Factors Influencing the Attitude of Urban Educated Women towards Politics

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ABSTRACT

Women's participation in politics has been a widely suggested prerequisite of nurturing the democratic values and achieving gender equality. Additionally, politics is an opportunity for women where they can voice their concerns through participation in the decision making process. Moreover, young females' participation in politics can encourage others who have formerly been unconcerned or felt marginalized. This study was conducted after local government election in 2015 in Pakistan with the purpose to get an insight of young females' views about their engagement level in politics. Their attitude were measured by examining the knowledge, belief and behviour of 472young educated females towards politics. Findings revealed the role of socioeconomic background caste, and academic disciplines in shaping the political attitude among young educated women. It is suggested that women's engagement in politics should be ensured by providing them enabling conditions and environment of trust with the acknowledgement of their participation.

Keywords: Political attitude, Women, Knowledge, Belief, Democracy

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Introduction

History witnessed the women's role in changing the power structure internationally and nationally from the suffrage movement to Tahrir Square and democracy movements in Burma

(Henderson & Jeydal, 2010). Women's contribution in the political sphere is highlighted by various researchers; increased women's political participation resulted in extensive benefits for democracy such as sensitization towards communal needs, peace for minorities and more collaborative work, lesser corruption, progresses in women and children rights,, economy, environment, gender equality and social services in Liberia, Nigeria, New Zealand and Russia((Latif et al., 2015;Markham, 2013; Hunt, 2007). Despite of these findings, women represented only 22.1% of elected members of the parliament globally(The IPU reported ,2015) whereas, by the end of year 2012, only 20 out of 193 head of states were found women word wide(Markham, 2013).

Similarly, for a long time women in Pakistan were either not present or their representation was very low in formal politics at national and local level. Although, constitution of Pakistan encourages the political participation of women as voters or as candidates, but women's presence at the national level remained beyond 10% from 1947 to 2000.However, in 2001,women of Pakistan were given 33 percent seats in local government and 17 percent in the national, provincial assemblies and senate through legislation (Tabasum et al., 2015). Remarkably, substantial increase in women participation was observed in 2013 election asvoters45 % and as candidates; many filed papers on general seats than ever before, but representation of only few in the national and provincial assemblies revealed the existence and gender gap (UNDP, 2013). Pakistan has been committed to ensuring the protection of women's rights under various national and international initiatives (Constitution articles 25, 32 & 34; CEDAW & GRAP). Contrary to this, number of enlisted women voters have been low, even though they comprised more than half the country's population. The gender gap in the voter registration was nearly 11 million in 2013 as

declared by the Election Commission of Pakistan with women comprising just 43.6 % of enlisted voters. ECP report additionally marked FATA as an area which had the lowest women registered voters while Islamabad had the highest (UNDP, 2013). According to the UNDP (2013) causes of low number of registered women voters were lack of male interest in getting women registered and lack of knowledge about political rights among women. Additionally, mobility restriction, low literacy, absence of ID cards, exclusion from political parties and decision making positions were also considered as barriers for women's disengagement from politics. Women even who joined political parties usually confined to the women's wings due to patriarchal structure in parties and electoral process. Other studied barriers which are still operational against women's political participation are: low interest negative views about political participation in women include household responsibilities, security issues, frustration with the political system, and socio-cultural constraints (WPAF, 2008; Khan, 2012; Hunt, 2007; Lawless and Fox, 2012). Furthermore, previous researchers studied various variables which could influence the women's participation in politics. In this regard, education and its level, socioeconomic status, residential area, age, religion and marital status of the respondents are supported by many researchers as important variables in determining women's attitude towards politics (Jenlink, 2009; Perrin, 2006; Janda, et al., 2012; Wong, 2006; Kim, 2008 & Losindilo, 2010). According to Wekkin and Whistler (2008) males' interest in politics was found higher than females whereas Lopez et al. (2005) found college educated young women more politically and civically active than men. Political consciousness is also viewed as essential component for women's individual and collective autonomy and viable strategy to bring changes in politics (Bari, 2005). Additionally, it is believed to be important and effective in making the country's leadership accountable and promoting the true spirit of democracy (Kizilbash, 2010).Galson (2001) stated that levels of political learning influence the recognition of democratic values and political behavior. Strate (1989) expressed that youth are not involved in the politics because they are least concerned about it .Their main focus is to get education and then pursue their career. Consequently, they do not have that level of political information

which senior settled contemporaries have. Endeavor to comprehend the political attitude of individuals has long been central concern of political and social researchers. Politics is considered a platform through which individuals convey and administer their political views and manage political structure of the community.

