

**Women Parliamentarians in the Politics of Punjab  
(A Case Study of Musharraf Era)**



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## **DECLARATION**

I, **Shahzaib Aslam** Roll No. **1719-BH-HIS-17**, student of **B.A (Hons)** in the subject of **History session 2017-2021**, hereby declare that the work printed in the thesis titled **Women Parliamentarians in the Politics of Punjab (A case study of Musharraf era)** is my own work and has not been previously printed, published and submitted in any University, research institution in Pakistan or abroad.

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## Research Completion Certificate

It is certified that the research work contained in this research dissertation titled **“Women Parliamentarians in the Politics of Punjab (A case study of Musharraf Era)”** has been Carried out and completed by Mr. **Shahzaib Aslam** Roll no. **1719-BH-HIS-17** under the supervisor of **Dr. Huma Pervaiz**.

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## **ABSTRACT**

The research topic of this study is “Women Parliamentarians in the Politics of Punjab (A case study of Musharraf era)”. This research examined the role of Women Parliamentarians in Punjab Politics for the rights of Women. It explores why women are underrepresented. It also focused on the initiatives and steps taken by the General Pervez Musharraf government and Women Parliamentarians for the Political Empowerment of Women. It clarified the resolutions and laws passed by Female Parliamentarians in order to represent the Political empowerment of women. This study explores the status of women in Punjab society. It enlightened the gender disparity and confinement women faced within the household by men in the male dominant society. It examines the legislations, resolutions, departments, and institutions made for the Political empowerment of women.

**Key Words:** Women Parliamentarians, Legislations, and Representation of Women, Punjab Politics, Pervez Musharraf Era, Representation, Hurdles, Solutions.

## INTRODUCTION

The status of women and representation at provincial and local level had changed enough in General Musharraf Era. Females were empowered politically as well socially in his regime. The women status in a society is determined through the combination of diverse social as well as political and religious factors along with the structural setting of society for in order to develop working conditions for females. Pakistani women have faced sufficient problems in ensuring sufficient places in the society throughout the history of Pakistan.<sup>1</sup> The position of females has not just been dominated by men at home but also at the social as well as political levels. Aside from that, female's legal standing seems to be in doubt. It comes as no surprise that Pakistan is primarily a patriarchal country dominated by men. Nevertheless, according to Bari, female's condition in relation to males is among systematic subjugation, controlled by patriarchal pressures across strata, geographies, and the sparsely populated split.<sup>2</sup>

Pakistan has comparable legal structures in operation, which is producing uncertainty in community overall. The systematic interplay of relevant laws, Islamic law, and social customs shapes Pakistani female's destiny to the point of abuse. As a result, institutionalized equality in official laws frequently conflicts with long-held conventional norms. At other end, Article 25 of the Constitution provides fairness to all people, regardless of gender, ethnicity, or status, and authorizes the authorities to enact equal treatment to preserve and enhance females' equality. On the other side, there are various oppressive laws that harm females.<sup>3</sup>

Between 2000 to 2012, there were significant variations in the level of modifications, the emergence of innovative legislation, and the repeal of biased legislation against females. Supportive regulations included the "Criminal Law (Amendment) Act of 2004" as well as "Protection of Women Bill of 2006", the "Criminal Acid Act", the "Status of Women Bill", rules against dignity-based murders and sexual misconduct, and the implementation of a points-based system concerned with the political participation of females.<sup>4</sup> Several efforts have been launched

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<sup>1</sup> Farzana, Bari. *Women in Pakistan: Country briefing paper*. Asian Development Bank, 2000.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Shahid, Jaweria. "Position of Pakistani women in 21st century: a long way to go." *The Journal of Political Science* 30 (2012): 69.

<sup>4</sup> Pal, Khawaja Muhammad Inam, Hassaan Bari, and Sana Nasim. "Pancreaticoduodenectomy: a developing country perspective." *Journal of the Pakistan Medical Association* 61, no. 3 (2011): 232.

via judicial processes to fight the issue of female prejudice in Pakistan. Yet, female's rights advocates are still dissatisfied since the true core of the Islamization procedure has not been abolished; instead, it appears to have been muted.<sup>5</sup>

General Pervaiz Musharraf reinstated military rule in 1999. In 2000, he implemented the Local Political Structure, which gave females of Pakistan with a 33 percent presence in local govt and 17 percent of presence at national level as well as in the provincial assemblies of Pakistan. That's the first moment when any Asian nation granted such significant support to females in governmental routes. The General Pervez Musharraf's administration also established a 5% limit for females in public offices.<sup>6</sup> On Global Female's Day as of 2002, General Pervez Musharraf established the State Council for Women, whose primary purpose was to protect female's rights as citizens of Pakistan.<sup>7</sup> The General Pervez Musharraf's government furthermore implemented a for-females legislation, the "Criminal Amendment Act of 2004", that also authorized court justices to severely punish the guilty even though the personal representative of the complainant pardon him and to bar him from receiving any proportion of inherited wealth from the property of the person effected in the incident, like mostly the guilty people are the close relatives of the person victimized.<sup>8</sup>

Punjab is the largest province of Pakistan in terms of population while having a total population of 54,046,759 females in the province while constituting half of the population of Punjab.<sup>9</sup> The representation of females in the political affairs is seen to be very noticeable to be explored while being the largest province in terms of population of females. As reported above, General Pervez Musharraf has performed several actions in order to facilitate sufficient representation to female politicians in Pakistan, there is need to explore the representation of females in the province having nearly equal population figure of females compared to males in the province.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Hassan, Daniyal, and Omar Farooq. "Women's Protection Bill: A Case of Men's Insecurities." *DAWN News* 24 (2016).

<sup>7</sup> Weiss, Anita M. *Moving forward with the legal empowerment of women in Pakistan*. US Institute of Peace, 2012.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> "Population of Punjab Census 2022," Pakistan Information. <https://www.pakistaninformation.com/population/punjab.html>

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

Thus, the research examined the “ Women Parliamentarians in the Politics of Punjab (A case study of Musharraf era)”. The present research primarily focused on the legislations done in order to empower females in Punjab; political representation of females in Punjab Assembly and their active participation in legislative activities; problems and hurdles faced by female politicians in their active participation; and the potential solutions designed to resolve these problems faced by female politicians in Punjab Assembly during the era of General Pervez Musharraf.

## **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

When the study explored the previous literature concerning the era of General Pervez Musharraf and his contributions towards empowering females in Pakistan, the study identified some of the following questions which the previously existing historical research lacks in answering:

- Were the females in Punjab empowered in the political spaces during the era of General Pervez Musharraf?
- What kind of Hurdles were faced by Women Parliamentarians in Punjab?
- Were any potential solutions introduced to solve the problems faced by women identified in the present research?

## **STATEMENT OF PROBLEM**

This research argues to what extent the women was minimal in Politics since the inception of Pakistan. But in General Musharraf Era, the status of women and representation at provincial and local level had changed enough. Females were much more empowered politically as well socially in his regime.

## **RELEVANCE AND IMPORTANCE OF RESEARCH**

This topic of research is very important and relevant to the role of women parliamentarians in Punjab politics and the status of women in our society. It is relevant enough to discuss the legislation and the representation of women parliamentarian in Punjab. It is relevant to the Political and Women Empowerment, Gender Equality, Women's Rights, NGOs, international organizations that work for women's rights, etc. Overall, it discusses the Political status of women in Punjab Politics.

- The present research primarily focuses on legislations done by the Punjab Assembly by the female politicians during the era of General Pervez Musharraf which represents the significance of this research.
- Moreover, the present research includes the problems faced by female politicians in participating actively in different political activities as well as legislations during the era of General Pervez Musharraf.
- The present research explores the potential solutions developed by the Punjab Assembly for empowering women in Punjab during the era of General Pervez Musharraf. As this has not been previously studied, the present research will increase the existing literature concerning efforts of government to empower females.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Several historians<sup>11</sup> in their books have represented that efforts on women's empowerment had been quite minimal. Their research primarily focused on exploring the representation of females in the political platforms and the problems which they have faced while making their positions in the political platforms. Since women found more than half of the world's population<sup>12</sup> but still, they are lacking behind in the decision and policy-making process of their countries.<sup>13</sup> Past research of several historians as well as sciences researchers have represented those females have not been provided sufficient position in the society compared to men.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Sangster, Joan, *One hundred years of struggle: The history of women and the vote in Canada*, *ubc Press*, 2018; Whites, LeeAnn, "Women and the Creation of Urban Life", *Dallas, Texas, 1843–1920*. By Elizabeth York Enstam. (College Station, Creating the New Woman: The Rise of Southern Women's Progressive Culture in Texas, 1893–1918. By Judith N. McArthur, (Urbana and Pauline Periwinkle and Progressive Reform in Dallas. By Jacquelyn Masur McElhaney, (College Station." (2000): 676-678; Abrams, Lynn, *the making of modern woman*. Routledge, 2016; Laughlin, Kathleen A., Julie Gallagher, Dorothy Sue Cobble, Eileen Boris, Premilla Nadasen, Stephanie Gilmore, and Leandra Zarnow, "Is it time to jump ship? Historians rethink the waves metaphor," *Feminist Formations* (2010): 76-135; Allen, Ann Taylor, "Feminism and motherhood in Germany, 1800-1914," *In Feminism and Motherhood in Germany, 1800-1914*, Rutgers University Press, 1991; Swerdlow, Amy, *Women strike for peace: Traditional motherhood and radical politics in the 1960s*, *University of Chicago Press*, (1993); Alexander, Amy C., Catherine Bolzendahl, and Farida Jalalzai, eds, *Measuring women's political empowerment across the globe: Strategies, challenges and future research*, *Springer*, (2017).

<sup>12</sup> Welch, Susan. "Women as political animals? A test of some explanations for male-female political participation differences." *American Journal of Political Science* (1977): 711-730.

<sup>13</sup> Bano, Saira. "Women in parliament in Pakistan: Problems and potential solutions." *Women's Studies Journal* 23, no. 1 (2009): 19.

<sup>14</sup> Ahmad, Akhlaq, Qaisar Khalid Mahmood, Muhammad Saud, and Siti Mas'udah. "Women in Democracy: The political participation of women." *Masyarakat, Kebudayaan dan Politik* 32, no. 2 (2019): 114-122.

A previous research by Shazia Noareen and Asmat Naz<sup>15</sup> examined the emancipation of women in the era of General Pervez Musharraf depicted the efforts made to empower females in the era of General Pervez Musharraf while revealing that females in Pakistan faced sufficiently great problems in gaining equal domestic and social rights in the patriarchal society of Pakistan. The study depicted that Pakistan is having a culture of man dominance and females were provided with near to no rights at their household matters even. In such a situation, imagining the equal representation provided to the females in outdoor activities including the political affairs was near to impossible. However, General Pervez Musharraf brought sufficient change in the country concerning the empowerment of females by providing them with a sufficient chance of representation in the different political and other platforms. Saba Gul Khattak<sup>16</sup> focused on the representation of females in the local government of Pakistan formed in 2001 as well as in 2005. The research primarily considered the 33 percent of representation of females in the Pakistan as per the ordinance of General Pervez Musharraf. The study represented that there is a vast difference in the rules and regulations for females in the different era of military as well as civilian leadership which created significant differences in the results of the female's empowerment in the country. The study likewise represented those females have faced great hurdles in gaining sufficient position in political positions.<sup>17</sup> Allaudin<sup>18</sup> focused on the female's participation in the politics of Pakistan while considering the representation in the last two decades. It was found in the research that representation of females in Pakistan was very limited. However, the research depicted that there have been sufficient actions taken by the governments to improve the representation of females in Pakistan. The study represented that the role of females as voters in the country has increased to great extent in the last two decades as compared to the active participation of females in the voting activities.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Shazia Noareen and Asmat Naz, "Women Emancipation during Pervez Musharraf Era (1999-2008)", *Global Political Review*, VI(I), Pg. 165-172.

