Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences (PJSS)
Vol. 36, No. 1 (2016), pp. 261-270

Gender Quota and Women's Descriptive Representation in Pakistan: Challenges and New Choices

Yasmin Roofi
Post-Doctoral Research Fellow
Center for Gender Research
University of Uppsala, Sweden

Abstract

The women's under-representation in the politics is a historic and global phenomenon. The past two decades have witnessed increase in women's representation across the globe. These advancements were a result of fast track strategies adopted by states called gender quota. Pakistan also provides quota to women to increase their representation at national and sub national level but reserved seats policy has raised serious criticism due to indirect mode of elections. This research aims to contribute to the emerging literature on gender and quota by evaluating the reserved seats policy for women in Pakistan provided to facilitate representation to women at the national level. This paper also evaluates the problems and shortcoming of quota policy and suggests the type of gender quota appropriate to bridge the gender gap in politics in Pakistan.

Keywords: Gender Quota, Party quota, Pakistan, Politics, Women

I. Introduction

The introduction of gender quota as a policy measure has sparked a great deal of scholarly research about its adoption and implementation and the past decades have also witnessed an increase in women's inclusion in politics across the globe. However, despite the quota advancement, women still remain under-represented in the field of politics. They constitute only 22.3 percent of the total members in national legislatures all over the World (IPU, 2015) despite comprising fifty percent of the total World population. They form 22.66 percent of the single or lower houses while their numerical strength in the upper houses is 20.6 percent. The regional statistics show that Nordic countries are at the top of the list for female political representation with 41.1 percent and Asia the largest continent in terms of population has only 18.4 percent women in parliaments (IPU, 2015). The increase in women representation all over the World has been achieved largely through the policies adopted by countries (either under certain international commitments or due to domestic movements) based on the idea called 'Gender Quota'.

Gender quota refers to the affirmative action policies used all over the World to break male hegemony in politics (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2005; Krook, 2009), to affirm the concept of equality and make democracy more participatory and efficient (Dahlerup, Hilal, Kalandadze, & Nhundu, 2013). This is considered a fast track (CEDAW makes governments responsible for taking special, albeit temporary, measures to promote

gender equality) strategy to increase female political participation or representation[1] being implemented in 128 countries of the World (Dahlerup, 2006; Quota Project , 2015) and Pakistan is one of those countries by ensuring reserved seats quota[2] in the constitution to increase political representation of its 48.6 percent of the women population (World Bank, 2014) at national and sub-national level legislative bodies. But despite of that, women representation is just 20.6 percent in the National Assembly (Lower house) and 18.3 percent in the Upper house called Senate (IPU, 2015). Granted that reserved seats have contributed towards facilitating a numerical increase in women's inclusion in the legislatures at national and sub national level, however, women's representation and participation in politics (as voters or candidates) has never been proportional to their numerical strength. The purpose of the research done in this paper is to analyze the existing quota policy and explore the alternative quota options which might help bridge the gender gap in the parliamentary politics of Pakistan. The research will contribute towards existing literature on the topic by exploring the quota policy which could prove more suitable in their efficacy for the political context of Pakistan in view of the predominantly held cultural values of the country. My assumption is that women quota in politics is required and should not be discontinued but now the time has come to adopt the legislative quota design in Pakistan. Though at present, the reserved seats are allocated to women at three tiers; national, provincial and local but current research focuses primarily on data regarding the quota at the national level. The two hypotheses are set for this study; first that women quota policy is required in Pakistan and second, that reserved seat quota is not enough to increase women's effective participation and representation.