However political behavior might be influenced by several factors as discussed above and the civil society and policy maker make use of these variables for ensuring the women's participation in politics. Responses to the query, what influences women's behavior to participate in politics, this article examines the various factors that influenced political attitude and its implication for future generation in Pakistan.

Objectives:

- To understand the attitude of educated urban women towards politics by examining their knowledge, belief and behavior.
- To reveal the extent of attitude and involvement of educated women to present.
- To explore the factors which might influence the attitude of educated women towards politics.
- To prepare the set of recommendation for future

Review of Literature

In modern times, democratic societies need a political culture containing residents who are concerned about community affairs, have awareness about critical decisions and events and take part in political and public matters in order to promote the culture of democratic values(Huber & Harkavy, 2007; Sargent, 2008). In this regard, women as citizen of any country need to ensure their active participation in politics not only in terms of improving their status, but also in guaranteeing that women's perspective and needs are incorporated in all community policies. This necessitates the de jure and de facto conditions to participate in all political procedures and arrangements which has slowly become the global perception (Inquiry Commission Report, 1997; Box, 2007; Flores, 2005; UNDP, 2005).

Conversely, comprising about half of the world's population, women representation are still low as elected parliament members, political leaders and even as voter. In this circumstances where half of the population are absent from politics democracy cannot produce tangible benefits for its citizens (The National Democratic Institute, np).

Pakistan also took various initiates for the political empowerment of women but more is needed. The MDG Report for Pakistan (2010)declared women's participation rate 22.2% in the national assembly advanced than many Asian countries and even developed countries as Pakistan political history witnessed a female prime minister, a foreign minister and parliament speaker (Khan ,2012). However, women's participation in politics has long history of many ups and downs in Pakistan. For instance women's participation was considered important during Bhutto's period whereas during Zia's era political participation rate was turned down. However, this was again on rise when Musharraf's government increased the reserved seats for women at the local and national level (Shami, 2009).

So, overall more women are brought into politics but unfortunately less work is done to change the patriarchal setting of institutions (NCSW, 2010).

By highlighting the restrictions on women's political participation, Shvedova (2007) explored three main types. The first one is masculine image of politics which resultant in to nonexistence of party assistance, voting procedures and lack of collaboration between women's organizations; the second is conceptual and mental which is related to gender roles, media, absence of confidence, and negative views about politics, the third and the important one is socioeconomic condition which in this case is associated with low level of education, political experience and poverty.

Researchers also studied various variables which can possibly determine the women's political participation. For instance educated people is found more political active and they are more likely to protest against state policies (Jenlink, 2009; Perrin, 2006). Similarly socio economic position is believed to be an important determinant in shaping political behavior. Researchers validated that folks with more education and higher incomes are mostly well aware of the effect of state politics on their

lives and have knowledge of the lawful tactics to build pressure on government, so they participate more in politics (Janda, et al., 2012; Wong, 2006; Kim, 2008, Schroeder, 2008).

However, Mushtaq et al., (2011) found a passive behavior of all income groups toward politics. Moreover, role of level of education, age, religion, matrimonial status and residential are also found significant (Losindilo, 2010). Marital status influences the political participation (Edlund & Pande, 2002) asSmith (2008) cited the GSS report and found that married people are more likely to vote in every presidential election than the single.

Contrary to above mentioned facts, some researchers found that single women are getting more political aware and emerging as strong voters. For instance, 2004 and 2012 elections in USA witnessed the huge voting turnout from young single women voters (Traister, 2016; Lopez et al., 2005).

Similarly researchers also studied the effect of employment on political participation of women. Schlozman et al. (1999) & Coffé et al (2010) found that women's employment does not significantly increase their political participation.

