



THESIS TOPIC

**“ROLE OF WOMEN LGISLATURES IN THE LEGISLATIVE HISTORY
OF PAKISTAN”**

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Abstract

The role of Women legislatures in the legislative history of Pakistan has either been misunderstood or undermined in the society. This paper outlines the role of Women Parliamentarians in the history of Pakistani politics and legislation to see, how the women have evolved through the societal pressures and discriminatory hurdles. Our research Objective was to fill in the gap that currently prevails in literature on women parliamentarian's contributions in Pakistan's legislative framework at national level. This research paper is first of its kind providing with efficiency model that calculates individuals, annual and era-wise efficiencies of women parliamentarians. The 'per year per head 'cost as compared to the efficiency of the parliamentarian is one to worry about. Qualitative as well as quantitative methods have been used to calculate their efficiency; various factors affecting the performance of women parliamentarians have been analyzed. We have collected our data from primary and secondary sources like debate books (1947 – 2007) of national assembly, interview of parliamentarians and various articles and books. The purpose of our research was to validate whether "Women have efficiently contributed in legislative history of Pakistan" or not and whether "Women legislators are advocates of gender specific issues." only. Overall quantitative results have calculated the efficiency to be very low i.e. 9.7%. However, qualitative results show that various factors affect the participation of women; authority, decision making power, reserve seats/general seats, social political factors, religious factors, acknowledgement of rights etc. Over the period of 60 years the efficiency has increased, from 1947-2007 and women participation has also increased.

Introduction

The topic of our research is “The role of women legislators in legislative history of Pakistan”. Pakistan is one of the two countries whose independence is on the basis of ideology. Women played a very effective and efficient role during this era. After the introduction of adult franchise in subcontinent women were made aware of their rights and how important their participation could be in favor of Pakistan movement. However, after the creation of Pakistan women were once again pushed aside using religious dogmas. During the short course of history of 68 years the role of women as a political worker and legislature has evolved. Various social, economic, political and administrative factors have affected their behavior in parliament. Delegation of power to individual party member and parliamentarian is also another important factor. Those parliamentarians who have a strong power within their party would also have more courage to speak on floor of the house.

Our research work is basically focused on the efficiency of women parliamentarians. We have taken the question that how efficient women parliamentarians have been over the course of Pakistan’s history keeping in view different social, religious and political factors.. Our analysis comprised all the bills presented by them from 1947 – 2007 on various subjects, their summary, advocacy and campaign for approval. We have also considered social, behavioral, religious and political environment which had either increased or hampered their efficiency as legislators. The analysis also caters for their change in interest and behavior over time.

The two hypotheses of our research work are: “Women have efficiently contributed in legislative history of Pakistan” and “Women legislators are advocates of gender specific issues.”

As per constitution of Pakistan a parliamentarian has three roles; a legislator, scrutinizer and representative. For our purpose of research we have limited our analysis and findings to the legislator role. Though most of the women parliamentarians are selected on reserved and hereditary seats, we have not considered this factor as enabler or resistor for ensuring efficiency. Our focus of research is not on how they are selected rather how they contributed in legislation. Our scope is not limited to only gender specific bills introduced by women rather we have covered all the bills presented by them irrelevant of the subject biasness. Our research also elaborates that women had not only been concerned with gender specific issues rather the bills presented by them are on diverse issues.

The first chapter of our research paper is the literature review which discusses the different schools of thoughts on measuring efficiency of legislators and their understanding and explanation of the politico administrative structure of Pakistan. It is followed by research methodology chapter, in which we have selected the tool of narrative analysis, which has helped in explaining and relating the major roles played by political parties, women organizations and policy entrepreneurs regarding the efficiency of women parliamentarians. We have tried to fill the gap by working on each and every bill that a female parliamentarian has presented, and have measured their efficiency during different regimes and under different social circumstances. We have collected data primarily from debate books of National assembly of Pakistan and the interviews of various MNAs. As a whole we have given an analysis on efficiency of women parliamentarians and based on findings from the data collected mentioned above, keeping in view our findings we have put forth recommendations to improve their efficiency. Our research paper ends with the chapter of conclusion.

Literature Review

This chapter of our research primarily focuses on different schools of thoughts for measuring legislator's efficiency. It helps us dig out what are different methods that various scholars of parliamentary studies have proposed for assuring efficiency? It also covers which factors or variables have either direct or indirect impact on efficiency. In our subsequent research we have derived the method for measuring efficiency based on this review. Secondly we have gone through Pakistan's context specific literature and more specifically to women politicians and parliamentarians. As our research develops it has supported us in deriving different factors effecting women parliamentarian's efficiency in Pakistan's politico administrative context.

Legislation being a process of making or enacting laws and Legislators being a person who makes laws; member of a legislative body has crucial importance in the history of every country's governance. In order to assess what role a legislator can impart, we have to look for what is legislative efficiency or productivity? Legislative Efficiency and productivity are two terms on which the researcher had wide difference in terms of measuring them. We have observed that that legislative efficiency's most of the variables are variants on Number of Bills enacted as determined by Gray and Lowery 1995, 540-41; Hedlund and Freeman 1981, 104; Rosenthal and Forth 1978, 285. Similarly, Peverill Squire in his paper while answering the question of "Is membership turnover related to the ability of a legislature to efficiently process legislation?" uses same method. He has used two measures enactments per legislative day and percentage of bills enacted as measures of legislative efficiency. Enactments per day are measure of legislative output, showing how efficient a legislature is in passing legislation. The second

measure, the percentage of bills passed, is the legislature's batting average, providing a crude handle on legislative efficiency.

There are several variables other than bills introduced and enacted that contribute to the legislative efficiency like legislative budget and access to staff resources (Hedlund and Freeman 1981, 104-06), gridlock, interest group environment (Gray and Lowery 1995), professionalization as an index of three components (Squirel 1992), remuneration of members, length of legislative sessions, availability of resources and staff assistance. If a legislator is more professional, the chances are that he is efficient too as he is deriving good salary, attending the sessions regularly and has recourses and assistance. He/she would then have more time and also political motivations to develop, analyze and advocate for passing the legislation. However, efficiency could be hampered when legislators introduce many bills; the issue of quantity versus quality (Francis 1989). Therefore there are certain nations where there is a constraint or limit in terms of number of bills introduced by each legislator (Parliamentary strengthening, 2008).

Party's power and its decentralization also effects legislative efficiency. However, there are diverse views on Party's power and its decentralization like Wayne L. Francis and James W. Riddlesperger (1982) had found in their research on U. S. State Legislative Committees: Structure, Procedural Efficiency, and Party Control that the extent to which the committee system can provide the necessary procedural efficiency will depend upon whether the specific organizing decisions take into account the structure of the chamber. Their results were that the chamber size has a major effect upon the optimal number and size of committees. The use of subcommittees offers an important refinement for the improvement of agenda processing, especially in large chambers with large committees. The evidence from their data set reveals that in committees, and especially subcommittees, members are much more likely to conduct

business in a nonpartisan problem-solving manner. However, partisanship is most evident during floor proceedings, whereas, the number of responses for this was much higher. Overall their results show that where power is concentrated in party leaders' hands rather than decentralized to committee leaders, legislatures may be better able to pass legislation. Similarly decentralization increases the number of members with influence, which may make consensus building more difficult to achieve (Parliamentary strengthening, 2008).

According to David Mayhew's *Divided We Govern* (1991), the impact of divided government has captured new attention. In his new and persuasive work, Mayhew while looking at patterns for each Congress landmark legislation enacted between 1947 and 1990, came to the conclusion that periods of unified government are not related with flow in legislative productivity and the periods of divided government doesn't necessarily lead to legislative gridlock. In, "divided we govern." Mayhew analyzed contradiction in the historical conclusion of several generations of political scientists and hence he has given the new results. Substitute measures of legislative productivity and more refined models of lawmaking have emerged (Binder 1999; Edwards, Barrett, and Peake 1997; Jones 1994; Krehbiel 1996; Stimson, MacKuen, and Erikson 1995). However few, authors like Coleman 1999; Kelly 1993 had challenged Mayhew's methods of calculating important legislation as well as his findings concerning divided government.

In our work we will also be analyzing the efficiency of legislators in Pakistan's parliamentarians. The variables we are considering will be bills being presented by them in National assembly and the number of bills being passed. In Pakistan's case there are three basic roles which parliamentarians play: A representative (how efficiently he/she represents the problems faced by people in their constituency in particular and by masses of country in general), Legislator (how professionally and frequently parliamentarians present bills in the house and how they get them

approved), and scrutinizer (how efficiently monitor and question the executive and judiciary (Parliamentary strengthening, 2008).

We have based our research on the legislative role which indicates how many bills are being presented by a legislature and how efficiently they were able to get it passed in the assembly and how has this role of women parliamentarians evolved over time. A second factor that we are taking into account is that our target groups in legislators are not all the legislators. We are limited to women only. So, therefore are women legislator different from their male counterpart. What are the different socio political factors that affect women legislator efficiency? (Robinson, 2012)

There are several reasons why women are different as legislatures in terms of their agenda and priorities. First, Gender has a tremendous influence on psychological development meaning that a gender value system is formed when men and women have different life experiences and this concept would extend to the Scandinavian countries, Central Asia and the Subcontinent where the role of women is still considered to be passive. The way a women thinks from the way she approaches a particular situation are affected by the role she has outside the parliament. For parliamentarians, their understanding of policies and agendas is greatly affected by their life experiences. Second, Studies in the past have shown that Women are more liberal than men. Also studies have shown that compared to men, women see themselves more as the representatives of women (Robbin, 2012).

As in United States, even those women who have explicitly rejected of being labeled feminist have thought to have different interests and ideas altogether. The difference in gender and the socialization and experiences of life are destined to shape the women parliamentarians in shaping

their political, social and economic priorities. Women are usually interested in issues such as environment sustainability, issues that affect children and women such as health, education and social welfare. On the other hand, they are less interested in areas such as defense, finance and foreign affairs. The point of it all is that women legislatures due to social condition have grown as legislatures who are more concerned with social welfare and development (Robinson, 2012).

According to Washington Post statistics show that 114th Congress is one of a kind, it has 104 women legislatures out of 535 in total. But these numbers are what if these things are not connected with the topic under consideration that is the women legislatures are more effective than their male counterparts getting a bill approved (Bloomberg, 2015).

Over the last few years the number of bills introduced by women lawmakers in the senate were 96.31 while their male counter parts introduced 70.72 bills on average, this was taken from a study conducted by two Harvard seniors. While in the house the number of bills presented by women legislatures on average showed that the women led the men legislatures 29.65 to 27.2. In terms of taking Co sponsorships the women were more likely to attain them rather than the men. The numbers this time were close but still the women led the male legislatures; 9.10 to 5.94 in the Senate while 16.84 to 14.64 in the House (Volden, 2015).

From 'Jhanseki rani' to 'Razia Sultana' women have always played a very central and important role in the history of sub-continent but the irony of the situation is that women heroes of sub-continent have been buried under time. In sub-continent after Mughal era women were generally constrained in walls of home "Char deewari". In her book "From purdah to parliament", Begum Shaista IkramUllah has given the accurate perspective of women life during that era.

During Ayub's era women encountered a lot of opportunities to excel in almost all fields. Bhutto's era was the most liberating in a true sense and PPP appreciated women participation and established its women's wing. The 1973 constitution gave the most rights to the women articles 25, 27, 32, 228 are example of few rights constitutionally given to women. Also women can now apply for all the groups under the CSS examination like the foreign services and district management group. Martial law was imposed on 5 July 1977 which gave General Zia ul Haq power. During this regime many measures were taken that adversely affected the women. Khawar Mumtaz in her paper, "Political Participation: Women in National Legislatures in Pakistan", suggests that Women political participation has been seen at various levels from mobilization to specific issues to sitting at all levels of legislation. Although there have been a great number of women political activists at important political junctures but there is a very less number of women present in our decision making bodies. There have been various provisions in constitution of Pakistan regarding reserved women seats such provisions usually are regarded as temporary measures to bring women in main stream politics. Article 51(4) of constitution reserved 10 seats for women for 10 years however we saw that in 1990 elections only 2 women were returned on general seats in NA. In his book, " Finding the way", Mr. Shahmoon Hashmi has divided the legislative history in following phases: Initial phase: After independence (1947-1958), 2nd phase (1962 – 65), 3rd phase: Ayub khan's era and Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (1972-1977), 4th Phase: 1970's (1973-1977) , 5th Phase: Third martial law (1977-1988) , 6th phase: Benazir Bhutto , 7th phase: 1990 , After this the 10th assembly formed in 1993, 7th phase: (post 2000), Phase 8 (2008-2013) and Phase 9 (2013 till now). According to these given phases we will calculate the efficiency of women legislators in a particular time and prevailing regime according to the social circumstances that were prevalent.

Research Methodology

This section will give detail information of our research methodology, all the methods and theories used to collect and interpret data. It will provide a brief analysis of the general method of collecting data both qualitative and quantitative. Subsequently the chapter discuss about data analysis and interpretation techniques, limitations and constraints.

Triangulation Approach:

We have used Triangulation approach for the purpose of our research. It refers to the

"use of more than one method or approach to answer the research question in order to give more broad prospective for concluding the research question and enhancing the confidence in the findings"(Bryman, 2015).

In our triangulation approach we have used both quantitative and qualitative approach. Triangulation approach gives a better, detailed and diverse way of looking at certain phenomenon. Quantitative methods are structured and somewhat inflexible whereas qualitative method is flexible and partially structure (Khan, 2010).

Quantitative Methods:

For the purpose of our quantitative analysis we have collected all the bills presented by women legislators from 1947 – 2007 and measured the efficiency of legislators through bills presented and bills approved statistics. A two prone strategy was used for measuring efficiency;

- i.** Individual efficiency
- ii.** Cumulative efficiency era wise. (8 eras)

The mathematical formulas used for finding efficiency are:

Individual Efficiency:

Number of bills approved / Numbers of bills presented * 100

Cumulative Efficiency per era:

Sum of efficiency of each year in an era/No. of years *100

We have divided the time from 1947 till 2002 in eight eras and then separately calculated the efficiency by looking at the number of bills presented by women parliamentarians in that era and from them how many were approved by the parliament.

Qualitative Methods:

For qualitative approach we have to address various factors that have either directly or indirectly influenced the efficiency of women parliamentarians, i.e. culture, social, political and historical incidents. In order to study these factors we have performed **narrative analysis**.

Narrative analysis:

The narrative analysis represents people narrative in cultural, historical, ethnic and social context. Basically it acts as an interpretive device through which people represent themselves and their world to others. The narrative analysis contains element of revolution for example change over time and also contains different kind of arrangements and appeals. Narrative analysis or the narrative methods is the study of the experience of individuals and exploring the learned significance of the learned significance of experience (Bamberg, 2010).

“Narrative analysis can therefore be seen as opening a window of mind, or if we are narrating a specific group it tells about their story and their culture” (Cortazzi, 2003). We have used narrative analysis so that we can find out the social religious and cultural factors that either hampered or encouraged women to play their role effectively and efficiently in the parliament as legislatures.

A country's socio-economic and cultural structure is also important in defining the typical role of women and how they are perceived. The three main players who have an effect on women political participation and their efficiency as legislators are political parties, women organizations and policy entrepreneurs.

Political Parties

Political party could be defined as

“political party is a group of dedicated people who come together to win elections, operate the government, and determine public policy” (Nowaczyk, 2015).

Political parties are important institutions of a democratic government. They play a role of a mediator among the policy makers and the citizens. Their most important role is determining the participative role of women politicians. Either the woman parliamentarian is selected on reserved or hereditary seats or elected through general seat, must belong to a political party. It's the culture, leadership and mandate of specific party which devise a policy for women representation and participation. The party's leadership and its mandate decide that how much authority could be delegated to women members; thus this party's trust ultimately strengthens their voice in the parliament. Few of the prominent examples of political parties of Pakistan are Pakistan People's Party, Muslim League (N), and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf etc.

Women Organizations:

Women organizations are crucial in rising and shaping the voice on women related issues. They are the most prompt initiators to solve and reduce the hurdles in the path of women political and

social conditions. They keep the policy makers and politician on their toes and keep a check on the system and make sure that woman's related issues and problems are highlighted and proper action are being taken. Some examples of women organizations in Pakistan include APWA, ShirkatGah, Aurat Foundation etc. These organizations help to elevate the social status of women and to bring political awareness among the women and strengthen them to fight for their rights.

