

A handbook for Pakistan's Women Parliamentarians and Political Leaders

LEADING THE WAY

By Syed Shamoon Hashmi



 Search for
Common Ground

 Will
Women's Initiative for
Learning & Leadership
She has and she will

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DEDICATED TO

*Women parliamentarians of Pakistan —
past, present and aspiring - who remain
committed in their political struggle and
are an inspiration for the whole nation.*

*And to those who support their cause and
wish to see Pakistan stand strong as a
democratic and prosperous nation.*

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FOREWORD

Despite valiant efforts to have their voices heard, women in Pakistan continue to face significant barriers in all spheres of life. This is attributed to the patriarchal society which positions men for leadership roles undermining the potential that women hold primarily because of mitigating social, economic and religious situations plaguing the country. One of the fundamental impediments that Pakistani women face today is their lack of development and opportunity as authority and leadership figures, due to their limited engagement in advocacy and decision-making affairs.

While the past one decade has seen positive changes in Pakistan regarding representation of women in politics with more aspiring women stepping into the public domain, yet their leadership and decision-making role remains overshadowed, marginalized or side-lined. Despite an increase in their numerical strength, women parliamentarians still face practical and technical hurdles in their way to achieving prominence in active legislation and policymaking at the provincial and national levels. Lack of leadership skills, little or no knowledge of parliamentary system, ineffective media engagement, scarcity of resources, lack of technical training, absence of formalized structures and platforms for women to collaborate across party lines and with their male counterparts as well on shared policy agendas are some of the key limitations routinely faced by women parliamentarians and political leaders, especially at provincial and district levels.

Since 2011, SFCG Pakistan has been implementing its national "Women's Initiative for Learning and Leadership (WILL): Strengthening Women's Political Participation and Leadership for Effective Democratic Governance in Pakistan" program in all four provinces as well as the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan. The aim of this project has been to increase the capacity of female parliamentarians and aspiring women politicians by magnifying their voices and bolstering their engagement in decision-making. In its second two-year phase now, the strategic objectives of our WILL initiative are:

1. To increase the leadership skills of women parliamentarians (MPs) for effective policymaking and reform;
2. To facilitate the creation of policy mechanisms that enable women MPs to collaborate across party lines with their male counterparts and government officials; and
3. To build positive public perception around the role of women MPs as effective leaders and decision-makers through media sensitization.

This WILL Manual and Guidebook has been carefully developed and authored for women politicians as a compilation of essential political knowledge and information that can help them become powerful leaders who are better equipped with essential skills to interact and collaborate confidently with their male counterparts, government officials, media, electoral constituencies and other stakeholders to work for effective democratic governance in Pakistan.

The guidebook draws on SFCG's global and regional expertise in strengthening women's political leadership skills by supporting participants to develop and utilize skills in legislative and constitutional procedures, development frameworks, women's political reforms agenda, best practices on building alliances and networks, parliamentary caucus, and building positive public perception through effective media management. Covering key subjects – such as the historical emancipation of women, political struggles in Pakistan, fear of public speaking, collaborating with women parliamentarians across party lines, engaging media, as well as personal leadership attributes -- this

manual is a helpful resource for knowledge enhancement and practical success. In Pakistan, where the leadership of women is not a learnt behavior, this manual serves as a useful tool for women political leaders – whether inside or outside the parliament – to exercise their right in policy- and decision-making and governance.

SFCG puts a premium on Pakistan's growing youth bulge, women leaders, elected representatives, dynamic media, community leaders and private sector entrepreneurs to become the change agents and proactive community interlocutors that Pakistan needs. Our core belief is that if key stakeholders – and women in particular – are able to articulate their ideas and aspirations through a Common Ground Approach, they will be empowered to act as dynamic agents of reform and lead the way to sustainable peace in the country.

I sincerely thank this manual's author, Syed Shamoona Hashmi, the SFCG Pakistan Team and all those who worked diligently to conceive, prepare and produce it as a guiding friend for women politicians of Pakistan. In days to come, we welcome feedback from users to make this document more effective and encompassing.

Ammara Durrani

Executive Director,

SFCG Pakistan

Islamabad

9 June 2014

PREFACE

Eleanor Roosevelt, the chief author of the “UN Declaration of Human Rights” once said:

“Women are like teabags. You never know how strong they are until you put them in hot waters.”

Since time immemorial, in the teeth of disapproval and discrimination, women leaders have contested, confronted and contributed by successfully surviving the hot waters of their times. Their innate strength has proved asset — - not only for their personal good but also for the combined progress and prosperity of human race.

Discrimination, nevertheless, prevails. Despite comprising half of the entire humanity, the share of women in decision-making processes has not been more than 20%. Even then, their work has shown they can, and are, performing.

Democracy in its very nature is inclusive. A functional democracy, therefore, cannot afford to ignore the voices of the fairer sex, which has a legitimate claim to the affairs of the State as these directly, or indirectly, affect them the most. The need, nevertheless, is to create enabling environments, whereby women’s voices are heard and respected in the parliamentary chambers and Board Rooms alike.

The “Women’s Initiative for Learning and Leadership”, the flagship programme of “Search for Common Grounds” is a right step in the right direction. Its attempts to harness the potential of women leaders by developing skills and synergies to work efficiently have proved effective. This book is yet another effort in the similar course. Tracing the historical evolution of women’s political agenda in the Indo-Pak Sub Continent, it aims to enrich its user’s knowledge base in constitutional, legal and institutional mechanisms in order to effectively use this available avenues for good governance and implementation of a people’s based

reforms agenda. What is more it also seeks to polish their skills in managing the demands of existing and New Media.

The ever-changing world has posed new challenges to women parliamentarians. That they have, and are, and will emerge with flying colors, it goes without saying.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The preparation of this Manual was my humble attempt to recollect the accumulated wisdom of all those, who have diligently shown the ways and means to women legislators around the world to break the shackles of time and traditions and work for the common good of humanity. Little did I know that I was venturing for a Herculean task when I accepted this challenge, thrown to me by my good friend and an inspiration Ammara Durrani, the Executive Director, Search For Common Ground, Pakistan. I will always be indebted to her for placing her trust in me by giving me this chance.

Nevertheless, I have no qualms in admitting that this would not have been possible without the invaluable guidance and support of a few friends and colleagues who remained forthcoming in reviewing drafts, answered countless questions, and gave me both, their patience and their friendship during the writing process.

My utmost admiration and gratitude to:

Sardar Ayaz Sadiq, the Hon'able Speaker of the National Assembly of Pakistan for allowing me to take on this task;

My most respected diva, **Shahnaz Wazir Ali**, who has not only inspired many like me for being a rare combination of knowledge, exposure and experience but who also gave credence (if any) to my efforts by meticulously proof-reading and reviewing the entire draft.

Ms. Marriyum Aurangzeb, the young, bright and illustrious Member of the National Assembly and the Convener of the Parliamentary Task Force on MDGs for her matchless input in comprehending the Parliamentary Reforms Agenda, which formed the basis of Chapter 3 of this document;

Mr. Qamar Sohail Lodhi, the seasoned Additional Secretary, Legislation for his patronage, guidance and contribution in the sections on the parliamentary mechanisms, Rules, Procedures and Committee System;

Ms. Mariya Qanita, the devoted Intern at the National Assembly, whose personal and rich background as a Social Media Blogger and manager during the 2013 Election campaign enabled me to grasp the intricacies of this complex "web" and then write the Chapter on Media Management for women parliamentarians;

SFCG Pakistan Team members who remained my trusted guides, resource banks and astute pushers throughout the research and writing process;

And last but not the least, to my **beautiful mother** for all her blessings, my **wife** for her support and my two little boys, **Ali Sher** and **Ali Akbar** for understanding their "Agha's" agony and sparing him from taking them to play.

Syed Shamoon Hashmi

April 5, 2014

CHAPTER ONE

Tracing the Footsteps: “Her-Story”

“When women started demanding the vote during the suffragette movement, they were, in fact, demanding a re-negotiation of the rules of belonging to the state, a redefinition of the collective identity embodied in or implied by citizenship...”

