

**Gap between Descriptive and Substantive  
Representation of Women in Politics:**  
*Study of Speeches for Comparative Analysis of Female  
Interest Representation*

by  
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**Thesis for PhD in Political Science  
UC Merced**



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**Abstract**

Women are active participants in government processes but have limited influence on female representation (OECD, 2021). While they engage in political discourse, their impact on policymaking remains limited and the gap between descriptive and substantive representation continues to persist (Childs, 2004; Dodson, 2006; Grey, 2006; Htun and Power, 2006; Vincent, 2004; Weldon, 2002). This dissertation will address this paradox with the study of legislative speeches in Pakistan. It will build on a text-as-data approach to understand gendered political communication and highlight the reasons for why female politicians continue to have less impact on female representation. The topics covered by male and female parliamentarians will be analyzed to highlight the differences in content and focus of speeches by gender.

The main experimental design depends on the variation of international scrutiny that Pakistan faced in two different time periods that will be classified as high international scrutiny (2012-13) and low international scrutiny (2022-23). A high international scrutiny period is one where a country comes under the international lens because of a domestic event that has international ramifications, for example, in terms of gender equality. I will analyze the representation of women's interests in the parliament with an examination of speeches made by women in the years 2022-23 and 2012-13 over a period of ten months. These speeches will be studied to measure how often female parliamentarians speak, the topics they select and the engagement they receive in comparison to male leaders in politics. The data collected will be evaluated to extract a context-dependent topic analysis (Remschel and Kroeber, 2020).



# **Chapter 1 Women's Status and Political Representation: Literature Review and Background in the context of Pakistan**

## ***1.1 Introduction***

Men are politically overrepresented in both democratic and autocratic political systems. Throughout the world, the number of women in government is low (Bjarnegard, 2013; Franceschet and Piscopo, 2008; World Bank, 2021; OECD, 2021). Even when steps are taken to address women's underrepresentation, such as through legislative quotas, representation of women's interests do not always follow, although women continue to be active participants in the government processes (OECD, 2021). In this dissertation, I use the case of Pakistan to explore why women participate in governance, even while they have little chance of seeing their legislation enacted. By analyzing the content and pattern of speeches on the Pakistan legislative floor in 2012-2013 and 2022-2023, I argue that female legislators use speeches to demonstrate their commitment to substantively representing women's interests.

Although the number of female legislators has increased from 2002 because of the introduction of quota seats, Pakistan's status of women has not improved. While some theorists have argued that descriptive representation will also lead to substantive representation (Mansbridge, 2005), a significant proportion of empirical work does not support this (Childs, 2004; Dodson, 2006; Grey, 2006; Htun and Power, 2006; Vincent, 2004; Weldon, 2002). The existing literature is divided into two groups, one that argues that female legislators act for women (Carroll, 2001; Poggione, 2004, Tamerius, 1995; Tylor Robinson and Heath, 2003; Thomas 1994), while the other strand of literature is less optimistic of the automatic link between descriptive and substantive representation (Childs, 2004; Dodson, 2006; Grey, 2006; Htun and Power, 2006, Vincent, 2004; Weldon, 2002).

When elected officials share demographic traits with their voters, voters are descriptively represented. Substantive representation in democratic systems, on the other hand, requires elected officials to advocate for policies and programs that are preferred by their constituents. The reason why legislators continue to be responsive to voters is primarily because of their desire to be reelected (Mayhew, 1974). In some cases, however, there might also be a list of competing incentives for politicians that prevent them from putting voters' agenda on the table. For instance, in some settings women legislators feel obliged to vote on or support policies that are in line with the male members of the parliament (Beckwith, 2007). This difference in descriptive and substantive representation is labeled in different ways in the literature. Some lawmakers are said to 'stand' for their constituents while some 'act' (Franceschet and Piscopo, 2008). Acting on behalf of constituents means more than only representing them, for example by (i) proposing bills that reflect the constituents' interests (ii) bringing their perspective into the debates (iii) networking with like-minded policymakers (Franceschet and Piscopo, 2008).

For women to be effective at providing substantive representation to female constituents they must first win election to office; and even when they win election to office, they may still be constrained by the selection process (Baer 1993, Caul 1999, Dahlerup 2007, Gallagher and Marsh 1988, Matland 2005, Norris and Lovenduski 1995). As women enter politics and occupy influential positions, there is more competition for power that threatens the dominance of men. Men will not willingly accept their power to be taken away unless they are maximizing their utility in some way (Valdini, 2019). The top priority for politicians is to win the election (Downs 1975, Strom 1990, Muller and Strom 1999). According to Valdini, 2019, men view inclusion of women as a rational decision. They calculate the costs and benefits of doing so and their decision to include them is thus a rational one and not driven by an innate desire to help gender equality.

Pakistan's decision to implement gender quotas fits Valdini's theory. In Pakistan, the decision to create gender quotas was made because of Pervez Musharraf's regime that wanted to legitimize his government. Because there was no interest in producing substantive representation through the election of female legislators, it is perhaps not surprising that female legislators have made little policy progress in changing the status of women. In the next section, I describe this (unchanging) status in more detail. Then, I turn to explaining why Pakistani female legislators are largely powerless to address the status of women more broadly. In the final section of this chapter, I argue that while female legislators have been unsuccessful at implementing policy change, they nonetheless see themselves as representatives of women's interests.

## *1.2 Status of Women in Pakistan*

Women in Pakistan are in a crisis that affects them from birth, through childhood, after marriage and in old age (UN, 2016; LaBore et al, 2019). It is chronic because the symptoms of this deep inequality within the society have not diminished with time as I will describe in this section.

There have been periods in which women in Pakistan have experienced more liberty, for example, from independence until the 1970s, women made some strides to achieve equality (Brightman, 2015). However, this progress was radically reversed when the military dictator General Zia-ul-Haq took over the government (Jafar, 2005). Women became an increasingly soft target in efforts to resist "Westernization" and consolidate power by bringing different parties and viewpoints together (Critelli, 2010). Subsequent governments tried to remove the most regressive laws, but these efforts were not met with enthusiasm from all parts of the government, or the society and the implementation of the protective laws remained weak (Critelli, 2010; Weiss, 2012). Since the late 1980's, in the post-Zia era, protective laws that are introduced do not get the time to consolidate and become fully effective (Krook, 2009; Weiss, 2012). Thus, women continue to be at mercy of these changes in laws that are a mix of "advances and setbacks" as the state tries to balance the divergent views on the place of women in Pakistan (Weiss, 2012).

According to Human Development Report, the latest released Gender Development Index<sup>1</sup> of Pakistan is 0.745 and Gender Inequality Index (GII) is 0.5382. The GII of more

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<sup>1</sup> Gender development index is the ratio of female human development index (HDI) to male

advanced economies including Sweden (0.039), Norway (0.045) and Denmark (0.038) is much lower indicating they fare far better in gender equality<sup>2</sup>. Even in comparison to countries in the region that are economically more comparable, including India (0.488), Pakistan performs poorly on these indicators. According to the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap report released in 2021, Pakistan is ranked 153rd in gender equality just above 3 other countries (WEF, 2021).

There are many specific instances where changes in the law could advance women's rights. That is, Pakistani legislators can advance gender equality if they choose to do so.

Article 38 of the Constitution of Pakistan guarantees citizens the right to pursue employment and other economic activities irrespective of sex, caste, or creed. However, the legal system in Pakistan limits the extent to which women can truly be empowered and operate as autonomous individuals. The military dictatorship of Zia is cited as one of the most regressive eras for women in Pakistan as Zia's structuring of national identity depended on the confinement of women's personal and public lives. The hudood laws, the penal code introduced by Zia, focused on enforcing punishments in a way that discriminated against women. His law of evidence made women's testimony inadmissible in some cases and created a clear distinction between the legal status of men and women (Weiss, 2012). In the following years, women were incarcerated under a set of these laws on suspicions of adultery. It was found by a US Department of State report on Pakistan that 80 percent of these cases were filed without supporting evidence (2008).

A review of these laws under Musharraf led to some improvements in 2006, including, the removal of rape from the definition of adultery, but the government did not review the bills that sought to ban practices such as forced marriage, marriage in exchange for vengeance and deprivation of women's inheritance (Brightman, 2005).

### **Quality of life for women in Pakistan**

Women face discrimination at every stage in life and in various aspects of social and economic opportunities. From early years till late in life, women face obstacles and challenges that significantly hinder them from living a life of freedom, economic success, and self-actualization. Life for women is significantly poorer in quality than men. Women experience life in Pakistan as second-class citizens with restrictions, lack of economic freedom, and threat of violence and in some cases, even death in the name of honor.

#### **(i) *Limited access to education and early marriage***

Females have far less control over their own lives from a much younger age, and their opportunities are stifled whether it is in areas of education, employment, or marriage.

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<sup>2</sup> Gender inequality index is a composite indicator that accounts for (i) Health (ii) Empowerment (iii) Labour Market. The measure includes indicators on mortality ratio and adolescent birth (for health), female and male population with at least a secondary education, and female and male shares of parliamentary seats (for empowerment), female and male labour force participation rates (for labour market) (Gender Inequality Index (GII) | Human Development Reports (undp.org))

The proportion of female youth not in education, employment or training is 54.9 compared to 7.6 of male youth in Pakistan (<https://data.unwomen.org/country/pakistan>). Being born a female in Pakistan means she will experience more challenges in learning as there is a persistent gender gap in learning levels (ASER, 2018)<sup>3</sup>. Out of the 22.8 million children not in school, a higher proportion is that of females (12.2 million) compared to boys (10.6 million) (ASER, 2018). The learning abilities of females is lower than that of males in both reading and math (ASER, 2018).

They may be married early to have children as reported by the UN that there are 54 out of 1000 women who give birth during the age 15-19 and this is likely to be an underreported figure (<https://data.unwomen.org/country/pakistan>). Females have limited control over their own bodies. Only 48.6% of women of reproductive age have their requirement of having modern methods of family planning met (<https://data.unwomen.org/country/pakistan>). The continued high fertility of women increases their reproductive burden and discourages both higher education and economic participation (UN Women, 2016).

With both barriers to equal education and increased pressure to marry early, women begin life from a disadvantaged place which accumulates over their lifetime and undermines their true potential and ability to experience life equal to a man.

**(ii) *Financial and economic exclusion***

As a woman enters an age where she should be working and financially seeking autonomy and independence, she is denied access to the opportunities that will give her the ability to do so. This is in the form of limited access to banks and lack of knowledge on saving and lending and business opportunities. In short, women are excluded from a healthy financial life.

Based on the Access to Finance Surveys (A2FS), only 11 percent of women save in bank accounts because either they are not aware of the process to do so, or they don't trust financial institutions (2015). They are not likely to borrow from the formal sector mainly due to lack of information or the conditions offered by formal institutions. This limits their potential in entrepreneurship, business, and basic financial independence.

Property ownership is another area of life where women face discrimination. The National Commission on the Status of Women in Pakistan concluded that inheritance rights are one of the most ignored gender issues owing to the biased interpretations of religious injunctions and customary practices that deny women their rightful share (2005). In addition to this, lack of political will further exacerbates the situation as the small number of protective laws are not fully implemented (NCSW, 2005).

Women experience difficulties in gaining access and control over land and property (the laws of inheritance are a mix of civil, Islamic, and customary civil laws such as Contract

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<sup>3</sup> Annual Status of Education Report is a household-based survey conducted annually. In 2018, it was conducted across 154 rural and 21 urban districts to test the learning of children between the ages of 5 and 16. The statistics used in this paper are based on the report of findings published by the organization

Act 1872<sup>4</sup>, the Transfer of Property Act 1882<sup>5</sup>, and the Registration Act 1908<sup>6</sup>). Inheritance is subject to Muslim Personal Law 1962. According to the law, daughters can inherit half of the property compared to the son. However, under duress and fraud, on occasion, even this property is not rightfully transferred to them. Amendments to the penal code have tried to address this problem by making inheritance through illegal or deceitful means punishable with imprisonment for up to 10 years with minimum 5 years and fine of one million rupees but implementation of these laws is not perfect. Women do not usually get the land written in their name even if they inherit it and this particularly affects the class of women that is undereducated (Weiss,2012).

Women's mobility and economic freedom is still contested in Pakistan. Their social vulnerability combined with economic vulnerability means that women remain in underpaid jobs and are overworked (UN Women, 2016). Women not only have to deal with low wages, harassment at work, and other such barriers but also limited opportunities for training and upward mobility so they remain in dead-end jobs for years. For example, training for women is at an insignificant number of 11%, in areas of embroidery, knitting and sewing which are areas of employment with low earning potential (UN Women, 2016).

For every 100 men, there are 27 women employed in Pakistan (ILO 2015). Moreover, there is inequality in pay. In Pakistan, in 2012, male agricultural workers earned \$2.97 per day while female agricultural workers earned \$1.68 (Oxfam, 2016). A lot of women's work is also unpaid and invisible. Women spend 4.3 more hours per day on this unpaid care work than men (UN Women, 2015). Most of the domestic work is the responsibility of women and because of its nature, this work is repetitive in nature, underpaid and undervalued. Due to social mores, the male members of the family do not participate in domestic work such as cleaning and making food which places undue burden on women especially those also employed at work.

Women rely on their husband's income and sometimes, may be forced to hide their income as their family would be derided for the fact that they depend on a woman's income. In case of divorce, they can be completely cut off as women are not entitled to receive monetary support from their husbands (SDPI, 2008).

### **(iii) *Physical violence and harassment***

Violence against women is normalized (Brightman, 2015). Women, perceived as property of men, are used as instruments to punish men for their actions (Critelli, 2010).

