



Analysis of Association between Political Aspect of Gender Mainstreaming and Achievements during the Musharraf's Regime in Pakistan

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Abstract: The main theme of this study was to investigate women's mainstreaming and their achievements during the Musharraf's regime through the role of sampled Non-Governmental Organizations. The study was taken to investigate women's mainstreaming and their achievements during the Musharraf regime through Non-Governmental Organizations. A sample size of those Six organizations was selected which mainly worked for the rights of women. The total staffs of these six Organizations were 87 from whom 81 respondents were proportionally selected. Chi square was used to decide the degree of relationship between dependant variable i.e. Achievement in political support with the independent variables namely gender mainstreaming. The study recommended that it is the foremost responsibility of every government or organization to ensure equal opportunities to both sexes for keep fit at indigenous, national and worldwide levels. Besides, arrangement of even-handed working conditions (leave, long stretches of work, pay, offices, retirement and different advantages) shall be provided to women and men on equal basis

Keywords: Mainstreaming; political support; Musharraf Era; Gender inequality; Discrimination.

1. Introduction

Gender mainstreaming has been a debatable issue for the last three decades. Gender mainstreaming is an internationally agreed strategy devised through international conventions, treaties and commitments to promote gender equality (UNESCO, 2002). This equality can be brought in social, political and economic spheres by bringing both men and women to the mainstream of life (Faisal, 2011). Gender mainstreaming is a multidimensional phenomenon which implies not only to empower women in society but to ensure it through effective government policies and programs (Moser & Moser, 2005). Women are considered a disadvantaged group in the world, particularly in the third world countries like Pakistan. In Pakistan, there are social, political and economic barriers which have affected the state's initiatives for gender mainstreaming (Faisal, 2011).

Gender mainstreaming is any concept or public policy analyzing the various consequences for men and women of any policy, approach and action containing programs in all parts and intensities. Mainstreaming intrinsically provides diversity and pluralism in viewing both men and women (Hannan, 1995). However, in the early nineteenth century women started different movements for women's equal rights in the West (Walby, 2005). Later on, these equal rights were protected by the UN organizations. In the very beginning, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) founded Commission on the Status of Women (CSW). CSW focused on the UN policies regarding gender equality especially in economic and political aspects of women (Faisal, 2011). Schultz (1982) stated that issue of gender mainstreaming and the role of women has always been discussed in international forums on the ground that not a single country can

flourish and prosper, if a large segment of its society is not playing its role effectively. Sharif (2005) points out the importance of women in a strong family, community and nation. He is of the view that women play an integral part in the overall development of a society. If a woman is healthy, the offspring's will be full of life and vigor. If she is educated, her siblings will be prosperous. Likewise, women also pay a lot to the agronomic growth. In a nutshell, Females play a serious part in every sphere of life. They can be saviors of humanity if the adverse social conditions concerning their health, intellect, emotions and economic status are addressed.

1.1 Importance of the Study

The study is prospect to cater on multi dimensions of gender mainstreaming in the regime of Musharraf era. This study filled the gaps that have been identified in various researches regarding gender mainstreaming in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It will mainly contribute to the existing knowledge concerning women empowerment and gender mainstreaming. It sheds light on the circumstances, problems, issues and achievements during the regime of General Pervez Musharraf in Pakistan. The study has also focused on identifying the major changes in status of the marginalized women. The study will prove to be a useful document for the academicians, planners, Policy makers, NGOs and research students. It will also have positive results for the general masses in changing their conservative and traditional approach regarding women empowerment.

2. Literature Review

The term Empowerment is explained as, "a social process that sustains and promotes participation of people, organizations and communities in gaining control over their lives. Access to services, right to information, education and all other areas which enable one to be the decision maker and in charge of one's life comes under the umbrella of empowerment" (Stein, 1997). This clarifies that the term empowerment is not only restricted to rule over other people in the communities but it also sensitizes individuals towards change in the area (Vohra, 2009). The idea of political empowerment started before the partition when Cynthia Nelson and Shahnaz Rouse noted this motive in Indian societies. During that time women were focusing to raise their voices and to represent and express themselves on different forums (Cynthia and Shahnaz, 2000). Some women played pivotal role which built up certain expectations in the socio-political structure of the general public. This depiction will explain the importance of women who produced the hope of change in women's life and laid the foundation of social reformation.

