



Patriarchal Setup and Women's Right to Vote: A Case Study of District Dera Ismail Khan.

Ayesha Mazhar Qureshi¹,

¹Political Science, Government Degree Colleg, Dera Ismail Khan,

Corresponding Author:

aishamazharqureshi@gmail.com

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

Patriarchy, Women, Rights, Democracy, Participation, Voting

Vol:02, No: 01, 2024

Page Range:1 - 9

Copyright © 2022 by Author.
Published by Centre for
Children Literacy and Lifelong
Learning

ABSTRACT

In this study, District Dera Ismail Khan is used as a case study to examine how women participate in politics in Pakistan. The study emphasizes social barriers that have made it difficult for women to participate in politics, particularly voting, in addition to focusing on historical development and current conditions. Being able to win election to the legislative assembly is not the only requirement for political participation. It also includes women's roles as voters, party members, and other aspects of participation in the political system, structure, and process. Analysis along these lines can result in some useful suggestions for future recommendations to increase women's political participation.

Introduction

Patriarchy is a complex system ingrained in political, social, and economic frameworks, shaping gender disparities between men and women. Qualities associated with femininity are often devalued, while those associated with masculinity are privileged. This dominance extends across private and public domains, with men typically holding power. Feminist analysis also explores the intersections of patriarchy with capitalism, colonialism, and nationalism. In patriarchal societies, women face exclusion from influential roles, unequal pay for equivalent work, and heightened vulnerability to poverty with limited access to resources. Despite individual achievements, women as a collective face systematic disadvantages in various aspects of life.

The active participation of women in political matters is vital for fostering democratic institutions within the nation. Despite governmental efforts to empower women, the prevalence of authoritarian regimes has hindered the establishment of robust political structures and the cultivation of a democratic ethos that fosters increased civic involvement (Zia & Bari, 1999).

The British government implemented gender quotas in the Subcontinent via the Government of India Act 1935, and Pakistan continued this colonial legacy post-independence. Pakistan chose to implement gender quotas in the form of reserved seats. The inclusion of reserved seats for women has been a feature in Pakistan's constitutions of 1956, 1962, and 1973. In 1985, President General Zia-ul-Haq reserved twenty seats for women in the Majlis-e-Shoora (Muhammad, Abbas, Shafique 2002).

Several metrics such as population ratio, school enrollment, literacy rate, access to basic health services, and life expectancy indicate a gender gap in Pakistan. However, the past sixteen years



Content from this work may be used under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/) that allows others to share the work with an acknowledgment of the work's authorship and initial publication in this journal.

have seen significant advancements in women's political participation, notably in legislative bodies (UNDP 2005).

Gender quotas are recognized as crucial for empowering women, not only addressing their grievances but also increasing their representation in political institutions. In 2014, women held only 21.2 percent of global representation, compared to just 11.67 percent in 1995 (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2014).

Research Questions:

- What are the main reasons for the low level of female voting participation in Dera Ismail Khan due to patriarchy?
- How can the patriarchal culture in Dera Ismail Khan be overcome to increase voter turnout among women?
- What are the effects of the low level of female voting participation in Dera Ismail Khan due to patriarchy?

Historical perspective:

Various indicators have highlighted a gender disparity in Pakistan, but there have been notable strides in women's political involvement over the past sixteen years. Pakistan is committed to fulfilling its international obligations, including those outlined by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

The country's current political framework combines elements of both presidential and parliamentary systems. Legislative measures such as the Political Parties Order of 2002 and the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies Allocation of Reserved Seats for Women and Non-Muslims Rules of 2002 have contributed to women's empowerment. Historically, women's participation and representation in national and provincial assemblies fluctuated depending on the prevailing political system. For example, in the initial Pakistani legislative assembly, women secured only 3% of the total seats. During the period from 1947 to 1954, under the governance of the governor general as the head of state, women were entirely unrepresented. The political landscape saw further changes from 1956 to 1958, followed by military rule from 1958 to 1971. Following the Zia era, the mandated quota for women in politics increased to 10% by 1988, with women occupying 22 seats in the National Assembly.