<sup>16</sup> Saba Gul Khattak, "Women in Local Government: The Pakistan Experience", *IDS Bulletin*, Volume 41, Number 5 September 2010.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Dr. Allaudin, Dr. Shahida Habib Alizai and Zareen Khan Rind, "Role of Women in Politics: A study of Political Participation in Pakistan", *Pakistan Journal of International Affairs*, Vol 3, Issue 2, 2020.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

The work of previous scholars<sup>20</sup> highlighted the role of education in the political and social life of women in a man dominating society while illustrating that since females are not having sufficient information or knowledge concerning their rights of equality. It was found in these studies that lack of education concerning females' rights was a key player in the domination of men since females were unaware about what their rights.<sup>21</sup> It was represented in prior research that in Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf worked on increasing focus on the education of females in Pakistan so that they can increase the knowledge of females and improve their empowerment in different areas of the country.<sup>22</sup> In terms of participation of females in Pakistan, a previous research by Muhammad Zakria Zakar and Ali Cheema et al.<sup>23</sup> considered the problems faced by females of Pakistan in order to make their positions in their homes as well as outside homes. It was found in the research that females in Pakistan were termed as household-limited only where their involvement in activities outside their homes were not allowed by males of families. The previous studies represented that there was a need to taking permission from the male members of the family to work outside the houses.<sup>24</sup> There was very limited participation of females in the political activities where females were unable to get sufficient support from the other members and workers of political parties. The biggest key player in little participation of females in Pakistan was the negative perception of females working in the political offices alongside men.<sup>25</sup>

While considering the role of female politicians in the political aspects of Pakistan, a book by Luckham Robin<sup>26</sup> considered the political representation of females in the politics of South Africa as well as Uganda. It was found that despite women females facing great problems in gaining position in politics, there had been vast effort in gaining position in politics while being one third

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<sup>20</sup> Amna Mahmood Sandhu, "Politics of Women's Education in Pakistan: An Analysis of Government Policies and Their implementation", Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, 2012; Shehzadi Zamurad Awan, "Relevance of Education of Women's Empowerment in Punjab, Pakistan", Journal of International Women's Studies, November 2016; Azra Asghar Ali, PhD, and M. Javaid Akhtar, PhD, "Empowerment and Political Mobilization of Women in Pakistan", A Descriptive Discourse of Perspectives, Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences, Vol. 32, No. 1 (2012), pg. 221-228; Dr. Allaudin, Dr. Shahida Habib Alizai and Zareen Khan Rind, "Role of Women in Politics: A study of Political Participation in Pakistan", Pakistan Journal of International Affairs, Vol 3, Issue 2, 2020.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Prof. Dr. Muhammad Zakria Zakar, "Strengthening Women's Political Participation and Leadership for effective Democratic Governance in Pakistan"; Ali Cheema, Sarah Khan, Shandana Khan Mohmand, Anam Kuraishi, Asad Liaqat and Fatiq Nadeem, "Women Political Participation in a Pakistan Metropolis: Navigating Gendered Household and Political Spaces", Policy Report, Institute of Development and Economic Alternatives, April 2019.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Luckham, Robin. No shortcuts to power: *African women in politics and policy making*. Vol. 3. Zed Books, 2003.

in the local government of South Africa. It was reported in the book that there has been sufficient role of political parties' efforts; support of the presidents in empowering females; active role of movements in support of increasing females' participation in politics.<sup>27</sup> In a previous book of Paxton et al.<sup>28</sup> focused on the females in power and politics while considering the problems faced by females in their lives at houses as well outside their homes. The book represents that females have faced great problems at global level including the beating from husbands, no right at homes, not allowed to work, not allowed to vote, not allowed to participate in politics as well as not allowed to work equally with men.<sup>29</sup> It was likewise reported in the book that at global level, despite facing great hurdles, women in different countries at global level did great efforts in order to get their basic rights as well as the rights to actively participate in the decision making and political activities.<sup>30</sup>

The present research examined the role of females in politics of Punjab of Pakistan in the era of General Pervez Musharraf where the present research examined from the existing literature, that prior research has focused on the actions of General Pervez Musharraf for empowering women at national level. However, the actions taken at the provisional level considering the largest province in terms of population while having a half of the female representation has not been studied so far. While considering the identified this literature gap, present research focused on finding the actions taken to empower females in Punjab in the era of General Pervez Musharraf while considering the problems faced by females in Punjab and potential solutions developed to solve these problems.

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study includes the methodological approach. Many women played pivotal role in civil rights movements in American-African society. Laila J. Rupp<sup>31</sup> has mentioned in her work about the struggle of women for their rights in civil society from domestic level to political purpose. In these regions feminist activists clung for achieving voting rights and in all professions of life. Elite and

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Paxton, Pamela Marie, Melanie M. Hughes, and Tiffany Barnes. *Women, politics, and power: A global perspective*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2020.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Leila J. Rupp, "Eleanor Flexner's Century of Struggle: Women's History and the Women's Movement," *NWSA Journal*. Vol. 4 No. 2 (summer 1992): 157-169. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4316194>

isolated group of women continued their struggle for women rights in men discriminated society. I am using her work in my thesis as Pakistani women parliamentarians struggled for their rights in getting political empowerment in Punjab politics.

The Primary nature of this study is Qualitative. Both Primary and Secondary Sources are used for research purposes. Punjab Assembly archives, Parliamentarians Debate, Laws passed for Women, Punjab Assembly library, Interviews and speeches of Parliamentarians, etc. are used in research as a primary source. Although, like, University Articles, Research papers, Journals, Books, Newspapers, Newspaper Articles, Achieves, Documentaries, Speeches, eBooks, online libraries, author reviews, etc. are used as a secondary source during research. Initiatives and steps taken by General Pervez Musharraf under his regime and resolutions and legislations of Women Parliamentarians are used in this research. All of these will be analyzed and only collect worthy and useful material among them. The present research has developed the current model of research while considering the research model adopted by previous studies.<sup>32</sup> The present research focused on the representations of females in Pakistani politics while focusing on Punjab, problems face by females in Punjab, and the potential solutions developed to solve all the problems which they have faced in actively participating in political activities in Pakistan.

## **AIMS AND OBJECTIVES**

The aim of the present research was to find that in the actions taken by General Pervez Musharraf to empower females in Punjab, what were the actions taken while considering the females of Punjab. Likewise, the study aimed to find the problems faced by females in Punjab region to enter and participate in politics in the era of General Pervez Musharraf. The study also aimed to find the that either some solutions were represented to solve these problems or not in the General Pervez Musharraf's era.

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<sup>32</sup> Bano, Saira. "Women in parliament in Pakistan: Problems and potential solutions." *Women's Studies Journal* 23, no. 1 (2009): 19; Latif, Arfan, Dr Ahmed Usman, Jafar Riaz Kataria, and Muhammad Abdullah. "Female political participation in South Asia: A case study of Pakistan." *South Asian Studies* 30, no. 2 (2020); Krook, Mona Lena. "Violence against women in politics." *Journal of Democracy* 28, no. 1 (2017): 74-88.

## **LIMITATIONS**

This research also has some limitations. There's no such detailed work on the role of women parliamentarians in Punjab Politics from 1999 to 2008. So, due to this, there is no complete book on this topic. This topic, links with other key topics. But don't have direct its own book. The present study was limited in gaining information through the interviews of the female politicians of Punjab who were politically involved in the political activity of 1999-2008.

# CHAPTER 1: ROLE OF WOMEN IN POLITICS

## (A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW)

### 1.1. INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1.1. REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN THE BRITISH ERA

The females' historical accounts in terms of their status in front of society and their families as well as at national level result back to 19<sup>th</sup> century when the females were provided with high esteem compared to great decline in their status and negligence for long time.<sup>33</sup> There was no proper support available to the females in India in terms of education as well as in terms of working professionally along with men. There were very lesser females who were working professionally while handling the house affairs as well.<sup>34</sup> However, foreigner rulers or Europeans were the ones who came up with new ideas regarding active participation and role of females in different activities all across Subcontinent. All the ideas of the Europeans were also adopted by the enlightened Indians who supported the implementation of new ideas which can help in improving the status of females in India.<sup>35</sup>

Females in India since 19<sup>th</sup> century started working on becoming part of reform activities while demanding for political rights as well as suffrage while getting support from British suffragists. A "Women's Indian Association" was formulated in Adyar Madras by "Margaret Cousins" in order to affect the government policy for providing the females' equal rights and providing them with necessary education.<sup>36</sup> When the request sent for talk about reforms was rejected, the application was revised while demanding for political demands concerning females which was approved as of 15 December 1917 where 14 females presented the females' suffrage demands in front of colonial administration.<sup>37</sup>

The concern of females in politics and other positions was not introduced by the colonial authorities in India, rather by the delegation of females which emerged in from of the secretary of

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<sup>33</sup> Forbes, Geraldine, and Geraldine Hancock Forbes. *Women in modern India.* Vol. 2. Cambridge university press, 1999.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Odeyar, S. B. "The role of Marathi women in the struggle for Indias freedom." (1989).

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

the state willingly as of 1917 when there were consultations being held for the preparation of the draft of "Government Act of India 1919".<sup>38</sup> Led by Sarojini Naidu who was a poet as well as a feminist and nationalist from Congress, these women emerged to help in consultations however, they were refused stating that this act was not for Indian women who are not interested in voting. Due to this, there were no rules and regulations designed for rights of females in the act of 1919.<sup>39</sup> However, as of 1920's, despite great hesitation, the question concerning the political rights of females emerged among the colonial authorities in India and this led to increasing focus on the modifications in the act where females' representation was a key factor considered.<sup>40</sup> There was a committee designed as of 1931 in order to work on the representation of females in politics. Based on the results of the committee's survey, it was found that females are also interested in participating in the politics. The committee acknowledged that females are also interested in participating actively in their decision-making processes of the country.<sup>41</sup>

Before 1935, there was a talk about providing women with electoral rights in the subcontinent, but things were just limited to talks. However, in the Government of India Act 1935, the representation of females in politics was incredible which was surprisingly against the colonial authorities and all others who were totally against the representation of females in politics.<sup>42</sup> As per the act, females were not just provided with electoral rights, but also reserved seats were allocated for females in order to actively participate and play their role in the legislation of the country.<sup>43</sup> Based on this, the women raised their voices at different forums over their fight for equal representation in British India over the colonial rules made by the opposition, still, the representation of females in Pakistan after independence was a question while being the biggest political issue just like that of India.<sup>44</sup>

Along with the representation of females in the politics, there was an active participation of females in the freedom movement of Pakistan where the females played a great role in participating actively in the efforts to get a nation where they are free to live their lives.<sup>45</sup> There were several

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<sup>38</sup> Mukherjee, Sumita. "Herabai Tata and Sophia Duleep Singh: Suffragette Resistances for India and Britain, 1910–1920." *South Asian Resistances in Britain, 1858-1947* (2011): 106.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Deivanai, P. "Feminist struggle for universal suffrage in India with special reference to Tamilnadu 1917 to 1952."

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Dhanda, Meena, ed. *Reservations for women*. Vol. 6. Women Unlimited, Kali for Women, 2008.

<sup>43</sup> Dutoya, Virginie. "A Representative Claim Made in the Name of Women?" *Revue française de science politique* 66, no. 1 (2016): 49-70.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Kasturi, Leela. "Development, patriarchy, and politics: Indian women in the political process, 1947-1992." (1995).

females who left their houses as well as jewelry and everything and migrated to Pakistan whereas several lost their lives in moving from India to Pakistan, yet they stood firmly with men in fight for a free nation.<sup>46</sup>

### **1.1.2. ROLE OF WOMEN IN POST-INDEPENDENCE POLITICS: (1947-1999)**

Pakistan is a country formulated in the name of Islam which has given great respect and several rights to women while giving importance to their presence rather than allowing them to be killed right after birth. Since independence in Pakistan, women have been showing their participation in politics, even though very little at the time of independence yet women have been actively present in the politics of Pakistan. Quaid-e-Azam always stated that Muslim women were equally responsible for the independence of Pakistan as were the Muslim men as both were having efforts as well as sacrifices for sake of this country.<sup>47</sup> Due to this, Quaid-e-Azam always kept his sister Fatima Ali Jinnah next to him wherever he went or addressed despite people not liking this. Fatima Ali Jinnah actively participated in the freedom movement of Pakistan while standing firmly with her brother. She was always there to stand with females and encouraged them to great extent in order to actively participate in the freedom movement for the formation of Pakistan.<sup>48</sup> There was a trend of keeping women at home and not allowing them to participate in any sort of activity outside the house which made the representation of females in politics quite impossible. Yet, the females of sub-continent played a key role in the movement for the freedom from Hindus on basis of two nation theory where females not just participated in freedom movement but also fought for their rights of freedom and several women lost their lives while fighting for freedom.<sup>49</sup>

#### **1.1.2.1. REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN LIAQAT ALI KHAN REGIME: (1947-1957)**

When Pakistan came into being, from 1947 till 1954, within the first constituent assembly which included around 69 members, two female politicians were also involved in the process of serving Pakistan on the parliament premises including Begum Shaista Suhrawardy Ikramullah & Begum

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<sup>46</sup> Willmer, David. "Women as participants in the Pakistan movement: Modernization and the promise of a moral state." *Modern Asian Studies* 30, no. 3 (1996): 573-590.