Margret Cousins in 1926 laid the foundation of Women Indian Association (WIA) to sensitize women in that time. She constituted and argued for such an organization which could protect the privileges of ladies and work for their general progression (Shahnaz, 2006). Begum Shah Nawaz was a social activist and a member of All India Women Conference. She was instrumental in the cause of gaining basic women's rights for women. It was in 1931 at Geneva where she did a presentation on the role and responsibilities of women. She highly emphasized on women's rights. Margret Cousins sought 10% reserved seats in the law-making assemblage from the office of Women Indian Association. However, the Government assented and 3% representation was given out to them in the franchise committee in 1935 (Samar, 2008). Begum Shah Nawaz in 1954 presented the charter of women rights due to which some reserved chairs were kept for females in the assemblage. During the Khilafat movement when Muslim leadership was imprisoned, Bi-Amma sensitized numerous ladies in their battle and set them up for interest in the development. Begum of Bhopal in 1915 initiated all India Muslim Ladies Conference through a series of meetings and recommended the administration of all the social evils affecting Muslim women (Hafiz, 1981). Legal reforms were advocated through women political empowerment by the elite Muslim women after the partition in the Subcontinent. Individuals were mobilized in the support to pass the Muslim Law of Sharia which inherited women rights especially regarding their property. In the history of Pakistan constitutional assembly, the role of Begum Shaistakramullah and Begum Shah Nawaz play a dynamic role as they were the first women who championed the cause of rights of women. Right to ballot was accorded to women in the 1956 constitution of Pakistan. Furthermore, reserved seats were also given to women (Sabeeha, 1981).

In 1949 Begum Liaquat Ali Khan laid the foundation of All Pakistan Women Association (APWA) when the other organizations started in Pakistan (Hafiz, 1981). In 1961 Muslim Family Laws Ordinance passed which was the most futile sociological reform in the time and it enabled women in getting their rights in marriage and divorce (Sabeeha, 1981). Jinnah was also strong supporter of females authorization. Fatima Jinnah was appointed the Head of Muslim league Central Committee which further struggled and mobilized women for the creation of a new state. Quaid-e-Azam in one of his historical speeches at the Muslim platform in Delhi said that I am very happy to see the part of Muslim females in the progress of Muslim civilization. He further affirmed the view that without the proper

participation and representation of women no society can achieve success (Bano, 2009). To empower people at grass root levels and specially women, a huge proportion of 33% seats were allocated without precedent for the devolution history of Pakistan. Through this Devolution of Power Plan (a local government plan) women were given their due share in all the legislative councils including local, tehsil, and district level (Cracium, 2002). Bari (2009) views this unprecedented change to be the agent of a positive social change. She argues that the patriarchal and traditional power elite is jolted and shaken in the face of women empowerment through this local government system.

Gender mainstreaming ensures that various challenges, hindrances, needs, interests and other socio cultural factors that men and women face should be the top most priority of policy makers and practioners (Vohra, 2009). A global strategy was adopted to bring forth gender issues and their solutions to the mainstream in Fourth World Conference on Women (FWCW) at Beijing and the crux of the whole program was empowerment, promotion and up gradation of women's rights and their equity with men (United Nations, 2010).