Policy Entrepreneurs:

Policy entrepreneurs are those people who are influential enough to bring about a change in the society. Kingdon (1995) define it as the

"Advocates for policy proposals who may be inside or outside of government, groups, or individuals, but who share the defining characteristic of a willingness to invest their resources—time, energy, reputation, and sometimes money—in the hope of future return. That return might come to them in the form of policies of which they approve satisfaction from participation, or even personal aggrandizement in the form of job security or career promotion" (Crow, 2013).

The change could be a policy change as well. Even a single person, who's dominant enough, can bring a change in the political ways and even have the ability to change the policy out comes related to the political agendas. Policy entrepreneurs put their resources in a policy that they support or believe in hence in our thesis we have talked about these policy entrepreneurs who have either supported or rejected such policies who were in favor of women political involvement. Some examples include General Zia-ul-Haq, General Pervez Musharraf, and Benazir Bhutto etc.

Figure-1

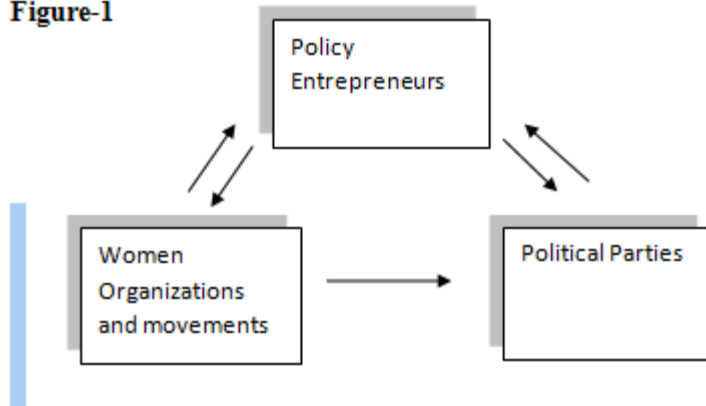


Figure-1 depicts the relation between the three actors. Policy entrepreneurs affect both the other two actors and have a central role. They comprised of not only politicians as policy entrepreneurs but other important individuals as well. Women organizations put pressure on the politicians and political parties then react to satisfy and reduce this social pressure (Blomgren, n.d.).

Data Collection:

Data collection was the most tedious and hard part of our thesis. Nothing was done in Pakistan to measure the efficiency of parliamentarians as the way we did it and a close example from other countries was not in range. Following are the sources of the data collected.

Primary Sources:

Session debates books:

Our data collection is based on the debate books through which we searched all the bills presented by different women parliamentarians belonging to various parties. These bills represented the contribution of these women legislature. In order to find the bills presented by women parliamentarians we have gone through the whole debate sessions from 1947 to 2007. It accounts for a total of a 20 visits (twice a week) to National assembly comprising 8 hours per

day. It was a tedious exercise to go through each page of the debate having no index. There were total 480 debate books on average 8 per year. The snap shot of our visits is attached as appendix.

The purpose for studying these debate books is that they not only gave us an idea of what happened on the floor of the house at a given period of time, rather they gave an insight on the Introduction of the bill by respective member, their dialogue and how it was processed in the parliament, the support and opposition by the different members.

Interview:

In order to have an insight on advocacy and success of the bill certain other factors play an important role which lie outside the walls of the parliament. They could be social, cultural, political or governance dilemmas. To conclude about the end result, we had to learn about the actual perspectives and vision of the parliamentarians themselves for which we carried out interviews of different parliamentarians, both men and women to get the perspective of the both genders. This approach is based on grounded theory which is based on collection of data first and then interpreting and analyzing it to get to a conclusion unlike other theories that chose a concept first and then prove it with the help of different methods (Calman, 2012). Thus interviews were conducted to analyze the ground realities and then extracting conclusive results from them.

We conducted semi structured interviews because of two reasons. Firstly, we wanted to learn about the broader spectrum of the actual occurring and the actual contribution plus the limitations imposed on the women at their workplace which hampered women performance in their political and legal duty. Main reason for using this technique is to have room for innovation and creativity. We conducted interviews from the following parliamentarians and women organizations.

Name of the interviewee	Party Affiliation	Designation	Hereditary/ Non-hereditary politics	General/ Reserved seat
Mr. Ejaz Shah Bukhari	PPP (Pakistan People's Party)	MPA Sindh Assembly	Hereditary seat	General seat
Miss. Meraj Houmayun Khan	QWP (Quami Watan Party)	MPA KPK Assembly	Non hereditary seat	Reserved seat
Miss. Munazza Hassan	PTI (Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf)	MNA	Non Hereditary seat	Reserved seat
Miss. Saman Sultana Jafri	MQM (Muttahida Qaumi Movement)	MNA	Non Hereditary seat	Reserved seat
Miss. Shireen Mazari	PTI (Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf)	MNA	Non Hereditary seat	Reserved seat
Miss. Shiza Fatima	PML-N (Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz)	MNA	Hereditary seat	Reserved seat
Miss. Rumina Khursheed Alam	PML-N (Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz)	MNA	Non Hereditary seat	Reserved seat/belongs to minority
Mr. Uzair Mailk Khan	PML-N (Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz)	MNA	Hereditary seat	General seat

Name of the interviewee	Designation	Nongovernmental organization	Foundation in
Miss. Meraj Houmayun Khan	Founder and CEO	Da Laas Gul (DLG)	1988 KPK
Miss. Khawar Mumtaz	CEO	Shirkat Gah	1975

Following is the structured part of the questionnaire:

1. Tell us about different incidents in the history of Pakistan which impacts women parliamentarians and political workers?
2. Women Parliamentarians should speak on what type of topics?
3. What should be the election method for women parliamentarians?
4. What has been the role of women organizations?
5. Is there any budget discrimination between male and female parliamentarians?

6. How do women deal with street politics or male workers?
7. Is the efficiency of women parliamentarians increasing over time?

Secondary Sources:

We have used various research articles, journal papers, books and research studies. Our secondary sources can be categorized into two categories one being general overall literature across the world other being specific Pakistan's politico administrative context. In order to know how parliamentary efficiency is measured, what kinds of various methods have been used by scholars, we have studied the work of David Mayhew, Wayne L. Francis and James W. Riddlesperger, Gray and Lowery. To know about Pakistan specific politico administrative context we have reviewed following three books and a research paper which are listed below

- Strengthening Women's Political Participation and Leadership In Pakistan
- Leading the way by Syed Shamoan Hashmi.
- Parda to Parliament by Shaista Suhrawardy.
- Women of Pakistan: Two step forward, one step back, written by Farida Shaheed and Khawar Mumtaz.
- "Political Participation: Women in National Legislatures in Pakistan" Khawar Mumtaz's paper

All these books mark the history of Pakistani women politicians and legislatures and the hurdles faced by them during different eras. The book of Shaista Suhrawardy is an autobiography where as the one written by Fareeda Shaheed and and Khawar Mumtaz is based on the journey of women political awareness and understanding whereas the last book by Syed Shamoan throw light on the legislative history of women parliamentarians.

Analysis:

All the data we have gathered needed proper analysis in order to get results for our proposed hypothesis questions. For the data analysis we adopted the quantitative method for the calculation of efficiency and narrative analysis (represents people narrative in cultural, historical, ethnic and social context) for the interviews, bills, debates and other social and cultural factors. We have outlined our analysis and findings in different phases referred as eras from 1947 - 2007. There are total 12 eras for which we have done narrative analysis whereas quantitative analysis is done for 10 eras.

Parliamentarian's Efficiency

A two prone strategy was used for measuring efficiency; i) individual efficiency ii) cumulative efficiency era-wise. (8 eras)

*Individual Efficiency: Number of bills approved / Numbers of bills presented * 100*

In order to rate each parliamentarian's efficiency, we have created the following scale in subsequent eras:

Poor	Low	Moderate	High
0%	Below 40%	40%-60%	Above 60%

Cumulative Efficiency – Era wise

We have calculated the efficiency of an era based on the phases ranging from 1962 – 2007. The formula used for calculating efficiency is:

*Cumulative Efficiency per era: Sum of efficiency of each year in an era/No. of years *100*

OR

$[(\text{Bills Approved (first year)}/\text{Total bills of that year}) + (\text{Bills Approved (second year)}/\text{Total bills of that year} + \dots)] / \text{No. of years} * 100$. Each year's efficiency

Following is the efficiency values in percentage for each era:

Sr. No.	Era	Efficiency
1	1962-1965	8.3%
2	1965-1969	20%
3	1972-1977	0%
4	1985-1988	0%
5	1988-1990	0%
6	1990-1993	0%
7	1993-1996	0%
8	1997-99	16.66%
9	2002-2007	43.33%

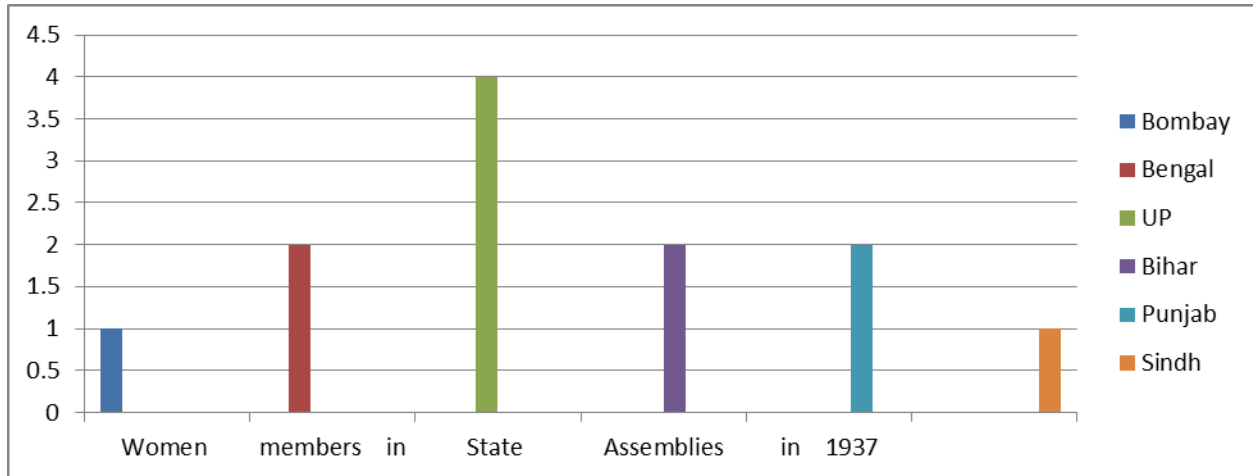
Before Independence:

1906 - 1946:

We will initiate by shedding light on parliamentary role of women in the sub-continent and women participation in Pakistan's independence movement. Following were the women parliamentarians selected on reserved seats in 1937:

List of Muslim Women Members in Indian State Assemblies in 1937	
Mrs. Faizi B. Tayabji	Bombay Legislative Assembly
Mrs. HasinaMurshad	Bengal Legislative Assembly
Begum FarhatBanoKhanum	Bengal Legislative Assembly
Mrs. Khadija Yakub Hassan	Madras Legislative Assembly
Begum AizazRasul	UP Legislative Council
Lady WazirHasan	UP Legislative Council
Begum Habibullah	UP Legislative Assembly
Begum ShahidHussain	UP Legislative Assembly
Lady Anise Imam	Bihar Legislative Assembly
Mrs. JahanaraShahnawaz	Punjab Legislative Assembly
Begum RashidaLatifBaji	Punjab Legislative Assembly

Below is the graphical representation of the first women parliamentarians in 1937:



Narrative Analysis:

Political awareness in the women of sub-continent was not the result of “home grown feminist movement” rather it was due to the slow evolution triggered by British reforms introduced in 19th century (Hashmi, 2010). These reforms included modern education, western concept of democracy (adult franchise) and industrialization.

The first political party to be formed in the sub-continent was Indian National Congress. It was created in 1885. In 1889 women were only allowed to be spectators and in 1900 Mrs. K. Ganuli was the first women who was given a chance to speak whereas no Muslim women was considered worthy even of being a spectator.

All India Muslim league was formed in 1906 with no woman delegate. Khilafat movement was the turning point regarding the role of women in politics in the sub-continent because in the movement, participation of each and every member was desired. Bi amma, mother of Ali

brothers, was the first woman to address the public, initially she addressed women and men meetings separately but in 1917 she broke this tradition by addressing the joint session.

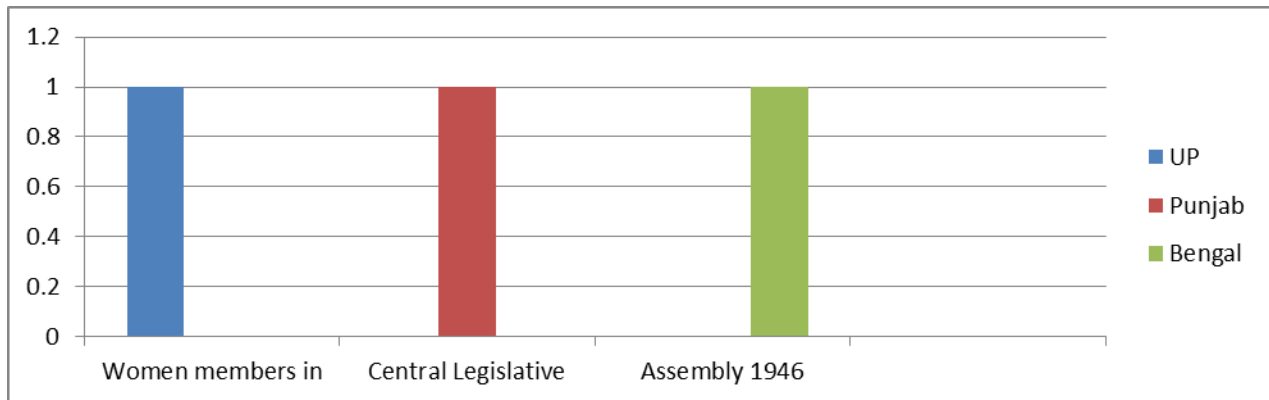
Women organizations in various capacities struggled to get their equal rights to vote. These efforts were fruitful and in 1928 women all over India were given the right to vote. The first round table conference of 1930 discussed the future constitution of India which was attended by Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz, who went with her father as Muslim woman delegate. She along with Mrs. Subramanyan of Madras presented a memorandum, demanding for equal rights for everyone without any discrimination of gender, religion and caste. Muslim league officially validated this memorandum in 1932. In 1935, India act was passed granting women not only equal voting rights but also reserved seats in the center and the provinces. Hence in 1937 election, women entered parliament. (Mumtaz Shaheed, n.d)

None of the women was given ticket to contest election on general seat however they entered parliament on reserved seats. This was a beginning of a new era in the political life of Indian women as their voice was heard against social discrimination and the general community. Presence of Muhammad Ali Jinnah also helped women in winning their participation in the parliament and their political rights.

The following tables indicate the Muslim women selected on reserved seats in 1946 for central legislative assembly:

List of Muslim Women Members in the Central Legislative Assembly 1946	
Begum Aziz Rasul	UP
Begum JahanaraShahnawaz	Punjab
Begum Shaistakramullah	Bengal

This is the pictorial representation of women during 1946 era:



Quaid-e-Azam was a zealous champion of women political rights and parliamentary participation. He actively participated in the suffrage movement. The woman wing of Muslim league was established at Patna in 1937, where Mrs. Maulana Mohammad Ali Johar (Amjadi Begum) was appointed as the first president.(Ikramullah, 2000).

In 1945, 95% Muslim seats in sub-continent were won by Muslim league due to the political activation of Muslim women who went from door to door creating awareness about Pakistan movement.

The first session of Indian Central Legislative Assembly met on 9th December, 1946. Muslim League Members boycotted the session. As a result the 3 Women members, elected to the Constituent Assembly, did not take oath till the announcement of the Partition plan. These Members were indirectly elected by their respective Provincial Assemblies.

Begum Aziz did not migrate to Pakistan and hence took oath in Indian legislative body whereas the two other honorable members joined Legislative assembly of Pakista

After Independence:

1947-1961:

Reserved Seats:

Following were the members of Pakistan's first legislation formation assembly:

Women Members of the First Constituent Assembly of Pakistan 1947 – 1954		Bills Approved in this era
Name	Constituency	
Begum JahanAraShahnawaz	West Pakistan	Women inheritance law
Begum Shaistalkramullah	East Pakistan	Foreigners to retain their identity after marrying Pakistani men

Narrative Analysis:

This assembly was functional till 1954 after that the constitution was abrogated and general Ayub had coup. Widely two major contributions are attributed to these two women parliamentarians can be summed up in two broad headings i.e. equal representation right for women and certain important legislative measures.

