradication of institutional bias

and implementation of gender balanced law because in history across the globe all the laws are male dominated and worked to protect masculine interests.

The above mentioned theory shows that women have similar problems everywhere in society. The current study has focused on the political participation of the women. This study has conducted in the conservative and traditional society where women have no access to political sphere. Mostly the laws and norms are male oriented and keep the women inferior and subordinate. Women in *Pukhtun* society are not allowed to cast vote or participate in any political activities. The culture of *Pukhtun* society and norms and rules do not support and encourage women participation in political activities. The liberal feminism also wants equal flexibility in the mind of people toward women as well as implementation of gender balanced laws. The basic philosophy of liberal feminism is that gender inequality is the outcome of patriarchy and sexiest pattern of division of labor. In *Pukhtun* society, these two things are dominant. Women are confined to indoor activities and are deprived from the public domain which leads to gender discrimination in *Pukhtun* society. Thus the liberal feminism is adopted to clarify and support the current problem.

2.3 Conceptual Framework of the Study

Background Variables	Independent Variables	Dependent Variables

A. Social factors
- Illiteracy
- Awareness
- Socialization
- Work Load
- Early Marriages
- Gender disparity
- Gender Segregation
- Women Autonomy
- Restricted Mobility
- Access
- Decision making

B. Cultural factors
- Patriarchy
- Traditions
- Rigidity
- Norms and Values
- Stereotypes
- Religiosity
- Strict Purdah System

C. Economic factors
- Poverty
- Dependency
- Economic autonomy

Background Variables:
- Age
- Education
- Income
- Family type

B. Women Political Participation
- Vote Casting
- Contesting
- Campaigning
- Polling agent

Figure-1 Conceptual Frame work

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Methodology

Methodology means rules, procedures and guidelines for conducting a particular research study. The main concern of the present study was to find out socio-cultural and economic factors which affect women political participation. The present study was conducted in three Tehsils of Dir districts of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa and further three colleges of Dir districts was taken into consideration to delimit the area. Total sample size of three hundred and forty two (342) represents was selected from three colleges of the Tehsils of districts Lower Dir and Upper Dir namely Government Girls Degree College Samrbagh, Government Girls Degree College Timergara and Government Girls Degree College Dir having sample of 39, 214 and 89 respectively. The selected sample was taken from the total population of 2370 (265+1485+620). Proportionate random sampling technique was used to draw the sample from the total population of three Colleges. The interview schedule was designed having both open and closed ended questions for data collection. The data further analyzed through Statistical Package for the Social Sciences by using frequencies, percentages in uni-variate analysis. However, the bi-variate analysis has been used for testing the proposed hypothetical statement with application of logistic regression. .

3.2 Quantitative research approach

This study is quantitative in nature and the data has been analyzed in the form of tables. Similarly, the data is presented in frequencies and percents. Apart from discussion, the bi-variate analysis has been made and the hypotheses have been tested with the help of logistic regression.

3.3 Research design

The present study is quantitative in nature and thus quantitative research design is used by the researcher. The interview schedule was constructed having both open and closed ended questions for the collection of data.

3.4 Universe of the study

In research activity selection of the area is of great importance. In research, universe is a place where data is collected. The universe of the current study is three colleges i.e. Government Girls Degree College, Samarbagh; Government Girls Degree College, Timergara and Government Girls Degree College, Dir of Dir districts Khyber Pukkhtunkhwa.

3.5 Population of the study

The term population means the aggregate or totality of all individuals or objects. Population for the current study was students of Government girls degree colleges of Dir districts Khyber Pukhtunkhwa namely Government Girls Degree College, Samarbagh , Government Girls Degree College, Timergara and Government Girls Degree College, Dir.

3.6 Sample of the study

A sample is a finite part of statistical population whose properties are studied to gain information about the whole, while dealing with people, it can be a set of respondents (people) selected from a large population for the purpose of survey.

Total sample size of three hundred and forty two (342) was selected from three colleges of the Tehsils of districts Lower Dir and Upper Dir namely Government Girls Degree College Samrbagh, Government Girls Degree College Timergara and Government Girls Degree College Dir having sample of 39, 214 and 89 respectively. The researcher selected the sample from the mentioned colleges through TARO YAMMNEE formula.

Colleges	Proportionate Formula*	Proportionate
Govt.Girls Degree College Dir Upper	620/2370 ×342	n_1=89
Govt.Girls Degree College Timergara	1485/2370×342	n_2=214
Govt. Girls degree College Samarbagh	265/2370×342	n_3=39

*Ni / N x n where n= total sample size, Ni=proportion population, N= total pop.

The sample size of three hundred and forty two (342) was selected from three colleges of the Tehsils of districts Lower Dir and Upper Dir namely Government Girls Degree College Samrbagh, Government Girls Degree College, Timergara and Government Girls Degree College, Dir having sample of 39, 214 and 89 respectively. The selected sample was taken from the total population of 2370 (265+1485+620). The sample size was then drawn from the population of two thousand three hundred and seventy students by using Taro Yamani formula.

According to Taro Yamnee Formula the Sample Size was as fallows,

Ni= N1+N2+N3

Ni=620+1485+265=2370

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + Ne^2}$$

n= 2370/1+2370(0.05)^2

n= 342

n_1+n_2+n_3= 342

Where, n sample size, N total population margin of error (0.05)

The estimated sample size for this study is 342 by applying proportionate sampling technique.

3.7 Sampling frame

A sampling frame is a list of all the sampling units in a population. The sample frame for the current study is three colleges i.e. Government Girls Degree College, Samarbagh, Government Girls Degree College, Timergara and Government Girls Degree College, Dir of Dir districts Khyber Pukkhtunkhwa

3.8 Sampling procedure

The sampling procedure refers to the process by which the researcher selects the sample size and collects data from that sample size using stratified random sampling techniques where proportionate sample was drawn from each college on the basis of proportion of girls students.

3.9 Research Instrument

The interview schedule was designed in which both open and close ended questions were developed on different variable of the study for data collection.

3.10 Data collection

The interview schedule was used for the collection of data. The data was collected on every Monday. Mostly the respondents were questioned during their off time.

3.11 Data analysis

After the collection of data, it was carefully entered into software known as Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). The data further analyzed using frequencies, percentages in uni-variate analysis. Similarly, the bi-variates analysis has been used for testing the proposed hypothetical statement with application of logistic regression.

3.12 Delimitation of research

The researcher delimits the research considering its scope, resources and time as well. The current study was confined to three colleges of dir districts.

3.13 Statistical techniques

A statistical technique has been used for analyzing the data. Both descriptive and inferential statistic has been used. Uni-variate data was analyzed through the help of descriptive statistics while Bi-variate data was analyzed through inferential techniques.

3.13.1 Mean

The sum of observation divided by the number of observation in a given data set is called Mean value. In descriptive stats Mean is the type of uni-variate data analysis. In the present study Mean was calculated by using following formula.

$$\text{mean} = \frac{sum\ of\ observation}{number\ of\ observation}$$

3.13.2 Binary Logistic regression

Binary Logistic regression is a technique in inferential statistics which is used to estimate the probability of a binary response based on one or more independent variable. Logistic regression finds the relationship between dependent variable and one or more than one independent variable.

3.14 Operationalization

Operationalization is an important step in research. By operationalization we mean the measurement of concept and variable, that how to measure the variables of researcher's concept and interest. In the present study following are the dependent variable, independent variables and background variables. Major variables have been operationalized in the forthcoming paragraphs.

Age

Age is the physical and mental growth of an individual over a period of time. It is to be considered an important research variable. In this study respondents were asked in following way.

Age of the respondent (complete years) _____

After data collection different age categories were designed for data analysis

Up to 18

19-20

21-22

Above 22

Education

Education is the process of learning knowledge, skills, values and beliefs.

After data collection the education of the respondents has been categorized. As the respondents were the students of Government Girls Degree Colleges i.e. Girls degree college, Samarbagh, Girls Degree College, Timergara and Girls Degree College Dir of Districts Upper Dir and Lower Dir, so the categories have been formed in the following way

i.   Intermediate

ii.   Bachelor

Social -cultural and economic factors

In the present study social factors impede women political participation. These variables belong to independent variables. The social factors have been explored through the following statements.

Social factors

- Illiteracy creates barrier to women political participation

- Lack of awareness is the main barrier to women political participation

- Higher work load prevent women from political participation

- No involvement of women in decision making affects women political participation

- Early marriages lessen women political participation

- Gender discrimination causes hurdle to women political participation

- Traditional socialization restricts women from political participation

Cultural factors

In the present study, independent variable has a greater effect on the dependent variable. Cultural factors impede women political participation. This independent variable has been explored with the help of the following statements.

- Male dominancy creates barrier to women political participation

- Strict *Purdah* system restricts women from political participation

- Cultural interpretation of religion creates hurdles to women political participation

- *Pukkhtun* traditions affects women political participation

- Local norms create impediments to women political participation

  Political participation

Economic factors

This independent variable has explored through the following statements.

- Poverty creates hurdles for women to participate in political participation

- Economic dependency of women on men affects women political participation

- Unemployment of women is a barrier in the way of women political participation

- Inflation creates obstacles in the way of women political participation

Political participation

This is dependent variable in the current study. It has been measured through the following indicators.

- Casting vote

- Contesting election

- Campaigning

- Work as polling agent

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Data analysis is the logical method of breaking down thing or concept into its component parts for the purpose of casting its meaning; it is the process of separating the parts of an idea, showing their relationship with each other and the process of making the whole idea. In addition, this chapter comprises two portions; the first phase comprises of descriptive statistics, where the data has been analyzed in the form of frequency and percentages. Besides, the second phase of analysis comprises on inferential statistics where the hypotheses is tested, using bivariate analysis focusing on logistic regression test.