---

[1] The debate over the efficacy of quota policies has raised both positive and negative arguments predominantly from two different schools of thought. The proponents of quota policies are of the view that, as previously mentioned, they serve as a fast track strategy to increase women's participation in the political process and divert attention to women's issues in policy making. The opponents say that "quota facilitates unqualified women in politics, reinforces stereotypes about female inferiority as political actors and deters ordinary women from participating in politics" though the "empirical validity of these claims is not systematically addressed yet" (Franceschet, Krook, & Piscopo, 2012). Nonetheless, while it is a fact that many countries have made a remarkable increase in women's participation without quota legislation (through what is called incremental Track) like in Scandinavian countries, though it should be noted that these countries have taken around 70 years of gradual improvements to reach this level of participation, (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2005) whereas countries with fast track strategies experienced a steep increase within only a couple of years for e.g. certain African countries like Uganda and Zimbabwe (Hughes & Paxton, 2008; Krook, 2009).

[2] The quota may be of three types; Reserved Seats, Party Quota and Legislative Quota (Krook, 2009; Dahlerup, Hilal, Kalandadze, & Nhundu, 2013; IDEA). However, some scholars do not include reserved seats in the quota forms because in their opinion these are not meant to influence women in the participation process (Dahlerup, 2006). "Reserved seats" is the oldest type of quota and its history dates back to the 1930. Reserved seats are geographically concentrated around 35 countries of Asia, Africa and Middle East (IPU, 2015; Krook, 2009). "Party Quota" is the most popular type of quota, being practiced in 53 countries of the World (Quota Project , 2015) . Party quotas are the measures taken by political parties, voluntarily describing in their party manifestos to provide women presence in the slates of candidates rather than the final percentage of women elected. The origin of the party quota can be traced back to the 1970s when certain socialist or social democratic parties in European countries started implementing this strategy in their parties to increase their vote bank, presumably amongst female voters. A Party quota is further divided into either an Aspirant party quota or a Candidate party quota (Matland, 2006; Krook, 2009). The third type, "Legislative Quota", is similar to the party quota but with a difference in that it uses the force and effect of legal or constitutional electoral laws to make political parties bound to include women in their party selection. This is the most recent kind of quota, most prevalent in 59 countries of Latin America, Southeastern Europe, Middle East and few African countries (Quota Project , 2015). It is further categorized; quota through electoral laws or constitution bindings (Dahlerup, 2006).

It is evident that the introduction of a gender quota may affect the existing gendered dynamics in society depending upon the various types/ kinds of quota and the way it is implemented (Franceschet, Krook, & Piscopo, 2012). It has also been seen that those countries where it is introduced not only achieved higher levels of women participation and representation but many who adopted the gender quota in the 1990s also revised their quota policies "either by increasing the minimum percentage of each gender or by changing the rank order rules for electoral lists" like Belgium, Ecuador, France, Mexico and Morocco (Dahlerup, Hilal, Kalandadze, & Nhundu, 2013).

II. Reserved Seats Policy in Pakistan

Before the creation of Pakistan, the Government of India Act 1935 had for the first time introduced a gender quota in the Sub- Continent by allocating three percent seats for women in elected legislatures (Afzaal, 1999). Following the Partition, there were initially only two female legislators in the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan but unfortunately, no woman was selected for the second Constituent Assembly after the dissolution of the first Assembly by the Governor General in 1953. The same practice of three percent quotas for women was revived with the first Constitution of Pakistan (1956), though there were demands to increase that percentage by ten. After the abrogation of the Constitution by Mohammad Ayub Khan, Martial Law was imposed and a new constitution was implemented in 1962 which reserved six seats for women in the unicameral National Assembly of Pakistan. However, political circles within the country, particularly women, were not satisfied and the demand was to increase the women's quota in assemblies (Afzaal, 1999).

After the abrogation of the Constitution of 1962 and imposition of Martial Law in 1969, General Yahya Khan, the Chief Martial Law Administrator issued the Legal Framework Order in 1970, according to which, for the first time, general elections were held against 300 general seats divided equally between both wings of the country called East and West Pakistan on a 'one man one vote' principle. LFO reserved 13 seats for women, 6 from the Western wing and 7 from the Eastern Wing of Pakistan. But unfortunately the first session of the Assembly was convened after the separation of East and comprising only of the members elected from the Western Wing (Afzaal, 1999). A twenty five members committee was established to draft a new constitution which suggested ten reserved seats for women in the national assembly elected in the indirect way through national and provincial assemblies for a period of ten years only and no quota was reserved for the Senate.