In her book, Begum Shaista states that she was the only member who opposed the objective resolution, "tooth and nail". The two honorable members also tried to lobby for 10% quota reservation for women however they were just able to get 3% approved. The 'ulema' board which was set up to give recommendation to "Basic Principles Committee" objected the women inclusion in committee below the age of 50 years and without 'Bhurqa'. Begum Jahanara waged war against it and got succeeded in resisting the board's objection.

The two ladies drafted a charter, seeking: "Equality of status; equal opportunities and equal pay for equal work", For Muslim women, all the rights given to them by the Islamic Personal Law of Shariah was passed unanimously by the Constituent Assembly in 1951 (Ikramullah). Legislative

measures taken by them were also important as in a male dominant society; it goes to the credit of these women that they got following laws finalized:

- a) Nationality Law: Any foreign woman married to a Pakistani man had a right to retain her original nationality.
- b) Induction of women in foreign and other services
- c) Inheritance law approved by Punjab assembly

However, we are not calculating their efficiency as these laws were passed through their respective provincial assemblies. The data to which we have an access was limited to the national assembly for the purpose of research. Due to this limitation we had not included the efficiency of this era in our subsequent efficiency calculation

1962-1965

General Seats:

Following members were elected on general seats under the first elections held by Ayub Khan:

Name	Constituency	Bills Presented	Bills Approved	Bill Subject	Efficiency	Scale of Efficiency
Begum Zohra Aziz	Layalpur, West Pakistan	0	0	Nil	0%	Poor
Begum Hamida Mohammad Ali	Bogra, East Pakistan	0	0	Nil	0%	Poor

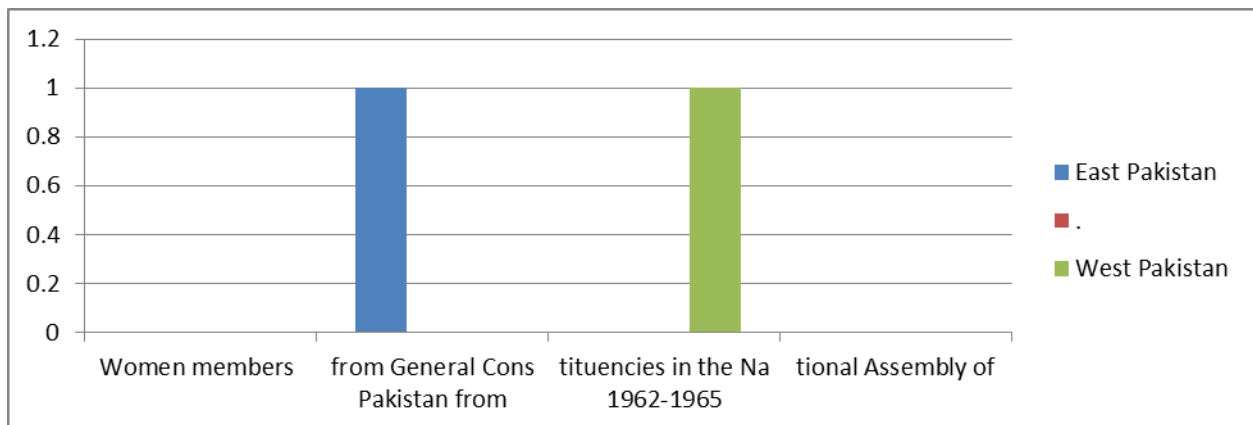
Reserve Seats:

Following women were elected on reserved seats from various constituencies:

Name	Constituency	Bills Presented	Bills Approved	Bill Subject	Efficiency	Scale of Efficiency
Begum Roquyya Anwar	East Pakistan	3	1	1.procedure for election of candidates for office of	33%	Low

				president 2. Muslim ordinance bill 3. Declaration of Assets by presidential candidates		
Begum SerajunnessaChoudhury	East Pakistan	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum ShamsunNaharMahmood	East Pakistan	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum MujjebunNisa	West Pakistan	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Muhammad Akram Begum	West Pakistan	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Khadeja G. A. Khan	West Pakistan	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum ZariSarfaraz	West Pakistan	0	0	Nil	0%	Low

Following is the pictorial representation of women sitting in that parliament:



When we look at the table of era 1962-65 general seats, there were only two women parliamentarians. The efficiency of the parliamentarian's is poor, as no bill has been presented. On reserved seat Begum Rouqyya Anwar of East Pakistan presented three bills, out of which only one was approved. *The cumulative efficiency of this era is 8.3% which is also very low/poor.*

Presented Bills:

Bill to provide for the procedure for election of candidates for election to the office of president

The bill was presented by Begum Roquyya Anwar on 28th March 1963. This was the first bill presented in National assembly by a female parliamentarian. The bill was introduced to amend article 167 clause restricting that only three people could take part in elections for president's office. According to her, it was a public office which should be open for whatever number of members who seek application.

Mr. Abdus Sabur Khan, the then minister of communication opposed the bill as, president office is not a public office rather he is elected by national and provincial assemblies. Hence only a limited number of candidates should run for it. The motion passed regarding this bill was negative.

Muslim Family Ordinance Laws Amendment Bill:

The Bill was presented by Begum Roquyya Anwar on 20th March 1964. This bill was introduced to amend Muslim family ordinance 1961. The Basic objectives set by Begum Roquyya were:

- To extend principle of representation in inheritance not only to sons and daughters of property holders but also to their heirs.
- To replace existing arbitrary council by a properly constituted matrimonial court.

- To bring laws of divorce laid down by Muslim family law ordinance in line with those laid down by ‘Shariah’ by providing that divorce shall become revocable unless three menstrual periods have been expired after the announcement of ‘talaaq’.

- To empower matrimonial court to grant permission, in special circumstances, to contract marriage to persons who have not attained certain age limit.

She introduced the bill in order to nullify the two opinions that were created in the house and public due to certain issues in Muslim family law ordinances. Although the bill passed by the house but needed certain amendments especially in clauses related to marriage and divorce.

Mr. Abdus Sabur told the house that already a committee has been working on this issue so this bill should not be introduced in the court till that committee gives its findings. He invited Begum Roqayya to join the same committee and give her valuable input there.

A respective member of the house pointed out that the committee was of conventional Muslim league not National assembly. Mr. A.H.M Khamruzzaman, Mr. Abdul MuntaqaimChaudry and Begum Roqayya opposed that a committee consisting of NA members should be formed to work on this issue. Begum Khadeja J.A Khan invited Begum Roqayya in the committee but she refused. The motion that was passed by the Assembly was negative.

The Presidential Election Bill 1964:

The Bill was presented by Begum Roqayya Anwar on 17th August 1964. This bill was introduced to add clause (d) in sub clause 2 i.e. declaration of assets both in cash and kind.

According to Begum Roquyya people once reach higher political seat become very rich and their properties begin to increase at an exponential rate. Hence by the introduction of this clause the house can keep a check on such people. A presidential candidate by declaring all his property

will add on to his political integrity as people would come to know about, how he or she earned all the wealth and money which he or she owns.

Mr. ManzurRehmanChaudry (an opposition member) favored the bill and asked that the presidential candidate should on oath declare his assets and liabilities before entering the office so that once he leaves nobody can talk about his character and integrity. He critiqued the then head of the state for entering into a number of industries by buying their shares especially of Gandhara industries.

Mr. Badar ul Haq opposed the amendment on the account that no such clause is present for the members of electoral college, members of National and provincial assemblies then there is no logic to introduce it for the office of president. Either such clause should be introduced in Electoral College Bill and Election Rules or it should not be added for the election of office of the president.

Mr. Serajul Islam Miayah and Mr. Mehbub-ul-Haq favored the amendment on the ground that if the head of the state is honest and people have their faith in him. He will be a role model for rest of the people.

Mr. GulamSabir Khan Rana and Mr. Mohammad Hanif opposed the amendment on the basis that any such condition is a suspect to the dignity and integrity of the person holding the highest office of the state. According to Mr. Hanif, there is already a provision in the constitution that members of the assembly can impeach president by giving two third votes against him if they think he is not worthy of sitting in the esteem office.

Mr. Muhammad YousafKhattak (opposition leader) and Mr. Abdus Salam gave their points in favor of amendment whereas Mr. Mohammad Qasim Malik opposed the amendment on the

account that the person who is contesting elections is yet not in a public office so nation has nothing to do with his assets. This point was opposed by Mr. SardarBuhadur Khan in whose opinion no other scale could not be used for wealth measurement before and after the appointment of an individual to the office of president. Mr. Farid Ahmed favoured the bill whereas Molvi Akber Ali strongly opposed the bill as in his opinion it is the duty of voter to vote for the right candidate. Certain motions were negative and certain were approved but on the whole the amendment bill was passed.

Narrative Analysis:

The efficiency is low over all in this era mainly accused to military coup.

The highlight of Ayub era is the election between Ms. Fatima Jinnah and General Ayub Khan even religious parties were backing Ms. Jinnah but still a general propaganda was generated that she was a Indian agent (RAW), which was a shame considering the fact that she was sister of founder of the nation and also that she herself contributed to her best capability for the creation of this state of Pakistan. Everybody knows that a massive and systematic rigging took place but there is no official report about it. She was a woman who had the courage to stand against a dictator when even the most seasoned male politicians backed down she was the one to challenge. An independent inquiry should be held on the aforesaid elections and the report should be made public in order to boost women confidence especially of the women political workers. It would also give a boost to people’s trust in democracy.

1965-1969:

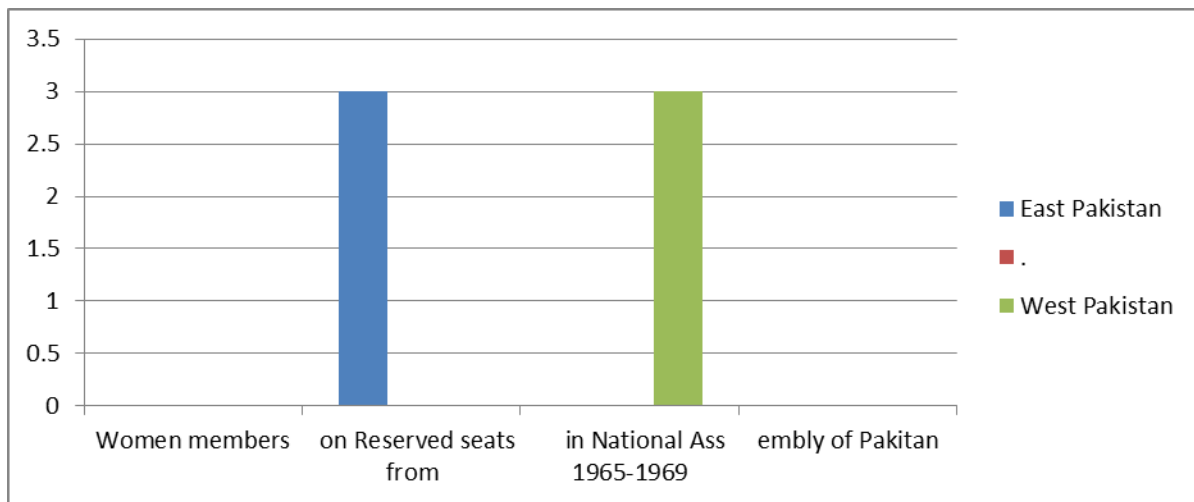
Following women were selected on reserved seats during this era:

Reserved Seats

Name	Constituency	Bills Presented	Bills Appro	Bills Subjects	Efficiency	Scale of Efficiency

			ved			
Mrs. Mariam Hashimuddin Ahmad	East Pakistan	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum Dolly Azad	East Pakistan	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum RaziaFaiz	East Pakistan	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum MujjebunNisa Muhammad Akram	West Pakistan	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum Khadeja G. A. Khan	West Pakistan	1	1	Presentatio n of Standing Committee Report on Medical Amendmen t Bill	100%	High
Begum ZariSarfaraz	West Pakistan	0	0	0	0%	Low

Following is pictorial representation of women during this era:



The low efficiency of women parliamentarian as shown in the above table is due to the, social context. People were not encouraging females because of certain social issues. The people did

not show an appreciative approach towards female parliamentarians. *The cumulative efficiency in this era is 20%.*

Presented Bills:

Presentation of Standing Committee Report on Medical Amendment Bill:

The amendment bill was presented by Begum Khadeja G.A. Khan in 1967 and the report was duly accepted for the amendment.

Narrative Analysis:

During the tenure of the military dictatorship of Field Marshal Ayub Khan, the indecisive result of Indo-Pak war in 1965 led the Pakistanis to accuse Ayub Khan of betrayal in Kashmir. Pakistan was in a situation of serious turmoil, and as a result Ayub Khan removed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto from the foreign ministry office in 1966.

Fatima Jinnah was always a ray of sunshine for the women of Pakistan, the reason behind their struggle of empowerment and articulation of their legal rights. Hence women faced with a serious setback after her death in 1967.

In the same year, Pakistan people's party was formed by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto which created a wave against Ayub Khan's regime. Bhutto gave people the slogan of "Roti, Kapra and Makaan" which instilled a new political soul in people. Pressured and demoralized Ayub Khan handed over the rule to General Yahya Khan in 1969.

This three year period of dictatorship did not provide the assembly especially the women parliamentarians to pass legislation as only one amendment bill was being passed by begum Khadeja G.A. Khan

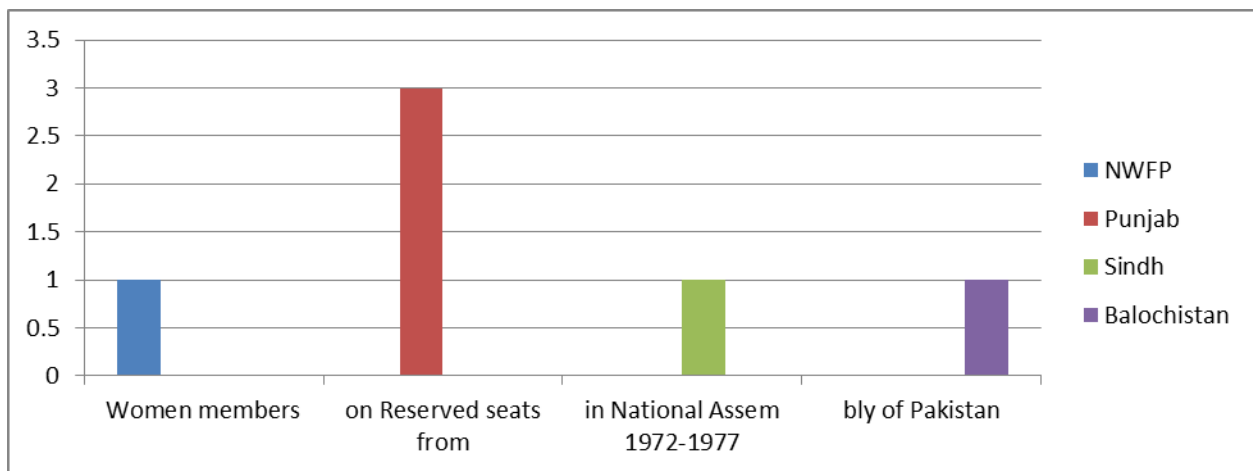
1972-1977:

Following women were selected on reserved seats during this era:

Reserved Seats

Name	Constituency	Bills Presented	Bills Approved	Bill Subjects	Efficiency	Scale of Efficiency
Shireen Wahab	NWFP	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Mrs. Nargis Naeem	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Nasim Jahan Begum	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Zahida Sultana	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Dr. Mrs. Ashraf Khatoon Abbassi	Sindh	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Mrs. Jehanzebaalis Jeneffer Mosa Qazi	Baluchistan	0	0	Nil	0%	Low

Following is the pictorial representation of women parliamentarians during this era:



According to feminism, the allocation of reserve seats for women is a government intervention, for ensuring that women must participate in legislative process of Pakistan. Mere representation is not enough, the parliamentarians' participation and effectiveness is also necessary which is quite low in this case. As indicated from above tables *the cumulative efficiency during this era has been 0%*. Because not a single woman presented a bill in this era.

Narrative Analysis:

Indo-Pakistan war of 1971 broke out leading to the disaster of separation of Bangladesh. In the same year, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became the Prime Minister of Pakistan with the return of democracy after a long time of military dictatorship rule. His democratic regime exercised liberal attitudes toward the women and their related issues. In this era, women became empowered at all levels being social, economic and political grounds.