4.1   Uni-Variate Data Analysis

Table 4.1: Distribution of the respondents regarding District, Tehsil, age and family monthly income of the Respondents

Districts of the respondents			
S.NO	Name of Districts	Frequency	Percentage
i	Lower Dir	253	74.0
ii	Upper Dir	89	26.0
	Total	342	100.0
Tehsil of the Colleges			
S.NO	Name of Tehsils	Frequency	Percentage
i	Samarbagh (Lower Dir)	39	11.4
ii	Timargara (Lower Dir)	214	62.6
iii	Dir (Dir Upper)	89	26.0
	Total	342	100

Table 4.1 shows the district and tehsil where colleges were situated. The data further reveals that majority (74%) of the respondents was selected from district Lower Dir, 26% of the respondents had been taken from the tehsil Dir of the districts Upper Dir. Further 11.4% and 62.6% of the respondents were taken from the Tehsils of Lower Dir i.e Samarbagh and

Timargara respectively. Twenty six percent of the respondents had been taken from the Tehsil Dir of the districts Upper Dir.

Table 4.2: Distribution of the respondents regarding their age and family monthly income

Age of the respondents			
S.NO	Age of the respondents in complete years	Frequency	Percentage
i	Up to 18	57	16.6
ii	19-20	153	44.8
iii	21-22	116	34
iv	22+	16	4.7
	Total	342	100
	Mean : 20.13	Standard deviation : 1.549	
Family income of the respondents			
S.NO	Family income of the respondents	Frequency	Percentage
i	Less than 30000	16	4.7
ii	30000-50000	186	54.4
iii	50001-70000	119	34.8
iv	70000+	21	6.2
	Total	342	100
	Mean : 52377.19	Standard deviation : 13436.758	

Table 4.2 reveals the age and monthly family income of the respondents. The data illustrate less than half of the respondents (44.8%) were in the age category of 19-20 years, while 34% of the respondents were in the age group 21-22 years. The table further shows that 16.6 % of the respondents were up to 18 year, whereas a small portion (4.7%) was above 18 year of age. The mean (average) age of the respondents was 20.13 years while standard deviation was 1.549.

This table also gives data on the monthly income of the respondents. The data reveal that more than half of the respondents (54.4%) had monthly income of Rs, 30000-50000 whereas more than one third i.e. 34.8% were getting Rs. 50001-70000 per month. The table also represents that 6.2% of the respondents were getting total monthly income above Rs.70000 whereas a small portion of the respondents (4.7%) were having less than Rs. 30000 monthly incomes from all the means.. The mean income of the respondents was 52377.19 while the standard deviation was 13436.758.

35

Table 4.3: Distribution of the respondents regarding their personal monthly income, job, and place of job.

Personal monthly income			
S.NO	Personal monthly income of the respond	Frequency	Percentage
i	Nill	329	96.2
ii	Less than 25000	5	1.5
iii	25000-30000	8	2.4
	Total	342	100.0
	Mean : 23900	Standard deviation : 3338.662	
Job of the respondents			
S.NO	Working Status of the respondents	Frequency	Percentage
i	Employed	13	3.8
ii	Unemployed	329	96.2
	Total	342	100
Place of the job			
S.NO	Sectors	Frequency	Percentage
i	Public sector	12	3.5
ii	Private sector	1	.3
iii	None	329	96.2
	Total	342	100
	Mean : 4.85	Standard deviation : .753	

Table 4.3 reveals personal monthly income of the respondents. The data further demonstrates that high majority of the respondents (96.2%) were having no monthly income and only 2.4% had extremely high personal monthly income ranged from Rs, 25000-30000.The table also indicates that a small portion of the respondents i.e.1.5% had monthly income less than 25 rupees. The mean income of the personal monthly income of the respondent was 23900 while the standard deviation was 3338.662.

The data in the mentioned table further reveal the job status of the respondents. In this regard, high majority of the respondents (96.2%) had no job because they were students however, only 3.8% of the respondents had their jobs.

The data in the table further demonstrates the place of the jobs of the respondents. In this connection high majority of the respondents i.e. 96.2% had no association with any sector

however 3.5% of the respondents were working in the public sector and a negligible portion (.3%) were associated with private sector.

Table 4.4: Distribution of respondents regarding their education, father's educational level, mother's education and husband's educational level

Level of education of the respondents			
S.NO	Education of the respondents	Frequency	Percentage
i	Intermediate	127	37.1
ii	Bachelor	215	62.9
	Total	342	100
	Mean : 12.78 Standard deviation : 1.183		
Respondent's father educational level			
S.NO	Respondent's father educational level	Frequency	Percentage
i	Illiterate	46	13.5
ii	Primary	166	48.5
iii	Middle	68	19.9
iv	Matric	38	11.1
v	Intermediate	14	4.1
vi	Bachelor	5	1.5
vii	Master	5	1.5
	Total	342	100.0
	Mean : 5.08 Standard deviation : 3.747		
Respondent's mother educational level			
S.NO	Respondent's mother educational level	Frequency	Percentage
i	Illiterate	172	50.3
ii	Primary	130	38
iii	Middle	22	6.4
iv	Metric	10	2.9
v	Intermediate	3	0.9
vi	Bachelor	3	0.9
vii	Master	1	0.3
	Total	342	100
	Mean : 2.16 Standard deviation : 3.111		
Respondent's husband educational level			
S.NO	Respondent's husband educational level	Frequency	Percentage
i	Unmarried	281	82.2
ii	Primary	5	1.5
iii	Middle	4	1.2
iv	Metric	17	5
v	Intermediate	10	2.9
vi	Bachelor	19	5.6
vii	Master	6	1.8
	Total	342	100
	Mean : 2.04 Standard deviation : 4.598		

Table 4.4 illustrates educational status of the respondents. The data further show that

majority of the respondents (62.9%) had marked their qualification as bachelor while 37.1% of

the respondents had intermediate qualification. The mean of education level was 12.78 whereas the standard deviation was 1.183.

The above table also demonstrates educational level of the respondent's father. The data show that little less than half i.e. 48.5% had primary education and 19.9% had marked their father qualification's level up to middle. The data also show that 13.5% of the respondents marked their father's education as illiterate and 11.1 had educated metric while 4.1% had marked intermediate qualification. The data further illustrate that only 1.5% had marked their father's education level as Bachlor while 1.5% had marked their father's educational level as master. The mean educational level was 5.08 while the standard deviation was 3.747.

The data in the table further demonstrate the respondent's mother educational level. In this connection half i.e. 50.3% had marked their mother's education level as illiterate and 38% marked their mother's educational qualification up to primary level. The data also reveal that 6.4% of the respondent's mothers were literate up to middle and 2.9% were matriculated while 0.9% had education up to intermediate. The data also show that 0.9% had marked their mother's educational level as bachelor whereas only 0.3% of the respondent had marked master as their mother's educational qualification. The mean educational level was 2.16 while the standard deviation was 3.111.

The data further demonstrate husband's qualification of the respondents. In this regard, the data show that 5.6% qualified up to bachelor and five percent were matriculated. The data also represent that 2.9% had marked intermediate education of their husband while 1.8% had marked graduation. The data also indicate that 1.5% had primary education whereas 1.2% had qualification up to middle. The mean educational level was 2.04 while the standard deviation was 4.598.

Table 4.5: Distribution of the respondents regarding their marital status, husband's occupation, family type and family members.

S.NO	Marital status of the respondents	Frequency	Percentage
Respondent's marital status			
i	Singal	281	82.2
ii	Married	61	17.8
	Total	**342**	**100**
Respondent's husband occupation			
S.NO	Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
i	Unmarried	281	82.2
ii	Govt Employee	11	3.2
iii	Private Job	15	4.4
iv	Business	22	6.4
v	Labor	13	3.8
	Total	**342**	**100.0**
	Mean : 908.48	**Standard deviation : 4619.614**	
Family type			
S.NO	Type of the family	Frequency	Percentage
i	Joint Family	330	96.5
ii	Nuclear Family	11	3.2
iii	Extended Family	1	.3
	Total	**342**	**100**
Family members			
S.NO	Number of family members	Frequency	Percentage
i	Less than 5	9	2.7
ii	5-10	39	11.5
iii	11-15	253	74
iv	15+	41	12
	Total	**342**	**100**
	Mean : 12.77	**Standard deviation : 2.863**	

Table 4.5 reveals data on the marital status of the respondents. The data further show that majority of the respondents (82.2%) were unmarried because the respondents were students while 17.8% were married.

The data in the table also illustrate occupation of the respondent's husband. It shows that majority (82.2%) of the respondents were unmarried because the respondents were students. It also reveals that 6.4% of the respondent's husband were running their own business and 4.4%

had private jobs. The data also represent that 3.8% of the respondent's husband were labor whereas only 3.2% were having government jobs.

The table further reveals data regarding the family type of the respondents. In this regard, majority of the respondents (96.5%) was living in joint family system while 3.2% of the respondents were living in nuclear family and a negligible portion (.3%) was living in extended family.

The table also gives information about the family members of the respondents. The data show that majority of the respondents i.e. 74% had 11-15 family members while 12% respondents had above 15 family members. The data in the table also show that 11.5% respondents had family members ranges from 11-15 whereas only 2.7% of the respondents had less than five family members. The mean calculated value was 12.77 while the standard deviation was 2.863.

Table 4.6: Distribution of the respondents regarding their family political affiliation, performance of the party, polling vote and participation of their family member as candidate.