First time elections under the new constitution of 1973 were held in 1977 and only one female candidate was elected on general seats, from among the ten reserve seats for women, who never took oath due to serious protest from the opposition and a boycott against Mr. Bhutto and announced election results, eventually leading towards imposition of Martial Law again, abrogation of the Constitution and dissolution of national and provincial assemblies. Zia ul Haq, then Chief Martial Administrator, issued Revival of Constitution Order (RCO) in 1985 to revive political activities which had been suspended and number of seats reserved for women in the legislatures was increased from 10 to 20 for the period of ten years or three elections whichever may be applicable. Zia ul Haq dissolved the Assembly again in 1988 and new elections were held for the Assembly, which had the provision for 20 women on reserved seats (Krook, 2009). Afterwards,

Ghulam Ishaq Khan as President repeated the history of the Zia ul Haq administration by dissolving the elected Assembly in 1990. Three Assemblies were elected during the period of 1990 to 1999, but without a quota provision the number of elected women on general seats remained very low. The elected government was disposed of again by the then army chief and the Constitution was abrogated. General Pervaiz Musharaf announced a devolution of power plan and reserved one third seats for women in the local bodies and later, in 2002, constitutional amendments allowed for 60 seats reserved for women in the national assembly. The following table presents a comprehensive picture of quota and generally elected women representation in the National Assembly of Pakistan.

Table 1: Women in National Assembly of Pakistan

National Assembly	Total Seats	Elected Women	Quota Women	Total Women	% of Women Representation
1947-1954	69	02	0	02	2.9
1955-1958	80	0	0	0	0.0
1962-1965	156	02	06	08	5.1
1965-1969	156	0	06	06	3.8
1972-1977	144	0	06	06*	4.2
May1977-July1977**	210	01	10	11	5.2
1985-1988	217	02	21	23	10.6
1988-1990	217	4	20	24	11.1
1990-1993	217	2	0	02	0.9
1993-1996	217	4	0	04	1.8
1997-1999	217	6	0	06	2.8
2002-2008	342	13	61	74	21.6
2008-20013	342	17	60	77	22.5
2013- to date	342	9	60	69	20.2

Source: (National Assembly of Pakistan; Women Parliamentay Caucus), * There were 6 women in the Assembly but in 1976 after the death of Mr. R.M. Andrew, his wife Najma Andrew became a member on minorities' seats for a short time period. ** Begum Nasim Wali Khan was the only woman elected on general seat but she never took oath because opposition boycotted the election results and went on strike and her party was a part of that alliance. One woman was also nominated on minorities seats in that Assembly (Library of National Assembly of Pakistan).

The above discussion clearly reveals that reserved seats have been used as a primary tool to ensure political representation for women in the law making bodies of Pakistan. It's also obvious that in the absence of quota provision the number of women in the National Assembly has been less than three percent of the total member which is clear evidence that gender quota is required to ensure women's representation in Pakistan. Now the question arises that which type of quota can be more effective for women inclusion in politics.

III. Legislative Quota and Women Representation

Though women are entitled to equal rights and opportunities to participate in political matters under the Constitution of Pakistan (Article 25) and 60 seats are reserved for them in Law making bodies under the Article 51 of the Constitution but practically, the number of generally elected women has been very less in law making bodies, whether at the national or provincial level, with or without the quota. Although, the main

objective of a gender quota is to decrease women's under-representation and put in place temporary measures for mandating the recruitment and inclusion of women in legislative bodies to involve them in decision making process, with the intent to eventually pave the way for their direct participation in politics, but reserved seats as a policy measure, in particular, have been criticized for reinforcing patronage politics, rather than true democratic values in the electoral process, "being used to bolster the incumbent party" (Matland, 2006; Bauer, 2008; Mauriaas & Wang, 2012) and thus only promoting women who are excessively loyal to the interests of the ruling party (Tripp, 2006; Goetz, 2003). This can negatively affect the quota recipients' ability to advance gender-related legislation, in particular when it conflicts with party interests (Tripp, 2006; Yoon, 2011).

