

**THE ROLE OF WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS IN THE
PARLIAMENT OF PAKISTAN (2002-2008)**



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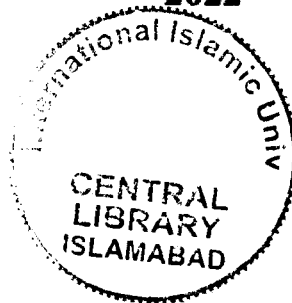
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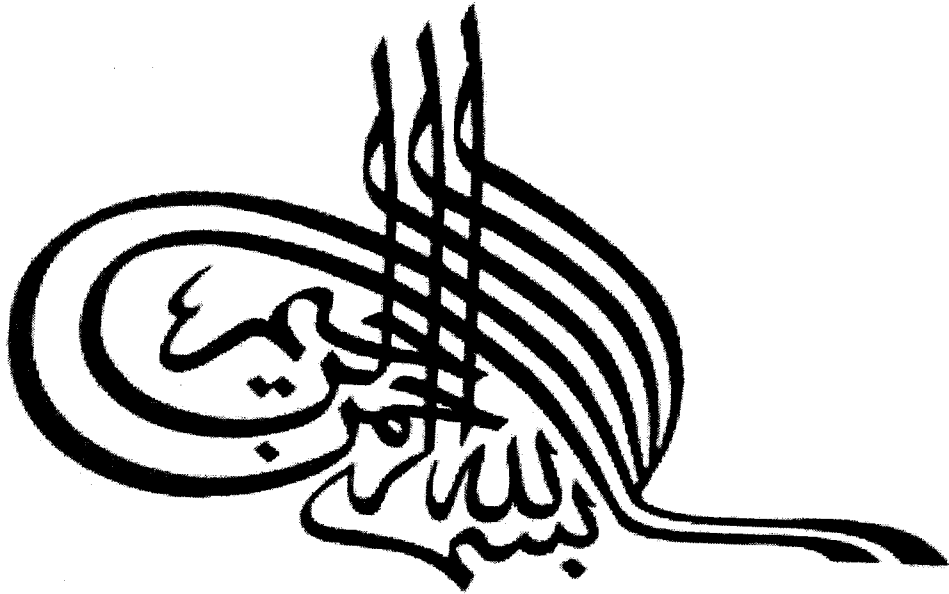
- Women Legislators
- Women - Political activity
- Women Politicians
- Women and democracy

**The Role of Women Parliamentarians in the Parliament of
Pakistan (2002-2008)**



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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of MS in History at the Department of History & Pakistan Studies,
Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, Islamabad**



*In the name of Allah,
the Most Beneficent,
the Most Merciful*

DECLARATION

I, **Syeda Fauzia Fayyaz**, declare that my thesis entitled as “**The Role of Women Parliamentarians in the Parliament of Pakistan (2002-2008)**” is an outcome of my original research work based on the available sources which have been given with reference to the context where ever it deemed necessary within the thesis. The sources used in this thesis have been acknowledged. Prior to submission of this thesis for MS in History Degree from IIUI, it has never been submitted to any other institution for the award of any degree.

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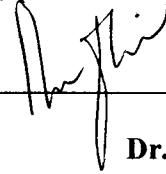
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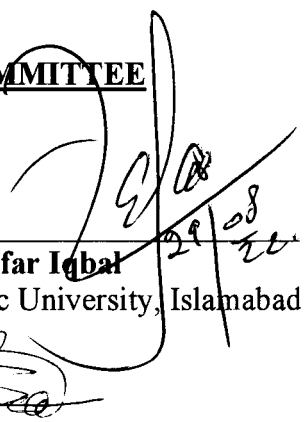
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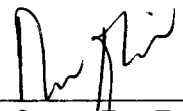
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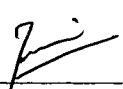
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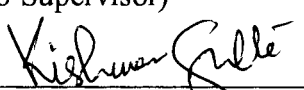
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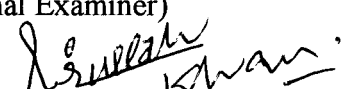

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TO
MY PARENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

CMLA	Chief Martial Law Administrator
CANS	Calling Attention Notices
CEDAW	Convention on Eliminating All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CSA	Commercial Supplier Agreement
CP	Constitutional Provisions
CE	Chief Executive
COAS	Chief of Army Staff
DAP	Di-Ammonium Phosphate
ECP	Election Commission of Pakistan
ESR	Education Sector Reforms
FATA	Federal Administrated Tribal Area
FBR	Federal Board of Revenue
FPSC	Federal Public Service Commission
FCA	Family Court Act
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GSA	Global Service Agreement
HIS	Health Integrated Services
HBWWS	Human Based Women Workers
HBL	Habib Bank Limited
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JMC	Joint Ministerial Commission

JI	Jamaat-e-Islami
KWH	Kilo-Watt Hour
KESC	Karachi Electric Supply Company
KAPCO	Kott Addu Power Company
LFO	Legal Framework Order
LPG	Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization
MNA	Member of National Assembly
MMA	Muttida Majlis-e-Amal
MOWD	Ministry of Women Development
MFLO	Muslim Family Law Ordinance
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NA	National Assembly
NSC	National Security Council
NAB	National Accountability Bureau
OGRA	Oil and Gas Regularity Authority
PBC	Basic Principal Committee
PA	Provincial Assembly
PML	Pakistan Muslim League
PPP	Pakistan People Party
PIPS	Pakistan Institute for Parliamentary Services
PMB	Private Member Bill
PIA	Pakistan International Airlines
PSM	Pakistan Steel Mill
PIDC	Pakistan Industrial Development Cooperation

PP	Privatization Programme
PTCL	Pakistan Telecommunication Limited
PRGF	Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility
PM	Prime Minister
SC	Standing Committee
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SOES	State Owned Enterprises
UN	United Nations
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNIFEM	United Nations development Funds for Women
USAID	United State Agency for International Development
UBL	United Bank Limited
WAF	Women Action Forum
WPC	Women Parliamentary Caucus
WAPDA	Water and Power Development authority

Glossary

<i>Jirga</i>	A Tribal council
<i>Karokari</i>	A form of honor killing in Sindh
<i>Punchayat</i>	A Village council
<i>Siyakari</i>	A form of honor killing in Balochistan
<i>Thana</i>	Police Station
<i>kechhri</i>	Court
<i>Vani</i>	Forced Marriage

Abstract

The present study “The Role of Women Parliamentarians in the Parliament of Pakistan 2002-2008” in the 12th National Assembly is a comprehensive documentation on the performance of the 12th National Assembly including the issues of legislation, role of women Parliamentarians in moving bills, interventions through participation in the debates. The 2002-2008 legislation records shows that women played a key role in picking up issues on violence, health, education, environment, governance through all available means of legislative procedures. They were learning rules and applying them. They were taking part in discussions, asking questions. They quickly gained confidence and demonstrated their ability to draft the bill or get them drafted. The purpose of the study was to see how women worked in social, political, economic sector in the parliament of Pakistan and how they documented different issues and highlighted their achievements in the house. For data collection, the study has relied extensively on the Legislative Assembly Debates, Bills presented in the legislature and speeches and statement of the women parliamentarians. Books and articles have also been used as secondary sources.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Parliament of Pakistan is the federal and supreme legislative body of Pakistan. It is a bicameral federal legislature that consists of Senate, the upper house and National Assembly (NA) as its lower house. According to the 1973 Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, the President of Pakistan is also a component of the Parliament. The NA is elected for a five-year term on the basis of adult franchise and one man one vote. The tenure of a member of the National Assembly (MNA) is for the duration of the house and in case the member dies or resigns his tenure comes to an end. It can also be dissolved on the advice of Prime Minister or by the President's discretion as provided under the Constitution. The NA is a democratically elected body. Earlier, its strength was 342 members but after Amendment in the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan, it decreased to 336 out of which 272 seats are directly elected, while 60 seats were reserved for ladies and 10 seats were reserved for religious minorities on the basis of separate electorates. The political party must tie 137 seats to reach a larger segment of the assembly. Women representation is very important in decision making and law making for the women. In the National Assembly (2002-2008) of Pakistan, majority of women Parliamentarians were elected for the first time. Many seats were reserved at macro level that has contributed change in the political scenario.¹

The role of women in Parliament is increasing throughout the world. Women form about 50 percent of the population but they are under-represented in Parliaments in the world but particularly in the Parliament of Pakistan. Pakistan, for the first time in its

¹ Afiya Shehrbano Zia "Faith-Based Politics Enlightened Moderation and the Pakistani Women's Movement" *Women's Studies*, no.1 (November 2009): 245.

history, has increased the women representation in its parliament in 2002 General Elections to surpass the world average of around 15 percent. It gives a best opportunity of strengthening women representation and participation in the Parliament.²

In the National Assembly (2002-2008) a large number of women Parliamentarians were elected for the first time. They showed a keen interest in learning and applying the rules and as the National Assembly completed its five-year term in 2007, they were carrying a fortunate record as compared to their male colleagues in the key areas of legislative interventions. 2002 was a year of significant changes in women's political representation. In constitutional elections under LFO (Legal Framework Order) women won 17% of national and provincial parliaments and secured seats in the Senate. The issue of Women's privileges and common freedoms demand in Pakistan as well as the representation of women in national and provincial, legislatures and local government were a serious problem for the women's rights movement in Pakistan.³

The five years legislative record from the year 2002-2007 shows that women played a vital role in picking up issues on violence, health, education, environment, and governance through all available means of legislative procedures. They were participated in discussions, asking questions, tabling motions, raising issues and moving bills. Women members of the 12th National Assembly have frequently and passionately raised the issues of violence against women in the country, whether it was Muktaran Mai's case or Dr. Shazia's case, or the incident in which there was an attack on women participants of a marathon in Gujranwala. They had also raised their voices on the deprivation of women

² Muhammad Ali Awan, "Political Participation of Women in Pakistan," *Frankfurter Forschungszentrum Global Islam*, no.1 (October 2016): 6.

³ Farzana Bari and Mariam Paul, "Women in Pakistan" *Country Briefing Paper*, no.1 (July 2000):58.

rights regarding the casting of votes in the local government elections in 2005. Their focus also highlighted murder cases of women. The women of the Parliament also discussed other social and political issues like posting of husband and wife in the same city; promotion of women's work, handicrafts in international market through Export Promotion Bureau, allocation of specific time for women Parliamentarians on important issues, proposal for women TV channel and resolutions against acid throwing on women. Similarly, some other issues like of scarfs from the uniform of PIA airhostesses, number of women working in various ministries and government departments, number of women posted as Ambassadors of Pakistan, sexual harassment of women at work places including government offices, and implementation of the 'Code of Workplace Ethics' were also discussed. In the same manner some other significant issues were case of Dr Shazia in Balochistan, Day Care Centers for working women's children, hospitals for working women in Islamabad, termination of 'overtime' condition for women workers, removing condition of women photos on National Identity Cards and proposal to keep father's name on women National Identity Cards, discrimination against the women members of National Assembly on reserved seats as compared to elected women MNAs, non-availability of seats for ladies on local transport. Moreover, the issues like women rights to get their foreign spouse registered as Pakistani citizens, welfare of imprisoned women, appointment of Lady Drug Controller in National Institute of Health, registration of women harassment cases even against the police officials in Islamabad Capital Territory during 2005-2007, fixing of retirement age for airhostesses to be 45 years and the establishment of women crises management center were also discussed.⁴

⁴ Naeem Mirza and Wasim Wagha, *Women Parliamentarians in the 12th National Assembly (2002-2007)* (Islamabad: Aurat Foundation, n.d.)83.

The 101 Private bills introduced by women parliamentarians and also focused on women's rights and equality issues. Of these, 45 bills directly dealt with the most important issues of women's rights in any kind of social or economic law, 45 with laws, institutions, public welfare or constitutional changes and about 10 with indirect women's concerns.

Two of the 38 laws passed in these five years are the most important, the first being the official bill to abolish honor killings, approved by the National Assembly on July 30, 2004. The second important bill was moved in the National Assembly and it Required changes to Article 2 of the Hudud Law, the crimes of Zina and Qazf.⁵

Statement of the Problem

The present research aims to investigate the role of women parliamentarians of Pakistan 2002-2007. The study specifically tries to find out the nature and subject matter of the debates as well as the bills that were passed by the women parliamentarians in order to explore their priorities in highlighting political, social or women related issues.

A lot of work has been done on women parliamentarians. A few of them focused on their role on legislation while others explored the leadership role of women. None of these earlier studies, however, have tried to determine the aptitude and focus of women Parliamentarians towards various social, political or women related matters. Moreover, none of studies have covered this particular time period which the present study has selected.

⁵ *Ibid.*

Scope and Significance of the Research

The research will be focused on the life of Pakistan Parliament from the period 2002 to 2008. The significance of this time is that prior to it there were very few women present in the Pakistan's Parliament and therefore the legislations particularly with regard to the protection of women were insufficient. During this time largest number of women representatives appeared in the Parliament to debate and struggle for women rights in Pakistan.

For the academic significance of this study, it is expected that it will be beneficial as very few researches have been made in connection with the role of women Parliamentarians in Pakistan. And not a single one mentions women contributions during 2002-2008. Therefore, this study will not only add to the already existing, knowledge of the subject-matter but will also bring into light new aspects of women struggle for women rights in Pakistan. In the social context the present research will highlight the importance of women participation in the decision-making process of the government that will further increase not only socio-political consciousness among the Pakistani women but also encourage them to become politically active in order to achieve their rights.

2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE.

This research will be based on primary as well as secondary sources. A few researches and reports were found that were conducted by NGOs on the political participation and representation of women. There are only a few articles that are written specifically on the performance of women Parliamentarians in other Parliaments of Pakistan. A brief review of literature related to this is given below.

An article is written by Dr. Naima Tabassum, Tabassum Afzal and Huma Tabassum (1999) with the title of "Shifting Trends of Women's Participation in Local Government in Pakistan: A Study with Special Focus on Sindh Province". This article describes the historical background of women's political cooperation at the neighborhood government level in Pakistan.

The impact of expanding shares on expanding support for ladies in nearby government is also discussed. This article described the general overview of political participation in the Parliament while it has not described the specific issues related to women participation in Parliament.⁶ Therefore, we need further research because it does not give any examination of Musharraf's time period and initial stage of 13th national assembly of Parliament of Pakistan.

Naveeda Noreen, Zakria Zakar, Anayat Ali and Uroosa Yousaf (2002) have written an article "An Overview of Women Representation in National Assembly of Pakistan and Their Career Persistency". In this article they have discussed the political condition of women Parliamentarians in the Parliament of Pakistan and political parties, barriers of women in gaining the seats in Parliament but not identified these barriers. They portrayed the overall condition of political representation of the national assembly and give the overview of general elections and seats won by the women. They did not discuss the Musharraf era in detail regarding women Parliamentarians and they did not

⁶Naima Tabassum, Tabussum Afzal and Huma Tabassum, "Shifting Trends of Women's Participation in Local Government in Pakistan: A Study with Special Focus on Sindh Province" *Sufism and Peace*, no. 1. (September, 1999): 24.

specify an era regarding women Parliamentarian issue as well as the women representation and participation in the 13th national assembly of Parliament of Pakistan.⁷

Farzana Bari (2009) authored a book entitled *Role and Performance Assessment of Pakistan Women Parliamentarians 2002-2007*. It covers the demographic profile and political background of women Parliamentarians. It also gives the knowledge about the issues and challenges faced by women Parliamentarians. Much of the work is based on quantitative data. It has mentioned the time period from 2002-2007 but it does not conclude the Musharraf time period properly.⁸ This book covers the Musharraf regime to some extent but researcher cannot rely on one source because this book has not provided information about next national assembly of parliament therefore, there is ample space for further research.

Saira Bano (2009) has written an article "Women in Parliament in Pakistan: Problems and Potential Solutions." It has helped increase the number of women in the legislative departments of various regions. This study assists Pakistani women in numerical advantage in parliament and investigates women as "subject of change" or "agents of change".⁹ It gives the information of election 2002 but it does not give the background of elections. There is a lack of information related to the representation and participation of women in Parliament.

Shabana Shamaas Gul Khattak and Akhtar Hussain (2013) wrote an article "Female Representation in Pakistani Legislatures: A Study of 2002, 2008 and 2013

⁷ Navida Noreen, Zakriya Zakir, Anayat Ali, Uroosa Yousaf, "An Overview of Women Representation in National Assembly of Pakistan and Their Career Persistency," *Research Society of Pakistan*, no.2 (July-December 2019): 211.

⁸ Farzana Bari, *Role and Performance Assessment of Pakistani Women Parliamentarians 2002-2007* (Islamabad: Research Society of Pakistan, 2009), p.125.

⁹ Saira Bano, "Women in Parliament in Pakistan: Problems and Potential Solutions" *Women's Studies*, no.1 (September 2009):19.

General Elections.” This study assesses the discourse on women’s political role. This study assesses the discourse on women’s political empowerment and their level of participation in politics. Their study is to analyze the gender gaps in the Election of 2002, 2008 and 2013.¹⁰ But it does not analyze the background of elections.

Mrs. Asma Afzal Shami (2013) has written an article “Political Empowerment of Women in Pakistan”. Shami described the historical concept of women political participation in Pakistan politics. Different eras are discussed in this article but the part of Musharraf’s era is very significant in this regard.¹¹ Therefore, it is not enough for the research because there is a lack of information about Musharraf’s era.

Arfan Latif, Ahmed Usman, Jafar Riaz Kataria, Muhammad Abdullah (2015) have written an article “Female Political Participation in South Asia: A Case Study of Pakistan.” This study is about Men's perceptions related to women's political participation. The study concluded that religious, economic and patriarchal mind-set are the main factors that hinder women in the field of politics.¹² There is a lack of information about the quota of women in the Parliament. It also does not mention the political scenario of women participation in the Parliament.

Afiya Shehrbano Zia authored an article “Faith-based Politics, Enlightened Moderation and the Pakistani Women’s Movement”. This article discusses the interplay of the understandings and contradictions of Islamic and secular identity politics in the

¹⁰Shabana Shamas Gul Khattak and Akhtar Hussain, “Female Representation in Pakistani Legislatures: A Study of 2002, 2008 and 2013 General Elections” *South Asian Survey*, no. 1 (December 2013):15.

¹¹Asma Afzal Shami, “Political Empowerment of Women in Pakistan” *Pakistan vision* Vol 10 no. (December, 2000):150.

¹²Arfan Latif, Ahmed Usman and Jafar Riaz Kataria, “Female Political Participation in South Asia: A Case Study of Pakistan” *South Asian Studies*, no.2 (December 2015): 201.

Pakistani women's movement. It explains the problems of women but there is a lack of information of women participation in the Parliament. Religious factors are dominant and it is not specifically related to the political scenario of Musharraf era.¹³

Samand Zahra's MS thesis titled *Role of Women Parliamentarians in Legislations: A Historical Study* (2017) is also relevant in this regard. This thesis is about the historical study of women Parliamentarian in legislation. It covers the overall performance of military regimes and does not explain any specific era so my study is specifically based on women Parliamentarian role in Parliament and covers the social political phenomena of women in Parliament.¹⁴

Ayesha Khan and Sana Naqvi's article (2018) "Women in Politics: Gaining Ground for Progressive Outcomes in Pakistan" discussed history of women struggle for political inclusion, the strengths and limitations of women's caucuses means to push for progressive policies, and their own vision for political empowerment. There's a lot of information about women activists who played an active role in women empowerment but there is a lack of information about the specific women issues regarding reserved seats in Parliament.¹⁵ There is a lack of clarity about the Musharraf's time period which is the subject of present study. Barriers and obstacles are not clearly described through which we can lead a better role in Parliament and solve the issues related to women performance in Parliament.

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴ Samand Zahra, "Role of Women Parliamentarians in Legislations: A Historical Study" Unpublished MS Thesis, International Islamic University Islamabad, (2017)

¹⁵ Ayesha Khan and Sana Naqvi, "Women in Politics: Gaining Ground for Progressive Outcomes in Pakistan" *Institute of Development Studies*, no.1 (November, 2018):36

Research Objectives

- To examine the role of women parliamentarians in raising women issues in the Parliament of Pakistan.
- To explore the role of women Parliamentarian in highlighting social issues in the Parliament.
- To determine the proportion of political content discussed by women Parliamentarian in the Parliament.
- To analyze the nature and subject-matter of bills moved by women Parliamentarians.

Research Questions

1. What issues related to women were highlighted by women Parliamentarians in the Parliament?
2. How much women Parliamentarians emphasized on social issues in the Parliament?
3. What was the share of political content in the discussions of women Parliamentarians in the Parliament?
4. What was the major subject of concern of women Parliamentarians while moving bills in the Parliament?

2. Research Methodology

This study will follow the qualitative Research Design and the sub-design will be historical. The study will be conducted by using traditional research methods in history.

Data Collection

The present study is going to be based on the modern history therefore modern-day historical sources will be used for its construction. The sources of the present research are available in the National Assembly Library, Islamabad as well as in the National Archives.

As the sources on modern history are very large in number therefore the researcher must identify his sources first. For this purpose, the researcher will only utilize sources like Legislative Assembly Debates between 2002 and 2008; bills presented in the legislature, and speeches and statements of the women parliamentarians. The primary data will be supported by secondary sources including books, articles and newspapers.¹⁶

After identifying the sources, the sources will be read and relevant facts will be collected from different sources. These facts will be written down in word files and will be listed in the relevant chapters.

Data Analysis

The collected facts will be arranged in a sequence both chronological and thematic to create a narrative using the facts as evidence. The research will be written in descriptive and analytical style.¹⁷

¹⁶ Nancy Mackay, Mary K. Quinlan and Barbara W. Sommer. *Community Oral History Toolkit*, Vol 2 & 3 (London: Routledge, 2013).

¹⁷ John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History* (London and New York, Routledge, 2013), 94-99.

Historical Criticism

All the primary sources will be accessed by using internal criticism. The public institution records will first be examined before using them as evidence. For this reason, one category of sources will be cross checked with other categories in order to form a genuine picture and to avoid misinterpretation. The study will primarily be analytical and descriptive in nature in which the facts will be extracted from the primary sources. These facts will then be arranged in order to be used as evidence to form a narrative answering the questions of this research.