Family political affiliation			
S.NO	Political affiliation of the family	Frequency	Percentage
i	PML(N)	10	2.9
ii	PTI	55	16.1
iii	JI	184	53.8
iv	JUI(F)	19	5.6
v	ANP	25	7.3
vi	PPP	42	12.3
vii	QWP	7	2.0
	Total	342	100.0
Performance of the political party			
S.NO	Performance in the area	Frequency	Percentage
i	PML(N)	10	2.9
ii	PTI	55	16.1
iii	JI	184	53.8
iv	JUI(F)	19	5.6
v	ANP	25	7.3
vi	PPP	42	12.3
vii	QWP	7	2.0
	Total	342	100
Polling vote			
S.NO	Casting of vote	Frequency	Percentage
i	Never	295	86.3
ii	Once	46	13.5
iii	Twice	1	.3
	Total	342	100
Participation of the family member as a candidate			
S.NO	Contesting election	Frequency	Percentage
i	Yes	18	5.3
ii	No	324	94.7
	Total	342	100

Table 4.6 reveals family political affiliation of the respondents. The data show that more than half i.e. 53.8% were having family political affiliation with JI and 16.1% were affiliated with PTI. The data also indicate that 12.3% of the respondents have shown their family political affiliation with PPP while 7.3% had marked their family political background as ANP. The data further show that 5.6% had told their family political affiliation with JUI (F), 2.9% were affiliated with PML (N) whereas only 2% were affiliated with QWP(Qaumi watan party).

42

The table also shows data on the performance and contribution of the political party. In this connection, more than half of the respondents (53.8%) had appreciated the work of JI, 16.1% reported PTI as better political party in terms of performance while 12.3% of the respondents had declared PPP as better political party for the area. The data also show that 7.3% of the respondents were in the favor of ANP, 5.6% marked JUI(F), 2.9% told PML(N) as better political party while only 2% of the respondents encouraged the work of QWP.

The table further shows data regarding vote casting of the respondents. It shows that majority of the respondents (86.3%) never polled their vote, 13.5% of the total respondents casted vote once while only0 .3% of the respondent casted vote two times.

The table also gives data regarding the participation of the respondent's family member as a candidate. In this regard, majority of the respondents i.e. 94.7% told their family member never contested election while only 5.3% of the respondents told that their family members had contested election.

Table 4.7: Distribution of the respondents regarding respondent's student political group, position in the group, her political participation in the party in a week and campaigning and name of campaigned party.

Respondent's student's political group			
S.NO	Student's political group	Frequency	Percentage
i	IJT	22	6.4
ii	Not a part	320	93.6
	Total	**342**	**100.0**
Position in the group			
S.NO	Position in the student's political group	Frequency	Percentage
	President	3	.9
i	General secretary	2	.6
ii	Finance secretary	1	.3
iii	None	336	98.2
	Total	**342**	**100**
Time giving to the political party activities throughout week			
S.NO	Participation	Frequency	Percentage
i	No involvement	288	84.2
ii	Less than one hour	31	9.1
iii	One hour	12	3.5
iv	Two hours	8	2.3
v	Three hours	2	.6
vi	More than three hours	1	.3
	Total	**342**	**100**
	Mean : 5.62	**Standard deviation : 1.124**	
Campaigning for political party			
S.NO	Campaigning	Frequency	Percentage
i	Yes	31	9.1
ii	No	311	90.9
	Total	**342**	**100**
Name of the campaigning party			
S.No	Campaigned party	Frequency	Percentage
i	None	311	90.9
ii	PTI	3	.9
iii	JI	26	7.6
iv	ANP	2	.6
	Total	**342**	**100**

Table 4.7 gives data related to the respondent's student political group. The data show that majority of the respondents i.e.93.6% had no affiliation with any students political group while only 6.4% of the respondents were affiliated with IJT.

The table also gives data about the positions of the respondents in the student's political group. The data reveal that majority of the respondents (98.2%) had no position in any students' political group while only 0.9% of the respondents told their position as presidents. Similarly 0.6% of the respondents marked their position as general secretary while negligible portion i.e. .3% of the respondents was finance secretary of the student's political group.

The table further reveals data about the time given by the respondents to their political party activities per week. The data show that majority of the respondents (84.2%) were not giving time to the political party's activities while 9.1% of the respondents were working for their party's activities less than one hour per week. The data also indicate that 3.5% of the respondents were giving one hour while 2.3% of the respondents were giving two hour throughout the week. The data further indicate that .6% of the respondents were giving three hours while only .3% of the respondents were giving time more than three hours. The mean calculated was 5.62 while the standard deviation was 1.124.

The table also gives data about the campaign of the party. The data illustrate that majority of the respondents (90.9%) were not running any campaign while only 9.1% of the respondents were running campaign for their political parties.

The table also gives information about the campaigned parties. In this regard, majority of the respondents i.e. 90.9 % were not campaigning for any party while 7.6% of the respondents were running campaign for the JI, .9% of the respondents were campaigning for PTI, .6% of the respondents were running campaign for ANP.

Table 4.8: Distribution of the respondents regarding their permission and support from family, who is more supportive to them, who resist them and handling of family matters along with political participation

Does your family allow you to take part in political activities			
S.NO	Permission from family side	Frequency	Percentage
i	Yes	53	15.5
ii	No	289	84.5
	Total	342	100.0
Does your family support you while working for a political party			
S.NO	Support from the family side	Frequency	Percentage
i	Yes	21	6.1
ii	No	321	93.9
	Total	342	100
	Mean: 1.94	Standard deviation: .240	
Who is more supportive to you in your family?			
S.NO	More supportive in family	Frequency	Percentage
i	None	321	93.9
ii	Parents	9	2.6
iii	Brother	1	.3
iv	Husband	11	3.2
	Total	342	100
Who resists you from political participation?			
S.NO	Resistance from the family members	Frequency	Percentage
i	None	53	15.5
ii	Parents	199	58.2
iii	Brother	54	15.8
iv	Husband	36	10.5
	Total	342	100
Can you handle your family matters along with political participation			
S.No	Family matters and political participation	Frequency	Percentage
i	Yes	73	21.3
ii	No	269	78.7
	Total	342	100

Table 4.8 displays data on respondent's permission from family. The data reveal that majority of the respondents i.e. 84.5% had no permission from their family to participate in political activities while only 15.5% of the respondents were allowed by their family to take politics.

The table also displays data regarding the support of the family to the respondents. In this regard, majority of the respondents i.e. 93.9% were not supported by their family while only

6.1% of the respondents were supported by their family. The mean calculated was 1.94 while the standard deviation was .240.

The table also gives data regarding the support from the family members to the respondents. In this regard, majority of the respondents (93.9%) were getting no support from the family while 3.2% of the respondents were supported by their husband, 2.6 % of the respondents were supported by their parents whereas only .3% of the respondents were supported by their brothers.

The table also reveals data regarding resistance from their family members. In this regard, more than half of the respondents i.e. 58.2% were opposed by their parents, 15.8% were resisted by their brothers, 15.5% of the respondent told that they face no resistance while 10.5% of the respondents faced resistance from their husband.

The table also gives data related to family work and political participation of the respondents. In this connection, majority of the respondents i.e. 78.7% were of the opinion that they cannot handle political participation along with their family matters where as only 21.3% of the respondents hold the contrary views.

Table 4.9: social factors affecting women political participation in *Pukhtun* society

Social factors and women political participation in *Pukhtun* society

S.No	Statement	SA	A	NO	DA	SDA	T.F (%)	Mean	STD
i	Illiteracy creates barrier to women political participation	5 (1.5)	251 (73.4)	38 (11.1)	42 (12.3)	6 (1.8)	342 (100)	2.39	.788
ii	Lack of awareness stops women political participation	34 (9.9)	266 (77.8)	12 (3.5)	29 (8.5)	1 (.3)	342 (100)	2.11	.699
iii	Higher work load prevent women from political participation	10 (2.9)	248 (72.5)	19 (5.6)	51 (14.9)	14 (4.1)	342 (100)	2.45	.923
iv	No involvement in decision making affect women political participation	15 (4.4)	261 (76.3)	16 (4.7)	49 (14.3)	1 (.3)	342 (100)	2.30	.776

Table 4.9 reveals data on the relationship between social factors and women political participation in *Pukhtun* society. In this connection, majority of the respondents (73.4%) were agreed with the statement that illiteracy creates barrier to women political participation, 12.3 % disagreed with the statement whereas 11.1% of the respondents did not give any opinion. The data further shows that 1.8% of the respondents strongly disagreed and told that illiteracy does not bring barriers in the way of women political participation while only 1.5% of the respondents were strongly agreed to the statement that illiteracy creates barrier to women political participation. The mean calculated was 2.39 while the standard deviation was .788. The similar finding is also supported by Karl (1995) as he stated that lack of education and illiteracy create barriers to women political participation.

The table also gives the opinion of the respondents on the statement that lack of awareness is the main barrier to women political participation. The data shows that majority of the respondents i.e. 77.8% agreed to the statement that lack of awareness is the main barrier to women political participation while 9.9% of the respondents were strongly agreed with it. The data also demonstrates that 8.5% of the respondents were disagreed and .3% strongly disagreed that lack of

48

awareness is a barrier to women political participation and 3.5% of the respondents did not give comment on the statement. The mean calculated was 2.11 while the standard deviation was .699.

The table also displays the views of the respondents on statement that higher work load in *Pukhtun* society prevent women from political participation. The data illustrates that majority of the respondents (72.5%) agreed and told that work burden of women in *Pukhtun* society prevents them from political participation while 14.9% of the respondents held the opposite views. Similarly the data further indicated that 5.6% of the respondents did not comment and 4.1% of the respondents were strongly disagreed whereas only 2.9% of the respondents were strongly agreed with the mentioned statement. The mean calculated was 2.45 while the standard deviation was .923. Work task at home is considered the first priority for women while political activities are in the third category for them (Matland,2004).

The table further proceeds with the opinion of the respondents on the statement that no involvement of women in decision making affects women political participation. In this regard, majority of the respondents i.e. 76.3% agreed with the statement that no involvement of women in decision making affects their political participation in *Pukhtun* society, 14.3% of the respondents were disagreed with the statement whereas 4.7% of the respondents did not give their opinion. The data also represents that 4.4% of the respondents were strongly agreed while .3% of the respondents were strongly disagreed with mention statement. The mean calculated was 2.30 while the standard deviation was .776. This similar finding has also been supported by Sosena and Tsehai, (2008) as they argued that in Ethiopian society women do not have any representation in the decision making process.