<sup>47</sup> Saiyid, Dushka H, "Women in Politics-Problems of participation: A case study of Pakistan," *Strategic Studies* 21, no. 3 (2001): 11-24.

<sup>48</sup> Sultana, Sultana Summer. "ROLE OF MUSLIM WOMEN IN THE PAKISTAN MOVEMENT." *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 49, no. 1 (2010): 95-102.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

Jahanara Shahnawaz<sup>50</sup> who were part of the East Pakistan Assembly.<sup>51</sup> This represents that within the very first assembly formulated, females were given their rights and representation however, within the second assembly formulated from 1955 till 1958 there was no representation of female politicians in the national assembly neither in East nor in West Pakistan due to very lesser focus of the government on the empowerment of females as well as restrictions from them men.<sup>52</sup>

As of 1956 constitution of Pakistan was formulated where 10 seats were specially reserved for female politicians where 5 seats were reserved for female politicians from East Pakistan, and 5 from West Pakistan.<sup>53</sup> This made the thing clear that females not just voted for the country but also had the right to work in the parliament while playing an active role in the formulation of certain rules and regulations within the country's constitution which was termed to be very helpful in giving rights to females of Pakistan.<sup>54</sup> The third constituent assembly was formulated in the time period of 1962-65, there were 156 members who were elected indirectly, 6 seats reserved for female and 2 female were elected within the general constituency of the national assembly. The females in reserved seats included Begum Roquyya Anwar (East Pakistan), Begum Serajunnessa Choudhury (East Pakistan), Begum Shamsun Nahar Mahmood (East Pakistan), Begum Mujjebun Nisa Muhammad Akram (West Pakistan), Begum Khadeja G. A. Khan (West Pakistan), and Begum Zari Sarfaraz (West Pakistan) and for the elected seats included Begum Zohra Aziz (West Pakistan) and Begum Hamida Mohammad Ali (East Pakistan) respectively.<sup>55</sup>

#### **1.1.2.2. REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN AYUB KHAN REGIME: (1958-69)**

General Ayub Khan declared military rule in 1958. Both army as well as government bureaucracy backed foreign concepts that encouraged female's engagement in the whole social context by partaking in career and life, especially encouraging female's schooling and work, particularly in school, medical, and media.<sup>56</sup> Consequently, the introduction of military rule prohibited the

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<sup>50</sup> Shahnawaz, Jahan Ara, and Ian Arthur Talbot. *Father & Daughter: A Political Autobiography*. Oxford University Press, USA, 2002.

<sup>51</sup> "First Constituent Assembly from 1947-1954: List of Members & Addresses," National Assembly, <https://na.gov.pk/uploads/former-members/1st%20Constituent%20Assembly.pdf>

<sup>52</sup> "2nd Constituent Assembly from 1955-1958: List of Members & Addresses," National Assembly, <https://na.gov.pk/uploads/former-members/2nd%20Constituent%20Assembly.pdf>.

<sup>53</sup> "The Initial Phase 147-1958," Women Parliamentary Caucus, <https://wpc.org.pk/initial-phase/>.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> "The Second Phase – 1962 Constitution," Women Parliamentary Caucus, <https://wpc.org.pk/second-phase/>.

<sup>56</sup> Weiss, Anita M. "Interpreting Islam and women's rights: Implementing CEDAW in Pakistan." *International Sociology* 18, no. 3 (2003): 581-601.

National Center for Female equality from working on the improvement of female's basic privileges. Furthermore in 1964, Ms. Fatima Jinnah, younger sister of Pakistan's founding leader, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, ran for president versus Ayub Khan, paving the door for females to hold public as well as political positions in the decision making of the country.<sup>57</sup>

Pakistan amended its current laws and regulations concerning females for becoming a recognized part of the global society, incorporating the agreement on the permission to getting married and age limit for getting married as well as the registration of their marriages in 1950 as well as the agreement on Political Rights of females as of 1953.<sup>58</sup> Throughout this era, numerous notable groups aiming at increasing female issues were founded. The "Behbood Association", established in 1967, acted as a social assistance group focused at building financial abilities for females to make a living & becoming financially independent. Whereas the "Soroptomist Club" arranged workshops and published articles to raise knowledge of females' concerns. The "Anjuman Jamhooryat Pasand Khawateen", was founded in Karachi in 1969 to endorse female workers, which include promoting for equivalent pay for equivalent job, lodging and transportation amenities for females who were working outside their homes, and learning programs for females' overall.<sup>59</sup>

### **1.1.2.3. REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN YAHYA KHAN REGIME: (1969-72)**

In 1969, martial law was imposed in Pakistan by General Yahya Khan and the dictator came up with general elections of 1970 based on one man one vote while developing a new legal framework order LFO, 1970. There were 13 seats reserved for the female politicians with 6 seats for female politicians from West Pakistan and 7 seats from East Pakistan within the constitutional assembly of 313 total members. However, the elections held as of 1970 led towards the formulation of Bangladesh with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto taking the government in the West wing formulation the only Pakistan and Bangladesh rather than East and West Pakistan where newly elected members were 144 with 6 females elected seats.<sup>60</sup> There was some role of females in the political activity of 1970's which led to females in the political positions because of elections of 1970. The females

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Naqvi, Raazia Hassan, Muhammad Ibrar, Christine A. Walsh, and Ali Imran. "History of Women's Rights Movement and Pro-Women Legislation in Different Ruling Regimes of Pakistan." *Pakistan Journal of Criminology* 9, no. 2 (2017): 46-59.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> "The Third Phase – 1972-1977," Women Parliamentary Caucus, <https://wpc.org.pk/third-phase/>.

on reserve seats included Shireen Wahab, Mrs. Nargis Naeem, Nasim Jahan Begum, Zahida Sultana, Dr. Mrs. Ashraf Khatoon Abbassi, Mrs. Jehanzeb Ali Jeneffer Mosa Qazi who were part of Pakistan's national assembly from 1972 till 1977, and Mrs. Najma Andrews became minority seat member of the house as of 1976 after the death of her husband.<sup>61</sup> During this time, one of the most memorable actions in the house was Begum Dr. Ashraf Abbassi elected as the first deputy speaker in 1970 which was a remarkable action toward women empowerment in the house of parliament in Pakistan.<sup>62</sup> Similarly, as of 1972, another remarkable change in acknowledging females in parliament was including three females (Nasim Jahan, Mrs. Jennifer Qazi, & Begum Ashraf Abbassi) in the constitution committee.<sup>63</sup> Another biggest achievement of this tenure was the appointment of the first female parliament secretary Mrs. Nargis Naeem.<sup>64</sup>

#### **1.1.2.4. REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN ZULFIQAR ALI BHUTTO REGIME: (1973-77)**

When the constitution of Pakistan was formulated in 1973 and later there were several reforms done in the house of parliament by politicians where several decisions were made which were sea-change for the females having 10 reserved seats in the lower house of parliament under the support of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto who was then prime minister of Pakistan elected as a result of 1970's results. Samia Usman was elected as the first female senator whereas Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan was appointed as Governor of Sindh in 1974 and was the first woman to take the position of governor of Sindh in the history of Pakistan. The female politicians on the reserved seats in Pakistan from march 1977 till July 1977 included Begum Kulsoom Saifullah (NWFP), Mrs. Nargis Naeem (Punjab), Mrs. Dilshad Begum (Punjab), Begum Nafisa Khalid (Punjab), Begum Bilqis Habibullah (Punjab), Mrs. Samia Usman (Punjab), Miss Mubarak Begum (Punjab), Begum Nusrat Bhutto (Sindh), Mrs. Nasima Sultana Akmut (Sindh), and Mrs. Bilqis Begum (Balochistan) and Mrs. Shavak Rustum elected on minority seat in Pakistan national assembly.<sup>65</sup> Another remarkable action in the history of Pakistan was the election of Begum Naseem Wali Khan directly from the general seat rather than from a reserved seat while being successful from NWFP as of 1970;

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> "The Fourth Phase – 1973 Constitution and the Subsequent Steps," Women Parliamentary Caucus, <https://wpc.org.pk/fourth-phase/>.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

however she was unable to take oath due to the boycott of opposition but still her achievement was remarkable as no other female was successful in achieving such victory before.<sup>66</sup>

#### **1.1.2.5. REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN ZIA-UL-HAQ REGIME: (1977-88)**

As of 1977 the short lived assembly was dissolved by marshal law imposed by General Zia-ul-Haq who suspended the constitution and resumed the political activity of elections as of 1985 while electing 2337 members within which two women were elected on the general seats including Begum Abida Hussain and Begum Nasim Majid Akhtar whereas in the reserved seats there were around 20 seats assigned to females Begum Afsar Raza Qazalbash (Punjab), Begum Sarwari Sadiq (Punjab), Begum Silvat Sher Ali Khan (Punjab), Mrs. Khurshid Begum (Punjab), Mrs. Dureshahwar Mazari (Punjab), Mrs. Rafia Tariq (Punjab), Begum Rehana Aleem Mashahdi (Punjab), Shahzadi Mehmooda Begum (Punjab), Begum Ishrat Ashraf (Punjab), Dr. Attiya Inayatullah (Punjab), Mrs. Farrukh Mukhtar (Punjab), Mrs. Nisar Fatima Zahra (Punjab), Mrs. Afroze Nazir Ahmad (Sindh), Begum Salma Ahmad (Sindh), Mrs. Rashida Pasha Khoro (Sindh), Mrs. Qamar-un-Nisa Qamar (Sindh), Mrs. Bilquis Nasar-um-Minallah (NWFP), Begum Kalsoom Saifullah (NWFP), Dr. Miss. Noor Jahan Panazai (Baluchistan), and Bilqees Begum (Baluchistan).<sup>67</sup>

In the era of Zia-ul-Haq (1977-88), “Hudood Ordinance” addressed incidents of rape, adultery, as well as robbery. It prohibited females the ability to witness, and the “Qanoon e Shahadat”, or “Law of Evidence”, adopted in 1984 declared that a female's witness statements were only half as reliable as a man's. The “Women's Action Forum (WAF)” was formed in reaction to such activities. It pushed for female rights, the recovery of Pakistan's 1973 Constitution, and the recovery of democratization. Nevertheless, the WAF suffered heavy media restrictions and it was not permitted to hold mass gatherings.<sup>68</sup>

Similarly, Begum Nasim Majid gained the position of secretary of parliament related to housing and works position, and Mrs. Leela Wanti gained a reserved minority seat. For the first time, Begum Afsar Raza Qazalbash and Begum Kulsum Saifullah gained the position of ministers in the

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> “The Fifth Phase – Third Marshal Law and the Non-Party Assembly of 1985,” Women Parliamentary Caucus, <https://wpc.org.pk/fifth-phase/>.

<sup>68</sup> Basu, Amrita. Women, political parties and social movements in South Asia. No. 5. UNRISD Occasional Paper, 2005.

ruling cabinet of Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Jonejo with Begum Rehana Aleem Mashahdi and Dr. Noor Jahan Panezai as secretaries of parliament.<sup>69</sup> However, there was no female member in the senate of the national assembly during this time.