Bhutto opened all services of the government to the women including the Foreign Service and the district management group, early these posts had been denied to them. About 5% of seats in the provincial assembly and 10% seat in the national assembly were being reserved for the women that automatically increased participation in the assembly sessions and discussions more and more. Bhutto also did not put any restriction on the women regarding them contesting in the election on general seats.

Unfortunately, these policies did not achieve what it ought to because of the poor implementation process taken into account. But this problem arose because of the social circumstances which the country was facing, a turmoil due to the war against India that led to the split of the country.

Approval of the 1973 constitution was given by the parliament of Pakistan in 1974. And it was for the first time after 1958 that with Bhutto as the Prime Minister of Pakistan shifted the country back to a parliamentary democracy.

The constitution of Pakistan specifically guaranteed gender equality. It clearly stipulates that discrimination should not be based on sex; marriage, family, mother and child protection should be provided plus women's full participation at all levels of national life should be ensured

(Constitution, 1973). However, the judiciary of that time upheld ‘Islamic laws’, misinterpreted time and again, over the guarantee of the constitutional practice of equality and non-discrimination under the law.

The first Pakistan Women’s Right Committee’s constitution was also followed by the participation of Pakistani official delegation in the First World Conference on Women, held in Mexico.

Although this era worked a lot regarding the women related issues and the upheaval of the assembly but the circumstances did not support the policies and initiatives leading to minimal contribution by the women in legislative process. Most important factor that led to the gaps in implementation was allocation of the budget towards the defense of the country which was a serious demand of that time to secure self against the enemy. Hence as a response funding of science and defense expenditure increased by 200% which limited other sectors’ share of funds and finances.

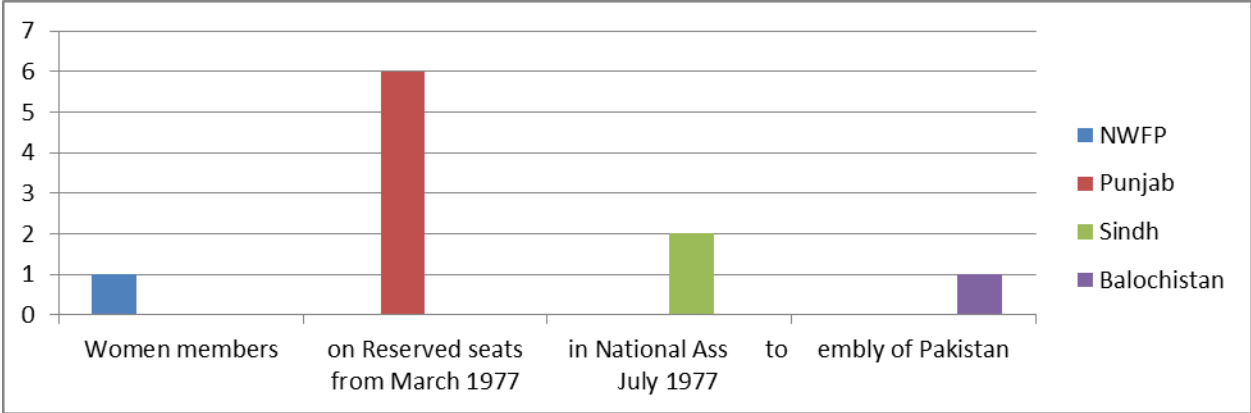
March 1977- July 1977:

Following women were selected in this era on reserved seats:

Women Members on Reserved Seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan March 1977- July 1977	
Name	Constituency
Begum KulsoomSaifullah	NWFP
Mrs. NargisNaeem	Punjab
Mrs. Dilshad Begum	Punjab
Begum Nafisa Khalid	Punjab
Begum BilqisHabibullah	Punjab
Mrs. SamiaUsman	Punjab
Miss Mubarak Begum	Punjab
Begum Nusrat Bhutto	Sindh
Mrs. Nasima Sultana Akmut	Sindh

Mrs. Bilqis Begum	Baluchistan
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Following is the pictorial representation of women during this era:



According to the table in this era, there was not a single bill presented by the women parliamentarian hence *the cumulative efficiency came out to be 0%*.

This era was the consolidation of right wing political alliance known as Pakistan national alliance (PNA) that consisted of nine political parties. It was formed to run a campaign against the left wing, Pakistan Political Party in the 1977 elections. This alliance was noted for the huge physical momentum and its orientation towards the right wing despite of different ideologies of each party. It was originally aimed to oppose PPP and PM Zulfikar Ali Bhutto but during 1977 general elections, PNA performed poorly despite of its agenda and accusations were leveled of rigging the elections. After several months of political activism, martial law came into effect under the Chief of army staff, General Zia-ul-Haq who called for political retribution. That led to the parties to diverge in each agenda. The alliance met its end in 1978.

1977-1988:

This era is of Zia ul haq's coup and following are the politico social and religious context of this era:

Narrative Analysis:

Zia implemented "Haddood ordinance" which affected women adversely not even in that tenure but still we are unable to repeal some of the clauses. There were 10 women in "Majlis-e-shoora", who being liberal feminist, did try to oppose the rules. These include the dignified names such as Atiya Anaya tullah, Begum Zari Sarfraz, AppaNisar Fatima, who did protest against those laws but their number was so less that it did not achieve any but the important point is once again women resisted, where men and political parties were silent and did not challenge the dictator. Another example of liberal Marxism is of Mehtab abbasi who was an anchor at that time and she refused to cover her head if she was supposed to that in order to follow law. There were massive protests by social society in Lahore. These people were fed up from patriarchy and dominance of strong political players. People from all walks of life came out to protest, especially women who came out on streets and the pressure built to the extent that Zia had to reserve 10 seats for women to calm the protest.

1985-1988:

General Seats:

Following women were elected on general seats in this era:

Name	Constituency	Bills Presented	Bills Approved	Bill Subjects	Efficiency	Scale of Efficiency
Begum AbidaHussain	NA-76 Jhang – IV	3	0	1.Ban on Hunting of Houbara Bustard 2.Political Parties Amendment	0%	Low

				Bill 3.The Senate (Election) (Amendment) Bill		
Begum NasimMajidAkhtar,	NA-146 Bahawalnagar V (Elected in by-election)	0	0	Nil	0%	Low

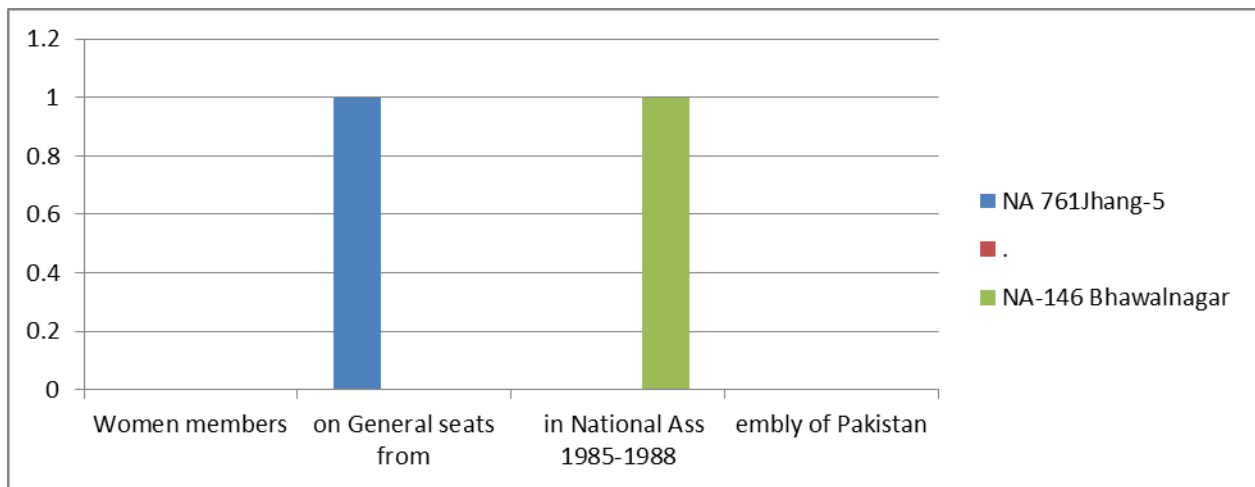
Reserved Seats:

Following women were selected on reserved seats during this era:

Name	Constituency	Bills Presented	Bills Approved	Bills Subjects	Efficiency	Scale of Efficiency
Begum AfsarRazaQazalbash	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum SarwariSadiq	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum SilvatSher Ali Khan	Punjab	1	0	The Political Parties (Amendment) Bill:	0%	Low
Mrs. Khurshid Begum	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Mrs. DureshahwarMazari	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Mrs. Rafia Tariq	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum RehanaAleemMashahdi	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
ShahzadiMehmooda Begum	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum Ishrat Ashraf	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Dr. AttiyaInayatullah	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Mrs. FarrukhMukhtar	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Mrs. Nisar Fatima Zahra	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Mrs. AfrozeNazir Ahmad	Sindh	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum Salma Ahmad	Sindh	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Mrs. Rashida Pasha Khorro	Sindh	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Mrs. Qamar-un-	Sindh	0	0	Nil	0%	Low

NisaQamar						
Mrs. BilquisNasar-um-Minallah	N.W.F.P	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum KalsoomSaifullah	N.W.F.P	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Dr. Miss. Noor JahanPanazai	Baluchistan	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Bilqees Begum	Baluchistan	0	0	Nil	0%	Low

Following is the pictorial representation of women during this era:



The women parliamentarians' in this era has been very weak; their efficiency has been quite low. This can be attributed to the ethnic, cultural reason that the acceptance of women views was not been developed at that time. The people did not have an appreciative attitude towards women, that's why we see that many reserved seats are there to ensure their participation yet *the cumulative efficiency of the era is 0%*.

Presented Bills:

Ban on the Hunting of Houbara Bustard:

Sayyeda Abida Husain introduced a bill on the complete ban on the hunting of Houbara Bustard regarding which the members passed their will to provide her with the leave for introduction. And Muhammad Ahmed Iqbal stated for its proceedings to be taken to the standing committee.

Political Parties Amendment Bill:

Sayyeda Abida Husain put forward her views regarding the political parties' amendment bill. The actual political party bill was introduced in 1962 and the amendment bill was introduced on the day when the second martial law was removed. She talked on the dismemberment of the Muslim League Party which was once considered a single party, the founder of Pakistan, dispersed into many leagues being introduced by different individual names. And after participating in elections, it was unable to win seats. She also touched the issue of martial law of 1958 and 1962 that after each one it, democracy lost its hold and these had been unfortunate events.

This amendment bill had two facets, one regarding the registration process and the other was regarding the defection clause. She said that it's the right of the public to choose between the parties and their voice should be incorporated into the assembly while practicing freedom of association and freedom of belief.

The Senate (Election) (Amendment) Bill:

Sayyeda Abida Husain presented this bill after the criticism of the public regarding the elections of 1965 and 1977 and the inefficiency on the part of the election commissioner appointed by the president under article 217 of the constitution. She stated that the election commission institution should work collaboratively in order to meet the greater good and to make the institution itself very strong and the tenure of the election commissioner office should give due consideration.

The means and methods or the processes that were being followed while taking in the senate election must be appropriately applied. She also focused her debate on the collective interest of the state i.e. to represent the public while considering their demands, aspirations and requirements. She also talked about the inefficacy on behalf of the three organs, the legislation, executive and the judiciary and how to overcome the deadly consequences.

The Political Parties (Amendment) Bill:

It was presented by Begum Silvat Sher Ali Khan on 13 June, 1987. Begum Silvat proposed the amendment of the clause 8B of the political parties' act which stated that:

"A person once elected as a member of the house whether he's elected as a candidate of a political party or elected as an individual candidate defects or withdraws himself from the political party he shall, from the date of such defection or withdrawal be disqualified from being a member of the house for the unexpired period of his term as such member".

She said that this clause is against the article 17(2) of the constitution which is "Freedom of Association". Article 8B of the political parties act violates this articles and hence the constitution. She demanded the withdrawal of this clause and the restoration of the constitutional right of freedom of association for any individual.

Her proposition was strongly opposed by minister parliamentary affairs Chaudry Amir Hussain.

He said parliament is a respectable institution and the laws made here are not formed by keeping only one aspect of the issue in mind and we should respect them. Also in 1975 during the PPP government an amendment was made in the political parties' act of 1962 where the clause of defection was removed for special purposes. He said that if we remove this clause of 8 (B) then

we will face the same fate of 1975 where the government used different tactics to persuade the politicians to join their party and gain certain benefits. He further says that having an act which supports free movement of politicians after their selection from a particular party is actually in favor of the existing PML(n) government and on the other hand keeping this clause will actually favor the opposition party. Even after this fact we are still advocating for keeping this clause for the greater good of the Pakistani society and political environment.

He continues to defend his argument by saying that this clause ensures the establishment of a stable government and it is evident from history that before this clause in 1962 no stable democratic government could be formed. Also it's the moral responsibility of the individual who has been elected not to change parties whenever he wants. Freedom to change parties is detrimental for the establishment of a stable government. Therefore he strongly condemns the removal of clause 8 (B) from the political parties act.

The speaker of the house took voting from the members 3 times due to the objection raised by Begum Silvat and all the time, the majority voted against the amendment introduced. The final results comprised of 15 votes in favor and 82 against it. The motion of the bill was negative.

1988-1990:

General Seats:

Following are the women selected on general seats during this era:

Name	Constituency	Bills Presented	Bills Approved	Bill Subjects	Efficiency	Scale of Efficiency
Begum Nusrat Bhutto (PPP)	NA-24 Chitral & NA-164 Larkana I	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum Abida Hussain	NA-67 Jhang II &	1	0	<i>The Press Bill, 1989</i>	0%	Low

(IND)	NA-68 Jhang III			(Amendment)		
Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto	NA-94 Lahore, (PPP) NA- 166 Larkana III & NA-189 Karachi (S)-I	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Dr. Ashraf KhatoonAbbassi (PPP)	NA-165 Larkana II	0	0	Nil	0%	Low

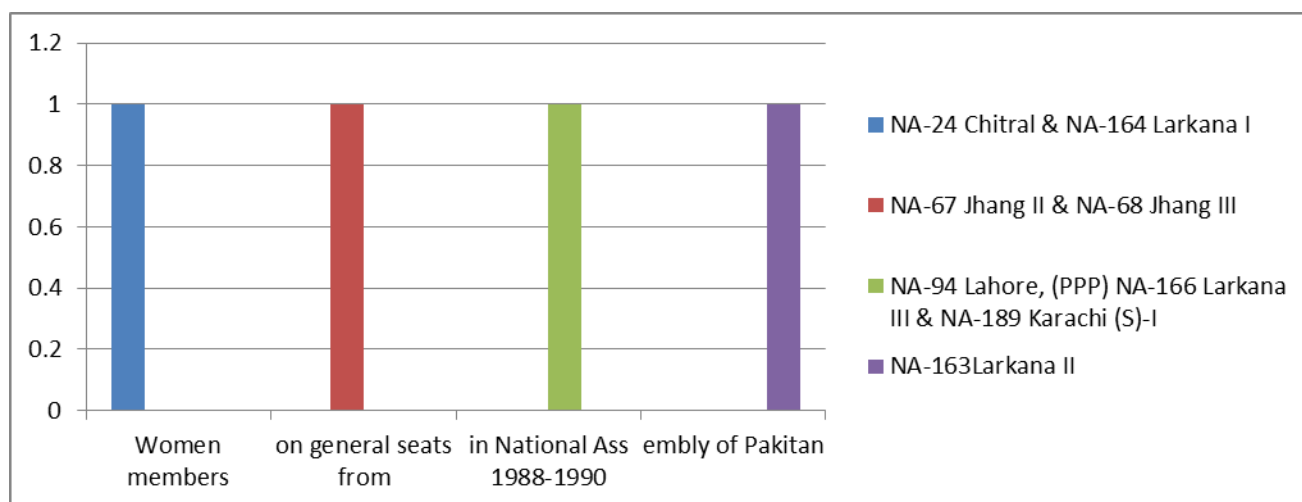
Reserved Seats

Following women were selected during this era on reserved seats:

Name	Constituency	Bills Presented	Bills Approved	Bill Subjects	Efficiency	Scale of Efficiency
Begum RehanaSarwar (PPP)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum SarwariSadiq (IJI)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum Nadira Khan Khakwani (PPP)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Mrs. AminaParacha (PPP)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Mrs. Razia Sultana (IND)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Mrs. Shahnaz Begum (PPP)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum RehanaAleem Mashahdi (IJI)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. ShahnazWazir Ali (PPP)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Mrs. Abida Malik (PPP)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Dr. AttiyaInayatullah (IJI)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low

Mrs. AamiraEhsan (JI)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Mrs. Nasreen Begum (PPP)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Mrs. Shamim N.D. Khan (PPP)	Sindh	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Dr. Mrs. Mehmooda Shah (PPP)	Sindh	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Mrs. RuqiaKhanumSoomro (PPP)	Sindh	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Mrs. ZareenMajeed (HaqParast)	Sindh	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Malik Mehr-un-NisaAfridi (PPP)	N.W.F.P.	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum KalsoomSaifullah (JI)	N.W.F.P.	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Mrs. SaminaRazak (PPP)	Baluchistan	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
BibiAmina JUL(F)	Baluchistan	0	0	Nil	0%	Low

Following is the pictorial representation of women during this era:



According to cultural theory perspective the changes in culture can be decoded as adaption of human behavior. The change in government to military coup to democracy and then to military

coup, in other words the inconsistency can be considered as reason for the inefficiency of women parliamentarian. The women parliamentarians' views have still no acceptance in the society basically the system as whole is not given enough room and space to develop due to inconsistency of various governments, *the cumulative efficiency of the era was 0%*.

