PERCEPTION OF STUDENTS AND POLITICAL PARTIES REPRESENTATIVES ABOUT POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD

By
ASMA NAZIR

Dr. Muhammad Ajmal
National Institute of Psychology
Center of Excellence
Quaid-i-Azam University
Islamabad-Pakistan

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By

ASMA NAZIR

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Dr. Muhammad Ajmal
National Institute of Psychology
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By

Asma Nazir

Approved By

_____
Supervisor

_____
Director, NIP

_____
External Examiner

CERTIFICATE

Certified that M.Sc Research Report titled "**Perception of Students and Political Parties Representatives about Political Leadership**" prepared by **Miss Asma Nazir** has been approved for submission.

(Ms. Rabia Ghous)

Supervisor

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ABSTRACT

The present research was designed to explore the perception of students and political parties representatives about Political Leadership. The study was conducted in two phases: Phase-I of the research dealt with developing of questioning route/ interview schedule. Questions were included about the perception of leadership, political leadership in Pakistan, female political leadership in Pakistan, perception of successful female leaders, perception of successful male leaders, and perception of practical difference present in male and female political leadership. A forced choice questionnaire about Leadership Behaviors in which male or female leaders differ by (Martha, 2006) was used for interviews with representatives of (PPPP) Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian (MNAs) along with open ended questions guide. Phase-II of the research consisted of three parts: In part-I, three focus groups discussions were conducted with 30 university students (males=14; females=16). In part-II, two focus groups discussions were conducted with 16 political parties representatives (males=8; females=8), and in part-III, two in-depth interviews were also conducted with the political parties representatives (male & female MNAs). The thematic analysis technique of content analysis was used to analyze the data. As far as the perception of leadership is concerned, the result showed a leader directs (56%), is brave (50%), and takes command (12%). For the perception of political leadership in Pakistan, it is based on self interest and short sightedness (43%). For the perception of female political leadership in Pakistan, the results showed that female political leaders were seen as a "dummy figures" (86%), dependent (76%), non-functional (30%) by most of the respondents, if female do come into politics, it shows strong decision making on her part (63%), and female leaders are approachable to those ladies who are hesitant to go to male leaders (81%). As far as the perception of successful female political leaders is concerned, those females were considered successful who showed responsibilities (60%), capability (70%), are cautious (36%), focused (30%), value based (50%), graceful (18%), and a good spokes persons (56%). For the perception of successful male political leaders, results showed that those males were considered successful who had clarity in their objectives (43%), took bold decisions (76%), took pressures (63%), were generous (18%) and easily mixed up with society (86%). As far as the perception about practical difference present in male and female political leadership is concerned, mostly thought that decision making is distinctive criteria for practical difference in

male and female leaders (90%) and female leaders are used for organizing election campaigns (18%). The findings of the present research revealed the common attitude of our society towards gender roles. Overall, the present research shows general attitude and perception of our society regarding political leadership. The findings of the present research are supported by various researches conducted previously.

PERCEPTION OF STUDENTS AND POLITICAL PARTIES REPRESENTATIVES ABOUT POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The political leadership has historically been depicted primarily as an art or science of government or governing, especially the governing of a political entity, such as a nation, and the administration and control of its internal and external affairs which shows a social relations involving intrigue to gain authority or power; the activities and affairs involved in managing a state or a government (Carli, 1999).

In political leadership situation, the leader is an advocate, whose leadership style is coalition and building. Political leaders clarify what they want and what they can get; they assess the distribution of power and interests; they build linkages to other stakeholders, use persuasion first, and then use negotiation and coercion only if necessary (Naveed, 2006).

According to Whisenand (1971) perception can be defined as: "We react to a specific object based on what we see rather than on what it really is. Often we see only what we want to in a given situation. Similarly, how we react depends on what we hear, not necessarily on what was really said".

Perception is our sensory experience of the world around us and involves both the recognition of environmental stimuli and actions in response to these stimuli. Through the perceptual process, we gain information about properties and elements of the environment that are critical to our survival. Perception not only creates our experience of the world around us; it allows us to act within our environment (Wagner, 1992).

According to Grover (1989), perception is our awareness of the world and its contents through sensory experience. Perception involves both our capacity to be sensory affected by external objects and our ability to bring these objects under concepts, although other capacities might also have a role to play.

Leadership

Ask a hundred leaders to define what they mean by the term leadership and no two of them will respond exactly alike. Still they will voice some common themes such as purpose, motivation, vision, hope, decision making, inspiration, influence, empowering employees and effecting change. In spite of these commonalities "there are almost as many definitions of leadership as there are persons who have attempted to define the concept" so it is very difficult to get an agreed upon, standardized, holistic and appropriate definition of leadership as it a complex and multifaceted phenomenon (Yukl, 1998).

According to Frankl (1998) explains that one way to understand leadership however is through the differences between a leader and an authority. Authorities are those who hold formal positions that give them the power to direct the behavior of their subordinates. In leadership a leader may or may not also be leaders, depending on whether they rely solely on their officials positions when applying influence son others. A true leader does not use force and coercion to direct his or her followers towards a common goal.

According to Beach (1985), leadership is the powerful tool of the management of men by persuasion and inspiration rather than by direct threat of coercion. Leadership includes the activity of influencing people to cooperate towards some goal, which they come to find desirable.

According to Chelladurai and Saleh (1980) leadership has the capacity to guide others in the achievement of a common goal. Decisiveness, determination, interpersonal and organizational aptitude, loyalty, self-efficacy, and self-discipline are considered some of the attributes of effective leadership.

In the perception of leadership, a leader is one who must be distinguished beyond their established position, and by their actions and not orders, motivate others to willingly and eagerly follow. Although often associated by and connected with a position in an organization, it is a role that must be earned (Robbins, 1992).

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According to Berelson (1955), define perception as: "the complex process by which people select and organize sensory stimulation into a meaningful and rational picture of the world." In the arena of leadership perception as the acute awareness of the effectiveness a leader has in an organization based on an introspective assessment and accurate internal as well as external feedback.

Theories of Leadership

Theories of leadership attempt to explain the factors involved in either emergence of leadership or in the nature of leadership and its consequences (Bass, 1990). There have been many theories and notions about leadership. The evaluation of leadership theory and research can be categorized into three eras: behavioral, trait, and contingency eras, and some contemporary theories that gives as important information about leadership.

Trait Theories of Leadership. According to this theory every leader uses his power base but everyone uses it differently. The history of a trait theory is shaped by the leadership of great men (Bass, 1990). Thomas Carlyle (1841-1907) proposed the "great man" or trait theory of leadership. According to this theory a leader was a person gifted by heredity with unique qualities that differentiated him from his followers (Dorfman, 1996).

Behavioral Theories of Leadership. With the emergence of the behavioral approach the research focus shifted from what leaders are to what leaders do. According to Yukl (1998), Ohio State researchers found that subordinates perceived their subordinates behavior in two terms: consideration and initiating structure, and the research work at Michigan revealed three types of leadership behavior: task-oriented behaviors, people-oriented behaviors, participative leader's behaviors.

Charismatic Theories of Leadership. The assumptions about charismatic leadership are, charm and grace are all that is needed to create followers. People follow others that they personally admire. Charismatic leaders seek to instill both commitment to ideological goals and also devotion to themselves (Yukl, 1998).

Situational Theories of Leadership.   Researches began to turn the contexts in which leadership is exercised. And that the idea what is needed changes from situation to situation. The leaders brought the ideas of style in their followers, believing that the style needed would change with the situation. Another way of putting this is that particular contexts would demand particular forms of leadership (Bandura, 1997).

Fiedler's Contingency Theory of Leadership.   Fiedler theory is also called a contingency theory. He believes that leadership effectiveness depends on the leader's personality and the situation. Certain leaders are effective in one situation but not in others according to Fiedler (Malik, 2004). Fiedler believes that leadership effectiveness depends on both the leader's personality and the situation.

Hersey and Blanchard's Situational Theory.   This theory focuses on follower's readiness. Readiness is defined as the willingness and ability to accomplish a specific task. Hersey and Blanchard (1993) identified four different leadership styles that could be drawn upon to deal with contrasting situation:

i.   telling (high task/low relationship behavior)
ii.   selling (high task/high relationship behavior)
iii.   participating (high relationship/low task behavior)
iv.   delegating (low relationship/low task behavior)

The Path Goal Theory.   The path goal theory has a contingency perspective, but it is different from Fiedler's contingent theory in its focus. This theory focuses on the situation and leader behavior rather than leader personality traits. It states that a leader's behavior is acceptable to subordinates in so far as the view it a source of either immediate or future satisfaction (Avolio, 1999).

LMX-Leader Member Exchange Theory.   The George Graen Vertical Dyad Linkage Theory-called LMX model. The contingency here is the emergence of in versus-out-group and how the leader responds differently to each situation (sub-group). The in-group has more responsibility, decision influence, higher satisfaction and access to valuable resources. A low quality LMX relationship occurs when members feel they

are in the "out-group". Leaders use a more participative style with in-group members, and a more distinction style with out –group.

Psychoanalytic Theory.   Frued (1922) and other psychoanalytically writers such as Frank (1993), Erikson (as cited in Bass, 1981) addressed the leadership that favorite interpretations see the leader as the father figure as source of love or fear as embodiment of the super ego, as the emotional outlet for follower's frustrations and destructive aggression as, in need to distribute love and affection among followers.