#### **1.1.2.6. REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN BENAZIR BHUTTO REGIME: (1988-90)**

There were sufficiently great changes in the political premises of Pakistan as General Zia dies in a plane crash and party-based elections were held based on which Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto (1988-90) became the very first female prime minister of Pakistan which created the history not just for Pakistan but also for the Islamic world where she was the first one to take charge of such a prestigious position. In those elections, there was the position of general seats which were taken from Punjab by Begum Nusrat Bhutto (PPP), Begum Abida Hussain (IND), Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto (PPP), and Dr. Ashraf Khatoon Abbassi (PPP).<sup>70</sup> Within the 8<sup>th</sup> national assembly, there were 20 reserved seats for women including Begum Rehana Sarwar (PPP), Begum Sarwari Sadiq (IJI), Begum Ndira Khan Khakwani (PPP), Mrs. Amina Paracha (PPP), Mrs. Razia Sultana (IND), Mrs. Shahnaz Begum (PPP), Begum Rehana Aleem Mashahdi (IJI), Ms. Shahnaz Wazir Ali (PPP), Mrs. Abida Malik (PPP), Dr. Attiya Inayatullah (IJI), Mrs. Aamira Ehsan (IJI), Mrs. Nasreen Begum (PPP), Mrs. Shamim N.D. Khan (PPP), from Sindh by Dr. Mrs. Mehmooda Shah (PPP), Mrs. Ruqia Khanum Soomro (PPP), Mrs. Zareen Majeed (Haq Parast), from NWFP by Malik Mehr-un-Nisa Afridi (PPP), Begum Kalsoom Saifullah (IJI), and from Baluchistan by Mrs. Samina Razak (PPP), and Bibi Amina JUL(F).<sup>71</sup>

The election of Benazir Bhutto was a revolution of the time which gave clear recognition to females in the parliament of Pakistan as Dr. Ashraf Abbassi gained the position of deputy speaker as of 1988 whereas 5 ministers in the federal cabinet including Begum Nusrat Bhutto (Senior Minister), Begam Rehana Sarwar (Federal Minister for Women Development), Begum Shahnaz Wazir Ali (Minister of State for Education), Begum Mehmooda Shah (Minister of State for Social Welfare), and Begum Nadir Khakwani (Minister of State for Population Welfare).<sup>72</sup> Here a key

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> “The Sixth Phase – Return of Democracy and Party Politics,” Women Parliamentary Caucus, <https://wpc.org.pk/sixth-phase/>

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

role was played by women in the house while recognizing their presence as Dr. Noor Jahan Panazai was selected as the only female selected as senator from Baluchistan in 1988 while serving as deputy chairperson in the upper house in the time period 1991-93 while being the only women in legislation chamber for 6 years.<sup>73</sup>

#### **1.1.2.7. REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN NAWAZ SHARIF REGIME: (1990-93)**

Nawaz Shareef became the prime minister for the first time in Pakistan as of 1990 after overthrowing the government of Benazir Bhutto.<sup>74</sup> There were only 2 females who were elected directly and there was no reserved seat in this tenure of Nawaz Shareef which demonstrates the lack of focus of the government on empowering females in politics.<sup>75</sup> In this tenure only Benazir Bhutto and Nusrat Bhutto were the females who were elected from the general seats and other than them, no other female was elected on any other position and there were no reserved seats as well due to the sunset clause in the constitution of Pakistan 1973.<sup>76</sup>

#### **1.1.2.8. REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN BENAZIR BHUTTO REGIME: (1993-96)**

Pakistan's Senate & Commission of Investigation on females published an article for the Beijing Conference in 1994, outlining the dire condition experienced by females in Pakistan, who have been regarded lower under Islamic legislation, social customs, and beliefs. That's the first time the government published data on the status of females in Pakistan to a global clientele, and was only feasible because Pakistan agreed to resolve the aforementioned accords by working on them.<sup>77</sup> There were only 4 females who were directly elected in the government of Benazir Bhutto who was also a female serving the country where no seats were reserved for females which clearly represents that the government of a female leader for the second time in government in 1993 was unable to get sufficient seats for females or reserve seats for them in political areas.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Naqvi, Raazia Hassan, Muhammad Ibrar, Christine A. Walsh, and Ali Imran. "History of Women's Rights Movement and Pro-Women Legislation in Different Ruling Regimes of Pakistan." *Pakistan Journal of Criminology* 9, no. 2 (2017): 46-59.

<sup>75</sup> Hashmi, Rehana Saeed, and Hina Rashid. "Role of Women Legislators in Decision Making Process: An Assessment of Punjab Assembly (2008-2013)." (2019).

<sup>76</sup> Tahir Malik, Irfan Ghauri, "How reserved seats for women are reserved for privileged," *The Express Tribune*, July 12, 2018. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1755698/1-reserved-seats-women-reserved-privileged>

<sup>77</sup> Mumtaz, Khawar, and Farida Shaheed. "Women of Pakistan: Two steps forward, one step back?." (1987).

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

#### **1.1.2.9. REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN NAWAZ SHARIF REGIME: (1997-99)**

If we consider the elections of 1997 i.e. the era of Nawaz Shareef from , there were very few female politicians who were fielded for elections by both PPP (9 out of 161 candidates) as well as PMLN (6 out of 171 candidates) as compared to that of 1993 where only 4 females were part of the house of 217 elected members and senate having only 2 members as female politicians out of 83 overall members.<sup>79</sup> There was a great shift towards the empowerment of female politicians in the politics of Pakistan in all of these years relatively since independence. However, this journey was not at all easy as all this time there were several problems that females had to face in order to make their place in the parliament of Pakistan. The majority of female politicians showed they're concerned related to gender quota while saying that it is very important as the response of men in the country can deteriorate at any time and create problems for them during election times.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Saiyid, Dushka H, "Women in Politics-Problems of participation: A case study of Pakistan," Strategic Studies 21, no. 3 (2001): 11-24.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

## CHAPTER 2: LEGISLATION & REPRESENTATION

(2002-2007)

The presence of female politicians in politics and their role in the decision-making process increases the access of female politicians to all types of available opportunities as well as resources for their successful growth as well as contribution to the working of government for serving its people. When females are provided with opportunities to be part of decision-making in any assembly, it helps them in making decisions related to women-specific problems while finding solutions to them. The era of General Pervez Musharraf is considered a landmark in the overall history of Pakistan when it comes to women's empowerment as after gaining power in 1999, he started working on women's rights while reserving 19 percent of seats for women in federal as well as provisional assemblies while reserving 33 percent of seats in the local bodies.<sup>81</sup>

### 2.1. FEMALE LEGISLATORS IN PUNJAB ASSEMBLY:

First local bodies elections were held on 10<sup>th</sup> October 2002 for national as well as provisional assemblies, where, in the provisional assembly of Punjab there was a total of 371 members of the Punjab Assembly from which there were 76 female members who were part of the Punjab Assembly of Pakistan from 2002-2007 where 68 females were from reserved seats whereas 7 were from elected seats in Punjab Assembly with only one non-Muslim female in the reserved seats for non-Muslims.<sup>82</sup>

Female Members in The Punjab Assembly 2002-2007			
Elected Seat			
Name	Constituency	Seat	Party
Ashifa Riaz Fatyana	PP-88	T.T Singh	Pakistan Muslim League

<sup>81</sup> Mezzera, Marco, Safiya Aftab, and Sairah Yusuf. "Devolution row: an assessment of Pakistan's 2001 local government ordinance." *The Political Economy of State Building, The Pakistan Case Study* (2010).

<sup>82</sup> "Members Directory," Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. [https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/adv\\_search/en/9?search\\_cnstid=&search\\_gender=&search\\_mpaname=&search\\_age\\_range=&search\\_postid=&search\\_partyid=&search\\_m\\_status\\_id=&search\\_deg\\_id=&search\\_ms\\_id=&search\\_rlg\\_id=&search\\_pid=&search\\_gbid=&search\\_pbid=&search\\_cnt\\_id=&search\\_st\\_id=&search\\_p\\_profile=&search\\_sort=name&search\\_order=&search\\_address](https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/adv_search/en/9?search_cnstid=&search_gender=&search_mpaname=&search_age_range=&search_postid=&search_partyid=&search_m_status_id=&search_deg_id=&search_ms_id=&search_rlg_id=&search_pid=&search_gbid=&search_pbid=&search_cnt_id=&search_st_id=&search_p_profile=&search_sort=name&search_order=&search_address)

Baasima Chaudhry	PP-11	Mandi Bahauddin	Pakistan Muslim League
Begum Rehana Jameel	PP-145	Lahore	Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz
Hameeda Waheed-Ud-Din	PP-116	Mandi Bahauddin	Pakistan Muslim League
Nadia Aziz	PP-34	Sargodha	Pakistan Peoples Party
Maria Tariq	PP-113	Gujrat	Pakistan Muslim League
Syeda Sughra Imam	PP-76	Jhang	Pakistan Muslim League

<b>Female Members in The Punjab Assembly 2002-2007</b>			
<b>Reserved Seats for Minorities</b>			
<b>Name</b>	<b>Constituency</b>	<b>Seat</b>	<b>Party</b>
Joyce Rufin Julius	NM-367	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League

From the above-mentioned tables, it can be stated that there was a 20.4 percent of representation of females in the overall Punjab Assembly where the three was 1.8 percent of female politicians on general seats whereas 18.2 percent were on the reserved from which only 0.26 percent were selected on the reserved seats for minorities. This was the only seat for women in the Punjab Assembly for minorities.<sup>83</sup>

## **2.2. FEMALE LEGISLATORS & DECISION-MAKING POSITIONS:**

During the era of General Pervez Musharraf from 2002 to 07, there were very less women appointed to the big positions or the decision-making positions of the Punjab Assembly. The below table represents the decision-making positions of female politicians in the Punjab Assembly.

<b>Female Politicians Having Decision Making Positions in Punjab Assembly 2002-07</b>			
<b>Punjab Assembly Positions</b>	<b>Total Members</b>	<b>Female Members</b>	<b>Percentage</b>

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

Provisional Ministers	40	4	10%
Advisor to Chief Minister	5	1	20%
Parliamentary Secretary	54	13	24%
Special Assistant to CM	2	0	0%

Among these provisional ministers, Mrs. Ashifa Riaz Fatyana served as minister for women's development and human rights along with the charge of social welfare from 2003 till today,<sup>84</sup> Miss Nasim Lodhi served as minister for population welfare from 2003 till today,<sup>85</sup> Dr. Anjum Amjad served as minister for Environment Protection since 2006,<sup>86</sup> and Mrs. Joyce Rufin Julius served as minister for Minorities' Affairs since 2003.<sup>87</sup> Mrs. Saba Sadiq was appointed as the advisor to the chief minister of Punjab from 2005 to 2007.<sup>88</sup>

There were 13 parliamentary secretaries in the Punjab assembly including Miss Hameeda Waheed-ud-Din (Literacy & Non-formal Basic Education)<sup>89</sup>, Mrs. Begum Rehana Jameel,<sup>90</sup> Mrs. Begum Zeenat Khan (Women Development),<sup>91</sup> Mrs. Dr. Farzana Nazir (Health),<sup>92</sup> Mrs. Lubna Tariq (Tourism),<sup>93</sup> Ms. Syeda Bushra Nawaz Gardezi (Home),<sup>94</sup> Mrs. Shehla Rathor (Social Welfare),<sup>95</sup>

<sup>84</sup> "Mrs. Ashifa Riaz Fatyana Personal Career and Interests," Provisional Assembly of the Punjab.

<https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/profile/en/9/183>

<sup>85</sup> "Miss Nasim Lodhi Personal Career and Interests," Provisional Assembly of the Punjab.

<https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/profile/en/9/205>

<sup>86</sup> "Dr. Anjum Amjad Personal Career and Interests," Provisional Assembly of the Punjab.

<https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/profile/en/9/255>

<sup>87</sup> "Mrs. Joyce Rufin Julius Personal Career and Interests," Provisional Assembly of the Punjab.

<https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/profile/en/9/413>

<sup>88</sup> "Mrs. Saba Sadiq Personal Career and Interests," Provisional Assembly of the Punjab.

<https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/profile/en/9/366>

<sup>89</sup> "Miss Hameeda Waheed-ud-Din Personal Career and Interests," Provisional Assembly of the Punjab.

<https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/profile/en/9/115>

<sup>90</sup> "Mrs. Begum Rehana Jameel Personal Career and Interests," Provisional Assembly of the Punjab.

<https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/profile/en/9/352>

<sup>91</sup> "Mrs. Begum Zeenat Khan Personal Career and Interests," Provisional Assembly of the Punjab.

<https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/profile/en/9/212>

<sup>92</sup> "Mrs. Dr Farzana Nazir Personal Career and Interests," Provisional Assembly of the Punjab.

<https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/profile/en/9/217>

<sup>93</sup> "Mrs. Lubna Tariq Personal Career and Interests," Provisional Assembly of the Punjab.

<https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/profile/en/9/252>

<sup>94</sup> "Ms. Syeda Bushra Nawaz Gardezi Personal Career and Interests," Provisional Assembly of the Punjab.

<https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/profile/en/9/256> +

<sup>95</sup> "Mrs. Shehla Rathor Personal Career and Interests," Provisional Assembly of the Punjab.

