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Fracturing Political Patriarchy through Gender Quotas?

Andrea Fleschenberg

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Abstract

In this article, experiences with quota designs, challenges and achievements of quota parliamentarians, in terms of substantive representation, is reviewed in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The focus lies on the concept of political patriarchy, that is, an androcentric to sometimes even misogynist political configuration in relation to (i) power relations, (ii) socio-political culture and gender roles prescriptions, (iii) institutional setups, practices and discourses. This assemblage draws heavily on the subsequent structural constraints through gatekeepers and peers, recruitment and decision-making processes, institutional structures of voice and agency, that shape gender quota parliamentarians' forms and impact, to affect substantive political representation, as well as political effectiveness. In both the case studies, conducted in Afghanistan and Pakistan, we highlight the national level parliaments and critically review quota designs, practices and experiences of women parliamentarians on both quota seats, as well as general seats. In doing so, we explore the confluencing roles of: individual and collective civil society representatives which liaise and lobby with the parliament and legislators, for example, women's organisations, human rights activists or electoral watchdogs; peers within the assemblies comprising heads of parliamentary groups, chairs of parliamentary committees / commissions; and gatekeepers & (potential) veto actors / spoilers, such as, political party leaders, ministerial bureaucrats, influential parliamentarians or government members *inter alia*. Guiding exploratory questions used to obtain information include: What quality, transversality, along with volatility characterises gender quota mandates in Afghanistan and Pakistan? What kind of 'imagined constituency' do gender quota parliamentarians conceptualise and aim to establish, including ensuring their own political mainstreaming and effectiveness beyond a quota regime? Do gender quota politicians advance a pro-women agenda? To what extent is this structured by a specific power configuration within formal and informal institutions, as well as by (in-) formal stakeholders within society and politics? What changes are required for institutional configurations, engagement with key stakeholders, as well as the quota system and electoral system design as such? The study employed qualitative research methods for gathering information from a diverse group of state and non-state actors. Using semi-structured questionnaires, interviews were conducted with parliamentarians of both genders, members of political parties/groups and ministerial bureaucrats. While Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted to gather information from the civil society representatives liaising with parliamentarians and/or women's machineries. To allow for reliable comparability and equal representation, the same sample size and composition was drawn from both Afghanistan and Pakistan. The interviewees were provided with a choice to respond in a language comprehended with ease. In Afghanistan, respondents could choose to be interviewed either in Dari, Pashto and/or English, while in Pakistan the language used was either Urdu and/or English. Simultaneously, an in depth review of theoretical and empirical literature was conducted, including related studies and reports, press clippings (national and international), internet websites & blogs and

other reference material. Logically contouring through the complex phenomenon, and for clarity, we will first review the perceived performance and impact of gender quota parliamentarians, within the ambit of: legislation; government oversight; and representation of constituents, in particular women (albeit neither a homogenous social group nor a coherent constituency). This is followed by investigating the constraints and barriers to gender quota parliamentarians' political mainstreaming and effectiveness by gatekeepers shaping the candidacy pool along with transversality of legislative mandates, recruitment-/decision-making and agenda-setting processes within political parties and/or parliamentary groups, and political networks/coalitions. Not to mention that these foci are overbearingly influenced and determined by external actors and their transnational / global policies and interventions, influencing both Afghanistan and Pakistan at the level of a state-sponsored political patriarchy.

Emotions in Conflict – Multiple Entanglements in two (Failed) Love Stories from Gilgit-Baltistan

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Abstract

Based on current trends in the anthropology of the senses and two case studies of (un)successful love stories of young women in Gilgit-Baltistan, this paper suggests a mode of analysis "beyond crisis" (Khan 2010). Instead of reproducing the prevalent narrative of Pakistan's perpetual state of emergency, I aim to show how local conflicts can be reframed as moments that offer the opportunity to contest and renegotiate existing norms. Social life is constituted by entanglements with countless parallel, contesting and interdependent agents and it becomes continuously embodied and enacted by each person in a process of sensory experience of one's performances. In this way, social and cultural patterns constantly emerge through an inter play between mind and body, the individual and society. The first of the two stories is a detailed account of a young woman who struggles to get divorced after her *nikāh* (Islamic wedding), but before quotidian married life has been endorsed by *shādi* (social wedding). The ensuing conflict involves the groom's family following customary concepts of honour and a religious scholar subsequently defending the girl's position against attempted violence. In the second case, a girl falls in – and later out of – love with a young man from a different Islamic denomination. Although the two female protagonists of the cases presented here break established norms and expectations of modesty and family obedience, as well as of arranged marriage, they successfully manoeuvre their position between parallel sets of morality, such as customary codes of honour, varying interpretations of Islam and individual or community ideas about romantic love. Based on Sara Ahmed's conceptualisation of emotion as fundamental to sociality, the paper depicts emotions as motivational forces that imply directionality and possess the power to bring people together or tear them apart. In a world of multiple entanglements, I attempt to 'make sense' of Pakistan by finding stability in instability and suggest that we conceive conflict and crisis as creative potential for negotiation instead of considering them to be supposed deviations from an ideal state.

Identity: Conceptions, Perceptions and Negotiations: A Study of Quaid-i-Azam University Students

Wajeeha Tahir

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Abstract

Convergence of Pakistan into a nation state has been an enigma to the national as well as international political actors. Multiple identities are found in almost all the individuals in every society, but in case of Pakistan, despite numerous efforts, the reconciliation between multiple identities and national identity is a dream yet to be fulfilled.