Farida Shaheed

INTRODUCTION

History, it is said, has always been “His Story” because “Her story” has never been written. This, however, does not mean that the heroic struggle of women, striving not only for their own rights but also struggling for the creation of a just, progressive and humane society did not exist. Buried under the rubble of history are the anecdotes of women’s passion for equality, justice and a share in power. This Chapter aims to bring to light this important historic context, in order to set the stage for understanding the importance and usefulness of women’s meaningful participation in policy-making forums, ensuring an adequate dispensation of democratic governance.

FROM PLATO TO ROUSSEAU: MEN ARE EQUAL...WOMEN ARE NOT!!!

The evolution of modern state sadly underscores the bitter truth that it developed on the political seclusion, and not inclusion, of women. Although philosophers and statesmen had long emphasized their services and labour in achieving political freedoms, women’s demand of a respectable —if not equal — share in such freedoms has unmistakably been resisted across the board.

Plato, often misquoted as the “First Feminist”, was more concerned with the “usefulness of women for the common good of the state” rather than treating them as “individual human beings”. It was his **concept of justice**, and not the crusading zeal for the rights of women, that led Plato to adopt the view expressed in his famous treatise *The Republic*¹.

Almost two millennia later, **Rousseau**, the “Dreamer of Democracy”² inched no further in identifying role for women beyond the “household” as he reserved the right of representation to an “assembly”, which “... comprised of **men** nearly equal in fortune, in status, and in lights...”³



Olympe de Gouges

Democracy, therefore, was considered an “exclusive club” of select male patricians, where voting and representation rights were primarily reserved for such “respectable men”.

PARTICIPATION IS NOT EQUALITY: LESSON FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION:

The aftermath of the French Revolution further brought home the bitter truth to dedicated comrades like **Olympe de Gouges** that “**participation**” did not necessarily mean “**equality**”.

The 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizens conveniently excluded women.

Dejected by this “cheating”, de Gouges published her own “Declaration of the Rights of Women and Citizens” in 1791. For this, she was “castigated, called hysterical, irrational, unreasonable, and generally lacking in character.”⁴ Accused of “wanting to be a statesman and forgetting the virtues suitable to her sex” de Gouges was guillotined in 1793⁵.

THE RULE OF THE THUMB:

In the dispensation of justice, the Crown Courts of the early 19th century were recognising the “**Rule of the Thumb**”, whereby a man was allowed to punish his wife “with a stick no bigger than his thumb, and she could not complain against him.”⁶

¹M. Judd Harmon. *Political Thought — From Plato to the Present*, pp40, McGraw Hill Book Company, USA

²James Miller. *Rousseau — Dreamer of Democracy*, Yale University Press.

³Ibid

⁴Farida Shaheed. *Citizenship and the Nuanced Belonging of Women: Scratching the Surface*, pp25, Heinrich Boll Foundation

⁵Ibid

⁶This legal tradition had sailed across Atlantic to the land of “By the people; for the people; from the people” as indicated in a 1868 “*State v. Rhodes*” court case, where a husband was found innocent because, the judge said, “the defendant had a right to whip his wife with a switch no larger than his thumb.” In another similar case, “*State v. Oliver, 1874*” the judge cited the “old doctrine, that a husband had a right to whip his wife, provided he used a switch no longer than his thumb”.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT:

In such historically persistent, strong and deep-rooted socio-political exclusion of women, the demand for a woman's voice to be “**heard, counted and given weightage**” started becoming louder since early 18th century. Marry Astell, the British feminist wrote in the year 1700:

“If all men are born free, how is it that all women are born slaves?”

This is often called the “First Wave of Feminism” when women in Europe, North America and the Australian continent demanded the right to vote.

Barring a few historic exceptions of lone nature, the first country to grant women the right to vote was **New Zealand** in 1893. This was followed by Finland in 1906. Finland thus became the first European country to accept women as voters.

What is more, Finland is also the first country in the world to have elected 19 women as members of its 200-member Parliament in 1907. Conditions, nevertheless, applied as these “privileges” were not available to all women but for women “with minimum property qualifications”.



However, till World War I, only four European nations had allowed their women to acquire this “privilege”. Besides, Finland, these were:

Norway (1913), Iceland (1915) and Denmark (1915).

What is Suffrage?

Suffrage: 1. The right of voting in political elections

2. A view expressed by voting or vote.

Suffragette: A woman seeking the right to vote through organized protest

Suffragist: A person who advocates the extension of the suffrage, esp. to women.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary, Ninth Edition

A Select Chart of Countries, granting Women Right to Vote

New Zealand	1893
Australia	1901
Finland	1906
The United Kingdom	1917 (partial) 1928 (full)
Soviet Russia	1917
The United States	1920
Sri Lanka	1931
Turkey	1934
France	1944
Pakistan	1947
India	1947
China	1947-49
Switzerland	1971
South Africa	1994 (full)
United Arab Emirates	2005
Saudi Arabia	2015 (expected)
Vatican City	Not Allowed
Brunei	Not Allowed (men as well as women)

¹Alison M. Jaggard, *Feminist Politics and Human Nature*, pp27, Rowman & Allanheld Publishers

And when the rest of the countries finally conceded to this demand, it was not recognition of a “natural right” but a “reward for women in lieu of their war efforts”. On 6th February 1917, the Representation of the People Act was passed by 385 votes to 55⁸ in the House of Commons with glowing tributes to their national service, enfranchising British women over the age of 30, who met minimum property qualifications. This was later amended in 1928, when not only the age limit was reduced to 21 but also the property owning restrictions were removed.

The US granted this right in 1920 through the passage of the 19th Amendment, bringing to its final culmination the “seventy year struggle” of women’s suffrage. It is nevertheless interesting to note that by that time, its House of Representatives had already had a woman Member, **Jeanette Rankin** of Montana. The state of Montana had granted women the right of vote and election in 1914.

It is ironical that although French women were the first to demand voting rights as far back as in 1789, they were among the much later nations to get these rights. In fact, the French National Convention decreed in May 1795 that women be excluded from its meetings and allowed to watch from a gallery only if accompanied by a man.⁹ It did not give this right to its women till 1944.

Switzerland was the last in Europe to accede to this demand in 1971.¹⁰

Among the SAARC countries, Sri Lanka took the lead when it granted its women the right to vote and the right to be elected in 1931. The Indo-Pak Subcontinent was partitioned in 1947 to give birth to two sovereign nations, India and Pakistan. Both states granted their women universal franchise the same day. In 1971, when Bangladesh was created out of the Eastern Wing of the then Pakistan, it also followed suit, according equal political status to its women.

A detailed list of the nations of the world, indicating the respective year of granting the franchise to women is placed as Annex-A.

FROM PURDAH TO PARLIAMENT; DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN’S POLITICAL PARLIAMENTARY AGENDA IN THE SUB- CONTINENT:

A: THE BRITISH RAJ:

Unlike the rest of the world, the realization of political rights for women in the sub-continent was not a result of a “home grown feminist movement”. Instead, it was an eventual aftermath of a slow chain reaction, triggered by the 19th century British social reforms. Modern education, industrialization and western concepts of democracy were the leading lampposts of the era as key legal measures were taken to create a new society. These included¹¹:

- Abolition of the practice of Satti (self-cremation of Hindu widows on the pyre of their husbands) in 1829 by Lord William Bentinck, Governor General of India from 1828 to 1835, within a year of his arrival in India.
- The Emancipation Act 1850 by Lord

“The Impact of West on Indian civilization has brought about changes that are more fundamental in the case of women than men. To men, it brought a new conception of the world, of its material resources, ethical standards, and political possibilities, but to women, it brought slowly but potentially a new conception of themselves. If men reassessed themselves as citizens in a new India, women revalued themselves as human beings in a new social order.”

O’Malley, L.S.S (Edited) *Modern India and the West*, Oxford, 1941, p. 445

⁸Pamela Brookes, *Women at Westminster*, pp4, Peter Davis Press London

⁹Marilyn J. Boxer, *Connecting Spheres...* pp109. Oxford University Press, New York.