Table 4.9.1: Social factors affecting women political participation in *Pukhtun* society

Social factors and women political participation in *Pukhtun* society

S.No	Statement	SA	A	NO	DA	SDA	T.F (%)	Mean	STD
i	Early marriages lessen women political participation	32 (9.4)	242 (70.8)	14 (4.1)	53 (15.5)	1 (.3)	342 (100)	2.27	.844
ii	Gender discrimination impedes women political participation	155 (45.3)	146 (42.7)	10 (2.9)	30 (8.8)	1 (.3)	342 (100)	1.76	.897
iii	Traditional socialization restricts women from political participation	12 (3.5)	269 (78.7)	5 (1.5)	51 (14.9)	5 (4.1)	342 (100)	2.32	.822

The 4.9.1 also gives data on the relationship of social factors and women political participation. The data further demonstrates that majority of the respondents i.e. 70.8% were agreed with the statement that early marriages lessen women political participation in *Pukhtun* society and 15.5% of the respondents were disagreed and told that early marriages do not affect women political participation. Similarly the data also shows that 9.4% of the respondents were strongly agreed with the said statement and 4.1% of the respondents did not give their opinion whereas only .3% of the respondents were strongly disagreed with the statement that early marriages lessen women political participation in the *Pukhtun* society. The mean calculated was 2.27 while the standard deviation was .844. Early marriages of women by their parents and having limited opportunities of education especially higher education make women more fit for indoor activities and consider political sphere more appropriate and suitable for male members of the society(Thomas,1994).

The table also gives data regarding the statement that gender discrimination causes hurdles to women political participation in *Pukhtun* society. In this regard, less than half of the respondents i.e. 45.3% were strongly agreed and 42.7% of the respondents were agreed with the mentioned statement. The data also show that 8.8% of the respondents were disagreed and 2.9%

remained neutral whereas only .3% of the respondents were strongly disagreed. The mean calculated was 1.76 while the standard deviation was .897. Women are treated discriminately in every field and are getting less privilege than male (Kazmi, 2005:94).

The table also gives data on the opinion of the respondents about the statement that traditional socialization restricts women from political participation in *Pukhtun* society. When they were asked, majority of the respondents i.e. 78.7% were agreed with the mentioned statement and 14.9% of the respondents were disagreed whereas 3.5% were strongly agreed with the said statement. The data also represent that 1.5% of the respondents did not comment while 4.1% of the respondents were strongly disagreed with same statement. The mean calculated was 2.32 while the standard deviation was .822.

Table 4.10 Cultural factors affecting women political participation in *Pukhtun* society

S.No	Statement	SA	A	NO	DA	SDA	T.F (%)	Mean	STD
i	Male dominancy creates barrier to women political participation	174 (50.9)	109 (31.9)	12 (3.5)	45 (13.2)	2 (.6)	342 (100)	1.811	1.043
ii	Strict *Purdah* system restricts women from political participation	170 (49.7)	109 (31.9)	8 (2.3)	53 (15.5)	2 (.6)	342 (100)	1.85	1.084
iii	Cultural interpretation of religion creates hurdles to women political particpation	13 (3.8)	223 (65.2)	41 (12.0)	54 (15.8)	11 (3.2)	342 (100)	2.49	.915
iv	*Pukhtun* traditions affects women political participation	12 (3.5)	255 (74.6)	8 (2.3)	62 (18.1)	5 (1.5)	342 (100)	2.39	.873
v	Local norms create impediments to women political participation	9 (2.6)	260 (76)	9 (2.6)	55 (16.1)	9 (2.6)	342 (100)	2.40	.880

Table 4.10 demonstrates the views of the respondents on the relationship of cultural factors and women political participation in *Pukhtun* society. When the respondents were asked about male dominancy as a barrier to women political participation, almost half of the respondents (50.9%) were strongly agreed with the statement that male dominancy creates barrier to women political participation in *Pukhtun* society and 31.9% of the respondents were agreed whereas 13.2% of the respondents were disagreed with the statement. The data also show that 3.5% of the respondents did not give any opinion and only .6% of the respondents were strongly disagreed with the mentioned statement. The mean calculated was 1.811 while the standard deviation was 1.043. Patriarchy and male dominancy is one of the core barriers in the way of women political participation in Pakistani society ((McCarthy and Sultana, 2004). As argued by Omvedt (2005, p.4776) patriarchy and male power over society have lessened women political participation.

The table also indicates data on the opinion of the respondents regarding statement that strict *purdah* system restricts women from political participation in *Pukhtun* society. The data further illustrates that almost half of the respondents i.e. 49.7% were strongly agree to the statement that strict *purdah* system restricts women from political participation in *Pukhtun* society and 31.9% of the respondents were agreed while 15.5% of the respondents were disagreed with the mentioned statement. The data also show that 2.3% of the respondents did not say anything and only .6% of the respondents were strongly disagreed when they were told that strict *purdah* system restricts women from political participation in *Pukhtun* society. The mean calculated was 1.85 and standard deviation was 1.084. The similar finding is also supported by Sathar and Kazi (2000) as they stated that due to the observance of the *purdah* women cannot take part in political activities and remain confined to homes.

The table also gives data on the statement that cultural interpretation of religion creates hurdles to women political participation. Results show that majority of the respondents (65.2%) were agreed and 15.8% of the respondents were disagreed whereas 12% of the respondents did not comment on the said statement. The data also represent that 3.8% of the respondents were strongly agreed where only 3.2% of the respondents were strongly disagreed with the mentioned statement. The mean calculated was 2.49 and standard deviation was .915. Misinterpretation of religious teachings keeps the women restricted to home and they cannot poll a vote (Nwankwo and Surma,2008).

The table also gives data about the views of the respondents on the statement that *Pukhtun* *traditions* affect women political participation. Results show that majority of the respondents i.e. 74.6% were agreed, 18.1% of the respondents were disagreed whereas 3.5% of the respondents were strongly agreed with the said statement. It also shows that 2.3% of the respondents remained neutral while only 1.5% of the respondents were strongly disagreed with the same statement. The mean calculated was 2.39 and standard deviation was .873. In *Pukhtun* society, due to such restrictions and traditions

women do not get equal approach to participate in political activities and face hurdles and impediments in the way of their participation of political activities (Bose and Rossi, 1983).

The table also displays data regarding the views of the respondents on the asked statement 'local norms create impediments to women political participation in *Pukhtun* society'. In this regard, majority of the respondents (76%) was agreed and 16.1% of the respondents held the contrary views whereas 2.6% of the respondents were strongly agreed. The data further shows that 2.6% of the respondents did not give their view while 2.6% of the respondents were strongly disagreed and told that local norms do not create impediments to women political participation in *Pukhtun* society. The mean calculated was 2.40 and standard deviation was .880. Norms, values and strict and rigid culture and male dominancy push women away from authoritative spheres (Isran and Isran,2012).

Table 4.11: Frequency distribution of the respondents regarding different aspects of political participation

S.No	Up to what extent education plays in your political participation?	Frequency	Percentage
i	To a great extent	263	76.9
ii	To some extent	53	15.5
iii	Not at all	26	7.6
	Total	342	100.0
	Mean: 1.92 Standard deviation: .475		
S.No	Do you participate in meeting called by student's political group?	Frequency	Percentage
i	Yes	37	10.8
ii	No	305	89.2
	Total	342	100
How many hours a week do you give to political activities at college?			
S.No	Time giving to political activities	Frequency	Percentage
i	Less than one hour	36	10.5
ii	1-3	15	4.4
iii	4-6	2	.6
iv	10+	1	.3
v	Giving no time	288	84.2
	Total	342	100
How often do you participate in political activities at college?			
S.NO	How often do you participate?	Frequency	Percentage
i	Every day	8	2.3
ii	Once a week	10	2.9
iii	Once in month	36	10.5
iv	Never	288	84.2
	Total	342	100
S.NO	Does education bring political awareness among women?	Frequency	Percentage
i	To a great extent	260	76.0
ii	To some extent	47	13.7
iii	Not at all	35	10.2
	Total	342	100
	Mean: 1.96 Standard deviation: .489		

The table 4.11 gives data related to the role of education with the women political participation. In this regard, majority of the respondents i.e. 76.9% told that education has a role in women political participation up to a great extent, 15.5% of the respondents told that education plays role in women education up to some extent while only 7.6% of the respondents

told that education does not play role in women political participation in *Pukhtun* society. The mean calculated was 1.92 while standard deviation was .475.

The table further shows data regarding the participation of the respondents in meeting called by student's political group. The data show that majority of the respondents i.e. 89.2% did not attend the meeting while only 10.8% of the respondents attended these meetings.

The table further reveals data about the hours given by the respondents to student's political group activities in a week. The data reveal that majority of the respondents i.e. 84.2% were giving no time, 10.5% of the respondents told that they give time to student' s political group activities less than one a hour a week whereas 4.4% of the respondents told that they give 1-3 hours in a week. The data further show that .6% of the respondents were giving 4-6 hours to their political activities at college while only .3% of the respondents were giving 10+ hours to student political group activities in a week.

The table also represents data on how often they participate in political activities at college. In this regard, majority of the respondents (84.2%) had not participated in political activities at college, 10.5% of the respondents were participated once in month whereas 2.9% of the respondents participated once a week while only 2.3% of the respondents participated daily in political activities at college.

The table 4.10 gives data related to the role of education in bringing political awareness among women. In this regard, majority of the respondents i.e. 76.0% told that education brings political awareness among women up to a great extent, 13.7% of the respondents told that education creates political awareness among women up to some extent while only 10.2% of the respondents told that education does not bring political awareness among women. The mean calculated was 1.96 while the standard deviation was .489.

