

# Issues In Women Political Empowerment: An Analysis Of Policies Formulation And Implementation In Pakistan (2001-2018)

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## **Abstract**

This study focused at exploring the issues in women's political empowerment and investigating the substantive and procedural gaps in policies and laws formulated and implemented in Pakistan from 2001-2018 to this effect.

Women's historic exclusion from politics and governance structures is a worldwide phenomenon. Equality in political representation is one of the key priorities for the political empowerment of women in Pakistan. But, they usually face a number of issues and predicaments to avail their due rights in diverse and rigid domains of life especially in the field of politics. Women in Pakistan are living in centuries old customs and traditions, oppressive patriarchy, non-existent property rights, intrinsic and extrinsic issues in implementation of pro-women policies, ideological and political factors, reserved quota controversy, lack of education, male-dominated political system, religious misconceptions regarding women political role are some of the causes which create hurdles in their political empowerment. This research work is developed on the inductive method with a qualitative approach based on exploratory and analytical analysis of the relevant primary as well as secondary data. In-depth interviews and focused group-discussions technique were among primary tools for data collection. The convenient, judgmental and snowball sampling technique have been adopted. For the analysis of collected data and to determine the gap between theory and practice i.e., policies and laws formulated and implemented in Pakistan between 2001 and 2018 for the empowerment- social, economic, psychic, personal and political- of women were analyzed through Howlett's implementation models. Both liberal feminism and Howlett's implementation models provided the theoretical framework and a launching pad for this study.

It has been found that there is a wide gap and divergence between women's rights on paper in principle and in practice following important legal reforms. Policies and laws formulated and implemented for the empowerment of women are actually suffering from gaps and lapses in organizational, authoritative, financial and information-based implementation tools; hence flaws are of substantive as well as procedural nature. So it is concluded that mere formulation of new policies and laws cannot accomplish the task of women's protection and empowerment in Pakistan. Legislation is effective as long as it is implemented in true letter and spirit. Policies and laws alone cannot change and alter miserable scenario but these can be effective and instrumental only if the society is ready for the positive transformation. For the effective implementation of policies and laws as a first step, education/awareness is required not only for the socialization of the community but also legal knowledge is *sin-quo-none* and a must for the policy makers to formulate flawless policies. Second, political will is required for introducing institutional reforms in

judiciary, the police and the prosecution, so that to remove and redress the substantive and procedural flaws in administration and dispensation of justice. And lastly, financial resources must be allocated to all the departments concerned for the successful implementation of pro-women legislation.

**Keywords:** Women empowerment, Politics, Law implementation, Feminism, Issues, Policy formulation, Pakistan.

### Introduction

“No nation can rise to the height of glory unless her women are side by side with you; we are victims of evil customs. It is crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of the house as prisoners. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable condition in which our women have to live. You should take your women along with you as comrades in every sphere of life” (Muhammad Ali Jinnah, 1944), (Shami, n.d.; Mujahid & Merchant, 2007 as cited in NCSW, 2018).

The role of women in politics is deemed as a settled fact in today’s world, and there is a good deal of evidence available that supports this assertion. Emily Oghale (2014) argues that women participation in politics is not only their basic right but is also an escapable reality. He adds that women participation is a must for sustainable political development (of which political empowerment of women is but just one part) (Satymbekova, 2016).

Women are the most important part of any social order, yet they face numerous challenges and issues even in availing their basic rights. The most daunting challenge they face is their lack of participation, representation and influence in politics. Though women comprises approximately half of world’s population or slightly more than half (Bari, 2010), yet their representation in practical politics is unfortunately very low- 26.1% of the legislative seats across the world (Inter Parliamentary Union, 2022 as cited in Congressional Research Service Report, 2022), which speak volumes

about their marginalized position in politics (Kumari, 2011). So, this evidence points to the discrepancy between the size of women population and their participation in politics—especially their low-level of presence and control in the national and international decision-making bodies.

Despite “great strides” made in recent decades by the women liberation movement, women as a group are still lagging behind men (United Nations, 2010; Human Rights Watch, n.d.). There are social, political, economic, ideological factors as well as prevailing structures are considered to be the most important obstacles to women advancement, especially in terms of their political empowerment (Bari, 2005, 2010). They are born free but are found everywhere in chains of subordination and oppression (Aziz, 2002). However, as time passes, there is greater awareness than before, that formation of gender-balanced society for addressing challenges to the eminent position of women can merely be grasped by motivating greater and meaningful participation and engagement of women generally in decision making policy bodies and particularly in political legislative institutions. But still, in various parts of the globe there are huge variations in the political representation of women and men (Bano, 2009).

Even the women in the West are still fighting for more rights in imitation of the Western men. But it is also a harsh reality that the rights which are now possessed and enjoy by them are much durable in comparison to those of the women of the developing countries have in the context of gender equity and empowerment. Though there are discriminations, they have achieved the fruit

of a consistent struggle for their rights since nineteenth century. Despite having to confront discriminations since nineteenth century, they have managed to wrench their rights to consolidate feminist support. Prior to this achievement of the fruitful results, they were confined to the four walls of their houses. Women role changed in America with the advent of industrialization with chances of increasing political know-how and sagacity. Pragmatic transformations in women role and responsibilities took place, encompassing indoor and outdoor activities and interactions in health, education, sports at all. Their suffrage groups encouraged them to boldly demand their and vote in political arena. It changed the relationship between the two partners- husband and wife- over the financial and domestic affairs. The responsibility and position of women changed as a result of their economic viability (Mahmood, 2005).