Pakistan has a culture where a man believes that hitting a wife is not subject to punishment (Fikree, Razzak and Durocher, 2005). This extends to emotional abuse as well. Evidence from the Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) of 2012-2013

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<sup>4</sup> The Contract Act 1872 regulated all the agreements and contracts to ensure the rights of the parties involved in such an exchange (<https://khalidzafar.com/laws-of-pakistan/contract-act-1872/>)

<sup>5</sup> The Transfer of Property Act 1882 governs the rules of transfer of property, movable or immovable, by a living person in present or future transfer property to one or more other living persons (<https://legislative.gov.in/sites/default/files/A1882-04.pdf>)

<sup>6</sup> The Registration Act 1908 gives the rules on registration of document related to either gift, transfer, lease, and other related exchanges of immovable property ([https://www.malaw.org.pk/pdflaw/registration\\_act08.pdf](https://www.malaw.org.pk/pdflaw/registration_act08.pdf))

suggests that around 28% of a random sample of married women reported experiencing emotional abuse including insulting and humiliation in front of others (LaBore et al, 2021). These have long term effects on women's psychological well-being (Hassan and Malik, 2012) and increased likelihood for depression (Zahidie and Jamali, 2013). Human Rights Watch (1999) reported that women are deliberately hindered from seeking justice for violent acts against them. Not only legal but also family support is limited. It is found that only one third of women report domestic violence to a family member (Shaikh, 2003).

According to a survey collected by Alliance against Sexual Harassment at Workplaces, 78 percent of working women has been sexually harassed on the job and this figure is even more pronounced for domestic workers, 91 percent of whom experienced it as work (2007). In a cycle of abuse, this harassment is used as a justification for keeping women confined in home. Violence is the sword wielded to keep women's aspirations in check as physical harassment is the most potent tool used in keeping women in fear and limited in their freedom of movement.

***(iv) Vulnerable in old age: Limited Social Protection***

In old age, the early years of discrimination, and exclusion make women more vulnerable and dependent on their male family members. Not having had employment means most women don't have saved income or retirement benefits that they can use to support themselves. In such a context social protection becomes even more critical but the evidence suggests that most women are not covered by schemes that could give them guaranteed income in old age (International Labor Organization, 2021).

In conclusion, the state of women in Pakistan is not improving with the advances being made globally. While some improvements have been attempted, they are far too few to make an impact on the status of women in Pakistan vis-à-vis the progress women have achieved globally. Whether this is due to legal, institutional, and historical constraints in women's path, an ordinary woman's life in Pakistan is far from the one she could achieve if she had the right circumstances to progress and thrive. This is the context that I want to lay down as background to my dissertation that will bring attention to some of the reasons for why the progress for women has been halted for years.

***1.3 Female Representation in Pakistani Parliament***

In Pakistan, the number of women in the parliament is small, at around 22% of the total seats. This percentage has not varied significantly since the quota policy was promulgated in 2002 under the military dictatorship of Pervez Musharraf. Yet, Pakistan is also one of the few countries with a female prime minister, Benazir Bhutto who was elected in part due to her connections to a strong political family, being the daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, leader of Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and in part due to her interest and training from early years (Allen, 2016).

Pakistan has a parliamentary system where voters cast ballots at constituency level for both the executive and legislature and candidates get selected on a first-past-the-post system basis. There is an open election for 272 seats at the national level and 70 seats are reserved for women and minorities (60 for women, and 10 for religious minorities).

National Assembly members are responsible for making the laws, raising revenue, and serving as the representative for their constituents.

According to the present policy on reservations, the 60 seats for women are filled through proportional representation, i.e., based on the number of popular votes received by the five major political parties in the elections<sup>7</sup>. Female parliamentarians can also win elections to general seats in open contests. Usually, 9-13 women get elected to the general seats. In a total of 346 seats, the number of women representatives is still relatively small.

### *Legislative activities*

Women parliamentarians actively participate in the parliament in Pakistan as measured by the times they attend sessions, raise questions, and propose points of order (FAFEN, 2017-2021; PILDAT, 2020). According to the most recent data on women parliamentarians' performance, female lawmakers participated more often than men (FAFEN, 2021). Their performance in some instances even exceeds that of their male counterparts (FAFEN, 2021). While all these activities contribute to the proceedings of the legislature, they do not always set the agenda for legislation. They contribute to only 28 percent of the parliamentary agenda (FAFEN, 2020-21). Nonetheless, parliamentary speeches are a key source for study of women's interests as they provide female legislators the forum where they can bring issues of importance to them even if they don't directly translate into bills.

Research on women's participation in parliament by FAFEN demonstrates their high participation but low impact. For example, on average, each female MNA attended 76 percent of the sittings in 2020 and sponsored eight agenda items whereas each male MNA attended 60 percent of the sitting and sponsored five agenda items. However, despite their participation, they were not always received by others positively e.g., only eight percent (5 out of 59) of the female sponsored private members' bills were passed while 54 percent (32 out of 59) were referred to the committee after being introduced in the House (FAFEN, 2021). Compared to this, twelve percent of male sponsored private bills completed the three readings (19 out of 154) and 55 percent (85 out of 154) were referred to relevant committees (FAFEN, 2021). The more significant difference is seen in how many resolutions are passed by gender. Only seven (32 percent) of female proposed resolutions were adopted compared to 42 (57 percent) of male sponsored legislation (FAFEN, 2021). Lastly, 24 percent of female sponsored bills were not taken up compared to 14 percent of male sponsored bills (FAFEN, 2021). This shows there is a significant number of bills that don't get passed and female legislators must find alternative spaces to highlight women's issues.

This is a trend that continues from before in the years 2017-18 and 2018-19. According to FAFEN reports, on average a female lawmaker in the National Assembly (2018-19) sponsored eight agenda items in comparison to three items by each male member. Female legislators also actively participated in the debates on scheduled business and in raising Points of Order and Matters of Public Importance. According to the data collected by FAFEN, 46 percent of female MNAs contributed to the discussions and debates during the parliamentary proceedings. The report further continues to describe how each female

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<sup>7</sup> The major parties fall in the following five categories: (i) Left: Awami Workers Party (AWP) (ii) Centre-left: Awami National Party (ANP), Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PkMAP)(iii) Centre: Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) (iv) Centre: Pakistan Tehreek Insaf (PTI), Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N) (v) Right: Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA)

member of the National Assembly attended 83 percent of the Lower House sittings. As the 2020-21 report suggested, the rejection of these proposals was evident in previous years as well. Their propositions were neglected as only 5 out of 19 of the females' sponsored bills passed the first reading stage as compared to 7 out of 12 for males (FAFEN, 2021).

There is earlier work on women participation that shows that women are active members of the parliament (Bari, 2010). Bari uses data on assembly sessions reviewed over a period of four and half years (2002-2007) for all 44 parliamentary sessions (2010). She finds that most female legislators belong to powerful families with successful male members and that 1/3rd of the female legislators had husbands and fathers as government officials in high positions. According to the parliamentary transcripts, Bari finds that women also don't limit themselves to issues of social sector or education only but also address questions on the army and defense budget (2010). More specifically however, they raised women-related issues including honor killing, reproductive health, trafficking of women, sexual harassment in the workplace, protection, and support to burn victims and survivors of violence, women's adequate representation in government bodies and discriminatory attitudes of the speaker of the house and fellow MPs. While male parliamentarians also raise similar questions occasionally, their focus is also on economy, foreign affairs, and military where their role is more prominent (FAFEN, 2020).

Women contribute to legislative activity in parliament, but their proposed bills don't get the support from the majority (FAFEN, 2020). Out of 69 private members bills that were pending, 31 had been submitted by women but out of these only one bill on women's protection and one on honor killings were included in the 50 bills that were passed by the parliament. This is again indicative of the finding of the most recent reports that most of the bills proposed by women don't get passed. In conclusion, Bari argues that while tangible outcomes are not seen, having women in the parliament has other cultural and social effects that lead women to be viewed as political actors who can contribute meaningfully to the running of the government as well (2010).

Furthermore, as there is no training for new parliamentarians, a lack of networks and other associations for women mean that women are disadvantaged relative to men in doing the work that is needed to properly represent their constituents (Chowdhury, 2018). According to a survey conducted on female parliamentarians, female MNAs do not have the technical know-how of drafting their bills (Bari, 2010). Sixty-eight percent of the surveyed parliamentarians reported that they did not receive training on drafting the bills (Bari, 2010). A similar figure is absent for male parliamentarians but since they benefit from network connections, training in writing bills would be more valuable for women (Bari, 2010).

Since men view inclusion of women as a rational decision, they calculate the costs and benefits of doing so and their decision to include them. Men are employing what is called "an inclusion calculation" which suggests that in the presence of new competitors, they want to somehow include them as it is beneficial to do so (Valdini, 2019). When legitimacy breaks down, replacing men with women brings a sense of stability (Alexander and Andersen 1993; Kahn 1994). The break in status quo changes the calculation and that creates fertile ground for inclusion of women, but this value is often temporary. Even when women are included in significant numbers and with considerable



power, the countries themselves continue to be patriarchies (Valdini, 2019) as is the case of Pakistan.

While quota seats in Pakistan were welcomed by female activists, these seats don't have the typical patron/client relation between the politician and the constituents as those elected on general seats (Dutoya, 2013). This continues to limit the influence of women on policymaking.

#### ***1.4 Theory: Parliamentary Speeches as Women's Interest Representation***

Given the limited success that female legislators have in making policy change, why do they continue to participate in the governance process at all? I argue that we can understand the goals of female legislators by analyzing the speeches that they make on the parliament floor. The results of this study can be transferred to the greater debate on gender representation in politics.

Gendered speech and language are a key tool of representation (Piscopo, 2011). Female MPs are found to talk more on "feminine" policy fields (child rights, family laws, social security) than "masculine" (security, defense, military) (Osborn and Mendez, 2010; Wang, 2014). There is more research now focused on parliamentary speech with some on the frequency with which women participate. They find that women are taking up less speech time compared to men (Back et al, 2021). Research on interruptions in parliament concludes that women are more often interrupted which may sometimes hinder their effectiveness in policymaking (Vera and Vidal, 2021). While some research is focused on topics women cover (Osborn and Mendez, 2010), other focuses on output, i.e. laws and bills passed, in those female policy areas (Mackay, 2010). Some approaches to this research use agnostic tools to detect gender patterns, but this study will rely on pre-set female topics (Osborn and Mendez, 2010; Piscopo, 2011; Clayton et al, 2017).

Speeches are a form of a political ritual that stays relatively stable over time but the slight differences in meaning, and content changes can uncover underlying motivations and negotiation processes (Ilie, 2010). There are multiple shifts in how parliamentarians talk and view themselves both in their public and private roles. For example, their public role is that of members of their own party, legislators, representatives as part of the electorate, as members of professional associations) and their private role as family members and members of the constituency they represent.

The audience of the parliamentary sessions shapes the incentives of the politicians, their engagement with other members and the topics they choose to speak on. These debates have multiple audiences including other parliamentarians, the audience in attendance and the voters who either watch snippets of the sessions in news or follow politicians' activities on Twitter.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> While the transcripts are intended for public consumption without censorship, it is hard to determine who chooses to access these transcripts. It is also likely that parliamentary proceedings are not as responsive to public needs/requirements as this is not as extensively covered as in the US, for example, with C-SPAN.

In Pakistan, I suggest that female legislators use speeches to represent women's interests. I propose that they use speeches to highlight gendered issues to signal their commitment to substantively representing women. This argument implies that women will speak on women's issues more frequently than men, and that women's issues will comprise a large share of female legislators' overall time on the floor. An alternative argument is that female legislators view themselves as representatives of all constituents, or of their party's constituents. If this is the case, we would expect women to speak on similar issues to male parliamentarians.

Atkinson terms speeches in the assembly as turn-taking (1984) which indicates that parliamentary speeches are structured in the same manner as conversation where a pause is a cue for another parliamentarian to take over. Studying how the other responds/interrupts to either support or dispute what is being said gives insights into how political communication functions. In Pakistan parliamentarians use nonverbal cues such as applause/loudly-tap-the-table as a sign of assent. In some cases, hooting or shouts of agreement or even chants will either be used to express approval or disapproval. These are termed "aizuchi" which refers to listener responses (Bull & Feldman, 2011; Dittmann & Llewellyn, 1967; Feldman & Bull, 2012).

Though the session proceedings are closely structured in Pakistan where the speaker calls on each of the MPs to speak and attempts to maintain decorum, there is flexibility that allows for individual parliamentarians' expressions of assent or dissent. The role of speaker is both to manage the turn-taking of the MPs and giving space to everyone to speak and it is also admonishing when an MP acts disorderly. When female parliamentarians speak, it is a discussion that the speaker sanctions and allows and ideally prevents it from being disrupted.

In sum, I argue that female parliamentarians are driven by their own shared experiences as women, and their role in bringing attention to women's issues. I expect that they will be more likely than male parliamentarians to discuss issues pertaining to gender as it is their own experience as females that motivates them to focus attention on issues that are their domain of expertise. They are more likely to bring attention to (i) female issues (ii) use policy speeches. However, I also expect that the patriarchal structure of the Pakistani legislature will mean that female legislators' speeches will have limited impact.

I will use two time periods to demonstrate this. In the time from 2012-13, I expect after Malala's shooting by the Taliban, due to high international scrutiny, female parliamentarians will be likely to speak equally on other topics as male parliamentarians. This change in the international political environment will influence the content of the speeches and encourage women to highlight all issues with more frequency and discuss policy-related issues with greater engagement. Compared to the 2012-12 period, the current time period of 2022-23 is a low international scrutiny period and there will be limits to women's role in parliament. As the environment changes, their role in representing all issues becomes more prominent.