¹⁰Fawcett, Millicent Garrett. *The Women’s Victory - and After*, p.170. Cambridge University Press

¹¹S. M. Burk, *The British Raj in India*, pp22, Oxford University Press, Karachi

Dalhousie, which opened the doors of female modern education

- The Hindu Widow Remarriage Act 1856
- Brahma Act 1872 (later to be known as the Native Marriage Act) which fixed the marriageable age for girls at 14 and for boys at 18 years and
- The Age of Consent Bill, 1891, which prohibited cohabitation with a wife under the age of 12 years

Buried deep into the “fairy-tale like setting” of the medieval ages, the Raj was seen more of a “White Man’s burden” and so was the centrepiece of the English emancipation strides.

B: THE NATIVE REFORMERS’ AGENDA:

As a result, the age old aristocratic pageantry of local Nawabs and Rajas was fast replaced by the new bourgeois class, which was made up of the “clerks, who served the English bureaucracy, traders who managed the working of international trade and the lawyers and newspaper editors, who peopled the fledgling areas of Indian public life.”¹²

This new class encouraged “emancipation” in the “Zanana”. Social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Sir Ameer Ali, Sir Aga Khan and Justice Tayyab Jee stressed for women’s education and their “gentle treatment”. And when Sir Aga Khan advocated renouncing the strict codes of “Purdah” and decreed his Ismaili community to abolish the practice¹³, luminaries like Justice Tayyab Jee (though not an Ismaili but a follower of Muslim Bohra community) were among the first to respond. Not only did he implement this revolutionary measure in his household, but also sent his illustrious daughter Miss Attiya Faizi to England to pursue University studies at Cambridge. Attiya would later be an inspiration for philosophers like Allama Iqbal.

Although a lone example among the Muslims, this was nevertheless a benchmark. Other leading Muslim families, at least allowed their young girls to go to local girls schools, though in Purdah. These schools offered the conventional teaching for women, which focused

on their personality development as “emancipated women”.

The reforms movement led to opening of schools for women across the Indian subcontinent. However, it varied in nature and substance among different communities. While the Hindus opted for a liberal and modern education, especially in the Southern parts of the Sub-Continent, the Muslims in the North were slow in accepting the emerging trend and insisted on sticking to the traditional curriculum. The schools opened for girls by Anjuman-e-Himayat-Islam by the late 1880s, were largely restricted to the traditional model of instruction, based on basic religious knowledge and elementary oriental language reading.¹⁴

TRADITIONALISTS VERSUS MODERNISTS:

An interesting observation of the time is the “tug of war” between the conservative school of Muslim clergy –the Ulama— and the Modernists. The former was lead by the Ulema of Deoband, a small town some ninety miles northeast of Delhi and the principal seat of the ultra-orthodox theology seminary. According to them, the importance of Pardah necessitated the continuance of the traditional way of educating women, which only meant reading of the Holy Quran by rote, Urdu alphabet and needlework, and that too at a Madarassa at younger age and then within the four-walls of their houses, when reaching adolescence.

The reformers in this case, however stepped little further to form the “group of moderates”, who advocated girl child schooling and inclusion of science and literature, as well as writing skills, while preserving Purdah and other traditions. This was named the Sharif Culture.¹⁵

¹² Azra Asghar Ali, *The Emergence of Feminism Among Indian Muslim Women, 1920-1947*, pp 2, Oxford University Press, Karachi

¹³ HH The Aga Khan, *The Memoirs of Aga Khan*, pp 188, Cassell And Company Ltd, London

¹⁴ Abdul Rashid Khan, *The All India Muslim Educational Conference*, pp 119, Oxford University Press, Karachi

¹⁵ Azra Asghar Ali, *The Emergence of Feminism Among Indian Muslim Women, 1920-1947*, pp xiii, Oxford University Press, Karachi



RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY
1772-1833

Also remembered as “Maker of Modern India”, Raja Ram Mohan Roy was born to a Bengali Barhaman Hindu family at Radhanagar, Hoogly Bengal. He as a religious scholar, who advocated modern ideas. These included preaching unity of God, translations of Vedic scriptures into English and working through the platforms of Calcutta Unitarian Society against Satti. He also served as a clerk to the East India Company and closely worked with the English legal and judicial system. In 1828, he co-founded the “Brahamu Samaj Society”, a socio-religious reform movement, which paved the way for “Bengali Renaissance”.

He sought to integrate Western culture with features of his own country's traditions. He established schools to modernise education system in India. In 1830, he sailed to England as the Ambassador of Mughal King Akbar II. He was the first educated Indian to visit England. He died in Bristol, England. His statue is placed at College Green, Bristol, England.



SIR SYED AHMED KHAN
1817-1898

The most noted Muslim reformer of the 18th century, Sir Syed is considered among the architects of the “two-nation theory”. A jurist in the British Raj, Sir Syed diligently worked to dilute the miss-trust between the Muslims and the British after the 1857 War of Independence. He stressed on acquiring modern education and advocated opening up the Indian Muslim society. His Aligarh Movement led to the creation of Pakistan. Nevertheless, Sir Syed was mainly focused on the education of young Muslim men. Women's education and inclusion in public affairs was not his priority. Though he admitted the deplorable conditions of women's education, according to him:

“Those who hold that women should be educated and civilized prior to men are greatly mistaken. The fact is that no satisfactory education can be provided for Mohammadan females until a large number of Muhammadan males receive a sound education.”

Dr. Rizwan Malik, Samina Awan, Women Emancipation in South Asia, pp16-17, Centre for South Asian Studies, University of Punjab, Lahore



MISSIONARIES IN INDIA
18th& 19th Century

Often under-rated and mostly ignored is the role of the European Missionaries in the “emancipation movement” of the 18th and 19th century India. Largely centred around the religious propagation of Christianity, the educational institutions built by these missionaries became the engines of social change. As they spread awareness about the changing world, the missionaries also sparked a public debate on women's ill-treatment by the native Hindus and Muslims. As a response to these duels, reforms were initiated by Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam and others.

The first missionary girls school was opened in Bombay in 1824, which quickly became a trend-setter for India's south and east. More than 800 missionary schools were opened in the next 40 years, all of them in Madras, Bombay and Bengal, with over 50 thousand students. For India's North, the modern-day Pakistan, the gates of a “western school” opened in 1864 with the founding of Kinnard School. Its students would play a critical role in the years to come.

EMANCIPATION VERSUS EMPOWERMENT:

Though varying in their respective agendas, all reforms movements had a common objective. These were focused on emancipation; not the empowerment of women. The idea to educate women was to acclimatize them to the changing trends; not to become the agents of change themselves. Reformers never advocated or desired women's political role.

The emancipation movement, therefore, did not automatically focus the attention of these women on the complexities of statecraft. Its foremost interest was to "upgrade" the social status of women within the family structures from mere "service providers" to "astute mistress of the house". The Resolution of the Students' Debating Society of Aligarh College, passed in 1884, favoured female education because of the emerging and increasingly popular desire of young graduates to seek educated wives.¹⁶ Hence, the nature of education as a channel of women's emancipation at the turn of the century, notes Azra Asghar Ali, was "to brighten their chances in the marriage market."¹⁷

EMERGENCE OF A "NEW SUB-CONTINENT WOMAN":

Whatever may be the reformers' agenda, once the ball was set in motion, there was no turning back. No matter how restricted, the opportunities of modern education for Muslim women opened a whole new world for them. This enabled them to:

- Step out of the Purdah and explore the world, hitherto unknown to them
- Polish their literary skills by absorbing contemporary world literature and journals and then venture into the world of prose and essay writings
- Acquire modern knowledge and explore possibilities of entering professional lives, so far an unimaginable societal role
- Listen and interact with the socio-political luminaries, exchange ideas, build networks and develop associations to strive for change

The turn of the century, therefore, witnessed the emergence of a new face of Muslim woman.