<https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/profile/en/9/258>

Mrs. Saadia Hamayun (Environment Protection),<sup>96</sup> Miss Rubina Nazar Sulahri (TEVTA),<sup>97</sup> Mrs. Zahida Sarfraz (Population Welfare),<sup>98</sup> Miss Nighat Saleem (Higher Education),<sup>99</sup> Ms. Shagufta Anwar (Anti-Corruption),<sup>100</sup> Mrs. Nayyar Murtaza Lone.<sup>101</sup>

In Punjab Assembly Misbah Kokab was the one who was provided with the option of working as the chairperson to head the sitting of the Punjab Assembly on 9<sup>th</sup> March 2006,<sup>102</sup> 17 March 2006<sup>103</sup> which represents that females were given empowerment in the era of General Pervez Musharraf in provisional assembly. Shaheen Asad also took the charge as chairperson of the Punjab Assembly as of 9<sup>th</sup> June 2006<sup>104</sup>. Similarly, female members have been added to the inquiry committees also to ensure that nothing goes man dominating in the Punjab Assembly, and not just this, women here stood for their rights.<sup>105</sup>

### **2.3. ROLE OF WOMEN POLITICIANS IN LEGISLATION PROCESSES IN PUNJAB ASSEMBLY**

Legislation or decision making is a reserved domain within the Punjab Assembly where a few cabinet ministers are supposed to be part of legislation in the assembly house where most legislations are reported to be moved by male members of the cabinet of the Punjab Assembly (FAFEN, 2017).

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<sup>96</sup> “Mrs. Saadia Hamayun Personal Career and Interests,” Provisional Assembly of the Punjab. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/profile/en/9/260>

<sup>97</sup> “Miss Rubina Nazar Sulahri Personal Career and Interests,” Provisional Assembly of the Punjab. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/profile/en/9/262>

<sup>98</sup> “Mrs. Zahida Sarfraz Personal Career and Interests,” Provisional Assembly of the Punjab. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/profile/en/9/264>

<sup>99</sup> “Miss Nighat Saleem Personal Career and Interests,” Provisional Assembly of the Punjab. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/profile/en/9/276>

<sup>100</sup> “Ms. Shagufta Anwar Personal Career and Interests,” Provisional Assembly of the Punjab. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/profile/en/9/280>

<sup>101</sup> “Mrs. Nayyar Murtaza Lone Personal Career and Interests,” Provisional Assembly of the Punjab. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/profile/en/9/367>

<sup>102</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2006.” <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-03-09.pdf>

<sup>103</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2006.” <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-03-17.pdf>

<sup>104</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2006.” <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-06-09.pdf>

<sup>105</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2006,” pp. 1334. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-06-28.pdf>

### 2.3.1. WOMEN POLITICIANS & RESOLUTIONS

In the Punjab Assembly of 2002-2007 female politicians were provided equally with men in order to discuss not just several social problems but also put their points related to several important matters concerning other issues of Punjab.

Presenter	Text of Resolution	Approved/Disposed
Misbah Kokab <sup>106</sup>	Nikahnama should include in column 5, 2 questions amended as either the bride is a divorcee or widow and how much are the children from the late husband and the same goes for the groom.	The resolution was accepted.
Uzma Zahid Bukhari <sup>107</sup>	Increase in the dowry amount from 5000 to 25000 as doing a wedding in 5000 is not possible	An increase of up to 10,000 was accepted only.
Zainab un Nisa <sup>108</sup>	All the Union Councils of Punjab should include basic women's health centers while having separate centers for females rather than having the same centers for both males and females.	The resolution was rejected.
Misbah Kokab <sup>109</sup>	Converting the public transport towards CNG in order to facilitate people of Punjab using public transport.	Withdrawn opposition from other members

<sup>106</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2005,” pp. 244. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2005-11-15.pdf>

<sup>107</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2005,” pp. 786. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2005-11-22.pdf>

<sup>108</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2006,” pp. 1474. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-06-29.pdf>

<sup>109</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2006,” pp. 1477. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-06-29.pdf>

Tasneem Rasheed <sup>110</sup>	Converting the Fatima Jinnah Medical College into a university in order to facilitate females of Punjab.	The resolution was rejected.
Faiza Ahmed <sup>111</sup>	Providing 100 percent of pension to the family of deceased pensioner.	The resolution was rejected.
Parveen Masood <sup>112</sup>	The issue was raised to ensure the building of a bridge on the railway crossing in Bahawalpur industrial State	Withdrawn opposition from other members
Kanwal Naseem <sup>113</sup>	Implementation of the rights of women in inheritance as per Islamic and legal laws.	The resolution was accepted.
Uzma Zahid Bukhari <sup>114</sup>	All the family cases should be given a verdict in 6 months.	The resolution was accepted.
Tahira Muneer <sup>115</sup>	4-wheeler trailer in the province rather than 2-wheeler for all types of transport of cement and other things.	The resolution was accepted.

This represents that the female politicians were given opportunities to present resolutions in the assembly and as shown from 10 resolutions presented 5 were accepted which shows that there was no gender discrimination in the assembly and rather female politicians were provided equal chances to present themselves and work for the betterment of the province.

<sup>110</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2006,” pp. 1481. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-06-29.pdf>

<sup>111</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2006,” pp. 458. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-10-03.pdf>

<sup>112</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2006,” pp. 869. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-10-10.pdf>

<sup>113</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2006,” pp. 870. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-10-10.pdf>

<sup>114</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2006,” pp. 873. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-10-10.pdf>

<sup>115</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2006,” pp. 873. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-10-10.pdf>

### 2.3.2. WOMEN POLITICIANS & ADJOURNMENT MOTION

As per the data gathered from the Punjab Assembly, female politicians were given equal representation as to men for moving the attention of the assembly towards recent happening in the province in assembly sittings on different issues including important social issues related to females as well as other issues which are as shown in the tables below.

Female politicians	Social Issues related to Females
Uzma Zahid Bukhari <sup>116</sup>	The issue related to cutting in the salaries of lady health workers and supervisors for one month. Action demanded.
Farzana Raja <sup>117</sup>	The issue related to no arrest of the fugitive responsible in the gang-rape case Sadar Sialkot by police. Action demanded.
Farzana Raja <sup>118</sup>	The issue raised that there is a need to take notice of child rapes in Punjab including the case of Asiya who was killed after being raped at the age of 8 years only, Bakhtawar who fell into the trap of Wani, and many other cases were around 15 cases that have happened in Punjab with little girls. Another important thing was called to the notice of the Punjab Assembly that police showing pictures of girls to others and asking whether this incident happened or not is totally wrong. Several other members male and female both agreed with the issue and gave their points of view related to actions. Action demanded.
Zaib un Nisa Qureshi <sup>119</sup>	The issue was raised concerning the rape case of a small girl by 6 men at gunpoint in Dogran in front of her brother and

<sup>116</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2005,” pp. 505. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2005-11-18.pdf>

<sup>117</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2005,” pp. 596. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2005-11-21.pdf>

<sup>118</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2006,” pp. 676. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-03-16.pdf>

<sup>119</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2006,” pp. 153. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-06-08.pdf>

	father they left the girl there later on and ran away which has caused stress and fear in the area. Action demanded.
Zaib un Nisa Qureshi <sup>120</sup>	The issue was raised concerning the rape of a farmer's daughter in Muzaffargarh where after continuous firing by culprits they ripped the clothes of girls and left while taking a girl in hostage which led to fear in the area. Action demanded.
Zaib un Nisa Qureshi <sup>121</sup>	The issue was raised concerning the rape and murder of a 22 years girl living in Saidpur Lahore who was kidnapped raped and killed. Action demanded.

This represents that the different motions presented only for females-related issues in Punjab Assembly were about 6 motions in order to represent the issues of females of Punjab.

Female politicians	Other Issues
Farzana Raja <sup>122</sup>	The issues related to the investigation on the brutal killing of Asmat Ali by Police of Sheikhpura as of 21 September for stealing a bike. The discussion was pended for 20 <sup>th</sup> October due to the ongoing investigation on the matter.
Farzana Raja <sup>123</sup>	The issue related to different prices of very important medicines in the hospitals of Punjab shows great corruption issues.

<sup>120</sup> "Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2006," pp. 1560. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-06-30.pdf>

<sup>121</sup> "Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2006," pp. 556. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-10-05.pdf>

<sup>122</sup> "Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2005," pp. 124. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2005-10-17.pdf>

<sup>123</sup> "Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2005," pp. 245. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2005-10-20.pdf>

Tahira Muneer <sup>124</sup>	The issue related to changes in the syllabus of social sciences while introducing Hinduism in the books and demanded assurance from the education minister related to no changes.
Uzma Zahid Bukhari <sup>125</sup>	The issues related to the construction of plazas in Lahore without getting approval of the blueprints were raised as so was raised related to people facing problems due to the very bad sewerage system in Chah Miran Lahore.
Farzana Raja <sup>126</sup>	The issue raised was the petrol pump initiated in Ferozpur road Lahore where the property is of Qadhafi Stadium.
Parveen Masood Bhatti <sup>127</sup>	The issue raised concerns about the problems people faced in the vegetable market of Bahawalpur due to wastage.
Uzma Zahid Bukhari <sup>128</sup>	The issue raised was the closure of regional and zonal offices due to which several people lost their jobs which were disposed of when the minister responded that this matter is of national assembly rather than provisional and nobody will lose a job as per assurance provided by national assembly members.
Farzana Raja <sup>129</sup>	The issue raised for the motion was the kidnapping and murder of the nephew of General Makhdoom Tanveer Qureshi and measurements were demanded by Farzana Raja in order to decrease the stress in the province.

<sup>124</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2005,” pp. 268. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2005-10-21.pdf>

<sup>125</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2005,” pp. 506. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2005-11-18.pdf>

<sup>126</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2005,” pp. 600. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2005-11-21.pdf>

<sup>127</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2005,” pp. 720. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2005-11-22.pdf>

<sup>128</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2006,” pp. 145. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-06-08.pdf>

<sup>129</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2006,” pp. 148. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-06-08.pdf>

Zaib un Nisa Qureshi <sup>130</sup>	The issue was raised related to the unhealthy meat being sold in Lahore due to which the health of citizens is deteriorating.
Tahira Muneerr <sup>131</sup>	The issue was raised related to the murder of a boy in the case of two brothers in Lahore who were arrested by police and one was killed by police.
Saima Naveed <sup>132</sup>	The issue was raised related to the journalist being threatened for revealing the corruption of the Councilor of Haroonabad.
Noor un Nisa Malik <sup>133</sup>	The issue was raised related to the illegal raid on the house of a member of assembly which can influence the working of females in politics.

This represents that the different motions presented only for other important issues in Punjab Assembly were about 12 motions in order to represent the issues of the people of Punjab. This represents those female politicians not just represented the female-related issues but were also provided an equal chance to represent other people's issues from Punjab.

### 2.3.3. WOMEN POLITICIANS & LEGISLATIONS IN PUNJAB ASSEMBLY

As per the data gathered from the Punjab Assembly, there were a total of 150 bills that were presented in the Punjab Assembly from 2002 till 2007 from which the following are the ones that were presented by the female politicians of the Punjab Assembly as shown in the table below.