The women rights movements started in the nineteenth century with the objective to gain equal citizenship rights for female (though with men backing) gained voting rights for women (Madani, 2005). Specifically in democratic form of governance female active involvement in political activities is understood to be an essential condition for the sustainable progress. It is not possible for any society to prosper without women dynamic contribution. So is the case with Pakistan, where women are slightly more than half of the men.

Unhampered Political participational and representational equality and parity and removal of gender based disparity and discrimination is considered to be the key criteria for the progress of women across the world. It is not surprising that Pakistan's women are unfortunately victim of orthodox and oppressive practices- custom and traditions- responsible for creating hurdles in the way of their political empowerment (Naz & Ahmad, 2012). Resultantly, the situation of

women's political empowerment is not satisfactory and up to the mark in Pakistan. As democracy cannot survive effectively without the lively and active participation of women (Jane, 1997). Although, the Pakistan's supreme document- constitution promises that inside the country all inhabitants are equal before the laws and are authorized to equal legal safeguard and protection. And further, discrimination in any form and manifestation including sex will not be allowed (Article 25 (2), of 1973 Constitution). Moreover, this sacred document will enable the citizens to ensure active involvement of female in all spheres, including politics, of national life" (Article, 34 of 1973 Constitution). Every person, whether men or women, will be ensured a number of political rights- voting right, right to contest election and right to hold public office- by means of universal adult franchise (Haq, 1959). To ensure these rights a number of policies and laws have been formulated and implemented both at the national level and provincial level. Prior to 18<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendment progress and protection of the rights of women were in the exclusive domain national government. But after the 2010 18<sup>th</sup> amendment, policies about women advancement and empowerment have also been established into the provinces. Each province was authorized to institute Ministry of Women Development (MoWD) so that to give protection to women against all forms of discriminatory attitudes and practices (Yaseen et al., 2019).

This was assumed to be a landmark development as women constitute a population of half or slightly more than equal of the men's (Bari, 2005). It is a fact that Pakistan's women have not got equal level of political empowerment to that of males in spite of the tall claims made by the state officials. Pakistan tops the list of those states where the rights- including political rights of the womenfolk are at abysmally low level (Yaseen et al., 2019).

Literally, to empower means to provide someone enhanced control over circumstances of life. In social work, empowerment is not power given by others but a self-achieved capability. In the words of Wallerstein (1992), “empowerment encompasses people’s gaining complete control over their own lives in terms of socio-political empowerment” (Aziz, 2002).

Empowerment is the key factor through which women status and position can be determined in the societies. It is a process by which one achieves power to do something. In the process of empowerment or in other words, process which enables a person to achieve their control on public decision making and on their own self.

Women empowerment is a 20<sup>th</sup> century terminology which meant to recognize the role of women at national and international levels. That’s why the United Nations Organization (UNO) every year celebrates “women’s day” on 8<sup>th</sup> March. Women’s empowerment is a multidimensional and comprehensive concept as it covers social, political, economic, cultural, religious, psychological, personal and emotional aspects. Sundstrom and his colleague (2017) have elaborated: empowerment of women is a multi-faceted concept as it has multiple dimensions- those of rights, of resources, and of voice, of perceptions, of power. It is process of acquiring greater control in different fields and participation in politics (Sundström et al., 2017).

Igwee (2002) takes political empowerment of women in the perspective of voting and contesting election free of hurdles (Ullah, 2018). While Sheikh (2015-2016) explains and expands it further, when one on the basis of his knowledge has access to the political corridor of powers, while family gives support in the political activities, exercising voting right as well as action and initiatives regarding election process which starts with canvassing, then voting, contesting the elections and ultimately assumption and holding

of office is said to be political empowerment of women. However, in other words, (Tripp, 2012) look to women’s political empowerment in the context of when women become able enough to perform leadership roles not only in the top brass political legislative institutions but also in lower level decision making bodies. It has dual role encompassing active involvement in elections and also performing as regulator of social life from community level to the national level.

Further, Sundstrom and his colleague (2015) have presented both a very brief and comprehensive definition of WPE, which means it is a process of growing and flourishing capacity for women, of acquiring the ability of choice, agency as well as participation in the decision making process of the community to perform an effective role in making the society more peaceful, pacific plus progressive. However, in the present study, the researcher has resorted to the following definition of women political empowerment adopted by USAID, known to be a working definition of WPE, designed by “Women in Power project” (2017), a USAID sponsored initiative, describes as “the equal participation, representation, and leadership of women within political parties, government institutions, and civically engaged organizations; women’s free exercise of authority inherent in those positions; and the regular formulation, implementation, and evaluation of policies and laws that address women’s rights, priorities, and positions. While Tripp (2012) posits that women’s empowerment at all levels- social, economic, legal, personal and political- is crucial to minimizing gender-based variations in economic positions, disparities in health and education, and last but not least, legal aspects.

Another scholar has thrown light on the instrumental and intrinsic nature of women’s empowerment. He believes that WE is not only a goal or an end but is focal central in nurturing the society towards social as well as political

empowerment which would further encourage and nurture complete progress and amelioration of the society. The active participation and presence of female in the policy making institutions would empower them to altogether brush up gender-biased legislation and would further facilitate gender-friendly policies as well as laws (Mahmood, n.d.-a).

