

**THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE LEGISLATIVE POLITICS
OF PAKISTAN: AN ANALYSIS OF 12TH NATIONAL
ASSEMBLY (2002-2007)**

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Doctor of Philosophy

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UNIVERSITY OF GUJRAT

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Ph.D. in History

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(Syeda Sajida Batool)

DEDICATION

To my source of inspiration, my beloved Family.

(Syeda Sajida Batool)

DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

In contemporary democratic systems, acknowledging women's participation in formal political institutions is perceived as a basic requirement to establish a complete democracy. To facilitate this, quotas have been implemented in many developing countries to increase the representation of women in politics. While these quotas have been successful in boosting women's political participation, it is important to note that they do not necessarily translate to an improvement in women's social standing within society. Further action is needed to address the deeply entrenched socio-cultural patterns that contribute to gender inequality and promote broader social change. A study was conducted to examine the performance and impact of women parliamentarians in Pakistani politics between 2002 and 2007. This study aims to explore and bring to the attention of all women parliamentarians in Pakistani politics, particularly between 2002 and 2007. It was found that women have a low status in Pakistan based on socio-cultural patterns, and the same tendencies are evident in the political arena. Women representatives remained unable to empower their communities due to their under-representation in legislative assemblies. Another study revealed that women's empowerment and political decision-making are interrelated and interdependent concepts. This study aims to investigate how women have been contributing more than proportionately to general and reserved seats in Pakistan's 12th National Assembly. The research also emphasizes the constitutional and political measures that might be taken to support women in politics. Women lawmakers have addressed a wide range of topics and shown in discussions and debates that they are knowledgeable about them. Some female legislators gave unmatched performances. Due to their work and perseverance, Pakistani women have gained employment in nearly every field and have been given additional room in the country's parliament. Overall, the aim of this study is to analyze the role of women in Pakistan's 12th National Assembly employing the firsthand accounts of female lawmakers and the difficulties they encountered in the traditionally male-dominated profession of politics.

INTRODUCTION

Women's contribution to drafting regulations and legislation has grown into a powerful force in political governance, fostering inclusion and accelerating societal advancement. Women have to conquer several social and economic difficulties all through their political emancipation on a global scale. But only 24.3% of women were included in politics globally in the year 2019 (Ghafoor et al., 2018; Hessami et al., 2020). Women's advancement in politics has continued to be a contentious issue in several countries. To begin with Pakistani political system, the quota system proved extremely effective for the women in 2002 general election for the better political growth, Women make up more than half of the population of Pakistan, yet they have a disproportionate share in politics (Kabeer, 2005). Pakistan's rank in women's political empowerment is 93 out of 153 countries, with only 20.2% of women serving as legislators and 12% holding ministerial positions (Global Gender Gap Report, 2020). The political structure of Pakistan is just as dominated by men as is Pakistani society (Noreen et al., 2019; Bano, 2009). Women in Pakistan face a variety of obstacles, including as cultural restrictions, sexism, criticism, and social taboos (Nazneen, 2023). In a democratic state political parties play a major role for the stability of political institutions and democratic norms. Presently, significant actors like Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N), Pakistan People's Party (PPP), and several other democratic parties have deep impact on Pakistan's political scene. Unfortunately, in Pakistan, male political elites dominate the leadership of various political parties. This dominant elite erects hurdles that prevent women from actively participating in Pakistani politics in addition to weakening the principles of democracy (Bari, 2010).

A milestone was achieved in 1988 when a woman named Benazir Bhutto became the Prime Minister of Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Another woman, Dr. Fehmida Mirza, also made history in 2008 by becoming the first female Speaker of Pakistan's National Assembly. And in 2013, more than 100 female MPAs were elected to both houses of the parliament. Pakistan is a country that has witnessed several important milestones for women. However, it is also in Pakistan, where Human Rights activist Zubaida Begum was murdered in 2005 for challenging misogynist traditions by voting in local elections and raising awareness of women's suffrage; and in which, during the May 2013 elections, a large number of women were barred from voting, particularly in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) Province (Repila, 2013), in violation of electoral rules and the agreed-upon code of ethics. Traditional discriminatory behaviors maintain the low status of women and other disadvantaged groups, contributing to gender inequality and poverty.

In contrast, the percentage of males enrolling in elementary, secondary, and postsecondary education is continuously higher than that of women (WEF, 2020). This is true across all educational levels. The gender gap in politics is still relatively large, although it has shrunk dramatically over the last few years (WEF, 2020). Despite the poor development rating of the nation, the government has implemented commendable initiatives aimed at improving the status of women and eradicating poverty.

Pakistan has witnessed significant progress in the representation of women in public life. The country has appointed its first female envoy to the United Nations, foreign minister, prime minister, and speaker of the National Assembly. The 2002 general elections also witnessed a notable surge in female participation in both the voting process and candidacy for public office. Furthermore, the country witnessed a historic moment when five transgender candidates contested elections for the first time. Additionally, Krishna Kumari Kohli, who participated in the RHV project, became the country's first Hindu-Dalit senator, marking a significant milestone in the country's history. As of the start of the year 2019, there are three women serving in the cabinet with 25 members (WEF, 2020). According to Browne (2019), the municipal and provincial administration of KP selected its first Ombudsman in January 2019 to reduce harassment of women in the workplace. Even though women hold just 5% of management and leadership roles worldwide (146 out of 153 nations) (World Economic Forum, 2020).

The topic of this thesis is women's political engagement within Pakistan's patriarchal political framework. In particular, it investigated how women's feminine identities devalue women's capabilities, construct social obstacles, and restrict women's involvement in political processes. How are these female identities negotiated within the male-dominated political system of Pakistan, and how are they included or excluded? Throughout the Pakistan Movement and subsequent political and constitutional processes, women remained visible and engaged in politics. The political landscape of Pakistan has seen several notable female figures in recent times, such as “*Ms. Fatima Jinnah, Begum Ikramullah, Begum Liaqat Ali Khan, Begum Shah Nawaz, Lady Hafeezullah, and Begum Hafeezudin*”. However, their presence is limited to an "elite" group due to the sociopolitical framework that allows minimal space for women's participation in public spheres. “*Benazir Bhutto, Fehmida Mirza, Sherry Rehman, Hina Rabbani Kher, Marvi Memon, and Maryam Nawaz*”, are some of the women who held key roles in different regimes of Pakistan.

A PhD researcher conducted a case-study of Lahore during the Musharraf regime (2002-2007) to have comprehensive knowledge for the political empowerment of women in Pakistan. The study identified Liberalism, Socialism, and Radical Feminism as the primary branches of feminism that play a vital role in empowering women politically. The researcher emphasized

the development of political empowerment of women during 2002-2007. She summarized that liberalists and socialist believe in such a way that liberals believe that both women and men have the same political rights as they have the same intellectual levels, while socialist think that patriarchy is one of the major reasons for the subjugation of females. Hence, both expressed a desire to dismantle the current system through revolutionary means to enhance the empowerment of women within society. Furthermore, research highlighted the critical importance of female solidarity in mitigating the influence of male dominance within the system (Fauzia, 2019).

The PhD researcher carried out a comprehensive analysis on the dynamics of the political empowerment of women in the Punjab. She concluded that women empowerment and political decision making, both have direct connection with one another. Women participation in the legislative process leads to their social empowerment as well. Researchers also concluded that political empowerment of women by making their active participation in the legislation process empowers the women' community effectively (Hina, 2023). Another PhD scholar highlighted that although there are many women parliamentarians due to the political empowerment of women, still there are many obstacles in the system that hinder their performance in the current political scenario regarding the upward mobility and career persistence (Naveeda, 2019).

The study has shown that the gender quota system implemented for female politicians in Pakistan has played a decisive role in promoting women's empowerment. However, the male-dominated culture in the parliament and political parties has created obstacles for women parliamentarians in power-sharing. Despite these challenges, women have made significant contributions to the parliament, demonstrating their commitment to their political roles and the empowerment of women in all facets of life. The study also underscores the structural disparities that impede women's engagement in decision-making entities. It was also concluded that increment in the women quota is crucial for the continual improvement of the women' life and their empowerment in the society (Sher, 2018).

Another PhD scholar also highlighted a thorough investigation regarding the political role of women parliamentarians in Pakistan from 1970 to 1988 (Ghazala, 2016). The researcher highlighted the pivotal role of women parliamentarians both on elected and reserved seats. The scholar highlighted the countless efforts and their tentative outputs of the women parliamentarians. She concluded that women have found their job in almost all the fields of life due the efforts of the women and it is all because of their political empowerment.

Various metrics, including the Gender Equality Index, Gender Development Index, and Millennium Development Goals, are employed for evaluating women's empowerment.

Research indicates that women's engagement in a nation's political sphere stands out as one of the paramount factors influencing women's empowerment. However, political participation is a complex phenomenon that is shaped by various social, cultural, political, and religious elements in a society (Saigol, 2016). In Pakistan, a male-dominated political system has led to the marginalization of women due to the existence of a hegemonic perception. Women's strengths are undercut by using their feminine identities, and social restrictions prevent them from participating in politics. Males now hold most of the power in Pakistani politics and hold male-dominated positions in the public eye. As a result, the current study examines how women's gender identities are discursively used to keep them out of politics as well as how hegemonic male codes of Pakistani politics include and exclude gender identities in the country's political sphere. It also examines the role played by the Musharraf regime in advancing women's political empowerment in Pakistan, particularly as it relates to female parliamentarians from the country's 12th National Assembly. The focus of this study is to investigate whether the said parliamentarians were successful in promoting a positive trend that enabled them to make independent decisions aimed at improving their own lives as well as that of their country.

1.1 Masculine Politics

The concept of "masculine politics" alludes to the disproportionate representation of males in various spheres of public life, especially in politics. As per Connell (2005), men occupy predominant roles in political parties and hold key positions in government offices, and wield significant influence over the decision-making process in the public domain. They have a significant impact on both the parameters of the game and the norms that govern politics. In Pakistan, every political discussion focuses on the views considered the norm among males. Society is responsible for the formation and maintenance of gender stereotypes, as well as the assignment of specific traits to males and females (Bigler and Liben, 2007). These preconceived notions of men and women then go on to define gender roles, and anybody who does not conform to these preconceived notions of gender roles is subject to societal punishments (Henslin, 2007). The whole of society expects that both men and women will perform their assigned duties per normative norms, often known as gender-sensitive conduct. Men's actions, talents, experiences, and points of view represent politics, one of the most significant and influential areas of public life. Women are not meant to be a part of the "political" public sphere, according to the dominant language of femininity that society has powerfully produced. By casting their votes in favor of their male counterpart's deliberation or acquiescence, their only intention is to bolster the political realm. Whenever they are given or permitted to represent, they are required to accept the dominant text, which is the male rules, that is, the standards defined by men in politics (Smith, 1990), and they must not experience it directly. They must

respect the dominant text when given or allowed to represent it. People also do not believe that women should be involved in politics. Because of the influence of gender socialization, they have a negative attitude towards women who try to break the gender stereotype that is prevalent in political discourse, for example, running for public office, getting involved in political/public affairs, stakeholders in activities, and opposing the desire/command gender the masculine equivalent of it. The "dominant" and "dominant" reality is a public environment in which women find themselves decontextualized, according to the experiences of the women themselves (Smith, 1990).

1.2 Feminine Identity

The degree to which a woman identifies with the qualities that have been socially built and projected for women in a specific culture is referred to as feminine/gender identity. The process of gender socialization is the primary agent that shapes female identity by dictating and instilling particular gender roles in individuals. The gender-specific division of labor ensures strict adherence to the gender roles allocated, and gender conventions determine the guidelines for how the game is played. "The socially constructed characteristics of masculinity and femininity shape not only gender individualities but also collective interactions within culture, social structures, and societal organization." (Schippers, 2007). At every level, from the individual to the communal, behaviors associated with masculinity and femininity are increasingly being accepted as cultural norms. These standards are not challenged since they are accepted without question, which contributes to the institutionalization of gender disparities (Martin, 2004). In Pakistani culture, motherhood, and nurturing, receiving affection and care from one's parents and spouse, doing housework, submission, passivity, and dependency are the primary socially projected qualities a woman should possess. When women are allowed to act, the home and private spheres become the ideal and normative locations for them. And males are superior to women in making decisions, being productive, independent, forceful, violent, and interacting with a broader audience. The public and the public sphere are often thought of in terms of men. These ideas of what it means to be feminine and what it means to be masculine form the foundation of social activities and interactions. These aspects of Pakistani society have been accepted, normalized, and ingrained into the country's culture, social structure, and social organization. In this manner, politics is elevated to public concern and advanced to the domain of males. At the same time, women are excluded from political discourse, seen as dull, and neglected (Rosen et al., 2017).

1.3 Political Participation

In general, political engagement refers to a person's devotion to politics or their involvement in decision-making processes. Researchers discussed political engagement as one example of an

official, structured activity that comes with rights and obligations (Riley et al., 2010). The degree to which people utilize their right to participate in politics and take part in customary political activities are also considered forms of political participation (Diemer, 2012). A person is politically involved in a variety of ways, including by joining a party, voting, lobbying, going to meetings, signing petitions, marching, voicing concerns, engaging in cultural activities, performing music, relaxing, setting fire to buildings, and executing police officers (Bourne, 2010). Because of this wide range, defining political participation is a difficult and less typical task. Activities related to political participation were classified as conventional and unconventional. Engaging in customary pursuits encompasses becoming a member, casting a ballot, advocating, running for office, going to gatherings, and getting in touch with representatives of political parties (Henn et al., 2012). The category of unconventional political activities is further divided into extreme and unorthodox activities that includes shooting at police officers, barricading a community, and alternative activities. Informal goings-on include political protests, unauthorized strikes, and the promotion/sharing of political emails. As well as casual activities like leisure and electronic dance music (Riley et al., 2010). However, it is sometimes argued that there is no clear separation between conventional and unconventional activities because involvement in abnormal activities, like protesting, is widely recognized (Linssen et al., 2014). Women who engage in both traditional and non-conventional political activities are included in the study's definition of political engagement.

1.4 Numbers and Proportions

The fact that there are insufficient numbers of women to effect change is a typical justification to explain why women don't seem to be advocating for other women. According to this line of reasoning, women politicians are not likely to have any meaningful influence until they are considered in counting for considering a sizeable minor group or a "critical mass" of the whole legislative body. These assumptions are frequently grounds for using quotas to lure more women to political office. For instance, several international organizations promote the idea that their member nations should strive to have thirty percent of their decision-making positions filled by women. They claim that a threshold of 30 percent is necessary for women to constitute a critical mass that may influence legislative change. As a direct consequence of this reality, many nations have enacted quota legislation that mandates a minimum of thirty percent of all political candidates and seats elected to be filled by women. Studies have shown that legislatures with a higher percentage of women in their membership tend to present more legislation about women's concerns than legislatures with a lower rate of women in their membership. (Wide, 2006). This lends credence to the arguments that have been made. Other research concludes that the number of bills addressing women's concerns and the passing rate of those laws rises when more women have seats in government, even though the general share

of legislation submitted by women also increases. These shifts are the consequence of a legislative climate that is more favorable, coupled with the presence of more women, which has led individuals who do not perceive themselves to be women's representatives to act on their behalf.

On the other hand, a rising body of literature expresses skepticism about the power of numbers. The impacts of a 'critical mass,' defined here as values of 10% and 40%, are investigated in this study. It concludes that a higher percentage of women in parliament will not always lead to a shift in political dynamics. These include legislative inexperience, party discipline, institutional norms, and the external political environment, which provides for the electoral system (Zetterberg, 2008). Also included in this category is the election system. When this much research is compared, five potential outcomes for more women's lives become apparent. This variability shows that the critical mass view may oversimplify the links between descriptive and substantive representation, with little analytical influence on understanding women's legislative conduct. This is because the critical mass perspective focuses on the percentage of women in a societies.

It is possible to translate the potential outcomes of increased female representation into five hypotheses that serves as a more effective starting point for bridging theory and empirical evidence. First, as the proportion of women in the population grows, they form strategic coalitions to advocate for legislative measures that address women's issues. Second, the increased presence of women in politics may encourage male lawmakers to adopt more feminist stances, leading to greater attention and action towards women's concerns. Third, the numerical growth of women, rather than reaching a critical mass, may elicit a more hostile response from male legislators, who may resort to various tactics to hinder women's political initiatives and prevent them from ascending to positions of power. This may be the case even if critical mass is reached. The outcomes of previous research have led to the formulation of a new theory, which may be summarized as the fourth hypothesis: women may be more influential in legislative bodies if they make up a lower percentage of legislators rather than a more substantial one. On the one hand, their modest numbers may enable them to specialize in women's problems without seeming to be an assault on male dominance. This is because they are less likely to be noticed by the public. However, if there are not a considerable ratio of women in the legislature, a well-organized women's committee has the potential to operate as a helpful proxy by organizing the activities of the few women there. Fifth, as the number of women in elected positions grows, there is a possibility that the electorate may become more varied, which might lead to fewer women advocating for other women. It's possible that their focus is elsewhere or that they believe other female MPs will keep supporting women as a

group even if they don't. Both of these are possibilities. A dynamic like this may make it more important for individual political entrepreneurs to stimulate overt and "hidden" feminist support for favorable policy changes for women.

1.5 Political and Parliamentary Contexts

Research on women's empowerment in politics and their readiness to bring about political change is often framed by the question of whether or not the presence of women makes a difference. Despite this, the findings of the vast majority of research indicate that political and parliamentary environments play a significant part in transforming political preferences into legislative measures that benefit women. These variables may either restrict women's actions or make it possible for them to take action on behalf of women. (Rothstein, 1988) Therefore, synthesizing their findings is essential to provide more systematic information regarding women's legislative behavior. This will allow for identifying the variables that might assist or impede the linkages between women's descriptive and material representations. For instance, the norms and standards that govern political institutions are often skewed in a way that undermines the experience and authority of males. This pushes women to conform to the behaviors of males in many circumstances, undermining their capacity to include women's opinions in the policymaking process. The fact that women do not often occupy leadership roles on central legislative committees and that, due to gendered power norms, women frequently face recurrent leadership challenges when they do hold such positions might make these problems even more difficult to overcome. In addition, because of the absence of previous experience in the legislative process, its "newness" may limit its potential for political impact. However, at the same time, other rules and norms, such as women's conventions and policy frameworks for women, may enhance women's involvement and coordinate cooperative action on women's problems. This may be the case if these rules and norms are followed. In addition, the expansion of women's participation in legislative committees has made it feasible for them to exert a level of influence on the formulation of public policy that was not possible in the past. A woman's participation in legislation is also significantly impacted by her beliefs and party membership (Wide, 2006).

Moreover, the methods used to select candidates ultimately decide which women are elected. In the same vein, the disciplinary standards that political parties adhere to considerably impact the political stances that such parties are likely to adopt once they are in power. Nevertheless, the many principles political parties hold gives women extra chances to advance feminist political issues. Left-wing parties may be more open to new possibilities and responsibilities for both women and men, in contrast to right-wing parties, which prefer more conventional roles for women. Left-wing parties tend to favor more traditional roles for women. As a result,

the party in power has the potential to play a significant part in molding the broader political atmosphere regarding the creation and resonance of pro-women political issues. The growth of neoliberalism, armed conflicts, the recent transition to democratic rule, and the existence of prominent women's groups may also substantially impact this atmosphere (Luciak, 2007).

1.6 Identities and Interests

Many studies of women's legislative conduct start with the assumption that gender and gender as significant forms of political identity are irrelevant, and then they reject those assumptions. This strategy relies on normative arguments aimed at finding a commonly held viewpoint among women to justify increasing political participation (Young, 2000). However, a coherent legislative agenda may be hampered by the fact that the great bulk of empirical studies on the substantive representation of women concentrates on the differences amongst women, such as race, class, age, and party affiliation (Swers, 2002). Because of this variety, it is imperative that an investigation into how the distinct identities and interests of women holding political office either support or impede cooperation with one another. This is significant for various reasons, including theoretical and political considerations. The definition of a category like "women" might help to reify one difference while masking others, as several feminists have pointed out (Carroll, 2001).

Similarly, it is essential not to associate the advocacy of feminist political concerns with the substantive representation of women, and it is necessary to avoid associating women's bodies with a feminist mindset. Being a woman may be less important than having "gender awareness" in terms of reaching feminist results, according to considerable research findings. Women can ascend to positions of power due to roles more traditionally associated with the female gender, such as motherhood or acting as a surrogate mother to their male parents. (Golder et al., 2017). These worries intersect with discussions that have been had in the scholarly literature on the importance of determining whether or not women and men behave differently in political settings. Some people believe that women can only wield power when they act in a manner distinct from that of males. However, the convergence may be explained in terms of at least four alternative scenarios. These scenarios provide an essential methodological criticism of this approach and imply that examining the diverse dynamics at play in women's and men's agency may be more beneficial. To begin, women and men may have the same political interests, but they are likely to have different levels of support for feminist concerns and to be more or less eager to propose legislation. Second, the increasing percentage of females in society may inspire males to take a greater interest in women's affairs, either to support women's right to self-determination or, more alarmingly, to thwart efforts to make women more equal in status. Third, the existence of anti-feminist women and men who support feminism may help maintain

a healthy equilibrium between the preferences of women and men. Fourth, gender processes may stifle women's voices by pressuring them to choose positions traditionally held by males or by restricting their ability to voice their thoughts freely (Kingdon, 1995). Understanding the dynamics that underlie these patterns also has important policy implications, as discourses of "difference" not only place emphasis on women as the gender with special interests and experiences but also place an undue burden on single women and enable opponents to argue based on similarities to other increases in female representation. In other words, discourses of "difference" emphasize women as a gender with special interests and experiences, and this emphasis has important policy implications.

1.7 Women's Interests and Issues

The investigation of the relation between how women are described and how they are represented often focuses on women as active participants, assuming that their interests and concerns are already present in the political process. However, this assumption is flawed as it is based on the presumption that women's interests and issues are already part of the political discourse. Despite the widespread belief that women have well-defined interests, there are varying definitions of "women's interests" and "women's issues" among academics, activists, and politicians. The contention that these issues are matters on which this model debunks overall consensus. Instead, academics describe them as actions that bring about gender equality (Tamerius, 1995), cater to the particular requirements of women (Bayer, 2006), or make it possible for women to carry out their traditional responsibilities as caregivers (Swers, 2002). They may also address problems of importance to society since all problems may somehow be seen as women's problems. Lists of "women's interests" can therefore cover a wide range of topics, such as rape, reproductive rights, vacations, paternity, divorce, child custody, abortion, equal pay, and equal rights in the home. They may contain conflicting viewpoints. These kinds of lists frequently cover subjects like work-life balance, women's health, and sexual harassment (Mackay, 2001). There are a few more arguments to be found in the published literature. The first one concerns the difference between feminist and non-feminist categorization of the issues that women face. Most scholars seem to favor definitions that center on transforming women's roles via increased autonomy and the chance for personal choice. Others, on the other hand, choose more extensive reports encompassing a complete range of concerns impacting women's daily lives. This distinction between women's strategic and practical interests was noted by a scholar and it is echoed by others who opt for broader definitions (Maxine, 1985). A second discussion topic is whether women's interests remain consistent throughout time. Even though most academic literature defines them a priori, two new studies indicate that a more effective strategy would be investigating the issues women's movements in various eras have voiced. This approach enables 'women's concerns' to continue to be contextualized and evolve as the

collective result of women engaging with other women to define their priorities. A third flaw relates to the extent, both in terms of space and time, of "women's issues." The vast majority of the currently available study on the representation of females is restricted to the present and focuses on analyzing the political dynamics of industrialized nations. This may be why so much attention is paid to reproductive rights and maternity leave. Recent research conducted in developing nations implies, on the other hand, that 'women's concerns' may also encompass water access, child marriage, land ownership, inheritance, dowries, female genital mutilation, and institutional admissions. Similarly, research investigating these processes from a more historical point of view reveals that factors such as voting rights, wage work, and widow's benefits play a part in the process. Researchers must defend their choices in light of the many discussions to avoid essentialism.

1.8 Policy-Making Processes

When analyzing whether women make a difference, it is common practice to take a comprehensive look at the policymaking process. However, as a vital indicator of influence, voting behavior tends to get a lot of attention, particularly in the context of the United States. This method has been criticized for assuming approval is the most critical phase in the legislative process (Tameriu, 1995). Part of this is because the last step in the legislative process is the most public and readily witnessed. This overlooks the fact that votes on many topics about women are not even recorded in the regular databases that compile this information. Because of this, a significant number of academics have focused their attention on the early phases of policymaking and have discovered that how and the timing of incorporating women's concerns into policymaking are two of the most critical factors in determining whether or not gains can be realized for women. When looking at the whole legislative process, they discover that women tend to vary more from males when defining the legislative agenda and presenting measures that address topics of significance to women. This is something that men tend to do better. Others, however, argue that the process of formulating policies is subject to excessive variables, which makes these models too simple (Swiss et al., 2017).

On the one hand, placing an issue on the agenda and its subsequent acceptance is often the result of intricate interplays of several elements, which frequently take the form of a chain of chance occurrences. However, there is rarely a void when it comes to the development of new policies. In particular, political cycles and manifestation effects significantly impact the questions that make it into the legislative agenda and those that are allowed to stay there, regardless of the presumed prerequisites for change. These effects, in turn, pose broader problems regarding the concept of 'impact,' which might go beyond the drafting of policies and, for instance, lead to higher political engagement on the part of female voters. As a result of

these factors, attempts to comprehend the relation among descriptive and material representation of females, need a more nuanced perspective of the policymaking process to evaluate the influence of women's presence more effectively. Recently, there has been a growing emphasis on increasing women's participation in elections in recent years, with activists, politicians, and international organizations prioritizing this issue. The promotion of gender equality in political representation has become a major concern for the contemporary women's rights movement, as evidenced by the "1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women" and the "1995 Beijing Platform for Action". More than one hundred countries worldwide have set standards mandating political parties and national parliaments to nominate female candidates for political office. Despite a number of factors that support expanding women's political engagement, practitioners often advocate for it on the grounds that it will bring more attention to women's issues on the political agenda. The influence of women's numerical (or descriptive) representation on the political (or material) model is the subject of an ever-expanding corpus of study, which has grown in tandem with the increased attention political actors paid to women in politics. This literature includes a variety of subfields, including comparative politics, American politics, and normative theory. According to several of these studies, there is a good association between the number of women legislators and the receptivity of parliaments to problems about women. This connection is often cited as proof of the efforts made by the legislative branch to advance women's interests.

In Western Europe, parties, not individual legislators, are "responsible for the life of the government," which means that parties decide who comes to power and structure political activity. This is even though practitioners and researchers often emphasize women's role in legislative bodies (Woldendorp et al., 2000). In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the relationship between women's participation and their representation in parliamentary democracies, it is imperative to consider the impact exerted by political parties. This is particularly important as political parties play a significant role in shaping the political landscape and influencing policy decisions. Therefore, analyzing the role of political parties provides valuable insights into the factors that contribute to the under-representation of women in political institutions. Since political parties are responsible for candidate selection and policy development, a partisan theory that addresses women's representation in significant positions is essential.

1.9 A Partisan Theory of Substantive Representation

Numerous studies have been done on the topic, and most of it concentrates on the gender makeup of political institutions. This is despite high female representation being impacted by variables other than the women's presence in power. This study has significantly contributed

to the knowledge of representation in comparative and legislative politics of women. Moreover, these studies frequently assume from the outset that there is a clear connection between substantive and descriptive conceptions of women (Htun et al., 2012). Usually, they make a comparison between the null hypothesis, which states that there is no effect, and the hypothesis of a direct relationship. If the studies support the null hypothesis; that there is no relationship between the two; there is thought to be a causal association between the women's substantive and descriptive reports. Despite the fact that the corpus of current research has identified a number of factors that may affect the relationship between women's presence and political representation, it has mainly concluded that there is only one explanation that adequately explains any connection between the two: the number of women matters.

Studies on women and politics frequently concentrate on their involvement in legislative bodies; yet, in Western Europe, party politics offers a major role in defining women's descriptive and substantive representation (Sabedashvili, 2002). For example, the majority of women holding seats in the National Assembly (NA) is largely a result of internal party candidate selection processes. Candidate recruitment is under the jurisdiction of political parties, which choose the number of candidates, including how many and which women run for office. At the same time, parties also constitute "the central mechanism" through which democratic procedures of delegation and accountability function in reality. This is because parties are elected to represent specific constituencies.

The political platforms of the parties that end up in power often serve as the foundation for the legislative program. MPs primarily influence policy by working inside their party group to secure support for their cause. It is hard to comprehend the women's relationship between her descriptive and substantive representation without first conceptualizing the parties' role in the political process (Mattson, 1995). This is because parties are responsible for both the selection of candidates and the design of policies. If more women are in positions of power, then maybe more political attention will be paid to issues about women. If so, it is believed that, this will largely be owing to the efforts that women politicians have made to alter the agendas of their respective parties. Lawmakers' efforts to address women's issues may be reflected in a positive correlation between the presence of women and political participation at the party level (Klingemann et al., 1994)

However, there is little question that the efforts made by the party to represent the interests of women are impacted by issues other than the number of women sitting on the benches. The literature on partisan politics implies that political parties may pick candidates and design their agendas to accomplish specific objectives, such as increasing their share of the vote and enacting the policies that they like (Muller & Storm, 1999). In addition, members of parliament

are seen as representatives of their parties who endeavor to carry out the parties' objectives. Accordingly, the makeup of the parliamentary delegation is often seen as unimportant (Laver & Shepsle, 1994). Considering that the involvement of women in the political sphere and their representation in the political arena are heavily reliant on the preferences and priorities of the party's top brass, it is plausible to question the accuracy and validity of both these modes of expression. The exact causes that explain why there are women in powerful positions might also explain why there's more attention paid to women in politics.

1.10 Compositional Explanations

Compositional explanations, which center on the gender makeup of elected party officials, are one method that is used to get an understanding of how women's political representation develops from and is related to women's participation in power. This method is offered by research that focuses on women and politics. On the other hand, motivational tactics help us better comprehend the larger party's aims, but they are blind to the issue of women's representation. Neither explanations based on composition nor motive alone are adequate to describe the political world of women (Tittensor & Mansouri, 2017). They concentrate on one at the expense of the other, resulting in a flawed theory of substantive representation. Any concept of substantive representation for women has to consider both parties' motivating techniques in addition to women's numerical representation. Examining the predictions of these theories without addressing other explanations might lead to deceptive empirical findings. This is because arguments dealing with party compositions or motives are insufficient. Research that focuses only on party incentives while neglecting gender composition runs the risk of missing how differing party compositions might impact policies. As a result, there is a possibility of a preliminary evaluation of the planning that went into the agenda. In the same vein, if one does not consider the political motivations of those involved, it is impossible to establish a connection between the descriptive representation of women and her substantive portrayal (Andrews, 1999). A good connection might suggest that politicians implement policies that benefit women. Alternatively, it might be a fake connection, with the two kinds of representation reflecting the ambitions of the party leaders instead of each other's intentions. In turn, the misperception that there is a direct connection may have significant repercussions for attempts to highlight women's problems to the forefront of the political agenda. Actors who concentrate on boosting the representation of women to promote policies favorable to women may discover that their efforts have little influence when there is a lack of a clear correlation that describes the connection between the two. The researcher provided a partisan theory of substantive representation that explains the motivations and processes behind composition, rejecting the idea that any correlation between women's presence and political representation

inevitably indicates causation. It explains that different groups point out different perspectives on what constitutes adequate representation (Poudel & Araujo, 2017).

In addition, this theory does not presuppose that the variables influencing women's representation are the same from one political party to the next. To put it another way, the researcher observed the involvement of women in the parliamentary system, may be the single most crucial issue for certain groups in terms of how it affects women's political representation. On the other hand, for some people, the presence of female leaders, electoral aims, or even ideological congruence may have a more significant influence on the potential effect that it may have on their representation. The researcher claimed that compositional or motivational factors play a role and that combined party-based substantive representation theory reflects the association between numerical and political representation of females is better than either explanation alone. This is because the view is predicated on the idea that women are more inclined to vote for political parties that support issues that are important to them or share their values.

There are at least two ways in which the gender ratio within a parliamentary party affects whether or not women are included on the agenda for political discussion. There is a clear possibility of a direct connection between the two for certain parties; hence, increasing the ratio of females in parliament leads to strengthening political participation. Sometimes, how women are portrayed in certain sections may have an underlying correlation with the language used to describe them (Schneider et al., 2016). This might be the case for sure of the aspects. It is reasonable to anticipate that if more women were serving in the legislature, one of the political parties would choose a woman to serve as their leader. This, in turn, results in a more significant number of women holding elected positions.

1.11 A Direct Relationship: Role of Women in Shaping the Party Agenda

Research has shown that there is a correlation between how women are described in politics and their actual representation in political, economic, and social spheres. Several studies have found that having a higher number of female MPs is linked to better gender equality standards (Oregon, 2000; Schwindt-Bayer & Mishler, 2005). These findings are based on research conducted on a global scale. Studies of the coverage of childcare services in Norwegian municipalities (Bratton & Ray 2002) and of the implementation and distribution of childcare and maternity leave policies in cities have shown comparable findings in democracies that are members of the OECD (Kittilson, 2008). The number of women working in government has a positive correlation with the effectiveness of women's policies, which is largely driven by women's representation in parliament, as research has shown. Female politicians often have

opinions about women's concerns distinct from those of their male colleagues. They also place a high priority on the rights of women and consider themselves to be champions for women. These political perspectives, in turn, affect the actions taken by lawmakers. It is more likely that women's representatives will participate in committees dealing with social policy relevant to women's traditional concerns. (Schneider et al., 2016). They experience more actively in discussions about women and families, and they are more inclined to propose and co-fund legislation concerning women. Women MPs are manifestos and legislative agendas behind the scenes, even if their conduct in the legislature is found to be compact with males. Some legislators, particularly female deputies, believe that the increased participation of women in politics has caused political parties to shift their stances on many issues. For instance, the number of women in the legislative assembly of a political party is connected with a more significant focus on social justice in the party's platform for subsequent elections (Kittilson, 2011). This reflects a stronger tendency of female legislators to advocate for the inclusion of women on party benches (Erzeel, 2011).

1.12 The Role of Female Party Leaders

Although women parliamentarians directly influence the high female representation in some parties, in others, the correlation between political expression and presence is accounted for by an increase in the proportion of female leaders within political parties. The supply and demand for women in party leadership may shift if there are more female MPs. As women reach higher positions in the organization, they better serve women on the political agenda. In terms of supply, parliamentarians are the recruiting pool of party leaders. Over time, the election of more women parliamentarians will increase the number of women who hold office. On the demand side, increasing the number of deputies changes the electorate's composition for leadership positions. When the parliamentary caucus helps select the party leader, the increased presence of women among secondary parliamentarians gives female candidates access to parts of power within the party from which they were previously excluded. The women leaders present their can, in turn, influence the party's attitude toward the development of political services offered by females. In parliamentary systems, policy-making authority rests with the party leadership (Laver & Hunt, 1992). In this sense, researchers argue that to understand party rule, it is necessary to consider the objectives pursued by party leaders (Katz, 1986). It is also suggested that changes in party leadership affect party behavior and that leaders' political goals affect electoral platforms (Harmal et al., 1995).

Evidence from political and women's literature supports the notion of an indirect relationship between numerical and political representation. The proportion of women in the legislature is a crucial factor in the proportion of women ministers (Krook & Brien, 2012) and the rise of

women national leaders (Jalalzai, 2008). Further analysis confirms that the presence of women in the parliamentary party is positively and significantly associated with the rise of a woman to party leadership. For their part, women leaders support women on the political agenda. The participation of women as internal employees raises awareness of female representation within the party (Caul, 2001 & Kittilson 2011). At the same time, the lack of women leaders affects women's political representation. For example, Meyer argues that after Hildegard Hamm Brücher left the Liberal Democrats in 2002, "there weren't very influential female members who could promote women's rights" (Meyer, 2003).

1.13 Motivational Descriptions

Although a number of studies have suggested a correlation between women's involvement in politics and representation, other research has raised doubts about these compositional theories. For instance, it was revealed that women are sometimes well represented even when a specific term describing them is used (Ayata & Tutuncu, 2008). This suggests that factors beyond simply the number of women in positions of power play a role in determining representation. Furthermore, it was highlighted that additional variables are responsible for determining representation (Htun & Weldon, 2012). It was also pointed out that the predominance of the executive branch in Western European governments and the institutionalization of political parties have reduced the impact of individual legislative action (Norton, 1990). Even though MPs have limited support personnel and finances and would want to set the political agenda rather than respond to it, they often find that they cannot independently influence the process of formulating policies. Politics. When considered as a whole, these works seem to imply that descriptive presentation is neither required nor sufficient for substantive representation. Not only be substantive representation without descriptive representation, but there is also a possibility that the relationship between the presence of women and political representation might, in certain instances, provide a false impression. Specifically, one possible explanation for the relationship is that the interests of the party leadership are at play here. These objectives came long before the rise in the proportion of female members of parliament and the prioritization of issues affecting women in political discourse. When taking into account various incentives, the correlation between the manners in which information is presented and its content becomes less apparent. On the other hand, if they are not considered, it may result in a deceptive association between political presence and representation. In the following subsections, how electoral aims and consistent bipartisan preferences influence implementing policies that benefit women is discussed.

1.14 A Vote-Seeking Relationship

The depiction of women, in terms of description and substance, is determined by partisan voting incentives. According to research on 'ripple effects' in candidate selection, the rivalry between parties increases the number of female models. The case study presents instances of parties that have tried to attract female voters by nominating female candidates while supporting feminist political principles. These parties are shown as attempting to win over female voters by embracing a feminist political stance. In addition to academic work on women in politics, empirical analyses of party programs often and openly correlate changes in party program content with shifts in voter behavior. For instance, researchers (Janda et al.1995) contend that for significant changes to become visible in subsequent party programs, an election loss must first occur.

Similarly, Budge demonstrates that the outcomes of previous elections coincide with ideological shifts within a select group of parties (Budge, 1994). Ideological changes from the left to the right (Somers & Topcu, 2009) and adverse modifications (Walgrave & Nuytemans, 2009) are more likely among political parties that have lost voters in previous elections. Even though political parties tried to win over supporters of both sexes, the ideological and cultural transformations toward gender roles in the 1960s and 1970s offered extra incentives to target female voters. First, a more widespread tendency of partisan divergence has happened simultaneously as a movement in ideology among women. Throughout the 1990s, historically, more conservative female voters in Western European nations tended to be much more left leaning than male voters (Inglehart & Norris, 2003). This was the case in most of those countries. In this manner, right-wing parties tried to keep (or reclaim) the support of women while left-wing parties create this new constituency.

In addition, this shift in the societal expectations and responsibilities of individuals of different genders might be, at the very least, be partially linked to the shifting ideals of society and politics. A new group of voters devoted to post-materialist values like self-expression, freedom, and gender equality has emerged, resulting in a new set of topics that parties might utilize to obtain electoral support. These issues include gender equality, self-expression, and freedom. Topics such as equal opportunity, reproductive choice, and family structures have come onto the political agenda as the prominence of this "new politics" (Dalton & Wattenberg, 2000) has grown in recent years.

The ideological reorientation of female voters and the politicization of gender problems have contributed to creating a political climate in which the importance of female representation is steadily growing. Activating current supporters and attracting new ones may be accomplished

by nominating female candidates and advocating policies that support women. In addition, in contrast to many political offices, women's concerns may be approached from the perspective of any political party. (Kuensel, 2007). Even though there is now an undeniable link between feminism and politics on the left, left-wing parties have not yet wholly welcomed women. On the other hand, concern for women's welfare is neither inherently liberal nor conservative but may coexist with either. The employment of gender appeals is, in many ways, congruent with the conclusions already obtained regarding party competition. Even though research on manifestos demonstrates a connection between party electoral success and platform flipping, this connection is not nearly as strong as the aims of the election study imply it should be. This is due, in part, to the fact that switching careers is both time-consuming and challenging to do. The allegiance of voters, activists, and contributors might be jeopardized if one's political inclinations deviate from those established. Focusing on women's representation enables political parties to adapt to voter demands without the inherent danger of left-to-right position adjustments. This is because female voters may be legitimately attracted by political parties that span the ideological spectrum. Even securing the support of a tiny fraction of these people may significantly influence the final result of the election. Political parties may have more incentive to nominate female candidates and make women the focus of their election manifestos if the costs of doing so are relatively modest compared to the potential advantages.

1.15 Policy-Stability Relationship: Considering Parties' Policy Attitudes

According to the Voting Research Report findings, political parties are often unwilling to reposition themselves on the ideological spectrum. According to Walgrave and Nuytemans the broad policy perspectives of political parties have remained remarkably consistent over time (Walgrave & Nuytemans, 2009). Some groups, notably niche organizations, and leftist fringes are particularly ideologically inflexible and insensitive to public opinion (Adams et al., 2009). Many other organizations utilize their old methods merely because they fear the unknown and the expenses associated with changing things (Budget, 1994). Because of this unwillingness to shift their political beliefs, some parties may continue to pay virtually the same amount of attention to women on their platforms over time. For instance, in organizations considered to be "women-friendly," the presence of women on the legislative bench may be a singular manifestation of a more extraordinary dedication to the representation of women in general. The advocacy groups would still push for increased women's political participation in government, even if there were no women currently serving in Parliament.

Similarly, political parties that are sexist or apathetic to women may have a small number of female representatives in Parliament and there seems to be very little focus on the significance of women's role in the political landscape as part of their election platforms. Even though this

results in a connection between females' descriptive and substantive relationships, this link does not originate from the existence of women politicians in and of themselves. The crucial part that women play in society is not invalidated by the fact that political stability has been assumed. Even socialist groups ignored women's problems and limited the scope of feminist actions (Gelb 1989; Lovenduski & Randall, 1993). For women to triumph over these challenges, they had to engage in arduous battles to advance the cause of gender equality (Lovenduski, 1986).

On the other hand, this theory proposes that the contributions made by women in the process of formulating the plan have the potential to bolster the commitment to gender equality expressed in the party platform. Once a party has established a reputation for supporting female's political representation, which is in a better position to advocate for policies that are favorable to women, regardless of the number of female lawmakers currently serving in Parliament. Even if more women are elected to office, political parties that have historically been reluctant to make the advancement of women a priority are not likely to modify their stance later. This is true even if the proportion of female lawmakers grows. As a result, the attention devoted to women by various parties will likely stay relatively consistent for the foreseeable future, at least until the balance of concerns is further upset.

1.16 Substantive Representation and the Location of Agenda Control

According to the party-based theory of substantive representation, there are four different ways in which women's presence and political representation might be related at the party level. These explanations are based on compositional and motivational considerations. On the other hand, a single connection may not be sufficient to describe all organizations. Regarding some aspects, the connection between descriptive and substantive representation could be a straightforward one. While, for others, the connection may be explained via an intermediary or illusory linkages. Which aspects of the phenomenon will probably be accurately described by one of these alternative explanations? Which criteria may be used to recognize an organization as direct, intervening, voting, or politically stable? Even though several aspects of parties and systems impact party political agendas, the researcher differentiate between different kinds of parties based on the party's aims and the position of agenda control within the organization.

Parties have three objectives: increasing the amount of voter support they get, amassing the advantages of the mandate, and carrying out the policy they like. Although political parties have the intention of achieving all of these objectives, the degree to which they place a higher priority on votes, orders, or political goals differs from organization to organization. While some

political parties adjust their policies to get more voters or funding, others remain more ideologically staunch and are motivated by politics (Muller & Strm, 1999).

The degree to which political parties adapt their policy stances in reaction to changes in the political environment is primarily determined by the organizational structure of the parties themselves (Schumacher et al., 2013). It is more probable that an organization's leadership will alter its platform such that it focuses on the average voter and political office if the administration is responsible for setting the agenda. Because of their primary membership, activist-dominated organizations are less responsive to these problems than other groups. Instead, they concentrate on the preferences of partisan voters. According to Pedersen, when the strength of activists grows, political parties are less likely to emphasize holding office rather than politics (Pedersen, 2012). These findings usually agree with the results of several other research that hypothesize a connection between party structure and the party's aims. The diverse preferences of party leaders, lawmakers, and activists may lead to various political outcomes by pointing to the fact that the agenda's locus of control varies (Laver & Hunt, 1992). Pane Bianco (1988) distinguishes between professional electoral parties, which are driven by careerists and emphasize electoral issues, and mass bureaucratic parties, governed by political sympathizers who value ideological considerations (Pane Bianco, 1988). In conclusion, Wolinetz argues that the political power of grassroots members in parties mainly concerned with electoral success will likely be constrained (Wolinetz, 2002). On the other hand, politically oriented parties have actively involved members who have a say in party politics.

In the same way that the organization of a party may affect its aims, it also molds the link between the number of women in politics and their political representation. First, take into account the one-to-one relationship. When women legislators have a direct role in defining the agenda, changing the number of women on parliamentary benches will likely influence women's political representation substantially. On the other hand, if the legislature does not have much of an impact on the political platform, then the variation in the total number of women represented in government will probably not be as significant. As a result, it may be more crucial for parties in which the parliamentary caucus is the dominant political force to have a high chance of a credible explanation for the direct relationship. The gender makeup of the party is emphasized, just as it is in the natural connection and the intervention relationship.

Nevertheless, this comment highlights the significance of female political leaders in pushing the issue of women's rights as a priority in political initiatives. The presence or absence of female leaders may carry a greater weight in establishments where power is concentrated in the party elite. As a result, the intermediation relationship applies to organizations where the leadership is mainly responsible for developing the party's political platform.

Identifying electoral groups may also require considering the degree of influence held by party leaders compared to that of other players (Wolinetz, 2002). Compared to other members, party leaders may be more attentive to the strategic significance of obtaining and keeping the support of women in the constituency. This may be because party leaders are more likely to be women. They take advantage of the platform to recruit female voters if it is on the party's agenda. On the other hand, party activists are far less likely to appeal to women to win up calculated supporters. Consequently, firms, where executives decide on the platform have a higher probability of maintaining consistency with the vote ratio.

In conclusion, stable political parties are anticipated to constantly campaign for women's political representation. It should not be necessary to excuse the conduct by referring to changes in the makeup of parliamentary group, the status of women within the party, or the incentives offered by the campaign. Therefore, parties with strong lawmakers or strong party leaders are less likely to display political stability since these groups are prone to changes in party makeup and voting reasons. Strong legislators and party leaders are more likely to exert influence.

1.17 Statement of the Problem

Especially in developing nations like Pakistan, investigating how women participate in politics is an essential topic of study. It is widely acknowledged that political involvement is a critical component in democracies. A democratic culture is characterized by the active engagement of citizens in political processes such as voting, lobbying, and protesting, among other activities. It has been shown in a variety of contexts from all around the globe that different levels of political engagement result in further political developments. The legitimacy of a government is directly correlated to the level of confidence that its people have in that authority. It also involves taking responsibility for one's civic obligations, which is a prerequisite for a democracy that is stable and durable. Since the 1950s, scholarly research on political involvement has focused significant attention on gender inequalities. According to Dalton (2008), gender disparities in political engagement continue and are readily apparent in industrialized, democratic, and Western nations. A significant amount of study has been conducted on traditional and non-traditional forms of political engagement in Western democracies (Marien et al., 2010). Gender disparities in developing nations have gotten the attention and study they deserve. It is extremely dependent on having access to socioeconomic assets, including work, education, social standing, voting patterns, and political involvement patterns (Coffe & Dilli, 2015) and patterns of political activity (Burnz, 2007). Donations depend highly on access to socioeconomic resources such as employment, education, and lower status. However, a review of the pertinent literature revealed and highlighted the social barriers for the less women in the political sphere and political behaviour in the USA. Research on the

connection between political behaviour and racial orientation was done by (Cole & Sabik, 2010). There is no empirical research on female identity in politics because the literature is focused on Western experiences. This is especially valid when considering Asia and South Asia.