Legislation by Female Politicians: 1999-2008		
Name of Legislation	Salient Features	Moved By

<sup>130</sup> "Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2006," pp. 1889. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-07-05.pdf>

<sup>131</sup> "Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2006," pp. 561. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-10-05.pdf>

<sup>132</sup> "Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2006," pp. 125. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-11-16.pdf>

<sup>133</sup> "Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2007," pp. 275. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2007-06-13.pdf>

Prohibition of private money lending bill (24 of 2003)	No person, individually or collectively, shall engage himself in private money lending in the Province of Punjab. <sup>134</sup>	Mrs. Humaira Awais Shahid, Mpa/W-351
The Punjab Education Foundation Amendment Bill (25 of 2004)	To restructure the Punjab Education Foundation for the promotion of education, specifically encouraging and supporting the efforts of the private sector in providing education to the poor and matters ancillary. <sup>135</sup>	Mrs Uzma Zahid Bukhari
The Punjab Provisional Domestic Violence Bill (29 of 2003)	To establish an effective system of protection, relief, and rehabilitation of women against violence. (The Bill was passed in Punjab Assembly but no act was formulated due to the committee prolonging the submission of the report).	Dr. Anjum Amjad, MPA
The Punjab Prohibition on Use of Rubber & Plastic Care for Keeping Victual (21 of 2003)	To ensure the safety and security of people with no usage of rubber or plastic (The Bill was passed in the Punjab Assembly but no act was formulated due to the committee prolonging the submission of the report).	Mrs. Maha Tareen
The Provincial Assembly of the Punjab Privileges (Amendment) Bill (28 of 2004)	A member shall be entitled to display on his vehicle, for the distinctive appellation, an official plate issued by the Assembly Secretariat along with a jacket at Government expense and the official plate shall be used only on a specific	Ms. Shaheena Asad

<sup>134</sup> This Act had been moved in the Assembly by a Private Member, Mrs. Humaira Awais Shahid, MPA (W-351) on 31 July 2003, passed by the Punjab Assembly on 12 June 2007; assented to by the Governor of the Punjab on 28 June 2007; and was published in the Punjab Gazette (Extraordinary), dated 30 June 2007, pages 5673-74. <http://punjablaws.gov.pk/laws/489.html>

<sup>135</sup> This Act was passed by the Punjab Assembly on 26 May 2004; assented to by the Governor of the Punjab on 5 June 2004; and published in the Punjab Gazette (Extraordinary), dated 9 June 2004, pages 1455 to 1458. <http://punjablaws.gov.pk/laws/468.html>

	vehicle, the registration number of which shall be intimated to the Assembly Secretariat. <sup>136</sup>	
The Punjab Border Military Police (Amendment) Bill 2003 (Bill No. 26 of 2006)	To provide for the Regulation of the Border Military Police Force in the notified tribal areas of the Deraa-Ghazi Khan and Rajanpur districts of Punjab. <sup>137</sup>	Dr. Anjum Amjad, MPA
The Punjab Land Revenue (Amendment) Bill 2006 (Bill No.27 of 2006)	The NRI shall have the same meaning as that presented in the Punjab Security of Land Tenure Act and should include the person born abroad after attaining the age of maturity. <sup>138</sup>	Mrs. Humaira Awais Shahid, Mpa/W-351
The Provincial Assembly of the Punjab Privileges (Amendment) Bill 2006 (Bill No.29 of 2006)	The Speaker, while on tour, shall be entitled to draw an allowance of [one thousand] <sup>139</sup> rupees per day: Provided that where the duration of the tour is less than eight hours one half daily allowance shall be admissible; traveling allowance at the rate of [five rupees] <sup>140</sup> per kilometer for his own journey by road	Miss Misbah Kokab

<sup>136</sup> This Act was passed by the Punjab Assembly on 28th July, 1972; assented to by the Governor of the Punjab on 28th July, 1972; and, published in the Punjab Gazette (Extraordinary), dated 28th July, 1972 and this clause was added by the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab Privileges (Amendment) Act 2003 (XIV of 2003). <http://punjablaws.gov.pk/laws/270.html#:~:text=An%20Act%20to%20provide%20for,Punjab%2C%20its%20Members%20and%20Committees.&text=as%20follows%3A%2D-1.,the%20Punjab%20Privileges%20Act%2C%201972.>

<sup>137</sup> This Act was passed by the Governor-General of India in Council; received the Assent of the Governor-General on 4th March 1904, published in Part IV of the Gazette of India (Calcutta Issue) on 5th March 1904, pages 13-17; and was adopted by the Punjab by the Punjab Border Military Police (Amendment) Act 2007 (V of 2007). <http://punjablaws.gov.pk/laws/490.html>

<sup>138</sup> “Government of Punjab Department of Revenue & Rehabilitation.” [https://revenue.punjab.gov.in/sites/default/files/N\\_07.12.06\\_01\\_0.pdf](https://revenue.punjab.gov.in/sites/default/files/N_07.12.06_01_0.pdf)

<sup>139</sup> Substituted for the words “five hundred and fifty” by the Punjab Revision of Emoluments of Public Representatives Act 2006 (IX of 2006), pp. 26. [https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/downloads/Privileges\\_Book.pdf](https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/downloads/Privileges_Book.pdf)

<sup>140</sup> Substituted for the words “three rupees” by the Punjab Revision of Emoluments of Public Representatives Act, 2006 (IX of 2006), pp. 25. [https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/downloads/Privileges\\_Book.pdf](https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/downloads/Privileges_Book.pdf)

The table above represents that the female politicians were not just part of resolutions or motions presentation but were also part of presenting the bills and working on assuring their acceptance in all the political aspects as this is being clearly represented in the era of General Pervez Musharraf as presented and discussed in detail.

## **CHAPTER 3: CHALLENGES FACED BY WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS IN PUNJAB (1999-2007)**

Empowerment of women in a man dominating society is not an easy task where raising a voice for self-rights leads to death in form of honor killings for crossing the boundaries of being a female. Females in Pakistan especially in southern Punjab must face several problems while fighting a tough fight for their rights. Female politicians started their careers in politics for sake of ensuring the security of rights of females and working for their betterment while raising voices for their rights on the reputable platforms of a state i.e. assembly of a country (National) or a province (Provisional). Women have faced problems related to their participation in political activities globally and the concept of problems in the empowerment of females at political or any other career level is not new. The representation of women as of 2008 was 17.7% globally in politics which represents those females had a long distance to cover in terms of politics. The tenure of General Pervez Musharraf is considered an ideal tenure when it comes to providing chances for empowerment to females in any sector. However, when it comes to the empowerment of females in society, things were not that easy. Pakistan is a patriarchal society where males consider that females should stay at home and cook food for them rather than work with them in offices. There are several barriers to the equal participation of females in politics with men including social as well as economic factors as discussed in the current chapter.

### **3.1. CHALLENGES FACED BY WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS IN PUNJAB (1999-2007)**

#### **3.1.1. REPRESENTATIONS AT LEADERSHIP POSITIONS**

The representation of women politicians in political parties hasn't increased so far for the notable decision-making power within all the parties so far since independence. As there are no elections in the political parties for the selection of members and their positions, the selection is usually made on basis of the active participation of members with the leadership in different party activities. Before the era of General Pervez Musharraf, the only female leaders of parties included Fatima Jinnah - sister of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Benazir Bhutto – daughter of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, and the other females including Nusrat Bhutto and Ginwa Bhutto who were holding the most prestigious positions in their parties. None of these females started this political career by

themselves and rather inherited it from their family members including husbands, fathers, brothers, and so on. The well-known liberal party of Pakistan is Pakistan People's Party which claims to be working for both men and women had only 1 female member in its central executive committee with 36 male members which clearly represents the difference in positions allocated to male and female members.<sup>141</sup>

Female politicians have to face problems in terms of having rights of decision making in the parties as they have certain wings allocated to them but within these wings, the representation of female politicians is very low as compared to that of male wings. The biggest problem that women have faced in Punjab is no significant influence of their wings on the overall decision making of the party as women were provided with positions, but those positions are quite low which became invisible in front of the representation of males in political parties. Female politicians have always faced the problem of getting into mainstream politics as the parties mostly reserve seats for their family members which makes it difficult for females to come into the mainstream.<sup>142</sup>

### **3.1.2. PRESSURE OF RELIGIOUS PARTIES**

The religious parties in Pakistan are totally against the empowerment of women in politics and so is the tribal system of Pakistan especially from NWFP as well as the Southern Punjab which completely dismisses the rights of women in elections while stating that females should stay away from the polling booths. Just as in the local body elections of Pakistan, the leaders of NWFP conducted a meeting in order to have an election agreement that clearly stated that females should not be part of political activity or electoral activity. In a similar way, Women of Swabi and nearby areas were completely stopped from participating in any electoral activity including the filling of nomination forms as well as their main right of casting votes being citizens of Pakistan. In a similar way, females of Southern Punjab were also neither allowed to cast vote nor think about being part of any electoral activity. In a similar way, several women applied for party tickets in 2008 but were not provided with tickets and when they stood independent, only Robina Watto won from Okara.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Jabeen, Mussarat. 2004. "Redefining the Politics of Presence", *Proceedings International Conference Social Sciences: Endangered and Engendered*, (Fatima Jinnah Women University), pp. 482.

<sup>142</sup> Bano, Saira. "Women in parliament in Pakistan: Problems and potential solutions." *Women's Studies Journal* 23, no. 1 (2009): 19.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

### 3.1.3. GETTING PARTY TICKETS EASILY

Even though the role of political parties in the empowerment of females is supposed to be very important as stated “Parties are crucial gatekeepers to government office, one of the main channels of political mobilization in a society and a major source of public policy... Voters express party preferences; hence [male domination of politics] is the result of internal party decisions”.<sup>144</sup> It was stated that these are not the individual females who get the votes but the concept which is developed by the parties to empower females. However, females faced several problems in gaining party tickets and positions just as in Punjab Pakistan people’s party gave 19 reserved seats while 1 general seat to female legislators, Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz gave 30 reserved while 6 general seats to female politicians, Pakistan Muslim league Q gave 16 reserved seats to female politicians with 1 seat to non-Muslims, and 1 general seat in Punjab. The Muttahida Qaumi Movement, Awami National Party, and MMA gave no seats to women in Punjab, Pakistan Muslim league F gave 1 reserved seat while 1 was an independent general seat in Punjab.<sup>145</sup>

### 3.1.4. CHALLENGING TO WORK WITH MEN

Initiating a political career and working next to men in Pakistan is not an easy task especially when it comes to Punjab. One of the biggest challenges that women politicians have faced in Punjab just like other areas of Pakistan especially NWFP, i.e. working with men. Women especially from Southern Punjab faced the biggest problem in adopting the working activity with men. Females in Southern Punjab are not given equal chances to work with men, and when a few of them who come out of their houses to work in politics faced the biggest problem of not talking to men. This concept of not communicating with males is used by men in Southern Punjab while putting the reason for restrictions imposed by Islam.<sup>146</sup>

It is likewise a perception in Punjab that politics is one of the most dangerous career options for women where if there is nothing else left, men will criticize females while using character assassination due to several women were afraid of talking with men while working in their

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<sup>144</sup> Lovenduski, Joni. *Feminizing politics*. Polity, 2005, p.57.

<sup>145</sup> Khattak, Shabana Shamaas Gul, and Akhtar Hussain. "Women Representation in Pakistani Legislatures: A Study of 2002, 2008 and 2013 General Elections." *South Asian Survey* 20, no. 2 (2013): 191-205; “Women & Elections 2008,” Aurat Publication & Information Service Foundation, January-March 2008.

<sup>146</sup> Khayyam, Umer, and Fariha Tahir. "Female Political Power and the Complexity of Social Barriers in Pakistan." *NUST Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 5, no. 2 (2019): 153-175.

offices.<sup>147</sup> Initially, there was a very low number of women in politics of Punjab as of 2000, due to which while sitting in the offices, females just kept on sitting in their offices during their office times and then went back to their houses.<sup>148</sup> Talking about the issues proactively while sitting next to men was a very difficult task for female politicians. Due to this female politician often keep on sitting silently in their offices and assured they don't get involved, in any such talk with men which might lead to problems for them or their families.<sup>149</sup> Thus, active participation for female politicians in Punjab was quite difficult for females which reveals that making space for themselves in the political system of Punjab was a quite difficult task for female politicians.<sup>150</sup>

### **3.1.5. LACK OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT WOMEN RIGHTS**

Another biggest reason for the challenges faced by women in making a political or other career was illiteracy as females were not aware of their basic human rights and were not allowed to be enrolled in school so that they can learn and stand with men while demanding equality.<sup>151</sup> In Pakistani culture, the earnings of females are considered an ego problem for men as the men consider women lower than men and they totally discourage the idea of empowerment of females.<sup>152</sup> even though women are provided with equal rights to live, but still Muslim men have made it an ego issue for their wife or sister to earn money while going outside and the money earned by females is considered as Haram for men in a house in Punjab due to which several females in Punjab are unable to make a career either in politics or in any other field.<sup>153</sup>

Females were lacking knowledge about their rights mostly from Southern Punjab while being from the rural background, they had quite limited knowledge about their rights as well their power in the positions they work on. When females were unaware of their positions, they were also unable to contribute efficiently to the progress of their province as well as their country.<sup>154</sup> The educational options in Punjab were very rare, especially in the rural areas of Punjab, and the concept of

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Rai, S., N. Shah, and A. Ayaz. "Achieving gender equality in public offices in Pakistan. Islamabad, Pakistan: United Nations Development Program." (2007).

<sup>149</sup> Ibid, pp. 53.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid, pp. 54.

<sup>151</sup> Saiyid, Dushka H. "Women in Politics-Problems of participation: A case study of Pakistan." *Strategic Studies* 21, no. 3 (2001): 11-24.

<sup>152</sup> S.G. Jilanee, "Status of women in Islam," Dawn, December 17, 2004. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1066819>

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid, pp. 55.

unmarried women working in politics was totally unacceptable whereas only married females were provided permission from their friends and family which was also rare cases.<sup>155</sup> When females were unaware of the actions which they are supposed to take while using their powers, they faced great difficulties in working with men.<sup>156</sup>

### 3.1.6. MOBILITY ISSUES

Another biggest problem that women politicians in Punjab faced in their active participation and working was the mobility problem. Females working in the government legislative offices, or the political offices were not interested in traveling from their areas to other places and were rather more interested in staying in their local areas. In politics, females have to go out of their houses in order to solve the problems of people in their areas, and this act of women is not at all liked by males in the society who think that roaming women in the cities or areas are offensive and it influences the respect of males.<sup>157</sup> This perception of males worked as the biggest hurdle for females' active participation in their areas thus bounding them to work in their offices only.