DEVELOPMENT OF MUSLIM WOMEN'S SOCIO-POLITICAL AGENDA:

This rapidly growing awareness brought a sea change in women's thinking. Until then, mere followers of the whims of their men, the newly educated women started speaking of their plight, demanding fair treatment and right to be heard. The pleas, which later took the shape of "demands", were as follows:

- Right to education
- Raising awareness against the prevailing anti-women and primitive practices
- Restriction on child marriages and increased polygamy in the society

The last issue in the later years became a leading demand, which has often been quoted as "politics of polygamy".

WOMEN JOINING HANDS FOR COMMON CAUSE:

The "emancipation strides" drove these women to form their own groups, though in the beginning mere social clubs of intimate friends of upper class women. It goes without saying that such activities were under the watchful gaze of the men of the household.

This was, nevertheless, a milestone in women's movement in the Subcontinent. The later events suggest that the organising of these women's associations helped significantly in imparting collective civic consciousness and political emancipation among women. It also indicated the growing concern of women about the plight of their lesser fortunate sisters. Some of the prominent organisations of the time are as under:

- Swarnakumari Devi, sister of Nobel Laureate Rabindranath Tagore formed "Sakhi Samiti" (Ladies Society) in

¹⁶ Abdul Rashid Khan, *The All India Muslim Educational Conference*, pp 119, Oxford University Press, Karachi

¹⁷ Azra Asghar Ali, *The Emergence of Feminism Among Indian Muslim Women, 1920-1947*, pp 16, Oxford University Press, Karachi

Calcutta in 1882 with a focus on education and skill training of widows and poor women, ensuring economic empowerment to them.¹⁸

- Among Muslim women, at Hyderabad Deccan a Ladies Social Club was formed in 1901 to enable the women of Ashraaf to interact with the western ladies.
- The same year, this renewed sense of bonding resulted in the creation of Anjuman-e-Khawateen, which broke new grounds of feminism in India. For example, under its banner, a “women’s only” departmental store was established, which was entirely managed by women entrepreneurs from noted families and offered an exciting independent shopping experience to their gender.¹⁹
- Lahore’s Begum Mohammad Shafi (wife of Sir Mohammad Shafi), Fatima Begum and Rashida Begum (daughters of Maulvi Mahboob Alam) founded Anjuman-i-Khawateen-e-Islam in 1907, which attempted to provide a platform for aspiring women in redefining their religious and social ideas to bring about a behavioural change.²⁰
- The first All India Muslim Ladies Conference was organised in 1915. This meeting is significant because it raised for the first time, the age of marriage for a Muslim woman. A resolution passed on the occasion demanded that Muslim girls should not be married before the age of sixteen, as that had an adverse effect on their education.²¹ This Conference went a step further in its Lahore session, held in 1917, where it passed a resolution, for the first time, against polygamy. This caused a furore in the conservative Muslim society.

Unlike their Hindu and Christian sisters, Muslim women were barred from attending the social, cultural or political meetings of their men counterparts. Sir Syed’s All India Muslim Educational Conference, a purely academic group formed in 1886, did not allow women to attend its sessions till 1903, when they were first allowed to listen to the proceedings of the Conference from behind the screen.

“...a meeting was called at our house, which was well-attended by women of most of the well-known families and an association named Anjuman-i-Khawateen-i-Islam was set up. Inayat Begum, Saeeda and Fatima Begum were elected Secretary and Joint Secretaries and Mother took over as President. Terms of reference, rules and regulations were framed and passed. Muslim women were to meet fortnightly after Friday prayers in our house to discuss and formulate proposals for education and social reform, and the securing of rights given to women by Islam. It was this organisation that helped Muslim women of the Punjab to organise themselves and take part in a wider women’s movement later.”

Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, Father & Daughter, pp6, Oxford University Press, Karachi

POLITICAL AWAKENING:

The Indian National Congress was formed in December 1885 as the first political association of the Indo-Pak Sub Continent. It only allowed women to attend its session as mere spectators in 1889. The first woman given the floor to speak at its annual session was Mrs. K. Ganguli in 1900. No Muslim woman was considered worthy enough to take a chair as a delegate.²³

The All India Muslim League was formed in Dhaka in December 1906. In its first session, it had no woman delegate.

¹⁸ Aparna Basu, *The Role of Women in the Indian Struggle for Freedom, Indian Women; From Purdah to Modernity*, pp16-17, Radiant Publishers, New Delhi

¹⁹ Azra Asghar Ali, *The Emergence of Feminism Among Indian Muslim Women, 1920-1947*, pp 35-36, Oxford University Press, Karachi

²⁰ *Ibid*

²¹ Dushka Saiyid, *Muslim Women of the British Punjab; From Seclusion to Politics*, pp60, Macmillan Press Ltd, London

²² Qurat Ul Ain Haider, *Kar-e-Jahan Daraz Hai*, pp17, Sang-e-Meel Publishers, Lahore

²³ Manmohan Kaur, *Women In India's Freedom Struggle*, pp79, Sterling Publishers Pvt Ltd, New Delhi

KHILAFAT MOVEMENT & BI AMMA

From the women's point of view, the Khilafat Movement was important because it was the first, which sought to enrol every Muslim in India, man, woman and child. Initially separate meetings were held for women in Delhi and Lakhnow, which were addressed by Bi Amma, the mother of the Ali Brothers. However, in 1917, Bi Amma broke the tradition and addressed the annual meeting of the All India Muslim League in place of her son.²⁴ In 1921, on the death of her son Maulana Mohammad Ali Johar, she addressed a mass meeting in Lahore and lifted her veil. Bi Amma truly represents a watershed in the political awakening of Sub-Continent's Muslim women.

EQUAL FRANCHISE:

A parallel historic episode was the delegation of various women's organisations, which met the Secretary of State E. S. Montagu in 1917 with demands for increased educational facilities for women, improved health and maternity services and, most important, equal franchise. This delegation included a Muslim woman, Begum Hasrat Mohani.

Another important milestone in this charter of demands was its endorsement by the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League in 1918.

However, these petitions did not meet the approval of the colonial masters, who dropped this demand when Westminster passed the 1919 India Act, giving limited participation in home affairs to the natives.

The women of Indo-Pak, nevertheless, kept up the pressure, forcing the British to leave the matter to the discretion of the concerned Provincial Councils, formed under the 1919 Act. Consequently, in 1921 Madras (present-day Chinnai) became the first province in Indo-Pak to grant women the right to vote. By 1925, all provinces, except Orissa and Behar had followed suit. By 1928, all women in the sub-continent had the same voting rights as their men counterparts, i.e. propertied persons. In the context of those times, it was a big leap forward.

PARLIAMENTARY STRIDES:

The First Roundtable was convened in London in 1930 on the question of the future constitutional scheme of



Bi Amma (1850-1924)

British India. Begum Jahanara Shah Nawaz, the illustrious daughter of Lahore's Sir Mian Mohamad Shafi, accompanied her father as a Muslim woman delegate. Teaming up with Mrs. Subbarayan of Madras, she presented a memorandum, demanding rights for all people, regardless of religion, caste, creed or sex. This memorandum became

the joint voice of Muslim women. The Muslim League endorsed it in 1932.

When the 1935 India Act was passed by the British Parliament, it not only enfranchised six million women of the Sub-Continent but also provided for reserved seats for women in all provincial and central legislatures.

Elections were held in 1937 under the new law and women entered the parliamentary corridors for the first time in the sub-continent.

²⁴ Khawar Mumtaz & Farida Shaheed, *Historical Roots of the Women's Movement in Pakistan; Finding our Way*, pp 16

On the whole, 8 women were elected from the “general” constituencies while 42 were returned on “reserved” seats in all these Houses.