In fact, the results of this research will significantly add to the body of literature that now exists that incorporates an Asian or South Asian perspective or setting, so expanding the sociological understanding of women's participation in politics. The main goal of this study is to analyze the political representation of women in Pakistan's 12th National Assembly from 2002 to 2007. The official record of National Assembly discussions contains a wealth of information about the contributions made by women in legislative processes, but there hasn't been a sincere effort to draw attention to their accomplishments in the National legislature. This study makes a sincere attempt to present a thorough and accurate description of the situation, paying particular emphasis to important events that occurred during the specified time frame.

1.18 Theoretical Framework

Research on women in politics often focuses on political representation as a fundamental subject. The development of various normative arguments aimed at expanding female's participation in political activities has been the primary focus of political theorists. They argue that excluding women from political decision-making is unequal and anti-democratic, disregards women's interests, and prevents society from benefiting from the potential contributions that women may make to the political process. Based on this work, political scientists submit these assumptions to empirical examination, asking questions such as: "Do women do things for women?" and "Do women in politics make a difference?" They are especially concerned about whether growth in women's placement holding official position, or the descriptive representation of females leads to higher consideration of women's political issues or a substantive representation of women. Some people even go so far as to argue that the ratio of women elected only matters if they elected are "different" from men in some way or another in their political priorities and legislative activities (Cowell-Meyers 2001). This aligns with Hanna Pitkin's (Hanna Pitkin, 1967) view that material representation is the primary and most important form of political representation. Empirical research employs various methods to study the relationships between the descriptive and content representations of women. Together, they concentrate on the following five facets of this relationship: (1) how the presence or absence of numbers affects whether or not women advocate for other women; (2) how political circumstances and parliamentary dynamics impact women's legislative activity; and (3) how identities and interests determine the influence legislation. (4) Whether or if women emphasize women's problems while running for political office; and (5) Whether or not women

impact the process of making decisions in politics. The guiding assumptions of this literature, which are sometimes explicit but often implicit, are that the increased presence of women will create a "critical mass" for changes in pro-women policies, that the context is less important than commitment to change, that women's interests and concerns are "out there" to be incorporated in politics, that voting patterns are a useful indicator of women's influence, and that gender and gender are the main forms of political identification. These assumptions are sometimes explicit but often implicit. While transforming these ideas into testable hypotheses, the evidence was inconsistent. According to specific research findings, the involvement of women in policy-making bodies impacts the outcomes of debates, initiatives, and speeches. On the other hand, some people believe that there not much or prominent difference in how male and female workers conduct themselves. The questionable character of these findings shows that more advanced and all-encompassing conceptual frameworks are required to comprehend the linkages, or lack thereof, between descriptive and material representations of females.

1.19 Methodology

The study primarily focuses on the participation of women in legislative bodies during Musharraf's regime in the National Assembly from 2002 to 2007. It is a descriptive and analytical case study that presents a chronological order of events. The research methodology includes both qualitative and quantitative approaches to uncover significant social realities and provide insights into the legal position of women in Pakistan. The study aims to present a positive and accurate representation of the situation.

1.20 Partially Structured Interviews

The study conducted semi-structured interviews with elected Members of Parliament from the 12th National Assembly of Pakistan to gain insights into the challenges and responsibilities faced by women in the country's legislative body. The interviews were organized into different categories to address specific research questions. The data collected through these interviews proved to be valuable in elucidating and reassessing the role of women parliamentarians in legislative bodies. The themes that emerged from the interviews are presented in Table 1 below for better clarity and comprehension.

Table-1.1: Key Themes of the Interviews

Sr #	Major Supporting Theme	Sub Themes
1	Position of female legislators in the 12 th National Assembly under the Musharraf administration	Only the elite class was allowed to participate. Women were elected based on their party affiliation.
2	Legislation that has proven successful in addressing women's issues.	The discussions brought attention to issues affecting women, and ample time was provided for women to participate in them.
3	To what extent did the women legislators connect with women in society?	The female legislators had a clear understanding of the issues faced by women in society. They could establish a positive and constructive relationship with the public.
4	Women legislators' confidence-building efforts.	The performance of women legislators had a positive impact. Leaving female constituents satisfied with their efforts.
5	Challenges encountered by females in the legislative bodies of Pakistan.	Women in legislative bodies in Pakistan face numerous social challenges and pressures, including gender discrimination, which results in a range of problems.

Based on the themes discussed earlier, the "interview protocols" were developed to conduct semi-structured interviews.

1.21 Objectives of Research

- To analyze the women parliamentarian's role and their achievements in the legislature of the Pakistan 2002-2007.
- To examine the women legislative initiated bills, their nature, and scope.
- To assess the level of women's political participation and the challenges they faced in Pakistan's National Assembly (2002-2007).
- To assess role and impact of women parliamentarians over general public particularly women in Pakistan.

1.22 Key Research Questions

This study aims to investigate the role of women in Pakistani politics during the years 2002-2007 and evaluate the extent to which they were successful in representing female issues. It attempts to address the following questions in particular:

1. How did female parliamentarians contribute to Pakistani politics from 2002-2007?
2. To what degree were they successful in advocating for women's concerns?
3. How have women participated in the National Assembly of Pakistan's legislative history?
4. What legislative bills did Women Parliamentarians of 12th National Assembly proceed with?

5. Which factors impacted the women legislators in the legislative politics of Pakistan?

1.23 Significance of the Research

The objective of the proposed work is to examine the participation status of women in Pakistani politics. The study attempts to gain insights into the existing statistics by collecting data, facts, and figures in a logical manner. The research analyzes the representation of women in the National Assembly of Pakistan, their productivity, and performance in legislative bodies. The study recognizes the efforts and struggles of female political leaders in the parliament and evaluates their contributions in the policymaking process at the national level. Moreover, the study assesses the performance of assemblies and the role of women in legislation. Additionally, the research analyzes bills presented by female politicians and their impact on female societies in the country. Lastly, the study examines the sincerity and intensity of female participation in politics.

1.24 Chapters

First Chapter: Introduction provides an insight to the introduction of the thesis.

Second Chapter: Historical Background of Women's Political Participation in Pakistan deals with the historical background of the efforts for the inclusion of women in politics in pre-partition era.

Third Chapter: Legislative Role of Women in pre-Federalization Era (1947 to 1969) focuses on women parliamentarians' role in pre-federalization era of Pakistan.

Fourth Chapter: Legislative Role of Women in Pakistan Federalization Era (1970-2002) is concerned with the women parliamentary efforts during Federalization era.

Fifth Chapter: Women's Legislative role in 12th National Assembly of Pakistan examines the 12th National Assembly of Pakistan and women legislative efforts and role.

Sixth Chapter: An overview of National Assembly of Pakistan and women participation has scrutinized the performance and challenges of women legislators in the 12th National Assembly from 2002-2007.

Seventh Chapter: Conclusion and Recommendations serves as a conclusion to the entire discussion by providing appropriate answers to the research questions. Furthermore, the chapter includes valuable suggestions and recommendations for future researchers to consider.

1.25 Literature Review

In this particular piece of research, the present author used a wide range of primary and secondary sources. On the other hand, used primary sources a lot of focus and evaluated secondary sources based on what current researcher learned from the primary sources. The majority of the information for this study came from primary sources. These sources include the officially published minutes of debates held in *Pakistani Parliament* in Islamabad (ISB); the *National Documentation Centre* in ISB; the *Cabinet Department* in ISB; the *ISB Election Commission Register*; and the *National Archives* in ISB. Secondary sources, such as *books*, and *research articles*, were gathered from the *National Library of ISB*, the *Election Commission Library*, the *ISB Public Library*, the *Rawalpindi Cantt Army*, the *Rawalpindi Cantt Cantonment Library*, the *National Historical and Cultural Research Institute of ISB*, and the *Quaid-i-Azam University of ISB Central Library*, and the *History Department of University of Gujrat, Gujrat and University of Punjab, Lahore. Seminary Library* (although the library proved to be of little use for reference documents in Parliament). To collect information pertinent to the study, the researcher looked through the archives of the *Women's Division*, the *Aurat Foundation*, and the *Commission for the Legal and Social Status of Women, Shirkat Ghah Lahore* (women resource Centre). Several books and articles on a variety of women's concerns and the role of women in specific themes, such as the *Muslim Family Law Ordinance (MFLO)* and other laws related to the research topic were studied for this study. The numerous trips to Parliament to obtain papers were exceedingly time-consuming and fraught with various potential complications. Because it was situated in a limited location, the legislative library was often inaccessible to the general public. There is no internet access to the resources for study time.

From *Purdah to Parliament (1963)*, written by Shaista S. Ikramullah, is a primary source that presents a fascinating picture of the author's life, who was raised in Islamic customs and culture while acquiring a contemporary education. The author was able to carve out a name for herself as a progressive woman, maintain a noteworthy presence in realm of Indian societal life, and finally join the very 1st Constituent Assembly of Pakistan (CAP). Understanding the social status of women in India has been facilitated via this information. This research seeks to continue this work and capture the problems and complexities of this lengthy path toward acknowledging the women parliamentarians' role. Specifically, this study will continue this effort to continue this study.

One of the works, titled “The Role of Muslim Women in the Pakistani Movement (1969)”, written by Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza, provides a more comprehensive view of the prolonged fight that Indian women engaged in under British rule to establish and maintain their social and political standing. It sheds insight into women's struggles throughout the liberation fight and

the Pakistani revolution. In addition, we investigate its crucial significance after the establishment of Pakistan. On the other hand, the author explained how women could enter the halls of Parliament. This research investigates how members of Parliament prove their value. It provided firsthand knowledge of the great dame's struggles in the political sphere both prior to and following the subcontinent's division into Pakistan, which made it useful for study.

Jahan Ara Shahnawaz's "Father and Daughter" published in 1971, provides a captivating account of her political friendship with her father, Sir Muhammad Shafi, a prominent Muslim League leader. Ian Talbot's edited an autobiography that explores Shahnawaz's career of political upheavals and her role as a leading supporter of the Muslim League and the All-India Women Association. Shahnawaz also provides light on Muslim women's attempts to make their relevance known in the Sub-continent's traditional politics. She represented women from the subcontinent in round table conferences, alongside Begum Shaista Ikramullah, paving the way for future generations of women to navigate the demanding new educational and political landscape with their brains, bravery, and abilities. To better understand the accomplishments of these pioneering MPs in larger political arenas, it's worth reading their published works. On the other hand, this inquiry focuses on the roles played by these two capable women and their ancestors. Dr. Massarat Abid's work, published in 2003, is another important contribution to the literature on women's political history. The book contains a variety of several pieces about Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah's travels both before and after Pakistan was established. Politicians of all stripes, including communists, centrists, and rightists, backed Jinnah, who was regarded as a true role model for Muslim women. She underlined how crucial it is for women to understand their place and cultivate a feeling of responsibility. Jinnah urged women to get involved in politics because she thought that by doing so, they might make sure that political parties did not overlook issues that affected them. Anyone interested in the background of women's political participation in Pakistan should read this book.

Rashida Patel throws light on different elements of family life, legislation, and reforms relevant to women in the book entitled, "Women and Law in Pakistan (1979)". The author had a prominent place among those committed feminists who defended the women rights guaranteed to them by Islam and the rights granted to them by the Constitution of Pakistan. These rights included the right to vote and the right to own property. An outline of the predicament that Pakistani women find themselves is discussed in the book's introduction. These are family and matrimonial courts, respectively. The book does not devote much discussion to female politicians or their legislative role parliament.

Azra Asghar Ali's article, "Muslim Women's Political-legal Empowerment in British Period (2004)", presents a viewpoint that aligns with Jahan Ara Shahnawaz's and Dr. Massarat Abid's

works. It highlights how the structure of political empowerment was developed during the colonial era and the Independence Movement in Pakistan.

Sabeeha Hafeez's book, "The Metropolitan Women in Pakistan: Studies (1981)", goes beyond administrative positions and explores the roles of women in various fields such as factory workers, housewives, and academics. The book also covers topics regarding the key responsibilities and social contribution of females as wife, mother, working women, and as old mother. It also shed light on the positive contribution of women in the society. This study compiles the findings of six independent research. Each research is unique because it examines a typical cross-section of women and uses various methods to gather data. The survey does not, however, consider the roles that female lawmakers play either within or outside of Parliament.

Dushka H. Saiyid's book, "Muslim Women of British Punjab: From Isolation to Politics (1998)", provides a detailed and insightful account of the experiences and circumstances of women in British Punjab during the colonial era. The book offers a comprehensive overview of the legal system, including the common law and legislation specifically designed to address women's rights. Furthermore, Saiyid delves into the political involvement of women during this period, shedding light on their contributions to the Independence Movement and their efforts to secure political empowerment. Through her meticulous research and engaging writing style, Saiyid effectively conveys the complexities of this historical era and helps readers gain a deeper understanding of the challenges faced by women in British Punjab of subcontinent. In contrast to other regions of India, she believes that the national fight has made new opportunities available to Muslim women in Punjab. It was the caliphate movement that gave women the opportunity to participate in public life. At the same time, the Women's Education Campaign posed a challenge to and changed the conventional position that women played in the Muslim community of Punjab.

A book by entitled *Women of Pakistan: Two steps forward, One step back* (1987). Another book, *Are they making progress or taking a step back?* (1987) was beneficial source in elaborating on this topic. It covers the period between 1896 and 1947, encompassing women's awakening. It focuses primarily on women's concerns, such as the MFLO, and women's legislation, such as the Hudood Ordinances enacted by the Zia administration in 1979 and its subsequent effects. Consider the topic of women's rights and the activism of women. In the preface to the book *Finding Our Way: Reading on Women in Pakistan* (adapted), published in 1991, the author highlights the beautiful and selfless services that Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan provided in 1948. This was the year that the Pakistani Women's Association (APWA) was founded. The constitutional position of women and specific aspects of the Ayub period are

two topics that are touched on in this book. The book begins with a discussion of the historical beginnings of the women's movement in Chapter 1.

Khawar Mumtaz and Farida Shaheed have co-authored the book "A Period of Awakening 1896-1947," which includes a short gist of a portion (Part 11) from "Father and Daughter" This section explores the challenges faced by women involved in Pakistani politics and their significant contributions to the field.

In J. Henry Korson's edited book, "Pakistan's Contemporary Issues" (1993), the fifth chapter titled "The Transformation of the Women's Movement in Pakistan," addresses the issue of gender inequality in Pakistan and delves into specific issues. The chapter highlights the role of Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan in founding the All-Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) and leading efforts to enhance the societal standing of women.

While the editor, J. Henry Korson, is credited with the book, the chapter demonstrates how historical data reveals that policies affecting women led to widespread political instability and disturbance in the early 1980s. This was particularly evident when Hudood Ordinances was implemented in February 1979. However, the chapter fails to delve into women's participation in parliamentary roles.

The book titled "The Role of Women in National Development" (1994), edited by Fasahat H. Syed, provides material on the development of women's capitals, their contribution in family development, and the obstacles that women face while trying to advance their political standing as well as their socioeconomic and cultural status. This book outlines how competent women are employed in leadership roles to improve women's empowerment and involvement in political processes. Because of this, it is even more critical for women to have a voice in the nation's growth. She does not provide any commentary on female politicians' role in the nation's development.

Numerous scholars, such as Asma Afzal Shami, Saira Bano (2009), Riffat Munawar (2002), and Amna Mahmood (2004), have emphasized the importance of women's involvement in politics as a means to improve their social status. By giving women a greater say in decision-making and resource allocation, they gradually achieve a sense of empowerment that leads to positive change. Farzana Bari's (2005) research, however, emphasizes that women have historically been kept out of formal politics in Pakistan, and that there is still a significant obstacle bridging the gap between common beliefs and policy. In particular, women find it challenging to bring about significant changes in the political system because of the patriarchal nature of contemporary democracies. The core beliefs of liberal democracies need to be

reexamined in order to provide real political space for women. Sadly, little study has been done on Pakistani women MPs from 1970 to 1988; Nabeela Afzal (1999) carries research regarding the contribution of women in the political spheres of the country. However, it barely touches the most basic aspects of the problem.

Naila Kabeer's research on gender equality and women's empowerment (2003) proposes that women's empowerment is a goal in itself rather than a means to achieve other objectives. Kabeer identifies three key indicators of women's empowerment: education, wage employment share, and the proportion of women holding seats in national assemblies. These indicators act as benchmarks for measuring progress, while empowerment itself is defined as the ability to make choices and bring about change. The process of women's empowerment has three dimensions: agency, resource, and achievement, which collectively enable women to make choices and put them into effect. In a 2013 analysis, Sinha stressed that women's social and economic status is improved by their participation in various activities at different levels. Despite the existence of legislation aimed at involving women in the procedure of the finalization of the matters, the political status of women and their input levels remain inadequate in developing countries. In order to solve this, it is necessary to create a political culture that encourages women to participate and realize their full potential as important human resources. All levels of decision-making involving women are thought to be necessary preconditions for attaining gender equality, development, and peace. Munawar (2006) has emphasized the significance of integrating women into the political system, considering that they make up 50% of society's population. Women's representation in decision-making bodies is crucial for their protection from the male-dominant system and for addressing gender-sensitive issues. In nations, where women's representation in legislative bodies is inadequate; Ballington and Karram (2005) proposed allocating quotas for women to guarantee their representation. Quotas are in the form of reserved seats allotted to legislative bodies or candidate quotas, where a minimum percentage of elected candidates must be women. As a stopgap measure to ensure women's representation in decision-making bodies until general seats are elected, quotas are regarded as necessary. They are also thought of as a quick route for women to gain political empowerment.

Jalalzai et al., (2010) state that while every country has its unique traits, there is one thing that all of them have in common: there aren't as many women in positions of genuine authority. Academics contend that women face antagonism and other problems if they wish to participate in political, public, cultural, and social spheres, including the media. The two largest obstacles preventing women from rising to positions of political ascendancy worldwide are patriarchy and places that are dominated by men. Women's legitimate participation in politics and the

private-public separation are two more norms that significantly influence the prescribing of gender roles. But gender stereotypes also exist in these nations, where sexism in the political sphere is a result of gender characteristics and attitudes. Similar to previous times, the assumptions surrounding gender beliefs led to the idea that men and women were philosophically affiliated with the Republican Party and conservatism and the Democratic Party and liberalism, respectively. According to these stereotypes, women are known for their kindness and compassion, while males are known for their toughness. This leads to presumptions that women are more suited for social assistance and poverty reduction, while men are better at handling defence and armed confrontation.

Rashida Patel wrote a book titled, “Women vs. Men: Socio-Legal Gender Inequality in Pakistan (2003)”, which covers a range of topics, including marriage laws, domestic violence, and population control. The book emphasizes the impact of legislation on marriage due to the registration of *nikah nama*, among other factors. However, the role of women lawmakers in shaping these laws is not discussed. The book also fails to mention the lack of opportunities for women to advance their careers, a significant issue in the country. Another book “*Contested Representation: Punjabi Women in Pakistan's Feminist Debate*” (2006), shed a light on the continual improvement in the women’ political right. While Chapter 4 touches on women's experiences after independence, the period from 1958 to 1969, an experiment in popular democracy that lasted from 1972 to 1977, and the military dictatorship under Zia-ul-Haq from 1977 to 1988, it does not mention the participation of female lawmakers.

Sayed Wiqar’s book, “Northwest Frontier Province: History and Politics (2007)” is a valuable source of information for understanding the progressive political role of the of women in the region. Chapter 6, of this book, in particular, offers a thorough description of the Khudai Khidmatgar/Red Shirt movement and its influence on the province's politics during that time. The author emphasizes how important women were to Pakistan's development and the success of the country's plebiscite. Up to the conclusion of British administration in India, women persisted in their attempts in provincial politics. Notably, this source provides essential information for the study of women's political participation in the region, focusing on their involvement in the civil disobedience movement against NWFP Prime Minister Dr. Khan Sahib and the pro-BC campaign in 1940 and 1947. Women from the province, along with Muslim League workers, played a critical role in the success of the Muslim League's victory in the July 1947 referendum. The dissertation aims to investigate the process of women's advancement from grassroots activism to parliamentary representation. However, scholars also shed light on the challenges faced by Pakistani domestic workers and the impact of the Islamization Decree

during Zia's administration on women's civil rights. It is noteworthy to mention that the book does not discuss the role of female lawmakers in defending women's rights.

The comprehensive examination 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 those 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. To summarize, the Literature Review served as a guide in examining the concepts and information relevant to the research. It acted as a roadmap and a milestone in the development of the current study.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN PAKISTAN

2.1 Introduction

Women empowerment in India has been linked for many years to British colonialism. Muslim women were expelled from social and political life during the pre-partition period and kept in the domestic sphere due to new structures. The impact of British colonial feminist activism on women's rights activism in Pakistan, which predates partition, has been profound. To fully comprehend the notion of women's political empowerment, it is essential to the learning process of social change that took place during colonial rule. This comprehension will allow us to grasp the full extent of this concept, along with the characteristics of Muslim societies overall, and Muslim women specifically. The movements for emancipation and awareness-raising of Indian Muslim women occurred in various stages and were not accidental but rather the result of ongoing, planned, and calculated efforts. In light of these shifts and the challenges that led to the establishment of Pakistan, the reactions of Muslim society and Muslim women are particularly intriguing. As the British administration tightened its grip on the Indo-Pak, several resistance groups established and began to resist the government in India and began to strive for independence from existing rule. Bi Amma, also known as Abadi Begum, took over the leadership of the mission after the British imprisoned leaders of the various movements. Shahab (1993) claims that she inspired Indians, particularly Muslims, and gave them the drive and will to free themselves from foreign domination. Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar's wife, Amjadi Bano, was also a key figure in the battle for independence from British rulers. She imprisoned for inciting women in India to rebel against British rule. She was the first woman to be imprisoned for speaking out for the liberation cause, according to Coupland (1945), and she was released in 1920. Subsequently, a considerable number of women left their families to fight for their rights for the same reason.

The origins of the Women's Rights Movement in the West are traced back to the United States, where it acquired prominence in the early 1800s. Seneca Falls' 1848 First Women's Rights Convention marked a significant turning point in the movement. Women from all around the nation came together at the conference to demand equal rights and opportunities, which was a historic moment in the evolution of right for women. The British feminist movement began to take shape after the lead of the American feminist movement. The early 20th century saw a surge in the movement as women fought for equal rights in the workplace, in school, and in politics. In 1893, New Zealand became the pioneer nation to award women's exercise their constitutional rights, a move that other nations soon followed. Australia adopted a similar

policy in 1902, and by 1945, 46% of all nations were granting woman an opportunity to exercise their voting rights. Brave women from all areas of life have united to fight for their rights and open the path for upcoming generations of women, but this fight is treacherous and exhausting road. Thanks to the unwavering efforts of these trailblazing women, women today have liberties and possibilities that were previously unavailable to them in the majority of countries (McMillin, 2008).

2.2 In the Colonial Era, Women's Political Empowerment and Social Transformation

Positive changes began to occur in Indian society in the second half of the 1800s when a number of reformists, both Hindu and Muslim, began to discuss women's rights, particularly in relation to issues of "infanticide, polygamy, child marriage, sati, veil (*pardah*), and restrictions on the women's education." They contend that until women are given equal opportunity to engage, social change cannot be brought about (Forbes & Forbes, 1999). The laws that forbade the exaction of "sati" in 1829 and the "Widow Remarriage Act (WRA)" that gave widows the legal right to remarry in 1856 were the results of several efforts that these reformists started (Sen, 2000). The law was enacted on 26 July 1856, it was drafted by Lord Dalhousie and passed by Lord Canning before the Indian Rebellion of 1857. (Carroll, 2008). In the context of women's rights, the years 1869–1892 were extremely important. As a reaction to the movement of women against archaic customs that limit their ability to be empowered. Various acts related to the divorce, infanticide, special marriage, property of married women, validation of *Nikah*, and guardians of women are the few examples that represent a selection of customary laws pertaining to Indian culture and refinement that the British government introduced (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). In contrast, a school named "Anjuman-e-Himayat Islam" was laid down by Islam promoting society, at Lahore in 1885. Its primary objectives were to uphold Muslim customs and advance the notion that education is more crucial for Muslim women. This institution was essential to women's educational advancement (Patel, 2010).

2.3 Constitutional Status of Women

Over the years, there has been significant discussion and controversy about women's legal rights in India. The British government established its authority over India through the Government of the Crown following the East India Company's dissolution in 1858. The Indian Council Act of 1861 reinstated the council for legislative functions, which marked the beginning of development of the Parliament, also known as the Central Legislature, in India during the 19th century. By the Governor-General's discretion, this legislation also permitted the addition of six to twelve further members. Indians could run for Parliament, but they had to be nominated by the Governor-General. The Indian Council Act of 1892 expanded the power of locally

elected provincial governments by introducing the concepts of representation and elections. With both direct and indirect elections, the Government of India Act of 1909 strengthened the Legislative Council. But the franchise was limited to men solely on the basis of property and educational attainment. Additionally, the act gave Muslims and other minorities in India their own electorates. The discriminatory nature of these legislation was unknown to most educated women at the time. But as education levels increased and organizations like the All-India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress were founded, women's awareness grew, and they began to demand their political rights. The 1909 English women's suffrage extension was a major factor in increasing women's political rights understanding. Later constitutional revisions included initiatives for women's voting rights led by a number of women's organizations, including the Indian Women's Association. Women nevertheless faced tremendous barriers in their quest for equal rights and opportunities in spite of these initiatives. But because of the work these groundbreaking women did, more women in India and around the world are now able to fight for their rights and advance gender equality.

Establishing an accountable government in India was the ultimate objective of the British administration. To that aim, Secretary of State Edwin Montague visited India in 1917–18 and proposed reforms. A group of fourteen ladies, led by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, including a Muslim woman named Begum Moulana Hasrat Mohani, met Montagu during his tour and asked for the official acceptance of women's suffrage. The demands of women were backed by AIML and the Congress. Despite Montague's empathetic dealing to their asking, the Montague-Chelmsford report said nothing about women's suffrage other than to advocate for electorate expansion. The women didn't give up, though. The women's made their case before the Southborough Franchise Committee during its journey to India to investigate the ownership issue. Though, the women didn't give up. Their delegation made their case before the Southborough Franchise Committee during the Committee's journey to India to investigate the franchise issue. The Committee declined to propose the matter, stating that ruling government of India had not requested the expansion of the permission to women and that it was not feasible to provide women the right to vote in a conservative nation like India. Despite these challenges, women showed tenacity and addressed the Joint Parliamentary Committee, chaired by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, with their demands. The matter was left up to the federal and local legislatures to determine, notwithstanding the Committee's support for women's voting rights and formulation of certain broad guidelines. Even when the female population's right to vote was finally recognized by the provincial assembly, there was still an issue because women did not meet the educational criteria or the property requirements to be eligible to vote. In 1923, the Reforms Enquiry Committee, led by Sir Alexander Muddiman, investigated the matter of women's representation. The Committee's report recommended that central and provincial

legislatures be granted the power to confer voting rights upon women. In 1928, women were granted suffrage in their respective legislatures; however, property qualifications continued to serve as a barrier to their participation. Nevertheless, in seven of the nine provinces, they were allowed to become members. By overcoming the necessary obstacles, women were able to obtain seats in the Central legislature, but they were unable to secure a similar position in the Council of State. (Khera, 1990).

The Simon Commission, occasionally referred to as the Statutory Commission, was established by the British government in November 1927 to examine the effectiveness of the 1919 reforms and provide recommendations for India's future constitutional development. Sir John Simon served as the commission's chairman. It also looked at the general state of women's population and the shortcomings in the rules allowing women to vote, such as how Muslim women are deprived of the right to inherit property due to Indian customary law, which conflicts with Islamic law. Later on, it act a good step towards the betterment of women in the society. For upcoming legislatures, the Commission suggested granting women the right to vote. The commission critically assessed the efficacy of the prevailing voting system, recognizing that any system which allowed for such a significant gap in voting capabilities between genders could not be deemed conducive to effective governance. In response, it advocated for the introduction of specialized qualifications tailored specifically for women, aiming to rectify this disparity. The proposed qualifications outlined two distinct scenarios in which a woman would be eligible to exercise her right to vote: firstly, if she were a twenty-five-year-old wife of an individual who met the property qualification criteria, and secondly, if she were a widow of the same age whose deceased husband had satisfied the property qualification at the time of his passing. This nuanced approach aimed to address the gender imbalance in electoral participation by providing eligible women with opportunities for political engagement based on their individual circumstances and societal roles. Because they were the only ones granted these privileges, the women disapproved of the special changes. Sir John Simon served as the chairman of the Simon Commission, which was established by the British government in November 1927. Examining the 1919 Reforms' inner workings and reporting on India's upcoming constitutional advancements were its two main goals. The Commission also looked into women's status and the shortcomings in the requirements for granting them the right to vote. It brought to light concerns like Muslim women's right to inherit property being denied to them and Indian customary law interfering with Islamic law. A discrepancy in the voting power of the sexes could not result in good government, the Commission advised granting women the right to vote in future legislatures. It recommended “special qualifications” be given for women, and suggested two additional conditions indicating that a wife with proper qualification and widow of a qualified husband must be given right to elect their representatives for the

legislation purposes (Report of the London: Indian Statutory Commission (Simon Commission, 1930).

The Simon Commission's plan to provide women with special changes was not well received because it was perceived as a favor given to them exclusively. The Commission suggested allowing women to run for general seat elections as well. Giving women the right to vote was a topic of discussion at the Round Table Conferences. These seminars were attended by active women of the local community. A memorandum for the conferences was drafted by the Indian Women's Association. Notable Muslim women who contributed to the memorandum's drafting included Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz and Fatima Begum. Representative of the women delivered the memorandum in the hopes that the conference would take women's political standing into consideration. They insisted that all citizens, regardless of gender, caste, religion, or faith, be guaranteed equal rights and responsibilities. Since it would go against their goal for equality with males, they were against the reserve of seats for women. They also insisted that discrimination against or in favor of women not be practiced in the future. Mrs. Subharoyan and Mrs. Jahan Ara Shahnawaz were also members of the Franchise Committee that was established during the First Round Table Conference. The Committee's report, which was turned in January 1931, outlined the main points that differentiate the social status of men and women and recommended that specific requirements be set for women in order to boost their involvement in the political system. Following the second Round Table Conference, a committee led by Lord Lothian looked into the franchise question, with Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz representing Indian women. The three women's groups sent a declaration with their revised requests to the Indian government as well as the Lothian Committee. The Lothian Committee was met by a women's leaders of three aforementioned organizations to discuss their demand (Lateef, 1991).

2.4 Initial Period of Transformation of Women's Status

Women who hailed from elite or wealthy households not only acquired a modern education during this period but also progressively became active in politics and made their voices known. This era is believed to have been the most transforming for Muslim women. During this period, the subcontinent was home to a large number of schools and organizations of all kinds (Khan, 1999), even though certain traditional and orthodox Muslim forces were vehemently opposed to this development. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan has persuaded Muslims that the path to success and wealth lay in getting a Western or modern education. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan said this would definitely bring the advantage of government positions and other professions, as well as, eventually, permanent access to political power. On the other hand, Hindus had a high level of intelligence and quickly adapted to contemporary culture and educational practices, which was

to the advantage of the British administration. But initially, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan didn't pay much consideration to women's concerns, especially their education. Meanwhile he was also having believing that women's education wasn't as vital as men's education (Hussain Kadri, 2015). However, the transformative drive of this century has developed a new way of thinking, and according to this new way of thinking, an educated woman wishes to play a good part in both the social upheaval and the economic growth of the subcontinent. Because of this, Sheikh Abdullah was the first person to present a resolution on education for Muslim women at the Muslim Education Congress (MEC) in Lahore in 1886 (Saigol, 2016).

Eventually, in December 1896, the Mohammedan Educational Congress (MEC) had a devoted women's section formed as a result of Sheikh Abdullah's tireless efforts. In just three years, Calcutta saw the founding of an institute dedicated to training women teachers. The MEC held its annual assembly at Aligarh in 1891. The topic of women's education came up once more at this meeting. Although education has helped to bring about progressive societal transformation in the subcontinent, this development has occurred at a very snail's pace (Salahuddin, 2005). Most of these young women started speaking English in order to communicate with people outside of their homes and express their thoughts, experiences, and limits. They were able to do this in a number of ways, including removing linguistic obstacles and raising Muslim women's sociopolitical standing. On the subcontinent, the idea of the "new women" first appeared in the early 1900s. This opened the minds of Muslim women in particular to new ideas. The subcontinent was home to several Middle-English educational institutions and organizations. At the MEC annual gathering in Bombay in 1903, a lady from the Parsi community delivered an essay entitled "Importance of Education for Women" on behalf of Chand Begum, who was from Madras. Both Sheikh Abdullah and his wife, Ala Bi, have been subjected to criticism from the majority of Muslims, who are vehemently opposed to the move. With the help of his wife, Ala Bi, Sheikh Abdullah established the first secondary school for Muslim women in the English language in 1906. Maulana Altaf Hussian Hali sang her children's song "Chup ki dad" (A Remarkable Appreciation) to the All-India Muslim Educational Conference (AIMEC) in 1905 as a sign of appreciation for Muslim women (Asghar, 2000). This was implemented as a component of the AIMEC. Another quick change occurred when a large number of Muslim women began contributing to various newspapers and periodicals. This was noteworthy since, at the time, it was believed that magazines and newspapers were the best media to support and foster movements.

Sheikh Abdullah produced a newspaper named *Khatoon* (woman) in 1904, while *Moulvi Syed Ahmad* published "Akhbar-e-Niswan (Women's Newspaper)" of Lahore in 1896. The publication "Sharif Bibi" was created by Moulvi Mehboob Alam in Hyderabad. From Delhi,

Moulvi Muheeb-ul-Hussian wrote the book “Moalam-e-Niswan”, also known as “The Master”. Rashid-ul-Khari was the first person to publish the well-known magazine “Asmat (Honor/Respect)” in any of these journals; soon after, many other people also began publishing in these magazines. His works were primarily directed at shedding light on many societal concerns, such as dowry, incorrect beliefs, or extravagant spending (Shaheed & Mumtaz, 1981). In 1908 Sir Muhammad Shafi established the Muslim Women's Organization, later known as the Anjuman-e-Khawateen-e-Islam. He did so to advance Muslim women's religious standing. It had two crucial goals: on the one hand, to urge the his wife to be engaged in the community matters to enhance the social and political awareness among other women of the society so that they can safeguard their rights, and on the other hand, to raise their voice against two societal ills such as dowry and women's involvement in fundamental rights. Both of these goals were accomplished via a series of events that took place around the country. Property. At first, its members congregated mainly in the homes of one another. However, over time, these intimate get-togethers expanded into sizable organizations. They developed into hubs for women's perspectives and viewpoints (Minault, 1998). The year 1913 was a watershed in the political history of women who identified as Muslim in India. When a "women's conference" was conducted in Aligarh, it was led by Begum of Bhopal and thousands of women from various cities throughout India participated. Some of these places were Delhi, Lucknow, Lahore, and Muradabad. The conference was a political forum for women (Mirza, 1969). In the 1920s, many Muslim women abandoned veiling themselves (known as purdah). They began fulfilling roles traditionally reserved for males in professions as diverse as teaching, lecturing, and even medicine. Its literacy rate also grew; in 1911, there were only two educated women for every 1,000 people, but in the next ten years, in 1924, the rate had climbed to 0.4%. Additionally, in 1924, the total number of educated Muslim women was 137,800, of which 3,940 signifies that 3% of women had higher education (Sultana, 2008).

A movement for Indian women's suffrage was launched following the passage of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in 1919, paving the way for them to play an active role in politics and bring about greater gender equality. To this end, women are educated about their agency and empowered to make decisions about their lives, communities, and political representation based on their values and priorities. The Indian Statutory Commission remarked in 1930 that this led to the belief that if women could not fulfill their obligations as educated citizens, India would not be able to reach the position it wanted to in the world (Indian Statutory Commission, 1930).

2.5 Women’s Organizations

Three groups were founded by British women between 1915 and 1927 to support women's political emancipation in Indian subcontinent. These included the "Women's Indian

Association," the "National Council of Women in India," and the "All India Women's Conference." With the exception of the states of "Bihar and Orissa", women were given the national right to vote in 1925. But the government put in place a rule that limited voting rights to property-owning men and women. The Government of India Act, which expanded the right to vote to around 60 million additional women and set aside nine of the National Assembly's 250 seats for women, provided a solution to this issue in 1935.

Reformists, both Hindu and Muslim, began discussing women's rights in the second half of the 1800s, particularly in relation to issues such as infanticide, polygamy, child marriage, sati, purdah, and restricted access to education for women. These discussions led to positive changes in Indian society. They contend that until women are given equal opportunity to engage, social change cannot be brought about (Forbes & Forbes, 1999). As a result of numerous campaigns started by these reformists, laws against the execution of sati were passed in 1829 and the Widow Remarriage Act (WRA) was passed in 1856, granting widows the legal right to remarry (Sen, 2000). In the context of women's rights, the years 1869–1892 were highly crucial. As a result, to the fight of women against antiquated customs that limit their ability to be empowered. A school named Anjuman-e Himayate Islam was established in Lahore in 1885. Its main goal was not only to protect Muslim ritual, but to promote the idea of educating the women of the country. At that time, this school was crucial to the educational development of women (Patel, 2010).

2.6 Women's Rights and the Government of India Act of 1935

In 1934, the Joint Select Committee proposed to Parliament that women who were entitled for their husband's property but lived in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Central Provinces (CP), and urban regions of the United Provinces (UP) should not be allowed to apply for it. Furthermore, the committee recommended that the provinces of the Punjab region, Assam, Bombay, UP, and CP disregard the property requirements for obtaining educational degrees. India Act of 1935 was created as a result of Parliament's eventual acceptance of these proposals. This legislation permitted women to run as candidates for general seats in elections and established reserved seats for them in all legislative bodies and the Council of State.

2.7 Communal Award-1932 and Women Status

The Communal Award made a compulsion that it is compulsory that new legislatures should have at least a few female MPs, as stated by the prime minister at the time, Mr. Ramsay McDonald. The British government introduced a White Paper with proposals for women's suffrage in 1933. It basically meant that wives who satisfied the conditions for their husbands' property had to have the ability to legally seek for registration. It was emphasized that women

must have an education in order to be eligible to vote. Three representatives from the three women's organizations sent a self-written memorandum in response to the Joint Select Committee (Shahnawaz, 2003).

2.8 Introduction of Muslim Personal Law in 1937

On September 10, 1937, the Muslim Personnel Act (MPL) was approved, which granted equal inheritance rights to both men and women belonging to the Muslim faith. Despite facing opposition from various schools of thought and the common law, the MPL was well-received by Indian Muslim women as it gave them hope for the improvement of their social and political status. Asghar (2000) explains that the movement for women's political rights in the subcontinent stemmed from an earlier struggle for the freedom of thought and expression. The All-India Muslim League (AIML) provided voting tickets to Begum Salma Tassaduke Hussian and Mrs. Jehanara Shah Nawaz in the 1946 election; despite the All-India Muslim League's historic victory, the British government refused to form a government, and 500 women demonstrated in Lahore against the law. However, as the level of activity increased, some Muslim women were taken into custody, including NWFP (now Khyber Pushtoon Khawa) Begum Salma Tassaduke Hussian, Begum Kamal-Uddin Ahmad, and ladies from the Muslim League. So, it's safe to say that these new laws were a big deal for women's rights in India and the empowerment of Muslim women in particular. When Jinnah declared in 1944 that "no nation should conquer the summit of fame if his wives are not by his side," he became the leading advocate for women's emancipation. He helped pave the way for social, economic, and political freedom in Pakistan and India (Naheed, 2008). Bad habits have enslaved us. The fact that so many of our female citizens are confined to their homes is a crime against humanity. Our ladies are subjected to deplorable living circumstances that are not condoned anyplace” (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987).

2.9 The Approaches for Women Empowerment

During the 19th century, under the British rule in India, some governmental orderliness was introduced, and legal measures were implemented to improve the status of women, resulting in changes to the social structure.

2.9.1 Women Empowerment through Political Achievements

One might say that the status of Indian women peaked around the 19th century. At that point, India had 80 female members in the legislatures of its combined provinces and states, and it ranked third worldwide in terms of political status and partition that its women had secured. By the 1940s, the tide of social, educational, and political honor for women had escalated significantly. When Mrs. Annie Besant entered Indian politics in 1914, women's awareness of

their country grew. Indian ladies enthusiastically joined the Home Rule League. During the Calcutta Congress, three women held positions of authority and prestige. The veiled daughter of the powerful Muslim community, Begum Aman Bibi, was the representation of the Hindu race, whereas Mrs. Besant, who was seated in the president's chair, was Mrs. Sarojini Devi Naidu. During this period of women's empowerment, they had emerged from their isolation and were joining men in the fight for India's independence. She was chosen to lead the Indian National Congress in Bijapur, Bombay Presidency, in 1928. The first female member of an Indian province legislature was Dr. Muthu Lakshmi Reddi. By rising to the challenging position of Deputy Speaker of the Madras Legislative Council, she achieved a historical record. It was Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay who was the first woman to take a chance on a Legislative Council. In 1926, she ran as an independent against a male congressman for the South Kerala Constituency in Madras (Margaret, 1947).

Women had a significant impact on India's fight for independence. Leading the Indian uprising against the British in 1857 was Rani Lakshmi Bai, the Rani of Jhansi. Another ruler who spearheaded the 1857 uprising was Begum Hazrat Mahal, the coruler of Awadh. Some of the other noteworthy female rulers of the time were the Begums of Bhopal. Then, including Captain Lakshmi Sahgal, every member of Subhash Chandra Bose's Indian National Army was a woman: the Rani of Jhansi Regiment (Meena & Shobana, 2009). These female leaders created new avenues for Indian women's emancipation. These female leaders, who served from 1917 until 1934, mostly changed India's political landscape through their close relationships with British Parliament members.

2.9.2 Women Empowerment through Education

One of the primary factors preventing Indian women from achieving political empowerment has been their low literacy rates. The official educational report from 1838 states that there were up to 100,000 schools throughout Bengal and Bihar at the time, or roughly one school for every 400 students. However, G.K. Gokhale said in 1912 that there was only one school in India for every six villages. Five literate women in every thousand Bihari women were present in Bihar in 1930 (Maria, 1947). Thus, women's education remained sluggish during the early years of British administration, and illiteracy emerged as the primary barrier to women's political emancipation. Prior to the 19th century's conclusion, their accomplishments were quite minimal. According to Margaret E. Cousins, only one Indian female in every hundred receives an elementary education, and only one Indian girl in every thousand receives a secondary education.

Due to the growing influence of western education in the nation, women's empowerment increased significantly during the British era in India. They were able to break free from the condition of subjugation and subordination and began their journey towards equality with men. Indian women experienced a fresh awakening as they saw how long they had been suffering at the hands of a traditional culture and were able to start campaigns against societal injustices while they were long-term subjects of foreign domination.

2.9.3 Empowerment of Indian Women through Economic Development

Indian ladies seized the chance to be recruited as well. As early as the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, women were mostly admitted to the disciplines of medicine and education. The idea of employing female nurses with training in hospitals was put forth. And as a result of this plan, skilled nurses were being hired by the hospitals in the Madras towns, and in 1869, the Bareilly Lunatic Asylum saw the appointment of its first female native physician. Women from Europe and Anglo-Indian descent had previously held positions as midwives, nurses, and physicians. In 1869, a resolution concerning women practicing practical midwifery was also approved. The training of female local teachers was emphasized once more during the Bombay administration.

2.10 Legal Reforms during the Colonial Era and its Impact on Women's Rights

The advancement of Indian women's position was a major priority for reformers of society in India. To defend the rights of women in India, they required a legislative framework. Nonetheless, varying opinions existed in the nineteenth century regarding the best way to implement social reform on the subcontinent (Ali 2000). Any change-related movement generates responses. They were all in favor of change since it was now necessary for preservation and advancement. The Bombay presidency had been taken over by British immigrants in 1818, and the first law that applied to that region was the Bombay Regulation, which was passed in 1827. Customary and religious rules were superseded by British law, which also encompassed all procedural laws as well as criminal laws pertaining to verification, revenues, property ownership, theft, and adulatory behavior. (Mumtaz, 1987). During the colonial era, individual legal status law was determined by the traditions and personal laws of the parties involved (Welchman & Hossain, 2005).

Throughout the nineteenth century, the subcontinent's women's situation remained a significant societal concern. Indian reformers exerted pressure on both the British and Indian governments to enact laws that would strengthen the forces of social change (Lateef, 1999). On the reform movement's primary agenda, women were in the forefront.

They viewed women's emancipation as a means of achieving growth, modernism, and civilization, as well as a prerequisite for national regeneration. The reformers were able to pass the Widow Remarriage Act in 1856, which gave widows legal permission to remarry, and abolish Sati in 1829 through a variety of efforts. The period between 1890 and 1891, known as "age of perpetual controversy." The British administration was to raise the marriageable age of Indian women during this period. For women's advancement, it was a watershed moment (Sen, 2000). A second, more active generation of "New women" began to emerge in the 1920s. They were able to express other women's needs. Foreign monarchs started establishing institutions and attempting to unite the interests of women as a consequence of their social criticism. During the push for the Child Marriage Act, frequently referred as the "Sarda Bill since Harbilas Sarda headed the committee", that was developing the legislation, female infanticide emerged as the next social evil in society. To stop this unethical societal practice, the Female Infanticide Act was enacted in 1870 (Ali, 2000). The Special Marriage Act of 1872 was one of the important legislation that was continuously enforced by legislation and modified by customs. These laws include "Married Women's Property Act of the 1874, the Divorce Act of 1869, Guardians and Warders Act of 1890 and the Marriage Validation Act of 1892 and Personal Law of Muslims".

Muslim women were restricted to the home sphere and excluded from social and political life during the pre-partition era due to new arrangements. Pakistan's advocacy for women's rights began prior to the country's partition and continues to bear the imprint of British colonial feminist activism. The women's movement drew momentum and impetus from the Pakistani movement. The establishment of a new state for Muslims was the primary goal throughout this time. The women of the subcontinent had been on the front lines of the fight for independence.

2.11 Conclusion

During the British era, significant steps were taken to empower women in India, which marked a turning point in India's history. Prior to this era, Indian women were subject to various harmful traditions, including the devdassi system, sati pratha, child marriage, and the prohibition against widow remarriage. The Indian Government Act of 1909 extended the legislative council's term and introduced both direct and indirect elections. The news of English women being granted the right to vote in 1909 gave a boost to the fight for women's right to vote. Eventually, the tireless efforts of women paid off when, as a result of the Act of 1935, seats were made available for women in the legislature and state council for the first time in the Indian Subcontinent's history. Political movements played a crucial role in providing Indian women with the opportunity to engage in politics. Various movements emerged after the British established control over the Indian Subcontinent.

