



WOMEN IN ELECTIONS

**Challenges  
Women Face in  
Contesting Local  
Government  
Elections in  
Pakistan**

# **Challenges Women Face in Contesting Local Government Elections in Pakistan**

by

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## Abbreviations

HR	Human Resource
ICT	Islamabad Capital Territory
LG	Local Government
LGE	Local Government Elections
LGO	Local Government Ordinance
LGA	Local Government Act
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
UC	Union Council

## 1. Abstract

This report investigates women's challenges while contesting Pakistan's local government elections (LGE). The report is based on the survey responses from 103 women from four provinces of Pakistan. The survey shows that most women belonging to low-income groups are attracted to local government elections. Only 27% of women with a household income of more than PKR 50,000 contested the election. 46% of the women contesting the elections belong to the age group 35-44. A critical aspect of the women's participation in LGE was the support from their spouses, male and female family members, and their social circle of managing their election campaign. Less than 10% of the women said their spouses, family members, and friends did not help participate in the election. On the other hand, 26% of women said that political activities were hindrances to their family commitments.

Most of the women were satisfied with the support they got from their senior colleagues/political party during the allotment of tickets and the election campaign. 85% of women who won the election were satisfied with the dealing and behavior of their male colleagues.

As majority of the women were from low-income groups, they did not raise any significant funds/money for their election campaigns. 72% of respondents did not raise any money. Of the remaining 28% of women, only one woman raised money above PKR 50,000; otherwise, the election finances remained less than PKR 50,000. Therefore, most women have sufficient human resources to manage their election campaigns. There is also a direct link between the availability of human resources and the winning of the elections.

Election violence remained a crucial feature of the LGE. 45% of women said they had faced violence during the election campaign or on polling day. There was also a direct link between election violence and incidents of election rigging. 41% of women said that election violence was a discouraging factor for women's participation in the LGE.

73% of women got training in LGE rules; only 42% got training for filing of nomination papers. However, 88% of women said education might be useful in contesting LGE, but a clear link between education and winning the LGE could not be established. There were 11 illiterate women in the sample; 91% of these illiterate women were able to return to local councils. The winning percentage in the education group 'above masters' remained the lowest. Of the eleven women with an education level 'above master', only 8 (73%) could secure seats in the local council. The best performing education group in terms of winning the local council seat was 'intermediate.' The sample contains 17 women with an education level intermediate. All of them won the seat on the local council.

## 2. Background

As a part of 2000s local government reforms in Pakistan, women got 33% representation in the local councils. Although reserved quota for women was not new, it was the first time that an unprecedented number of women joined local government through elections on reserved seats<sup>1</sup>. It was in line with the Devolution of Power Plan that Musharraf's government announced in March 2000. It was also the first time administrative powers and financial resources were devolved to the local level. It was felt that the new quota system would encourage women to contest elections and participate in local decision-making. However, the later provincial governments legislated new local government laws, eroding some spirit of devolution and women representation, although ensured, their numbers decreased in the councils.

Women's participation at the local-level decision making is critical as they have an equal stake in the local development. The issues like water supply, construction of basic health units, schools or sanitation system are equally related to women as men. In some cases, women are more at risk due to their differentiated needs and lack of voice in local level decision making than their male counterparts. The reforms of 2000s opened an avenue for women to explore their leadership potential and participate fully in the decision making and look after their interests themselves.

The legal framework of 2001 and later legislations in the 2010s<sup>2</sup> acknowledges the importance of women in the legislative process and decision making. Still, it did not address plenty of ancillary problems such as compensation to the women councilors, training of the women for managing the election campaign and filing of the nomination papers. A targeted pre-study consultation with some prospective women candidates for local government elections and some women candidates from earlier elections have identified a range of barriers and challenges in contesting LGEs. These challenges can be categorized under four major heads:

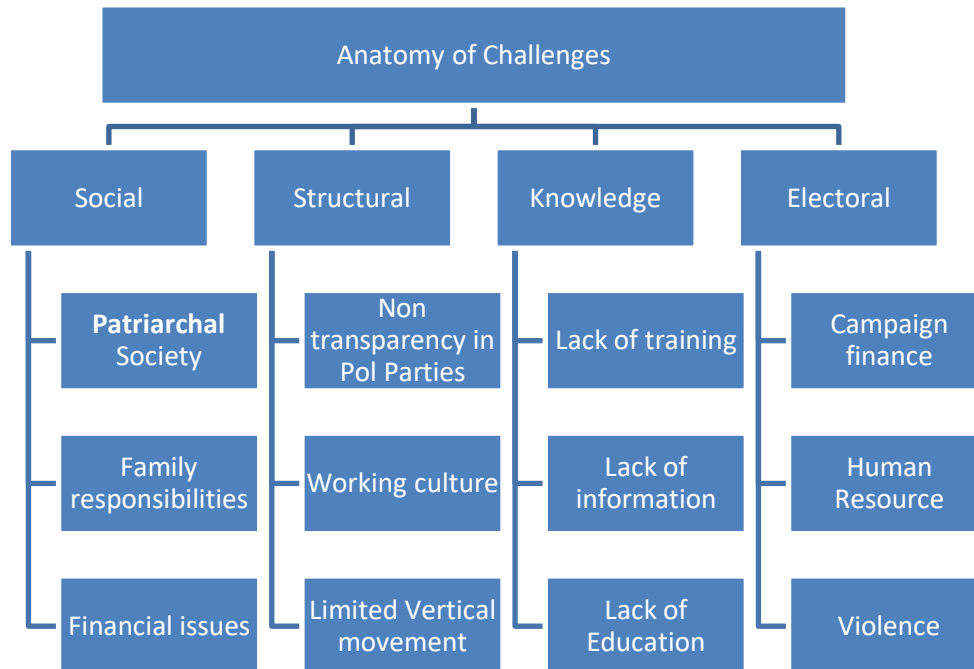
1. Social/cultural,
2. Structural
3. Knowledge and
4. Electoral

---

<sup>1</sup> *Citizens' Campaign for Women's Representation in Local Government*. Islamabad: Aurat Publications and Information Service Available at

<https://www.af.org.pk/Citizens%20Reports/Citizen%20%20Report/Citizens%20campaigns.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> For example, Balochistan Local Government Act, 2010, Punjab Local Government Act, 2013, Sindh Local Government Act, 2013, KP Local Government Act 2013, and ICT Local Government Act, 2013.



1. **Social/cultural barriers** include the issues attached with a patriarchal society where women normally have subordinate roles; the lack of time for women due to their family responsibilities and lack of financial resources to contest elections and participate in politics. Women feel that focusing on other professions can bring better monetary benefits for them. In the past, we have seen that union council members were not compensated adequately. The paltry money available for this purpose did not trickle down from UC Nazims and Naib-Nazims to the councillors.

2. **Structural issues** include arbitrary decisions at the political party level to distribute tickets. Most women from the lower economic quintile have complained about preferential treatment given to relatively affluent colleagues. Women have also complained about the working culture in the local government system, which is mostly dominated by males who sometimes are not sensitized for working with female colleagues. Women also observed that while there were chances for their male colleagues to excel in the profession, the vertical movement for females was limited, and most women could not move upward to provincial and national tiers of politics.

3. Issues related to **Knowledge and access to information** are also especially important. Most women lack the essential ability to deal with the nomination papers. The political parties arrange no training programs for women (and men also) for filing nomination papers and running an election campaign. Some women said it was hard for them to find voter lists and demark the boundaries of their constituency/ward.

4. **Electoral day problems** also kept the women away from contesting local government elections. They do not have enough human resource to manage polling day tasks. This includes human resources required as polling agents and over service booths outside polling stations. In addition, election day violence is yet another distractor for many women to contest local government elections.



## **Research Question**

Is the current election environment supportive for women participating in local government elections?

### 3. Methodology

A questionnaire is prepared to encompass all the factors mentioned in the above section. Before sharing the survey questionnaire with the actual respondents, it was tested internally, and feedback was included in the final questionnaire. The survey sample is 103 women from all four provinces who have contested the local bodies election in the past. 83% of these women contested the elections in 2015. These women have been attached to CPDI through various program activities in the past or present.

The survey was developed using a web-based application-Survey Monkey. The application has an excellent facility for analyzing the survey results and comparing the responses to different questions.

The survey was developed in two stages. First, the alpha version of the survey was shared with colleagues, and their feedback was taken on the accuracy, flow, and comprehensiveness of the survey. The feedback from the colleagues was incorporated, and the beta version was shared with three respondents to check it further. Once the survey was tested with satisfaction, it was shared with the respondents through CPDI regional team.

It was anticipated in the beginning that all women in the sample would not be literate or would not be comfortable with the use of computers. To overcome this problem, the regional teams of CPDI were trained to fill out online survey forms. The trained personnel then provided help to the respondents to fill out the survey forms. The survey link was shared with the computer-literate women for filling of the survey form.