Table 4.12: Respondents views on the relationship between education and their political participation

Education and women political participation

S.No	Statement	SA	A	NO	DA	SDA	T.F (%)	Mean	STD
i	Education gives you more chances to be involved in political activities	18 (5.3)	242 (70.8)	15 (4.4)	57 (16.7)	10 (2.9)	342 (100)	2.41	.927
ii	Education provides you a platform to participate in political activities	28 (8.2)	237 (69.3)	30 (8.8)	38 (11.1)	9 (2.6)	342 (100)	2.31	.871
iii	Education increases your level of participation in political actvities	14 (4.1)	259 (75.7)	18 (5.3)	40 (11.7)	11 (3.2)	342 (100)	2.34	.861

The table 4.12 represents data on views of the respondents related to the relationship between education and women political participation. The data reveal that majority of the respondents (70.8%) were agreed with the statement that education gives them chance to be involved in political activities, 16.7% of the respondents were disagreed whereas 5.3% of the respondents were strongly agreed. The data further show that 4.4% of the respondents remained neutral while only 2.9% of the respondents were strongly disagreed with the mentioned statement. The mean calculated was 2.41 and the standard deviation as .927.

The table also gives data related to the statement that education provides them a platform to participate in political activities. In this regard, majority of the respondents i.e. 69.3 showed agreement and 11.1% of the respondents held contrary opinions whereas 8.8% of the respondents did not give any opinion. The data also reveal that 8.2% of the respondents were strongly agreed while only 2.6% of the respondents were strongly disagreed with the mentioned statement. The mean calculated was 2.31 and the standard deviation was .871.

The table also displays views of the respondents on the statement that education increases their level of participation in political activities. Results indicate that majority of the respondents (75.7%) were

agreed, 11.7% of the respondents were disagreed while 5.3% of the respondents did not comment. The data also show that 4.1% of the respondents were strongly agreed and only 3.2% of the respondents were strongly disagreed with the mentioned statement. The mean calculated was 2.34 and standard deviation was .861.

Table 4.13: Restricted mobility and women political participation

S.NO	Does your restricted mobility affect your political life?	Frequency	Percentage
i	To a great extent	287	83.9
ii	To some extent	37	10.8
iii	Not at all	18	5.3
	Total	**342**	**100**
	Mean: 1.94 **Standard deviation: .398**		
S.NO	Does restricted mobility stops women voter's turn out?	Frequency	Percentage
i	Yes	317	92.7
ii	No	25	7.3
	Total	**342**	**100**
S.NO	Are you satisfied from women's turnout during election?	Frequency	Percentage
i	To a great extent	5	1.5
ii	To some extent	20	5.8
iii	Not at all	317	92.7
	Total	**342**	**100**
	Mean: 2.87 **Standard deviation: .482**		
S.NO	Does restricted mobility stop you from contesting election?	Frequency	Percentage
i	Yes	324	94.7
ii	No	18	5.3
	Total	**342**	**100**
S.NO	Have your limited mobility prevented you from political participation?	Frequency	Percentage
i	Never	18	5.3
ii	Always	287	83.9
iii	Sometime	37	10.8
	Total	**342**	**100**

Table 4.13 gives data on the relationship between restricted mobility and women political participation. When the respondents were asked, majority of the respondents (83.9%) told that their political participation is affected by restricted mobility up to a great extent, 10.8% of the respondents told that restricted mobility affects their political life up to some extent. The data

also show that 5.3% of the respondents told that restricted mobility does not affect their political life. The calculated mean was 1.94 while standard deviation was .398.

The table also reveals data related to relationship of women turn out and restricted mobility. When they were asked, majority of the respondents (92.7%) told that restricted mobility stops women voter's turnout while 7.3% of the respondents held the opposite views. As Muoghalu and Abrifor (2012) told that women are strictly prevented by their male family members from entering to authoritative spheres.

The table also gives data about the satisfaction level of women about women voters turn out during election. When the respondents were asked, majority of the respondents i.e. 92.7% were not satisfied and 5.8% of the respondents were satisfied from women turnout up to some extent whereas only 1.5% were satisfied to a great extent. The calculated mean was 2.87 while standard deviation was .48.

The table also reveals views of the respondents about the relationship of restricted mobility and contesting election. The data demonstrate that majority of the respondents i.e. 94.7% told that restricted mobility is a barrier in the way contesting election and only 5.3% of the respondents do not consider restricted mobility as a barrier in the way of their contesting election.

The table also gives data on how often restricted mobility prevents them from participating in political activities. When the respondents were asked, majority of them i.e. 83.9% told that restricted mobility always prevented them to participate in political activities, 10.8% of the respondents told restricted mobility becomes a barrier in the way of their political participation while 5.3% of the respondents told that restricted mobility has never stopped them from taking part in political activities.

Table 4.13.1: Frequency distribution of the respondents regarding parent's permission to take part in political activities.

S.NO	To work as polling agent during election	Frequency	Percentage
i	Yes	14	4.1
ii	No	328	95.9
	Total	342	100
S.NO	To run campaign	Frequency	Percentage
i	Yes	53	15.5
ii	No	289	84.5
	Total	342	100
S.NO	To caste vote	Frequency	Percentage
i	Yes	53	15.5
ii	No	289	84.5
	Total	342	100
S.NO	To contest election	Frequency	Percentage
i	Yes	18	5.3
ii	No	324	94.7
	Total	342	100

The table 4.13.1 gives data on the respondent's permission from their parents to participate in various political activities. The data show that majority of the respondents i.e. 95.9% were not given permission by their parents to work as a polling agent during election and 4.1% of the respondents were allowed to work as a polling agent.

The table also gives data regarding permission from parents while running campaign. The data show that majority of the respondents i.e. 84.5% were not allowed by their parents to run campaign while only 15.5% were allowed to run campaign

The table also gives data on the respondent's permission for casting vote from their parents. In this regard, majority of the respondents (84.5%) told that their parents do not allow them to cast vote while only 15.5% of the respondents were allowed to cast vote.

The table also reveals the views of the respondents regarding contesting election. The data show that majority of the respondents i.e. 94.7% were not allowed by their parents to contest election whereas only 5.3% of the respondents were allowed to contest election.

Table 4.14: Respondents views related to their mobility and political participation

S.No	Statement	SA	A	NO	DA	SDA	T.F (%)	Mean	STD
i	Women should be limited to household activities	5 (1.5)	26 (7.6)	19 (5.6)	289 (84.5)	3 (.9)	342 (100)	3.76	.665
ii	Women should not take part in outdoor activities	2 (.6)	33 (9.6)	16 (4.7)	290 (84.8)	1 (.3)	342 (100)	3.75	.652
iii	Woman should not go outside of home	9 (2.2)	34 (9.9)	20 (5.8)	275 (80.4)	4 (1.2)	342 (100)	3.68	.775
iv	Woman should not go for casting vote	9 (2.6)	44 (12.9)	20 (5.8)	267 (78.1)	2 (.6)	342 (100)	3.61	.816
iv	Woman should not contest election	22 (6.4)	17 (5.0)	38 (11.1)	261 (76.3)	4 (1.2)	342 (100)	3.61	.866

Table 4.14 represents views of the respondents on their mobility and political participation. In this regard, when they were asked, that women should be limited to household activities, majority of the respondents i.e. 84.5% were disagreed and 7.6% of the respondents were agreed whereas 5.6% of the respondents did not give comment on mentioned statement. The data also show that 1.5% of the respondents were strongly agreed while .9% of the respondents were strongly disagreed with the statement that women should be limited to household activities. The calculated mean was 3.76 and standard deviation was .665.

The table further proceeds with data on the statement 'women should not take part in outdoor activities'. In this regard, majority of the respondents i.e. 84.8% were disagreed and 9.6% of the respondents were agreed whereas 4.7% of the respondents remained silent. The data also show that .6% of the respondents were strongly agreed while .3% of the respondents were strongly disagreed with the statement that women should not take part in outdoor activities. The calculated mean was 3.75 and standard deviation was .652.

61

The table also gives data on the statement 'women should not go outside of home'. The data show that majority (80.4%) of the respondents were disagreed with the statement that women should not go outside of home, 9.9% of the respondents were agreed whereas 5.8% of the respondents did not comment on the asked statement. The data also reveals that 2.2% of the respondents were strongly agreed while 1.2% of the respondents were strongly disagreed with the mentioned statement. The calculated mean was 3.68 and standard deviation was .775.

The table also reveals data on the statement that 'women should not go for casting vote'. The data further demonstrate that majority of the respondents (78.1%) were disagreed with the statement that women should not go for casting vote, 12.9% of the respondents were agreed whereas 5.8% of the respondents did not give any opinion. The data also show that 2.6% of the respondents were strongly agreed with the statement whereas only .6% of the respondents were strongly disagreed with the mentioned statement. The calculated mean was 3.61 and standard deviation was .816.

The table also gives data on the statement that 'women should not contest election'. In this regard, majority of the respondents (76.3) % was disagreed and 11.1% of the respondents remained neutral whereas 6.4% of the respondents were strongly agreed. The data further show that 5.0% of the respondents were agreed while 1.2% of the respondents were strongly disagreed with the statement that women should not contest election. The calculated mean was 3.61 and standard deviation was .866.

Table 4.15: Employed respondents, their income from the job and the economic dependency of women and their political participation

Are you currently working for paid employment?			
S.NO	Job status of the respondents	Frequency	Percentage
i	Employed	13	3.8
ii	Unemployed	329	96.2
	Total	342	100
What is your monthly income from this job?			
S.NO	Monthly income from the job	Frequency	Percentage
i	Nill	329	96.2
ii	Less than 25000	5	1.5
iii	25000-30000	8	2.4
	Total	342	100.0
	Mean : 23900	Standard deviation : 3338.662	
Does your economic dependency stop you from participation in political activities?			
S.NO	Economic dependency	Frequency	Percentage
i	To a great extent	282	82.5
ii	To some extent	40	11.7
iii	Not at all	20	5.8
	Total	342	100

The table 4.15 reveals data on the employment of the respondents. The data show that majority of the respondents i.e. 96.2% were not working for any paid job while only 3.8% of the respondents were paid employed. Majority of the respondents were unemployed because they were college students.