Thus, it concludes that it was a time when women made every effort to carve out a respectable and independent role for themselves within their species. It was the period when the government and reformers started to take steps to empower Indian women. While the efforts undertaken were not enough to attain the objectives, they did lay the foundation for subsequent developments.

LEGISLATIVE ROLE OF WOMEN IN PRE-FEDERALIZATION ERA (1947 TO 1969)

3.1 Introduction

Since Pakistan's founding, women have played a crucial role in shaping the political landscape of the nation. Prior to India's partition, Muslim women were obviously active in politics, as seen by the history of Pakistan Movement. As was previously established, the first Muslim woman to enter politics was Abadi Begum, also referred to as Bi Amma, in 1917. Despite participating in many forums, Indian Muslim women gained insight into their actual political situation and experiences through the All-India Muslim League (AIML). Israt-ul-Azam, during the AIML's reorganization, Muhammad Ali Jinnah saw the need for Muslim women to be involved as party members in order to support the Muslim men of the Subcontinent in their fight for freedom. Muhammad Ali Jinnah was a progressive when it came to women's roles, and his younger sister Fatima Jinnah was generally beside him as a confidante. He urged women to take an active role in every field. (Jinnah, 1956). However, in the male-dominated political system, their views and contributions have frequently been disregarded or minimized. The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate Pakistani women's legislative and political roles between 1947 and 1969. Women actively engaged in politics during this time, both as candidates and voters, and they worked to ensure that they were given equal rights and representation. The investigation has expanded to include the methods in which these women advanced women's rights and political engagement while navigating the patriarchal political system. This chapter will contribute to a deeper understanding of the struggles and accomplishments of women in the pursuit of gender equality and political autonomy by shedding light on this more obscure aspect of Pakistan's political past. It was also mindful of the requirement for an adequate representation of women in the political arena. Jinnah emphasized that “We must provide every opportunity for women to join our struggle for survival. Women have significant potential, even within their households, even if they are in purdah” (Mujahid, 2005). Addressing to the Punjab Girl Students Federation, Quaid-i-Azam stated that “For a nation to stay strong, both men and women must work together towards its goals” (Saiyid, 1994).

Women coordinated protests, raised money, and waged a protracted effort to change public perception in favor of the subcontinent's division during the final phase of the Pakistan movement.

3.2 Politics and Women during the Post-Independence Era

Pakistan's founder was always in favor of women's participation in all spheres of society and opposed the conventional wisdom that confines women to the house. Throughout the nation's history, women have played a significant role in the fight for freedom. Later observations revealed that a static ministry, opposition to land reform, and the feudalism of politics all contributed to the many kinds of oppression of women (Rasheed, 2006). Few women participated in the early stages of infrastructure development, and patriarchal mindsets were clearly biased against the role that women performed (Khan, 2005). In the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan composed of 69 members, only two women Begum Shaista Suhrawardy Ikramullah and Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz served from 1947 to 1954. These two female members of the first Constituent Assembly, were consistently loud and active in the legislative process. Moreover, eight women including six on reserved seats and two on general seats were elected as MNAs in the 3rd National Assembly from 1962 to 1964. They were Begum Shamsun Nahar Mahmood, Begum Hamida Mohammad Ali, Begum Roquyya Anwar, M.A., Begum Serajunnessa Choudhury, Zahara Aziz, Begum Mujeeb-un-nisa Mohammad Akram, Begum Khudeja G A Khan, and Begum Zari Sarfaraz

Women are the easy targets of violence in nearly every progressive campaign. Muslim women experienced a variety of forms of violence following the split and throughout their migration; at the time, women were underrepresented in the Constituent Assembly. However, dealing with male members who had a patriarchal perspective was difficult for the women members (NCSW, 1989). The Prime Minister said at an assembly session that women could not grasp practical concerns, which made the already tough position for the female members much more unpleasant. Men didn't take women's arguments seriously during the legislative debate (Ikramullah, 2002). A law on women's financial rights, proposed by female parliamentarians in 1948, was abruptly removed off the schedule. Strong feelings of discontent among women in general as a result of this elimination gave rise to the UFWR, which organized a protest against the bill's repeal. Although the bill was not successfully reintroduced into the legislative agenda, women did gain another victory as a result of their active lobbying and mobilization efforts, as the West Punjab Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act 1948 enabled women to inherit property rights (Mumtaz and Shaheed, 1987).

3.3 The First Phase of Women's Parliamentary Performance (1947–54)

Independence Act, the 3rd June 1947 Plan, and Cabinet Mission Plan are the three documents that laid the groundwork for the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan (CAP). There were 69 people in it, and the Pakistan Muslim League members comprised an overwhelming majority of the body. The National Congress of Pakistan (Later known as the Bangladesh National

Congress) was the second biggest party in Pakistan, with 13 members. In comparison, the Azad Party of Pakistan was the third largest party in Pakistan, with three members. Ten more members were later added to the assembly to represent princely states and expatriate populations, bringing the total to the current number of seats. Only female MPs for the party were Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz and Begum Shaista Ikramullah. (Mumtaz, 1998). Both leaders were elected to their positions indirectly by the provincial parliaments but directly in the elections held in 1946. At that time, the function of women in MNA could be broken down into three categories: political, economic, and social concerns, as well as women's concerns. Both served as chairman of the organization, and both ladies continued to participate on numerous committees when their successors took over those positions. They took an active role in both the question-and-answer sessions offered and those not shown. (Ali, 1986).

3.4 Constitutional Status of Women (1947-1969)

On August 14, 1947, the British government transferred control of Pakistan to an independent administration. Karachi was the site of Pakistan's first Constituent Assembly, which was presented by Lord Louis Mountbatten, who served as India's viceroy and governor-general at the time. August 15, 1947, on the 27th day of Ramadan, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah took the oath of office as Pakistan's first Governor-General. Enacted by the people of this country, the Constitution of the Interim Agreement is an amended version of the Constitution of the Government of the Republic of Pakistan (Afzal, 1999).

The India Act of 1935 was in effect until March 23, 1956, with just a few minor revisions. The All-India Constituent Assembly, which the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan inherited, was indirectly elected by the Indian province legislatures that make up Pakistan (Ali, 1986). This Assembly served as a model for Pakistan's Constituent Assembly. Initially, there were sixty-nine members in the Assembly, with Begum Shaista Ikramullah and Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz being the only two female members when it first convened on August 10, 1947. Later, it was expanded to 79 members to represent refugees, the princely states of Bahawalpur and Khairpur, Balochistan, and the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) when they joined Pakistan (Aysha & Sana, 2018).

In 1947, the Pakistan Constituent Assembly (CAP) was given the responsibility of writing the country's new constitution, as well as acting as an interim state legislature under the new constitution until the next elections. However, its primary objective was to draft the constitution. The first step towards this goal was approving the Objectives Resolution (March, 1949). The resolution emphasized the importance of democracy, liberty, equality, acceptance, and societal fairness, as enshrined in Islam, and stated that Muslims must follow the teachings

of Islam in their daily lives. However, there was no mention of women's rights in the resolution. In 1950, the CAP formed a 25-member Basic Principles Committee (BPC) to develop the principles that would serve as the foundation of the new constitution.

Attempts were made by two ladies to raise issues related to women in the *House of Representatives*, but they were unsuccessful in getting parliamentary clearance. As a result, they encouraged activists working on women's issues outside of the House to organize women's groups. In 1948, the *Democratic Women's Association* was established, and in 1949, the *All-Pakistan Women's Association (APWA)* was organized. The British Parliamentary Committee's Electoral Law Subcommittee included these two female lawmakers as well.

The CAP established several other committees, including the Council of Ta'limat-i-Islamia, which was chaired by Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvi. A report was presented to the BPC by the Council of Ta'limat-i-Islamia in January 1950, notwithstanding the absence of the council's head. It resounded no to incorporating Pakistani women into the country's social or political life. (Rasheed, 2006).

On the other hand, the material was not made public because it was included in a secret document at the time. On September 28, 1950, BPC handed over an interim report to CAP. Because it generated excessive controversy, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan decided to withdraw the provisional information. (Syed et al., 2015). Before the committee could report its findings to the House of Representatives, Liaquat Ali Khan was murdered in Rawalpindi on October 16, 1951. He had asked the people for recommendations for improving the situation, but he did not live to see the results. While this happened, on October 1950, the Committee handed in a report on the Fundamental Rights of Pakistani Citizens and Minority Affairs. It not only secured the fundamental rights of minorities without imposing any restrictions, but it also affirmed the freedom of minorities to exercise their faith freely. As a result, the BPC created a Subcommittee on Proposals, which Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar would lead. Its mission would be to develop constitutional provisions considering the Committee above's findings and comments from people and organizations about improving the interim report. The BPC completed its report on November 22, 1952, and Prime Minister Nazimuddin gave it to the CAP on December 22, 1952. Both of these events took place in 1952. He added special measures for women, such as the state policy's clause 16, which specified that the state "must endeavor to ensure that women, children, and youth are not exploited or forced into occupations suitable to their age and sex are ineligible" (Azeem et al., 2018). He also included some other measures for gender-specific women. In addition, it noted that all residents at least 21 years old and of either gender are eligible to vote, even though the study did not advocate setting aside specific seats for women but did say that women might run for election to general headquarters.

(Rasheed, 2006). Before the CAP could debate the BPC report, Governor General Malik Ghulam Muhammad abolished the Nazimuddin Ministry on October 24, 1953. This occurred before the CAP could meet to discuss the findings.

In October and November of 1953, the BPC report was reviewed by CAP, with Muhammad Ali Bogra serving as its chairman and then the Prime Minister of Pakistan. During this time, the APWA commanded that the National and Provincial Assemblies reserve 10 seats for women for a minimum of ten years. In July to September of 1954, the CAP met again to discuss the BPC report. During this session, Begum Shah Nawaz presented the "Charter of Women's Rights," which included a stipulation that there should be 3% female representation in the National and Provincial assembly. The CAP spoke about the newly formed alliance, which had only just begun to function at that time. The BPC Report was approved by the CAP in 1954, resulting in approximately 2% of seats in the Chamber of Units and over 4% of seats in the House of People being reserved for women for ten years. The House of Lords had a specific number of members, with two seats reserved solely for women. The parliamentary legislature of West Pakistan received one of these seats, while the provincial parliament of East Pakistan received the other. In the 300-member House of Commons, 14 extra seats were set aside for women; however, only votes cast by women directly qualified for these seats.

Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad proclaimed a state of emergency over the country and dissolved the first Constituent Assembly on October 24, 1954. As a direct consequence, the subsequent Constituent Assembly, based on May 28, 1955, did not include any female representatives. In May and June of 1955, the provincial parliaments and electoral colleges of Karachi and Baluchistan were responsible for the indirect election of the 72 assembly members; the rulers of the princely states selected the remaining members. Similarly, on August 11, 1955, Choudhry Muhammad Ali, serving as Prime Minister of Pakistan then, constituted the Second Constituent Assembly without including any female representatives. The first Constitution of the nation was ratified on March 23, 1956, and it was attributed to him. The 1st (Interim) National Assembly of Pakistan replaced the former CAP or Parliament with this Constitution (Naheed, 2008).

The nation was divided into two separate provinces and a legislative government was established along with a federal organizational structure by the constitution. A section on fundamental rights was introduced, including Article 5, which said that everyone is entitled to equal protection under the law and is treated equally. According to the findings of Article 17, there shall be no discrimination in appointment to the Pakistani service based on a person's gender. By the Constitution of 1956, elections could not be conducted for several reasons. Meanwhile, Malik Ghulam Muhammad tendered his resignation as Governor-General owing

to his ongoing battle with bad health. The previous Minister of the Interior of Pakistan, General Iskander Mirza, was promoted to Governor-General of Pakistan. In October 1958, Iskander Mirza issued a decree establishing martial rule nationwide. He also repealed the constitution that had been in place since 1956. Central and provincial ministries were removed from office, and national and regional parliament were disbanded (Mumtaz, 1998). The Chief Martial Law Administrator position has been given to General Muhammad Ayub Khan, the Supreme Commander of the Pakistan Armed Forces. The parliamentary system in Pakistan was thrown into disarray when the country's first period of martial rule was instituted. After some time, General Muhammad Ayub Khan launched a palace revolution that ousted Iskander Mirza from office. On October 27, 1958, Khan was sworn in as Pakistan's president (Mukharjee, 2016).

General Muhammad Ayub Khan presented the local governments with the *Basic Democracy System (BDS)* on November 1, 1959. The BDS was an electoral organization that allowed members to vote for members of the provincial assembly, the central body, and even the president of Pakistan. However, the system did not allow for the representation of the female population. After the BDS Elections, units concluded in January 1960, General Muhammad Ayub Khan became president on February 17, 1960 of Pakistan. He also appointed the Constitutional Commission, which eventually delivered its final report to the government in October 1961. The constitution was officially put into effect on March 1, 1962, and General Ayub Khan announced it over the radio.

The Constitution of 1962 did not have a provision that specified how long women would have seats allocated for them. However, by the provisions laid down in the Constitution of 1956, women continued to hold six of the 156 seats in the National Assembly that were set out specifically for them. In December 1967, an amendment to the Constitution was passed to determine how general seats would be distributed. There are now 200 seats available for women, up from 150, and there are also four seats set aside just for women, up from three.

As a result of the popular uprising against his administration, President Ayub Khan resigned from office on February 25, 1969. General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, the Pakistan Army's Commander-in-Chief, received command from him. Soon after seizing power, General Yahya Khan annulled the constitution, dissolved the national and local parliaments, and imposed martial law throughout the whole country.

3.5 Representation of women in the Central Legislature from 1947 to 1969

Between 1947 and 1969, Pakistan hosted five unicameral parliament elections. In the first two parliaments (1955–1956 and 1956–1958), women were not represented in the legislature. The central government established three ministries dedicated to legislation between 1947 and 1954.

Liaquat Ali Khan, who lived from August 15, 1947, to October 16, 1951, was the first case, and his trial ended in his demise. Muhammad Ali Bogra's ministry, which lasted from April 17, 1953, until August 11, 1955, when Governor-General Malik Ghulam Muhammad dissolved it, was the last one. Governor-General Malik Ghulam Muhammad demolished Khwaja Nazimuddin's second ministry, which took place between October 17, 1951, and April 17, 1953.

In May and June of 1955, the provincial legislatures chose the eighty members of the second CAP/Parliament—one of them was a woman representative for their assemblies. Despite the presence of female members in the other parliaments, their proportion remained between 3 and 4 percent. Despite maintaining a modest profile, there were only 16 female members overall between 1947 and 1969, their performance was exceptional (Afzal, 1999).

3.6 Women Representatives and Committees

During 1948 and 1949, the government of Pakistan appointed Begum Shaista Ikramullah and Begum Shahnawaz to various committees. These committees consisted of the CEC of the National Tuberculosis Association, the Basic Principles Committee, and the CAP's suffrage panel. Furthermore, Begum Shahnawaz was nominated for the Treasury Standing Committees, the Pakistani Language Review Committee, and the Committee on Organization, Structure, and Expenditure Levels of Ministries etc., of Pakistan. She was also selected to serve on standing committees for the Departments of Commerce, Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, and the Health and Labor in 1950. She was also chosen to serve on the Permanent Advisory Board for the Department of Health and Public Works during 1954. Similarly, Begum Shaista Ikramullah was chosen for the Permanent Advisory Committee of the Ministry of Interior, Information, and Broadcasting, as well as the Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation. In 1951, she was nominated for the Standing Committee of the Department of Commerce and Education.

3.7 Nature of Women Participation 1947-1969

The Presidential College employed female members of the National Assembly in a variety of roles from 1947 to 1969. Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, Begum Razia Faiz, Begum Shaista Ikramullah, Begum Shamsun Nahar, and Begum Mujeebun Nisa were all members of the Presidential Group on many occasions. Other women who served in this capacity include Begum Mujeebun Nisa. (Burki, 1980) Deputy Sheriffs discussed various topics, including social, economic, political, and women's problems. They were present and engaged throughout the question-and-answer sessions, whether they were being presented or represented. They also participated on several other committees.

3.8 Political and Constitutional Concerns

The first PAC was tasked with drafting the framework for the country's constitution, among other responsibilities. Two ladies; Jahan Ara Shahnawaz and Shaista Ikramullah voiced their support for the choice made by the government to increase the amount of authority held by the central government, as outlined in the Government of India's (2nd Amendment) bill. Since the difficulties of refugees were subservient to the governments of the provinces, and since the issue of refugee rehabilitation continued to be on the list of problems faced by the areas, the goal of this reform was to find solutions to the problems faced by refugees. (CAD, 1949) In March of 1949, Liaquat Ali Khan presented the CAP with the Aim Resolution. Most CAP members, including Begum Shaista Ikramullah, endorsed the resolution. CAP was responsible for appointing the 24-person foundation committee, and both ladies served in positions on that body and the franchise subcommittee. Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz has requested administrative system improvements (Syed, 1995). She has brought attention to the fact that the processing of files in the existing system moves insufficiently sluggishly. She advocated for the use of more contemporary practices. She proposed that the minister in charge of the topic and the ministry's secretary should ensure that time-sensitive issues are handled within the allotted window. Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz attacked the United Nations for its unfair treatment of Muslim nations, and the ladies opposed India's assault on the state of Jammu and Kashmir. In 1954, while the House of Representatives debated India's accession to the state of Jammu and Kashmir, Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz insisted on the right of Kashmiris to self-determination. She also made it clear to those in the House of Representatives that without a solution to the Kashmir dispute, relations between Pakistan and India would be in jeopardy and would never improve.

3.9 Social and Economic Issues

The female lawmakers had a deep curiosity for education, especially as it related to raising the proportion of literate women in society. They were engaged in a number of organizations that supported education. The ladies; Shaista Ikramullah and Jahan Ara Shahnawaz respectively sat on the Central Board of Education and the Education Advisory Board. Since education is vital to the prosperity of a country, both of them proposed the opening of additional educational facilities. Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz requested that doctors be sent to rural and difficult-to-reach areas during the 1950 annual budget discussion, demonstrating the women's active participation in the Health Department. Additionally, she recommended that the Pakistan Medical Council support international physicians registering to operate in Pakistan. (CALD, 1950,)

Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, while discussing the state of Pakistan's economy, advocated for the use of contemporary economic strategies as a means of resolving Pakistan's ongoing monetary issues. Begum Shahnawaz impressed the male assembly members with her insightful comments during the budget discussions, and they applauded her performance. Begum Shaista Ikramullah applauded the government's strategy on the agriculture sector and praised its efforts to promote small companies when the committee was discussing the budget. Furthermore, it was advised that the administration should stimulate the founding of handicraft industries in Hyderabad and consumer goods industry in Muradabad. (CALD, 1954) She believed that these articles would help Pakistan gain international recognition and serve as a source of foreign exchange.⁵⁵ She offered recommendations for resolving the unemployment issues in a speech on the same budget. Nur Ahmad proposed a resolution in 1951 calling for the foundation of a commission which can inspect the reasons behind unemployment. Begum Shahnawaz proposed during the resolution discussion that the government provide various training facilities to generate trained labor for the nation's industrialization and to address the issue of unemployment (CALD, 1951).

3.10 Women Issues

The main reason for the first Constituent Assembly's inadequate examination of women's rights was the general lack of awareness of these rights. At first, two female participants in CAP and a small group of female activists known as UFWR battled for women's rights together. Therefore, in 1948, Muslim personal Sharia law was established, and one of its provisions was the ability of a woman to inherit property. In 1951, legislation made it legal for women to inherit property, including farms. Women played a vital role in the Pakistani movement and were active in various jobs once the action started. However, the interim report from the BPC and the information from the Council on Islamic Teachings completely overlooked women's rights. During the question-and-answer period, there were instances when women voiced concerns about government policy. Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, for instance, disagreed with the government's April 1950 policy barring women from Pakistan's diplomatic and administrative roles. She bemoaned the contempt shown by Parliament for women's rights and called for the creation of a committee to pass Islamic law so that women can enjoy the privileges granted to them by their separate religions (Shaheed at. el., 1998).

Women were involved in numerous roles when the Pakistan Movement was established, and they had played a significant part during the movement. However, women's rights had been entirely disregarded in both the Board of Islamic Teachings' Report and the BPC's Interim Report. During Question Hour, the female members occasionally questioned the government's policies. For example, in April 1950, Jahan Ara Shahnawaz raised concerns about the

government's practice of keeping women out of the Pakistan Foreign Services and Pakistani Administration Services. She stated that the legislature had disregarded women's rights and asked for the establishment of a commission to draft laws that would comply with Islamic law and allow women to receive the rights that their religion has legitimately granted them (Khawar, 1993).

In October 1950, Nur Ahmad moved the Marriage Expenditure Bill in an effort to reduce marriage expenses. The resurgence of Islamic traditions was stressed by both female lawmakers. They said that non-Islamic customs ought to end and that women ought to be granted their legal rights, which include the right to inherent property, in accordance with Shariah. They opposed the unnecessary spending on marriage rituals and backed the law. Despite the bill's passing, its provisions were not put into effect at the time.

The predicament of female learning in this country's educational system is quite heartbreaking. Women were only able to find employment and serve their nation by entering the field of education; nevertheless, even in this field, they faced various obstacles. In 1954, when the financial draft and the choice to form an education commission were contested, Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz requested to include external specialists from the developed countries in the commission and to enhance many facilities for women teachers (Fareeda Shaheed et. al., 1998). Her proposal came at the same time that the decision to set up an education commission was being considered. She also mentioned that instructors are hesitant to work in rough or isolated regions owing to the difficulties associated with transportation and lodging, which should be alleviated. There have also been requests for qualified women to be allowed to work in administrative and diplomatic service positions. As was mentioned before, on October 23, 1954, elections were held for a new CAP that included no women representatives. The same CAP was converted into Pakistan's first temporary National Assembly, also known as the Third Parliament, by the Constitution of 1956. There were no women elected to this assembly. Several women's organizations in Pakistan, such as the *UFWR* and the *APWA*, backed the demand for women's rights despite being aware that women are marginalized in parliament (Gazette of Pakistan, 1956). When it was voted in favor by the former PM, Muhammad Ali Bogra, they were quite active in their campaign.

On August 4, 1955, in response to the request made by the ladies, Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra established a Commission on Marriage and Family Law. Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, Begum Shamsun Nahar, and Begum Anwari G. Ahmad were the three female members of the panel. The President of the Supreme Court, Judge Sir Abdur Rashid, headed them. This commission had a total of seven members. 1956 was the year that the commission handed in its report (Gazette of Pakistan, 1956).

On the other hand, at that time, the information was not released and was not executed because of objections from religious organizations.⁶⁶ On October 7, 1958, Iskandar Mirza proclaimed the nation under martial rule, which resulted in the suspension of the constitution from 1956 and the dissolution of the Third Parliament. In 1962, Ayub Khan replaced the previous type of administration that had been in place for the last four years. For the presidential system to be established, there must be at least 6 seats for women in the NA/ unicameral central legislature.

3.11 Women's Rights Organizations

Numerous organizations advocating for the rights of women also came into existence during the post-independence era. Among these was the Democratic Women's Association (*Anjuman Jamhooriyat Pasand Khawateen*), a socialist organization with a focus on working-class problems. In February 1949, the All-Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) was established in reaction to the Pakistan Muslim League Council's decision to reject a woman's nomination for Joint Secretary (Rashid, 2006).

These women's groups were not able to develop into an important forum for strongly advocating the rights of middle-class and lower-class women because of their restricted outreach. Punjabi women were given two votes in the 1951 provincial elections, which allowed them to choose female legislators. A Charter of Women's Rights was created by APWA in 1953, and female lawmakers were asked to deliver it before the Constituent Assembly. Women should have equal status, opportunity, and compensation, according to the bill (Ahmad, 1996). Although there were no laws specifically addressing polygamy at the time, Pakistani women were upset by Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra's second marriage during this early period (Afzal, 1999). Total 8 people, including 3 females and 5 males were selected by the government to the Ansari Commission in response to a demand from the United Front to review the current legislation pertaining to marriage and families. The commission's primary task was to examine current laws regarding child custody, maintenance, divorce, and marriage in order to determine whether any changes to these laws were necessary to protect women's rights and restore their rightful social status (Shaheed, 2016). The government received the commission's findings in February 1956, which included comprehensive suggestions on marriage, polygamy, and divorce. However, the report was shelved as a result of pressure from the orthodox clergy (Shaheed, 1991). The commission also recommended to the government that grandchildren of deceased parents should have the right to inherit their grandparents' share of their deceased parents' property/inheritance from their grandparents as a result of the death of their parents.

The government also unveiled the first Five Year Plan (1955–1960) during this time. This idea suggests that girls should be allowed to enroll in the current boys' schools, with a particular

emphasis on their education. It also demanded that more new schools for girls be opened and that there should be qualified female teachers at each elementary school.

3.12 Women Parliamentarians in Second Phase 1962-69

The constitution of 1962 mandated two parliamentary elections, one in April 1962 and the other in April 1965. The 1st parliamentary/national assembly saw 156 deputies serving from 1962 to 1964, with the number increasing to 218 by June 1964. The assembly had reserved seats for women, and the first six women joined the assembly soon after. Later, two more women joined them (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). The National Assembly met for the very first time on June 8, 1962, for its inaugural session. Six new female members of Parliament took oath in this session. It includes, “Begum Zari Sarfraz, Begum Khudeja G.A. Khan, Begum Mujeebun Nisa Begum Shamsun Nahar Mahmood, Begum Roquyya Anwar, and Begum Serajunnessa Choudhury”. They were chosen as representatives for East Pakistan. Mohammad Akram was elected as a representative for West Pakistan (National Assembly of Pakistan Debates vol. 1, October 9, 2012). Later, Mrs. Zohra Aziz from Western Pakistan and Ms. Marium Hashimuddin Ahmed from the eastern region of Pakistan joined them in April 1964. On June 11, 1962, Mr. Akhtar Hussain, the CEC at that time, acknowledged that Mr. Tamizuddin Khan would be appointed Speaker of the House of Representatives with no opposition. The country's dominant party was the Muslim Convention League (ConML), which Ayub Khan supported and held 78 seats in Parliament. It was known as the United Parliamentary Party until 1964 when it ceased to exist. Four female members from ConML also actively participated for the betterment of the social status of women. Begum Roquyya Anwar and Begum Seraj un-Nessa Choudhury”, both women, simultaneously established themselves as opposition leaders (Fareeha Zafar, 1992). Nobody ever appointed any of them to the minister or parliamentary secretary position in Pakistan. This pattern, in which women were only allowed to sit in reserved seats and were barred from holding any other legislative or government jobs, persisted until the following Assembly in 1965, which was formed under the Constitution of 1962.

In 1965, after the conclusion of the presidential elections, the second Assembly of the National Assembly, sometimes known as the fifth legislature, convened under the same constitution. The Con.ML was active during the tenure of 1965-1969 and consisted of 124 members. Women representation was by indirect voting, as they were in the 1962–1964 Parliament. (NAD, vol. 1, 1962) This means that males who were directly elected to the Assembly voted on who would represent them in the Assembly. This led to the reelection of all six women elected in the 4th Parliament to fill reserved seats in the National Assembly during that time period who were members of the ConML during that period.

1. Mrs. Marium Hashimuddin Ahmad
2. Begum Mujeebun Nisa Muhammad Akran
3. Begum Khudeja G.A. Khan
4. Begum Zari Sarfraz
5. Begum Razia Faiz
6. Begum Dolly Azad

The list of the members that are female in NA (NAD, vol. 11, 1965)

3.13 Performance of Women Parliamentarians

During her tenure as Speaker, female members of Parliament sat on the following Assembly committees: It was in 1963 that Begum Khudeja GA Khan was given a position on the Special Committee of the Franchise Commission. In 1964, she participated as a member of the Special Committee. Begum Marium Begum Zari Sarfraz was given a position on the Special Committee on National Assembly in 1965. The same year, she was elected to a post on the Permanent Committee on Economic Planning and National Coordination. Begum Zari Sarfraz held both of these positions. Begum Khudeja GA Khan was selected to serve on the Special Committee to Revise the Merchant Marine Laws in 1965. (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). This selection was made in the same year. In the year 1962, women who came from minority populations were given the option to serve in the congregation and compete for office in national elections. The following committees have included female members of the Fifth Parliament in their membership. “Committee on Economic Affairs, National Economic Planning and National Coordination, Committee on Education, Committee on Information, Committee on Health, Labor, Social Welfare; and Committee on Rules and Procedure” (Report of the Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women, Islamabad, 1965).

3.14 Role of Women Matters of Political and Constitutional Significance

On February 17, 1960, Ayub Khan formed the Constitutional Commission, and Judge Shahabuddin had been suggested to head it. Among the five individuals who advised him were Begum Shamsun Nahar Mahmood and Begum Shahnawaz. The Commission investigated and detailed the many causes that have contributed to the nation's slow sociopolitical and economic development in its report. It was shown that the primary contributor was the low rate of educational attainment among women. Begum Shamsun Nahar Mahmood joined his voice to the others already heard during the first session 1962 (Rasheed, 2006). The day when democracy was restored in Pakistan was a momentous occasion for her, one that she considered as a red-letter day. Filled with hope and optimism, she was jubilant as she witnessed the dawn

of a new era in the country's political landscape. She, along with Begum Khudeja G.A Khan, sent Mr. Tamizuddin Khan her warmest congratulations on his undivided appointment to the position of Speaker of the 1st National Assembly. It was a moment of great significance, and she felt privileged to be a part of it, witnessing history unfold before her very eyes. The election of Mr. Tamizuddin Khan was a testament to the power of democracy, and she hoped that it would pave the way for a bright future for Pakistan. (NAD, vol. 1, June 11, 1962, pp. 26, 29). She and Begum Khudeja G.A. Khan sent Mr. Tamizuddin Khan their warmest congratulations on being elected Speaker of the First National Assembly by an overwhelming majority of the assembly's members. It was said that they were well known that they had not acquired anything substantial from their foreign policy over the previous 15 years during the general debate on the central budget for 1962-1963 (Minault, 1981). They will have to come up with a new foreign policy to look out for the best interests of their nation. Begum Shamsun Nahar Mahmood discussed the Political Parties Act 1962 during her July 3, 1962, speech. Muhammad Munir first proposed this act. For the last several days, legislators have debated a measure that would establish and oversee the operation of political parties. She believes they are entitled to express their concerns about the project, even though they were never allowed to do so. He attempted to talk about a few subjects but could not go to length about any of them. She brought up the fact that, on June 21, she had attempted to convince the Speaker of the House to limit the amount of time all Speakers can speak so that women could talk as well. If these challenges could be surmounted, then true democracy could have a chance of succeeding. (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987).

Begum Khudeja G.A. Khan thinks that the law's introduction demonstrates that the government supports the re-establishing of political parties and acknowledges the significance of political parties to the conduct of regular political activities inside the nation. The authorities clearly felt that political parties were needed, as evidenced by the presentation of this measure during the session when there was a clear lack of coherence and order of thought and each deputy tried to speak in their own tone. It also showed that the government needed political parties desperately. The proposal would get both praise and criticism from members of the Chamber and those from the wider community. They need to remember that no law, and indeed no action, could be deemed the last word that would always stay the same. (Mukharjee, 2016). It can be updated or replaced while it is operating over time. In conclusion, he said that political leaders in Pakistan need to preserve Pakistan's sovereignty and security and implement Islamic precepts throughout the nation, the primary focus of their life.

Bengali and Urdu should be recognized as the official languages of Pakistan in the country's constitution, according to a proposal made by Kazi Abdul Majid, the delegate for East Pakistan.

The Assembly deliberated on whether the Bengali script should be written alongside the Urdu script in some locations. He did it to show proper respect for the Bengali language. Begum Roquyya Anwar argued in support of Kazi Abdul Majid's ruling and said that Bengali and Urdu might be used in any setting suitable. Bengali and Urdu were approved for use as official languages of the state; nevertheless, Bengali was not accorded the same status as Urdu in the official capacity. No Bengali was written on the road signs; English and Urdu were used. Urdu is now taught in East Pakistani schools as a required subject; however, in West Pakistani schools, Bengali has not been recognized as a topic that should be prepared for students as part of their obligatory curriculum (Farida & Shaheed, 1987). He made it clear to the administration that Bengali, one of the state languages, should be accorded the appropriate prestige and should be placed on an equal footing with Urdu.

Begum Shamsun Nahar Mahmood pushed for Bengali to be officially recognized as an official language and designated it as the language of instruction at all educational levels. She expressed her full support for the resolution proposed by Kazi Abdul Majid. She also asked for the resolution to be passed. Begum Khudeja GA Khan vehemently supported the motion and suggested that all signage and nameplates in the country's western and eastern halves should be inscribed in Urdu and Bengali (Mahmood & Safdar, 1990). She went on to say that this was insufficient and that measures should be implemented to enable individuals from both regions of the nation to learn the Bengali and Urdu languages. She was adamant in her belief that the only way to unite individuals from different areas of the country successfully was for everyone to become fluent in the country's official languages. (Rashid, 1973). She strongly suggested that members of the National Assembly try to become bilingual.

The presidential system was put into place by the Constitution of 1962, which was in effect from 1962 to 1969 and granted the president complete control over all divisions of government. Begum Rouqyya Anwar and Begum Serajunnessa Choudhury were two opponents who voiced their opposition to the presidential system that Ayub Khan had established. They specifically opposed to the way the government restricts press's freedom. Begum Roquyya made the observation and charged that the media exclusively reported opinions that supported the government's positions, leaving out opposing voices and views. The opinions of the opposition were likewise restricted from being aired on the radio. Begum Serajunnessa said during the budget discussion how, under the current system of presidential rule, the National Assembly is a body that is not involved in the process of making decisions at all. The Constitution of 1962 was met with widespread disapproval and unrest throughout the nation, which prompted the administration of Ayub Khan to submit the first constitutional bill (amendment) to Parliament for consideration (Ahmad, 1996). To do this, the "Principles of Law" must be reformulated as

nineteen distinct "Fundamental Rights." The measure received support from the female members of the ConML. Despite this, Begum Rouqyya Anwar was opposed to altering the law. He was critical of the language that granted the president further authority to suspend fundamental rights in times of emergency.

The Pakistan Red Cross Society (Amendment) Bill was presented to the Pakistani Parliament on June 4, 1964, by Mr. A.K. Mohammed Yousuf, who was representing East Pakistan. He suggested renaming the name of the Pakistan Red Cross Society from its current form to the Anjuman-e-Hilal and Ahmer Society. East Pakistani delegate Begum Roquyya Anwar cast a vote in support of the resolution. They became independent seventeen years ago, he said. They completely disregard the star and crescent that serve as the nation's emblem, though, as evidenced by the fact that they continue to operate under the name Pakistan Red Cross Society (Saiyid, 2001). The society was renamed the Pakistan Red Crescent Society after the crescent character, which replaced the cross emblem formerly used by the organization. He encouraged the financial institution staff members to vote in favor of the resolution. The Presidential Election Bill was introduced by Ayub Khan to the National Assembly in 1964. Where it received support from the women members of the ConML. Begum Roquyya Anwar voiced her disagreement with the Electoral Bodies Disqualification Order (EMBDO) terms that might result in a candidate being disqualified. Her proposed amendment to the measure, which would have required presidential candidates to disclose their income, was shot down by the House of Representatives. Begum Serajunnessa Choudhury argued against the clause restricting the number of presidential candidates to three. According to her analysis, this has the potential to change the rights of political parties. In addition, the members of parliament showed a substantial curiosity about the nation's foreign policies; members of the ConML commended the government's non-alignment stance. During the budget discussions that took place in 1964 and 1965, Zari Sarfraz conducted an analysis of Ayub Khan's budget as well as his foreign policy. She urged that official delegations from various nations be sent to Saudi Arabia for the Hajj (also known as the pilgrimage) to convey Muslims' love for one another. (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). He also suggested the formation of a Muslim coalition. When they were talking about the budget, he said that the nation's foreign policy needs to be adaptable and imbalanced enough that it can be adjusted if it turns out to be necessary. He said the nation's interests should take precedence when it comes to the formulation of foreign policy.

In the 1960s, the Kashmir problem was brought up again; this time, it was discussed in the United Nations Security Council. As a result, tensions increased between Pakistan and India, and the National Assembly debated the matter. In January 1965, a proposal was presented to Parliament to delay the unification of occupied Kashmir with India. Begum Marium offered

her thoughts on the proposal, adding that Pakistan has done all it can to resolve the conflict in Kashmir. However, since India maintains such an aggressive and biased position, the problem has not yet been addressed. During the discussion on Pakistan's and India's respective foreign policies in July 1965, Ms. Mariam voiced her opinion that the issues between the two countries need to be resolved peacefully. When Begum Zari Sarfraz discussed the budget for 1968-1969, she made some remarks concerning the educational system (Afzal & Rafique, 2001). She was miserable since they had not yet concluded the best way to instruct the next generation. They had never placed much weight on having a national language serve as the medium of education.

3.15 Social and Economic Issues and Women Legislators

In 1962, Mr. Mashirur Rehman put forth a resolution to postpone the sessions of the Chamber of Deputies so that they discussed a particular issue of public concern. This problem was an ongoing state of affairs that resulted from political activists being arbitrarily arrested and imprisoned indefinitely. Begum Shamsun Nahar has voiced hope that all political prisoners will be released or brought to justice in the near future. Their first thought was that it is time taking process for the court to hear all of the cases, even after they were informed that it would be promptly constituted. Students now incarcerated were not permitted to participate in their universities' examinations, which is a loss not just for the students themselves, their families, and the country. The proposal for the immediate release of political prisoners has its complete and unqualified support (NAD, vol. 1, 1962). Begum Roquyya Anwar provided support for the proposal as well.

Begum Khudeja stated that although they had been yelling slogans about Islamic social justice and the welfare state for a while, they had not yet come up with a inclusive plan for the financial and communal betterment of the nation during the debate of the budget for the fiscal year 1962–1963, according to G.A. Khan. He pleaded with the administration to address the issues the people were facing and take decisive action to find solutions. Begum Serajunnessa Choudhury said that while there have been increased attempts to reconstruct the nation, certain elements are still preventing the country from making substantial development (NAD, vol. 1, 1962). She proposed taking the necessary steps given that the government relies heavily on jute and tea goods exports, for instance, to bring in multiple foreign currencies.

On the other hand, the government paid little heed to the concerns raised by the farmers who grew these two crops. To safeguard the rights of jute producers it becomes compulsory to get the jute directly from farmers at the rate fixed by the federal government. The difficulties faced by the tea business have also received little attention from the government. He recommended

several ideas to help tea farmers overcome challenges and incentivize them to improve the industry's ability to compete with India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka).

During the 1962–1963 budget discussion, Begum Zari Sarfraz expressed her satisfaction with the decreased cost of X-rays. Begum Zari Sarfraz further said that in 1939 the Ministry of Defense purchased a piece of land in the Ojhri Rawalpindi military camp. Despite the annual value of these lands increasing to one thousand rupees, the defense department only paid a mere twenty to twenty-four rupees per carcass each year. She proposed that the government either pay the market price for the property or give it back to the impoverished landowners who had been waiting for nothing for the last 22 years (NAD, vol. 1, 1962).

The finance minister, claimed to be budget challenger, Begum Roquyya Anwar, gave opportunity for the wealthy to get richer while ignoring the basic needs of the underprivileged. East Pakistanis anticipated that the central government would heed their requests and complaints once a parliamentary government was finally established after three and a half years of waiting. Though, they observed the same outdated procedures. East Pakistan had only one public boarding school, and he advocated for establishing additional or alternative boarding schools in each of the region's districts. She proposed that children should be required to attend elementary school but that it should be free. (NAD, vol. 1, 1962)

In the budgetary discussion of 1962, Begum Majeibun Nisa Mohammad Akram pointed out that the budget lacked the necessary policies to achieve long-term socioeconomic development. She emphasized that the budget failed to elevate the rate of domestic savings and relied heavily on foreign aid every year. During the same discussion, Begum Shamsun Nahar Mahmood addressed the cut motion on pearl fisheries in Cox's Ba'zar made by Mr. Farid Ahmad. She highlighted the government's lack of action on the pearl industry in East Pakistan despite its claims of concern for the sector's development. Just before this, Mr. Mohammad Ali, the Minister of External Affairs, provided some information on the government's genuine concern for the progress of the said sector.

Begum Shamsun Nahar Mahmood observed that it is sufficient to state that the administration has attempted to do something. There was significant demand for East Pakistan pearl types, particularly roses, in markets outside the country, which presented a chance to earn foreign currency. She agreed with Farid Ahmad's plea for a reduction but asked the administration to monitor progress. Begum Serajunnessa Choudhury put out the idea of establishing industries in the nation that would produce employment and enable everyone to make a livelihood commensurate with their level of skill without leaving anybody without a job (NAD, vol. 1, 1962). For numerous individuals, it was the sole means of ameliorating their circumstances,

and she hoped it would receive the due consideration. The Minister of Finance, Mr. Abdul Qadir, proposed to the Assembly to accept the Central Consolidated Fund's expected expenditures for the fiscal years 1963-1964 and 1964-1965 (NAD, vol. 1, 1962). The Assembly approved Mr. Qadir's proposal. The Assembly discussed the proposal and went back and forth on it. Begum Khudeja G. A. Khan proposed a budget allocation for the construction of a technical training center for social workers, aimed at improving their skills in the areas of labor, social care, and health. The estimated cost for the project is Rs. 2,124,800. The purpose of the center is to equip social workers with the necessary knowledge and skills to adopt contemporary Western practices in their work. However, Begum Khudeja suggested an alternative plan that involved the construction of a building tailored to her specific requirements, with the remaining area being utilized for the training of future social workers. This suggestion was made in the context of the NAD, vol. 1, 1962.

During her visit to Chittagong and Faridpur, Begum Serajunnessa revealed that schools are being withdrawn from these places and urged the government to focus on the growth of these regions. She also highlighted that schools are being evacuated from these places. Begum Shamsun Nahar Mahmood was adamant that the handicraft sector should be prioritized over the heavy industry. (NAD, vol. 1, 1962) However, since there were no appropriate marketing procedures for the items produced by this business, the goods could not be rapidly distributed throughout the nation. She encouraged the administration to adopt the proper safety measures to make navigating easier. Begum Zari Sarfraz proposed finance legislation that was presented to the finance minister. The proposed law states that the bidi tax has been quadrupled, which would hurt those with lower incomes. At a separate session, increasing taxes on the hand-knitting sector was discussed. The government had a responsibility to assist those who were living in poverty. Still, this tax discouraged individuals living in poverty, particularly female employees, who made up 25% of the workforce in this business (NAD, vol. 1, 1962).

During the Q&A session, Begum Shamsun Nahar Mahmood raised a query regarding the status of the Judicial Commission's recommendations to the Minister of Justice and Parliamentary Affairs. Mr. Muhammad Munir, with his comprehensive response, was able to convince the Chamber. Begum Roquyya Anwar, on the other hand, questioned the Minister of Health, Labor, and Welfare on the measures taken by the government to combat the menace of dowries, an un-Islamic practice. According to Mr. Abdul Menon Khan, as a stopgap measure, the government established a committee in January 1961 to find ways to alleviate social illnesses and minimize social difficulties. This was done to heal social ills and find ways and means to remedy social ills. The acts of the Commission have been scrutinized via an investigation conducted by the government (NAD, vol. 1, 1962)

Three prominent members; Begum Shahnawaz, Begum GA Khudeja Khan, and Ms. Marium, made the notion that addressing social welfare helped people with their problems. Ebrahim Khan put forth a resolution in December 1963 to eradicate the country's high rate of illiteracy (NAD, vol. 1, 1962). During his address on this resolution, Begum Khudeja GA Khan suggested studying some regions to understand better the challenges people face. She also brought up the fact that most inhabitants lack even the most fundamental necessities, and as a result, actions need to be taken to raise their overall level of life. She also mentioned that in order to address the pervasive social issues in the community, the Ministry of Services must take action (NAD, vol. 1, 1962). During the debate on the budget, Begum Mariam proposed that the government provide financial support to social welfare groups to boost their work. Begum Khudeja GA Khan made a similar statement on the budget and advocated for increased money allocated to the education sector. She urged that the government should seek help from UNESCO and other organizations to advance the cause of improving literacy rates for the sake of the nation's prosperity. In 1963, as the legislature debated the budget, Begum Sirajunnessa Choudhury said that the assembly needed to respect fairness and fair play in drafting the budget or any other essential steps. According to her, the nation's main goal is to decrease the financial gap between its two halves. She recommended making elementary education both accessible and obligatory for children from lower- and middle-class families (NAD, vol. 1, 1962). Mrs. Marium and Begum Mujeebun Nisa brought to the attention of the Chamber of Deputies the constitutional mandate from 1962 that mandated the state to take action on behalf of persons with disabilities. They proposed that the government set up various training institutes and suggested laws to ensure the employment of those working in their ministry. Additionally, female legislators are intensely interested in the health industry (NAD, vol. 111, 1963). Both Begum Khudeja GA Khan and Begum Razia Faiz have issued pleas for the construction of more medical facilities and drugstores to alleviate the general population's suffering. Due to the lack of available medical professionals, Begum Khudeja GA Khan proposed that Pakistan open its doors to medical professionals from other countries (NAD, vol. 111, 1963).

Begum Zari Sarfraz suggested the government at the budget session in 1964–1965 to vaccinate newborns so that the country might better survive the assault of TB. In addition to that, she suggested a bill that would require everyone to undergo routine medical exams. Begum Mujeebun Nisa Mohammad Akram was one of the female members who spoke out against the concentration of excessive riches in the hands of a few families. (NAD, vol. 11, 1963,) She said that if money were concentrated in a few hands, there would be an increase in corruption and exploitation and a general worsening of the country's social and economic conditions. She recommended the administration take steps to use the country's internal resources rather than relying on foreign finance to build a strong nation.

During the budget discussion for 1963, Begum Serajunnessa Choudhury, a member of the opposition, voiced her disapproval of the Treasury Secretary's decision to raise taxes on essentials while exempting alcoholic beverages. In 1965, Begum Khudeja GA Khan brought to the finance minister's attention the promise she had made to regulate prices by establishing a committee; nevertheless, she did not honor her pledge (NAD, vol. 11, No. 5, 1965). In addition to this, she advocated for the establishment of short-term plans by the government for the sake of the general populace. During the 1960s, a number of representatives made efforts to educate the government about the issues facing their area. For instance, during the discussion on the 1964 budget, Begum Zari Sarfraz remarked on the poor situation of DI Khan and pointed out the inadequate gas supply in Peshawar. She also mentioned that Peshawar had a shortage of gas. In 1963, Begum Serajunnessa Choudhury and Begum Mujeebun Nisa voiced their opposition to the increasing costs of diesel and oil. She said that it would have a more significant impact on East Pakistan than West Pakistan because West Pakistan would get power at a lower cost than East Pakistan (NAD, vol. 11, 1963). Begum Mujeebun Nisa observed that more money had to be set aside for East Pakistan's economic growth since the region brings in a growing amount of foreign currency. As she expressed her feelings, she recommended that more money be given to Karachi because it was a significant revenue source (NAD, vol. 11, 1963).

During a debate on the 1968-1969 school year budget, Begum Zari Sarfraz delivered a speech on education. She lamented the carelessness with which the administration had handled the educational resources. Additionally, she gave lectures about his constituents. People living in the DI Khan neighborhood of Peshawar have been subjected to regional bias. They had no access to the industrial sector. She further added that it was unfortunate that money was not set aside for the advancement of such underdeveloped communities (NAD, vol. 1, 1968).