Organization of the Research

The present study is mainly divided into an introduction, four chapters and a conclusion. Chapter 1 is related to the history and formation of parliament. This chapter provides the background of assemblies. It also discusses the participation of women parliamentarians in the era of 2002-2008. In this chapter, different debates, bills, and the working of women parliamentarians with the collaboration of Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) are discussed. Chapter 2 covers social issues represented by the women parliamentarians in the assembly. This chapter analyzes the discussion and debates of social issues which were related to women. Basically, this chapter is about bills and laws related to social issues and focuses on debates and discussions on social issues. Chapter 3 is related to the bills and discussions made by women parliamentarians that are directly related to the economy of the country. Chapter 4 is relying upon political discussions that are made in parliament by many women parliamentarians in which they talked about the women participation in elections, vote and government policies etc.

Chapter 1:

Political Representation of Women in the Parliament of Pakistan

This chapter is divided into three main parts. The first part is related to the history and formation of parliament. Its history started in 1947 and ended in 2008. This chapter also provides the background of assemblies. The second part discusses the participation of women parliamentarians in the era of 2002-2008. In this part, different debates, bills, and the working of women parliamentarians with the collaboration of Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) are discussed. In this part, many prominent parliamentarians also struggled against discrimination and gained gender equality in political affairs. Then, the last part analyzes the women ministers and their ministries. These ministries were independent and aimed to uplift women's status in the country in their social, economic, and political life.

1. History of Political Representation of Women in Pakistan's Parliament:

After the independence, the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was made in 1947 at Sindh Assembly Building in Karachi. The Assembly had 69 members, including one female member named Shaista Suhrawardy Ikram Ullah. She was also delegated to the United Nations (UN) and worked on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948.¹ Pakistan got freedom under the Independence Act of 1947, making constituent assemblies and legislators. The assemblies were allowed to exercise their powers according to the Indian Act 1935. Quaid-e-Azam was the Governor-General of Pakistan and the first President of the first constituent Assembly. A special committee was named "Committee on fundamental rights of citizens and minorities of Pakistan" on August 12, 1947, by Quaid-e-Azam. This committee had a task to look upon the fundamental rights of people. The committee had 24 members who made a draft

¹ Bonnie G. Smith, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Women in World History* (Oxford University Press, 2008), 528.

constitution based on Objective Resolution. The Objective Resolution was led by Liaquat Ali Khan and it is adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on March 12, 1949. It recommended framing a constitution of Pakistan and democracy, freedom, equality, and social justice shall be fully observed according to Islam. The Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres following the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and Sunnah. Adequate provision shall be made for the minorities to progress and practice their religions and develop their culture freely. The mover of objective resolution Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated, and Khuwaja Nizamuddin became Prime Minister on October 17, 1951.² The final draft of the Constitution was prepared in 1954. Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad Ali Bogra dissolved the Assembly on October 24, 1954; he became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The Assembly was widely criticized for its incompetence. Maulana Maududi demanded its dissolution because he argued that this Constitution was not Islamic. Huseyn Shaheed Sehrawardy believed that Assembly did not fulfill the requirement of a democratic parliament. The people of Pakistan had no rights; even legislators worked only for their benefit.³ This issue was debated in the Parliament of the National Assembly; many parliamentarians discussed a lack of democracy in the Constitution. No women were elected. Even the women named Shaista Ikramullah and Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz, who worked for the women and Pakistan since 1947, were unable to contest in elections. The real work of the constituent assembly during the period of (BPC) Basic Principle Committee report was based on the objective resolution that was greatly criticized and finally abandoned along with the Constitutional Assembly itself. When the first constituent Assembly's draft was made before its approval, assembly was dissolved by Governor-General

² Yaseen Najero, "The Objective Resolution 1949 Critically Analyzed Causes and Consequences" (November, 19th 2019):1.

³ Muhammad Ali Awan, "Political Participation of Women in Pakistan" *Frankfurter Forschungszentrum Global Islam*, no.1 (October 2016): 6.

Gulam Muhammad on October 24, 1954. At that time, many religious political leaders were against that Assembly. They argued that Assembly had many lame post legislators who were incapable of drawing the Islamic Constitution.⁴ The second Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was made on May 28, 1955, in almost the same way as the last one, indirect elections. Still, a little different was that it brought parity between the two wings of Pakistan. There were 44 members from East Bengal with a total strength of 78 members. Now there are 44 members from each wing of Pakistan. This constituent Assembly worked faster than the previous one, and finally, the Constitution was adopted on March 23, 1956. Different sections of the political circle also criticized this Constitution; however, a consensus was finally developed. In the 1956 constitution, the Parliament was unicameral. The Assembly comprised 300 members; 10 seats were reserved for women, five women from East Pakistan and five from West Pakistan.⁵ After that first election was held in 1956. Sikandar Mirza abrogated the Constitution, dissolved the National and Provincial Assemblies, and declared Martial law on October 7, 1958. General Ayub Khan became the second president of Pakistan. Based on the new commission report elections were held under the new Constitution in March 1962. The Constitution of 1962 special seats reserved for women; there were now three from East Pakistan and three from West Pakistan. In the Constitution of 1962, a presidential form of government was created, with the National Assembly at the center and the Provincial Assembly in the Provinces. The total membership of the Assembly was 156, one half of whom were to be elected from East Pakistan and the other half from West Pakistan; 3 seats were reserved for women from each Province.⁶ The failure of this Constitution was that it was framed to legalize an undemocratic military regime. The power of the National Assembly was limited, provinces were not given autonomy,

⁴ National Assembly Debates, session 1st, vol.1, no.1, November 19th, 2002. 413

⁵ Surrender Singh, "The Constitutional Problems of Pakistan" *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, no.1 (March, 1956):52

⁶ National Assembly of Pakistan, official website: <http://www.na.gov.pk/en/content.php>

the center was given more power, and the clash of power failed the Constitution.⁷ On March 25th, 1969, the second Martial law was imposed, and General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan took over as the President of Pakistan and Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA). General Agha Yahya Khan, 1969, issued a legal framework Order (LFO) and held elections on December 7, 1970. This was the first Assembly in Pakistan elected based on adult franchise. Women reserved seats were increased; 13 seats were reserved for women out of 313 members, 169 from East Pakistan and 144 from West Pakistan.⁸ In the 1973 constitution, Pakistan adopted the bicameral system called the Parliament, made up of a president, the National Assembly, and the Senate. This Constitution, called the Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973, was promulgated on August 14, 1973. On the same day, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto took an oath as the Prime Minister, while Mr. Fazal Illahi Choudhary took the oath as the President of Pakistan. There were 200 general seats, 10 reserved seats for the women, and 1 general seat with a total of 210. The seventh National Assembly of Pakistan (1985-88) 1973 Constitution was amended, increasing women's reserved seats. 20 women were elected on reserved seats and two on general seats. At the time formation of the ninth National Assembly of Pakistan (1990-1993), there were only 2 women representatives who won the election for general seats. Except Benazir Bhutto and Nusrat Bhutto, no women were elected on reserved seats.⁹ In the tenth and (1993-1996) Eleventh 1997 national assembly, no women were elected to general seats because of and the absence of political representation of women in politics. But they increasingly participated in politics as voters, as workers of political parties, and as candidates. In 1999 General Pervez Musharraf took over the government from Nawaz Sharif and declared himself the Chief Executive. In August 2002, fresh elections were held in which 60 seats were reserved

⁷ Noor Akbar, "Reasons for the failure of 1962 Constitution of Pakistan" *Pakistan Studies*, (October, 2020):2

⁸ Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* (Oxford University Press, 2001), p.75

⁹ Ahsan Kamray, "For Women in Politics: Pakistan still lag Behind", *The Express Tribune* (September 15, 2020):7

for women and 10 for non-Muslim women. According to the report of Wasim Wagha and Naeem Mirza, two factors led to the increase in reserved seats in the 12th National Assembly and Provincial Assembly of Pakistan. Women got 17 percent quota in the national and provincial Assembly and senate through LFO. The highest number of women contested and won elections in 2002 in general seats, and 60 seats were reserved for women in National Assembly.¹⁰ However, they were still unable to perform their duties and tasks related to women's rights in Assembly.

In the debate, many parliamentarians were discussing the issue of the vote; the vote was also the primary right of women. When ballot papers were published, many women were elected in the elections. Mrs. Riffat Amjad was MNA and said that LFO was a good step taken by Musharraf, and because of him, they were nominated for the seats.¹¹ Women supported Musharraf and his democracy. Mrs. Riffat Amjad further said that women were here for democracy, not to criticize each other, because when women strongly condemn each other, it negatively impacts the parliament.¹² On another side, in the 2002 debate, parliamentarian Mehreen Sahiba raises a voice that casting a vote was the primary right of women. Musharraf has done nothing in providing such rights to women.¹³

2. Political Representation of Women Parliamentarians 2002-2008:

In 2002, women reserved seats were implemented in both chambers of Pakistan's Parliament. In the National Assembly, 66 seats were reserved for the general elections and were allocated to the parties according to result of the general elections. Women were allowed only on

¹⁰ Naeem Mirza and Wasim Wagha, "Women Parliamentarians in the 12th National Assembly (2002-2007)" (Islamabad: Aurat Foundation, n.d.) 83.

¹¹ National Assembly Debates, session 1st, vol. 1, no.1, September 15th, 2002. 20

¹² National Assembly Debates, session 1st, vol. 1, no.1, November 19th, 2002. 15

¹³ National Assembly Debates, session 1st, vol. 1, no.1, November 9th, 2002. 20

available seats. But unluckily, Political parties failed to make women representation in the elected house. They could not contest in elections because religious political leaders argued that women couldn't be a part of elections. They made many hurdles for women in the assembly.¹⁴ Fourteen women were directly elected as members of the National Assembly (MNA) in 2002. The electoral system for the reserved seats favored the major parties who got most of the seats in 2002-2008.¹⁵ These parties were Pakistan Muslim League (PMLQ), Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN), and Pakistan People Party (PPP). 150 women sat in Pakistan's Parliament (2002-2008).

In the 12th National Assembly, 66 seats were reserved for women in the national assembly, and 17 seats were reserved for women in senate. Women's seats reserved for the upper House of Parliament had been the demand of civil society and women's rights organizations. 13 women on general seats were from different parties in 2002. In the debate, the session declared that women were satisfied because of their majority nomination, which is 17% in the parliament of Pakistan. Twelve women were elected to the general seats. They were all equal in their seats. They were all MNAs, and they felt happy that they also had the right to speak on different issues. Now, they needed the right to be the chairperson of the standing committee who could work for the women association in the assembly of Parliament.¹⁶

Women elected on general seats in Pakistan typically belonged to established political families; well-known female members of Parliament, for instance, Benazir Bhutto, Nusrat Bhutto, Syeda Abida Hussain, Begum Nasim Wali Khan, Tehmina Daultana, all were from political families. Zubaida Jalal did not belong to the elite family, but she supported local

¹⁴ Tahir Malik, "Reserved seats for Women are reserved for privileged." *The Express Tribune*, November 21st, 2021.

¹⁵ Virigina Dutoya, "From Woman's Quota to women's Politics" *Gender and Politische Partizipationsein* (December 2013): 45.

¹⁶ National Assembly Debates, session 2nd, vol. III, November 21st, 2002. 43

administration due to the choice of Pervez Musharraf.¹⁷ Ladies have a critical portrayal in the 12th National Assembly. There were 73 ladies in National Assembly. 13 were chosen for general seats in 2002; 5 had a place with PPP, 4 to PMLQ, and 1 each to PMLJ in the National Assembly. Zubaida Jalal, an autonomous MNA, joined PMLQ with 2 parties. Rubina Shaheen Wattoo and Sumera Malik made a public alliance for the elections.¹⁸

Women's rights organization showed their interest in the election procedures for women reserved seats because they supported direct elections. For the 60 reserved seats, 279 women were nominated by political parties. According to the (ECP) Election Commission of Pakistan, PMLQ selected a maximum number of 46 women and Pakistan People Party Parliamentarian PPPP nominated 40 women. This development forced Muttahida Majilis-e-Amal (MMA), a religious party's alliance, to select 57 members as a candidate for reserved seats in the national assembly. However, they had not awarded tickets to any women in general seats.¹⁹

2.1 Role and Performance of Women Parliamentarians:

Parliament is a representative body of people and mainly has three functions: law making, representation of people's work, and function of government. The parliamentarians participate in parliamentary sessions, discussions, and debates. Women MPs actively participated in the working of parliament. They arouse points of order and make comments and observations on parliamentary debates. 80% of women parliamentarians participated in the parliamentary sessions regularly. Only 10% of women parliamentarian were, on average, in the parliamentary sessions. Out of 222 bills/ordinances introduced in the parliament before the

¹⁷ Dr. Sher Muhammad, QuratulainAbbass and KausarShafiq, "Pakistan Social Sciences Review" *A case study of General election no.1* (June 2019) vol 3 :281

¹⁸ Muhammad Wasim, "Democratization of Pakistan: A study of 2002 elections", *oxford university press Lahore* (June 2006):201.

¹⁹ Amna Mehmood, "Political empowerment of women: A comparative study of south Asian countries" *Pakistan Vision* (June 2004):151.

period of 2002-2007, only 50 bills were passed over 2002-2007. 38 became Act in which 33 were bills, and 5 were ordinances. It was approved by the Senate and the president's consent. 15 bills were set up for new institutions and amendments for changes in the assembly functioning. One bill was related to a constitutional amendment, five bills were related to finance, four were amendment bills that were related to Federal Public Service Commission, three bills were related to Legal proceedings and rights, three bills were related to trade investment matters, two were related to women rights, two bills were related to amendments in code of civil procedure and criminal procedure, one bill was related to anti-terrorism, one bill was associated with the national security council, and increasing the salaries and allowances of the member of parliament. Women parliamentarians showed a high level of concern for the state of the social sector in general and the education sector. They mainly raised public interest issues such as inflation, unemployment, rising utilization prices, drug addiction, financial support to poor from bait-ul-mal, freedom of press and media, rehabilitation of baggers, etc; women parliamentarians were less interested in hardcore constitutional and political issues. After the social sector and public interest issues, they participated in political and constitutional issues as a second area in which women MNAs were mainly interested during parliamentary debates. Some women members from PPP and PMLN demanded spending on education and the health sector. Women also gave their views on constitutional matters, like free, fair elections, corruption issues, law and order situations, etc. Their contribution to the parliamentary discussion and debates showed that women parliamentarians were alive to political and constitutional issues as they raised social issues and women-specific matters. Women-specific issues raised by Women MPs raised violence against women, honor killing, reproductive health, trafficking of women, and sexual harassment in the workplace, protection, and support to burn victims and survivors of violence.²⁰

Some prominent parliamentarians have played a far more efficient role than others in the assembly and worked to create awareness of political and social issues on forums other than the parliament. For instance, Nafisa Shah of the People's Party was the first journalist who wrote about honor killing. She remarked during a debate in 2003, honor killing should be eliminated from society. Many women were harassed and kidnapped in the name of honor. She also suggested that the government should punish those indulging in these activities.²¹ She was also a member of Women Action Forum (WAF). This movement was made under Zia's rule. At Zia's time, this movement had not gained much popularity, or even they did not work openly because of his strict rule. But at the time of Musharraf, women worked openly for the women's movement. After some time, Nafisa Shah became the first secretary of (WPC) women's parliamentary caucus (2008-2013). In the time of 2002-to 2008, Nafisa Shah worked with different political activists such as Bushra Gohar (a quota seat holder with Awami National Party) and Shehnaz Wazir Ali (former advisor of Benazir), and Sherry Rehman (PPP). She highlighted the need to have quotas for women among the legislators and in the political parties for giving those tickets in the general election. She also worked for the general development of women.

Nafisa Shah organized a special session on "Women within Political Parties' Structures in Pakistan: Role and Positioning." Many senior representatives of political parties joined this session and took part in promoting women politicians within their respective parties and in the internal decision-making process.²²

²⁰ National Assembly Debates, session 6th, vol.7, no.4, April 22nd, 2003. 48

²¹ National assembly Debates, session 7th, vol.3, no.6, June 13th, 2003. 44

²² Ayesha Khan, Sana Naqvi, "Dilemma of Women representation: Women in Pakistan's Assembly" *Asian Affairs*, No.2 (December 2020): 20

Another prominent lady Fehmida Mirza was the first woman who served as speaker of Pakistan's National assembly, and she was also a member of PPP. She first came into the public office, and then she went into the parliament and won the national assembly seat in 1997, 2002, and 2008. She is from Pakistan People's Party. She did a lot of work for the empowerment of women. She made the parliamentary board, comprising honorable speakers of four provincial assemblies, 4 senators, and MNAs, created drafts to approve a comprehensive set of financial and recruitment rules for the (PIPS) Pakistan Institute for Parliamentary Services. In 2004, the Speakers conference of the National Parliament and Provincial (State) assemblies raised the issues and expressed the need to establish an exclusive and indigenous parliamentary institution to do research for the Member of Parliament. Fehmida Mirza and Bushra Gohar suggested the parliament calendar. They said parliamentarians belonging from different provinces had done much work in their areas. For instance, some parliamentarians worked on policymaking, business, and children's issues, and some worked on education and the arrangement of marriages. Work can be managed appropriately if the calendar is made for the parliament, and parties could work well. Through this calendar, people will get their rights on time. From my point of view, these two parliamentarians gave this suggestion of a parliament calendar, but they didn't make any calendar by themselves. They only suggested that it should be implemented.²³

Ms. Yasmeen Rehman was one of the Pakistani politicians who served as a member of the National Assembly of Pakistan. She was elected to the national assembly of Pakistan as a candidate of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). She was nominated for reserved seats for women in Punjab in the 2002 Pakistan general elections. Yasmeen worked with a group of 25 MPs as she was an active member in the house and made many interventions during

²³ National Assembly Debates, session 13th, vol.23, no.20, March 16th, 2004. 55

proceedings of issues related to women politics. Miss Yasmeen Rehman had a belief that women in parliament have proved themselves and have worked twice as hard as to be taken seriously. Yasmeen Rehman was helped by a three-month mainstreaming, policy planning, and development fellowship in the United Kingdom in 2005. She worked with the government on the issue of the Anti-Poverty program, which was initiated by Benazir led by Farzana Raja (Member of the National Assembly). She also helped the people affected by natural hazards and earthquakes in KP and Balochistan.²⁴In the parliamentary debates, Ms. Yasmeen Rehman also focused on working on the extension project of the Mangla dam. She discussed that the Mangla dam project was started in 2001, and the cement price is increasing day by day. She said that the problem was a lack of materials and money, which was being paid to the people as compensation for their resettlement. One of the points made was that the socio-economic uplift of the area will increase with employment. It is evident that since such a big project in that area, work will increase, but the exact amount of increase in employment was not available.²⁵

Another women Parliamentarian was Ms. Bushra Gohar MNA, the secretary of (MOWD) Ministry of Women Development and chairperson of the National Assembly's standing committee. She attended the meeting on Human Based Women Workers (HBWWs) for the protection and social safety of women, in which she talked about the women's presence and meaningful role in the parliament. In 2007, the chairperson of the parliamentary standing committee (SC) on women's development called a standing committee to share an outcome of HBWWs. Their members attended the standing committee meeting, MNAs from various Political Parties, PPP, MMA, PMLQ, (N), and MQM. Pakistan spent 1.4 percent of its Gross

²⁴ Muhammad Rashid Mafzool, "Role of Women Parliamentarians and Research Practices in Pakistan" *General Peace, Conflict and Development*, No.19 (December 2012): 56

²⁵ National Assembly Debate, session 27, vol.12, no 4, september5th, 2005. 45

Domestic Product (GDP) on Social Protection. To recognize HBWW's work, a parliamentary resolution was passed in the National Assembly on April 3, 2007. The Parliamentary Standing Committee on Women Development of Former Government approved a draft Bill of the Parliamentary Standing Committee. The Balochistan Provincial Assembly passed a resolution on HBWWs on May 31, 2007.²⁶

2.2 Bills presented by women Parliamentarians 2002-2008:

Decision-making is primarily a reserved domain in Punjab Assembly. According to the Free and Fair Election Network report, only a few cabinet ministers looked after the legislative business in the house. Male members of the cabinet move nearly all the government legislations. During the selected tenure, women legislators contributed to the legislative process.²⁷ There was a hectic activity among women parliamentarians to move private member bills, individually and in collaboration with male and female party colleagues during the sixth tenure of the 12th National assembly, particularly in the third and following years. Women parliamentarians moved 100 private member bills altogether out of 240 bills during the five years. One of these 100 private bills was moved in the first parliamentary year, and the other was presented in the next year. Ironically, the enthusiasm showed by women parliamentarians to get some favorable legislation been done for women and to ensures formal equality and well-being of the citizen is remarkable. 240 private member bills were moved during six years; only 70 were introduced in the house. The rest 170 were rejected on several grounds. Women parliamentarians moved 101 bills, 60 were dropped, disallowed, or dismissed, and 40 were introduced before the house. Of the 40 bills, only one bill, that was the prevention of domestic violence, 2005, moved by Sherry Rehman, was clubbed with another similar private member

²⁶ Farzana Bari, *Bridging the Fault Lines: Rethinking the Gender Quota Approach in Pakistan* (Islamabad: Heinrich Boll Stiftung, 2015): 12

²⁷ FAFEN, "A Report on Performance of Women Law Makers: Provincial Assembly of Punjab." *Free and Fair Election Network*, (FAFEN, 2017): 212

bill that was the Domestic Violence against Women (Prevention and Protection) Bill, 2006, driven by Mrs. Mehnaz Rafi after both were referred to the concerned standing committee.²⁸

2.3 Bills moved by Women Parliamentarians:

Following is the detail of bills moved by women parliamentarians from 2002-2008. Although women moved bills related to agriculture, environment, and financial issues, most bills moved were related to women's issues.