The data further demonstrate that majority of the respondents (96.2%) were having no monthly income and only 2.4% were getting personal monthly income ranged from Rs, 25000 30000.The results further reveal that only1.5% were getting personal monthly income less than 25 thousand rupees. The mean value of the personal monthly income of the respondent was 23900 while the standard deviation was 3338.662.

The table also illustrates data on the economic dependency and political participation. The data shows that majority of the respondents i.e. 82.5% told that economic dependency stop them from participating in political activities up to great extent and 11.7% of the respondents

told that economic dependency prevent them from participating in political activities up to some extent whereas only 5.8% of the respondents told that economic dependency does not stop their political participation.

Table 4.15.1: Economic factors affecting women political participation in *Pukhtun* society

S.No	Statement	SA	A	NO	DA	SDA	T.F (%)	Mean	STD
i	Poverty creates hurdles for women to participate in political activities	48 (14.0)	275 (80.4)	7 (2.0)	11 (3.2)	1 (.3)	342 (100)	1.95	.561
ii	Economic dependency of women on men affect women political participation	251 (73.4)	71 (20.8)	8 (2.3)	11 (3.2)	1 (.3)	342 (100)	1.36	.712
iii	Unemployment is a barrier in the way of women political participation	31 (9.1)	291 (85.1)	4 (1.2)	14 (4.1)	2 (.6)	342 (100)	2.02	.565
iv	Inflation creates obstacles in the way of women political participation	14 (4.1)	414 (91.8)	4 (1.2)	7 (2.0)	3 (.9)	342 (100)	2.04	.461

Table 4.15.1 reveals data on the relationship between economic factors and women political participation in *Pukhtun* society. In this connection majority of the respondents i.e. 80.4% were agreed with the statement that poverty creates hurdles for women to participate in political activities in *Pukhtun* society, 14.0% of the respondents were strongly agreed whereas 3.2% of the respondents disagreed and 2% of the respondents did not say anything whereas only .3% of the respondent was strongly disagreed with the mentioned statement. The calculated mean was 1.95 and standard deviation was .561. In Nigeria due to severe poverty women are facing a lot of problem in their way of political participation (Ngara et al, 2013).

The table also gives data on the statement 'economic dependency of women on men affect women political participation in *Pukhtun* society'. The data further reveal that majority of the respondents i.e. 73.4% were strongly agreed with the asked statement 'economic dependency of women on men affect women political participation in *Pukhtun* society ', 20.8% of the

64

respondents were agreed whereas 3.2% of the respondents were disagreed. The data also show that 2.3% of the respondents did not comment while .3% of the respondents showed strong disagreement to the mentioned statement. The calculated mean was 1.36 and standard deviation was .712.

The table also indicated data on the statement that unemployment of women is a barrier in the way of women political participation in *Pukhtun* society. The data further demonstrates that majority of the respondents i.e. 85.1% were agreed with statement that unemployment of women is a barrier in the way of women political participation in *Pukhtun* society, 9.1% of the respondents were strongly agreed while 4.1% of the respondents were disagreed. The data also show that 1.2% of the respondents remained neutral while only .6% of the respondents were strongly disagreed with the mentioned statement. The calculated mean was 2.02 and standard deviation was .565.

The table also displays data on the statement that 'inflation creates obstacles in the way of women political participation in *Pukhtun* society'. In this connection, the table further represents that majority of the respondents (91.8%) were agreed and considered inflation as a barrier in the way of women political participation and 4.1% of the respondents were strongly agreed whereas 2% of the respondents were disagreed. The data also illustrate that 1.2% of the respondents did not comment while only .9% of the respondents showed strong disagreement with the statement that inflation creates obstacles in the way of women political participation in *Pukhtun* society. The calculated mean was 2.04 and standard deviation was .461.

4.2 Bi-Variate Analysis

Table 1: *Logistic regression predicting likelihood of reporting casting vote with reference to women political participation*

I.V's	B(SE)	Df	P-value	Odds
Age	-0.25(0.202)	1	0.001**	0.703
Social Factor	-0.11(0.371)	1	0.015*	1.659
Cultural Factor	0.72(0.311)	1	0.032*	2.206
Economic Factor	-0.34(0.132)	1	0.010*	0.811
Restricted Mobility	-0.13(0.202)	1	0.081ns	0.376

**p<0.01, *p<0.05 and ns=not significant

Binary logistic regression was performed to assess the impact of number of factors on the likelihood of reporting to cast a vote with reference to the respondents' (women) political participation. The model contained five independent variables (age, social factor, cultural factor, economic factor, restricted mobility of women). As highlighted in the table, four of the independent variables made a statistically significant contribution to the model. The strongest predictor of reporting political participation with casting a vote was cultural factors, recording an odds ratio of 2.206. This indicated that respondents with casting vote were over 2.206 times more likely to report as political participation than those who did not caste vote, controlling all other factors in the model. The odds ratio of 1.659 for social factor indicated that respondents with casting vote were over 1.64 times more likely to report as political participation than those who did not cast vote. The odds ratio of 0.811 for economic factor was less than 1, indicating that for every unit of economic factor, respondents were 0.811 times less likely to report as political participation than those who did not cast vote.

Table 2: *Logistic regression predicting likelihood of reporting Contesting election with reference to women political participation*				
I.V's	B(SE)	Df	P-value	Odds
Age	-0.33(0.220)	1	0.030*	0.717
Social Factors	-0.17(0.318)	1	0.040*	0.837
Cultural Factors	-0.09(0.157)	1	0.030*	1.991
Economic Factors	-0.59(0.157)	1	0.001**	0.274
Restricted Mobility	-0.25(0.237)	1	0.272ns	0.717

**p<0.01, *p<0.05 and ns=not significant

As mentioned in the table, four of the independent variables made a statistically significant contribution to the model. In this regard, the strongest predictor of reporting political participation with contesting election was cultural factors, recording an odds ratio of 1.991. This represented that respondents with contesting election were over 1.991 times more likely to report as political participation than those who did not contest election. The odds ratio of 0.837 for social factor indicated that respondents with contesting election were over 0.837 times more likely to report as political participation than those who did not contest election. The odds ratio of 0.71 for restricted mobility indicated that respondents with contesting election were 0.71 times more likely to report as political participation than those who did not contest election. The odd ratio of 0.274 for economic factors represented that respondents with contesting election were 0.274 times less likely to report as political participation than those who did not contest election.

Table 3: *Logistic regression predicting likelihood of reporting to run an election campaign with reference to women political participation*				
I.V's	B(SE)	Df	P-value	Odds
Age	-0.24(0.102)	1	0.015*	0.780
Social Factors	-0.04(0.073)	1	0.041*	0.960
Cultural Factors	-0.02(0.067)	1	0.001*	1.002
Economic Factors	-0.34(0.393)	1	0.031*	0.711
Restricted Mobility	-0.09(0.089)	1	0.51ns	0.912

**p<0.01, *p<0.05 and ns=not significant

Binary logistic regression was performed to assess the impact of number of factors on the likelihood of reporting to run an election campaign with reference to women political participation. The model comprised five independent variables (age, social factor, cultural factor, economic factor, restricted mobility of women). As mentioned in the table, four of the independent variable made a statistically significant contribution to the model. The strongest predictor of reporting political participation with running election campaign was cultural factors, recording an odds ratio of 1.002. This represented that respondents with running campaign were over 1.002 times more likely to report as political participation than those who did not run campaign, controlling all other factors in the model. Similarly the odds ratio of 0.960 for social factor indicated that respondents with running campaign were over 0.960 times more likely to report as political participation than those who did not run campaign. The odds ratio of 0.912 for restricted mobility indicated that respondents with running campaign were 0.912 times more likely to report as political participation than those who did not run campaign election. The odd ratio of 0.71 economic factor was less than 1, represented that for every unit of economic factor, respondents were 0.71 times less likely to report as political participation than those who did not run campaign election.

I.V's	B(SE)	df	P-value	Odds
Age	-0.14(0.136)	1	0.049*	0.689
Social Factors	0.07(0.142)	1	0.015*	0.843
Cultural Factors	-0.48(0.118)	1	0.011*	1.062
Economic Factors	-0.13(0.183)	1	0.031*	0.594
Restricted Mobility	-0.37(0.190)	1	0.454ns	0.893

Table 4: *Logistic regression predicting likelihood of reporting to work as polling agent with reference to women political participation*

$**p<0.01$, $*p<0.05$ and ns=not significant

As described in the table, four of the independent variable made a statistically significant contribution to the model. In this regard, the strongest predictor of reporting political participation with working as a polling agent was cultural factors, recording an odds ratio of 1.062. This represented that respondents working as a polling agent were over 1.062 times more likely to report as political participation than those who did not work as a polling agent. The odd ratio of 0.893 for restricted mobility revealed that respondents with working as polling agent were over 0.893 more likely to report as political participation than those who did not work as polling agent. The odds ratio of 0.843 for social factor indicated that respondents working as polling agent were over 0.843 times more likely to report as political participation than those who did not work as polling agent. The odd ratio of 0.594 for economic factors represented that respondents working as a polling agent were 0.594 times less likely to report as political participation than those who did not work as a polling agent.

CHAPTER FIVE

MAJOR FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Major finding of the study

- Three–fourth of the respondents (74%) was selected from district lower dir.

- More than half of the respondents (54.4%) had monthly income of Rs, 30000-50000.

- Majority of the respondents (62.9%) had marked their qualification as bachelor.

- Considerable majority of the respondents (86.3%) had never polled vote.

- Absolute majority of the respondents i.e. 94.7% had never contested election.