Previous researches illustrated youth as disappointed with, and isolated from the politics (Henn et al., 2006; Kimberlee 2002). Furthermore, many studies stated that young people are not much interested in politics, so they possess less level of political knowledge than senior generation (Pattie et al. 2004; Park 2004 & Henn et al., 2012).

Likewise, youth in Pakistan had never been politically active in the elections until the phenomenon of PTI emerged (SDP, 2013). Huge turnout in the May 2013 general election experienced the active political participation of new generation in politics (Jinnah Institute, 2013). However, women turn to be more sensitive toward their potential political role than their young male (Lopez et al., 2005).Residential area has also been studied as an important factor determining the people's political attitude (Gallego at al., 2016).Academic discipline was also studied as an important factor influencing the political behavior in students. Many researches revealed that students of social science students are more politically aware than the students of

natural sciences (Sing, 1998; Hillygus, 2005) whereas Kaur (2000)& Abonu (2013) explored lower level of political knowledge in students of arts and social sciences..

In Pakistan caste is the most powerful element in politics and it is considered the basis of the voting behavior in Pakistani society (Shahwar & Asim, 2012; Wilder, 1999). Ahmad (2004) found that folk use their votes in order to maintain the survival of their caste. By highlighting the dominance of caste system after local government election, Ahmad et al, 2005 discovered the dominance of Rajput caste in Northern Punjab whereas Central and Southern Punjab was occupied by Jutts. Arains were visible in Central Punjab while large part of Southern Punjab was dominated by Balochs.

Parents play a vital role in the political socialization of their children (Jennings, Stoker, &

Bowers, 2001). The impact of parental guidance is visible in children's attitude and behavior. & They transfer their political knowledge, interests, values and norms to their children (Valentino & Sears, 1998). Additionally, parents with strong socioeconomic position also share their voting choices with their children (Plutzer, 2002). Similarly, variable of family size was also related to the political participation. For instance, people with small family size are more likely to engage in politics than those with a large family size (Ajiboye, 2015).

Researchers explained various institutional, social and personal factors which are responsible for women marginalization in political arrangements and procedures in diverse social settings (Hunt 2007; Lawless and Fox, 2012). Furthermore, women's political participation has become the issue of conservative and modern democracies (Hunt 2007; Lawless and Fox, 2012). It is, therefore, imperative to critically analyze those paradigms which impose restriction on women's effective political participation. This study intends to validate the impact of these variables on educated women's attitude towards politics in Lahore.

Rationale

This paper examined the attitude of educated women towards politics with a purpose to reveal the extent of attitude and magnitude of involvement of educated women to present politics in Pakistan.

Focusing on knowledge, attitudes and behavior helps to understand important conditions required for the participation in democracy. Furthermore, it is considered important for women to know about political institutions and processes, as well as opportunities for participation in the decisions that are made for the future of their communities (UNDP, 2010).

Moreover, it is also aimed at identifying some demographic factors that can influence women's attitude towards politics. This study can be a source of information for educated women to know about political processes as well as opportunities for participation in politics in future.

Method

The present study used survey method to examine the attitude of educated women towards politics. The current study was conducted in Lahore the capital of Punjab Province. Decision to select the above district was made mainly on the convenience to get data from women having different socioeconomic background. Data for this survey was collected conveniently from 472 respondents (bearing age in between 18 to 29 years) who either had completed their education or still enrolled in different disciplines in different universities and were eligible for voting

.Majority of the respondent were the residents of Lahore, while 47 were the inhabitants of other cities of Pakistan. Demographic information about the respondents included academic status (enrolled or completed education), family size, family income, caste, educational discipline (Natural, Applied, Management Sciences and etc), current status (professional, students or at home), marital status, residential area, and parents' education. Data was collected from respondents after giving assurance of confidentiality.

According to Hogg, & Vaughan (2005), attitude is a comparatively enduring composition of beliefs, feelings, and behavioral trends towards groups, occasions, signs and objects which is socially considered important. So attitude towards politics was measured through two categories, belief and behavior. For this purpose a five point Likert scale comprised on21items (18 positive and 3 negative) were created and their scoring is from 5 to 1 ranging from strongly agreement to strongly disagreement. Additionally, questions related to knowledge about political leaders, parliament

and about local government and constituencies were also created to assess the interest and knowledge of respondents about politics. A five point Likert scale was used in this study, as it is considered widely used tool in the social sciences now a days due to easy construction and high reliability than other scales (Torkizadeh et al, 2001).

