

**THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN PARLIMENTARY POLITICS OF
PAKISTAN: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF 13TH AND 14TH
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**

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MPhil History

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UNIVERSITY OF GUJRAT

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**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
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ABSTRACT

The women of Pakistan make almost 50% of the total population of the country. But only a small percentage of them enjoy the privilege of a proper education. Even fewer have a proper job, the women parliamentarians of Pakistan taking part in active politics and legislation can be counted easily on finger tips. In the contemporary world, the participation of women in the field of politics and legislation is not proportionate with their demographic percentage of the world population. In Europe and other developed countries women have started to take participation in active politics, thus becoming a beacon of light for the women parliamentarians of the other countries. Since the inception of Pakistan women actively took part in politics. Even the first constituent assembly of Pakistan had a women parliamentarian, which reflects the need of women participation in the legislative process. With the time the number of women parliamentarians increased. But they were unable to play a significant role in legislative process.

The women parliamentarians have mainly participated in the legislative process only when their party need their vote in favor of or against any particular bill. This research aims at examining the productivity of women parliamentarians in legislation, and legislative bills (if any) introduced by them. This research also examines the nature and scope of legislative bills introduced by the women parliamentarians. The purpose of this research is to evaluate the fact that the number of women parliamentarians has increased in the 13th and 14th national assembly of Pakistan, but whether this increase in number has any positive impact on the functionality of women parliamentarians in legislative process, and their impact on the female population of the country. The study focused on the comparative analysis of the women parliamentarians of the 13th and 14th national assembly of Pakistan, with respect to their role in legislative process.

INTRODUCTION**1.1 Description of the Research Work**

Globally, female political participation is reflected as a challenging domain (Bhalotra, Clots-Figueras, & Iyer, 2017). Studies have confirmed that the growth of women in the political arena remains limited due to the prevalence of various detrimental socio-economic factors and structures (Morelli, 2018; Gaby et al., 2017). Latif et al. (2015), empirical data shows that in the year 2008, the women's political participation across the world was 17.7 percent. Under the current UN report of 2019, this ratio has grown up to 24.3 percent. Given the immense number of initiated projects, the growth of the women parliamentarian continues to be low (Ugwu, 2018). This reflects that attainment of equal representation requires more time and effort, to present a gender-fair regulatory system. Among the various initiatives instigated, the quota system serves to be the first affirmative approach which has assisted in facilitating women to grow in the parliamentary affairs (Xiajuan, & Lijun, 2017).

Politically, the growth of women has remained a debatable topic across different society and industries. Generally, women have always suffered from the lack of social, economic, and political participation, where the first most efforts were to improve women participation in politics through a vote (March 2019). This voting right of the women, which was first realized in New Zealand; however, at that time, New Zealand was not observed as a country. Later, the constitution of New Jersey realized its contribution, followed by Finland, Canada, German and Poland and Norway. Moreover, since the women holds more than half of the global population, the contribution substantially more in the social and economic sphere given their participation in production and reproduction. However, disparity in the contribution of the women remains significantly low for the decisions made at a societal level (Jha & Sarangi, 2018). The formation of the international community has increased the efforts for inducing social equilibrium in terms of gender and accounted as a subject of global commitment. Moreover, various researchers have highlighted that equal participation of women in the political sphere can serve as a key stimulator to overcome gender inequality in the society. For instance, the figure below presents that the percentage of women at a global level is at 18.4 percent. Most researchers promote and establish the effectiveness of the quota system for improving the women's role in decision making (Golder et al., 2017).

A general definition behind the concept of a quota system is to help to overcome women's isolation in the political world; however, these are observed as temporary means for improving

women's participation. Analysis of the developing countries has shown that they have quotas for the legislative bodies at both the national and subnational levels for ensuring a fair governmental body. However, for the developed countries, this quota system has been adopted by the political bodies at both national and subnational positions (Rosen et al., 2017; Swiss, & Fallon, 2017).

To begin with Pakistani political system, the quota system proved extremely effective for the women after 9/11 political growth, evident from the pass of political powers from father to daughters which previously was restricted to sons only (Buzdar et al., 2016). The primary motive of this study is to expand the knowledge concerning the political presence because of the domestic vis-à-vis global trend. Burnell, Randall, & Rakner (2017) give reasons that political development serves to be low due to a weak economic base. Moghadam (2019) states that the political participation of the female in Pakistan seems tolerated on the conditions that they do not contrast with the decisions of male dominated majority in the parliament they do not interfere with their male colleague or do not challenge their political participation, which limits their attainment of change in the parliament. The aim of this research is to highlight the role of women parliamentarian in Pakistan, the changes which have occurred in the National Assembly and the absence of a platform for the socio-political base. Even though the number of parliamentarians has increased in the country, the impact expected cannot be observed to promote a political change.

This may be due to the change socio-demographics in the country and the heterogeneity that exists. Accordingly, the unequal social-economic system in the urban, as well as rural area, is documented to account for the low female parliamentarians in Pakistan. Since the responsibilities of the women and men are divided in the Pakistani society, the mobility of the women is confined (Khawaja et al., 2019). Likewise, education and accessibility for women are comparatively more challenging as compared to men (Ahmad, Alvi, & Ittefaq, 2019).

This diversification in social, economic, and political sphere constitutes to be a major loophole limiting the progression of the women. The female parliamentarian in Pakistan also lacks the decision-making power as well as contribution to the policies which are implemented at a social scale (Khawaja, 2017). This restricts their actions and constraints their voice concerning their appropriate representation. The male dominance in the Pakistani governmental and regulatory bodies further promote them to devise political decisions for improving women' place in politics and achieving political empowerment (Shah, Aziz, & Ahmad, 2015).

Furthermore, despite that, the women political participation has not been restricted in the Pakistani constitution, yet the political presence remains substantially low as compared to global

statistics. The similar situation is observed in the political structure, which remains indifferent at national, provincial, and local level because of persistent culture and structural changes. However, recently a growing number of parliamentarians is observed in the 14th National Assembly (2013 to 2018), in which women alone introduced 55% bill against a total of 189 bills, while collaboratively, they initiated 20% of the total bills. The paper, therefore, conducts a comprehensive analysis to assess whether the parliamentary women in Pakistan can empower the women nationwide. It also shares the participation issues, motivations, and concerns related to the women legislature in Pakistan.

House of Chamber	Average Percentage of the Women
Lower House	18.5%
Upper House	17.6%
Both Houses Combined	18.4%

The representation of the women parliament substantially varies across various regions. For the Nordic countries, the ratio of women parliaments is highest (Siim, & Stoltz, 2017), whereas, for the Arab countries, this representation is low, which persist in varying among nations (Bano, 2009).

Regional Average	Lower House	Upper House	Both houses
Nordic Countries	41.4%		41.4%
America	21.7%	20.1%	21.4%
Europe (Excluding Nordic Countries)	21.1%	19.9%	20.9%
Sub-Saharan Africa	17.9%	20.6%	18.2%
Asia	18.3%	16.5%	18.1%
Arab States	9.7%	7.0%	9.1%

The participation of women in the political sphere is viewed to be equal for the Scandinavian nations, Finland, Norway Denmark, and Sweden, which are considered to present the ideal political scenario and equality for the women parliaments. Primarily the reason for the equal representation of these parliaments is that these countries had always had an increased ratio of women, since the early 1970s (Dahlerup, 2013).

Nordic Countries	Women's Representation	Election Years
Denmark	38.0%	2007
Finland	41.5%	2007
Norway	36.1%	2005
Iceland	33.3%	2007
Sweden	47.0%	2006

Studies have identified that the stimulant for the positive and increased women parliamentarian across the Nordic area is due to the existence of secular system, robust socio-democratic political parties, state welfare, improved literacy ratio, and increased participation in the labor market, along with the strategies for women's political participation (Dahlerup, 2013).

Gwiazda et al. (2017) has explained that in the political sphere, the women success in the political arena is linked to their association with the political institute. Generally, the participation of the women in the political institutes vary from country to country particularly about the quota system that prevails in Pakistan. Such as, in developed country like Europe, the legislative representation of the females account for 19.3 percent, where no quota system prevails other than Balkans (Dahlerup, 2013). In the Western region of Europe, the quota system is observed in the voluntary quota for the political parties, with France and Belgium being exceptional. Figure below presents the representation of the women in the South Asian countries where among the developing nations, the major chunk of women participation in politics is observed in Nepal (33.2 percent) followed by Pakistan with 22.5 percent which is comparatively better than the other developing region.

Country	Total Seats	Seat held by Women	Average %
Pakistan	338	76	22.5%
India	541	49	9.1%
Sri Lanka	225	13	5.8%
Nepal	594	197	33.2%
Bangladesh	345	52	15.1%
Bhutan	47	4	8.5%
Maldives	50	6	12.0%
Total	2140	397	18.5%

Contrast to Pakistan, in the neighboring country, there is always persistent supremacy of the upper class in India in the government structures, administrative system, and even in the education system. Bill for the eighty-fourth amendment in the constitution had an objective to grant rights to the women of the country so they will be able to acquire one third of the seats in

the legislative bodies at the central and state level, further conflicts regarding this issue reflects the opposition of the communities in India (Nanes, 2015). The advocates of this bill identify that the elimination and prohibition of women from the public domain are critical. In history restriction of women clearly had been very significant to sustain the uniqueness and the supremacy of the upper class. The agreement for the consent of women could have played its part in threatening or weakening the supremacy of elite class as well as men. The leaders from the field of politics also played an important part and strong role to combat and repel the encroachments.

In 1992, 73rd and 74th amendments were passed in India to ensure the strong depiction of women in the institutions of local government and to provide the one third seats of chairpersons to women, but the legislative assemblies at the state and the national levels had no reserved seats or quota for women. The urge and the question of the reserved seats for women in the government bodies created so many issues and raised a lot of conflicts as well as the condemnations. The bill for the rights and reserved seats for women was failed several times in the parliament.

But the activists of women rights wished to get the bill passed before the general elections which were to be held by the end of the year 2008 for the assemblies of state and for the central government too. Every year several members of the assembly address regarding the need of 33% reserved seats for women in parliament. In Sri Lanka, the women who are presented in the parliament are due to the tie of kinship and most of the cases are of the assassination of their father, husband or brother, and then women got their positions (Bano, 2009).

One of the most crucial hindrances for women in Sri Lanka is the terror of cruelty, which is related to political matters. Another issue which is linked directly to the part and the splitting of labor depends on the gender is lack of time which women suffer when they are given the duty for the generation of income and to administer, manage and deal with the household. And the other issue is the scarcity of the resources. The property or the other resources for the generation of income are not available to them.

There is usually a shortage of strength, and social acceptance is also absent. It is odd that male professionals say that the field of politics is not good for the females as it is usually harsh and aggressive, and therefore, they provide illogical reasons for the elimination of women. (Teele, 2018; Kuruppu et al., 2016).

During the elections in October 2000, there were only 117 female candidates out of 5,048 total candidates which either nominated by the 22 political parties and 91 groups of independent candidates. There were only nine female parliamentarians at the national level out of 225 members, which is 4% of the members, when the assembly was dissolved in 2001. The reserved seats are never accepted for the female members in Sri Lanka (Hassan n.d). Simultaneously, the female politicians are diverged and separated based on their loyalties in politics, and they have not united themselves even when the issues related to the women are concerned. Despite organizing and performing together for the welfare of women, the female political leaders and the workers are always supporting their affiliations (Tittensor, & Mansouri, 2017).

Nepal re-established its democracy in parliament in the year 1990, a mandate according to the constitution was approved by the majority in order to make sure the contribution of women in the general elections (Bano, 2009). Consequently, among all the candidates of the House of Representative, 5% seats are reserved for the women politicians. Formerly in the elections of the local bodies of 1997, an act was approved by the government according to which 20percent of the seats of elected members in the Village Development Committees (VCD) must be reserved for the women who belong to one of the nine wards that have a VCD. As a result of this act, 35,000 female political workers were succeeded in winning the seats at the wards level. Female political workers were also assigned for the participation in politics (Andrews, 1999).

Although, the female political leaders disliked the mismanagement of the political parties to work according to the mandate of seats in the assembly for the female candidates of constituent assembly elections for the year 2008 in accordance with the law of the land. In accordance with the proportions of the election, although the political parties have assigned half of the seats for the female candidates they are not succeeded in the accomplishment of those requirements. The temporary Nepal's constitution has given the guarantee for the 33% reserved seats of female candidates in the national assembly (Poudel, & de Araujo, 2017).

In the scenario of Bangladesh, the constitution has provided a parliament comprising of 300 members (Jatiyo Sangsad). Initially, the parliament consisted of 315 seats, and among them, 15 seats were reserved for the women candidates for ten years' period. The parliamentarians who are elected for these 300 general seats are the representatives of the territories' constituency for which both the male and female candidates are eligible. Women are elected for the reserved seats indirectly. The Electoral College for the reserved seats is comprised of the elected members for the general seats (Bano, 2009).

The number of reserved seats was increased from 15 to 30 seats by the command of president in the year 1978, it increased representation of females in the legislative bodies from 4.7% to 9.9% and further expanded the duration for the reservation from 10 years to 15 years from the propagation date of constitution of the country in December 1972. This allocation by the constitution was terminated in December 1987 and was restored through the amendment in the constitution in the year 1990 which was continued for the duration of the next ten years. Because the allocation was discontinued in the year 2001, currently, parliament has no reserved seats for female politicians, as it was in the parliament which was elected in the year 1988 (Bano, 2009).

The total field of electoral colleges was left with the control and supremacy of male candidates by this method for the reserved seats as there were no steps taken to motivate the female political workers. The quota for women in the parliament of Bangladesh has always been significantly negative. Rather than working for the participation of women in politics, it concentrated on the political dependence and strengthened their centrality of the country (Schneider et al., 2016).

The emergency was declared on 17th January 2007, after that the debate between the main political parties and the election commission was increased, which motivated the change in center of attention towards the temporary government which should be derived by the military forces to conduct the general elections as soon as possible. It was suggested by the election commission to involve a minimum of 33% of women in every committee of the political party, which was not bearable for them (Bano, 2009).

In Bhutan, there are no political parties, which is the case of very few countries. Although the systems are developed that at the local level of a district or a village which motivates the general public to play their role in the process of policymaking. There is completely political and economic equality for women. They have the independence for the contribution to design and execute the programs and the policies. In the national assembly of Bhutan, out of 150 members, 14 are women (Ghimir, 2006).

The female politicians who attend the meeting nowadays are fulfilling their promises with the affiliated parties and are not concerned regarding the issues of women. They play an important part in the decision-making processes for the families and the community as well, but they have not appeared as a vibrant public figure (Kuensel, 2007).

The political structure of Maldives is distinct as compared to the other countries of South Asia. There are no reserved seats in the National Assembly. There is a culture that the females are

subordinates, and this concept is so deeply rooted that women themselves feel that they have abilities as compared to men. There are 6.3% female members in the national assembly of Maldives at present (Ghimir, 2006)

The main reason for the improved parliament statistics is due to the active participation of the women in the history of Pakistan. The prominent name among these include Ms. Fatima Jinnah, Begum Ra'ana Liaqat Ali, Lady Abdullah Haroon, Begum Shaista Ikramullah, Lady Hafeez Ullah, Begum Shah Nawaz, and Begum Hafeez din. In the present political sphere, the active role of female includes Benazir Bhutto (late), Maryam Nawaz, Marvi Memon, Sherry Rehman, Fehmida Mirza, Hina Rabbani Khar, and so on across different government. Consequently, Pakistan is the first country which has set the benchmark for the female prime minister named Benazir Bhutto along with the first women speaker named Dr. Fehmida Mirza in the national assembly (Repila, 2013; Cheema et al., 2019).

Other examples include is of Samina Khalid Ghurki who was appointed as the minister of social welfare and special education, with Hina Rabbani Khar who is appointed as the minister for foreign affairs, while Dr. Firdous Ashiq Awan as a foreign health minister, Anusha Rehman khan as the minister for information and technology, Sherry Rehman who leads the ministry of information and technology and Saira Afzal Tarar as the one for leading the ministry of national health. Women from the Muslim community contributed their part actively in the independence and the freedom wars of India. Number of women appeared during the movement of Khilafat, which was a movement by the by the Pan-Islamic states for the purpose to re-establish the Khilafat in Turkey (Bayes, & Tohidi, 2016).

Mother of Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, active members of the Independence movement, addressed with the people during the Khilafat Movement. The Muslim League's vote bank was improved due to the role of female workers in the politics of Muslims. Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, in the year 1940, also validate that 'women are assumed to develop the common awareness for the politics. And women need to stand beside the men in the field of politics.' This address also increased the strength of women and further improved their role in the politics.

Fatima Jinnah is said to be a role model for the leadership of women in Pakistan. After the establishment of Pakistan Miss Fatima Jinnah founded the committee for the comfort and peace of women. This committee played an important role in the arrangements and the accommodation of the migrants in Pakistan, a newly incepted country (Khan, & Naqvi, 2017).

Without having any clue, women played a significant role in the independence and partition of sub-continent. Quaid e Azam always encouraged women to play their role in the politics of the country. He on record has said it that the freedom of Muslim men is not possible without the struggle of Muslim women. Muslim women took part actively in the freedom movement, and they came out of their homes on the street throughout the struggle period for Pakistan (Bano, 2009).

Miss Fatima Jinnah was appointed as the president of the Central Women's Committee for the allocation of quota for women in Muslim League. Quaid e Azam during his address in the Muslim Convention in Delhi said, 'it is of great happiness that Muslim women are going through a revolutionary transformation, this transformation has great significance. Without having women besides their men, no nation can progress in the world. The continuous existence of Fatima Jinnah beside his brother also highlights the vision of the leader, that women must have the equal rights as men in all fields of life. There were 6 seats reserved for female politicians in the national assembly according to the constitution of 1956 and 1962, which was extended to 10 seats by the constitution of 1973, which was again increased to 20 seats in 1985 (ADB, 1999). During the regime of General Musharraf in 2002, the seats were increased to 60 (Zakar, Zakar, & Hamid, 2018).