However, in 1990, only 0.9% of directly elected seats were held by women, with no seats allocated to women in the preceding three elections. By 1993, the proportion of directly elected women rose to 1.8%, reaching 2.8% by 1997. Yusuf (2013) suggested that the low representation of women in elections reflects political parties' lack of confidence in them, despite women's active political engagement (Yusuf, Huma 2013). Currently, the cabinet comprises only two female ministers, marking a decline from previous administrations. State Minister for National Health Services Saira Afzal Tarar and Minister of Information and Technology Anusha Rehman Ahmed Khan hold these positions. However, compared to their male counterparts, they have lower visibility in terms of performance and decision-making (Ali, Shafqat 2015).

Current trends in the participation of women in politics

Despite their active involvement in the 13th National Assembly, women, as per available literature, did not receive adequate acknowledgment from their respective political parties in terms of nominations. Only 3.5 percent of party nominations were allocated to women, while 96.5 percent went to men. Yusuf (2013) noted that this low representation of women in elections reflects a lack of confidence from political parties, contrasting with the significant political activism observed among women. Currently, there are only two female ministers in the cabinet, marking a decline from previous administrations. Saira Afzal Tarar serves as the State Minister for National Health Services, while Anusha Rehman Ahmed Khan holds the position of Minister

of Information and Technology. However, their visibility in terms of performance and decision-making is comparatively lower than that of their male counterparts (Ali, Shafqat 2015).

Socio-cultural hurdles for women's empowerment:

Furthermore, the underrepresentation of women in legislative bodies, especially in general seats and party nominations, is attributed to persisting beliefs that a woman's role belongs primarily within the household, while political engagement is reserved for men in Pakistan. Simultaneously, the system of representation through reserved seats is seen as contradictory to the genuine empowerment of women. Bano (2009) argued that merely achieving economic empowerment does not necessarily translate into increased political participation for women within the political framework, resulting in a lack of authentic representation. There remains a prevalent notion that women's primary duty lies in domestic responsibilities, deterring their involvement in politics (Naz, Arab; Ibrahim, and Ahmad, Waqar 2012).

Various barriers, including gender discrimination, low literacy rates, and limited awareness of political rights, hinder women's participation in Pakistan's political landscape. Sociocultural and economic factors further contribute to this hindrance, impeding women's political empowerment. Additionally, power dynamics, political connections, and financial resources significantly influence politics in South Asia. Consequently, unless they originate from politically active backgrounds, women typically encounter challenges in forming strong political networks and accessing economic resources. Therefore, barriers to economic empowerment and a lack of political connections are considered additional obstacles preventing women from engaging in politics (EUEOM Pak 2013).

Main causes of low level of women participation in voting:

Politics is marred by persecution, violence, intimidation, and torture, affecting both genders, but it particularly hinders women's participation due to their heightened concerns about political violence and intimidation. According to a U.N. survey, women express a greater sense of vulnerability to political intimidation and violence. For example, in Guinea, 64% of women report being very concerned about political intimidation. The repercussions of war persist long after the cessation of hostilities. While entire communities bear the brunt of armed conflict, women and girls often suffer the most immediate loss of rights, including access to education, political participation, and livelihoods, among others, which are blatantly violated (Chattopadhyay, R., & Duflo, E. 2004).

There exists a positive correlation between political participation and the occurrence of war and conflict. Quantitative studies indicate that individuals exposed to violence during conflicts demonstrate higher levels of civic engagement post-conflict. For instance, Bellows and Miguel (2009) found that conflict-related deaths in Sierra Leone led to increased political awareness and participation. According to Annan et al. (2011), Ugandan women who exit armed groups successfully reintegrate into society. Women's organizations often emerge as a result of their roles in post-conflict reconstruction as survivors. Through these organizations, women advocate for a gendered perspective and representation in peace negotiations.

Adolfo, Kovacs, Nyström, and Utas (2012) suggest that political parties may employ violence as a strategic tool to advance their objectives or further specific political goals during elections. Many politicians utilize militant youth factions, militias, or state security forces as part of illicit electoral tactics. Violence against women is frequently wielded by men as a means to dissuade women from participating in politics and the electoral process. In Nigeria, violence against women ranks among the top three barriers hindering women's political involvement (Para-Mallam, 2015). According to Zakari (2015), violence against women during elections can manifest in overt or covert forms, including hate speech targeting individuals based on their

gender, in addition to physical harm. The failure to address these electoral challenges creates an environment where women develop negative perceptions of politics.