#### **Survey Questionnaire**

Survey questionnaire consists of 38 questions. However, due to skip logic applied to many questions, the total number of questions responded to by a respondent may be less. The survey questionnaire was broadly divided into five sections: Section 1: Interviewee's profile including age, educational level, economic and marital status; Section 2: Social and cultural barriers in which the question about the level of support from spouses, male and female family members and friends circle were asked. Section 3: relates to the structural barriers to women from participating in the local government elections, and questions about the dealings of the political party and senior colleagues during the allocation of tickets and election campaign were asked. Section 4: investigated the knowledge of the respondents about their constituency and the training they got in election rules and filing of nomination papers. Finally, in Section 5, the questions about the availability of human resources to manage election campaigns, raising funds for election campaigns, and incidence of violence during the election campaign and polling day were asked.

#### **4. Literature Review**

A literature review was undertaken with the following combination of keywords:

'women local council'; 'gender, barriers, politics'; 'gender local council'; 'gender\* quotas'; 'women in local government'; A lot of literature is produced worldwide on women's participation in the electoral process. In Pakistan, literature on local government is available, but there is a dearth of literature directly addresses barriers to women's participation in local government.

Yazdani's study on Women's Representation in Local Government in Pakistan was published after the 2001 LG elections in Pakistan. Yazdani has tried to document different obstacles to women's participation in LG system in Pakistan. She has arranged the argument under socio-economic obstacles, political and professional obstacles. She had lamented the 'masculine model' of the elected government's bodies in Pakistan. Back in 2003, she identified the lack of political awareness as the 'most common problem' for women to participate meaningfully in the political system. She also noted that economic dependency is a crucial factor in women's empowerment as the average monthly income of the majority of the women who entered local government after the 2001 elections was PKR 10,000 or less. She noted that the average election expenditure for women was PKR 20,000, which was mostly borne by male family members. This amount, according to her, was an understatement due to ECP's restriction on election expenditure.

Aurat Foundation's publication 'Citizens' Campaign for Women Participation in Local Government Elections' is a stocktaking of local government elections in 2001 and 2005. The report documents glimpses of the local government elections in 105 districts of Pakistan. The report also narrates the difficulties and challenges women faced in running their election campaigns and exercising the right to vote. These problems were especially grave in Balochistan and KP (then NWFP). The major focus of the report is, however, on the mobilization of women voters.

Institute of Policy Research Report on "Barriers to Women Entering Parliament and Local Government" is an international reference on the topic. The aim of the study is to identify barriers to women's participation in local and national government in the UK. The study noted that "for many women, especially those with children, caring and household responsibilities are seen as their primary role." The study concludes that while the quota system has provided a chance to women to enter the assemblies and local councils, they still lack to adopt the working culture of these institutions, which is, in fact, the most significant barrier.

Dr. Aaqib's study titled "Level of Women's Political Empowerment in Local Government" revealed some bitter realities of our local government system. The lack of continuity and multiple experiments in local government has not allowed the local government system to take root. The study, while working on the sample size of 200 councilors in District Sargodha of the Punjab province, discovered that:

1. Massive majority of women councilors had no self-interest in participating in local government elections, but they participated due to the pressure of landlords, influential persons of the community, and their families;

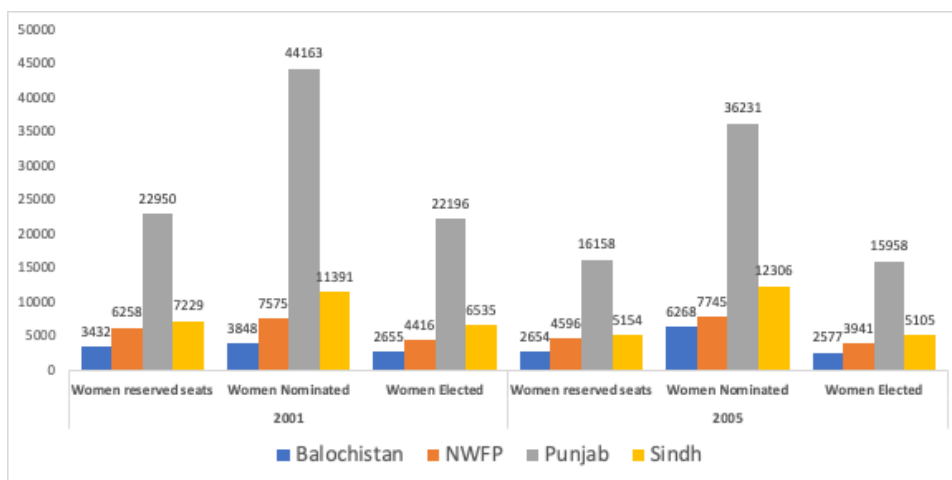
2. a Large number of councilors had no agenda or plans for the women of their community. They were unaware of the decision-making powers and responsibilities of local government institutions as given by the Local Government Act, 2013

The study suggested that literacy and political background was significantly associated with women's empowerment. There should be a training program to create awareness about women's roles and responsibilities and to enhance their political empowerment.

WISE's study on political marginalization of the poor analyses the three LG systems from 2001 to 2015 for political space for marginalized groups, including women. The study traces the history of how women's representation in the LG system is gradually reduced in Punjab. The study recommends at least 33% representation for women in heads cabinets.

## 5. Context

When the 33% quota was reserved for women in all the tiers of local government in the devolution plan of 2000, it was feared by some segments that such a large number of women would not be available to fill the seats and majority of the seats reserved for women would remain vacant. Civil society took it as a challenge and worked hard to run an awareness campaign and provided support to the women to participate in the elections. It must be noted that civil society in Pakistan was not as vibrant and resourceful twenty years back as it is today. Very few NGOs were working in the governance sector at that time. The donor base was very small as the major donor funding started flowing when Pakistan joined the western block in the war against terrorism after 9/11. The result of the 2001 elections was, however, stunning when more than 90% of seats reserved for women were filled, and more than 32,000 women returned as councilors at the union council level.

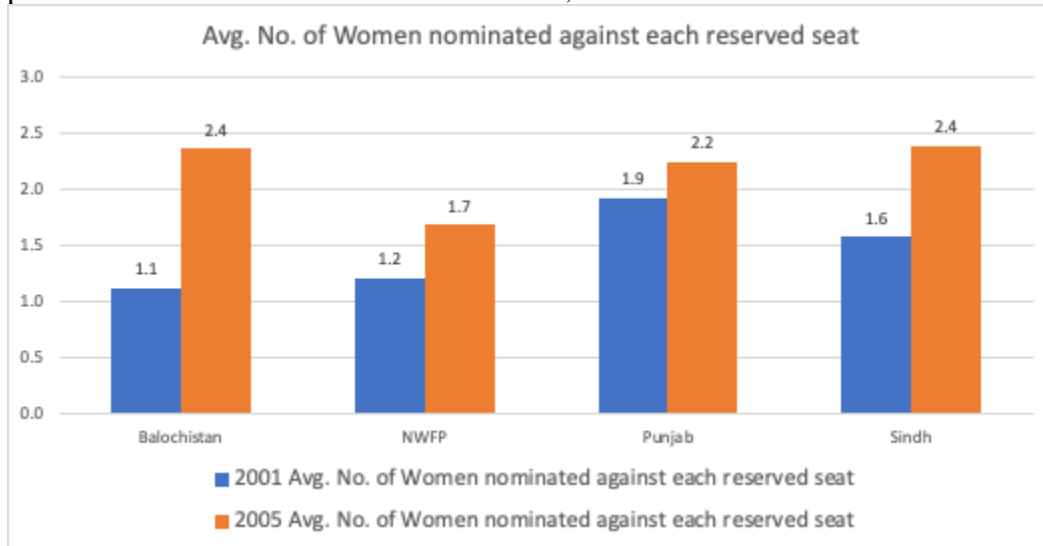


Graph 1: Women Participation in Local Government Elections; 2001 & 2005

The above graph compares women's participation during the local government elections in 2001 and 2005. A visible change in women's participation is observed from 2001 to 2005. The total number of seats reserved for women in 2001 throughout the country was 40,030, out of which 35,963 were filled. The overall filling of seats remained 89.8%, with the Punjab touching as high as 96.7%. Only 70% of seats were filled in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (then NWFP).

Before Local Government Elections in 2005, through an amendment in the Local Government Ordinance (LGO), 2000, the number of seats reserved for women in UC decreased from 8 to 4. The total number of reserved seats for women was thus reduced to 28562, and as a result of the elections, 27581 women returned to different councils in the local governments. Once again, Punjab was the province with the highest percentage of women reserved seats filled. All other provinces also showed improvement in the percentage of seats filled, and the overall figure was 96.57% as against the 89.8% in the 2001 elections.

Another significant improvement was the increased number of women contestants against each available seat. In 2001, an average of 1.7 women contested the election against each available reserved seat. This number increased to 2.2 in 2005. Surprisingly, the most significant jump was observed not in Punjab but in Balochistan. In Balochistan, the average number of women nominated for each available seat in 2001 was 1.1, which increased to 2.4 in 2005. The rest of the provinces also showed an increase, as can be seen in the graph below:



Graph 2: Average number of women nominated against each reserved seat; 2001 & 2005.