After the partition of 1947, Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz and Begum Shaista Ikram Ullah who belonged to the constituent assembly of Pakistan, reached the highest levels of politics with their struggle and persistence which is considered as the success for women in the field of politics of any country. These hardworking ladies also passed a bill of Sharia of Muslim Personal Law in the assembly which was passed with most votes. According to the bill Muslim women having the nationality of Pakistan possess the right to inherit the property which includes the agricultural land as well. This bill is considered as one of the greatest success of women and in the society that was male chauvinist. When the Prime Minister of Pakistan for the period of 1953 till 1955, Muhammad Ali Bogra, got second marriage, female activists for the women rights were evoked and they created United Front of Women Rights (UFWR) against the second marriage, which was led by Begum Jaha Ara Shahnawaz. Due to the pressure, which was developed by UFWR, a commission was formed to again analyze the previous rule regarding the divorce, children's custody and marriage (Bano, 2009).

The commission worked under the supervision of Sir Mian Abdul Rashid who was the Chief Justice of Federal Court. In accordance with the teachings of Islam, the changes were proposed in

the former Family Law and these proposals were added into the Family Law Ordinance 1961. During the regime of Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto women played their vibrant part in the developing process of the constitution such as Begum Ashraf Abbasi and Begum Nasim Jaha were the prominent political professionals and they raised voice for the welfare of women in Pakistan. Due to their struggle, women were able to get the equal rights in the society without any biasness based on gender, religion or the ethnicity etc. Women were not excluded from the field of politics in the dictatorship period of General Zia Ul Haq. The participation of women in the civil society was active as it was since the inception and they remarkably contributed in the movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD), although the era of Zia is considered as very difficult for female professionals in the arena of politics (Mahmood, 2017).

To distant women from the activities of politics Zina and Haddood ordinances were initiated. And the dictatorship of General Zia Ul Haq was ended with the history making event, when Benazir Bhutto was elected as the first female Prime Minister in the world. Throughout her election campaign she assured to eradicate the Zina and the Haddood ordinances, but the male dominant society of our country never let her dissolve that rather than that she herself was stopped. During the second regime of Benazir Bhutto, the Council of Women World Leaders was founded with the collaboration of many female political leaders across the world (Mahesar, Baloch, & Mahesar, 2015).

Miss Bhutto is considered as one of the founding members of the council. She also established the First Women Bank in Pakistan, appointed female judges which was the first time in the history and established the women wing which was being headed by a female civil servant. The militant regime of General Musharraf is considered as a blessing for women for the first time since partition. The reserved seats were increased in both the provincial and the national assembly's as well as in the local bodies. Furthermore, the female ambassadors were being appointed across the various countries of the world. After the regime of General Musharraf, during the period of 13th National Assembly women actively work in the field of politics, 168 bills were passed in the whole duration out of which 3% which was 4 bills, were presented by the female members. 15 out of 19 bills which were introduced by women, in the category of bills by the private members (Chowdhury, 2018).

Moreover, 6% of the 102 bills which were not passed were initiated by the female politicians. The performance of female politicians was increased in the duration of 14th National Assembly from 2013 till 2018. In the category of bills which were introduced by the private members 55 percent

out of 189 bills were initiated by women. 20 percent were initiated with the contribution of men. They also participated actively in the proceedings of National Assembly Constitution of Pakistan has always provided reserved seats for women in the parliament. In the constitution of 1956, 3percent quota was available which was equally divided between the East and the West Pakistan (Bano, 2009).

The proposed Majlis e Shoora by General Zia Ul Haq in 1981 inducted 20 female politicians. In 1985 the quota of women in the parliament was doubled to 20%. The number of seats remained same in the election of 1988 and 1990. Currently there are 60 reserved seats for the female politicians and the number of women in the parliament is 71. 60 from the seats of quota and 11 from the general seats. There are 128 female politicians in all the provincial assemblies and in the local government 33% seats are allocated to women. Out of 342 seats 60 seats were reserved for women in the general elections of 2002, which was three times higher than the previous quota. The number of women is also increased remarkably, such as in 1988 there were 27 female candidates for the general seats and 20 years later it increased to 60 candidates. While in 1988 number of elected female candidates were 4 and today, they are 13. For the first time in the history of Pakistan Dr. Fehmida Mirza is elected as the speaker of National Assembly.

Table- 1.5: Provincial Representation of Women in the National Assembly

Provinces	General Seats	Women's Seats	Non-Muslim	Total Seats
Punjab	148	35	-	183
Sindh	61	14	-	75
NWFP	35	8	-	43
Balochistan	14	3	-	17
FATA	12	3	-	12
Non-Muslims	-	-	10	10
Total	272	60	10	342

Reserved seats for women are also applicable in the provincial assemblies which are represented below in the table.

Table-1.6: Representation of Women in Provincial Assembly

Provinces	Total Seats	Women Seats	Percentage
Punjab	371	66	17.8%
Sindh	168	29	17.3%
NWFP	124	22	17.7%
Balochistan	65	11	16.9%
Total	728	128	17.6%

One hundred thirteen female politicians are being elected across the country for the various seats of National legislatures, which includes the proposed Majlis e Shoora (Mehrotra, 1998). The table below clearly shows the participation of women in the legislatures.

Legislatures	Total	Women elected Directly	Women Seats	Percentage
1947-54	30	-	2	6.7%
1955-58	80	-	-	0%
1962-65	156	6	-	3.8%
1965-69	156	6	-	3.8%
1972-77	144	6	-	3.8%
May 1977-July 1977	210	1	10	5.2%
1985-88	217	1	21	10.1%
1988-90	217	4	20	11.1%
1990-93	217	2	-	0.9%
1993-96	217	4	-	1.8%
1997-99	217	6	-	2.8%
2002 to Date	342	13	61	21.6%

Ever since the inception of the parliamentary government, the political participation as well as representation of women for the institutional decision making, has remained limited (Zia, 2019), even though more than half of the present population is women. As time passes, the equal representation of the gender is emerging, which addresses the concerns related to the women status today, which can be resolved through their participation in institutional decision and policy making (Shah, Younis, & Kauser, 2017).

Globally, the participation of the women varies in the politics. However, this study focuses on the region of South Asia, most particularly Pakistan. The study contributes by increasing outlining the growing number of female parliamentarians in Pakistan. However, this increase in number has not affected the appointment ratio of the females, which continues to be comparatively very low than men for the political parties. Given the lack of frequent election across various political parties, the political party leaders generally have party activists as their leaders. Reflecting upon the political parties, the Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (PPPP) which regards itself as a liberal party, in its central executive committee, has thirty-six males and only one female (Bano, 2009).

Overall, the history of Pakistan itself comprise of five women in politics; namely Fatima Jinnah (PML), Benazir Bhutto (PPPP), Ginwa Bhutto (Shaheed Bhutto Group), Nusrat Bhutto (PPP),

and Nasim Wali Khan (ANP), who have been assigned as the leader of their respective political party (Ahmada, & Anwarb, 2017).

However, this position also accounted due to their inheritance from a brother, father or a husband, which enabled them to emerge as political leaders. Also, the political parties in Pakistan have determined the number of positions for their women wing, which is comparatively much smaller than that of men. Though quota systems have been set to improve the underrepresentation of women legal participation, its serves as a temporary solution (Zia, 2019).

Even though the quota system has improved the representation in assemblies, it fails to overcome obstacles such as women political empowerment in real. Moreover, it lacks concerning the female democratic participation, as it just improves the participation statistics of the women workforce absent of any real economic or political power, providing only symbolic representation (Shah, Younis, & Kauser, 2017; Zia, 2019).

The research is also promoted due to traditional barriers and the societal mindset. The political progress of the Pakistani women is hindered due to the cultural norms which restrict them and obliges them to first fulfill their responsibility at home and then progress in the political sphere accordingly. Most studies confirm that sustainment of equilibrium between family and professional impacts their progress and hinder their growth (Ahmada, & Anwarb, 2017; Cheema, 2019a, Cheema, 2019).

Also, studies have identified that the political career for women in Pakistan is perceived to be dirty or low given the attached earlier notions, accommodated by illiteracy. This has marginalized the women participation in the Pakistani parliament. This is evident from the Senate session of 2003 to 2004, where from a total of 2769 questions only 201 were asked by women (i.e., 7 percent of all). Likewise, the introduced resolutions were only 335 that were initiated by the female senators among which only 26 (i.e., seven percent were passed (Bano, 2009).

Allen, French, & Poteet (2016) stated that women parliamentarians do not infer with the women issues due to the pressure of the party politics. However, the researches that have undergone on this subject remain limited and fail to draw holistic findings. Also, the previous researches conducted on the women parliamentarian have been central on analysis of the women role from an Islamic perspective (Choudhry, Nosheen, & Lodhi, 2012), political empowerment after independence of Pakistan (Ali & Akhtar, 2012), role of women MNA (Chowdhury) and perspective of the women politicians (Zakar, Zakar, & Hamid, 2018).

Similarly, in the book named *Women in Pakistan*, Naima Tabassum (2016) has supplied information concerning the various dimensions which includes cultural, social, and political spheres which impact the empowerment aspect of the women in political parties. Other studies conducted in Pakistan are restricted to a certain region (Ullah, 2018) and political reform (Cheema et al., 2019). Furthermore, the research on National Assembly has only been conducted by Mirza & Wagha (2012) from 2002 to 2005. According, the similar condition is observed in the general elections that were held in the year 2018, where the number of voters concerning the female population was 44 percent, which highlights that almost 12 millions of women were missing from the general elections (Cheema et al., 2019).

The same study indicated the gender gap in the election 2019, which prevailed about 9.1 percent, in which 11 million of the women refrained from exercising their right to vote. Despite the increased registration and efforts, the gender inequality in the country continues to persist which serves as a challenge for the gender including political parties (Cheema et al., 2019).

Also, the review of the literature presents that there is scarcity concerning the implications which can be implemented for enhancing the women representation as most of the literature accounts back to the historical events of the Musharraf era. However, no study takes into account the development that women parliamentarian in Pakistan have undergone in the 14th National Assembly (2013 to 2018), where a total of 55 percent of 189 bills were initiated by the female members while 20 percent were presented through collaborative efforts of men and women. Moreover, Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN) documents that the parliamentarian participation of the female persists to be 99 percent for the year 2013 to 2014. The improved statistics and dearth of information concerning the role of Pakistani women parliamentarian, this study aims to assess the role of the women in the Pakistani legislation. Most particularly, it addresses the promoting factors, the difficulties, the bills issues, and the impact their overall participation has on the public.

1.2 Significance of the Research

The aim and objective of this study are to decipher the ground realities concerning the participation of women in the political domain in Pakistan. It collects insights, facts, and figures and tries to understand the reasons behind the prevailing statistics in a logical way. Through this study, the representation of women in the national assembly of Pakistan is examined and enlightened, along with their productive and helpful performance in the legislative bodies. The

efforts and the struggles of female political leaders present in the parliament of Pakistan are realized. Furthermore, the contribution of women in the process of law making is assessed, and the comparison is made between participation in the 13th and the 14th tenure of the National Assembly. Through this comparison, the performance of assemblies is also assessed along with the role of women in the policy-making procedures at the National level. The analysis is also done based on bills presented by the female politicians and their effect on the female societies in the country. The intensity of participation, as well as their sincerity towards their occupation, is also examined.

1.3 Objectives of Research

1. To analyze the women parliamentarian's role in the legislature of the country.
2. To investigate the female legislative initiated bills, their nature, and scope.
3. To examine the female legislature participation and role in the 13th National Assembly.
4. To analyze the female parliamentarian's participation and role for initiating legislation pertaining to women rights.
5. To reflect upon the women parliamentarian's achievement in the 14th National Assembly.
6. To reflect and compare the women parliamentarian's performance 13th and 14th Assembly, Pakistan.
7. To examine whether the growing number of women parliamentarians affect the female lives in general on not in Pakistan.

1.4 Research Questions

1. What role do the modern female politicians play in the democratic parliamentary political system and how its role has evolved with time?
2. Which factor impacted the women legislators of the 13th National Assembly?
3. What legislative bills did Women Parliamentarians of 14th National Assembly?
4. Compare and contrast of women's' role on the 13th and 14th, of the role of women politicians of 13th and 14th assemblies?

1.5 Research Methodology

The overall thesis is divided into five sections to enlighten the role of the Pakistani women parliamentarians comprehensively. In it, the first chapter sets the fundamental base of the reader by extensive details of the background necessary for understanding the research core. It highlights the significance this work holds and the reasons which promote performing this research. Accordingly, it also lists down the research objectives and questions which the research aims to

obtain answers. Following it, chapter two reviews the existing work on the subject critically evaluates it compares its area with others and highlights the gap which this research fulfills.

Chapter three defines the research methods used in the study, followed by its relevance and justification for this study. The logically and systematically explains the reason for selecting a approach and how it aids in the achievement of the determined objectives. Consequently, in chapter four, the researcher conducts an analysis using the defined methodology and interprets its findings. It states how the findings coincide with the determined objectives and help validate the objectives. Lastly, chapter four briefly summarizes overall findings, discusses the limitation, significance, and scope while simultaneously helps outline the avenues which future researches can explore.

1.6 Literature Review

The political participation and representation by women in bodies of decision making have been the topic for researchers to conduct a diverse study in political science (e.g., Asiedu, Gaekwad-Babulal, & Malokele, 2018; Parthasarathy, Rao, & Palani Swamy, 2017). For explaining representation of women in institutions of formal politics, explicit connection has been made between women's representation and factors like economic development level, democracy level, participation of women's labour force, norms of socio-culture and religion, women college graduates' percentage, electoral system, and structures and ideologies of political party (Choudhry Mutalib, & Ismail, 2019).

It is argued by the feminist political scientist that the rules and structures of a formal institution, society's informal norms, practices and the state work based on discrimination and influence the access of women to political offices. As male dominance is deep rooted in the institutions, the exclusion of women from such institutions is evolved into discrimination (Ucal & Günay, 2016; Samier, 2015).

The report evaluates the limitations which are faced by the females for the utilization of social and the political grounds and practice the political force and powers among them (Freier & Thomasius, 2016; Parthasarathy, Rao, & Palani Swamy, 2017). Remarkable attention to unload the aspects which can define the low participation of females in the field of politics, which is responsible for the greater gender gap in Lahore's turnout. It is relevant to question why it is important that female voters turn out for the casting of their votes on the Election Day (e.g., Mendelberg, & Karpowitz, 2016; Parthasarathy, Rao, & Palani Swamy, 2017).

As discovered by the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG), to ensure the equality on the basis of gender is not only the basic and primary human right, but is the structural need for the growing, developing and a peaceful world (Dolan, 2018; Seierstad et al., 2017).

To ensure the gender equality in the political field is also essential as the present study from a diverse aspect represents that female has the different preferences from the male regarding the policies of the state and what are the goods and the services they wish to provide in their society. Gottlieb, Grossman and Robinson (2016) represents that females present in the sub-Saharan Africa have more possibility to give the priority to the programs of the water supply and have less chances than female to select the infrastructure like roads or the bridges. Olken (2010) observed the same styles in Indonesia, and in India Hughes & Paxton (2019), and recommends that males' and females depend upon the division of work based on gender in the society and in the households as well. Eichenberg & Read (2016) discovered that females had prominently varied priorities on the problems of defense budget and the strategy of foreign – they do not support the militant interruptions and are more concerned to the results of war than the men.

Proofs from the US and European countries, having the extended sufferings and basically recommended that the female participation in greater number as the voters and the policy changes in accordance with the various preferences, which had the power to change the connections of impacts and the strengths (e.g., Corder & Wolbrecht 2016; Dolan, 2018; Schneider et al., 2016).

The comprehensive analysis of the literature highlights that there exists a need to overcome the participation hurdles which limit the women practice of organizational goals. The analysis of the studies has depicted that they are limited to the liberal form of democracy which is present in the developed countries across the world, though it lacks in terms of its regional content for the developing countries such as in Pakistan. Since developed countries follow a liberal form of democracy; therefore, its examination, findings and practices cannot be generalized on the different countries across the world. Such as, the female participants are more liberated and developed in the industrialized nations as compared to the developing countries. Studies have highlighted that countries that are developed have an adequate proportion of the developed women workforce which for the developing country is less. This lack of opportunity is found to impact their political representation for the countries that lie outside the western world. Moreover, the different socio-economic factors in the developing countries limit the applicability of the various factors observed in other countries on Pakistan. Similarly, the prevailing norms in Pakistan further limit the political reach of the women in the political sphere. The analysis of the

Pakistani women parliamentary participation is even more critical given the recent advancement in their role in the National Assembly.

This enlightens the shift in the political sphere of the country which previously was concealed due to women reluctance to seek their role in the sector. In order to improve the women role in the political sphere, it is integral to induce change and providing meaningful opportunities for them to make decisions.

This makes it necessary to involve them in the decision-making processes and overcome the hurdles which emerge due to conventional practices. Consequently, the improved role of the women in the political setup of Pakistan indicates that women are successfully paving path for the patriarchy-ridden culture; however, this remains an understudied area. Women legislators influence progressive policy outcome, which is doctrinal in nature as compared to the ones which are less politically and culturally sensitive non-doctrinal, for example, the quota of reserved seats. There is a dire need of high-level of political backing which would help these women to exercise leverage for negotiating for the reforms.

It is suggested that for sustaining such period, women will be required at each level of policymaking. There is a need for steady international support, powerful and vigorous activism on the ground for keeping the state vigilant.

In the context of Pakistan, the role of women in politics has been an integral topic of discussion in political science. We have analysed how the representation of women in government institutions varies according to different factors such as the socio-economic development of a region, the freedom of democracy, electoral scheme the involvement of women workforce, social stigmas/norms, level of education and religious awareness.

Amongst these factors we must take into consideration that ever since partition, religious extremism plays an important role in the freedom of women. Although in every nation in South Africa men and women are granted equal rights, in practice there is a huge difference. Our society is patriarchal, where women are oppressed on basis of religious beliefs (Saleem, 2006). Similarly, these believes are embedded into our social institutions. Over the years, researchers state that it is due to this gender discrimination is the reason why there is a lack of women representatives in the assemble.

Pakistan is a developing nation, which generates a rather perplexing environment for civil leadership. Hence it is understood that Pakistan requires a democratic procedure that takes into consideration these religious and social stigmas that have oppressed Pakistani women over the course of decades. Even those who succeed as parliamentarians cannot drive a legislative schema without the approval of male part associates. Even in such a powerful position, women are oppressed, unable to speak up for their rights. (Batool2019).

The aspects that outlaw women from voting can be addressed by overcoming gender discrimination and awareness that our religion does not encourage us to dominate women, but rather protect them and let them flourish. In order to progress in the field of politics, women must become stronger, empowered, commanding and operative legislators.