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However, key events in the sessions can grab the attention of the public that follows news or twitter to keep themselves updated with political news.

## **Chapter 2 Methodology for the Study of Legislative Activity in Pakistan's Parliament**

### ***2.1 Study of Speeches***

#### *Speeches as interest representation*

Words carry importance in political discourse. They represent opinions and proposals and intended action of politicians (Cardie & Wilkerson 2008, Monroe & Schrodt 2008, Alvarez 2016). In this dissertation as discussed in Chapter 1, I use parliamentary speeches to test hypotheses about representational behavior among male and female parliamentarians. This text-as-data approach gives a systematic understanding of elite discourse and legislative activities. I argue that speeches are used to represent women's interests and the textual analysis will be used as a source to support this claim.

Speech analysis has become a popular tool in political science to study elite behavior. Grimmer's work, for example, is pivotal in understanding how speeches made by politicians in the US senate can be mined for sentiment and topic classification. Other work focused on US legislators includes analysis done by Tucker, Caps and Shamir (2020) on nearly 2 million congressional speeches made by Republican and Democrat legislators from 1873 to 2010. Such studies extend to politics outside of the US and the UK as well: Bustikova et al. (2020), studied how Slovakian parties respond to their political rivals. Previous works have conducted text analysis on large texts such as newspapers. Koehler-Derrick, Nielsen, and Romney (2017), for example, look at how the government uses conspiracy theories to spread misinformation in the media.

Similarly, topic analysis measures the frequency of certain terms and words to show similarities and differences between politicians. Scholars have done topic analyses using political speeches (Savoy, 2010), and with social media and other politically relevant content (Chung and Park, 2010). Topic analysis can be applied to understanding differences and similarities in male and female parliamentarians and their approach to women-centric topics. This manual topic classification will be the focus of this dissertation.

The reason for using speeches is that they are a relatively flexible avenue for female parliamentarians to represent women's issues (compared to written bills that require party leadership to co-sign). Since party leadership is usually male, bills are not the best measure for women interest representation as they are created within the limitations imposed by the men in the parliament. Speeches by female parliamentarians are also made in the presence of institutional constraints but are more flexible than writing of bills. Speeches in the parliament provide space for female legislators to express their interests and put forth women's agenda in front of other parliamentarians and the voter base.

Since the floor is an interactional structure (Edelsky, 1981: 383), male and female parliamentarians get turns to participate and control the direction of the conversation.

The speakers hold the floor where they get the opportunity to put forward an agenda. One such form of participation is legal where the speaker is invited to talk and one is illegal, where the speaker interrupts/cheers/or objects (Shaw, 2000).

Parliamentary speeches in 2022-23 will be studied to measure how often female parliamentarians speak, the topics they select and the engagement they receive in comparison to male leaders. I then compare these speeches with those made in 2012-13 during a time when Pakistan was under more international scrutiny after Malala's shooting by the Taliban. This comparison reveals the change that occurs when institutional constraints are lessened. I argue that women parliamentarians receive different treatment in periods of high international scrutiny because of a domestic event that has international ramifications e.g., Malala's shooting by the Taliban. As Pakistan comes under scrutiny for gender violations, the male parliamentarians will be less likely to use the same methods of restricting women's activities as they do in times of low international scrutiny. Using this variation, I will analyze the differences in speech content and frequency.

### *Posturing and identity politics*

Bills focused on women's issues are rarely passed in Pakistan and female parliamentarians are generally unsuccessful at advancing their legislation. So, why do they make speeches on the floor? Two strands of literature study why politicians choose to speak in the national assembly when their participation does not lead to substantive policy reforms. These non-impactful political speeches can be classified as political posturing (Barther, 1972; Fairclough, 2003; Lakoff, 2004) or identity politics (Anderson, 2016; Lorde, 1984; Nash, 2008; Yuval-Davis, 1997). While this study does not differentiate between these two explanations, these two theories give possible explanations for why women in the parliament speak on women's issues even when it doesn't translate into policies.

Posturing implies that speaking on women's issues is beneficial for the politicians for strategic reasons that have less to do with policy changes and more to do with their personal objectives. There are multiple ways in which speaking on gender could be strategically beneficial for women: it could be appealing to their constituency and help them take credit and get re-elected (Mayhew, 1974). It can support them in carving out their niche in the parliament and secure leadership positions in areas which are not dominated by men. Literature on political posturing emphasizes the more visual aspects of politics, where political actors engage in symbolic acts and messages to signal their intentions and preferences. There is less emphasis on actions as these words are not always followed by policy change either due to either unwillingness to invest efforts in that direction or due to institutional constraints.

Literature on identity politics, on the other hand, examines the purpose and significance of group identities in politics. This literature emphasizes the role identity plays in opinion-formation, the mobilization of political actors, and their motivation to pursue a political action. This theory posits that women view themselves as a group that has common experiences which transcend their party membership. For example, in this case, it could imply that women will respond positively to even the opponent-party's female parliamentarians because of their shared experience as a woman.

### *Female interest representation through elite discourse*

Gender is an important analytical category in the study of political science, and it is embedded in individuals, relationships, institutions, and organizations. Early work in political science focused on gender launched critiques in the 1970s/1980s, exposing lacunae, neglect, and sexism inherent in prevailing political thought (Bourque and Grossholtz, 1974; Jaquette, 1989; Krauss, 1974; Goot and Reid, 1975; Sapiro, 1981). Simultaneously, these scholars excavated the reasons for the systematic exclusion of women from political discourse. Female politicians may face unique challenges, as they are often subject to gender stereotypes and expectations that can affect how their political messages are perceived by different audiences.

This dissertation fits into a larger body of scholarship that uses written communication and elite behavior to study the representation of women's interests. For example, Renschel and Kroeber (2020) use a data set containing all written communication published by the German Bundestag between 1949 and 2017, including parliamentary speeches, parliamentary questions, and the texts of legislative drafts to study the degree to which male and female legislators engage with issues related to children and childcare. They find that women are more likely to engage with these issues than men at assembly sessions. Similarly, Hoskyns (1996) delved into the impact of feminist networks on shaping policies promoting equality within the European Communities.

Besides speeches and written communication, studies have also been conducted on actions of the parliamentarians and how they highlight differences in interests. These papers provide a rich and valuable source of information on diverse parliamentary activities such as legislative oversight or policymaking. A study done by Tamerius (1995) concludes that there are differences between men and women in roll-call votes on issues related to female interests. Women are more likely than men to cosponsor feminist legislation. Congresswomen typically take on leadership roles in advocating for feminist policies, which is not reflected in the activities of their male counterparts. Female legislators view women as a separate group with their own specific needs and interests, and advocate for those interests more effectively than their male counterparts, irrespective of party affiliations. Thus, the influence of gender extends beyond only symbolic gestures or window-dressing and plays a pivotal role in shaping the issues that become focal points of representation (Tamerius 1995).

Work done in this area demonstrates that female leadership is key to advocating for female interests as their male counterparts do not represent their interests to the same extent. Cockburn (1991) illustrated the way men's entrenched institutional advantage empowered them to oppose government initiatives aimed at fostering equality between women and men. He also demonstrates another instance of male-dominated policymaking by examining the roles of male local trade union representatives charged with the responsibility for negotiating maternity leave and childcare arrangements (1991). In the absence of oversight training, these representatives tend not to prioritize such policies, evident both in their discourse and their practical actions.

For women to play a key role in female representation, context matters as well. The descriptive analysis done by Renschel and Kroeber (2020) show that there are shifts in

how men and women represent their constituency's interests over time. Their results suggest that studies of women's representation in the 1960s, 1980s and 2000s might reach very different conclusions about the extent of gender differences in parliamentary activities. Similarly, my approach will be to look at two separate time periods to extract this context-dependent topic analysis. Study of legislative speeches requires several speeches over a significant duration of time to make a representative statement. The greater the time periods, the more likely it is that the content of speeches is not affected by just one specific event that occurred in a month. This study will cover longer time frames for this reason (5 months in each 2012-13 and 2022-23).

## **2.2 Methodology**

Parliamentary speeches serve various goals. Besides proposing motions, introducing bills, and verbally amending clauses, they can serve as a display of beliefs and opinions, as well as any achievements. While policymaking is one of the defining roles of the parliament, it is also a platform for representation of self-and/or party beliefs and censure of the government.

When women speak on women's issues more frequently than men, it is gendered "oversupply" (Koehler-Derrick, Nielsen and Romney, 2017). It is expected that women speak more on women's issues for several reasons i.e. to propose bills that will change policy for women or as symbolic representation to establish their legitimacy within the party. I manually code the speeches in categories of topics that either fall under "female topics" or "other". Also, I make a distinction between policy-related speeches and non-policy speeches. The latter could include personal anecdotes, showcasing individual achievements or questioning the government. Women, for example, could use this platform to highlight their own struggles as female parliamentarians (National Assembly Speech, Dec 2022). Another reason for why they would engage in non-policy speeches might be to question the performance of the government. This also occurs in other parliaments and is not exclusive to women. For example, in the French embassy, it is termed *censure motion* which is questioning the government and second is to raise questions for the government to answer, *Questions au gouvernement* (Ilie, 2010). This form of questioning is how the ruling government is held accountable. This is one of the alternative explanations of why members speak in the parliament, but it could be equally likely that it is a role shared by male and female parliamentarians.

I test the following four hypotheses:

**Hypothesis 1:** *Among the parliamentarians, women are more likely to discuss female topics than male parliamentarians.*

**Hypothesis 2:** *(a) Overall, compared to male parliamentarians, female parliamentarians speak more on non-policy related issues than policy-related issues.*

*(b) Overall, compared to male parliamentarians, female parliamentarians speak more on non-policy related women's issues than policy-related women's issues.*

### *Supplemental hypothesis*

*Hypothesis 3: Among female parliamentarians' speeches, women on reserved seats are more likely to discuss female topics.*

*Hypothesis 4: During international scrutiny, women speak on "other" (generally considered more masculine) topics more than during the no international scrutiny period.*

If hypothesis 1 and 2 above are shown to be true, then there is evidence for posturing. More specifically, if the following conditions are met, then there is evidence that women don't particularly bring female issues to the parliament for policy changes but speak in parliament mainly to represent their party/self (posturing/identity politics).

- (i) No significant difference between male and female parliamentarians in terms of women related topics
- (ii) More non-policy speeches made by women

### *Topic categorization*

Approaches to quantifying speech patterns are varied across the literature. Existing texts such as floor speeches, constituent communications, revisions, proposals, and other similar content are quantitatively studied by legislative scholars. For example, Grimmer (2013) partitions big chunks of text in press releases as small sections of data that can be categorized as topics. He finds that politicians use the speeches to strategically convey their views to their constituents and cultivate a personal vote (2013). They do this by, for example, claiming credit for expenditures or actions that they believe will resonate with the voters in their district (2013).

Other researchers use it to study trends in media. For example, Koehler-Derrick, Nielsen, and Romney (2017) use text analysis and qualitative coding to quantify the difference in news articles that promote conspiracy theories between diverse types of media outlets (state-owned vs. private).

One example of how I have manually coded the speeches is given here.

**Mr. Speaker!** And a mechanism was created according to which this joint survey started on September 12 and was to be completed on October 15. And it is complete. And by November 30, the joint assessment damages report was supposed to be sent to the NDMA by the provinces, which has not been sent yet. Only one GB report has come, which is in the rest of the provinces, which are grievances, which are people's objections. If it is sent to NDMA then this complete report will be shared.

**Mr. Speaker:** Riaz Mahmood Khan Mazari Sahib to ask one question.

**Sardar Riaz Mahmood Khanumzari:** Thank you, Mr. Speaker! It came flooding to us, and I spoke on South Punjab, and I was also placed on the committee. Regarding flood-affected areas of South Punjab, the sad thing is that when this flood happens in our area, I am surprised when these types of floods come or disease comes, or bandit or a thief does not see any parties or rich. The poor see. Unfortunately, when this survey

*Figure 1: Excerpt from a Parliamentary Speech*

The above short speech by Sardar Riaz is categorized as “disaster management,” for example.

There are approximately 2500 entries for speeches. The following data on the speeches is recorded:

1. Session
2. Date of Session
3. Name of the Speaker
4. Party
5. Gender
6. Legislative term
7. Majority/minority party
8. Speech Topic
9. Speech lines
10. Women-centric (yes/no)

The speeches are categorized according to the following topics.



1. Macroeconomics
2. Civil rights, minority rights and civil liberties
3. Violence against women and girls
4. Health
5. Agriculture
6. Labor, employment, and immigration
7. Education
8. Environment
9. Energy
10. Transportation
11. Law and crime
12. Social welfare
13. Community development and housing issues
14. Banking, finance, and domestic commerce
15. Defense
16. Space, science, technology, and communications
17. Foreign trade
18. International affairs and foreign aid
19. Government operations
20. Public lands and water management
21. State and local government administration
22. Arts and entertainment
23. Sports and associations
24. Disaster Management
25. Religion
26. Girl education
27. Women's health concerns
28. Children and Family
29. Political unrest
30. Corruption
31. Cultural affairs
32. Industry
33. Court system
34. Other

### *Women Topics*

Female representatives are more likely to represent gender specific issues that affect children, family, and health care (Schwindt-Bayer 2004; Taylor-Robinson and Heath 2003; Jones 1997). They are also more likely to support legislation that promotes equality, improves status of women, supports social welfare programs, and helps children and families (e.g. Barnello and Bratton, 2007; Carroll, 2001; Sanbonmatsu, 2003). Similarly, Shalaby and Eliman (2020) categorize women's issues as women, education, youth, family, and children. Similarly, Wangnerud (1996) finds a connection between the gender of the parliamentarian and the extent to which they pursue social welfare policy. Female MPs are more likely to address issues of social policy, family policy, elder care, or health care in their election campaigns.

