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Gender as an issue towards Women's Political Participation A study on Urban Local Government in Bangladesh^{*}

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Abstract: There is continued inequality and vulnerability of women in all sectors i.e. economic, social, political, education, health care and legal. The path of political participation for women is very rugged. The social structure does not allow women for their space, or gives them the rights to express their views or ideas of the society they envisages. This study aims to identify the barriers to women's empowerment process and to asses whether 'gender' has any impact on women's political participation. This study reveals that the women councilors are facing series of barriers to perform their jobs. Barriers are different in nature they are psychological, social, financial, political and cultural barrier. All these barriers stood on the way to women's political participation. This study finds among all the barriers cultural barrier affects most women's political empowerment. This study suggests that the importance of women Councilors in the City Corporations as well as in political process should be recognized by the Government and political parties. Women Councilors have to achieve both quantitative and qualitative development. Women's perception of their political role could be enhanced through education, training, awareness, advocacy, employment, and legal measures. In fine software of mind of the social actors need to change and thus will greatly contribute to enhance political empowerment of women councilors of city corporations of Bangladesh.

1.0 Introduction

Women are inseparable part of the development. Women's participation in politics at national and local level is strongly needed to strengthen democracy. Scholars have termed local Government as 'School of Democracy'. Democracy believes in equality. City Corporation is a body of urban local governance. Does this body run democratically? Is the political participation of men and women equal? Does gender affect on the process of women's political participation?

From this context the objectives of the study seeks to asses whether gender has any impacts on the process of women's political empowerment.

1.1 Methodology

This is a multiple case study followed by mixed method approach. Data + have been collected from 50 men and women councilors of six City

* Data used in this article has been taken from author's PhD dissertation.

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Corporations. Simple random sampling has been used to select respondent. Data has been analyzed from both qualitative and quantitative perspectives.

All the six mayors are also interviewed to know their opinion in this context Bangladesh has six City Corporations

Names of City Corporations	Total number of women Councilor	Number of selected woman ward Councilor	Number of elected women ward Councilor	Total number of men ward Councilor	Number of selected men Councilor	Total number of ward Councilor
Dhaka (DCC)	30	10+2	2	90	15	120
Chittagong (CCC)	14	۲	•	42	7	56
Khulna (KCC)	10	8	-	30	7	40
Rajshahi (RCC)	10	8	-	30	7	40
Barisal (BCC)	10 /	8	0	30	7	40
Sylhet (SCC)	09	7 、	0	27	7	36
Total sample		(48+2)=50			50	

Table :1: Sample of the Study

1.2 Theoretical perspective

Gender refers to the socio- cultural definition of man and women, the way societies distinguish men and women and assign them social roles. It is used as an analytical tool to understand social realities with regard to men and women. According to Kamala Bhasin (2008) -Gender is sociocultural and man made,-Gender is socio-cultural and it refers to masculine and feminine qualities, behavior patterns roles and responsibilities, etc. Gender is variable; it changes from time to time, culture to culture, even family to family. This study has used the theory of culture given by Hofstede. According to Hofstede A society is called masculine when emotional gender roles are clearly distinct: men are suppose to be assertive, tough and focused on material success, where as women are suppose to be more modest, tender and concerned with the quality of life. Men should be assertive ambitious and tough, women are suppose to be tender and take care of relationship. In the family father deals with the facts and mother with feelings. Bangladesh belongs to masculine culture. The other name of masculine culture is patriarchy. It is

a social and ideological system which considers men to be superior to women, one in which men have more control over resources and decision-making.

Kamla Bhasin (2008) has mentioned some social characteristics of men and women. This chart is made from Bhasin and Islam's book

Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
character	character	character	character	character	character
Rational	Emotional,	Smart	Beautiful	Outgoing	Caring
Strong	Weak	Self-centered	Sacrificing	Aggressive	Nurturing
Competitive	Submissive	Brave	Shy	Assertive	Calm
Devious	Polite	Fearless	Sensitive	Impulsive	Cunning
Honest	Soft	Tough	Introvert	Violent	Compassion
Hard-working	Enduring	Opportunistic	Fearful	insensitive	Quite
Extrovert	Timid	Dominating	Tolerant	Independent	Dependent

Chart 1.: Social Characters of Men and Women

2.0 Gender as an issue of Women's Political Participation

To asses whether gender has any impact councilors were asked on these following issues. They have been discussed below.