3.16 The Muslim Family Laws Ordinance 1961

The Muslim Family Laws Ordinance 1961 (MFLO) or Islamic Family Laws (IFL) was first introduced in 1955 and is now the subject of heated discussion in the House of Representatives. The Pakistani women reacted negatively to Muhammad Ali Bogra's second marriage. Bogra was the country's prime minister at the time. A campaign to protect women's rights was started by the United Front for Women's Rights (UFWR) and the All-Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) (Shaheed, 2008). On July 2, 1962, with the establishment of a new Assembly, East Pakistani member Abbas Ali Khan sought for authorization to introduce the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance (repeal) Bill. The proposed bill was rejected because it was determined by the Standing Committee that MFLO was not opposed to Shariah (NAD, vol. 11, Part. 2, 1963). The motion to take into consideration at once the Bill to repeal the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance,

1961, was presented by Abbas Ali Khan again on July 2, 1963. He considered the Ordinance to be completely anti-Islamic and anti-democratic. The motion was then the subject of an intense debate.

The initiative proposed by Abbas Ali Khan was approved by most of the members, who also stated that ulema were the only ones authorised to draught Islamic law (NAD, vol. 1, 1962). On July 20, 1963, Begum Khudeja G.A. Khan stated that the ordinance safeguarded the basic rights of women and children and was a step to preserve the rights granted to women by Allah and His Prophet, as well as to establish some guidelines to ensure happiness and harmony in the home by giving the weaker family members some protection. The MFLO supporters addressed the opponent's complaints while highlighting the spirit of Islamic precepts and reasoning within the Islamic values (NAD, vol. 11, 1963). Begum Mujeebun Nisa Mohammad Akram asserted on the same day that matrimonial courts rather than union councils should be granted authorization. She noted that women's rights to file an appeal against the unfair and inhumane treatment they get for themselves, and their children were absent from MFLO. She recommended that the marriage courts handle certain matters. (NAD, vol. 11, 1963).

On July 25, 1963, Moulana Mohammad Mushahid and Begum Roquyya Anwar submitted an amendment proposing the referral of the MFLO (Repeal) Bill to a Select Committee. Begum Khudeja G.A. Khan, one of the female members, spoke more about the issue and addressed the legislators who opposed MFLO, stating that MFLO was the first step in recognizing women's rights (NAD, vol. 1, 1962). From the men's side, Syed Abdus Sultan invested more of his time to combating the legislation and supporting MFLO. He maintained that it was impossible to have more than one wife since it was so difficult to treat each one fairly, even if he supported the MFLO. The House leader, Abdus Sobur Khan, wrapped up the discussion by saying that ruling benches and opposition benches have equal representation of Muslims, and pledging to propose modifications based on the major issues of the debates. When the Repeal Bill was put to a vote on July 25, 1963, it was lost.

On August 4, 1955, the government selected seven individuals to serve on the Marriage Commission, which was to be led by Judge Sir Abdur Rashid. In 1956, the group delivered its findings but was met with resistance from religious authorities (Shaheed, 1988). In 1958, political unrest led to the declaration of martial rule as a response. Ayub Khan was convinced to put the recommendations of the Marriage and Family Law Commission into action thanks to the efforts of APWA and other women's groups. In March of 1961, in response to widespread pressure from women, he issued Muslim Laws Decree V111 1961 to put some suggestions made by the panel above into effect. This was contested once again in the Chamber of Deputies,

and the discussions around it continued for several years (beginning on July 2, 1962, and continuing until July 1966 and then into September 1972).

The ordinance aimed to advance gender equality in marriage, polygamy, and divorce. The legislation demanded the registration of divorces as well as weddings in order to outlaw the practice of polygamy. If the guy got remarried, he had to get the blessing of the first wife. He had to give the arbitration board an explanation of the reasons behind the second marriage. (NAD, vol. 1, 1965). The husband was also required to provide written notification to the chairman of the meeting. Within ninety days, the municipal council and the municipal court were required to decide about the divorce procedures.

Additionally, the legislation establishes that the minimum age for marriage for males is 18, while the minimum age for girls is 14. In addition, he made it possible for the grandson to receive his grandfather's portion from his father, who had passed away before. While religious organizations opposed the decree, claiming that its provisions were violating Islamic law, the edict was generally acknowledged by women. This rule was brought up in the House of Representatives on many occasions via legislation to repeal it. Still, Ayub Khan was adamant about putting these provisions into effect and forcefully repressed his opposition.

In 1962, most members of the House of Representatives voiced their opposition to the MFLO once again. In response, Spokesperson Ayub Khan said that this topic is brought up at the subsequent meeting. Ayub Khan proclaimed the Constitutional Committee on June 8, 1962, shortly after it submitted a draft constitution on March 1, 1962. Following the formation of a new parliament, on July 2, 1962, Abbas Ali Khan, a member hailing from East Pakistan, applied for approval of the Muslim Family Law Bill (Repeal). The measure was sent to the Standing Committee, which investigated it and concluded that the MFLO did not have a problem with Sharia. As a result, the bill to abolish the 1961 Muslim Family Law Decree was deemed unfeasible, as stated in the report from the Standing Committee. She said the order was wholly undemocratic and opposed to Islamic Sharia law. The motion continued to be discussed contentiously from 20-25 and November 23) (NAD, vol. 11, 1963).

During a discussion on July 20, 1963, the majority of the members reinforced Abbas Ali Khan's bill, which stated that only people with proper Islamic knowledge were authorized to formulate Islamic law. Begum Khudeja G.A. Khan opined that the bill was a simple ordinance aimed at safeguarding the basic rights of women and children. It sought to uphold the rights bestowed upon women by Allah and Prophet Muhammad, and establish certain guiding principles to ensure domestic harmony and happiness by protecting the weaker members of the family. This information is found in the National Assembly Debates (vol. 11, 1963).

Speakers supported MFLO and emphasized the spirit of Islamic precepts, presented their case within an Islamic context, and addressed the objections raised by the opposition. Begum Mujeebun Nisa Mohammad Akram suggested on the same day that matrimonial courts rather than union councils should be granted authorization. She pointed out that women's rights to file an appeal against the unfair and inhumane treatment they get for themselves, and their children were absent from MFLO. She recommended that the marriage courts handle certain matters. (NAD, vol. 11, 1963)

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But the Assembly's discussion of the MFLO did not end there. On March 20, 1964, Begum Roquyya Anwar, an opposition member from East Pakistan, attempted to propose a bill to amend the MFLO. She proposed a few changes to the Ordinance as a supporter, but the administration, which included female members, opposed her proposal. Begum Roquyya was later invited to join a committee that the Convention Muslim League had formed to suggest changes to the law, but she rejected because it was not a committee of the House. The motion was therefore dismissed (Shaheed, 1998).

The Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology was directed to review the MFLO of 1961 and advise it there anything in it that is in conflict with Islamic teachings as mentioned in the Holy Quran and Sunnah. The Council was additionally tasked to make recommendations on how to resolve the matter in accordance with Islamic teachings. This resolution was moved by Mr. Abdus Sobur Khan, the Leader of the House, in 1965. With the formation of the Advisory Council, Begum G.A. Khan, and Begum Zari Sarfraz were included.

In 1965, the Committee submitted their amendments for the MFLO, but without any floor discussion, these amendments were not given the necessary attention. Later, on July 7, 1966, Mujibur Rehman Choudhury of East Pakistan presented a second bill to revise the MFLO,

however, the ruling party rejected it and referred the Ordinance to the Council of Islamic Ideology for review.

Begum Roquyya Anwar suggested that it is vital to build at least one Industrial Home for women in every district during the June 1962 budget debate, observing that there had been a great deal of neglect towards the fair sex. She proposed setting a quota for women in government service, taking into account the nation's current socioeconomic structure. She observed that even after acquiring higher education, women were still having trouble in earning money bread and butter. Therefore, it was necessary to offer them employment options (NAD, vol. 1, 1962).

During an interaction on the "Central Consolidated Fund," Begum Zari Sarfraz expressed the expectation that the Minister of Social Welfare was aware of the fact that women desired to support themselves through handicrafts and that they should also be able to partake in the advantages of societal betterment initiatives. She observed that although the management funded the Technical Training School, it did not set aside funding for the creation of female-only institutions that would have trained women in handicrafts and cottage businesses so they could support themselves (NAD, vol. 1, 1962).

The female members showed an immense passion for education, especially in raising the percentage of women who are literate. During the 1965 budget debate, Khudeja G. A. Khan emphasized the importance of female education, saying it was crucial for the nation's progress. She also recommended that practically every government department offer them employment possibilities (NAD, vol. 11, Part. 1, 1965). Speaking on the same budget, Begum Razia Faiz urged the establishment of at least one women's institution with dormitories in each of the nation's two wings and urged the government to grant women more opportunities for higher education (NAD, vol. 11, 1965). Begum Mujeebun Nisa observed that although the constitution's employment-related laws do not discriminate based on a person's sex, women are still excluded from work opportunities in many national organizations. Begum Zari Sarfraz suggested to set quotas for the number of women employed in various sectors and industries. She advocated for women to receive an education and technical training, so they could support their families financially (NAD, vol. 11, 1964).

The necessity for women politicians to secure their rightful political and fundamental rights became more obvious. Even though they formed just a slight fraction, women were significantly involved in the national legislature from 1947 to 1969 (with the exception of 1955–1958, when they were not elected). There were just two women members of Pakistan's first Constitution Assembly (CAP), but they emphasized that they were just as important as the

men. They served as great examples for their heirs. Among their many achievements are the founding of the Commission on Marriage and Family Laws in 1955 and the Muslim Personal Law of Shariat in 1948, it gave the fundamental right to get the all kinds of property as inheritance. The steadfast efforts of female lawmakers led to the government's decision to include a Charter of Women's Rights in the 1956 Constitution.

The Constitution also included provisions for women's seats in the national and local legislatures, as well as equality for all individuals. The MFLO, which governed marriage and divorce and went into effect in 1961 under Ayub Khan's martial law, was heavily backed by women's organizations. This was the most significant social reform. In the 1960s female lawmakers were remarkably adept at voicing their positions. They gave powerful statements on almost every subject discussed in the parliament, with a focus on problems about women, like the family laws in MFLO. Remarkably, not a single female member opposed MFLO; in fact, the opposition's Roquyya Anwar and Shamsun Nahar Mahmood were ardent supporters of the legislation. Likewise, Roquyya's decision to move her measure without trying to negotiate with the women seated on the Treasury benches illustrates the lack of engagement between the parties. However, during the House's deliberations and processes, the attitudes of men; including a handful of ulema; about women, such as their disdain for women and prejudiced beliefs that limit women's rights, were made clear.

Because to the national movement against his administration, President Ayub Khan resigned on March 25, 1969, and General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, the Army's Commander-in-Chief at the time, taken over as head of the country.

3.17 Conclusion

Women in political positions have progressively realized that protecting their constitutional and political rights is incumbent upon them. Despite having just, a tiny percentage of seats, women had played vital role in national legislation from 1947 to 1969 (except for 1955–1958, during which there was no female participation). Only two women who participated in Pakistan's first Constituent Assembly (CAP) were on the same level of importance as their male colleagues. They were pretty successful in their roles as examples for those who followed them. The Muslim Sharia Personal Law, that enabled women to inherit any sort of property, was passed in 1948. A Commission on Marriage and Family Law was also established by them in 1955, and it served as a model for the government when it decided to incorporate a Women's Rights Act into the 1956 Constitution. These two accomplishments were only two of their numerous. In addition to ensuring equality for all, the constitution allocates seats for women in both national and municipal legislatures. Under martial law and Ayub Khan's rule, the Muslim

Family Law Ordinance (MFLO) was passed in 1961 and governed marriage and divorce. Women's organizations actively campaigned for the MFLO to undergo a comprehensive sociological reform. In the 1960s, women lawmakers did remarkable effort to get their points across. They delivered impressive speeches on almost every Parliament issue, especially women's issues, such as the MFLO Family Laws. It should be emphasized that no woman opposed the MFLO; in fact, Shamsun Nahar Mahmood and Roquyya Anwar, two opposition members, were ardent supporters of the legislation. It was also mentioned that although if all of the female members support women's factors their allegiance to their respective political parties is unaffected. Prior to putting out her bill, Roquyya disregarded her relationships with women working in financial institutions, indicating a breakdown in communication between the parties. Men's views toward women, particularly those of some ulema, have been discussed in the Chamber of Deputies during debates and negotiations. These attitudes include a lack of tolerance and a tendency towards curtailing women's rights. On March 25, 1969, President Ayub Khan announced his resignation after a massive revolt against his authority. He relinquished command to General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, the esteemed COAS.

**LEGISLATIVE ROLE OF WOMEN IN PAKISTAN FEDERALIZATION ERA
(1970-2002)**

4.1 Introduction

Pakistan was placed under martial law in March 1969. President and Chief Martial Law Administrator was General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan. In December 1970, he promulgated a Legal Framework Order, which inaugurated the first general elections in history. The Assembly members were selected based on population and adult voting rights. East Pakistan broke away and became Bangladesh due to political instability and military defeat. The National Assembly meeting was delayed but eventually took place in April 1972. An interim constitution was passed, establishing a presidential form of government. The Constitution Committee drafted a proposed constitution, which was unanimously passed in April 1973. It was confirmed by the President and became known as the 1973 Constitution. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Fazal Illahi Choudhary were appointed as prime minister and president, respectively. The president is the highest authority while the prime minister has executive authority under the parliamentary system of government.

4.2 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Era (1971-1977) and Women Participation in Politics

During the anti-Ayub movement, Pakistan People's Party (PPP) was successful in mobilizing Pakistani women. The Era of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1971-1977) was a period of advancement for women. The *roti, kapra aur makaan* slogan changed the focus from religious to economic concerns, becoming a motto of the underprivileged people. A PPP foundation activist named Begum Nasim Jahan organized well-educated and open-minded women to spread the party's message. The PPP created the Women's Wing to increase the representation of women in politics. According to the PPP's election campaign 1970, women would receive equal position in society (Rashid, 1973). According to the claim, women reportedly chose not to vote in past elections because they felt no familial pressure. As patriarchy rules in Pakistan so it was viewed as an important advancement for the political emancipation of women (Shaheed & Mumtaz, 1987).

The National Assembly meeting was postponed in 1971, which prevented the elections for the seats reserved for women from taking place. Political problems resulted from the winning parties' inability to reach an understanding on fundamental constitutional issues, and as a result, Permission to hold elections for seats reserved for women was granted by the Election Commission to the Returning Officer. There was no opposition to the election won by women

who submitted nomination papers in the same numbers as reserved seats. (Record of Islamabad's Aurat Foundation.)

1. Mrs. Budrum Nessa
2. Mrs. Noorjahan Murshed
3. Miss. Rafia Akhtar
4. Mrs. Razia Banu
5. Mrs. Sajeda Choudhury
6. Mrs. Mumtaz Begum
7. Mrs. Taslima Begum (NAD, vol. 1, 1972)

Figure 4.1: Female Representatives from East Pakistan who were chosen on reserved seats (NAD, vol. 1, 1972)

The members of Pakistan's first National Assembly to be directly elected were chosen during the 1970 general elections (from West Pakistan). Six (6) women who were elected to the Assembly on reservations under the LFO were present; 4 of them were having party affiliation of PPP. With 81 out of a total of 138 members, the PPP held almost all in the National Assembly. Later, one woman accompanied them on the minority-only seat.

1. Dr. Mrs. Ashraf Khatoon Abbasi (PPP) Sind
2. Mrs. Nargis Naeem Sandhu (PPP), Punjab
3. Begum Nasim Jahan (PPP), Punjab
4. Begum Shireen Wahab (ML), NWFP
5. Miss. Zahida Sultana (PPP), Punjab
6. Mrs. Jennifer Jahanzeba Qazi Musa (NAP), Baluchistan (NACD, vol. 1, No. 1, 1972)
7. Mrs. Najma Andrew (In 1976, she won a by-election. (instead of her husband)

Figure 4.2: Women Members in the National Assembly

Upon the newly elected assembly's formation in Pakistan, a Constitution Committee was established to develop a new constitution. Notably, the Constitution Committee included three women members. The resulting 1973 Constitution is significant for its comprehensive provisions related to women's rights and gender equality, surpassing any previous Pakistani constitution in this regard. As stated by someone, "the advent of the 1973 Constitution heralded a momentous leap forward in Pakistan's recognition of women's rights. Unlike its predecessors, this constitutional document not only ensured equality before the law for both women and men but also firmly prohibited any form of discriminatory treatment based on gender, thus laying a solid foundation for gender equality and social justice in the nation" (Krook, 2009).

4.2.1 Participation of Women in Committees

Women's organizations that already existed could thrive during this time, and some new ones might also find root. The APWA shifted its emphasis from preservation to development. There were two additional groups: Women's Front, Aurat Foundation, and Shirkat-Gah, all of which had very different ideologies. Although it is argued that women in Pakistan did not notice an obvious shift in their status during this time of populism, women had numerous expectations under Bhutto's rule. Despite having high expectations, women only get half of what they deserve (Jalal, 1991).

Female members of the Pakistani Parliament have played an active role in various committees, including those on Labor and Local Authorities, Health, Social Security and Family Planning, and National and Pakistani Overseas Affairs. Additionally, individual members such as *Ms. Jennifer Qazi Musa*, *Begum Nasim Jahan*, and *Ms. Nargis Naeem Sandhu* have served on “Permanent Provincial Education and Coordination Committee, Standing Committee on Planning and Development, and Standing Committee on Economic Coordination and External Assistance, and Standing Committee on Production, Presidential Affairs, and Trade”, respectively. Pakistan observed International Women's Day and adopted a number of measures to advance women's position, including ratifying the Mexico Declaration. Every state that signed the Declaration was required to form a committee to make recommendations on how to improve the situation of women. In order to facilitate women's social, legal, and economic rights, Pakistan consequently formed a high-level Women's Rights Committee (WRC) to assess the current state of affairs and offer recommendations for changes to the legal system. To ensure prompt justice and access to courts for family-related issues, such as child support and custody, a specific process must exist, despite legal restrictions and procedures that often hinder women's relief.

4.2.2 The Role of Women Parliamentarians

During women's tenure in the legislature, female MNAs actively participated in discussions on constitutional, political, socioeconomic, and women's issues. Some of them also took part in the Discuss Hour meetings to gain a deeper understanding of critical subjects and highlight pressing problems to the government.

Notably, Begum Nasim Jahan spearheaded the improvements to the Constitutional Bill, with other female MPs proposing amendments related to the representation of women in the Islamic Advisory Council, election procedures, and reserved seats for women. The female members of the House also employed various tactics to make their voices heard, including moving to adjourn, requesting privileges, and making resolutions. Overall, their efforts have been

instrumental in bringing about meaningful changes and progress in the legislative process. It also made possible to make an adjournment motion for immediate discussion on a matter of great significance if the current issue was postponed. In 1972, Pakhtun Zalmai and the NAP protested with full power at press club, Daily Mashriq office in Peshawar, as well as radio and television stations. The adjournment motions relevant to women's problems and the country's political condition were moved by the assembly's female members. The authorities threatened to set such buildings on fire if they did not change their position towards NAP. When Mrs. Nargis Naeem brought that significant issue to the House's attention, several members believed it to be a provincial matter. In the end, a majority of voters decided to reject the resolution (NAD, vol. 1, 1972).

4.2.3 Points Raised by Women Members

Because women lawmakers were so politically aware, they started bringing up concerns during legislative sessions. On July 10, 1972, several members began to shut early on at a meeting that had explicitly been organized for that day.

Begum Nasim Jahan moved a motion of order on March 15, 1973, alleging that some male members of the House, on both sides of the issue, were not giving enough weight to any issue affecting women. She said this occurred on both the Republican and Democratic sides of the House. He believed that this was a violation of the protocol that was to be followed in the House. He brought to everyone's attention the significance of the issue at hand, namely the attempt to better the lives of Pakistani women. She appealed to all of the assembly members via the President, pleading with them to take the concerns of women seriously. The Speaker of the House took notice of his criticism and pointed out that he had repeatedly encouraged members to see all of the issues before the chamber as essential to its functioning. Begum Nasim Jahan introduced a Rule of Procedure on March 16 to prevent the use of offensive language in the House of Representatives the day before and to maintain the House of Representatives reputation for decency (NACD, vol. 11, 1973). She used Speaker of the House Sahibzada Farooq Ali Khan as proof that Begum Nasim Jahan brought up a privilege problem on August 9, 1973. The Pakistan Times misquoted her again that day and posted comments that contradicted her claims. He called attention to the fact that the press had published erroneous information 3rd time and condemned them in front of the entire membership of the Chamber of Deputies. According to the article in the newspaper, Mr. Attaullah and Begum Nasim Jahan were staunch supporters of "The National Guard Bill, 1973," even though he did not contribute to the idea in any way. In a caution to the media, his predecessor, Ch. Fazal Ilahi, so they anticipated that she would do the same. The President requested that she file a written complaint

before deciding on it. He cautioned the media to be cautious while covering the debates in the meantime that took place in the assembly (NALD, vol. 8, 1973).

4.2.4 Amendments, Resolutions, and Motions

In 1972, female members of parliament actively participated in introducing various motions, such as modifications and resolutions, in response to the widespread detention of political activists in Sindh and their imprisonment under the Preventive Laws. During a session of the House of Representatives on August 17th of that year, Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani proposed a motion to defer the detention of political activists, which was met with opposition from Ms. Ashraf Abbasi due to its potential impact on a large number of individuals. The motion could have garnered more attention if it had included a specific number of detainees (NALD, vol. 1, No. 3, 1972).

On the 12th of September in 1972, Malik Mohammad Akhtar submitted a motion named the Pakistan Citizenship (Amendment) Bill 1972. He said that both genders have the access of citizenship under Section 3 of the law. In his explanation of Mohammad Akhter's change, Mahmud Ali Kasuri had said that this modification intended to add something essential to the measure. If both of a kid's parents have different citizenship, then the child will take on the nationality of one of the parents. If the father were to lose his citizenship, the kid would also be in danger of losing his citizenship. The mother also has to be afforded the same rights as the child. This should shield youngsters from losing their Pakistani citizenship more effectively. Begum Nasim Jahan sought elaboration on what would take on if the woman was a Pakistani citizen rather than her husband. Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada advised me that citizenship and residency are separate terms, and that international law only acknowledges residence. He said that this is because international law only recognizes living.

Nevertheless, the father will decide the children's nationality and where they will live. Begum Nasim Jahan emphasized that there is no policy provision allowing for discrimination based on a person's gender. She recommended placing children's interests first and allowing them to choose whatever citizenship they wish to adopt before age 21. This would be by her proposal to prioritize the needs of children (NALD, vol. 1, No. 22, 1972).

In order to implement socialism in the country, Sheikh Muhammad Rashid made two changes to the constitution. According to him, Islam and other economic systems that uphold Islamic principles exhibit socialism as equality. The modifications made by Sheikh Muhammad Rashid had the support of Begum Nasim Jahan. Sheikh Muhammad Rashid, an advocate of Muslim internationalism, found that socialism and Islam were the main tenets of the constitutions of most Muslim countries. They had Allama Iqbal's writings, who promoted socialism in a variety

of contexts, and Quaid I Azam's speeches, in which he also spoke about Islamic socialism. She proposed that they embrace socialism as a component of their economy and follow the example set by the ulema in other Muslim nations, who had followed the approach she described (NACD, vol. 11, No. 17, 1973).

Mrs. Ashraf Abbasi voiced her worry about the House of Representatives guaranteeing that women's rights will be safeguarded in the same manner in the future, regardless of which party was in power. As a result, she posed a question to the Minister of Justice, requesting that they provide them with a constitutional guarantee. After filing her objection, she withdrew her amendment on behalf of women and for concerns of party discipline since the Minister of Justice did not come out to support women. Begum Shireen Wahab noticed that the Justice Secretary was prepared to grant promises of the supply of seats for women in the House of Lords. Still, he was hesitant to provide them with legal protection. She requested that the issue be looked at again since the requests made by the female members were not unreasonable, and she asked that her changings put up for a vote. According to Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, who is the Minister of Justice and the Federal University of ISB, a significant milestone was achieved in the subcontinent's history when a woman was appointed governor of the popular government, and another woman held the position of first vice-rector of aforementioned prestigious educational institution. This is a noteworthy achievement as it marks the first time such high-ranking positions have been held by women in the subcontinent. Both of these accomplishments were firsts in the history of the region. Women were promoted to extra secretaries in the government when the people took it over. Have female members voiced concerns and apprehensions about the future when other political parties are in power? He assured them that they would have the support of the Pakistani people, the PP, and around half of the country's female population. After promising justice would be served, he pleaded with him to refrain from insisting that the situation be altered. Mrs. Ashraf Abbasi approached the Minister of Justice for reassurance, and as a result, his proposed change was finally withdrawn (NACD, vol. 11, No. 34, 1973).

4.2.5 Issues of Women's Reserved Seats in the National Assembly

The topic of female representation was discussed once again in the Chamber of Deputies when the Constitution for 1973 was being drafted, and the reasons presented were similar to those given before. Ghulam Ghaus was the one who first proposed the motion and said that, according to the Constitution, the National Assembly would be made up of 200 members who would be directly and independently chosen by using the universal suffrage system. It is not known if all 200 members will be male or whether there will also be female members among them. He suggested that there should be ten seats set aside for women and that they should be barred

from competing for general seats. He claimed that the first option was preferred because they were unable to secure male votes for general seats. Begum Nasim Jahan expressed her delight at the news that Maulana Ghulam Ghaus had concluded that women were not able to win the votes of males and had embraced the right of women to sit in seats that were set aside expressly for them. She asserted unequivocally that the proposed Constitution stipulated that all 200 general seats would be accessible to women and that ten additional seats would be earmarked for women, but only for ten years. She brings to the House of Representatives that an act passed in 1935 gave women the right to vote and allowed them to cast their first votes. Because of the passage of the Women's Suffrage Act in 1946, women were granted reserved seats in the legislature and were also permitted to vie for regular seats. Therefore, women participated in these elections based on the chairs set aside for women's suffrage and the general seats up for grabs. The prominent leader of this group, Quaid-i-Azam, advocated for the rights of women to participate equally in all spheres of national life (NACD, vol. 11, No.33, 1973).

Dr. Ashraf Abbasi also rejected Maulana Ghulam Ghaus's amendment and, on 8 April 1973, proposed a new amendment that among the 14 members to be elected to the Senate by the provincial assemblies, minimum 2 female representatives are essential to be elected in that number of members as a representative in the Senate. Upper room. It received the support of just two women MPs, and the House of Representatives could not pass the suggested amendment. Begum Nasim Jahan submitted an Election Amendment Motion in Article 54 Paragraph (5) of the Constitutional Law to be replaced by the following, namely: "(5) The elections referred to in Paragraph (4) shall be conducted by direct suffrage of women." He also proposed proposes the following amendment to replace Article 54, paragraph 5, of the draft Constitution with the next: "5" the electorate for the seats allotted to a province under paragraph 4 will be made up of the members of that province's National Assembly, and the elections will use a single transferrable vote to simulate the proportional representation system. According to Begum Nasim Jahan, there are two possible changes. If the first option is denied, one assumes that he encountered fierce opposition; even his party's women did not support him (NACD, vol. 11, No. 33, 1973).

4.2.6 The 1973 Constitution and the Position of Women

The 146-member National Assembly convened on August 12, 1973, to choose the PM of the country. Z. A. Bhutto received 108 votes, while the combined opposition parties' candidate Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani (JUP) received 28. Bhutto and Chaudhry Fazal Elahi both took the oath of office to lead the nation. The 1973 Constitution established a bicameral system for the federal government.

The administration of Bhutto encouraged women to ask for more constitutional protections. Begum Bhutto and Prime Minister Bhutto supported women's rights. The earlier constitutions' provisions on basic rights were retained in the new constitution, which also added new articles to advance the status of women. A clause that summarized that every citizen of the country has equal rights and law equally protect its citizens, was taken from the 1956 and 1962 constitutions as an example. Furthermore, additional clauses 25 (2) and 25 (3) were added to the 1973 Constitution, stating that "there shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex alone" and "nothing in this Article shall prevent making any special provision for the protection of women and children." Other clauses from previous constitutions were retained in the "Principle of Policy" part of that document, which addressed the wellbeing of all people, regardless of gender, social group, or belief. It additionally brought other new articles on the aforementioned topic, such as Article 34, which gave women the right to participate in a variety of national arenas.

Begum Nasim Jahan and Dr. Mrs. Ashraf Abbasi actively participated in the 1972–1973 Constitution-making process. They both promoted Pakistan's democratic system. During the debate over the Constitution (Draft) Bill, Begum Nasim Jahan praised the Islamic-based constitutions of some Muslim nations and favored a democratic constitution for Pakistan (NACD, vol. 11, No. 9, 1973). Dr. Mrs. Ashraf Abbasi highlighted that it was the responsibility of each and every person of the country to do their part to advance the nation. She noticed that everyone in Pakistan wanted to gain more and more benefits and privileges for themselves but was unwilling to help the nation advance (NACD, vol. 11, No. 15, 1973)

On February 27, 1973, Begum Nasim Jahan noted that the draught of the Pakistani Constitution contained some significant exclusions along with a mixture of strong and weak points of view. According to her, their dynamic manifesto demanded an end to the regional exploitation of humans by humans. The establishment of a social federation in Pakistan was a significant step towards opening up the country and ensuring centralized planning and growth while respecting the autonomy of its divisions. The Constitution, introduced during military rule, provided institutions for cooperation and interest-sharing, including the Senate. Pakistan's adherence to Islamic Internationalism meant that they followed the teachings of the Holy Book as Muslims, with a commitment to scientific socialism in accordance with Islamic principles. A proposed move towards people's democracy and local self-government within the framework of the Constitution aimed to create new institutions and innovations. Miss Zahida Sultana congratulated the people of Pakistan on April 10, 1973, for their adoption of a democratic Constitution made possible by the federal government (NAD, vol. 11, No. 9, 1973). She continued by saying that the Constitution demonstrated the wisdom of the populace as well as

its cultural and ideological diversity. It guaranteed the self-reliance of the judiciary, contained provisions for provincial autonomy, and gradually protected women's rights and status in society. The Constitution was framed in large part thanks to President Bhutto's political savvy, cunning, and unmatched leadership (NACD, vol. 11, No. 36, 1973).

According to its manifesto, Nasim Jahan promoted a socialist-based socioeconomic structure for the nation on March 15, 1973. She argued that the current legislation was insufficient because their fundamental tenet was to provide people with food, clothing, and shelter, and that the executive branch should be instructed to use those tenets as a guide when interpreting the Constitution and other laws (CALD, vol. 11, No. 17, 1973).

4.2.7 Constituent Assembly Formation and 1977 General Elections

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto restored Pakistan's parliamentary form of government in 1973 when a new constitution was passed. Bhutto made a number of important changes to the constitution, including allocating ten of the 210 seats in the National Assembly to female MPs.

In March 1977, Bhutto declared that free and fair elections would be held, as the National Assembly's mandate was scheduled to end on August 14. On January 21, 1977, opposition groups did, however, establish the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) in opposition to the PPP, which was then in power.

Despite securing a victory in the elections held on March 7, 1977, with 155 seats in the National Assembly, the PPP faced allegations from the opposition that the vote had been stolen. Protests resulted in the PNA's boycott of the province elections on March 10. A detailed report on the 1985 general elections by Pakistan's Election Commission documents these events in detail.

4.2.8 Female Parliamentarians' Performance

During the general elections of 1977 in Pakistan, women made significant strides in political representation. Begum Nasim Wali Khan, a candidate on the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) ticket, was elected to the National Assembly, becoming the first woman in Pakistani political history to hold this position. Ten other women also secured reserved seats in the Assembly, with Begum Nusrat Bhutto later rising to the position of PPP Chairperson. Despite an increase in the number of women in parliament, their representation remained lower than that of the country's female population.

The newly formed NA convened on March 26, 1977, and the next day Speaker of the House of Representatives Malik Mairaj Khalid took the oath of office. He was the only candidate running

for the position of Speaker. The same day, Sahibzada Farooq resigned as Speaker and Malik Mairaj Khalid assumed the role. As Deputy Speaker, Fateh Memon swore the oath.

Z. A. Bhutto took oath as PM on March 28, 1977, following her victory in the election. Despite winning a NA seat in the general election, Begum Nasim Wali Khan, a PNA candidate, refused to take the oath of office because her party was contesting the results. In the general elections, no female candidates were fielded by other political parties. Although Syeda Abida Hussain made efforts to secure the PPP designation from

She was unable to accomplish that in National Assembly 67, Jhang 2. The NA was reconvened by the ten women who were appointed with the reserved seats as well as one woman who had a seat reserved for a fellow Muslim.

On Sunday, March 27, 1977, all of the women members took the oath with the exception of Begum Mrs. Nasima Sultana Akhmat; Nasima Sultana Akhmat did so on Monday, March 28.

1. Begum Nusrat Bhutto (Sind)
2. Begum Kulsoom Saifullah (NWFP)
3. Mrs. Nargis Naeem Sandhu (Punjab)
4. Mrs. Dilshad Begum (Punjab)
5. Mrs. Bilquis Begum (Baluchistan)
6. Begum Samia Usman Fatah (Punjab)
7. Mrs. Nasima Sultan Akhmat (Sind)
8. Miss Mubarak Begum (Punjab)
9. Begum Bilquis Habibullah (Punjab)
10. Mrs. Nafisa Khalid (Punjab) and
11. Mrs. Shavak Rustam (NAD, vol. 11, No. 1, 1977) (She was chosen for the minority-only position and left on April 4 of the following year).

Figure 4.3: Female names who served

In 1977, there were several women that reached in the NA either by the direct election or on reserve seats and subsequently served on various committees. Begum Kulsoom Saifullah, for instance, won the election to the Finance Committee, in addition to securing positions on three committees that were established to amend the Federal Public Service Commission Act of 1973, the Child Servant Act of 1973, and the 1973 Constitution. Likewise, Mrs. Shavak Rustam and Mrs. Naseema Akmut participated in the Pakistan Nursing Council committee. Members of the Panel of Chairmen were also appointed by Begum Kulsoom Saifullah, Mrs. Jennifer, and Begum Shireen Wahab. Nargis Naeem Sandhu held the position of Parliamentary Secretary on

January 7, 1977 (NAD, vol. 1, No. 1, 1977). Begum Kulsoom Saifullah, Mrs. Jennifer Qazi Musa, and Begum Shireen Wahab were also members of the Panel of Chairmen.

4.3 Legislative Role of Women during Zia's Era

A military leader named General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq toppled Z.A. Bhutto's democratically elected civilian government in July 1977. General Zia said that impartial and free general elections will be held in ninety days, even if the constitution was suspended. General Zia disbanded the national and provincial administrations, the Senate, the National Assembly, and the Provincial Assemblies following the coup. In addition, he nominated provincial governors to be chief justices of the Supreme Court, with the president Chaudhry Fazal Elahi and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff keeping their posts. The nation's political debate ceased altogether. With the imposition of martial law, Zia suspended all fundamental rights guaranteed in the Constitution that had been adopted in 1973, including the right to be free of discrimination on the basis of sex. He then introduced a series of laws that gave legal sanction to women's subordinate status, including the Hudood Ordinances, which changed the law of rape and adultery and made fornication a crime for the first time in the country's history.

General Zia-ul-Haq formed the Ansari Commission in 1983 to investigate women's voting behavior. The Commission forbade women from holding the position of head of state and suggested creating distinct voter pools for men and women.

4.3.1 Women Division Establishment

In his speech on October 12, 1978, at an international conference on "Women-Their Potential" in Karachi, President Zia-ul-Haq highlighted the importance of establishing a women affairs division. As a result, the Cabinet Secretariat established a dedicated section to address the issues faced by women, with a focus on improving their living standards, especially in rural areas, and addressing the concerns of working women. This decision was made during the Cabinet meeting on October 16, 1978. Subsequently, the government appointed Pakistan's first female cabinet secretary.

The Cabinet Secretariat then created a section to deal with the following: (a) raising women's living standards nationwide, especially in rural areas; and (b) addressing concerns specific to working women in particular as well as women in general. The cabinet decided on this during its meeting on October 16, 1978. Following the Cabinet's decision, the government appointed Pakistan's first female cabinet secretary (File No. 304/Prog-11/78, Cabinet Division Islamabad, Box 814, NDC).

4.3.2 Status of Women in Pakistan during Zia Regime

Through a series of national conferences, the Pakistani government was urged to form an impartial women's commission by the Women's Division and other non-governmental women's organizations (NGOs). In addition, well-known women who are not affiliated with these organizations advocated for the commission's creation in order to have direct access to data on problems and concerns facing women throughout the nation at all societal levels. In response to these demands, Zia-ul-Haq, the country's president at the time, suggested creating a permanent, powerful committee to develop policies for women's welfare and advancement. The body's aims and goals were to be specified, and it could take the form of an advisory council or commission.

The National Conference recommended the formation of a National Commission on the Position of Women, outlining its composition, responsibilities, goals, and authority. The President accepted the recommendations and declared Pakistan's creation on March 8, 1983.

Begum Sarfraz is the chair of the Commission on the Status of Women. On July 6, 1983, the Women's Division proposed a resolution for the empowerment and protection of women in the society. On July 9, 1983, it came out in the Pakistani Gazette and included advice on how it should be formed and run. The Commission set some goals that are, "to ascertain the rights and responsibilities of women in an Islamic Society and to make recommendations in the Federal Government for effective safeguards of women's rights; to advise the Federal Government on measures to provide education, health and employment opportunities for women; to identify what services women can render in eradicating ignorance, social evils, poverty and disease in the country; and to suggest measures to integrate women of minority communities in the national life" (Report of the Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women, 2007).

- i) To ascertain the rights and responsibilities of women in an Islamic Society and to make recommendations in the Federal Government for effective safeguards of women's rights;
 - ii) To advise the Federal Government on measures to provide education, health and employment opportunities for women;
 - iii) To identify what services women can render in eradicating ignorance, social evils, poverty and disease in the country; and
 - iv) To suggest measures to integrate women of minority communities in the national life"
- (Report of the Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women, 2007).

Figure 4.4: The appointed members on the Commission

On January 6, 1985, Mrs. Anis Mirza left the Commission, and Professor Karar Husain only attended one meeting because of illness. The Commission's major job was to gather the opinions of many people from all parts of the country, especially from the female population,

who dealt with a wide range of issues. The Commission completed the assignment, gathered useful information, and the government acted as a result.

1. Begum Zari Sarfraz (NWFP) appointed Chairman of the Commission.
2. Begum Mahmooda Salim Khan (NWFP), member
3. Begum Saida Qazi Isa (Balochistan), member
4. Mrs. D. J. Kaikobad (Balochistan), member
5. Mrs. Mumtaz Rashdi (Sind), member
6. Prof. Mrs. Ameena Khamisani (Sind), member
7. Khanum Gauhar Aijaz (Sind), member
8. Begum Anwar G. Ahmed (Sind), member
9. Dr. Miss. Riffat Rashid (Punjab), member
10. Mrs. Nisar Fatima (Punjab), member
11. Mrs. Mumtaz U. Karamat (Punjab), member
12. Mrs. Anis Mirza (Federal Area), member
13. Begum Razia Azizuddin (Nominee of the Majlis-e-Shoora), member
14. Mr. Khalid M. Ishaque, member
15. Prof. Karrar Hussain, member
16. Dr. Z.A. Hashmi, member (Ex-Officio Members)
17. Secretary, Women's Division, Government of Pakistan
18. Secretary, Ministry of Religious Affairs and Minority Affairs, Government of Pakistan
19. Secretary, Ministry of Law & Parliamentary Affairs, Government of Pakistan
20. Secretary Ministry of Health, Special Education & Social Welfare, Government of Pakistan
21. Secretary, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan. (Report of the Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women, 2007)

4.3.3 Majlis-i-Shoora and Female Parliamentarians

On December 24, 1981, General Zia-ul-Haq formed a new legislative framework and named the Federal Advisory Council, or Majlis-e-Shoora, which had little real influence over the government. He chose 287 people, including ulema, politicians, laborers, farmers, and members of minorities, to serve in the Majlis-i-Shoora. He proposed twenty ladies from various backgrounds.

1. Begum Afroze Nazir Ahmad
2. Begum Bilqees Shahbaz
3. Mrs. Farrukh Mukhtar
4. Begum Qamar Isphani
5. Begum Mehmooda Sultana
6. Begum Maulvi Muhammad Faizan
7. Begum Nasim. A. Majid
8. Dr. Mrs. Nasreen Maqbool Memon
9. Begum Nuzhat Sadiq
10. Begum Razia Azizuddin
11. Begum Sabiha Shakeel
12. Begum Salma Tassaduq Husain
13. Begum Yasmin Lari
14. Dr. Mrs. Aameena Ashraf
15. Dr. Mrs. Fatima Shah
16. Mrs. Nusrat Maqbool Ilahi
17. Begum Afifa Mamdot (Minister of State for Health and Social Welfare)
18. Begum Kulsoom Saifullah Khan. (Kulsoom Saifullah Khan)

Figure 4.5: On Monday, January 11, 1982, these women swore their collective oaths (Majlis-e-Shoora (Federal Council), Debates, Official Report, hereafter Majlis-e-Shoora, vol. 1, No. 1, January 11, 1982).

Despite having little actual power over the executive branch, the female members of the Majlis-e-Shoora nevertheless made an impact by vocalizing their opinions on matters pertaining to politics, the economics, and women's equality.

4.3.4 Women's Point of View

Begum Sabiha Shakeel, on February 13, 1983, moved a point of order, alleging that Nawabzada Iftikhar Ahmed Khan had opposed the peaceful women's protest by requesting an adjournment motion. Khan had stated that the demonstration had behaved much like a Balwa (riot), based on the report. Shakeel countered that the moniker "Balwey" need to be dropped because women took part in the nonviolent demonstration (Majlis-e-Shoora, vol. 1, 1983).

4.3.5 Discussions and Q&A Sessions

Compared to the earlier times, women members at this time completely used the platform and actively participated in question-and-answer sessions. On April 20, 1982, Dr. Mrs. Ameena Ashraf requested information from the Minister of Housing and Works on the steps being taken to address the declining quality of the environment generally, particularly in major cities like Karachi. In a detailed response pertaining to constitutional provisions, Air Marshal Inamul Haq Khan stated that it was a central and provincial issue. The local bodies should handle the subject because they were granted the authority to raise it (Majlis-e-Shoora, vol. 11, No. 15, 1982) Begum Yasmin Lari said that the Minister had stated in his response that it would take many years to really create an extensive environmental policy because the plan was still in its early stages. She inquired of the Minister whether he would brief the House on the matter's immediate strategy (Majlis-e-Shoora, vol. 11, No. 15, 1982).

On February 6, 1983, Dr. Mrs. Ameena Ashraf inquired the finance minister if he would be willing to clarify the policy regarding how the funds would be allocated if the program of birth and death were to be merged into the Health Department, as the Parliament had been hearing about it for a long time. According to Ghulam Ishaq Khan, initially they believed that the mentioned plan would be better merged into the Health Department, but after consulting the specialists in the Health Department, they all unanimously disagreed with such an idea. They said that if it were done that, it would no longer be the family safety plan and would instead just cover clinical services. As a result, the plan was revised and coordinated with the Health Department; nevertheless, due to the clinical temperament of a few of its components, it was determined not to fully include them into the department (Majlis-e-Shoora, vol. 1, No. 2, 1983).

Mrs. Farukh Mukhtar has requested the Minister for Trade to present a detailed report on the import and export values for the past three years. The report should cover the performance of the Trading Corporation of Pakistan, Cotton Export Corporation, Rice Export Corporation, WAPDA, and Ghee Corporation of Pakistan, in separate sections. She also requested that he provide information on the value of imports and exports made by private sector business people throughout the aforementioned time period. The necessary information on the value of import and export from various companies was given by Ghulam Ishaq Khan. He clarified that the Federal Bureau of Statistics does not collect distinct statistics data for the public and private sectors. (Majlis-e-Shoora, vol. 1, No. 2, 1983).

Dr. Mrs. Ameena Ashraf requested on July 16, 1984, that the Minister of Information and Broadcasting provide specific information on the Sindhi programs that were broadcast in the Sind province from January 1984 to April 1984 and that dealt with Pakistani ideology. Raja Zafar-ul-Haq said that "*Roshan Tara*," "*Perkh*," "*Roshani Jo Safer*," "*Kacheri*," and "*Serjharu*" were televised in Sindhi and that he also gave an explanation of the shows. Inquiring as to

whether Saudi Arabian government was willing to contribute funds for the construction of the Faisal Mosque, whether any funds had been received, and how long it would take to finish the last 15% of the mosque's work, Dr. Mrs. Ameena Ashraf questioned the Interior Minister. According to Mr. Mehmood A. Haroon, the majority of the Saudi Arabian government's money was successfully obtained, and the mosque's construction was 85% complete. Insha'Allah, because the marble pieces for the interior decoration were being fitted, it ought to be completed in a year (Majlis-e-Shoora, vol. 11, No. 6, 1984).

4.3.6 Parliamentary Representation of Women between 1985 and 1988

In December 1984, Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq was elected as the leader of Pakistan in a referendum, following which he announced non-party general elections. Political parties were banned and individuals were the focus of the election. As a result, the biraderi method was predominantly used for voting. Although major political parties did not participate, there were more female candidates standing for the general seats than before. The party-free elections resulted in the establishment of the National Assembly of Pakistan in 1985. Muhammad Khan Junejo was suggested as the next prime minister, while Ghulam Ishaq Khan was re-elected as Senate Chairman without any opposition. The National Assembly comprised 257 members, including 157 tribal chiefs and landowners, 54 merchants, 18 urban professionals, and 6 religious leaders. Out of the thirteen female candidates, only Syeda Abida Hussain won a seat on the National Assembly's general ballot. On January 12, 1985, instead of the original 10, 20 seats were reserved for women in the NA (Report on the General Elections 1985, vol. 1, Election Commission of Pakistan).

Twenty-two women have been nominated or reserved seats in the National Assembly and twenty of them, quoted in figure 4.6, were elected.

1. Sahibzadi Mehmooda Begum
2. Mrs. Nisar Fatima Zahra
3. Begum Afsar Riza Qizilbash
4. Begum Sarwari Sadiq
5. Begum Silvat Sher Ali Khan Pataudi
6. Mrs. Ishrat Ashraf
7. Mrs. Khurshid Begum
8. Mrs. Rehana Aleem Mashhadi
9. Mrs. Attiya Inayatullah
10. Mrs. Dureshahwar Mazari
11. Mrs. Rafia Tariq
12. Mrs. Farrukh Mukhtar
13. Mrs. Afroze Nazir Ahmed
14. Begum Salma Ahmed
15. Mrs. Rashida Pasha Khuhro
16. Mrs. Qamar-un-Nisa Qamar
17. Begum Kulsoom Saifullah Khan
18. Mrs. Bilquis Nasr-um-Minallah
19. Begum Bilqees Shahbaz
20. Dr. Miss. Noor Jahan Panezai
21. Mrs. Lila Wanti (Punjab, nominated on the seat for minorities) (NAD, vol. 1, No. 1, 1985).