Yet without conscious measures taken by the civil society, government institutions and political parties' women cannot excel. Substantial support is involved and more acknowledgement for the caucus, which is represented as a body in the assemblies. In Pakistan there are quota seats reserved for women which is a positive action that is essential to make democracy more comprehensive.

The general attitude towards women in Pakistani society has changed over the course of years, especially between the 1960s, when women received support to join the workforce. In order to understand the factors that have affected women since the 60s we must consider the role the government of a era had to play. From the early 1940s to the late 1670s it was a great time for women, as the literary rates rose to their peaks.

Even before partition women actively took part in protests, stood up in local elections and voted for their respective parties. In the 1960s the Family Law ordinance was drafted which changed the status of Pakistani women in society. Under the rule of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto women enjoyed a rather liberal atmosphere, where gender equality was given a lot of importance and women were encouraged to actively take part in elections and vote (Weiss, 1990).

More government seats were reserved for women even in the national and provincial assemblies so that the problems faced by women could be highlighted and resolved. While such policies were not strictly followed, it was the first time that women from Pakistan took an active part in First women's conference. Yet under the rule of Zia strict Islamization policies, women's influence and involvement in different social institutions was greatly reduced.

Different legislations were brought forward such as Hudood Ordinance and Qanun-e-Shahadat which were greatly opposed by women across the nation (Shaheen & Mumtaz, 1990). Due to such strict policies where the weightage of women's testimony was decreased, women suffered great violence. Yet understandably under the government of Benazir Bhutto policies for women became flexible and beneficial.

It was a milestone for women, to finally elect a female representative. (Weiss, 1990) The first women prime minister of an Islamic state, various social issues were highlighted, and the Islamization laws were abolished.

Ministry for women was established, and different agendas were set up to voice the concerns for women rights. Similarly, under the regime of Nawaz Sharif there were various educational policies brought forward, with the establishment of different universities. Under the Pervez Musharraf government various women protection bills were passed (DAWN, 2004). Since then with modernization women in Pakistan are actively taking part in social private and public spheres of life which are more inclined towards western ideologies. Yet we must consider that in rural areas despite various policies and legislations the role of women varies according to religion or cultural values.

We must address the question, why is it important for women to actively vote? The Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) addresses this question when they state the key to a successful world is gender quality. Women representatives tend to be more sensitive towards the issues of common man hence they propose profound policies that take every individual into consideration. Yet we see that gender roles are divided due to social and cultural norms, for instance women representatives in the parliament are more focused towards development of infrastructure or progression of education rather than defense, military interruptions or foreign affairs (Eichenberg & Read 2016). In the United States of America, it has been determined that with the increase in female voters, there have been policies that have led to numerous positive impacts. (Corder & Wolbrecht 2016; Dolan, 2018; Schneider et al., 2016).

Further there have been studies in India which show that increased female participation in economic activities, there has been an increase in development of civic abilities as well as collective actions. Furthermore, it is believed that with more women representatives in the assembly, voices of numerous oppressed women would be addressed. It is understood that women are more concerned with health, education and mental wellbeing in comparison with men.

The number of female representatives in the national assembly have increased over the years, which led to implementation of various policies proposed by women. (Saeed, 2017; Syed, 2013). Due to the involvement of such dominant women, the legislative bodies have an increased chance of having a rather positive influence on the legislation. Yet there are various women parliamentarians across the years who have set an example, such as Benazir Bhutto. Bhutto, had to face many obstacles to achieve a positive place, where she later went on to become the first women prime minister of Pakistan. Women parliamentarian in Pakistan have played an important role addressing societal issues.

These women asked 27% questions out of the total; they succeeded in moving 30% calling attention notices out of total, 24% of the resolutions whereas adjournment and privilege motions were raised by 8% in the 12th NA. In the 13th assembly they performed an even better role, addressing issues like women violence, kidnapping, honour killing, minority girls forced religious conversion, gang rape of these girls, and acid violence on women were expressed by women legislators (Ahmed, & Ahmed, 2018). They also raised their concern related to discrimination of reserved-seat and opposition MNAs regarding time allocation during debates and development funds.

Yet again it must be considered that in the parliament there is a rather huge gender gap. This Gap is fuelled by violence physically and the sexually, killings in the name of honour, forceful marriages and the systematic differences in the society based on religious and cultural beliefs.

1.7 Research Gap

The comprehensive analysis of the literature highlights that there exists a need to overcome the participation hurdles which limit the women practice of organizational goals. The analysis of the studies has depicted that they are limited to the liberal form of democracy which is present in the developed countries across the world, though it lacks in terms of its regional content for the developing countries such as in Pakistan. Since developed countries follow a liberal form of democracy; therefore, its examination, findings and practices cannot be generalized on the different countries across the world. Such as, the female participants are more liberated and developed in the industrialized nations as compared to the developing countries. Studies have highlighted that countries that are developed have an adequate proportion of the developed women workforce which for the developing country is less. This lack of opportunity is found to impact their political representation for the countries that lie outside the western world. Moreover, the different socio-economic factors in the developing countries limit the applicability of the various factors observed in other countries on Pakistan. Similarly, the prevailing norms in

Pakistan further limit the political reach of the women in the political sphere. The analysis of the Pakistani women parliamentary participation is even more critical given the recent advancement in their role in the National Assembly.

This enlightens the shift in the political sphere of the country which previously was concealed due to women reluctance to seek their role in the sector. In order to improve the women role in the political sphere, it is integral to induce change and providing meaningful opportunities for them to make decisions. This makes it necessary to involve them in the decision-making processes and overcome the hurdles which emerge due to conventional practices. Consequently, the improved role of the women in the political setup of Pakistan indicates that women are successfully paving path for the patriarchy-ridden culture; however, this remains an understudied area. Women legislators influence progressive policy outcome, which is doctrinal in nature as compared to the ones which are less politically and culturally sensitive non-doctrinal, for example, the quota of reserved seats.

There is a dire need of high-level of political backing which would help these women to exercise leverage for negotiating for the reforms. It is suggested that for sustaining such period, women will be required at every level of policymaking. There is a need for steady international support, powerful and vigorous activism on the ground for keeping the state vigilant

**WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN THE PARLIMENTARY POLITICS: A
NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE.**

2.1 Introduction

In the year 2008, the leadership of women in the Parliament of Pakistan got another milestone that encourages the presence of women in the Parliament and proved as a glorious success for them. The women Parliamentary caucus forged by the Dr Fehmida Mirza in her leadership on 21st November (WPC, 2008) and she elected as a sponsor for the Women Caucus. Furthermore, my third question in this chapter collaborates with wheatear these parliamentarians have confirmed several more development about the rights and issues of women or not. I concede the Women Parliamentary Caucus (WPC) as the tangible achievement by the women parliamentarians of Pakistan. In my views, this (WPC) is completely concern with the benefits of parliamentarian's women as well as general women.

This Caucus ensures that the women parliamentarians are the real representatives of the common women of nation. They provide platforms to the local women to raise their issues and assure them for better solutions. The women parliamentarians not only use this platform to raise their voice for the issues of women but also struggle for their legal rights. This chapter is bisected into two parts. The first part is emphasizing on the detailed information related to the National Assembly of Pakistan and influence of politics in recruitment of the women parliamentarians in assemblies and on reserved seats. Moreover, this chapter will provide research-based information about the impact of WPC objectives and its working in detail.

2.2 The Composition of the National Assembly

The NA comprises of 342 seats. Among which 272 (80%) are general seats and 60 (17%) are reserved for women and 10 are (3%) reserved for non-Muslims/minorities (NA website). The seats of National Assembly are divided province wise *i.e.*, Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan KPK based on population. The eligibility criteria for the elected and non-elected members of National Assemblies is that they should be citizen of Islamic Republic of Pakistan having age more than 25 years. He/she must be a registered voter of general elections and must fulfil the criteria assigned by article 62/63 of the constitution of Pakistan. Moreover, the National Assembly Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business.2007 provide rights to all members to states their own opinions (Bari, 2011).

Nevertheless, Pakistan is struggling for its democracy. The members of NA appreciate the agenda of alliance party, whether they may disagree with it personally. The political parties in Pakistan are failed to establish a organizes an impressive political culture (Tina, 2005). Personality-oriented party culture ordinarily makes it formidable to hold the executive accountable without facing the consequence. Similarly, to express their opinions, socio-culture obstacles are a limitation that must bear by the members. (Henry Korson, 1993).

These all factors influence the role of women parliamentarian in the National Assembly. The reserved seats of women were executed in both chambers of the Pakistani parliament, in the emergence of women's politics in 2002 (Noreen, Zakar, Ali, & Yousaf, 2019). Women's seats were not different from other seats in the Senate, where there is an indirect election. There were 60 seats added to the directly voted seats and allotted to the parties in portion according to their results in the general election, in the National Assembly. For the reserved seats, a list of candidates had to be submitted by all parties taking part in the election. For any general seats, women were permitted to run, there were 14 directly elected women, in 2002 and 16 in 2008, as Member of National Assembly (MNA). (Syed, Tabassum, & Afzal, 2015).

In the Pakistani context, two explanations had been proposed generally towards this important number of MPs that are directly elected. First, in 2002 and 2008, several former MPs (male) were hindered from being candidates because either they were not a university or madrasa graduates or were charged with corruption. So, in their place, their daughter or wife had been chosen. Second, in the 2000s, the importance of women's representation and problems of women's political rights were debated widely in Pakistan, such way an incentive was created so that more women could be fielded to parties (Khan, & Naqvi, 2019).

As there was some truth in both explanations, the more important was the first one. It was not mandatory for candidates to possess a degree, and there were only six elected women (at the time of writing, some of the results were unsettled) in the general elections of May 2013. Who are the feminine parliamentarians? The major parties are favored by the electoral system for the reserved seats, which, in 2002 and 2008, obtained most of those seats. Such parties include the Pakistani Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN), the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), and the Pakistani Muslim League Quaid-e-Azam (PMLQ). From the Muslim League, splinter parties are the two former parties, a party that had a crucial role in creating Pakistan. The two main parties that raise the League's heritage are the PMLQ and PMLN (but not only parties); still, they are rivals for each other as supporters of General Musharraf constituted the PMLQ when 1999 coup against

Nawaz Sharif occurred, and then there were supporters of PMLN (Ahmed & Bano, 2019). Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto created the PPP in 1967. After the assassination of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1979, his daughter Benazir Bhutto took charge of his party. In December 2007, she was also assassinated prior to the elections of 2008 when her party won the elections. The widower of Benazir Bhutto was the new leader, Asif Ali Zardari, who became Republic's president. The two Islamic parties attained benefits from the quotas, which were also the part of elections in 2002 (Azeem, Ali, Hassan, & Ahmad, 2018)

The Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM), the party which was active in urban Sindh, the JamiatUlema-e-Islam (JUIF), the Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), and the Awami National Party (ANP), a party which remained powerful in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and also there were small parties which became successful in attaining one or two seats. After the first mandate in either of the chambers, several women were reelected and out of which 150 women were in the parliament of Pakistan in 2002 and 2011. All women share some sociological characteristics that differentiate them from their opposite gender despite their diverse party affiliations and geographic origins. This is clear for elected MNAs, 2002, and accurate statistics are available for them (Zia, 2019).

Male were older than women representatives (if the male is 47 years old then, on average, female would be 42), higher academic degrees were possessed by women, but no profession has been declared by a majority of them (6.4% men were elected in comparison of 40% of women, in 2002). In Pakistan, the education level keeps the female MNAs aside, as 54.8% of men were literate and only 32% of women were educated, in 1998 official census (Zakar, Zakar, & Hamid, 2018).

2.3 Women's Political Participation in the National Assembly

The focus of the research is the 13th National Assembly, formed by the elections held on 13th February 2008. Initially, I discussed the steps women have chosen for their gateway into the parliament. For this purpose, the real experience of women parliamentarian to go through the political recruitment process within the party structure has been explored. During the study, I observed that the women parliamentarians choose three vital ways to enter the parliament. 1; family and relationship background 2; long-time party relation, and 3; sympathy of party leaders. In many cases, it has been also observed by me that, the reserved quota of women seats offers an opportunity for the political parties and their leaders to assimilate certain feudal and political families in parliamentary politics

However, the women from the urban class and rural class both are enjoying a great benefit of gender quota; some political families are also getting its benefits. The senior women workers belong to middle class families are also succeeded in entering the parliament as directly elected women MNAs. Before the election of 2008, the condition of having graduate degree encourages educated women from political families to hold the party seats especially when male candidates of this families having low interest in politics or could not fulfil the condition of holding a graduate degree.

It is not easy to describe and evaluate "acting for women." In 2008, for uniting all parliament women across party lines as well as generating new kinds of collective actions, the women's caucus was created. Furthermore, the huge number of bills has been proposed by women that aim to advance the rights of women. A woman or group of women introduced approximately 30% of all bills of private members (one or several MPs initiated bills and not the government) which concerned about the gender issues (rights of transsexuals, domestic violence, female workers' rights, etc), in the 13th legislature (came into effect from February 2008) (Bukhari, Gaho, & Soomro, 2019).

It has been observed that women's challenges are like women's belongings. Only 17 out of 269 male MNAs in person commenced issues which concern women's rights or gave support to female representatives on those issues, between 2002 and 2007 (Mirza/Wagha 2010, 86). Two bills regarding women's issues were proposed by only one man, whereas groups of men and women proposed four bills on this subject in the 13th legislature. Females were more interested than their counterparts in issues concerning "politics of care," which include children's rights, health, education, etc. (Shah, Aziz, & Ahmad, 2015).

In addition, women remained active on all subjects, and men were not left with any area of legislative action. As women comprised of just 21% of the MNSs, only women supported more than half of the bills of private members, which were initiated in the 13th legislature, which showed that women are more interested in the MPs' legislative role as compared to men (Latif, Usman, Kataria, & Abdullah, 2015)

Women were not part of parliamentary work in the 12th legislature too. Women gave 30% of the calling attention notices, proposed 24% of the resolutions and 42% of the private member's bills, and asked 27% of the questions to the government while they constituted about one-fifth of the National Assembly (Mirza/Wagha 2010, 81). It has been suggested that women showed more

interest as compared to men in becoming "specialists" and "policymakers" by using the concept of "parliamentary role." Moreover, these roles are often articulated, which refer to "different work ethic" that women are clearly entitled to as "feminine." (Kamran, 2017).

However, in the general elections of 2008, about 60 women enrolled themselves for the election but only 13 of them succeed to enter the parliament by beating their male opponents. Fehmida Mirza was among the women who successfully entered the parliament through general seat elections, she defeated her 10 male opponents and make an important turnout for her party, "Hina Rabbani Khar", "Tehmina Daultana", "Sumaira Malik", "Dr Firdous Ashiq Awan" and "Samina Khalid Ghurki". Most of them are political members having tickets by their parties and some are independent candidates.

24 women are contested for the election 2008, but most of them were failed to get enough numbers of votes. Only Saima Akhtar Bharwana, winner of the NA-90 could hardly succeed among these. Saima Akhtar Bharwana contested the election on the ticket of Pakistan People Party (PPP), which provides 11 tickets to women candidates and 7 tickets were given by Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N). On the ticket of PML-N only two female candidates including Sumaira Naz and Tehmina Daultana could secure the seats of the National Assembly (Pak Today, 2013).

2.4 2008 General Elections and the Role of Women

In general elections of 2008, 195 women contestants were enrolled among them 78 were having tickets by their political parties and 117 were contesting the election as independent candidates. At National Assembly level, out of 73 women contestants, 15 female candidates were elected directly through direct election in the bar. The number of women parliamentarians of Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian (PPPP) are greater than the Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) and Muslim League Quaid (PML-Q). One woman returned on Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) ticket whereas another on independent ticket. The province of Balochistan and KPK did not vote for the empowerment of women candidates due to their traditional influence.

Based on official data it has been explored that only 20 per cent women entered the parliament and 18 per cent recruited in the provincial assemblies. A precise figure of three per cent is directly entered into the national and provincial assemblies. However, in Pakistan political parties are influenced by the family dynasties and women from the political background or

having close relationships with the party leaders can easily avail the power seats, that promotes a culture of favoritism and resist the real representation of women of the nation.

Some of the examples of women with the high influenced political family background elected in the election of 2008 are:

Samina Ghurki: The only PPP leader with a seat in Punjab Assembly from Lahore city, as she won in 2008 election against her male opponent Chaudhry Muhammed Ashiq Diyal of Pakistan Muslim League-Q and Sadia Shabir of PML-N. She is one of the few women elected from a non-reserved constituency.

Faryal Talpur: A most respectful party member and elected MNA of the PPP-P. She was given the electoral ticket in 2008 for the by-election of Larkana division against the vacant seat of PPP chairperson Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto after her martyrdom. She successfully won the by-election of Larkana with a high margin and elected as the member of National Assembly.

Dr Firdous Ashiq Awan: Dr Firdous Ashiq Awan from PPP defeated Chaudhry Amir Hussain the former National Assembly speaker and political member of Pakistan Muslim League-Q.

Sumera Malik: In general elections 2002, the daughter of Malik Allah Yar Khan and niece of Farooq Khan Laghari (LATE), miss Sumaira Malik secured this seat on the ticket of National Alliance. She joined Muslim League-Q and contested election on the ticket of PML-Q in general election of 2008. Laterally, she continued her political career with PML-N.

Hina Rabbani Khar: Hina Rabbani Khar is an ex-minister of Foreign Affairs in Pakistan and a renowned politician. She holds the title of first women Foreign minister of Pakistan. On the electoral ticket of PPPP, she won the 2008 general elections by defeating her PML-Q's opponent Khalid Ahmed Gurmani.

Azra Fazal Pechuho: She secured her seat against her male opponent with a high margin with total electoral votes of 108404 in election 2008. She is a sister of the ex-president of Pakistan Mr. Asif Ali Zardari.

Shamshad Sattar Bachani: Shamshad Sattar Bachani was also successfully secured her seat of NA-223 in general election of 2008.

Khush Bakht Shujaat: She was a senior woman political member of MQM elected as MNA in general election of 2008. She successfully defeated the PPP candidate Dr Iftikhar Baig after a crucial electoral fight.

Ghulam Bibi Bharwana: Ghulam Bibi Bharwana of the Pakistan Muslim League- Q (PML-Q) secured 63515 votes against her opponent Syeda Sughra Imam of PPPP and beat her successfully.

Saima Akhtar Bharwana: She was an independent candidate, successfully won the seat of NA-90 in election 2008 Nazir Sultan member of PML-Q lost by her. She was also the member of the national assembly of 2002 on the ticket of PML-Q.