The local government elections in the country in the year 2015 were, in fact, one step back as far as women's political participation and their political training were concerned. In no province, reserved seats, including women's seats, were filled through direct elections. In ICT, the elections on the reserved seats of women youth, peasants/workers, technocrats, and non-Muslims were held

indirectly, elected by the collegiate consisting of chairpersons<sup>3</sup> of the UCs through secret ballot. In Balochistan, Women, peasants/workers, and non-Muslims were elected by the directly elected members/ electoral college of the representatives of the local councils. In KP, elections to the reserved seats for women, peasants/workers, youth, and non-Muslims in districts and tehsils councils were held on a proportionate representation system of political parties' list of the candidates based on the total number of seats secured by each political party in the respective councils<sup>4</sup>. The the village council/neighborhood council seats, including two seats reserved for women and one for peasant/worker, youth, and non-Muslim, would be elected through adult franchise and joint electorate through a secret vote on a non-party basis. In Punjab, elections to the reserved seats in union councils, municipal committees, municipal corporations, district councils, and metropolitan corporations were held in abeyance due to the promulgation of an ordinance changing the mode of these elections from secret to proportional representation system of political parties list of the candidates. Similarly, in Sindh, the elections to the reserved seats in union councils, union committees, town committees, municipal committees, municipal corporations, district councils, and metropolitan corporations were held in abeyance due to the enactment of an amendment in the local government act 2013. The amendment changed the mode of these elections from the secret to show of hands/division.

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<sup>3</sup> the word “chairmen” is used in official documents. E.g., Report on Local Government Elections 2015, Election Commission of Pakistan, p-7 and several other pages. The report is available at [https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/LG%20Elections/LGE2015\\_Report.pdf](https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/LG%20Elections/LGE2015_Report.pdf) last accessed on 6 Apr 21

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#### 4. Interviewees' Profile

##### Age Group

46% of these women fall in the age group of 35-45 at the time of contesting the elections. The three age groups (21-24, 25-34, 45-54) combined account for 92% of the respondents. There was no respondent from 65+ age group.

Answer Choices	Responses	
21-24 years	3.96%	4
25-34 years	25.74%	26
35-44 years	45.54%	46
45-54 years	20.79%	21
55-64 years	3.96%	4
65+ years	0.00%	0
<b>Answered</b>		<b>101</b>
<b>Skipped</b>		<b>3</b>

Table 1: Showing Age profile of the respondents

##### Education Level

The education profiles of the respondents are well distributed among different levels. Of the 101 women who responded to this question, 11% were illiterate. Primary education and 'above masters' category also have the same percentage. The percentage for other groups (matric to masters) range between 16 to 18.

Answer Choices	Responses	
Illiterate ناخوانده	10.89%	11
Primary education پرائمری	10.89%	11
Matriculates میٹرک	15.84%	16
Intermediate انٹرمیڈیٹ	16.83%	17
Bachelor بی اے	16.83%	17
Masters ایم اے	17.82%	18
Above masters ایم اے سے زیادہ	10.89%	11
<b>Answered</b>		<b>101</b>
<b>Skipped</b>		<b>3</b>

Table 2: Showing education level of the respondents

## Economic Status

Majority of the women belong to lower economic quantiles. 75% women respondents belong to first three income groups having total household income less than PKR 50,000. Only 7% women have household income more than PKR 100,000.

Answer Choices	Responses	
Under 15,000	24.00%	24
Between 15,000 and 29,999	21.00%	21
Between 30,000 and 49,999	28.00%	28
Between 50,000 and 74,999	14.00%	14
Between 75,000 and 99,999	6.00%	6
Between 100,000 and 150,000	5.00%	5
Over 150,000	2.00%	2
	<b>Answered</b>	<b>100</b>
	<b>Skipped</b>	<b>4</b>

Table 3: Showing economic status of the respondents

## Marital Status

Majority of the respondent were married at the time of contesting the elections. The sample of 104 women have 22% un-married women and 78% married women.

Answer Choices	Responses	
Married شادی شده	77.67%	80
Un-married غیر شادی شده	22.33%	23
	<b>Answered</b>	<b>103</b>
	<b>Skipped</b>	<b>1</b>

Table 4: Showing marital status of the respondents

## 5. Survey Findings

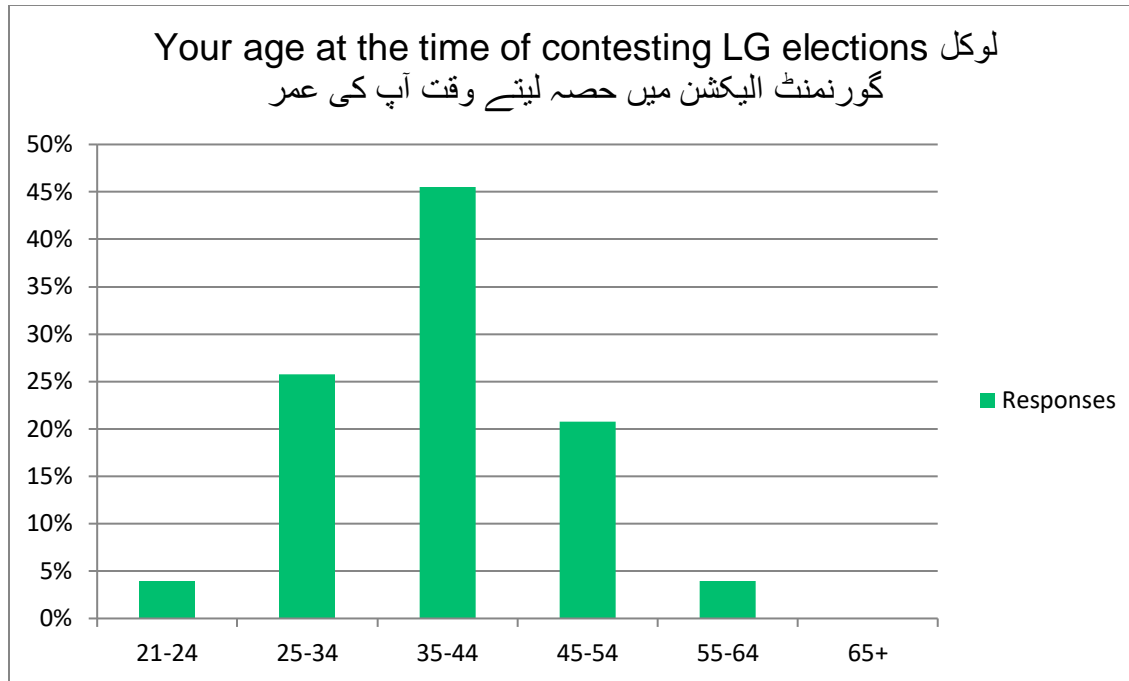
The survey results are categorized under four headings: Social challenges, Structural challenges, Electoral challenges and Knowledge challenges.

### 7.1 Social Challenges

#### 7.1.1 Age Groups

Following table shows the age group of women contestants at the time when they participated in Local Government elections. The highest 45% women fall in age group between 35-45, followed by 25% between 25-34 years and 22% within the age bracket of 45-54 at the time of contesting elections..





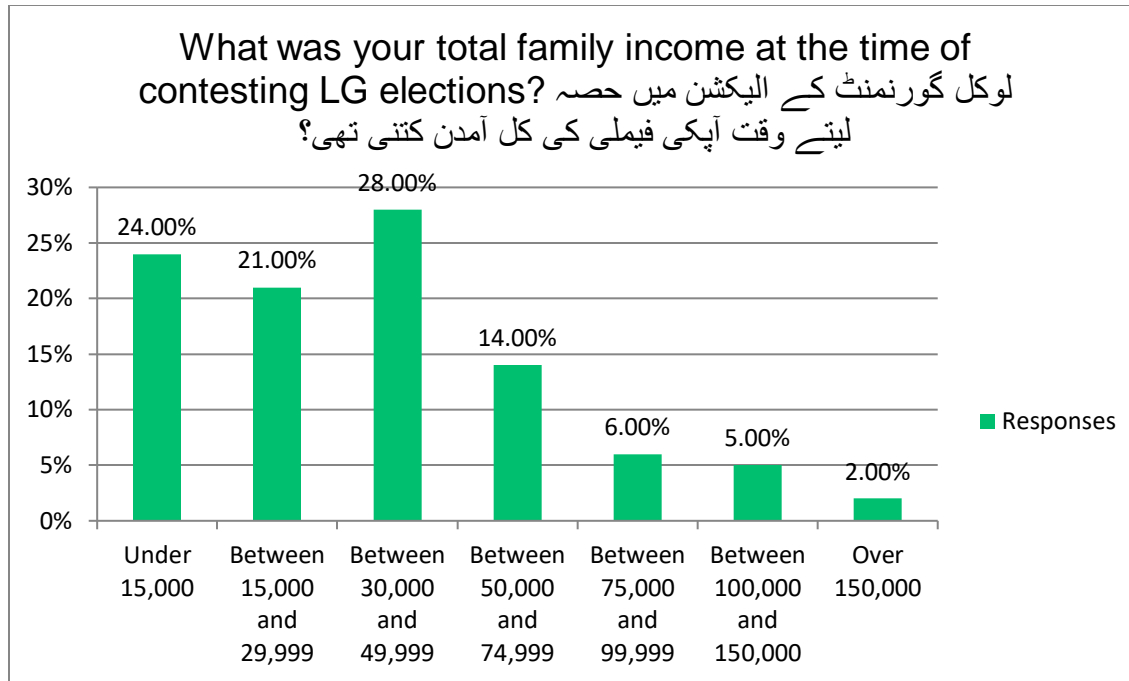
Graph 3: Show the age group of women at the time of contesting the elections.