Title of the bill:	Moved by:	Date
The Protection and Empowerment of Women Bill 2004	Ms. Sherry Rehman	14.09.04
The Criminal Law Bill 2004	Ms. Sherry Rehman	14.09.05
The Equality of Opportunity for Women in Employment Bill 2006, The Hudood Laws Bill 2006	Ms. Sherry Rehman and 12 other MNAs	07.02.06
The Prevention of Domestic Violence Bill 2006	Ms. Sherry Rehman	08.07.06
The Control of Thalassaemia Bill 2004	Ms. Gule Farkhanda	13.09.05
The Service Tribunals Bill 2006	Ms. Samina Khalid	06.12.05
Pakistan Postal Service and Management Bill 2006		12.09.06
The Agriculture Pesticides Bill 2007	Ms. Samina Khalid	08.05.07

²⁸ Naeem Mirza and Wasim Wagha, *Women Parliamentarians in the 12th National Assembly (2002-2007)*

The Protection of serving Women Bill 2006 and The uplift and Welfare of Women Bill 2006	Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi	07.02.06 14.02.06
The Offence of Zina Bill 2006 The Dowry and Bridal Gifts Bill 2006	Dr. Farida Ahmed Siddique	07.02.06
The Pakistan Environment Protection Bill 2006	Ms. Fauzia Wahab	07.02.06
The Pakistan Citizen Bill 2006 The Pakistan Penal Code 2006	Ms. Mehnaz Rafi	07.02.06 14.02.06
The Domestic Violence Against Women Bill 2006	Ms. Mehnaz Rafi	08.08.06
The Special Citizen Bill 2007	Ms. Mehnaz Rafi	08.05.07
The Pakistan Baitul Bill 2006 The Code of Civil Procedure Bill 2006	Ms. Rubina Shaheen Watto	12.09.06
The Pakistan Pharmacy Bill 2007 The Allopathic System Bill 2007	Syeda Farhat Khalid Banoori	08.05.07

The Pakistan Penal Code Bill 2007	Ms. Yasmeen Rehman MNA	08.05.07
The Control of Viral Diseases Bill 2007		
The Pakistan Environment Protection BILL 2007		
The Drug Bill 2007		
The Family Stability and Protection Bill 2007	Ms. Aisha Munawar	08.05.07
The Injured Person Bill 2007	Ms. Mehreen Raja	09.10.07
The Offence of Zina Bill 2006	Ms. Kashmala Tariq	08.08.06

Out of 69 Private Members Bills (PMBs), 31 private member bills were submitted by women parliamentarians. Only two bills, the honor killing and women's protection bill, were passed in the parliament. Many private member bills wanted to introduce new laws related to women. Women parliamentarian Sherry Rehman from PPP submitted the Hudood Laws Bill in 2006, and Kashmala Tariq from PMLQ presented the Offence of Zina Bill in 2006. The male Member of parliament Shujat Hussain introduced only one bill and that was on Prevention of Anti-Women Practices.²⁹

2.4 Women Parliamentarians' Collaboration with Different Institutions and NGOs

Women's Political participation had been an important area of funding and programmatic focus with the international donor community. Pakistan's sustainable development includes:

- A continued commitment to achieving gender equality.

²⁹ Farzana Bari, *Role and Performance Assessment of Pakistani Women Parliamentarians 2002-2007* (Islamabad: Research Society of Pakistan, 2009), 125.

- It recognizes the state's responsibility to ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political and economic system.
- Public life.

The (UNDP) United Nations Development Program supported women and legislators by funding extensive training and capacity-building opportunities that are implemented through non-governmental organizations. Through these organizations, women got the pathway to provide the training for the new female members entering the parliament sector. The performance of Pakistan's women legislators has been well-documented in different ways. Women showed high attendance of female contributions and participation in debates. They worked efficiently with Politicians. Women parliamentarians worked with women movement activists from civil society to make new laws to eliminate domestic violence, child marriages, honor killing, sexual harassment, Acid crime, and rape.³⁰

Several women who entered the National Assembly on Quota seats belonged to different political parties and worked with the collaboration to build political consensus for gender equality legislation. This motivated many women parliamentarians to do better work related to women's issues.

Women parliamentarians in the 12th national Assembly worked with the Aurat Foundation and showed women's remarkable contribution to parliamentary functioning. Women legislators moved 27 percent of the total question, 30 percent of (CANs) calling Attention Notices, 24 percent of real Resolutions, and 42 percent of total private member Bills (PMBs) moved in the house. After 2000 Aurat Foundation started mapping non-profit and development organizations working with the (HBWWs) Home Based Women Workers in different capacities, Home-net-

³⁰Afra Afsharipur, "Empowering ourselves: The Role of Women's NGO's in the enforcement of women convention" *Columbia Law Review*, vol. 9, no.1 (November, 1999), 129.

Pakistan began capacity-building training courses for HBWWs in 2005. Home Net Pakistan raised various events with the parliamentarians at the National and Provincial levels. In 2000, Aurat Foundation committed to many parliamentarians who worked to develop a legislative draft on 'Domestic Violence' just like the Family and Constitutional Bill made by PPP. In addition to the different achievements of women parliamentarians of the National Assembly and accessible, a fair election related to the women's concerns showed the manifesto of women political parties.

Aurat Foundation prepared Muslim Family Law Ordinance (MFLO) draft in 2000-2002. Women Legislators contributed through Questions and Resolutions etc. Notably, ladies Parliamentarians and Ministers at the Federal and Provincial Capital promised to present and guarantee the example of abusive behavior at home for their gatherings. Women MPs created a friendly and supportive environment and took affirmative actions to address the situation of violence against women in Pakistan. Many meetings were held with UNIFEM (United Nations Development Funds for Women) because they also drafted the Bill on Domestic violence. Dr. Faqeer Hussain, Secretary Law of the Justice Commission, and Barrister Zafar Ullah also drafted the Bill on behalf of UNIFEM.³¹ A collaboration of different institutions and NGOs was made and a treaty signed to remove discrimination against women. That treaty was called CEDAW (convention on eliminating all forms of discrimination against women). The UN General Assembly adopted the CEDAW convention on December 19, 1979. Pakistan worked with this organization and notified its reservation to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women on April 12, 1996. The ministry of women's development prepared the first, second, and third reports of Pakistan covering the period up to December 2004, which was later extended to 2006. Many women parliamentarians and

³¹ Dushka H. Syed, *Women in Politics- Problem of Participation: A case study of Pakistan* (Islamabad: Institute of strategic studies of Pakistan, 2001), 11-24.

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activists working with women parliamentarians played an active role in this committee. Women parliamentarians eliminated discrimination against women, promote gender equality in parliament, and increase women's political participation in the National Assembly and Senate. Women Parliamentarians passed the Balochistan Resolution on the right of HBWWs. In March 2009, in the Ministry of Law and Parliamentary Affairs Balochistan Assembly, Ms. Rubina Irfan tabled a resolution on the right of HBWWs, where Ms. Ghazala, Minister of Women Development, and Ms. Ruqqaya Hashmi passed the Resolution.³²

In the debate, women parliamentarians believed that collaboration with different institutions is essential; without harmony with other sectors of Pakistan, we could not succeed. Law and order situation in the country destabilized our country day by day. We needed to strengthen our political system. We need to create solidarity and harmony between parliamentarians. Because of internal disharmony crisis was raised in the country of Pakistan and thus need to strengthen our country for the betterment.³³

3. Women Ministers and their Ministries:

From the year 2002-to 2008 there were four women who had ministries named Ms. Zubaida Jalal (Ministry of Education in 2003), Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar (Advisor in charge of Women Affairs and Ministry of women development in 2004), Ms.Hina Rabbani Kher (Ministry of state and Economic affairs in 2005) and Begum Shehnaz Sheikh (Ministry of health in 2007). Ms. Zubaida Jalal was given the portfolio of education. She was the only women minister among twenty-one federal cabinet members announced by Mr. Zafarullah Khan Jamali (Pakistan's Politician and Prime Minister 2002-2004 from Balochistan, Pakistan). She proposed to provide different facilities to the physically unfit person equal to the ones mentally

³² Legislative Watch: Aurat Publication and Information Service Foundation, Issue 27(January 2009):9

³³ National Assembly Debate, session 2nd, vol. 12, no. 4, June 22nd, 2004. 331

incompetent. She observed that many disabled children were studying in school and colleges, thus she gave different incentives to particular people. She also made other plans for developing women and their social welfare. She announced vocational courses like beautician courses in girls' secondary schools for better personal hygiene and employment opportunities. This was the best opportunity for women of economic independence. Ms. Zobaida Jalal made the consensus on the literacy rate in Pakistan. She launched the adult literacy rate project (2001-5) under the country's education sector reforms (ESR) program. A project titled "Establishment of non- formal basic education community schools" was launched under her ministry. The skill training project was established throughout the country. The primary aim of this program was to boost the literacy rate and alleviate poverty. She attended joined ministerial commission (JMC) meetings to increase the scholarships from other countries.³⁴ Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar was in charge of the Ministry of Women Development, Social Welfare, and Special education. She presented the quota for disabled people for the betterment of society. As Nilofar Bakhtiar was an advisor in charge of women's development, she suggested initiating a financial support program. Still, no change occurred in the women's representation during the short period of temporary Prime Minister Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain 2004. After becoming Prime Minister, Mr. Shaukat Aziz (2004-2007) announced 59 members of the federal cabinet, including six women (one as Federal Minister and five as Minister of State). However, most of the women were given the charge of junior ministers. Ms. Hina Rabbani Kher, minister of state and economic affairs, discussed the country's GDP growth. She said we were ranked 4th in this world, so we need to build our economy. We need to decrease the prices hike in the country, and for the wheat and sugar, we need to close the yield gaps between Pakistan's farmers and farms of the world. She introduced some plans to overcome inflation in the country. She

³⁴ National Assembly Debate, session 10th, vol.37, no.1, August 20th, 2003. 23

also met with international organizations to overcome the worse situation in Pakistan in her ministry. She also said the economic affairs division had only bilateral and multilateral organizations. The federal government was entirely not implementing their work on projects properly. They had a different project, which was done through ministries of the provincial government. Thus, we need to focus on our economy for better work.³⁵ Ms. Gulam Bibi Bharwana made the ministry of State and Health. Ms. Anisa Zeb Tahirkheli made the State of Information and Broadcasting. She said that different programs are on air on TV. Although the language is the same that was used in the program, so it was difficult for other provinces of people to understand the language. Hence, she gave a proposal to launch different languages program on TV. After her recommendation, regional channels were introduced on television like PTV National and PTV Global, etc.; Ms. Sumera Malik made the ministry of State of Tourism. Her focus was on public relations and promotion of tourism, marketing of tourism and products of Pakistan at the national and international level in her ministry. Ministry hired the services of an event manager to organize the Ghandhara week from March 27th to April 2nd. Ministry had also signed an agreement with the parties of an event manager. During her ministry, Pakistan, the front-line state, was greatly affected by a significant loss in the earthquake situation. But her ministry substantially started recovering programs like the program Gandhara wheel, K-2 expeditions, and many other events.³⁶

³⁵ National Assembly Debate, session 14th, vol.18, no.7, June 16th, 2004. 45

³⁶ National Assembly Debate, session 24th, vol.9 no. 18, November 19th, 2005

Chapter 2

Role of Women Parliamentarians in promoting Social Issues

1. Bills, Laws and Parliamentary Debates Regarding Women Issues

1.1 Pakistani Society and Women

Pakistan is geographically located in a region where many societies exist which follows a proper social system. In a community, many people follow their own culture related to their customs and religion. Society has a system in which all people performed their role and positions according to the environment in which they lived.³⁷ Our Pakistani society is a patriarchal society where many facilities like schooling, wellbeing facilities, expertise advancement, workforce cooperation, and power and political participation are restricted for women. Women had less command over resources. Different Pakistani society emphasizes family kingship and blood and caste-based ties in its way of life. It is dominantly ancestral and primitive in its social association. Caste and different positions made the distinction between male and female roles in society. Pakistan's family is a group of people related by blood ties living together and working for their family's social and economic well-being.³⁸ In Pakistan's families, absolute authority is given to men; for example, the father, elder brother, and husband are considered the head of family and the controlling power center of the family's social, economic, and public and private life. In Pakistan, females are viewed as the bearers of family honor. The honor is related with the virtue and virginity of the family's females, which needed their close vigilance to be

³⁷ David Copp, "The Concept of Society" *society in dialogues*, no. 4 (March 1992): 187

³⁸ Sanchita Bhattacharya, "Status of Women in Pakistan", *J.R.S.P.*, no.1(January, 2014): 2

protected and safeguarded. Women were not considered strong and capable enough to protect and guard individually. There was a traditional notion that women did not work in public life. Therefore, the participation of women in different sections like social, political, and economic production is constantly being ignored. In Pakistan society, the mobility of women is highly restricted. Women were not allowed to freely go outside wherever they wanted as men did. Pakistani women always act as the leading performer of traditional and cultural rituals during festivities or ceremonies. In a way, these are social and recreational activities for women in the absence of some formal and particular recreation centers outside the home. They played a significant role in marriage, childbirth, and funeral ceremonies. The discrimination among sons and daughters starts at birth and continues throughout their life till death, like the investment in education for boys, is preferred compared to daughters.³⁹ But in the modern and contemporary times, role of males and females in society has been changed. They worked in the economic and political spheres of society. Both men and women engaged in earning and performed household work with the employment duties. In short, in traditional times, the panchayat, jirga, and family systems were strong, but now women have become a prominent part of society. They upgraded their standard of living and worked hard for the development of society.⁴⁰ From my point of view, women struggle a lot to maintain their positions in society and face a lot of hardships. It was difficult for them to build their status and show their abilities in front of this society.

Like in society, women faced a lot of problems in the assembly. Many parliamentarians

³⁹ Dr.Naima Tabassum, *Women in Pakistan status in socio-cultural and politico-legal domains* (Sindh: Area study centre far east and south east Asia,2016), p.20

⁴⁰ Samina Isran, "Status of women in Pakistan: A Critical Analysis" *women's studies*, no.1 (December2020):10.

faced hardships while representing any issue in the assembly regarding women. All the parliamentarians showed their support in solving any problems related to women's causes, but sometimes they had opposing views with each other. For example: when Sherry Rehman submitted the parties' reference to the bill on sexual harassment, the bill was opposed by Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar because they both were from different parties, and they didn't want the bills of opponent party to be accepted. The reason for the failure of women to achieve higher objectives regarding women rights was their affiliation with different political parties whose ideological positions on women's issues varied significantly from each other.

This chapter explains the social issues represented by the women parliamentarians in the assembly. This chapter analyzes the discussion and debates on social issues related to women. This chapter has two main parts. The first part is about bills and laws and discussion about women and 2nd part focuses on debates and discussions on social issues. This chapter further explains the parliamentarians meetings at various international and local exhibitions to maintain the status of women in society. This chapter will elaborate on how many parliamentarians represented their presence at many conferences and expositions to abolish discrimination against women. In short, this chapter has covered how the women parliamentarians represented the issue and how they supported women in society.

1.2 Bills and laws Regarding Women

Members of parliament, Sherry Rehman from the PPP, introduced the safety and strengthening of the Women's Bill (Honor Killing) in 2004, female workplace employment in 2006, the avoidance of domestic violence in 2006, and the Hudood Laws Bill in 2006. Dr. Farida Ahmed (MMAF) introduced violations of the Zina bill (Hudood

requirement) in 2005 and the share and marriage (limit) bill in 2006. Miss Kashmala Tariq from the PML (Q) presented the Zina case (Hudood authorization) to review the case in 2006 and the basic freedom bill in 2007. Ms. Samia (MMAP) and other MNAs introduced women's employment bill in 2006, and Saima Raheel Qazi (JUI) presented the Women's Financial Reporting bill in 2005 and the Women's Law Security in 2007. These were the bills represented by the women parliamentarians in the assembly. A total of 38 bills were presented in the assembly few of them were passed and became an act in the parliament.

It is interesting to note that Pakistan has enacted Laws to protect women and give them safety. At the birth of Pakistan, there were few rights for women. In Pakistan's Constitution, many requests are given to women throughout their lives, like in the social, political, and economic sectors.

Muslim Family law Ordinance (MFLO) 1961	Criminal Law Act, 2011 (Acid Control and Acid Crime Prevention Act
The West Pakistan Family Courts Acts, 1964	Criminal Law Act, 2011 (Prevention of Anti-Women Practices.
Dowry and Bridal Gifts Restriction Act, 1976	The Women in Distress and Detention Fund Act, 2011
Criminal Law (Amendment)Act, 2004	Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Act, 2012
Protection of Women Act, 2006	National Commission on the status of

	Women Act, 2012
Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2010	Enforcement of Women Ownership Rights Act, 2012
Protection Against Harassment of Women at Work environment, 2010	The Khyber Pakhtunkhuwa Elimination of Custom of Ghak Act, 2001
Prevention of Anti-Women Practices (Criminal Law Change) Act, 2011	

1.3 Family Court related to Marriage

The family Court Act (FCA) 2002 was firstly ordered in 1964 following the proposal of Sheik Abdur Rehman's Commission, comprised in 1958. This commission was to be sure a second commission on family matters managing the issues of marriage, separate, endowment, upkeep, and care of children. This act was about polygamy (a state of marriage with many spouses). The bill suggested that during the continuation of the wedding, the arbitration council permitted the second marriage only if the application made by the man for this purpose had been filled along with the medical declaration from a perceived clinical official such that his better half was experiencing super durable sickness and was unable to perform marital duties. It also suggested that if a man gets one more marriage without the acknowledgment of the arbitration chamber, then along with already prescribed measures, the existing wife had the right of inheritance in the property of the husband if available, and a fine was also imposed on a husband that was increased from 5,000 to 1 lac rupee. For the dissolution of the marriage, the FCA gave the time of six months. If a decision was not reached within the time limit, any party might

apply to the High Court for directions. If reconciliation failed between the two parties, the family court was bound to pass a notification for dissolution of the marriage. Women had to give back their haq mehr, which was given at nikkah time. In the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, 1961 (MFLO) husband sends a notice of *talaq* (the termination of marriage according to Islamic Law by a husband).⁴¹

Mrs. Beelum Hasnain talked about the marriage issue and highlighted some crucial points in her debate. She said marriage is the union of the two, the nurturing of new life, and the connecting of the child with the mother and the father. The primary purpose of marriage is the nurturing and protection of children, but children are seen as merely an option or a personal choice in today's society. Another thing in the family is that women are not protected. Even when she gets divorced, she cannot get the right of inheritance. She also said if the woman gets married, her husband beats her and even does second marriage without her consent.

Hence, for this reason, women have the right to leave their husbands if they further do not want to live with them. In marriage, a woman should also have the right to raise a voice against her husband if he brutally beats and forces her in any circumstances because this is the kind of violence if her husband beats her and betrays her. Thus, our society should focus on these issues, and women should be protected.

At last, she said the fine should be implemented on those who do domestic violence because it hurts society and people's minds. She said that domestic violence sometimes makes children mentally retarded because their parents fight every time in the house.⁴²

⁴¹ Khalid Rehman, Nadeem Farhat, *Legislation on Women and Family in Pakistan Trends and Approaches* (Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies, 2014), P.11.

⁴² National Assembly Debates, session 12th, vol.23, no.9, March 24th, 2004. 122

1.4 Laws and Discussion Related to Honor Killing

The code of criminal procedure Act, 2004 related to the offense of qatl-e-amad. In this Act, any person who committed a sin or murdered another person is considered a severe offense and punished with three years in imprisonment. This Act is also called the Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment Act) 2004.⁴³ In the amendment, The Code of Civil Procedure 1908, for section 102, no appeal was considered in the court after committing a sin and represented the offense in the judiciary. In 2004, in many cases, this act is called honor killing. In Honor Killing if any person commit sin but punishment given to women in marriage in any regard. Women compromised themselves with marriages to settle a dispute between 2 families. Typically, these types of punishments give to women in the name of honor, Karo Kari or Siya Kari, or similar customs or practices. If any person violated the law of society and presented their women in marriage to resolve a dispute between families, then the government gave the punishment to the victimized person for one year.⁴⁴

In the year 2004, Ms. Sherry Rehman highlighted the issue of Honor killing and Karokari. Before her, no parliamentarian discussed that sensitive issue. She was the one who first passed this bill (Protection of women bill, 2004) after facing so many hardships. Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar first opposed that bill because she said this was not a public issue to be discussed. She also said that primary education is essential for women's progress and advancement. She also insisted that we should include children's education as part of the women's protection bill because children's education is directly linked to the improvement and liberation of women in every household in Pakistan. Through

⁴³ The gazette of Pakistan, Acts, Ordinances, President Order and Regulations (October 11th, 2004)

⁴⁴ The gazette of Pakistan, Acts, Ordinances, President Order and Regulations (January 11th, 2005)

education we can eliminate the killing by society. Secondly, after many debates in assembly, she said we need different changes in the penal code, monitored by the high court. For the hudood law ordinance, every act should be implemented under the consultation of the parliament. She discussed 1979 ordinance was promulgated without the consultation of parliament. It was enacted under the law by a military dictator who had used Islam to legitimize his rule, misused Islam, and brought spurious abuse of the constitution of Pakistan. She also said that only women were thrown in jail and kept for 7 years. When these women left prison, they had no houses to live in, so it was not justice for them to be put in jail, and no one asked even a single question to males. She mentioned that our traditional systems like our jirga and panchayat system were too bad and badly treated ladies. They killed their ladies in the name of honor or sale women in Vani or Swara kind of traditions to overcome the dispute between families. Thus, these areas like Sindh, Balochistan where these incidents happened, should be strictly controlled and punishments should be given to these culprits. Ms. Naheed mentioned here that there is no liberal democracy available in Pakistan for women.⁴⁵

In 2004, Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar said that a bill was prepared (Karakari). It went to the law and order ministry. The bill was treated under murder. Firstly, it was treated under grave and specific provisions. No punishment is given to the victim of the murderer, but a minimum penalty is suggested for the murderer after some time. Then afterward, specific other provisions were made under this bill. Punishment was necessary for the murderer. But unluckily, many murderers escape and move freely. She said that for the awareness of women's rights, she had arranged a conference for the development of women. The 1st

⁴⁵ National Assembly Debates, session 13th, vol.23, no.9, March 25th, 2004. 128

conference was organized in 2004, then another meeting was held with United Nations with the agency of All Pakistan's Women Association (APWA). The primary motive was gender mainstreaming and millennium development goals. At last, the conference was held on a regional basis in which violence against women points was discussed and Women's issues were highlighted in front of NGOs and media.⁴⁶

In 2005, Ms Kashmala Tariq prepared a bill for the Code of Criminal Procedure Bill 2005 in which she said for the first time that legislative measures should be adopted in the parliament. If in any case, malpractice has been done by the family, and the victim was not punished or forgiven by the family member, a fine should be charged. Ms. Raheela Qazi added their views in the discussion that legislation should be made according to Quran and Sunnah. For the killing, the punishment for the murderer should be implemented and he should be sentenced to death. She concluded the discussion by saying we should focus on our family system and educate them properly. Ms. Fauzia Wahab said that the people were not allowed to pray on the grave of the girl who was killed in Karokari. In Islam, women had rights but these culprits were stealing the rights of women. Therefore, we should take necessary steps and make our legislation strong for the support of our women in the country.⁴⁷