No Muslim woman was given a ticket on a general seat by any political party. Nevertheless, the reserved quota of 3% benefitted them as twelve women made it on the reserved berths from different parties and groups.²⁵

List of Muslim Women Members in Indian State Assemblies in 1937

Mrs. Faizi B. Tayabji	Bombay Legislative Assembly
Mrs. Hasina Murshad	Bengal Legislative Assembly
Begum Farhat Bano Khanum	-do-
Mrs. Khadija Yakub Hassan	Madras Legislative Assembly
Begum Aizaz Rasul	UP Legislative Council
Lady Wazir Hasan	-do-
Begum Habibullah	UP Legislative Assembly
Begum Shahid Hussain	-do-
Lady Anise Imam	Bihar Legislative Assembly
Mrs. Jahanara Shah Nawaz	Punjab Legislative Assembly
Begum Rashida Latif Baji	-do-
Mrs. Jenubai Ghulam Ali	Sind Legislative Assembly

It is further important to note that of the twelve women legislators, at least one rose to the position of the presiding chair. Besides, another Muslim majority province, Sindh, also selected a Hindu woman as its Deputy Speaker. These were:

Begum Aziz Rasul	Deputy President, UP Legislative Council
Mrs. J. T. Sipahimalani	Deputy Speaker, Sind Legislative Assembly

Parliamentary history notes that though the then N.W.F.P. was a Muslim majority province, its Legislative Assembly had no Muslim woman as member.

THE PAKISTAN MOVEMENT & WOMEN:

The creation of Pakistan owes as much to its women as to its men. The Founder of the Nation, the Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was an ardent champion of women’s political rights and parliamentary participation. This is evident from the fact that during his years in England, he actively participated in the Suffrage Movement.²⁶

Having worked with prominent women leaders like Annie Bassant and Sarojni Naido, the Quaid fully realised the importance of women’s political role and hence called for the establishment of the Muslim League Women’s Wing in 1937. This was finally achieved at the Patna Session of the League in 1938 where Amjadi Begum, popularly known as Begum Maulana Mohammad Ali Johar was appointed its first President.

It goes to the significant political participation of Muslim women that soon Pakistan became a household name. The overwhelming success of Muslims in the 1945 elections can also be attributed to the political activism of women, when almost 95 % Muslim Seats in the entire Indian sub-continent were won by the Muslim League.

The Central Legislative Assembly of the Sub-Continent met on December 9, 1946 without the presence of Muslim League Members, which 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. However, these women were also simultaneously directly elected Members of those respective provincial legislatures. These women were:

²⁵ K. K. Aziz, *Muslims Under Congress Rule (1937-39)* Vol. II, pp 134-148, National Commission on Historical And Cultural Research, Islamabad

²⁶ Shaista Ikramullah, *From Purdah to Parliament*, pp 105, Oxford University Press, Karachi



AMJADI BEGUM (1885-1947)

It goes to the political courage of this burqa clad middle class woman that her acumen was admitted by the Quaid, when he nominated her to the Central Working Committee of the League, the first woman to have reached this position, in 1940. In this capacity, she addressed the historic Lahore session of the League and supported the famous Pakistan Resolution on behalf of the women of the Sub-Continent. In the 1946 elections, she was awarded the party ticket from the UP and she returned unopposed. Unfortunately, she could not play her due parliamentary role as she died soon after on March 28, 1947.



BEGUM JAHANARA SHAHNAWAZ (1896-1979)

**ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE WOMEN
PARLIAMENTARIANS OF THE 1ST
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY:**

When the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan met on August 10, 1947, Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz took her seat as its Member. She was a lone woman Member at the time. She was also the Member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly. She was later joined in February 1948 by Begum Shaista Ikramullah who finally took oath of her seat in the Assembly.²⁷

Regardless of their number, it goes to the courage and determination of these two women legislators that the basic issues of women's concern, their social, political and legal status in the new state, were aptly raised by them, both inside as well as outside the Parliament.

Thus the political agenda, carved out by the women of Muslim India, was now in full force before the elected Chamber.

**List of Muslim Women Members in the
Central Legislative Assembly 1946**

Begum Aziz Rasul	UP
Begum Jahanara Shah Nawaz	Punjab
Begum Shaista Ikramullah	Bengal

Consequently, Begum Aziz Rasul, who did not migrate to Pakistan, took oath as a Member of the Constituent Assembly of India in July 1947 and was appointed Deputy Leader of the Opposition Party, the Muslim League.

²⁷ Shaista Ikramullah, *From Purdah to Parliament*, pp156, Oxford University Press, Karachi



BEGUM SHAISTA IKRAMULLAH (1915-2000)

A. EQUAL RIGHTS IN THE FUTURE CONSTITUTION:

When the Constituent Assembly formed a “Basic Principles Committee” to draft the outline of the future Constitution in 1948, Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz was its Member. Begum Shaista Ikramullah was also made its Member later.

Jahanara records in her book “Father & Daughter”, that she was the only Member of the Committee to have opposed the Objective Resolution, tooth and nail.²⁸

The two women Members also lobbied for the reservation of 10% quota for women in all central and provincial legislatures. However, only 3% quota in seats was accepted.

They also strongly opposed the inclusion of any “discretionary” powers for the office of the President or the Governors.

When a Board of Ulema, set up to advise the Basic Principles Committee, objected to the inclusion of

women and demanded, either their expulsion in the first place, or inclusion only on the condition that the women Members would be “above fifty and would sit in Burqa”, Jahanara waged a fierce war and succeeded in expunging these comments.²⁹

A Charter of Women’s Rights, seeking:

- Equality of status
- Equal opportunities
- Equal pay for equal work
- For Muslim women, all the rights given to them by the Islamic Personal Law of Sharia

was passed unanimously by the Constituent Assembly in 1951. This was a great achievement, considering the fact that at that time, Churchill had refused the demand of equal pay in England.

B. LEGISLATIVE MEASURES:

- It goes to the credit of these two women Members in a male-dominated, and to an extent, male chauvinist House that they were able to pass the following bills:
- Nationality Law was passed to ensure which enabled women, married to nationals of other countries to retain their nationality or choose otherwise
- Muslim Personal Law of Sharia, by the Punjab Legislative Assembly, which recognised a woman’s right to inherit property, including agricultural property.
- Inclusion of women in the Foreign and other services

²⁸ Jahanara Shahnawaz, *Father & Daughter*, pp231, Oxford University Press, Karachi

²⁹ *Ibid*, pp234

CONCLUSION:

It is imperative to note that the lessons learnt by women of the sub-continent during their struggle, after becoming aware of their socio-cultural status, turned out to be their political agenda inside the parliamentary chambers.

The socio-cultural and the socio-religious bias was aptly addressed by them and it is a result of their heroic struggle that despite being few in number, their efforts resulted in the proclamation of a Constitution in 1956, which not only reserved a 3% quota for women in all legislatures but also included the landmark provision of filling these seats through direct elections, where only women voters were to choose their own representatives!

Unfortunately, this remarkable legislative commitment, which was deemed to be practical in 1956, and had been applied as a representational formula in earlier elections of 1946 and 1951, was later discarded and never put to test.

Nevertheless, the women's parliamentary performance in the forthcoming assemblies of Pakistan amply demonstrated their potential, talent and skills. In fact, the political agenda for achieving women's electoral rights, as evolved from the "emancipation days" at the turn of the century, remained, and to some extent remains, their chosen path.

AT THE END OF THIS CHAPTER...

The reader is able to understand:

1. The historic evolution of women's political awareness viz-a-viz the historic bias against women's participation
2. The meaning and history of the Suffrage Movement and the global position in this regard
3. The historical context of Muslim women's socio-political awakening in the sub-continent
4. Role of men in the emancipation of women in the sub-continent; their understanding of the issue and the prevailing mind-set
5. The subsequent development of Women's political agenda in the sub-continent and its continuing pursuit in the new nation state of Pakistan
6. The role of women in the Indo-Pak freedom movement and their parliamentary contributions
7. The role of women parliamentarians in the 1st Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and their role in shaping the 1956 Constitution
8. Landmark legislation achieved by them in Pakistan's initial days

CHAPTER TWO

Women's Parliamentary Participation in Pakistan

“No nation can rise to the height of glory unless your women are side by side with you. We are victims of evil customs. It is a crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of the houses as prisoners. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable condition in which our women have to live.”

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah

INTRODUCTION

In the previous Chapter, it was established that women remained among the standard bearers of the Pakistan Movement. The Founder of the Nation, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah gave great importance to women’s active role in the political arena and encouraged their participation in the freedom struggle. As a result, many women came in the political limelight, such as Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah, Begum Ranna Liaqat Ali Khan, Begum Maulana Mohammad Ali Johar (who was appointed to the Central Working Committee of the All India Muslim League), Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz (who represented the Indian women at the 2nd Roundtable Conference in London in 1932), Gaitiara, Anwari Begum, Fatima Begum, Lady Hidayatullah and many others.