2.1 Impacts of 'Gender' in Political Participation of Women

In this Context both men and women Councilors were asked whether gender affects on the process of women's political participation.

Table: 2: Impacts of Gender on Women's Political Participation

Gender affects on	Number of	% of men	Number of	% of Women
Women's political	Men	Councilor	Women	Councilor
Participation	Councilor	N-50	Councilor	N-50
Yes	40	80%	45	90%
No	5	10%	the r ite da	2%
Sometimes	5	10%	2	4%

Source: Field study, 2010



The table shows that 80% men and 90% women Councilors believe that gender affects on the process of women's political participation and only 10% men and 2% women Councilors denied it. 10% men and women Councilor believe that sometimes gender affects on political participation of women.

While collecting data the researcher found that the husband of one ward Councilor's had been active in politics. Shortly after his election as ward Councilor he was murdered as a result of inter-party politics. After her husband's death, the ward's residents showed their sympathy and encouragement, and requested her to stand in her husband's place. She explains that she was hesitant at first, but became convinced by the great support offered by the ward's residents. Although the national political party to which she was affiliated was reluctant to support her candidature. But she in election she won. So he had faced the major obstacle from her political party in deed. As a woman, she is kept out of any direct political involvement. Although supported by high officials, including the Mayor and DCC, her political party provides no support. Her party informed her that her position was secured only because of sympathy and her late husband's good reputation. She knows that her party will not support her re-election at the forthcoming elections because of her gender.

While talking with the men Councilor one replied with frustration that women councilor parallel with men councilor is not justified. Though he could not explain why and how women are inferior to men, but it was clear from his expression that he can't tolerate the women Councilors in deed. As a whole, it is fact that gender affects on the process of women's political participation. They pointed out some area where gender affects. They are, profession, income, financial resource, political participation, motivation and objectives to be councilors, attendance in the meeting, decision making process, social support, administrative cooperation etc. they are described below.

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2.2 Attendance in the Meeting

The meetings of the City Corporations are of two types. General or monthly meeting and emergency or special meeting. General meetings are usually held at least once in a month. To hold the meeting; presence of half of the total members are necessary. Active participation of women members in the meeting is essential to play their role effectively.

Attendance Meeting	in	the	Number Men	of	% Co	of uncil	Men or	Number women	of	% of Women Councilor
			Councilor		N-5	50		Councilor		N-50
Regular			35			70%		45		90%
Irregular			15			30%		5		10%

Table 3: Attendance in the Meeting

Source: Field study, 2010



Table 3 shows that the regular attendance in the meetings of the men Councilors is 70% and women Councilor is 90%. The irregular attendance of men Councilors is 30% and the women Councilors are 10%. So, women Councilors are more responsible on their duty compare with men Councilors.

Councilors were asked about the number of meetings called per month in City Corporation. A variation in their opinion is found from the study. Some women Councilors told that at least one meeting is called per month, where as few women Councilor told that they meet twice or thrice in a year. Such situation indicates the communication gap between two groups that is the Councilors and the City Corporation staff responsible for arranging the meetings. From field data it is noticed that women Councilors are more sincere regarding attendance in the meetings. 2.3 Knowledge on Government Policy on City Corporation and Local Govt.

Knowledge is power. Measurement of knowledge is very complex. The Councilors were asked on information about latest City Corporation Act, Government Gazette, functions of City Corporation, meeting and standing committee. Level of their knowledge is inserted in the following table.