Several scholars have found that female quota representatives are often members of the social and economic elite and therefore, easily drawn into patronage politics (Rai, Bari, Mehtab, & Mohantay, 2006; Medha, 2006; Vincent, 2004). Similar findings have been drawn from the Pakistani context where women on reserved seats are mostly from the families of feudal or industrial political elites or close relatives of male party leader rather than candidates or party workers drawn from the female wings of the party on a fair and democratic basis. Female parliamentarians elected on reserved sets are not treated equally or consulted by party leadership on important decisions (Yusuf, 2013; Ghosh, 2013; NCSW, 2010). The reasons as to why this is the case may be numerous, but most importantly, since these women are not directly elected representatives of the masses but rather nominated by their respective political parties, they remain dependent and accountable to male party leadership[3] instead of being genuine representatives of the masses with grassroots level penetration (Yusuf, 2013; ADB, 2000; NCSW, 2010).

The discussion above depicts that a 17.5 percent, indirectly-elected, reserved seats quota made women's descriptive representation possible in the legislature, and that too at a minimum level, but it could not substantively integrate them into the mainstream decision making and political process. While demands have been raised to amend the indirect election process for women on reserved seats in the past, no real change has been made so far. A recommendation was forwarded by the 'National Commission on Status of Women' to increase the number of reserved seats and elect women on reserve seats by direct votes of the masses. They proposed that either one third of the constituencies for the national or provincial assemblies election should be declared "Double Constituency" on a rotation basis, where voters will vote for one general seat member and one woman on reserve seat, or that the country should be divided into new, larger constituencies for reserved seats only equal to three normal size constituency where voters will have double voting rights. The third suggestion was establishing larger constituencies equal to six or nine normal constituencies giving voters the right to elect at least two or three women on reserve seats (NCSW, 2010; Aurat, 2001). Similar suggestions have been raised from time to time not to discontinue reserved seats but to make the process directly elected[4]. But this suggestion seems difficult in implementation keeping in view the size of a

[3] It was reported by Commission on the Status of Women report that female parliamentarians are not treated equally or consulted in important decisions. Most often their funds are spent on the recommendations of male party leaders and female parliamentarians are discouraged to take independent initiatives even when they are in party line due to the fact that they are representatives without constituencies directed indirectly without any mass support (NCSW, 2010).

[4] For more details, Aurat Foundation (Aziz & Abdullah, 2012).

constituency because it would not be possible for candidates to approach people[5] and run the campaign.

The Government of Pakistan is responsible for ensuring at least, 30 percent participation of women in politics by all international agreements. However, a reduction in the quota for women in local bodies by provincial governments and for women in lead positions in assemblies and executive organs at the national or provincial level is clearly evidence of a regress in the way of gender political equality. Another factor which shows a decline in the active promotion of gender equality and women's inclusion in active politics in Pakistan is a lack of interest from the parties themselves on the question of female participation. Though political parties are considered the agents for promoting political participation and they are responsible for not just political mobilization but ideally, for promoting the interests of all segments of the masses however, in Pakistan they have done, and are doing, little to facilitate women's inclusion in politics (Yusuf, 2013). There are many incidences which reveal this truth, like general elections in 2002, 2008 and 2013 in Pakistan in which the selection of candidates by political parties clearly showed a lack of numerical strength when it came to female candidates. The following table shows the list of overall party tickets issued to male and female members in the last three elections of the National Assembly of Pakistan.