3. Research Methodology

Peshawar was selected as target area for the study. Rationale behind choosing the mentioned area was that Peshawar is a hub of NGOs, and information regarding mainstreaming was deemed to be much available here. Only working women were accessed for interview and from amongst them those women were selected as respondents who had made their debut in Musharraf's era. Only those Organizations were selected for study which worked for women's rights. They included Aurat Foundation (AF), ShirkatGah (SG), Blue Veins (BV), KhwendoKor (KK), Aware Girls (AG) & Noor Education Trust (NET). This study was conducted under MMR (Mixed Method Research) containing both qualitative and quantitative research methods. The mixed method was used to get in-depth information regarding gender mainstreaming in the above mentioned period. Mixed method research has been defined by Creswell & Clark (2007) as "a type of study in which the researcher collects and analyzes data, using both qualitative and quantitative methods in a single research study". Neuman (2010) expressed that sample is a "small set of cases a researcher choose from a large pool and generalizes to the population". The sampled six organizations had **87** staff members including program staff, administration, human resource and owners of the organizations. They were inducted during the target regime. To make it a methodological study and ensure the accuracy of data by concising the sample size, it was thought to have sampling method and as per analogy of Sekaran (2003), 81 respondents were selected from the total population. The sample size of 81 was further distributed among sampled Organizations under Proportionate allocation method. Purposive sampling technique was used in data collection. Neuman (2007) has defined purposive sampling as "a type of non-probability sampling in which the units are selected on the basis of judgment about which one will be the most useful or representative, and on the basis of the purpose of study". Information assortment can be assembled into two more extensive classifications, "Quantitative, collecting data in the form of numbers, graphs and percentages while Qualitative data is in the shape of words or pictures (Neuman, 2010)". A comprehensive questionnaire was used as a tool of collection of data while keeping into consideration the objectives and conceptual framework of the study. It was constructed on the likert scale. Moreover, In-depth interview was also used for data collection. According to Lisa (2006), "In-depth interview is a discovery- oriented process that is well suited for relating both plan processes and effect from the viewpoint of the target audience or key stakeholders". Examination isn't simply an assortment of information however it further needs investigation to arrive at the outcomes. Neuman (2010) contended that "to analyze, we connect particular data to concepts, advance generalization, broad trends or themes. Analysis allows us to improve understanding, expand theory, and advance knowledge". Collected data was converted into SPSS- 20 version. The data was taken into recurrence and rate. Additionally, to gauge the impact of autonomous variable on the reliant variable, Chi-Square test was applied at bi variate level.

4. Qualitative Analysis

When respondents were asked regarding women's mainstreaming during Musharraf's era, majority of them argued that Pakistan is one of the signatory countries of the Millennium Declarations (2000) also, the Government of Pakistan is facilitating this International Conference to audit the advancement made so far in actualizing the MDGs comprehensively, with a particular spotlight on the Asia-Pacific area. A portion of the respondents addressed that the Conference is required to acquire the current circumstance of ladies the district to the centre of national plans and furthermore consider the advancement made in actualizing the proposals of different other universal meetings, shows and statements.

When respondents were asked about the Beijing platform of Action, few respondents answered that the Conference was a joint exertion facilitated by the Ministry of Women Development, Government of Pakistan and composed by

All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) as a team with a few UN Agencies, including UNICEF, UNDP, UNDESA, UNESCO, UNAIDS, UNFPA and UNIFEM. Holding a Conference of this nature was started from APWA to check the century birth commemoration of its originator and Patron-in-Chief, Begum Raa'naLiaquat Ali Khan, who was additionally the spouse of Pakistan's first Prime Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. APWA is the main and the most established deliberate association working for the privileges of the ladies in Pakistan and this Conference was a tribute to Begum Liaquat Ali Khan's memory and her endless endeavors for the strengthening of ladies in Pakistan.

When the respondents were inquired almost the ladders reserved by Musharraf during his regime, it was endorsed that government of General Pervez Musharraf, President of Pakistan, has made numerous strides which are tourist spots for the ladies of Pakistan. Among them is the definition of the main ever national arrangement for the turn of events and strengthening of ladies. It is the result of a thorough countrywide consultative procedure which extended over years and reached out from grass root to national level, utilizing all the Information media accessible, subsequently acquiring the broadest national accord to help its substance.

As to of the national arrangement on improvement and strengthening of ladies, one respondent answered that this approach involved vision, objectives, points and targets, which sets out the core values and gives the key strategy gauges explicitly tending to the strengthening measurements in the social, monetary and political fields. The crosscutting issues were completely reflected in recognizable proof of the key arrangement measures. These measures have been drawn from the national well-being strategy, instruction segment changes, work strategy, access to equity program, police changes, Poverty easing program and political support in the law based structure.