Previous studies that have looked at the proceedings of the parliament show that most interventions by women legislators (40 percent) on the parliamentary floor related to social sector and public interest issues (Afzal, 1999; Shaheed, Warraich, Balchin, & Gazdar, 1998; Thomas, 1994). Women parliamentarians in this study showed a higher level of concern with the state of the social sector in the country in general and with the education sector. Work done on Canadian parliament by Tremblay (1998) also looks at the topics centered around women including family, pay inequity, violence against women, health, and education. Back, Debus and Muller (2014) demonstrate this same phenomenon with legislative speeches in the Swedish Riksdag where they find that women speak less often and are “highly underrepresented” when more mainstream policy issues are debated.

Women place more emphasis on social issues while men focus more on economic issues (Norris and Lovenduski, 1995; Haavio Mannila, 1985). Women’s issues raised by women MPs ranged from violence against women, honor killing, reproductive health, trafficking of women, sexual harassment in the workplace, protection, and support to burn victims and survivors of violence, women’s adequate representation in government bodies, and discriminatory attitudes of the speaker of the house and fellow male MPs.

Literature on gendered roles in the parliament also looks at the positions of power that male/female parliamentarians receive. For instance, male parliamentarians receive more prestigious positions that deal with issues of national importance that extend to economics, foreign affairs, or defense (e.g. Reynolds 1999). Issues that pertain to youth, moral or family policy are seen as key areas of women’s political expertise because of specific values, priorities, and legislative roles (Norris and Lovenduski, 1995).

According to the literature summarized above, the following topics are considered women related.

1. Violence against women and girls
2. Education
3. Civil rights, minority rights and civil liberties
4. Laws prohibiting rape
5. Health
6. Human rights
7. Social welfare
8. Children and Family

#### *Policy versus non-policy*

When parliamentarians speak, it falls under policy and non-policy issues. The categories of non-policy issue related speeches are as follows:

(i) Censure of government: Speech/statement that is critical of the government but without focus on any policy. These are general provocative statements to bring the governing party under pressure.

(ii) Current event: Speech/statement related to a recent event that describes it or discusses the ramifications of the event.

(iii) Party representation: Any speech/statement that defends the party or leader of the party against an accusation or presents a point of view of the party on an event or action.

(iv) Self representation: Speech/statement that glorifies the actions of the speaker and highlights his or her performance in the government.

(v) Question: Speech/statement that is a rhetorical question addressed to the speaker or the parliament.

(vi) Other: Any speech/statement that does not fall under any of the categories above usually related to the functioning of the parliament.

In summary, when women parliamentarians speak in assembly, it can have two functions: (i) shape the agenda of the discussion (ii) time-filler (posturing). One way to separate the two is to identify how often female parliamentarians discuss policy-related topics and how often they talk more rhetorically/not policy related issues.

## **Chapter 3 Institutional Constraints and Limits to Participation**

In this chapter, firstly, I will give an overview of institutional constraints in the parliament that restrict women's activities. These institutional constraints exist because of years of male dominance in politics. If males decide who to select for these seats, then it is likely that female politicians will have greater incentive to represent interests favored by the male leadership. Secondly, I will give an overall description of the success of women in parliament in passing bills using secondary data sources including reports by PILDAT and FAFEN. I will outline the secondary data sources that suggest that women face more challenges in passing bills and resolutions compared to men in the parliament. Women are less successful at this stage in the parliamentary process. Lastly, this chapter will describe the differences between women on reserved and general seats and the selection process that helps explain the incentive structure. This will further demonstrate why women on reserved seats may experience barriers in representing women's issues.

### ***3.1 Institutional Constraints***

Gender inequality in parliaments is specific to the conditions in that environment. It exists because of formal and informal rules that set the working relations of the lawmakers (Erikson and Josefsson, 2020). This is termed a gendered workplace as one where the rules of power, action, identity are patterned through the differentiation between gender i.e., where masculine norms are recognized but feminine norms are discouraged (Acker, 1990).

The selection process for women is dominated by male leadership which may undermine the female parliamentarians' incentives to represent women's interests (Baer 1993, Caul 1999, Dahlerup 2007, Gallagher and Marsh 1988, Matland 2005, Norris and Lovenduski 1995). This is not because women who are selected through this process are innately less empathetic to female interests but because of their own self-interest to be re-elected by the same male political leadership whose priority is not female centric policy or reforms.

Men want to maintain their power but, in certain circumstances, they wield a fraction of their power to women (Valdini, 2019). It is only rational for them to do so if it benefits them. Women, in turn, accept these positions and work in parliament to further the male leaderships' interests to get re-elected. Also, women's presence can be used to highlight a positive aspect of the party e.g. maybe to indicate more liberal tendencies or as window dressing internationally (Valdini, 2019). This is particularly useful for men when there is a breakdown of status quo. When legitimacy breaks down, replacing men with women brings a sense of stability (Alexander and Andersen 1993; Kahn 1994). The break in status quo changes the calculation and that creates fertile ground for inclusion of women, but this value is often temporary.

Even when the leadership includes women in significant numbers and with considerable power, the countries themselves continue to be patriarchies (Valdini, 2019). It is also the structure of the appointment process that undermines women's ability to push for an

agenda that can introduce pro-women policies. For example, in the parliament, senior members are given priority in appointments. This disadvantages the female members since they are mostly junior in position, and this constrains their ability to speak and take initiatives (Swers, 2002).

We can expect to see that men will minimize power for women through institutional mechanisms that restrict women's ability to legislate. With such restrictions, men maintain the status quo while appearing to include women. In Pakistan's case, Pervez Musharraf's adoption of quota seats in 2002 was to push an agenda of enlightened moderation to gain legitimacy.

In the Pakistani parliament, bills go through three stages of reading. (i) First, bills get circulated and read but parliamentarians do not propose any amendments at this stage (ii) second, parliamentarians discuss the bills clause by clause (iii) third and final stage, there is a debate among the members, and they give verbal suggestions (Legislative Drafting Manual, 2019). The institutional limitations extend to the support given to women in terms of drafting bills. This makes parliamentary speeches an alternative instrument for representing these interests as they do not require the same institutional support needed to draft bills. In one survey, sixty-eight percent of female parliamentarians revealed they did not receive any support or advice from parliamentary staff in drafting these bills (Bari, 2010). Women do not get sufficient funds, training or staff that would assist them in drafting bills. On one occasion, the leadership required female parliamentarians to hand over their development grants over to the male legislators who had constituencies (Bari, 2010).

There is a possibility for women to be effective in the role of committee members as this is where women can vote across party lines, for example, in a committee. The key role of a committee is to oversee the implementation of rules in government (PILDAT, 2019). Their most significant role is in examining legislation and conducting oversight of government's policies and their implementation. Assemblies have limited time to debate complex issues relating to bills, amendments or overseeing the functioning of a particular ministry or department of government. However, the barrier is the make up for committees where the bills are discussed among parliamentary members. Women usually do not form a big number in these committees. In the 12<sup>th</sup> session, for example, from 2002-2007, there was only two committees where women were in greater numbers including the Standing Committee on Culture, Sports, Youth Affairs and Tourism (46 percent) and the Standing Committee on Women's Development (61 percent) (Bari, 2010). Also, women parliamentarians worked as chairpersons on only nine PCs which include women and development, health, education, environment, social welfare, and special education, tourism, population welfare, defense production and petroleum and natural gas. Most of these are "soft" sectors. Except for the Defense Production Committee, all committees headed by female legislators met more often than those headed by male parliamentarians (Bari, 2010). Mostly, appointment to PCs was done based on political affiliation and the appointees were not experts (Bari, 2010).

The breakdown for the 2018-present committees shows that there is still a similar division of male/female composition in committees. Education, human rights, climate change and poverty alleviation have a higher proportion of female members. These are "soft" sectors. The least proportion of women are in the committee of energy, food

security, railways and defense. Apart from food security, these are usually considered male areas of expertise.

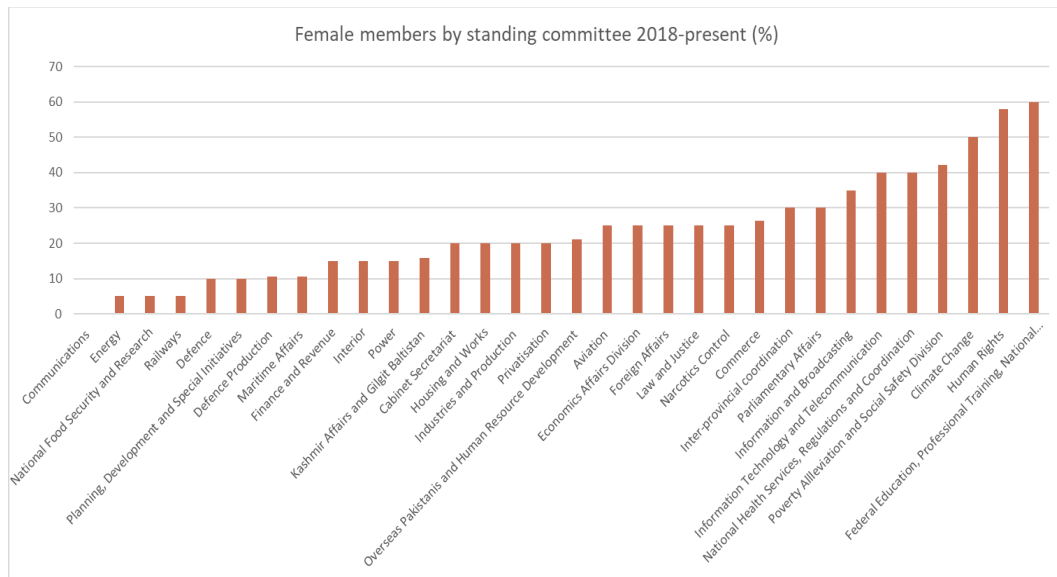


Figure 2: Female Members in Standing Committees 2018-Present

In one of the sessions in the 12<sup>th</sup> National Assembly, reserved seat women MNAs were even termed as political “show girls” by some of their male colleagues (Chowdhury, 2018). If women on reserved status have leadership or organization experience, they can resist being labeled as token but if they are new, they are more affected by this label (Chowdhury, 2018).

In surveys on female parliamentarians in Pakistan, the majority respond positively if asked whether they feel close to the same gender members (Bari, 2018; IDS, 2018). Women do believe they represent women’s interests better and, in some ways, their own experience of being marginalized in politics carves a separate identity as a female legislator. However, there are gaps in how they can express these interests which can be either institutional or cultural. Besides that, women also lack organized interest groups that voice women’s concerns specifically (Chowdhury, 2018).

There is a lack of democratic practices within the party which also makes the party workers more insecure, and they work towards appeasing the leadership rather than working on women’s interests. To get insights into women’s representation, analysis of participation in the form of speeches becomes key to understanding women’s issues highlighted by female legislators.

#### *Cases of restrictions placed on female parliamentarians*

There have been instances where female parliamentarians were actively restrained from taking actions in favor of women’s issues. Kashmala Tariq was expelled from the party as she was too outspoken on the issues of women and her party was not supportive of those issues (Sahi 2008). Fehmida Mirza, the only female speaker in Pakistan’s legislative history, was criticized for promoting only women’s issues and for supporting female legislators (PILDAT 2013).

In another case, women members failed to incorporate two positive amendments in the Criminal Amendment Act on honor killings due to strong resistance from some quarters in government and party (Mirza 2011). Similarly, there was resistance to the passing of the Prevention of Anti-Women Practices Bill 2011 and the committee faced significant resistance to pass the bill (Khan 2011). Sometimes women, due to party discipline practices, are discouraged from working with women of other parties (Chowdhry, 2018).

A PILDAT 2006 study shows that on occasion, speakers of the National Assembly ignored the notices of women and allocated them less time to speak. For example, in the 12<sup>th</sup> national assembly, women's opportunity to participate in the legislative process was curtailed and not a single woman was placed on the list of the Panel of Chairman (Mirza and Wagha, 2009).

### ***3.2 Women on reserved/general seats characteristics***

Gender quotas are one of the measures by which gender bias is addressed in the candidate selection process with the aim to increase women's descriptive representation (Franceschet and Piscopo, 2008). The gap between the apparent purpose of introducing gender quota and actual implementation is not a new phenomenon. In countries such as Sweden, quota seats were actively resisted by political parties. At first, leaders would hesitate to place women in winnable positions (Krook, 2009). Over time, however, parties adopted measures to give women more seats that were also winnable. In a few other countries including Pakistan, quota seats were unfairly captured by male candidates who governed through the women who were selected on those seats (Krook, 2009). In Mexico, it was the elite women related to the male politicians who first got the quota seats (Baldez, 2004). In Pakistan, the women who attained office typically served first as substitutes for their fathers, husbands, or sons who could not serve for reasons such as imprisonment and exile (Krook, 2009).