Table 2: Allocation of Tickets to Female Candidates in Elections 2002, 2008, 2013

Party Name	2002			2008			2013		
	Men	women	%	Men	Women	%	Men	Women	%
PPPP	219	10	4.3	233	14	5.6	212	13	5.7
PML (N)	165	5	2.9	202	7	3.3	208	8	3.7
PTI	91	3	3.1	0	0	0	224	6	2.6
MQM	56	4	6.6	114	6	5.0	199	8	3.8
Others	768	15	1.9	450	13	2.8	1,210	30	2.4
independent	706	24	3.2	1,131	35	3.0	2,248	95	4.5
Total	2005	61	2.9	2,130	75[6]	3.4	4,301	161[7]	3.6

Source: (FAFEN, 2013).

The table above presents a picture of a field of political candidates which is very male dominated and reflective of the patriarchal nature of political parties in Pakistan where a very insignificant number of women are accommodated by all political parties in elections. The number of elected women is even reduced and only few women reach in assembly after elections. In that way, though a slight increase is seen of women candidates in election 2013 as compared to the previous elections, but the number of elected women in 2013 is less than the previous ones.

[5] The constituencies in Pakistan are very large in terms of area and population and an average constituency may have more than four hundred thousand voters, for example constituency NA 50 in Punjab has 443,358 and NA 259 Balochistan has 264,293 voters. NA 10, KPK total registered voters are 321,620 and NA 251, in Sindh province has 342,155 voters.

[6] The election of National Assembly 2008 witnessed contestation by 64 women on general seats out of which only 41 were awarded party ticket (ECP, 2008).

[7] After final scrutiny by the ECP (Election Commission of Pakistan) and withdrawals by party members, only 135 were women while 259 women applied for reserve seats to different parties (ECP, 2013). A total of 135 women contested the National Assembly election of 2013 out of which only 61 were on party ticket while others contested as an independent candidate. The lowest number of female nominations was from Balochistan and FATA (Wagha, 2013).

Moreover, while the election records show less confidence being placed on women candidates by political parties, women's interest in contesting elections has been observed to be increasing in the form of a greater number of independent, female candidates in the elections of 2013. For instance, for the first time in the history of Bajur Agency of FATA, a female became an independent candidate and a woman from Lower Dir, the most conservative region contested the elections in 2013. A similar trend can be seen in the Sindh province where a woman filed papers against a landlord politician in Tharparkar district (Yusuf, 2013). These cannot just be viewed as one-off incidents but rather part of a changing trend and changing values towards women's interest in the political sphere. Despite the increasing interest of women to contest elections as independent candidates, the fact cannot be ignored that women on party tickets are more likely to win as compare to independent candidates (UNESCAP, 2004).

Women and human rights organizations and the Women's Parliamentary Caucus have demanded to introduce a party quota to further facilitate women's political participation. They have demanded changes to the Political Parties Order and have asked for inclusion of clauses which would make it mandatory for all Political parties to hold regular intra-Party elections (Aziz & Abdullah, 2012) and ensure a 33 percent female representation on all decision making bodies of the parties. They've also demanded to give at least 15 percent winnable seats to women by all political parties. As it has been discussed above that in view of past behavior of political parties in Pakistan voluntary party quota is not expected in near future. The fact cannot be ignored that from a socio-economic and cultural standpoint, women "trapped in a web of dependency and subordination" largely because of the patriarchal social system, lack of economic independence and political resources (ADB, 2000; Mumtaz, 2005; Richard, 2010) are dependent on party gatekeepers for becoming involved in politics. So keeping in view the elitist nature of the selection process for the reserved seats and the past behavior of the majority of parties' towards women inclusion in politics, there is a need to revise the existing quota policy and introduce legislative quotas in Pakistan to increase women participation, but even on this point it should not be ignored that a legislative quota is usually more successful within a proportional representational frame work and the success of quota policy and variation in the number of women in the legislatures depend on the quota's size, its enforcement strategy and placement mandates (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2005; Matland, 2006; Schwindt-Bayer, 2009; UNO, 2012).