Attribution Theory of Leadership.   Events and House proposes that leadership is merely an attribution that people make about other individuals e.g. when an organization has either extremely positive or extremely negative performance people are prone to make leadership attribution (Avolio, 1999).

Transactional Theory of Leadership.   The assumption about this theory is that people are motivated by reward and punishment. Transactional leaders are implementing type leaders who apply task and relationship behavior to influence people to do what they want to achieve organizational goals. Transactional leaders are problem solvers and implementers. They are skilled of getting things done through people. These leaders engage in planning, organizing and making decisions (Avolio, 1999).

Transformational Theory of Leadership.   The assumption about this theory is that; people will follow a person who inspires them, a person with vision and passion. This means that leader should be able to provide vision and direction and that they should be able to energize and inspire other members in the pursuit of their objectives (Hemphill, 1954).

Role Theory of Leadership.   The assumption about the role theory is that the People form expectations about the roles that they and others will play and adopt internal schemas about the role of leaders, based on what they read, discuss and so on (Merton, 1957). Leaders are influenced by these signals, particularly if they are sensitive to the people around them, and will generally conform to these, playing the leadership role that is put upon them by others (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1975).

Political Leadership

Political leadership is the behavior of persons in positions of political authority, their competitors, and these both in interaction with other members of society as manifested in the past, present and probable future throughout the world, in natural political leadership relates to a whole society. This means not only the behavior of persons in positions of highest authority but also those at intermediate and lower levels: not only monarchs, presidents, and premiers but governors, provincial chairmen, and mayors, as well and leaders of party cells. It means not only single personalities but also the "collective leadership" of aggregate bodies, and those both not in isolation but in interaction with "followers". It means leadership not only in one type of (e.g., party, legislature, or bureaucracy) or process (e.g., policy decision, election, or revolution) but across them all (Paige, 1977).

The political leadership proceeds from a sense of omni-relevance of what political leaders do, or do not do, in regard to virtually every aspect of global life. This is produced by positional centrality, power capability, and follower expectations. From an all societal or global perspective, political leaders may be viewed at the center of expanding rings of interconnected social networks that link them, directly or indirectly, with every other human being. The linkages may be physical or psychical. In political leadership it influences upon the structure and functions of economies and upon the allocation of collective goods (Paige, 1977).

In political leadership the leader has to use the methods of appeal and persuasion, and also his eyes on the next election, which must have a well balanced judgment and know instinctively when to be bold and when to be cautious, and in political leadership the leader must be able to judge the true value of the mass of good and bad tidings which will flows in time of stress and courage (Collins, 1961).

The pattern of a political leadership were delineated with new patterns which includes the shift in the center of conflict resolution and initiative from parliamentary bodies to executive leadership, the tendency towards increased centralization of political parties with the subordination of the victorious as instruments for the chief executives, the irrationalities by the political leadership through the vast power potential

of mass communications and the growth of a bureaucracy as a source and technique of executive power. The root of the political leadership lies in the democracy. The political leadership requires democratic self-assessment in terms of its values implications and consequences (Mnnhiem, 1941).

The political leadership is also viewed as a group process, where it is depending on whether it is exercised within the inner core of the faithful, within the party as a whole, or on the masses. The studies of political leadership are restricted to the relationship between the chief leader and the masses. In the case of many strong leaders, the real test of the political leadership has been their influence on the core of their faithful and their control of the party (Gobbs, 1947).

In political leadership the dramatization arises the individual and collective needs produced by the political systems. There is basic need for a reasonable consensus in the political community that is an easy adherence by the citizens to the collective norms which regulate and legitimate their relationship and behavior. The people expect their leaders to incarnate and personify these norms (Wherry, 1949).

In political leadership control over the coercion gives the leader an important type of a control; the leaders are given a privileged status. Fulfillment of their responsibilities for the maintenance of internal orders and protection against the environment necessities granting the leaders a certain degree of independence in formulation and application of sanctions (Collins, 1961).

The perception of political leadership explains in terms of the interaction of personality, role, organization, task, value and setting as expressed in the political behavior of salient individual, who can affect public policy (Paige, 1977).

The marketing theory that explains concern for wellbeing of the public is the comparison standards (CS) paradigm. The paradigm holds that consumers hold pre-consumption product standards, observe product performance, compare performance with their standards, form confirmation or disconfirmation perceptions, combine these perceptions with standards levels, and then form summary satisfaction judgments (Oliver, 1989). Confirmed standards lead to moderate satisfaction; positively

disconfirmed (exceeded) standards lead to high satisfaction; and negatively disconfirmed (underachieved) standards lead to dissatisfaction (Fournier and Mick, 1999). By inference, if the public is dissatisfied with a politician their perceptions are not confirmed, then the result would be dissatisfaction in their judgments when their expectations are not met by the administrative system.

In the perception of political leadership, the personality is a relatively enduring characteristic that makes an individual unique and different from every other individual. It relates to people's characteristic tendencies to behave, think and feel in certain ways Personality traits are usually identified by what people do, and the behavior they exhibit an individual's behavior in a given situation is also better understood by his or her personality. These suggest that there is relationship between personality and behavior. The perception in political leadership is suggestive that the behavior of a politician, in terms of concern for the public, could be explained from his or her personality dispositions. It is necessary therefore to identify suitable personality attributes that predict concern for wellbeing of the people. The perception of political leadership is that the behavior of each party is oriented towards meeting the needs of other person. Meeting the needs of the citizens is paramount to sustainable democracy (Paige, 1977).

According to Ulhaner (2006), a speech is good if it makes clear to the public what the speaker wants. Speech is about leadership. The political leadership always looks to the future. Political Leadership is always about the battle for hearts and minds, it's about gaining power. A politician who can convince his public that his aims and objectives are right and thus persuades his audience to support him has, firstly, delivered a good speech and secondly, increased his influence – in other words, his power.

Political Leadership in Pakistan

Since the creation of Pakistan in 1947, Pakistan moved from a parliamentary system to presidential one and then finally reverted to the original parliamentary system. The political leadership and system in Pakistan has remained in a state of flux. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah the founder of Pakistan stayed as Governor General for only a year. After the Quaid's death the country with its colossal

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administrative problems remained unstable politically. Since independence in 1947, Pakistan had witnessed an unprecedented period of lawlessness, high crime rates, poor leadership, and bad governance at all levels. During 1958 General Muhammad Ayub Khan the Commander in Chief of Pakistan army, took over the reigns of the nation by promulgating martial law. This was the first time when military leadership took active part in the political arena (Ahmed, 1982).

After the cessation of East Pakistan the parliamentary form of government was formed by the Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. In 1988 again a parliamentary form of government was formed by Benazir Bhutto. This government was dissolved after 15 months by the president Ghulam Ishaq khan. After a new election, Nawaz Sharif came into power in 1990. Nawaz Sharif's government was also dissolved with the similar allegations as were on Benazir's government. The situation led to another round of elections and once again Benazir Bhutto came into power. It was interesting to note that Benazir despite being female was elected twice. For the first time in the history of Pakistan's politics two major parties came forward submerging the small parties specially the religious parties (Waseem, 1994). The failure of democratic powers in Pakistan may well be ascribed to the lack of a stable party system but in its real sense this failure is due to lack of true political leaders (Ahmed, 1982).

On June 20, 2001, General Musharraf dissolved the Parliament and became President of Pakistan and he shall continue to hold the office of the Chief Executive and the Army Chief as well (Mahmood, 2001).

In the present parliamentary form of government in Pakistan, there are three types of electoral bodies where leaders are elected to formulate the legislative setup of the country. The electoral bodies are the Senate, the National Assembly and four Provincial Assemblies. Elected members of National and Provincial Assemblies elect the members of Senate. Members of Senate, National and Provincial Assemblies, form the top level political leaders of Pakistan. A basic unit which elects a low or middle level political leader is a Council. In rural areas of Pakistan Union Council members are elected by voters having 21 years of age are resident of the area earmarked for that council. Elected members of Union Council in turn elect the District Council members. In urban area councilors are elected by the voters having 21 years of age and are resident of that particular Municipal Area. (Ahmed, 1982).

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Political leader in Pakistan become leaders through a member of sources and variety of experiences. Some leaders rise from the basic council and after establishing their work as a councilor at the District or a Municipal level; become full time political leaders. Some get into politics because their elders were in it and inherit politics as a full time profession, still other join politics because enjoy better resources and respect in the localities. There is still other who emerge as national or Provincial Assembly, members as they are heads of some religious or ethnic groups. There is no set pattern of grooming or framing of political leaders in Pakistan (Waseem, 1994).

The perception about the political leadership in Pakistan is that, at the time of birth Pakistan achieved freedom from the colonial rule but she was not free to achieve its own systems to manage the existing and forthcoming state of affairs. The legacy of the political and bureaucratic system which was left by the British ruler was accepted as a convenient choice as it matched with the on going political system that was already established by the British (Ahmed, 1982).

According to the perception of a political sense, Pakistan was heralded as a secular state by its founding father, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, and its political institutions were supposed be based on the western notions of a parliamentary democracy. Unfortunately, for Pakistan, Jinnah died while the young nation was still suffering from its birth pangs and by a cruel trick of faith Pakistan lost the one guiding light, which could have charted its future away from the shoals of chaos and onto the broad sunlit uplands of political prosperity. Immediately following Jinnah's death, the young nation was plunged into a crisis as various political groups questioned its sense of identity and tried to fashion a constitution that could mirror what Pakistan, as a nation, was supposed to embody (Khan, 1999).