Figure 4.6: Female members who were elected

The military's power limited women's ability to participate in national decision-making during the 1985 elections. Notwithstanding these constraints, female legislators made use of the parliament's forum to participate in a range of conversations. Syeda Abida Husain, a well-known female member of the Assembly, opposed the proposed constitutional modifications and martial law, emphasizing that the democratic process and martial law were incompatible. The female Assembly members were chosen to be members of the Chairman's Panel after they engaged in lively debate on a range of topics. During the 1987 budget session, Begum Salma Ahmed served on the Pakistani National Assembly's Panel of Chairman.

Moreover, a number of women had prominent roles as Federal Parliamentary Secretaries and Federal Ministers of State. Among the women who held federal parliamentary secretarial positions were, “*Begum Kulsoom Saifullah Khan, the Minister of State for Commerce, and Begum Afsar Riza Qizilbash*”, the Minister of State for Social Welfare and Special Education. In addition, prominent women in politics included, “*Begum Nasim A. Majid, the Parliamentary Assistant for Health, Special Education, and Social Welfare; Mrs. Rehana Aleem Mashhadi,*

the Parliamentary Secretary for Information and Broadcasting; and Dr. Miss Noor Jehan Panezai” (NAD, vol. 1, No. 1, 1987).

4.3.6.1 Involvement of Women in Committees

Between 1985 and 1988, female members served on various standing committees. Their assignments were as follows:

1. Mrs. Rafia Tariq performed services in the Standing Committee on Communications as well as the Standing Committee on Cabinet Secretariat.
2. Begum Qamar-un Nisa was a part of the Standing Committee on Communications.
3. A member of the Standing Committee on Culture and Tourism was Begum Bilquees Nasrum-Minallah.
4. Begum Sarwari Sadiq was part of the Standing Committee for Education.
5. Mrs. Duressahwar Mazari, Syeda Abida Hussain, and Begum Salma Ahmed were three women who were part of the Standing Committee on Finance and Economic Affairs.
6. The Standing Committee on Food, Agriculture, and Cooperatives was chaired by Begum Bilquees Shahbaz.
7. A member of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs was Dr. Miss Noor Jehan Panezai.
8. Of the nine members of the Standing Committee on Health and Social Welfare, five were women: Begum Silvat Sher Ali Khan, Mrs. Laila Wanti, Mrs. Nisar Fatima, Mrs. Farrukh Mukhtar, and Begum Bilquis Shahbaz.
9. Mrs. Rashida Pasha Khoro and Mrs. Khurshid Begum were members of the Standing Committee on Parliamentary Affairs and Justice.
10. Mrs. Ishrat Ashraf took part in the Petroleum and Natural Resources Standing Committee.
11. Mrs. Afroze Nazir Ahmed was a member of the Standing Committee on Production.
12. Begum Naseem A. Majid and Begum Kulsoom Saifullah served on the Standing Committee on Water and Power.
13. Begum Nasim A. Majid and Dr. Noor Jehan Panezai were members of the Standing Committee on House and Library.
14. Begum Salma Ahmed was part of the Finance Committee.

(Source: Library’s record of National Assembly, The Parliament of Pakistan, 1985)

4.3.6.2 Women Legislators' Raised Points in the National Assembly (1985-1988)

On November 14, 1985, Syeda Abida Hussain raised a point regarding question No. 587 in the Orders of the Day, which had been censored. She had requested information from the relevant Ministry regarding the expenses incurred on the Experts Group Meeting, but that part of the question was not addressed. The Speaker promised to examine the admissibility of the question.

She made a point of order again (November 28, 1985) regarding Mr. Zain Noorani, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and his proficiency in handling adjournment motions on crucial national matters. She reminded him that the head of the Senate had agreed to hold a full-dress discussion on external affairs during the NA of Pakistan's June session, and the Senate had pledged a similar nature. They were informed that a joint session would be held to discuss the issue. The Treasury Benches had reminded the House members throughout each session of their obligation to conduct that significant discussion, and they had been waiting for the problem to be resolved on a certain date (NAD, vol. 4, No. 34, 1985).

On June 21, 1986, during the discussion and voting on grant proposals, she raised a point of order to inquire about the Interior Minister's opinion on the Sukkar jailbreak. Mr. Muhammad Aslam promised her that he would bring it up in the House and ensure that those responsible would receive justice. The Centre and the provincial administration will collaborate to reach a decision. The Ministry will put forth every effort to support the nation and its provinces in combating national diseases (NAD, vol. 11, No. 21, 1986). She also brought up a point of order on March 5, 1987, concerning the Speaker's jurisdiction to make adjournment motions. She pointed out that the Speaker's first-come, first-served policy left the House helpless and ineffectual since it ignored the seriousness of the issues at hand. In response, the Deputy Speaker said that although he had heard her position many times, adjournment petitions could not be addressed in accordance with their directive. It was emphasized that she had consistently complied the law and that she had come to the conclusion that the Speaker possessed the authority to handle more significant matters after reviewing earlier parliamentary sessions. Speakers must exercise their authority on significant matters to elevate the quality of House proceedings. It goes without saying that the Speaker should use their discretion to propose motions on vital subjects. She requested the Deputy Speaker to decide on her motion for an extension (NAD, vol. 11, 1987).

On March 2, 1988, Mr. Gul G made a motion to delay the House's sessions so that it might address an issue of urgent national concern involving the kidnapping of a Kohli (non-Muslim) girl and the deaths of seven people in a parade opposing it in Tharparkar. On February 28, 1988, the numerous local and national newspapers carried the issue. Therefore, the issue involving the kidnapping of an innocent girl and the deaths of seven people has to be addressed immediately. Mr. Parumal Kohli stated that he had gone to the police officials (SP and DC) with a huge group of persons to present a case. Despite their promises, they were unable to help the girl recover. When the public protested the event by gathering on the streets, the police set the crowd on fire, resulting in the deaths of seven individuals. They were unable to pay for it

all. Begum Lila Wanti demanded that the matter be taken seriously and right away in favor of Parumal Kohli (NAD, vol. 1, No. 19, 1988).

According to Mrs. Ishrat Ashraf, the Ojhiri Camp event was terrible, resulting in the loss of both life and property. She ordered that it be looked into. The fact that the ammo stockpile was situated in a densely populated region of twin cities surprised Begum Salma Ahmad. Similar opinions were also stated about the unfortunate event in the nation by Begum Salma Ahmed. They were perplexed as to why the relevant authorities had chosen such a location for an ammo stockpile (NAD, vol. 11, No.10, 1988).

On June 14, 1986, Begum Kulsoom Saifullah complimented Mian Yasin Khan Wattoo for presenting a well-balanced budget under the leadership of the Prime Minister and in accordance with his five-point formula. After an extended time of martial law and the restoration of essential liberties, it was the government's first budget to be presented. She said that because oil prices had fallen on a global scale, their government had saved Rs. 14 million as a result, and she urged that the public should receive relief by seeing a drop in oil costs in their nation. Instead of developing Kala Bagh Dam, they had to build Bhasha Dam to solve the energy crisis. She also emphasized the need for the government to take action to provide young-educated people with employment possibilities. She called for the development of an IT academy in Peshawar so that the region's youth take use of it (NAD, vol. 11, No. 9, 1986).

Mrs. Ishrat Ashraf asked the Minister in command of the Cabinet Division a second question, asking if it was true that Sector 1-8 in Islamabad did not have streetlights, which was causing problems for the locals there, and when they would be installed. It is true, according to Sahibzada Yaqub Khan, and WAPDA has agreed to start the project as soon as possible. The project is scheduled to be finished by December 1986 (NAD, vol. 11, No. 9, 1986).

Begum Sarwari Sadiq requested information from the Minister overseeing the Women's Division regarding the following: (a) the list of the members sent to the UN-hosted conference in Nairobi; (b) the accuracy of the transfer involving a variety of MNAs and a female Provincial Minister; and (c) whether it was also true that the it was not lead by female Federal Minister or any female MNAs, and if so, why. That was Rashid Ahmad's question. Dr. Mahbub-ul-Haq stated that the people listed in figure 4.7, were part of the government delegation that went to the UN's Nairobi Conference.

1. Begum Zari Safraz, Leader
2. Begum Kulsoom Saifullah, MNA
3. Begum Rashida Pasha Khuro, MNA
4. Dr. Miss Noor Jehan Panezai, MNA (NAD, vol. 4, No. 9, 1985).

Figure 4.7: Government delegation that went to the UN's Nairobi Conference

4.4 Post Zia Era (1988–1999) and Women Participation in Legislative Bodies

The victory of Benazir Bhutto sparked yet another debate concerning a woman being Pakistan's prime minister. Many religious-based groups expressed alarm over her candidature. This was a topic that political opponents could focus on while the election campaign, but once Benazir Bhutto took office, political religious organizations began to use it as a weapon to topple her administration. More than 500 Ulama participated in the United Ulama Convention that took place in Islamabad in February 1989. At its conclusion, the conference adopted a resolution calling Bhutto's leadership "anti-Islamic" and urging Pakistanis to overthrow it. They drew reference to a statement of the Prophet (PBUH), asserting that the people who select females as their leaders it becomes impossible for them to be prosperous.

They also predicted that the state would be destroyed as the final result. These religious groups have historically held opposing views on the place of women in politics. These religious organizations had backed Fatima Jinnah in her campaign to become Pakistan's first female president in 1965, but they are now unable to recognize Benazir as the country's prime minister. Only Shias defended her, saying that Islam did not prohibit women from holding positions of power. They also warned the Ulama that, given the political climate at the time, their agitation undermines national stability and open the door for the army to participate in politics. Due to these events, it was decided to ask for the Shariah Council's legal opinion.

The Shariah Council's majority decision that the complaint against Benazir was based on a weak Hadith allowed her to continue serving as Pakistan's PM (Shahab, 1993) was the consequence of this decision. The council also made it obvious that Banzir was exempt from these limitations since she is the leader of a political group and was chosen for that position by a majority vote. The bulk of religious organizations and the vast majority of Ulama were persuaded by this Supreme Shariah Council decision to discontinue their opposition to Bhutto. (Weiss, 1999). During the election campaigns, the Pakistan People's Party hinted at their intention to repeal the discriminatory legislation of the Zia dictatorship and take other steps to enhance women's emancipation. However, despite Benazir Bhutto's personal support for eliminating discriminatory laws and her commitment to doing so during the elections, her lack of political experience and her government's insufficient parliamentary majority prevented her

from altering any of Zia's laws. Bhutto could have made a genuine difference by passing new legislation and implementing policies that support women's rights. Despite the expiration of the provision for women-only seats following the 1988 elections, she was unable to reinstate it since her administration lacked the necessary parliamentary majority. Faced with the challenge of maintaining her dictatorship, Bhutto decided not to attempt to overturn the Hudood Ordinances at that critical moment for her administration. She received support from various women's rights organizations, including Simorgh, Shirkat Gah, ASR, and the Aurat Foundation, which contributed to the stability of her rule (Shaheed, 1998).

On suspicion of corruption, Pakistan's president dismissed Benazir's administration in 1990 (The Economist, 1990). Despite the liberal environment that was developed and was greatly praised by the media, Benazir Bhutto said that no significant steps were done to improve the position of women during this time (Rashid, 2006).

The Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI)-led Pakistan Muslim League won the 1990 elections. Mian Nawaz Sharif, the PML's leader, was appointed Pakistan's prime minister. His goal was to realize Zia-ul-Haq's objective by fostering Islamic principles in Pakistani culture and he publicly asserted that Zia-ul-Haq was his spiritual father. Feminist activists expressed serious worries about the Sharia Act of 1991 during this time after the government introduced it in parliament. They asserted that Zia's agenda of Islamization had already caused women to go through a painful experience. In May 1991, amid demonstrations by opposition parties and women's organizations in the National Assembly, several religious groups also denounced and rejected this bill (Mumtaz, 1999). This measure even succeeded in inciting hostility among various religious groups. Because conservative religious parties opposed the plan, the Nawaz Sharif administration did not take any decisive action to reinstate women's reserved seats. However, the Prime Minister made the modest decision to hire a woman as his manager.

In all countries, sexual assault of women is an issue. Women in Pakistan are also victims of this injustice. Women's organizations called the rape of two women in Sindh, Veena Hayat and Khursheed Begum, a "power rape," and print media extensively covered the incident. The laws addressing these offenses came under harsh criticism as a result of this attention (Robinson, 1992). The topic gained notoriety when Human Rights Watch reported that 80% of Pakistani inmates are held in prison under the Hudood legislation (women & violence, 1994). Asia Watch also charged the Pakistani government as being indifferent to the way the Hudood rules were being abused, which resulted in a rise in violence committed by women. The topic of Islamic laws remained at the forefront of women's organizations and the worldwide society as a result of these instances and unfavorable press.

During this period, female advocacy groups achieved significant progress in advancing women's rights, particularly in the context of the 8th National Plan. These groups formed an unofficial working group that developed collective proposals aimed at promoting gender equality, which were then submitted to the authorized working group. Another milestone was the launch of an NGO-led initiative to include women's issues on the political parties' agendas for the 1993 elections. This involved a series of actions, such as contacting political parties, conducting discussions with them, meeting with candidates, and mobilizing women to vote. Overall, these efforts marked a significant step towards promoting women's rights and increasing their representation in political decision-making processes.

The administration declined to indicate any desire to correct the faults made by earlier regimes, despite allegations that the government promoted patriarchal ideology and performs through legal measures (Moghadam, 1992). Essentially, less than three years were spent in power under the Nawaz Sharif administration. According to rumors, the president and prime minister disagreed on a few points, and as time went on, the gap between their understanding and mistrust widened. Another elected administration was overthrown due to unproven allegations of corruption in this case.

The 1993 elections in Pakistan resulted in the re-election of Benazir Bhutto as the PM of Pakistan, following her previous term in office. Despite her re-election, women's rights activists remained concerned about the minor change in the lives of women during her previous term. The issue of honor killings was gaining international attention during this period, prompting both local and global organizations to take notice. In response to these concerns, Bhutto appointed several women to important positions and established the first women-only police station in 1994. However, some of these initiatives were ineffective, such as Asma Jahangir's appointment as the first female judge, which she declined. In March 1994, a National Convention for Legal Reforms was organized by civil society organizations in Islamabad, which recommended that the government repeal the Hudood legislation. (Lawrence, 1994; Rashid, 1994)

During the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women: Action for Equality, Development, and Peace, Pakistani women representatives took an active part in the conference. For this conference, a National Report was jointly created by the government and civil society. Twelve domains of concern that were crucial for empowering women were listed in this report. The Benazir Government did not carry out the report's recommendations since it was ousted a second time, but the Nawaz Sharif Government initiated the plan on August 14, 1998.

Ratifying the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1996 was the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's most significant accomplishment. The fact that its ratification was finally achieved is considered by women's rights organizations in Pakistan to be their greatest success. Pakistan is now obligated to repeal any laws, as well as traditions and customs that discriminate against women. CEDAW was said to be a framework for attaining gender equality and the international benchmark by which a nation assesses its progress in enhancing the position of women.

In order to facilitate the Beijing conference, the Pakistani government established regional and national core groups, which included non-governmental organizations, to develop a National Plan of Implementation. Through increased access to the government made possible by this endeavor, NGOs are now able to actively engage in the formulation of policies. A peace agreement between political parties and non-governmental organizations resulted in the restoration of women's seat reservations. Notably, a successful campaign was launched after three major political parties together affirmed the restoration of women's reserved seats (Government of Pakistan, 1985).

PM Bhutto made significant strides towards women's empowerment by nominating four women to senior courts, establishing legal assistance clinics and shelters, and creating a Distress and Detention Fund for women. The administration also prioritized addressing the issue of violence against females. These efforts demonstrate the government's commitment to women's rights and its willingness to collaborate with civil society organizations to advance gender equality (Government of Pakistan, 1985). In order to raise awareness of this problem, a media effort was started. Benazir said this herself:

Islam is not to blame for the fragility of the girl child; it is social prejudice. Women suffer from poverty, sexism, and verbal and physical abuse; thus, more funding must be mobilized to strengthen women's organizations (Bhutto, 2000).

Though Benazir was unable to control her professional connection with the president, the Bhutto administration's term began with much promise. Shortly after issues arose, they exchanged verbal blows. Once again, her regime was overthrown.

Honor killing and women's organizations plagued Nawaz Sharif's second cabinet, which held office from 1997 to 1999 (Rashid, 2006). The Council of Islamic Ideology suggested requiring the hijab in 1997. If a public servant does not regularly pray, they ought to be removed from their jobs. All government agencies need to have procedures in place for praying (Amnesty International, 1998).

The following crimes were particularly well-known: stove burning, kidnapping, murder, and rape (Jehan, 1998). According to a different source, honor killings had risen sharply in the province of Sindh, where 176 women had been killed for their honor (Justice and Peace Newsletter, 1997). It should be mentioned that the Musharraf administration amended the legislation to treat honor killing as murder in 2001.

Mushahid Hussain, the information minister, criticized numerous women's rights organizations when speaking at a conference and stated that since watching television is a family pastime, discussions about rape should be avoided there (Dawn, 1999). Women's rights advocates who had been outspoken on this topic, such Asma Jahangir and Hina Jilani, were held accountable for "misguiding women".

According to several politicians and religious organizations, these crimes (honor killings) were carried out in conformity with "religious and tribal traditions" (Frontier Post, 1997). Pakistan People's Party made a daring move on August 2, 1999, when it asked for a Senate debate on honor killing by submitting a resolution. Despite being altered four times, the resolution did not get past the initial stages of the debate. It is noteworthy that the majority of senators chose not to vote when this resolution was put to a vote in the house. Another proposal to rescind the resolution was made by Senate and received a lot of support from the lawmakers. They said unequivocally that there was no space for dispute and that "it is a matter of honor for us" (Cowaşjee, 1999).

When a provincial minister declared that all NGOs need an authorization letter from the province government and federal intelligence services before registration, it caused another uproar in Punjab. Additionally, it is now required that NGOs provide a written declaration stating that they do not engage in actions that are hostile to the state, the government, or any particular religion. ASR, the women's institute, was criticized further by him for shaping the thoughts of young ladies to have conflict with the government policies (Dawn, April 1998). Additionally, Punjab's CM counseled non-governmental organizations to refrain from making political remarks on their platforms. Punjab Welfare Minister Pir Binyamin Rizvi expressed serious concerns over the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), Shirkat Gah, and Ajoka (a street theater group) acts. According to his statement (The News, May 1999), these organizations claim to protect the human rights but they were ruining the society by spreading vulgarity, wickedness, and obscenity. NGOs voiced serious concerns about the policies of the government and the statements made by ministers (The News, May 1999). Additionally, the government declared that it will investigate any NGOs that have accepted outside financing. The administration was chastised by plenty of nongovernmental organisations for their

undemocratic tactics and for discrediting human rights organisations with official resources (The News, May 1999).

In spite of holding an absolute majority of two-thirds in the National Assembly, the PM Nawaz Sharif has not made much headway in advancing women's rights. Despite the submission of the COI report, nothing was done. The only activity related to the National Plan of Action (NPA) was a short-lived attempt to upgrade women's shelters. Reservable seats for women were not restored, and the Ministry of Women was combined with the Ministry of Social Welfare and Special Education. The government tried to sell the First Women's Bank Limited in spite of objections from the Minister for Women (Shaheed, 2009).

General Pervez Musharraf removed the Nawaz Sharif administration from power in October 1999, citing gross mismanagement as the reason for the dismissal.

4.5 Conclusion

Although women have traditionally been politically active, their true political roles didn't begin until the AIML platform, and throughout the Pakistan Movement, they toiled valiantly with their compatriots. The founder of the All-India Muslim League, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammed Ali Jinnah, placed a high value on the engagement of women in politics and the liberation movement. However, the work of creating a new nation continued to take precedence in the political and social spheres, which led to a flagrant disregard for women's rights and emphasized Pakistani society's discriminating attitude towards women's socioeconomic and political standing.

General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan became the country's leader in 1969 when he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Army. Two major events during his 33-month term are the dissolution of Pakistan and the December 1970 elections. Renowned politician and Pakistan's foreign minister Z.A. Bhutto gained political recognition for his upbeat party platform that supported the nation's oppressed citizens. He ran an election campaign in 1970 on its principles. Roti, Kapra aur Makan, the PPP administration's motto, won over women who thought it would fulfil them these necessities.

As a result, women actively participated in the electoral process and they use their power of vote by electing their candidates of choice in significant numbers, disobeying the desires of the males of their household, for the very 1st time in Pakistan's history. It was all possible by continual efforts of the legislature and NGOs for the political empowerment of women in the society. This demonstrated a significant improvement in both the political environment and the political empowerment of women at the grassroots level. The government fostered women's

participation in public life, policymaking, and the bureaucracy, and PPP benefited from significant support from the female populace. Important positions were filled by women. In 1981, General Zia-ul-Haq proposed the 20-woman Majlis-e-Shoora. Even though he raised the number of members set aside for women, that body lacked any real legislative or policymaking capacity. They just needed to participate in the parliament's discussions; the military leadership was under no obligation to take their recommendations into consideration. Before joining the Majlis-e-Shoora, the most of them were unknown, and after leaving the political arena, they were hardly seen. The military rule of General Zia-ul-Haq and his Islamization Order violated the rights of the nation's women.

WOMEN'S LEGISLATIVE ROLE IN 12TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN

5.1 Introduction

General Pervez Musharraf overthrew Nawaz Sharif's government in October 1999 in a military coup, between 1988 and 1999, the office was held by Benazir Bhutto of the Pakistan Peoples Party and Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan Muslim League(N), each holding the office for two non-consecutive terms between 1988 and 1999: Benazir Bhutto during 1988–90 and 1993–96; and Sharif during 1990–93 and 1997–99. Musharraf subsequently appointed himself as the nation's self-declared leader before winning a very contentious presidential election. He outlined his future objectives in seven points and said that his administration will work to enhance the condition of Pakistani women by defending their political and financial rights.

During President Pervez Musharraf's nine-year rule (1999-2008), he implemented several initiatives to promote women's rights in Pakistan. As a liberal dictator, he introduced a policy of Enlightened Moderation and secular feminism, which stood in stark contrast to the Zia regime's faith-based feminism. Under Musharraf's leadership, women were granted unprecedented political representation in Parliament and provincial assemblies, and they were appointed to federal ministerial and public service positions, as well as to the armed forces. This period is considered a noteworthy milestone in the history of women's political commission in Pakistan. (Mirza & Wagah, 2009)

In order to provide a thorough assessment on the state of women in Pakistan, Musharraf also established the "National Commission on the Status of Women" (Dawn August 2000). But given the prevalence of similar commissions in Pakistani history, it seemed probable that the commission's recommendations would not be implemented. Musharraf promised that his administration will empower Pakistani women to make significant changes in their lives (Dawn, February 2004). He further asserted that women should take advantage of these favorable circumstances to transition from slavery to development (Dawn March 8, 2003). He delivered the LFO, which made a number of significant changes to the nation's political scenario. The following were crucial political points:

- A growth in the legislature's size
- An increase in the joint electorate
- Voter eligibility was lowered from 21 to 18 years of age.
- In the Parliament, 17 percent of the seats were set aside for women.
- Minorities were also given seats in the legislative bodies.

In the latest election held in Pakistan, the ratio of the women' reserved seats increased significantly to 17%. As a result, 73 women reached to legislative NA of Pakistan for the first time in the country's political history. Below is a table showing the updated seat allocation in the Parliament. Additionally, Table 2 provides a comprehensive breakdown of all seats across all legislatures.

Table-5.1: General and Reserved Seats' numbers in all legislatures (Source: UNDP, 2005; PILDAT, 2004)

Assemblies	General Seats	Seats Reserved for Women	Seats Reserved for Non-Muslims	Total Seats
National Assembly	272	60	10	342
Senate	66	17	17	100
Punjab	297	66	8	371
Sindh	130	29	9	168
NWFP	99	22	3	124
Balochistan	51	11	3	65
Total	915	205	50	1170

There are different opinions on the effectiveness of the recent reserve seat policy. According to one female journalist, the mere placement of 60 women in reserved positions should not be viewed as a "landmark" given that these women lack any constituent power bases. Such "of medicated politics" demonstrates the continued disapproval of Pakistani women running for elected office. (Khan, 2007).

5.2 Women's Participation and the Local Government Ordinance (LGO) of 2001

The history of female representation in government since Pakistan's founding has not been encouraging. a total of six local government elections have taken place since 1958, and the proportion of women running for office has remained at 2% throughout. The representation of women in municipal bodies over different regimes is outlined in the list below. Women decentralization since 1958 to 2002 is given in (Table 3).

Table-5.2: Women decentralization since 1958 to 2002 (Source: Aurat Publication and Information Services Foundation, 2002)

Year of Government	Representation
1958-1968: Ayub Khan	No Special Representation
1971-1977: Zulfikar Ali Bhuto	No Special Representation
1977-1985: Zia ul Haq	2 seats in UC and 10 % at other tiers except NWFP
1985-1988: Muhammad Ali Junejo	2 seats in UC and 10 % at other tiers except NWFP
1988-1990: Benazir Bhuto	No I.G election held
1990-1993: Nawaz Sharif	10.4% national average
1994-1996: Benazir Bhuto	No I.G election held
1997-1999: Nawaz Sharif	12.7% in Punjab & 25.8% in Balochistan
1999-2002: Pervez Musharraf	33% seats reserved agt all three tiers

5.3 The LFO (Legal Framework Order) 2002

A LFO was issued by General Pervez Musharraf on August 24, 2002, with the aim of reviving the 1973 Constitution. General elections were held in October 2002 as a result of the Chief Executive's authority being transferred to the Prime Minister through the alteration of specific constitutional articles. One significant shift was the expansion of the number of seats reserved for females in the national and local legislatures. The National Assembly's seat distribution is displayed in Table 4.

Table-5.3: Allocation of Seats in the National Assembly (Source: <http://storyofpakistan.com/legal-framework-order-2002>)

	General Seats	Women	Total
Punjab	148	35	183
Sindh	61	14	75
NWFP	35	8	43
Baluchistan	14	3	17
Federal Capital	2	-	2
Minorities	-	-	10
Grand Total	272	60	342

Minority seats were apportioned according to proportional representation. On November 16, 2002, the constitution was restored. The LFO was established as a subsection of the constitution and did not contest in court (Zia & Bari, 1999).

5.4 Lowering Representation from 50% to 33%

On March 23, 2000, a proposal for devolution control and the creation of municipal governments was introduced for public discussion with the aim of increasing women's contribution in local decision-making. The proposal mandated that women should have a 50% direct presence at the union council level, to provide them with more opportunities to voice their concerns. However, the issue of women's representation was controversial, with both supporters and detractors debating the advantages and disadvantages of this decision and trying to influence public opinion in their favor. The government's decision was fiercely resisted by religious parties and certain other organizations in the nation, who said it was part of a plan to topple the social order. Additionally, it was said that a decision to allow such a huge number of women to vote was unrealistic due to the exceptionally low literacy rate of women, particularly in rural regions (Salman, 2007).

These organizations started a potent effort to undermine women's media representation, especially in Urdu-language media. Press pronouncements, essays, stories, features, and press

conferences were used to put pressure on the administration. A portion of the press joined the bandwagon as well. Higher authorities were contacted by representatives of numerous religious groups; Tanzeem-i-Islami, Jamaat-i-Islami, and Jamiat Ulema Islam were at the forefront. Similar arguments were made by various political and social organizations to persuade the government that deciding to give everyone equal representation was not a wise choice.

Civil society groups (CSOs) were actively involved in campaigns to increase the representation of women. These organizations used demonstrations, news conferences, press statements, and publications to advocate for women's electoral participation at the provincial and district levels. They also ran a signature drive to urge top government figures to support the government's choice and to foster an atmosphere that would encourage women to participate in and be represented in politics. The conflict between the two rival factions had a silver lining in that it gave rise to the nation's first discussion of women's representation in governmental institutions. The group that opposed women's representation was significantly more skilled in influencing public opinion and applying pressure to the government. The original plan to reserve 50% of the slots for women was therefore scaled back to 33%. Positively, the updated plan awarded a 33 percent quota for women to the union, tehsil, and district council levels of local government, as opposed to the original plan's proposal for 50 percent reserved positions at only the union council sector (Salman, 2007). The decision to reserve 33 percent of the posts for women is noteworthy because CSOs have long called for a quota of at least 33 percent for women in all institutions that make decisions. As a result, the government's choice did in fact satisfy this unmet need. The government probably found it challenging to revisit its decision had CSOs pushed for fifty percent inclusion in an effective fashion.

5.5 The Structure of the Parliament of Pakistan 2002-2007 and Women Legislators

Pakistan is governed by a parliamentary system and has a bi-cameral parliament. The National Assembly and the Senate comprise the parliament. In the upper house of representatives, all provinces have a proportionate number of seats; in the lower House of Representatives, seats are distributed according to population. On November 15, 2007, the 12th National Assembly's five legislative terms came to an end. The National Assembly must have at least three meetings annually as required by the constitution. Despite only having 38 sessions, the 12th Assembly had a total of 384 real working days over the course of five years. The National Assembly's second parliamentary year has the most working days, although the National Assembly's first year has the most sessions. The first year of the House's existence saw the most sessions, while the fifth one saw the fewest. There were typically nine real working days in each session. The session length and working days of the 12th national assembly is shown in Figure-1.1.

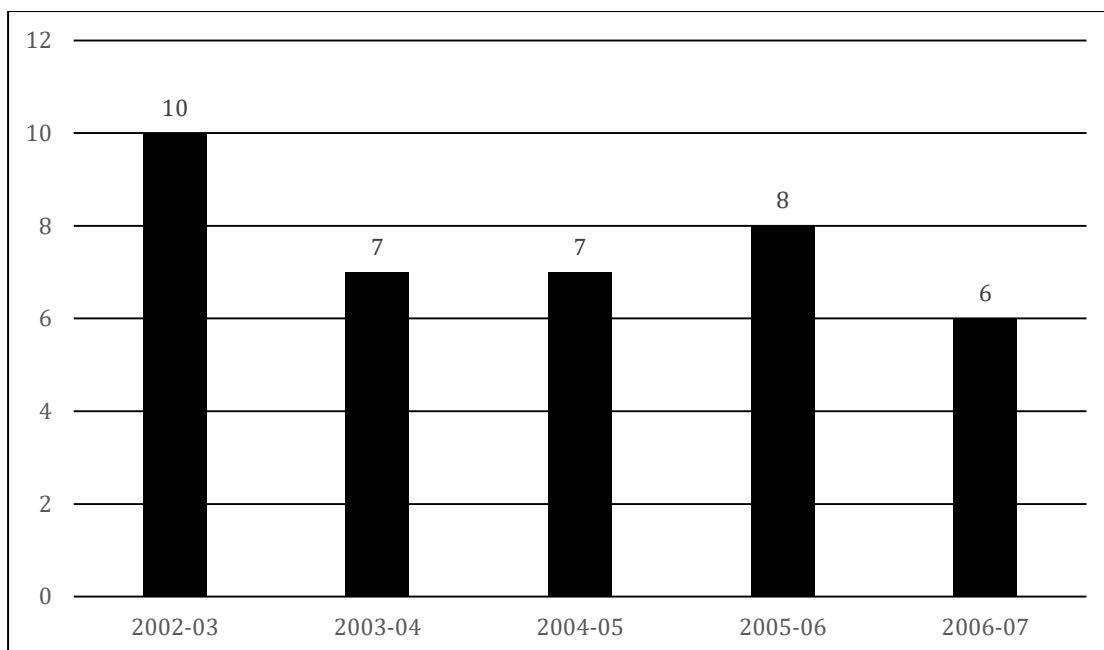


Figure-5.1: The 12th National Assembly's session length and working days (Source: National Assembly Official Database; NA, 2008; PILDAT, 2007)

The 12th Na was elected on October 10, 2002, with 342 seats as per the Legal Framework Order. Out of the total seats, 272 were general seats, 60 were specific for women, and 10 were designated for underrepresented groups. During its 16 November 2002 inauguration to its 15 November 2007 adjournment, the Assembly held 43 sessions. Mohammad Yaqoob and Chaudhry Amir Hussain were appointed as the Speaker and Deputy Speaker, respectively. Mir Zaffar Ullah Khan Jamali of the PML (Q) was elected as the house's leader with 172 out of 329 votes. However, he resigned on June 29, 2004, and Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain was appointed as the next PM. Mr. Shokat Aziz was chosen as the PM of Pakistan on August 27, 2004. The Assembly re-elected Pervaiz Musharraf as Pakistan's president on October 6th, 2007.

There were 74 female legislators in the National Assembly, but one of them quit her position, bringing the number down to 73. On ordinary seats, 12 of them were elected, and on reserved seats, sixty. On the minority-held seats, one woman also got elected. There was only one lady in the cabinet at first. Ms. Nilofer Bakhtair is the PM's advisor, and Ms. Zubaida Jalal is the minister of education (Reyes, 2002; Tinker, 2004). However, Mr. Shokat Aziz eventually appointed six women to his cabinet. Women were present in various ministries of the state. They efficiently took charge and played a leading role in the economy, education, health and safety, information and tourism sectors management.

During Mr. Shokat Aziz's tenure, three PM advisers were appointed, one of whom was a woman. Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar was entrusted with the Department of the Ministry of Women

Development. However, she resigned in 2007, and Ms. Sumera Malik was appointed as the Federal Minister for Women's Development. The National Assembly had 37 members, out of which six were parliamentary secretaries, and nine were chairs of standing committees. Despite being in existence for five years, women played an active and successful role in the Assembly during this time. (Wagha & Mirza, 2002).

5.6 Profile of Women Legislators

This section briefly describes the education, age, legislative experience, and social-political background of women legislators. Despite the increase in the reservation of seats, regular women still face various barriers to participate in mainstream politics. A major issue is the lack of funds required for election expenses which makes it difficult for ordinary Pakistani women to compete. Political parties are also hesitant to give seats to women who don't come from powerful political families. Most of the elected female MNAs belong to influential political families, and many of them have married into such families. They often act as representatives for their relatives who are unable to run for office due to exile or incarceration. (Shaheed, 1991)

Despite their diverse backgrounds and affiliations with different political parties, these elected women have a few characteristics in common. Women were, on average, younger than men when it came to the MNAs of the 12th National Assembly, according to the data analysis. Compared to males, who were on average 46 years old, female lawmakers were 42 years old on average. The majority of women have highly competent educational backgrounds and have professional and postgraduate degrees. It's remarkable that 48 women have master's degrees or higher. In addition, in contrast to 30 who possessed master's degrees, 7 who held LLBs, and 30 who possessed master's degrees, 18 female parliamentarians held B.A. degrees and 18 had MBBS or PhDs (UNDP, 2005). It demonstrates that women earned higher degrees than men did.

The NA's degree prerequisite for candidates was a major factor in drawing highly educated women into the political arena. According to Talbot (2003), this condition served as an obstacle for male graduates who were difficult to reach within the family and were reluctant to leave their constituencies. In a few instances, the degree requirement became the only criterion for women's entry into politics. However, some female party-political workers, who had been seeking nominations for a long time, were rejected due to this criterion. It's important to note that women in Pakistan are disadvantaged by the degree requirement and that there are notable differences in the literacy rates between males and women. As a result, the degree requirement resulted in more limitations on women's involvement in official Pakistani politics.

Although most of the female MPs were relatively new to official politics, they frequently came from influential families in Pakistani politics. The majority of these female had been party activists in the past, and some of them had even fought for women's rights. But nothing is known about the social standing of female politicians. Bari (2009) found that many elected women MNAs came from the upper socioeconomic strata, which put them on par with male lawmakers (Zaidi, 2006). This conclusion was based on an analysis of the available data. Furthermore, wealthy households produced 26 of the entire pool of female legislators. Numerous them have served in elected positions or taken an active part in women's wings. In the end, a total of eleven female MPs from feudal families were chosen to local seats out of twelve (UNDP, 2005).

Moreover, a vast majority of women (85%) lack legislative experience. Only 56% of male legislators lack legislative experience, compared to these female legislators who ran in their first election. The bulk of the women in the National Assembly (63) were recent entrants. There were only ten (10) female legislators elected to National Assembly (UNDP, 2005). Two-thirds of female MPs, according to different research, have never run for office before (Bari, 2009). Additionally, it has been noted that very few female parliamentarians have prior cabinet experience.

5.7 Women MNAs' Performance in 12th National Assembly

5.7.1 General Election and Women Participation 2002

There was a notable increase in the proportion of female political participants in Pakistan's 2002 national elections. Thirteen of the sixty women who ran for general assembly seats in the National Assembly's fifty districts were victorious. On the other hand, 272 National Assembly seats were filled by male contenders (ECP, 2002). Moreover, women were successful in winning general seats in all four provinces, as opposed to the elections in 1997, where only 34 women ran for the general seats in the Pakistani National Assembly (Zia & Barj, 2009). However, in the Federal Capital and FATA, no women ran for general-election seats. Despite the increased participation of women, hundreds of thousands of females were unable to vote in these elections (Ahmed, 2002).

The 2002 elections also witnessed the entry of 16 women candidates, including nine national Assembly candidates who finished second in the previous elections and several seasoned politicians with solid political backgrounds. These women were either on party tickets or were independent candidates. One constituency saw women emerge as both the victors and the runners-up in the elections (UNDP, 2005).

5.7.2 Participation in Assembly Business

This facet of the political engagement of women altered Pakistan's political environment somewhat and dispelled the myth that women couldn't yet participate in electoral politics at the constituency level or that they weren't prepared or eager to join the mainstream of Pakistani politics. In the assembly discussions, female legislators also actively engaged and addressed a number of significant topics. They discussed a range of topics. Additionally, networking for a unified voice and capacity building as well as connections between women's legislators and the feminist movement have been seen as important turning points on the road to women's political empowerment. In this connection, the role of Zeb Gohar is much applauded. Miss Zeb Gohar was a female parliamentarian in the Assembly of 2002. In her introductory speech, she challenged the patriarchal mindset in the Assembly with polite but incisive words. Moreover, she felicitated increased representation of women in the parliament. She further suggested to the Prime Minister Jamali that he should be accessible, and hubris should not come in his conduct. Regarding women's participation, she suggested that women should also head standing committees of parliament as women were 2nd to none in their competence (NAP, 2002). Miss Mehnaz Rafi raised points regarding the method of running the house and role of women. She raised the issue of discrimination against women regarding giving time to women speakers. She said,

“I want to ask here that people from all political parties come and sit with you in the advisory committee, every time that meeting is held, and some things are decided on how to run the house, but what happens is that here more emphasis is placed on other things. It seems that some things are done here to please the galleries. I want to ask, what is the consequence of questions and motions and all these things in the House, and what is the need for it if the House is to be run in such a way that every man who stands up and speaks, He starts talking. So, Mr. Speaker, we are very sorry for this. The second thing is that we also regret that women are standing for hours and hours pressing buttons. We raise our hands, but your eyes are not directed towards it, and we are very disappointed that we cannot speak for ourselves. They cannot communicate with you. Please pay attention to women and listen to them”.

In response to this, the speaker agreed with the first point, however, he disagreed regarding discrimination against women in parliament (NAP-4 (4)/2003, Tuesday, the 4th March, 2003). Furthermore, Dr. Firdous Ashiq Awan is a significant parliamentarian who was elected on general seat from Sialkot. In the question answer session, she raised public issues regarding telecom companies. She said:

“I would like to hear some requests from the Minister for Information Technology about the mobile phones in Pakistan at this time. Connections are given and the companies working are affiliated with their ministry and so on. So, are such measures being taken at the government level that users who do not get the number by dialing ten times, how is it possible that one touch

connection is possible and someone should form a committee to account for them so that as much capacity as there is give them corresponding connection, don't bother the users with extra connection” (NAP-4 (1)/2003/450, Wednesday, the 26th Feb. 2003)

Mrs Rosina Tufail suggested regarding seats of ministers and raised the issue of sugarcane farmers in the Assembly. She said,

“After a long wait already, we have been given time. I want to raise two points. One is that the seats of the ministers should be moved to the front so that it is easy for everyone. There is a lot of trouble in finding ministers. The second thing is that it was being talked about a while ago. Sugarcane is a problem not only for producers and growers. What steps have been taken should be clearly explained because this is a very important problem that has to be faced” (NAP-IV (4)/2003/ptg/450, Tuesday, the 4th March, 2003).

Despite the fact that the majority of female MNAs were elected for the first time, women actively participated in 'debates' on a range of matters of national significance. However, command of the subject is necessary for this legislative action. Such abilities are necessary for all effective lawmakers to carry out their duties. Women took part in discussions about a range of topics, including trade, the environment, privatization, poverty, and employment, among others. On several occasions, female lawmakers actively engaged in discussions on issues affecting women. Even while women's participation in these discussions occasionally resulted in the political blame-game, for the most part, female lawmakers remarkably stated their worries and arguments on the women's issues. Total number of debates participated in five years (2002-2007) is summarized in table 5.

Table-5.4: Total Number of Debates Participated in Five Years (2002-2007) (Source: na.gov.pk)

Type of Intervention	Parliamentary Year					Total
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th	
Debate	18	88	119	105	50	380

5.7.3 The Questions Asked by women Legislators

The parliamentary process for questioning by legislators is outlined in Rules 69 to 86 of the "Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the NA, 2007" (National Assembly, 2002). This process aims to ensure accountability of the government towards the public's concerns. Additionally, it serves as a means to inform the representatives of the general population about the initiatives and programs undertaken by the ministries and divisions. The first hour of each parliamentary meeting is dedicated to this purpose, except for Thursdays when inquiries are not allowed. There are three types of questions that legislators ask:

- i) Starred Questions: The competent minister responds to these questions in writing and reads the written response aloud.
- ii) UN-Starred Questions: One written response is provided, but it is not read aloud.
- iii) Supplementary Questions: If a member requested more explanation after receiving a "starred question" response and did not feel satisfied. (National Assembly Official Database).

Only 10,099 (or 23 percent) of the parliamentarians' total 47,014 inquiries received a response from the administration. Statistics show that the administration does not take the concerns of the legislators seriously. Large numbers of questions; 27,218 (or 57 percent); failed, whereas just 8,950 (or 19 percent) were rejected (Figure 2).

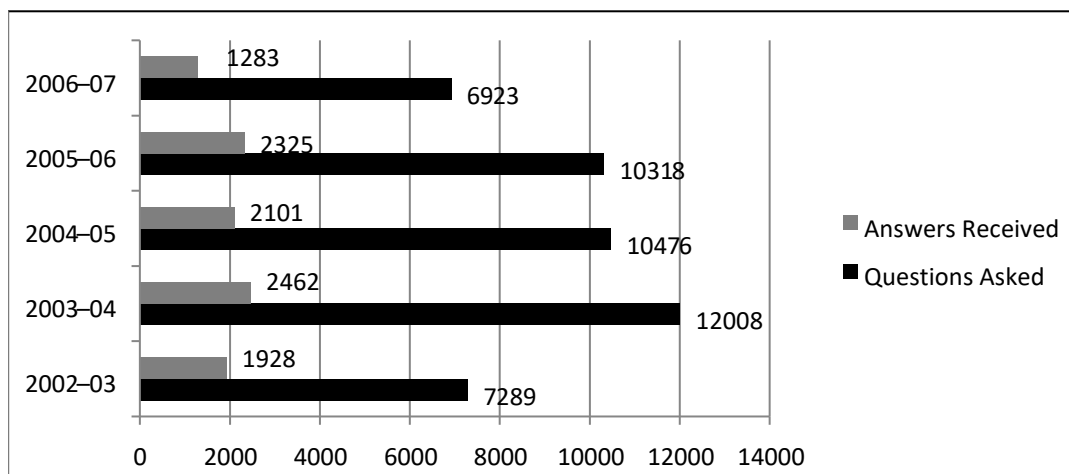


Figure-5.2: Number of Questions and Answers Received (Source: NA Official Database; National Assembly, 2008; PILDAT, 2007)

The findings show that each year, the appropriate government ministries are unable to respond to almost 70% of the inquiries posed by MNAs. The pathetic desire of lawmakers to demand and obtain answers to issues posed is shown in the above graph. The preceding graph clearly demonstrates that a significant portion of questions (26%) were answered in the first years, however only 19% were replied in the fifth years. This further demonstrates the ministers and other government agencies' lack of interest in such probes.

Women parliamentarians also actively participated in question answer sessions and represented their constituencies effectively. In session going on 'steps to improve Pakistan railways' Mrs. Bushra Rahman asked question saying that would the Minister for Railways be pleased to announce the steps, in details, being adopted by Government to improve the Pakistan Railways System and whether it is a fact that Government proposed to introduce new section; if so, the

details thereof along with the time by which the trains will be started on such sections? (NAP-IV(3)/2003/ptg/450, Monday, the 3rd March, 2003).

Similarly, in the same session, there was question answer session on discontinuation of PIA flights to Ashkabad. Mrs Bushra Rahman again raised a question and asked that would the Minister for Defense be happy to said that whether it was a fact that PIA had discontinued its flights to Ashkhabad; if so, the reasons therefor and whether Government intended to resolve the same; if so, when? In response of the question, Minister for Defense (Rao Sikandar Iqbal) replied that it was a fact that PIA flights to Ashkabad had been discontinued. Due to extremely poor loads and the resultant losses, PIA had to close these flights. The minister further said that in view of heavy losses on this route, introduction of flights to Ashkabad would not seem logical particularly in view 'of the present visa issuance position (NAP-IV(3)/2003/ptg/450, Monday, the 3rd March, 2003).

Furthermore, Representatives of the national assembly who are women ask roughly four times as many questions as members who males are do each year. Each female politician often asked roughly 26 questions each year, compared to only 7 questions per male legislator on average. It is important to keep in mind that male representation has been 78%, while female representation is only 21.3%. According to the data, women MNAs in the Parliament contribute more than they do in terms of numbers.

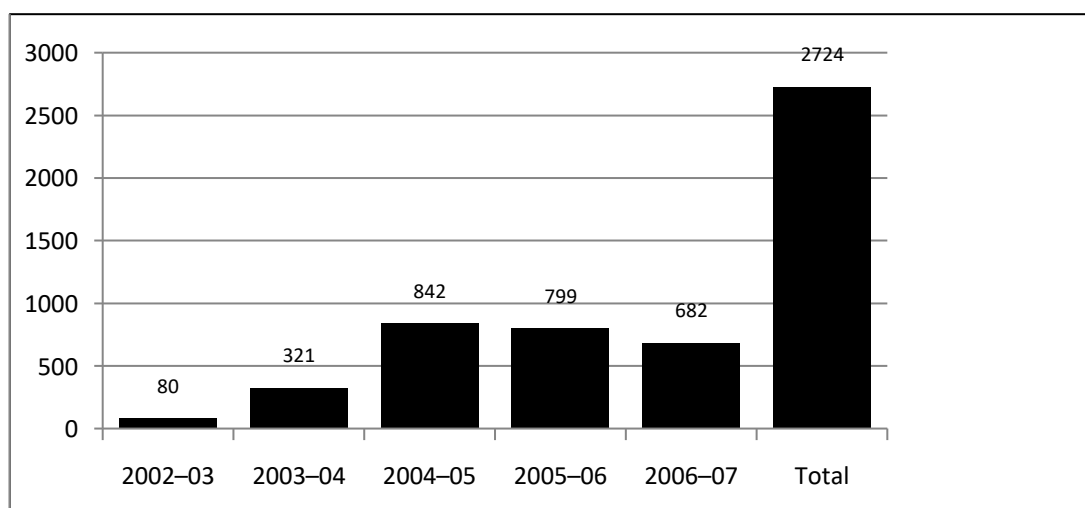


Figure-5.3: Number of Women's Questions that Were Answered (Source: NA Official Database; NA, 2008; PILDAT, 2007)

10,099 questions were addressed by the Treasury benches during the course of the five-year term of the assembly; 2,724 of these questions were from female lawmakers. The aforementioned statistic reveals that about 27% of inquiries that received responses were posed by female MNAs. With time, more women began answering inquiries, and this trend has

persisted. Women were given responses to 8% of questions in the first year, 13% in the second, 40% in the third, 34% in the fourth, and 53% in the fifth. This shows how deeply concerned female legislators were with the effectiveness along with accountability of the executive branch. The majority of female legislators need time to get familiar with the formal rules and unwritten customs of parliament since they lack political and legislative experience. The table above also shows that every year, the ranking of female MNAs improved. Number of women's questions that were answered is shown in Figure-1.3.