The paper Identity: Conceptions, Perceptions and Negotiations is an endeavor to understand the dynamics of identities in Pakistan. The paper deals with few of the core questions: what is identity? Is it individual that defines her/ his identity or the perceptions of others determine it? Is it changeable or fixed; single or multiple; genetic or the experiences of the social world shape it or is it anything else; does anyone or many or all these factors determine our recognition? Or do people find themselves standing at an intersection, negotiating between multiple available identities and manifesting any one or many of these or constructing new, and more suitable identities?

The paper discusses the perceptions of the Quaid-i-Azam University students belonging to all four provinces of Pakistan, regarding above mentioned questions and tries to examine the manifestations and negotiations of multiple identities.Twenty eight interviews are conducted, seven from each province. The gender distribution is done according to the male/female ratio of university students which is nearly 52 to 48 percent respectively; therefore four males and three females from each ethnicity were interviewed.The issues are being discussed from five different thematic angles: sense of belonging, multiplicity, context dependency and also the perception and manifestations of religious and gender identities.

The phenomenon of identity negotiation has been explained through the social identity theory which emphasizes that social *identity* and group belongingness are deeply connected to each other.At a conceptual level the definition of identity has been discussed as it emerged in the data collected through episodic interviews. I elaborate the research findings that different social situations compel people to attach themselves to different self-identities, the rational choice of identity depends on the context, while implying that identity negotiation is a conscious and rational decision made according to the suitability in a particular situation;suitable not only in the sense of social approval but also in the sense of individual's preferences. Hence it can negotiate into a violent identity or into a benign one or any variation in between, depending on the choice of the individual in any particular context.

With the Potential to Polarise? The Council of Islamic Ideology as a Platform for Consensus Building

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Abstract

What is considered as 'Islamic' and how 'the Islamic' is implemented is contested in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and remains a potential and actual source of social and political conflict. Focusing on the Council of Islamic Ideology, an advisory body to executive and legislative, this paper presents an inquiry into how the governments of Ayub Khan (1958-69) and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1973-77) sought to build consensus. By examining the efforts of the Council of Islamic Ideology to contribute to state-building by delimiting the scope of discussion on contentious issues, it is suggested that the Council should be considered as an important site where conflict negotiations take place. It is pointed out that a variety of actors and factors shape the effectiveness and potential of the Council to negotiate and impact such processes. The paper advocates that Council membership and composition are key aspects in this regard that need further analysis.

The Process of Identity Development Among Hijras

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Abstract

In this paper, I argue that hijra identity is a prescribed identity for gender-variant children. Gender-variant children have limited options to justify their gender-variant expression and face resistance from socially constructed knowledge about their identity. This leads to identity conflicts among them at the initial stage of identity development during childhood. In their search for identity and by adopting hijra identity specifically, they validate their sense of self and belongings. For this research, anthropological data collection was carried out in the capital city of Islamabad and the adjoined city of Rawalpindi in Pakistan. The biographic interviews with hijras, and interviews with transgender experts working in different Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs), were conducted between April 2015 and June 2015. Follow up interviews were conducted in September 2016. The data was analyzed using constructionist grounded theory. This study reveals three clusters of research findings that are more common among gender-variant children who later adopt Hijra identity. The first cluster of findings shows that society categorizes biological bodies according to three types - male, female, and hijra - and assigns a particular gender to those bodies. A child born with ambiguous genitals identifies as a third gender having spiritual powers. Common cultural beliefs in Pakistan hold that God substitutes their lack of ability to procreate with the power to bless and curse. The second cluster of findings shows that children whose gender does not conform to their birth sex are also labeled as a hijra. This group faces discrimination, violence, and sexual abuse, due to the performance of their gender variant roles and practices. Their rejection on the part of their family and society in general produces a sense of social isolation and exclusion among these gender-variant children. The third cluster of findings shows that gender-variant practices among gender-variant children can become a resource to create social ties with hijra community, where they find social support and can authenticate their sense of self as of a woman by adopting the hijra identity. The process of identity development indicates that hijra identity is a constructed identity that is understandable in the socio-cultural sphere of Pakistani society. Gender-variant children adopt hijra identity to develop a support system and acquire space for the expression of their desired gender. This hijra identity is a form of identity that helps gender-variant children cope with social exclusion and isolation in Pakistani society.

Research Note

Researching on Women and Militancy in Kurram Agency (FATA): Reflections on Challenges in the Field

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Abstract

Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) occupy an important and indeed much studied area in academic circles but there are still wide arrays of aspects that have received barely any academic attention. Most of the researchers usually rely on secondary sources while few researchers who manage to conduct field research usually adopt a gender-blind approach. It is important to generate a discourse in which local narratives from women's perspectives are brought into the discussion. Everyday life experiences of those who suffered as a result of militancy are not defined exclusively; especially the fear faced by women who are under threat. It is important to look at how militancy influenced women's everyday lives. For this purpose, field research was done in Islamabad and Kurram Agency during late 2015. Researchers who want to pursue fieldwork, might face several challenges such as gaining access, language barrier, trust-building, emotional challenges and silences. This research note reflects upon the key challenges and techniques that were used during the field research. Moreover, this small attempt will provide some guideline and practical insight into the challenges of fieldwork under conflict-situation..

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