### 5.1.2 Income group

The data shows that LG elections attracted women from lower-income groups. 73% of the respondent women belong to the first three income groups of the survey, and their family income was less than PKR 50,000 per month. Taking the mean value of each of these income groups, the average household income of the respondents is PKR 24280 per month. Enough evidence is not available from the existing dataset that women were attracted to participating in LG elections despite being at lower economic strata. Dr. Alvi has tried to search for an answer to the question. He conducted a study with the women representatives of local government in district Sargodha of the Punjab province. According to him, “More than two third of the respondents of the study did not had a self-interest in participating in local government election, but they participated due to the pressure of landlord, influential persons of community and family”<sup>5</sup>

A further study is needed to investigate the reasons for such participation pattern.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Aaqib Shahzad Alvi, Level of Women’s Political Empowerment in Local Government System: A Study of Female Counsellors (sic) in District Sargodha, Pakistan Social Science Review, March 2020, p-186, available at [www.pssr.org.pk](http://www.pssr.org.pk)



Graph 4: Showing total household income of the women at the time of contesting the elections.

### 5.1.3 Support from Family and Friends

A very encouraging sign about women's participation in the Local Government is the support that women got from their spouses, family members, and friends' circle. Of the 80 married women who participated in the survey, 85% (44+24) said their husbands had supported their participation in the local government elections. Only 6% of women (bottom two rows in table 5) could not get support from their husbands. Interestingly, the majority of the women who could not get help from their husbands belong to the lowest income group in our survey (less than PKR15000/month household income). More interestingly, all the women who did not get support from their spouses were able to secure seats in the LG elections. Support from husbands was very much related to getting support from male family members. The women devoid of support from their husbands were also unable to get support from their male family members. However, no clear trends could be established for such women getting support from their female family members and support from their friends' circle.

Overall, women got good support from their husbands, family, and friend circle. Following table will illustrate this support.

Response	Husbands	Male family members	Female family members	Friends
Extremely helpful	44	43	40	37
Very helpful	24	35	37	46
Somewhat helpful	7	16	17	14

Not so helpful	2	6	6	4
Not at all helpful	3	3	2	2

Table 5: Showing Support that women got from their spouses, male and female family members and friend circle for participation in LG elections and running the election campaign. The figures in the table show number of respondents against each response.

#### 5.1.4 Women's family and household responsibilities as Hinderance to Participate in LG Elections

An important query in the survey was the relationship between women's family commitments and their political engagements. Only 26% of women (first two options in table 2 below) considered family commitments a hindrance in the way of their political activities. 28% said that family commitments affected their political activities but only moderately. 46% were comfortable with their political activities and thought that family commitments were not a hindrance in the way of their political activities.

#### Were your family responsibilities a hinderance in way of your political activities (election campaign)?

کیا آپکی گھریلو ذمہ داریاں آپکی سیاسی سرگرمیوں (انتخابی مہم) میں رکاوٹ تھیں؟

Answer Choices	Responses	
A great deal زیادہ بہت	12.62%	13
A lot کافی زیادہ	13.59%	14
A moderate amount کچھ حد تک	28.16%	29
A little بہت کم	16.50%	17
None at all بالکل بھی نہیں	29.13%	30

Answered 103

Skipped 1

Table 6: Showing number/percentage of women who think their family commitments were a hindrance in the way of political activities.

It is generally considered that married women will be less attracted to political activities due to their family commitments. However, no such clear relationship could be established from the dataset. Only 25% of married women said their family responsibilities hindered their political activities. For another 27%, the hindrance was only moderate and manageable. Moreover, 47% of married women were quite comfortable with their election campaign, and their family commitments were never a hurdle in their political activities. In percentage terms, a similar relationship exists for women with marital status "unmarried." 30% of the unmarried women said that their family commitments posed a hindrance in the way of their political activities. Similarly, 48% of unmarried women are comfortable carrying out their political activities, and their family commitments were not a hindrance.

**Q13: Were your family responsibilities a hindrance in way of your political activities (election campaign)?** کیا آپکی گھریلو ذمہ داریاں آپکی سیاسی سرگرمیوں (انتخابی مہم) میں رکاوٹ تھیں؟

Answered: 103 Skipped: 0

	A GREAT DEAL بہت زیادہ	A LOT کافی زیادہ	A MODERATE AMOUNT کچھ حد تک	A LITTLE بہت کم	NONE AT ALL بالکل نہیں	TOTAL
Q8: Married شادی شدہ	15.00% 12	10.00% 8	27.50% 22	17.50% 14	30.00% 24	77.67% 80
Q8: Un-married غیر شادی شدہ	4.35% 1	26.09% 6	30.43% 7	13.04% 3	26.09% 6	22.33% 23
Total Respondents	13	14	29	17	30	103

Table 7: Showing number/percentage of women who think their family commitments were a hindrance in the way of political activities disaggregated by marital status.

Family support was also available to women for their political activities irrespective of their marital status. 76% were satisfied with the support they got from male family members. Similarly, 74% of unmarried women were satisfied with the support they got from male family members for their political activities.

Most of the respondents were also happy with the support they got from their female family members. Such support was available to 74% of married women and 74% of unmarried women. In addition, 80% of the married women got support from their friend's circle. For unmarried women, the percentage of such support was 83%. The following three tables disaggregate the data for married and unmarried women.

**Q10: How helpful were your male family members of your participation in Local Government elections? لوکل گورنمنٹ کے الیکشن میں حصہ لینے میں آپکی فیملی کے مرد حضرات نے کتنی مدد کی؟**

Answered: 103 Skipped: 0

	EXTREMELY HELPFUL بہت زیادہ مدد کی	VERY HELPFUL کافی مدد کی	SOMEWHAT HELPFUL کچھ مدد کی	NOT SO HELPFUL کچھ زیادہ مدد نہیں کی	NOT AT ALL HELPFUL بالکل بھی مدد نہیں کی	TOTAL
Q8: Married شادی شدہ	40.00% 32	36.25% 29	13.75% 11	7.50% 6	2.50% 2	77.67% 80
Q8: Un-married غیر شادی شدہ	47.83% 11	26.09% 6	21.74% 5	0.00% 0	4.35% 1	22.33% 23
Total Respondents	43	35	16	6	3	103

Table 8: Showing the support of male family members for political activities of women disaggregated by marital status.

**Q11: How helpful were your female family members of your participation in local government elections? لوکل گورنمنٹ کے الیکشن میں حصہ لینے میں آپکی فیملی کی خواتین نے کتنی مدد کی؟**

Answered: 102 Skipped: 1

	EXTREMELY HELPFUL بہت زیادہ مدد کی	VERY HELPFUL کافی مدد کی	SOMEWHAT HELPFUL کچھ مدد کی	NOT SO HELPFUL کچھ زیادہ مدد نہیں کی	NOT AT ALL HELPFUL بالکل بھی مدد نہیں کی	TOTAL
Q8: Married شادی شدہ	43.04% 34	31.65% 25	17.72% 14	5.06% 4	2.53% 2	77.45% 79
Q8: Un-married غیر شادی شدہ	26.09% 6	52.17% 12	13.04% 3	8.70% 2	0.00% 0	22.55% 23
Total Respondents	40	37	17	6	2	102

Table 9: Showing the support of female family members for political activities of women disaggregated by marital status.