5.7.4 Women Legislators Participation in Parliamentary Resolutions

Another important item on the parliamentary agenda is resolutions.

The way resolutions are passed is outlined in Rule 157 of the National Assembly's "Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business." A resolution was moved by lawmakers on any issue of public interest, as per rule 157. A lawmaker is only allowed to move a maximum of five resolutions during a single session. An MNA introduced a resolution on their own or on behalf of the entire body. This is a crucial forum for lawmakers to voice their opinions and call on the government to address a pressing matter of public importance (NA, 2013).

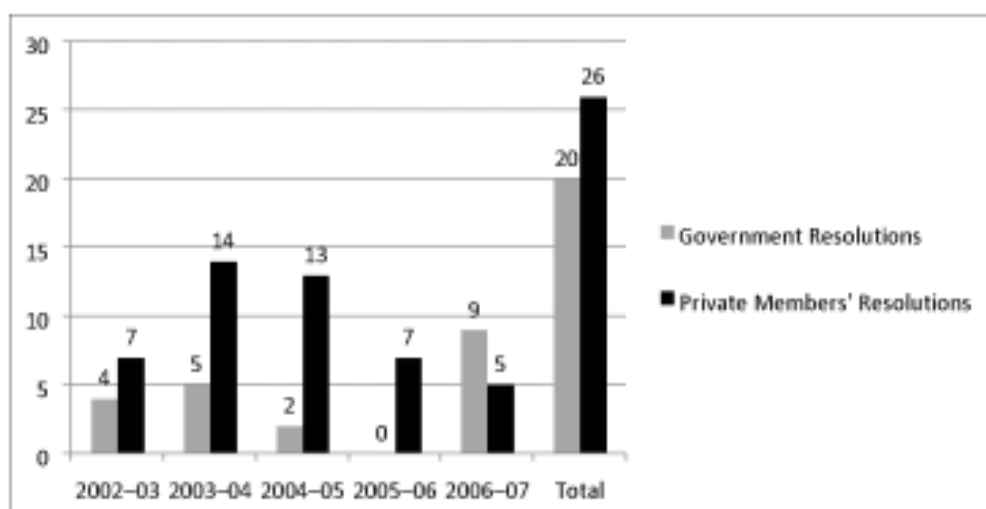


Figure-5.4: Number of Resolutions (Source: NA Official Database; NA, 2008; PILDAT, 2007)

During the parliamentary session, a total of 66 resolutions were proposed by the parliamentarians. Out of these, 46 resolutions were approved by the House, which accounts for approximately 70% of the total. The approved resolutions comprise of 20 official resolutions and 26 resolutions suggested by private individuals. 21% of the approved resolutions were moved by female parliamentarians. The distribution of Government Resolutions (26) and Private Members' Resolutions (20) was found to be similar. However, among the rejected

proposals, only one was a Government Resolution while the remaining three were Private Members' Resolutions. It is noteworthy that only 24% of the proposed resolutions were adopted, whereas three other proposals were rejected. For a better understanding of the distribution, please refer to Figure-1.4.

5.7.5 Private Members' Submission Quantity

Any legislator can file a legislative Bill in accordance with Rule 118. It is required to notify the assembly secretary and deliver a total of three copies of the bill that have been signed as well as a list of objections. The National Assembly Secretariat has competent staff that offers help and technical assistance to the members in creating the draught of the bill in order to prevent its rejection for any technical cause. 240 PMBs were filed by legislators from both the government and the opposition to the 12th National Assembly. Twenty-two PMBs, or more than fifty percent (202) of the total, were permitted entry, while 23 PMBs were not. The data as a whole indicate that members have varying levels of interest in proposing Private Members' Bills. An increased tendency was shown for the second legislative year, but after the subsequent year, a downward trend was seen (Figure 5).

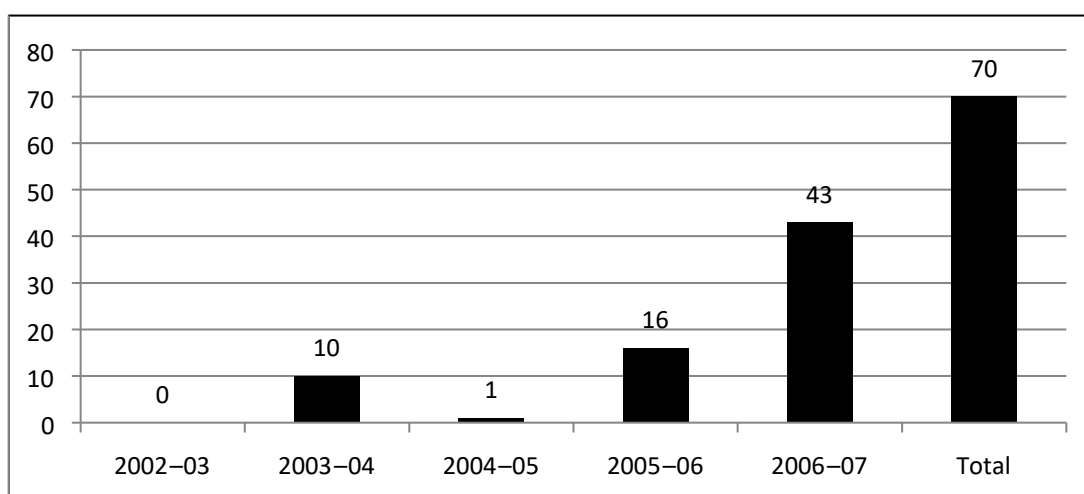


Figure-5.5: Private Members' Bills Allowed (Source: NA Official Database; NA, 2008; PILDAT, 2007)

Despite the lack of legislative training among most female legislators, they submitted a total of 101 Private Member Bills (PMBs), covering a wide range of topics and in collaboration with other lawmakers. However, the efforts of the majority went in vain as 60 (59%) of the PMBs were rejected. Only 41 (40%) of the female lawmakers' PMBs were introduced in the legislature, which represents over 57% of the total 70 PMBs filed in the parliament. Figure 6 below shows the bills put forward by female parliamentarians.

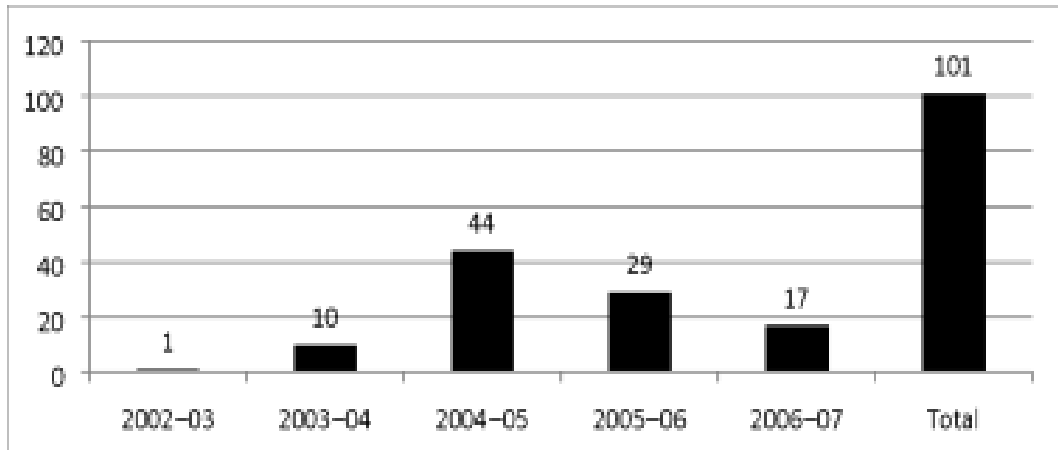


Figure-5.6: Bills Put Forward by Female MNAs (Source: NA Official Database; NA, 2008; PILDAT, 2007)

A variety of women's issues-focused private member bills (PMBs) were introduced by female MNAs from various political parties. Sherry Rehman of the PPP in particular proposed the "Prevention of Domestic Violence Bill 2005," and a year later, Mehnaz Rafi, another female member, introduced the "Domestic Violence against Women (Prevention and Protection) Bill 2006." The two PMBs were consolidated and then sent to the relevant Standing Committee for review. It is noteworthy that the ladies who provided the PMBs belonged to different parties, as Figure 7 shows.

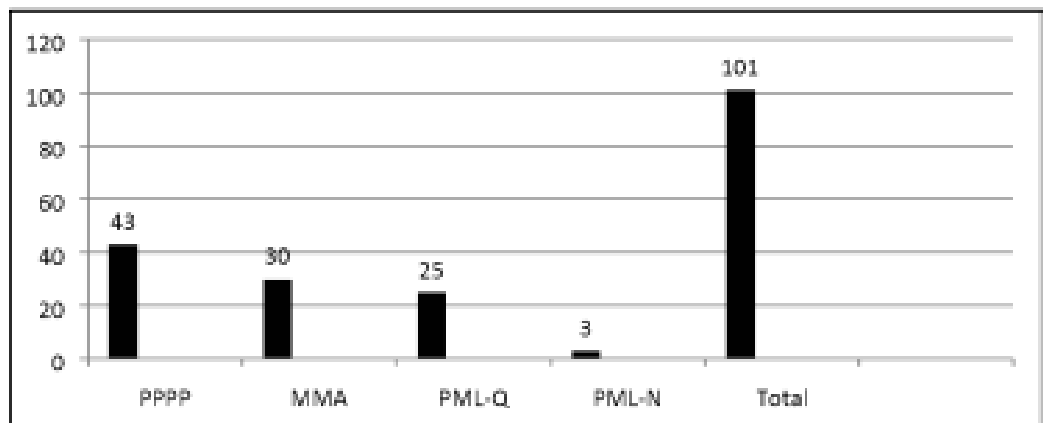


Figure-5.7: Female legislators' Private Members' Bills: A Party-Wise Analysis (Source: NA Official Database; NA, 2008; PILDAT, 2007)

The mainstream of Private Members' Bills were presented by the Pakistan People's Party's female legislators. These female legislators filed more than (43%) of the PMBs. Given that this party had just 20 female lawmakers, this was an impressive achievement. Female parliamentarians from the Alliance of Religious Parties (MMA) continued to be highly active and submitted 30 PMBs. Only two female lawmakers of the party, Mehnaz Rafi and Kashmala Tariq, moved three PMBs from the PML-N, whereas the ruling party's (PML-Q) female

members only filed 25 PMBs and 19 MMBs. Table 6 indicates the ten top female MNAs with the highest number of private member bills from 2002-07.

Table-5.5: Top Ten Female MNAs with Highest Number of Private Member Bills from 2002-07 (Source: Mirza and Wagha, 2009, PILDAT, 2007)

Sr#	Name of MNA	Number of PMBs	Percent of Total
		Submitted	PMBs
1	Sherry Rehman	11	10.86
2	Samina Raheel Qazi	11	10.89
3	Kashmala Tariq	11	10.89
4	Mehnaz Rafi	08	7.92
5	Belum Hasnain	08	7.92
6	Samina Khalid Ghurki	06	5.94
7	Dr. Farida Ahmad Siddiqui	05	4.95
8	Yasmin Rehman	05	4.95
9	Syeda Farhana Khalid Banoori	05	4.95
10	Robina Sadaat Qaimkhani	05	4.95
	Total	75	74.25

The collective efforts of three female MNAs resulted in a 14% contribution to the overall legislation count of 240. Additionally, they presented 33% of the 101 bills put forth by female MPs. Notably, these three individuals were responsible for introducing more than half (21 or 48%) of the 45 laws that directly impacted women, highlighting their unwavering commitment to resolving women's issues.

- Hudood Ordinance (Repeal) Bill 2005.
- The Pakistan Environmental Protection (Amendment) Bill, 2005.
- Protection of Serving Women Bill, 2005.
- Uplift and Welfare of Women Bill, 2005.
- Prevention of Domestic Violence Bill, 2006

Figure 5.8: The measures introduced as groupings, each of which included female-legislators

- The ban on honour killings was enacted on July 30, 2004
- Hudood (Enforcement of Zina and Qazaf) Bill, 2006.
- Act of 2006 amending the Marriage Functions (Prohibition of Ostentatious Displays and Wasteful Expenses) Act
- Act of 2006 to Amend Criminal Laws to Protect Women. (na.gov.pk)

Figure 5.9: The government introduced such laws on women's rights

5.7.6 Women Participation in Calling Attention Notices

Rule 88 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the National Assembly of 2007 clearly outlines the process for a Calling Attention Notice (CAN). Any member has the right to inquire about a minister's response to a matter of critical public importance, however, the Speaker's approval must be obtained beforehand. If the Speaker grants permission, the concerned ministry must provide a prompt statement or may request more time to speak later. It should be noted that a member is strictly prohibited from providing more than one notification at a time (NA, 2013).

Legislators from the Finance Ministry and Opposition benches submitted a total of 3,157 CANs, however government officials did not take these CANs of public concern seriously. Only 329 people (10%) had statements made. This suggests that the vast majority of the 2,815 CANs (89%) were either rejected by the speaker or expired as a result of a time constraint. A lot of the important issues of public relevance addressed in many of these CANs received the least attention from concerned government ministries (Figure 8).

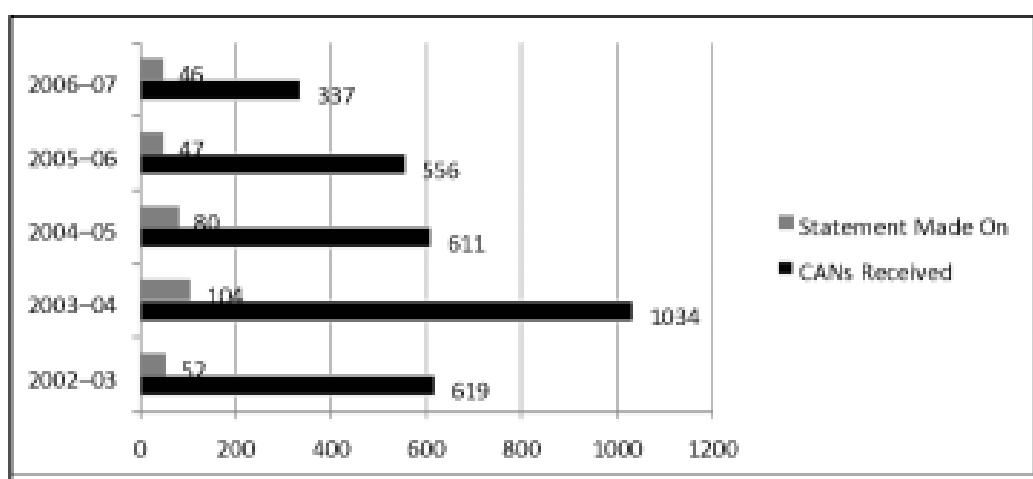


Figure-5.10: Total Amount of CANs Received as of (2002-07) and Statement Made (Source: NA Official Database; NA, 2008; PILDAT, 2007)

The government only answered to 99 of the female legislators' CANs (30%). According to their numbers and legislative experience, the female parliamentarians make an impressive contribution, as seen in the above graph. This suggests that the government is not interested in responding to these kinds of legislative measures. The aforementioned chart shows another intriguing aspect, which is the decrease in the quantity of CANs acquired with time. It demonstrates that lawmakers started filing fewer CANs as a result of barely 10% of them obtaining consideration. This pattern has to be reversed, and each succeeding administration should give all parliamentary legislative activity the same level of priority.

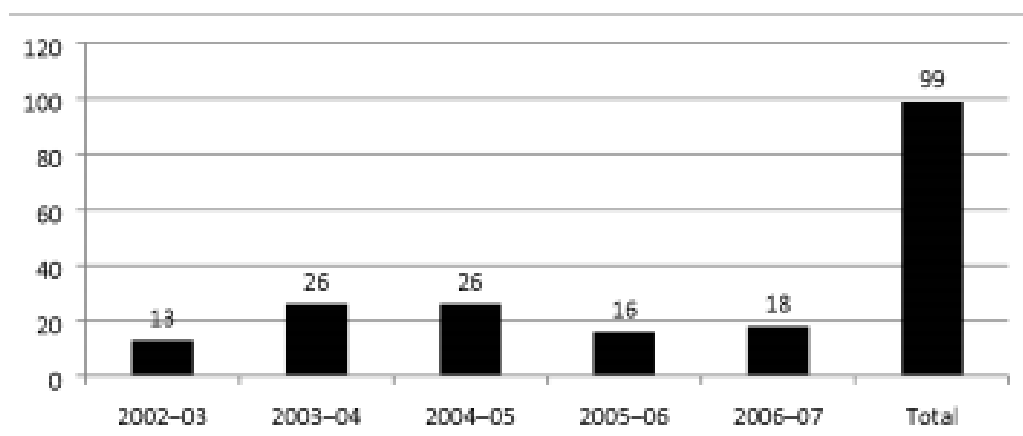


Figure-5.11: Calling Attention Notices by Women (2002–07) (Source: NA Official Database; National Assembly, 2008; PILDAT, 2007)

Only 329 CANs were the subject of remarks from government representatives over the five-year period 2002-2007. In contrast to their number and legislative experience, the data show that female lawmakers made up a larger portion of the total CANs that the government responded (Figure 9).

5.7.7 Points of Order Raised by Women Legislators in 12th National Assembly

Technically, point of order is utilized by the members of the NA both men and women for raising some urgent issue in five years of National Assembly tenure. There were 306 points of order brought by female lawmakers in all. The most points of order interventions were made by Ms. Naheed Khan, who did so 36 times. She was followed by Ms. Mehnaz Rafi (31), Ms. Sherry Rehman (17), Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi (16), and Ms. Kashmala Tariq (12). Total the number of Orders raised in the five years (2002 to 2007) are summarized here.

Table-5.6: Interventions in Parliamentary Years (Source: Aurat publication and information services Foundation, 2005)

Type of Intervention	Parliamentary Year					Total
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th	
Point of Order	24	32	98	80	72	306

In five years, female lawmakers called for 306 total points of order. The number of points of order produced by women climbed gradually over the following years but stayed low over the first two years (24 and 32, respectively), demonstrating that their performance level has consistently improved with time and experience (Table 5.6).

5.7.8 Total Number of Female Legislators' Interventions in Parliament

The in-depth study of female legislators' involvement in parliamentary proceedings has shown that it has steadily increased with each passing year. Data shows that female lawmakers made eleven interventions each day on average. If one considers the political and parliamentary backgrounds of these female MPs, this is an excellent performance. For them to carry additional legislative measures, the bulk of the female lawmakers require education and parliamentary experience. Only 58 female lawmakers made all of these legislative changes. In a report titled "A Five-Year Report on: Performance of Women Parliamentarians in the 12th NA (2002-7)," Naeem Mirza and Wasim Agha state 82. In the first legislative year, 28 of the female MPs who were still in office made fewer interventions. The majority of them were from the opposing benches. It also demonstrates that opposition parties boycotted and protested during the first legislative year, which have improved the performance of these active female MPs from rival political parties. Though an assessment of their performance as MPs revealed a different picture, male members of various political parties had expressed skepticism concerning the active engagement of such quota women. Total legislative interventions by women parliamentarians are summarized in Table 8.

Table-5.7: Total Legislative Interventions by Women Parliamentarians (Source: NA Official Database; NA, 2008; PILDAT, 2007)

Year	Questions	Debates	Resolutions	Points of Order	CANs	Adjournment	an	PMBs	Total
2002-3	80	18	02	24	13	04		01	142
2003-4	321	88	01	32	26	14		10	493
2004-5	542	32	06	98	26	21		44	1160
2005-6	799	26	-	80	16	15		29	1044
2006-7	682	14	05	72	18	15		17	859
Total	2784	69	14	306	99	69		101	3698

The data in the aforementioned table demonstrates how differently female parliamentarians participate in different legislative tasks. Women legislators take a deep interest in a variety of issues. The quantity of questions raised by the female parliamentarians makes this evident.

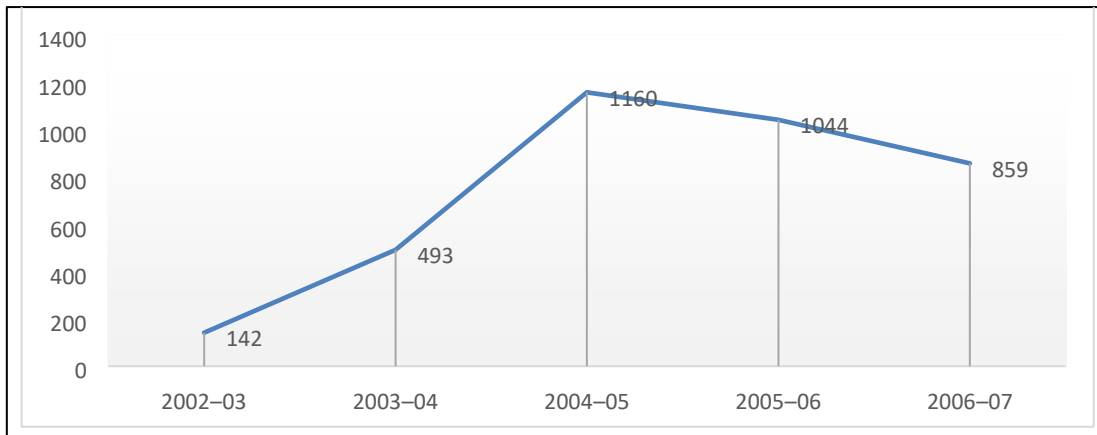


Figure-5.12: The annual number of women MNA interventions (2002-07) (Source: NA Official Database; NA, 2008; PILDAT, 2007)

The performance metrics also reveal a sharp increase of parliamentary intrusions during the first two years, followed by a somewhat downward trend in the following years. Even in the fourth legislative year, the same tendency persisted, and it did not change throughout the last parliamentary year. One female journalist offers the following explanation for this phenomenon: There have been ongoing protests and exits from the benches of the opposition, which have an effect on construction activity. Due to the lack of expertise among most of the women, they require training in order to acquire the technical details of other operations. Later, all of these female lawmakers do better in all legislative tasks. The annual number of women MNA interventions (2002-07) is shown in Figure 10.

5.7.9 2004 Criminal Law (Amendment) Act

The Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 2004, is a legal document introduced in the National Parliament on January 14. The bill aims to address "honor" murders, a barbaric form of violence prevalent in Pakistan. It was proposed by Sherry Rehman, a member of the legislature from the Pakistan Peoples' Party, as a Private Member Bill. In addition to the government's previous law on the same topic, two other Private Member Bills were also presented by female legislatures. These proposals suggest changes to several of the current legislation. However, the administration has consistently advocated postponing the bill until the following session. It is crucial to provide a brief history of this law to understand its significance in combating "honor" killings.

Later, female politicians from the ruling party began to criticise Sherry Rehman's PMB. Her measure was referred to by these female lawmakers as a political slogan rather than an actual piece of legislation. Achieve accusing the opposition parties of using the law to achieve their political objectives, the Prime Minister's Advisor on Women's Development (Mirza and Wagma, 2009). The administration is drafting its own measure on "honour" killing, Ms. Bakhtiar

informed the House on July 28, as there appeared to be agreement on taking up the bill. She also voiced her opposition to the opposing parties' measure. On July 30, 2004, Ms. Bakhtiar introduced a formal bill in the House. The formal measure was approved by the National Assembly on October 26, 2004.

5.7.9.1 Key Points of the Law

- A crime done in the name of ghairat or honor, or in accordance with comparable cultural conventions, is referred to as a honor crime.
- The offender would not be permitted to waive the crime or compound it.
- Depending on the specifics of each case, a sentence of qisas (death for death) or life in prison is imposed.
- The punishment for giving a female in badal-i-sulah, whether for marriage or another reason, is strict incarceration.
- In situations involving zina (illegal sex), the judge must provide approval before the police takes a lady into custody.
- Section 345 of the Code of Criminal Procedure (CrPC) was amended to include a subsection (2A) that mandates a court review and judgment before compounding honor crimes.

However, critics were of the view that this amendment was merely a symbolic gesture and lacked any real impact. (*The News*, Sunday, October 17, 2004). The law is also criticized by the Asian Centre for Human Rights (2004). It was noted that the issue of compounding has not been covered by the law. In several instances, the victim's successor offered the offenders forgiveness.

5.7.9.2 Women's Protection (Criminal Laws Amendment) Act of 2006

Civil society and proponents of women's rights have been pressing for the Hudood Ordinance to be repealed since it has been unjustly applied to women. Laws that discriminate, like the Hudood Ordinance, are frequently applied unfairly against women. Numerous discriminatory laws and customs of Pakistan are falsely justified in the name of Islam, but are actually founded on misinterpretations of Islamic principles, according to the 1987 report of the Commission of Investigation for Women. This distinction needs to be made very apparent. Additionally, the Council of Islamic Ideology has stated that there is a dire need to modify the Hudood Law to make it in line with Quran and Sunnah". (*Dawn*, January 28, 2006).

The 'Protection of Women Bill, 2006' was placed on the House's agenda for discussion on November 15, 2006. This law has been the subject of a protracted discussion. Instead of being

a debate on the measure, it turned into a theological argument (Bari, 2009). Numerous MNAs representing religious organizations gave lengthy remarks opposing the proposal. By the end of 2006, the self-proclaimed guardians of the Quran and the Sunnah began to oppose the concept of changing the Zina Ordinance (Reynolds, 2009). Even two female lawmakers, Dr. Farida Ahmed and Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi, vehemently opposed and rejected the proposed revisions. In order to illustrate the viewpoints of religious groups on important women's concerns, text from Dr. Farida Ahmed's address as an MNA for a religious coalition (MNA) should be produced in this context.

“We want to convince the House that it is against the Quran and Hadith... it has challenged our chastity. It is an effort to make the girls of our family... it is an effort to convert our unmarried girls into unmarried mothers... you say it's a bill of protection. It is a shame for women that it is not to secure women but unsecure women. Sir, women's honour and chastity is not safe” (Text from the original debate dated 15 November 2006).

Presenting the opinions of liberal political parties is equally important. In a lengthy address in favour of the measure, Ms. Sherry Rehman from PPPP was heard. She stated:

“I have to say with great regret that today in the House; debate is going to establish that equal rights for women and women's rights movement are part of uncivilized or un-Islamic movement. It is very sad, and I think it is going to negate the Islamic spirit of tolerance... they are inculcating the religion in politics for their political objectives. Article 52 of the constitution clearly says that the state shall do everything to protect its women and women will be equal under the constitution of Pakistan. Our colleagues on both sides have realized that there are discriminatory laws, and we are here to repeal those laws. I feel that Islam does not stop us. Islam does not like injustice. It is the biggest sin in Islam” (Text from the original debate dated 15 November 2006).

These two excerpts from debates held in the National Assembly demonstrate how the presence of liberal and traditional parties with contrasting perspectives on women's issues has a bigger impact on laws pertaining to significant women's issues. However, the opposition parties, including the PPPP and ANP, backed the measure as well. The MQM also supported it, and its legislative leader, Dr. Farooq Sattar, gave a lengthy statement in support.

The bill was nonetheless rejected by MMA. The Pakistan Muslim League-N concurred with the MMA's position. A significant religious political group, Jama'at-I-Islami, immediately protested the bill. Party leaders asserted that this measure;

“Would promote adultery in society and would further boost obscenity, vulgarity, and Western culture in Pakistan. Musharraf was “targeting the Islamic ideology, the Two Nation theory and the sovereignty of Quranic laws in the name of so called enlightened moderation only to please the U.S.” (Dawn, September 5, 2006).

This law is criticized by both human rights advocates and members of the religious community. The Hudood Ordinances were completely repealed, as advocated by liberals, but religious organizations felt that this law went against Islamic principles.

5.8 Issues Faced by Women Parliamentarians In-House

The issues that the female legislators encountered in the house were also discussed. In the fourth session, Rozina Tufail sought seats for the ministers in the front while Mehnaz Rafi claimed that the women weren't given sufficient time on the floor of the house. Tehmina Doltana advocated the admission of private channels during the ninth session. She said that, despite being a government channel, PTV was not treating the opposition fairly. As a result, there wasn't adequate media coverage of the opposition members' discussion. Mehnaz Rafi urged that the participants of the tenth session receive technical support for their research projects. They said the opposition sought little more than media attention. They also insisted on personnel and computer resources being supplied to the MNAs. Kashmala Tariq and Mehnaz Rafi pushed for a limit on the number of questions that could be discussed during the question period during the twenty-third session. Samina Khalid Ghruki proposed an independent residential area for lawmakers during the twenty-eighth session. Samia Raheel Qazi sought a crèche facility for the female lawmakers during the 36th session of the National Assembly so they could concentrate on their work.

Samia Raheel Qazi expressed her opinions during a seminar titled "Women in Parliament Overcoming Barriers," which was sponsored by the United Nations Development Program Good Governance Practice Community. She said that women weren't given sufficient time to speak in parliament and that it was up to them to seize the chance to share their opinions with others. She said that women MNAs played a very poor role and were powerless to bring attention to matters affecting women's wellbeing (DAWN: April 2003). The following Table 9 summarize the 25 Most Active Women Parliamentarians of the 12th National Assembly

Table-5.8: Most Active Women Parliamentarians of the 12th National Assembly (Data from the Secretariat of the National Assembly of Pakistan)

Sr. No.	Name and Party	Total No. of Initiatives	
1.	Ms. Yasmeen Rehman (PPP)		322
	Questions (answered)	286	Participation in Debates 17
	Points of Order	3	Calling Attention Notices 3
	Privilege Motions	3	Resolutions (moved) 1
	Adjournment Motions	4	Private Members Bills 5
2.	Ms. Fauzia Wahab (PPP)		242
	Questions (answered)	208	Participation in Debates 18
	Points of Order	10	Calling Attention Notices 4
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed) -
	Adjournment Motions	1	Private Members Bills 1
3.	Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi (MMA)		238*
	Questions (answered)	180	Participation in Debates 21
	Points of Order	16	Calling Attention Notices 6
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed) -
	Adjournment Motions	2	Private Members Bills 11
4.	Ms. Beelum Hasnain (PPPP)		231
	Questions (answered)	218	Participation in Debates 4
	Points of Order	-	Calling Attention Notices -
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (moved) 1
	Adjournment Motions	-	Private Members Bills 8
5.	Ms Mehnaz Rafi (PML-Q)		187
	Questions (answered)	99	Participation in Debates 25
	Points of Order	31	Calling Attention Notices 15
	Privilege Motions	1	Resolutions (moved/passed) 6
	Adjournment Motions	2	Private Members Bills 8
6.	Ms. Inyat Begum (MMA)		179
	Questions (answered)	168	Participation in Debates 8
	Points of Order	1	Calling Attention Notices -
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed) -
	Adjournment Motions	-	Private Members Bills 2
7.	Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki (PPP)		165
	Questions (answered)	151	Participation in Debates 3
	Points of Order	3	Calling Attention Notices 2

	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	-
	Adjournment	-	Private Members Bills	6
	Motions			
8	Ms. Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q)			132
	Questions (answered)	89	Participation in Debates	11
	Points of Order	12	Calling Attention Notices	6
	Privilege Motions	1	Resolutions (passed)	1
	Adjournment	-	Private Members Bills	11
	Motions			
9.	Ms. Shakila Khanam Rashid (PPP)			114
	Questions (answered)	103	Participation in Debates	8
	Points of Order	1	Calling Attention Notices	1
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	-
	Adjournment	-	Private Members Bills	1
	Motions			
10	Ms. Sherry Rehman (PPP)			106
	Questions (answered)	51	Participation in Debates	16
	Points of Order	17	Calling Attention Notices	6
	Privilege Motions	1	Resolutions (passed)	-
	Adjournment	4	Private Members Bills	11
	Motions			
11.	Ms. Kaniz Aisha Munawar (MMA)			103
	Questions (answered)	81	Participation in Debates	14
	Points of Order	4	Calling Attention Notices	1
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	1
	Adjournment	-	Private Members Bills	2
	Motions			
12.	Dr. Farida Ahmed (MMA)			101
	Questions (answered)	76	Participation in Debates	10
	Points of Order	8	Calling Attention Notices	1
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	-
	Adjournment	1	Private Members Bills	5
	Motions			
13.	Ms. Rubina Saadat Qaimkhwani (PPP)			100
	Questions (answered)	77	Participation in Debates	9
	Points of Order	7	Calling Attention Notices	1
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	-
	Adjournment	1	Private Members Bills	5
	Motions			
14.	Ms. Ishrat Ashraf (PML-N)			95
	Questions (answered)	71	Participation in Debates	9
	Points of Order	8	Calling Attention Notices	3
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	-

	Adjournment	1	Private Members Bills	3	
	Motions				
15.	Ms. Nafessa Munawar Raja (PPP)				92
	Questions (answered)	79	Participation in Debates	5	
	Points of Order	7	Calling Attention Notices	-	
	Privilege Motions	1	Resolutions (passed)	-	
	Adjournment	-	Private Members Bills	-	
	Motions				
16.	Ms. Bilqees Saif (MMA)				89
	Questions (answered)	58	Participation in Debates	15	
	Points of Order	12	Calling Attention Notices	1	
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	-	
	Adjournment	2	Private Members Bills	1	
	Motions				
17.	Ms. Jamila Ahmed (MMA)				82
	Questions (answered)	78	Participation in Debates	2	
	Points of Order		Calling Attention Notices	1	
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	-	
	Adjournment	-	Private Members Bills	1	
	Motions				
18.	Ms. Naheed Khan (PPP)				81*
	Questions (answered)	18	Participation in Debates	20	
	Points of Order	36	Calling Attention Notices	1	
	Privilege Motions	2	Resolutions (passed)	-	
	Adjournment	3	Private Members Bills	-	
	Motions				
19.	Ms. Farhana Khalid Banoori (MMA)				81
	Questions (answered)	65	Participation in Debates	6	
	Points of Order	1	Calling Attention Notices	2	
	Privilege Motions	1	Resolutions (passed)	-	
	Adjournment	1	Private Members Bills	5	
	Motions				
20.	Ms. Mahreen Anwar Raja (PPPP)				75
	Questions (answered)	53	Participation in Debates	9	
	Points of Order	5	Calling Attention Notices	3	
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	-	
	Adjournment	1	Private Members Bills	4	
	Motions				
21.	Ms. Gule Farkhanda (PML-Q)				73
	Questions (answered)	46	Participation in Debates	8	
	Points of Order	13	Calling Attention Notices	3	
	Privilege Motions	1	Resolutions (passed)	-	
	Adjournment	1	Private Members Bills	1	
	Motions				

22.	Dr. Azra Fazal (PPP)			72
	Questions (answered)	53	Participation in Debates	10
	Points of Order	5	Calling Attention Notices	2
	Privilege Motions	1	Resolutions (passed)	-
	Adjournment Motions	-	Private Members Bills	1
23.	Ms. Shamshad Sattar Bachani (PPP)			69
	Questions (answered)	52	Participation in Debates	7
	Points of Order	7	Calling Attention Notices	1
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	-
	Adjournment Motions	1	Private Members Bills	1
24.	Ms. Rukia Khanam Soomro (PPPP)			52
	Questions (answered)	51	Participation in Debates	1
	Points of Order	-	Calling Attention Notices	-
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	-
	Adjournment Motions	-	Private Members Bills	-
25.	Ms. Shagufta Jumani (PPP)			51
	Questions (answered)	36	Participation in Debates	5
	Points of Order	7	Calling Attention Notices	2
	Privilege Motions	1	Resolutions (passed)	-
	Adjournment Motions	-	Private Members Bills	-

5.9 Parliamentarians' Overall Performance as Compared with Men

Comparing the effectiveness of male and female politicians is not one of the study's primary objectives, but some hazy evaluation is done here in certain domains to determine the degree of performance of female legislators (Table 10). The following sections are where some comparison numbers have been produced from the writers of this study's exercise in examining National Assembly debates:

1. Questions
2. Calling Attention Notices
3. Private Members Bills
4. Resolutions
5. Privilege and Adjournment Motions

Additionally, it is important to analyze the performance of women and men parliamentarians over a period of five years (2002-2007) for comparison purposes. This analysis involves technical details and requires expertise in the field.

Table-5.9: Number of Intervention by Men and Women (Source: Own compilation using information from Pakistan's National Assembly's Secretariat)

Sr No	Type of Interventions	Total Moved During 5 Years	By Men Member s (269)	By Women Members (73)	%age Share of Women Members
1	Questions (Answers)	10099	7375	2724	27%
2	Calling Attention Notices (Statement made on)	329	230	99	30%
3	Private Members Bills	240	140	101	42%
4	Resolutions (passed)	46	35	11	24%
5	Privilege & Adjournment Motions (brought before the House)	864	795	69	8%

Female parliamentarians in the National Assembly made significant contributions to legislative proceedings from 2002 to 2007, also referred as the 12th parliament term, it has been noticed that political potentialities in Pakistan and other countries are weakened, underreported, and undervalued.

5.10 Party Membership of the 25 Active Female MNA's

With 14 MNAs on the list and 1772 projects shared between them, the PPP has the biggest group of the 25 most active women MNAs. They are followed by seven female politicians from the MMA, who have a total of 784 initiatives, three female MNAs from the PML-Q, who have 392 initiatives, and one from the PML-N, who has 95 initiatives. When compared to the parties' combined strength in the House, the involvement of female MNAs from the PPP and MMAs PML-Q appears much greater. In the National Assembly, there were 20 female legislators from the PPP and 13 from the MMA. This means that 14 of the 20 female MNAs from the PPP actively participated in legislative activity in the House, compared to 7 of the 13 female MNAs from the MMA. There were only three female legislators from the PML-N in the House; one of them is on the list of 25, while the other two were also highly involved in House affairs. (Aurat Publication and information Services Foundation, 2004)

The list's performance by the ruling party PML-Q, which has the most female lawmakers; 29, in the House is disappointing because only three of its lawmakers were able to make it onto the list of 25. In actuality, just three of the 25 most active female lawmakers in the 12th National Assembly were from the ruling party; the other 22 belonged to the opposition. Women lawmakers who are ranked lower than 25th have made total interventions that range from 48 at the top to 1. Ms. Tehmina Daultana (PML-N) participated actively in debates, contributing 48

interventions in overall, "Ms. Bushra Rahman (43) and Ms. Memoona Hashmi (34), Ms. Razia Aziz (28), Dr. Rozina Tufail (27), Dr. Firdous Ashiq Awan (26), Ms. Ayla Malik (25), Ms. Ambareen Naeem (25), Ms. Zeb Gohar Ayub (22), Ms. Khurshid Afghan (20), Ms. Shahida Akhtar Ali (20), Ms. Asiya Nasir (19), Dr. Fehmida Mirza (16), Ms. Tahira Asif (16), Ms. Fuzia Habib (16), Ms. Khalida Mohsin Qureshi (15), Ms. Shamim Akhtar 14, Ms. Shabina Talat 13, and Dr. Noor Jahan Panezai (13)". The remaining thirteen female members of parliament, namely "Ms. Tehmina Dasti, Ms. Naseem Akhtar Ch, Ms. Robina Shaheen Wattoo, Ms. Afsar Begum, Ms. Shahzadi Umer Zadi Tiwana, Ms. Asiya Azeem, Ms. Nayyer Sultana, Ms. Rehana Aleem Mashhadi, Ms. Shahnaz Sheikh, Ms. Rukhsana Bangash, Ms. Saima Akhtar Bharwana, Dr. Attiya Inayatullah, and Ms. Riffat Amjad" made interventions that ranged from thirteen to one at a time.

5.11 Priorities for Female Legislators for the Next Five Years

At most, the majority of female legislators who were elected to "reserved seats" were expected to bring up women's rights concerns and introduce legislation specifically targeted at women. But after being granted reserved seats in the legislature, the women broke with this predetermined duty and expanded their perspectives to include all areas of public life. They discussed problems pertaining to their "virtual" constituency, including those pertaining to women's rights, human rights, government, foreign policy, the economy, trade, and the environment. Women's rights concerns, public welfare issues, and governance issues have been divided into three broad areas for the purpose of clarity.

5.11.1 Problems of Public Welfare

A variety of environmental issues were discussed by the female participants of the 12th National Assembly with an emphasis on technical aspects. The selling of leaded gasoline and its effects on the environment, air and industrial pollution, recycling of plastic bags and tin waste, worries about contamination from the leather industry, the uprooting and planting of Palm trees in Islamabad by CDA, the cutting down of trees in the Murree area and Kotli Satian, and a 13% increase in the price of LGP were some of these. Furthermore, they delineated the principal health-related issues, including the care provided to civilians in CMH, Lahore; the commercialization of generic drugs; the reduction in the expense of the hiv vaccine; human trafficking; and the utilization of opioids for anesthesia in public hospital; the high cost of medications in comparison to India; hepatitis immunization; the profit made by cigarette companies and the prohibition on smoking in public; the discrepancy between government and UN statistics regarding the number of cases of HIV in Pakistan; local companies producing drugs for multinational corporations; prices for the same medications by different businesses; issuing licenses for the manufacture of pharmaceuticals in violation of Drug Act 1976; creating

medications at home rather than in factories; setting up contemporary facilities for liver grafting? registered pharmaceutical businesses; the nation needs more Basic Health Units; providing imprisoned inmates with access to clean water to drink; Conflict between PMDC and HEC over designation of teaching hospitals; private physicians setting exam fees; lack of access to hepatitis medications; hiring physiotherapists for Basic Health Units in remote regions; Women in Swat are being urged by Maulvi Fazlullah to refuse giving their children polio; these facilities are being used by foreign pharmaceutical corporations (Waga & Mirza, 2009).

5.11.2 Women-specific Issues

The challenges that women in many spheres of life encountered were perhaps the ones that were discussed the most on the house floor. The female MPs addressed a veritable topics, including domestic abuse and gender discrimination. In her discussion of the issues facing female entrepreneurs, Mehrin Anwer Raja said that the Export Promotion Bureau (formed in 1963) need to assist women as well. By presidential edict in November 2006, it was supplanted by the Trade Development Authority of Pakistan (TDAP), which now provides money for their initiatives. This is especially important for lower-income women who have insufficient resources to pay the EPB. The minister reported to the house that a women-entrepreneur program had been started for lower-level microfinance. Yasmin Rehman also requested information on the ratio of monies allocated to female entrepreneurs as well as any plans to enhance funding. She also inquired about the percentage of women in the exhibition as well as the selection procedures used by EPB to choose representatives for international shows. The minister said that a 15% quota was set aside for female business owners.

Mehnaz Rafi, the leader of the Standing Committee for Women Development, stated that a general shift in society's perception of women was necessary. Speaking at a seminar on "Women's Employment: Concerns and Working Conditions," she stressed that in addition to educating women about their rights, the government needed to take decisive action to shield them from all forms of discrimination. The Chief Minister's Advisor, Saba Sadiq, stated the same thing: "Islam guarantees acceptance of women in society and protects them from discrimination." Although there were multiple provisions for gender equality in the constitution, much more was needed to accomplish the goal. In order to strengthen women in all spheres of life, government actions and societal participation were needed (DAWN: December 12, 2006).

Tehmina Dusti voiced her worries regarding women and claimed that it was inhumane to confine women behind barriers. She expressed her thanks to the leader of the nation for granting women more seats so they could participate in politics. However, they ought to have the

opportunity to participate in the legislative process as well. Mehnaz Rafi emphasized the need of encouraging women's education. She also said that there weren't enough women's colleges and schools. Additionally, there are enough issues in the market for qualified women. Their initiatives are not being advertised in the market, and they were not given loans. Since 70% of people live in villages, capacity building programs were necessary for women who live in rural regions. (NAP-24 (14)/04. June 21, 2004; NAP-22 (18), October 19, 2004)

Mehnaz Rafi will bring forward a resolution on the event in Gujranwala where women were barred from participating in sports. She raised the objection that women should not be denied fundamental human rights during the resolution discussion. At all costs, they should denounce acts of violence and protest directed at women. She went on to say that religious beliefs should not prevent women from engaging in healthful activities. Yasmin Rehman concurred with her and stated that in light of the Enlightened Moderation philosophy, women should be granted their rights. Resolution was approved, but Samia Raheel Qazi opposed, saying women's rights had nothing to do with riding a horse or doing sports. Their rights were protected by Islam long before the West. The principles of Islam state that women should be granted their rights. (NAP-24(2), April, 12, 2005)

Additionally, Beelum Husnain said that the regulation will interfere with women's family lives. Mehnaz Rafi, however, asserted that women need to have equal rights and that, in the event that they were employed, their families ought to assist them. Regarding the steps taken by the Ministry of Women Development to put the workplace ethics code into practice and end sexual harassment of female employees, Kashmala Tariq had a question. At a discussion on the "Role of Women in Labor Movement," it was asked that men and women receive equal pay for labor of a similar type. According to MNA Mehnaz Rafi, the administration is focusing on talent development in order to enhance and better things. In order to persuade parents to send their daughters to school, scholarships were given to girls studying in schools in underdeveloped areas (DAWN, June 7, 2004).

5.11.3 Security Problems

Each and every province in Pakistan has always struggled with maintaining law and order. Police conduct had been questioned due to their attitude and participation in corruption and criminality. The Punjabi police culture has failed to rein in the province's rising crime rate. In the Punjab Assembly, there was also a lot of discussion over the state of law and order. The women members of the group criticized the provincial government's futile attempts to reduce robberies and street crimes during the general debate on the province's security situation. The function of police stations and the torturing chambers housed therein were covered by Ms.

Shaheena Asad. (NAP, 5 (2), January 30, 2003.) She insisted that police personnel receive instruction on how to behave morally and civilly, particularly while interacting with people and inmates. The impolite and immoral behaviour of the Station House Officers (SHO) was the target of many privilege motions brought up by the female MPAs (National Assembly, 2002-2007),

Tahira Munir, Abida Javed, and Parvin Masood contended that the state of law and order in the Lahore city was pitiful during the general debate on the state of police stations. One possible solution to manage the problem is to raise police officer salary; alternatively, Islamic penalties might be enforced. They also attacked the media's role in encouraging crime and violence. Films and TV shows were encouraging a criminal culture in the community (NAP Debates, 2006. vol- 25 (3), No- 19, April 2006). They recommended that the local SHO be held accountable for keeping the peace and controlling crime in his community. Sagheera Islam voiced her displeasure that the burglars who had broken into her home had not yet been taken into custody during her Point of Order speech. She asked what would have happened to the general people if an MPA was not secure in the nation. Occasionally, the female members made remarks on the security concerns in their communities and called for changes to the judicial and legal systems in order to curb the nation's rising crime rate. Additionally, the prisons' overall conditions have to be addressed. The primary object of criticism was the police force. They claimed that the neighborhood police's support and engagement were necessary for the criminals to remain under control.