Similarly, females faced transportation problems while traveling from their locality area to assembly meetings. Due to transport problems faced by females, they were usually late in the assembly sessions or meetings and so were several females ministers of the Punjab Assembly, who were unable to be part of assembly sessions and due to their absence from the meetings, most of the times, several issues remained un-solved for several days. The minister of population welfare Mrs. Naseem Lodhi was unable to be part of several sessions of the Punjab Assembly due to traveling from longer distances.<sup>158</sup>

Empowerment of women politicians is not an easy task as females have to initially take the biggest responsibility of taking care of the home-related activities and their families expect the household chores to be the first priority for females. Within the culture of Pakistan including Punjab women are bound to take care of their houses first and then think about entering in politics as their family

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<sup>155</sup> Qaisrani, Ayesha, Sadaf Liaquat, and Elishma Noel Khokhar. "Socio-economic and cultural factors of violence against women in Pakistan." (2016).

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> Rai, S., N. Shah, and A. Ayaz, pp. 55.

<sup>158</sup> "Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2005," Punjab Assembly, <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2005-10-17.pdf><https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2005-10-17.pdf>.

should be the first priority.<sup>159</sup> Here balancing the political career with family handling is highly challenging for the females due to which females have to either give up on their families or their career and the first thing which comes in giving up is most of the times career.<sup>160</sup>

### **3.1.7. CHALLENGES RELATED TO WORK-HOME LIFE BALANCE**

For women, the most challenging is to come out of the house for making a career and gain acceptance from society as a society in general especially in Punjab as well as in NWFP and other areas doesn't approve of the working of females while going outside as they consider it harmful for the smooth working of their family lives.<sup>161</sup> The working of females is considered a dirty act and females' act of leaving the house and working was considered as a reason for the increasing rape cases as the society considered that if females will stay at home they will be safer.<sup>162</sup>

When the females are unable to get enough support from their families they are either forced to leave their careers and stay at home or face torture from their families in the shape of domestic violence, divorce, and much more thus making women give sacrifices.<sup>163</sup> Even if the females are provided with the opportunity to work, the language and actions of a male at the workplace just as female politicians have to face counter attacks from the male members several times including the statement of Syed Ehsanullah Waqas who stated that there is need to do something for the bachelor ministers as well just as the food minister as a chosen lawmaker as a life partner.<sup>164</sup>

### **3.1.8. INTERVIEWS REGARDING FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN PUNJAB ASSEMBLY**

However, there was a need to provide the woman with the equal opportunity in order to perform with men since they were approximately equal in number to males in Punjab. Similar was stated in an interview by Qasim Zia, Pakistan Peoples Party MPA "Devolution system should look at the disparity of having women at the administrative level of service delivery where it is an interface

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<sup>159</sup> "The Quota System: Women's Boon or Bane?" CID, April 2, 2005. <http://www.cid.org/2005.htm>

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> A.R. Siddiqi, "A new peace – a new war," Dawn, May 28, 2004. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1066017/dawn-features-28-may-2004>

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

<sup>164</sup> Provincial Assembly of the Punjab Debates 2004, Vol-15, (Nos.1-5), dated 27 May 2004, pp.254-61.

of 48% population.”<sup>165</sup> Moreover, a secretary CCB network of Punjab in an interview, revealed that getting the party ticket was a quite difficult task for the females where lack of females represented the biasness in political forums and bureaucracy. “Bureaucracy is not facilitative or there is enabling environment at the movement –the last DCO was totally against LG system & has spoiled the atmosphere of the district”<sup>166</sup>

Similarly, stated that “The Bureaucracy cannot accept that the grass root people are aware of their roles and responsibilities and make them accountable and this is the reason they are not facilitative and try to put obstacles [in their way]”.<sup>167</sup> This clearly represents those females were not provided sufficient support at the local level in Punjab where men versus women was clearly present in the Punjab politics. The councilor further stated that “here men councilors are not respected so how come women councilors can get different treatment?”<sup>168</sup>

Zahra Khattak in her interview to UNDP stated “Women have political awareness but due to education and socio-cultural norms – understanding of their rights, role and responsibilities is low. In order to overcome these issues ANP introduced women wing. Even in backward areas – it will help in getting women out in the mainstream.”<sup>169</sup> This represented those women were not provided with the mainstream representation in political positions in Pakistan which they were supposed to gain.

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<sup>165</sup> Interview, Qasim Zia, MPA, Punjab, 18/11/06, reported in Rai, Shirin, Nafisa Shah, and Aazar Avaz. "Achieving gender equality in public offices in Pakistan." (2007).

<sup>166</sup> Interview, Jamil Ahmed –Secretary CCB Network Punjab, reported in Rai, Shirin, Nafisa Shah, and Aazar Avaz. "Achieving gender equality in public offices in Pakistan." (2007).

<sup>167</sup> Interview, Shah Din UC Councillor, 17/11/06, reported in Rai, Shirin, Nafisa Shah, and Aazar Avaz. "Achieving gender equality in public offices in Pakistan." (2007).

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>169</sup> Interview, Zahra Khattak, 11/11/06, reported in Rai, Shirin, Nafisa Shah, and Aazar Avaz. "Achieving gender equality in public offices in Pakistan." (2007).

## **CHAPTER 4: POTENTIAL SOLUTIONS FOR WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS**

In order to empower women while overcoming all the problems, several potential solutions were selected by the government which not just facilitated the women politicians to grow in politics but also encouraged others to participate and grow. This chapter discusses in detail the potential solutions to women politicians' empowerment problems in Punjab politics.

### **4.1. GENDER REFORM ACTION PLAN 2002**

The biggest problem that women were facing was very little representation in the assemblies for which the government took the initiative of increasing the quota of females in the parliament, senate, as well as provisional assemblies of Pakistan. The biggest solution to the problem of gender inequality was the Gender Reform Action Plan which was presented by the government on the order of General Pervez Musharraf in order to ensure the empowerment of females<sup>170</sup>. The gender reform action plans included the following points as discussed below:<sup>171</sup>

- i. The women's political participation at provisional and national levels was increased to 20 percent whereas that at the local level was increased to 33 percent.
- ii. As per the political party reforms, the women's wings were ordered to be enhanced in the political parties and the elected party offices should include 33 percent of female representation within them.
- iii. The government went for electoral reforms at both the national as well as provisional levels, based on which female politicians were supposed to be facilitated while providing more chances to females in casting their votes and actively participating in the political activity.
- iv. In order to increase female empowerment in the public sectors of Pakistan, one of the two federal secretaries should include one female member. Similarly, 20 percent of local level officers should be females.

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<sup>170</sup> Zahid, Raana. "Gender Reform Action Plan--a Breakthrough for Pakistani Women? A Policy Research Using Health Rights of Women Assessment Instrument (HeRWAI)." PhD diss., University of Washington, 2007.

<sup>171</sup> Porter, Douglas John. "Pakistan: Decentralization Support Program." (2002).

- v. To increase the representation of females in grade 17, local governments will ensure that 50 percent of representation is provided to females in provinces.
- vi. To ensure institutional restructuring, there was amendment done in the businesses at all the levels in order to ensure quota regimes at all levels.
- vii. The government focused on improving the ministry of women's development while appointing females in the important ministries while providing them with sufficiently great ministries which were supposed to be helpful in strengthening their political powers and positions.
- viii. The policy and fiscal reforms were done to provide women with main streaming in politics including the inclusion of gender-related perspectives and issues not just in talks but also in the budgeting as well as in the financial planning as well as exploring the impact of budget on the women in all stages of development of the budget. <sup>172</sup>

#### 4.2. REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN TOP POSITIONS (2002-2007)

The very next comes to the problem of females not getting enough positions in the leadership positions females were provided with several top positions in the government of General Pervez Musharraf including the ministry of state, chairperson of the standing committee, parliamentary secretaries, as well as the federal ministers as shown in the table below.<sup>173</sup> All of these positions were provided by General Pervez Musharraf to the females in his tenure in order to ensure the females active participation in the top positions in their assemblies as well as at the provisional level.<sup>174</sup>

Women in Top Positions (2002-7)			
	Women	Men	%Age of Females
State Ministry	4	20	16.6
Standing Committee Chairperson	11	35	23.9

<sup>172</sup> Rai, Shirin, Nafisa Shah, and Aazar Avaz. "Achieving gender equality in public offices in Pakistan." (2007), pp. 28.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid, pp. 31.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

Parliamentary Secretary	10	32	23.8
Federal Minister	3	34	8.1

This represents clearly that several efforts were done to provide positions to females in different forums while finding solutions to providing them with positions in the top places of the country.

Similarly, at the local government level, several females were provided with ministries including the positions of 4 females as provisional ministers including Mrs. Ashifa Riaz Fatyana appointed as minister for women's development and human rights along with the charge of social welfare,<sup>175</sup> Miss Nasim Lodhi appointed as minister for population welfare,<sup>176</sup> Dr. Anjum Amjad appointed as minister for Environment Protection,<sup>177</sup> and Mrs. Joyce Rufin Julius appointed as minister for Minorities' Affairs.<sup>178</sup> Similarly, Mrs. Saba Sadiq was appointed as the advisor to the chief minister of Punjab. Moreover, 13 females were appointed as parliamentary secretaries which represent potential representation provided to females in Punjab's top positions as well.

### 4.3. DEVOLUTION PLAN 2004

The representation was not just supposed to be in the assemblies but also in the other political positions as well. In order to ensure the local government, laws were changed for the local government in 2004 where following were the changes done in the representation of females at different forums in local government.

- i. Union Council Level: out of 21 seats, 4 were Muslim seats reserved for females, 2 workers and peasant seats were reserved for females.
- ii. Tehsil Council: 33 percent of the total seats were reserved for women.
- iii. District council: 33 percent of the total seats were reserved for women.<sup>179</sup>

<sup>175</sup> "Mrs. Ashifa Riaz Fatyana Personal Career and Interests," Provisional Assembly of the Punjab.

<https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/profile/en/9/183>

<sup>176</sup> "Miss Nasim Lodhi Personal Career and Interests," Provisional Assembly of the Punjab.

<https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/profile/en/9/205>

<sup>177</sup> "Dr. Anjum Amjad Personal Career and Interests," Provisional Assembly of the Punjab.

<https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/profile/en/9/255>

<sup>178</sup> "Mrs. Joyce Rufin Julius Personal Career and Interests," Provisional Assembly of the Punjab.

<https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/profile/en/9/413>

<sup>179</sup> Yazdani, Fauzia. "Women's representation in local government in Pakistan: Impact analysis and future policy implications." Budapest: Central European University (2004).

The representation of females in the local government of Pakistan was ensured in the election of 2005 as represented in the table below.<sup>180</sup>

Women Councilors in Punjab (2002-7)				
Zila Council	Tehsil Councils	Union Council	Grand Total	Percentage
1,321	1,342	13,486	16,149	57%

The table above represents the act of government in order to provide great political space in order to share a proper space with the men in the society as well as politics. As we can see that the solution of providing around 33 percent of representation in all the local governments, reveals that the government's presented solution of providing females with 33 percent of representation helped females in gaining a sufficiently great place next to men in the political positions.<sup>181</sup>

#### 4.4. CITIZEN ACTION COMMITTEE (2002-2007)

In order to solve the problem of political culture faced by female politicians where the thinking of males was not allowing females to participate actively in the politics which is a bad place for females, the act of increasing the representation of females in politics helped a lot in increasing the representation of females in the local government places in the Punjab province of Pakistan.<sup>182</sup> A citizen action committee was seen to play a sufficiently great role in assuring the empowerment of women on the defined 33 percent representation in Punjab. The help and support provided to females in Punjab by CAC helped the females to take part in the positions actively leading to sufficient changes in the representation of females in Punjab. With increasing CAC visits to Attock, where initially there were no women in 2001 part of political activity, the participation of females was allowed and 4 women were elected as members of the union council of Jalalia Attock. In a similar way, CAC was able to increase the visits in all other cities of Punjab including Bahawalnagar, Bahawalpur, Bhakkar, Chakwal, Dera Ghazi Khan, Faisalabad, Gujranwala, Gujrat, Hafizabad, Jhang, Jhelum, Kasur, Khanewal, Khushab, Lahore, Layyah, Lodhran, Mandi Bahauddin, Mianwali, Multan, Muzaffargarh, Nankna Sahib, Narowal, Okara, Pakpattan, Rahim

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> "Citizens' Campaigns for women participation in local government elections 2001 and 2005," Aurat Foundation. <https://www.af.org.pk/Citizens%20Reports/Citizen%20%20Report/Citizens%20campaigns.pdf>

Yar Khan, Rajanpur, Rawalpindi, Sahiwal, Sargodha, Sheikhpura, Sialkot, Toba Tek Singh, and Vehari where the active participation of CAC led to a sufficiently great increase in the political empowerment of females in Punjab. The overall working of CAC was done in collaboration with the election commission of Pakistan to ensure the increase in representation of females within local government.<sup>183</sup>

The difference in the empowerment of women from 2001 to 2005 can be seen clearly in the table below.<sup>184</sup>

Local Government Elections								
	Union Councils		Tehsil Councils		District Councils		All Councils	
	Women	%age	Women	%age	Women	%age	Women	%age
Punjab 2001	20,008	96.7	1,125	98.4	1,118	98	22,251	97.7
Punjab 2005	13,660	98.6	1,152	100	1,147	99.6	15,959	99.4

The table above represents that the vacant seats were very less in 2005 as compared to that of 2001 where a sufficient number of females were not representing their areas as we can see that the number has increased from 97.7 to 99.4 percent.