Presented Bills:

The Press Bill, 1989 (Amendment):

It was presented by MNA Syeda Abida Hussain on 28th March 1990. The amendment moved, stated that:

"The press bill, 1989 as reported by the standing committee, be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion."

This amendment faced opposition from fellow MNAs and they based their opposition on various facts. They find the sanctity of this bill questionable as the standing committee where this bill was debated, had an unsolved conflict over the bill. Also, the government intervened in this case and approved the press bill through ordinance and assigned an age to this bill. The press had been rendered active/inactive on and off. This whole thing disrespected the senate and the parliament and had taken a step which nullified the creditability of the parliament. They argued that eliciting public opinion will further delay the process of making this bill a law through the proper parliamentary channel.

Whereas Begum Syeda Abida Hussain pointed out that most of the laws are not put into practice because of their disagreeing nature so to avoid this fate for the press bill, it is mandatory. She wanted the bill to be free from any conflicting clauses and to be complete in all dimensions and therefore demanded the eliciting public opinion. Doing so will also build confidence among the general public regarding the validity of government institutions and will create a feeling of goodwill for the current government. Her awareness and open mindedness regarding this issue

was commendable and her discussion points were pretty valid and strong. However, the motion for this amendment was passed as negative.

Narrative Analysis:

During this period of time a shifting of politics was seen and Benazir Bhutto's government was dismissed by Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the then President and Nawaz Shareef took power as the prime minister of Pakistan in 1990. Again the political scene was so complicated and entangled in its own traps that little attention was given to the women of that time. The only bill presented by a female was also based on a more generalize topic of circulation of the bills to involve public opinion.

There were a lot happening going on in these years and women's political conditions were getting better. This can be seen in the session debates of those eras. The society as a whole was also going through a change. Religious fanatics were pushed at a side or at least their opinion did not matter as much as it mattered during the early years of Zia's regime. Benazir's appointment was a proof of this. Women felt stronger and more in control than any other time of their political history. Also the bills presented in this era show a greater understanding of Women legislatures as they raised their voices on important issues like political parties' bill or the senate bill etc.

The period of ten years of Zia's tenure, marking of the policy entrepreneurship, passed the Huddod Ordinance with Zia's interpretation of Islam. He did serious damages to the women's status in all fields whether economic, social or political, three factors necessary for the empowerment of women. The damage done by Zia still persists.

The assembly of 1985-1988, two women made their way into the parliament through reserved seats and 20 came on general seats. These were the last four years of Zia's tenure; Muhammad

Khan Junejo became the PM of Pakistan in 1985 general elections. Zia died in a plane in 1988 ending his tenure led Benazir Bhutto the first woman PM of Pakistan.

In her regime, women got politically empowered more than ever, which can be seen in the debate sessions of that era in which four bills were passed on diverse issues showing greater women understanding and highly educated caliber i.e. bills were not at all gender specific. Sayyeda Abida Husain introduced three bills and Begum Silvat Hussain introduced one bill.

This era was creating a difference, a change in the society, women evolution and their awareness at its peak. Religious activists, who always posed hurdles in the women’s development, were now less heard. Because of this, women felt more secured and stronger than ever. Major proof was being Benazir Bhutto’s appointment as PM.

In the period of 1988-1990, four women came on general seats and 20 came on reserved seats in the parliament, this two year period was very stressful as the political scenario was so locked in its own trap that women were neither focused nor they contributed up to the level of their entry in the assembly. Only one bill was passed regarding the press by Sayyeda Abida Hussain but was rejected.

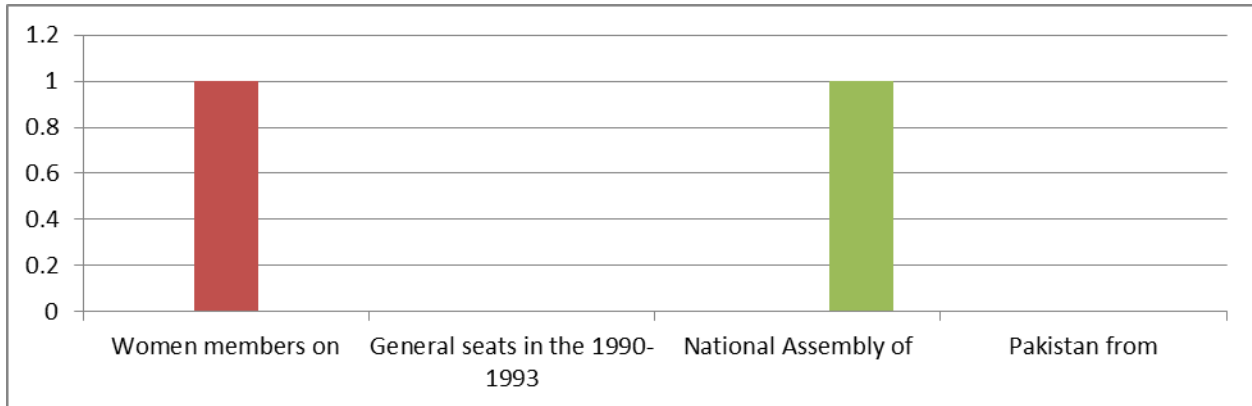
1990-1993:

General Seats:

Following women were elected on general seats during this era:

Name	Constituency	Bills Presented	Bills Approved	Bill Subjects	Efficiency	Scale of Efficiency
Begum Nusrat Bhutto (PPP)	NA-164 Larkana I	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto (PPP)	NA-166 Larkana III	0	0	Nil	0%	Low

Following is the pictorial representation of women during this era:



The efficiency has been quite low, this may be attributed to various reasons including that the development of women parliamentarians and awareness about the importance of women view and ideas were in process. *The cumulative efficiency is 0%.*

Narrative Analysis:

The most important reason was that the reserved seats were eliminated and only 2 women were elected on general seats which were also due to hereditary seats. Hence no bill was presented in this era.

In 1990-1993, two women were elected on general seats. This era is marked by total political unrest that led to changing dynamics of the political system. Benazir took the office of PM the second time, from Nawaz Sharif.

1993-1996

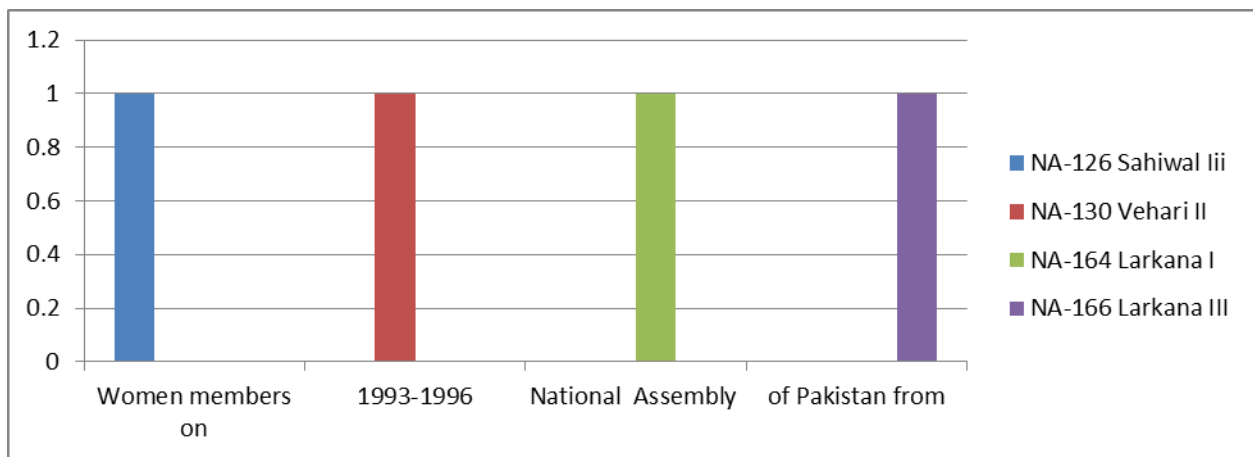
General Seats:

Following are the women elected on general seats during this era:

Name	Constituency	Bills Presented	Bills Approved	Bill Subjects	Efficiency	Scale of Efficiency
Begum Shahnaz Javed	NA-126	0	0	Nil	0%	Low

(PPP)	Sahiwal III					
Begum Tehmina Daultana (PML-N)	NA-130 Vehari II	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum Nusrat Bhutto (PPP)	NA-164 Larkana I	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto (PPP)	NA-166 Larkana III	0	0	Nil	0%	Low

Following is pictorial representation of that era:



The cumulative efficiency yet again is 0%. There wasn't any bill presented during this era by any woman parliamentarian.

Narrative Analysis:

In this era, 8th national assembly was dismissed. This era was the closing stage for women's rise as the reserve seats for women also got eradicated. Thus only two women were elected from their home constituencies, Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto and Begum Nusrat Bhutto. These were the only women parliamentarians present as a hope of change in the men dominated world. As Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto was the first woman to become a leader and with the highest percentage of votes secured in the party based election.

In October 1993, 10th National Assembly came into being again with no seats reserved for women. Only four women came through the General Seats. Mohtarma again came as prime minister and she floated the idea to make organization of women parliamentarians which disrupted after her turmoil. Mian Mohammad Nawaz Sharif was in opposition to her.

Benazir Bhutto became Prime Minister at a time of huge racial tension in Pakistan and due to her stubbornness and authoritative actions; her political rivals criticized her a lot. Similarly ethnic and racial brutality in Karachi up roared and became a biggest problem for her to counter. She faced a lot of opposition in different areas but she kept committed to her plans and handled everything boldly. She not only tried to solve ethnic problems but economic as well. She was also very active in foreign affairs of the country. Her leadership era proved that women not only work for gender sensitive issues but all kind of issues effectively but due to male-dominance, women have to face a lot criticism.

1997-1999:

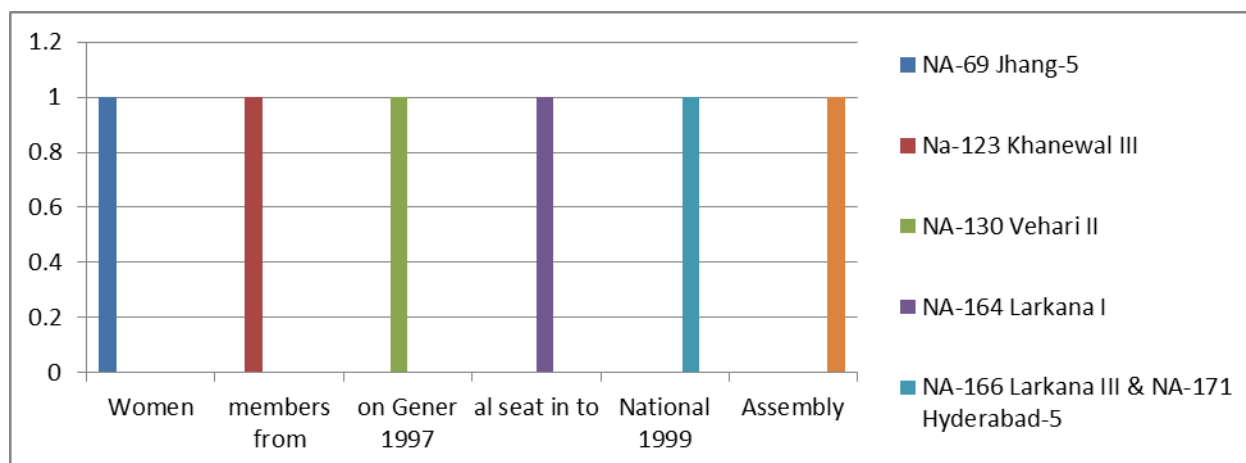
General Seats:

Following were the women parliamentarians elected during this era:

Name	Constituency	Bills Presented	Bills Approved	Bills Subjects	Efficiency	Scale of Efficiency
Begum Abida Hussain (PML-N)	NA-69 Jhang-IV	1	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum Majeeda Wyne (PML-N)	NA-123 Khanewal-III	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum Tehmina Daultana (PML-N)	NA-130 Vehari-II	1	0	Bait-ul-Mal (Amendment) Bill, 1997	0%	Low
Begum Nusrat Bhutto	NA-164	0	0	Nil	0%	Low

(PPP)	Larkana-I					
Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto (PPP)	NA-166 Larkana-III & NA-171 Hyderabad-V	1	1	Contempt of Court (amendment) Bill, 1997:	100%	High
Dr. Fehmida Mirza (PPP)	NA-173 Badin-II	0	0	Nil	0%	Low

The graph is pictorial representation of women during this era:



General seats mean that women are elected by people. Social acceptance of women parliamentarians has increased and this is evident, however still the efficiency of the female parliamentarians has seen to be negligible. *The cumulative efficiency during this era was 16.66%.*

Presented Bills:

Bait-ul- Mal (Amendment) Bill, 1997:

It was presented by Tehmina Doultana on 4th December, 1997.

Contempt of Court (amendment) Bill, 1997:

The bill was presented by Benazir Bhutto. This bill was rather introduced as more of a debate than a statement.

Mian Nawaz Sharif became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. In this era the compute of women MPs improved by 6 women in general elections. During this tenure, the most active women were Begum Abida Hussain(MNA) and Begum Tehmina Daultana(MNA). This was the most vocal era for women. They were also brought into the Federal Cabinet as Ministers whereas a non-member Begum Ishrat Ashraf was also selected as an Advisor to the Prime Minister. During this turmoil a lot of bills were presented by the women, this shows the emerging trends of accepting women as essential and dynamic factor in the parliament of Pakistan.

Narrative Analysis:

In the period of 1997-1999, six women were elected on general seats, the regime of Nawaz Sharif. At this point of time, women had set a standard for themselves after a long struggle, as they had started joining ministries and also engaged in the cabinet with Dr. Ishrat Altaf becoming the advisor to PM. Three bills were introduced in this period, all diverse related to electoral process, judiciary and finance, which proved women's dynamism.