The perception of Pakistan's dilemma was that since partition she did not have the backup of the ingrained practical values to match up to the task of nation building. At present, after a lapse of about half a century, the continuing social and moral deteriorations have further effect the politics. This can be one of the reasons that Pakistan faces instability in their political system (Khan, 1999).

Political Structure/System in Pakistan

Pakistan has a federal and parliamentary form of a government. The constitution adopted in 1973 created this system. The essential components of the political structure of the Federation are the President; the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) consisting of the National Assembly and the Senate; the Attorney General; the Chief Election Commissioner; and a Cabinet of Ministers with a Prime Minister at its head. The president therefore emerged as a dominant political figure (Mahmood, 2001).

The President, who is the head of the State, is elected by members of an Electoral College consisting of Members of both Houses of Parliament and Members of the Provincial Assemblies. The President holds office for a term of five years. This mode of election has, on critical occasions in the political circumstances of the country, been dispensed with in favour of a resort to a National Referendum under the provisions of a specific Article of the Constitution. The Executive authority of the Federation vests in the President and is exercised by him directly, or through officers subordinate to him, in accordance with the Constitution (Shah, 1996).

The National Assembly was the most significant political body. The leader of the political party with the most seats in the National Assembly becomes the prime minister. National Assembly is elected for a term of five years through a direct and free vote. The National Assembly has 207 members. The Senate has 87 members, elected a third at a time, by provisional assemblies in accordance with a quota system (Shah, 1996).

The level of the Provinces is the essential components of the political structure are the Governor; the Provincial Assembly; the Advocate General; and a Cabinet of Ministers headed by a Chief Minister (Mahmood, 2001).

The Governor is appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister and holds office during the pleasure of the President. The Governor is the constitutional head of the province and is appointed by the central government. The Governors acts as chief executives of the administrative machinery. The Executive Authority of a Province vests in and is exercised by him directly or through officers subordinate to him (Mahmood, 2001).

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The Provincial Assembly consists of a number of members based on population of the respective Provinces.The Provincial Cabinet of Ministers, with the Chief Minister at its head, aids and advises the Governor in the exercise of his functions. The Chief Minister is appointed by the Governor from amongst Members of the Provincial Assembly who commands the confidence of the majority of the Members of the Provincial Assembly (Mahmood, 2001).

The Provincial Ministers are appointed by the Governor from amongst Members of the Provincial Assembly on the advice of the Chief Minister.The Executive Authority of a Province extends to the matters with respect to which the Provincial Assembly has power to make laws (Shah, 1996).

Gender differences regarding Political Leadership

Political leadership in many respects indeed resembles social hierarchy among primates. Thus, for example, political leaders are almost universally males, they tend to have greater access to sexual partners and have larger number of offspring, and there are no special skills or abilities necessary for being a leader although demonstration of physical prowess (ability) and readiness to fight helps achieving and maintaining the leader's position (Ludwig, 2002).

A research conducted by Quinones (1996) explains gender differences regarding political leadership in which the male leader may feel that he has the authority to dissent in an all-male or majority-male group, whereas a dissenting female may assume that the males are 'against' her and therefore might be more vocal in a majority-male group.

In a study of gender differences in access to and in the exercise of power indicates that women need more advantageous background conditions than men in order to enter the power elite. There are fewer differences between women and men in respect of their perceptions of the impact they have in carrying out their functions. In some cases it seems that men need to be in a better situation than women in order to feel that they exert power (Vianello, 2004).

In political leadership, female leaders face a double bind regarding gender differences in political leadership. They are expected to be communal because of the expectations inherent in the female gender role, and they are also expected to be agentic because of the expectations inherent in most leader roles. However, because agentic displays of confidence and assertion can appear incompatible with being communal, women are vulnerable to becoming targets of prejudice. Sometimes people view women as lacking the stereotypical directive and assertive qualities of good leaders that is, as not being tough enough or not taking charge. Sometimes people dislike female leaders who display these very directive and assertive qualities because such women seem unfeminine that is, just like a man or like an iron lady (Eagly and Carli, 2004).

In political leadership regarding gender differences another possibility is that double standards, in which men have greater access than women to leadership roles, require that women be more highly qualified than men to obtain leadership roles in the first place (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Foschi, 2000).

According to Timberlake (2005), women in highly masculine domains often have to contend with expectations and criticisms that they lack the toughness and competitiveness needed to succeed. In such settings, it is difficult for women to build helpful relationships and to gain acceptance in influential networks. Given these hurdles, advancing up a highly male-dominated hierarchy requires an especially strong, skillful, and persistent woman. She has to avoid the threats to her confidence that other people's doubts and criticisms can elicit. Such a woman is also vulnerable because her gender, which is so highly salient to others, can be quickly blamed for any failings.

One place to look for evidence of prejudicial disadvantage is in studies of attitudes toward female and male leaders. Especially informative are national polls that have asked representative samples of respondents for evaluations of men and women as leaders. Such polls have consistently shown favoritism toward male over female leaders (Timberlake, 2005).

In one study by Evanston (2005) states that: "female leaders also scored higher than male's leaders on one measure of transactional leadership, rewarding employees for good performance".

The other leadership quality which appeals too many people is that female leaders are more trustworthy and are able to implement new style faster. For instance, female leader in Peru is characterized as: "She's a good woman, the woman who is going to move us forward, because the men can't be trusted" (Merton, 1957).

In one study conducted by Vecchio (2001) explains that in pursuing and achieving objectives, female leaders are more open to new ideas, insights, and revelations that can lead to better ways to accomplishing goals. This continuous learning process can be exercised.

In political leadership females are seriously under-represented at all levels of political office-holding even in the most developed nation of the world i.e, U.S. It remains the case that women are far less likely than men to run for and win elective political office, a situation that grows still more acute at higher levels of office and, disconcertingly, has shown no clear improvement over the past decade. This gross gender disparity in seeking and holding office which makes a mockery of women's formal political equality has serious implications for representation of and responsiveness to women's distinctive issue concerns and, more generally, for the manner in which politics are conducted. The available evidence suggests that women tend to want different things than men from the political process, that women are more engaged by politics when women candidates vie for their support (Quinones, 1996).

According to Keller (1992), both males and females have become thriving leaders. Some people suggest that a male is a superior leader than a female because the male have greater leadership styles. Some of characteristics such as task oriented, and assertiveness are usually perceived to be a part of an efficient manager are associated with males. They are also believed to be superior because of their early involvement in team sports. Others argue that the differences in their styles cause females to have the upper hand because of their higher interpersonal sensitivity and human relations skills. An effective leader tends to listen, motivate, and provide support to their employees. Female leaders seem to do these things better than a men.

According to Davis (1980), females are poorly prepared for high level leadership positions because of their early socialization to be nurturing, role conflicts between masculine and feminine behaviors, and the tendency of male leaders to want to keep their power cliques homogeneous.

Female leadership abilities are formed under the influence of individual characteristics, internal and external environment. It is concerned with why they choose a particular course of action in preference to others, and why they continue with a chosen action, often over a long period, and in the face of difficulties and problems. This type of communication provides additional channels of communication and provides a means of motivation, for example, through status, social interaction, and informal methods of work. It is admitted that female leaders are "more likely to be transformational leaders, defined as those who serve as role models, mentor and empower workers and encourage innovation even when they lead is generally successful" (Evanston, 2005).

In political leadership most female leaders' posses' greater ability to motivate and inspire followers in order to achieve optimal goals, three basics would be taken into account: motivation, reward and commitment. Motivating other people is about getting them to move in the direction they want them to go in order to achieve a result. Motivation can be described as goal-directed behavior and ability to contribute to a solution. Followers are motivated when they expect that a course of action is likely to lead to the attainment of a goal and a valued reward (MacGregor, 1998).

In female political leadership, female leaders bring to politics a new vision of the problems and new strategies to problems solving. For instance, the example of African female leader depicts that female "bring motherly sensitivity and emotion to their presidency" Female political leader's show that leading others is not simply a matter of style (Sandon, 2006).

In female political leadership female leaders help each of their followers to develop into an effective self leader by providing them with the behavioral and cognitive skills necessary to exercise self-leadership (Downe, 1997).

In female political leadership, it is possible to say that female leadership proves the fact that the world is needed in new vision and novelty brought by female leaders. Now the global population is looking for leaders who are willing to give it all they have and they will follow, and female leaders are able to join strong leadership skills with female nature. Female leadership is the best process currently available for improving political effectiveness (Sandon, 2006).

Female Political Leadership in Pakistan. Pakistan came into being as a result of a popular movement amongst the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent. Muslim women played a major role in the freedom movement. The founder of the country, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, was responsible for bringing Muslim women out of their homes to participate in the movement for Pakistan. He is on record for saying that the emancipation of Muslim men is not possible unless Muslim women are involved in this struggle as equal partners. When the movement for Pakistan gathered momentum, Muslim women came out on the streets and were active in the demonstrations and agitations that took place for the creation of Pakistan. The Muslim Students Federation, which played an important role in mobilizing the student community for the Pakistan Movement, had a large contingent of girl students as its members (Saiyid, 1998).