Although in all the constitutions (1956, 1962, 1973) of the country equal political rights have been promised and guaranteed but very rarely exercised by the womenfolk and consequently they could not properly contribute to the welfare of their own gender on the one hand and the whole country on the other. Unfortunately in Pakistan, women's political empowerment has not properly materialized as yet partly due to the loopholes in Policies formulation and absence and lack of proper implementation of policies on the one hand and issues in legal structure (complex and entangling judicial system) coupled with hurdles in securing property rights, oppressive patriarchal set up, socio-economic and cultural constraints, ideological and political barriers, male-dominated or masculine model of politics or perpetuation of male oriented political system, religious misinterpretations/misconceptions, lack of education, traditional gender role or division of labor together with gender discrimination and stereotypes are the factors on the other hand that resulted in the unsatisfactory and low progress in women's political empowerment.

Since 2001, in General Pervez Musharraf's era the legal structure has provided room for the inclusion of more women in mainstream political politics. Starting with the local government ordinance of 2001, which allowed women to run for office at the district, tehsil, and union council levels with a 33% quota. In 2002, 17% of the seats in the national and provincial parliament were earmarked for women, advancing the status of women in politics (Strengthening-Womens-

Political-Leadership-in-Pakistan.Pdf, n.d.). The goal was to make stronger and loud the voice of women in national politics and to fully represent them in all walks of life.

Several laws and policies formulated and implemented in Pakistan from 2001 to 2018, for the empowerment (i.e. Legal, social, economic, psychological, and political etc.) of women which are as following:

National policy for development and empowerment of women, (NPDEW) 2002, The Criminal law (Amendment) Act, 2004 or famously known as Honour Killing Act (2004), Protection of Women Act (2006) (pertaining to rape) in 2006 the parliament passed the Women Protection Bill and repealing some of the Hadood laws because those ordinances mistreated the women folk (Muneer, 2018). It greatly improved and enhanced women's image at international level and also strengthened the women's participation in representing slightly more than 50% of female population in the country (Bari, 2010), Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2010 (pertaining to Sexual harassment, The Protection Against Harassment of Women at the Workplace Act, 2010, the anti-harassment Act 2010 promised protection to women in the workplace, the Act aimed to give protection and security to all those females persons who have to work in the "ill-mannered" surrounding, specifically when women come out of their houses for market, travelling through local transport and when carrying out their responsibilities at the place of work, together with men colleagues, the Acid Control and Acid Crime Prevention Act 2011, Prevention of Anti-women practices (AWP) Act 2011. The anti-women practices prevention Act 2011 or prevention of Anti-women practices law- the legislation was targeted to legally provide protection to females' citizens against disgraces such as wani/sawara, giving a girl in marriage or Badla-e-Sulah, marriage with Qur'an, plus denying women of her inherited property. The

law suggested severe punishment for the perpetrators indulging in these evil practices (Muneer, 2018). The Women in Distress and Detention Fund (Amendment) Act 2011, the 2011 Act intended to give relief to those women in distress and detention centers or jails, the NCSW Act of 2012, and the Act 2012 against domestic violence, the Criminal Law (Amendment) (offences relating to rape) Act, 2016, the Criminal (Amendment) (offences in the name or on the pretext of Honour) Act XLIII OF 2016, Election Act, 2017 mandating 10% general ticket for women.

Despite the laws and policies that were formulated from 2001 to 2018 not only for the development, protection, but also for the legal, psychological, social, economic and political empowerment of women. However, there exists a noticeable and wide gap between policies, their execution, implementation and practice and praxis. By applying the Howlett's Implementation models- i.e., organizational, authoritative, information-based, and financial implementation tools, it has been found that all the formulated and implemented policies and laws are suffering from gaps and lacunae in organizational, authoritative, financial and information-based implementation tools, both of Substantive and procedural nature.

Policies and laws are made for people to enable them to settle and resolve their issues. For it, effective laws and functional legal system are the pre-requisites (Yaseen et al., 2019). While across the world the formulation and passage of laws is the responsibility of the state to promote women rights; but the litmus test of commitment and responsibility for the rectification and redressal of injustice and inequities comes true with laws implementation. Pakistan is navigating the first level with mixed and divergent outcomes (Rubab, 2020).

But legislation alone cannot accomplish the task of women equality and empowerment in a society or in other words, the law alone does not guarantee the full protection of women's rights especially when these laws operative and effective in the context of a patriarchal social hierarchy and weak rule and writ of law (Daly, 2016 as cited in Yaseen et al., 2019). Legislation is effective only if it is implemented in true letter and spirit (Editorial, 2021). Otherwise, only formulating policies or passing laws and acts is not enough but their implementation matters a lot (Yaseen et al., 2019).

Policies and laws are the reflection of the values of the society. The proper implementation of these policies leads to political empowerment of women more, and resultantly they would be protected in a better way. Customs, traditions, and values predominate the statutory laws in governing and regulating women's lives. Unfortunately, the military rulers in Pakistan were always in search of legitimacy repealed the policies and laws to protect their own interests, which resultantly reduced the efficacy of these policies towards safeguarding women and their rights. The majority of the previous governments in Pakistan could not grant due share and role in politics and other fundamental rights to women consequently, the dream of gender equality and political empowerment of women could not come true resulting in their failure to contribute to nation building and progress.