2002-2007:**General Seats:**

Following women were elected during this era:

Name	Constituency	Bills Presented	Bills Approved	Bill Subjects	Efficiency	Scale of Efficiency
Ms. Eman Wasim (PML-Q)(resigned in 2004)	NA-59 Attock-III	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Sumaira Malik (NA)	NA-69 Khushab-I	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Mst. Ghulam Bibi Bharwana (PML-Q)	NA-87 Jhang-II	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Saima Akhtar Bharwana (Ind)	NA-90 Jhang-V	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Riffat Javaid Kahlon (PML-Q)	NA-117 Narowal-III	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki (PPP-P)	NA-130 Lahore-XIII	1	0	Motion for Leave to introduce the Code of Criminal Procedure (amendment) bill	0%	Low
Ms. Rubina Shaheen Wattoo (Ind)	NA-147 Okara-V	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Mrs. Khalida Mohsin Ali (PPP-P)	NA-176 Muzafargarh-I	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Hina Rabbani Khar (PML-Q)	NA-177 Muzafargarh-II	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Dr. Azra Fazal Pechuho (PPP-P)	NA-213 Nawabshah-I	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Mrs. Shamshad Sattar Bachani	NA-223 Hyderabad-VI	0	0	Nil	0%	Low

(PPP-P)						
Dr. Fehmida Mirza (PPP-P)	NA-225 Badin-II	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Zubaida Jalal (PML-Q)	Na-272 Kech-cum-Gawadar	1	1	Nil	100%	High

Reserve Seats:

Following women were selected on reserved seats:

Name	Constituency	Bills Presented	Bills Approved	Bills Subject	Efficiency	Scale of Efficiency
Ms. Mehnaz Rafi (PML-Q)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	100%	High
Dr. Hajira Tariq Aziz (PML-Q)	Punjab	1	1	Report on The control of Hepatitis Bill, 2005	100%	High
Ms. Tanzeela Aamir Cheema (PML-Q)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Dr. Donya Aziz (PML-Q)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Dr. Saira Tariq (PML-Q)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Mrs. Riffat Amjad (PML-Q)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Dr. Attiya Inayatullah (PML-Q)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Bushra Rehman (PML-Q)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Farzeen Ahmed Sarfaraz (PML-Q)	Punjab	1	0	Motion For Leave To introduce the Islamabad wildlife protection, preservation, conservation	0%	Low

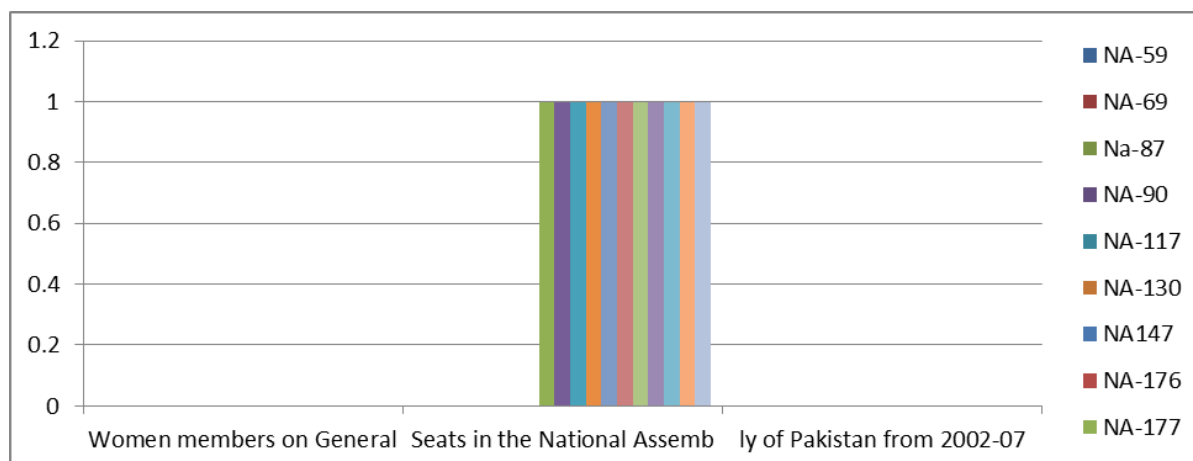
				and management (amendment)		
Shahzadi Umer Zadi Tiwana (PML-Q)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Raheela Munawar (PML-Q)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Prof. Aasiya Azeem (PML-Q)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Dr. Firdaus Ashiq Awan (PML-Q)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum Tehmina Dasti (PML-Q)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Onaza Ehsan (PML-Q)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Bushra Anwar Sipra (PML-Q)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Dr. Rozina Tufail (PML-Q)	Punjab	1	0	Labors Laws Amendment Bill 2006:	0%	Low
Ms. Tahira Asif (PML-Q)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Naheed Khan (PPP-P)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Beelum Hasnain (PPP-P)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Shakeela Khanum Rashid (PPP-P)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Fauzia Habib (PPP-P)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Mehreen Anwar Raja (PPP-P)	Punjab	2	0	Injured Persons (Medical Aid) Amendment Bill <i>The Constituent</i>	0%	Low

				<i>Amendment Bill 2006:</i>		
Ms. Yasmeen Rehman (PPP-P)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum Shahnaz Shaikh (PPP-P-P)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Rukhsana Bangash (PPP-P)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Naseem Chaudhary (PPP-P)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. SamiaRaheelQazi (MMA)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. MaimoonaHashmi (PML-N)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum Ishrat Ashraf (PML-N)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum TehminaDaultana (PML-N)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Begum RehanaAleemMashhadi (PML-J)	Punjab	2	2	Report on Pakistan electronic media regulatory authority (Amendment Bill The Press, Newspaper, News agencies and Books registration Ordinance (amendment bill)	100%	High
Ms. MeenaLaghari (NA)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Ayla Malik (NA)	Punjab	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. FizaJunejo (PML-Q)	Sindh	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. SheryRehman (PPP-P)	Sindh	2	2	Industrial relation	100%	High

				amendment bills are clubbed with others bills. The introduction of a bill to provide for elimination of gender discrimination :		
Ms. Ruqaiya Khanum Soomro (PPP-P)	Sindh	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Fauzia Wahab (PPP-P)	Sindh	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Rubina Saddat Qaimkhani (PPP-P)	Sindh	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Nafisa Munawar Raja (PPP-P)	Sindh	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Shagufta Jumani (PPP-P)	Sindh	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Dr. Farida Ahmed (MMA)	Sindh	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Aisha Munawar (MMA)	Sindh	1	1	The publication of Holy Quran Elimination of Printing and Recording Errors, (Amendment bill)	100%	High
Ms. Shamim Akhtar (MQM)	Sindh	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Afsar Begum (MQM)	Sindh	0	0	Nil	0%	Low

Ms. ShabinaTalat (MQM)	Sindh	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Gul-e-Farkhanda (NA)	Sindh	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Khurshid Afghan (PML-F)	Sindh	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. ZaibGoharAyub (PML-Q)	N.W.F.P.	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
SayyadaFarhana Khalid Banoori (MMA)	N.W.F.P.	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Razia Aziz (MMA)	N.W.F.P.	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Nayyar Sultan (MMA)	N.W.F.P.	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Jamila Ahmed (MMA)	N.W.F.P.	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. AmbareenNaseem (MMA)	N.W.F.P.	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. Inayat Begum (MMA)	N.W.F.P.	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. ShahidaAkhtar Ali (MMA)	N.W.F.P.	1	1	The senior citizen bill	100%	High
Dr. Noor JahanPanezai (PML-Q)	Baluchistan	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. ImranaKhawar (MMA)	Baluchistan	0	0	Nil	0%	Low
Ms. BilqeesSaif (MMA)	Baluchistan	0	0	Nil	0%	Low

Following is pictorial representation of this era:



In historical Context that the culture of the society of Pakistan has been such that is didn't allow much of the women to grow and develop their leadership skills and their participation in the parliament. The coup has restricted the democracy and role of women in many ways. As liberal feminism puts it, that reserve seats enhances women participation but we have seen throughout the history that women were represented by the reserve seats but their efficiency did not increase. *The cumulative efficiency of this era is 43.33% despite of giving such a huge representation.*

Presented Bills:

The International Students Bill, 2003:

Mrs. Zobaida Jalal introduced this bill to facilitate the students returning from abroad, seeking admission in educational institutions of Pakistan.

The Chairman Moved The Bill, The International Student Bills, 2003:

Motion for leave to introduce [*the protection and empowerment of women bills, 2004*]

Mrs Sherry Rehmen requested that item no 3 and 4 moved by legislative business commerce should be deferred, so that industrial relation amendment bills are clubbed with others bills.

The chairman said that the Item 3 and 4 were deferred; item 7 and 24 were moved.

Begum Rehana Aleem Mashhadi 2005, Report on Pakistan electronic media regulatory authority (Amendment Bill):

Rehana Aleem Mashhadi was the chairman of standing committee on information and broadcasting, she presented the bill to amend the Pakistan electronic media regulatory authority Ordinance 2002. The motion of this bill was adopted.

Begum Rehana Aleem Mashhadi 2005 presented, *The Press, Newspaper, News agencies and Books registration Ordinance (amendment bill)*, the motion was adopted.

Miss Farzeen Ahmed Sarfaraz 2005, asked for motion for leave to introduce, *The Islamabad Wildlife Protection, Preservation, Conservation and Management (Amendment)*. She introduced the amendment of Islamabad wildlife protection, preservation, and conservation and management ordinance 1979. Dr. Sher Afghan Khan Niazi opposed it. To which she responded that, this bill is regarded to the protected areas of Islamabad. There is a great deal of infringement in that area, which allows for construction and road building. This is against the actual concept of national park. The leave was refused.

Mrs Samina Khalid Ghurki, 2005: Motion for Leave to introduce, *The Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill, 2005*.

She introduced the bill to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898. She said if any woman condemns a crime then a woman police constable should arrest her or deal with her, Instead of male police, because they deal very badly with the women.

Dr. Sher Afghan Khan Niazi opposed it and said it is already present in Criminal Procedure Court that woman police will deal with women. The leave was not granted.

Labor Laws Amendment Bill 2006:

The Bill was presented by Ms. Rozina Toufail on 30th January 2006. It was introduced to have amendments in Labor laws 2005.

The Constituent Amendment Bill 2006: The bill was introduced by Ms. Mehreen Anwar Raja on 5th September 2006. It was introduced to amend article 185 of the constitution of Islamic

Republic of Pakistan. The ministry of parliamentary affairs Mr. Sher Afghan Niazi informed the honorable speaker of the house that two third majority is required for a constitutional amendment and at that moment not even the treasury held two third majority. So the amendment is not possible without club and hence it is suggested to have some working before presenting the bill before the house.

Ms. Mehreen however requested that the bill should not be deferred as it has been presented after three years and clients are bearing a lot of pressure due to this. However Mr. Sher Afghan said it is very important article of constitution and the judiciary also needs to be consulted on this one as higher courts have given decisions in light of this article. The result of this bill was that it got deferred.

The introduction of a bill to *provide for elimination of gender discrimination*: Mrs Sherry Rehman introduced a bill to remove gender discrimination, which was according to constitution of Pakistan. The chairman asked Mrs. Nilofar Baktiar, advisor on women rights whether she opposed it or not, she wanted to clarify her point but she was asked again whether she opposed it or not. Nilofar opposed the bill saying that she had eleven points.

Mrs Sherry said that this bill has been opposed since October and now the advisor oppose it on the basis that it has too many clauses, firstly if it had too many clause, it would not have appeared technically in house 2, in that case the officers of the chamber would have informed that this bill is technically in default. This act should be known as protection and empowerment of women Act 2004. It is seeking universal literacy on the ground that primary education is extremely important for women progress and advancement. Children education is included as a part of women protection bill because children education is related to women liberation in every

household of Pakistan, education should be made compulsory for all children under the age of 10 years. Every district government will be bound to provide free education to children under age of 10, who is its resident. Each Union Council to maintain register of children under the age of 10. Primary education should be given, at national and provincial level equal participation to be ensured and federal and provincial public service commission should set minimum no of recruitments. Equal pays should be given and gender discrimination should be prohibited. Each employee either public or private will work in confines with ILO convention. Giving equal pays fines and one year rigorous imprisonment in case of domestic violence and honor killing. She said we will also be asking about Hudood ordinance, that was promulgated under military dictator who used it to legitimize his rules and misuse constitution of Pakistan, it should now be challenged. Freedom of speech for every adult woman, when it comes to 'nikah', she has a right to speak and say what she wants and not letting them to become victims of Jirga decisions. All inheritance cases of widow and orphans should be decided in 6 months not in years.

Mrs. Nilofar said she agreed to it but these are different things and they have to work on each of it separately in separate bills.

Mrs Ayesha Munawar, 2006: The bill was about the publication of *Holy Quran Elimination of Printing and Recording Errors, (Amendment bill)*. She presented the amendment in publication of Holy Quran (elimination of Printing Errors) Act 1973 to publication of Holy Quran (elimination of Printing and recording Errors). The Motion was adopted regarding this bill.

The senior citizen bill, 2006: Mrs. Shahida Akhtar Ali moved a bill to further make provisions to the senior citizen bill, 2006. The final form of this bill was completed in 2007 but its approval from the parliament faced unnecessary delays.

The drug (amendment) bill, 2006: Mrs. Rubina Saadat Qaim Khani proposed a bill to further amend the drug act of 1976.

Miss Mehreen Anwar Raja: Injured Persons (Medical Aid) Amendment Bill (2007) She begged for leave for her introduction of the amendment to the medical aid bill which was not opposed by anyone hence she was granted leave.

Dr. Hajra Tariq Aziz, 2007: Report on The control of Hepatitis Bill, 2005 She presented the report on standing committee on the bill to control the rapidly increasing disease of hepatitis in Pakistan. This continually increasing disease was affecting millions of people every year. The said report stood present in the parliament.

Narrative Analysis:

The government of Mian Nawaz Sharif was dismissed and the fourth military coup of General Pervez Musharraf came on October 12, 1999. Then Parliament was re-established in 2002 with key amendments in the 1973 Constitution, under a “Legal Framework Order”. LFO came in 2002, in which stipulation of reserved women seats got accepted after a long time. LFO allowed for little representation of women only 17%.

A lot of different political, social and economic incidents occurred during this era, September 11, 2001 attack then Musharraf's close political and military alliance with the United States, which included his support of the 2001 incursion of Afghanistan and then nuclear standoff in 2002. All these caused economic as well as social tension in the country.

During this era the first ever Woman Speaker of the House was selected, in the entire Muslim World. 60 women legislature came on reserved seats whereas 24 women senators elected on reserve seats. This was the highest number of female representation, ever achieved in the course

of power. This was the most active era to recognize women parliamentarians. Also an initiation of Women's Parliamentary Caucus was made during this time period but remained unsuccessful because of highly polarized political circumstances.

CAUCUS:

The formation of women parliamentarian caucus is a milestone in the history of Pakistan. The formation of caucus is basically a non-partisan. It can be traced back to the struggle of our women to have their legal, political and social rights. Women of Pakistan have always emerged as powerful leaders, as voices of oppressed and marginalized people of Pakistan. In the history of Pakistan, leaders like Fatimah Jinnah and Nusrat Bhutto are among those who have symbolized the public struggle and have spoken for women rights. Formation of caucus attributed its creations to all women leaders. Benazir Bhutto is among those female parliamentarians who have also strived for female rights. The establishment of first Women bank, appointment of women judges and establishing 'ministry of women development 'are some of the initiatives taken by Benazir Bhutto during her era. In Pakistan for the first time at international level conference on Muslim women parliamentarians were held in 1994.

Objective of Caucus:

Benazir Bhutto while proposing the formation of women parliamentarian caucus for the first time has considered it as a platform for women for enhancing their role as parliamentarians.

It was made to enhance women parliamentarian role and take up considerations related to gender sensitive issues through proper institutional structure and promotion of women empowerment and their rights in the national legislation.

To support implementation of gender sensitive policies, caucus coordinates or communicates with women's organization both in public and private sector. All women parliamentarians whether Muslim or non-Muslim, across the globe are connected by it.

The efforts for creating caucus were made after 2002 elections, but it did not gain much support due to the limited number of women parliamentarians in the House and the diverse political atmosphere prevailing at that time in the country.

The caucus provides a framework through which broad based participation by the entire member is facilitated. The caucus works mainly through three decision making bodies;

Patron:

The highest legislative officer like speaker, deputy speaker and chairman etc becomes the patron of the Women parliamentarian caucus. She has certain powers like appointment of secretary and treasurer and is also authorized to take decisions for working of caucus. However general assembly takes all the decision.

Working Council:

It comprises of all the female representatives of the parliament. The members are chosen by the patron, for one year period. It is authorized to take decisions for working of caucus and for effective planning regarding the functioning of the caucus. The meeting occurs on frequent bases whenever it is required by the patron.

Salary and Benefits

Following is the monthly salary derived by a parliamentarian as per the current pay scale:

Salary	27,377
Ad-hoc allowance, 2010	11903
Office Maintenance Allowance	8,000
Telephone Allowance	10,000
Sumptuary Allowance	5000
Ad-hoc Relief Allowance-2011	3,571
Ad-hoc Relief Allowance-2012	5,475
Total	71,326

Other than monthly salary a parliamentarian is also paid a travelling allowance for attending sessions and committee meetings. Following are the allowances (TA/DA) and other fringe benefits provided to each parliamentarian:

Daily Allowance	1,000
Conveyance Allowance	750
Housing Allowance	2,000
Total	3,750

* (3 days before and 3 days after in case of session) (2 days before and 2 days after in case of meeting)

Traveling Allowance: By Air = Business Class + Rs. 150; By Rail = A.C.C + One 2nd Class and By Road = Rs. 10 per K.m.

Free Travel (a) Travel Vouchers Rs. 300,000 per annum OR Cash Allowance Rs. 90,000 per annum (b) Twenty Business Class return Air Tickets per annum

Other benefits Telephone: free installation of one telephone at residence. Medical facilities are at par with Class-I government servant.