Level of knowledge	Number of Men Councilor	% of Men Councilor N=50	Number of Women Councilor	% of Women Councilor N=50
Have good knowledge	38	76%	30	60%
Have moderate knowledge	10	20%	15	20%
Very little knowledge	2	4%	5	10%

Table: 4: Knowledge on local Government and City Corporation

Source: Field study, 2010



The table shows that 76% men and 60% women councilors are rich with knowledge on Local Government and 20% men and women councilors have moderate knowledge. Only 4% men and 10% women councilors have little knowledge on this area.

Many studies conducted on this area before, found women Councilors' with little knowledge on this area. The researcher tried to find out the answer of question why women have less political knowledge. According to Hofstede (2005) in masculine culture women are suppose to be tender and caring in nature. They will teach children. Men must be assertive and associated with outward activities. Kamla Bhasin (2008) also identified some social character of men and women where men are associated with political activities. This study findings revels that women Councilors are now more conscious than before.

2.4 Level of Participation Decision Making Process

Platform for Action (1995) adopted at the Beijing Conference reaffirmed that "women's equal participation in decision making is not only a demand for justice and democracy but can also be, seen as a necessary condition for women's interests to be taken into account. Without the active participation of women and incorporation of women's development and peace cannot be achieved." But in the City Corporation women are discriminated in this sector. Usually decision has taken in a meeting of City Corporation.

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Options	Number o Men Councilor	f % Counc N=50		Men	Number Women Councilor	of	Wo	of men incilo 50	
Greater influence	40	80%		,	30		60%	6	
Moderate influence	10	20%	1		10		20%	6	
Lesser influence	05	10%			05		10%	6 .	
No influence	05	10%			05		10%	6	

Table 5: Extent of Participation in Decision Making Process



Source: Field study, 2010

Table 5 shows that 60% women and 80% men Councilors have greater influence in decision making. On the other hand 10% women Councilors have no influence in decision making. Why the women are back seated in this place. The women Councilors pointed out from two angles. First men Councilors do not want to give space for women Councilors. And second reason is the lack of confidence and lack of influence over Mayor. Though women raised many important suggestion or program but they are not well judged. So they kept out of decision making process. This study found that 60% women have strong influence in decision making process. It sounds good from two angles. First women Councilors become efficient than before and second men Councilors and Mayors are give space for women Councilors.

2.5 Existence of Gender Discrimination

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The gender role ideology is used as an ideological tool by patriarchy to place women within the private arena of home as mothers and wives and men in the public sphere. This is one of the vital factors that shape the level of women's political participation globally.

Why such gender discrimination? Answer is Patriarchy.

Patriarchal Values and Norms is one of the important cultural constraints towards women empowerment. Patriarchy as a system of men domination shapes women's relationship in politics. It transforms men and women's into men and women and construct the hierarchy of gender relations where men are privileged (Eisenstein 1984)

All the selected women Councilors were asked whether they are discriminated.

Level of discrimination	Number	of	Women	%	of	Women
	Councilor	N=50		Cou		
Felt discriminated		30		60%		
Sometimes discriminated		15 30%				
Never discriminated	*	15		10%		

Table :6: Discriminated to performing Job (Only for Women)



Source: Field study, 2010

Table 6 suggests that 60% women Councilors felt discriminated, 10% never felt discriminated and 30% felt sometimes discriminated.

Andrienne Rich defines patriarchy as "A familial-social, ideological, political system in which men by force, direct pressure or through ritual, tradition, law, and language, customs etiquette, education, and the

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division of labor, determine what part women shall or shall not play in which the women is everywhere subsumed under the men." (Rich 1977) Though women Councilors are more powerful than before. They are regular in meeting. They efficiently take part in decision making. But still 60% women Councilors felt discriminated. Only 10% never felt discriminated. They are more confident and playing their role successfully.

2.6 Area of Gender Discrimination

The main reason for low political participation of women in politics is the patriarchal structure of society. According to our traditions and culture the participation of women in politics and the public eye is against the generally accepted role of women. The patriarchal values have subjugated and distempered women.