Marvi Memon (Former Member of the National Assembly) amended criminal laws to address a portion of the issues from which society is for the most part accepted to have been languishing. Bill one proposal was related to marriage by concealment. The insertion of Bill 493B in the Pakistan Penal Code 1860 suggested that any person who opts for second marriage and hides the fact that he has been married shall be punishable

⁴⁶ National Assembly Debates, session 14th, vol.18, no.8, June 17th, 2004. 50

⁴⁷ National Assembly Debates, session 23rd, vol. 20, no.6, March 2nd, 2005. 46

with ten years imprisonment and liable to a fine. In the different statements of the Bill, if the person is hiding actual marriage and demanding the new status of marriage without telling the previous marriage, then the marriage contract is considered fraud. This Bill was passed by the senate.⁴⁸ This act may be called Acid and burn attack. In this if any people harm another person intentionally or damage a part of the body of another person, then, through this act he/she should be regarded death sentence.⁴⁹

1.5 Laws and Discussion Related to the Protection of Women

Pakistan's parliament passed the bill for ladies in 2006 called the Protection of Women Act 2006. There were numerous exhibitions against it by specific gatherings, mostly the strict ones after it were passed. Before this law, ladies suffered a lot because of the Islamization of different laws presented in 1979 so they needed change. In this new law it is simpler for ladies to record an argument against a man, who had committed assault on the ladies. This bill was expected to guarantee rights to women in good working environment. For this, a public commission was set up in July 2000 to build the ladies status. The essential objectives were to redesign certain principles and guidelines influencing the part of ladies in the general public. Besides, it was intended to propose changes, and ideas that overcome the killing oppression of females in culture and encouraged with safe environment, interests and opportunities. After that, the official law set up the panel in which a large portion of the individuals from the board of trustees are females.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Sara Zaman, "Forced marriages and inheritance deprivation in Pakistan: Prevention of anti-women practices (criminal law) amendment act, 2001", *gender based violence policy research and capacity building programme*, no.1 (October, 2014): 89

⁴⁹ The gazette of Pakistan, Acts, Ordinances, President Order and Regulations (November 11th, 2005)

⁵⁰ Zainab Rehman, *Women and Society* (Delhi: Publication, 2005): 200

In 2004 Miss Sherry Rehman said we put women on different seats. Still, we took different rights from them like a women named Fakhhar-un-Nisa appointed a judge and was murdered by unknown person because of the big authority given to her as a judge. For 20 years, she could not come in chief justice post because of many haters. No one talked about this incident she was murdered it is called violence against her. Our government is not paying attention to these kinds of incidents. If high official women are not protected in society, ordinary women could never be rescued. Thus, we needed a real democracy in Pakistan in which women are also protected from the violence that will be real and progressive democracy.⁵¹

In 2006, Ms. Sherry Rehman debated in the assembly and said that violation of women increased day by day. Before this bill, no one considered it a serious issue. She said penal codes 319 and 320 described the definition of hurt, serious hurt like injury or killing strictly prohibited in this provision. She also said that if any women commit a sinso she should be punished according to the Islamic requirements. Mrs. Tahira told in the assembly debate that women had many rights but violation of family was also prohibited. Dr. Farida Ahmed said in the assembly that they were only focusing on women victims and were not concerned about the people who were doing gang rape running the station of zina. Even police caught them, but the people bail themselves through the high approaches. She also said, there is a need to focus on the issue of gender equality.⁵² Mrs. Sherry Rehman concluded the discussion on women's issues in the parliament of Pakistan by saying that if we do not stand against this harassment issue or support the illegal things and compromise this issue that would be against the Islamic

⁵¹ National Assembly Debates, session 13th, vol.23, no.9, March 25th, 2004. 128

⁵² National Assembly Debates, session 37th, vol.32, no.35, November 15th, 2006. 400

law and social-political laws as well. In the broader foundation, women had many rights in society. Even they had the right to go anywhere and work according to their choices. There should not be discrimination based on sex alone.⁵³

1.6 Bills and Discussion Regarding Domestic Violence

The bill “Prevention and Protection of women and children from domestic violence” was moved in National Assembly by the advisor to prime minister on women development, Ms. Yasmeen Rehman of Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) on August 12, 2008 and passed by the National Assembly on August 4, 2009. The bill was not passed then later on, it was presented in the senate by Pakistan Muslim League Senator Ms Nilofer Bakhtiar and was separately passed by the National Assembly. The bill provided a mechanism to prevent the incident of domestic violence and to protect the victimized person. As per the bill, aggressive behavior at home incorporates all purposeful demonstration of orientation based or other physical or mental maltreatment committed by an offense against ladies, youngsters or other weak people, with whom the charged is or has been in homegrown connection. It is also described that act like assault, attempt, criminal force, criminal intimidation, hurt, mischief and wrongful doing which were declared offenses in the Pakistan Penal Code as well as economic, physical and sexual abuse, stalking, entry into oppressed individual's home without their assent, verbal and psychological mistreatment and some other severe or harmful way of behaving towards the troubled individual, would constitute domestic violence. A person who is a victim of domestic violence could apply to the court of magistrate to seek relief. According to the procedure, the court will fix the first date of hearing within three days from the receipt of application and shall dispose of

⁵³ National Assembly Debate, session 23rd, vol.23, no. 14, March 3rd, 2003. 334

the case within the 30 days. The court gave 'protection order' in favor of the aggrieved person and prohibited the accused from committing domestic violence. The court also passed a 'residence order' to protect the person living in their residential area. According to the bill if anyone committed a domestic violence, they were punished given with imprisonment of a half year or with a fine which might stretch out to 50,000 rupees.⁵⁴

Dr. Azra Pechuho said about domestic violence in which stove burning cases were primarily due to the women being victimized by their family customs. She insisted that the women should be protected. Dr. Firdous Ashiq Awan detailed discussion in the assembly focused that many incidents happened in families where women became the victim. The bad thing was women's cases were not reported even though their families killed them through proper planning in homes. Thus, we need to overcome these incidents. For the women, acid- burning centers were available in-country. She said we should motivate our women to empower themselves and not allow anybody to put a single finger on them. At last, she concluded that the issue related to violence that was much discussed in the parliament was the rights of women and the law and order situation in the country.⁵⁵ From my point of view, these two problems are interrelated because if one created the problem in society, then the other would also create different problems in society automatically.

Ms. Shamshad Sattar said that neglecting women rights created many problems in society, like women attempting suicide regarding various issues or being killed by their elders or their family members because they raised a point of right for them. Mrs. Nafeesa said that women's rights did not mean that they wanted any vulgarity. Still, the rights of many women were violated and they were facing discrimination in society like in Vani, Swara, and

marriage to Quran and trees, etc.⁵⁶

In 2004, Ms. Saima Raheel Qazi pointed out the issue of violence. An order was issued for the P.I.A air hostesses not to wear dupatta or headscarf. Thus, she said that Pakistan is an Islamic state where everyone has a right to live, and women have the right to wear the dupatta as they want. She said if people would create this problem, then a movement could start in the country that threatened society's law and order. She asked why some women parliamentarians do not highlight these kinds of issues. These issues are related to us. She said this is totally against the fundamental human rights issue. Firstly, in France, many Muslims protested on that issue even though that we are not well aware of that kind of issue in Pakistan. Like these issues, if women do not fulfill the demand of these kinds of threats, people abduct them by force. Thus, she asked where we were going and where is Islam. Why are we not paying attention to Islamic values which Islam gives to women?⁵⁷

In the 2005 debate, the women parliamentarians believed that women should have equal rights just like men. Mrs. Naheed Khan said women should have equal rights. If the society would continue to neglect the women population, then the organization should have all the male members and kill the entire woman, she remarked sarcastically. Without the women's contribution, no country could succeed because half of the population depends on women. Mrs. Sherry Rehman also said that women's equality is essential for the country's betterment. The state should do everything to protect its women, and women should be considered equal under the constitution of Pakistan.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ National Assembly Debate, session 11th, vol.4, no. 8, March 25th, 2004. 205

⁵⁵ National Assembly Debates, session 14th, vol.18, no.8, June 17th, 2004. 50

⁵⁶ National Assembly Debates, session 13th, vol.23, no.3, March 15th, 2004. 428

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁸ National Assembly Debate, session 23rd, vol. 20, no.1, March 7th, 2005. 312

Female participation in parliamentary debates and debates was less in the first and second years of Parliament and then their participation increased day by day. Women actively participate in discussion and parliamentary debates. Women's performance can be assessed include initiatives, resolutions, parliamentary questions, point of order, and call attention notices moved by them.

Women's specific issues were raised by women Member of Parliament (MP) ranged from violence against ladies, lewdness behavior in the working environment, honor killing, conceptive wellbeing, discrimination with ladies, protection and support to burn casualties and overcomers of viciousness, ladies' satisfactory portrayal in government bodies and unfair perspectives of the speaker and male MPs. Four MNAs submitted private member bills related to women's issues. 69 private member bills were pending before the national assembly at its dissolution, and the women parliamentarians submitted 31 private member bills. Only two bills got much focus by the parliamentarians that were the Honor killing and women protection bill and were passed in the parliament.⁵⁹

2. Social issues and debates of women parliamentarians

2.1 Issues related to Education

Among many issues, the following social issues were debated by women parliamentarians in the assembly and made much sound on the floor of the house. Education was a prominent social issue which was debated by women parliamentarians. Ms Zobaida Jalal was the Minister for Education. In her ministry, she arranged vocational and recreational activities in schools for girls, for example, traditional courses, a lot of work for the development of women. She

⁵⁹Amna Mehmood, *Political empowerment of Women: A Comparative study of South Asian countries* (Pakistan vision, 2004), p.151-152.

launched the beautician courses, I.T and technical courses etc. that were better for their hygiene and provide employment opportunities and also empower them for the economic development. Other than that, female colleges were opened in the Islamabad G-10 sector to fulfil the need for girls' education. With the educational planning and management, a survey was conducted in 2001 to monitor the private sector school.⁶⁰ Ms Zobaida Jalal discussed the Balochistan incident in which she said that the students coming back from America with the educational degree were killed. Even they did not get the registration when they applied to Pakistan universities. From Dera Ismail Khan, Abdul Aziz was shot dead by the police. Ms Zobaida Jalal made a committee named "Internal Board Chairmen Committee", highlighting these issues and solving them. For this purpose, Ms Zobaida Jalal introduced "the International Student Bill, 2003". The adult literacy project was launched (2001-5) under Pakistan's education sector reform program. The project is titled "Establishment of formal basic education community schools".⁶¹In the assembly, Ms. Onaza Ahsan, parliamentarian, raised the issue of disabled people's education. In the country, we had no special schools for disabled children. We need to open a special school for the development of disabled children. Then, Begum Ishrat Ashraf raised a viewpoint that different incentives and funds should be given and location wise schools should be opened in the country like in every province special school should be open and properly monitored.⁶² Ms Kashmala Tariq had a view that scholarships should be announced the different newspaper because many of bureaucrats not allowing to announce scholarships in public. They promote their relatives and deserving students were neglected. For the foreign scholarships, Ms Zobaida Jalal said that they had signed different agreements regarding scholarships with different countries. Cultural exchange programs were signed with different countries. Joint Ministerial Commission (JMC) meetings

increased the scholarships from other countries. After these agreements, Iraq, Iran and Syria revived scholarships and fees paid by the government. Then different public and private universities worked on scholarships. Other than that, different public and private universities made their system better in Quetta University, the department of information technology and management sciences was opened.⁶³ Ms Nilofar Bakhtiar was in the Ministry of (Incharge for Establishment). She announced a quota for disabled people in FPSC to participate in exams through this they can get a job. But this policy was officially launched in March 2003. She said in the disabled quota; there should be establishment division between provinces through the ordinance amendment.⁶⁴ In 2003, Ms. Zobaida Jalal gave a detailed list of universities. In the years 2003 and 2004, Rs 4477.613 million that was allocated by the government for the development purpose of the education sector, against which Rs. 242.794 million that had been released. No officer had been appointed on contract regularly from November 16, 2002. However, five officials were appointed regularly after November 16, 2002. Then, 8939 community schools were launched throughout the country. She said that the government was sending money to schools and school appointed teachers by themselves. She also said that for the rehabilitation of school, district-wise plan should be made. Then automatically money is spent according specific purpose. Rozina Tofail highlighted the most important issue that in the medical college, females were banned or were not allowed to do marriage during their studies. From her point of view, we should stop this kind of behavior because if the girl is married and wanted to study, then it was right for her to continue her studies after

⁶⁰ National Assembly Debates, session 6th, vol.7, no.7, April 30th, 2003. 44

⁶¹ National Assembly Debates, session 7th, vol.6, no. 1, June 10th, 2003. 20

⁶² National Assembly Debates, session 7th, vol.6, no.4, June 12th, 2003. 40

marriage.⁶⁵ Ms Bushra Rehman raised an issue on A-level and O-Level books which were totally against the culture of Pakistan. She said that science and English subject are managed according to western culture, but Urdu and Islamiyat could not be instructed by western culture. She further argued that Pakistanis have their values and Islamic teachings, which cannot be changed. Thus, we should develop instructional material according to our country's policy for the Urdu subject. She said every province should have their education system according to its language. The national curriculum was an important thing in every province. The textbook should be arranged by the policy of their provinces. Another thing highlighted by Rozina Tofail in the curriculum was that many stories were badly constructed, which created a bad image in the mind of youngsters. Thus, the stories should be made based on moral lessons.⁶⁶ In 2004, Ms Raheela Qazi raised the issue that we needed to upgrade the FPSC system. We needed to train our teachers and the people who passed the FPSC exam to improve the department. Ms.Zobaida Jalal said that different computer labs were opened in different areas, but their administration was problematic. An inquiry committee was made that watched this scenario. In addition, history was a separate subject in schools and was included in the school from the primary level onwards. Ms. Jamila Ahmed highlighted an important issue that Quran and Sunnah should be added to Islamiat courses. Then surat Ahzab and surah Taubah were included in the classes 9 and 10 under the recommendation of the national Review committee meeting.⁶⁷ In 2005, women parliamentarians had much focus on disabled children's education and curriculum of books. They believed that the policies were not according to our cultural values. We need to change our country's policies. The ph.D scholarship program was started in Karachi. Dr Farida Ahmed said that it was important to arrange that kind of scholarship for the development of our country. Ms. Zobaida Jalal, Minister

of welfare and special education finalized the national plan of action and had a view that every child need rehabilitation, education, medical support and independent living. So she started a program for the welfare of children. For this, 342 teachers worked in various special education systems in centres/institutions in the country under the directorate of special education. She also focused on northern areas' education and implemented the national plan.⁶⁸In 2007, another plan and project were started for the disabled person named "Design Manual and the Society. Ms. Zobaida Jalal launched this plan on June 1, 2005, implementing the good work in 2007. In this plan of action, different guidelines and technical specifications are provided to provide facilities in buildings, parks and specific public places for disabled people.⁶⁹

From my point of view, a lot of work was done from 2002-2008. All Parliamentarians debated in the assembly, but they did not pay much attention to any work related to education. They initiated different policies and plans, but there was no proper check and balance of each work. The teaching of disabled people was a good step in parliament. Still, they did not focus on every problem faced by disabled people, even ministries facilitated them; no scholarships were introduced for disabled quota. Ms. Onaza Ahsan gave the idea for the development of women. She said under the seven-country program, united nations population funds provided the consultant for the initial managing or ministerial conference of women ministers of (The south Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) SAARC nations, which was due in January. It was postponed due to a tsunami incident and was held from 3-5 May 2005, and they had been paid 35,000 dollars until December 21 of their contract. Brigadier Attiq and his network liaison set up the

⁶⁶ National Assembly Debates, session 6th, vol. 8, no.7, December 30th, 2003. 14

⁶⁷ National Assembly Debates, session 17th, vol. 10, no.5, July 22nd, 2004. 50

procedure with all ministries, NGOs and civil society enhanced the relationship between the ministry of women and development to act as the event manager. This mentioned organization worked with the help of international ministry of women and development. The foreign government paid funds for the betterment of women in society in which many NGOs and international forums were involved.⁷⁰

In 2006, the uplift and welfare of women bill was passed to develop women. Like in 2006 and 2007, many parliamentarians focused on women's education. They argued that both males and females had the right to get education in society, and they were responsible for the country's development. In 2007, Ms Mehnaz Rafi argued women's empowerment can improve the society. Women must enter in I.T sector, agriculture sector, political sector etc.⁷¹

2.2 Issues related to Poverty

Another prominent issue which was debated in the house of parliament was poverty. In 2003, Mrs. Bushra Rehman pointed out that poverty and unemployment lead to a crisis in the country. To reduce poverty, we need to make employment opportunities. We teach our student's different ways and techniques to work in professional life from additional training and launching paid internships. Through this opportunity, they can show better performance and poverty can be reduced from the country. She said different poverty alleviation programs had been established in the country. Ms Rozina Tofail believed that poverty and welfare are interrelated with each other. Poverty affects the country's social, political, and economic values that is creating from micro to macro problems. Ms. Mehnaz Rafi suggested that we need to support women, especially those who worked from home

⁷⁰ National Assembly Debate, session 5th, vol. 4, no.10, November, 15th, 2006. 300

⁷¹ National Assembly Debate, session 40th, vol. 16, no. 18, May, 9th, 2007. 300

If we export home-based materials, we could also eliminate poverty in the country. In this way, we can also enhance women's work and mobilise them in the social sector. We need to introduce our traditional position of women to foreign countries.⁷²

Dr. Firdous Ashique Awan said that youth policies were so much crucial for the strengthening of the country. Further research and programs launched in-country for the reduction of poverty. She said the first youth policy was United State Agency for International Development (USAID) in-country, which brought an experienced work with the professional people. This policy was effective and innovative and made developmental efforts in-country. Begum Tehmina Dultana argued that in our country poor people are highly neglected. Thus, we need to strengthen the poor people of the country. Thus, it would not be difficult for poor people to pay money for different work; she also said that through proper education, we can make our poor people strong. The elite class enjoyed a luxurious life, and the ones who were poor became poorer in the country. We needed to strengthen the core areas and the government and pay much attention to the welfare of the people.⁷³

From my perspective, poverty is a crucial social issue in the country. Still, our parliamentarians did not relate things with each other or had not briefly discussed information technology. From the information technology, we can also reduce poverty by working in homes and offices. With the rural areas, urban areas needed to be highlighted for the country's development.

⁷² National Assembly Debates, session 10th, vol. 37, no.14, September 19th, 2004. 43

⁷³ National Assembly Debates, session 6th, vol. 7, no.7, December 29th, 2005. 44

2.3. Other Major Social Issues

Among many issues the following issues became very prominent in the parliament. These were the elimination of KaroKari and Hudood laws, the unjust obligation for women at the Army Medical College to remain unmarried during their education, the posting of the husband and wife, repeal of Karo kari and Hudud regulations, discriminatory requirements for single women attending Army Medical School, placement of marriage partners in cities, promotion of women's jobs, promotion of female's office, support women's craft exports to international markets, allocation for female for special hours in working, removing photos of female from CNIC, proposal for women participating in tv channels, Removal of female Scarfs From PIA Flight Attendant Uniforms, number of Ministries and Government Jobs, number of Ambassadors, Sexual Harassment of Women in work place and different in Institutions, reserved seats for MNA, discrimination of seats in the parliament, non-availability of seats for female and old women, the right of women to register their foreign partners as Pakistani citizens; protection of Women in prison, appointment of lady drug controller in NIH, number of girls kidnapped in Islamabad From March to December 2006, women victim of fire who recovered but not allowed for work, construction of Ladies Club in Islamabad, 2005-7 case of female Sexual Harassment registration against Police, fix age for retirement of air hostesses set at 45, Women's Crisis Management Center, Number of women who have died in childbirth in the past 3 years in urban and rural areas.

Conclusion

Women played very substantial role in raising women issues regarding health, education as well as sensitive issues like honor killing, domestic violence etc. Through many discussions and debates women parliamentarians explained how many women in society are sacrificing with their selves. Women faced a lot of hardships while promoting women social rights in

assembly but their participation was remarkable as they passed bill regarding women issues. They also discussed the rigid system of Pakistan in the assembly. They paid much attention in which women sacrificed by the rigid system of specific areas. For this matter they not only worked in official meetings but they also present many speeches in front of local people and give them awareness of their personal rights. With many conferences and debates women parliamentarians diminished social problem of women in society and in the assembly as well. But still women are facing discrimination. thus, we need to support and strengthen the women parliamentarians to get the right of women in society.

Chapter 3

Role of Women Parliamentarians in Highlighting economic Issues.

The economy is the state of the country or region in terms of the production, consumption of goods and services and supply of money. It is careful management of available resources. An economy is a system according to which the capital, industry and trade of a country or region are organized. The discipline of economics has mainly 2 functions. Firstly, it is predicted to respond to changes in policy and market conditions. Secondly, it performs statistical analysis to investigate the changes occurring in the trade, industry and money etc.⁷⁴In the national assembly, women parliamentarians worked hard to develop the economy. They discussed economic issues like unemployment, poverty, international matters, the Pakistan crisis, the border situation, etc. They paid much attention to the country's economy, and women parliamentarians served their motives to improve the country's economy. They arranged many conferences to build up for women working in the private and public sectors, which caused economic development.

This chapter has 2 main parts. The first part is related to the bills. The second part is connected to the discussions made by women parliamentarians and it is directly related to the country's economy. The first section discusses the bills presented or introduced by the women parliamentarians in the house of parliament. Different bills have been mentioned with their title and year in this part. The second part is about various debates and discussions made by women parliamentarians even though they made many interventions on the issue of national importance, like agriculture, trade, environment, and prices hike in the country. With these issues, this chapter will also discuss health issues,

⁷⁴ Sebab Kumar, "The Role and Importance of studying Economics", Journal of knowledge review economic studies, no.1 (November,2018): 20

legislation, import-export, law and order, governance, employment, tourism, business, foreign exchange, and natural resources of land, forest and water, etc.