#### **4.5. NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR WOMEN 2002**

A national commission was formulated in 2002 on the women's international day by General Pervez Musharraf whose prime focus was to work on the empowerment of women at the national as well as the local level. The purpose of the commission was to deeply examine all the policies as well as programs that are undertaken by the government at both the national as well as local level and explore all those important elements which are missing in those policies or programs. Similarly, the focused purpose of the commission was to ensure that all the rules and regulations,

<sup>183</sup> Ibid, pp. 261-449.

<sup>184</sup> Bukhari, M.H., Nazir, A. and Mussarat, R., 2019. Women Participation under Devolution of Power Plan 2000: Issues and Challenges. Review of Economics and Development Studies, 5(1), pp.205-216.

which are affecting the effective participation of females in politics, to revise those rules and regulations and ensure the empowerment of females in Pakistan at the national as well local level. The commission was supposed to have proper relations and collaborative working with all the NGOs which are working for the rights of women in Pakistan.<sup>185</sup>

#### **4.6. IMPORTANT LEGISLATIONS BY THE PUNJAB ASSEMBLY**

Following are some of the most important legislations which were done by the Punjab Assembly during its overall tenure during General Pervez Musharraf's era:

- i. The government of Punjab worked on ensuring the empowerment of women by providing them with education which can be helpful in improving their active participation in politics on basis of that education. Some of the acts which were passed on the concerned issue include The Punjab Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore Ordinance, 2002<sup>186</sup>. This ordinance was focused on assuring that females get their required education rather than facing problems in working actively due to lack of education.
- ii. Another important proceeding was the declaration of the violent disruption of a marathon in Gujranwala as an act of terrorism<sup>187</sup> which was primarily focused on the protection of women's healthy, positive, social, and political activities, and their career rights. The focus was to ensure that no woman in Punjab is stopped from actively pursuing her basic human rights in the name of culture, religion, or any other reason. This declaration was clearly made in order to ensure that all such acts of stopping women from availing their basic human rights and stopping them from pursuing their careers as well as political activities will be considered terrorism acts and will be punished in a way similar to the punishment of a terrorist.
- iii. The Punjab Provisional Domestic Violence Bill (29 of 2003)<sup>188</sup> was passed in the Punjab Assembly in order to establish an effective system of protection, relief, and rehabilitation of women against violence. The bill was primarily focused on providing proper rights to females and ensuring that they don't have to face domestic violence in terms of any case whether it is

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<sup>185</sup> National Commission on the Status of Women, "About Us." <https://www.ncsw.gov.pk/Overview>

<sup>186</sup> "The Punjab Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore Ordinance, 2002," Punjab Laws, October 25, 2002. <http://punjablaws.gov.pk/laws/456.html>

<sup>187</sup> "PA declares marathon attack act of terrorism," Dawn, April 5, 2005. <https://www.dawn.com/news/387839/pa-declares-marathon-attack-act-of-terrorism>

<sup>188</sup> "Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2005," pp. 331. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2005-11-16.pdf>

getting a job of choice or getting married with self-choice or any other such reasons, actions based on which led to violation of women basic rights.

#### **4.7. WHAT THE SOLUTIONS LACKED?**

- Even though several actions were taken by the government of General Pervez Musharraf at the national as well as local level in order to provide the females with proper rights similar to that of men working in the society but still the government lacked in solving all the problems which were mentioned in the previous chapter.
- As females were provided with chances to participate actively in politics but still the act was considered inappropriate by society and even the male members of parliament and local government levels. Men kept on doing character assassinations of females at all the forums where some were acknowledged and sometimes females never addressed such matters for their self-respect.
- The female politicians were harassed at their workplaces and were given very rare chances to actively participate in the legislation for their provinces or their local areas. Just as when the resolution was presented by Uzma Zahid Bukhari to increase the dowry of females from 5000 to 25,000, it was only increased to 10,000<sup>189</sup>.
- When the Zainab Un Nisa presented a resolution of having separate male and female health centers, the resolution was opposed and rejected<sup>190</sup>. Likewise, the resolution of converting the Fatima Jinnah Medical College into a university to facilitate females of Punjab was opposed and rejected by Punjab Assembly<sup>191</sup>.

This clearly represents that the government of General Pervez Musharraf was unable to address all the problems related to women's empowerment in his political era at the national as well as the local level where the case of Punjab was considered.

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<sup>189</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2005,” pp. 786. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2005-11-22.pdf>

<sup>190</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2006,” pp. 1474. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-06-29.pdf>

<sup>191</sup> “Provisional Assembly Punjab Verbatim 2006,” pp. 1481. <https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-06-29.pdf>

## CONCLUSION

This study focuses on exploring the representation of women parliamentarians in Punjab during the era of General Pervez Musharraf from 1999 to 2007. The past analysis of the women parliamentarians' empowerment in Pakistan revealed that there were not enough efforts done to empower women at the provisional level, especially in Punjab which is a province with great men dominating society. The representation of women parliamentarians in Punjab as well as overall Pakistan was very less before the era of General Pervez Musharraf. However, the study found that the era of General Pervez Musharraf changed the trend toward increasing the empowerment of female politicians in Pakistan.

The study found that in order to empower women in Pakistan, several actions were taken at the provisional level of Pakistan. The study found that 33 percent was the representation ensured in all the provisional assemblies along with Punjab where it was found that females were given better representation. There were 76 female members part of the Punjab Assembly including 68 on reserved seats whereas 7 females were elected on the general seats while having 1 female from minorities in the Punjab Assembly. Thus, it can be concluded that there was a 20.4 percent of representation of females in the overall Punjab Assembly where there was 1.8 percent of female politicians on general seats whereas 18.2 percent were on the reserved from which only 0.26 percent were selected on the reserved seats for minorities. The study found that females were not just provided with seats in the Punjab Assembly, but also with the ministries as well as the councilors in different union councils as well as districts. The study found 4 females among 40 provisional ministers, 1 among 5 advisors to CM, 13 parliamentary secretaries among 54, and no special assistant among 2 hired. Based on this, the study concludes that females were provided representation which was not enough provided before.

The study found that several legislations were done by female politicians during their tenure in Punjab including the legislations for females as well as for the local people of Punjab including changes in Nikahnama, increase in dowry amount, implementation of women's rights in the property as well inheritance which was accepted despite several others rejected due to opposition from the other members of Punjab Assembly. Similarly, there were several acts that were moved by female politicians in Punjab and so were the equal questioning opportunity provided to females

in the Punjab Assembly which increased over time in the era of General Pervez Musharraf. However, it was found that despite providing females with the position in the public offices of Punjab, there were several problems which were faced by female politicians in doing their work actively in politics including the resistance from men in the families, no support from other members, not enough power to work on bigger decisions, uncomfortable while working with men, transport issues, no support from other female members, sacrificing career for home/children, inappropriate language from other staff, more focus on not participating in things which might put family respect at stake and many other problems which worked as the hurdle in the successful empowerment of women along with culture – a key player.

Even though the government provided several positions to the females in Pakistan, but yet females faced problems in actively participating in politics in 2001 including the man dominating culture, where entering females into politics was not considered appropriate, however, the efforts between the time of 2001 till 2007, there was a sufficiently great difference in the representation of females in Punjab politics. The study found that at the provisional level, there was a sufficiently great difference in active participation of females in a man dominating society to great extent. However, the study found that despite all this, there was not enough legislation done in order to ensure that there is no problem created by females while working next to men. Overall the study concludes that during the era of General Pervez Musharraf, females were provided with several opportunities to work efficiently with men, and women in Punjab also progressed to a great extent despite facing several problems.

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			<a href="https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-06-09.pdf">https://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/verbatim/text/en/2006-06-09.pdf</a>	

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## APPENDICES

<b>Female Members in The Punjab Assembly 2002-2007</b>			
<b>Reserved Seat</b>			
<b>Name</b>	<b>Constituency</b>	<b>Seat</b>	<b>Party</b>
Abida Javed	W-359	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz
Afshaan Farooq	W-355	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz
Anjum Amjad	W-312	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Anjum Sultana	W-363	Reserved Seats	Muttahida Majlis-E-Amal
Azma Zahid Bokhari	W-338	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Peoples Party
Azra Bano	W-348	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Peoples Party
Begum Zeenat Khan	W-300	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Dr. Farzana Nazir	W-303	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Durr-E-Shahwar Neelum	W-349	Reserved Seats	National Alliance
Embesat Khan	W-342	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Peoples Party
Faiza Ahmed Shaheedi	W-340	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Peoples Party
Farah Iqbal Khan	W-360	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Farida Rafique Sulehri	W-309	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Farzana Raja	W-341	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Peoples Party
Gulshan Malik	W-308	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Humaira Awais Shahid	W-351	Reserved Seats	National Alliance
Irshad Safdar	W-321	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League

Kanwal Naseem	W-331	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Khadija Nasreen Farooqi	W-299	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Khalida Mansoor	W-356	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
Laila Muqaddus	W-329	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Lubna Malik	W-324	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Lubna Tariq	W-311	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Maha Raja Tareen	W-320	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Memoona Nabeel	W-347	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Peoples Party
Misbah Kokab	W-306	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Munawar Sagheer	W-325	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Najmi Salim	W-344	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Peoples Party
Nasim Lodhi	W-298	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Nayyar Murtaza Lone	W-353	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
Nighat Parveen Meer	W-357	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
Nighat Saleem	W-326	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Nighat Zahoor	W-304	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Nishat Afza	W-335	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Peoples Party
Noor-Un-Nisa Malik	W-343	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Peoples Party
Parveen Masood Bhatti	W-345	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
Perveen Sikandar Gill	W-319	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Qamar Amir Chaudhry	W-323	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League

Qudsia Lodi	W-305	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Rebbia Aliya	W-301	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Rubina Nazar Sulahri	W-316	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Saadia Hamayun	W-315	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Saba Sadiq	W-352	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Sabiha Begum	W-345	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Peoples Party
Safia Javed Chaudhry	W-307	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Saghira Islam	W-336	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Peoples Party
Saima Bukhari	W-346	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Peoples Party
Sajeela Ansar Bajwa	W-334	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Samia Amjad	W-333	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Samia Mustafa	W-302	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Samina Jadun	W-327	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Samina Naveed	W-339	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Peoples Party
Shagufta Anwar	W-328	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Shaheen Atiq-ur-Rehman	W-302	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Shaheena Asad	W-310	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Shahnaz Saleem	W-358	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
Shamim Akhtar	W-350	Reserved Seats	National Alliance
Shamim Akhtar Rana	W-329	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Shazia Chand	W-330	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League

Shehla Rathor	W-314	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Sittara Fayyaz	W-332	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Syeda Bushra Nawaz Gardezi	W-313	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Tahira Munir	W-361	Reserved Seats	Muttahida Majlis-E-Amal
Talat Yaqub	W-336	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Peoples Party
Tasneem Rasheed	W-322	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Zahida Sarfraz	W-318	Reserved Seats	Pakistan Muslim League
Zaib-Un-Nisa Qureshi	W-362	Reserved Seats	Muttahida Majlis-E-Amal