The most important event, which changed the electoral landscape for women, was when Miss Fatima Jinnah decided to contest the elections for the President's office in 1965. She was challenging the incumbent President Ayub Khan in the indirect elections, which Ayub had instituted. Since she was the Quaid-i-Azam's sister, she was held in high esteem, and had the support of the Combined Opposition Parties (COP). She drew enormous crowds in all the cities of East and West Pakistan. In all probability she would have won the elections, but the Electoral College consisted of only 80,000 Basic Democrats, who were easily manipulated. The importance of this election, which was rigged otherwise, lay in the fact that a woman was contesting the highest political office of the country. It is widely held that if the elections had been honest she would have won them. The orthodox religious political parties, including the Jamaat-e-Islami led by Maulana Maudoodi, which had repeatedly declared that a woman could not hold the highest office of a Muslim country, then modified their stand and supported the candidature of Miss Fatima Jinnah, popularly acclaimed as the 'Madar-e-Millat' (the

Mother of the Nation) for her role in the Freedom Movement. That election showed that there was no prejudice among the people against women holding high offices of the country, and women, indeed, could be key players in politics of the country (Inayatullah, 1999).

Pakistan has achieved remarkable progress in the situation of women's participation in the formal political arena, particularly with the reservation of almost 33% and 17% seats for women in the all three tiers of local government and legislative bodies, respectively. The beginnings of these changes are already visible with more than 55,000 women contesting elections for local government in 2005 (Zia, 2004).

The significance of women's presence and participation in legislative bodies lies in the potential they offer to change the nature of politics in Pakistan. "Equal participation of men and women in a decision-making is a prerequisite for effective and genuine democracy" argues the inquiry Commission Report (1997).

In 2004 elections, more women have been inducted into ministerial posts at the federal level. However, despite the progress made, several gaps still remain and some new challenges also seem to be emerging. There continue to be significant disparities between women and men in terms of their share as voters, members and office-bearers of political parties, election candidates and public representatives. Moreover, while several of the women legislators are conscious of the expectations and demands on them to perform more effectively on women's rights issues; they appear to be handicapped in their endeavors in several ways. Some possible reasons for this may be: the indirect nomination system of election to reserved seats, which makes them more dependent on political party leadership and prevents them from taking strong independent positions; their own limited knowledge and experience both with regard to legislative processes, as well as issues of concern; the lack of effective forums within their own parties, where they can debate and strategies on these issues; and the extreme polarization between political parties, which prevents them from being able to come together on issues of common concern (Zia, 2004).

In female political leadership the significance was from the perspective of qualitative political change was the fact that, despite the substantial increase in reserved seats, the highest ever number of women contested and won elections 2002 on general

seats, taking women's overall legislative representation to almost 20%. This aspect of women's political participation has shattered the myth that women are not ready or willing to come into mainstream politics, or are not yet able to engage in electoral politics at the constituency-level (Zia, 2004).

Women as Members of Political Parties. There are altogether 94 political parties, including a few alliances, registered with the Election Commission. Of these, around 30 are mass-based parties active in mainstream or regional politics; the rest are either religious, class or ethnic-based parties with scattered mass support in different areas of the country, and several are small personality-based groups (Zia, 2004).

(a) Share of Women in Membership. The Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-e-Azam (PML-Q) has launched a country-wide membership drive, and it is targeting five million members in the first phase. It is not clear how many of these would be women. The PPPP is updating its lists. The Jamat-e-Islami (JI) women's wing 800,000 women members (general members) and 1,500 Ruqan members (hard-core members). According to the Mutahida Quami Movement (MQM), there are 10,000 active women party workers. The Sindhiani Tehrik holds an all-women membership of 25,000, only in Sindh (Zia, 2004).

(b) Composition of Female Members. There are three broad categories of women's cadres in parties. First, there are ordinary women party workers, who are loyal to parties due to their strong political or ideological bonds with the parties or personal liking for the leadership. These committed women workers are usually ignored at the time of reward and most of them are by passed in nominations for party positions and tickets for elections (Zia, 2004).

Second, there are those prominent women politicians and leaders, who have inherited political power and constituency from their families and have continued to play their role as key players in politics, both at the party and constituency level. Almost all of them come from upper class and feudal backgrounds (Zia, 2004).

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Third, there are women members who are relatives of prominent or active male members of parties, mostly with an affluent background. Most of these women are not directly involved in politics, even with the activities of their parties (Zia, 2004).

(c) Women's Wings. Almost all the major political parties in Pakistan have had specified women's wings for the last several decades. The structural formation of women's wings of some mainstream as well as regional parties is that the *Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-e-Azam) (PML-Q)* is structured at central, provincial and district level. *Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (PPPP)* the wing does not have a hierarchy in the centre. *Jamaat-e-Islami (JI)* it has central, provincial structures as well as a district outreach. *Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam (Fazal-ur-Rehman) (JUI-F)* it is being organized on central, provincial, district, Tehsil and Union level. *Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI)* the women's wing has central, provincial and district structures (Zia, 2004).

(d) Participation in Decision-Making. The proportion of women's representation in decision-making bodies of political parties is dismally low. It has not seen any significant improvement since 1997-1999, even after the substantial increase in the proportion of women's representation in legislatures in 2002 (around 20%). This has led to an obvious imbalance in spaces available to women in decision-making forums (Zia, 2004).

Women's wings lack autonomy in decision-making; they cannot take independent decisions and even their recommendations carry no mandatory weight; they have no rules to govern their functioning; they have no fixed or a separate budget; monetary constraints impede their independent working to organize programs or undertake independent initiatives (Zia, 2004).

Women as Election Candidates. The elections 2002 saw the highest number of women participating in the electoral process than ever before, both as candidates on general seats as well as on seats reserved for women. The Women Contesting on Party Tickets and as Independents of the total 202 women candidates, 101 contested elections on party tickets, both for the National Assembly (NA) and the Provisional Assemblies (Pas), and an equal number of 101 were independent candidates. The Independent

Women Candidates was an unprecedented number of women (101) contested elections 2002, on general seats as independent candidates. Of these, 22 were contesting for the National Assembly (NA) (13 from Punjab, 7 from Sindh and one each from NWFP and Balochistan); 39 for the Punjab Provisional Assembly (PA), 35 for the Sindh Provisional Assembly (PA); and 5 for the Balochistan PA (Zia, 2004).

Women as Public Representatives. The general elections 2002 came as a turning point in the political history of Pakistan as for as women's participation in political and public life is concerned. With a substantial reservation of seats for women in all the legislatures, and a record number of women winning on general seats, these elections resulted in enhancing the overall proportion of women's representation in the national and provincial legislatures (Zia, 2004).

Today, Pakistan leads South Asia in the arena of women's political representation. The current proportion of women's representation also pushed Pakistan much higher in regional and international ranking of the GEM (gender empowerment measurement). It moved up from 100th on the list of 102 countries in 1999 to 58th position in 2003 in the GEM index (Zia, 2004).

Women in Political and Legislative Positions. Women's share in political and legislative positions has always been marginal in Pakistan with the situation further deteriorating after the provision of reserved seats expired in1990. Most executive political positions (prime minister, chief ministers, ministers, Speakers/deputy speakers of the assemblies, chairmen/deputy chairmen of the Senate, parliamentary secretaries) can only be held by elected members of legislatures (Zia, 2004).

The pace and progress to induct women into ministerial positions has been very slow, at the federal and provincial level, since the establishment of civilian governments in December 2002. In the NWFP women have not been given any share in the government so far. The process of appointments of parliamentary secretaries and chairpersons/members of standing committees in the Parliament has also been completed only recently with some women legislators securing certain positions (Zia, 2004).

There are 6 women ministers in the federal cabinet; 4 in Punjab; 2 in Sindh and 2 in the Balochistan cabinet. There is one advisor to PM with the status of a minister at the federal level, and one as advisor to the Chief Minister in Sindh. Most of the inductions in federal and provincial governments were made by the end of 2003 or during 2004. Except for Sindh, where a woman legislator holds the office of the deputy speaker of the Sindh Assembly, no woman holds similar legislative office in any other legislature, nor does any woman holds any political office above the post of minister in the country (Zia, 2004).

Rationale of the Study

According to (Erikson, as cited in Akram, 2006), the socio-cultural context is very important in one's perception. People behave as according to what is allowed by their culture. Society where a person lives, affects his/her perception. Anyways people from same cultures may have different approaches towards lives, they have difference in terms of responding to any thing, they perceive in a way what they think is right.

The present research aims to explore that how people perceive Political Leadership, how they understand and interpret Political Leadership in Pakistani society. On the whole it was explored that how they perceive Political Leadership.

Pakistani culture is a collectivist culture (as cited in Akram, 2006) where people have strong bonds with religion, norms, values, families, and traditions. It is a common observation that people start interpreting the Political Leadership in their own way accepting the knowledge that confirm their ideas and rejecting the knowledge that deviate from their belief system. So present research aim to explore such perceptions regarding Political Leadership.

The perception of political leadership is that, in a political leadership a leader has the authority to make and power to enforce laws, rules, and policies, a leader has the ability to impose one's will "even in the face of opposition from others" and it is an attribute of government gained through the acquisition and application of power in accordance with recognized or accepted standards or principles and to exert control over its sphere of influence (Dorfman, 1996).

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Pakistani political system has been through many transitions. The mistrust, and disrespect, the majorities of our political leaders have earned during the past 60's years, have polluted the profession quiet a lot.

People generally are skeptical of leaders and thus are not very eager to become part of the system and functions of politics. Learned helplessness has made public detached and disoriented towards political process in general and politicians in particular. This alienation, disorientation is not going to help, we must bring about change, we must realize the true potential of our leaders and thus by becoming part of system, may contribute to improve it.