**Q12: How helpful was your friends circle of your participation in local government elections? لوکل گورنمنٹ کے الیکشن میں حصہ لینے میں آپکے دوستوں نے کتنی مدد کی؟**

دوستوں نے کتنی مدد کی؟

Answered: 103 Skipped: 0

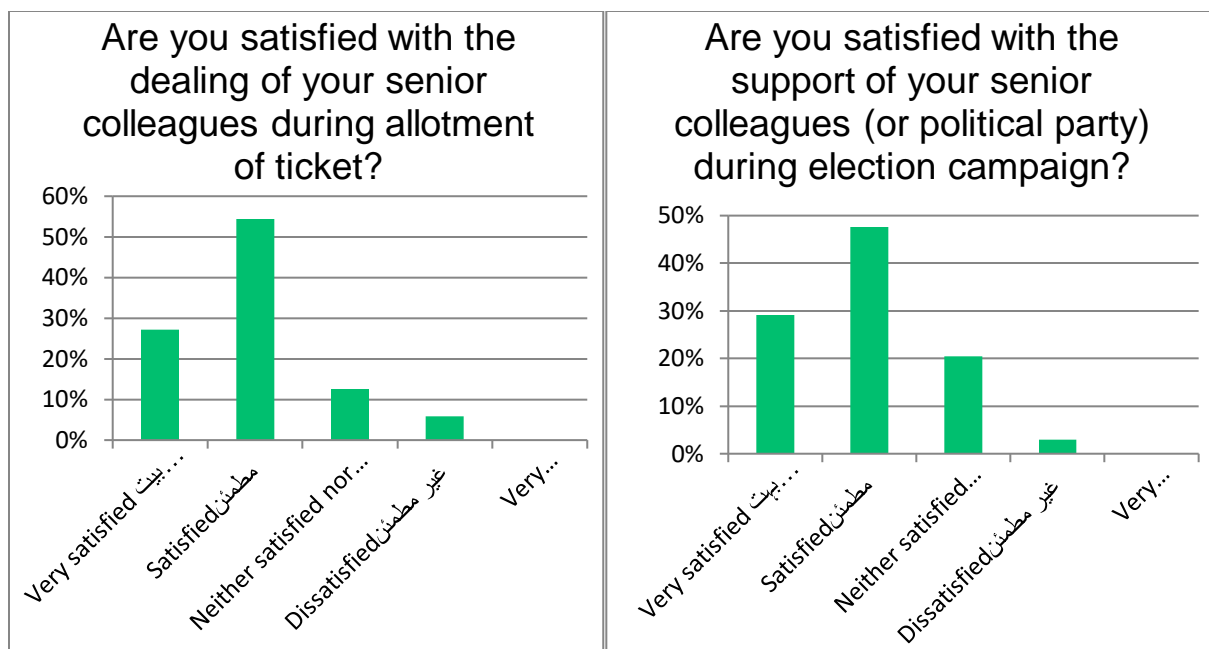
	EXTREMELY HELPFUL بہت زیادہ مدد کی	VERY HELPFUL کافی مدد کی	SOMEWHAT HELPFUL کچھ حد تک مدد کی	NOT SO HELPFUL کچھ زیادہ مدد نہیں کی	NOT AT ALL HELPFUL بھی مدد نہیں کی	TOTAL
Q8: Married شادی شدہ	33.75% 27	46.25% 37	13.75% 11	3.75% 3	2.50% 2	77.67% 80
Q8: Un-married غیر شادی شدہ	43.48% 10	39.13% 9	13.04% 3	4.35% 1	0.00% 0	22.33% 23
Total Respondents	37	46	14	4	2	103

Table 10: Showing the support of friends for political activities of women disaggregated by marital status.

## 5.2 Structural Challenges

### 7.2.1 Peer Response During Elections

77% of the women are satisfied with the cooperation and support they got from their senior colleagues in the election panel/political party. 20% of the women were neutral about the behavior of their senior colleagues. Another 3% said that they were dissatisfied with the cooperation they got from their senior colleagues/political party during the election campaign. Regarding seat allotment, 82% of the women were satisfied with the way to seat allocation was made to them; 13% were neutral, and 6% were dissatisfied with the dealing of the senior colleagues/political party at the time of seat allocation.



Graph 5: Showing satisfaction level of women from the support of colleagues/political party during election campaign and allotment of ticket.

There is a relationship between the satisfaction level of women with dealing with their senior colleagues/political party during the election campaign and during the allotment of tickets and winning of the elections by the women. 85% of the women who were able to secure a seat in the local council were satisfied with the dealings of their senior colleagues. Only 10% were neutral, and 4% were dissatisfied. Amongst the women who were not able to secure a seat in the local council, only 54% were satisfied with dealing with senior colleagues during the election campaign. A sizeable percentage of women (31%) remained neutral, while 10% were dissatisfied with dealing of senior colleagues.

In the following two tables, the relationship between the satisfaction level of women and winning elections is studied. The first column in table 9 below corresponds to the outcome of the elections. The 'yes' response means that the respondent had won the seat.

**Q14: Are you satisfied with the dealing of your senior colleagues during allotment of ticket? کیا آپ ٹکٹ کی الاٹمنٹ کے دوران اپنے سینئر ساتھیوں کے رویے سے مطمئن ہیں؟**

Answered: 103 Skipped: 0

	VERY SATISFIED بہت زیادہ مطمئن	SATISFIED مطمئن	NEITHER SATISFIED NOR DISSATISFIED نہی مطمئن اور نہی غیر مطمئن	DISSATISFIED غیر مطمئن	VERY DISSATISFIED بہت زیادہ غیر مطمئن	TOTAL
Q16: Yes ہاں	30.00% 27	55.56% 50	10.00% 9	4.44% 4	0.00% 0	87.38% 90
Q16: No نہیں	7.69% 1	46.15% 6	30.77% 4	15.38% 2	0.00% 0	12.62% 13
Total Respondents	28	56	13	6	0	103

Table 11: Showing satisfaction level of women from the dealing of their colleagues during the allotment of the tickets disaggregated by the election result.

**Q15: Are you satisfied with the support of your senior colleagues (or political party) during election campaign? کیا آپ انتخابی مہم کے دوران اپنے سینئر ساتھیوں یا سیاسی جماعت کے تعاون سے مطمئن ہیں؟**

Answered: 103 Skipped: 0

	VERY SATISFIED بہت زیادہ مطمئن	SATISFIED مطمئن	NEITHER SATISFIED NOR DISSATISFIED نہی مطمئن اور نہی غیر مطمئن	DISSATISFIED غیر مطمئن	VERY DISSATISFIED بہت زیادہ غیر مطمئن	TOTAL
Q16: Yes ہاں	33.33% 30	47.78% 43	16.67% 15	2.22% 2	0.00% 0	87.38% 90
Q16: No نہیں	0.00% 0	46.15% 6	46.15% 6	7.69% 1	0.00% 0	12.62% 13
Total Respondents	30	49	21	3	0	103

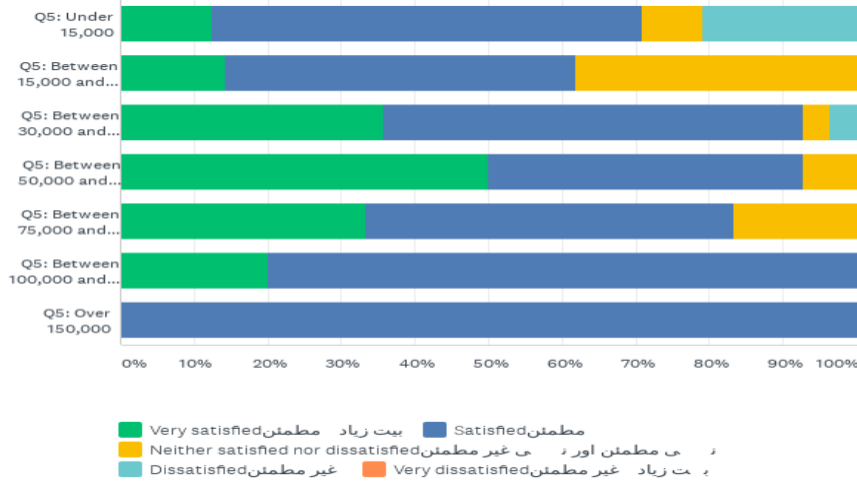
Table 12: Showing satisfaction level of women from the support of their colleagues during the election campaign disaggregated by the election result.



The satisfaction level of women with the dealing of their senior colleagues provides new avenues of thought when it is compared with the economic status of the women. Women with relatively higher status (last two lines in the Graph 6) enjoy good behaviour from the male colleagues.

**Q14: Are you satisfied with the dealing of your senior colleagues during allotment of ticket?** کیا آپ ٹکٹ کی الاٹمنٹ کے دوران اپنے سینئر ساتھیوں کے رویے سے مطمئن ہیں؟

Answered: 100 Skipped: 0

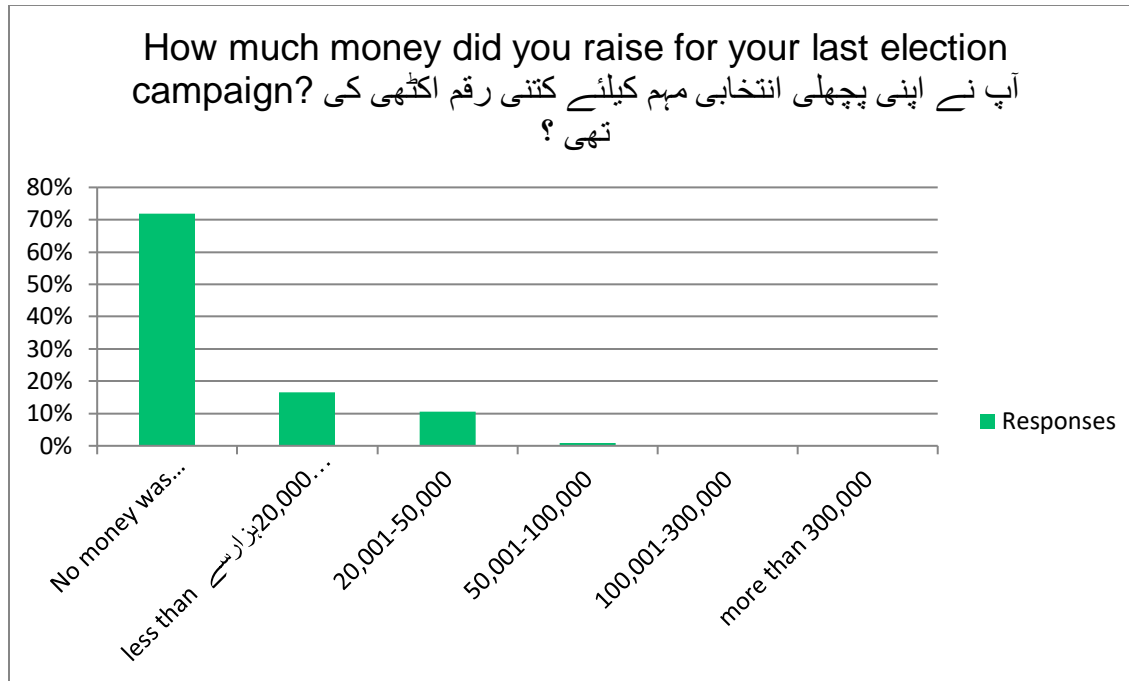


Graph 6: Showing satisfaction level of women with the dealing of their senior colleagues during allotment of ticket, disaggregated by their economic status.