When their working style is taken into consideration, female MPs do not take gender as a discriminating source, but rather they consider them as an added force of the system of politics. There are few feminine qualities like women are human and compassionate, more caring as spoken by this MNA: "Humanity exists in each and every woman, which is essential in the political system" (MP10). Most of the time, these qualities are justified by female MPs in reference to motherhood as a special experience of feminism. Women were found out to be more professional as compared to men like in terms of attention to details, punctuality, etc. (Mumtaz, Salway, Shanner, Zaman, & Laing, 2012).

There are two chief limits of "women's politics" and the concept of "women's politics." Firstly, women MPs are mostly operated as party members within parliament, which is not considered as attuned alongside performing as women in party lines (e.g., as a caucus). (Sanauddin, Chitralli, & Owais, 2016). In addition, in Pakistan, most of them were not part of the women's movement, did not want to have a connection with feminism, and did not feel ashamed in forming sexist discussions as well as attitudes to other women. In Pakistan, most of the voted representatives are the part of a political party, which can lead to the legitimate claim of some extent of control on them. (Kamran, 2019).

If women elected on reserved seats are taken into consideration, the control remains strong, as the allocation of these seats is done via lists of the party. Due to this, there is an accusation on women for being party leaders' lackeys, which shows that they are not dependent on the people's direct vote. As many MPs thought that their political party possessed a propensity to remain less focused on their affirmations against directly voted MPs. (Syed, Tabassum, & Afzal, 2015). Like, when it came towards the seat within parliamentary standing committees, they felt that they were the last ones to be taken in. Moreover, many MPs made a complaint that their part acquired the allotted development funds, as no territorial constituency was possessed by them. A total and homogenous control on elected women on reserved seats are not exerted by the parties. First,

women's wing is possessed by most of the parties, where women obtained all the leadership. There is a mixed or polarized attitude towards these wings. According to some of them, the wing of women made them autonomous politically or possessed their own space, at least. (Noreen, Zakar, Ali, & Yousaf, 2019).

Most of the people, who were part of those wings, made a complain that women can be ill-treated in place of women's wing, as the wing's leadership, at par in the party, is not identified. JI is a good example of this ambivalence. Due to the segregation's norms, there exists little intervention from the party in the wing of women. (Israr et al., 2018). This makes women enable to hold a powerful place on issues of women, even in the case when it is undermined as such designations are not conformed towards the agenda which other women's group or the liberal media shielded. In their internal organization, if they are considered as independent so they would have little possibility to possess great effect in the party's mainstream, towards which they do not have access (as compared to other parties, JI women are not able to join mainstream party) but via networks of family (Siddiqui 2010). (Ryan, & Woods, 2019).

The organizational structures, as well as ideology, affect the women's status within the party in other parties as well. The comparatively socially and secularist advanced ideology is more open, in parties like MQM and ANP, towards the agency of women as compared to other parties. Though province, where few women were elected directly, is the place where ANP is the leading party, on the other hand, authoritarian party discipline has been developed by MQM, which has little room for autonomy of MP (Frotscher 2008; Mufti, 2015).

The female MPs' autonomy is the most important issue of personality as well as personal resources among the three bigger parties (the PPP and the two Muslim Leagues). Women's group considers the political participation of women as a major issue; local NGOs, as well as international organizations and NGOs, are promoted by democracy. Hence, if women are mishandled, so legislative assemblies or parties would criticize and notice this act (Butt, & Asad, 2016).

Like, if lists of parties revealed some (female) party workers in favoring those women who were not that politically credible, but their family connections were better, so this would lead to the criticism in the media (Arshad 2007; Yasin 2007). Such a way, the arbitrary decision of parties provides some protection to women. However, a counter obligation for women is created by this protection regarding organizations of civil society, which help in reimbursing lip service for

defending issues of women, as they possess some of the feminism beliefs. (Ahmad, & Anwar, 2018).

According to the existing literature, one of the best predictors regarding women's presence in decision-making is the women's representation in the legislature (Ahmad, & Anwar, 2018; Davis, 1997; Reynolds, 1999) as compared to just analyzing the women's presence within legislatures. Inside the cabinet, the control over agenda is usually to be found (Muller and Storm, 2008) that incorporates, according to Rasool Interview (2018), "prized political appointments," party agenda is formulated, by cabinet ministers, into the framework of national agenda and considered as legislation's gatekeepers. (Reyes & Azizah, 2002).

Mere growth in the woman's presence is not necessarily helpful in translating into policy formation, the pool of potential women ministers is increased by it as they lead to the access towards positions in the cabinet, which consider decision-making and power. Each minister in the cabinet possesses control over a department of government and authority so that the corresponding party agenda can be shaped in the Pakistan National Assembly (Rasool Interview, 2018) and preferences of coalition partners affected to a degree (Martin, 2004; Meraj & Sadaqat, 2016)

Seasoned politicians or senior party officials are being granted with ministerial appointments. The role of political parties as to the unitary actors and party's parliamentarian as agents who try to achieve goals are highlighted by parliamentary literature on governance (Laver and Shepsle, 1994). In Pakistan, the power is with the military, which makes the reality difficult alongside the civilian government. (Hussain et al., 2006).

Party agendas are not necessarily affected by parliamentarian activities. According to the first former female Speaker, Mirza, of National Assembly exclaimed that positive transformation in the socio-political perceptions related to women's position in politics became possible because of the presence of women in all levels of political institutions and within the national agenda, there is "legitimized women's presence" which includes women issues. In the national assembly, there is a reduction in the presence of women in the 1960s as well as in the 1990s. There were 113 women (from 1947 to 1997) who were voted on general seats before the constitutionally initiated reserved seats for women on National Assembly. (Memon, & Idris, 2019).

2.5 Reserved Quota for Women in the Parliament.

The nomination of women parliamentarians on the reserved seats is still a big debate and the method of filling these reserved seats in both national and provincial assemblies is facing criticism for many decades. As there are low literacy rates in women, awareness regarding governance and education acts as a hindrance to the representation of women. The low literacy rate among Pakistani girls and women affects their status in society, demoralizes them to empower themselves, and impede their political participation as well as formal economic sector involvement also affected badly (Hayat, Juliana, & Umber, 2015).

At the United Nation's High-Level Political Forum, representation of civil society network endorsed Pakistan's permanent mission towards the UN so that "inclusive education as a driver of sustainable economic development in the national priorities and agendas" can be placed (Zia, HLPF, 2018). All women have secondary degrees from college, at least, as per pre-dissertation findings on the political capacity of women.

According to the data of Election Nomination Forms, there were more than half of the women Parliamentarians who were college graduates alongside 42% held post-graduate degrees (Masters); 7% possessed basic secondary education, and 51% had (Bachelors) degrees on reserved seats in the 12th, 13th and 14th National Assemblies. The above-mentioned findings of net worth correspond with these findings as an increase in resources leads to a rise in the tendency of access to education (Afzal, 2015). Opportunities and luxuries for participating in politics are achieved by those who have access to resources. It has been argued that the larger women's constituency is not reflected by the representation of women in parliament as the female literacy rate is 45%, with over 70% of girls dropping out. The politics demand educated women, which means that they should have access to resources, which result in excluding over half of the population of women. (Bakhsh, 2018)

Women are being elected for the seats of the National Assembly either directly or through the reserved seats, which are 60 in numbers. There are well-developed styles for the marginalized electoral and political processes which act as a hindrance to run as a candidate and to cast their votes as well. Yet, women manage and are elected to the national as well as provincial assemblies after crossing these hurdles and overcoming the problematic situations. Women who are elected directly or get selected through the reserved seats are said to have sympathy for the traditional families of politics in the country (Clayton, 2015).

There is an assumption that women who belong to the traditional families of politics are elected because of their male member's dominancy. There is a requirement to create more awareness regarding the significance of women's reserved seats. Positive actions in the form of reserved seats for women are an international policy for the increment of their existence in the governing bodies and to deal with society's concept of gender biases. Women belonging to the political families when get selected enjoy the same protocols as their male family member enjoy. For example, Hina Rabbani Khar of Pakistan Peoples' Party is just proof for the culture which is created by the politics of a country regardless of gender. Relative lack of ability of females to get elected to assemblies directly is not the representation of their inabilities; it is a view regarding the traditional culture of socio-politics, which restricts female representation (Ullah, Khan, Khan, & Ibrahim, 2016).

The rise in the representation of females requires to be pushed by the reforms of electoral and politics as well. It is also required to alter the selection of females through reserved seats by the percentage of political parties' seats in the assemblies; it is required to be substituted by the direct election of females for the reserved seats. There is a need for changes to be made in the Political Parties Order 2002 to make sure that the quota of 10 percent for the females in all the political parties is maintained (Nizamani, 2018).

In the general elections of 2008, 18 females were elected for the seats of the National Assembly through the direct election. The total number of female contestants was 195, of whom 78 females were running from the platform of political parties, and the remaining were the independent candidates. Ten elected female members belonged to the Pakistan Peoples' Party, which was the highest in all the other political parties, while three candidate's winners belonged to PML and PML-N. One member was from MQM, and the other one was an independent candidate. On the reserved seats, sixty female candidates were selected (Yasmin, Sohail, & Mangrio, 2015).

These 60 seats were being reserved in the National Assembly back in the year 2002, out of the total 342 seats of the National Assembly. It was a sign of progressive development in the society that results in a way that 18 female candidates were being elected through the general elections. At the same time, the first female speaker of the National Assembly was elected Dr. Fehmida Mirza, which was also a reflection of development. Yet, the directly elected 18 female candidates make only 5% of the total 342 members of the House, and the total number of female members, 78 in number (60 from the reserved and seats 18 from the direct election) makes 23% of the total number of members of the house. Being half of the total population of the country, females

having their representation as 23% need the awareness and change in society to give way to the females in the field of politics and there is also a need for the reforms in the political process to encourage and motivate young females to join the profession of politics (Zia, 2019).

Thus, the quota for female participation in politics has played an important part and has brought women to the position of decision making at all levels, either it is state, provincial, or the local government level. Yet simultaneously, the females who have joined politics appreciate the quota system and the allotment of reserved seats (Syed, Tabassum, & Afzal, 2015).

Therefore, the female politicians who entered this field through the reserved seat system do not have the political and the socioeconomic background which most of the female politicians have, a restriction of actual representation which is needed to be taken seriously. Thus, there was a need to conclude as it is done by True et al. (2014), and he explained that the quota system would not be able to attain the desired targets. Moreover, the female population, registration of female voters, and the turnout rate of the female voters must be focused as well to get a clear picture of the issues and problems that are being faced by the empowered women as well the struggling females. Yousuf (2013) has defined that female in Pakistan has the majority as they are half of the total population of the country (Khan, & Naqvi, 2018).

In the elections 2013, 37.6 million females were registered to cast a vote, while the male registered voters were 48.6 million in numbers. This shows the difference in that 11 million female voters are not registered. The table2 (shown above) represents the faults and frauds in the statistics depending upon the gender biases in the registration of voters. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK), Balochistan and FATA (federally administered tribal areas) highlight the lowest number of females, registered voters, while in Sindh and Islamabad the gender discrepancy is comparatively low. In the previous years, information regarding the voter turnout was not being recorded based on gender. Many researches proved the election of women parliamentarian on reserved seats as opposite to standard of democracy. They criticize that Women constitute 48% of the total population according to the recent census and the adequate women's presentation should be 33%, to begin with (Bari, 2005).

The organized structure of women's indirect election on reserved seats does not accomplish the purpose. The nomination of women parliamentarians must be done through the direct elections and the stability of laws should be classified for women and these should be rotated. Women parliamentarians elected on reserved seats also claim for their space in parliament, relatively low

space provided to those women parliamentarian on the reserved seat as compared to the women elected on open seats. One of the members of National assembly named as Kashmala Tariq, claims that the women parliamentarian on reserved seats is not more than a private property for the political parties. “Women parliamentarians are restricted to speak beyond their party provided material. The Political parties should provide electoral tickets on women reserved quota based on their performance and qualification for the true representation of the women for the nation”.

2.6 Role of Organization for Women Empowerment in the Politics:

According to the researchers “One of the most effective strategies proved by the many parliaments in the world is formation of the cross-party caucus on all issues related to women. It is very useful to discuss the issues of women in making legislations and public policies” (Bari, 2010).

The focus line of these type of caucuses is to provide a platform to make a collective contribution regarding gender sensitivity to the women legislators and to form an influential and interactive relationships with different civil organizations that are working on the projects related to women's rights both nationally and internationally. Thus, the WPC is a platform where women parliamentarians raise their voice for the rights of women in society and for the policies that are beneficial for the women.

Furthermore, the Women’s Parliamentary Caucus effectively working in Pakistan. This is the collective representation of the parliamentary women of Pakistan. Different communities and religions are represented by the parliament of Pakistan, an element of hospitality and brotherhood can be seen by the living standard of these communities and by their attitude towards each other. The country having low bonding as nation, it is more difficult to fight for the rights of women and these issues are also not considered politically.

The caucus is getting its importance by discussing the major issues faced by the women in Pakistan. The workers of this caucus are engaged with several NGO’s working for the rights of women in society and raise their voices to tackle the issues and to make policies in the favor of women of the nation. Civil society organizations and NGOs are struggling for the development sector and more importantly the black side of gender difference within Pakistan. Some encouraging steps are taken by the government to take initiatives in this type of social development activities.

1. The most important purpose of this caucus is that the women caucus will work “to attain a broad-based consensus among all women members of the Parliament on an agreed agenda for women development, empowerment and emancipation, enabling them to work beyond and above party lines for the uplift of the women of Pakistan” (WPC, 2009).
2. In Pakistan, it is the first caucus of its type under the observation of the government of Pakistan. Fehmida Mirza was the first who formed the maneuvering committee to draft the resolution of the Caucus and its charter. The WPC was officially imposed in parliament in November 2008. Initially, the members of National assembly were included in the caucus committee but later in 2009, it was extended more, and the women members of senate are also got involved in this caucus.
3. Furthermore, the WPC determined five basic objectives including
4. To enhance the role of women parliament member especially towards the gender-sensitive issues and to make amendment in legislation and policies which directly govern these issues.
5. The implementation of locally and internationally effective plans for the better future of women of the state.
6. The Caucus must prove itself on national and international platforms as an interchanging of views regarding critical issues of gender equality.
7. To make a relation between civil societies and NGO’s in order to present a concrete agenda towards the eliminated issues related to women and to promote awareness about women rights and gender equity.
8. It also involves the process review that makes the path of women in the National Assembly more feasible and easier.

The caucus provides a single platform to the women workers from different political parties in order to represent the collective force of women of the nation. This cohesion within the government and their cooperation with women from outside this institution considered as the most effective method to speak out for the rights of Pakistani women within the government. About 91 women joined themselves with the WPC in the year 2008-2013. Among them, 74 belonged to the National Assembly and seventeen were from the senate committee. There were seven women from the popular political parties of the country included in the Working Council during that session, and an independent women member of the parliament. Secretary Nafisa Shah of the PPPP, also elected by this council and a Treasurer, Nuzhat Sadiq of the PML-N.

The formation of the Women’s Parliamentary Caucus was not only done by the MPs alone. It is a long-time struggle behind this council that pushed the women of the nations to raise their voice

for their rights and explore the awareness about the political representation of women in all government sectors.

A finite and unique group of women are represented by the WPC in Pakistan that is not affected by the dichotomy of political agenda of any party. However, they represent cohesion within a patriarchal institution that went through their needs. WPC is an important achievement to show that the women rights fights prior to its formation were separated between the women's organizations and women members of the Parliament having totally different agendas. Before the creation of caucus, these organizations were influenced by very weak bonding among them. The WPC is also responsible to create a pressure group consisting the parliamentary women as well as the women working in several movements. All the women in Pakistan are affected by the issue highlighted by the caucus; it is not only for the women in the parliament or the women working in several movements. Therefore, the proper implementation of these laws would be beneficial for the whole women population of the country.

It was also the duty of this caucus to highlight the issues faced by the women within the parliament. In several parliamentary meetings, the WPC highlights the issue of gender equity; it can be seen especially during the natural disaster like earthquake and a massive flood in 2012. As in Pakistan the acid throwing crime is growing very fast mostly in the least developed areas and the women affected by these victims requires relief that is more effective. The WPC raise the issues for the relief and restriction of these type of social issues. WPC was also actively participating in different debates regarding the allocation of national budget for the health and educational purpose. The idea of quotas in political parties has now been carried forward by the Women's parliamentary Caucus (WPC), which has tried to build consensus among the parties to agree on a minimum quota of 10 per cent for awarding tickets to women on winnable seats and a 33 per cent quota on all party committees and councils. On the other hand, WPC also moved a bill for the amendment of Political Parties Act of 2002.

Since its formation, WPC has been striving to promote women's empowerment and to build consensus in Parliament on issues affecting women and children. Successes include WPC offers a trusted platform; especially to women who finding support and building connection with other MPs. WPC have strengthened the capabilities of the women members and sharing party experiences. It has also ensured effective oversight of national and international commitments on gender equality by working closely with NGOs and other allies (Agora, 2015).

WPC and its collaborators recognized that many women didn't have a CNIC and were not registered as voters; it leads to political exclusion and debarment. By the campaigns of WPC, the National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA) and Electoral Commission of Pakistan (ECP) responded to this campaign and set up registration camps before the 2013 elections.

A significant effect of WPC efforts has been to make the women question central to public policy. The Caucus has led the discussion in assistance of legislation and played an indispensable role. On the other hand, following are the laws and frameworks comprehensively debated by WPC: Protection against harassment of women at the workplace at of 2010; Criminal law act 2011; Women in Distress and Detention fund 2011; National Status of Women Act 2012 and Domestic Violence Act 2012.

2.7 Role of Women in Legislation.

In order to reinforcing the process of legal aid by women, WPC has simultaneously engaged with women police stations in Islamabad. WPC members played an active role in lobbying for an enhanced role and support to women police officers with the following results; increased salaries and safety of the officers is ensured when travelling in conflicted areas. Moreover, WPC also has been paying attention to the victims of acid burn which are up surging at the recent times which needs to be reformed related to police procedures for endeavoring perpetrators to justice. Eight female members have been devoted funds for their development, and they established burn units in their respective constituency's hospitals (Illahi, 2014).