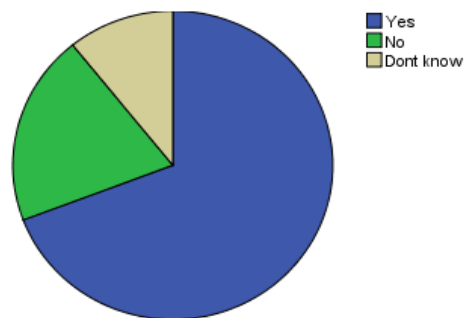
A portion of the respondents expressed that national approach for the turn of events and strengthening of ladies is an announcement of goal of the administration of Pakistan to determine its measures for advancement and strengthening of ladies with the arrangement giving rules. This service will guarantee inside the general working system of the legislature that the sexual orientation viewpoint is reflected in every single national arrangement and plans.

4.1 Analysis of Quantitative Data

For proper explanation of data obtained under quantitative method is presented through tables and pie charts. Tabular data has been collected in relation to parameters of the conceptual framework designed in the study. This chapter includes two sections. Section depicts uni-variate analysis whereas Section second contains bi-variate analysis.

Table 1: Perception of Respondents towards Political Empowerment of Women

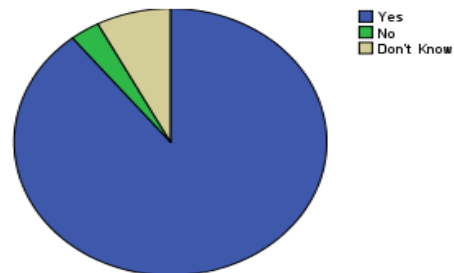
Valid	Frequency	Percent
Yes	45	69.2
No	13	20.0
Don't know	7	10.8
Total	65	100.0



The aforesaid table explains the perception of respondents towards political empowerment of women. During the Musharraf's regime, efforts were made to increase the awareness level of individuals towards gender mainstreaming. Empowerment includes admittance to options, education, information and resources; decision-making power and authority; and control over one's life. Pakistani women still lagged behind their male counterparts in basic skills, education and political empowerment. These women were not at equal par with men and they needed justice in this regard. Though, it is considered a political boom period for women, still women have to go a long way towards ensuring political, social and economic empowerment for themselves. 45 out of 65 respondents endorsed their awareness about women political empowerment.

Table 2: Women's political Participation after Devolution Plan

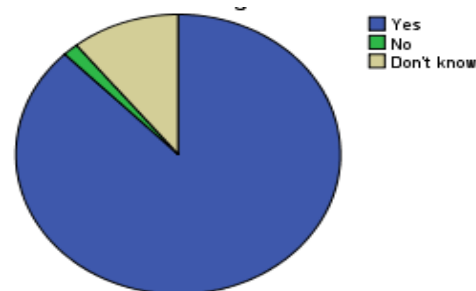
Valid	Frequency	Percent
Yes	58	89.2
No	2	3.1
Don't Know	5	7.7
Total	65	100.0



Devolution plan focused on the number of reserved seats for women in national and local bodies. Women's participation was less in number in both local and national assemblies. Before devolution plan, women participation was nil in local bodies as well as in the national and provincial assemblies which was ensured at 33% in the local bodies and 17% in the national and provincial assemblies. Besides Pakistan, there were other countries where devolution and federalism was implemented which include Germany, UK, France, Ireland, Nigeria and Mexico etc. All these countries followed the four principles of federalism and devolution-, uniformity of powers, regionally elected officials, constitutional division of authority and the upper place of the focal assembly being founded on portrayal of provincial wards. In both states, Senate is the upper house of government. Most of the respondents in the targeted organizations were unaware and disinterested in politics, therefore they answered in 'No' category of the question. The above data explains that 89% of the respondents supported the Devolution plan as positive for women.