Party Politics:

Violent conflicts can bring about structural changes that impact the availability of female politicians. New party or electoral regulations adopted during or after conflicts might facilitate women's entry into politics. Institutional constraints such as political systems that prioritize strict schedules over women's domestic duties serve as barriers. Political parties are often reluctant to implement reforms due to concerns about losing political support and power. This reluctance may stem from their support of patriarchal and corrupt political structures. Many individuals appear to blindly follow political figures without fully grasping the situation.

Cultural and traditional norms:

In numerous regions worldwide, especially in rural areas where traditional gender norms prevail, traditional beliefs and cultural attitudes persist (Sadie, 2005; Sadie, 2006). Social norms pose difficulties for women as they attempt to move from traditional domestic roles to more public ones. The enduring dominance of domestic gender identity among women continues to impede their participation in formal politics (Chattopadhyay & Duflo, 2004).

Economic factors:

Women often gain access to leadership roles through family, community, and economic connections. To address barriers to political participation, providing independent funding and imposing spending restrictions on campaigns could be beneficial (Chowdhury, D. 2009; Chowdhury-Mortimer, F. 2009). Socioeconomic status plays a crucial role in enhancing women's participation and representation in political decision-making bodies. However, the necessary economic foundation for women to engage more actively in politics is often lacking. Limited resources may hinder participation due to the high costs associated with elections (WPL, 2014).

Increasing Women Participation in Politics

When women speak up for what they believe in, they can make politicians think differently about including more women in decision-making. A report from the European Institute for Gender Equality says that women's advocacy can challenge and change the idea that men should always be in charge. By helping female candidates become more skilled, women can have a big impact on politics and the people who represent them. Women are better prepared for political work and develop their political skills through mentoring and training programs. Raising women's participation in political processes can be especially successful through initiatives that encourage them to run for local office. According to experts, local jobs give women the experience they need for careers in regional and national politics as well as higher levels of public office.

Consistent and methodical training with female candidates yields better results than offering stand-alone training during just one phase of the electoral cycle. Engaging local women leaders or trainees who pass their knowledge to others increase the relevance and impact of training. Establishing networks of fundraisers and teaching women how to raise money to lessen the barrier of financial disadvantage. Create opportunities to increase the influence and leadership of elected women, such as by holding orientations for newly-elected women, teaching them the basics of governance, providing them with networking opportunities, and creating forums for promoting policy discussion. Participation in democratic transition processes gives women the chance to shape institutions that are more supportive of women's political representation and leadership.

ESTABLISHED PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION SYSTEMS

In a proportional representation system, the electoral process is designed so that the number of seats a party wins in parliament corresponds to the total votes it receives. Meanwhile, in a plurality or majority system, the candidate or party with the most votes wins all the electoral seats. Proportional representation systems not only provide more chances for women to participate but also make “contagion” more likely compared to plurality/majority systems. “Contagion” refers to the process where political parties adopt initiatives from others. When one party begins nominating women for significant roles, other parties tend to follow suit more rapidly. Changing a country's electoral system is often more feasible than altering societal perceptions of women. Political positions should be open to all women without any restrictions based on factors like age, education, socioeconomic status, or place of birth. Providing women with access to leadership roles and skills training lays the foundation for their active involvement in politics. Challenges such as limited financial resources, educational opportunities, unsupportive governments, and geographical constraints hinder women’s participation. Offering training opportunities in political engagement can empower women to become more active locally, nationally, and internationally.

Impacts of low level of women participation in politics

Every individual deserves the right to have a say in decisions that impact their lives. The concept of equal participation of men and women in decision-making is rooted in this fundamental right. Women’s viewpoints should be actively considered in decision-making processes across both private and public spheres. The UN Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 acknowledged the importance of women’s empowerment for democratic governance, highlighting it as a critical aspect in its Beijing Platform for Action (BPA), specifically under the theme of Women in Power and Decision-making. The platform suggests two strategies: ensuring women’s equal access to power structures and decision-making processes, and enhancing women’s capacity to engage in leadership roles and decision-making.

Although, many countries have seen an increase in the number of women elected and appointed to various levels of public decision-making, the target of achieving 30% representation in Parliament has only been met by 11 countries. In developing nations, many women are hesitant to enter politics due to perceptions of its dishonesty and dangers. They feel intimidated and threatened by the darker aspects of politics, fearing exploitation if they engage in mainstream politics.