- Less than three-fourth of the respondents i.e. 73.4% told illiteracy is a barrier to women political participation

- More than three-fourth of the respondents i.e. 77.8% were agreed that lack of awareness is the main barrier to women political participation

- Little less than three -fourth (72.5%) agreed that work burden prevents women from politics

- Almost three-fourth i.e. 76.3% were agreed that lack of involvement of women in decision making affects their political participation

- Majority of the respondents(70.8%) agreed that early marriages lessen political participation

- Less than half of the respondents i.e. 45.3% were strongly agreed that gender discrimination stops women political participation

- Almost half of the respondents (50.9%) were strongly agreed that male dominancy creates barrier to women political participation.

- A little less than half of the respondents i.e. 49.7% were strongly agreed that strict *purdah* system restricts women from political participation.

- Majority of the respondents (65.2%) were agreed that cultural interpretation of religion creates hurdles to women political participation.

- Significant majority of the respondents (92.7%) told that restricted mobility stops women voter's turnout.

- Absolute majority of the respondents (94.7%) told that restricted mobility stop women to contest election.

- Significant majority of the respondents (95.9%) were not allowed to work as polling agent.

- Very high majority of the respondents i.e. 84.5% were not allowed by their parents to run campaign.

- Absolute majority (94.7%) were not allowed by their parents to contest election.

- Considerable majority of the respondents (80.4%) were disagreed that women should not go out of home.

- Almost three-fourth of the respondents (76.3) % disagreed that women should not contest election.

- Very high majority (80.4%) were agreed that poverty creates hurdles for women to participate in political activities.

- Majority of the respondents i.e. 73.4% were strongly agreed that economic dependency of women on men affect women political participation

- Majority of the respondents i.e. 85.1% were agreed that unemployment of women is a barrier in the way of women political participation

- Considerable high majority of the respondents (91.8%) agreed that inflation is a barrier in the way of women political participation

5.2   Conclusion

The data analysis revealed that socio-cultural and economic factors impede women political participation in *Pukhtun* society. In social factors the dominant factors that impede women political participation are illiteracy, work burden and lack of involvement in decision making process. In cultural factors the most important factors that hinder women political participation are patriarchy and strict purdah sytem of the *Pukhtun* society. Economic factors also have a great effect on women political participation. In economic factors the vital factors are poverty, economic dependency and unemployment of women. These factors strictly impede women political participation in *Pukhtun* society. Moreover, the restricted mobility of women and cultural stereotypes also prevent women to participate in political activities. Usually women in *pukhtun* society have been assigned duties within the four walls of home and their mobility outside home is disliked and discouraged. Overall the cultural factors are most dominantly barring women political participation. Thus, it is concluded that due to the prevalence of these factors women political participation is very low in *Pukhtun* society.

5.3   Recommendations

No one can deny the fact that women political participation is very significant for the overall development of any society. Being the part of the society, women should be given opportunities to play their role in the development of society. Political right is also one of the basic rights of women, but unfortunately women segments have been ignored in this regard.

In order to enhance women political participation, the present study recommends the following remediable steps.

- Women should be provided equal opportunities of getting education.

- Women should be given job opportunities as it will empower them economically and ultimately enable them to take part in political domain.

- A favorable attitude towards women political participation in family and society must be promoted through mass media, campaigns, seminars and other such events.

- Misinterpretation of religious teachings should be avoided.

- Religious leaders who possess both religious education as well as modern education must be involved in modifying mindset of the people about women role in public sphere.

References

- Abdi, A. M. (2007). The Right of Women to Politcal Participation Under the Constitution of the Republic of Somaliland. Hargeisa, Maroodi Jeeh, Somaliland

- Aderinwale, A. (1997). Empowering Women for the 21st Century: The Challenges of Politics, Business, Development and Leadership; Summary Report of the 9th Annual Conference of the Africa Leadership Forum in Accra, Ghana, 27-29 January, 1997

- Ali, P. A., & Gavino, M. I. B. (2008). Violence against women in Pakistan: a framework for Analysis. *JOURNAL-PAKISTAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION,58*(4), 198.

- Ali, W., Fani, M. I., Afzal, S., & Yasin, G. (2010). Cultural barriers in women empowerment: a sociological analysis of Multan, Pakistan. *European Journal of Social Sciences, 18*(1), 147-155.

- Anita, A. (2010). Depiction of Women in Modern Pashtu Fiction. *Phd Desertation, Noor Ullah Katuzia Printer GT Road Peshawar*, 38.

- Asian Development Bank. South Asia Dept. (2004). *Gender and governance issues in local government: regional report of technical assistance in Bangladesh, Nepal, and Pakistan*. Asian Development Bank.

- Bano, S. (2009). Women in parliament in Pakistan: Problems and potential solutions. *Women's Studies Journal*, 23(1), 19-35.

- Bari, F. (2009). *Role and Performance: Assessment of Pakistan Women Parliamentarians, 2002- 2007*. Pattan Development Organization

- Belak, B. (2002). Gathering Strength Women from Burma on Their RightsChiang Mai.

- Bhattacharya, S. (2014). Status of Women in Pakistan. *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan, 51*(1).

- Bose, C. E., & Rossi, P. H. (1983). Gender and jobs: Prestige standings of occupations as affected by gender. *American Sociological Review*, 316-330.

- Diemer, M. A. (2012). Fostering marginalized youths' political participation: Longitudinal roles of parental political socialization and youth sociopolitical development. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 50*(1-2), 246-256.

- Dijkstra, G., & Hanmer, L. (1997). Measuring socio-economic gender inequality: towards an alternative to the UNDP gender-related development index. *ISS Working Paper Series/General Series*, 251, 1-30.

- Eisenstein, H. (1984). Contemporary feminist thought (p. 127). London: Unwin Paperbacks.

- Friedan, B. (1981). *The second stage: With a new introduction*. Harvard University Press.

- Fund, U. W. S. (2011). Women's participation in politics and decision-making in Ukraine: Strategy paper.

- Fund, U. W. S. (2011). Women's participation in politics and decision-making in Ukraine: Strategy paper.

- Haregewoin, C., & Emebet, M. (2003). Towards Gender equality in Ethiopia.*A Profile of Gender Relations. Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency*

- Hora, E. A. (2014). Factors that affect Women Participation in Leadership and Decision Making Position. *Asian Journal of Humanity, Art and Literature,1*(2).

- Igwee O. (2002) *Politics and globe dictionary*. Enugu: Jamoe Enterprises

- Isran, S., & Isran, M. A. (2012). INTERDISCIPLINARY JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH IN BUSINESS.

- Jabeen, N., & Jadoon, M. Z. I. (2009). Gender and local governance in Pakistan: Representation vs. participation. *International NGO Journal, 4*(5), 264-276.

- Jagger, A. (1993). *Political Philosophies of Women's Liberation.* In J.J

- Jalal-ud-Din, M., & Khan, M. (2008). Socio-economic and cultural constraints of Women in Pakistan with Special Reference to Mardan District, NWFP Province. *Sarhad Journal of Agriculture*, 24(3), 485-493.

- Karl, M. (1995). *Women and empowerment: Participation and decision making* (Vol. 10). London: Zed Books.

- Karl, M. (1995). *Women and empowerment: Participation and decision making* (Vol. 10). London: Zed Books.

- Kazmi, S. W. (2005). Role of education in globalization: A case for Pakistan.*SAARC journal of human resource development, 1*(1), 90-107

- Kazmi, S. W., & Quran, H. (2005). Role of education in globalization: A case for Pakistan. *SAARC journal of human resource development*, 1(1), 90 -107.

- Kumari, A., & Kidwai, S. (1998). *Crossing the sacred line: women's search for political power*. Orient Blackswan.

- Maccionis, J. (2009). Sociology 10th edition. : sanat printers.

- Malik, K. (2013). Human development report 2013. The rise of the South: Human progress in a diverse world. The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World (March 15, 2013). UNDP-HDRO Human Development Reports.

- Maloutas, M. P. (1998). Frauen als Akteurinnen in der politischen Kultur Griechenlands (pp.145 165). VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften

- Matland, E. Richard. "The Norwegian Experience of Gender Quotas", A paper presented at the *International Institute for Democracy and electoral Assistance* (IDEA)/ CEE Network for Gender issues conference. Budapest, Hungary, 22-23 October 2004.

- McCarthy F. and Sultana M., 2004. Gender and governance issues in local government: regional report of technical assistance in Bangladesh, Nepal, and Pakistan. Manila: Asian Development Bank

- Ministry of Interior, (2003): Parliamentary Election, June 22, p33

- Munroe, T. (2002). *An introduction to politics: Lectures for first-year students.* University of the West Indies Press.

- Muoghalu, C. O., & Abrifor, C. A. (2012). Urban Poor Women and Governance in Nigeria. *European Scientific Journal, 8*(5).

- Nagaad umbrella organization report (2007). *women's political participation in Somaliland: an evaluation of the 2005 parliamentary elections*

- National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW), 2010a. *Study on local bodies system and its impact on women.* Pakistan: NCSW.

- Naz, A., & Ahmad, W. (2012). Socio-cultural impediments to women political empowerment in Pakhtun society. *Academic Research International, 3*(1), 163.

- Ngara, C. O., & Ayabam, A. T. (2013). Women in politics and decision-making in Nigeria: Challenges and prospects. *European Journal of Business and Social Sciences, 2*(8), 47-58.

- Nwankwo, O., & Surma, N. (2008). Affirmative Action for Women in Politics: from projects to policy change. Nigeria: *Civil Resource Development and Documentation Centre*

- Omvedt, G. (2005). Women in governance in South Asia. *Economic and political weekly*, 4746- 4752. *Parliamentarians 2002-07*, Pattan,Islamabad.

- Phillips, A. (1995). *The politics of presence*. Clarendon Press

- Qureshi, R., & Rarieya, J. F. (2007). *Gender and education in Pakistan*. Oxford University Press.