5.11.4 Earthquake

Following the October 2005 earthquake in the nation, female lawmakers moved quickly to address the following issues: arrears for education in affected areas; corruption in the National Assembly Relief Cell; destruction of post offices in affected areas; reexamining educational institutions in Islamabad and Rawalpindi; adoption of affected children; selling orphans from affected areas to sex workers; and making rescue training mandatory for students. (Mirza & Wagha, 2008)

5.11.5 Baluchistan Issues

Women worked on issues pertaining to the province of Baluchistan, such as establishing a medical institution in Baluchistan with 1100 students and providing power subsidies to help the region's failing agricultural. Baluchistan's military operations and other difficulties; the allocation of land in Gawadar; employment discrimination against Baluchistan; the payment of gas royalties to Baluchistan; the construction of new rail lines in Baluchistan; lack of a grid

station throughout the region of Baluchistan; D I Khan providing power to Baluchistan; Nawab Akbar Bugti's killing.

5.11.6 Problems Related to Religion

During the Assembly's five-year term, religious affairs also constituted a significant portion of the conversation. Samia Raheel Qazi raised the house's attention to a very significant matter. The air hostesses of Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) were required to wear a new uniform and were not allowed to cover their heads. She stated that since Islam's teachings mandate that Muslim women cover their heads, this restriction has to be lifted. She also read a note calling attention to the fact that flight hostesses' attire goes against eastern customs. She argued that they shouldn't be forced to violate their religious and cultural beliefs. She also expressed disapproval of the Pakistan Studies Compulsory course, saying it was inadequate and too short. She also expressed her disapproval of "*Surah Toba*" being eliminated during the First Year. She also expressed disapproval of the Pakistan Studies Compulsory course, saying it was inadequate and too short (NAP-17 (6)/04, July 17 2004).

The American army's mutilation of the Holy Quran in Guantanamo Bay was denounced by the female members of Parliament. Samina Khalid Ghurki stated that the Quran is the holy book of Muslims and is precious to everyone while participating in the conversation. Nobody is allowed to disobey the Holy Quran, since Allah has vowed to take care of it. In order to document her complaint over the occurrence, Shakeela Khanum Rashid insisted on calling a meeting of the OIC. She thought that 55 Islamic nations should band together to oppose it. Participating in the discussion were Rehana Aleem Mashadi, Samia Raheel Qazi, and Bushra Rehman, who proclaimed the United States to be the world's largest terrorist state. They recommended that the government record a protest and phone the US ambassador. She said that the head of state had not made a remark and was only attempting to handle the situation diplomatically (NAP-25 (1)/05, May 2005). They vehemently denounced the publication of derogatory drawings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in Denmark, Norway, France, Germany, Italy, and Spain, and they recommended a boycott of all goods produced in those nations while taking part in an adjournment motion. They also pleaded with the populace to maintain peace and refrain from damaging government property. They also put pressure on the administration to send envoys to voice opposition to the aggressive move (NAP-32(1)/06, February 03, 2006). Yasmin Rehman and Mehrin Anwer Raja discussed how the government should be set up for the season of the *Hajj*. They wanted to know if the people carrying out the Hajj were chosen voluntarily or on the basis of merit. They also complained about the ministry of Religious Affairs for failing to make enough preparations for the pilgrims during the hajj. They were not given access to adequate housing or transportation. They also recommended that

PIA cut back on the Hajj and Umrah fairs. Additionally, they suggested adding female participation to the National Ideological Council NAP-26 (10)/05, June 16, 2006).

MNA Tahira Asif claimed the Saudi hajj duty officials of causing issues for the Pakistani hajjis at a press conference at the Lahore Press Club. She claimed that Pakistanis have suffered as a result of the Ministry of Religious Affairs' poor administration. Despite the high fees they were paid by the pilgrims, they failed to make adequate provisions for lodging or transportation. She insisted on an investigation to look into the situation and bring the offenders accountable.

5.11.7 Import & Export

The importance of imports of wheat and meat, the quantity of toys shipped during the last two years, the export of labor from Pakistan, and the export of lumber and wheat flour to Afghanistan were also brought up by female legislators. financial theft in institutions providing old age benefits to employees; the inflation rate observed in 2006–07 and the causes behind it; total shortfall in customs duties that CBR experienced from 2006 to 2007 (Shahzad 2019). Additionally, foreign investment within the nation; interest on borrowing from outside sources; permits to corporations for the exploitation of oil and gas in the Northwest Frontier Province; extensive road building in Islamabad and the ensuing environmental devastation from the cutting down of greenery; the suggestion to use solar power for street lighting; price increase for furnace oil; increase in trade volume during the previous three years with Chile, Jordan, Sudan, Azerbaijan, Romania, South Africa, Mali, Malta, and Spain; proportion of marble, leather, and textiles in the nation's overall commerce volume; commerce involving Germany, Ireland, and Pakistan; Plots in Islamabad allocated to foreigners; 20 crore rupees were embezzled from CDA coffers in 2003; parcels of land in Islamabad were sold for residential and commercial use.

5.11.8 Railways

During the period of 2002-2007, women in the assembly raised a significant concern regarding the Pakistani Railways. Specifically, the issue pertained to the cash received by Pakistan Railways from leasing out its land in Lahore, Karachi, Peshawar, Rawalpindi, and Islamabad. Additionally, the assembly members also discussed the agreement between Pakistan and Belgium for the development of railroads, the method used by the Railways Management Organization to auction or lease their lands, recompense for individuals displaced from Railways land, allocation of Pakistan Railways' lands, the number of hospitals owned by Pakistan Railways throughout the nation, the privatization of Railways, track repairs, obsolete and subpar Railways Signal System, installation of Close Circuit Cameras at Rail Station, and

an investigation into the closure of the Mari Indus-Bannu small gauged railway track. (National Assembly, 2002-2007).

5.11.9 Tourism

During the meeting, the women discussed various ways to promote the recreational areas of Swat. They also talked about the lack of visitor amenities at the Mohenjo Daro monuments and the revenue generated from tourism at the provincial level in 2006-07. The discussion also covered the tourist promotion of historic cities and the actions taken to protect the cultural heritage of the nation. One noteworthy suggestion was to install TV boosters in Kalam and Swat regions to promote tourism. Additionally, the meeting included updates on the ongoing construction of international airports in Multan, Bahawalpur, and D G Khan, as well as the building of roads to Delhi and Sri Nagar. The participants also discussed steps to promote tourism in the country, including the locations of PTDC hotels and information centers for tourists, sites of archaeology and museums, and the revenue collected from tourism. Lastly, the meeting touched upon institutions for tourism development.

5.11.10 Governance, Human Rights and Minorities Issues

Women lawmakers in the 12th National Assembly also raised concerns about the Roman Catholic Housing Cooperative being encroached upon, job quotas for minorities in federal government departments, the proportion of minorities in BPS-19 and above, attacks on places of worship for minorities, scholarships for minority students, the vanishing of journalists from North Waziristan, the smuggling of children to the UAE for the camel race and tracking physical abuse and violence. maximum loan amount to farmers microloan financing company; Reserves depleted of foreign currency; Audit for Pakistani embassies overseas; Officer training costs in the United States; Formula for pricing oil goods; The assistance granted between 2001 and 2003; the plan to sell the National Investment Trust; the money gathered from cellular providers; whether cars with red license plates are exempt from tolls; public officials who hold dual nationality; the removal of the religion section from passports; deaths of people in custody within the nation; A plan to provide lawmakers a permanent SAARC visa and provide development grants to opposition MNAs Permanent Representative to UN Mission Appointed; Pakistan has ratified international human rights treaties; Christians have received Christmas help for the past five years. 2002–2007 National Assembly.

5.12 Conclusion

The history of women's political representation underwent major shift in 2002. Through reserved seats in the National and Provincial Assemblies as well as the Senate, women received 17% of the representation available to them in the general elections conducted in accordance

with the Legal Framework Order. Women's rights and human rights organizations in Pakistan have long demanded this because they are gravely concerned about the underrepresentation of women in local and national administrations as well as in legislatures. Since the early 1980s, the most extreme of such organizations, the Women's Action Forum, has fervently supported affirmative action as a means of facilitating women's representation in political forums. An important historical chance for Pakistani women to make an important breakthrough in traditional politics was made possible by the election in 2000–01, which had 33% of the seats designated for women. In elected union councils around the nation, about 40,000 women took back their seats. The recognition of women as significant players in politics was like a dream come true. It made it possible for them to be more fully represented in local and federal governments. In 2002, women likewise received this, but with their representation reduced to 17% of the total, and that too based on an indirect proportional representation system. Over the course of five years, the legislative record demonstrates that women were instrumental in bringing concerns related to violence, health, education, the environment, and government to the attention of lawmakers through all available channels. Women's problems received greater attention in the National Assembly since there were more female legislators, although they were unable to enact additional legislation in this area. Based on the National Assembly's procedures, this chapter has assessed women's substantive representation as both a process and an outcome. There is little doubt that female MNAs have made a substantial contribution to legislative activity. This proves that there was a procedure involved in substantive representation. Additionally, evidence reveals that the majority of women MNAs present and advocate for women's issues. The more serious issues; like finance, governance, and constitutional amendments; that are often associated with men are also perceived as being of importance to female lawmakers.

**AN OVERVIEW OF 12th NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN AND
WOMEN PARTICIPATION**

6.1 Women's Political Participation in the National Assembly

The research focuses on the 12th National Assembly, which was established by the 2002 elections. Initially, the researcher discussed the steps women have chosen for their gateway into the parliament. For this purpose, the real experience of women parliamentarians going through the political recruitment process within the party structure has been explored. During the study, the researcher observed that the women parliamentarians chose three vital ways to enter the parliament. 1; long-time party relation 2; family and relationship background, and 3; sympathy of party leaders. In many cases, it has been also observed by me that, political parties and their leaders have an opportunity to integrate feudal and political families into parliamentary politics through the reserved quota of women's seats. Gender quotas, however, are very beneficial to women in both rural and urban classes; certain political families are also benefiting from them. But one of the senior politician Rana Nazir Ahmed Khan, he is former federal minister (1990–93; 1997–99; 2002–04), and he was Member of National Assembly from 1985 until 2018. He criticized during interview that reserve seat for women is not a worthwhile. He said that women who came on reserved seat during 2002 to 2007 National Assembly were not enough confident. He further said that women should contest direct election for their positive contribution in politics from grass root level. He also commented that there is no gender discrimination in Pakistani society, women should join the politics (Rana Nazir Ahmed, MNA 2002-2007). Senior female employees from middle-class backgrounds have also been successful in becoming directly elected female MNAs in the parliament. Before the 2002 election, political families' educated women candidates were encouraged to run for party seats if they met the graduate degree requirement or had little interest in politics. This was especially true for male candidates from these families.

It is not easy to describe and evaluate "acting for women." In 2002, to unite all parliament women across party lines as well as generate new kinds of collective actions, the women's caucus was created. Furthermore, a huge number of bills have been proposed by women that aim to advance the rights of women. About 30% of the private bills were presented by the female legislatures who were concerned about gender issues (rights of transsexuals, domestic violence, female workers' rights, etc.), in the 12th legislature (came into effect from February 2008) (Bukhari et al., 2019).

It is general observation that women's challenges are like women's belongings. Only 17 out of 269 male MNAs in person commenced issues that concern women's rights or gave support to

female representatives on those issues, between 2002 and 2007 (Mirza & Wagha, 2010). 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 et al., 2015).

In addition, women remained active on all subjects, and men were not left with any area of legislative action. As women comprised just 21% of the MNSs, only women supported more than half of the bills of private members, which were initiated in the 12th legislature, which showed that women are more interested in the MPs' legislative role as compared to men (Latif et al., 2015).

Women were not part of parliamentary work in the 12th legislature either. While representing approximately one-fifth of the National Assembly, women submitted 30% of the calling attention notifications, 24% of the resolutions, 42% of the private member's bills, and 27% of the queries to the administration (Mirza & Wagha, 2010). 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 entitled to as "feminine" (Kamran, 2017).

In 2002, the Pakistani government made significant changes to the country's electoral processes and governing laws. The Conduct of General Elections (amendment) Order, 2002 mandated that members of the Provincial Assemblies and the Parliament must hold a university degree. The Qualification to Hold Public Offices Order, 2002 stated that individuals who had previously served as prime minister or chief minister for two terms were barred from running for a third term.

The LFO was also issued in 2002, with Chief Executive General Pervez Musharraf as its author. The LFO amended 29 articles of the Pakistani Constitution. Notable changes included the reestablishment of a joint electorate system, the allocation of parliamentary seats for non-Muslims, and an increase in the number of seats reserved for women in the NA and Senate. The voting age was lowered to 18, and the size of the legislatures increased.

However, the LFO also contained several controversial clauses. For instance, it recognized all laws and orders issued by the Musharraf administration, including an extension of his term as president by five years. Additionally, the President was given discretionary authority to dissolve the National Assembly.

Additionally, the LFO modified many articles about defection and disqualification. The LFO was changed just hours before the election, adding three years to the retirement age for judges of superior courts. Within three days of the results of the election being announced, independent candidates were allowed to join any party by another amendment to the same order. LFOs have been challenged in the Supreme Court because only Parliament is competent to amend the constitution; however, the Court has noted that the NA would be a suitable forum for discussion of the issue. And when the general elections were held in 2002, both Nawaz Sharif and Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto were in exile.

6.2 Women's Representation Issues in Parliament

In general, politics is perceived as a male domain. Women are thus completely prohibited from participating in public life. Women have historically been viewed as inappropriate and inappropriate for positions of political leadership. As a result, for women to participate in mainstream politics, they require tools such as seat reservations and gender quotas. With the National Assembly's seats reserved for women, a considerable women entered Pakistani politics. The high proportion of women in Parliament has a beneficial impact on their social standing and has somewhat altered public perception of women's participation in politics and influence on the political system (Anis & Haroon, 2010).

The seats that were held in the 1990, 1993, and 1997 elections weren't properly accounted for. However, during these three terms, women did not receive the opportunity to compete or hold elected positions in political parties. That explains why there were the fewest number of women in the parties (Mirza & Wagha, 2008).

6.3 Insufficient Female Representation in Leadership Roles

Despite a notable improvement in recent years in women's representation, they still do not hold a fair share of positions in the federal and provincial governments. In comparison to the proportion of women in legislatures, women have not received an adequate share of the political power. A significant barrier to the effective performance of female legislators is the underrepresentation of women in major government organizations. Many female lawmakers expressed dissatisfaction during the interviews, stating that it is extremely difficult for them to operate effectively in the Parliament due to their underrepresentation in important government positions. Women are under pressure to fulfill their responsibilities even when, in reality, they cannot work freely, as one female MNA pointed out. Men in politics possessed true power. Briefly, legislative positions with less authority are consistently assigned to women.

According to a women's rights activist, cultural barriers have made women fearful of being insecure, which has an adverse impact on them. During the interviews, several female MNAs like Samina Khalid Ghurkhi, Mehnaz Rafi and Rahila Manwar shared similar opinions, asserting that their influence and involvement in policymaking are restricted since they hold less influential positions in the organizations that make decisions. Another problem pointed out by a few scholars is that women who are selected to reserve seats aren't permitted to hold leadership roles in the legislature, same views shared by Rana Nazeer Ahmed (former Federal Minister) during interview. The exclusion of women from political power is a well-documented phenomenon that is perpetuated by male party members. These individuals employ various strategies to limit the influence of underrepresented groups, particularly women who have not fully integrated into society. In the past, men have held prominent positions in Parliament exclusively, leaving women with little opportunity to exercise their political influence. Some men think that it will be a challenging situation to their dominance if gender quotas is implemented and work to restrict the number of quota women who can join specific ministries and parliamentary committees. They do so by ignoring the ideas and opinions of women, stifling their contributions, and using other tactics to keep them out of positions of power. The ultimate goal is to reduce the efficacy of women as lawmakers and maintain the existing power structure.

However, a male MNA aggressively dismissed the claim that male members purposefully excluded quota women from decision-making bodies when this topic was posed to him. He said that the party leadership alone has the authority to name someone as a minister, chairman, or member of any Standing Committee. Numerous other elements, such as a person's involvement in political parties, their political and parliamentary experience, and a few other personality traits, also play a significant or contributing role in the selection process for ministers. He expressed dissatisfaction with women, saying that they are still inexperienced in politics and that before they can be considered more suitable for party leadership, they must first learn about politics by actively participating in grassroots operations. He asserted that the post should be given based on the competency and professionalism rather than the gender-based discrimination.

Every female legislator receives a low-profile ministry with little authority and little political influence. Men are given powerful portfolios about finance, foreign policy, privatization, and other topics, whilst they only receive portfolios about social matters. When they are assigned responsibilities in low-status ministries, it is impossible to revolutionize the system (Samina Khalid Ghurki, MNA, 2002 -2007)

It was also essential to ascertain if the woman had been allocated the ministries and committees after consulting them or if the party leadership made the decision. All of the study's participants concurred that assigning a committee or ministry to a member they believe is most qualified for the position depended heavily on the party leadership's decision. The analysis of committees led by women makes it clear that quota women have been prioritized in these cases. Women rarely chair standing committees on defense and economic matters.

A frequent subject while examining the factors that were taken into account while selecting the members of particular committees, is their professional background. This was validated by male legislators, women elected to general seats, and reserved women, who expressed a preference for committees that aligned with their areas of expertise. This appears to be a crucial quality of the lawmaker in the selection process for committee chairmanships. In response to a query regarding her appointment as a Standing Committee chairperson, a female member made the following observation:

I received a nomination for this committee. My party leadership is aware of my legal knowledge and thinks I'd make an excellent addition to this committee. I find it offensive to express my views of the party leadership over my nomination. Party leaders usually make judgments that are in the best interests of the nation, thus I always follow their decisions. We are always happy to assist the country in whatever manner we can (Yasmeen Rehman, MNA, 2002-2007).

An additional aspect of women's participation in decision-making bodies was highlighted by another MNA. According to her, they received the majority of the responsibilities in the social sector and quoted that although these responsibilities are given to us however it has been a challenging situation for us to revolutionized the quality of the common women of the society. The fact that quota women were assigned state minister responsibilities and thus had less authority and influence has also been a source of worry. Due to the unequal allocation of ministries, they are unable to participate significantly in Pakistan's legislature. Additionally, a PPP female MNA brought attention to the fact that their impact within their area is restricted. They constantly reassure their supporters; women in particular; that while they are making every effort to effect change, significant changes at the federal level are beyond their control.

These perspectives from elected female MNAs have demonstrated that one of the most effective ways to impact or modify the legislative processes is through their involvement in the ministries and Standing Committees. These ladies obviously understand the implications of power and influence within Pakistan's political system. Another crucial component of women's substantive representation is this. It shows that female lawmakers are aware that power exists inside the

legislative branch. To put it another way, there is no guarantee that women will successfully defend women's interests once they are admitted to the Parliament.

6.4 Politics and Gender Segregation

It is generally accepted that women's position and circumstances with regard to their involvement in political affairs inside the party system have changed over time. Nevertheless, not much has changed in this way. Undoubtedly, Pakistan's political landscape is characterized by gender segregation, particularly inside political parties, where women are typically free to choose whether to work for major political parties or within women's wings. Gender disparities are more common in women than in men, suggesting that positions held by women are not valued equally with those held by men. Moreover, same views shared by Dr.Hajra Tariq (former MNA) ,Rifat Javed Kahlu from Narowal constituency and Belum Hussain former MNA. Therefore, without taking gender into consideration, economic progress will not be able to reach its full potential (Qurat & Saba, 2022).

6.5 Hurdles in Women Share in Cabinet

Reserved seats are meant to increase the participation of women in the Parliament and increase their percentage in institutions that make policy. The appointment of more women to the Parliament will be sufficient to accomplish institutional stability is contradictory (Barnes, 2014). In particular, studies indicate that women are not treated equally when it comes to being appointed to powerful political positions such as membership on parliamentary committees (Heath et al., 2005; Bayer, 2010). There has never been a substantial representation of women in institutions that made decisions. Following the repeal of the constitutional clause pertaining to women's reserved seats, the share continued to drop. The Pakistani Constitution states that the only people eligible to serve as ministers or on the Parliamentary Standing Committees are the elected members of Parliament. Although there have been female leaders of major political parties in South Asia, this has not turned into positive changes for ordinary Asian women (Haq, 2000).

Pakistan has never had a female president. Only Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan had served as the Provincial Governor, and Fatima Jinnah was the only candidate to compete against Ayoub Khan in the presidential election. Dr. Ashraf Abbasi served as the National Assembly's deputy speaker twice, in 1977 and 1988, although a woman was chosen speaker of the house in the 13th National Assembly (2008–13). There was one-woman Federal Minister and one-woman State Minister in 1995, 1996, and 1997, but no woman Federal and State Minister in 1995–1996. In

1998, these figures did not change (UNDP, 2005; Zia & Bari, 1999). It has been noted that men have historically made decisions in South Asian societies. Because of tradition and history, women have not been allowed inside the corridor of power. Women's position has somewhat improved over the past few decades, albeit largely for urban middle class women. Nonetheless, women still lack independence in the community and at home due to patriarchal thinking. The same pattern has been seen in the Parliament, where male lawmakers have strong control over decision-making (Haq, 2000).

On November 23, 2002, Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali took his oath of position as Pakistan's prime minister. There was only one woman in his cabinet of twenty-one. It was Zubeida Jalal who received the Education portfolio. In the ministry of General Pervez Musharraf, she also served as Federal Minister of Education. Nilofar Bakhtiar later rose to the rank of advisor and minister. She supervised the Ministry of Social Welfare, Special Education, and Women's Development. Later, Prime Minister Jamali chose four ministers to his cabinet, although at that time, there was no female member. Just 4% of the women in the Jamali Cabinet were represented. The PML-Q president, Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain, briefly held the position of prime minister. He observed the previous cabinet in place, but added two more ministers (both men), bringing the total number of women in the Federal Cabinet down from 4% to 3.7 percent (one out of 27). The third prime minister of this term, Shaukat Aziz, announced the formation of the largest cabinet in Pakistani history, consisting of 59 members. The moniker "the mother of all cabinets" applied to this cabinet. Three constitutional advisers with ministerial standing were also appointed by Prime Minister Aziz. With the addition of six women, the percentage of women in the Federal Cabinet increased to 10%. The proportion of female in the cabinet during 20002-2007 is shown in Figure 11.

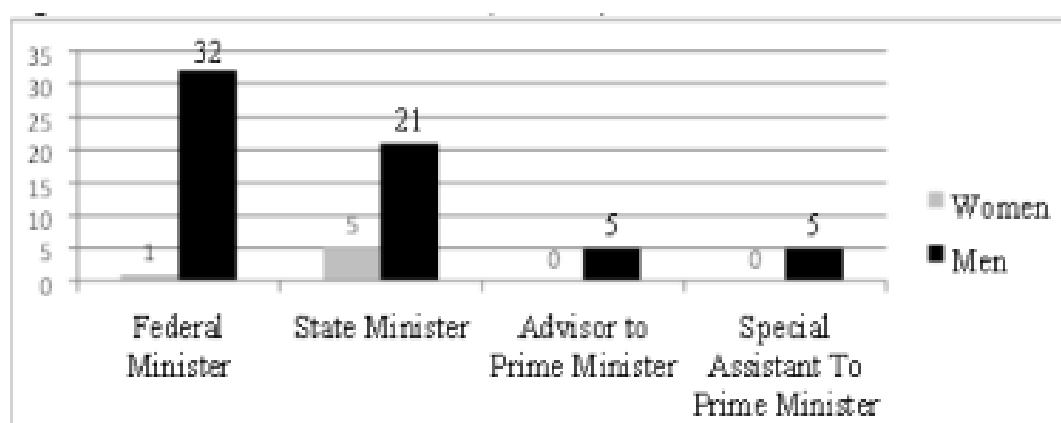


Figure-6.1: Female's proportion in Cabinet (2002-07) Source (UNDP Report, 2005)

There are many different duties and obligations in parliament. Through parliamentary committees, the Parliament is tasked with supervising or monitoring the operation of

governance. Within the Federal Government, parliamentary committees are constitutionally designated body of the Parliament. These committees oversee and advise the relevant ministry on legislation. The primary duty of the roughly forty-three Parliamentary Standing Committees is to supervise government acts and policies. It is acknowledged that these panels would function impartially and independently. They have the authority to call anyone in for an in-person hearing. Committees in parliament carry out three primary tasks (PILDAT, 2006).

The Pakistani parliament is comprised of three types of committees: standing committees, select committees, and special committees. However, only the Standing Committees are functional in Pakistan. Their primary responsibility is to review and recommend amendments to any bills related to the relevant Ministry and investigate any matter linked to the Ministry. The SC's membership consists of a chairperson, seventeen members from each of the major political parties in power, and one ex-officio member represented by the incumbent Minister-in-Charge. The SC's Chairperson is selected from among the committee members. The committee appoints a secretary to manage all the paperwork and oversee the daily operations of the committee.

In the past, women historically made only small number as standing committee members and chairs. There have only been 11 (23.3%) female standing committee chairs. It is noteworthy that the social sector responsibilities were assigned to eight of the eleven Standing Committees led by women (Table 11). This is yet another example of how women politicians are stereotyped as being more effective in social fields. The majority of study participants said that the Pakistani Parliament's SCs were not operating efficiently. The opinions of elected women MNAs made it clear that party affiliation was used to select SC chairpersons rather than qualifications, experience, or training for a particular Standing Committee. Any legislator could be appointed to any committee by the party leadership, who held final say over the selection of candidates. The data makes it clear that many of the members lacked specialized knowledge in the fields in which they were required to work. With the exception of SCs on Defense, all of the SCs led by women met more frequently than those led by men.

Table-6.1: Various Standing Committees governed by Females (Source; Record of National Assembly of Pakistan)

Mehnaz Rafi	Women Development
Rehana Aleem Mashhadi	Information and Broadcasting
Begum Tehmina Dasti	Education
Attiya Inayatullah	Culture
Hajra Tariq Aziz	Health
Noorjahan Panezai	Petroleum and Natural Resources
Farzeen Ahmed Sarfraz	Environment
Mina Ehsan Leghari	Tourism
Bushra Rehman	Social Welfare and Special Education

6.6 Feudalism as a Significant Barrier

Pakistan is a multicultural country with an extremely asymmetrical financial development pattern. It is also a multiethnic and pluralist society. The disparate status of women across regions, classes, and rural-urban divides is determined by the societal advances of the ancient, mediaeval, and modern periods. Constituency-based politics mostly depend on money, baradari, patron-client relationships, factionalism, and innate loyalty.

Women in this conventional socioeconomic structure encounter structural obstacles in building their political constituency base because of

- i) Inadequate social capital because they aren't often the head of a tribe, kinship group, or family.
- ii) The dearth of autonomous financial resources, which is growing more significant as a result of rising levels of criminality, corruption, and political commercialization.
- iii) Voters' persistent bias to reject female candidates because they believe they lack the strength to support them in their complaints at the kacheri (court) and thana (police station)
- iv) Political parties' unwillingness to offer women party tickets to run for general seats because they are not seen as viable contenders.
- v) The erosion of party politics' ideological foundations, which prioritizes money and power over merit.
- vi) The reference tradition, which emphasizes advancing through connections rather than merit, weak governance, and dishonesty put pressure on elected officials to intervene personally to resolve constituent issues (Rahim & Manzoor, 2021).

These are the structural problems that impede women from expanding their political base and entering the field by running for general seats. Local power arrangements have strengthened as a result of Pakistan's liberal democracy experience because of deeply ingrained feudal, tribal, and capitalist power structures. Landowning elites, tribal leaders, and the wealthy urban business class have been propelled into the parliament with each election held in the nation. Political parties are the major pillars of the political system in democratic states, but because of weak party structures at the local level, these parties choose to collaborate with local power brokers. These are the candidates who can win over a majority of the party's electorate, and female politicians are unable to compete with their male counterparts for party tickets. Politics, according to Shafqat Mahmood (PTI), is a game of power rather than charity. Women have very little opportunity because political parties' main goal is to seize power by selecting

candidates who can win. Women lawmakers voiced their dissatisfaction in this issue by claiming that, despite their belief that a woman in that specific constituency is far more capable than a male candidate, the party leadership will never take the chance of giving women tickets for winnable seats: it is not a matter of gender; the dynamics here are who could win. All political parties search for candidates who have the potential to win. Only women that political parties believe have a chance of winning a seat obtain tickets (Bari, 2015). It is acknowledged that women legislators confront an array of difficulties and barriers to meaningful representation. However, the fundamental realities of women lawmakers remain unaffected by this study. The forces that support the status quo and the establishment include those in the ruling class and those who are vying for power (Bari 2015).

It is impossible for women in Pakistan to experience real equity of consequences for their vigorous engagement in passing pro-women laws if they are not included in the top decision-making discussions. Women from feudal and upper classes were frequently handed party tickets for general seats in the 2002 general elections by mainstream parties. Ironically, only party workers and activists were fielded in the declining electorate circles, even though tickets were also distributed to campaigners and longtime supporters there. Although the parties did not make any special effort to ensure the success of the protesters and old loyalists in the election process, they did distribute tickets to them in fewer constituencies. (UNDP, 2016) Feudal lords in Pakistan, according to regional manager Ghulam Mustafa Baloch of the Association for Betterment and Development of Human Beings (ABAD) Strengthening Participatory Organization, are preventing women from receiving a proper education because they fear that women's empowerment will threaten their monopoly (Dawn, October 09, 2013,). Autobiography, My Feudal Lord (Durrani, 1995), provides insight into her turbulent marriage to Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khar, an imperialist feudal lord and a well-known figure in Pakistani political history who served as Punjab's chief minister at one point. In his real life, he has been the strong supporter of democracy he has struggled for the establishing the democratic republic of Pakistan. In political arena, women's empowerment is nevertheless accompanied by a number of social, cultural, and economic inequalities and male dominance. The influence of feudalism is one of the obstacles and difficulties that women encounter in this regard.

6.7 Political Culture of Pakistan Regarding Women

According to Michelle Bachelet “For me, a better democracy is a democracy where women do not only have the right to vote and to elect but to be elected.” (He served as U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights from 2018 to 2022, former head of UN Women, and former president and defense minister of Chile). Ali Javaid (social activist) states that Women participation in legislative and political decision making has increased as compared to the past,

that's mainly because of the quota allocated seats in the legislative assembly of Pakistan. Many renowned political parties have established women wings to enhance the credibility and practice of democracy in their party structure. Also, women leadership is achieving high ranks by holding public offices. But one cannot say that women are getting equal opportunities and treatments when it comes to politics due to the male dominant political culture of Pakistan. Women representation in the parliament of Pakistan is far less than men, Moreover, due to the socio-political culture of our country women are lagging behind in their political abilities. According to a report by Search for Common Grounds (SFCG), women politicians and female political representatives in Pakistan are not provided with the formal training of political exercises and performing administrative actions/duties.

Begum Syeda Abida Hussain asserted that the PPP's political culture differed considerably from the Muslim League's. They have sat in both the PML-N and PML-Q parliamentary boards, where the candidates were consistently courteous and supportive to the leadership despite having conflicting interests. The political landscape in Pakistan, particularly in the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), has been more welcoming and supportive of women's involvement in politics, as indicated by Begum Syeda's remark. However, the representation of women in national and provincial assemblies is still lacking. Although women were elected to general seats for the first time in 2002, the system for indirect nomination for reserve seat elections does not adequately incorporate the experience of women party workers and their regional electorate. The majority of parties do not provide women workers with the necessary support and confidence to draft election manifestos, and party tickets are often given to family members rather than legitimate workers with substantial party affiliations. In positions of political authority, women often have to take the initiative on their own, without external support. By analyzing the technical aspects of the Legal Framework Order's reserved seats, the researcher can evaluate the extent of women's representation in politics. While addressing significant issues with workers, party officials discriminate against women and do not consider their opinions. Very few political parties, including the PPP, PML-N, and ANP, consulted powerful women on a narrow range of subjects. Women members of parliament were not regarded as correspondent members of the parliament. Conversations revealed that the majority of their male spouses saw female government officials as inferior. Their riches are mostly used to fund the suggestions made by the male leaders of their parties, and their rights were disregarded. Their indirect elections for the reserved seats meant they had insufficient proximity or voice. In the current arrangement, female lawmakers who do not have an electorate have fewer networks. Even when it came to their own party professionals, they were less compatible. Some mentioned it; their only goal is to ensure reelection in the next election cycle.

Political party employees and female lawmakers failed to organize separate gatherings to discuss their issues and develop collaborative plans. On this front, however, it was discovered that female councilors were more vivacious. Nevertheless, meetings lacked a clear agenda and were not compliant with regulations. When women took on self-determination initiatives, political parties often discouraged them as long as they adhered to party policies.

Female experts within political parties and female legislators are unable to reach consensus on specific parties when discussing issues and devising collaborative strategies. However, it was noted that female politicians were more active in this regard. Nonetheless, the parties' repeated failure to provide a well-defined plan and necessary growth. All political parties prevent women from engaging in bold, independent decision-making while yet adhering to their policies.

As a result, obstacles still exist for Pakistani women who want to engage in and contribute to party and legislative politics. They fight valiantly to protect themselves in order to remain in mainstream politics.

- i) Women's roles in politics are still perceived as difficult task for them to complete.
- ii) Women are still typically viewed as active members of the home rather than in the workforce in countries such as Pakistani society.
- iii) Women's interactions with men are not encouraged by traditional patterns in Pakistani culture. Despite the fact that in many places, such as tribal areas, women are not encouraged to register to vote and are not welcomed as voters.
- iv) Women typically abstain from participating in home decision-making processes. The situation that women face is often the same.

6.8 The Women's Nomination Process

In addition, the elected women in reserved and general seats collaborate less. Owing to the administration's fervor and vitality, they are willing to either surpass current levels of engagement or face scrutiny in their voter interactions and arrangements. The most pressing issue is the lack of information and capability about women's participation in the legislative process. Socioeconomic enlightening recognition indicates that female politicians have driven desires because it is not unusual that they communicate in the same way as their male companion. Despite all obstacles, female lawmakers are working hard to establish the strongest defense possible for the decisions they make, which consistently risk their chances of success (UNDP, 2007)

Pakistan has quota system to promote women participation in politics but the internal democracy of political parties influences the fairness of nominations of women. Ideally,

nominations should base on merit rather than familial connection or political alliances. Political parties that invest in developing their female candidates can help level the playing field. In Pakistan gender bias and discrimination can hinder women's participation and fair treatment during the nomination process while other countries like Iceland, gender bias is actively addressed through policies and social norms, resulting in higher female representation and more equitable nomination process. Moreover, in Nordic countries (e.g., Sweden, Norway): employ gender quotas for political party lists and have higher levels of female's representation due to strict legal requirements for balanced candidate lists.

6.9 Long Term party Affiliation

The political landscape in Pakistan, particularly in the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), has been more welcoming and supportive of women's involvement in politics, as indicated by Begum Syeda's remark. However, the representation of women in national and provincial assemblies is still lacking. Although women were elected to general seats for the first time in 2002, the system for indirect nomination for reserve seat elections does not adequately incorporate the experience of women party workers and their regional electorate. The majority of parties do not provide women workers with the necessary support and confidence to draft election manifestos, and party tickets are often given to family members rather than legitimate workers with substantial party affiliations. In positions of political authority, women often have to take the initiative on their own, without external support. By analyzing the technical aspects of the Legal Framework Order's reserved seats, the researcher evaluated the extent of women's representation in politics.

6.10 Rewrite for an Expert Audience

The long-term party association has been a successful route for elite class women parliamentarians who have been associated with parties for more than a decade to enter the parliament. During interviews with women MNAs, it was found that party loyalty, having a higher education background, making sacrifices for political parties, and working for the party were the determining factors in their selection. Some women members of the National Assembly of Pakistan have reported that they made the highest number of bills during their tenure, which greatly strengthened party performance within parliament. Additionally, another member stated that she has been active in organizing for the party at the local level in her area and also highlighted her profession as a doctor (DR. Hajra Tariq, MNA 2002-2007). Other women reported that "I made the highest number of bills during term (2002-2007), greatly strengthening party performance within parliament" (Riffat Mehnaz, MNA, 2002-2007)

Female party workers who are members of the National Assembly (MNAs) appear to have strong connections with their party's leadership, allowing them to maintain direct and favorable relationships with them. For instance, Riffat Javed Kahlu, an MNA from Narowal on a general seat, stated that she communicates with the party chairman through phone calls and emails on a daily basis, providing regular updates on the progress of assigned tasks and other issues. She further said, "I never discriminate between men and women during my work, and I try to resolve all the problems in my constituency. When I asked her how she would define a women empowerment term during the interview, she said women empowerment means not just political and social empowerment, women need also financial empowerment". She said without financial empowerment women can never be stable and enter into politics as well as in other fields of life properly. She further said that for the empowerment, women need work hard there is only way to empowered furthermore she said regarding this no man can be empowered a woman until she does work hard and lots of efforts for their stability and empowerment in true sense. Riffat Javed Kahlu state forwardly commented on my question that our society is still male dominated society still women are facing challenges and hurdles (Riffat Javed Kahlu, MNA 2002-2007).

6.11 Personal Relationship with Party Leadership

This section sheds light on the selection process of women parliamentarians who served during the 2002-2007 National Assembly in Pakistan. These women gained entry into parliament through three distinct channels: party affiliation, family networks, and personal relationships with party leaders. Those who were directly elected had favorable conditions further enhanced by their family's political background, their potential to contest elections and graduation requirements. However, all directly elected women had a strong political background and a relationship with the party leadership, either through their own efforts or through their family's influence. It is evident that all of these women parliamentarians were essentially an extension of powerful political elite families that already dominated Pakistani politics. The country still experiences feudalism, and a few thousand feudal families control rural Pakistan. Although patterns of land ownership are shifting, Punjab and KPK provinces do not have significant landowners. However, a few landlord families still control thousands of acres of agricultural land in the Sindh Province. Most of these MNAs were encouraged and supported by male members of their families, especially their fathers and husbands, to enter parliamentary politics. These women reported that while their male family members had previously contested elections

and had long-standing affiliations with political parties, they themselves had no personal involvement in politics and were pushed by their male family members and parties to participate in parliamentary politics.

6.12 Male Legislators' Behavior and the Parliamentary Environment

Another important factor that influences how well female legislators' function in parliament is the institutional framework of the legislature. According to Franceschet and Krook (Franceschet & Krook, 2008), substantive representation takes place throughout the legislative process. The gendered power dynamics expressed in the institutional rules, operating processes, and informal norms of the legislative bodies also have an impact on the outcomes, in addition to the sex of the representatives. The parliamentary environment must be observed and understood in order to fully analyze the substantive representation of women, as this is closely related to the occurrence of this representation. This section addresses the opinions of female legislators regarding the informal conventions and parliamentary atmosphere within the Pakistani Parliament. The arguments made by Tamale are supported by the answers of female legislators that institutional frameworks might be to blame for gender imbalance and have an impact on how female MNAs engage in legislative activity. Speaking in front of a male-dominated legislature, a female MNA occasionally expressed discomfort because she felt that the other members did not take her remarks seriously. She proposed establishing a parliamentary rule that would let women speak first and forbid men from interrupting them. She went on to say that she had encountered a similar hostile environment when she had previously introduced a motion on women's problems. (Raheela Munawar Yahya, MNA, 2002-2007) An opposing party's female MNA stated that Parliament ought to be a place where women are empowered to participate in all significant political choices rather than a platform for gender domination. She added that, in contrast to men, women do not have the majority in Parliament to make any changes, which occasionally frustrates her. (Dr. Samia Raheel Qazi, MNA, 2002-2007) According to her, "a simple rule prevails in the Parliament, like and support of male legislators matters most in the success of your legislative intervention." Institutional changes to make parliament more welcoming to women were also suggested by a women's rights activist and a female MNA from Mrs. Mehnaz Rafi. (MNA, 2002-2007) She made the following points: The National Assembly is a significant chamber of the legislature where new laws pertaining to the welfare of women can be made. Moreover, gender discrimination against female legislators was a frequent occurrence. They were not providing their parliamentary duties with the proper media publicity. It implies that the public was unable to evaluate the actions and procedures of the legislature. Legislative changes are required to support its structures, including corporate regulations that guarantee equitable participation from all parties without fear of gender discrimination.

The majority of the female politicians who participated in the interviews stated that their male colleagues generally paid attention to them. (Ghurki, Khalu, MNAs) They went on to say that mutual respect is the foundation of these relationships. It is also claimed that personal identity is important in this context. Furthermore, another women parliamentarian stated that the party leadership consistently takes into account the opinions of female legislators on political matters. (Oneza Ehsan, MNA, 2002-2007) A female member of parliament made the observation that it has been a common practice for us to face some obstacles from male members whenever we were presenting a competitive bill based on our well preparation regarding the proposed bill. They employ odd strategies. By ignoring our opinions, they attempt to disregard us. When I spoke, most of them were either sleeping or deeply engaged in personal conversation. They wish to convey that listening to our speeches is not important". (Dr. Hajra Tariq, MNA, 2002-2007)

A scholar on women's rights shared her appreciation for the efforts made by female legislators and her tremendous optimism about their performance. The task of advocating for women's rights in a parliament presided over by men was difficult for these elected female MNAs. (Khawar Mumtaz) Another women parliamentarian stated that female legislators are working for the welfare of all women. For the first time in the history of the parliament, an enormous number of PMBs were filed. She made note of several noteworthy developments, indicating that these women were interested in and concerned about the more traditional subjects, such as foreign policy, finance, the environment, and governance. (Mrs. Belum Hasnain MNA, 2002-2007)

Regarding the actions of the male legislator, there were differing opinions. This problem has additional dimensions. Women in Pakistan are reluctant to discuss such instances of sexual assault and violence in public or with strangers. Should an incident occur, she will talk about it with her close friends and possibly her family. According to a Centre for Social Research comparison study on violence against women in South Asian politics, 60% of women stay out of politics due to social barriers especially violence" (UN Women, 2013).

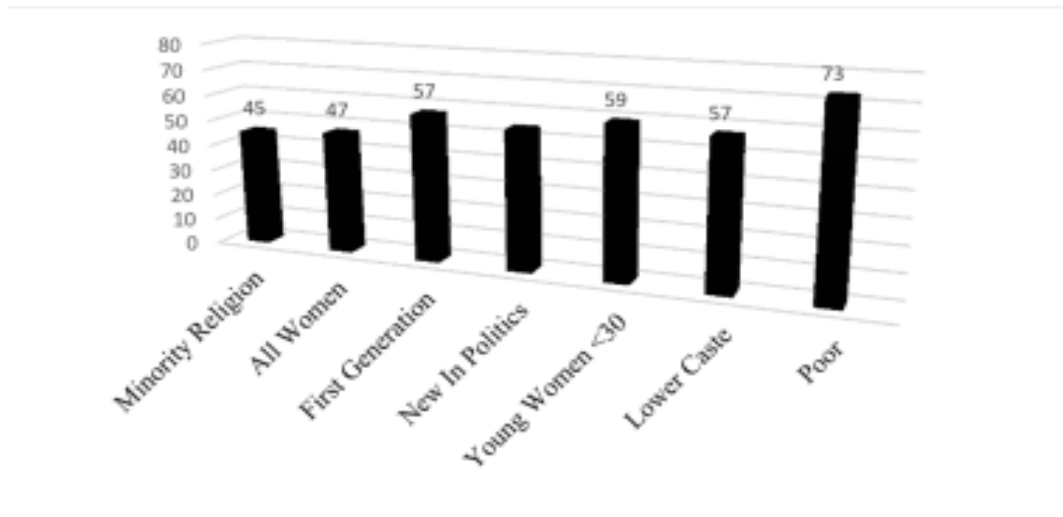


Figure-6.2: Pakistani Politicians' Victimization of Women (Percentage). (Source; UN Women Report, 2013)

According to UN report there are many barriers such as low implementation of laws, incompetent police, injustice, division in the society, and inferior level of power structure that leads to violence. The previously mentioned comments imply that there is a close relationship between women's substantive representation in Parliament and its formal and informal standards. It won't be possible for these women to make a significant difference until a supportive environment is provided.

6.13 Political Parties' Neglect for Female Members

This low representation of women throughout the process demonstrated the inadequacy of political party promises and the pointlessness of any challenges to traditional women in matters of legislation. Greater unease has been expressed by women's rights organizations and campaigners than by the prospect of national legislation. Women's rights organizations have come to realize that women need to be involved in political decision-making and have the ability to directly advance political goals if they are to effect meaningful change in their own lives and in the lives of other marginalized groups in society. This awareness has been shaped by the instability of government issues (NDI, 2021). As a result, female MNAs elected in 2002 concentrated on the fact that the women in the 12th legislature were assigned to insignificant committees and pushed out of serious committees (2002-2007).

Table-6.2: Women Members serving in Committees (2002-2007)

Committees	Percentage of Women Members
Health Standing Committee	50%
	72%
Home and Defence Standing Committee	6%

Major Committees	12%
Soft Committees	38%

The Speaker of the NA and other party members, according to the majority of female lawmakers, have been ignoring them when it comes to not giving them the floor or considering their resolutions and motions. They discussed how the issue of gender discrimination that female lawmakers from all parties and the gender-biased House must deal with has not resulted in more robust networking and caucus among them. As a result, the female parliamentary caucus in the current parliament was not very strong. The cross-party women's parliamentary caucus was quite active in the previous parliament, led by Fahmida Mirza. Thirty-one of the sixty women on the gender quota in the current parliament are PML (N) members. Most female lawmakers are first-time members, and some of them don't participate in the legislature frequently (Bari, 2015).

6.14 Process of Selecting Candidates and Holding Elections for Female Parliamentarians

The role of electoral systems, candidate recruitment, and selection procedures is crucial in shaping the political stance of each legislator. Despite the term "individual" being inclusive of both genders, patriarchal practices have confined it to a male-dominated sphere due to the over-representation of men. Gender quotas have emerged as a potent tool in promoting women's political participation. The following sections investigate the opinions of elected MNAs on the reservation of seats for women and the impact of candidate selection on the exclusion of middle-class women from parliament. There is a widely held belief that the election process can affect the independence and behavior of representatives (Carey & Shugart, 1995; Siavelis & Morgenstern, 2008). Matland (1994) has pointed out that altering a nation's voting system is critical for several reasons. Election laws are more flexible than cultural perceptions of women's status or a country's level of development, both of which influence women's representation. Therefore, reforming the election process is a more achievable short-term goal than drastically changing the cultural attitudes towards women.

In Pakistan's reserved seat election process, political parties receive shares based on the number of seats won. However, the nomination procedures within parties are opaque and heavily skewed towards men. Various factions within parties consistently attempt to promote their preferred candidates, while male party leaders do not consult the women's wings of their respective parties when preparing female candidates for women's reserve seats. Additionally, talented and committed female party workers are often overlooked as parliamentary candidates. Only female members of powerful families and female relatives of party leadership are nominated, leading to criticisms of this indirect election method.

Different election systems have been implemented by each nation for both general and reserved seats. Numerous characteristics set it apart, such as the extent of engagement and the degree of centralization or decentralization of the nomination process (Niemi & Norris, 1996). Political parties are encouraged under proportional representation (PR) to carefully select a range of candidates to draw in a larger base of support (Norris, 2006). It is anticipated that the more female candidates would win office the more seats each constituency is given. Different candidate types are fostered by different election styles (Crisp & Ingall, 2002). According to a different academic, women's legislative autonomy and their ability to effectively represent women's interests are impacted by the electoral process (Zetterberg, 2009).