To conclude, this presents a very encouraging future scenario. It is anticipated that this collateral thinking among women parliamentarians would go a long way in the form of these Caucuses for the betterment and prosperity of women of the country. Out of total 175 private bills introduced by the members during the period 2010 to 2015, 73 bills were being introduced by the female political workers, in both the way of joining with the other female members or as an independent while 62 were introduced by the male members as both of the ways as mentioned above. Yet, during the period of reporting only, 14 bills were being passed. Among them, ten were introduced by the female members. Hence, the female representatives participated actively and contributed 71.4% in the process of policymaking. Women's protection rights, child protection, and human rights and highlighting the problems of the underprivileged groups of the society is the priority for the female throughout the period of the research. Thirty-three bills in total were being introduced regarding these issues. Excitingly, all the 14 private bills by the members were passed during the 13th National Assembly's last three years (2010-2013), and no bill was passed the

period of 2013 to 2015 by the 14th National Assembly. Despite this introduced 69 private bills by the members who got at the level of committees (Shah, Aziz, & Ahmad, 2015).

**CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN PARLIMENTARIANS IN THE 13TH
AND 14TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN**

3.1 Formation of 13th & 14th National Assembly

The study of Abbas et al. (2016), had defined the establishment of the National Assembly of Pakistan according to which elections which were held during the year 1956 elected General Sikandar Mirza as the first President of Pakistan. The Constitution of 1956 formed provided a parliamentary form of government regarding all the executive powers operations or activities in the hands of the existing Prime Minister (Ahmad, Khan & Khalid, 2016).

According to the following constitution, President considers as the head of the state and elects by the involvement of all members of the National Assemblies who hold the powers for almost or at least for 5 years. On contrary to this, the study of Ali & Sheikh (2018), had critically explained that President Works according to the rules and on the orders of the Prime master, such that; a president could not pass important orders without the permission of Prime Minister or could not act in any direction without the permission of PM. It was the first session of National Assembly that was held on 20th March and in the year 1985 under the leadership of Muhammad Khan Junejo who nominated by the National Assembly and President, a PM of Pakistan (Abbas et al., 2016; Ahmad, Khan & Khalid, 2016).

The study of Awan et al. (2016), critically had defined the formation of National assembly from the first till 12th to show that how the 13th and 14th National Assemblies formed because 13 and 14 come after 1 till 12. So, according to the study of Bukhari, Gaho & Soomro (2019), the very first session of the third National assembly occurred during the year 1962 in June in Ayub Hall. The elections for the eighth National Assembly held in the year 1998 on the 6th of November. According to the study of Bukhari, Gaho & Soomro (2019).

The very first session formed under the leadership of President on 30th November and Miraj Khalid was elected as speaker member of a National Assembly of Pakistan. At that time, a very first appearance has given to women in the National Assembly or in politics significantly because those elections gave the presence of as a Prime Minister to very first women who called namely as 'Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto'. After this, the assembly then dissolved by the President namely, Ghulam Ishaq Khan and it was the year 1990 on the 6th of Augustplag. After it, elections held for the Ninth National Assembly in Pakistan on October 24th in 1990 and then for the Tenth National

Assembly, elections held during the year 1993 also on 6th October (Chowdhury, 2018; Kanwal, 2016; Khurshid, 2019).

The study of Krook (2017), had defined the establishment of the eleventh and the twelve National Assemblies of Pakistan according to which it was held on 3rd February in 1997 and for the twelfth National Assembly, elections held during the year 2002 on 10th of October.

The study of Muraoka (2019), had defined the formation of the 13th and 14th National assembly as according to the study of Muraoka (2019), thirteen National Assembly of Pakistan constitution as the Islamic Republic held and then dissolved also on the completion of its constitutional term after five years in the year 2013 on March 16. After it, session for the fourteenth National Assembly held in the same year 2013 on June 1, and in that session 'Dr. Fehmida Mirza' as a women politician administered the oath from the new members who have elected to perform in political activities for the best of country (Mushtaq & Khan, 2018; Noreen et al., 2019; Rafay et al., 2016; Roofi, 2016). Speaker of the 14th National Assembly was Sardar Ayaz and Nawaz Sharif elected as PM of the Islamic Republic at that time.

3.2 Women Seats in the 13th & 14th National Assembly

In the National Assembly, there are total 342 seats and in all these 342 seats, 272 seats are filled by the direct elections (Mushtaq & Khan, 2018; Noreen et al., 2019; Rafay et al., 2016; Roofi, 2016). On the other hand, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan constitution reserved a total of ten seats for the religious minorities and has reserved a total of 60 seats for the women. According to the study of Sadiq et al. (2019), seats for women filled by the promotional representation among parties for women in more than 5 percent of the vote. This represents the role of women they played in the thirteen as well as in the fourteen National Assembly of the Islamic Republic (Chowdhury, 2018; Kanwal, 2016; Khurshid, 2019; Yilmaz, 2016; Zia, 2019).

3.3 Role of Women Parliamentarians in the 13th & 14th National Assembly

It was the time when women were taking place more quickly in the National politics of Pakistan and at that time, women legislations were performing effectively and impressively (Chowdhury, 2018; Kanwal, 2016; Khurshid, 2019; Yilmaz, 2016; Zia, 2019). Women were taking part in law-making as their role in law-making is very dominating (Abbas et al., 2016; Ahmad, Khan & Khalid, 2016).

It is the reason that international women's day also celebrates all over the country in Pakistan. According to the study of Ali & Sheikh (2018), women in the 13th and 14th National Assembly

played an active role in law-making as they submitted private member's bills as well as those bills based on the issues which are very common among women particularly and pertained those issues to the governance. Likewise, the study of Krook (2017), critically explained the role of women in the thirteenth and the fourteenth National Assembly of the Islamic Republic and according to the study of Muraoka (2019), women played the most important role to resolve in solving the issues like human rights, democracy, and the political development. Women alone without any involvement of male cabinet singly have submitted numerous resolutions and various attention calling notices (Awan et al., 2016; Bukhari, Gaho & Soomro, 2019; Chowdhury, 2018; Kanwal, 2016; Khurshid, 2019).

Women members in the National Assembly had taken place approximately one-fifth or had taken one-fifth seats in the National Assembly. There is a total of 340 members in the National Assembly in which 60 are reserved seats (Mushtaq & Khan, 2018; Noreen et al., 2019; Rafay et al., 2016; Roofi, 2016; Sadiq et al., 2019). Those seats have won by women in the National Assembly some of which are also minority reserved seats and many women legislators are actively participating in the parliamentary proceedings by submitting the agendas. According to the study of Zia (2019), the report released by the inter-parliament Union (IPU) on the study of the comparison of women and according to the study of (2019), parliamentarians in lower houses portrays deep insights on the roles of women according to which they directly elected in the thirteen National Assembly. This condition decreased to the eight for current assembly (Mushtaq & Khan, 2018; Noreen et al., 2019; Rafay et al., 2016; Roofi, 2016; Sadiq et al., 2019).

The study has appreciated the women of the 13th and 14th National Assembly and according to the study of Chowdhury (2018), women have appointed on the important positions or portfolios in the National Assembly such as on the different following positions; which are defined as below women have played the most efficient role;

1. National Health Services
2. Regulations and Coordination
3. Information Technology

Likewise, the role of women in the following three divisions, also played the role of parliament secretaries significantly for the interior and Control or prevention of the Narcotics, for petroleum and natural resources and for the broadcasting of information. All these operations chaired by

women (Awan et al., 2016; Bukhari, Gaho & Soomro, 2019; Chowdhury, 2018; Kanwal, 2016; Khurshid, 2019).

According to the study of Krook (2017), from the analysis of the report on the role of women in the 13th and 14th National Assembly, the participation of women is worthwhile as they had taken parliament business that is admissible according to the lower houses' rule of business. The participation of women in a National Assembly demonstrates their greater interest as well as active participation as compared to the male counterparts (Mushtaq & Khan, 2018; Noreen et al., 2019; Rafay et al., 2016; Roofi, 2016; Sadiq et al., 2019). The study of (), had critically explained vital information which had taken from the statistics of one prior research as according to the study of Muraoka (2019), there are might be more interest have analyzed in the 13th and the 14th National Assembly from Women side as the five years of 13th National Assembly and 14th National Assembly has achieved an agenda which have altered the governance structure. It ensured the provincial autonomy along with the restoration of the 193 constitutions. Women also gained success at that time in promotion for the rights of women empowerment (Awan et al., 2016; Bukhari, Gaho & Soomro, 2019; Chowdhury, 2018; Kanwal, 2016; Khurshid, 2019).

Women high involvement during the time of 13th and 14th National Assembly in Politics. The time of the 13th National Assembly has defined as the year when issues like the issue of national security, political instability, civil-military relations and the executive judiciary tensions related to the energy crises, all these issues were on their peak (Awan et al., 2016; Bukhari, Gaho & Soomro, 2019; Chowdhury, 2018; Kanwal, 2016; Khurshid, 2019).

It was the time of political unrest in the Islamic Republic country. According to the study of Krook (2017), there were various parliamentary bodies in the National Assembly of Pakistan such that in the 13th and the 14th National Assembly which had taken the most challenging part in democratic processes to resolve the controversies on various important matters. The studies of Chowdhury, (2018); Kanwal, (2016); Khurshid, (2019); Yilmaz, (2016); Zia, (2019), had defined the processes which had taken place after the involvement of women to show all political parties, the strength of women involvement. Women's inclusion in politics also includes their involvement in preventing practices against women. Women like Mehnaz Akber, Zartaj Gul, and Shams-Un-Nisa, etc had involved in reducing vulnerability to reduce the conflicts in various areas also to hit the male members of the political party particularly in the 13th National Assembly (Ali & Sheikh, 2018).

Women also stood out for the pro-women legislation in order to reflect in some of the main areas. Due to the involvement of women in political issues as well as in the 13th National Assembly, legislations have been known as the efforts of women against the violations of human rights significantly in areas like Swat. It was the time when women were facing vulnerabilities in terms of human rights in Swat and the members who are women of the 13th and 14th National Assembly including presenting members of different parties which include; PPP, PMLN, BNPA, PML, ANP, JUF, MQM and other independents (Mushtaq & Khan, 2018; Noreen et al., 2019; Rafay et al., 2016; Roofi, 2016; Sadiq et al., 2019).

Women took an active part in politics at that time likewise in current political affairs, more bills introduced on the rights of women in the National Assembly and mainly bills comprised on the protection of working women along with the working rights of working women including the women who are domestic workers in their homes (Chowdhury, 2018; Kanwal, 2016; Khurshid, 2019; Yilmaz, 2016; Zia, 2019). In this regard, women in the 13th and in the 14th National Assemble worked for the rights of maintenance, for instance, the rights of the children's custody and the rights of a second marriage for women (Abbas et al., 2016; Ahmad, Khan & Khalid, 2016). They also worked against the violence that is vulnerable to women of the Islamic republic also according to the teachings of Islam, violence is forbidden in the Muslim religion or country. Women also worked for the rights which include restraining from the child, reproductive rights, control and prevention if women trafficking, burn crimes and other related crimes like burn crimes (Ali & Sheikh, 2018).

The issue of female education is the most important issue of Islamic Republic Country-Pakistan and women of the 13th and 14th National Assembly had taken an active as well as powerful role in the female education, they also took part for the health of women to increase the attention of particularly domestic women for women health and the vulnerabilities face by women from the side of their husband or in-laws (Yilmaz, 2016; Zia, 2019).

They also worked to increase the educational stipends for women and increased the attention of government towards this matter as there are various PML lawmakers who are women had taken an active part in the health care and educational sector (Awan et al., 2016). These sectors largely ignored by the government especially in relation with the women health and education, however, the rights of men always fulfilled by the women as this world also promote the rights of men more instead of maintaining more powerful efforts for the best of women and for just the cause of

their good survival that is very much important to increase their motivation level; it helps women in making married life more successful (Bukhari, Gaho & Soomro, 2019).

The University of Balochistan is the efforts made by the women when they involved in politics and the women from 13th and the 14th National Assembly because a resolution on funds was not releasing for women so they worked hard with the PPPP and MMAP legislators to call the attention notices regarding the monthly educational stipends mainly for the female students of PPPP members (Bukhari, Gaho & Soomro, 2019). In addition to this, the efforts therefore by women, came into action in the form of the bill that was introduced in the healthcare rights by the PML lawmakers (Krook, 2017). After this time, many legislators started taking part in the rights of women and the executives also started taken an active part in the issues of women like discrimination and the violence against women (Muraoka, 2019). Actions have also taken to resolve the issues for women like the issue of their personal as well as physical development, education and healthcare mainly.

3.4 Women Speaker of the 13th National Assembly

According to the study of Sadiq et al. (2019), Dr. Fehmida Mirza has worked a lot for the best of Muslim Women rights or for the rights of Women by working or speaking activities in the National Assembly of Pakistan and her role in the 13th and 14th National Assembly is very dominant. She is the very first speaker of the National Assembly of Pakistan and elected in March 2008; she was the 19th member of the National Assembly of that time politics and she worked for the women development, health, social welfare, commerce and industries, and special education matters. Speeches of Dr. Fehmida Mirza in the National Assembly against and in support of various political practices are well-known (Chowdhury, 2018; Kanwal, 2016; Khurshid, 2019). According to the views of the Fehmida Mirza as she said; the 13th National Assembly has confronted numerous challenges and has credit for the passing future such as for the 18th, 19th and 20th constitutional amendments to restore the essence of 1973 constitution. She also belongs to the political family as her father is Qazi Abdul Majeed was also held the different ministerial portfolios (Yilmaz, 2016; Zia, 2019).

3.5 Indicators to show the Participation of Women in the 13th & 14th National Assembly.

Various indicators, such as the proportion of the population, enrollment rate, readability, reach to elementary medical services and expectancy of life, show that there is a difference within men and women in the country of Pakistan (Wolak, 2019). Though, in the political arena, women's

participation has made significant strides over the last 16 years. Most significantly, political participation of women in the legislature has increased. This movement in participation of politics is due to many factors, consisting of Pakistan's lawful commitment to the global community, including the Committee on the "Elimination of Discrimination against Women", the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)" and Convention on Political and Civil Rights (KP). The commitments affected Pakistan succeeding the Fourth Women World Conference at the time of 1995 (Krook, 2017).

Moreover, the Pakistan Constitution of 1973 has an important role in women's political development. Additionally, the Election Commission on Order 2002, the Political Party Order 2002, the allocation of women seats in the Provincial and National Parliament in 2002 and the non-Islamic rules of 2002 all played a role in empowering and securing women (Choi, 2019); and their participation in the political structure. Pakistan's current political system includes a president and a parliament. The change in the political system is a result of variations in the political structure of the past. Historically, the attendance and allocation of seats to national and provincial councils have varied across political systems. For example, at the first legislative meeting in Pakistan (August 10, 1947 - October 24, 1954), women received 3% of all seats (30 seats in total and 2 seats for women). From 1947 to 1956 there was no presidential trade. The head of state is the ruler. At the second legislative session (2 May 1955 and 7 October 1958) the representation of women was 0% (80 seats and 0 seats for women). The political structure changed again from 1956 to 1958. Governor Iskander Mirza has been president since the appointment. Later, between 1958 and 1971, the army ruled the country for 13 years (Choi, 2019).

Subsequently the Zia era, between 1978 and 1988, another change in the political structure led to changes in women's political representation (Rai, 2017). After the first legislative meeting in 1988, the quota of 3% increased to 10%, while women won 22 seats in parliament (21 women were elected to seats and one woman was directly elected) and 5% provincial Council seat. However, between 1990 and 1997 the demand for female seats was reduced. As a result, women were not allocated seats at the provincial and national levels in the parliaments elected in 1990, 1993 and 1997. As a result, women are underrepresented (Kittilson, 2016). For example, in 1990, women represented 0.9% (two of 217 women were directly elected). In 1993, female representation was 1.8% (out of 4,217 indirect elections), while at the National Assembly in 1997 the proportion of women in the elected parliament rose slightly to 2.8% (out of direct elections) points. In 2000, for the first time, participation of women in politics under local government increased to 33% (Krook& Sanin, 2016).

This quota is valid at local government levels including the union council, the factory level and the district level (Biroli, 2018). Similarly, to the 2002 elections, the number of women in the National Assembly and in the provincial group rose to 17% (61 out of 342 National Assembly members). The sharp increase in quotas rose participation of women in the political system in the 2002 elections (Gwiazda, 2017). As a result, most women in the elections won general seats. In the 2002 elections, a total of 188 women were elected to parliament, 101 of whom ran for political parties and 39 won both seats. This is almost a third of the 1997 election: only 56 women denied, 39 nominated political parties and only 7 won (Allen, & Cutts, 2018).

However, when we look at the 2008 and 2013 elections, we can see some changing trends. In the 2013 elections, women were given 70 seats out of 341 seats in the “lower house of the National Legislature”, which represents nearly 20.5% of all seats. In a Upper House, women were chosen from 17 out of 100 seats, representing 17% of all seats (Bauer et al. 2017). The turnout for women in 2013 was slightly higher than in the 2008 elections. In the 2008 elections, 34 women were nominated through the political parties. In the 2013 elections, 36 women were nominated by political parties (Ruddick, 2017). Likewise, 108 women participated in the 272 National Assembly elections in 2013 (Khan & Naqvi, 2018).

This figure is again greater than in the 2008 elections when a total of 76 women applied. Since the 2013 elections, some political parties, such as the Pakistan Muslim League and the Mutaşida Qaumi Movement, have increased female participation in party votes likened to the 2008 elections, but additional political parties, such as the Pakistan People's Party and the Islamic League (Setiawan, 2019). Pakistan Quad-Azam reduced its representation in the 2013 elections compared to the 2008 elections (Tripp, 2017). Current trends in women's participation in the process of politics to assess women's current involvement in politics, we can focus on three key questions:

- 1) How many women won the party vote?
- 2) What is the total number of women in the provincial and national units?
- 3) How many women who won seats in these parliaments were chosen as general seats and how many were elected because of the reserved seats?

Available literature shows that despite the active participation of women in the Thirteenth Assembly, they did not honor candidates from their political parties (Rueschemeyer, 2016). The total number of female candidates nominated by political parties is 3.5%, compared to 96.5% for men. In this context, Ford, (2018) asserts that the low representation of women in elections shows

that political parties have little confidence in them, which is clearly contrary to women's political enthusiasm. Similarly, Deckman&Swers, (2019) reported a decline in the proportion of women in political positions in political parties. Women are considered a passive voting bank, while political parties tend to use them primarily for public meetings, conventions, and representative activities in elections (Epstein, 2018). Although political parties have a female wing, these parties often perform their representative functions to a large extent and do not affect the party's decision-making process. As a result, structural discrimination against political party organizations has affected the representation of women in electoral contests. However, this is a major development. Compared to the 2008 elections, women held more seats in the 2013 National Assembly elections (Epstein & Coser, 2018).