In fact, Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah became a leading icon of the Pakistan Movement. Dr. Dushka Syed, a noted academic writes:

“The constant presence of Fatima Jinnah, the Quaid’s sister, was not accidental, but a message by this visionary leader that women should be equal partners in politics and that they should not be confined to the traditional home-bound role of a wife and a mother. It is not surprising then that he was constantly under attack of the orthodox religious parties. Once, so the story goes, he was about to address a mammoth public meeting, and was requested not to have Fatima Jinnah sitting on the dais by his side. He refused.”

(Women in Politics – Problems of Participation: A Case Study of Pakistan, by Prof. Dr. Dushka Syed)

However, this forceful political participation in the freedom struggle could not be translated in effective parliamentary presence even after achieving a free Pakistan. The culture of keeping women in seclusion regardless of class, colour, creed or religion was deep-rooted in the Indo-Pak subcontinent and needed some kind of an “affirmative action” on part of the Government, ensuring women’s presence at the key decision-making levels. The idea of reserving special seats for women was thus introduced in the political fabric of the Sub-Continent when in the “Government of India Act 1935”, a quota of 3% seats were reserved for women against the popular demand of 10%. The interesting aspect however was that under this Act, only women could vote for women’s seats. The Principle of women’s representation in the Parliament was finally introduced in this part of the world.

THE INITIAL PHASE — 1947 – 1958:

Pakistan came into being on August 14, 1947 and the elected Members, belonging to the areas, either acceding to Pakistan, or from the Muslim Constituencies, formed the First Constituent Assembly of the newly created State. The first Constituent Assembly of the Dominion of Pakistan had only two Women Members, namely:

Women Members of the First Constituent Assembly of Pakistan 1947 – 1954

Name	Constituency
Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz	West Pakistan
Begum Shaista Ikramullah	East Pakistan

Source: Father & Daughter; A Political Autobiography, pp 185, by Jahan Ara Shahnawaz

This Assembly was replaced by an indirectly elected Chamber of 80 Members in 1955 after the then Governor General Ghulam Mohammad dismissed this Assembly on October 24, 1954. The new House did not have a single woman Member.

The first Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, passed in 1956, provided 10 reserved seats for women in the single-chamber Parliament (05 from West Pakistan and 05 from East Pakistan).

The significant feature in this regard was the “Principle of Female suffrage and Women’s Reserved Seats” — A dual voting right, under which the women were not only eligible to vote for a general seat but also for the women seats’ candidates

No elections were, however, held under this Constitution as it was abrogated with the proclamation of first Martial Law on October 8, 1958.

THE SECOND PHASE — 1962 CONSTITUTION:

The second Constitution, proclaimed in 1962 provided for a National Assembly, consisting of 156 indirectly elected Members, including 6 seats for women — 3 each for both wings of the State. These were:

Women Members on Reserved Seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan 1962- 1965	
Name	Constituency
Begum Roquyya Anwar	East Pakistan
Begum Serajunnessa Choudhury	East Pakistan
Begum Shamsun Nahar Mahmood,	East Pakistan
Begum Mujjebun Nisa Muhammad Akram	West Pakistan
Begum Khadeja G. A. Khan	West Pakistan
Begum Zari Sarfaraz	West Pakistan

Source: Library of National Assembly of Pakistan Records

In addition to the above six, one woman each managed from the both wings to get herself elected from the general seats through the electoral college of its respective province. These were:

Women Members Elected from General Constituencies in the National Assembly of Pakistan, 1962- 1965	
Name	Constituency
Begum Zohra Aziz	Layalpur, West Pakistan
Begum Hamida Mohammad Ali	Bogra, East Pakistan

Source: Library of National Assembly of Pakistan Records

However, none of them was ever given any ministerial position or appointed as Parliamentary Secretaries.

The trend of restricting women to mere reserved seats and to no other parliamentary or governmental position was continued in the next Assembly in 1965, created under this Constitution. The six women in the new Assembly were:

Women Members on Reserved Seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan 1965- 1969	
Name	Constituency
Mrs. Mariam Hashimuddin Ahmad	East Pakistan
Begum Dolly Azad	East Pakistan
Begum Razia Faiz	East Pakistan
Begum Mujjebun Nisa Muhammad Akram	West Pakistan
Begum Khadeja G. A. Khan	West Pakistan
Begum Zari Sarfaraz	West Pakistan

Source: Library of National Assembly of Pakistan Records

THE THIRD PHASE — THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK ORDER:

The popular uprising against the first military dictator Ayub Khan led to another Martial Law in 1969 by General Yahya Khan. He abrogated the 1962 Constitution and announced the first general elections in Pakistan’s history on the basis of “One Man One Vote” under his “Legal Framework Order”. The LFO provided for 13 reserved seats for women (6 from West Pakistan and 7 from East Pakistan) in the single chamber Assembly of 313. The elections were held on December 7, 1970 but the Assembly could not convene its session in wake of the secessionist movement in the country’s eastern wing, leading to Pakistan’s dismemberment and creation of Bangladesh. Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the popular leader of the western wing formed the Government in the remaining country. The 144 members elected from the Western wing formed the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, which was convened for the first time on 14th April 1972. It included six women Members, namely:

Women Members on Reserved Seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan 1972- 1977	
Name	Constituency
Shireen Wahab	NWFP
Mrs. Nargis Naeem	Punjab
Nasim Jahan Begum	Punjab
Zahida Sultana	Punjab
Dr. Mrs. Ashraf Khatoon Abbassi	Sindh
Mrs. Jehanzeba alis Jeneffer Mosa Qazi	Baluchistan

Source: Library of National Assembly of Pakistan Records

In addition to the above, Mrs. Najma Andrews also became the Member of the House on a minorities’ seat for a short-while in 1976 after the death of a sitting MNA and her husband Mr. R. M. Andrews.

THE FOURTH PHASE — 1973 CONSTITUTION AND THE SUBSEQUENT STEPS:

The Assembly of 1970 will always be remembered for

electing a woman, Begum Dr. Ashraf Abbasi as its Deputy Speaker for the first time in Pakistan’s parliamentary history.

When the Constitution Committee was formed in 1972, three ladies, Nasim Jahan, Mrs Jennifer Qazi and Begum Ashraf Abbasi were made its members.

It was also during this time when another woman Member, Mrs. Nargis Naeem was appointed as the first woman Parliamentary Secretary in the House.

The revival of parliamentary democracy and the subsequent passage of the first consensus Constitution of Pakistan in 1973 enabled a sea-change in women’s parliamentary participation when women were not only provided with 10 reserved berths in the Lower House but the then Government of the country’s first elected Prime Minister, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto also supported women’s entry to the Upper House, the Senate. As a result, Samia Usman was elected as the first woman Senator. Besides, it was also in 1974 when Begum Rana Liaqat Ali Khan was appointed as the Governor of the province of Sindh — the first and only woman to take oath of such an exalted position so far in Pakistan’s 62 years of history.

This trend was vigorously followed when women’s parliamentary strength rose to 10 after the general elections in 1977. The new Assembly elected the following women on reserved seats:

Women Members on Reserved Seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan March 1977- July 1977

Name	Constituency
Begum Kulsoom Saifullah	NWFP
Mrs. Nargis Naeem	Punjab
Mrs. Dilshad Begum	Punjab
Begum Nafisa Khalid	Punjab
Begum Bilqis Habibullah	Punjab
Mrs. Samia Usman	Punjab
Miss Mubarak Begum	Punjab
Begum Nusrat Bhutto	Sindh
Mrs. Nasima Sultana Akmut	Sindh
Mrs. Bilqis Begum	Baluchistan

Source: Library of National Assembly of Pakistan Records

In addition to the above, one more woman, Mrs. Shavak Rustum, was also elected against one of the seats reserved for the minorities.