The main objectives of the study were set to investigate the historical perspectives of women's political empowerment with reference to policies formulation and implementation; to systematically explore the issues in women's political empowerment; To know about the policies regarding the political empowerment of women in the proposed period 2001-18; To point out the gaps between policies formulation and implementation regarding women's political

empowerment in Pakistan; To highlight the future prospects of women's political empowerment policies formulation and to suggest women's friendly policies implementation.

### Significance of the study

In democratic nations policies are framed and implemented for the empowerment of women in all domains of life including political but often there exists a gap between theory and practice as saying is one thing and doing another. Policies are theoretically formulated but in practice they are not implemented in letter and spirit. Many studies have been conducted on the political empowerment of women but no specific research work has been conducted on it in the policies formulation as well as implementation perspectives. This study will highlight the grey area between policies formulation and the gap between policies implementation in Pakistan in the proposed period i.e. 2001-2018. This research work will open new avenues for policy makers and researchers to further broaden their insight regarding women political empowerment in the policies formulation and implementation perspectives so that the ultimate goal of gender equality and sustainable development could be achieved.

### Literature Review

Literature Review can be organized into four different ways such as chronological, thematic, methodological, and theoretical. The literature review of this study is organized thematically and theoretically.

Several studies regarding women's empowerment and their political empowerment had been developed during the last few decades. Among those, are only a small number of studies which investigate the concept of women's empowerment, the issues or hurdles in the way of Women's political empowerment and gender

responsive or pro-women policies? Here, analyses of some of those noteworthy literature reviews are provided. Further, in the national and international perspectives, impediments and hindrances in women's political empowerment have been elaborated.

Israr et al., (2018) the central theme of the work was to discover the cultural impediments in the political empowerment of women in the Pashtun society. In this study the data was collected from a sample of 330 respondents by means of a questionnaire and detailed interviews. S.P.S.S. software 20 was operated for univariate as well as bivariate investigation, employing "chi square test" for probable association. Through the research work it has been explored and discovered that societal framework has a remarkable say in women's low involvement in politics in Pashtun Society. Lack of power and authority; oppressive patriarchy, stereotypical image; lack of women's choices; heavy domestic burdens and women's link with family honour were discovered to be the main cultural obstacles in women's active political involvement. This study recommended the role of electronic media as well as effective enforcement and execution of government's policies are extremely important rather indispensable, for women's political participation.

(Khan, 2009) this study highlights the barriers and obstructions in women political participation in Lower Dir Malakand division Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Main purpose of this study was to pinpoint the social, political, economic, and cultural and religious factors that create hurdles for women in their participation in the political activities. This research study was carried out in four tehsils- Balambut, Temergera, Khal and Maidaan- of Lower Dir District in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) province. Two pronged strategy was applied to the collection of data- one through semi-structured interviews and other through focused group discussions (FGDs) with

local politicians, elected representatives, women councilors, village elders, male and female students and traditional women population of the area. The data obtained shows that there exist a number of obstacles such as patriarchy, biased attitudes of the general public, fundamentalism or extremism, illiteracy, religious misinterpretations and wrong practice of Pukhtunwali and purdah etc., towards the political involvement and political empowerment of women.

Kumari (2011) Women play a significant role in the socio-economic development. No plan or strategy for comprehensive goal of socio-economic development can succeed without enhancing the role of women. Women are not a bane but boon, or not a property nor a humanitarian concession but it is to be recognized that women are the valuable asset and vibrant factor in the overall process of development. In developing countries, the role and position of women are specifically important not only because they constitute half of the human resources but also because they have to face the burden of the day-to-day struggle for survival. The political position of women, the quality and level of their political participation are very low, keeping in view, their share in the population structure, their role in the socio-economic uplift as well their real and potential part in the national development process. The unfavorable social and economic status of women directly reflects their participation level in the decision making process at all tiers.

Khan (2018) this study lay emphases on the political struggle of Pakistani women for physical presence in the politics of the country and hence an equal political engagement in the country's political system. This research study brought into being by investigating General Zia ul Haq's policies of Islamization, the negative effects of these retrogressive policies on rights of women and the accomplishment of Pakistani enlightened movement for women's rights. This study

debunks the popular myth that the women rights movement is foreign imposed concept which indicates that in reality it is a social movement that developed out of a particular local setting in which female networked and involved themselves with our societal actors and in that way understood the need not only for asserting their rights but also rallying together for more wide-ranging politics in general. Besides, pro-women policies and institutions for the protection of women's real empowerment have been highlighted and analyzed, which resulted in their social, political and above all legal empowerment, credit for these initiatives goes to the Pakistan's women rights movement.

Mahmood (2005) This study discusses the measures undertaken by different governments in South Asia in order to attain the goal of political empowerment and participation of women in the decision making process. Furthermore, the implications, practical aspects of these measures and problems faced by women at domestic and societal level were analyzed. It was found that women political empowerment is not an end in itself, rather it is a means through which society can be stimulated to achieve social and political empowerment which would further stimulate sustainable development and refinement in the society. The participation and presence of women in the decision making process would enable them to redraft the gender biased laws and policies on the one hand and would support equality based new laws and policies on the other. Under the pressure of women movements and international convention for women rights, different governments in South Asia allocated reserved seats for women in the decision making bodies to empower women socially, politically and economically. Now the goal of women empowerment has been converted into the overall development of the state. It is to be realized that the purpose of sustainable development cannot be materialized without participation of half of the



population. In a nutshell, satisfied, well-off and politically empowered women would prove to be the best guardian and custodian of the new generation.