In addition, women's participation in elections in various sectors, such as FATA18 and Dir19, is a positive sign of increasing women's political participation. Low-caste groups and some women in poor areas of Sindh also participated in the 2013 elections. Women from these economically disadvantaged groups are trying to make their voices heard in mainstream political systems to highlight neglected issues like health, education and women's rights (Dolan, 2018).

Ignoring issues specifically affecting women shows that the commitment of political parties to empower women is not high. However, there is increasingly active participation of women in society to increase political participation. This is mainly because Pakistan has signed international agreements and human rights treaties. As a result, many international organizations such as the UN Women, UNDP, Oxford Famine Committee (OXFAM), USAID, and USAID, JICA, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and other organizations have collaborated with national organizations to promote effective women's participation in politics (Blain et al. 2016). Despite its impressive achievements in strengthening women's political influence, especially the role of women in political parties, Pakistan has tended to provide a positive role model for women's participation of politics in other Islamic countries (Krook, 2017).

For example, Benazir Bhutto was the first female Prime Minister of an Islamic country in 1988. Similarly, Fahmida Mirza became the first female speaker at the National Assembly of the Islamic World. In addition, about 100 female members entered the upper and lower chambers of Pakistan's national legislation in 2013 (Lovenduski& Hills, 2018). Following the 2008 elections, the coalition led by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) also joined the government. Many women hold ministers in important positions, such as social welfare, and Samina Khalid Ghurki is the head of the ministry of special education (Deckman&Swers, 2019). Likewise, “Sherry Rehman,

Hina Rabbani, and Ashiq Khar Firdous Awan” served as Ministers for “Information, Broadcasting, Health and External Affairs”. Few of these politicians have since turned to other fields. However, there are fewer women ministers in the current cabinet and only 2 females occupy this position. One is named “Anusha Rehman Ahmed Khan”, Chief of the Ministry of Information Technology, and “Saira Afzal Tarar”, National Health Minister Service. However, their visibility in acting and decision making is not good for men (Ford, 2018).

Sexual discrimination practices have hindered the empowerment of women in the political sphere, but the statistical women representation as legislators has shown a tendency to progress. It depicts that nearly 20 percent of the members of the legislature are women. Though, the representation of such women as legislators includes the effect of the fees for women that came into force in 2002 (Wolak, 2019).

As a result, fees for participation of women in politics have played an important role in empowering women at national, provincial and local levels (Krook, 2017). At similar time, though, women who came to politics for fees and the reserved seats allocation came from politically influential families. As a result, women who enter politics holding seats have a different socio-economic and political background than most Pakistanis, and the restrictions on actual representation must be taken seriously. Therefore, such a conclusion must be reached, as Lovenduski & Hills, (2018) once said, Women's fees do not achieve the desired results (Choi, 2019). In addition, the female population, female voting record, and female participation should be considered. Understand the challenges of empowering women. Krook, (2017) stated that women account for almost half of Pakistan's population and that nearly 37.6 million women voted in the 2013 elections, while the registered male voter was 48.6 million (Rai, 2017). This shows that the number of unregistered female voters is almost one million. Federally controlled tribal regions (FATA), Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) have the lowest voter registration rates for women, while Islamabad and Sind have other regions in comparison. The gender gap is relatively small. In the past, sex polling data was not stored for the 2013 elections in Pakistan Election Committee (ECP) however intends to collect information on gender participation (Kittilson, 2016).

In this regard, "Free and Fair Election Network" (Fafe) estimated 264 constituencies 264 count report, and up to two-thirds of the polls the polling station director did not meet the specific sections Form is correct, including the “European Union Election Observation Mission” noted that gender segregation statistics are not true in the National Assembly districts, yes, data show

that male voter turnout is still 56.03% while female turnout is still 48.79% (Krook& Sanin, 2016). Women's participation has increased for elections in the same category (e.g. women's polling) in 2008. The European Union Election Observation Mission (2013) suggested several factors that may be responsible for women's low participation, such as polling stations. The gender gap between men and women polling points is separating regions where the socio-cultural gender segregation is very strict. These factors may influence the 2013 elections (Biroli, 2018).

3.6 Socio-Cultural Challenges faced by Women Parliamentarian.

Moreover, the reason for the women under-representation in the legislature, especially about public seats and party candidates, is that "women are kept at home and political life is a man's perception." (Gwiazda, 2017) With the women exception by political families, however, women generally refuse to participate in political functions and public life.

At similar time, the women representation in places according to Blain et al. (2016) in Economic empowerment do not motivate women to join in political structures. Therefore, this representation of women in the system of politics is not really a representation of indigenous people (Allen, &Cutts, 2018). Because of the widespread belief that women's main roles and responsibilities are to work at home, there is a strong certainty that women must work from home instead of at home; instead of actively participating in political activities (Bauer et al. 2017). There are also other socio-cultural and economic hurdles that limit participation of women in politics. An example is the KPK Pashtun in area study, which indicates that women face gender segregation, lack of political rights and illiteracy challenges (Ruddick, 2017).

In addition, the socio-cultural values of the region place women at a disadvantage in society. These factors prevent women from gaining political influence (Khan & Naqvi, 2018). In addition, in South Asia, politics is usually based on economic resources and power and on political networks. Thus, unless women come from politically active families, women often have little access to a strong political network and low access to financial resources. Therefore, restrictions on empowerment of economy and the lack of political networks are additional factors known to be barriers to participation of women in the politics (Tripp, 2017).

Compared to the previous one, the proportion of women elected as legislators in Pakistan has rose, mainly due to quotas especially for women (Setiawan, 2019). However, a larger proportion of women are also seeking legislative candidates. In addition, women are increasingly exercising their right to vote. They also proved themselves by participating in the 13th and 14th National

Assembly of Pakistan, which was evidenced by the naming of political parties. Similarly, more women were candidates in the 2013 elections than in the 2008 elections. Despite considerable progress, empowering women does not conform to current statistics and trends in political systems and structures (Rueschemeyer, 2016).

The major women representation in the legislature is largely due to the fee system. Political women need to thank the membership system because men are not directly elected, but they receive seats from party organizations (Epstein, 2018). While non-participation indirect elections may accelerate their integration into the political system, direct voters also insist that they are not accurate representatives of most of the socio-cultural class of Pakistani women. This is all the truer since most women in the legislature come from influential families of politics.

In addition, women candidates for common seats are still lower than men, which suggest that men have less faith in women's ability to win elections. In addition, in political parties, the female wing plays a weaker role in the decision-making process and often plays the role of representation rather than leadership (Epstein & Coser, 2018).

This is another important indication that political parties really have no female influence. The reasons for women's limited political influence are related to socio cultural practices and their economic dependence on men in the family. In addition, low levels of literacy and gender segregation in social functions are obstacles to women's participation. Unless there is a gradual socio-cultural change, women's participation is impractical and should start with a bottom-up. This means that women must first have social and economic powers. Only in this way can women play a leading and authoritative role in the political system. Political indicators of women's political empowerment are currently based entirely on top-of-the-line approaches, such as fees, achieved through legislative action. However, structural discrimination according to social and cultural practices remains standardized in political parties. The distribution of party roles, responsibilities and appointments are specific examples of such behaviors and attitudes. Therefore, it is also necessary to strengthen real empowerment, effective women's participation, women's position in the political system and political structure by changing standard practices at the local level and in social institutions (especially households and the economy) and promoting them (Dolan, 2018).

Studies highlight that about 73 bills were presented by the female politicians from the year 2010 till 2015, out of 175 private bills in total, either by the coalition with the other female members or as an independent candidate (Dutoya, 2013; Bakhsh, 2018)

The findings also report that 62 were represented by the male members of national assembly through the techniques mentioned above. However, only 14 bills were passed during these years, in which ten bills were presented by the female assembly members. Therefore, the female members contributed vitally and participated in policy-making procedures which are overall 71.4 percent of the total process. Protection rights of children, women, and human rights as well as indicating the issues of the deprived segments of the communities as well as societies is the preference to the female members of the national assembly during the time period of the study. A total of 33 bills were being represented about these problems. All of these 14 private bills represented by the members of the national assembly were passed during the last 3 years of the tenure of 13th National Assembly (from the year 2010 till the year 2013), and there were no bills represented in the first two years of 14th National Assembly (2013 till the year 2015). Despite these 69 presented private bills by the members of the National Assembly who reached at the committee level of (Shah, Aziz, & Ahmad, 2015).

The bills of the private members which were represented by the female members of the National Assembly of Pakistan shows their attraction and the interest in admitting the problems of women, children and the deprived classes of the society, for example, people with the disabilities, transgender population and the minorities of the society (Rahman, Eijaz, & Ahmad, 2015).

33 bills were represented in the National Assembly for the security of rights of women, children and the other categories of the society. The primary aspects consist of the presentation of women along with their rights, the security of kids from the harassment issues, psychological and physical judgments at the educational organizations, abduction, kidnapping and the presentation of the transgender, the minority and the individuals who are disabled in the politics of the country and the security of their rights. The health of the public, the security of human rights and education are the top preferences of the female members of the national assembly (Merrill, 2017).

When the pattern of the operations is being focused, female parliament members do not discriminate based on gender, yet they focus themselves as an additional force in the political system of the country. There are some female traits like the women are more caring and possess human values as stated by the Member of the National Assembly that humanity is there in each

female, which is necessary for the political structures (MP10). Majority of the times these traits are supported by the female politicians with the reference of motherhood as a distinguished experience of women, females are observed as more professional when they are compared to the male profession also in the aspects of details, discipline and other ethical values (Mumtaz, Salway, Shanner, Zaman, & Laing, 2012)

There are two basic limitations for females in the field of politics and the nature of politics. First, female parliamentarians work as a member of their political parties within the house (Sanauddin, Chitrali, & Owais, 2016). Additionally, most of the female members were not part of the female movement, did not desire to have a link with female traits and did not feel embarrassed in starting the sexist debates along with the behavior with the other females. In Pakistan, most of the voted members have affiliations with the political parties which gives a direction towards the legal claim of some level of control over them (Kamran, 2019).

If the elected females for the reserved seats are being considered, the control stays strong, as the process allotment of the seats is carried out through the part lists. Because of this, there is an allegation on the females as being controlled by the leaders of the political parties, which represents that they directly do not depend on the votes of the public. A lot of the parliamentarians have an idea that their affiliated political party tends to stay less concentrated on their statements as compared to the parliamentarians who are being voted directly (Syed, Tabassum, & Afzal, 2015). Furthermore, a lot of the parliamentarians have complained that their areas have gained the funds which are being allotted for the development and there is constituency no territorial possession by them. On the female candidates of the reserved seats, there is not overall and similar control exerted by the political parties. Firstly, the wing of females is comprised of most of the parties, where the female gained the leading positions. There is a combined or polarized behavior for these wings. In accordance with some of them, the wing of female makes them politically independent or obtain their personal position (Noreen, Zakar, Ali, & Yousaf, 2019).

Most of the people, who are affiliated with these wings, complain that females are mistreated in the arrangements of the women's wings, as the leader of the wing is not highlighted or mentioned. JI provides the best example of this doubt and uncertainty. Because of the distinct values, there is a very low intervention from the party in the women's wing (Israr et al., 2018). This enables the females to have a strong position regarding the problems of females even in situations when it

threatens where the positions do not follow the agenda which are being shielded and protected by the other liberal media houses or women's sections. (Siddiqui 2010). (Ryan, & Woods, 2019).

The structure of the organization along with the philosophy influences the position of the females inside the party as well as in the other parties too. MQM & ANP have the social and secular ideology as compared to the other parties regarding the activities of the female parliamentarians. Although the provinces where some of the female members are being elected directly, ANP is on the top, while MQM has created and maintained the party discipline which has very small space for the independence for the parliamentarians (Frotscher 2008; Mufti, 2015).

The independence of the female members is the most significant concern of the personality along with the individual resources among the three large parties (the two Muslim Leagues and the PPP). The wings of females focus the political contribution of the females as the main problem; the domestic NGOs along with the internal organizations and the, are being marketed by democracy. Therefore, if the female is mistreated, so the constitutional assemblies or the political parties will condemn and gives attention to this act (Butt, & Asad, 2016).

Similarly, if the registered parties disclose few (women) politicians in the favor of those women who do not have political credibility yet have the better family terms and contacts, this will be directed towards the attack by the media houses (Arshad 2007; Yasin 2007). In this way, arbitrary actions of the political parties give some security to the female. Yet, the same obligation for the female is created by the security regarding the organization of the civil society, which support the reimbursement of lip facility for the defense of the problems of the females, as they have some feminist ideas (Ahmad, & Anwar, 2018).

In accordance with the literature which exists, one of the best forecasters for the presence of female in the process of decision making is the presentation of females in the National Assembly (Ahmad, & Anwar, 2018; Davis, 1997; Reynolds, 1999) in contrast to just the assessment of the female presence in the legislature. Within the cabinet, the control over the program is being observed (Muller and Storm, 2008), as stated in an interview by Rasool (2018), which integrates the political hiring which are prized, the agenda of party is developed, by the ministers in the cabinet, into the structure of the national program and is considered as the gatekeepers of the legislation (Reyes & Azizah, 2002).

The only development of the female presence is not essentially supportive in the translation of the policy formulation, the group of the possible female ministers is enhanced by it as it gives a

direction towards the access to the cabinet positions, which considers the power and the decision making process. All of the ministers in the cabinet have a control over a particular department and section of the government as well as the authority in order to match and relate the agenda of their party with the Parliament of Pakistan (Rasool Interview, 2018) and priority of coalition partners influenced to a level (Martin, 2004; Meraj & Sadaqat, 2016)

The timely politicians or the senior officials of the party are given the ministries usually. The part of the political parties as to the unitary factors and the and the members of the parliaments from the party who works as the moderators to achieve the targets are identified by the parliamentary literature regarding the governance (Laver and Shepsle, 1994). In Pakistan, the military has the power and strength, which is the hard reality along with the civil government (Hussain et al., 2006). The agenda of the party is not essentially influenced by the activities of the members. In accordance with the former Speaker of the National Assembly, Fehmida Mirza, that there was a constructive change in the point of views of socio-politics linked with the possibility of the female positions in the politics is due to the existence of the females at all of the stages of the political bodies and inside the national programs, there is a legal existence of females which involves the issues of females. In the parliament of Pakistan, there is a decline in the existence of females in the 1960s and the 1990s. There were only 113 female members (from the year 1947 till 1997 who were elected on the general seats before the initiative of the reserved seats for the females in the parliament (Memon, & Idris, 2019).

The overall worth of the females who got voted on the reserved seats is identified by the Declaration of Assets reviews by the assembly members, which are combined by the available data on the nomination form V for the elections by the Fair and Free Election Network (FAFEN) (2013). (Abbas, Safdar, Maqsood, & Mughal, 2016). The data is evaluated from the 12th, 13th, and 14th parliaments out of the registered political parties, including ANP, Religious parties, PTI, MQM, PPP, PML N, and PML Q. It has been observed that both PMLN's and PMLQ's female members were well off when compared with the other parties. The overall worth of most of the assembly member ranged between Rs. 10-50 million which is followed by the range between Rs. 1-10 million, exclusive of the net worth of the household. The total worth less than Rs.5lac was announced by 9 percent of overall members of the assembly. PTI members were excluded from this. The small sample size is provided by PTI's female members, and educated individuals are facilitated by the party.

The quantity remains the same, as well as the reflection of the constituencies of the political party. PML consist of the industrialist individuals as well as Businessmen, so they emphasize more on the development of the country. PPP has always stated that Pakistan has only one champion for the freedom of democracy which is in the form of PPP, and this party shows a range socioeconomic; MQM is the party of small business owners as well as represents immigrants of partitions, the has no representation from the rich segments of the society while the religious parties and the ANP show themselves in the middle class. (Malik, R., 2019).

The rich are prominent the representatives of females on reserved seats unsuitably, most of the women population is not represented by them. In line with the indicators of the consumption and income, it has been proposed by the IBA-SBP Consumer Confidence Index that in the past two decades, in the country the middle class is growing rapidly and its overall worth is less than 5lac to 10lac to 1crore to 5crore to 100 million to 500 million and more (as expatriates and foreign capital increases the remittances), more than 60 percent of the total nationals of the country are living the life below the socioeconomic line of middle-class. (Mandelbaum, & Swislow, 2016).

There are 60 numbers of seats in the National Assembly and selection for the women's seat can either through the reserved seat or directly. In order to cast their votes, there is the proper style for political processes and marginalized electoral which functioned as a hindrance to operate as a candidate. There are lots of hurdles and problematic conditions faced by women during their election in provincial and national assemblies. Women elected in assembly through reserved seats or directly are said to have kindness for popular political families of the country (Clayton, 2015).

It is assumed that the election of women who belong to the popular political families is because of the dominance of their male members. There should be proper awareness provided about the importance of reserved seats of women. In the form of reserved seats of women, there should be positive actions for international policy to raise their present governing bodies and deal with the concept of society based on gender. Women of the political family also enjoy the same facilities and protocols as their male member enjoys when they elected as a member of the assembly. For example, a member of Pakistan Peoples' Party which is one of the strong political parties of the country, Hina Rabbani Khar is its member has just proven that the tradition which is established by the political parties of the country irrespective of gender. The absence of abilities and skills in women to get directly selected in the assembly is not an illustration of their capabilities, it is

about the socio-political culture which bound the female representation (Ullah, Khan, Khan, & Ibrahim, 2016).

Female representations require to accelerate by the political and electoral reforms. According to the percentage of political parties, there should be the alternate election of female members through reserved seats. For reserved seats, there is a need to be substituted for females' seats by the direct election. In order to maintain a quota system for females in all political parties, there should be changes established in the Political Five Parties Order 2002 (Nizamani, 2018).

Through the direct election, 18 female members were elected for National Assembly seats. 195 was the total number of female contestants and 78 females were elected from the political parties and the rest were the independent applicants. 10 female members from Pakistan Peoples' Party were elected, which was the maximum rate as compare to other political parties, where three winners belong to PML-N and PML. One member was independent and the other one was from MQM. 60 female members were elected through reserved seats (Yasmin, Sohail, & Mangrio, 2015).