**5.3 Electoral Challenges**

**7.3.1 Election Finances**

The majority of women (72%) did not raise any money for the elections. 16% women raised less than PKR 20,000, 10% of the women respondent raised money in the bracket of 20,001-50,000. Only 1% women raised money above PKR 50,000 (50,001-100,000). No woman is placed in the uppermost two brackets (Graph 5).



Graph 6: Showing the total money raised by the women for their election campaign.

There is a uniform relationship between the type of seat contested and the amount of money raised for the election campaign. Table 7 below will explain this relationship. 60% of the women who contested direct seats did not raise any money, whereas 78% of the women contesting reserved seats did not raise any money. This trend continued for the next bracket. 34% contesting on the direct seat and 7% contesting on reserved seats raised to PKR 20,000 to finance the election campaign. Only one woman raised money in the bracket of 50,001-100,000 for the direct seat. Overall, 14 women (40%) contesting direct seats raised some sort of money for the election campaign. Fifteen women (22%) contesting elections on reserved seats raised money for the campaign.

## Q24: How much money did you raise for your last election campaign?؟ آپ نے اپنی پچھلی انتخابی مہم کیلئے کتنی رقم اکٹھی کی تھی

Answered: 103 Skipped: 0

	NO MONEY WAS RAISED کوئی رقم جمع نہیں کی	LESS THAN 20,000 20 کم	20,001-50,000	50,001-100,000	100,001-300,000	MORE THAN 300,000	TOTAL
Q7: Direct برائے راست	60.00% 21	34.29% 12	2.86% 1	2.86% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	33.98% 35
Q7: Reserved مختص	77.94% 53	7.35% 5	14.71% 10	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	66.02% 68
Total Respondents	74	17	11	1	0	0	103

Table 13: Showing the total money raised by the women for their election campaign disaggregated by the type of the seat (direct/reserved) contested.

The table below shows that election finance is getting more important with the passage of time. The sample has three women who contested the elections before 2001, and none of them raised any money for the election campaign. Of the 13 women who contested the 2001 elections, only 3 raised some money to finance the election campaign, and that amount was less than 20,000 per woman. For the LG elections in 2005, only three women raised money less than PKR 20,000 to finance the election campaign. In 2015, the trend was, however, different. Here, 12 women raised less than PKR 20,000, and for the first time, women raised money more than 20,000 for the election campaign. Eleven women raised money in the bracket of PKR 20,001 to 50,000 and one women in the next higher bracket (PKR 50,000-100,000). The only woman who raised more than PKR 50,000 for the election campaign belongs to the 2015 elections. In other words, all women who raised more than PKR 20000 for the election campaign contested the 2015 elections. This shows that election finance is gradually becoming important for women's elections in Local Governments.

## Q24: How much money did you raise for your last election campaign?؟ آپ نے اپنی پچھلی انتخابی مہم کیلئے کتنی رقم اکٹھی کی تھی

Answered: 103 Skipped: 0

	NO MONEY WAS RAISED کوئی رقم جمع نہیں کی	LESS THAN 20,000	20,001-50,000	50,001-100,000	100,001-300,000	MORE THAN 300,000	TOTAL
Q6: Before 2001	100.00% 3	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2.91% 3
Q6: 2001	76.92% 10	23.08% 3	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12.62% 13
Q6: 2005	86.36% 19	13.64% 3	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	21.36% 22
Q6: 2015	71.08% 59	14.46% 12	13.25% 11	1.20% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	80.58% 83
Total Respondents	74	17	11	1	0	0	103

Table 14: Showing the total money raised by the women for their election campaign disaggregated by the year of the elections.

A total of 30 respondents said they raised some money to finance their election campaign. Of these 30 women, 24 were contesting the 2015 election, and three each from the 2005 and 2001 elections. This rising trend in election finance may be due to the reasons that the 2015 elections were party based, or the LG elections dynamics are changing. Elections are becoming more competitive, for which women need to raise money to design their election campaigns. Further study will be required to understand this phenomenon.

The amount of money has not touched to an alarming point yet.

### 7.3.2 Human Resources

Most women (61%) have enough human resources to run their election campaigns. Another 30% have a moderate amount of HR support to run the election campaign. There is a definite link between the availability of HR and performance in the elections. Only 15% of women with a “lot of HR” available could not win the election. Only 7% of the women with very little or no HR were able to win the elections. Otherwise, the availability of HR seems to be strongly linked with winning the elections. 26% of the women who won the elections said they had ‘great HR’, 42% had a ‘lot of HR,’ and 26% had a moderate amount of HR available to run a successful election campaign.

The table below establishes the link between the availability of human resources and women's performance in elections. The ‘yes’ and ‘no’ in the first column correspond to the winning of the

elections

by

the

women.

**Q27: Did you have enough Human Resources at your disposal to manage election campaign?**؟ انتخابی مہم کو چلانے کیلئے کیا آپ کے پاس کافی لوگ موجود تھے؟

Answered: 102 Skipped: 1

	A GREAT DEAL بہت زیادہ	A LOT کافی زیادہ	A MODERATE AMOUNT کچھ حد تک	A LITTLE کم	NONE AT ALL بالکل نہیں	TOTAL
Q16: Yes ہاں	25.84% 23	41.57% 37	25.84% 23	5.62% 5	1.12% 1	87.25% 89
Q16: No نہیں	0.00% 0	15.38% 2	61.54% 8	15.38% 2	7.69% 1	12.75% 13
Total Respondents	23	39	31	7	2	102

Table 15: Table showing the availability of Human Resources to manage the election campaign disaggregated by the election results.

The sources of human HR are mixed. Women are getting HR support from different sources, including family, friends, and political parties/panels. The support from the political party for women seems pivotal in winning the elections. 92% of the women who got support from their

political party were finally able to win the elections.