The elections of 1977 are also historic for the fact that in these elections, a woman, Begum Naseem Wali Khan, was directly elected for the first time from any general seat. She returned successful from two constituencies of the North West Frontier Province. Though Begum Naseem never took oath as a Member because of the Opposition's boycott, nevertheless it remains an unbroken record in its own right since no other woman has since then been able to get elected from this province on a general seat.

THE FIFTH PHASE —THIRD MARTIAL LAW AND THE NON-PARTY ASSEMBLY OF 1985:

This Assembly proved short-lived and was dismissed just after three months with the imposition of Martial Law on July 5, 1977 and the subsequent suspension of the Constitution. Political activities were resumed in 1985 when elections were held on non-party basis in 1985 to elect an Assembly, comprising of a total of 237

Members. In these elections, two women were elected on the General Seats, namely:

Women Members on General Seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan 1985- 1988

Name	Constituency
Begum Abida Hussain	NA-76 Jhang – IV
Begum Nasim Majid Akhtar	NA-146 Bahawalnagar V (Elected in by-election)

Source: Library of National Assembly of Pakistan Records

Begum Nasim Majid was also later appointed as the Parliamentary Secretary for Housing & Works.

It was also at that time that the select portions of the 1973 Constitution were revived under the Revival of Constitution Order (P.O.14 of 1985), which also increased the reserved seats for women from 10 to 20. Consequently, women entered in the central legislature in a considerable number

Women Members on Reserved Seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan 1985- 1988

Name	Constituency
Begum Afsar Raza Qazalbash	Punjab
Begum Sarwari Sadiq	Punjab
Begum Silvat Sher Ali Khan	Punjab
Mrs. Khurshid Begum	Punjab
Mrs. Dureshahwar Mazari	Punjab
Mrs. Rafia Tariq	Punjab
Begum Rehana Aleem Mashahdi	Punjab
Shahzadi Mehmooda Begum	Punjab
Begum Ishrat Ashraf	Punjab

Dr. Attiya Inayatullah	Punjab
Mrs. Farrukh Mukhtar	Punjab
Mrs. Nisar Fatima Zahra	Punjab
Mrs. Afroze Nazir Ahmad	Sindh
Begum Salma Ahmad	Sindh
Mrs. Rashida Pasha Khoro	Sindh
Mrs. Qamar-un-Nisa Qamar	Sindh
Mrs. Bilquis Nasar-um-Minallah	N.W.F.P.
Begum Kalsoom Saifullah	N.W.F.P.
Dr. Miss. Noor Jahan Panazai	Baluchistan
Bilqees Begum	Baluchistan

Source: Library of National Assembly of Pakistan Records

In addition to the above, Mrs. Leela Wanti managed to enter the Chamber on a reserved seat for the Minorities. All these women remained Members of the Assembly from 1985 till May 28, 1988, when the Assembly was dismissed by the then President.

This Assembly has the main distinction of having Women Members as Ministers in the Federal Cabinet for the first time when Begum Afsar Raza Qazalbash and Begum Kulsum Saifullah were appointed as Ministers of State in Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo's cabinet. Besides, Begum Rehana Aleem Mashahdi and Dr. Noor Jahan Panazai also served as Parliamentary Secretaries.

The Senate, which was also revived with the National Assembly, had no woman Member.

THE SIXTH PHASE — RETURN OF DEMOCRACY AND PARTY POLITICS:

The year 1988 saw historic changes on the political landscape of the country. Military dictator General Zia died in a plane crash in August 1988. In its aftermath, party-based elections were held in the country after 11 years on November 16, 1988. As a result, Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto became the first woman Prime Minister of not only Pakistan but in the entire Muslim World. This election also witnessed the election of at least four

women from general seats, three of them getting elected from more than one constituency.

Women Members Elected on General Seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan 1988- 1990

Name	Constituency
Begum Nusrat Bhutto (PPP)	NA-24 Chitral & NA-164 Larkana I
Begum Abida Hussain (IND)	NA-67 Jhang II & NA-68 Jhang III
Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto (PPP)	NA-94 Lahore, NA-166 Larkana III & NA-189 Karachi (S)-I
Dr. Ashraf Khatoon Abbassi (PPP)	NA-165 Larkana II

Source: Library of National Assembly of Pakistan Records

Besides, this 8th National Assembly also had other 20 women members on reserved seats.

Women Members Elected on Reserved Seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan 1988- 1990

Name	Constituency
Begum Rehana Sarwar (PPP)	Punjab
Begum Sarwari Sadiq (IJI)	Punjab
Begum Nadira Khan Khakwani (PPP)	Punjab
Mrs. Amina Paracha (PPP)	Punjab
Mrs. Razia Sultana (IND)	Punjab
Mrs. Shahnaz Begum (PPP)	Punjab
Begum Rehana Aleem Mashahdi (IJI)	Punjab

Ms. Shahnaz Wazir Ali (PPP)	Punjab
Mrs. Abida Malik (PPP)	Punjab
Dr. Attiya Inayatullah (JI)	Punjab
Mrs. Aamira Ehsan (JI)	Punjab
Mrs. Nasreen Begum (PPP)	Punjab
Mrs. Shamim N.D. Khan (PPP)	Sindh
Dr. Mrs. Mehmooda Shah (PPP)	Sindh
Mrs. Ruqia Khanum Soomro (PPP)	Sindh
Mrs. Zareen Majeed (Haq Parast)	Sindh
Malik Mehr-un-Nisa Afridi (PPP)	N.W.F.P.
Begum Kalsoom Saifullah (JI)	N.W.F.P.
Mrs. Samina Razak (PPP)	Baluchistan
Bibi Amina JUL(F)	Baluchistan

Source: Library of National Assembly of Pakistan Records

Mohtarma's election as Prime Minister brought about a revolution in women's political and parliamentary role. The Assembly elected Dr. Ashraf Abbassi once again as its Deputy Speaker while the Federal Cabinet had some 5 women as Ministers, which included Begum Nusrat Bhutto as Senior Minister, Begam Rehana Sarwar as Federal Minister for Women Development, Begum Shahnaz Wazir Ali as Minister of State for Education, Begum Mehmooda Shah as Minister of State for Social Welfare and Begum Nadir Khakwani as Minister of State for Population Welfare.

It was also in 1988 when one woman Dr. Noor Jahan Panazai was elected as Senator from Baluchistan. She also served as the first woman Deputy Chairperson of the Upper House from 1991 to 1993. She however remained the lone woman legislator in the Chamber for the whole period of six years.

THE SEVENTH PHASE — END OF THE RESERVED SEATS; 1990 ONWARDS:

The dismissal of the 8th National Assembly on August 6, 1990 marked the end of an era of women's rise into the corridors of power for a long time to come. With the exit of this Assembly the Constitutional provision of

reserving Women Seats till two general elections also died.

The new House of 217 members, thus emerging after the elections of October 24, 1990 had only two women Members, Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto and Begum Nusrat Bhutto, both elected from their home constituencies.

Women Members Elected on General Seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan 1990-1993

Name	Constituency
Begum Nusrat Bhutto (PPP)	NA-164 Larkana I
Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto (PPP)	NA-166 Larkana III

Source: Library of National Assembly of Pakistan Records

The rather disappointing scenario, nevertheless, came with a pinch of salt as Mohtarma was not only the first-ever woman to become a Leader of the Opposition in the National Parliament but also for her so-far unbroken record of getting elected with the highest percentage of votes, ever secured by any successful candidate in a party-based election — 98.48%.

The 10th National Assembly came into being after general elections were held on October 6, 1993. With no reserved seats for women, four women managed to get through the House from General Seats.

Women Members Elected on General Seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan 1993-1996

Name	Constituency
Begum Shahnaz Javed (PPP)	NA-126 Sahiwal III
Begum Tehmina Daultana (PML-N)	NA-130 Vehari II

Begum Nusrat Bhutto (PPP)	NA-164 Larkana I
Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto (PPP)	NA-166 Larkana III

Source: Library of National Assembly of Pakistan Records

Consequently, Mohtarma took oath as Prime Minister for the second time while Ms. Shahnaz Wazir Ali, a Non-Member, was appointed as the Special Assistant to the Prime Minister on Social Sector.