- Ramesh, P. 2000. Identifying gender backward districts using selected indicators. *Economic and Political Weekly*. 35:48: 4276 4286

- Research CF (1999). *Preparatory Programme for the Promotion of Gender Equality in Politics in South Asia*. New Delhi: Centre for Social Research

- Riley, D. (2003). " Am I that name?" Feminism and the category of" women in history.

- Riley, S. C., Griffin, C., & Morey, Y. (2010). The case for 'everyday politics': Evaluating neo-tribal theory as a way to understand alternative forms of political participation, using electronic dance music culture as an example.*Sociology*, *44*(2), 345-363.

- Ritzer, G. (2000). *Sociological Theory* (5th Ed.). USA: McGraw-Hill. P.454.

- Ritzer, G., & Goodman, D. J. (1996). Classical sociological theory. New York: McGraw-Hill.

- Rustagi, P. (2000). Identifying gender backward districts using selected   indicators. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 4276-4286..

- Sathar, Z. A., & Kazi, S. (2000). Women's autonomy in the context of rural Pakistan. *The Pakistan Development Review*, 89-110.

- Shaheed et al, (2009). *Women in Politics: Participation and Representation in Pakistan,* An overview. Lahore: Shirkat Gah- Women's Resource Centre. P. 26

- Shvedova, N. (2005). Obstacles to women's participation in parliament.*Women in parliament: beyond numbers*, 33.

- Shvedova, N. (2005). Obstacles to women's participation in parliament.*Women in parliament: beyond numbers*, 33.

- South Asian for Human Rights (2009), *Report on issues faced by minorities in Pakistan*, Accessed on 12 Sep. 2013,

- Stolle, D., & Micheletti, M. (2013). *Political consumerism: Global responsibility in action*. Cambridge University Press.

- Stromquist, N. P., & Fischman, G. E. (2009). Introduction–from denouncing gender inequities to undoing gender in education: practices and programmes toward change in the social relations of gender. *International Review of Education*, *55*(5), 463-482.

- T. (2002). *An introduction to politics: Lectures for first-year students*. University of the West   Indies Press.

- Thomas, S. (1994). *How women legislate*. Oxford University Press on Demand

- Thomas, S. (1994). *How women legislate*. Oxford University Press on Demand.

- Tisdell, C. (2002). Poverty and economically-deprived women and children: Theories, emerging policy issues and development. *International Journal of Social Economics*, 29(1/2), 7386.

- Tripp, A. M. (2001). The new political activism in Africa. *Journal of Democracy*, *12*(3), 141-155

- United Nations. Secretary-General. (2005). *In larger freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all: report of the Secretary-General.* United Nations Publications.

- Women in Pakistan (2000). Asian Development Bank, Program Department West and Office of Environment and Social Development, p.10.

- Yartey, L. A. (2012). *Women in Ghanaian Politics: A Case Study of the Fourth Republic* (Doctoral dissertation, Covenant University, Ota).

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY ISLAMABAD
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
Socio-cultural and Economic Factors affecting Women Political participation in *Dir Districts* of *Khyber PakhtunKhwa*
Interview schedule

District_____ Tehsil_____

1. Age of the Respondent(in complete years) _____

2. What is your family monthly income? _____

3. What is your personal monthly income? _____

4. Have you ever worked for paid job outside home?   i. Yes   ii. No If (i) ———→ Q5

5. What was the name of the sector where you have worked?

    i. Public sector ii. Private sector iii. Semi government iv. Any other(Please specify) _

6. What is your level of educational qualification?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	16+

7. What is your father's education level?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	16+

8. What is your mother's education level?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	16+

9. What is your marital status?

    i. Single   ii. Married   iii. Divorced   iv. Separated   v. Widowed

10. What is your husband's education level?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	16+

11. What is your husband's occupation?

    i. Government employee   ii. Private Job   iii. Any other (Please specify) _____

12. What is the type of family you are living in?

    i. Joint family   ii. Nuclear family   iii. Extended family

13. How many members are there in your family? _____

14. What is your family's political affiliation?

    i. PML(N) ii. PTI iii .JI iv. JUI(F) v. ANP vi. PPP vii.Any other (Please specify)_

15. Which one political party is working better in your area?

    i.PML (N) ii.PTI iii. JI iv.JUI(F) v.ANP vi.PPP vii. Any other (Please specify)_

16. Have you ever casted vote? i. Never   ii. Once   iii. Twice   iv. More than twice

17. Have any of your family members contested election? i.Yes ii.No

18. Are you a part of any of the following student's political group?

      i. MSF ii.ISF iii.IJT iv.PSF v. Any other (Please specify) _____

19. What is your position in student's political group?

      i. President ii. General Secretary iii. Finance Secretary iv. Press Secretary

      v. Any other (Please specify) _____

20. How much time do you give to your political party's activities per week?

      i. One hour ii. Two hours iii. Three hours iv. More than three hours? _____

21. Do you run campaign for any political party during election? i. Yes ii. No

22. What is the name of political party, you are campaigning for during election?

      i. PML (N) ii. PTI iii. JI iv.JUI (F) v. ANP vi. Any other (Please specify) _____

23. Does your family allow you to take part in political activities? i. Yes ii. No

24. Does your family support you while working for a political party? i. Yes ii. No

25. Who is more supportive to you in your family?

      i. Parents ii. Brothers' iii. Husband iv. Any other (Please specify) _____

26. Who resists you from political participation?

      i. None ii. Parents' iii. Brothers iv. Any other (Please specify) _____

27. Can you handle your family matters along with political participation? i. Yes ii. No

28. Following are the various social factors which affect women political participation in *Pukhtun* society? Various options has given below, choose the most appropriate one.

Sn	Statements	SA	A	NO	DA	SD
I	Illiteracy creates barrier to women political participation					
ii.	Lack of awareness is the main barrier to women political participation in *Pukhtun* society					
Iii	Higher work load in *Pukhtun* society prevent women from political participation					
Iv	No involvement of women in decision making affects women political participation in *Pukhtun* society					
V	Early marriages lessen women political participation					
Iv	Gender discrimination causes hurdles to women political participation in *Pukhtun* society					
V	Traditional socialization restricts women from political participation in *Pukhtun* society					

SA: (Strongly agree) A :(Agree) NO: (No opinion) DA: (Disagree) SD: (Strongly agree)

29. Do the following cultural factors affect women political participation in *Pukhtun* society? Would you please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree?

Sn	Statement	SA	A	NO	DA	SD
i	Male dominancy creates barrier to women political participation in *Pukhtun* society					
ii.	Strict *Purdah* system restricts women from political participation in *Pukhtun* society					
iii	Cultural interpretation of religion creates hurdles to women political participation in *Pukhtun* society					
v	*Pukhtun* traditions affects women political participation in *Pukhtun* society					
iv	Local norms create impediments to women political participation in *Pukhtun* society					

SA: (Strongly agree) A :(Agree)   NO: (No opinion)   DA: (Disagree)   SD: (Strongly agree)

30. Up to what extent education plays role in your political participation?

      i. To some extent   ii. To great extent   iii. Not at all

31. Do you participate in meetings called by student's political group at college? i.Yes ii.No

32. How many hours a week do you give to your student's political group activities?

      i. Less than one hour a week   ii. 1-3 iii. 4-6 iv. 7-10 v. 10+

33. How often do you participate in political activities at college?

      I. Every day   ii. Once a week   iii. Any other (Please specify) _____

34. Does education bring political awareness among women?

      i. To some extent   ii. To great extent   iii. Not at all

35. Now I would like to assess your participation in political activities through education by asking your opinion about following statements? Would you please tell me how strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Sn	Statement	SA	A	NO	DA	SD
i	Education gives you more chances to be involved in political activities					
ii	Education provides you a platform to participate in political activities					
iii	Education increases your level of participation in political activities					

SA: (Strongly agree) A :(Agree)   NO: (No opinion)   DA: (Disagree)   SD: (Strongly agree)

36. Does your restricted mobility affect your political life?

i. To some extent   ii. To great extent   iii. Not at all

37. Do you think that restricted mobility stops women voter's turnout? i. Yes   ii. No

38. Are you satisfied from women voters' turnout during election?

       i. To some extent   ii. To great extent   iii. Not at all

39. Does restricted mobility stop you from contesting election? i.Yes   ii.No

40. Have your limited mobility prevented you from participating in political activities?

       i. Never   ii. Always   iii. Sometime iv. Any other (Please specify) _____

41. Do your parents allow you to take part in the following political activities?

Sn	Political activities	Yes	No
i	To work as polling agent during election		
ii	To run campaign		
ii.	To cast vote		
Iii	To contest election		

42. Now I would like to assess your participation in political activities by knowing your opinion through following statements. Would you please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree?

Sn	Statement	SA	A	NO	DA	SD
i	Woman should be limited to household activities					
ii.	Woman should not take part in outdoor activities					
iii	Woman should not go outside of home					
iv	Woman should not go for casting vote					
v	Woman should not contest election					

SA: (Strongly agree) A :(Agree)   NO: (No opinion) DA: (Disagree) SD: (Strongly agree)

43. Are you currently working for paid employment? i. Yes   ii. No

44. What is your monthly income from this job? Rs _____

45. Do you think that your economic dependency stop you from participating in political activities?

       i. To some extent   ii. To great extent   iii. Not at all

46. Now I would like to ask you that up to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements that economic factors affecting women political participation?

Sn	Statement	SA	A	NO	DA	SD
i	Poverty creates hurdles for women to participate in political activities in *Pukhtun* society					
ii.	Economic dependency of women on men affect women political participation in *Pukhtun* society					
iii	Unemployment of women is a barrier in the way of women political participation in Pukhtun society					
iv	Inflation creates obstacles in the way of women political participation in *Pukhtun* society					

SA: (Strongly agree) A :(Agree)   NO: (No opinion)   DA: (Disagree)   SD: (Strongly agree)

47. Would you like to pinpoint major barriers in the way of women political participation?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____