Back in 2002, 60 seats were reserved in the National Assembly out of 342 seats. The result of progressive evolution in the society that 18 female members were elected through the general election. Dr. Fehmida Mirza was the first National Assembly's female speaker, which is the result of such development. 18 female candidates were elected directly and make 5% of the entire 345 members of the assembly and in 78 number of seats 18 members elected through the direct election and 60 from the reserved seats makes 23% of the entire members of the assembly. Females are the half of the entire population of the state, out of total 23% is the rate of female representation and there is need to bring the awareness and bring the changes in the culture to give females chance to participate in political field and also need to reform political system to motivate and encourage young females to join politics as their profession (Zia, 2019).

However, the quota system for female candidates in politics played a vital role and creates a strong position in the culture so that women can decide at all levels. Either it is about the state, provincial and decisions about local government. At the same time, females who are participating in politics acknowledge the quota system and the allocation of reserved seats (Syed, Tabassum, & Afzal, 2015).

Therefore, many female politicians do not have a political and social-economical background which many of the female candidates have and elected through reserved seat systems have a

limitation of actual representation which should be taken seriously. True et al. (2014) describe that the quota system cannot be able to achieve the desired goals. Moreover, female voters, female registration and female voters turn out rate should be considered as well as create a visible image about the problematic conditions and issues which are being faced by females, with initiatives to empower women as well. Yousuf (2013) has explained that females are considered as a majority population in Pakistan as they are the half of the entire population of the state (Khan, & Naqvi, 2018).

In the 2013 elections, 37.6 million women have cast their registered votes, whereas males were 48.6 million in numbers. This shows that there is 11 million difference in women voters who are unregistered. The table2 represents fraud and faults. The statistics are about the registration of voters based on gender. KPK Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, FATA (federally administered tribal areas) and Baluchistan showed the lower rate of female registered voters, while in Islamabad and in Sindh the gender differences are comparatively lower. In the past years, knowledge about the voter turnout was not maintained with respect to gender.

**COMPARITIVE ANALYSIS OF THE WOMEN ROLE IN THE
PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM OF PAKISTAN: A CASE OF 13TH AND 14TH
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**

4.1 Introduction

In Pakistan or any other nation, it has been observed that political potentialities, are undermined, under documented and underestimated because women lawmakers in the National Assembly have contributed a lot to parliamentary proceedings during 2016-2017, also known as the 13th and 14th parliament tenure. This chapter provides the assessment and comparison of all the 13th and 14th national assembly participation in terms of putting forward the national role played in the last 5 years. This chapter provides a comparison of women who participated in 13th and 14th national assembly elections and were elected for seats on various positions.

Women have been an equal contributor in the politics, parliamentary activities or even in the creation of Pakistan since 1947. In the list of 190 countries, Pakistan stands at 100th in representing women. Positive Action through Constitutional Requirements can be found easily by giving a look to the constitutional history. In the 1956 constitution of Pakistan, there were 10 seats held in reserve for women in the parliament, equally divided in East and West Pakistan. In the 1962 constitution of Pakistan, six seats for women were kept back in the national assembly in which three seats were reserved for east and other three for the west.

To inspect the strong point of women in National assembly of Pakistan, on general and reserve seats and their diligence in a political career in all the constituent assemblies since the commencement of Pakistan secondary data was used. The percentage of women who came through general seats and their career persistency in parliament is very small. The outcomes specified that most of the women win the election only one time on general and selected on reserve seats once. As the number of tenancies increases the strong point of women parliamentarians drops, which could escalate the frequency of glass ceiling.

**4.2 A Comparative Analysis of the Performance of Women Parliamentarians of the
13th and 14th National Assembly of Pakistan**

Many arguments have been observed in the context of 13th and 14th national assembly participation of women as compared to male participants due to which Pakistan saw an increasing influence of women in the parliament. According to the research article of Ahmad et al., (2019), women lawmakers have participated a lot in the parliament of Pakistan and developed a lot of

lawsuits in introducing parliamentary business, however, women senator's contribution can also be observed in the Upper house. The investigation of Rehman (2017) reported that if comparative analysis of 13th and 14th national assembly is done on-floor, then men and women lawmakers of the 13th national assembly were more active in terms of participating in proceedings, by regularly attending and contributing in a substantive manner towards parliamentary business especially during the 13th national assembly.

On the other hand, Rehman (2017) wrote that the performance of women has elevated in recent times because it is believed that women are given more leverage by the parliament members in recent times. During the period of May 31, 2016, to February 7, 2017, it was observed that National Assembly women participation increased by 25% as compared to 2016.

Currently, women percentage make up of 20% population having 19 seats in the Senate and 70 in the National Assembly. According to the findings of Khan (2019), the management of parliament is highly satisfied with the contributions of both 13th and 14th national assembly women participants, because they all combined contributed to the 38% of business transactions. However, the investigation of Naseer and Kalsoom (2019) wrote that women of 14th National assembly are given more privilege by the senator as compared to the 13th, due to which contribution of women parliament is more in recent times.

During the 13th and 14th national assembly period, it was observed that a total of 4,132 agenda items were passed by women as reported by Khan (2019). Due to this reason, the percentage of women contribution in parliamentary business is significantly high with percentage of 62%. However, if this portion of agenda presentation is broken, it can be observed that women of the 13th National Assembly presented 2048 agenda items, whereas women of the 14th National Assembly presented the remaining. Hence, it can be said that ratio of women is almost the same in both 13th and 14th national assembly. Nonetheless, investigation presented by Naseer and Kalsoom (2019) reported that in the 13th Senate, women represented 13% parliamentary business on individual level and 2% collectively with men. While in the 14th NA, this ratio increased to 16% individual and 5% on collective showing a better performance.

On average it is argued by Naseer and Kalsoom (2019) that women of 14th NA have developed 18 agenda items, whereas male lawmaker sponsored 7 agenda items. While, in the 13th NA, a woman brought 18 agenda items as compared to 19 in 14th NA. However, the research article of Uzma Izat (2019) wrote that in Senate of 13th NA, men were on a higher scale of presenting 14 agenda

items, while women presented 10 agenda items. Adding on the arguments, they argued that women lawmakers in both 13th and 14th national assembly were active, but women of 14th assembly are much better when compared to contributions made in terms of senate attendance. Some other parameters of women participation in NA of Pakistan during 13th and 14th tenure can be found in upcoming paragraphs.

According to the statistics of 13th national assembly, a total of 71 sittings were organized during their reporting period. If the comparison between the 13th and 14th NA women participation is looked in this time period, it has been observed that women lawmaker in 13th NA attended 67% of the total sittings, whereas men attendance was 58% (Naseer and Kalsoom 2019). While during the 14th NA, this attendance increased from 67% to 82% in the sittings. Based on the comparison made, it can be said that women of both 13th and 14th national assembly participated in a similar fashion because they were actively involved in different activities. 2 women in the National Assembly during both 13th and 14th national assembly reached 100% attendance, while the lowest attendance of a woman was 6% in 13th NA and 11% in 14th NA. Similarly, the attendance of women in Senate during 13th and 14th national assembly was 93% and 21% respectively.

The women lawmakers in the 13th and 14th national assembly were observed to be of high significance because it can be observed that women participation increased. According to the research findings of Lee (2019), women of 13th NA initiated 21 out of the 120 bills, with a ratio of 18% on their own, and 19% bills by collaborating with male colleagues. Women sponsored a total of 31 out of 67 resolutions, in the 14th NA, while male presented only 46% of the participation. The performance of different women during this time period recently inclined in the given time period because the government started to support women parliamentarians and allowed them to participate in different conversations for elevating their engagement. However, Buche, Buche and Siewart (2016) wrote that women participation in the 14th NA was more as compared to the 13th NA. The statistics of 14th NA show that 13 out of 90 resolutions were presented by women on their own, while 8 with male collectively.

The best form of democracy in World can be observed in Pakistan, especially when women in parliaments are provided with real opportunities by the government. According to the research article of Bucur (2017), the participation of women in recent times has been observed since speaker asks a lot of questions during the sittings. Supporting the statement, (2019) wrote that if women are willing to participate in a political system, it becomes easier for the government to create an interactive and creative environment in parliament. But it can be said that in a political

system should not only support women and males should be given equal rights. For example, Shah, Younis and Kauser (2017) reported that women participating in the 14th National Assembly comprise only a few percent, even when 50% of total Pakistan population is of women. Based on the findings, it can be said that women suffer a lot in terms of understanding the leadership cadre of political parties. On the other hand, Bose and Jalal (2017) wrote that present quota of women seats in the parliament on leadership positive in both 13th and 14th national assembly is significantly low. The participation of women in NA in the 14th NA is 22%, whereas it was just 12% in 13th NA.

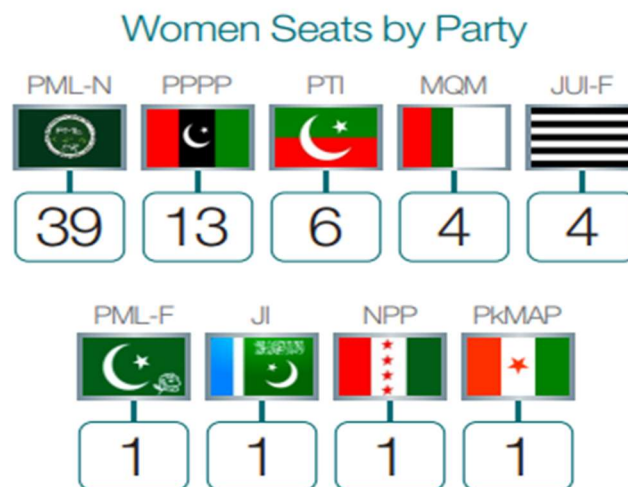
In the 14th NA, the number of women members on the MNAs is 70, out of which 60 sits on reserved seats, 9 sit on general seats while 1 sit on minority. If mathematics is applied, it can be said that 20.46% of women are present in Senate, in the house of 342 (Naseer and Kalsoom 2019). If the statistics of women in 13th NA is observed, it has been observed that this percentage was just 17.21% hence showcasing that number of women parliamentarians were less. The seats reserved for women can be observed in the development of new seat reserves made by women. According to the findings of Khan (2019), the government has received a lot of support by women in the 13th NA as compared to 14th because the seats reserved by women are filled based on several general seats won by them. However, this rule changed and now women can win seats independently without participating in a party.

Based on this proportion system, about 60% of women can participate in discussion presented by senator, because 60% of seats are now reserved by women in parliament. According to the elections of 13th NA, PML-N had a sweeping majority of 35 women in NA, followed by 8 seats of PPP, PTI (6), MQM (4), JUI-F (3) and one each of PML-F, JI, NPP and one seat of PMAP (Ahmad et al., 2019). On the other hand, it has been observed that women participation in 14th NA is more as compared to 13th with a total number of women seats is 70. Due to this reason, it can be concluded that women participation would be more in 14th NA because government is given more privilege by NA in current time period. Rahman and Jalal (2017) wrote that out of 9 elected women MNAs, five of them won from Sindh, while 4 PML-N seats came from Punjab in the 13th NA. on the other hand, when women participated in the 14th NA elections, it was observed that 17 of them won with majority from Punjab, while 17 of them won from Sindh and Balochistan. Based on these statistics, Rahman and Jalal (2017) concluded that women of the 14th NA contributed more to NA presentations, as compared to the 13th.

Some investigations also tried to investigate whether the performance of women has changed in the 14th NA or not. They reported that women who were present in the 13th NA were not as confident as the one in 14th NA, because they were not given the support by the senator of the NA. the findings reported by Ahmad et al., (2019) show that women before 2010, were not allowed to speak in high numbers and because of that reason, they never received the support by the parliament. Supporting the statement, Rehman (2017) wrote that each woman in the parliament or NA were given the power to speak after 2010, which resulted in the development of significantly high participation in the NA. nonetheless, it is recommended that women should be given more power in the parliament because it would elevate their participation and also the effectivity in the parliament.

According to the latest statistics, following members have been observed in women category in the 14th NA:

Figure-4.1: Women Seats by Party in 13th NA



The figure above shows that 13th NA had a total of 39 women members from PML-N, followed by 13 from PPP and 6 from PTI and so on. In an investigation presented by Ahmad et al., (2019), it is argued that most of the women are not given the support by the government or their respective parties, due to which their participation declined in recent times. For example, Khan (2019) reported that JI is not giving support to its women due to which it has become difficult for them to speak in parliament. Supporting the argument, Rehman (2017) wrote that women of JI

and PML-F are not given complete support by their respective management due to which their participation and due diligence are not observed. Based on the observations made, it has become crucial for them to sustain their participation and make use of other women of PTI and PML-N to come up with resolutions (Rehman 2017). Based on the observations made, women of top 2 parties PTI and PML-N currently participate in high numbers in NA group and individual talks, due to which it is necessary that they should be given the required support by other women.

It was also observed in the 14th NA that three women who were elected for reserved seats and one general seat, became part of the Federal Cabinet and served as the Stats Ministers within Ministries of Information Technology and Telecommunication; National Health Services, National Heritage and Regulations and Coordination (Naseer & Kalsoom 2019). Due to this reason, it is argued that communication platform of the NA in both 13th and 14th National Assembly elevated due to promotions on higher positions. Supporting the statement, Rehman (2017) wrote that performance of women can improve especially when they all will start focusing on the development of supporting platforms for their colleagues, as it would not only increase individual participation, but other women participants would also feel secured and well warmed. However, Rehman (2017) also wrote that women of today's time in Pakistan is involved in criticizing other women rather than supporting her. Hence, other women cannot participate in discussions with women of other parties, because it would result in the development of low participation by women.

It is believed that women participation in the NA can elevate, especially when the platform and targets for them are set by the assembly management. In an investigation presented by Naseer and Kalsoom (2019), the authors reported that women participation in NA significantly increased in 13th and 14th National Assembly because their parties called them in private meetings and involved them in crucial decision-making. However, Ahmad et al., (2019) reported that women of the 13th NA were not given the required support by their managements, and participation was not up to the mark when compared with the 14th NA. therefore, it can be argued that women participation can significantly reach to its peak when governing body of their respective parties starts giving them the required support to lift their confidence.

Average women attendance in the Senate during the 14th NA is much higher as compared to the 13th NA. according to the records of parliament average attendance of women in parliament in 14th NA is 67% as compared to attendance percentage of 58% in the 13th NA (Ahmad et al., 2019). Due to this reason, male members of the parliament mostly remain absent having an

attendance ratio of 53%, and 47% in 13th and 14th NA respectively. Not only this, women in both 13th and 14th National Assembly have not received too many corruption allegations by their name as compared to men. Due to this reason, it is necessary that indulgence of women in matter should be increased, because their decision-making is mostly based on justice and keeping needs of poor people in consideration. Some research articles argued that participation of women in the 14th NA is not as good as compared to the 13th, because of few reasons.

For example, Uzma Izat (2019) reported that government of PTI has not performed anywhere near expectations of poor people, due to which it has become difficult for women to attend discussions of NA, as they have little or no answers to the questions raised by the oppositions. The investigation carried out by Khan (2019) reported that performance of women recently declined in the last few years, because they were not given room to speak. When male participants are mostly absent in the 14th NA, women are required to give the answers. However, Uzma Izat (2019) found that they have illogical answers to give for what is going on behind this, and due to this reason, the performance of women is not good. In the 14th NA, women lawmakers were found attending only few parliaments meetings, and PML-N is one of them. According to the research article of Waqar (2017), women participation in the NA in the last 7-8 years increased because of many reasons. For example, one of them is women attended 61% of the total sittings in the senate, while male was found with an attendance of 66% only. Supporting the argument, Imran and Shahzad (2019) wrote that the MNAs Naseema Hafeez of the PKMAP and Tahira Bukhari of PML-N are considered the most punctual lawmakers because they have attended all the 71 sittings. Not only this, they have participated in the discussion, and the participation of women recently inclined.

However, Bucur (2017) reported that women participation is not up to the standards in the 13th NA, because it has become difficult for them to gain support of their colleagues and lift their confidence. Based on these observations made, it can be concluded that women participation should elevate, especially, when the management is willing to understand various benefits and drawbacks in parliament system.

The major proportion of world population comprises of women however, their involvement and demonstration in politics are seriously near to the ground. Internationally, women face hindrances if they want to pursue politics as a career. The present-day situation and regulations of society and socio-economic factors are the well-thought cause of unacknowledged barrier in their political progress (Zardari, 2018). In 2019, only 24.3% of the total representation had

accomplished by women around the world (The World Bank, 2019). This is the substantiation of the glass ceiling for women in politics as about 50% population grasps only 24.3% of representation in World (UN Women, 2017). Women's existence in politics show a discrepancy, not in the same states and it is based on the social patterns of the public (Bano, 2009). Sadly, in Pakistan, the one-hundredth of women is only 20% of the total number of parliamentarians (UN Women, 2017). In addition, only 3% of women came in the National Assembly through general elections and 13% are those who came on reserve seats (Zardari, 2018). These figures point out that there are complications that hold back the political contribution of women in Pakistan.

In Pakistan, the political system is also male leading like other social and economic institution. Women must face social restrictions, disapproval, chauvinism, and other cultural constrictions to participate in politics of Pakistan as well as their admission into parliament (Hadi, 2017). At present three parties are the major interested party in the political set-up of Pakistan: Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf, Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz, and Pakistan People's Party (Mushtaq, 2018). These parties are ruled by male political leaders of Pakistan. This practice abuses the ideals of democracy but also make barricades to women's participation in Pakistan (Ali, 201). Conferring to research, obstacles that hinder the women participation are allied to lack of education, personal belief, socio-economic and political background. Traditional gender roles and gender discrimination prejudice and gender stereotype (Ali et al., 2012; Bari, 2010 & Iwanaga, 2008). The time 2000 is evidenced as a milestone for carrying more women into Pakistani politics when General Musharraf brings constitutional changes in Pakistan for women demonstration. The contemporary research is intended to investigate the questions raised on this matter, like, what is the difference of number between women parliamentarians elected through the election and selected on reserve seats in all the constituents' assemblies from the time when the foundation of Pakistan took place.

This sturdy stand for the existence of women in the National Assembly of Pakistan on general seats. These women take part in general elections, opposed against other candidates, and protected their seats. In the first two voter assemblies, there were only two women members who safe their seats as houses in the National Assembly. Far ahead, incoming three constituent assemblies there was no women parliamentarian in National assembly who came on general seats. In 1985 and in following three constituent assemblies 2, 4, 2, and 6 women secured their seats on general seats. In 2002, 13 women applicants attained the election and with the rise of 03 in 2008, 16 women won the election on a general seat. It was an uppermost number in the history of the

national assembly. Well ahead, in 2013 and 2018, the strength of women parliamentarians was nine and eight correspondingly.