In developing nations, a majority of women agree that political change is necessary and that women must actively participate in bringing about that change (Aijaz, R. 2008). Women who are committed to upholding public trust and serving the community should pursue political involvement. The nature of governance and the political landscape greatly influence women’s ability to make a difference. Public offices are expected to uphold public trust, with accountability to the electorate or taxpayers. However, levels of public accountability vary among nations. In politically developed countries, there are established mechanisms for public accountability, and citizens are politically mature, demanding accountability from public officials. The nature of the political landscape also affects the accountability of elected or appointed officials. In politically developed countries, political parties propose distinct policy platforms, and elected officials are held accountable for implementing these platforms. There is a responsiveness to gender concerns within political parties based on popular demand, and women within parties have the opportunity to advocate for the integration of gender issues into party platforms, which then become commitments of the entire party (Chowdhury, F. D. 2009). In patriarchal societies, men dominate both the public and private spheres, relegating women to

subordinate roles in social and economic institutions. Traits considered feminine are prioritized over masculine traits. Women face unequal pay and exclusion from positions of power in patriarchal societies. Feminist theory suggests that patriarchy is intertwined with nationalism, capitalism, and colonialism, offering insights for enhancing women's political participation.

Analysis and Discussion

Based on the thematic analysis of the literature review, we found that the lack of women's representative participation in legislative bodies, especially concerning general seats and party nominations, stems from persistent beliefs that prioritize women's role in the home and perceive political engagement as primarily for men in Pakistan. Unless they come from political backgrounds, women are typically discouraged from pursuing public and political roles. Additionally, the representation of women through reserved seats contradicts the goals of women's empowerment.

Furthermore, women encounter challenges such as gender segregation, low literacy rates, and limited awareness of their political rights. Our analysis suggests that efforts to enhance female representation in politics have often focused on quotas and reserved positions. However, what is truly needed is a nuanced approach that addresses the interconnected barriers women face in securing nominations for elected positions and running successful campaigns.

Findings of the Study

Based on our literature review, we found that the lack of women's representation in legislative bodies, especially concerning general seats and party nominations, stems from the prevailing belief in Pakistan that "a woman's place is in the home" while political life is predominantly for men. Except for women from political families, most women are discouraged from pursuing public and political roles. Additionally, the system of reserved seats for women contradicts the true empowerment of women. Furthermore, women encounter challenges such as gender segregation, low literacy rates, and limited awareness of their political rights.

Based on the interviews, it can be inferred that societal norms play a significant role in the low participation of women in politics. "Society presents numerous obstacles to women's political participation. However, women themselves also bear some responsibility for their low level of political engagement." In Pakistan, the majority of people live in a patriarchal system where men hold authority. While some men allow women to participate in politics, most do not, leading to limited opportunities for women to vote. This societal dynamic contributes to the low level of women's political participation (S.Ramzan, interview, June 2022).

There are many social problems, our society did not ever considered politics as a good field for the women (H.Aziz, Interview, March 2021). One of the causes is the atmosphere in the polling place which is uncomfortable for many women; there are men who make them feel uneasy. [S. Safdar, interview, June 2022]. We have no faith in our representative who are representing us from a long years the winners of elections don't do anything to benefit us. It would be a waste of my time and effort to vote for them. (N. Bibi, interview, June 2022). Hangama Situation, Women are not voting because they believe it will harm them physically and mentally in the current situation, where some people are using tactics to commit acts of violence. (A. Naseem, interview, June 2022).

The customs and traditions of our society is the big issue in the way of women participation in politics. A small percentage of people voted in the past, and even after getting married, I never went to the polls to cast my ballot because casting vote is not the part of our traditions and customs and I think my religion also does not permit me. (B. Sher, interview, July 2022). Due to our busy household schedules is another reason of low level of women participation. (A. Iqbal, interview, July 2022). The low level of participation among women is largely due to lack of

knowledge, lack of education, and some personal issues. I'm not in the mood to waste my time on people who did nothing for my family and I. (M.Zubair, interview, July 2022).

Sometimes women's votes are registered in another location rather than the local voting list. (K. Alam, interview, July 2022). Girls being forced to stay at home to do domestic work, and not having the right of schooling and not enjoying equal rights as the male members of society enjoy (S.Naz, Interview, March 2021).