Table 3: Increase in Women's Representation during Musharraf's Regime

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Yes	57	87.7
No	1	1.5
Don't know	7	10.8
Total	65	100.0



The above table highlights respondent's opinion towards women's representation during Musharraf's era. Maximum number of respondents (87.7%) had positive opinion towards Musharraf's era. Under the devolution plan, women representation increased at both national and local bodies levels during the Musharraf's regime. Remaining 7 respondents (10.8%) had no knowledge regarding women representation during Musharraf's era. 87% of the respondents perceived that women participation was increased at both national and local bodies during the Musharraf's era. During Zia-ul-Haq's Military Regime, the establishment of the Women's Division in the Cabinet Secretariat, appointment of Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), General Zia-Ul-Haq recruited 20 women in his Majlis-e-Shoora as members. He also doubled women's reserved quota (20 percent). During Benazir Bhutto Government in 1988, Benazir Bhutto voiced worries over social issues of ladies, wellbeing and oppression ladies. She reported various designs to set up ladies' police headquarters, courts and ladies' improvement banks. In any case, during her two deficient terms in office (1988-90 and 1993-96), Benazir Bhutto didn't propose any enactment to improve economic wellbeing of Pakistani ladies. It was Nawaz Sharif who suggested 15th amendment of the constitution. Through its implementation, Islamic Sharia System had to replace the existing legal system. Opposition parties, women's groups and social activists opposed it. However, it was approved by the National Assembly. These women and activists wanted the abrogation of Hudood Ordinance as it violates their basic human and constitutional rights.

4.2 Bi-Variate Analysis of Quantitative Data

Relationship between dependent variable (achievements-political support, social support, economic support and legal support) and independent variable (gender mainstreaming) was worked out through cross tabulation. Each of the above variables with suitable reasons is discussed below.

4.3 Association between Political Aspect of Mainstreaming and Achievement

Political empowerment had a long history in Asia and different social forces lead to the emergence of this phenomenon. The main focus of women at that time was to raise their voices and represent themselves in different forums for the purpose to develop socio-political structure of the society as well as in women's life and laid the foundation of social reformism (Cynthia and Shahnaz, 2000). The following table discloses the relation between independent variable (Gender Mainstreaming) and dependent variable (Achievement). The data shows a significant association ($p = 0.000$) exists between increased women representation at local level and achievement. This finding is closely in line to study findings of Shahnaz (2006) who disclosed that due to establishment of Women Indian Association (WIA) foundation whose main aim was to sensitize the women in that time as well as which could defend the privileges of ladies and work for their general progression. However, such organization also got 3% quota in the Franchise Committee in 1935 (Samar, 2008). Likewise, right to vote leads to women political empowerment was found highly significant ($p = 0.000$) and equal opportunities in political participation ($p = 0.001$) with achievement as explained by Bari (2009) that "the fact that a huge number of women had taken active political role itself triggered social change, creating waves in the country's barnyards where traditional power structure still dominates the social and political lives of people". Moreover, Women issues were highlighted and Voices were raised by women's representatives at the grass root level were found highly significant ($p = 0.000$) with dependent variable. This finding is closely endured to Sabeeha (1981) who affirms that Legal reforms were advocated through women political empowerment by the elite Muslim women after partition in the Subcontinent where Individuals were mobilized in support to pass the Muslim Law of Sharia which inherited women rights in all forms of property as well as all inclusive Suffrage and reservation of unique seats in the law-making body were concurred to ladies based on direct female testimonial.

Similarly, National conference on women political participation along with establishment of Ministry of Women Development as an independent Ministry is significantly associated ($p = 0.000$) with the achievement. As stated by Shahnaz and Balikus (1992), Women Ministry of Development 1989 gave major contribution in the development of women. It started different projects and its main aim was to address the specific needs of the women. The main achievements of the Ministry of Women Development (MWD) were the reservation of job on government level. They also conducted different training for women through which they developed their skills. However, dependent variable achievement was found significant ($p = 0.007$) with National Committee's on Violence against Women had been formed. This finding is closely associated with the findings of Hivos (2003) organization which stated that the major achievements incorporated the foundation of one-set up emergency habitats for ladies in a few spots in the nation and the set-up of exceptional divisions for female survivors of savagery in police and clinics. Likewise, the Commission has begun with the advancement of an information ID framework, a library, and customary distributions and topical distributions. The KP has likewise helped developing systems between NGOs, as a way to reinforce the battling and campaigning limit towards the administration. At the same table also disclosed a non-significant association ($p = 0.032$) between increased women representation at national level and achievement.