The main objective of the research is to appraise the strong point of women in National assembly of Pakistan in all constituent assemblies on both general and reserved seats since 1947. In addition, this research purposes to estimate the career orientation of women parliamentarians on general seats of the National Assembly. Historically, the number of women politicians have increased. There is a prominent difference in the first and recent constituent assembly as there were 2 women in first and 68 in the assembly of 2018. There were a minor rise and fall but lastly, there is growth. The increase in women parliamentarian has increased significantly but that doesn't mean that women is now ruling the political world and breaking all the odds against it. The basic reason for the increase in women in parliament is reserved seats. The aggregated strength of women who came by opposing the general election is still low. In 2008, the highest figure of the women wins the general seats in the history of Pakistan that total was thirteen. It appears, in Pakistan, women are still dealing with glass ceiling and incapable to take part and win the general seats.

Generally, women are understated in politics or in government system almost in every second country. (Cowper-Smith, 2017). In various countries, women have had insufficient openings in social contribution, particularly in struggling for political rights and authority in the government and other institutions. (Kuperberg, R. 2018), the historical trend continues, even though women are gradually being considered the part of state and government. It has become the fact that women must confront challenges in order to emerge in the political field these challenges affect their ability to become a political leader. Many nations are discovering processes that may raise women's involvement in government at all ranks, from confined to nationwide. Conversely, progressively more women are following leadership positions in the current day.

The worldwide participation level of women in national-level parliaments is 24.1% in 2018. In 2013, women of 8% of all national leaders and 2% of all presidential posts. Besides, 75% of all women prime ministers and presidents have occupied an office in the past two eras (Biroli, F. 2018). The women leaders around the sphere have increased, however they still denote a limited group of leaders. At the managerial levels of government, women become prime ministers more often than they become presidents. Part of the differences in these roads to power is that prime ministers are elected by political party members themselves while presidents are elected by the public. (Baskaran, T., 2018), In 2013, women accounted for 8 per cent of all national leaders and

2 per cent of all presidential posts. In addition, 75 per cent of all women prime ministers and presidents have taken office in the past twenty years. In the meantime, 1960 to 2015, 108 women have become national leaders in 70 countries, with more being prime ministers than presidents.

Single women administrators commonly have great levels of education and may have relations or belong from politically prominent or high-class families. (Carnevale, A., 2019), The common standing of women in a country cannot predict if a woman will reach an exclusive position from the time when, inconsistently, women officials have routinely come up to supremacy in states where women's social upright delays because of men. Women must fight back for long in other advanced countries to become president or prime minister. In 1969, Israel elected its first female prime minister but never again in the history (Krook, 2017).

It was observed that parliament of women was elected based on human security crisis in Pakistan because parliamentarians believe that women have better understanding of the problems faced by poor people. For example, we all know that underdevelopment and poverty are considered significant problems which occurred after the independence and have still not been controlled. In an investigation by Uzma Izat (2019), it is argued that approximately 32% of the total population is living below the poverty line in Pakistan and girls experiencing severe threats to their security and development. Despite female exclusions in the context of Millennium Development Goals, Pakistan is the nation with a high mortality rate in the South Asian region (Uzma Izat 2019). However, Waqar (2017) reported that since the participation of women in parliament in 13th and 14th NA, it can be said that women participation would keep on elevating due to support of the management. Based on the efforts made by women, it was observed that poverty in Pakistan reached 26% in 2019, according to the statistics of World Bank.

The literacy rate of Pakistan is just 45%, and because of that reason, international treaties should be made by the government to involve women in legislation matters. The investigation presented by Bukhari et al., (2019) reported that International treaties currently in place in Pakistan had a major impact on women participation in both the 13th and 14th National Assembly, because of more speaking power. Carrying forward this argument, Waqar (2017) wrote that despite marginalized behaviors with women by the parliament members, it has been observed that treaties can put severe pressure on these states. International treaties provide support to women by any means. For example, these treaties provide normative resources allowing local activists to describe their actions by considering legal and moral imperatives instead of individualistic or sectarian interests (Waqar, 2017). However, Ghafoor and Haider (2018) argued that international

treaties resulted in the development of structural resources for NA members of Pakistan, especially for women. For example, periodic reporting results in the development of opportunities for women to criticize slow-moving governments and elevate the acceleration of governing actions. Therefore, international treaties have been included in the 14th NA, which resulted in the development of more support for women, especially the induction of UN charter produce more beneficial Bills in the 14th NA as compared to 13th NA.

Female representations in Pakistan's Parliament increased due to promotion to higher positions in government and legislature, hence resulting in the development of positive change. For supporting this change, the research article of Ghafoor and Haider (2018) wrote that a good example of this is the hiring of Dr Fehmida Mirza as speaker of the National Assembly, which took place in 2008 when she got elected with over 67% votes. She became first woman speaker of the National Assembly, which was a major change in history of Pakistan. Supporting this change, Bucur (2017) wrote that Female MPs than started to develop in upcoming years hence resulting in an engaging and supporting platform for women. Not only this, the study of Bukhari et al., (2019) and Naseer and Kalsoom (2019) reported that some of the great initiatives named Benazir Income Support Program, was also presented by the 13th NA member. This program is not only a key mechanism in reducing poverty, but it also resulted in employment opportunities for women of this nation.

If National Parliaments are vital symbols or provide a critical forum for safeguarding and building a leadership platform for not only men but women also. Due to this reason, Ahmad et al., (2019) argued that Pakistan should keep deploying the strategies which it did in the 14th NA, which include electing women in large numbers on MPs and providing them with the required support to bring in social change to develop peace security. On the other hand, Ghafoor and Haider (2018) wrote that to perform this task, the capacity of government should be increased, because currently, the problems of having sound knowledge and information is not there in Pakistani NA. Arguing with the statement, Imran and Shahzad (2019) wrote that only this facility would allow female MPs to seek solutions and gather facts to perform factual analysis. If comparison of 13th and 14th NA is done factual analysis shows that currently women in Pakistan are not given the required support by their governing bodies, which results in low participation in some decision-making occasions.

There is a special need of carrying out more research on this subject and identify areas where women are not provided with the support by their government or governing bodies. According to

the research article of Imran and Shahzad (2019), the NA strengthening should be done regularly, because women are considered one of the most important bodies in building infrastructure for the parliaments, and a nation.

If participation of women in national matters is observed, only a few ladies have stood up in Pakistan for supporting the developments in Pakistan's infrastructure. Arguing with the statement, Khan (2019) wrote that women in NA of Pakistan are not given the support by their management in some political matters, such as budget allocation, due to which it has become important that government should take some precautionary actions for their support. The two biggest questions put forward by a research article of Naseer and Kalsoom (2019) with relation to women participation in the NA, can be observed below:

“Could Pakistani women legislators fulfil the Independence vision of pluralistic parliamentary governance based on rule of law and justice for poor people of Pakistan?”

“Would women be able to act as conflict managers and transform the political space for the achievement of peaceful outcomes by resolving the poverty issues of Pakistan?”

Based on the above questions following answers have been drawn. To answer this question, the investigation of Waqar (2017) reported that performance of women elevated in recent times because of women legislations in the 14th NA were quite high as compared to the 13th NA.

However, Imran and Shahzad (2019) wrote that currently, women of the 14th NA have not come up with the desired results, since inflation rate of Pakistan is quite high. based on the arguments observed, it can be argued that women need to come up with more solid foundations, in future to resolve the biggest issue of poverty in Pakistan. In response to second question above, Naseer and Kalsoom (2019) wrote that women can become an effective conflict manager in parliament because they carry capabilities of providing justified results to achieve stability in the political system and reduce issues of this nation.

CONCLUSION

The paper shows us that perhaps most prominent advancement for women was brought forward at the time of General Musharraf. During his of General Musharraf, the period of 13th National Assembly women aggressively work in the field of politics, 168 bills were passed in the whole duration out of which 3% which was 4 bills, were presented by the female members. 15 out of 19 bills which were announced by women, in the classification of bills by the private members. Moreover, 6% of the 102 bills which were not passed were initiated by the female politicians. The enactment of female politicians was increased in the duration of 14th National Assembly from 2013 till 2018. In the category of bills which were presented by the private members 55 percent out of 189 bills were introduced by women. 20 percent were initiated with the contribution of men. They also participated actively in the proceedings of National Assembly.

When we investigate the constitutional quota, today there are up to 60 seats that have been reserved for women. Which is a milestone in comparison with the 3% quota that was reserved during the 50s.

The number of women representatives at the national assembly have also significantly increased. With of 342 seats 60 seats were reserved for women in the general elections of 2002, this was three times higher than the earlier quota. It is stated how over the years, we see how the number of women is has amplified extraordinarily, such as in 1988 there were 27 female candidates for the general seats and 20 years later it increased to 60 candidates. While in 1988 number of elected female candidates were 4 and today, they are 13.

Today in the respective National Assembly there are up to total 342 seats and in all these 342 seats, 272 seats are occupied by the direct elections. Whereas, in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan constitution there are up to a total of ten seats reserved for the religious minorities up to 60 seats reserved for the women. Seats for women occupied by the promotional depiction among parties for women with 5 % percent of the vote. This represents the role of women they played in the thirteen as well as in the fourteen National Assembly of the Islamic Republic

Keeping the data and statistics in mind the paper showed us ground truths regarding the involvement of women in the political domain in Pakistan. The depiction of women in the national assembly of Pakistan has been scrutinized and studied, as well as the prolific and helpful performance in the legislative bodies. The efforts and the struggles of female political leaders

present in the parliament of Pakistan. Additionally, the influence of women in the process of law has been measured, and the comparison is made between participation in the 13th and the 14th tenure of the National Assembly. Via this assessment, the paper shows the performance of assemblies is also assessed along with the role of women in the policy-making processes at the National level.

It is understood that the involvement of women in the National Assembly can increase significantly. Particularly when the stage and objectives have been set forth by the respective assembly administration. It is understood that contribution of women in NA considerably increased in 13th and 14th National Assembly as their respective their associated political parties involved women in important meetings and kept in mind their output and opinions during essential decision-making. Yet the paper shows that that women of the 13th NA were not given the required support by their managements, and participation was not up to the mark when compared with the 14th NA. therefore, it can be argued that women participation can significantly reach to its peak when governing body of their respective parties starts giving them the required support to lift their confidence.

The paper highlights that lately a rising number of parliamentarians in the 14th National Assembly (2013 to 2018), are women alone who have introduced 55% bill against a total of 189 bills, they further introduced 20% of the total bills. This paper, consequently, has shown a complete examination which evaluates if the parliamentarian women in the context Pakistan are able to authorize the women across Pakistan. The paper has also stated involvement issues, motivations, and concerns related to the women legislature in Pakistan.

The paper states that the women participation in Pakistan's parliaments significantly elevated in recent times. Women lawmakers have played an integral role in the respective parliament due to which today we witness the contribution of female senators in the upper house of the respected assembly. The comparison of 14th and 13th NA illustrated that performance of women increased in the 14th NA more as compared to men, due to which it became easier for the parliament members to see more empowerment and decision-making skills among women categories. This may be due to the factor that female members of the parliament have been given excessive support by the civic institutions. It has been observed that in the year 2017 the attendance of women in the National assembly has increased by 25% as compared with the previous years. Today the percentage of women in the respective national assembly is up to 20%.

It must also be taken into consideration that over 4000 agenda items have been presented by women throughout the 13th and 14th assembly. With up to 2000 agendas presented by members of the 14th parliament, hence proving that the proportion of women participants in either assemblies is same. Despite this study have shown us that in the 13th assembly the ratio of women representing legislative activities was 12%, while in the 14th assembly this ratio has improved up to 16%. Legislators have pointed out that in the year 2019 women representatives from the 14th national assembly put forward 19 agendas in comparison with their male counterparts who backed 7 agendas. Whereas in comparison the women representatives of the proposed 18 agendas, with men proposing only 10. This shows that women were highly active in the parliament, yet in in the decision-making process the female participants of the 14th assembly performed better.

Further we see how the overall participation of women members of the national assembly is relatively higher than men. Based on the statistics we can be see how women of both 13th and 14th national assembly contributed in an equivalent manner due to their active involvement in different deeds. Women in the National Assembly during both 13th and 14th national assembly touched 100% attendance, granted that minimum attendance of a woman was 6% in 13th NA and 11% in 14th NA. Likewise we see how the attendance of women in Senate during 13th and 14th national assembly was 93% and 21%.

This leads us to an important conclusion that the female representatives in national assembly have increased over the years dye to active participation of women. Individually women representatives of the 13th national assembly introduced 21 bills from total of 120, with 18% on their own and 19% with involvement of men. Similarly, 31 bills were presented out of 67 by women of the 14th national assembly decreasing the involvement of men at 46%. We must take into consideration that this rather drastic change was experienced due to the confidence and constant support for women by the government at that time. Women were encouraged to actively take part in the parliament and were backed by their male counterparts.

Pakistan is a democratic nation which allows it to present confident opportunities for women representatives in the national assembly. Women show more interest in parliamentary proceeding's, actively analysing and them questioning every agenda that is proposed. The government of Pakistan has ensured that there is a welcoming and collaborative environment for women who aim to take an active part in political activities. Still there should be more consideration given to the fact that by the year 2017 the involvement of women in the parliament

was only a few percent even though half of the population of Pakistan is women. This may be since the reserved quota of seats for women is relatively low. Women need more representation as they are more sensitive to the needs of common men, they show more consideration when it comes to addressing necessities.

Considering the number of female MNAs, we see that there are total 70 women, with majority seats held in reserve, 9 general seats and one seat for minority. For over 300 members of the respective senate female representatives are merely 20%. In case of the 13th national assembly the number of female representatives in the parliament were based on the number of general seats. Yet today women representatives can win seats if elected independently. Women tend to take an active part in the 14th national assembly as the number of reserved seats are much higher in comparison of 13th national assembly due to increased opportunity granted by the respective government.

Then the results of the national elections are shown, where according to statistics there were 60 seats taken by women in the 13th national assembly. Where majority of the seats were won by PML-N, followed by PPP and PTI. It is concluded that the reason for such less numbers is due to lack of support by the government or their respective parties, which led to the participation declined in recent times

In this chapter we see how according to various studies the number of women who were involved in the 13th NA were not as assertive in comparison with those in 14th NA, as they were not granted the backing of the respective senator of the NA. The chapter also concludes women prior to 2010, did not have permission to address the assembly high numbers, due to which, women did not establish the backing of the parliament. Each woman member of the parliament or national assembly was granted the authority to address their opinions after 2010, hence resulting in the progression of considerably higher involvement in the respective national assembly. However, it is suggested that women should be granted more authority in the parliament as it would raise their contribution and the effectivity in the parliament.

The paper states that the involvement of women in the national assembly can change, particularly given that the stage set for them is provided by the assembly management. Analysis has shown that women contribution in NA significantly increased in 13th and 14th National Assembly as their respective political parties encouraged them to take part in private meetings and considered their advice when it came to be making important decisions.

However, analysis has also shown that women representatives of the 13th NA were not given the compulsory backing by their administrators; hence their contribution was not up to the mark in comparison with the 14th NA. Hence it can be stated that women contribution can suggestively the administration of their parties grant them the required backing to lift their self-confidence. Due this factor the participation of women in the 14th assembly is better. The attendance ratios of female attendance in 14th assembly is higher by 8% in comparison with the 13th assembly. Yet a positive note here is that in comparison with their male counterpart's women, attendance ratios are higher by 10%. Keeping in mind this attendance factor we conclude that there has been contradicting research which states that the involvement of women in the 14th national assembly is relatively better in comparison with 13th national assembly. This is due to the lack of active participation of the male members of the assembly, which allows women to express their opinions freely.

The women members of the 13th and 14th national assembly have not been involved in corruption charges, which shows us that women participation in the respective assemblies should be encouraged by the government bodies.

Further analysis shows that parliament of women has been voted on the basis human security crisis in Pakistan as parliamentarians are under the impression that women tend to have a superior grasp of the general problems that are faced by the working class. In the paper chapter two, we have discussed how provision of basic amenities is deemed as an important problem by women in comparison with foreign relations or war. Statistics show that up to 32% of Pakistan's population lacks basic needs such as clean water or basic health facilities. Further in Pakistan's patriarchal society girl's progression of young girls is under threat.

Yet with the active participation of women in parliament in 13th and 14th NA, it can have witnessed those women participation would keep on uplifting due to support of the management. Based on the efforts made by women, it was observed that poverty in Pakistan reached 26% in 2019, according to the statistics of World Bank. With increased female representation in the government, there has been progression to eradicate poverty.

To support this there is an example given of Dr, Fehmida Mirza, who upon being selected as a representative of the assembly garnished the support of the majority. Her selection inspired thousands of women and led to women empowerment. Another example can be taken of Benazir Income Support Program, which was presented by the 13th NA member. The program has been

an important tool to reduce poverty, but it also resulted in employment opportunities for women of this nation. Hence concluding that it can be argued that women play an important role in presenting sensitive agendas, that in the future will help to cater the principal issue of poverty in Pakistan. Women of the 13th and 14th national assembly can prove to be capable of providing acceptable outcomes which will help attain steadiness in the political arena.

One more important summary which can be drawn from all this is the fact that government of Pakistan is willing to resolve all the issues faced by people, and for that reason, women should be consulted. This would not only result in the development of more supportive platform, but also the indulgence of new policies for empowerment of women.

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APPENDIX-01

Abbreviations		
S#	Item	Abbreviations
1	Free and Fair Election Network	FAFEN
2	Women Parliamentary Caucus	WPC
3	Member of National Assembly	MNA
4	Member of Provincial Assembly	MPA
5	Pakistan People's Party	PPP
6	Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz	PMLN
7	Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-e- Azam	PMLQ
8	Jamiat Ulema -e- Islam (Fazul ur Rehman)	JUIF
9	Jamiat -e- Islam	JI
10	Awami National Party	ANP
11	Khyber Pakhtun Khawa	KPK
12	Non-Governmental Organization	NGOs
13	United Nation Organization	UNO
14	National Assembly	NA
15	Provincial Assembly	PA
16	Federally Administered Triable Areas	FATA
17	Universal Declaration of Human Rights	UDHR
18	National Democratic Institute	NDI

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