Results

The questionnaires were given to 500 individuals out of whom 472 responded positively. Ttest, ANOVA and Correlation were used for analysis .Demographic information revealed; of the 472 respondents90% were from Lahore whereas only 10% were found the residents of other cities of Pakistan. The sample comprised individuals across different academic disciplines34% were related to Humanities ,31% were from Social Sciences, 11% from

Management and 8 % from Natural Sciences, remaining respondents were associated with Applied, Natural and Medical sciences. The sample also represented a wide range of caste based groups living in Pakistan; 21% were Rajput, 18% Arian and 10 % were Jutt while the rest of the respondents were Butt, Pathan, Malik ,Syed ,Sheikh , Hashmi, Mughal and others. Overall, 85% respondents were still enrolled in universities whereas 15% completed their education; similarly 87% of the respondents reported their marital status as single.

A substantial portion of the sample 80% reported their status as students, 5 % as a professional and the rest of the respondents revealed their status as at home. Finally, the sample comprised a diverse array of socioeconomic backgrounds. The majority (43%) of the responded reported their monthly family income of 51,000 and above (rupees) whereas 70% respondents had 5 to 7 family members in their home. There was not much variability noticed in respondents' parents' education; 50 % of the respondents' fathers while 45% of respondents' mothers had a bachelor's degree. Furthermore, 39% of the respondents' fathers and 38% of respondents' mothers had a Masters or above degrees. The most encouraging finding of this study was that 60 % respondents reported that they cast their votes, whereas out of 39% who didn't cast their votes in previous election mentioned the reason of not having ID cards.

Additionally, results showed that more than half 66.10% of the respondents had moderate level of knowledge about present political system, whereas only 23.09% had high level of knowledge. Similarly, more than three quarter, 89.61% of the respondent had moderate behavior towards politics whereas 89.19% of the respondents' belief on political participation was found high. The range of scores of knowledge about present politics was 1-11 against a possible range of 0-11 and the mean score is 5.89 with standard deviation 2.01, range of score of behavior towards politics was 14-42 against a possible range of 0-49with mean 23.30 and Standard deviation was 4.74 and the range score of belief about politics was 13-49 against a possible range of 0-49 with mean 27.59 and standard deviation 4.11

Table 1

Independent sample t-test measuring the difference in political knowledge, Behavior and Belief test scores of women

Factor		Mean	SD	t	р
Area	Lahore	5.75	1.94	e e	
	Others	7.12	2.12	-4.52	.000*
Academic Status	Enrolled	25.50	4.66	2.12	.034*
Status	Completed	24.21	5.04		
Marital	Married	36.29	4.21		
Status					
Significance	Single	37.78	4.07	-2.59	.010

The analysis shows that the mean of the respondents living in other cities of Pakistan is greater than the respondents living in Lahore with the significance level of .000 p<.01, which indicates the real difference between two groups on the bases of their knowledge . This illustrates that the respondents living in other cities are well informed about politics, whereas no differences were observed in belief and behavior towards politics among the residents of Lahore and other cities of Punjab. In case of educational status, mean of the respondents who are enrolled in universities is greater than the respondents who have completed their education with the significance level of .034, p< .05, which indicates the real difference between two groups. This result indicates that the behavior of the enrolled respondents in universities towards politics is found better than those who have completed their education. However, significant differences did not find on bases of knowledge and belief toward politics between these groups. Similarly, mean of the respondents who reported their status as single is greater than the married respondents with the significance level of .010, p<.05. This reveals that difference existed only in belief towards politics in respondents who were single than the married. The finding of ANOVA reflected no significant difference in scores of respondents with the five levels of mothers' education. The scores of respondents in knowledge, belief and behavior towards politics were not found to be significant across the five educational levels F = (4,467)=.993, p>.05, F= (4,467) =1.43, p>.05 and F= (4,467) =1.76, p>.05. However, respondents' scores of behavior towards politics differed significantly across the five educational levels of fathers F (4,715) = 2.41, p<.05. This was further analyzed in the post hoc Tukey's HSD comparison. The results indicated that the respondents whose fathers had twelve years of education (M = 26.90, SD=4.38) were found to be better in their behavior towards politics than the group of respondents whose fathers had below ten years of education (M=22.57, SD=3.64). Other comparisons between groups did not yield any statistical differences at p<.05. The knowledge, belief and behavior towards politics scores of respondents did not show any significant difference across the three levels of family income F=(2,469)=1.67, p>.05, F= (2,469) =1.06, p>.05 and F= (2,469) =1.87, p>.05.