The aim of this research will prove to be a starting process in understanding perceptions of people towards political leadership. In the field of psychology, the study of political leadership is the beginning of a new trend in Pakistan. The people belonging to the discipline of psychology are in habit of never touching the political issues, in spite of the fact that they have better understanding of political leadership; human behavior and it's ever changing environment.

The implications of the present research were that the present research is conducted to study the perception about Political Leadership. The research is highly beneficial because it is done with the political parties representatives, and the research is also highly beneficial in the sense that it will help the political parties to understand the importance of political leadership. The present research suggested the improvement in the political system so as to get more performance etc. The present research naturally leads to more research opportunities and questions. Gender differences may well be taken into account regarding political leadership.

METHOD

METHOD

Objectives of the study

The present study aimed at exploring the perception of students and political parties' representatives about Political Leadership. The qualitative research design was adopted for this purpose. So, to meet the major goal of the present research, certain objectives were formulated:

1.   To explore the perception among students, and representatives from political parties, regarding political leadership in Pakistan.

2.   To explore the perception among students, and representatives from political parties, regarding female political leadership in Pakistan.

3.   To explore the perception among students, and representatives from political parties, regarding successful female political leaders.

4.   To explore the perception among students, and representatives from political parties, regarding successful male political leaders.

5.   To explore the perception among students, and representatives from political parties, regarding practical difference present in male and female political leadership.

Data Analysis Technique

The present study is based on the thematic analysis. This is a subtype of the technique of content analysis. This branch of content analysis addresses the underlying prevalent themes of a written material or content.

Content Analysis. Content analysis refers to the process of making inferences based on objective coding of the archival records (Shaugnessy, 2000). Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984).

Thematic analysis. Thematic analysis focuses on identifiable themes and patterns of behavior. Identification of theme is the core concept of thematic analysis. Themes are defined as units derived from patterns such as "conversation topics, vocabulary, recurring activities, meanings, feelings, or folk sayings and proverbs" (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984). Themes are identified by "bringing together components or fragments of ideas or experiences, which often are meaningless when viewed alone" (Leininger, 1985). Themes that emerge from the informants' stories are pieced together to form a comprehensive picture of their collective experience.

The systematic and objective process through which the communication and its contents are summarized is called coding. The decision about the coding rules gives final shape to the research design. There are mainly three decisions which are required for adopting the specific process in a research study. These steps are categories of analysis, units of analysis and system of enumeration.

(1) ***Categories of Analysis.*** This is the most important decision while designing a research based on content analysis. The first step is defining the categories of analysis. The categories should be carefully formulated and well adopted to the contents (Pervez, 1984). In order to define the categories of analysis (i.e. themes), categories were formulated on the basis of previous research literature that showed their relevance with the mainstream of political leadership.

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(2) Unit of Analysis. The second important decision regarding the content analytic technique was the selection of the unit of analysis. It is also called recording units. The size of the recording units depends upon the purpose of the research, the scope of the material to be analyzed and also on the research resources i.e. time, manpower and data analysis facilities (Pervez, 1984). In order to define the unit of analysis (i.e. sub-themes), the focus groups and interviews discussions was read thoroughly and then sub-themes were generated.

(3) System of enumeration. The main objective of the content analysis technique is to quantify the contents of the message. Systems of enumeration are time, space, appearance, frequency, intensity etc (Pervez, 1984). The frequency was measured in a present study as a system of enumeration.

Operational Definition

In the present study political leadership is used as a variable

Political Leadership. Political leadership is the situation in which a person is in positions of political authority, their competitors, and these both in interaction with other members of society. This means not only the behavior and situation of persons in positions of highest authority but also those at intermediate and lower levels (Paige, 1977).

Development of the Questioning Route

In order to fulfill the objectives of the research a questioning route/ interview schedule was developed to explore the perceptions of Political Leadership among students and political parties' representatives.

Experts

Two faculty members from Psychology department of the Quaid-i-Azam University, one Ph.D. scholar were approached individually and their opinion and suggestions were taken.

Procedure and Results

Literature review and consultations with experts were done to generate the guideline areas for focus group discussions and for the interview schedule and the questions were asked about how they perceive the leadership, political leadership in Pakistan, female political leadership in Pakistan, perception of successful male and female leaders and perception of practical difference in male and female leadership see (Annexure A). After consultations with the experts and reviewing the literature, certain main issues were clear in researcher's mind that which questions can be asked in focus groups discussions and interviews, and these were perception about leadership, political leadership in Pakistan, female political leadership in Pakistan, perception of successful male and female leaders and perception of practical difference in male and female leadership see (Annexure A). So on the basis of those, questions were prepared on each aspect and after generating as many questions as possible, those questions were rephrased, arranged and merged together. The questions were semi structured in the sense that they were only possible and guiding questions that allow free flowing of ideas in which participants were actually to express freely. After incorporating the suggestions by the experts, the questioning route/ interview schedule was finalized. The articulation of questioning route was done very carefully so that it should not hurt, humiliate ideas of any body, or any party, it was designed to get maximum information

regarding the issue in an appropriate and noble way. A forced choice question about leadership behavior was also added for the interviews with (MNAs).

PHASE-II
(Main Study)

PART-I: Focus Groups with Students

Part-I dealt with the focus group discussions that were conducted with students.

Sample. Three focus groups were conducted with students and the participants consisted of 30 M.Sc University students (males=16; females=14) from different departments of Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

Sampling Criteria: Awareness was an important criterion as only those students were selected for the focus group discussions that had the awareness of the issue. There were homogeneous focus groups in a sense that separate focus group discussions were conducted with boys and girls, and heterogeneous as well that the both boys and girls participants were included.

Instrument. The questioning route developed in the Phase-I of the research was used as a focus group questioning guide. The questions were based on different aspects about leadership, political leadership in Pakistan, female political leadership in Pakistan, perception of successful male and female leaders, and practical difference present in male and female leadership see (Annexure A), to know that how they perceive political leadership.

Procedure. With the permission and availability of the students, three focus groups discussions were audio-taped recorded and were transcribed. Time duration for each focus group ranged from 50 to 55 minutes. Participants were briefly informed about the purpose of the group discussions and were told about the importance of their point of views for research purpose. Participants were presumably involved in the topic and discussed extensively. Later on the nature of the issue was discussed in terms of

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religion (Islam), here a very warm discussion was observed, difference of opinion were coming by people but with a respect of others opinion. They were inquired their perceptions about leadership, political leadership in Pakistan, female political leadership in Pakistan, the practical difference present in male and female political leadership and the perception of successful male and female leaders see (Annexure A). It produced a meaningful discussion. Overall, it was observed that the participants were quite serious and aware about the topic.

PART-II: Focus Groups with Political Parties Representatives

Part-II dealt with the focus group discussions that were conducted with Political Parties Representatives.

Sample. Two focus groups discussions were conducted with political parties representatives and the participants consisted of 16 representatives from different political parties including Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), Pakistan Muslim League (PML) (males=8; females=8).

Sampling criteria: For focus group discussions, those representatives were sampled who had awareness of the focus group discussions and who were willing to participate. There were homogeneous focus groups in a sense that separate group discussions were conducted with Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and Pakistan Muslim League (PML) representative's males and females, but no mix gendered group was done.

Instrument. The questioning route developed in the Phase-I of the research was used as a focus group questioning guide. The question were based on different aspects about leadership, political leadership in Pakistan, female political leadership in Pakistan, perception of successful male and female leaders, and perception of practical difference in male and female leadership see (Annexure A), to know that how they perceive political leadership.

Procedure. With the permission and availability of the representatives, two focus groups discussions were audio-taped recorded and were transcribed. Time

duration for each focus group ranged from 50 to 55 minutes. Participants were briefly informed about the purpose of the group discussions and were told about the importance of their point of views for research purpose. Focus group discussions began with the understanding, and perceptions about Political Leadership. The party representatives were assured of the confidentiality of their responses. It was again observed that the political party representatives were giving both their party perspectives as well as their personal opinions. They were inquired about their perception of political leadership. It produced a meaningful discussion. Overall, it was observed that the participants were quite serious and aware about the topic.

PART-III: In-depth Interviews

Sample. Two Individual interviews of (MNAs) were conducted with representatives of Pakistan people's Party parliamentarian (PPPP).

Instrument. The questioning route developed in the Phase-I of the research was used as an interview schedule. The questions were based on different aspects about leadership, political leadership in Pakistan, female political leadership in Pakistan, perception of successful male and female leaders, and perception of practical difference in male and female leadership to know that how they perceive political leadership see (Annexure A), and also a forced choice question was added to know what are their opinions about leadership behaviors which are mostly present in male or female leaders see (Annexure B).

Procedure. The individual's interviews were conducted by the permission and availability of the representatives of the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), in advance appointment was made with them. They were briefed about the purpose of research and were assured of the confidentiality of their responses. The interview discussions were audio-taped recorded and were transcribed. During interviews it was observed that the participants were giving both their party perspectives as well as their personal opinions.

RESULTS

RESULTS

The present research was exploratory and thematic analysis technique was used to analyze the data, this branch of content analysis addresses the underlying prevalent themes of a written material or content. For this purpose three focus groups discussions were conducted with 30 M.Sc students (males=14; females=16), and two focus groups discussions were conducted with political parties representatives (males=8; females=8), and then two in-depth interviews with representatives of Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian (male and female MNAs) were also conducted.