Women on reserved and general seats show similar trends in female topics representation in the data collected as it will be presented in Chapter 4. They do represent women's interests more than men but not significantly different from each other. Here, I will give a background of women on reserved seats and how they are selected versus women on general seats. The key difference is that women who are on reserved seats do not have a geographical constituency. The male politicians have a major role in the election of women to reserved seats (Bari, 2010). Both women in general and reserved seats have ties to the male leadership. Mufti and Jalalzai interviewed 95 women elected to reserved (81) and non-reserved (14) questions about motivation to be in government, who they represent, and their perception of the 'mandate'. They find that 56% of the interviewees have relatives who have served as members of parliament or held important political decision-making positions. Belonging to a political family is critical for women who won non-reserved seats, all but 3 were from established political family backgrounds (2002, 2008, 2013).

Women are usually hesitant to stand on general seats and most of them will still opt for reserved seats (IDS, 2019). The following are a deterrent for women to contest elections: lack of financial resources (45%), campaigning in a male dominated society is very challenging and impractical (36%), and security (19%). If they have the motivation to

overcome the latter two challenges (as finances are covered by their male relative), they will contend for the elections. Usually, they have a male relative that will look after the day-to-day constituency work.

### *Nomination process*

Parties will select someone who they believe has the possibility to win but who also aligns well with their own ideals and principles. They may compromise on their principles if it means the candidate has a higher chance to win (Best and Cotta 2006)

These are the following criteria on which selection is made (Bari, 2018; Chowdhury, 2018)

- Ability to fund their election campaign
- Maximize their personal support base and vote shares
- Social status within the constituency (wealth through ownership of land, business and industry or belonging to a political family)
- Effectiveness of service delivery; ability to deliver private goods to citizens in the form of jobs, access to legal services and financial assistance
- Charismatic who are generally well respected for their honesty, credibility, and integrity
- Party loyalty in terms of sacrifices made for the party and adherence to its principles

### *Stepwise description of the nomination process*

- Candidates get selected by a group of members that constitute a parliamentary board or by central office of the political party
- Political parties invite applications from person wishing to contest an election
- They are submitted with an application fee
- Party delegates then select candidates after they also get feedback from other party agencies
- The parliamentary board shortlist the candidates who are then interviewed before the final selection is made (National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and Center for Civic Education (CCE) 2004)

The literature suggests that central selection of nominees is more conducive to selection of women (Hinojosa 2013; Siavelis and Morgernstern, 2008) but if the leaders don't consider gender equity as one of their goals and focus primarily on winning the election, then a centralized selection system does not necessarily have an added advantage for women.

### *Serving Female parliamentarians: General vs reserved*

Across the two sets of candidates, there are three key critical differences:

- Women on general seats almost always belong to an influential political family
- They are also highly educated
- Their profile of work extends to other areas as well including social work, business, or other entrepreneurial activities



While reviewing the profiles of women on reserved seats, it is not always the case that these women belong to very strong political families or have extensive work in other areas, but they are also selected through a centralized system and have similar incentives.

In surveys on women parliamentarians, the majority respond positively if asked whether they feel close to the same gender members (Bari, 2018; IDS, 2018). Women do believe they represent women's interests better and, in some ways, their own experience of being marginalized in politics carves a separate identity as a female legislator.

## Chapter 4 Results

### *Results Overview*

There are two sections in this chapter. The first section outlines the descriptive statistics of the data collected and the second section tests the four hypotheses presented in Chapter 2. The critical question that is addressed in this study is why women speak in parliament if, as shown in Chapter 3, they are not contributing to policymaking on women's issues. As the gap between descriptive and substantive representation remains in Pakistan, understanding where the political process falls short is a key contribution to the research in this area.

I have proposed two reasons why women might speak in parliament despite their lack of success in the legislative process. The first is to highlight women's issues and bring them to the legislative agenda. Secondly, it could be to highlight their own strategic interests and achievements rather than policy recommendations. My expectation is if it is posturing, women would highlight more women's issues but only rhetorically (non-policy speeches). The empirical tests in this chapter indicate support for hypothesis 1 but not 2. There is no strong evidence for the posturing hypothesis. Among women's speeches, there is a greater proportion of speeches on female topics compared to male's speeches. However, the speeches are equally likely to be policy oriented as the male parliamentarians. This indicates that female parliamentarians are contributing meaningfully to the discussion of female topics to the parliament. The gap between descriptive and substantive representation is not explained by the posturing hypothesis based on the results of this study. As explained in Chapter 3, there are many other structural/institutional reasons for the lack of substantive representation for women. It is, however, noteworthy that parliamentary speeches have evidence of female parliamentarians engaging in key topics most relevant to their constituents.

Another key result is that there is no significant difference between women on reserved and general seats in terms of their discussion of female topics. As existing literature predicts that women on reserved seats will highlight women's issues more, this is against expectation (Chowdhury, 2018). As I discuss below, this could be explained by the process by which women are selected into the parliament with most female parliamentarians selected by the male leadership (Caul, 1999). These institutional structures then define how women parliamentarians engage in the parliament. If the incentives for both females on reserved and general seats are similar, then their participation in the parliament does not show any key differences either. As most of these female parliamentarians are selected centrally, they are more likely to have similar motivations and therefore, don't display any significant differences.

The fourth hypothesis test gives evidence of how these institutional structures can vary over time and change the content of the speeches made by male and female parliamentarians. Politicians pursue goals particular to their own agenda, consider the institutional constraints present, and look for political opportunities to advance their career (Mouw and Mackuen, 1992). Parliamentary speeches are one tool by which they showcase their knowledge, constituents' interests, and party loyalty (Franceshet and

Piscopo, 2008). These speeches are made in the presence of pre-existing constraints because of male dominance in the parliament (Erikson and Josefsson, 2020). For example, after Malala's shooting in 2012/13 females were more likely to cover topics typically considered more male topics rather than female issues than female parliamentarians in 2022/23. These two time periods are selected as demands for women politicians' gendered behavior change in different political-economic times (Bauer 2017). This suggests that in the time where international scrutiny was higher or a significant event altered the norms of engagement in the parliament, female parliamentarians were less focused on female topics alone and had greater engagement with other topics that are typically considered male topics.

#### ***4.1 Descriptive analysis***

In this section I will outline the overall summary statistics of the two datasets, including the overall breakdown of topics and speech type across gender and provinces. Due to the specific differences in the two time periods, they are analyzed separately. The year 2012/13 was a year of high international scrutiny and the breakdown of topics by gender is significantly different than the year 2022/23. These speeches are collected from the official website of the National Assembly where the speeches are archived in Urdu. All these speeches were coded manually after translations of the speeches were completed by RAs.

The speeches have been coded according to the details of the speech. For example, if a speech is on highway construction, automobile factories or flight companies, that is categorized as "Transportation". Speeches on oil companies, tariffs, or loadshedding are categorized as "Energy". Similarly, speeches on teacher policies, school funds or syllabus are labeled as "Education".

##### ***4.1.1 Parliamentary Speeches 2022-23***

The data for speeches for the year 2022-23 is collected over the months of October 2022 to February 2023. The breakdown of the data shows that there are 817 speeches that are matched with the parliamentary data. The rest of the observations that are not matched are a small percentage of the total so I will analyze the 817 speeches that have been matched.

According to the following breakdown, male parliamentarians speak most often on Energy (13.39%), followed by Disaster management (11.29%) and Government operations (7.9%). Female parliamentarians speak most on Transportation ((14.29%), followed by Education (8.67%) and Health (8.16%). Among these topics, education and health falls under the category of "Female Topic".

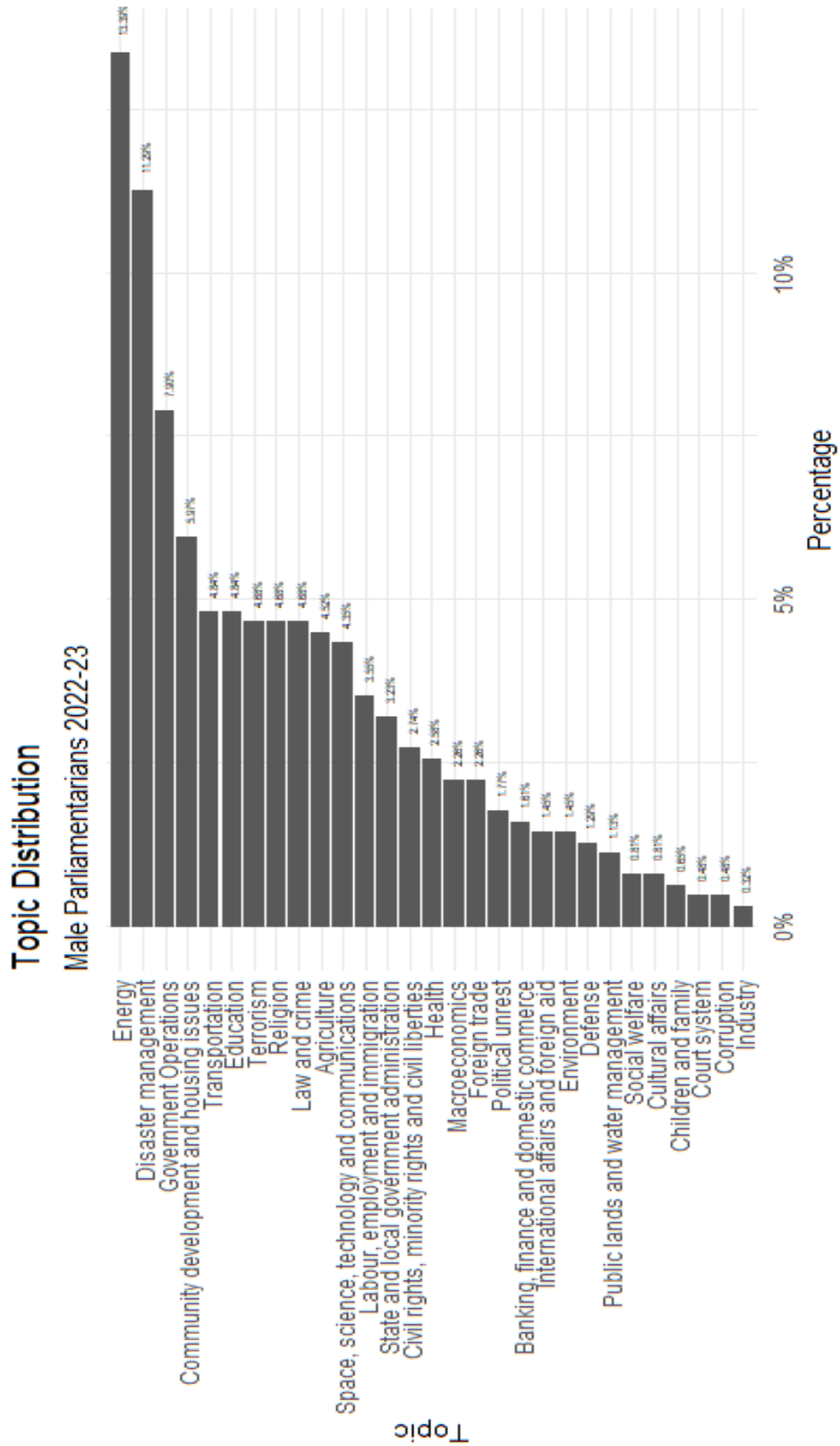


Figure 3: Topic Distribution-Male Parliamentarians 2022-23

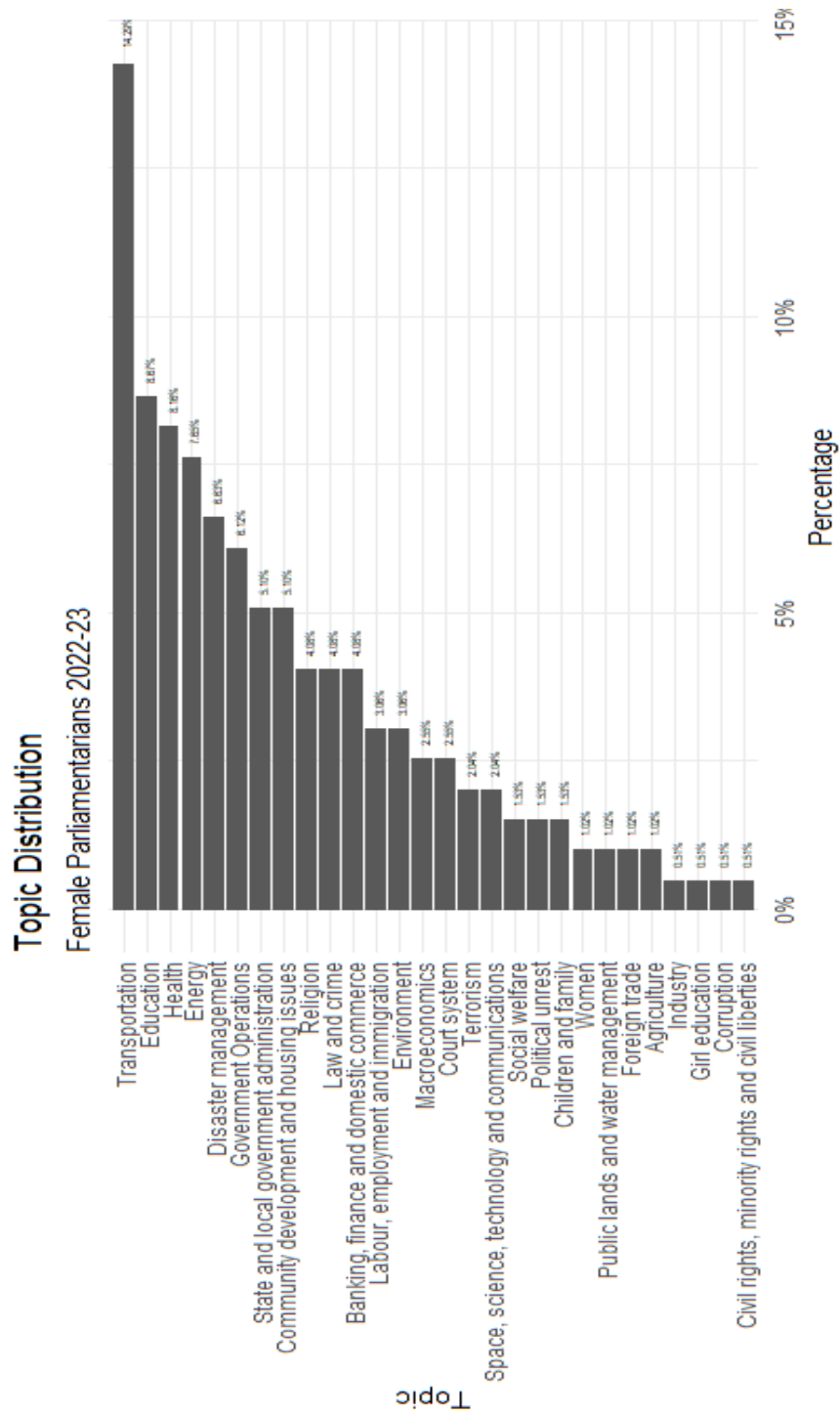


Figure 4: Topic Distribution-Female Parliamentarians 2022-23

### ***Party***

Out of all speeches made by the winning party, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, only 7% are on female topics. The highest number of speeches on female topics are made by independents, that is around 27% of their total speeches. Among the majority parties, Pakistan People's Party has the lead with 19% of its total speeches on female topics.