The patriarchal society enforces rules and laws in such way that affect the self-confidence of women, limit their access on resources and information and thus keep them in a lower status than men.

Table: 7: Area of Discrimination

Area of Discrimination	Number of Women	% of Women
	Councilor	Councilor
They were neglected as women	20	40%
Excluded from discussion in a meeting	10	20%
Their decision was under evaluated	10	20%
Project responsibility was not given properly	15	30%
Notice about meeting was not circulated properly	5	10%
Distribution of fund and materials was not properly handled.	~ 10	20%

Source: Field study, 2010



Source: Field study, 2010

The most discrimination happened in the issue of neglected as women (Mahtab 2007) said that concept of "gender" has addressed the following questions about gender inequality.

How does it occur?

Why does it take different forms?

Why does it vary in degree across societies/

What are the causes promoting gender inequality?

All the answers of these questions found from Councilors view. All such discrimination occurred from masculine society and Patriarchal culture. In masculine culture women are always subordinate of men. So discrimination occurred in family, society and all organizations. This degree of discrimination varies in because of socio economic condition, educational status of women. But such domination is high in rural area other than urban area. A significant number of women Councilors affirmed that men Councilors can not tolerate them.

In meeting they underestimate women's decision. In Sylhet City Corporation, Councilors were making football team from each local area. In these context women Councilors wanted to bring such football team from their area but in a meeting some men colleges said that "you better bring team of kut kut khela (a Bangladeshi local game on foot specially played by girls). It is the reflection of gender discrimination.

Men Councilors do not want share all the project of City Corporation with women Councilors. Some women Councilors stated that when they claimed for road construction project, some men Councilors directly opposed. Men Councilor thinks women are incapable to do that job. Some capable women Councilor explained to the researcher that men are actually jealous to them. From road construction and reconstructions the dishonest men Councilors make money.

2.7 Discussion on Quota System

The Constitution of Bangladesh preserve women for Quota in different places. Article 28 (4) states: Nothing in this Article shall prevent the state from making special provision in favors of women and children for the advancement of any backward section of the population." As disadvantaged group women deserved quota.

The prime consideration for granting reserved seats to women was their political weakness in contesting men contenders for general seats. The quota or reservation was considered an appropriate political device for guaranteeing women "protected" representation in the legislature The constitutional debates over the draft articles incorporating the provision of the quota or reservation for women in the legislature basically centered on the number of seats to be reserved and was justified as a safeguard made constitutionally available in view of women's drastically unequal political strength (Chowdhury 2002).

But while collecting data researcher got some positive and negative affect of quota described by the both men and women Councilors. Councilors were asked whether they support quota for women in local government.

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	Do you	support	Number of Men	% of	Men	Number	of	%	of	Wome
	quota for	women	Councilor	Councilor		Women		Co	uncil	lor
	in	local		N=50		Councilo	r	N=	50	

Table: 8: Importance of Ouota for Women in local government

Councilor	Councilor N=50		Councilor N=50
15	30%	20	40%
35	70%	30	60%
	15	N=50 15 30% 35 70%	N=50 Councilor 15 30% 20 35 70% 30



Source: Field study, 2010

The table shows that 60% women Councilors and 70% men Councilors do not support the quota reservation for women in local government. On the other hand 40% women and 30% men Councilors support the quota system. This data sounds good that women are more confident on their leadership quality. Among 20% women Councilor most are from periphery City Corporation. They are not confident. The men Councilor , who does not support quota for women Councilor stated that as women are asking for equal right they will also compete for election. Some men Councilor believes that still women are at back stage in development process. To bring them in mainstream they need social, political and

administrative support like quota system. The Councilors who does not support for quota stated that it is undemocratic; It is against the principle of equal opportunity for all, since women are given preference. Many women do not want to get elected just because they are women. It is in fact the political parties control nominations, not primarily the voters who decide who gets elected.

Introducing quotas may cause conflicts, but only temporarily, if women become qualified as men there is no justification of quota.