Focus Groups with Students.   Three focus groups were conducted with students and the participants consisted of 30 M.Sc University students (females=16; males=14).

Table 1

Perception about leadership (N=30)

Themes Emerged	Frequency	Percentage
1. Leadership is basically the representation of the nation.	2	6%
2. Leadership is a multi faceted concept.	4	13%
3. Leadership is inherited through learning and experiences.	7	23%
4. Leadership is a process of directing others.	21	70%
5. Leadership is a God gifted quality.	23	76%
6. Leadership is essential for every nation.	25	83%

Table 1 reveals the perceptions of students about leadership. The lowest perception range is 6% for leadership is basically the representation of the nation, and the highest perception range is 83% for leadership is essential for every nation.

Table 2

Perception about political leadership in Pakistan (N=30)

Themes Emerged	Frequency	Percentage
1. Political leadership is all about struggles.	8	26%
2. Political leadership must follow principles of democracy.	10	33%
3. Political leaders usually work for their personal interest.	13	43%
4. In crisis situation leader's are not	14	46%
5. Political leaders gives ideology to the people.	16	53%
6. Political leaders are not aware about the needs of the people.	19	63%
7. Political leadership must have a futuristic approach/ vision rather than planning for now only.	25	83%
8. In political leadership benefits are given to family/friends only.	27	90%

Table 2 reveals the perceptions of students about political leadership. The lowest perception range is 26% for political leadership is all about struggles, and the highest perception range is 90% for in political leadership benefits are given to family/friends only.

Table 3

Perception about female political leadership in Pakistan (N=30)

Themes Emerged	Frequency	Percentage
1. Our society does not support female political leadership.	5	16%
2. Female political leadership is dominated by upper class females from richer families only.	8	26%
3. Females presence in politics would affect functioning of political system negatively.	9	30%
4. Islam does not restrict female political leadership.	15	50%
5. Female representation in politics means representation of nation.	16	53%
6. Females who have joined politics have shown that they are not fragile/weak.	17	56%
7. Only those female join politics who are strong decision makers.	19	63%
8. No need of female participation in political leadership.	21	70%
9. Female political leadership depends on acceptance by male counterparts.	23	76%
10. Female political leaders are only spokes persons of government, and thus function merely as dummies.	26	86%

Table 3 reveals the perceptions of students about female political leadership. The lowest perception range is 16% for our society does not support female political leadership, and the highest perception range is 86% for female political leaders are only spokes persons of the government, and thus function merely as dummies.

Table 4

Perception of successful female leaders (N=30)

Themes Emerged	Frequency	Percentage
1. Who are loyal to political cause	4	13%
2. Who are focused about their objectives	9	30%
3. Who are cautious	11	36%
4. Who show responsibilities	18	60%
5. Who put their capabilities to practice	1	70%

Table 4 reveals the perceptions of students about successful female leaders. The lowest perception range is 13% for female leaders who are loyal to political cause, and the highest perception range is 70% for female leaders who put their capabilities to practice.

Table 5

Perception of successful male leaders (N=30)

Themes Emerged	Frequency	Percentage
1. Who have clarity about their objectives	13	43%
2. Who takes politics as full time profession	15	50%
3. Who takes pressures	19	63%
4. Who can take bold decisions	23	76%
5. Who is Sociable and can easily mix up with society.	16	86%

Table 5 reveals the perceptions of students about successful male leaders. The lowest perception range is 43% for male leaders who have clarity about their objectives, and the highest perception range is 86% for male leaders who is sociable and can easily mix up with society

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Table 6

Perception about practical difference in male and female political leadership (N=30)

Themes Emerged	Frequency	Percentage
1. It is a subjective opinion of individuals.	7	23%
2. Gender does not play much role in causing differences its more of a individual personality.	11	36%
3. In policies and objectives both are same.	17	56%
4. Decision making power is more in male leaders as compare to female leaders.	27	90%

Table 6 reveals the perceptions of students about practical differences which are present in male and female political leadership. The lowest perception range is 7% for it is a subjective opinion of individuals, and the highest perception range is 90% for decision making power is more in male leaders as compare to female leaders.

Focus Groups with Political Parties Representatives. Two focus groups were conducted with Pakistan Muslim League (PML), and Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian (PPPP) representatives, and the participants consisted of 16 representatives (males=8; females=8).

Table 7

Perception about leadership (N=16)

Themes Emerged	Frequency	Percentage
1. Leadership is behavior of commanding the minds of common man.	2	12%
2. In leadership, leader should always be benevolent.	3	18%
3. In leadership, leader has holistic approach.	7	43%
4. In leadership, the leaders are considered to be brave or confident.	8	50%
5. Leadership is a process of showing the direction.	9	56%

Table 7 reveals the perceptions of representatives of political parties about leadership. The lowest perception range is 12% for the leadership is behavior of commanding the minds of common man, and the highest perception range is 56% for the leadership is a process of showing the direction.

Table 8

Perception about Political Leadership in Pakistan (N=16)

Themes Emerged	Frequency	Percentage
1. Political leaders must follow law.	2	12%
2. Political leaders should not refuse anybody for help.	3	18%
3. Political leaders must be elected by the people.	10	62%
4. Political leaders are not honest towards nation.	11	68%
5. A political leadership must look after the interest of the people then their own.	13	81%

Table 8 reveals the perceptions of representatives of political parties about political leadership. The lowest perception range is 12% for in political leadership, political leaders must follow law, and the highest perception range is 81% for in political leadership, political leaders must look after the interest of the people then their own.

Table 9

Perception about female political leadership in Pakistan (N=16)

Themes Emerged	Frequency	Percentage
1. Acceptance by male counterparts, so their decisions can be heard.	4	25%
2. Female political leaders are usually not empowered enough.	6	37%
3. Religion Islam doesn't restrict female political leadership.	10	62%
4. Female leaders are approachable to those ladies who are hesitant to go to male leaders.	13	81%

Table 9 reveals the perceptions of representatives of political parties about female political leadership. The lowest perception range is 25% for female political leadership acceptance by the male counterparts is necessary, so that their decisions can be heard, and the highest perception range is 81% for female leaders are approachable to those ladies who are hesitant to go to male leaders.

Table 10

Perception of successful female leaders (N=16)

Themes Emerged	Frequency	Percentage
1. Who is graceful.	3	18%
2. Who works like male counter parts.	7	43%
3. Who is value based.	8	50%
4. Who is a good spokes persons.	9	56%
5. Who is confident and educated, who can take independent decisions	11	68%
6. Who has support of family.	12	75%
7. Who Maintains consistency in achievements of political goals.	13	81%

Table 10 reveals the perceptions of representatives of political parties about successful female leaders. The lowest perception range is 18% for who is graceful, and the highest perception range is 81% for who maintains consistency in achievements of political goals.

Table 11

Perception of successful male leaders (N=16)

Themes Emerged	Frequency	Percentage
1. Who is generous.	3	18%
2. Who shows full committment towards public.	6	37%
3. Who can take pressure.	9	56%
4. Who Can easily mix up with common man.	14	87%

Table 11 reveals the perceptions of representatives of political parties about successful male leaders. The lowest perception range is 18% for perception of successful male leaders who is generous, and the highest perception range is 87% for male leaders who can easily mix up with common man.

Table 12

Perception about practical difference in male and female political leadership (N=30)

Themes Emerged	Frequency	Percentage
1. Female leaders are helpful in organizing election campaigns.	3	18%
2. Male leaders usually adopt autocratic style.	10	62%
3. Female leaders are more responsible.	11	68%
4. No difference in male and female political leadership.	13	81%

Table 12 reveals the perceptions of students about practical differences which are present in male and female political leadership. The lowest perception range is 18% for female leaders are helpful in organizing election campaigns, and the highest perception range is 81% for no difference is present in male and female political leadership.

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Interviews Analysis

Interview with a Female Political Party Representative

Perception regarding Leadership. Participant was taken from the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and was inquired about her perception about leadership; she responded that in leadership the leader must have a commitment, and have a futuristic approach, and vision, and have a courage to lead the nation for a better future and brings prosperity in nation.

Perception regarding Political Leadership. In political leadership, ambiguity present in the mind of political leaders; the leader must have clarity of mind. In political leadership the courage for decision making is also necessary.

Perception regarding Female Political Leadership. In female political leadership, the female leaders are the source of strength and inspiration for other females. The female leaders are very truthful and committed towards nation. She also gave her opinion about the female leader Ms. Benazir Bhutto that:

"She has an unusual, dynamic and charismatic personality. She faced many hurdles in her political life".

She further responded that in Female Political Leadership the media portrays or shows the picture of females in which they are shown as prisoners which leave a bad impact on the perception of the people about female leaders, because the detention orders discouraged the female leader's empowerment in politics. According to her:

"The empowerment of the female leader is basically their education, if the female leaders are educated, then she will be a good leader".

She further responded that when the female leader enters in politics, she works like male counter parts. According to her:

"If the female leader is strong and doing her work seriously then the people accept them as a leader".

Perception of Successful Female Political Leader. About the perception of successful female political leaders the female representative held the opinion that:

"There is a need of consistency in female political leaders about their profession and if they are consistent in their decisions then the people respect their cause".

According to her a female leader must have strong personality and character strength. She further responded that the female leaders need to be a strong decision maker and knows the basic issues. Fear of imprisonment and maltreatment by police restrict female's active participation in politics.