*Table 1: Topic Distribution by Party 2022-23*

<b>Party Name</b>	<b>Female Topic</b>	<b>Other topic</b>
<b>Balochistan Awami Party</b>	0	1
<b>Balochistan National Party</b>	0.5	0.5
<b>Grand Democratic Alliance</b>	0.07	0.93
<b>Independent</b>	0.27	0.72
<b>Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal</b>	0.14	0.86
<b>Pakistan Muslim League</b>	0	1
<b>Pakistan Muslim League (N)</b>	0.13	0.87
<b>Pakistan People's Party</b>	0.19	0.81
<b>Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf</b>	0.07	0.93

The winning party members do not have a high proportion of their speeches on female topics.

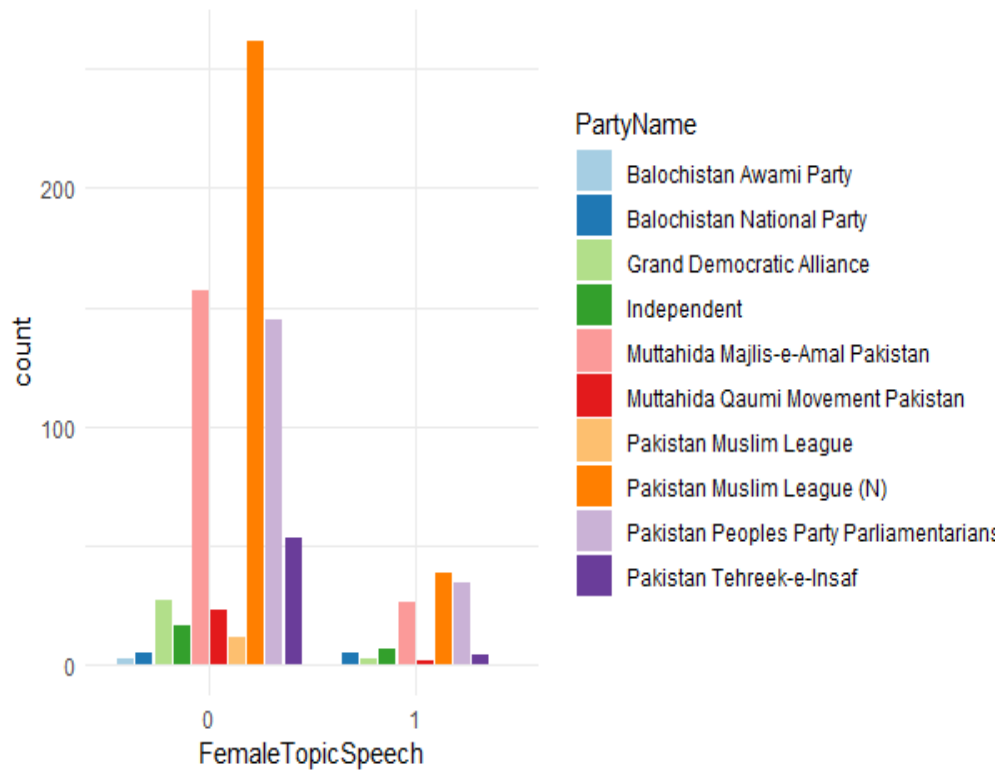
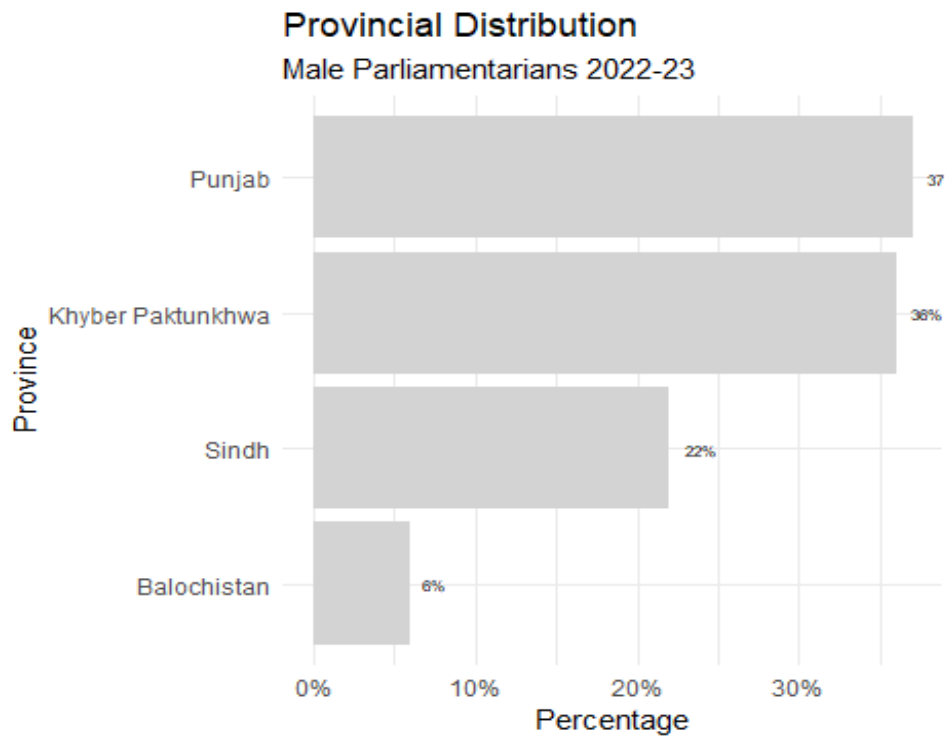


Figure 5: Female Topic Speeches by Party 2022-23

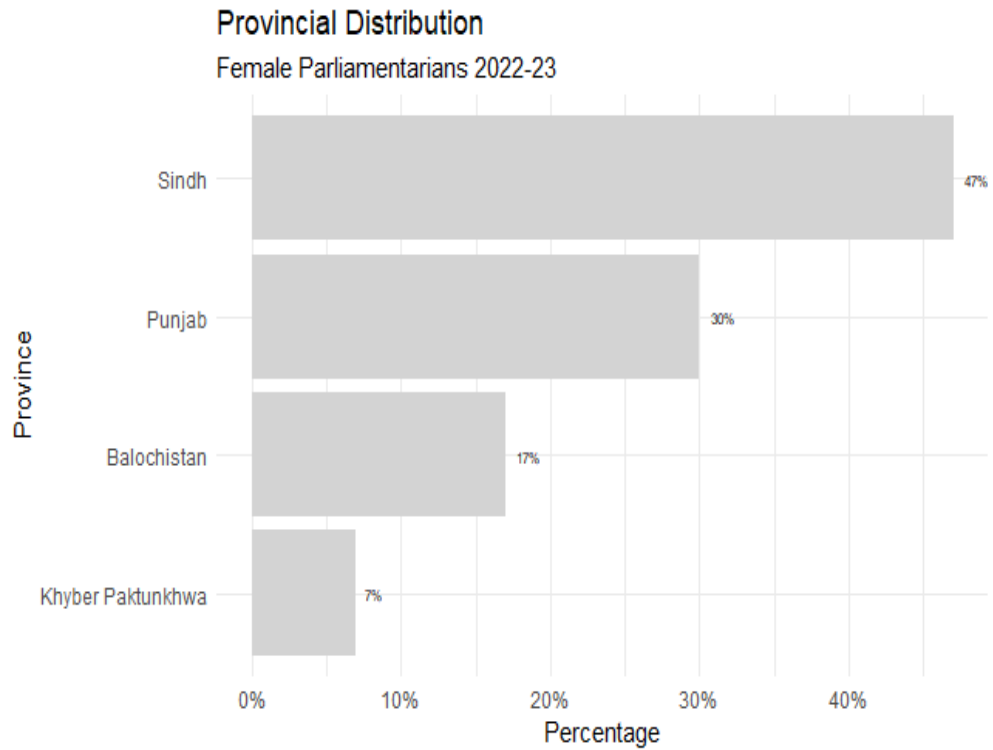
**Provinces**

The highest number of speeches on female topics are made by female parliamentarians from Sindh which could also correlate with the party as PPP politicians are mostly in Sindh and the party is known to have a progressive stance on women.



*Figure 6: Provincial Distribution of Speeches-Male Parliamentarians 2022-23*





*Figure 7: Provincial Distribution of Speeches-Female Parliamentarians 2022-23*

#### ***4.1.2 Parliamentary Speeches 2012-13***

The total number of observations for 2012-13 is 1298. For male parliamentarians, the most often discussed topics are Transportation (13.36%), followed by Terrorism (13.02%), and Energy (7.02%). For female parliamentarians, all topics are the same as male parliamentarians', and the order is first Transportation (12.5%), followed by Energy (9.01%) and Terrorism (8.72%). Since the data for this year does not have information on seat type and party, the breakdown for that is not available.