Increasing Women Participation

From the literature review, we concluded that Efforts to improve female representation in politics have often focused on quotas and reserved shares. What is really needed is a nuanced approach that tackles the underlying, interconnected barriers that women face in getting nominated for elected office and conducting successful campaigns.

From the interviews we can conclude that the women participation can be improved by creating awareness in the women at all levels (Z.Bibi, Interview March 2021). Men always has given more priority than women in all fields and politics also has no exception, so by giving them their due rights in all fields can may increase their participation in politics (R.Habib, Interview, March 2021). By advancement of our education system and by awaking people about the importance of women in politics can improve the situation (B.Ara, Interview, March 2021). Women participation can be restored by the restoration of college unions, family confidence and support and reversal of a usual quotes of elders (T.Naz, Interview, March 2021).

My opinion is that we could increase the political participation of women if people donated money and supported their females. (N.Bibi, interview, June 2022). If we make the polling place environment suitable for them, we can increase the participation of women. (S. Safdar, interview, June 2022). By increasing women's trust in the representatives, we can increase participation. Males ought to grant them freedom. (R. Khan, Interview July 2022). In my region of the world, people are very religious and think that our religion forbids women from voting. By giving them proper knowledge of religion that what rights religion give to the women. Our religion also gave us right to participate in those matters which shape our lives good or bad. If we can make the polling place more welcoming to women, we can increase the number of women who vote. (S. Batol, interview, July 2022). Women must register to vote at their neighborhood polls. (K. Alam, interview, July 2022).

Impacts of Low Level of Women Participation in Voting due to Patriarchy

From the literature review, we concluded that low level of women participation in politics results in the increase of inequality. It also creates hurdles in the way of fruitful policy making. One of the main causes of the failure of democracy is the non-participation of women in politics. Women's engagement is crucial—and it is important to recognize that women are not a homogeneous group. Depending on whether women are young or older, educated or uneducated, live in rural or urban areas, they have very different life experiences that lead to different priorities and needs.

From the interviews, we can conclude that women can play important role in the politics of Pakistan; there are many women in history of Pakistan who had played their role even in the creation of Pakistan (Z.Bibi Interview, March 2021). Women constitute 51% of the population of our country. Without them, the wheel of democracy cannot run. (H. Fatima, interview, April 2022). Our women are breathing in a primitive styled patriarchal society where men dictate the terms and conditions of living for women which spout a continued cause of embarrassment and depression by pressing various justified desires and legal ambitions of women in all walks of life. (T.Naz, Interview, March 2021).

Democracy demands pure meritocracy. Low level of participation of is a serious blow to already

deflated democracy. It is causing serious problems because men do not know the needs of women but they cast their votes on the behalf of whole women of their family. They take the fundamental rights of women. Of course, in countries like Pakistan where population of both gender is almost equal, this is dangerous sign. (M. Adrees, interview, June 2022). It obviously has an impact on our society and the whole system of our country which is democratic, they have a defined share in the political matters of our country if they are denied political freedom and the right to vote, they will ultimately have no voice in decision-making. (S. Khanzada, Interview, June 2022).

Due to the ignorance women less participates in politics. They waste their vote and not appear for voting. It affects democracy. [Z. Gull, interview, June 2022). If woman can't take part in politics side by side then it is the failure of democracy because democracy provides equal opportunity for male and female. [M. Adeel, interview, May 2022). Women vote has equal importance as men have, so it can may leads to create hurdles in the way of Democracy (R.Habib, Interviw, March 2021).

Conclusion

We can sum up by saying that women share equal responsibility for their low level of political participation. They have a lot of Tola gold but are unwilling to educate their children despite the fact that they are uneducated and do nothing to help their daughters. They never question the decisions made by their males because they have blind faith in them. They never try to educate themselves on their political rights. They never try to educate themselves on their political rights. Despite having no time to vote, they are willing to waste time at bazaars. Some females are too busy enjoying their party to pay attention to what is going on around them. One contributing factor is the lack of desire among educated and aware women in our society to educate and inform other women. They must lessen their envy of one another if they are to grow as a group. Even though these women demand the right to vote freely, they ultimately do so at their husbands' behest. They complain that men are causing an uncomfortable environment for them on Election Day, but in my opinion, they are also contributing to the uncomfortable environment by dressing inappropriately, such as by wearing short pants and excessive makeup.