Perception of Successful Male Political Leader. About the perception of successful male political leaders she responded that:

"Males leaders can easily mix up with society, can go to gali, muhala, and are more interactive because of their freedom in mobility, and they has all advantage related to communication".

Perception regarding practical difference in male and female political leadership. The male leaders get more advantages in politics related to the communication; and female leaders are strong decision makers

Perception regarding Leadership Behaviors in which Male/Female Political Leaders differ. About the perception regarding leadership behaviors in which male and female political leaders differ, the leadership behavior forced choice question was given to the female representative and the forced choice responses were elaborated by the respondents on inquiry. And regarding this forced choices question the female representative held her opinion that female leaders have more *consulting* style of decision making because by taking information from everyone then they made any decision. In delegating *behavior;* female leaders delegate the political responsibilities to

their followers more efficiently. In mentoring *behavior;* female leaders are good in guiding others towards the achievement of political goals. In intellectually *stimulating behavior;* female leaders are good enough in exciting the abilities of other persons towards the achievement of political goals. In networking *behavior;* female leaders are good in maintaining the relationship with others who are either the source of the support or information. In the problem *solving behavior;* the female leaders are good problem solvers; they solve the problems of others by taking an appropriate measure. In *rewarding behavior;* female leaders give assistance and praise to the right persons who are doing best, and female leaders also have a good *role model behavior;* because there are limited female leaders in Pakistan and those women are regarded as a role model or inspiration for others.

The perception regarding male political leadership behaviors she responded that the *influencing upward behavior* is mostly present in male leaders because the higher rank peoples are easily approachable by them and mostly male peoples have an edge in this area because of masculine perception of acceptability of male leaders. In *inspiring behavior;* male leaders can easily motivated others towards the goal attainment, and in planning *behavior;* male leaders doing more planning regarding designing objectives, strategies and procedures for political goals. In supporting *behavior;* male leaders are more encouraging. In *Team building behavior;* male leaders are good in encouraging others and provide enthusiasm for the achievement of political goals.

Interview with a Male Political Party Representative

Perception Regarding Leadership. Participant was taken from the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), and was inquired about his perception about leadership; he responded that that leadership is a God gifted quality and leaders are born not made and leadership is an inherited process in the sense that mostly leaders learn through their respective family political environment. He further responded that:

"Leadership is a process in which leader is clear about their agendas".

Perception Regarding Political Leadership.   In political leadership future prediction is done and the political leadership is not for everyone. He further responded that:

"In politics if the leader possess leadership qualities, if the leader is productive, if the leader take initiative, take bold decisions and if the leaders has spark in the personality then the leader come and give their fair chance to the nation; regardless of their gender ".

Perception Regarding Female Political Leadership.   Their is no need of gender biasness concept used for female political leadership. In female political leadership, female leaders are more responsible and motivated towards their political cause. He further responded that:

"There is no restriction in Islam regarding female political leadership, but the female political leaders must do all things in a set limit; as prescribed by the religion for females".

Perception of Successful Female Political Leader.   The female political leaders need to be more confident in a male dominated society to maintain her position in politics and she also needs to adopt a firm decisive nature that is more important in the politics and their objectives should be focused to give a proper time to the politics.

Perception of Successful Male Political Leader.   The male leaders need to be fully committed towards the public and set aside their personal issue and adopt tolerance towards the opposition party.

Perception regarding practical difference in male and female political leadership.   Female leaders are more relationship oriented and supporting, whereas male leaders are more focused. Males usually adopt the autocratic style, whereas female leaders adopt participative style.

Perception regarding Leadership Behaviors in which Male/Female Political Leaders differ.   About the perception regarding leadership behaviors in which male

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and female political leaders differ the leadership behavior forced choice question was given to the male representative and regarding this forced choice question, the male representative responded that *consulting behavior* is mostly present in female leaders because they invite others in decision making process, he narrated their political leaders (Ms. Benazir) that *"she is a consulting leader"*, and females mostly adopt participative style, whereas male leaders adopt autocratic style. In *intellectually stimulating behavior; female* leaders are good in encouraging the abilities of their followers towards political goals. In *planning behavior;* female leader's do more planning because in male dominated society the female leaders should finish the dilemma that female can't accept any responsibilities so they do more planning, he further responded that " males work more strategically basis on planning and female mostly consult others to resolves problems and issues". In supporting *behavior;* female leaders are more supportive towards their followers and help them in each and every situation. In role *modeling behavior;* females are best role models because female leaders are lead by their exemplary behaviors. In downward *communication behavior;* female leaders are involved mostly in this behavior because they have no easy access to the higher ranks persons.

About the perception regarding male political leadership behaviors he responded that delegating *behavior* is mostly present in a male leaders because they effectively assign the political responsibilities to the right person. In influencing *upward behavior;* upper class management is easily accessible by the male leaders. In inspiring *others behaviors;* male leaders are good motivators they motivate their followers to work on a right direction. In mentoring *behaviors;* male are good mentors they guide the people towards the achievement of the political goals, females are good mentors because of their relational styles and males are also good mentors but they are more focused on meeting the ends. In networking *behavior;* male leaders are also good in maintaining the relationship with others who are either the source of the support or information. In problem *solving behavior;* male leaders patiently solve the problems of their followers through objective measures. In rewarding *behavior;* male leaders are giving praise and promotions to the talented ones. In team *building behavior;* male leaders can easily bring enthusiasm in the team and work for the achievement of political goals.

Summary of the Results

The present research was exploratory one, and thematic analysis technique was used to analyze the data. For this, 3 focus groups discussions were conducted with 30 University students (males=14; females=16). For the perception of leadership, results showed that leadership is essential for every nation and it is inherited through learning and experiences. As far as the perception of political leadership in Pakistan is concerned: it is based on self interest and short sightedness. For the perception of female political leadership in Pakistan, the results showed that female political leaders were seen as a "dummy figures", dependent, non-functional. It also seemed that politics is not something for females but if any female do come into it, it shows strong decision making on her part. The findings of the research for the perception of successful female political leaders revealed that those females were considered successful who showed responsibilities, capability, are cautious, and focused. For the perception of successful male political leaders, results showed that those males were considered successful who had clarity in their objectives, took bold decisions, took pressures, and could easily mix up with society. As far as the perception of practical difference present in male and female political leadership is concerned, the results showed that mostly thought that decision making is a distinctive criterion for practical difference in male and female leaders, but otherwise for practicing male and female leaders differences are not there in Pakistan.

The two focus groups discussions were also conducted with 16 political parties representatives (males=8 females=8). As far as the perception of leadership is concerned, following personality trait that emerged shows that a leader directs, is brave, confident, have vision, benevolent, and commanding. For the perception of political leadership in Pakistan, results showed that political leadership follows law, and political leaders should not refuse any body for help. As far as the perception of female political leadership in Pakistan is concerned, the female leaders are not empowered enough, and female leaders are approachable to those ladies who are hesitant to go to male leaders. The findings of the results for the perception of successful female leaders revealed, that female leaders are graceful, value based, confident, and educated. For the perception of successful male leaders: the male leaders are generous, take pressures, and committed. As far as the perception of practical difference present in male and female political

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leadership is concerned, results showed that female leaders are used in organizing the election campaigns, female leaders are responsible and male leaders usually adopt autocratic style in leadership.

The two in-depth interviews discussions were also conducted with two representative of PPP (Pakistan Peoples Party). The findings of perception of leadership, gave following themes, i.e., leader must have a commitment, futuristic approach, and have vision. For the perception of political leadership in Pakistan, results showed that in political leadership the leader must have clarity of mind, have futuristic approach, taking bold decisions. As far as the perception of female political leadership in Pakistan is concerned, following themes are emerged, i.e, that female leaders are a source of strength and inspiration, truthful, committed, motivated, and responsible. For the perception of successful female leaders, the results showed that female leaders have focused objectives. The findings of the results for perception of successful male leaders, the following themes are emerged that male leaders are more interactive, sociable, and take pressures. For the perception of practical difference present in male and female political leadership, the results showed that female leaders are strong decision makers, relationship oriented, supporting whereas male leaders have advantage related to communication, and mostly adopt autocratic style.

Observation by the Researcher

During the process of data collection the researcher observed some interesting points, these observations are as follows:

1.   It was a common though not verbalized feeling among the participants that Political Leadership is only related to men and has nothing to do with women.

2.   It was noticed that people were particularly seen quite emotional, and confirmed about their views when questions related to the nature of the issue were asked. They were seen quite confident and sure of their opinion but allowed very less digging.

3.   The attitude of male (Nazims) Political Party Representative, was quite humiliating towards conduction of focus groups with female councilors as they thought and stated:

"یہ آپ کو کیا بتائیں گی"

The same feeling was felt amongst female's councilors as they appeared not sure of their status. They commented:

"We are here to participate in a conference (which they had to attend after focus group discussions) and they don't know anything about politics".