Mumtaz & Shaheed (1987) this work points out women position and responsibility in the Pakistani society. The females' position and responsibilities are a part of the social fabric of our society and relentless efforts for the women rights do not occur in vacuum. Historically, they have staunch belief, boosted and hindered by the political and socio-economic development. Islam grants legitimate and due rights to women which enhanced their role and position in the society In Pakistan Zia's Islamization process affected the women role and curtailed her status. Both Zia's Islamization program which might have curtail the rights of women, and a reciprocal women's movement was an ongoing process. Islam performed a crucial role in the political awareness of the Muslims of India it provided the means for the development of political thought and theories of conservative and progressive forces were dealt with alike. Since 1979, the struggle for the emancipation of women's and granting them their due rights have rarely been given attention on priority basis in the Pakistan politics specifically after the imposition of martial law. It is a fact that the actual strength of females who participated into struggle for rights of women were not large enough and both mobilization and political awakening of women have been a vital part of political movements.

Naheed (2008) historically, very little attention has been given to the evaluation of an all-important research aspect where women have been deprived as equal partners in the social setup. The natural humble silence, lack of communication and mild reaction of women converted all ethics, philosophy, religions and economics as males' exclusive domain without any interference and women were bound to toil, attract and support the actions and thoughts of

men. The massive contributions made by women are not even properly recorded in history. Even Women themselves show very low self-respect, and disparage the women's contributions. They sketches many restrictions which extend to the level of guilt for women to do anything positive. However, women researchers are doing their level best to identify faults in women's portrayal. In Muslim countries many researchers have brought forth their research writings on women issues in the form of research books and position papers. This is a compiled or selected work in which articles of East and West have been brought together to portray real texture of modern women beyond irony.

Bano (2009) this research study conducted with the objective to observe the situation of women in Pakistani parliament (National Legislature). The focus of this study is to determine the role of women in the political sphere. Since the creation of Pakistan, the 2002 and 2009 parliaments have displayed maximum representation to women. This study concludes that the quantitative or numerical strength in parliament has positively contributed to the empowerment of women in Pakistan. It has also been explored that with the passage of time women status has relatively improved in the present Pakistani society, yet the ideal of women's empowerment is still an illusion and elusion.

Bari, (2005) this study conducted to explore the issues and challenges to women political participation. The study highlighted some factors which hinder women political participation. The most important among them are political factors, economic factors, ideological factors, and socio-cultural factors, which are directly or indirectly responsible for the slow pace of women political participation. It also throws light on investigating the material and conceptual basis of women s historic exclusion from formal politics. Moreover, this research tries to analyze the strategies implemented across the globe for the

purpose of promoting women political participation and representation. This study further identified the external and internal factors and conditions that hinder or facilitate the creation of a suitable environment for women political empowerment. Moreover in the conclusion, some policy recommendations were drawn for the national and international actors. In this study woman political participation was also reviewed in the development context at societal and national level for subtle and keen understanding of the nature of political participation of women and their contribution to development process and outcome.

Muneer (2018) in this study the author has explored that Pakistan's women position is a complex matter because of the diverse-cultural ethnic groups. The women position in Pakistan is deplorable due to the lack of enforcement of women-friendly laws. The target of this research work is to uncover the gaps and the barriers in the execution of laws. These obstacles are responsible for an unoccupied ground to the injustice, cruelty, gender disparity and brutality against female that has developed a fundamental worth as well as firm conviction of a community. The findings of this study clearly show that many different perspectives and massive blockades are noticeable in the way of females' protection legislation. For example, inherent issues comprising dictating and biased attitude of males regarding females. At the same time, extraneous issues such as, traditional standards on position of women, incapacity of the justice system, renunciation of legal reforms, evasion of justice, weakness of electronic and print media, patriarchal societal setting, narrow-mindedness due to patriarchy as well as in the administration of justice system, illiteracy, legalize illiteracy, ascendancy of traditional values, fear of ill repute surround women, cynical role of the Police and unproductiveness of NGO's are severe impediments. In this study it has also been

explored that in Pakistan federal legislation are not executed in true spirit due to the presence of customs and traditional standards. So real enforcement of women friendly legislation would be a great breakthrough in the removal of disparities on the basis of gender and conversion of the unreal societal transformation into a fact provide that all the current barriers are dealt with on urgency and priority basis.

### **Methodology**

Dawson (as cited in Kumera, 2006) defined that methodology is a philosophy or general principle which guides a given scientific inquiry or study. Research methodology generally relies on quantitative and qualitative research techniques. Quantitative research generates statistical data and produces numeric figures through survey instruments such as a questionnaire, while qualitative research helps to undertake in depth study through exploring attitudes, behavior and experiences by using such tools as in-depth interview, participant observation, key informants, focused group discussion, document analysis (Yirgalem, 2011).

### **Nature of the Research**

Methodologically, this research study employed qualitative method based on exploratory and analytical break-up of the relevant data. This approach is preferred due to the nature of the problem under research study that is to explore the issues in women political empowerment and to analyze the policies and laws formulated and implemented for the psychological, social, economic and personal as well as political empowerment of women in Pakistan. As this is a conceptual study in which a number of concepts related to political empowerment of women have been analyzed. So for the exploration and analysis of these concepts qualitative approach is the proper tool. The current available data/literature reveals that numerous studies conducted on this field employed quantitative tools and only used facts and figures or statistics

to show the status of political empowerment of women. However, the study involves a more in-depth understanding to explore the issues faced by women in their political advancement. So, qualitative research technique is the most appropriate method for this research study. Therefore, the researcher employed qualitative approach so that to methodically investigate the issues in women's political empowerment. As qualitative elucidation of the data can provide a more meticulous analysis which decreases the possibility of biased findings and conclusions. It is important to note that qualitative analysis enables us to question why certain issues have emerged. Besides, it is different from other research approaches as it covers all the possible methods that permit us to understand human behavior in different social perspectives and to investigate respondent experience, perceptions and history.