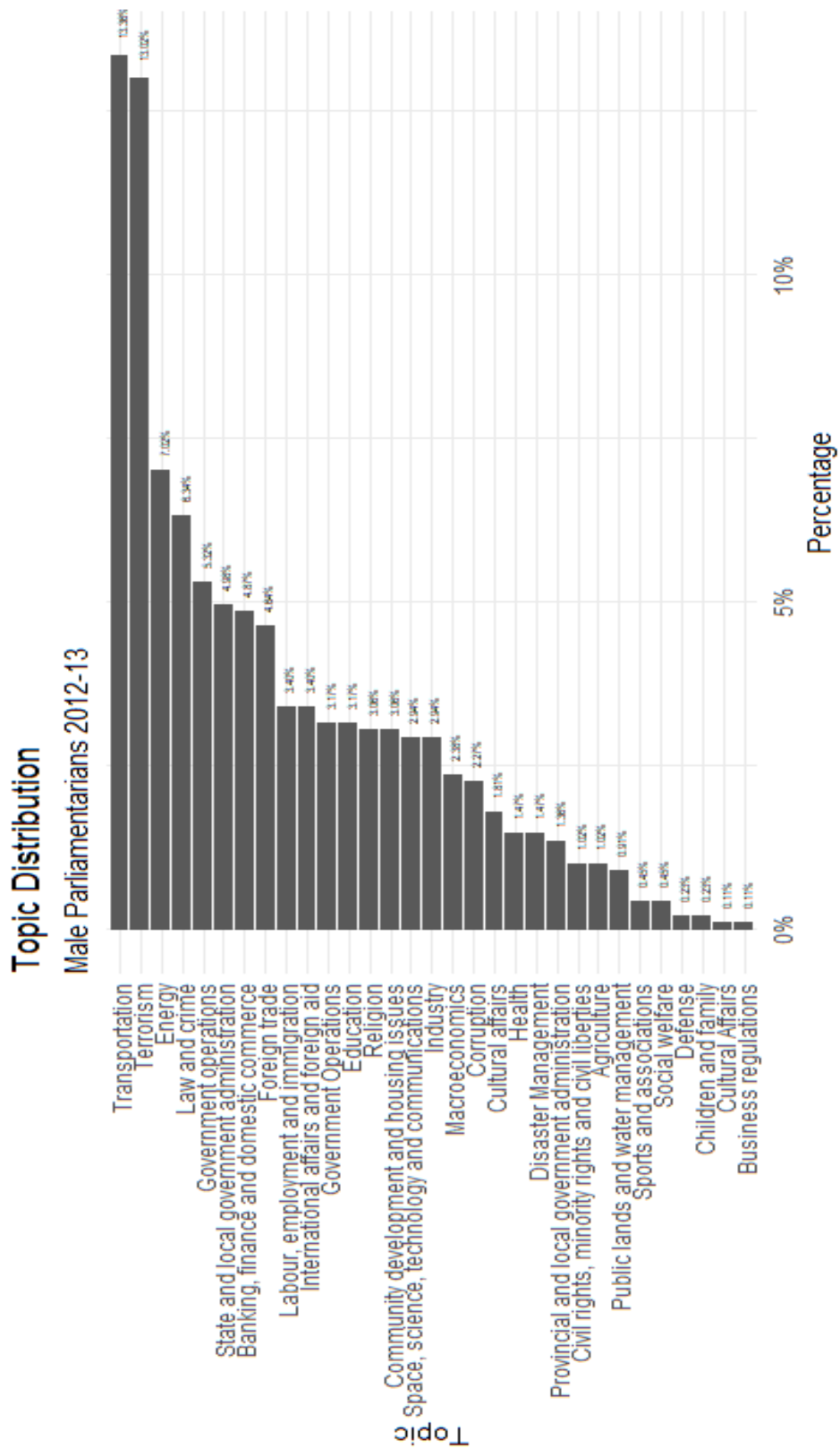


Figure 8: Topic Distribution-Male Parliamentarians 2012-13

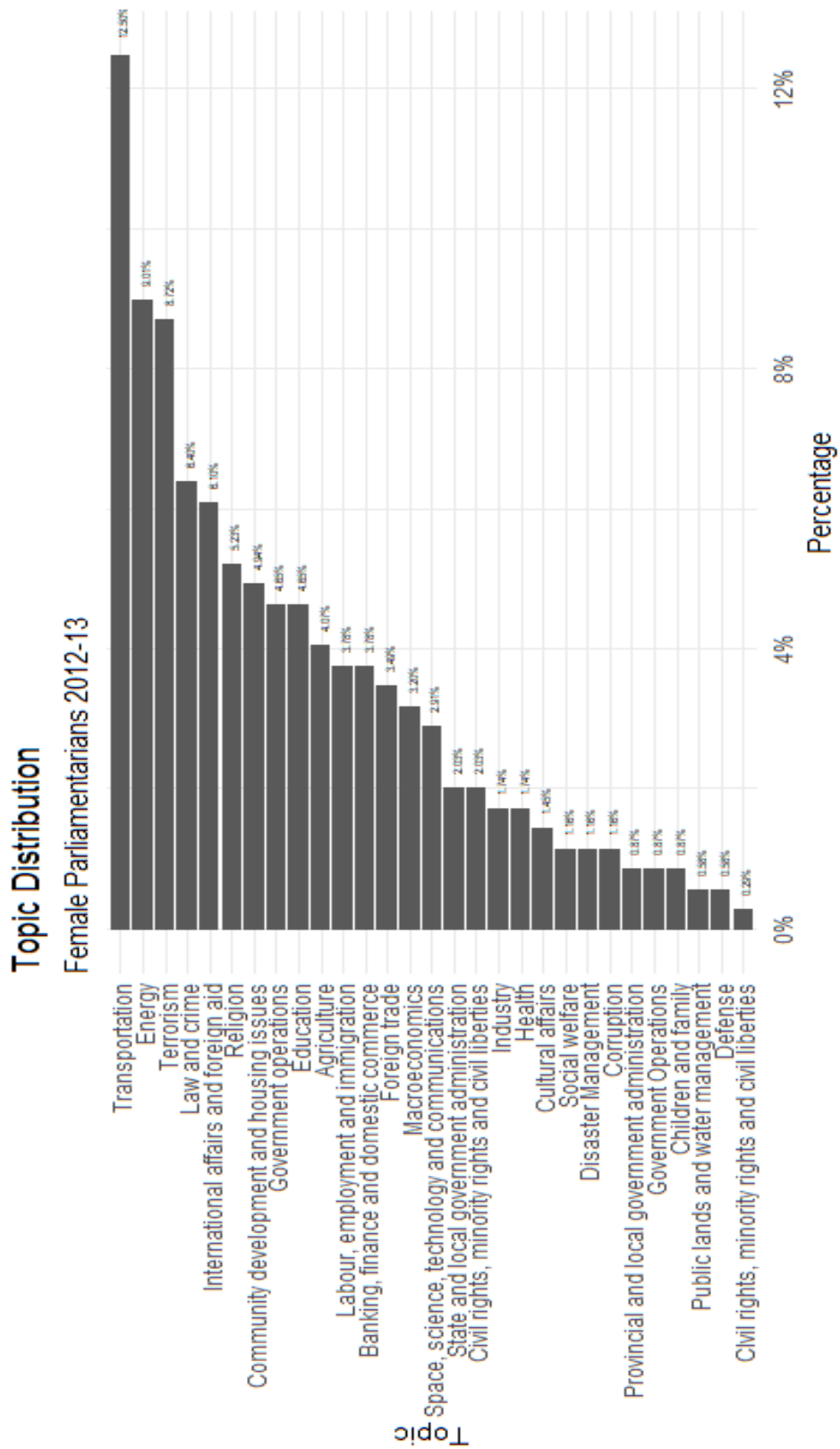


Figure 9: Topic Distribution-Female Parliamentarians 2012-13

## 4.2 Hypothesis Testing

In this section, I will review whether the data supports the four hypotheses. Since the two time periods are different as 2012/13 was a politically sensitive time, the data sets have been studied separately. If a hypothesis is supported in both datasets, that is stronger evidence of that hypothesis.

The first two hypotheses, if met, will provide support for the posturing hypothesis. The second hypothesis has two parts, one where all topics are included and second where only female topics are included. Among these, 2b is the more relevant as when women speak rhetorically on specifically female issues, that is greater evidence of posturing in their role as representative of women. The first part of the hypothesis, 2a is more general but is included for reference as well.

The data for reserved/general seats is missing for 2012/13 so the third hypothesis is studied only for the dataset 2022/23. Lastly, the fourth hypothesis is a test for the presence of institutional constraints in the parliament that change the content of speeches for female parliamentarians.

Table 2: Hypotheses Tests

No.	Hypothesis	Evidence
1.	<i>Among parliamentarians, women are more likely to discuss female topics than male parliamentarians.</i>	<i>Supported in both 2012/13 and 2022/23</i>
2a.	<i>Overall, compared to male parliamentarians, female parliamentarians speak more on non-policy related issues than policy-related issues.</i>	<i>Supported in 2012/13, not supported in 2022/23</i>
2b.	<i>Overall, compared to male parliamentarians, female parliamentarians speak more on non-policy related women's issues than policy-related issues.</i>	<i>Not supported in 2012/13 and 2022/23</i>
3.	<i>Among female parliamentarians' speeches, women on reserved seats are more likely to discuss female topics.</i>	<i>Not supported in 2022/23 data unavailable for 2012/13</i>
4.	<i>During international scrutiny in 2012/13, women speak on other topics more than during the no international scrutiny period.</i>	<i>Supported using both time periods</i>

## 2022-23 DATA

### (i) FEMALE TOPIC

Out of total speeches made by females, those on female topics make up 27% of the speeches. On the other hand, out of all speeches made by males, those on female topics make up 13.9% of the speeches.

Table 3: Female Topics 2022-23

	Female Topic	Other	Proportion of female topics
Female	44	185	19.2%
Male	90	579	13.5%

### *Two-Proportions Z test Score*

P-value=0.02251

The p-value is less than 0.05 which means that the two proportions are statistically significant, and the first hypothesis is **supported**.

Overall, there are 73 speeches made by male parliamentarians on female topics, compared to 40 females. Women make 35% of all speeches made on female topics.

For all other topics, 527 speeches are made by male parliamentarians and 148 by females. In this case, women make 21.9% of all speeches.

These data show that male parliamentarians speak more than female parliamentarians on both female topics and others. This comparison demonstrates that out of the proportion of speeches made, male politicians tend to focus less on female topics than females.

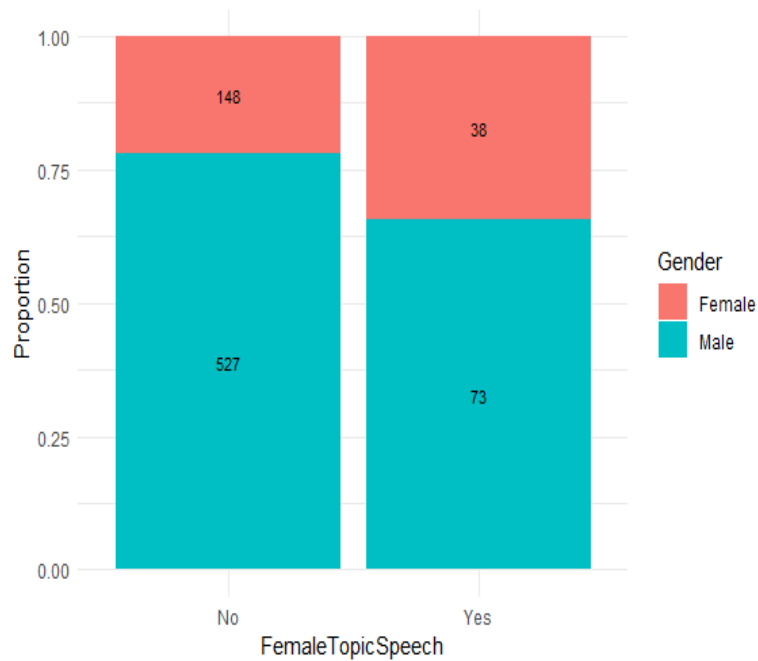


Figure 10: Female Topic by Gender 2022-23

**(i) POLICY/NOT POLICY**

**(a) All topics**

Out of all speeches made by females, those on policy make about 83.3% of the speeches. Out of all speeches made by males, those on policy make up about 81.2% of the speeches.

Table 4: Policy/Not policy Speeches by Gender (All Topics) 2022-23

	Policy	Not policy	Proportion of policy speeches
<b>Female</b>	190	39	83%
<b>Male</b>	558	118	83.4%

**Two-Proportions Z test Score**

P-value=0.9593

The p-value is greater than 0.05 which means that the two proportions are not statistically significant, and the second hypothesis is **not supported**.

***(b) Female Topic Only***

This test can be further refined to only include female topics to see how the proportions vary then:

*Table 5: Policy/Not policy Speeches by Gender (Female Topics Only) 2022-23*

	<b>Policy</b>	<b>Not policy</b>	<b>Proportion of policy speeches</b>
<b>Female</b>	40	1	97.6%
<b>Male</b>	78	4	4.9%

***Two-Proportions Z test Score***

P-value=0.5883

The p-value is greater than 0.05 which means that the two proportions are not statistically significant, and the second hypothesis is **not supported**.

***(iii) RESERVED/GENERAL SEATS***

Out of total speeches made by females on reserved seats, those on female topics make up 13.7% of the speeches. On the other hand, out of all speeches made by females on general seats, those on female topics make up 23% of the speeches.

*Table 6: Female Topic by Reserved/General Seats 2022-23*

	<b>Female Topic</b>	<b>Other</b>	<b>Proportion of female topic</b>
<b>Reserved</b>	39	131	22.9%
<b>General</b>	1	17	5.56%

***Two-Proportions Z test Score***

P-value=0.079

The p-value is greater than 0.05 which means that the two proportions are not statistically significant, and the third hypothesis is **not supported**.

Parliamentarians elected on reserved seats speak on female topics 23.3% of the time (all women). While those on elected minority and general seats speak only 0.12% of time.

*Table 7: Female Topic by Election Type 2022-23*

<b>Election Type</b>	<b>Female Topic</b>	<b>Other Topic</b>
<b>General</b>	0.117	0.883
<b>Religious Minority</b>	0.12	0.88
<b>Reserved (Women's seats)</b>	0.232	0.768

The expectation is that women on reserved seats will represent the interests of women as they are given these seats because of their gender. This is not the case here. It is also noteworthy that even those on reserved seats speak more on other topics that are usually not seen as female issues (76.8% of the total number of speeches). In the parliament, the type of seat doesn't limit the topics covered by the female parliamentarians but shifts the proportion only.

*(iv) INTERNATIONAL SCRUTINY*

The year of international scrutiny is 2012. The following breakdown is for the year 2012.

*Table 8: Female Topic by Year*

	<b>Female Topic</b>	<b>Other</b>	<b>Proportion of other topics</b>
<b>Female (2012)</b>	37	315	89.5%
<b>Female (2022)</b>	44	185	80.8%

*Two-Proportions Z test Score*

P-value=0.002278

The p-value is less than 0.05 which means that the two proportions are statistically significant, and the fourth hypothesis is **supported**.



## 2012-13 DATA

### (i) FEMALE TOPIC

Table 9: Female Topics 2012-13

	Female Topic	Other	Proportion of female topics
Female	37	315	10.5%
Male	54	892	5.7%

### Two Proportions Z-test score

P value=0.001858

Since the p-value is less than 0.05, the first hypothesis is **supported** in the 2012 data as well.

Both male and female parliamentarians speak more on other topics (892 for male, 315 for female) than female topics. However, female topics form a greater proportion of the topics among female parliamentarians (40% female topics, 25% female topics).