DISCUSSION

DISCUSSION

The major aim of present research was to explore the perception of students and political parties representatives about Political Leadership. The study was conducted in two phases: Phase-I of the research dealt with developing of interview schedule/focus groups questioning route. In Phase-II, which is a main study, part-I, dealt with three focus groups discussions that were conducted with 30 University students (males=14; females=16), and questions were asked about their perception of leadership, political leadership in Pakistan, female political leadership in Pakistan, perception of successful female leaders, perception of successful male leaders, perception of practical difference in male and female political leadership see (Annexure A). In part-II, two focus groups discussions were conducted with 16 political parties representatives (males=8; females=8), and questions were asked about their perception of leadership, political leadership in Pakistan, female political leadership in Pakistan, perception of successful female leaders, perception of successful male leaders, perception of practical difference in male and female political leadership see (Annexure A). In part-III, two in-depth interviews discussions were conducted with two representatives of (PPPP) Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian MNAs (male and female), and questions were asked about their perception of leadership, political leadership in Pakistan, female political leadership in Pakistan, perception of successful female leaders, perception of successful male leaders, perception of practical difference in male and female political leadership see (Annexure A), and a forced choice question about leadership behavior in which male and female leaders differ was also included along with interviews questions see (Annexure B). The discussion in this part of the research is elaborated in the light of those in-depth answers which were given to the researcher during focus groups and interviews discussions

The finding of the present research highlighted mainly six broad perspectives regarding Political Leadership.

1.   Perception about Leadership.
2.   Perception about Political Leadership in Pakistan.

3. Perception about Female Political Leadership in Pakistan.
4. Perception of successful female leaders.
5. Perception of successful male leaders.
6. Perception of practical difference in male and female Political Leadership.

The analysis of focus groups discussions revealed general understanding of participants about Leadership and the findings highlighted that 56% of the participants were of the view that leadership is a process of showing direction. This is also described in a study of Jacobs (1970) in which he stated that leadership is described in terms of the ability to lead, to showing direction, including inspiring others in a shared vision. In leadership, leaders have clear visions and they communicate these visions to their followers.

The present research also explored how people perceive political leadership in Pakistan; in this regard the findings of research revealed 90% of the participants were of the view that in political leadership benefits are given to family/friends only. It can be analyzed it in the study of Zia (2004) point of view, she stated that "in political leadership, there are political members who are relatives of prominent or active male members of parties, mostly with an affluent background. Most of these members are not directly involved in politics, even with the activities of their parties. Ironically, they reap most of the fortunes of party politics and get maximum share in top party positions, and secure tickets as well as high positions in the government".

The findings of the research also revealed the perception about female political leadership, 50% of the participants were of the view that for female political leadership, there is no restriction in Islam. To support this research findings by Rehman (2004) stating that, the Qur'an does not propose or support a singular role or single definition of a set of roles, exclusively, for each gender across every culture. Women can also hold political positions in Islam. No Qur'anic verses exist that prevent women from holding positions of leadership.

The present research also explored how people perceive female political leadership. In this regard the findings of research revealed that 56% of the participants were of the view that females who have joined politics have shown that they are not

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weak. It was also seem that politics is not something for females but if any female do come into it, it shows strong decision making on her part. To support this research findings a study by Zia (2004) has made the observation that the highest ever number of women contested and won elections in 2002 on general seats, taking women's overall legislative representation to almost 20%. This aspect of women's political participation has shattered the myth that women are not ready or willing to come into politics.

The research findings also highlight that in the perception of practical difference in male and female political leadership, 90% of the participants were of the view that the decision making power is mostly given to the male leaders instead of female leaders. To support this, a study by Zia (2004) explains that women's political members lack autonomy in decision-making; they cannot take independent decisions and even their recommendations carry no mandatory weight; they have no rules to govern their functioning; they have no fixed or a separate budget; monetary constraints impede their independent working to organize program's or undertake independent initiatives. This was further supported by the comments and attitudes of Male Nazims during focus groups discussions with females The attitude of male (Nazims) was quite humiliating towards conduction of focus groups with female councilors as they thought and stated:

<div dir="rtl">

" یہ آپ کو کیا بتا ئیں گی "

</div>

The research findings also highlighted the perception of 81% of the participants about successful female leaders is that they need to be fully educated and confident, so as to take their own independent decisions. A research conducted by (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Foschi, 2000) explains this phenomenon as it state that in most of working organizations men have greater access than women to leadership roles, thus it is required that women be more highly qualified than men to obtain leadership roles in the first place so the female leaders take decision on their own.

The research findings also highlight that in the perception of practical difference in male and female political leadership, 18% of the participants were of the view that the female leaders are helpful in organizing election campaigns. It can be analyzed it in the study of Zia (2004), she stated that a fewer number of women occupy positions in the decision-making bodies of political parties; women's wings exist and operate more

like appendages to main party structures; political parties continue to view women as passive vote bank and treat them largely as followers to be strategically used for election campaigns and public meetings.

The findings of the results revealed that when explored perception regarding female political leadership; female MNA responded that female leaders are very committed, trusted and truthful towards their nation. A research conducted by Merton (1957) concluded that female leaders are more trustworthy and are able to implement new style faster. Merton further quoted that; female leader in Peru is characterized as: "She's a good woman, the woman who is going to move us forward, because the men can't be trusted".

The findings of the results also revealed that when explored perception regarding leadership behavior in which male or female leaders differ, female MNA responded that role modeling and mentoring behavior is mostly present in female leaders. A research conducted by Evanston (2005) explains this phenomenon admitting that female leaders are "more likely to be transformational leaders, "defined as those who serve as role models, mentor and empower workers and encourage innovation even when they lead is generally successful".

The findings of the results also revealed that when perception regarding leadership behavior in which male or female leaders differ was explored, female MNA responded that inspiring others behavior is mostly present in male leaders. A research conducted by MacGregor (1998) rejects this view and stated that in political leadership most female leaders' posses' greater ability to motivate and inspire followers in order to achieve optimal goals. The results of this may have been hampered by the role model available to the female political leaders' i.e., Benazir Bhutto, who has proved to be an inspirational leader.

Findings of the present research revealed the common attitude of our society towards women and gender roles (Masood, as cited in Akram, 2006). Responses reflecting traditional gender role attitudes include that a women should not step out of the boundaries prescribed for her by society, be modest, "value-based".

One important aspect of the findings that was observed during the discussions, was the patriarchal system, some respondents highlighted that there is no need of female participations in politics because we have a deep rooted patriarchal system. These results are in accordance with the findings of Tangri and Hayes (as cited in Akram, 2006) who stated that men are expected to exercise, and are socialized for, dominance leadership, sexual initiatives and persistence, self-interest and decisiveness women are expected to exercise, and are socialized for submissiveness and nurturance, that is in contradiction with the reality of leadership roles, thus presenting a double blind for female leaders.

Implications of the Present Research

1. The present research is conducted to study the perception about Political Leadership. The research is highly beneficial because it is done with the political parties representatives, and the research is also highly beneficial in the sense that it will help the political parties to understand the importance of political leadership.

2. The present research naturally leads to more research opportunities and questions.

3. Gender differences may well be taken into account regarding political leadership.

4. This research is conducted in a political scenario will serve as a pioneer for a new beginning and orientation of psychological research in Pakistan in the field of leadership studies.

Limitations of the Present Research

As the sample included people from political parties representatives, so getting time from these peoples was very difficult, due to many commitments and political situation of the country. That is why the researcher could sample very small number of people from political parties.

Another aspect was that along with difficulty it was also disadvantageous that some people did not express as clearly and openly as many superfluous terminologies were used. It was also difficult to handle the focus groups discussions and keep interview guideline on track, as people used to exaggerate and got into extra details of the issue they felt was important, repetition was so much made by single participants, getting the maximum information on every theme was very difficult, as perception could not be as clear in the minds of the respondents, as required by the researcher. During the study it was also found that personal and religious issues are also very important to study which could not be included in this study.

Suggestions

The suggestions for the present research are as follows:

1. More focus groups, interviews must be conducted with political parties representatives.

2. Perspectives of different political parties must be taken into account.

3. View point of general public from different spheres of life who are probable voters must be taken as it's a national process of nation-wide importance.

4. A quantitative measure could also be used to measure leadership style of male and female political party representatives.

5. A qualitative measure to see gender role attitude of political party representatives and general public may also be taken into account to get any significant finding.

6. Religious issues were also taken into account regarding political leadership.

Conclusion

The present research is an exploratory study that is the first of its kind in Pakistan and one of the few in Asia. It will provide a substantial knowledge concerning political leadership. This research will also contribute significantly towards theory building in the field of leadership in Pakistan and elsewhere. However findings revealed that everyone had some point of view, even they did not have any thorough knowledge but stood for their opinion. This shows general attitude and perception of our society regarding political leadership. Moreover such studies can help political leaders understand the nature of leadership.

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ANNEXURES

FOCUS GROUP GUIDE FOR STUDENTS AND POLITICAL PARTIES REPRESENTATIVES

SR#	QUESTIONS
1	What is your personal opinion about leadership?
2	What is your opinion about political leadership in Pakistan?
3	What is your opinion about female political leadership in Pakistan?
4	What is your perception about successful female leaders?
5	What is your perception about successful male leaders?
6	Is there any practical difference between male and female political Leadership?

PERCEPTION OF LEADERSHIP BEHAVIOURS FOR POLITICAL PARTY REPRESENTATIVES (MNAs)

Mark which of the behaviors given below are more present in male or female political leaders.

SR #	Leadership Behaviors	Male	Female
1	Consulting		
2	Delegating		
3	Influencing upward		
4	Inspiring others		
5	Intellectually stimulating		
6	Mentoring		
7	Networking		
8	Planning		
9	Problem solving		
10	Rewarding		
11	Role modeling		
12	Supporting		
13	Team building		
14	Downward communication		