In order to calculate average per annum expense incurred by government for each parliamentarian in order to attend assembly session (twice a month) following calculations are done:

Items	Calculation method	Annual cost Rs.
Annual Salary	Monthly Salary * 12 = 71,326 * 12	855912
TA/DA	(Average 2 visits per month and 6 days for one visit (3 days before and 3 days after session) = 45000 per month, annual = 45000*12	540000
Cash travel allowance + Free business ticket	(Average ranging from 100,000-300,000) (Each business ticket on average 100,000, 20 tickets = 2000,000)	2200000
Travelling allowance	per business class return ticket within country average + Cash= 40000, 2 visits per month =40000*2*12	960000

Total Estimated Expenditure/parliamentarian (Excluding medical & other facilities)	4,555,912
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FINDINGS

As per the thorough analysis from the previous chapters we have arrived to the following findings:

Efficiency

Total number of women parliamentarians (1962 – 2007):	162
Total no. of women parliamentarians on reserved seats:	130
Total no. of women parliamentarians on general seats:	34
No. of worst Performers: (0% efficiency - Poor)	144
Medium Performers: (40% - 60% - Medium)	0
Exceptionally high achievers: (60% and above - High)	8

The Government spends around **Rs. 4,555,912 (4.6 Million)** on average on each parliamentarian annually. For the scope of our study we have taken in account only one role (legislator) out of the three roles that they are duty bound to play. So, we can say that from a total of 4.6 million, one third accounting for 1.53 million is the government's spending for a legislative role of parliamentarian. Whereas in case of women parliamentarians, those parliamentarians who have zero efficiency or had never presented any bill; this whole amount is an overhead on part of government. Therefore, we can say the cost incurred is very huge as compared to the efficiency of women parliamentarians.

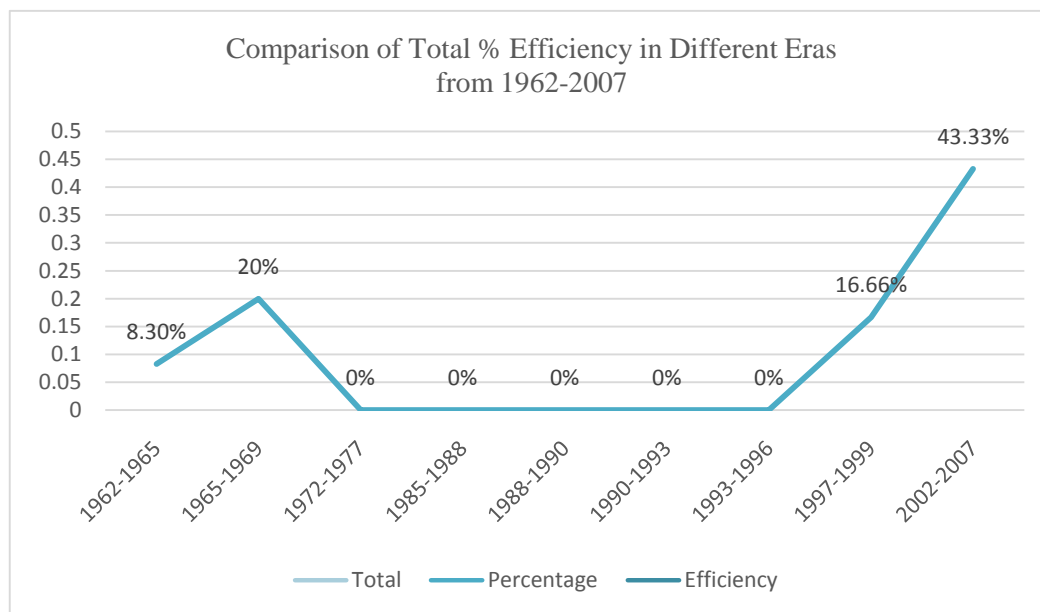
Following are the findings in terms of efficiency of each era and the major contributors:

Sr. No.	Era	Efficiency	Major Contributors
1	1962-1965	8.3%	Begum Roquyya Anwar
2	1965-1969	20%	Begum Khadeja G. A. Khan

3	1972-1977	0%	-
4	1985-1988	0%	-
5	1988-1990	0%	-
6	1990-1993	0%	-
7	1993-1996	0%	-
8	1997-99	16.66%	Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto (PPP)
9	2002-2007	43.33%	Ms. Zubaida Jalal (PML-Q) Dr. Hajira Tariq Aziz (PML-Q) Begum Rehana Aleem Mashhadi (PML-J) Ms. Shery Rehman (PPP-P) Ms. Aisha Munawar (MMA) Ms. Shahida Akhtar Ali (MMA)
Total efficiency (1962 – 2007)		9.7%	

From 1947 – 1961 the cumulative efficiency has not been calculated because in 1947-54, laws were passed by members' respective assemblies i.e. Punjab (Provincial Assembly) and not from National Assembly which is our main focus. And till 1961, military coup of Ayub Khan abrogated the constitution. However the major contributors of democratic period, 1947–54 were i) Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz and ii) Begum Shaista Ikramullah.

Efficiency 1962 - 2007



The constitution got abolished after the imposition of General Ayub Khan military coup in 1958.

In the parliament of 1962-1965, after the enactment of new constitution, two women came on general seats and six on reserved seats with not a single woman who was given ministerial position. This proves that how women lagged behind as their progress and success rate is always at a snail's pace.

In this parliament, Begum Rouqayya Anwar was the most vocal lady who presented three bills among which one was passed, one rejected and one was partially accepted. The three bills which she introduced were very diverse in nature as only one was related to family laws and others related to electoral processes. She faced the opposition professionally but faced hindrance by the strong critique of the religious parties. This was the beginning of women's contribution in the legislation.

In the assembly of 1965-1969, six women came into the assembly on reserved seats. And only one bill by Begum Khadeja G.A Khan was introduced which was duly accepted but because of the social and economic unrest in the country by the Indo-Pak 1965 war, Fatima Jinnah's death and military coup of general Ayub Khan which was followed by another dictatorship rule by General Yahya Khan, women were not able to contribute at any level.

In the regime of Bhutto, a lot of work was done regarding the women's issues and the progress of the assembly but the policies did not bear fruitful outcomes as of the circumstances did not support the initiatives, leading to minimal contribution by the women legislatures mainly because of the high demand of defense policy. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto democratic tenure ended in 1977 by military rule of General Zia-ul-Haq.

In the assembly of four months that is from March to July 1977, ten women on reserved seats came to the parliament but no contribution from a single individual was seen as because of the

era was completely under the turmoil by the tussle between the left wing and the right wing (Pakistan national Alliance). But PNA did not perform well in meeting its objectives and ended in 1978 in the regime of General Zia-ul-Haq.

Year 1985 till 1988 marks the last 4 years of Zia's government. General elections were held in 1985 in which Muhammad Khan Janjoo was appointed as the prime minister of Pakistan. There were no political parties at the time of the general elections. Muhammad Janjoo pressurized Zia to put an end to martial law and Zia did end the martial law in 1985. However in 1988 Janjoo was dismissed from his position by Zia and shortly after Zia was killed in a plane crash and Benazir Bhutto became the first woman prime minister of Pakistan.

In the period of 1988-1990, four women came on general seats and 20 came on reserved seats in the parliament, this two year period was very stressful as the political scenario was so locked up in its own trap that women were neither focused nor they contributed up to the level of their entry in the assembly. Only one bill was passed regarding the press by Sayyeda Abida Hussain but was rejected.

In 1990-1993, two women were elected on general seats. This era is marked by total political unrest that led to changing dynamics of the political system. Benazir took the office of PM the second time, from Nawaz Sharif.

In the era 1993-1996, Benazir Bhutto became Prime Minister at a time of huge racial tension in Pakistan and due to her stubbornness and authoritative actions; her political rivals criticized her a lot. Similarly ethnic and racial brutality in Karachi up roared and became a biggest problem for her to counter. She faced a lot of opposition in different areas but she kept committed to her plans and handled everything boldly. She not only tried to solve ethnic problems but economic as

well. She was also very active in foreign affairs of the country. Her leadership era proves that women not only work for gender sensitive issues but all kind of issues effectively.

In the period of 1997-1999, six women were elected on general seats, the regime of Nawaz Sharif. At this point of time, women had set a standard for themselves after a long struggle, as they had started joining ministries and also engaged in the cabinet with Dr. Ishrat Altaf becoming the advisor to PM. Three bills were introduced in this period, all diverse related to electoral process, judiciary and finance, which proved women's dynamism.

In 2002-2007, thirteen women on general seats and sixty on reserved seats, and twenty four as senators on reserved seats joined the parliament. Twelve bills were passed leading to the highest contribution and representation by the women in the legislative history of Pakistan.

Based on above findings our hypothesis, ***“Women have efficiently contributed in legislative history of Pakistan”*** has been negated having a total efficiency of women parliamentarians accounting for 9.7% for 45 years which could be rated as very low.

Contribution Specifications

Our second hypothesis states that, “Women legislators are advocates of gender specific issues”. However after having the thorough analysis of the bills from the debate books of 45 years we have arrived to the following categorization on terms of subjects of the bills. Only three bills out of the 23 presented bills can be categorized under the category of gender.

Therefore, ***our second hypothesis ‘women parliamentarians work only for gender sensitive issues’, has been negated.*** It is evident in the table below that women have presented only three bills that are gender sensitive and have worked on almost all the categories like religious, political, social, economic and governance.

Categories	Title/Subject of the Bill	No of bills
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Procedure for election of candidates for election to the office of president <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The presidential Election Bill 1964 • The constituent amendment bill • Political Parties Amendment Bill • The Senate (Election) (Amendment) Bill • The Political Parties (amendment) Bill 	6
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presentation of standing committee Report on medical amendment bill: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The International Students Bill • Ban on the hunting of Houbara Bustard • Injured Persons (Medical Aid) Amendment Bill • Motion For Leave To introduce the Islamabad wildlife protection, preservation, conservation and management (amendment) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Bait-ul- Mal (amendment) Bill <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The senior citizen bill • The drug (amendment) bill 	8
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Labors laws amendment bill 2006 	1
Religious	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The publication of Holy Quran Elimination of Printing and Recording Errors, (Amendment bill) 	1
Gender Specific	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Muslim Family ordinance Laws amendment Bill • The Introduction Of A Bill To Provide For Elimination Of Gender Discrimination • Motion For Leave To Introduce [The Protection And Empowerment of Women Bills] 	3
Governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Report on Pakistan electronic media regulatory authority (Amendment Bill) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Press, Newspaper, News agencies and Books registration Ordinance (amendment bill) • Motion for Leave to introduce the Code of Criminal Procedure (amendment bill) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contempt of Court (amendment bill) 	4

Various factors impacting Efficiency:

Interview Findings:

As per our interviewees from parliamentarians and founders of women organization following are the major factory effecting efficiency of women parliamentarians:

- 100% of the interviewees were in favor of women participation
- 72.72% rated religious, social and historical context as the three factors of equal importance, affecting the efficiency of women parliamentarians.
- 63.63% were against the reserved and hereditary seats.
- 36.36% talked about party's role and its mandate that can either empower a woman or suppress her contribution in the politics.

- 18% said due to low budget women are not efficient in working and contributing towards the development of the society.
- 18% Authority and decision making power not given

Different schools of thoughts have different opinions regarding allocation of reserve seats and whether women are being gender sensitive in the parliament or not. Many parliamentarians are follow this notion that reserved seats facilitated women to enter the Assembly but now the trend should be shifted and women should be provided with more general seats without the concept of following inheritance seats. Plus the difference of budget allocation among the members of the Assembly has always hindered the contribution of women but due to democracy, increased awareness and strong social organizations, all these constraints can be overcome.

Women are considered to be more liberal as their perception and interpretation of politics, the situations of the world are psychologically different as compared to their male counterparts. And their contribution can enhance the effectiveness of the system as that would provide a different alternative towards the dealing of the problem.

Historical & political factor:

History have shown us that women have struggled a lot for working towards the upheaval of their status in the politics as well as in the society in the male-dominant world. Political structure and different regimes have been dwindling between democracy and military rule that has always suppressed the role of women. With each new political power and regime, women had to begin from the crack but as time has passed by, they have become more socially and politically aware of their rights and are more empowered than ever before.

Social factor:

Pakistan has seen many ups and downs throughout the history with social turmoil and unrest at its peak at one time or the other. All these conditions mainly affected the representation of the women in the male dominant society either they were not focused or they themselves did not contributed enough to raise their voice.

Religious Factor:

In the name of religion and Islam, women have always been sidelined by the conservatives of the society as they being regarded to be the most segregated and marginalized group. Their contribution and representation has always been seen as disproportionate to that of the men e.g. Zia's interpretation of Islam and Hudood ordinance brought serious damage to the women social, economic and legal empowerment that still persists in one way or the other.

Effect of women organizations:

Women organizations have been very strong and they are responsible for building consciousness among the women to withstand the pressures of the society and the running system that is suppressing their needs and interest as well as hindering their contribution. E.g. APWA established in Ayub's era and Women's parliamentary Caucus (2002) has brought many educated and self-motivated women in the forefront who were able to put pressure on the policy entrepreneurs and the political parties in accordance with their needs.

Effect of political party:

Political party is considered to be one of the most important players in deciding about the contribution and representation of the women because it's the mandate of the party that allocates

the number of seats (reserve seats/general seats) to the women. Plus the environment of the party in which it is working, that provides the women with the opportunity to raise their voice and move forward.

Effect of policy entrepreneurs'

Policy entrepreneurs are very affective in deciding the fate of the women's contribution in the political arena as well as the state itself because they are the powerful and authoritative models that can bring changes in policies plus can formulate new policies that can alter the functioning of the whole system. E.g. Zia's tenure weakened the role of women by the introduction of Shariah Law and Musharraf's tenure empowered women by bringing in their interest through new policies.

Recommendations

Acknowledging the crucial importance of women empowerment and their role in different fields of life especially legislation and political system, the focus of our research, we have put forward some recommendations to improve the standards of political, social and legal structure to give women opportunities to participate as equal partners with the men without any hindrances that they have faced throughout the history. This would not only help them in representing their interests but also will help towards the development, peace and security of Pakistan.

- Role of women organizations have always been impressive but lately due to a large number of organizations working out there, there is a competition among them to look more effective on papers. This trend should be changed and they should work in collaboration with each other to create more awareness in women especially those from the middle and lower middle class to give voice to their opinions. These organizations can bridge the gap between common working women and those sitting in parliament. They can enlighten parliamentarians about the needs and problems faced by ordinary women out there.
- Women councils if established on all levels of the society would lead women to participate more in the decision making processes. These councils would facilitate greater entry of women, providing opportunity to raise their voice regarding their needs and demands which could easily be communicated to the women sitting in the legislation. These councils would help in the empowerment of women at grass root level.
- Reserve seats for women were just a way to get women into the politics, however a policy should be implemented that every political party should be made duty bound to give certain number of general seat tickets to women candidates and reduce the number

of reserve seats, this would increase their confidence and efficiency as they will also have their hands on public pulse. By this method, two very important variables affecting the efficiency of women parliamentarians i.e. discrimination and budget allocation issues will be catered. This would provide them the legitimacy to speak on all kinds of topic.

- Instead of allocation of seats on hereditary basis, the trend should be shifted towards the allocation of seats in accordance with the candidates' contribution and intellectual capabilities.
- Political parties as being the most important player should follow the principle of equal opportunity irrespective of gender and democracy. As political parties are the direct route towards women's participation in political arena and hence they must examine to what level and how effectively and efficiently women are involved in their parties, identify reasons for inadequate participation and encourage efforts to improve the situation. The action of one or two parties cannot be fruitful to help improve the overall efficiency of the women. All the political parties of Pakistan whether the ruling party or the opposition, the active party or the passive one, should built a consensus approach towards the representation and participation of women. This would encourage more women to enter politics and legislation from all areas of the country.
- Women should be considered as equal partners in the decision making process as they are half of the total population of the world and their perspective, experience and interest is completely different than from the men and they would totally act differently in the political arena analyzing the different facets of the issue. When this will be practiced, women would be able to achieve higher status becoming role models for others and women tend to participate and get encouraged more when they have role models, like in

the period of Fatima Jinnah and Benazir Bhutto. This would automatically lead to more effective outcome leading to enhanced democracy.