**Q28: Where your human resource comes from? کے انتخابی مہم چلانے کے لئے انسانی وسائل کہاں سے میسر ہوتے ہیں؟**

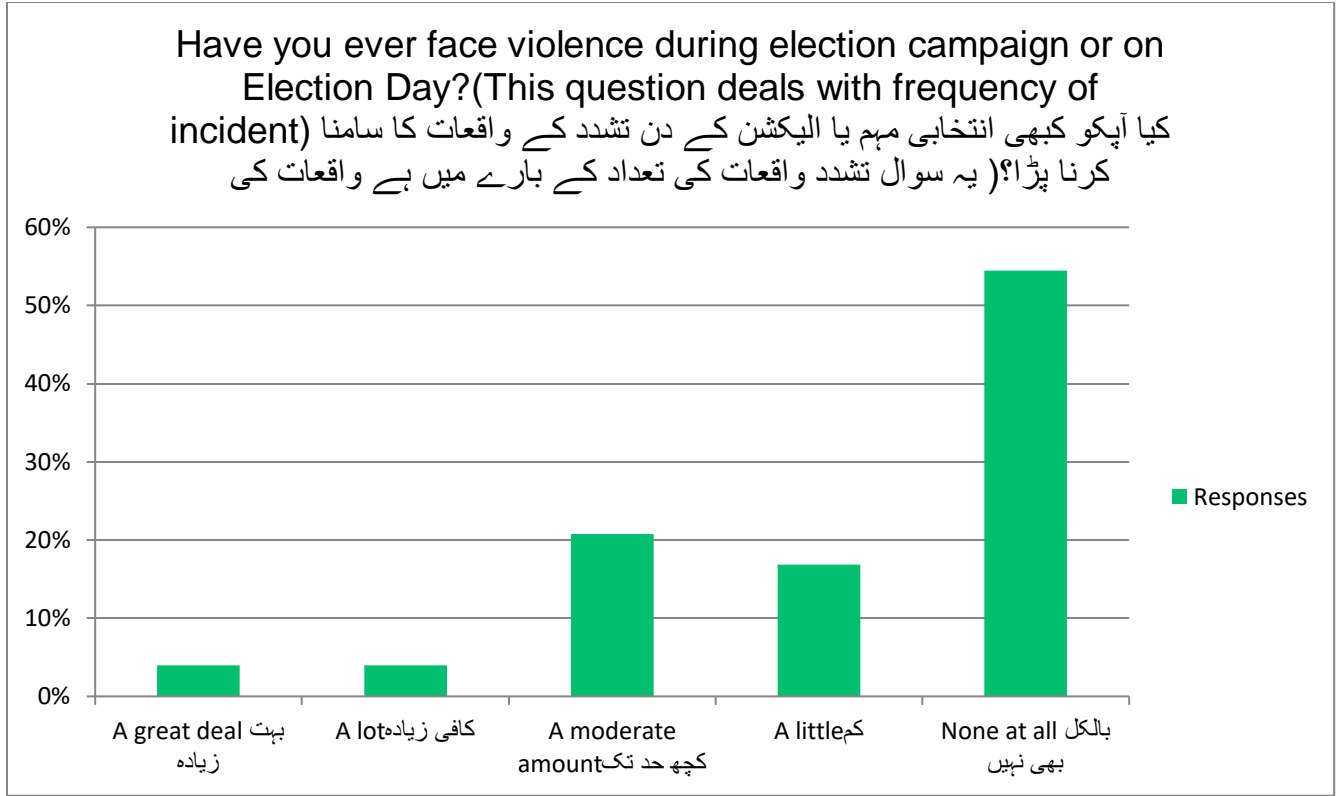
Answered: 98 Skipped: 6

ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Family فیملی	53.06%	52
Friends دوست	35.71%	35
Party جماعت	50.00%	49
Penal پینل	10.20%	10
Other (please specify) دیگر	0.00%	0
Total Respondents: 98		

Table 16: Showing the sources of HR for women during election campaign.

### 7.3.3 Election Violence and Rigging

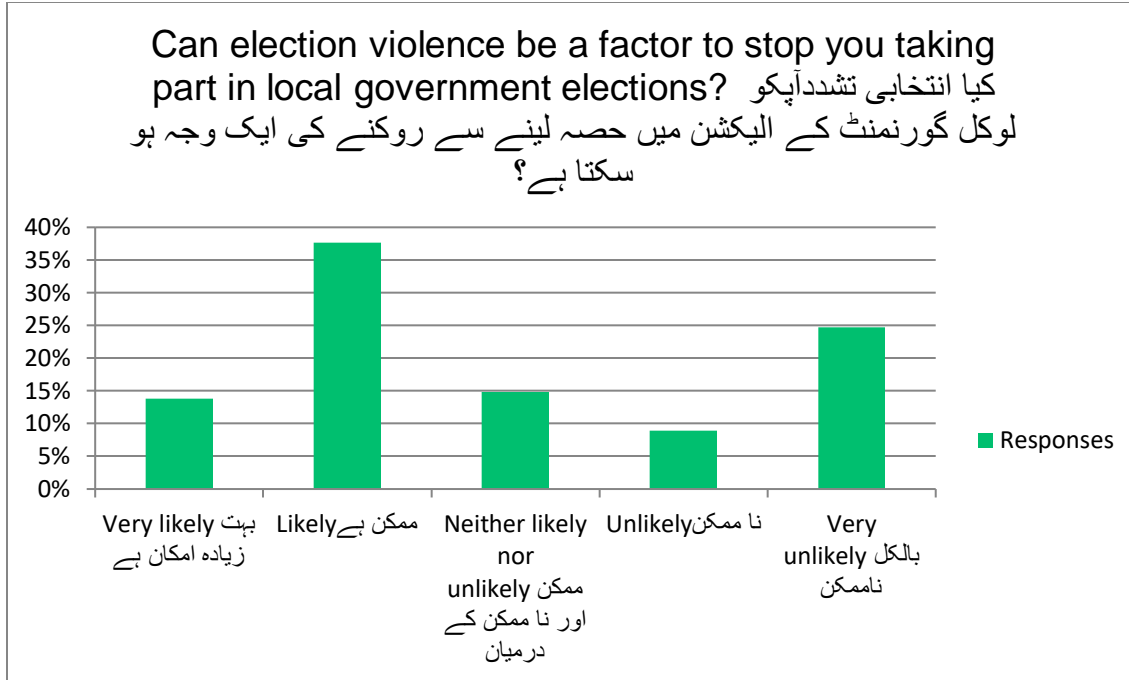
Election violence has been an issue in local government elections. 45% of respondents said they had faced some election violence during the election campaign or on Election Day (first four columns of the graph). In addition, 8% of respondents said that violent incidents were quite frequent (first two columns). Another 21% said they faced a moderate number of violence incidents (3rd column) and 17% (fourth column) reported a small frequency of incidents.



Graph 7: Showing frequency of violence incidents during election campaign or on election day.

Overall, 44% of respondents said they faced some sort of violent incident, which is quite a high rate. Governments and civil society need more effective approaches to prevent such election-related violence.

Of the 45 respondents who reported violence during their campaign, 29% had said that the intensity of the violence was severe. 38% said it was somewhat severe, and another 33% said it was ‘not so severe.’ In addition, 51% of the respondents said that election violence was very likely to discourage them from participating in the election campaign.



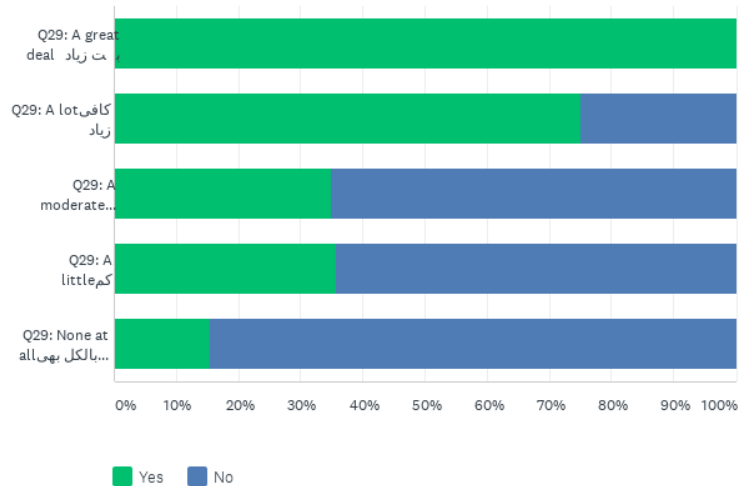
Graph 8: Showing percentage of women who think election violence can be a factor for not taking part in local government elections.

29% of the women reported the incident of election rigging. Of this 29%, 89% said that election rigging had affected the election results in one way or the other. Again, this is a high percentage, and the government should take steps to stop incidents of rigging. Survey has also established an inverse relationship between election violence/rigging and women's participation in the elections.

The following graph establishes a link between the incidence of violence and election rigging. All the respondents reporting 'a great deal of violence' said their elections were rigged (Column 1). However, 75% of the women who reported a lot of violence (Column 2) also said that their elections were rigged, and this ratio of rigging decreases while we move towards lesser violence. In the graph below, the values along the x-axis are taken from the frequency of violence, and the graph height along the y-axis shows what percentage of the women reporting a certain degree of violence also reported that their elections were rigged.



Q35 Did any incident of Election Day rigging come to your notice? کیا آپ کو حلقہ میں الیکشن کے دن دھاندلی کا کوئی واقعہ پیش آیا؟

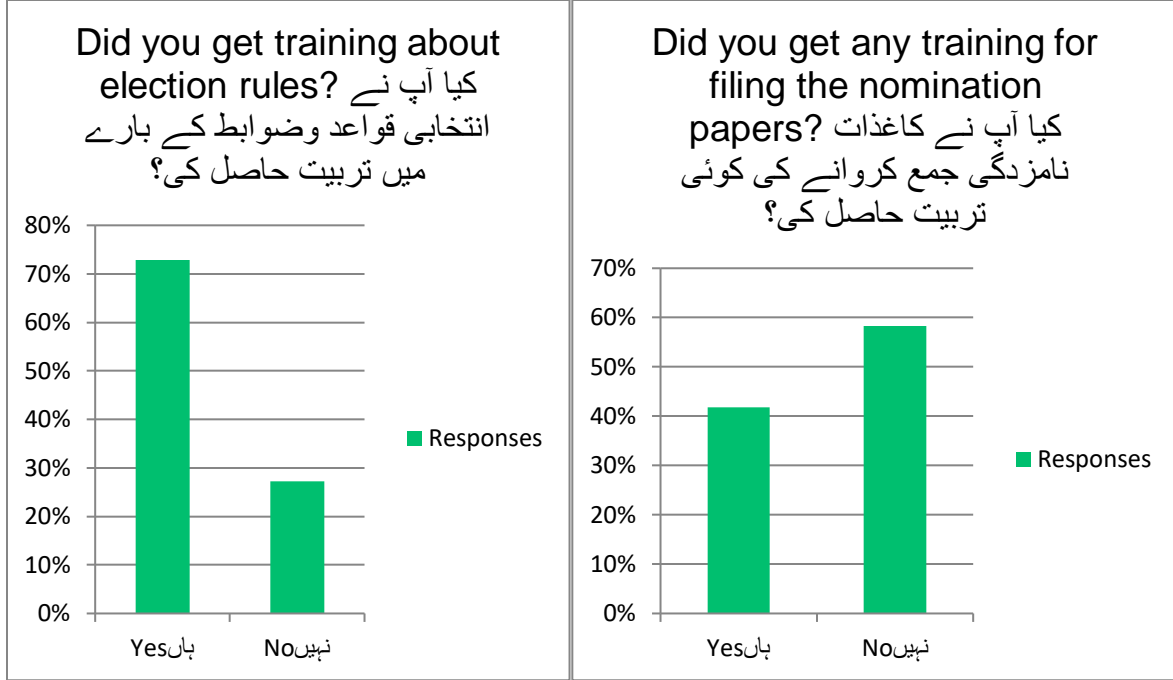


Graph 9: Showing a link between election violence and election rigging. The uppermost (all green) column shows that all respondents who reported severe violence ‘a great deal of violence’ have also reported election rigging. The second column shows that 75% of the respondents who reported slightly less violence, i.e., ‘a lot’, also reported election rigging and so on. As the violence goes on decreasing, election rigging also decreases.