2.8 Nature of job Accomplished by Councilors

Councilors have to accomplish lot of job. They are different in nature. Following tables shows the nature of job accomplished by Councilors.

Job accomplished by the Councilor	Number of Men	% of Men Councilor	Number of Women	% of Women
i. i	Councilor	N-50	Councilor	Councilor N-50
Create health care center for poor	6	12%	5	10%
Provide birth, succession, nationality & character certificate	20	40%	40	80%
Provide public toilet & water supply system for local people	20	40%	20	40%
Co-operate in enumeration	16	32%	30	60%
Provide public library, amusement facilities & its maintenance	3	6%		5%
Tube well setting	20	40%	30	60%
Take step against to local criminal	10	20%	2	4%
Maintaining proper drainage & sewerage system	20	40%	10	20%
Keep environment pollution free and make footpath from hawker.	5	10%	2	4%
Welfare of local people (protect dowry, early marriage, acid throwing)	4	8%	25	50%
Register birth, death & marriage	20	40%	25	50%
Infrastructural development specially road construction	30	60%	10	20%
Participate in tree plantation program	7	14%	5	10%
Judge the child & women violence cases	6	12%	40	80%
Others	5	10	2	10

Table 9: Nature of job Accomplished by Councilors

Source: Field study, 2010

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There are significant differences between responsibilities of men and women ward Councilors. Almost all the men ward Councilors are given with the responsibilities of corruption and smuggling protection, provision of birth, succession, nationality and character certificates, provision of street light and keeping pollution free environment followed by infrastructure development (60%) maintaining proper drainage and sewerage system (40%), provision of public toilet and water supply system (40%) and to tube well setting (40%)

But in case of women the scenario is totally different. Almost all the women are involved in judging the women and child issues, welfare of the local people, (80%) motivating people during natural calamities, provision of birth, nationality and character certificates followed by encouraging people in come generating activities(80%), infrastructure development (20%) The participation of men in all those sectors mentioned above is very less. Again the sectors where the involvement of men is very high, participation of women in those sectors is really insignificant except infrastructural development

2.9 Role of Councilor towards Ensuring Women Development

To ensure women empowerment is a vital issue now. Researcher wanted to know about Councilors women development related activities. Following table presents women development related activities done by the Councilors

Role of Councilors	Number of	%of Men	Number of	% of Women
	Men	Councilor	Women	Councilor
	Councilor	N=50	Councilor	N=50
Create vocational	5	10%	5	10%
training				
Help NGO with their	5	10%	10	20%
women issue				
Create elder education	5	10%	10	20%
program/elder age fund				
Take measure to stop	4	8%	18	36%
domestic violence			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
against women.				
Help to create	6	12%	5	10%
handicrafts and small				
cottage industry				
No project regarding	. 25	50%	2	4%
women development				

Table 10: Role of Councilor towards Ensuring Women Development

Source: Field study, 2010

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Undoubtedly women Councilors are role model of empowered women in Bangladesh. It is common expectation that women Councilors will help the women to come main stream of development. While analyzing the women related activities done by the Councilors it was not so hopeful. Only 36% women Councilors take step to stop against violence against women. 20% women Councilors worked to ensure education and help NGO to work with women related issues. On the other hand 50 % men Councilors had not taken any women related activities.

2.10 Membership in Different Committee

Each City Corporation has some committee based on different issue. There are rules for Standing Committee also. A standing committee shall consists of not more than six members who shall be elected by the Councilors from amongst themselves, but no Councilor shall at the same time be a member of more than two standing committee . Such committee shall elect one its members to be its chairman.