Moreover, according to Zetterberg (2009), the gender quota women is constrained and the party mandate can take precedence over the mandate to represent women in cases where quota women are chosen by a small group of party elites and if the selection process is marked by patronage. However, when women's organizations select female legislators for reserved seats, these legislators are more likely to advocate for women's rights within their political parties and are more subservient to these organizations. Nevertheless, academic research by Fleschenberg (2006) and Zetterberg (2009) has shown that women elected to reserved seats lack bargaining strength within their parties and assemblies to advance their agendas due to their limited voter base.

In another scholarly literature on gender quotas, concerns have been raised about the possibility of women elected under a quota system being constrained to follow the party leadership's guidelines, rather than being free to work on their own agendas or feminist policies in parliament (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2010). The type of electoral system in place is another important systemic factor that can significantly impact gender quotas, with majoritarian systems such as the first-past-the-post (FPTP) system differing from proportional representation (PR) systems in their effect on the implementation of gender quotas (Fleschenberg, 2007; Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2005; Krook & Zetterberg, 2014). Despite Rosen's (Rosen, 2012) analysis of 168 countries worldwide using data from 1992 to 2010, which concluded that PR systems are not effective in developing countries in increasing the effectiveness of women's political representation, it is generally believed that a PR system is the most conducive to increasing female representation. Rosen (2012) also suggests that the transition to a PR electoral system can significantly benefit women in developed countries, but may have less impact in less developed countries without other demands for representation. Women with reserved seats are often perceived to have less political power, as the reservation of seats restrict their efforts prior to being elected. Zetterberg (2008) posits that male party leadership often seeks to counter the threat that gender quotas pose to the existing power

structure, and that the level of control of party leadership and transparency in the nomination process can affect the extent to which women experience these problems (Rosen, 2012).

FPTP and PR.STV were both used in the 2002 elections. While women's reserved seats were indirectly filled through the use of proportional representation, general seats were chosen by a simple majority based on single-member constituencies. There was a contention that having separate election procedures for general and reserved seats would result in two different groups of lawmakers; one chosen under the FPTP system and the other using the PR system. The first kind is supported by thousands of voters in addition to being a political party representative; they also have the support of constituent voters. The party leadership has the final say over a candidate elected to a reserved seat (Bari, 2009). Women's reserved seats were greatly praised, but the indirect election process for these seats has seriously called into question the efficacy of these reforms, according to one academic. The goal of empowering women will be less successfully attained (Bilal, 2004).

Because these female lawmakers had no position in Parliament, a male member of parliament suggested eliminating these reserved seats during a debate in the National Assembly. He was still of the opinion that these female lawmakers could only be elected to reserved seats rather than general elections (Shehzad, 2003). However, a few female MNAs also started criticizing the women members who were elected to reserved seats in analogous ways. They drew attention to the fact that a large number of women in politics lack the political background required to work towards raising the status of women.

There have been criticisms directed towards Pakistan's indirect election system for reserved seats. There is a claim that these kinds of election setups would limit the legislative independence of female lawmakers. One writer observes that rather than serving as a tool to question and alter the gender status quo, the current election system and the politics it is producing have instead turned into a means of maintaining it. There is a reason why even political groups that actively oppose women, such as Jamaat-i-Islami, which led the charge to exclude them from the Lower Dir by-election, gladly propose female candidates for reserved seats (Mehdi, 2015).

The constitution underwent multiple changes in 2002, but the process for allocating reserved seats to women remained unchanged. Strong political players typically favored the indirect election process for seats reserved for women. Political parties have historically seen these women's reserved seats as a way to gain support from women's rights organizations and to bolster their numerical dominance in legislatures (Krook, 2008; Zetterberg, 2009). The male-dominated institutional framework in Pakistan had placed little emphasis on empowering

women to enter politics (Waseem, 2006). This electoral procedure would prevent women from having any direct interaction with voters. Women were unable to obtain political experience and exposure at the constituency level, which prevented them from entering the major political arena. This kind of electoral system was also criticized by a well-known historian. According to him, women who were elected to reserved seats would not represent Pakistani women, but rather their male colleagues (Khan, 2007).

Miscellaneous and contradictory opinions exist on the election process for gender-quota seats. The direct election method for these seats is favored by women's rights advocacy. For these reserved seats, Pakistan's major political parties support an indirect election process. Opposition political parties are in favor of proportional representation (PR) in elections. These parties proposed allocating reserved seats for women to political parties by their election vote shares. However, because political parties occasionally have a higher percentage of seats than votes in general elections, the government chooses to distribute women's reserved seats based on the seats each party won in those elections. If women's seats remain vacant for political parties, this is another pointless tactic used by them to gain more seats in elected assemblies at the expense of the national agenda. Under these circumstances, women would have to accept the course set by the party leadership. Some of the female MNAs initially made an effort to unite as a group. In response, it was noted that the party agenda rapidly overshadowed the agenda based on gender. It was suggested that by limiting their access to a popular constituency, indirect elections would prevent women from becoming mainstream in American politics (Bari, 2009). Political parties were in charge of nominating candidates for the reserved seats under the indirect election system. Only female relatives of male leaders and members were nominated, according to data analysis.

Following the 2002 general elections, it was discovered that many districts within provinces were disregarded, and that women's reserved seats were not allocated equitably across all provinces. The majority of female candidates on the reserved list were from upper-class, rural backgrounds. Since no seats had been set aside for women in the Federal Capital Islamabad and the Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA), not a single female candidate was put forward for the reserved seats in these regions. Female lawmakers have publicly said that they were not provided with funding for personal growth. They were refused on the basis that they did not need funding for the development because they had no constituency. Put another way, the money would have been utilized in the home regions of a select group of powerful women if they had been able to secure it.

The National Commission on the Status of Women's Chairperson further stated that quota women were under a great deal of stress due to the indirect election process for women's

reserved seats. Legislators who are women have frequently complained that male colleagues make light of their abilities and cut them off while they are trying to speak. Since they don't represent any constituency, they aren't given development funds (Haroon, 2011).

Since it has come to be perceived that women lawmakers are "second class" they have expressed serious concerns about the electoral process for elections to women-reserved seats. A female activist employed by a non-governmental organization that promotes women's rights has shown that the political party recruiting process lacks democratic principles. She also pointed out that political parties have consistently secured reserved seats for women belonging to specific feudal and political families. Bringing their female relatives to these seats in parliament had been their best alternative.

The solution to the issue at hand is not complex and has been integrated into our political system. The reserved seats for women have significantly benefited the political patriarchs, augmenting their numerical strength in the parliament. These seats are looked upon as an added advantage, apportioned exclusively by the party leaders within the party-list structure. Although some members express discontent over this monopoly, they concur that only women from the political elite should hold the reserved positions (Mehdi, 2015).

The women lawmakers elected to reserved seats tend to believe that certain leaders or party leaderships do have a significant influence over how they obtain access to the legislature. They have voiced harsh criticism of the process of centralized selection. Personal links to the party leadership, rather than skill and political experience, are the deciding element in these kinds of electoral procedures. Every elected female lawmaker had familial ties to the party leadership, regardless of whether they were elected to reserved or general seats. It appears that the families of these elected MNAs hold considerable sway among the political parties. Numerous female lawmakers have made it clear that the party leadership alone has the power to choose any woman to fill these positions. Women candidates for reserved seats are chosen without consulting anyone, not even the party's women's wings. Party employees lack adequate representation. Women with little political experience who are elected to reserve seats are mostly inexperienced. These inexperienced female lawmakers lack the necessary education and experience to carry out their duties effectively. The majority of female MPs who responded to the question about the election method opposed indirect election procedures for the reserved seats.

After joining the parliament, the Pakistani constitution does not distinguish between MNAs with quotas and those without. Women are not restricted in any way during the initial stages of selection or throughout the assemblies that follow. Once these female lawmakers have begun

their parliamentary responsibilities, they are disregarded during the decision-making process. It is crucial that political parties have a firm grip over the legislative options available to parliamentarians. Both male and female legislators' perspectives and legislative conduct are significantly influenced by the political party leadership. A researcher has observed that political parties consistently dissuade women from collaborating across party lines on various matters, hence diminishing the impact of female lawmakers on legislation (Tremblay & Steele, 2009). It was evident from responses of women MNAs interviews that party ideology had a deep influence on their political behavior. These remarks indicated how strongly a person's political behaviors influence their party allegiance. Political parties are constantly in rivalry and have differing political philosophies and positions. Politicians are unable to be members of multiple parties. The challenges of working with other parties in politics are well-known, particularly in situations where party affiliation is prioritized over individual ideas. For female legislators, these challenges can be further compounded, as they fear repercussions from their own parties if they collaborate with opposition parties. This is because party affiliation is often seen as the key determinant of a legislator's priorities, rather than their gender (Chaney, 2006; Chaney, 2012).

According to Lovenduski (2005), political parties are known to have a significant impact on people's opinions about politics with gender implications. This is especially true in countries like Pakistan, where party doctrine can exert a strong influence on the gender dynamics of political debate. As such, it is crucial to consider the political, legal, and institutional environments of a nation when analyzing gender issues in political party platforms.

It is clear that more needs to be done to create a safe and supportive environment for female legislators to collaborate across party lines and voice their individual ideas without fear of reprisals. By prioritizing gender issues in political party platforms and promoting diversity and inclusivity within political parties, work towards a more equitable and representative political landscape can be done.

6.15 Equal Participation of Men and Women

An effective and genuine democratic system requires equal involvement from men and women in decision-making. Unfortunately, the majority-male membership body makes the most significant statements that impact people's lives through legislation and policies without involving women in party politics. This is a major factor in the discriminatory nature of legislation and the marginalization of most policies for women in parliamentary processes and political party structures (Shahid Manzoor Gill, MNA, 2020-2007).

The ability to exert pressure on these decisions is known as influential decision-making. These factors influence decision-making, as well as the ability to participate in and ultimately govern choices. The ability to initiate people and resources is tied to both individual and consolidated leadership, regardless of how isolated the idea is. The ability to influence other people's ideas and actions is crucial to both the initiative and decision-making specialists, regardless of whether they agree with the recommended scenario of intensity.

To ensure the political party's commitment to women's movement in legislative matters, gender equality must be guaranteed in the party's stages and local structures. To promote equality within their ranks, political parties have taken a variety of steps, such as mandating equal representation at events and meetings, appointing women and men to decision-making roles within the party, and providing a forum for women to ask questions. These two distinct locations are connected in some ways. However, the close connections also demonstrate how failure in one area can undermine progress in others, perhaps improving the status of women in politics. Despite the advancements in women's rights across the globe, including political progress and the empowerment of women, women's impact on four key areas of progress remains uncertain. Although there have been legal changes that aim to improve women's rights, these changes are often not effectively enforced. Additionally, institutional changes are superficial unless accompanied by more profound changes in elite attitudes, norms, and capabilities that are necessary for women to operate on equal terms with men. As a result, the progress of women in these key areas is still limited and requires further action to ensure lasting change. In every country, men tend to speak more than women while in public, and certain instances, women are excluded entirely from positions of decision-making. Long-term female proximity in professional settings and public life, along with a general disregard for divergent outcomes, alter this status quo and are indicators of a decline in gender-based segregation (Kassa, 2015). Although holding important roles in the political system or society can significantly improve women's status, it would also benefit the entire family, community, and electorate. However, the absence of substantive expertise and opposition to the women's administration still have serious, illustrated effects on letters, as well as concerns, prospects, and desires.

In general, women are portrayed as weak and incapable of making wise decisions. Throughout history, they have been characterized as being ill-suited for trivial matters, perpetually preoccupied with chitchat and gossip, utterly incompetent, and lacking self-assurance. The male-dominated establishment and man-centric social structures of that era, which veiled women as mediocre, anticipated and reinforced this. It proved to be challenging for women to fight for their political rights as contributing members because of the persistent reinforcement

of the notion that women are inferior from every angle. Such male-centric behaviors make it far more difficult for a woman to work in government. These kinds of thinking are not remnants of the past. In today's world, such attitudes towards women persist in societal structures in both developed and developing countries. The financial standing of women was harmed by their historical experience of segregation. Women's financial circumstances play a noteworthy role in improving their interest in and representation in political decision-making organizations.

6.16 Conclusion

This chapter's primary goal is to examine the issues that negatively impact women's representation in Pakistan's parliament. The number of women serving in the Parliament has increased, but this hasn't prevented the legislature from passing new laws that support women. The institutional setting and power dynamics are specifically examined in this study, as well as how they affect how women lawmakers operate. It also draws attention to the Parliament's role in supporting or impeding women's substantive representation. In the Pakistani political system, if women are marginalized and their concerns are not properly addressed within the parliament, then what kind of issues and challenges will be tackled? To bring about substantive policy changes, it is important to provide confidence and encouragement to women by addressing various gender roles and prejudices. It is important to note that simply having more women in Parliament is not enough to bring about change until they are given considerable opportunities as mentioned above.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Women's Participation in Politics

Women have played a vital role in the politics, parliamentary activities, and the creation of Pakistan since its inception in 1947. However, the traditionally male-dominated political landscape of the country has been a barrier to women's participation in politics. The government's efforts to promote women's participation in politics, have had limited success, and the Zia regime's process of Islamization had a totally negative impact on women's participation in social and political activities.

However, General Pervez Musharraf's military intervention in Pakistan brought about, a shift in the political landscape. Under his policy of Enlightened Moderation, several major steps were taken to promote women's participation in the legislative process, The most significant of these steps was the increase in the number of women's seats at the local, provincial, and federal levels. This increase made it possible for more women to take part, in the political process. As a result, in the 12th National Assembly, there were like, wow, 60 seats reserved for women in the general elections, three times higher than the earlier quota, which is remarkable.

The year 2002 marked a turning point, in the political representation of women in Pakistan, providing them with greater political empowerment and representation than ever before.

In the lead-up to the 2002 general elections in Pakistan, like, a lot of legislative and political actions were utilized to marginalize established political parties and their leadership. The 12th National Assembly, which governed the country between 2002 and 2007, was controlled by, a military dictatorship throughout its five-year tenure. The ratification of the 17th Constitutional Amendment, like, strengthened President General Musharraf's authority and stuff.

Notably, the 12th National Assembly had the highest percentage of, like, female representation in Pakistan's legislative history, with 74 women, out of the 342 members of the House, which is like, a pretty good number (21.3%). However, only 12 of these women were elected, through the general election process of 2002, while the remaining 60 women were nominated for reserved seats for women and one woman was elected for a seat reserved for non-Muslims.

7.2 Party-Wise Distribution

After the merger of different factions of political parties into the Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid-e-Azam (PML-Q), the party-wise distribution of women MNAs (Members of National Assembly) was, like, as follows: 34 belonged to PML-Q; 20 to PPP (Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians); 13 to MMA (Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal); 3 to PML-N (Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz); and 3 to MQM (Muttahida Qaumi Movement).

It is also worth noting that, like, the majority of women elected to the general assembly seats were from established political families, with a solid support platform in the area and a feudal past. On the other hand, party members with middle-class or upper-middle-class backgrounds and a proven track record in both politics and women's rights activism represented a, like, significant proportion of the women elected to reserved seats. Additionally, several women without any political experience were voted to reserve seats, because they were either related to or close to prominent party figures.

Most of the female legislators in the 12th National Assembly were freshmen, having no prior knowledge of parliamentary legislature, which is pretty tough. Throughout its initial four years in office, the National Assembly hardly managed, to accomplish the 130 days per year stipulated in the constitution. In the last and fifth years, when it convened for a total of 83 days, it failed to fulfill the requirements outlined in the constitution. Except for the second year during the National Assembly's five-year existence, the president did not address the legislature at the start of each parliamentary year. In five years, the Speaker of the National Assembly was the target of two no-confidence motions because of his purportedly "impartial behavior" towards the opposition. There were several significant flaws in the legislative process. It was evident that the House did not have enough time for debate and stuff. The House did not react to female legislators' fervor for enacting measures that would benefit women in the same way. Their measures were initially added to the agenda after a long delay and then they were not fortunate enough to be submitted, they were promptly rejected disallowed, postponed or withdrawn from the House, Eventually, they expired. However, the House of Representatives faced a recurring issue of quorum during its five-year term, with a total of 68 instances of quorum being broken. Additionally, there were 165 walkouts and wow, 45 boycotts of House sessions over the same period. Out of the 222 bills and ordinances presented in the House, only 50 were approved by the National Assembly. However, of these 50 laws and ordinances, only 38 were ultimately enacted into Acts over the course of, five years. About 184 legislation and ordinances were still pending as the National Assembly's term came to, an end. This demonstrates the enormous amount of effort that the relevant ministries spent in preparing and introducing these bills. Likewise, and perhaps even more regretfully legislators' efforts had been manifestly disregarded; out of 240 Private Members Bills, only 70 were, , introduced and the others were

rejected for plenty of reasons. Questions and Calling Attention Notices worked similarly. Out of the 47014 inquiries that were submitted, 10099 were replied; more than two-thirds of those answers either expired or were disallowed. Only, 329 of, like, the 3157 calling attention notices that were posted and wow received a response.

Additionally, the 12th NA saw a signify position of power hold by women legislators, who was pioneers in their own lights. They were expected to perform well and they not only meet but exceeded these expectations through their exceptional participation. They consistently increased these interventions each year, never losing sight of their commitment to the cause of women and their advocate for common citizens. These women parliamentarians demonstrated their proficiency in the assembly's procedural rules, which they studied diligently to perform effectively in the highly respect House. Their successors find it difficult to compete with their level of participation and dedication to their cause. Their sense of responsibility towards their constituents was evident in their enthusiastic speeches and interventions, which demonstrates their eagerness to contribute towards the betterment of their own people. Over the course five years, a total of 58 women legislators made a impressive 3698 interventions, which reflected their dedication towards their roles and their commitment to serving the country. Their hard work and dedication settled a high standard for their successors to follow, and their contributions will be remembered and appreciate for a long time. During their tenure in the 12th National Assembly, the female legislators make a remarkable impact through their active participations in various parliamentary activities. This was reflected in the impressive number of interventions they masked, which included 2724 questions that were listed on the agenda, 380 times they participated in debates, 306 points of orders**, 99 calling attentions notices, 101 private members ' bills, 14 resolutions, and 69 adjournments and privileges motions. Additionally, they made 5 points of personal explanation, which further demonstrated their commitment towards serving the country and their constituents. By engage in such a wide range of parliamentary activities, the female legislators of the 12th National Assembly settled a high standard for their successors to follow and made a lasting impact on the legislative process in Pakistan.

Based on the actual days in each parliamentary year, the number of interventions made by women parliamentarians are calculated as an average of 10 per days. This means that over the course of five years, during which the National Assembly meets for 384 days, the women parliamentarians made a total of 3698 interventions. Not only does participation grow in numbers, but quality also increased. The perspectives and horizons of female legislators were broadened, and they were selected matters of public interest. In terms of the total number of different types of interventions, female legislators participated in debates (380), Points of Order

(306), Private Members Bills (101), Adjournment & Privilege Motions (69), Calling Attentions Notices (99), and Resolutions (14). The majority of these interventions occurred during the "Question Hour." Women lawmakers made extensive use of "Points of Order" and "Question Hour." In fact, whenever Question Hour was interrupted or a motion to raise a point of order was rejected, they responded and voiced their concerns to the Speaker in a formal and informal manner. Therefore, through points of order and question hour, the majority of the contents of the women's contribution reached the House floor. It is a reality that the majority of the inquiries posed by MNAs really started by their constituents, party employees, and human rights organizations. Parliamentarians interact with the public by posing or submitting questions to the appropriate ministries. It also offers the chance to gather in-depth information on a variety of state institution affairs concurrently. Women's rights issues that are frequently brought up include the removal of the Karokari and Hoodooed Ordinances, instances of violence against women, discriminatory practices in institutions, husband and wife posting in the same city, and the number of women employed by various ministries and government departments; other issues include a proposal for a women's TV channel, a resolution opposing the throwing of acid at women, and the threat to the lives of the Solanki family in interior Sindh. Discrimination against women Members of Parliament (MNAs) in reserved seats relative to elected MNAs; the number of women chosen as Pakistani ambassadors at this period; the frequency of sexual harassment of women in government settings; the adoption of the "Code of Workplace Ethics"; the lack of seats for women on public transports; the rights of women to have their foreign spouses registered as citizens of Pakistan; the welfare of imprisoned women; the ineligibility of women to cast ballots. In addition to topics directly pertaining to women, minorities, and government, female legislators also discussed a variety of other subjects. The female members of parliament have demonstrated a deep concern for a variety of critical public issues. These members have shared their informed opinions on topics such as healthcare, foreign relations, environmental concerns, economic policies, energy production, education, natural resource management, financial and accounting practices, food security and agriculture, legislation, import and export regulations, privatization initiatives, governance practices, employment policies, language and cultural preservation, tourism, business and trade practices, media and television broadcasting, railway transportation, procedural rules and business practice, as well as crime and court system. They were deeply committed to addressing a wide variety of public concerns and were actively engaged in discussing and debating these issues in order to find solutions meaningful. Their dedication and commitment to improving the lives of citizens through their work in parliament is truly admirable and inspiring.

In the world of politics, women lawmakers often face various challenges, including discrimination when it comes to speaking time and opportunities. These biases are especially

prevalent in legislatures, where women's voices are disregarded or denied intervention. This article highlights the struggles faced by women in legislative bodies and sheds light on the disparities they face compared to their male counterparts.

Women politicians have consistently experienced disparities in intervention in legislative proceedings. Over a span of five years, statistics revealed that women accounted for a smaller percentage of certain types of interventions compared to male lawmakers.

- Women represented only 27% of all questions asked.
- When it came to calling attention notices, women made up 30% of the total.
- In terms of private member bills, women accounted for 42%.
- Women lawmakers were responsible for only 24% of resolutions.
- Women were involved in a mere 8% of adjournment and privilege motions.

These numbers clearly indicate the underrepresentation of women in critical intervention areas.

7.3 Legislative Progress for Women

Although challenges persist, there have been significant developments in legislation regarding women's issues. Out of 38 laws passed over the five-year period, two were specifically aimed at addressing matters pertaining to women.

- The first law focused on the abolition of honor killings and was successfully approved by the National Assembly on July 30, 2004.
- The second law aimed to reform the Zina and Qazf Ordinances, two Hudood ordinances, and was introduced in the National Assembly.

These legislative endeavors highlight the importance of addressing gender inequality through legal reforms.

7.4 Participation and Expertise of Women Legislators

Women legislators have made noteworthy contributions and brought their expertise and dedication to the forefront in the National Assembly. Each member exhibits unique skills and perspectives, enriching the parliamentary process. Some excel at moving questions, while others actively engage in debates, resolutions, and private member bills. Additionally, women legislators often utilize points of order to raise specific concerns.

In the span of five years, the collective efforts of 58 women parliamentarians led to a staggering 3132 interventions, which accounted for the majority of the 3698 total interventions made by

women during that time. Their contributions demonstrated commitment and expertise in serving the public's best interests.

7.5 Notable Women Parliamentarians

Several women parliamentarians stood out for their exceptional contributions, making a significant impact on the proceedings of the House. Here are some noteworthy achievements:

- Ms. Yasmeen Rehman asked the highest number of questions, with a total of 286.
- Ms. Mehnaz Rafi actively participated in parliamentary debates, contributing a total of twenty-five times.
- MS. Naheed Khan made the most interventions with 36 points of order.
- Ms. Mehnaz Rafi led the way by bringing the most calling attention notifications (15) and resolutions (six).
- In terms of private member bills, Ms. Sherry Rehman, Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi, and Ms. Kashmala Tariq moved eleven bills each.
- Moreover, Ms. Ghurki moved six bills, while Dr. Farida Ahmed, Ms. Yasmeen Rehman, Ms. Farhana Khalid Banoori, Ms. Rubina Saadat Qaimkhwani, and Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki each presented five bills.

The accomplishments of these women signify the overall impact of female parliamentarians on various legislative matters.

7.6 Women's Dominance in Private Member Bills

Over five years, women showcased their zeal and dedication by actively supporting private member bills. Their collective efforts demonstrated a keen understanding of identified problems, careful consideration of existing legislation, determination of the proposed course of action, and successful drafting of bills.

In the 12th National Assembly, out of 240 bills proposed, only one private member bill was passed. This statistic highlights the parliamentary system's functioning regarding private member bills. Most private member bills introduced by women lawmakers were either presented independently or in collaboration with male and female colleagues from their respective parties. Furthermore, some private legislation initiatives were cross-party endeavors, displaying the potential for consensus-building on significant public concerns.

7.7 Contribution Ranking of Women Parliamentarians

Ranking the active women politicians based on their contributions over the last five years yields some interesting results. Ms. Yasmeen Rahman of the PPP tops the list with an impressive 322 interventions. She is closely followed by Ms. Fauzia Wahab of the PPPP with 242 interventions, and Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi of the MMA with 238 interventions. Ms. Belum Hasnain, also from the PPP, secured the fourth position with 231 interventions. Ms. Mehnaz Rafi (PML-Q) claimed the fifth spot, actively participating with a total of 187 interventions.

Other noteworthy women parliamentarians who made significant contributions include MS. Inyat Begum of MMA (322 interventions), Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki of PPP (165 interventions), Ms. Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q) (132 interventions), Ms. Shakila Khanam Rashid (PPPP)(114 interventions), and Ms. Sherry Rehman (106 interventions).

7.8 Limited Representation on General Seats

Out of the 25 most active women politicians identified, only two were elected to general seats in the National Assembly. The remaining twenty-three women were chosen to serve on the National Assembly's reserved seats. It is worth noting that the majority of the women on the list had extensive political experience and strong affiliations with their respective parties.

7.9 Party-wise Distribution of Active Women MNAs

Among the 25 most active women MNAs, the PPP had the largest representation, with 14 parliamentarians and a total of 1772 shared initiatives. The MMA followed with seven female legislators, contributing 784 initiatives in total. The PML-Q had three female MNAs, providing 392 initiatives, while the PML-N had one female MNA with initiatives.

Despite having the highest number of female legislators, the ruling PML-Q party's performance with regards to women lawmakers was subpar. Only three of their members managed to secure a spot on the list. In contrast, opposition parties held a majority, with 22 out of the 25 active women lawmakers belonging to opposition parties.

Moreover, the participation of women legislators in the National Assembly has led to significant progress in addressing gender disparities and raising crucial women's issues. Despite facing discrimination and challenges, women parliamentarians have demonstrated their capabilities and commitment to serving the public interest. It is imperative to recognize their contributions and continue striving for a more inclusive and equal legislative environment.

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APPENDIX-01

Abbreviations Used in the Thesis		
Sr #	Item	Abbreviations
1	Association for Betterment and Development of Human Being	ABAD
2	All India Muslim League	AIML
3	Awami National Party	ANP
4	All India Women's Conference	AIWC
5	All Pakistan Women Association	APWA
6	Basic Democratic System	BDS
7	Basic Principles Committee	BPC
8	Central Province	CP
9	Civil society organizations	CSOs
10	Capital Development Authority	CDA
11	Combine Military Hospital	CMH
12	Pakistan Constituent Assembly	CAP
13	Convention Muslim League	Con ML
14	Calling Attention Notice	CAN
15	Chief Martial Law Administrator	CMLA
16	Democratic Women Association	DWA
17	Election Commission of Pakistan	ECP
18	Export Promote Bureau	EPB
19	Basic Democratic System	BDS
20	Electoral Bodies Disqualification Order	EMBDO
21	Federally Administered Tribal Areas	FATA
22	Human Rights Commission of Pakistan	HRCP
23	Higher education commission	HEC
24	Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan	JUP

25	Legal Framework Order	LFO
26	Local Government Ordinance	LGO
27	Liquefied Petroleum Gas	LPG
28	Member of the National Assembly	MNA
29	Muttahida Majlis -e Amal	MMA
30	Member of Parliament	MPs
31	Muhammadan Educational Congress	MEC
32	Muslims Family Law Ordinance	MFLO
33	Muslim Personnel Act	MPL
34	National Council of Women in India	NCWI
35	National Assembly Debate	NAD
36	Non-government Organization	NGOs
37	The National Council of Women in India	NCWI
38	Parliament Constituent Assembly	PCA
39	Pakistan Tahreek -e-Insaf	PTI
40	Proportional Representation.	PR
41	Pakistan National Alliance	PNA
42	Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency	PILDAT
43	Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation	PTDC
44	Private Members Bill	PMB
45	Pakistan National Alliance	PNA
46	Round Table Conference	RTC
47	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation	SAARC
48	Search for Common Grounds	SFCG
49	Station House Officer	SHO
50	Single Transfer Vote	STV
51	Trade Development Authority of Pakistan	TDAP

52	United States of America	USA
53	United Provinces	UP
54	United Front for Women Rights	UFWR
55	United Nations	UN
56	United Nations Development Programs	UNDP
57	World Economic Forum	WEF
58	Widow Remarriage Act	WRA
59	Women Indian Association	WIA
60	Women's Rights Committee	WRC

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF SOME WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS

Fauzia Wahab

Fauzia Wahab, a distinguished member of the Pakistan parliament, was born on November 1956, in Karachi, Pakistan, who served as the senior *ex officio* member and the secretary-general of the central executive committee of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). Her journey into politics began with her active involvement in student unions during her academic years. Fauzia Wahab graduated from Karachi University and soon after joined the political sphere, aligning with the Pakistan People's Party. Her rise within the party was rapid, holding various key roles including the Information Secretary of PPP. Recognized for her eloquence and dedication, she was nominated as a Member of the National Assembly in 1994, and in 12th National assembly 2002, representing her constituents with distinction. Throughout her political career, Fauzia Wahab passionately advocated for social and economic reforms, gender equality, and better healthcare and education for the people of Pakistan. Tragically, her tenure was cut short when she passed away on 17 June 2012, leaving a lasting legacy in Pakistani politics.



Source: Library Record of National Assembly of Pakistan, Islamabad.

Miss Samia Raheel Qazi

Miss Saima Raheel Qazi, a prominent member of the Pakistan parliament affiliated with the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA). Hailing from a family with a rich political heritage. She completed her PhD in Family institution and soon delved into the political realm. A devout and articulate advocate for Islamic principles and social justice, she gained widespread recognition within the MMA and subsequently secured a seat in the Pakistan parliament. She is the sole member of the Council of Islamic Ideology of Pakistan and former Member of the National Assembly. Her political journey has been marked by an unwavering commitment to promoting Islamic values and advocating for the rights and welfare of the people, especially focusing on issues that align with the MMA's platform. She selected on reserved seat in 2002 election as MNA from Punjab. Miss Samia Raheel Qazi continues to make significant contributions to the political landscape of Pakistan; she is politician author and a social worker. Currently Dr. Samia Raheel Qazi serving as a director of foreign affairs of JIP:



Source: [http:// who is who in Pakistan](http://whoiswhoinpakistan.com).

Miss Mehnaz Rafi

Begum Mehnaz Rafi, an MNA and founder member of Women's Action Forum (WAF), played a pivotal role in advocating for women's rights in Pakistan during the Zia regime. Despite not being formally registered, WAF managed to expand and become a powerful voice for women's rights. Begum Mehnaz Rafi was selected on a reserved seat by the ruling party, the PML (Q) Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid), and has been instrumental in applauding the government's efforts in inducting a large number of women at the federal, provincial, and local level of government since independence.



Source: Library Record of National Assembly of Pakistan, Islamabad.

Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki

Samina Khalid Ghurki, a prominent political figure in Pakistan, was born on August 3, 1956, in Lahore, Punjab. She belongs to the Ghurki Arain Family and completed her education from the Lahore College for Women in 1976. A member of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), she was elected to the National Assembly for the first time in 2002 from the largest constituency in Lahore, NA-130. She was re-elected in 2008 from the same constituency. Throughout her career, she has demonstrated a strong commitment to political reform and social justice, earning multiple seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan. She has been a dedicated advocate for various social and economic causes, particularly focusing on issues related to education, healthcare, and women's rights. Throughout her tenure as a member of parliament, she has worked tirelessly to address the needs and concerns of her constituents and contribute to the development of her community and the nation as a whole.



Source: Library Record of National Assembly of Pakistan, Islamabad.

Ms. Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q)

Kashmala Tariq, a notable political figure in Pakistan, was born on January 24, 1972. She is a member of the Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-e-Azam) - PML-Q, a significant political party in Pakistan. She embarked on her political journey after completing her education, rising through the ranks due to her keen intellect and dedication. She holds several important positions over the years, including as that of Federal Ombudsperson for Protection against Harassment of Women at Work and Member of the National Assembly. Kashmala Tariq has gained recognition for her advocacy of women's rights and empowerment, as well as her campaign for legislative changes



aimed at enhancing gender equality in Pakistan. Her impact on the political landscape and dedication to social causes mark her as a prominent and influential figure within the PML-Q and the broader Pakistani political sphere.

Ms. Shakeela Khanam Rashid

Shakeela Khanam Rashid, a Pakistani politician, served as a member of the National Assembly from 2002 to 2013. She was nominated as the Pakistan People's Party candidate from Punjab for a seat reserved for women from the province in the 2002 general elections. In the 2008 Pakistani general elections, she was re-elected to the National Assembly of Pakistan as a Pakistan People's Party candidate for a seat designated for women from Punjab.

Ms. Sherry Rehman

Sherry Rehman is a prominent political figure hailing from Karachi, Pakistan, born on December 21, 1960. She is an accomplished member of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), the country's major political party. Her journey into the world of politics commenced with her joining PPP, where she quickly established herself as an exceptional leader due to her skills and dedication to public service. Over the years, she has held several significant positions, including serving as the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Minister for Gender Equality and Youth Affairs, and the first woman to lead the opposition in the Senate of Pakistan.



Sherry Rehman is highly regarded for her progressive and liberal stances, advocating for democratic values, women's rights, and the freedom of the press. Her enduring commitment to fostering a more inclusive and equitable society has earned her respect both nationally and internationally. She resigned from the cabinet in 2009 and went on to serve as the Chair of the Pakistan Red Crescent and founded the non-partisan think tank, Jinnah Institute. In November 2011, she was appointed as the Ambassador to the United States and remained until April 2013. In 2015, she was elected to the Senate.

Overall, Sherry Rehman has made an indelible mark on Pakistani politics and society, due to her unwavering commitment to social justice and progressive values. Her contributions to the fields of information and broadcasting, gender equality, and youth affairs have been remarkable, and she continues to inspire future generations of leaders in Pakistan.

Source: Library Record of National Assembly of Pakistan, Islamabad.

Ms. Farida Ahmed Siddiqui

Dr. Farida Ahmed Siddiqui, a prominent Pakistani religious scholar and Member of the National Assembly of Pakistan, was born in Meerut, India. She obtained her post-graduate degree from the University of Karachi and was the younger sister of Shah Ahmad Noorani. Dr. Siddiqui was a distinguished scholar who made significant contributions to the fields of Islamic studies and literature. She authored numerous religious books and was the Founder President of the Women Islamic Mission, as well as a member of the Anjuman-e-Islam and Islamic Mission Welfare. Dr. Siddiqui served as the sole woman in the Council of Islamic Ideology and was a former member of the Pakistani National Assembly before she passed away. Her invaluable contributions to Islamic scholarship and women's empowerment continue to inspire scholars and activists worldwide.

Source: www.geogle.com.pk

Miss Rubina Saadat Qaimkhani

Rubina Saadat Qaimkhani is a notable political figure in Pakistan. Born on February 22, 1970, she has been an active member of the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM), a significant political party in Pakistan. She has a diverse and extensive political career, serving as a National Assembly's Member of Pakistan multiple times. She has shown dedication to her constituents and has been an advocate for various social and economic causes, including education and healthcare. Her contributions and influence within the MQM and the Pakistani political landscape have marked her as an important and respected figure. She also has an impressive track record in public service. During her second tenure as Member of the National Assembly, she served as federal parliamentary secretary for human rights. In the 2013 Pakistani general election, she ran as a PPP candidate designated for women and secured a seat in the Provincial Assembly of Sindh. Her commitment to promoting human rights and advocating for women's empowerment has earned her widespread recognition in Pakistan's political landscape.



Ms. Ishrat Ashraf

Begum Ishrat Ashraf, wife of Ch. Muhammad Jaffar Iqbal, is a Hyderabad-born graduate who has had a long and impressive political career. She has served as a Member of the National Assembly for three terms (1985-88, 2002-07, and 2008-13) and was a Special Assistant to the Prime Minister during 1997-99. Additionally, she has traveled extensively abroad both on official and personal visits. During the 2018 General Elections, she had the honor of serving in the Punjab Provincial Assembly against one of the seats reserved for women and is currently



the Chairperson of the Standing Committee on Zakat & Ushr. Her father, Ch. Muhammad Ashraf, was a Senator during 1975-77.

Ms. Jamila Ahmed

Jamila Ahmad, a Pakistani politician, served as a member of the National Assembly of Pakistan between 2002 and 2007. She contested the 2002 Pakistani general election as a candidate for the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal on a reserved seat for women and was indirectly elected to the National Assembly of Pakistan. However, there are allegations of her resignation in October 2007.

Ms. Naheed Khan

Naheed Khan is a renowned parliamentarian for the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). She has had a notable political career, serving as a dedicated politician in Pakistan. Khan has held various significant positions within the party and government, showcasing her commitment to public service. With a background in activism and political engagement, she has advocated for social and political reforms to uplift the lives of the people she represents. Over the years, Naheed Khan has contributed to shaping policies and initiatives that align with the PPP's ideology, aiming to address the socio-economic challenges faced by the citizens of Pakistan.



Ms. Mahreen Anwar Raja

Miss Mehreen Anwar Raja, a member of Pakistan's National Assembly, was appointed as the Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs by Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani in 2008. She secured a reserved seat for women from Punjab after contesting as a candidate for the Pakistan People's Party in the general elections of the same year. Her appointment to the federal cabinet was a significant achievement, given her extensive experience in parliamentary affairs.



Dr Azra Fazal

Dr. Azra Fazal Pechuho, a Pakistani politician and member of the National Assembly, was nominated by the Pakistan People's Party to serve in the NA-213 (Nawabshah-I) constituency in the 2002 Pakistani general election. She secured 75,237 votes, defeating Syed Zahid Hussain Shah, a candidate of Pakistan Muslim League (Q) (PML-Q). Dr. Pechuho retained her position as a member of the National Assembly until May 2018.



Ms. Shamshad Sattar Bachani

Ms. Shamshad Sattar Bachani, a Pakistani politician, served in the National Assembly of Pakistan from 2002 to 2013. She was selected by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) to serve in the NA-223 (Hyderabad-VI) constituency in the 2002 Pakistani general election. Ms. Bachani secured 50,624 votes, defeating an independent candidate, Adeeba Gul Magsi.

Ms. Ruqia Khanum Soomro

Mis Ruqia Khanum Soomro was born in 6 February 1936 in Karachi. She was the political member of National Assembly of Pakistan from 1988-1990 and again in 2002-2007 as well. She was a member of Standing Committee of Work and Services. She was also taking part in the Membership of Standing committee on Transport. She was PPPP Pakistan People's Party member.



Ms. Shagufta Jumani

Shagufta Jumani, a Pakistani politician, was a member of the National Assembly in two separate terms. Her first term ran from 2002 to May 2018, while the second term began in August 2018 and ended in August 2023. She was elected to the National Assembly twice, first in the 2008 Pakistani general election as a candidate of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) on a Sindh seat designated for women, and then in the 2013 Pakistani general election as a PPP candidate on a reserved seat for women from Sindh.



Legal Framework Order, 2002

Chief Executive's Order No. 24 of 2002

(Gazette of Pakistan, Extraordinary, August, 2002)

WHEREAS general elections to the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies are scheduled to be held on October 10,2002, and to the Senate on November 12, 2002;

AND WHEREAS it is necessary to provide for a smooth and orderly transition;

NOW, THEREFORE, in pursuance of the Proclamation of Emergency of the fourteenth day of October, 1999, read with the Provisional Constitution Order No. 1 of 1999, and in pursuance of the powers vested in him by and under the judgement of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, dated the 12th May, 2000, and in exercise of all the powers enabling him in that behalf; to revive the Constitution with the amendments made herein, the Chief Executive of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan is pleased to make the following Order:-

1. Short title and commencement.

(1) This Order may be called the Legal Framework Order, 2002.

(2) It shall come into force at once.

2. First meetings of National Assembly, Senate and Provincial Assemblies.

(1) The first meeting of the National Assembly shall be held on a day to be specified by the President for the election of the Speaker and Deputy Speaker, the members of the Senate from the Federal Capital, and for the transaction of such other business as the President may specify.

(2) The National Assembly shall meet on a day to be specified by the President to ascertain which one of the members of the Assembly commands the confidence of the majority of the members for the purposes of clause (2A) of Article 91 of the Constitution and the President shall invite such member to be the Prime Minister.

(3) The first meeting of a Provincial Assembly shall be held on a day to be specified by the President for the election of the Speaker and Deputy Speaker, the members of the Senate and for the transaction of such other business as the President specify.

(4) Every Provincial Assembly shall meet on a day to be specified by the President to ascertain which one of the members of the Assembly commands the confidence of the majority of the members for the purposes of clause (2A) of Article 130 of the Constitution and the Governor shall invite such member to be the Chief Minister.

(5) The first meeting of the Senate shall be held on a day to be specified by the President for the election of the Chairman and Deputy Chairman and for the transaction of such other business as the President may specify.

3. Amendment of the Constitution and removal of difficulties.

(1) The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973, referred to in this Order as the Constitution, is hereby amended to the extent and in the manner specified in column (3) of the Schedule.

(2) If there is any necessity for any further amendment of the Constitution or any difficulty arises in giving effect to any of the provisions of this Order, the Chief Executive may make such provisions and pass or promulgate such orders for amending the Constitution or for removing any difficulty as he may deem fit.

(3) The validity of any provision made, or orders passed, under clauses (1) and (2) shall not be called in question in any court on any ground whatsoever.

4. Revival of Constitution of 1973:-

The provisions of the Constitution, as amended by this Order and by such other Orders as may be promulgated hereinafter, shall stand revived on such day as the Chief Executive may, by notification in the official Gazette, appoint; and different days may be so appointed in respect of different provisions.

5. Order to override other laws:-

The provisions of this Order shall have effect notwithstanding anything contained in the Constitution or any other Order or law for the time being in force.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

As a Ph.D. scholar registered under FDP with registration number 16014303-002 in the Department of History & Pakistan Studies at the University of Gujrat, I, Sajida Batool conducting research on the topic of "**The role of Women in the legislative politics of Pakistan: An Analysis of the 12th National Assembly.**" To complete my research work, I require your assistance in answering some questions. I assure you that the information you provide will be kept confidential and used only for academic purposes. Thank you for your cooperation.

- What is your educational background, how did you enter the field of politics?
- What is your Political Ambition?
- How do you perceive the term women empowerment?
- Do you have a familial political background? If so then who are they or feudal backgrounds who have motivated you to enter politics?
- Are you satisfied with 33% reservation of seats during the Musharraf Regime?
- What are the major problems faced by the women in the Assembly
- During legislative conversations, Women Party wings operate autonomously, free from any pressure or influence from party leaderships.
- What were the negative and positive effects of Musharraf's initiatives on women empowerment?
- Could the raise of seats in the assemblies improve the economic and women's social status in the society?
- Were the female parliamentarians aware of the problems of general women?
- Did the women representatives highlight the women's issues on the floor of the house?
- Did those initiatives ensure political participation at the grass-root level?
- .Do you consider the era of Musharraf as an important landmark regarding women empowerment?
- Do you think that the governments in Pakistan had taken sincere measures to ensure political participation after independence.
- Do you agree that political empowerment leads towards economic and social empowerment?
- How do you face gender stereotyping and prejudice in parliament?
- What is the attitude of party leaders in promoting women in politics?
- Does the media misrepresent women politicians?
- What are the main causes of Pakistan's low female political engagement rate?

- Are you in favour of women entering the political sphere?

**MEMBERS ELECTED TO THE 12TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN
OPPOSITION TO WOMEN'S RESERVED SEATS (2002-2007)**

Pakistan Muslim League (QA)

Ms. Mehnaz Rafi

Dr. Hajra Tariq Aziz

Ms. Tanzila Amir Cheema

Dr. Donya Aziz

Ms. Kashmala Tariq

Dr. Saira Tariq

Ms. Riffat Amjad

Dr. Attiya Inayatullah

Ms. Shahzadi Umar Zadi Taiwana

Ms. Rahila Yahya

Ms. Aasia Azeem

Dr. Firdous Aashiq

Begum Tehmina Dastee

Ms. Onaza Ehsan

Ms. Buhsra Nazir Hazeen

Ms. Rozina Tufail

Mrs. Tahira Asif

Ms. K. Fiza Junejo

Mrs. Zaib Goher Ayub

*Ms. Noor khan Panezai

Ms. Bushra Rehman

Ms. Farzeen Ahmad

MMAP

Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi

Ms. Kaniz Ayesha

Dr. Farida Ahmad

Ms. Sayyeda Farhana Khalid

Ms. Nayyer Sultana

Ms. Razia Aziz

Ms. Ambareen

Ms. Jamila Ahmad

Ms. Inayat Begum

Ms. Shahida Begunri

Ms. Imrana Khawar

Ms. Bilqees Saif

Pakistan People Party (PPP)

Ms. Naheed Khan

Mrs. Beelum Hasnain

Mrs. Shakeela Khanam Rashid

Ms. Fauzia Habib

Ms. Mehreen Anwar Raja

Mrs. Yasmeen Rehman

Begum Shehnaz Sheikh

Ms. Rukhsana Bangish

Mrs. Nasim Akhter Chaudhry

Ms. Sherry Rehman

Mrs. Rukia Khanum

Ms. Fauzia Wahab

Ms. Rubina Saadat Qaimkhwani

Ms. Nafeesa Munawar Raja

Ms. Shagufta Jumani

Pakistan Muslim League (N)

Ms. Maimoona Hashmi

Begum Ishrat Ashraf

Ms. Tehmina Daultana

Pakistan Muslim League (J)

Begum Rehana Aleem Mashahidi

National Alliance

Ms. Ayela Malik

**Ms. Meena Laghari

Ms. Gule Farkhanda

MQM

Ms. Shamim Akhter

Ms. Shabina Talat

Mrs. Afser Begum

*Vice Zubeda Jalal

**Vice Sumera Malik

PML (F)

Ms. Khurshid Afghan

APPENDIX-06

ALLOCATION OF GENERAL SEATS TO WOMEN FROM 2022-2007

In the 12th National Assembly, general seats were allocated to women from 2002 to 2007.

Sr. No	Name and Constituency	Party	Vote
1	Ms. Eman Wasim (NA-59 Attock-III)*	PML-Q	65,762
2	Ms. Sumera Malik (NA-69 Khushab-I)	PML-Q	71,925
3	Ms. Ghulam Bibi Bharwana (NA-87 Jhang-H)	PML-Q	55,851
4	Ms. Rubina Shaheen Watoo (NA-147 Okara-V)	PML-Q	70,774
5	Ms. Riffat Javed (NA-117 Narowal-III)	PML-Q	49,367
6	Ms. Hina Rubbani (NA-177 Muzaffargarh-II)	PML-Q	46,752
7	Ms. Zubaida Jatai (NA-272 Kech-Cum-Gawader)	PML-Q	44,177
8	Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki (NA-130 Lahore-XIII)	PPP	46,095
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