### **Sources of Data Collection**

Primary and secondary sources of data collection This research method does not study the impact/causal factors; instead data were collected from primary and secondary sources. Primary data has been collected through in-depth interviews, Act/Statutes of parliament, official gazettes, focused group discussions (FGD's), public official records etc. and secondary data has been collected through books, research thesis, periodicals, research articles, reports, magazines, internet sources, newspapers, pamphlets, project reports etc., and rely heavily on thorough examination of the available data.

### **Procedure for the data collection**

For the collection of primary data the researcher used interview technique, focused group discussions, Act/Statutes of the Parliament, and official gazettes etc., while for the collection of secondary data the researcher personally visited Mardan public library, Gender-Studies Department, University of Peshawar, Pakistan Study Centre (UOP), Gender Studies

Department, Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Achieves and Library Peshawar.

Primary and Secondary sources for the study are available in un-published form in different libraries, archives and personal collections such as the India Office Library, London, Broad land Archives London, Library of Southampton University, Cambridge SOAS library, National Library of Pakistan, Islamabad, National Centre of Pakistan Study, ICT, Central Library International Islamic University Islamabad, Central Library Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives Peshawar, Central Library of University of Peshawar, Library of Sheikh Zayed Islamic Centre, Library of the University of Punjab and University of Karachi etc.

### **Interview as a Data Collection Tool**

The tool used for the data collection was in-depth-interview from 50 respondents selected through convenient, judgmental and snowball sampling technique. The interviews were semi structured and the questions asked were open ended. Each interview lasted for 50 to 60 minutes. The interview was mobile-recorded with proper permission of the interviewee. The respondents were divided into six categories: such as, women parliamentarians, human rights activists, lawyers, members from the judiciary, police officials and academicians.

### **Data Analysis tools: Howlett's Implementation Models as data analysis tool**

This study analyzed government's policies, Acts/laws, institutions, i.e., NCSW and ministry of women development (MoWD), statutory instruments, functions and roles of parliamentarians, ministries, departments, agencies, relating to women political empowerment, equity and equality of gender, gender mainstreaming, explored and analyzed

governments commitments, obligations and efforts in resolving main issues, objectives, goals through the application of Howlett's implementation models- substantive as well as procedural organizational, authoritative, financial, and information-based implementation tools.

### **Sampling method and technique**

The sampling design for this study is non-probability while the sampling techniques are convenient, purposive and snow ball. The snow ball technique was used in this study for the collection of primary data.

### **Breakup of Sample Size**

In qualitative research design there is no fixed sampling size, as the sampling size depends on the saturation point i.e. refers to when the same information is repeatedly coming and no new findings or information's regarding the research study are available. The sampling size of this study is 50 respondents, which is not equally divided among the six categories due to the convenience and easy access to the respondents. In this sample size the parliamentarians interviewed were five; six respondents from the lawyers' community; 5 respondents from the judiciary male and one female; seven respondents from police department varied hierarchy based; three respondents from the prosecution side; five female respondents from local and International Non-governmental Organizations (INGO,s); and nine female and nine male academicians were selected on the basis of judgmental and convenient sampling technique facilitated by snowball sampling methodology.

### **Main Findings/ Conclusions**

The researcher has applied different types of tools to investigate the issues in women political empowerment and also to analyze the gaps in law's enactment and implementation. They are qualitative and exploratory techniques for data

collection and analysis, secondly, liberalism feminism and Howlett's implementation models were applied as a theoretical foundation for this study.

In the light of the research questions and objectives of the study, so that to match the finding of the study with question asked in the beginning of the work. We would be then in a better position to know, whether the research question and objectives are addressed properly or not. Before drawing the main findings of the study it is imperative to once again have a glance on the research questions, which are as follows:

- What are the historical perspectives of women's political empowerment with reference to policies formulation and implementation?
- What are the issues in women's political empowerment?
- What are the policies of women's political empowerment in the proposed period 2001-18?
- What are the gaps between policies formulation and implementation regarding women's political empowerment during 2001 to 2018 in Pakistan?
- What steps are required to minimize gap between policy formulation and implementation in Pakistan?

So starting from the question 1, it has been successfully addressed in chapter 2 of the study. Political journey of the empowerment of women has thoroughly been discussed and analyzed the funneling method i.e., in the beginning, the researcher provide a general view of the female empowerment then slowly and gradually shifted the focus of the study on the target area- Pakistan. The situation of the empowerment of women

were highlighted in the ancient times. Then views of different schools of thoughts were evaluated regarding the worth and importance of women in the society. The general position as well as the enactment and implementation of policies were analyzed not only in the developed world but the developing countries women position were also highlighted. Above all, the condition of the social, economic and political empowerment of the Pakistan's women evaluated during both in the pre-partition and post-partition period. The policies and laws enacted and implemented by the different civilian and military governments starting from the 1947, all the effort regarding the social and political empowerment of the Pakistani women have been given in detail. The passing of the objective resolution and charter of the rights of women were discussed. Then in the military regime of General Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan also highlighted the legal empowerment of women. The law making regarding women advancement in the era of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto were touched qualitatively. Specifically, the anti-women policies named as the Hudood Ordinances, which were passed through ordinances in the period of general Zia ul Haq were critically evaluated. The position of women legal progress were also assessed in the two consecutive terms of Benazir Bhutto's and Nawaz Sharif's elected governments tenures in 90's. Major pro-women laws enactment started during General turned President Pervez Musharraf military-led democratic government in 2000.