Additionally, significant differences discovered in the behavior and knowledge scores of respondents who reported their status as students, professional and at home F(2, 469)=3.46,p<.05 and F(2,469)=3.93, p<.05. The post hoc Tukey's HSD comparison revealed that behavior of students were found to be better in politics (M=25.48, SD=4.62) than respondents at home (M=23.92, SD= 5.10). Similarly professional respondents scored better in knowledge (M=6.92, SD=2.52) than students (M=5.81, SD=1.95).

The behavior and knowledge scores of respondents differed significantly across the eleven groups of caste F (10, 461) =2.11, p<.05 and F= (10, 461) =2.29. This was further analyzed in the post hoc Tukey's HSD comparison. The results indicated that the respondents related to Sheikh Caste (M =27.23, SD=4.80) scored higher in their behavior towards politics than the respondents from Rajput family (M=24.33, SD=5.08). Whereas LSD test revealed that respondents from Malik group scored higher (M=6.14, SD=1.83) in knowledge compared with Syed (M=5.03,SD=2.13) and respondents of Jutt group(M=6.70, SD=2.05) scored high in knowledge than Rajput, Butt, Syed , Mughal and Arian. Other comparisons between groups did not yield any statistical differences at p<.05.

Respondents' knowledge about politics differed significantly across the six categories of the academic discipline F (5,466) = 3.887,p<.05. This was further analyzed in the post hoc Tukey's HSD comparison. The results indicated that the respondents of Natural Sciences (M =6.92, SD=1.76) were found to have more knowledge about politics than the respondents who studied Humanities and Arts (M=5.50, SD=2.00). Other comparisons between groups did not yield any statistical differences at p<.05. Correlation was used to measure the relation of respondents 'family size with their belief, behavior and knowledge about politics.

Table 2

The Pearson Correlation between Family Size, Behavior, Knowledge and Belief (N=472)

Variables	Family Size Behavior Knowledge Belief	
Family Size	.140**	~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~
	.178**.126**	
Behavior	.092**.126**	
Knowledge		
Belief		

The results showed the positive correlation between family size and respondents 'belief about politics. Furthermore, results revealed the positive correlation between behavior and belief and knowledge about politics. Positive correlation was also found between knowledge and behavior and knowledge and belief about politics.

Discussion

In this study, political attitude of the respondents was measured by using three variables, knowledge, belief and women's behavior towards politics. Demographic data about respondents was also collected to measure the differences between various variables (Family income, Parents' education, current status, academic discipline, Family size, Caste and marital status).

It was assumed that women' attitude varies toward politics on the bases of their marital status. This study verified the findings of previous researches and revealed the differences in case of single women who have their belief more on politics and political system than married women (Rotolo, 2000; Gupta 1999&Sayer 2005;Traister, 2016). This might be due to the reasons explained by various researchers as family responsibilities of women, parenthood, media's role in portraying women leaders negatively (Gupta 1999; Sayer 2005; Lawless and

Fox 2012 & Rotolo, 2000).

Additionally, the respondents' political behavior enrolled in universities was found to be better in politics than those who had completed their education. This study further revealed that students were found to be more active in their behavior towards politics than those who are at home which verifies the findings of Jinnah Institute, 2013 and Lopez et al., (2005) .According to SDPI (2013) phenomenon of PTI (Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf) a new political party on name of youth, and many youth development schemes initiated by PML-N (Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz) like Laptop, loan schemes for students might be the possible influential factors behind this finding. However, in case of having knowledge about politics, respondents who marked their status as professional scored better than students which somehow seems to be true with the findings of Pattie et al. (2004) and (Park 2004) as researchers found young people alienated and less interested in politics (Henn et al. 2006; Kimberlee 2002). The most possible explanation of this finding might be as stated by Michael and Carpini (2000) that young adults are less likely to read a newspaper or watch the news. The level and type of participation in politics can be explored further in future because their level of political participation may impact their ability to involve in other activities (Dalton2008; Norris & Curtis 2006).