Name of Committee	Men Councilors	Women Councilors
Sports and cultural Committee	20%	50%
Women development Committee	4%	80%
Committee for Water and electricity	25%	10%
Committee on issue of freedom fighters	6%	20%
Slum development Committee	10%	50%
Committee on health and education	25%	60%
Committee on conservation of Environment	5%	6%
Sanitation including Drainage	20%	10%
Town planning and infrastructural development	70%	4%
Audit and Accounts	30%	6%

Table: 11: Membership in Different Committee

Source: Field study, 2010

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To work on different issues there are many committees in each City corporation. But many Councilors affirmed that though there are many committees, all are not active. For example slum development committee was active in Dhaka City Corporation. But it is not working now. Moreover last election held Dhaka City Corporation in 2002. In general there was supposed to be election after five years. But all the Councilors are working for last 10 years. As a result they are not active in their role. There are some committees only by name, practically they are inactive.

From the above table it is shown that most of women Councilors are member of women development committee. And only 4% men Councilors are members of this committee.

Most of men Councilors are involved to that committee which has the scope to financial dealings. Like town planning and infrastructural development committees. On the other hand health and education committee deals with little financial budget. Table shows that 60% women Councilors are the members of that Committee. Actually the status of women in different committee also represents the gender discrimination.

Mayor's perception on impacts of gender in women's political empowerment:

Mayor is the highest post in the City Corporation. Though it is not an officially political post but nomination always corres from influential political parties.

Concerned Area	Yes (Total Number	No(Total Number of
	of Mayor -6)	Mayor -6)
Do you think Gender affects on political participation of women?	6	0
Do you Support Women Mayor	4	2

Table13: Perception of the Mayors on Some Issues

Source: Field study, 2010

The table shows that all the six Mayors opined that gender affects on women's political participation. They believe the role of men and women can be differing. It may be positive or negative in nature. In context of political problem two Mayors Opined that they were not getting government support in many issues as they were from opposition political party. Women can be equally qualified as men. In such condition all the mayors were asked about the chance of Women Mayor. The table shows that amongst the six Mayors four support for Women Mayor and two did not agree. Two Mayors who were not agreed on this point said that "we are giving full time for our job. Can women do that? Even we have to face many national political issues. Women are not fit for this post."

In the questionnaire of Mayor, on the part of women Councilors those two Mayors (who did not support for women Mayor) ranked women Councilors as honest and sincere. Then researcher told them "you are satisfied on the performance of women Councilor but do not trust on women Mayor. Why? They were little bit embarrassed and replied "Councilor and Mayor are not the same position' this is the reflection of our masculine culture. Here men can not tolerate women in upper status. Even they feel heisted to be a subordinate of women boss. Tasnim (2005) conducted a study on job satisfaction among female teacher in primary education. She found that men teachers felt unhappy to work under women head teacher. It is only because of ego. Researcher analysis is that here the phenomena is same. Some Mayors could not tolerate a women Mayor. It represents masculine attitude.

While asking personal qualities most all six Mayors opined that women councilors are more honest than men councilors. In 2007 the Military backed Govt. took a strong stand against corruption in the country. In fact that Govt. is on the process of building a corruption free Bangladesh (Panday 2008) in such condition most of men Councilors were out of their working place. They were afraid of punishment. Many of the men Councilors were involved with crime. At that time all the women Councilors worked in the field with army Government. The Army Government praised the women Councilors for their active role.

3.0 Conclusion

The study ravels that both men and women councilors are equally qualified to perform their responsibility as councilors. Even society has also accepted gladly the role of women councilors. The Mayors were also opined women councilors are successfully doing their job. But gender affects this process nakedly. Women councilors are facing a series of problem. This study identified that masculine culture affects most the process of women's political empowerment as councilors. So some change is needed. They are patriarchal social values should be changed to pull women in politics, attitudinal change towards women Councilors in the community , clear stand should be taken against fundamentalism and misinterpretation of religion which stands in the way of women's political participation.

This study suggests that the importance of women Councilors in the City Corporations as well as in political process should be recognized by the Government and political parties. Women Councilors have to achieve both quantitative and qualitative development. Women's perception of their political role could be enhanced through education, training, awareness, advocacy, employment, and legal measures. In fine software of mind of the social actors need to change and thus will greatly contribute to enhance political empowerment of women councilors of city corporations of Bangladesh. ১৩৬

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