Because they are not serious women, they have time to visit bazaars but not to participate in political processes, so we need to educate them and take actions to make them aware of their responsibilities so that they become serious. They are conscious of the fact that they represent a significant portion of our nation's democracy and that their participation has a significant impact on it. They should take seriously the fact that they are a vital part of society and that their contribution is crucial to the prosperity of our nation. They are not serious, but they need to start taking the next generation seriously. Instead of focusing on gold, they should make their children's education their top priority. At the conclusion, two hands are required; otherwise, we are unable to clap. Women should play their part by educating themselves, becoming aware of their rights, and creating an environment where they feel comfortable exercising their right to vote. No one can help them, but if they are aware of their rights and obligations, they can do a lot for themselves. The main cause of low level of women participation in politics is that women are breathing in the environment of patriarchal system in Pakistan. Women lack the trust and are not allowed by the family to participate in the politics. It is need of time to educate the women and ware them and the society about the importance of women participation in politics to improve the condition. The impacts include the failure of practicable policy making for the women of Pakistan. It further leads to increase in the inequality and discrimination among men and women.

Recommendation

To educate the public on the value of women in politics. To educate the public about the rights that women are granted by our religion. To add the women to their local voting rolls for registration. BY making the polling place a welcoming place for women. To educate women on the importance of voting. By restoration of colleges unions. Family confidence and support. Reversal of a usual traditional thinking. Constitutional changes to encourage women.

References

- (UNDP 2005): *United Nations Development Programme Pakistan (2005): Political and Legislative Participation of Women in Pakistan.*
- Muhammad, Abbas, Shafique (2002), *Gender Quota and Women's Political Participation in Pakistan: A Case of General Elections 2002.* Inter-Parliamentary Union (2011). *Women in national parliaments: World and regional averages.*
- FAFEN (2013a): *Women and the 2013 General Elections.* PILDAT (2004) *Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency.* (Yusuf, Huma 2013) "The Awami National Party and Pakistan Tehrik-e- Insaf have awarded party tickets to two and five female candidates out of totals of 45 and 241, respectively, for general National Assembly seats.
- Ali, Shafqat (2015): "Female poorly represented in cabinet" (EUEOM Pak 2013): *European Union Election Observation Mission to Pakistan (2013).*
- Naz, Arab; Ibrahim, and Ahmad, Waqar (2012): *Socio-Cultural Impediments to Women Political Empowerment in Pakhtun Society.*
- Agbalajobi, D. T. (2010). *Women's participation and the political process in Nigeria: Problems and prospects.* *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 4(2), 075-082.
- Aijaz, R. (2008). *A form of urban local government in India.* *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 43(2), 131-154.
- Bano, S. (2009). *Women in parliament in Pakistan: Problems and potential solutions.* *Women's Studies Journal.*
- Besley, T., & Case, A. (2000). *Unnatural experiments? Estimating the incidence of endogenous policies.* *The Economic Journal*, 110(467), 672- 694.
- Burton, A. M. (1994). *Burdens of history: British feminists, Indian women, and imperial culture, 1865- 1915.* Univ of North Carolina Press.
- Chandra, S. *Empowering Women through Political Representation in India.* Chattopadhyay, R., & Duflo, E. (2004). *Impact of reservation in Panchayati Raj: Evidence from a nationwide randomised experiment.* *Economic and Political Weekly*, 979-986.
- Chowdhury, F. D. (2009). *Problems of Women's Participation in Bangladesh Politics.* *The Round Table*, 98(404), 555-567.
- Dahlerup, D. (Ed.). (2013). *Women, quotas and politics.* Routledge.
- Goetz, A. M. (2007). *Political cleaners: Women as the new anti- corruption force? Development and Change*, 38(1), 87-105.
- Haagensen, Klaus Munch (2013). *Nordic Statistical Yearbook.* Nordic Council. p. 92. ISBN 978-92-893-
- Hillman, B. (2017). *Increasing Women's Parliamentary Representation in Asia and the Pacific: The Indonesian Experience.* *Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies*, 4(1), 38-49.
- Phillips, A. (Ed.). (1998). *Feminism and politics.* Oxford University Press on Demand.
- Kishor, S., & Gupta, K. (2004). *Women's empowerment in India and its states: evidence from the NFHS.* *Economic and Political Weekly*, 694-712.