The existing literature reveals that electoral legislated quota simply brings the number of women on party candidate list but does not guarantee the success of those women in elections due to award of tickets either to losing or weak seats, so it is suggested that the percentage of the quota should be higher (Schwindt-Bayer, 2009; Mumtaz, 2005). However, keeping in view the patriarchal nature of politics in Pakistan, this kind of strategy may create resistance by party gatekeepers so reserved seats policy should not be discontinued altogether as a short term measure. There are countries who have achieved some of the highest percentages of women's representation by dual quota policy or two different types of quota in both houses of the legislature. One example is Rwanda which has achieved the highest percentage of female representation in the World by adopting such a 'dual quota strategy' for both of the houses of the parliament. The reserved seats policy is for the Senate (upper house) which allocates 30 percent seats to women elected indirectly while in the Chamber of Deputies (lower house) women have

the opportunity to get directly elected by 'Legislated Candidate Quota' through the PR system (IPU, 2015). Zimbabwe is the country which has introduced reserved seats for the 'Lower House' and legislated quota in the Upper House. In 2012, sixty seats were reserved in the lower house elected on proportional representation system for women making total strength from 210 to 270 (part 4 article 124). The new constitution of Zimbabwe adopted in 2013 provides that 60 senators; 6 from each of the 10 provinces (out of total 80 senators) are elected through a proportional representation system "in which male and female candidates are listed alternatively, every list being headed by a female candidate" (IPU, 2015).

IV. Conclusion

It has been discussed and analyzed above that reserved seats quota policy has increased the numerical strength of women in the law making bodies but it has not been enough to bridge the gender gap in politics as per international commitments of government of Pakistan. There is dire need of time to facilitate women inclusion in politics to strengthen democratic values in the country. Though a legislated quota may not be able to remove all barriers to women's inclusion in politics, it will improve their chances of participation and make parties bound to "scrutinize and change their male dominated gender profile" and try to recruit women who have the potential to be positive political role models. The government needs to expand its quota policy but it is also more important to devise long-term strategies to increase women's participation in education, labor force and other affairs of life to eliminate gender discrimination in political participation.

References

ADB. (2000). Women in Pakistan. Asian Development Bank.

Afzaal, N. (1999). *Women and Parliament in Pakistan.* Lahore, Pakistan: pakistan study Centre.

Aurat, F. (2001, November-December). Legislative Watch. Islamabad, Pakistan: Aurat foundation & Information Service Foundation.

Aziz, N., & Abdullah, T. (2012). *Suggestions on Women's empowerment for Election Manifestos and Political Parties.* Islamabad: Aurat Foundation.

Bauer, G. (2008). Uganda:Reserved Seats for Women MPs: affirmative action for the national women's movement or the national resistance movement? In M. Tremblay (Ed.), *Women and Legislative Representation: Electoral Syatems,Political Prties,and Sex Quotas* (pp. 27-39). New York, USA: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dahlerup, D. (2006). *Women, Qoutas and Politics.* New York: Routledge.

Dahlerup, D., & Freidenvall, L. (2005). Quotas as a Fast Track to Equal Representation For Women. *International FeministJournal of Politics, 7*(1), 26-48.

Dahlerup, D., Hilal, Z., Kalandadze, N., & Nhundu, R. K. (2013). Atlas of Electoral Gender Quotas. Stockholm, Sweden: International Institute for democracy and Electoral Assistance, Interparliamentary Union, Stockholm University.

ECP. (2013). Retrieved August 21, 2015, from Election Commission of Pakistan: http://ecp.gov.pk/ContestingCandidates.aspx

FAFEN. (2013). *Women and the 2013 General Election Analysis.* Islamabad: Free and Fair Election Network.

Franceschet, S., Krook, M. L., & Piscopo, J. M. (2012). conceptualizing the Impact of Gender Quotas. In S. Franceschet, M. L. Krook, & J. M. Piscopo, *The Impact of Gender Quotas* (pp. 3-4). New York, USA: Oxford university Press.