1. Bills Introduced by women Parliamentarians related to Economy

In 2004, Ms. Gul-e-Farkhanda introduced the bill on 19.10.2004 on the issue of Thalassaemia “The Control of Thalassaemia Bill, 2004”.⁷⁵ Dr. Hajra Tariq also introduced the bill on the same point of Thalassaemia, Bill to control the rapid increase of Thalassaemia in Pakistan “The control of Thalassaemia bill, 2004”.⁷⁶ She also introduced the bill on 18.03.2005 on the issue of “Islamabad Wildlife Protection” but this bill was rejected.⁷⁷ Later on, in 2005 Mrs. Farzeen Ahmed Sarfraz introduced “The Islamabad Wildlife Protection, Preservation, Conservation and Management (Amendment Bill, 2005)”.⁷⁸ Dr. Azra Pechuho introduced the bill called “The Equality of opportunity for women in employment Bill, 2005”.⁷⁹ Mrs. Fauzia Wahab introduced “The Pakistan Environment Protection (Amendment) Bill, 2005”.⁸⁰ Mrs. Saima Raheel Qazi introduced “The Uplift and Welfare of Women Bill, 2005”.⁸¹ Mrs. Yasmeen Rehman introduced “The Control of HIV/AIDS Bill, 2006”.⁸² She also introduced “The Agriculture Pesticides (Amendment) Bill, 2006”, “The Drug (Amendment) Bill, 2004” and “The Control of Hepatitis Bill, 2006” presented in the same year.⁸³ Mrs. Robina Saadat Qaim Khani

⁷⁵ National Assembly Debates, session 22, vol.12, no.8, October 19th, 2004. 33

⁷⁶ National Assembly Debates, session 22, vol.12, no.13, October 21st, 2004. 45

⁷⁷ National Assembly Debates, session 23, vol.20, no.18, March 18th, 2005. 64

⁷⁸ National Assembly Debates, session 27, vol.12, no.11, September 20th, 2005. 39

⁷⁹ National Assembly Debates, session 30, vol.9, no.2, December 5th, 2005. 29

⁸⁰ National Assembly Debates, session 32, vol.10, no.3, February 7th, 2006. 30

⁸¹ National Assembly Debates, session 32, vol.10, no.6, February 14th, 2006. 18

⁸² National Assembly Debates, session 37, vol.32, no.13, August 22nd, 2006. 33

⁸³ National Assembly Debates, session 37, vol.32, no.22, September 5th, 2006. 363

introduced “The Drug Amendment Bill, 2006”.⁸⁴ Mrs. Robina Shaheen Watto introduced “The Pakistan Bait-ul-Mall (Amendment) Bill, 2006”.⁸⁵ Mrs Saima Khalid Ghurki introduced “The Pakistan and Postal Services Management Board (Amendment) Bill, 2006”. She also introduced the “The Agriculture Pesticides (Amendment) Bill, 2006”.⁸⁶ Syeda Farhana Khalid Banoori introduced a bill to establish a Pharmacy “The Pakistan Pharmacy Council Bill, 2007”.⁸⁷ This bill was later dropped in the House on the date of 13-02-2007. Mrs. Beelum Hasnain introduced “The Allocation of funds for development Project Bill, 2005”. Mrs. Yasmeen Rehman introduced “The Control of Viral Disease transmitted via Blood Product Bill, 2007” and “The Pakistan Environment Protection Amendment Bill, 2007”.⁸⁸

These were the bills which were introduced by the women parliamentarians but they were only introduced, no bill related to economy became the act and law. Women parliamentarians submitted number of questions of which many were rejected and disallowed by the speaker and a lot of questions reply was not received. Many discussions were made by the women parliamentarians in the house of parliament but no one paid attention to passing the bills related to economy, health and environment.

2. Discussions and Debates of women parliamentarians related to Economy

2.1 Privatization of companies

The PPP of Mr. Bhutto started the policy of deregulation, liberalization and privatization in 1988 under Benazir Bhutto. Their privatization policy extended public participation by encouraging small savings became shareholders of state-owned companies (SOEs). In

⁸⁴ National Assembly Debates, session 37, vol.32, no.22, September 5th, 2006. 47

⁸⁵ National Assembly Debates, session 37, vol.32, no.27, September 12th, 2006. 60

⁸⁶ National Assembly Debates, session 37, vol.32, no.27, September 12th, 2006. 33

⁸⁷ National Assembly Debates, session 40, vol.16, no.11, May 9th, 2007. 322

⁸⁸ *ibid*

privatization matters, seven large SOEs in banking, aviation, shipping, and oil and gas were shortlisted in privatization matters. During the short period of its tenure, the government could only divide 10 percent of shares of Pakistan with International Airlines (PIA). The first Nawaz Sharif government started a massive privatization program. The privatization commission was made in 1991. This commission had 2 motives that 90 percent of privatization would decrease the debt, and the remaining 10 percent will be utilized for poverty alleviation. The privatization was made to reduce the financial burden and obligation and discharge public sector assets for poverty alleviation. In the year of 1992 two banks were privatized. Later on in the year of 1992, 47 units were sold. After that, the privatization idea was extended to the public and Allied Bank was also cheaply sold to the employees. It had to be taken over by the State Bank due to poor performance, restructured and eventually privatized in 2004. Two-thirds of shares of the Muslim Commercial Bank were sold at less than the profit earned soon after privatization.⁸⁹

The Benazir government brought privatization to the energy and media communications sectors. Kot Addu Power Company (KAPCO) and Pakistan Telecommunications Limited (PTCL) were also included on the privatization list. In 1994, the Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) was also sold. The 1994 Electricity Strategy had increased the cost of electricity delivery due to reliance on imported fuel oil. The resulting privatization of the gas based KAPCO and the warm Karachi Electric Supply Company (KESC) must be met with a similarly high tariff. KAPCO recovered the cost of cash paid to the Privatization Commission in two years.

⁸⁹ Pervaiz Tahir, "Economic and social Consequences of Privatization in Pakistan" *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Pakistan*, no.1 (December, 2014): 11

There was a critical increase in fees for the buyer industry, which was an added concern. By 1999 the tariff had risen to Rs.3.27 per kilowatt-hour (kWh) above the 1994 reference cost of Rs.1.76. Between 1991 and 2003, the company's share of energy declined from 36% to 28%. The shift was towards gas, which later contributed to gas shortages. The privatization program (PP) disregarded the constitutional requirement. This administration sold Habib Credit and Exchange Bank, currently Bank Alfalah, to the Abu Dhabi group for Rs. 2.2 billion. Because of United Bank Limited, the public sector had to organize a gigantic Rs.21 crore bailout to prepare it for privatization, a sum more critical than the Rs.12.4 crore paid for the 51% share achieved in 2002.⁹⁰

During the Musharraf period, big privatization spread over 2000-08. Compared to the hundred units sold for Rs 59 billion in 1988-99, 60 units were sold in 2000-08 for Rs 416 billion. These included capital intensive SOEs in the energy sector, manufacturing industries like cement, fertilizers, central banks and large capital market transactions. Most of the units were bought by foreign investors, including Pakistan's largest bank, the Habib Bank Limited (HBL), United Bank Limited (UBL), Pakistan Telecommunication Company Limited (PTCL), and Karachi Electric Supply Company (KESC) and National Refinery. Most of the manufacturing units were making profits, as was the Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization (LPG) business. KESC faced excessive losses, financial as well as technical. The private owners were expected to be better managers with the ability to mobilize new investments. The government sold 73 percent of shares for less than it paid to clear up KESC's dues in a patently nontransparent manner. The management did not improve, the losses continued, and the KESC got a large debt. As

⁹⁰ Mohammed Mian Soomro, Government of Pakistan Ministry Privatization (Privatization Division: 2017): 21

opposed to the loss-making KESC, 26 percent shares of the profit-making PTCL were sold for 2.6 billion dollars and the management was handed over before the receipt of the full payment. The privatization Programme of the Musharraf period ignored workers rights. However, the workers exposed the non-transparent ways of the government when it decided to privatize the Pakistan Steel Mill (PSM). A financial restructuring plan implemented in 2000 revived the PSM. In 2005, the Privatization Commission included it in the list of units to be privatized. Based on discounted cash flow, the valuation of 75 per cent shares was placed at \$348 million.⁹¹ In the debate and discussion, Mohtarma Zeb Gohar said that poverty and unemployment are directly related to the country's development and economy. When companies became privatized, most of the laborers lost their jobs. She explained that the poor people and labor do work hard and struggle for their well-being; however, they are mostly not concerned about the country's economy. The common people just want to satisfy their hunger, as satisfying hunger is the primary goal in their life; however, it's the responsibility of the government to create employment and employment opportunities in the country to reduce poverty. She also explained that our economy could become strong through employment opportunities, and we could make social development in the country. We need to offer more and more employment opportunities in the country, especially for the women and young people because they are the backbone of the country's development.⁹² Later on, in 2003, she discussed the same issue of poverty. She said the rich became more prosperous and the poor became poorer. She made a report on poverty in which she mentioned the legitimate measures taken by the government for poverty, which was issued on October 28th, 2002. In this report,

⁹¹ *ibid*

⁹² National Assembly Debates, session 2nd, vol.2, no.3, November 21st, 2002. 15

she indicated that income equality has worsened in 1990s and still we are facing the same situation.⁹³In the 4th session, Mohtarma Zeb Gohar raised the issue on the privatization of the companies. She said that foreign countries control the companies in Pakistan. Due to this control system, many laborers were removed from their services, and the rapid removal of laborers was not a healthy policy for the country, significantly downsizing without the consent of employees. She argued that if the other countries are controlling Pakistani system, then our economy would not survive. She said we should make the protection policies and developmental strategies in our country that no one could control our country because it is our country, and we know better how to run the economy of our country⁹⁴.

2.2 Paper manufacturing factory in Pakistan

Pakistan industrial development cooperation (PIDC) developed different industries, including the paper mill, in 1953. The first paper mill was established in East Pakistan in 1959. With the partition of East Pakistan in 1971, there was a serious shortage of compositing and printing paper and newsprint was made in West Pakistan as the supply of these papers were completely cut off from Bangladesh. This industry has different departments that supply and use papers of different quality to the neighborhood for import. Unfortunately, due to lack of proper planning, many departments were closed in the 1980s and 1990s. At the time of Musharraf, there were about 100 units in Pakistan which were producing the writing and printing paper, packing and gift paper, etc.⁹⁵

⁹³ National Assembly Debates, session 4th, vol.7, no.2, February 28th, 2003. 15

⁹⁴ National Assembly Debates, session 3rd, vol.7, no.1, October 19th, 2003. 58

⁹⁵ Pulp and Paper Industry in Pakistan, Research and Compilation by the Commercial Section of the Embassy of Brazil in Pakistan, 2012: 12

Mrs. Raheela Yahya raised a concern about factories set up in Pakistan. Many factories were working in Pakistan in which paper manufacturing factories were fewer in city-wise areas and the government is not giving good incentives to the workers. Due to giving fewer wages to the workers, they became frustrated and did not show productive work. She said Pakistan's population is increasing, and the demand for paper production is also increasing because the population is demanding greater educational facilities, which leads to more markets for paper production. The level of economic activity directly influences the order of paper and paper boards. Thus, we needed to improve our system, and government should pay attention to the betterment of the paper factory.⁹⁶ Thus we needed to improve our system, and government should pay attention to the betterment of the paper factory. Because the factory work holds the major work of the country.⁹⁷

2.3 Inflation and price hike, tax and bad system of economy

During the Musharraf period, inflation and taxes were much higher. The economy was in breakdown period. There was a high fiscal deficit, an unsustainable public debt (domestic, foreign) and a sharp deterioration in the distribution of income, disturbing rise in the level unemployment and poverty as it was highly affected on environment. The Federal Board of Revenue (FBR) has said it has raised a record Rs. 2.407 billion in the first seven months, showing a 17% increase over last year's range of Rs. 2062 billion. Not with standing a US dollar 5 billion drop in imports, this increase was registered. FBR accumulated personal expenses, transaction costs and customs duties at import stage for a long time, totaling Rs. 1005 billion, which has only grown 6 percent and

⁹⁶ National Assembly Debates, session 6th, vol.7, no.3, April 21st, 2003. 55

⁹⁷ Federal Board of Revenue, Revenue Division Government of Pakistan.

<https://www.fbr.gov.pk/tax-revenue-increased-by-17--and-domestic-collection-by-27-/152266>

increased GEL by only 6%. 1066 billion due to the annual assessment of the duty liability and the import phase. On the other hand, the domestic collection has expanded from 1.066 million for a long time to 1.341 million this year, an unusual increase of 27.6 percent. It is evident that FBR did a lot of work for the economic development and it is possible by the FBR without any economic breakdown and coercive measures.⁹⁸

In the 4th session of March 2003 Miss Gul-e-Farkhanda raised an issue on excessive billing of Gas, Electricity and water bills. She said it is becoming a major issue in-country and prices are increasing daily. Most the poor people and laborers cannot afford the excessive bill. Thus, she suggested that the government must make a proper department to check and balance this issue. This all happened because of damaged wires, bad transformers, poor planning and inadequate management of the power sector. We need to start maintenance work in the country. She concluded her discussion by saying that Pakistan is the buyer of power and excessively burdens the government and consumers. It will lead to a crisis in-country.⁹⁹

During the Musharraf time, petroleum products were also very high. When Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani announced the reversal of the government's decision to increase the prices of fuel then, integrated health services (HIS) and Global Insight warned that this was an unsustainable move. This assessment was made because the government was making huge losses due to subsidies. A Pakistan's Oil and Gas Regularity Authority (OGRA) declaration showed that per liter price of petrol was increased to 62.81 rupees from 58.70, while diesel oil jumped to 38.59 rupees.

⁹⁸ National Assembly Debates, session 4th, vol.7, no.4, March 4th, 2003. 56

⁹⁹ Reuters Staff, Pakistan raises petrol prices to cut subsidy bill, March 16, 2008

In the 5th session of 2003, Begum Ishrat Ashraf debated the issue of petroleum products. She said we have no investigation team to inquire about the inflation of petroleum products. She said increase in the price of oil leads to inflation that increases budget deficit that can decrease the exchange rate which makes import more expensive. The rising prices of oil are a major concern for the developing countries and Pakistan is suffering from it too. In the same debate, Dr. Firdous Ashique Awan said that Pakistan is the 7th largest country for the population. The population is increasing day by day in the country and resources are decreasing. Poor people are suffering in this situation. Thus, she said we should increase our GDP that would be the good solution. We need to start fund allocation and decrease the tax system. In the same debate Mrs. Jamila Ahmed discusses the prices of petroleum change day by day. She said when prices of petroleum increases then debt also increases due to this changing of price then it can lead to poverty level day by day. She also said Malakand is the tax-free zone, but new taxes are implemented daily. Even the funds for Malakand development projects transferred to the government. She also discussed the non-availability of Gas in Kalam and people using wood for their daily living.¹⁰⁰

Ms. Kashmala Tariq raised the issue of the oil smuggling. She said many products of oil are being smuggled from the country. Governments should arrest those people who are smuggling oil and hoarding in Pakistan. They smuggle the oil and increase extra prices and sale it. In the same debate Ms. Rozina Tofail said that government should identify the problems of economy, orientation of economy, priorities of the economy and

¹⁰⁰ National Assembly Debates, session 7th, vol.6, no.2, June 11th, 2003. 23

tasks should be accomplished systematically. We needed to invest high quality in the public sector.¹⁰¹

2.4 Agriculture and Industry sector

In the Musharraf period, agriculture credit expenditure has increased. There was a strong demand of farmers to decrease the commodity prices. Laborers demanded supportive policies and favorable wealth. In few years of Musharraf era the expenditure was risen by 22.8 percent and it exceeded the annual target by 5.5 percentage points. The strong growth was achieved despite a significant decline of 15.8 percent in Agri-credit. In the year 2005 due to earthquake and flood the agriculture sector's crisis was increased. Natural disasters have cost billions of dollars in lost agricultural production.¹⁰²

Among the industrial sectors, the construction sector recorded the highest growth rate between 2002 and 2007. It was increased 17.2%. In addition to exceeding the 7.0% target, it also has the second highest growth rate in the sub-sector.

The Significant losses were also recorded in electricity and gas distribution from 2002 to 2007. This could reflect the rising of electricity costs and ongoing losses in distribution and transmission by national electrical utilities. There was great impact on the decline in the profitability of the larger gas distribution companies. It is created the bad effect in the economy of country and could give a great loss to Pakistan. Consequently, it is noticed that when pricing of electricity increased day by day then it

¹⁰¹ National Assembly Debates, session 7th, vol.6, no.4, June 12th, 2003. 62

¹⁰² Abdul Wajid Rana, "Implication for Agriculture and Rural Development" *Devolution Plan in Pakistan*, vol.1, no.1 (September, 2007): 23

created bad impact on Pakistan. It is estimated negative impact 15.2 percent in year 2007 on top of a fall of 23.8 percent in the preceding year.¹⁰³

Ms. Bushra Rehman discussed about the problem of agriculture. She said Pakistan is mostly depended on agriculture sector because Pakistan is agricultural country and it plays a central role in economy. It is also important source of foreign exchange earnings and stimulates growth in another sector. She highlighted that we have no irrigation plans. Dams were made but the cost and budget of dams were less. We have no proper system of water supply in dams. In addition to the discussion, she said for the poor people we needed to decrease the tax from the machinery. We should make the laborers independent and fulfill the demand of laborers. If the laborers are satisfied, they can make many developments in country.¹⁰⁴

Mrs. Rozina Tofail explained about the use of technology in agriculture sector. She said we should start training for the laborers in which the laborers would be guided by the experts about the usage of technology and work in better ways. By using different technologies, they can spend less time and increase the productivity. With the less time we can do better work and make many developments in country.¹⁰⁵ Mrs. Mehnaz Rafi raised the issue of home-based women workers. She said we should support the women who worked from the home even some women are disabled but they do work and participate in the economy of the country. 2 billion rural women do traditional cultural work in home and do hard work for their wellbeing. Thus, government should take the responsibility of them. Government should give them a task for the export like India, Sirilanka,

¹⁰³ Abdullah, "Economic Growth Saving and Investment", *State Bank of Pakistan Annual Report 2002-2007*, no.1 (March, 2008): 23

¹⁰⁴ National Assembly Debates, session 7th, vol.6, no.5, June 13th, 2003. 123

¹⁰⁵ National Assembly Debates, session 10th, vol.37, no.13, September 16th, 2003. 400

Bangladesh, and Nepal. These are countries who have introduced their women population in other countries for the development of their country. Therefore, it was suggested to adopt that policy. We should start different exhibition in country and show their work in other countries. Through this way we can do different business and promote the economy of our country. She also said that cultural exchange program gave many benefits to our economy.¹⁰⁶

Mrs Mehnaz Rafi said that our pesticides and insecticides prices are increasing day by day. If we control these prices hike then industry will not suffer. We should crop our land on time as laborers are not paying attention in this matter. Agricultural industry needs to be upgraded with technology. With this issue Begum Shehnaz Rafi also discussed on the matter of agriculture. She said our cotton export was good but now cotton is also affected by insects.

She further said we needed to make recommendations on it and prepare a medicine for the crops. We need a high-quality tractor for our crops. She also shared her point of view that percentage rates of electricity bills going to be decreased after the start of power plan from Ghazi Barotha Project so we needed to make more dams for the control of prices in electricity bills.¹⁰⁷

Dr. Farida Ahmed talked about the sick industries in Sindh. In Larkana there is an industry that fell sick because of bad management, short fall of working capital, marketing issues. Many departments prepared different plans to revive sick units in small industries. Some units were closed due to high cost of production and non-availability of high technology. Government has the responsibility to find out the root cause of sickness

in small industries and solutions. They need financial assistance to revive their production by getting modern technology.

In the same debate Ms. Bushra Rehman showed her concern on the issue of country's resources and said like many countries, Pakistan is blessed with a lot resources like mineral, energy, and forests. It is our responsibility to utilize them properly. People of Pakistan cut the trees to fulfill their needs but they do not grow more trees. Thus, we need to start the planting system in country. Each and every person has the responsibility to plant a tree in their areas. Through this way we can make our country more beautiful and can also fulfill the needs in an intelligent way. She further said Pakistan is the country having less technology. Thus, we need our system upgraded and launch more technologies in our country. So that we can better compete with other countries because other countries are much advance thus, we need to make Pakistan as advance country.