Table 4: Relationship between Political Aspect of Mainstreaming and Achievement

S. No	Statement	Responses	Achievement			Total	Statistics
			Agree	Disagree	Don't know		
1	Increased women representation at national level	Agree Disagree Don't know	38(63.3%) 13(21.7%) 9(15.0%)	14(100%) 0(0.0%) 0(0.0%)	7(100%) 0(0.0%) 0(0.0%)	59(72.8%) 13(16.0%) 9(11.1%)	$\chi^2 = 10.571$ $p = 0.032$

2	Increased women representation at local level	Agree	50(83.3%)	8(57.1%)	7(100%)	65(90.2%)	$x^2 =$
		Disagree	10(16.7%)	2(14.3%)	0(0.0%)	12(14.8%)	21.664
		Don't know	0(0.0%)	4(28.6%)	0(0.0%)	4(4.9%)	$p = 0.000$
3	Right to vote leads to women political empowerment	Agree	49(81.7%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	49(60.5%)	$x^2 =$
		Disagree	11(18.3%)	11(78.6%)	0(0.0%)	22(27.2%)	86.304
		Don't know	0(0.0%)	3(21.4%)	7(100%)	10(12.3%)	$p = 0.00$
4	Women issues were highlighted	Agree	55(91.7%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	55(67.9%)	$x^2 =$
		Disagree	5(8.3%)	22(78.6%)	0(0.0%)	16(19.8%)	101.021
		Don't know	0(0.0%)	3(21.4%)	7(100%)	10(12.3%)	$p = 0.000$
5	Voices were raised by women representatives at grass root level	Agree	60(100%)	5(35.7%)	0(0.0%)	65(80.2%)	$x^2 =$
		Disagree	0(0.0%)	9(64.3%)	3(42.9%)	12(14.8%)	90.012
		Don't know	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	4(57.1%)	4(4.9%)	$p = 0.000$
6	National conference on women political participation	Agree	19(31.7%)	14(100%)	7(100%)	40(49.4%)	$x^2 =$
		Disagree	20(33.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	20(24.7%)	29.0059
		Don't know	21(35.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	21(25.9%)	$p = 0.000$
7	Service of Women Development was set up as an autonomous Ministry.	Agree	60(100%)	5(35.7%)	1(14.3%)	66(81.5%)	$x^2 =$
		Disagree	0(0.0%)	9(64.3%)	2(28.6%)	11(13.6%)	88.101
		Don't know	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	4(57.1%)	4(4.9%)	$p = 0.000$
8	National Committee's on Violence against Women was formed	Agree	33(55.0%)	14(100%)	7(100%)	54(66.7%)	$x^2 =$
		Disagree	16(26.7%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	16(19.8%)	14.175
		Don't know	11(18.3%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	11(13.6%)	$p = 0.007$
9	Equal opportunities in political participation	Agree	29(48.3%)	14(100%)	7(100%)	50(61.7%)	$x^2 =$
		Disagree	20(33.3%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	20(24.3%)	17.577
		Don't know	11(18.3%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	11(13.6%)	$p = 0.001$

5. Conclusion

It has been concluded from the study that General Pervez Musharraf, President of Pakistan has taken many steps which are landmarks for the women of Pakistan. Furthermore, it was found that political empowerment leads to a number of achievements such as have access to their rights along with increase women set quota both on national and provincial level. The study also explored that during Musharraf regime, Formation of Domestic Violence Committee's decreased the level of violence against women which enabled women to procure a living and take an interest in open life, and carry on with a real existence liberated from dread. Furthermore, Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Ordinance, 2006 along with Protection of Women (Criminal Laws) Amendment Act in 2006 protects women's rights. Also the study recommended that it is the foremost responsibility of every government or organization to ensure equal opportunities to both sexes for training at local, regional and international levels. Furthermore, provision of equitable working conditions (leave, hours of work, pay, facilities, retirement and other benefits) shall be provided to women and men on equal basis.

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