- The most important factor that has always suppressed the women's role regarding any field of life is the man himself and it is he who can bring this change. Man is considered to be the 'Gatekeeper' of the institutions of policy making hence they are the ones who can leverage the position of women to the top level. For example, Quaid-e-Azam always appreciated the input of women and it was his attitude that encouraged women to participate in the politics and represent their interests.
- Men and women should be ensured that they have equal opportunities and facilities through a fair policy network and electoral process i.e. equal budget allocation, accessibility to state media and election campaigns and so on.
- The role of civil society should be enhanced which can play a significant role in increasing the representative and participative role of women by holding the political parties, legislatures and the government accountable for their actions.

The degree of women empowerment in the national hierarchical structure would be determined largely by taking all the above mentioned recommendations. All these factors are totally interlinked with each other and any weaker dimension would affect the momentum of other affecting the overall sustainability. Hence a positive outcome would be achieved only when all the levels are made compatible with each other. Hence for the improvement of the overall efficiency of women, all these dimensions must be effectively converged.

Conclusion:

Keeping in mind all the data collected through the parliamentary debates and the interviews from both parliamentarians and social workers; analyzing the calculated efficiency of women legislatures it's not very easy to reach a concrete result. Both these qualitative and quantitative researches indicated not so similar patterns.

Overall quantitative results have calculated the efficiency to be very low i.e. 9.7%. Only 23 women out of 164 were able to bring/present bills in the assembly on diverse issues. Therefore as per quantitative results our first hypothesis that "*Women have efficiently contributed in the legislative history of Pakistan*" has been negated. However, qualitative results show that various factors affect the participation of women; authority, decision making power, reserve seats/general seats, social political factors, religious factors, acknowledgement of rights etc. But overall, the outcome is positive as the efficiency has increased with the passage of time, from 1947-2007, efficiency of the last era comes out be 43%.

The literature review which was based on knowing the overall political consciousness and feasibility for Pakistani women throughout the beginning of Pakistan showed that women were always very active in the political scene. They participated with their Muslim brothers in the freedom movement before partition and were there to help during the rehabilitation stage in Pakistan. Prominent ladies of high excess did their best to raise the status of women both socially and politically however it were the men who resisted this equal status and justified it on the basis of religion. Even during the darkest period for Pakistani women in Zia's regime they did their best to oppose his laws and provide him and his way of operation a challenge. It is evident that

these women did their best for their rights and they feared no one. The social movement and women welfare organizations played a decisive part in lifting the status of women.

The interviews from parliamentarians both men and women also indicated that women parliamentarians face minimal discrimination and the environment is quite friendly for a female and they are given equal opportunity and chance. However, this was in contrast to what we found through our arithmetical calculation of efficiency of women parliamentarians. Most of the women legislatures never ever presented a bill throughout their service tenure. Hardly few women spoke during the session debates and these were only those ladies who have presented their bill. Very little participation was seen by women parliamentarians in budget sessions too. The efficiency of women legislature in office was very little as compared to the efficiency of women working outside the office on social grounds. Our first hypothesis that, "*Women have efficiently contributed in the legislative history of Pakistan*", stands true in terms of women who were part of the social movements and who are social workers. These women have contributed more towards the legislative history of Pakistan and towards creating a better political image of women than our female legislatures who are bearing a government office and whose only responsibility is to represent the needs and desires of the people who have elected them. The hypothesis stands incorrect when we are talking about the female legislatures and their efficiency as a whole.

Whereas our second hypothesis that, "*Women parliamentarians work only for gender sensitive issues*", stands incorrect when we see that among all the bills presented by the women since 1947–2007 only three bills were gender sensitive, the rest on diverse topics. This shows that women legislatures are more informed and more vigilant in terms of doing their part and

fulfilling their responsibility of highlighting the issues of the public and presenting more bills to better the condition of the general public.

In order to improve the efficiency of women parliamentarians, we have put forward some recommendations like enhancement of the roles of civil society, political parties and women organizations, allocation of more general seats as compared to reserve seats and equal opportunities to be provided to both men and women.

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Appendix

ANNEX I

List of bills of women parliamentarians which were approved:

Name of Parliamentarian	Date And Year	Bill	Summary	Result
Begum Roquyya Anwar	28th March 1963	procedure for election of candidates for election to the office of president	The bill was introduced to amend article 167 clause restricting that only three people could take part in elections for president's office.	The motion was negative.
Begum Roquyya Anwar	20th March 1964	Muslim Family ordinance Laws amendment Bill	This bill was introduced to amend Muslim family ordinance 1961.	The motion was negative
Begum Roquyya Anwar	17th August 1964	The presidential Election Bill 1964	This bill was introduced to add clause (d) in sub clause 2 i.e. declaration of assets both in cash and kind.	Certain motions were negative and certain were approved but on the whole the amendment bill was passed.
Begum Khadeja G.A. Khan	1967	Presentation of standing committee Report on medical amendment bill:	The report was duly accepted for the amendment.	Accepted
Ms. Rozina Toufail	30th January 2006	Labors laws amendment bill 2006	The Bill was introduced to have amendments in Labor laws 2005.	
Ms. Mehreen Anwar Raja	5th September 2006	The constituent amendment bill	The bill was introduced to amend article 185 of the constitution of Islamic	The bill was deferred.

			Republic of Pakistan.	
Mrs Sherry Rehman		The introduction of a bill to provide for elimination of gender discrimination	The bill to remove gender discrimination,	Presented
Mrs Sherry Rehman	2004	Motion for leave to introduce [the protection and empowerment of women bills	Item no 3 and 4 moved by legislative business commerce should be deferred, so that industrial relation amendment bills are clubbed with others bills	Moved
Mrs. Zobaida Jalal	2003	The international students bill	The bill to facilitate the students returning from abroad, seeking admission in educational institutions of Pakistan	Moved
SayyedaAbida Husain	1985	Ban on the hunting of Houbara Bustard	Introduced a bill on the complete ban on the hunting of Houbara Bustard regarding	Presented
SayyedaAbida Husain		Political Parties Amendment Bill	The actual political party bill was introduced in 1962 and the amendment bill has been introduced on the day when the second martial law was removed.	Presented
SayyedaAbida Husain	1986	The Senate (Election) (Amendment) Bill	She states that the election commission	Presented

			institution should work collaboratively in order to meet the greater good and to make the institution itself very strong and the tenure of the election commissioner office should give due consideration.	
Miss Mehreen Anwar Raja	2007	Injured Persons (Medical Aid) Amendment Bill	introduction of the amendment to the medical aid bill which was not opposed by anyone	Presented
Begum RehanaAleemMashhadi	2005	Report on Pakistan electronic media regulatory authority (Amendment Bill)	Presented the bill to amend the Pakistan electronic media regulatory authority Ordinance 2002.	motion was adopted
Begum RehanaAleemMashhadi	2005	The Press, Newspaper, News agencies and Books registration Ordinance (amendment bill)	Presented the Press, Newspaper, News agencies and Books registration Ordinance (amendment bill)	motion was adopted
Miss Farzeen Ahmed Sarfaraz	2005	Motion For Leave To introduce the Islamabad wildlife protection, preservation, conservation and management (amendment)	Introduced the amendment of Islamabad wildlife protection, preservation, conservation and management ordinance 1979.	The leave was refused.
MrsSamina Khalid Ghurki	2005	Motion for Leave to introduce the	She introduces the bill to amend the	The leave was not granted.

		Code of Criminal Procedure (amendment) bill	Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898. She said if any woman condemns a crime then a woman police constable should arrest her or deal with her, Instead of male police, because they deal them very badly.	
Mrs Ayesha Munawar	2006	The publication of Holy Quran Elimination of Printing and Recording Errors, (Amendment bill)	presented the amendment in Publication of Holy Quran (elimination of Printing Errors) Act 1973 to Publication of Holy Quran (elimination of Printing and recording Errors)	The Motion was adopted.
SyedaAbidaHussain	28th March 1990	The press bill, 1989 (amendment)	The press bill, 1989 as reported by the standing committee, be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion." This amendment faced opposition from fellow MNAs and they based their opposition on various facts.	amendment was negative
TehminaDoultana	1997	The Bait- ul- Mal (amendment) Bill	It was presented by TehminaDoultana on 4th December, 1997	Presented

Begum SilvatSher Ali Khan	1986	The Political Parties (amendment) Bill	Begum Silvat proposed the amendment of the clause 8B of the political parties' act	The motion was negative
Benazir Bhutto	1997	Contempt of Court (amendment) Bill	It was presented by Benazir Bhutto. This bill was rather introduced as more of a debate than a statement.	Introduced
ShahidaAkhtar Ali	2006	The senior citizen bill	Mrs. ShahidaAkhtar Ali moved a bill to further make provisions to the senior citizen bill, 2006. The final form of this bill was completed in 2007 but its approval from the parliament faced unnecessary delays	
Mrs. RubinaSaadatQaimKhani	2006	The drug (amendment) bill	proposed a bill to further amend the drug act of 1976	

ANNEX II

Bills passed by different women parliamentarians in the history of Pakistan.

Name	Book no	Volume	Date	Year	Page no
Begum Roquyya Anwar	#43	Volume1 part 2	28th March	1963	pg 923
	(22nd March-6th April)				
Begum Roquyya Anwar	#50	Volume1 part 1	20th march	1964	pg 336-338
	(14th March-3rd April)				
Begum Roquyya Anwar	#54	volume 3	17th August	1964	pg 892-950
	(1st Aug.-16th Aug)				
Begum Khadeja J.A. Khan	#64	Volume 1	2nd June	1967	pg 809
	19th may-2nd June				
Begum NasimJahan	#109	Vol.3	5th may	1976	pg 298-329
	(26thApril-12th May)	No. 1-13			
SahibzadiMehmooda begum		Vol. 3	10th Aug	1985	pg 164-179
	(7th Aug-17th Aug)	No.1-5			
SyedaAbidaHussain	#142	Vol.3	9th Sep	1986	pg 956-963
		NO. 7-11			
SyedaAbidaHussain	#132	Volume 4	3rd Dec	1985	pg 4660-4985
		NO. 32-57			
SyedaAbidaHussain	#144	Volume 4	7th dec	1986	pg 2061-2093
	(18th Nov 1st Dec	No. 11-20			
Begum SilvatSher Ali Khan	#153	volume 4	13th June	1987	pg 2465-2469
		No 18-25			
Benazir Bhutto		Volume 9	18th November	1997	pg 88- 108
		no 1 to 20			

Ms Tehmina Daultana		volume 9 no 1 to 20	4th december	1997	pg 741- 742
Begum Syeda Abida Hussain		Volume 1 no 1 to 14	9th March	1998	pg 1022- 1023
Mrs Zobaida Jalal		Volume 10	25th August	2003	
Mrs Sherry Rehman		volume 13	24th March	2004	Pg 1890- 1904
Mrs Sherry Rehman		Volum 13 No1- 23	30th March	2004	
Begum Mehnaz Rafah	24th session		11th april	2005	Pg 108- 128
Begum Rehana Aleem Mashhadi		Volume XXIV	21st April	2005	Pg 909-910
Miss Farzeen Ahmed Sarfraz		Volume XXVI	20th september	2005	Pg 969-970
Mrs Samina Khalid Ghurki		Volume XXVII 1 to 12	20th september	2005	pg 975- 977
Begum Inayat Begum		Volume XXVII 1 to 12	20th september	2005	pg 977- p978
Mrs Samia Raheel Qazi		Volume XXXVII	5th September	2006	Pg 2544- P2545
Mrs Mehnaz Rafique		Volume XXXVII	5th september	2006	P2546- 2547
Mrs Yasmeen Rehman		Volume XXXVII	5th September	2006	Pg 2548
Mrs Yasmeen Rehman		Volume XXXVII	5th september	2006	Pg 2549
Mrs Ayesha Munawar		Volume XXXVII	5th September	2006	Pg 2550
Dr Rozina Tofail		Volume XXXI	30th January	2006	Pg 222
Miss Mehreen Anwar Raja		Volume XLIII	9th October	2007	Pg 41-42

ANNEX III

Following are the calculation of year-wise efficiency:

Year	Bills Presented	Bills Approved	Total Bills	Efficiency
1947	0	0	0	0%
1948	0	0	0	0%
1949	0	0	0	0%
1950	0	0	0	0%
1951	0	0	0	0%
1952	0	0	0	0%
1953	0	0	0	0%
1954	0	0	0	0%
1955	0	0	0	0%
1956	0	0	0	0%
1957	0	0	0	0%
1958	0	0	0	0%
1959	0	0	0	0%
1960	0	0	0	0%
1961	0	0	0	0%
1962	0	0	0	0%
1963	3	1	3	33%
1964	0	0	0	0%
1965	0	0	0	0%
1966	0	0	0	0%
1967	1	1	1	100%
1968	0	0	0	0%
1969	0	0	0	0%
1970	0	0	0	0%
1971	0	0	0	0%
1972	0	0	0	0%
1973	0	0	0	0%
1974	0	0	0	0%
1975	0	0	0	0%
1976	0	0	0	0%
1977	0	0	0	0%
1978	0	0	0	0%
1979	0	0	0	0%
1980	0	0	0	0%
1981	0	0	0	0%
1982	0	0	0	0%
1983	0	0	0	0%

1984	0	0	0	0%
1985	1	0	1	0%
1986	2	0	2	0%
1987	1	0	1	0%
1988	1	0	1	0%
1989	0	0	0	0%
1990	0	0	0	0%
1991	0	0	0	0%
1992	0	0	0	0%
1993	0	0	0	0%
1994	0	0	0	0%
1995	0	0	0	0%
1996	0	0	0	0%
1997	2	1	2	50%
1998	1	0	1	0%
1999	0	0	0	0%
2000	0	0	0	0%
2001	0	0	0	0%
2002	0	0	0	0%
2003	1	1	1	100%
2004	2	2	2	100%
2005	5	2	5	40%
2006	5	1	5	20%
2007	1	0	1	0%

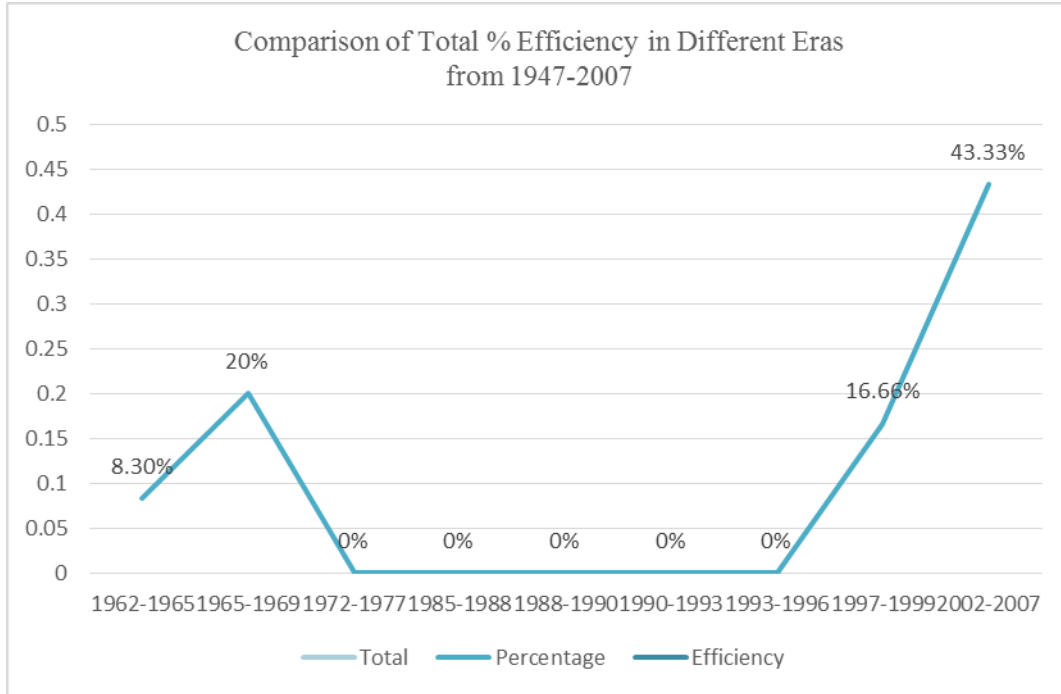
ANNEX IV

Following is the efficiency values in percentage for each era:

Sr. No.	Era	Efficiency
1	1962-1965	8.3%
2	1965-1969	20%
3	1972-1977	0%
4	1985-1988	0%
5	1988-1990	0%
6	1990-1993	0%
7	1993-1996	0%
8	1997-99	16.66%
9	2002-2007	43.33%

ANNEX V

Graph representation of Cumulative Efficiency - Era wise



ANNEX VI

National Assembly Library: Debate Books