The second research question was regarding the issues in political empowerment of women. So the researcher has explored a number of issues which challenges and confronted females in their social, economic and specifically political empowerment. The issues which are discussed and analyzed in detailed in chapter 4 are highlighted as follow:

- Economic challenges or issues in the shape of the non-availability of the property rights to women in general and particularly to Pakistan's women. In Pakistan property rights are not available to women due to that they are in inferiority complex in comparison to men. The secured property rights creates social, psychic and economic empowerment which all are highly needed for political empowerment. It has been identified that due to low economic position of Pakistani women they are unable to take part in politics and contest election.
- Patriarchy is the second main issues which is proved to be the mother of all other issues in terms political advancement of women. And indeed it is due to patriarchy that women lacks economic independence or economic empowerment. Because once women become economically independent she then could be in the position to participate in politics. And after social and economic empowerment, then comes the turn of the political empowerment. But it has been found that due to the classic patriarchy in Pakistan women have no say in the political decision making and policy making of the country.
- The third issue which created hurdle in political advancement of female are socio-cultural customs and traditions or practices. Which have blocked permanently the path of women advancement and their participation in politics. It has also been found that the culture and social norms of Pakistan not give

- permission to females to have a say in the politics of the country. Although we have some examples of the women reach to the leadership positions like former late women Prime Minister of Pakistan but she was not common Pakistani women because she was in politics due to her father.
- The fourth issue which have created hurdles for the Pakistan's women is the controversy over the qualitative and quantitative nature of the women reserved quota or quota politics. It has been found that reserving quota for women is like spoon feeding of the child. Unless and until, women not actively participate in the open field of politics on general tickets they could not be politically empowered in the true sense. While another school of thought represented by Academician- Dr. Abida Bano is of the view that Pakistan in not reached to that stage where their women could directly participate and contest election on general seats. So this is also an issue in political empowerment of women's.
  - Another issue which the researcher has identified is the Ideological and political factors and issues have also slow down the process of the political advancement of women. The public –private dichotomy or divide where the private is personal and public is political. So it has been found that due these mindsets in the society, women cannot claim of her equal share in politics. Women are not permitted to take part in politics. As it is against the socially constructed notions, that women will look after the family and will run affairs of the household while men will deal the public affairs and politics.
  - The most important issue in the political mainstreaming of women is that of the lack of implementation of the pro-women policies and laws. It has been noted that there are numerous laws and policies are enacted for the social, economic and political empowerment of women but it has been found that the implementation of all these legislation on the ground is equal to zero. The researcher have put forward that there hundred and thousands of examples in our daily life that these legislation are obeyed just in papers. There are a number of laws that the researcher have already discussed and analyzed in chapter 5 of the study which are violated by the perpetrators not even taking notice of the punishment of these crime. For examples, the anti-harassment and anti-honor killing laws are boldly violated in Pakistan.
  - Substantive and procedural Legal and structural complications and technicalities have also created hurdles for women to contribute and deliver in politics.
  - It has also been found that male dominated politics or masculine model of politics have also buried the cause of the political empowerment of women.
  - Religious misconceptions and wrong interpretations of Islamic injunctions

have also created an issue in the political empowerment of women.

- Last but not least, women lack of proper education, information and awareness have also been identified as the bottlenecks in the political advancement of women.

The third research question was about the policies and laws enacted and implemented from 2001 to 2018 were effectively addressed. So several laws and policies formulated and implemented in Pakistan from 2001 to 2018, for the empowerment (i.e. Legal, social, economic, psychological, and political etc.) of women which are as following:

such as Policy on national level for the development and empowerment of women 2002, The 2004 criminal law or honor killing Law 2004, the Act of 2006 for women protection, the anti-harassment Act 2010 for women in the workplace protection, the Act 2011 against the acid attacks, The 2011 Act for those women in distress and detention centers or jails , The anti-women practices prevention Act 2011, The NCSW Act of 2012, the Act 2012 against domestic torture, another honor Act 2016 and finally The Election Act 2017, respectively.

Despite these laws and policies, there are noticeable flaws between policies enactment and their true implementation. In other words, the gaps between theory and practice has been confirmed by applying the Howlett's Implementation models- i.e., organizational, authoritative, information-based, and financial implementation tools, that indicates that all the formulated and implemented policies and laws are suffering from gaps in organizational, authoritative, financial and information-based implementation tools, which is of both Substantive and procedural nature.

The major substantive and procedural flaws in each policy and law are highlighted here as follow which have been identified by the researcher while analyzing the laws through the Howlett's implantation instruments.