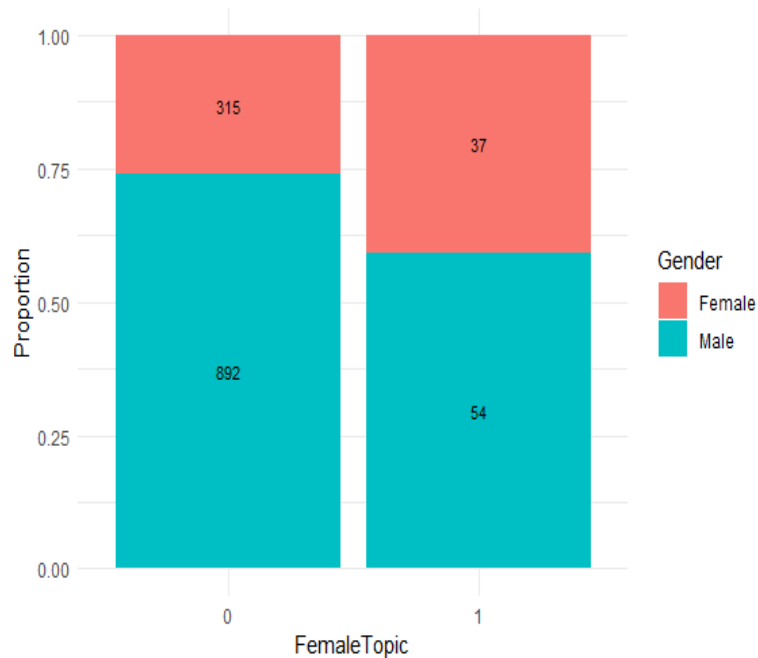


Figure 11: Female Topic by Gender 2012-13

(ii) **POLICY/NOT POLICY**

(a) *All topics*

Table 10: Policy/Not policy Speeches by Gender (All Topics) 2012-13

	<b>Policy</b>	<b>Not policy</b>	<b>Proportion of policy speeches</b>
<b>Female</b>	343	9	97.4%
<b>Male</b>	872	74	92%

P value=0.00003219

Since the p-value is less than 0.05, the second hypothesis is **supported** in the 2012-13 data.

(b) *Female topics only*

When this is restricted to female topic alone the breakdown is as follows:

Table 11: Policy/Not policy Speeches by Gender (Female Topics Only) 2012-13

	<b>Policy</b>	<b>Not policy</b>	<b>Proportion of policy speeches</b>
<b>Female</b>	37	0	100%
<b>Male</b>	52	2	96.3%

P value is 0.648, which is greater than 0.05 so this hypothesis is **not supported**.

The comparison of non-policy speeches across gender shows that female speeches are mostly policy related and don't fall under rhetorical speeches or posturing. Only 9 speeches made by females are non-policy while 343 are policy related.

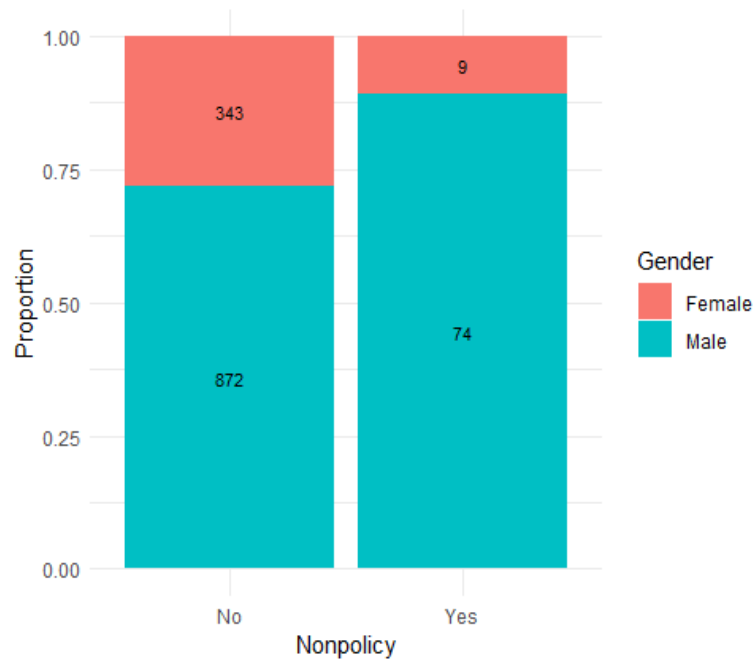


Figure 12: Non-policy Speeches by Gender 2012-13

### 4.3 Results Discussion

These results give the following insights:

(i) In both time periods, women do speak more on female topics than male parliamentarians which supports the theory that women represent female interests more and bring women's issues to the parliament.

This also supports the idea that gender does correlate with legislative speech making (Back, Debus and Muller, 2014). There is a difference in interest of men and women in the parliament that is further demonstrated in the behavior and decision making of political actors (Simon, 1985).

(ii) However, in both time periods, when these speeches are categorized in policy/not policy speeches, there is no significant difference in the frequency of speeches among male and female parliamentarians for female topics. This does not support the hypothesis that women speak more rhetorically on female issues and discuss non-policy issues. In both time periods, they speak more frequently on policy issues (97.6% and 100%).

This implies that women use the floor speeches to communicate their policy stances. This is supported in literature as there is evidence that floor speeches are a way for members to communicate issue knowledge to each other (Pearson and Dancey, 2011). They are also important to demonstrate expertise on issues to the leadership of the party (Huddy and Terkildson, 1993; Lawless, 2004). Congresswomen can also use floor speeches to

advocate for women's policy interests (Osborn and Mendez, 2010; Shogan, 2022; Walsh, 2002).

(iii) There is no significant difference in the proportion of speeches on female topics among females on reserved and general seats. This is against expectations as women on reserved seats have the mandate to speak on women's issues. While the proportion is numerically a lot higher (22.9%) than women on general seats (5.56%), this difference is not statistically significant.

This can be routed back to the impetus behind the creation of these reserved quotas by Pervez Musharraf to further his image of enlightened moderation (Mufti and Farida, 2021). The intent was not to make the legislative assemblies more representative or to have greater women's political inclusion (Mufti and Farida, 2021). Women do actively participate in the legislative activities but women on reserved seats don't significantly highlight women's issues more than those on general seats as women on both seats are nominated by male leadership and follow the same incentives and institutional structures. Female candidates usually must appeal to the male leadership to be nominated (Caul, 1999).

(iv) As the proportion of speeches on "other" topics is significantly higher during the international scrutiny phase, this indicates that during high international scrutiny, women speak more on topics that are traditionally not considered "female topics". This may be due to more focus in general on terrorism and the war on terror and that makes women and men more equal in terms of the issues they represent. While Malala's shooting does carry a strong gender focus on education, even then, women covered other topics more than they did in 2022/2023.

#### ***4.4 Implications***

These sets of results suggest that posturing theory is not supported with this dataset. Women are not speaking on female topics only to represent women. They do speak on policy issues and have a relatively equal proportion of policy and non-policy speeches. This shows that not only do they highlight women's issues, but they also speak of policy changes needed to improve women's status. Thus, if representation is defined as speaking on policy issues, women are highlighting these issues in the parliament and representing women. As shown in chapter 3, this does not appear to translate into female parliamentarians having an impact on bills and policies. However, women being in the parliament is not without its benefits as they are the "natural defenders" of women's issues and without them there is a possibility that these specific female topics are more likely to be ignored or dismissed (Bayer and Mishler, 2005). The data collected provides evidence to support that women do engage in these topics more than their male counterparts.

This implies that the gap between descriptive and substantive representation is not entirely explained by the parliamentary speeches. The gap lies in the steps following this initial phase of representation. In the parliamentary speeches, female parliamentarians

engage with female topics and discuss policy issues as well. The number of speeches on female topics form a sizeable less proportion than other topics (17.5% in 2022/23 and 7.5% in 2012/13). This small proportion could explain the lack of representation better than the relative differences among male and female parliamentarians. This may be because the incentives of individual MPs are shaped by the party leadership and their ability to steer the agenda and punish and reward MPs (Proksch and Slapin, 2012). Political actors are office-seeking and try to please the party leadership.

This suggests that further research into what happens on committee floors could provide more insight as they oversee the proceeding and actions of the executive functions (Tasleem, 2013). The absence of women's participation in these agencies could explain the underrepresentation of women's issues. Another reason for the gap could be that the overall paradigm is masculine, and the misogynist tendencies are embedded in socio-cultural norms (Qureshi and Ahmed, 2022). Furthermore, the number of women in the parliament matters as it might be the number of women and the number of times female topics are discussed (Devasahayam, 2013). As women operate within a realm that is masculine, they tend to also voice their opinion on other issues but less so than men. Kanter also argues that there is a modest relationship between the number of women in parliament and policy responsiveness until a threshold is reached where the number of women passes a tipping point and shifts the policymaking in the parliament (1977).

## **Chapter 5 Conclusion**

### ***5.1 Results summary***

In summary, this study was intended to identify the gap between descriptive and substantive representation and why women fail to represent interests of their female constituency effectively. As highlighted in the literature, women are likely to bring issues that affect children, family and health care (Jones, 1997). Similarly, in Pakistan, it is shown through evidence in speeches in the parliament that women do participate in the parliament and bring these issues to the forefront.

I hypothesized that the reason for speaking in parliament could be political posturing or grandstanding as these speeches do not seem to have a significant policy impact. For instance, these could be emotional speeches or self-praising anecdotes without emphasis on substantive policy changes. However, the evidence is to the contrary and women are found to make speeches on substantive policy issues.

The evidence suggests that these institutional constraints do exist, and they change because of variation in international political context. In turn, it alters the content of speeches made by female parliamentarians.

To recap, this study arrives at the following main conclusions:

- While female parliamentarians have a greater portion of their speeches on women's issues compared to male parliamentarians, they do not use it only for posturing i.e. demonstrating their own achievements/rhetorical speeches to rouse conflict or deflect attention. They speak equally on policy issues and make meaningful contributions. These results are discussed in Chapter 4 in detail.
- A higher proportion of speeches for both male and female parliamentarians are on other issues that do not represent women specific issues and that is true of women on reserved seats as well. This suggests that there is more coverage of general topics.
- There is evidence for institutional constraints in the parliament that plays a key role in limiting the representation of women's issues.
- In a period of high international scrutiny, women speak more freely on other topics and those form a greater proportion of speeches than speeches made by women in a period of low international scrutiny.

### ***5.2 Main contribution***

This dissertation appears to offer valuable insights into the complex dynamics of gender representation and policymaking in Pakistan. By focusing on the participation of women in governance and their efforts to advocate for women's interests despite institutional constraints, it sheds light on important issues related to gender equality, political representation, and policy implementation.

The dissertation's analysis of speeches made by female legislators provides a nuanced understanding of how they navigate their roles within the political system and strive to address the needs of their constituents. The main hypothesis is not supported by the data, but the study has nonetheless emphasized the role of women as more than window-dressing. If they are speaking on women's issues more than men, this implies that women do identify with women's interests as separate from men but are bound by institutional rules. Secondary sources of data including interviews from other studies confirms this finding that women express interest in female specific issues but find the environment non-supportive. Additionally, its examination of the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation contributes to ongoing debates in political science and gender studies.

Furthermore, the dissertation's discussion of the decision-making processes behind the implementation of gender quotas in Pakistan offers valuable insights into the motivations of political actors and the broader context in which gender policies are formulated and implemented.

While compiling the research, a new database has been made available. The study suggests ways on how to code the speeches that will then be used for statistical analysis. This has not been done for Pakistan before.

Using speeches made in the parliament to address whether female parliamentarians are posturing is another one of the key contributions. This study in particular lays out tests for posturing by setting conditions that if fulfilled would imply that female parliamentarians are in fact posturing and not effectively representing their constituency. This test is a useful tool for assessing the theory of posturing and has potential to be developed into a more refined tool with additional conditions. Another test developed in this study is the change in speech content with the use of an international event. Evidence of the change in content (outcome) shows the presence of norms within the parliament that respond to outside influences. This study uses the event of Malala's shooting as a key turning point for change for norms in the parliament. While creating these tests is a methodological tool that can be used to test for institutional constraints/posturing/norms, it also can be extended to test for presence of networks or engagement across parties.

Another contribution of the study is to the literature on gender quotas. Gender quotas are useful in certain contexts. The value of quotas is most prominent when the quotas are perceived as a legitimate way to improve women's participation (Clayton, 2015). In this study, the topic analysis suggests that there is no key difference between women on reserved and general seats. It could be that Pakistan doesn't have those conditions where these quotas are seen as legitimate because of the way they are selected. This is like the dichotomy between panel and cross-sectional studies presented by Kittilson and Schwidt Bayers' (2012). Their work shows that in Uruguay and France gender quotas result in no change in voting, political interest and political discussion while their cross-sectional study shows differences in voting in countries with quotas seats possibly because of confounding factors. As this is a case study, it doesn't uphold the results of the cross-sectional studies done in this area.

Overall, this dissertation has the potential to enrich scholarly discourse on gender and politics, inform policy debates on women's representation and empowerment, and provide valuable insights for researchers, policymakers, and practitioners interested in gender equality and governance in Pakistan and beyond.

### ***5.3 Further research***

The study concludes that the gap between substantive and descriptive representation is not explained by the content of speeches. Here, women do represent female issues with focus on policy even if they don't cover them as extensively as other topics. This "gendered leadership" is found to be advantageous for female constituents (Wittmer and Bouche, 2014).

As gender quotas are often touted as a way forwards for female representation, the data in this research doesn't support the claim that women on reserved seats represent women differently. This could be due to the incentives that men have when they select women for these seats. Party leadership is known to respond to these threats by selecting "controllable" women (Zetterberg, 2022).

This study recognizes the importance of an effective legislation framework to implement women friendly policies (Zia, 2014). These constraints play a major role in hindering female parliamentarians in policymaking. There are also other obstacles, for example, limited resources for research and drafting legislation (Zia, 2014). This could form another key research area (identifying specific constraints in technical legislative work). This lack of impact on women friendly policies could be explained by other processes of the parliament e.g. committee hearings where bills are amended in greater detail or backdoor meetings where negotiations take place.

In conclusion, the results presented in this research give the impetus to further identify other processes in policymaking where female parliamentarians are unable to express gendered interests. If they do identify with female interests, there are other institutional constraints hindering women from furthering those policies.



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