It was assumed in this study that residential area influences the political attitude of respondents. Finding revealed that the knowledge of those respondents who were the residents of other cities of Punjab was found better than the respondents of Lahore which is also supported by Gallego at al., (2016). However, no differences were observed between two groups' belief and behavior, so individual's political interest or background might be a possible factors of this finding which can be explored further in future.

In the present study, it was expected that respondents' political attitude would be different across the parental socioeconomic status. The finding of this hypothesis contrasted in case of mothers' education and no significant differences found in the scores of respondents across the educational level of their mothers. However, significant differences were found in political attitude of respondents across the educational levels of father. The distinctive discovery of this study was that respondents whose fathers had twelve ten years of education were found to be better in their behavior towards politics than those respondents whose fathers had less than ten years of education. This result is also supported by Plutzer, (2002). As politics is still considered the male dominated area(Hunt, 2007) so in this regard their role seem to be important in transmitting their political awareness and interests to their children (Valentino & Sears, 1998)compare to the traditional role of their mothers and household duties might be a most conceivable explanation of this finding It was also assumed that people with higher income tend to participate more in politics because they are more aware of the effect of government political policies on their lives (Janda, et al., 2012; Wong, 2006; Kim, 2008, Schroeder, 2008). But the finding of this study did not notice any significant difference in political attitude of educated women

on the bases of their family income which seems to be consistent with the finding of Mushtaq et al., 2011 & Losindilo, 2010 and inconsistence with Janda, et al., 2012; Wong, 2006; Kim, 2008, Schroeder, 2008). This might be due to the reason that majority of the respondents in this study were students. Additionally, academic discipline's impact on political attitude of respondents was also measured in this study. It was postulated that students of social sciences are more political aware than natural sciences. While results indicated that the respondents of natural sciences were found to have more knowledge about politics than the respondents who studied humanities and arts which is conflicting with the findings of Sing, 1998; Hillygus ,

2005&Ahmed et al., 2015 whereas supported

(2000) & also Abonu (2013). The most plausible reason behind this result would be personal interest in politics. Other possible factors can be the respondents 'family background or media's influence.

The hypothesis of cast as a determinant of political attitude revealed significant differences in the behavior and knowledge of women respondents across various caste groups. The result showed that the respondents' behavior from Sheikh Caste was found better towards politics than the respondents from Rajput family. However, respondents from Malik group found to be more political aware than Syed respondents. Additionally, respondents of Jutt group scored high in knowledge than Rajput, Butt, Syed, Mughal and Arian. This result is parallel to the findings of Ahmad et al, (2009) & Wilder, (1999).

Beside socioeconomic status of family, the variable of family size was also measured with the political knowledge, behavior and belief of women respondents. It was proposed that the family size can impact the political attitude of respondents. This study reinforced the previous research (Ajiboye, 2015) and indicated that family size and political beliefs of respondents are positively correlated.

Conclusion and Recommendation

Results revealed that that women as students are more likely to involve in politics. Furthermore, family size, father's education, cast, academic disciple, residential area and marital status revealed as important factors in determining the political attitude in women. Additionally, positive correlation between knowledge, belief and behavior emphasized the importance of political education which can lead to the improvement in political participation of young educated women. Women's equal participation in politics is essential for the development of a democratic society.

In colleges and universities, awareness raising campaign on importance of female's students' participation in politics should be launched by conducting seminars and sharing the case studies of successful young political leaders. In this regard electronic and print media can also play their roles by conducting dialogues between students and women political leaders. Additionally, Government should design and initiate special programs for the dissemination of political knowledge and capacity building trainings of young female political activists and students in order to promote their participation in civil and political processes. The situation is not helped in the absence of affirmative steps that are required from the government and political parties to establish and institutionalize women's participation in politics.

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