Police and prosecution departments are the organizational substantive tools through which this law could have been effectively implemented but as there are other weaknesses in other tools too, i.e. (low priority to the prosecution of gender based violence) shows problems in the information-based substantive implementation tool; while (weak monitoring and consolidation of such cases) depicts problems in the information-based procedural tool ;while (unproductive and inefficient coordination between police and prosecution department) shows weaknesses in the organizational procedural implementation tools; and (insufficient human resources in the police and prosecution departments) discloses defects in the organizational substantive implementation tools.

Police has a vital role to play in prevention and protection of violence against women on one hand, and the implementation of pro-women laws on the other. But it has been found that their watchdog role is undermined because of political influence, lack of operational independence, deficiency of female staff investigating gender-based violence (GBV) cases, lack of facilities of forensic services and last but not least, the patriarchal mind-set of the police towards women.

To conclude, it has been found that the laws and polices enacted and implemented from 2001 to 2018 are suffering from a variety of flaws and gaps that are of the substantive and procedural nature. All the laws and policies in the proposed period have weaknesses in organizational, authoritative, and financial and information based implementation instruments.

**Recommendations/ Suggestions**

- Since the problems in women political empowerment are multi-dimensional, complex and overwhelming it will take a long time for women to achieve empowerment and equality. Ensuring political rights is only possible when they are supported by policies and laws that enshrine and enforce those. However, policies and Laws alone cannot change the existing order, but these are instruments which can help in bringing about a change if the society is prepared to accept the change. For this purpose people's awareness has to increase, their thinking has to change, pattern of socialization and general behavior patterns has to change with the objective to adjust to the new values and modern way of life. Gender justice and gender equality are two desirable changes which can be achieved by giving the proper direction to social change through various tools like education, awareness generation coupled with proper socialization.
- The government in order to provide a breathing space and an environment of living without fear for females should review gender biased laws, abolish and repeal discriminatory laws and implement pro-women legislation to prevent violence against females.
- . The Pakistani government in order to provide some relief and an environment of living without fear and discrimination for more than half of its population must take some emergency measures and should review gender-biased laws, repeal and abolish discriminative laws and implement specific legislation to stop Violence against Women (VAW) in Pakistan.
- Education is one of the most important prerequisite through which awareness can be created in the marginalized segment (particularly women) of Pakistani society. High level of literacy and advanced education facilities leads to the creation of middle class, which always provide support to promote moderation and democracy. Resultantly the whole society will be enlightened.
- Institutional reforms must be introduced, although it is a complex phenomenon. As judicial and legal reforms require support and commitment on the part of the government and executive branch of government should implement the decisions of the court. Administration of justice is not the sole responsibility of lawyers and judges. However, they must play an effective role to improve the system, focusing their energy on addressing the lack of institutional capacity- including judicial and legal capacity- and accountability and inexcusable delays. Institutional reforms in the judiciary are highly needed but within constitutional parameters. For this purpose awareness, momentum, the will to bring reforms, amendments to laws related to the appointment and accountability of judges, capacity building and the accountability of the bar and integration of technology as well as improvements in other institutions- police and prosecution to reduce delays. The performance of the judges should be audited and those who fail to meet the standards prescribed by the judiciary may be provided extra-trainings or removed from service if required.
- Legal reforms are not all that is required to curb the threat of gender-based crimes that is in the shape of anti-women practices such forced marriages, swara,



karo-kari, vani, tur, ghag, marriages to Quran and inheritance deprivation, 'honour'-killings, acid crimes- acid attack, harassment of women in all forms and manifestations. Rather, there is a need to change the community's attitude towards such crimes by engaging them in an internal discourse which would contribute towards the eradication of these crimes by addressing their fundamental causes. It would serve as an effective tool to deny such crimes any support and, besides, to engender political will to employ further laws and policies to combat these crimes and bring the perpetrators to justice. Deep patriarchal sentiments leading to gender-based crimes must be destroyed to achieve lasting results. So it is important to gain the community's support by means of an internal discourse working around cultural standards and institutions associated with such heinous crimes.

- Policy makers should exercise particular caution in adopting and supporting the implementation of "quick fixes" or by waiving the magic wand of gender quotas. Reserving political position for women is a significant affirmative action that can help women to be heard, but it has to be integrated with multiple interventions aimed at diminishing gender gaps in education, employment opportunities, and access to land plus other assets. In the absence of these measures and policies, quotas could fail to produce substantive improvements in the status of women, as female representatives might continue to serve dominant male and elite interests.
- It is unfortunate that gender insensitivity has incorporated itself into our police structure has multifaceted implications that require

bold and across the board changes in order to improve women's access to justice. Structural, cultural and institutional and above all, attitudinal changes within the police department is the best way forward. Changing police attitudes is a priority because it is a necessary component of the technical resources of any department. Efforts should be made to increase gender sensitivity in the department by organizing regular training for officers of all ranks. New operating practices, incentive structures and evaluation methods that are beneficial to women's needs should be introduced into police department. Abuses of women's rights must be punished as criminal acts, for that, both police and civilians must internalize the idea that such abuses are criminal in nature and cannot be dealt with as personal or family matters. Instead of addressing these issues separately, the government must devise a holistic action plan to strengthen women's rights by improving the legal framework and ensuring implementation, which is very necessary. Information about the existence of new operating procedures as well as committed police units established to address crimes against women must be disseminated in society through a mass awareness campaign. Women needs to be aggressively recruited in the police department and strategies to retain them in service should be devised. Furthermore, bodies such as police review boards, community-police liaison committees, national human rights commission and international organizations need to engage women in systems of accountability and oversight, in order to bring their concerns directly to police forces.

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