## 7.4 Knowledge Challenges

### 7.4.1 Election Training/Election Education

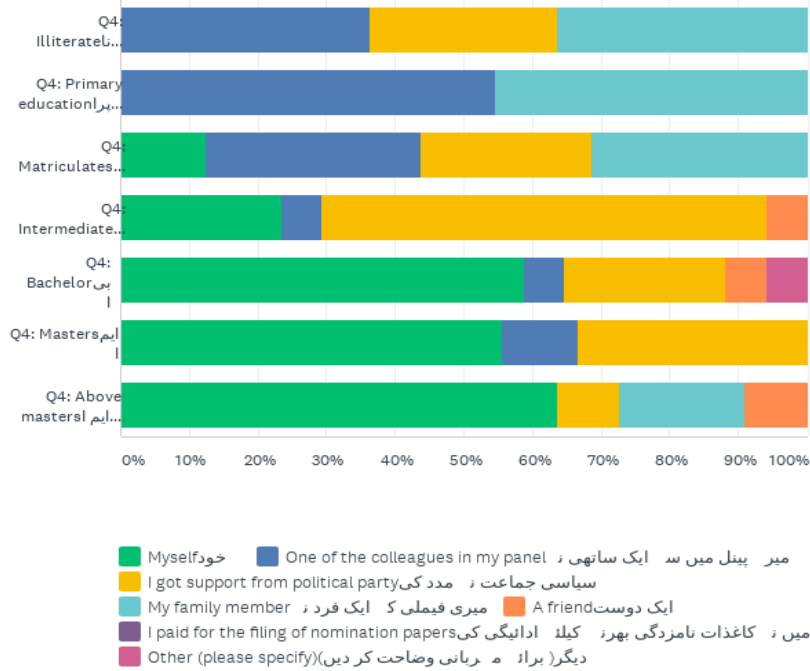
Election training is an important part of the election process. 72% of the respondents got training in election rules. 90% of the women who got training in election rules said that training benefited them. 55% of women got training from NGOs, 33% from political parties, and 10% from the government. In comparison, only 43% got training for filing the nomination papers. 89% of those who got training in filing the nomination papers said the training was very helpful. Political parties and NGOs were again at the forefront of providing training to women. Of the 44 women who received training for filing the nomination papers for LG elections, only 14 (32%) women filed their nomination papers themselves. The rest had to rely on other sources, including family members, friends, and political parties.



Graph 10: Graph showing the percentage of women who got training in election rules and filling of nomination papers.

A remote link can be established between the women getting the training for filing nomination papers and winning the elections. For example, 46% of the women who got training for filling out nomination papers won their seats in LG elections. On the other hand, 77% of the women who did not get training for filing the nomination papers were unable to secure seats in the local councils.

لوکل گورنمنٹ کے لیے لوکل گورنمنٹ کے لیے  
ایکشن میں حصہ لینے کے لیے کس نے آپ کے کاغذات نامزدگی بھرے تھے؟



Graph 11: Graph showing the support used by women to fill their nomination papers for the elections.

The above graph shows a relationship between the education of the women candidates and the medium used by the women for filling the nomination papers for elections. Most of the women who had education B.A and above filled their nomination papers themselves. This percentage decreases for women with the education of intermediate and matric. For obvious reasons, no one from primary and illiterate groups filled their nomination papers. Filling out their nomination papers gives women confidence and will further empower them.

There was no woman in the sample who paid any money to get the nomination papers filled.

#### 7.4.2 Education

Although more than 88 % of women said that education is very useful in contesting local government elections, a clear relationship between education and winning the election could not be established. The table below shows that 91% of the illiterate women were able to return to the local councils, whereas the winning percentage among women with education above master' remains only 73%. The best-performing education groups are intermediate and matric, with a success rate of 100% and 94%, respectively.

**Q16: Were you able to secure a seat in local council as a result of local government elections? کیا آپ لوکل گورنمنٹ کے الیکشن کے نتیجے میں مقامی کونسل میں سیٹ حاصل کرنے میں کامیاب ہوئیں؟**

Answered: 101 Skipped: 0

	ہاں YES	نہیں NO	TOTAL
Q4: Illiterate ناخواند	90.91% 10	9.09% 1	10.89% 11
Q4: Primary education پرائمری	81.82% 9	18.18% 2	10.89% 11
Q4: Matriculates میٹرک	93.75% 15	6.25% 1	15.84% 16
Q4: Intermediate انٹرمیڈیٹ	100.00% 17	0.00% 0	16.83% 17
Q4: Bachelor بی	82.35% 14	17.65% 3	16.83% 17
Q4: Masters ایم	83.33% 15	16.67% 3	17.82% 18
Q4: Above masters ایم سے زیادہ	72.73% 8	27.27% 3	10.89% 11
Total Respondents	88	13	101

Table 17: Showing linkage between education and winning of LGE

### 7.4.3 Information

8% of women do not know about the boundaries of their electoral constituency. Similarly, 12% of women candidates do not know where to get the final voter list.

8% of women who have won the LG elections do not have knowledge about the boundaries of their electoral constituency. An equal percentage of women losing the elections do not have information about the boundaries of their electoral constituency.

14% of women who won the election do not know where to get the voter list.

The survey also establishes a link between the education level of the candidates and their basic knowledge about the elections. 36% of the illiterate women candidates do not know about the boundaries of their constituencies.

**Q32: Do you know the boundaries of your constituency/ward? کیا آپکو اپنے حلقے/وارڈ کی حدود کا علم ہے؟**

Answered: 101 Skipped: 0

	YES ہاں	NO نہیں	TOTAL
Q4: Illiterate ناخواند	63.64% 7	36.36% 4	10.89% 11
Q4: Primary education پرائمری	90.91% 10	9.09% 1	10.89% 11
Q4: Matriculates میٹرک	93.75% 15	6.25% 1	15.84% 16
Q4: Intermediate انٹرمیڈیٹ	100.00% 17	0.00% 0	16.83% 17
Q4: Bachelor بی	94.12% 16	5.88% 1	16.83% 17
Q4: Masters ایم	94.44% 17	5.56% 1	17.82% 18
Q4: Above masters ایم سے زیادہ	100.00% 11	0.00% 0	10.89% 11
Total Respondents	93	8	101

Table 18: Showing relationship between education level of the candidates and their knowledge about the boundaries of their constituencies

## 6. Recommendations

The social results of the survey are encouraging as women are getting good support from their families to participate in political activities. The family members of the women candidates should be further targeted through social media and personal interactions to sensitize them about the importance of women's participation in political activities at the local level.

There is a definite relationship between the percentage of women satisfied with the dealings of their senior colleagues and the women securing seats in the election. A helpful selection panel/political party will encourage the women to participate in the elections with confidence and secure seats. Some preferential treatment is also observed based on the economic status of the women. Political parties should make it an agenda point for training their members, and discrimination based on economic status and other similar factors should be discouraged.

The survey results also draw a direct relationship between the availability of Human Resources and victory in the election. To overcome this, team formation and attracting enough HR to run and manage election campaigns should be an essential part of training for the women indenting to contest the local government elections.

The information level of the less educated women about electoral constituency and voter list is not satisfactory. Therefore, such women should be part of the pre-election training program. The more knowledge they get, the more confident they will feel in participating in political activities.

Election violence has remained a permanent feature in Pakistan's electoral politics. Many respondents said they had faced violent incidents during their election campaigns. The dataset shows that violence can impede women from taking part in elections. Therefore, authorities should take strict steps to arrest such trends of violence. A peaceful election will attract many women who otherwise are discouraged due to the incidents of violence.

A recent study by Dr. Alvi conducted in District Sargodha (referred above) revealed that most women participated in the local government elections under the duress of the landlords, local influentials, and families. The study was conducted on the sample size of 200 women councilors who were elected during the 2015 LGE in Punjab. Therefore, a study with a larger sample size and geographic scope is recommended to further investigate women's participation patterns in LGE.

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