She further gave a suggestion that Government has the responsibility to find out the root cause of sickness in small industries and solutions. They need financial assistance to revive their production by getting modern technology. She said that Pakistan faced a lot of problems since many years. Like, Pakistan suffered from the corrupt system in which many people looted their own country. Many shop keepers save the material in their shops and after sometime they sale the material with high prices. Through this way resources became less in the country and local people become frustrated. She said that people have no jobs and they fight with each other and because of Pakistan corrupt and

¹⁰⁶ National Assembly Debates, session 10th, vol. 37, no.14, September 19th, 2003. 59

¹⁰⁷ National Assembly Debates, session 10th, vol. 37, no.22, October 10th, 2003. 35

very badly system people are becoming poorer. Poor became poorer and rich became richer. Without thinking People looted each other for their personal benefits. Thus, she said government should make policies for the reduction of unemployment. We need to strengthen our economy by eliminating internal conflicts.¹⁰⁸

Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar talked about matter of Bait-ul-Mall. She said we need to start a factory for the poor people from bait-ul-mall. There is no act related to the elimination problem of poor people. We had food support program, financial support program but we had no factory related to this issue. We need to start a work on it and to build a team who should put check and balance on it and made inquiries.¹⁰⁹

Dr. Firdous Ashique Awan talked about the pharmaceutical industry. She discussed that our neighboring country make medicine but when these medicines came in Pakistan, their price increase to 10 percent. For the hepatitis B we had no vaccine. We made concession for our industry but we had no policies to stop these concessions. She concluded the annual report of export of various commodities like surgical sports, cutlery, cotton and leather garments and readymade garments for America/western Europe and east countries. The increase occurred in export during the year 2002 as compared to last year. She said government should decrease in export of poultry and increase the export of country. Government should take major steps for increase of export of our country. In the same debate Mrs. Bushra discussed the same export issue. She said they have always insisted on Pakistan's status the gateway of central Asia but the issue of gas pipeline is still not resolved. We hadlink with the Azarbaijan, Bako and Ashkabd on the matter of

¹⁰⁸ National Assembly Debates, session 13th, vol. 23, no.2, March 11th, 2004. 96

¹⁰⁹ National Assembly Debates, session 13th, vol. 23, no.5, March 17th, 2004. 62

defense packet. Flights were working for export but now there is no direct flight and export is decreased and the country lost 10 million exports. She further argued that we faced 9/11 issue also and situation of our country became more worsened. America created many hurdles for Pakistan and took advantage through different channels. Our policies are changed. We are tolerating our nuclear programs. Our system is controlled by external forces and we are still looking at America. Government should be concerned on these issues because these circumstances are destabilizing our country and destroying our economic system internally and externally.¹¹⁰ Dr. Azra Fazal Pechuho talked about the wheat crisis in country. She said we landed in a mess; the mess was created by us because we prior to failed the stock of wheat. The country of Pakistan only harvest wheat in April and May in Sindh and Punjab that's why we failed to keep stocks. She said that she failed to understand why external forces dictate our policies and why should we follow IMF and decide not to keep wheat when we know that it is a staple food and the people of this country depend upon it only for their living and staple food has an inelastic demand. You cannot raise prices and expect people to be able to cope with it when they had fixed income and prices of wheat was not seen prior to harvesting and there is a shortage of three months prior to harvesting and it was not thought by the government and they did not take any steps to stabilize the price of wheat in the market and as the result poor people had to stop buying wheat because they could not purchase it as the price of Rs.18 and 20 per kilo which was the market price at the time. The government of Pakistan let the market dictate the price of wheat which was totally wrong of them and which was anti poor and this policy has to be reviewed and noticed and they should have to take stock of wheat prior to the harvest next year. The other thing is the inputs

¹¹⁰ National Assembly Debates, session 13th, vol. 23, no.6, March 19th, 2004. 421

that are put into the wheat harvest that is Di-ammonium phosphate which is Rs. 106 per ton in Pakistan whereas in India it costs Rs. 65 and the fact is that it is subsidized by the government that is why the cost of wheat of DAP is low in India and therefore, they have bumper crops and per acre yield is also increased because of that reason. She concluded her discussion and said I fail to understand why government does not take any steps to low the prices of input into the wheat harvest that is the seed, the fertilizer, the pesticides all the things should be reduced in prices, so that the farmers are able to harvest the better crop and increase the yield per acre as well and because we are talking about increasing our harvest as well as making us self-sufficient in wheat if we have farmer friendly inputs and farmer friendly policies.¹¹¹ Masmat Robina Shaheen Watto discussed on the custom duty of agricultural machinery. She said we should decrease the prices of taxes on agricultural machinery because if we decrease the prices on taxes then automatically interest can be decreased and economy will develop. Our industry fell in debt. For the reduction of debt we need to make new policies. If we see in India they did a lot of work for the reduction of interest and for the agricultural benefits they gave free electricity. But in our country monthly cost is too much high. Sometimes wapda steal electricity and put burden on poor people and put high taxes on electricity. Similarly, tube well rates should be fixed and wheat production need to increase. Free marketing system is required and our import of wheat is about 200 dollar fee ton so we should think to revise it. We need to decrease the taxes on pesticides, agricultural machinery, tool and tractors. Rubina argued all the parliamentarians who were sitting in the house to do some development work in their areas and provide funds. In the time of Benazir and Nawaz Sharif GDP growth rate was same as it was in Musharraf time that was 6.5 percent. In the period of Benazir

¹¹¹ National Assembly Debates, session 13th, vol.23, no.17, April 6th, 2004. 50

investment was 18.5 percent. Economic sanctions were made but still situation was worst. Because of low resources many people were living below the level of poverty. In the same debate Ms. Hina Rabbani Kher minister of economic affairs discussed the GDP growth in country. She said Pakistan has performed better than most other Asian countries at 6.4 percent real GDP Growth. We are only behind China, India and Thailand and surpassing growth rate showed by Hong Kong, Singapore, Korea, Indonesia and Malaysia. Pakistan is on its way to start second generation reforms. At this stage we are in a position to target 8 percent growth by financial year 2006-2007 and God willing may be able to achieve it before that. But of course, through the speeches we have been listening, it seems that the large-scale manufacturing growth is 17.1 percent, fixed investment growth of 25 percent, private sector investment growth of 18 percent and all other achievements are focused and consistent. Our Pakistan euro bond in the international capital market was four times the total expenditure incurred by the presidency of 2.12 billion. She said Suppose you look into the bifurcation of these details. In that case, the personal expenditure is far less than public expenditure. She also mentioned we had been criticized about Pakistan's involvement with the PRGF program of the IMF which is Poverty Reduction Growth Facility. We were told that we had held the sovereignty of the country hostage by entering this program. But today when the finance minister announced that we are on a way to being first country in the world which is not only to get out of PRGF program successfully but it is not going to get in to any new arrangements with the IMF. She said government has amassed a debt of 6.7 billion dollars in the last 7 years. Suppose this is the analytical ability that we are exhibiting and we are to look at the available resources. In that case, we must look at the

relationship to the GDP of the country. Ms. Hina Rabbani Kher also explained the urban-rural poverty. As she said the latest estimate of urban and rural poverty in Pakistan show that in the rural areas where invariable agriculture is the primary source of income, the percentage of poor is 28.35 percent of the total people over there, are living below the poverty line. While in the urban areas, this percent is 13.60. Thus, that means that the total percentage of people living below the poverty line in the rural lines area is more than double of these living in the urban areas. So, one thing is clear that is about agriculture, as it is very commonly called, it is not only the backbone of the economy by supporting two of the main industries in the manufacturing sector and providing important cash crops to the country. But it is also the answer of main goal that is poverty alleviation. At the end of discussion, she said we are ranked 4th in this world. In terms of production and acreage however, we ranked thirteen globally. For the wheat and sugar we needed to close down this yield gap and through the dissemination of information, the yield gap exists between the Pakistani farmers and farmers of the world.¹¹² In the same discussion Mrs. Shamshad Bachani and Mrs. Jamila Ahmed talked about the shortage of water in Sindh. Due to the shortage of water land became arid and fishes die. Fisher became frustrated. In these areas electronic systems are so bad. Because of short circuit many houses were demolished. She said it's the government's duty to do work in these areas and develop them.¹¹³ Mrs. Yasmeen Rehman and Mrs. Kashmala Tariq discussed the export deficit. They said our export promotion bureau participates in different exhibitions, but these exhibitions delay shipment time. These exhibitions played important role in decreasing of trade deficit so delaying of things is not a good thing for the

¹¹² National Assembly Debates, session 14th, vol. 18, no.7, June 16th, 2004. 175

¹¹³ National Assembly Debates, session 14th, vol. 18, no.13, December 22nd, 2004. 55

manufacturers because manufacturers have to make their thing on time. Ms. Shezadi Umerzadi talked about the Wapda officer's performance. She said wapda officer policy is 2 years. The officer's performance is measured after 2 years. Many consumers complain about these officers. So for the officers, a monitoring team should be made who should keep check and balance on officers performance. Ms. Sherry Reman said that golden Aviation is one of those agencies that awarded agreement for PIA without limiting the qualification of cooperation to only one country, namely France, it has been contracts for 8 countries. High officials recently said that the typical flat rate for such a deal is 5%. This particular company which is a 1 person rule, run by Pervez Sajjad who has a clear relationship with PIA Administrators has received 7.5 plus two 10% commission sizes in 8 countries. It is remarkable in the history of air carriage contracts anywhere in the world that agency has obtained GSA (Global Services Agreement) and CSA (Commercial Suppliers Agreement) high CSA contracts up to compliance with GSA tariffs. Sherry Rehman said we are facing a PIA money problem; unidentified bills total 19.6 million. The company does not offer any legal certification and has been awarded in 8 different countries including UK, Belgium, France, Netherlands and many countries.¹¹⁴Dr. Azra Fazal Pechuho talked about the growth rate and said growth rate is 8 percent but does this growth rate really reflect the people of Pakistan. The result of economic policies of this government is marked in the rich and divide which we see remarkable fact that people have committed suicide and not only personal suicide but they started killing their own children and it is matter of great shame to us as a country that our people deprived of basic living standards. A poor is still poor and failed to reach any substantial standard of

¹¹⁴ National Assembly Debates, session 24th, vol.9, no.12, March 24th, 2004. 201

Living. The sector which we saw growth in all were consumer-oriented sectors. Last year, the light commercial vehicle which are being assembled in Pakistan were not meant for export. They were just totally for our consumer market. The refrigerators and Air conditioners that were being sold in the market were also for consumer, for domestic consumers. Our domestic market is very limited. The supply of interest low loans that have been sustaining this consumer market will continue for a live short while in the increasing interest rate, most of these consumer items will not be in the reach of people who have limited budget and now were facing double digital inflation rate. Thus, there is no actual growth. The growth in consumer market is going down to 1.3 percent fiscal deficit and a trade deficit of 4.1 percent also indicated that our growth is not sustainable. The foundation is so shaky that the next year will be the very difficult and tiring year for Pakistan. The government is borrowing heavily and its monetary policies to increase at large scale. Cotton which is supposed to be the back bone of textile industry in still being heavily tax with GST pesticides, an agricultural inputs fertilizer and seed taxed at 15 percent. The cotton seed oil which is used by our poor is also being taxed. The government has budgeted 272 billion and defense is 273 billion though it does not take an account the pension of printed forces. She also said that there is an ample in the imports of edible oil because of our own farmers are discouraged from growing edible oil and seed. They do not grow sunflower seed because it results in poor crops of sunflower and we did not see any oil from the local market, but all our oil had to be imported. Oil palm is another product used in oil manufacture in the local market, it has not been encouraged, and no research has been done. Many People did a lot of research on palm oil and a lot of encouragement was given in this sector. Canola oil is also neglected. Research is required to grow special seeds and special high yielding seeds

for our farmers and research center in Pakistan should be active.¹¹⁵Dr. Firdous Ashique Awan talked about increased prices in CNG and CNG kits. She said CNG and oil prices were interrelated. In the international scenario, after the increase of oil price, gas prices also increase and it create a direct impact on CNG. Cylinders were not locally manufactured, instead were imported and government put incentives on the import of cylinder but there is an issue of supply and demand and government trying to manufacture and fulfill the demand of country. Pakistan imported cylinders from Arjintain and Italy and when we import prices, changes will further impact on steel prices. Thus, government need to change the policy and check the quality of imported cylinders in which private investors and local investors should be encouraged and load should be shared. OGRA is a deregulatory authority. Their policies related to gas and oil managed by the related authority and their price in oil and gas fluctuated itself that monitor the committee and other institutions also made to do check and balance for this. In the automobile company 8lakh cylinders available in the industry which have been used for CNG. More than 8,000CNG cylinders have license, 1000 are in process. CNG cylinders are locally manufactured, but their import is not allowed. Locally these cylinders are not manufactured they are in reservation and just allowed in experimental level. In some areas, people used cylinders illegally and they use cylinders in automobiles. This act needed to control its illegal usage. In district level these cylinders are also misused by making fake cylinder which causes many deaths. For the safety of people, cylinders need to check properly and do not sale cylinders on low prices.¹¹⁶ Mrs. Yasmeen Rehman said

¹¹⁵ National Assembly Debates, session 26th, vol.11, no.8, June 14th, 2005, 87.

¹¹⁶ National Assembly Debates, session 29th, vol. 4, no.1, November 8th, 2005, 310.

our trade deficit is increasing day by day which caused increase in inflation. We are sending our currency to another country. If we will continue to send our currency then our country will have less currency and people are taking loans 12 to 13 percent which will be costly and dangerous for our production. We need to put a tax on direct stock exchange and give the relief to consumer to our country. We should look on our supply and demand and need a good governance and should caught the person and give them punishment who hoarding the product of wheat, flour which causes inflation in country.¹¹⁷ Dr. Firdous Ashiq Awan discussed the health policies in the country that health policies are only beneficial for our bureaucrats and poor people are not getting benefits from it. Therefore, she gave a recommendation that every province should establish the health policy centers in which poor people get treatment free of cost.¹¹⁸

Mrs. Raheela Yahya raised an issue on the environment cleaning and pollution in Rawal Dam. We are facing sewerage water problem. From the last few years, the lake has been polluted by the multitude of sources including nearby human settlements, poultry water, sports activities, rural activities, deforestation adjacent to the damaged land. She said some basic arrangement needed to start for the disposal of poultry waste. We needed to clean our environment not for us only but for the attraction of tourism as well. If the clean and green Pakistan attracts the tourism then we can get the valuable foreign exchange to strengthen the country's economy.¹¹⁹

Ms. Raheela said increasing burden, indirect taxes on the people and the indirect taxes and GSTs which are also inflicted on the inputs of agricultural goods like fuel, pesticide

¹¹⁷ National Assembly Debates, session 34th, vol. 8, no.7, April 18th, 2005. 68

¹¹⁸ National Assembly Debates, session 7th, vol. 6, no.2, June 12th, 2003. 78

¹¹⁹ National Assembly Debates, session 4th, vol. 7, no.4, March 5th, 2003. 15

and on fertilizers has further reduced agricultural productivity, it has also resulted in a poor agricultural output and 60 percent of our population is suffering because of that. The interest rate which was lowered to encourage investment hasn't resulted in encouragement of investment; there is no investment to speak of in this country. And this is because people have no faith in the institutions and do not have any faith in this present Government. The Government has to increase investors' confidence; it should encourage the pace in economy. In fact, this Parliament should reflect the voice of the people and that is the only way the people outside this country and within the country will gain confidence and invest in this country. So, the economy that we are claiming is far from here, in fact it lies in a very distant future.

2.5 Health policies and environment sector

According to the president Musharraf, poverty and extremism can become worse when people are denied access to health care. The president said that the administration had tried to improve medical facilities at the primary and secondary levels instead of the previous governments' incorrect reliance on the tertiary level alone when they realized that the health facilities should be improved. Because the majority of people live in rural regions, we look at the pre-1999 scenario and are determined that we need to prioritize the construction of primary and secondary medical facilities.

There were 5,000 basic health centers throughout the nation in the previous five years, and each district had 1,000 personnel, and the government had invested Rs.35 billion. For Punjab's Rural Health Support Program, President said the province's model will be matched in other provinces because of its success. It was also said that a well-paid doctor would be able to care for three basic health units, and that the government is

planning to set up health clusters around the nation.

In addition to ensuring better healthcare, President Musharraf claimed that the decentralized system and privatization of medical supplies had saved the districts enormous amounts of money. The government intends to provide clean drinking water to the whole country by next year, he added, in order to avoid the development of water-borne illnesses and to reduce healthcare costs. In order to reach the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals established for 2015, we want to offer one filtration unit for every thousand people in the nation by the end of the year.

Another prominent issue which was discussed in the parliament house was pollution. Ms. Kashmala Tariq said environmental protection was very important for mental health. She also said that pollution caused many incidents in the country like agriculture burning crops. Most farmers burn their crops, and they do not clean the waste from the land which creates health problems. Therefore, we need to recycle the products that would clean the environment also. For the development of the country, we needed to refresh our minds and clean the environment.¹²⁰ Ms. Zeb Gohar and Ms. Gul-e-Farkhanda also gave a viewpoint that in the Karachi, we have seen so much waste in colonies and streets. Condition became worst day by day. Water became polluted because of the extra waste on the land and because of polluted water, people face many serious health diseases. So, for pollution control, we need to make policies and take the necessary steps to clean the environment. Ms. Khursheed suggested in debate we need to make a bridge at different areas and to resolve the construction problems that would also help to reduce the noise pollution from the country.¹²¹

¹²⁰ National Assembly Debates, session 10th, vol.37, no.6, September 2nd, 2003. 313

¹²¹ National Assembly Debates, session 10th, vol. 37, no.29, October 27th, 2003. 201

In 2004, Ms. Gul-e-Farkhanda again debated in the session and she said we need to plant more trees in the country like in Islamabad city; it's the capital of Pakistan so we needed to make it clean and beautiful. She said many people come here from different areas and they face many problems. She mentioned much work had been done in Islamabad like in road marking was made in connection with the preparation of SAARC (South Asian Association Regional conference). She said not only humans were affected from the pollution but animals were also affected and hundreds and thousands of poultry chickens had died throughout the country due to bird flu disease. Thus, the government should take the necessary steps to clean the environment. In 2005, Ms. Mehreen Anwar Raja said that much work had been done in Murree and Kotli satyaan but their environment was bad. People waste their garbage anywhere they want which affects the beauty of Murree. Through the polluted area, air reached a high level of pollution, which then affects people's health. She also said that for the cleaning of water we need to make more dams in the country that would create electricity and clean the water properly.¹²² In 2006 and 2007 many parliamentarians discussed about the environment. Still, they did not give any recommendations on it and just made debates on cleaning the environment and that government should take the measure. Still, on the other side they did not mention their own areas they did not pay attention on what steps should be taken for cleaning the environment.

In this debate Mrs. Raheela Yahya explained that diseases are increasing daily in flood areas. She highlighted Sindh, Thatta, Tharparkar. There is no development work

¹²² National Assembly Debates, session 26th, vol. 11, no.20, September 16th, 2005. 344

in these areas because of floods, many people suffered from the cholera, malaria kind of diseases. She also said when we talked about the health facilities like medicine price are on hike. Shop keepers' sell their medicines according to their demands. Due to the medicine price hike, poor people could not buy the medicine. Thus, government should take action against the people who sell medicine according to their wants. Prices of medicine should be the same in all provinces so everyone can buy.¹²³

Conclusion

In National assembly, women parliamentarians did a lot of work for the development of economy, health and environment. They raised economic issues like international matters, Pakistan's border situation and foreign policy. As they paid much attention on the country's economy women parliamentarians debated and presented bills accordingly. Much of their focus was on the issue of agriculture, as their view that Pakistan is an agricultural country. So, Pakistan should be focused on the agricultural issues for the better economy of the country. At the second stage, women parliamentarians focused was on health and environmental sector. For that they made many discussions for the environment and health which was related their areas respectively.

¹²³ National Assembly Debates, session 9th, vol.1, no.12, September 12th, 2003. 231

Chapter 4

Women Parliamentarian's contributions on the Political issues of Pakistan

Political debate and discussion are a formal discussion in which people add their view points in front of each other. Basically, it is a process of give and take, an exchange of views on some topics. In parliamentary discussion, people have some negative and some positive view points on any topic. However, in the assembly, many parliamentarians participate in a formal debate to engage in argument or discussion. It is that type of discussion which is conducted in accordance with the rules of the assembly. In the assembly, parliamentarians put questions, starred questions, un-starred questions, supplementary questions, motions, privilege motions, adjournment motions, points of order, resolutions, quorums, etc. In addition to issues directly related to women, minorities and the government, women parliamentarians raised a number of other issues including political issues like foreign policy, LFO, governance, democracy, law and order, military, etc.

This chapter is about the political discussions that were held in parliament by many women parliamentarians in which they talked about women's participation in elections, votes, and government policies etc. Most of the political discussions cover President Musharraf's democracy and the accountability of politicians. It further discusses the issue of LFO and the power of Pakistan's President Musharraf (2002–2008). This chapter also

elaborate the discussions on women's processions and proceedings, in which they faced problems in public and were harassed by the police.

1. Women's parliamentarians' discussion of women's right to vote

In the 12th parliamentary year, parliamentarians had contradictory ideas about the policies of President Musharraf. Some parliamentarians supported and some opposed his policies, especially on the topic of L.F.O. Musharraf issued the Legal Framework Order (LFO) on August 24, 2002 and declared general election for the National and Provincial Assemblies to be held in October 2002. Chief Executive (CE) to the recently elected Prime Minister following the decisions. Under the LFO, many clauses of the constitution were amended through an Executive Act (EA). It did not require the assent of parliament and was enforced immediately. The LFO is basically a series of changes carried out by Musharraf under the powers conferred on him by the Supreme Court. The LFO covered a wide range of topics, including party elections, president powers, redistribution of seats in the federal legislature, election holding, inclusion of marginalized groups into mainstream politics and party membership in general elections in 2002, the National Assembly (NA) was made, with Musharraf's PML(Q) as the ruling party and other political parties such as the MMA, PPP, PML(N), and others in opposition. Elections were held for the Senate in 2003. The LFO of Musharraf faced a tough hurdle in the newly formed NA by the main opposition party MMA (Mutahida Majlis-e-Amal), which was the conglomerate of JUI (F) and JI (Jammat-e-Islami). The LFO proposed to legalize all the steps taken by Musharraf since October 12, 1999 without the approval of parliament, but the opposition

parties, i.e., PPP, PML(N), and MMA, were trying hard to restore the 1973 constitution and so they resisted the LFO as unconstitutional. The Musharraf regime was making every effort to convince opposition parties to pass the 17th amendment to the constitution. The pro-Musharraf, the ruling party PML(Q) wanted the LFO (called the 17th constitutional amendment) to be passed at any cost. As it had no sweeping majority in the national assembly, it was in need of other opposition parties to assist it in passing the bill.¹²⁴

The government wanted to discuss on LFO with two standard groups, PPP and PML(N), but failed to take them to negotiations. The government motivated MMA and found them to negotiate. The two sides agreed to determine various issues that included the president's uniform, his extra ordinary powers over the National Assembly, the development of the National Security Council (NSC), the legitimacy of the 2002 presidential referendum, and extending the retirement age of the appointed judges. MMA assured its support on the condition that, among other things, Musharraf must resign from his army position because he cannot hold both the offices of Chief of Army Staff (COAS) and President at the same time under the constitution; and secondly, that the National Security Council be declared as an ordinary legislative step and not embodied in the constitution, though Musharraf made his pledge for the time being, but when the LFO was passed in the National Assembly and Senate, Musharraf's pledge was broken. The main points of the LFO were that every political party should hold, as per law, intra-party elections for its leader and other office-bearers, having received the mandate of the people. General Musharraf is entitled to hold the office of President for the next five

¹²⁴ Aziz Kamran khan, *The 17th Constitutional Amendment and its Aftermath: The Role of Mutahidda Majlis-Amal*, Pakistan Vision, vol. 9, no 2. 102.

years and Article 44 of the Constitution shall be applied accordingly. There will be 342 seats in the National Assembly, including seats reserved for women and non-Muslims. All the seats in the National Assembly were allocated to each province except the FATA (Federally Administrated Tribal Area) and the federal capital territory.¹²⁵ the table with regard to the figures is mentioned below:

National Assembly Seats

Provinces	General seats	Seats reserved for non-Muslim	Seats reserved for Muslim	Total
Federal Capital	2			2
Punjab	148		35	183
Sindh	61		14	75
NWFP	35	10	8	43
FATA	12		-	12
BALUCHISTAN	14		3	17
TOTAL	272	10	60	342

Provincial Assembly Seats

Provinces Area	General Seats	Seats Reserved for non-Muslim	Seats Reserved for Women	Total
Punjab	297	8	66	371
Sindh	130	9	29	168
NWFP	99	3	22	124
BALUCHISTAN	51	3	11	65
TOTAL	577	23	128	728