Ghosh, P. (2013, September 28). *Pakistani Women in Politics:Slow Progress,Mighty Obstacles.* Retrieved August 21, 2015, from International Bussiness Times: http://www.ibtimes.com/pakistani-women-politics-slow-progress-mighty-obstacles-1412134

Goetz, A. M. (2003). The Problem With Patronage:constraints on womens's political effectiveness in Uganda. In A. M. Goetz, & S. Hassim (Eds.), *No Shortcuts to Power: African Women to Politics and Policy Making* (pp. 110-139). NewYork, USA: ZED Books.

Hughes, M. M., & Paxton, P. (2008). Continuous Change, Episode and Crtical periods:A Framework for understanding Women's Political Representation Overtime. *Politics and Gender, 4*, 233-266.

IDEA, I. (n.d.). Retrieved July 19, 2015, from Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance: http://www.quotaproject.org/aboutQuotas.cfm

IPU. (2015, August). Retrieved from Inter Parliamentary Union: http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm

Krook, M. L. (2009). *Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender Selection Reforms World wide*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Matland, R. F. (2006). Electoral quotas: Frequency and Effectiveness. In *Women, quotas and Politics.* NewYork, USA: Routledge.

Mauriaas, R. M., & Wang, V. (2012). Executive Dominance and the Politics of Quota Representation in uganda. *The Journal of Modern Africa Studies, 50*(2), 309-338.

Medha, N. (2006). Are Quotas a Good Idea? The Indian experience with reserved seats for women. *Politics and Gender, 2*(1), 119-128.

NCSW. (2010, November). Institutional strengthening of NCSW Support to Implementation of GRAPs: Gender Review of Political framework for women Political Participation. Islamabad, Pakistan: National Commission on te Status of Women.

Rai, S. M., Bari, F., Mehtab, N., & Mohantay, B. (2006). South Asia: gender quotas and politics of empowerment- a comparative study. In *Women, Quotas and Politics* (pp. 222-245). London: Routledge.

Schwindt-Bayer, L. A. (2009). Making Quotas Work: The effects of Gender Quota Laws on the Election of Women. *Legislative Studies Quaterly, 34*(1), 5-28.

Tripp, A. M. (2006). Uganda: Agents of Change for women's advancement? In H. E. Britton, & G. Bauer (Eds.), *Women in African Parliaments* (pp. 111-32). CA, USA: Boulder.

Vincent, L. (2004). Quotas: Changing the way things look without changing the way things are. *The Journal of Legislative Studies, 10*(1), 71-96.

Wagha, W. (2013, March-November). Number of Women Candidates Rises sharply in 2013 Elections. *Legislative Watch(41)*. Islamabad, Pakistan: Awaz foundation 7 Aurat foundation.

Yoon, Y. M. (2011). More Women in Tanzanian Legislature: do numbers matter? *Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 29*(1), 83-98.

Yusuf, H. (2013, May). *The Evolving role of women in Pakistani politics.* Retrieved August 20, 2015, from http://www.peacebuilding.no/Regions/Asia/Pakistan/Publications/The-evolving-role-of-women-in-Pakistani-politics

(n.d.). Retrieved July 21, 2015, from National Assembly of Pakistan: http://www.na.gov.pk/en/content.php?id=121

(n.d.). Retrieved August 22, 2015, from Women Parliamentay Caucus: http://www.wpcpk.org/history/

(2008). Retrieved July 11, 2015, from Election Commission of Pakistan: http://ecp.gov.pk/GE08.aspx

(2014). Retrieved July 2015, from World Bank: http://search.worldbank.org/all?qterm=female+population+of+pakistan&title=&filetype

(2015). Retrieved from Quota Project : http://www.quotaproject.org/

(2015). Retrieved August 2015, from IPU: http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/2361_A.htm

Acronyms

ADB	Asian Development Bank
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
ECP	Election Commission of Pakistan
FAFEN	Free and Fair Election Network
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
ICT	Islamabad Capital Territory
IPU	Inter- parliamentary Union
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
KPK	Khyber Pakhtoonkhawa
MQM	Mutahidda Qaumi Movement
PML (N)	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PPPP	Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians
RCO	Revival of Constitutional Order
UNESCP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for the Asia and Pacific