In the National Assembly 272 general seats were taken over by the women while 60 women got the reserved seats. women got 272 General seats 272 while 60 seats on reserved seats. In the provincial assembly Women got 577 on General seats and 128 on reserved seats.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Asghar Ullah Khan, Hania Fatima, "The Role of General Musharraf in Pakistan Political Structure: A Critical Review" *Journal Development of social sciences*, no.2, vol.1 (June, 2020): 30

¹²⁶ Gazette of Pakistan, "legal framework order", the schedule article 3 (August, 2002): 14

At the start of the first session on November 19, 2002, Mrs. Naheed Khan (PPPP) criticized Musharraf for the political leadership of the country. She said when the assembly was already being made, then why Musharraf was making amendments in the assembly? What is importance of an assembly that is changed day by day on the orders of Musharraf? In the same debate, Mrs. Naheed said the vote is the primary right of women and the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan provides equal rights to women. We do not consider Musharraf as sadder because he is enacting different kinds of policies on us according to his desires. In addition to that, Miss Tehmina Dultana (PMLQ) also criticized the process of the election and talked about democracy. She said a great sermon has been given that is the sermon on democracy. But when the assembly came into existence, the assembly had been rigging during elections. She said we wanted democracy but we wanted real democracy and that would be enough for us. Everything depends on the casting of votes, not the ballot paper that has been put in the box. She also said we do not believe in the General who has come and said he is the President today. There is no president. There must be a schedule from the assembly about the President's election. Ms. Bushra Rehman told Musharraf that he gave importance to women and gave them seats in the senate and assembly. She concluded the discussion by saying that women had the right to speak in parliament because, through the participation of women, we could fulfil the needs of democracy. Another woman, Mrs. Mehnaz Rafi (PMLQ), gave a suggestion and said that women's contributions are important in the election, so it is necessary to take some suggestions from women in elections. She also said that Musharraf gave many rights to women. It is a good step for women that they are participating in elections.¹²⁷In the next debate, Mrs. Mehnaz Rafi again gave her view point. She said women have the right to speak in the house as they

were also members of the committee. This freedom of speech provided the opportunity for women to share their feelings and emotions in assembly. She supported Musharraf and LFO. She did not make any negative arguments about Musharraf's policies or elections.¹²⁸

Dr. Firdous Ashique Awan (PMLQ) also supported Musharraf and said women got a lot of benefits through L.F.O because women get elected to many seats. Musharraf gave representation to women in the assembly. If anyone is against Musharraf and L.F.O, then she should resign from the assembly. She also said that we need to understand the importance of parliament and the participation of members in the assembly is also important. That should be positive, otherwise our parliament will collapse like it happened in Iraq She said we need to support our government. We should emphasize parliament for our betterment and should not criticize the government.¹²⁹

Begum Mehnaz Rafi argued that like many violations of the rights of women, women were also discriminated against in the casting of votes. In the NWFP, there were 30 union councils in which women were not allowed to cast a vote. This is a major violation of the legislation and constitution, and it is also a violation of rights. Because of the strict traditional system in NWFP, women were not allowed to cast a vote. Women make up half of the population of Pakistan and have played a great role in the making of Pakistan. In Bagram town, there was a press conference held in which many politicians came and decided that the casting of votes by women was not the right of women. Like much corruption, election fraud had also become a part of corruption. Now it's the responsibility of different MNAs to organize processions against it. Begum Mehnaz gave

¹²⁷ National Assembly Debate, session 1st, vol. 2, no. 1, November 19th, 2002. 66

¹²⁸ National Assembly Debate, session 4th, vol. 7, no. 4, March 4th, 2003. 65

the example of historical incident happened on the date of July 27, 1880, when war was held in "Mewand" between Afghans and British, there were many imperial forces in front of the Afghans. There was a woman called "Malalai" who raised a flag of her veil in front of her army and defeated the imperial forces of the British. If someone stops us from casting a vote, then we will stand against it. If people force us to not cast a vote, then we better be prepared to deal with the violation of the rights of women. MNAs have the responsibility to fight against it and should protect women in society. Women should not be discriminated. In Charsada, women were not allowed to come to the polling station. There were almost 2 thousand, 3 hundred women who were to come and cast a vote. Only 100 women casted their votes, and then the polling station was closed. There was a woman, Zobaida Begum. Her daughter was also there to cast a vote and was killed by someone. Some other women were also threatened with just being told to not participate in political activities. She said rigging of elections should be banned and people caught who killed women should be punished. The right to cast a vote should be given to people. Discrimination should be stopped in society¹³⁰

2. Women parliamentarian's contribution regarding power of the Pakistan's President under LFO

After the imposition of Martial law Musharraf caused as much changes to the constitution as were necessary to make him powerful. He changed the basic clauses of constitution, which was amended up to 1999. He drastically reduced the powers of PM by introducing the Legal Framework Order (LFO) under which he altered, changed and amended nearly 29 articles of the constitution. The LFO also legalized the steps Musharraf has taken since

¹²⁹ National Assembly Debate, session 6th, vol. 7, no. 4, April 22nd, 2003. 54

1999. Keeping in view the opposition in the way of LFO, Musharraf showed a little normalcy in his stance and with drew some matters from LFO such as the establishment of National Security Council through a constitutional amendment, taking off the uniform by Dec, 2004 and referring the matter of dissolution to Supreme Court after the dissolution of assembly has taken place. The LFO to be passed in parliament required parliamentary majority so for this purpose Musharraf labeled it 17th amendment and in this proposed amendment only nine articles were amended instead of 29 which were changed via LFO. The 17th amendment did not affect all the changes made by LFO, however, after a deal with MMA it was adopted by both the houses of parliament and subsequently ratified by President thus becoming part of the constitution. Musharraf changed the very nature of the parliamentary constitution and made it a semi-presidential one by restoring the Article 58(2)(b). He also reduced the powers of Prime Minister in the appointment of Services Chiefs Musharraf established National Security Council which was to be headed by President as Chairman and other members included PM and ministers.¹³¹The LFO had introduced amendments to 29 articles of the 1973 constitution, of which only nine were amended by the 17th amendment, while the remaining twenty were left unaffected. The so-called 17th constitutional revision was passed by the National Assembly on December 29th, 2003 and the Senate embraced it on December 30th, 2003 with some changes in LFO and hence was ratified by President Musharraf on December 31st, 2003. The opposition, led mainly by MMA, boycotted the process of this amendment each time it was introduced in both houses. Following the adoption of this amendment, Musharraf got himself legalized as president by a vote of confidence held on January 1,

¹³⁰ National Assembly Debate, session 27th, vol.12, no.2, August 30th, 2005. 124.

2004 by both the houses of the legislature and four provincial legislatures. He received 53% of the Electoral College votes. Opposition protests were also at their peak. When Musharraf was addressing the joint session of Parliament on January 17, 2004, the whole building echoed with the slogans of opposition members.¹³²The 13th Amendment's effects were reversed by the 17th Amendment, which made a lot of changes to the constitution. It added a provision for the vote of confidence in the President to be taken from the central legislature and the provincial legislatures. The seventeenth amendment also sorted out a safe way of validating all the steps taken by the 2002 elections, local government ordinance, referendum, and most importantly, the Legal Framework Order (LFO). According to Article 58(2), the president might break up the public gathering, and the matter should be alluded to the Supreme Court in the span of fifteen days of the disintegration; the Supreme Court must rule within thirty days, and its decision is final. When Article 243 of the Constitution was changed, the Prime Minister got the right to choose the heads of the services. The amendment replaced the words in his discretion 'with' in consultation with the PM', thus reducing the power of the PM (Prime Minister) in the appointment of services chiefs. Article 152 (A) was omitted, which was concerning the establishment of a National Security Council. But the new Security Council was to be formed along with the 17th amendment Bill with a simple majority. Similarly, the amendment changed other articles, i.e., Article 63(1)(d), which allowed Musharraf to stand for the presidential election despite the portfolio of COAS he holds.¹³³ The seventeenth amendment changed the very nature of the constitution and changed the

¹³¹ Zahoor Ahmad and Manzoor Afridi khan, Controlled Democracy and Political Opposition in Pakistan: A Case Study of Musharraf Era, *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, (2013), 566.

¹³² Ashar Ullah khan and Malik Zain Ul Abideen, The Role of Gen. Musharraf in Pakistan's Political Structure, *Journal of Development and Social Sciences*, (2020), 28.

governmental setup from parliamentary to presidential, which enabled the president of total power. In the 11th session on December 26, 2003, Mrs. Tehmina criticized Dultana for telling the truth. Different amendments of the 1973 Constitution are being made by Musharraf. This is not the 1973 constitution; it is the 2004 constitution of Pervez Musharraf. It is cleared that this is the new constitution and not the 1973 one and that this palace is run. According to the new system. We have to make a decision; the decision is easy. Do you want parliamentary rule or a state of war and dictatorship? Because of this determinant, you have to make a decision. Once the decision is made, you cannot go back to that moment. These corrections are made until two-third of the majority are gone. These constitutional amendments will never be change. He said, "Why do you think it's the law to come and empower people?" Do you have a National Security Council and what is your position after the National Security Council on which the President sits? What about the rest of you? The chief of the three armies is seated. Who appointed the three army commanders and the Joint Chiefs of Staff? It is the President, he appoints and directs everything and controlled people who works in the judiciary, supreme court and high court. It is the president have the authority to ask anyone. With one stroke of the pen and all we go home, 58 (2) 8, he returns to send us home. She further argued that if you give this person all your power and he is that person. He was the one who took our democratic government and will sent you home. He slapped us in the face. All of us must say that he is corrupt and he should go home, she said now this new system is coming and she is sitting there, "we are giving strength to that man, and what will that man do?" More than 1,500 People have been condemned. For a highly civilized position across the

¹³³ *Ibid.* 32

country. All military officers are of the highest level. You can't even ask if you want to what does this man do? You talked about a nuclear scientist, Abdul Qadir Khan, who gave you a nuclear bomb. But now he is being questioned. His daughter also said: "The troops don't know." What will happen in Libya, you appoint the President as a scientist and we ask questions to our scientists. And yet all of Pakistan is occupied by this great army, which distributes land to various generals. In Moraba, the colony is distributed and divided by pattern. They argued they wanted one more year just because they were looting the country.¹³⁴

Mrs. Sherry Rehman (PPPP) criticized the bad system in this country. She claims that our police were not performing their duties properly if they do not file FIRs; if anyone complains to them about any issue, they smile and dismiss it. She highlighted the incident of Abdullah Murad Baloch. He was a member of the Sindh assembly, belonging to Pakistan's People Party. He was shot dead along with his driver by an unknown person in the Al-Falah society in the area of Malir on March 6, 2004. The killing of Abdullah Murad Baloch (MPA) created a lot of violence in Malir Al- Falah society.¹³⁵

Mrs. Sherry Rehman said he was the person who fought the people who were against democracy and was killed by someone. When their siblings reported this incident in front of the police, they were not bothered.

Therefore, situations what role police was playing in providing justice. Killing a person, means killing the whole society, and the police was not paying attention to it. She said during the Musharraf, time the country had faced a bad police system. In the newspaper Naw-e-Waqt, many things were written about the nation in which people criticize the government, but these things

¹³⁴ National Assembly Debate, session 11th, vol.4, no.1, December 26th, 2003. 143

were cut off from the newspaper. The government was involved in these kinds of activities to remove news from newspapers.¹³⁶ According to my point of view, the police system was so bad at that time. The government used the police as a tool for itself. It was so powerful and people were lacking their rights. Target killing was much prevalent in Musharraf's regime. The 13th session of March 27, 2004, positively criticized the political system of the country and demanded to hold elections.

Ms. Sherry Rehman said obviously, under the Legal Framework Order, known as the LFO, all the political parties and political players participated wholeheartedly in this election. The Assembly came into being, and what we saw in the results was that almost every political party across the entire political spectrum of Pakistan was represented or found a place in the House. They all have different ideologies and different political thoughts, and when one looked at the composition of the House, it was honestly thought that perhaps this was going to be the most lethal arsenal of political weaponry ever. But unfortunately, there was a lot of noise, and this noise continued for fourteen or fifteen months after the Assembly came into being. The reason was simple. Political mathematics had become very complicated. Even one-vote parties find that there is a lot of space for them to exploit. People relocate in search of better opportunities. Three major parties, the People's Party, Muslim League (Q), and PML(N), attempted to reach an agreement in order to form a stable government. But unfortunately, their positions were poles apart. However, we found that eventually MMA saw some reason, a good reason to

¹³⁵ Dawn Newspaper, PPP gunned down in the city, March 7, 2004: 1

¹³⁶ National Assembly Debate, session 13th, vol.23, no.2, March 11th, 2004. 342

come to some kind of understanding with the government. Everybody contested that LFO was made a very contentious issue. All the political parties, crying wolves in the name of democracy, were trying to undo LFO. She said she thought that all of us, perhaps, were part of this murder of democracy. And yet, we are all demanding for democracy. She found that they all in politics found democracy a very convenient one to cry for and yet continue doing whatever we liked and justifying all our actions, whether democratic or undemocratic, depending upon whether we were in power or out of power in democracy. In these ten and eleven years of association with politics, I found that perhaps democracy has never been a problem in Pakistan. And it is still hot, even today. After that she remarked "Our main problem has been the people.

"Continue to the discussion she further commented that there were very small people in very high offices in this nation who lack the character, vision, and wisdom to occupy those high offices instead of growing in size to fill the office. Unfortunately, they started pulling down the office to their size and our attempt to pull the office to suit our size in the process; all the institutions of the nation were crumbled. We seriously harm all the institutions of this nation. If it were not so, in these fourteen and fifteen years of unfettered democracy that we so claim were there, we would find all the national values crumbling down. We found law and order, the system of justice, the drug problem, crime, raids and plundering of financial institutions. In this environment, we found inter-provincial strife, inter-ethnic, inter-communal and inter-sect quarrels escalated. She said we are not prepared and do not tolerate each other.

Mrs. Naheed Khan also said same thing that we found inter-provincial strife, inter-ethnic, inter-communal, and inter-sect quarrels problems. She said we are not prepared and do not tolerate each other as well.¹³⁷ In the same debate, Dr. Azra Pechuho (PPP) said Musharraf gave a long speech on his true democracy. The truth of his democracy has already been proven in the shameful referendum, the rigged elections, and the horse trading and floor crossing exercises that went on in this House. She said that the sanctity of this House was totally destroyed and the parliamentarians were all now faced with the shambles of what he calls true democracy. He gave us an LFO, which has resulted in the change in the character of our Parliament in that now power lies with one person and one person alone, and he is a General in uniform. The power that he wields is beyond the sanction of this House; it is beyond what any of us have given him authority to do. He wields power which he should not have wielded, and he has superseded his authority and this sacred institution and has made a sham of it. The Treasury Benches have been showing praise for the person of General Musharraf, and it's a sad reflection on their acumen of democracy that they are now praising a dictator who is not really the real source of their power, but the source of their power lies with the people of this country. Mr. Musharraf has given us the National Security Council, which will change the bicameral nature of our Parliament and will result in military hegemony. And as we know, within the last four and a half years of General Musharraf's rule, we have seen a great divide in our citizens. We have the urban-rural divide; we have the rich-poor divide; we have the military-civilian divide; and furthermore, we have an inter-provincial and Mrs. Shamshad Sattar Bachani talked about Musharraf's real and positive

¹³⁷ National Assembly Debate, session 13th, vol.23, no.9, March 25th, 2004, 172.

democracy and criticized him. Mrs. Naheed Khan argued that Musharraf's "real democracy" means a subservient parliament. Through the proper dictation or a remote control, a government is running its channel. She said the country's situation is worse than ever before. Human rights were been violated by this government. Nobody knows the different phenomena happening in the country, like in the election where General Musharraf bought the sincerity of the people. Musharraf blamed many politicians on the issue of corruption. In Musharraf's time, many terrorist activities became so powerful. In his time, many blamed Benazir's sincerity. In continuation of this discussion, Mrs. Shamshad (PPP) also said that Musharraf's democracy was not true democracy because he violated the real democracy. Even though he took away the basic rights of people, many women attempted suicide because of hunger. Another issue is that many day and night laborers do not have enough money to pay their water and electricity bills. Our country's 70 percent depends on agriculture, but due to the shortage of water, the growth of agriculture has nearly been finished. Most of the budget spent on the army must be spent on the agriculture system. Our politicians damage the country day by day for their personal interests. Many other issues were also increasingly damaging the country start like inflation, poverty, high risk of terrorism, unemployment, etc.¹³⁸

Despite having much criticism, some people supported him in the house, like Mrs. Inayat Begum (MMA), who said that when Musharraf came into the government, the country was having many problems. He was the one person who tried to save the country in the time of danger. He solved many issues in Pakistan, like he removed the typical traditional system from society. He did a lot of work for education, especially

¹³⁸ National Assembly Debate, session 13th, vol.23, no. 11, March 29th, 2004. 134

for women. He started many rehabilitation systems for adults who were badly addicted to drugs. Musharraf was the only person who took strategic steps after 9/11 to save the image of Muslims and Pakistan.¹³⁹

Mrs. Sherry Rehman and Mrs. Naheed Khan raised an issue in parliament that they faced problems arising by the police. She said that on April 16, 2005, in Lahore, we were both arrested and were in police custody without any reason. They were both harassed and maltreated, and after six hours, they were released. On the night of April 16, many MNAs, workers for PPP, and senators were badly mistreated. In this government of democracy, when a procession is held, the police create many hurdles. Even people become frightened because of the police harassing them. On the morning of April 15, when media centers were established, police raided them and killed many people. Many political leaders were also arrested on that day. This was a total injustice. Even the Geo and B.B.C news workers were mistreated by the police. This was totally against the spirit of nationalism. This needs to be stopped. At the next debate on April 19, 2005, Mrs. Samina Khalid Ghurki (PPP) said in the house that she received a phone call at 3 a.m. was and harassed. On this phone call, a person said, "We are from the defense authorities and police." We need to talk to you. If you don't come outside, we will come inside. " Mr. Samina replied to him, "We did not commit any sin and then how can I meet with you at this time of night?" The cops apprehended her, there was no lady with them, still they took her to jail. It was totally inappropriate behavior towards the women of society. She also claimed that police harassed her publicly, even in the evenings, for no apparent reason. If MNAs are not protected in society, how can the women of this country be

¹³⁹ National Assembly Debate, session 13th, vol.23, no. 9, April 1st, 2004. 68

protected? It is the government's responsibility to put a stop to these types of activities in public, apprehend the perpetrators, and punish them.¹⁴⁰

Mrs. Ishrat Ashraf (PMLN) talked about the police misconduct with the PPP workers. She said police caught PPP workers in the procession and beat them badly in public. even though they beat the women and tore their dresses, exposing them. The body was naked when the police beat them with sticks. She said in front of the public that a police officer bared their breasts and beat them badly. This was a totally shameful act done by the police. A democratic person like Musharraf, who is sitting on the seat, but we cannot understand his democracy, where women cannot be protected, even mistreated and harassed badly. Mrs. Naheed continued this discussion and said that during Musharraf's time, the police mishandled the political workers of PMLN, including women workers, who were chanting slogans against the dictatorship and in favor of democracy. Because Musharraf did not pay attention to the police system, he was just focusing on the seat on which he was sitting. The police snatched away the clothes of the lady and lodged them half-made in a van brutally. This was a serious matter of public concern because it violated women's human rights and anti-torture laws. Mrs. Fauzia Wahab (PPP) discussed the issue of mishandling and baton charging of participants in a marathon on Feroze Pur Road, Lahore. She said the Lahore police, on Saturday, May 14, 2005, ruthlessly mishandled and baton charged the participants of a marathon.

The event was organized by the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan on Ferozpur Road, Lahore, and featured the arrest of human rights activists as well as badly disrupting the event. As per media reports, police action was taken on the instructions of the Punjab government, which did not approve the holding of such events by non-government

¹⁴⁰ National Assembly Debate, session 24th, vol.9, no.20, April 19th, 2005. 156

organizations. The police arrested human rights leaders and activists, including Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) Chairperson Asma Jahangir, Secretary General and former senator, Syed Iqbal Haider, and Punjab Vice Chairperson Hina Jilani. They were locked up in different police stations. Such action by the Punjab Police has disrepute the state of human rights in the eyes of international human rights organizations. The peaceful assembly of the Human Rights Workers was in accordance with the provision of the constitution. This deliberate incident has defamed Pakistan against the tall claims of the government in support of democracy and human rights, It should be discussed in Parliament during the break. She also said democracy is the right of the people, but it's a shameful democracy in which human rights activists' rights have been violated. It introduced enlightened moderation. What kind of moderation is it in which no one is free to do an act of democracy? It showed a fanatic democracy. She said through his regime, the government was being fanatic and they had become extremists. Government liberal forces have now become marginalized. The government needed to look into these acts because when political mobilization continues, democracy cannot be established. In the holy Quran, God, women got a lot of respect, but this society violated human and human rights, especially women, brutally violating their rights. It is totally against Islam. People are now becoming violent and showing disrespect for parliament. This is against the house of parliament.¹⁴¹

Miss Gul-e-Farkhanda stated that the government is built on four pillars: the judiciary, the legislature, the executive, and the media. If one fails to run, then the other

¹⁴¹ National Assembly Debate, session 22th, vol. 10, no. 22, May 4th, 2005. 201

will take effect automatically. It will create problems for the government as well. Basically, this is what Miss Gul Farkhanda talked about: the rights of journalists. She said Musharraf restricted the media just because the media could not cover the true facts of the country. She said journalists were the people who dig out the facts for the people and work hard for the truth. She further commented Freedom of speech everyone's right, and the media was so responsible for the events that happen all day. So, she said they were sometimes killed, beaten brutally and threatened. The government should protect them, not restrict and threaten them. In the same debate, Dr. Fehmida Mirza criticized democracy and said democracy has strong roots if we look at the newspapers and news channels, then we are well aware of what is happening in our country. She raised the same issue in the favour of journalists like the previous parliamentarian. Strengthening parliament means strengthening the country. She said we should take action against the people who killed journalists and show them as terrorists of the country just because they expressed their views. For journalists, a committee should be formed to protect their rights. She also recommended that we need to solve the issue at minor level, then we should deal with bigger problems later.¹⁴²

3. Women parliamentarians' discussion on the Foreign Policy of General Musharraf's Regime

The Pakistani government was censured for its support of the Taliban approach as well as its part in the Kashmir issue was like-wise flame-broiled by the global network.

¹⁴² National Assembly Debate, session 22th, vol.10, no.22, May 4th, 2005. 201

The Taliban approach not only troubled the international community. Pakistani policymakers' hostility toward the Taliban organization was growing, casting doubt on Pakistani-Afghan Relations. General Pervez Musharraf's tactical rules expected Pakistan's Taliban to be the strongest honest portrayal in Afghanistan and supported its arrangement with the Taliban organization.¹⁴³

Therefore, US-Pak relations were influenced contrarily, and the U.S. chose to remember last's name in the rundown of those states that supported psychological oppression. During this, the U.S. State Department delivered a report in April 2000, entitled "Examples of Global Terrorism-1999", which just pinpointed South Asia as a significant core of global fearmongering. Further, it confirmed Pakistan as a place of refuge for psychological oppressors' associations, which were associated with sending out fear-based oppression everywhere throughout the world, and these gatherings were additionally occupied with brutality in Kashmir.¹⁴⁴

The U.S. of America urged Islamabad to close certain madrassas, which were filled in as courses for mental fighting. In March 2000, U.S. President Bill Clinton wanted to visit South Asia. On March 25, 2000, Clinton visited Pakistan for barely five hours, yet his visit was not political for the crucial heads of Pakistan.¹⁴⁵ On Afghanistan, the Clinton association forced General Pervaiz Musharraf to eliminate his organization from the Taliban. President Clinton's location to Pakistanis on TV and radio demonstrating

¹⁴³ Husain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military*. Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2005. 74.

¹⁴⁴ Husain Haqqani, *Pakistan*, 109.

¹⁴⁵ U.S. State Department, — Patterns of Global Terrorism-1999, 1-46, accessed on 1 June 2019 retrieved from <http://www.loyale.edu/dept/politics/intel/terrorism/patterns1999.pdf>

America's contempt for Pakistan's Afghan and Kashmir policies. He wanted Pakistan to change its arrangements and needs relating to Kashmir and Afghanistan.¹⁴⁶

September 11 goes after additionally called 9/11 assaults, were committed by 19 militants associated with the Islamic extremist group al-Qaida against targets in the united-states, the dead list terrorists on the American soil in U.S history. The assaults against New York City and Washington, D.C., caused major casualties and obliteration an enormous U.S combat terrorism. Nearly 2,750 individuals were killed in New York; 184 at the Pentagon; and in Pennsylvania (where one of the captured planes crashed after the travelers endeavored to retake the plane); each of the 19 psychological oppressors kicked the bucket.¹⁴⁷

When General Pervaiz Musharraf became to know about the incident of the 9/11 occasions, he tried to engaged with the global network to join in the battle against psychological oppression in the entirety of its structures and root out this problem. The Bush organization immediately understood that any productive counterstrike wouldn't be possible without the endlessly help of Pakistan. Washington immediately restored its traditional relationship with Islamabad and constrained the legislature of General Pervaiz Musharraf to help out the Bush organization on a scope of issues, including:¹⁴⁸

- Condemning the September 11 assaults and controlling every single residential articulation of help for fear-mongering.

¹⁴⁶*Dawn*. Karachi, 26 March 2000

¹⁴⁷Willard Samuel Crompton, *Pakistan*, 2nd ed. (London: Chelsea House Publishers, 2007), 10.

- Stop Al-Qaida agents originating from Afghanistan to Pakistan, catch arms shipment through Pakistan, and end all strategic help for Osama Bin Laden.
- Give cover overflight and setting down rights to U.S. Airplanes.
- Give the U.S. access to Pakistani maritime and air bases and the outskirt territories among Pakistan and Afghanistan.
- Turn overall insight and movement data.
- Remove all shipments of fuel to the Taliban and keep Pakistani workers from going into Afghanistan to join the Taliban.

At the eleventh session on December 26, 2003, Tehmina Dultana talked about foreign policy and the 9/11 incident. She criticized Musharraf's policies, saying that he made wrong decisions. Because of his decisions, many disruptions were happening in the country. Pakistan is being questioned in front of other countries. She said we should also think about what kinds of policies have been taking place. We should think about the thing is occurring in Afghanistan, what occurred already and what is occurring now. Individuals are being killed, and even today people are biting the dust. What occurred in Kashmir? 7000 individuals have passed on in Kashmir, and today we are simply controlling on the fringe. We have settled the Kashmir issue. Now that isn't important for, every one of us that is occurring before we have the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) Conference. These are the things that you are invigorating someone who is settling those issues which were your center that you are giving strength to somebody who is settling those issues which were your core issues, issues on which you were

¹⁴⁸ Bob Woodward, *Bush at War*. New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc. 2002, 58-59.

standing all the time and saying "no" we have to stand by Kashmir. That is our SHARAG and we are not talking about that issue. We say, let us give it away and settle that. That is the way we gave East Pakistan away.¹⁴⁹ On the 13th session of March 27, 2004, Miss Tehmina Dultana criticized the government and said there were many ceasefires happening in Kashmir and many people were killed in Kashmir day by day. With all the bloodshed taking place in Wanna, people are dying daily. This is happening because we have no togetherness in the parties. Many states in our country have state within a state, such as Askari State, which has insurance companies and property gents, as well as Royal State. controls the inner state in which they plotted areas and lands. There is a state of the West India Company of America. If we do not make our own policies, we are always being controlled by some external forces. We are not organized. We should be organized. We need to save our beloved country and should make our judiciary strong. We should solve the internal disputes of Pakistan first, then we can solve the issues globally.¹⁵⁰

Mrs. Mehnaz Rafi and Mrs. Tehmina Dultana talked about the foreign policy of the country and discussed the issue of Iraq. They said Iraq and America are both fighting in which America is pressing Iraq and killing its many people. She said when America was threatening and bomb- blasting Iraq, many people lost their lives. People are sacrificing their lives. She criticized that, although America is an atomic power, even then it has no right to kill many people. America's bombing in Iraq and sending troops there day by day just because Iraq has no biological weapons. Saddam is not safe there as he is threatened by America to leave his country. If Saddam gets weapons, then he as

¹⁴⁹ National Assembly Debate, session 11th, vol. 4, no. 1, December 26th, 2003. 143

¹⁵⁰ National Assembly Debate, session 13th, vol. 23, no. 5, March 17th, 2004. 421

he is threatened by America to leave his country. If Saddam gets weapons, then he will be safe in his country. He is safe in any country, but not in Iraq just because Iraq has oil. As a result, America has the legal right to establish a presence in Iraq. She said we are here to discuss foreign policy, but why are these topics not discussed by our politicians? We are not dictating foreign policy, but assemblies should do hard work on these issues. Mrs. Tehmina also said Afghanistan is also suffering from Russia. Russia sent many refugees to Afghanistan and created a huge mess. At the end, she said if the government had no guts to support Iraq, then at least the National Assembly would support Iraq. We needed a chief of army staff who strengthened our economy internally and externally. Even if we sit in parliament, we cannot be strong. We needed to control our foreign policy.¹⁵¹

The nature of Pakistan-Afghanistan relations remained of great importance during the time of General Pervez Musharraf. Domestic disputes and grievances undermine the level of trust between the two countries. As a result, the Taliban insurgency is bolder on both sides of the border. Pakistani decision-makers are frustrated with Kabul-Washington Integrated Military Intelligence (ISI) and General Pervez Musharraf. During difficult times, both Islamabad and Kabul have been denied the benefits of security cooperation, shared responsibility and coordinated intelligence due to mutual accusations and allegations. Positive economic, political and security interests between the two countries in the era of General Pervez Musharraf, followed by the establishment of a new regime in Afghanistan, have been overshadowed by security challenges posed by extremists in Pakistan's tribal areas.

¹⁵¹ National Assembly Debates, session 5th, vol.2, no.2, March 19th, 2003. 72

4. Women Parliamentarians discussion on the corruption of Politicians

Corruption in Pakistan manifests itself in many forms, including widespread financial and political corruption, tyranny and misuse of power. Small greed and big greed are common in this country. General Musharraf constituted a National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB) under the chairmanship of General Tanvir Naqvi. The NBR curved out a dissolution plan under which the local government were elected on non-party basis from December 30th, 2000 to July 5, 2001, and made finally functional on August 14, 2001. According to the Regional Government Ordinances of 2001, local governments include Local Governments, Tehsil/City Governments and United Council Government. This model of local government exists in all states except the garrison, which is still under military control. This regulation does not even exist in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA).¹⁵²

The plan for devolution of powers received mixed reactions from the public and political parties. People found it convenient to settle local issues, while political leaders saw it as a system that marginalizes political parties. The critics also described how local bodies were used as an instrument in the referendum in 2001 and in general elections in 2002 to help win an officially patronized party.

The new system gave sufficient power to the elected Nazims at the expense of the bureaucracy and politicians at the state and national levels. The abolition of the Deputy Ministerial post and failure to comply with police orders weakened the bureaucracy in

¹⁵² Safqat, *New Perspectives on Pakistan: Visions for the Future* (Karachi: Oxford university press, 2008), ⁴⁶

2002, further worsening service delivery and governance. This situation further complicated good governance. The politics of thana-kachehry created issues for local people ranged from state to national levels. Local governments were increasingly politicized and as a result already weak institutions became more vulnerable. Elimination of bureaucratic subordination and the old financial system created many setbacks and gaps in the business relationships between bureaucrats and elected officials. Another step was taken reorganization of the active Ehtesab committee at the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) to achieve accountability and transparency. Under the leadership of General Amjad, the NAB was tasked to investigate the corruption of politicians, bureaucrats and businessmen. After some time, however, General Amjad was asked to make an ally with the Treasury Department, officials, and other groups.¹⁵³ NAB had sued Minister Faisal Saleh Hayat for 690 rupees (\$11 million) in bank corruption when he was a member of PPP. Due to the request of NAB to end the blame against Hayat followed his defection from the government's opposition. Supreme Court judges accused NAB of trying to use the Supreme Court's powers for their own ends. After that, General Amjad was replaced by General Shahid Aziz in October 2005, with several politicians offering to stay until the next General Musharraf election. Hence, with such an intervention, he had to resign.¹⁵⁴ Even more corruption emerged when Musharraf imposed a rule, to exclude people from the authorities of not having a university degree. At that time, many politicians made corruption and many high officials, politicians formulate their positions

¹⁵³ Sughra Alam, Dr. Asif Saif Alvi, "Civilianization of Military Rule in Pakistan: A Study of Musharraf Era (1999-2005)", *Pakistan Social Science Review*, no.2, vol.4 (June, 2020): 154

¹⁵⁴ Marie Chene, "Overview of Corruption in Pakistan", *Anti Corruption Resource Centre*, no.1, (August, 2008): 7

to meet the criteria and started to make fake degrees. Then some had to resign due to fake documents, but political elections filling the vacant seats were also a problem. The Pakistani Electoral Commission (ECP) is suspected of failing to investigate allegations that Prime Minister Gilani used local resources to support his allies and more proof of vote fraud came out over the course of the year, the ECP did little or nothing to stop it.¹⁵⁵

Miss Gul Farkhanda (NA) spoke about the NAB and positively portrayed the Musharraf government. She said Musharraf caught many corrupt politicians by NAB who were looting the country hand in hand. They took a lot of land from civilians and didn't pay any taxes to the government. By taking advantage of NAB institutions, many corrupt politicians make money for their own interests. People in the country became impoverished as a result of an unjust system. She also said Nab was not fulfilling their duties properly, so he suspended General Amjad for their extra concerns with politicians. The land grabbing mafia known as the Kabza Group also operates on the borderline between federal and provincial bureaucrats, just to take a land from poor people and deprive them. The group bribes officials who keep the land registry, creates new documents that withstand a range of public litigation, and some relevant financial interests reduce bureaucratic oversight, which is handed down to elected regional officials who have consented to it. Due to the documentary records government support them and ensure formal legal protection against fraud. She said that the people who were raising the slogan "Go Musharraf Go" must raise the slogan "Go Poverty Go". We

¹⁵⁵ Saddiqa, *Military Inc: Incide Pakistan's Military Economy (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007)*, 134

¹⁵⁶ National Assembly Debate, session 10th, vol.37, no.9, September 7th, 2003. 45

need to establish a strong system that will be good for our political system and strengthen the policies of the country. In addition to that, it is better to work for the betterment of the country rather than to criticize one another.¹⁵⁶In the same debate, Miss Bushra Anwar Separa (PMLQ) said accountability should be implemented on those politicians who are looting the country's money in their pockets and build these big houses. We needed to eliminate corruption from the country and give equal rights to the poor and needy people.¹⁵⁷

Tehmina Dultana said that all of us who are members of the Islamic Federation have experienced a lot of suffering and suffering, but there is still time to think that this is our home. Maybe they're not with us. I'm in government. We disagree. I think we should work together, but we must work for the benefit of the starving and dying people of this country. The poor make up 40% of the total population. It went from 33% to 40%. People do not eat enough, suffer from health problems and are uneducated. I have to do all this, but the people of this country are not empowering the people, how can I do this?¹⁵⁸

Mrs. Mehnaz Rafi said that in the parliament there are some people who violate the laws of parliament and support others for the violation of rules and laws of parliament house as well. They even don't work and also create hurdles for others for the betterment of the parliament. She said there are some corrupt and criminals who are sitting in the parliament. We needed to take strict action against them.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ *ibid*

¹⁵⁸ National Assembly Debate, session 11th, vol.4, no.1, December 26th, 2003. 143

¹⁵⁹ National Assembly Debate, session 22th, vol.10, no.20, May 2nd, 2005. 100

5. Women Parliamentarians Discussion on the Role of Military in Pakistan's Politics

Civil-military relations in Asian countries usually depend on historical factors related to their formative phase as a state and nation. The military was considered an integral part of the political system rather than an agency outside the political avenue. Military involvement in political affairs is less likely in countries where social economic development is high and the political institutions are developed and strong enough. Military involvement in political affairs, on the other hand, is more likely in states with heterogeneous structures, ethnic dominance, low socioeconomic development, and weak political institutions, such as in less developed African, Latin American, and Asian countries.¹⁶⁰

After taking charge of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf imposed emergency rule under the Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO). He suspended the constitution along with the assemblies on October 13, 1999. He declared his future Programme to be about the restoration of democracy, the structure of a new government, good governance, the revival of the economy, and the continuation of foreign policy. Furthermore, he stated that the Constitution had been temporarily suspended in order to save the nation, and that the military had no intention of staying any longer than was necessary to pave the way for true democracy. In his speech, he outlined his seven-point agenda, which included restoring national confidence and morale, strengthening the federation, removing inter-provincial disharmony and restoring national cohesion, reviving the economy and restoring investor confidence, ensuring law and order and dispensing swift justice,

¹⁶⁰ Zahid Mahmood, "Political Turmoil And Military Era Of General Musharraf" *JPUHS*, Vol.28, No.2, (July - December, 2015): 56

¹⁶¹ The Nation, The Musharraf Military Rule in Pakistan, (October 18, 1999)

depoliticizing state institutions, devolution of power to the grass roots level, and ensuring swift and all- encompassing accountability.¹⁶¹ Miss. Mehreen Anwar Raja started a political discussion and criticized the Pakistan Army. She asked why the army is taking charge of Pakistan. Their duties are to defend the country, notto get involved in political affairs. The new government has been formed, and they are making changes in accordance with their desires; even institutions have been altered as a result of the army's policies. She also said that the new government made allies with the U.S.A. and was taking benefits from America as well as ignoring the necular power of Pakistan. Many generals passed away and spent many years in Pakistan. After the 9/11 incident, America sent their people to Pakistan and they looted Pakistan. Pakistan is still blessed with so many things and resources and it is standing on the will of God. The General was responsible for serving Pakistan rather than filling their pockets with money. When these generals got many facilities, they forgot Pakistan. She said I am not against the army but highlighted some bad people who looted our country fortheir personal benefits. She said patriotism is that kind of thought in which people defend their country, love Pakistan and make sacrifices for the country. However, in the high general circle, this feeling has faded. We needed to start a religious society in which all people have equal rights and we should not hold our seats. Musharraf made the modern policies in the country just like federal moderation, which is totally against the religious policies of the country. We needed to start fighting for those who looted our country and destroyed the walls of Pakistan. We needed to check the work of high-level officials and ministries, and we needed to stabilize the country.¹⁶²

¹⁶² National Assembly Debate, session 11th, vol.4, no. 2, December 27th, 2003. 543

¹⁶³ National Assembly Debate, session 11th, vol.4, no. 4, August 29th, 2003. 76

Mrs. Naseem Akhtar Chaudhry said people in the assembly were dragging the Pakistan army into politics. This is the prestigious institution that defends the country. Pakistan has a total budget for the army. The army is not the institution of legislation but now it covers the role of politics and many political parties are in this institution. We should separate politics and the army because the army serves only for the defense of Pakistan and not to indulge in the country's affairs. We should not give power to the same people who used their power against Pakistan. She also said that we are facing external and internal threats, especially after the incident of 9/11, which was harmful for the country. We needed to talk about these issues.¹⁶³

In the same session, Mrs. Tehmina Dultana discussed some significant political matters. She said that in Iraq and Iran, many incidents like bomb blasts and terrorism are occurring. Our government has not shown any concern regarding these issues and our army has not paid attention to them. They are just involved in being part of bureaucracy, which is being involved in holding power everywhere. She also said that many critical disasters are happening in Pakistan and our investigation companies are not telling us about these incidents happening in the country, like terrorism, bomb blasts, etc. She said, "Are we waiting for our turn for the big disaster?" We are not involved in the discussion about other countries' political matters. If the Air Marshal came into our country, we could handle this situation because we are involved in the corridors of power but we are not interested in defense. She said the army should be involved in the defense of Pakistan. We should focus on these kinds of issues very seriously.¹⁶⁴ Mrs. Shakeela Khanum said the military has been acquiring increasingly cooperative faces with an

¹⁶⁴ *ibid*

interest in banking, finance, real estate, schooling, and other industries, and this has created a sense of insecurity and a sense of great loss in the civilians. The civilians feel that their powers are being illegally used by the military, and this is in fact true in that the military has acquired a great self-interest in running this country according to their ethics. Furthermore, we have seen that the civilian-military divide is further increasing because of the great number of choice postings and jobs that go to the military, and even the middle management jobs are now going to military personnel, which is creating a great deal of joblessness in an already jobless civilian society. Our youth are unemployed, totally helpless and frustrated, and they are increasingly frustrated, as you see that the rate of suicide is increasing in our country. The rate of suicide is also increasing and more people are now threatening to commit suicide. She said news was reported in the newspaper 'Kawish', which states that eighteen women have decided to self-immolate themselves in front of Quaid-e-Azam Mazaar on the 28th of March. This is a sad reflection on our society. Finance and the economy are in such shambles that all our people are grinding under poverty and nothing can secure them from this. Further, it is also true that the poverty line is increasing. The reason behind this is the fact that utility bills are increasing everyday. People are faced with unemployment; people do not find any relief anywhere. Even the diesel prices have gone up by twenty-two percent, which is actually the poor man's fuel. This has increased and further increased our poverty, and this government insists that it is securing finances and creating bank balances for us, which is hardly the truth. Furthermore, beyond poverty, also lies the fact that people are feeling frustrated with the fact that their voice is not being heard. The

voices of the people are stifled and they are not allowed to speak out about their grievances. Military spending continues to rise, while spending on the social and development sectors has decreased dramatically, causing widespread dissatisfaction and making people feel insecure about their future. The transfer of resources from the rich to the poor that was to occur because of the decrease in interest rates has not occurred. This trickle-down effect has not occurred because the commercial and industrial sectors may be a little too selfish to transfer their gains to the poor.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ National Assembly Debate, session 13th, vol.23, no. 9, March 25th, 2004. 172

Conclusion

The present research was focused on evaluating the strength of women in the National Assembly of Pakistan in all constituent assemblies on general seats and on reserve seats since 1947 and was particularly focusing the role of women parliamentarians from 2002-2008. Moreover, this research aims to evaluate the career persistency of women parliamentarians on general seats in the National Assembly. This research was based on primary and secondary data. The collected data was organized on the basis of research objectives. The strength of women parliamentarians has historically been increased. Women parliamentarians faced a lot of problems with the wider system and structure, still played an effective role in the National Assembly. The women parliamentarians majority of people who entered in the parliamentary politics and had limited or unlimited political experience in their work as public representatives. Most women parliamentarians referred to the social and political challenges and contradictions that need to be addressed at interpersonal, family, social, political and parliamentary levels. In the discussion, they argued that pressures from patriarchy, public or private, should be countered as there is no forum or platform to express this issue as a common concern.

It was clear from their discussion that they were expressing women's interests outside of Parliament. Women face difficulties in effectively representing women's interests in parliament and in political parties. Due to the gender quota system, female MPs did not lead the electorate. Without their own power, women MPs easily ignore the party's political leadership. They are also neglected by their male colleagues and parliamentary authorities despite other social and political barriers. They became more

aware of their gender identity.

The main conclusion of the research is that despite the extra-ordinary challenges women parliamentarians faced many hardships, the political inexperience of the majority of those who entered parliament for the first time on gender quota, they also brought much attention to women's issues during the six years of 12th national assembly from 2002–2007 than ever before.

This study verifies that women politicians represented women's interests better than male politicians. According to the research, the majority issues raised by female parliamentarians by parliamentary interventions that were related to the social sector, public interests, and specially related to women's issues. Women parliamentarians were less interested in constitutional and political issues. There were a significant number of women parliamentarians who took a deep interest in raising issues in their own areas too. In the assembly of female representation, parliamentarians introduced specific laws, shifting the policy focus towards women, making private issues of women into public concerns or improving the gender responsiveness of government. However, the presence of female MPs in a large number in parliament had a great impact on a social, political and cultural level in terms of changing people's perception regarding women's role in politics. Female participation in the assembly and their presence increased the role of women in political social and economic sector as well as in the legislature from 2002 to 2008 served as a role model for others.

Women parliamentarians played a vital role for the protection of women life, honor and to enhance their status in the society. They raised their voice in parliament and remained successful to pass Hudood Ordinance and honor killing bill. They did not just

present the bill but also conducted conferences, seminars and public meetings to spread awareness but in spite of all these struggles very little could be achieved in terms of women life and honor security.

It is concluded that the government and other institutions of Pakistan could not successfully implement the laws to eradicate the problems of honor killing, domestic violence and other social problems. The bills also failed to bring about any significant impact. If the provisions of laws were properly implemented the evil customs of society like vani or swara would have been reduced at least. Still the women parliamentarians took a good initiative by presenting the bills of which two turned into laws. However, their efforts to empower the women could not reach the required need of the time and proper implementation is also crucially required to make laws fruitful.

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