It was also during this term of her office when Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto presented the idea of an organisation of women parliamentarians. In her leadership, Pakistan hosted the first ever Conference of Muslim Women Parliamentarians in Islamabad in 1995. The momentum, unfortunately, could not be kept after Mohtarma's ouster in 1996.

In the Upper House, the dismal situation registered some improvements in 1994 when Ms. Fiza Junejo from Punjab and Ms. Nasreen Jaleel from Sindh were elected as Senators.

The musical chairs of power politics entered yet another round when this Assembly was also shown the door by the then President under the infamous Article 58 (2)B of the Constitution, paving way for the next general elections which were held on February 3, 1997. The tally of women MPs further improved and this time 6 women in general elections and woman in by-elections managed to enter the Lower Chamber.

Women Members Elected on General Seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan 1997-1999

Name	Constituency
Begum Abida Hussain (PML-N)	NA-69 Jhang-IV
Begum Majeeda Wyne (PML-N)	NA-123 Khanewal-III
Begum Tehmina Daultana (PML-N)	NA-130 Vehari-II
Begum Nusrat Bhutto (PPP)	NA-164 Larkana-I
Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto (PPP)	NA-166 Larkana-III & NA-171 Hyderabad-V
Dr. Fehmida Mirza (PPP)	NA-173 Badin-II

Source: Library of National Assembly of Pakistan Records

During this tenure, Begum Abida Hussain MNA and Begum Tehmina Daultana MNA were inducted in the Federal Cabinet as Ministers while Begum Ishrat Ashraf, a non-member was also made an Advisor to the Prime Minister.

THE SEVENTH PHASE — THE POST-2000 DEMOCRACY:

Eventually, curtains were called on the democratic set-up when the government of Mian Nawaz Sharif was dismissed through the fourth military coup on October 12, 1999. Parliament was only restored in 2002 with major amendments in the 1973 Constitution, brought under a "Legal Framework Order 2002". Under this LFO, the long-standing popular demand of reserved seats for women was accepted in principle. It had been demanded that women should be given at least 33% representation. However, the LFO agreed to 17%, devoting 60 seats in a 342-Member National Assembly and 17 in a 100-Member Senate. Under this new arrangement, election procedure for these reserved seats was also changed and "List System" was introduced. The emerging parliamentary groups, thus, were to get these seats in proportion to their general representation in the House.

Elections were held on October 10, 2002 and this time, the tally of women returning from the General Seats, improved in a considerable number, crossing the double-digit figure for the first time. Initially, 13 women were elected. However, one of them, Ms. Eman Wasim vacated her seat, enabling Mr. Shaukat Aziz's eventual election as the country's Prime Minister.

Women Members Elected on General Seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan 2002-2007

Name	Constituency
Ms. Eman Wasim (PML-Q) (resigned in 2004)	NA-59 Attock-III
Ms. Sumaira Malik (NA)	NA-69 Khushab-I
Mst. Ghulam Bibi Bharwana (PML-Q)	NA-87 Jhang-II
Ms. Saima Akhtar Bharwana (Ind)	NA-90 Jhang-V
Ms. Riffat Javaid Kahlon (PML-Q)	NA-117 Narowal-III
Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki (PPP-P)	NA-130 Lahore-XIII
Ms. Rubina Shaheen Wattoo (Ind)	NA-147 Okara-V
Mrs. Khalida Mohsin Ali (PPP-P)	NA-176 Muzafargarh-I
Ms. Hina Rabbani Khar (PML-Q)	NA-177 Muzafargarh-II
Dr. Azra Fazal Pechuho (PPP-P)	NA-213 Nawabshah-I
Mrs. Shamshad Sattar Bachani (PPP-P)	NA-223 Hyderabad-VI
Dr. Fehmida Mirza (PPP-P)	NA-225 Badin-II
Ms. Zubaida Jalal (PML-Q)	Na-272 Kech-cum-Gawadar

Source: Library of National Assembly of Pakistan Records

Besides, another 60 women were also elected as Members of the National Assembly on Reserved Seats.

Women Members Elected on Reserved Seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan 2002-2007

Name	Constituency
Ms. Mehnaz Rafi (PML-Q)	Punjab
Dr. Hajira Tariq Aziz (PML-Q)	Punjab
Ms. Tanzeela Aamir Cheema (PML-Q)	Punjab

Dr. Donya Aziz (PML-Q)	Punjab
Ms. Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q)	Punjab
Dr. Saira Tariq (PML-Q)	Punjab
Mrs. Riffat Amjad (PML-Q)	Punjab
Dr. Attiya Inayatullah (PML-Q)	Punjab
Ms. Bushra Rehman (PML-Q)	Punjab
Ms. Farzeen Ahmed Sarfaraz (PML-Q)	Punjab
Shahzadi Umer Zadi Tiwana (PML-Q)	Punjab
Ms. Raheela Munawar (PML-Q)	Punjab
Prof. Aasiya Azeem (PML-Q)	Punjab
Dr. Firdaus Ashiq Awan (PML-Q)	Punjab
Begum Tehmina Dasti (PML-Q)	Punjab
Ms. Onaza Ehsan (PML-Q)	Punjab
Ms. Bushra Anwar Sipra (PML-Q)	Punjab
Dr. Rozina Tufail (PML-Q)	Punjab
Ms. Tahira Asif (PML-Q)	Punjab
Ms. Naheed Khan (PPP-P)	Punjab
Ms. Beelum Hasnain (PPP-P)	Punjab
Ms. Shakeela Khanum Rashid (PPP-P)	Punjab
Ms. Fauzia Habib (PPP-P)	Punjab
Ms. Mehreen Anwar Raja (PPP-P)	Punjab
Ms. Yasmeen Rehman (PPP-P)	Punjab
Begum Shahnaz Shaikh (PPP-P-P)	Punjab
Ms. Rukhsana Bangash (PPP-P)	Punjab
Ms. Naseem Chaudhary (PPP-P)	Punjab
Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi (MMA)	Punjab
Ms. Maimoona Hashmi (PML-N)	Punjab
Begum Ishrat Ashraf (PML-N)	Punjab
Begum Tehmina Daultana (PML-N)	Punjab

Begum Rehana Aleem Mashhadi (PML-J)	Punjab
Ms. Meena Laghari (NA)	Punjab
Ms. Ayla Malik (NA)	Punjab
Ms. Fiza Junejo (PML-Q)	Sindh
Ms. Shery Rehman (PPP-P)	Sindh
Ms. Ruqaiya Khanum Soomro (PPP-P)	Sindh
Ms. Fauzia Wahab (PPP-P)	Sindh
Ms. Rubina Saddat Qaimkhani (PPP-P)	Sindh
Ms. Nafisa Munawar Raja (PPP-P)	Sindh
Ms. Shagufta Jumani (PPP-P)	Sindh
Dr. Farida Ahmed (MMA)	Sindh
Ms. Aisha Munawar (MMA)	Sindh
Ms. Shamim Akhtar (MQM)	Sindh
Ms. Afsar Begum (MQM)	Sindh
Ms. Shabina Talat (MQM)	Sindh
Ms. Gul-e-Farkhanda (NA)	Sindh
Ms. Khurshid Afghan (PML-F)	Sindh
Ms. Zaib Gohar Ayub (PML-Q)	N.W.F.P.
Sayyada Farhana Khalid Banoori (MMA)	N.W.F.P.
Ms. Razia Aziz (MMA)	N.W.F.P.
Nayyar Sultan (MMA)	N.W.F.P.
Ms. Jamila Ahmed (MMA)	N.W.F.P.
Ms. Ambareen Naseem (MMA)	N.W.F.P.
Ms. Inayat Begum (MMA)	N.W.F.P.
Ms. Shahida Akhtar Ali (MMA)	N.W.F.P.
Dr. Noor Jahan Panezai (PML-Q)	Baluchistan
Ms. Imrana Khawar (MMA)	Baluchistan
Ms. Bilqees Saif (MMA)	Baluchistan

Source: Library of National Assembly of Pakistan Records

In addition to the above, Ms. Asiya Nasir was also elected on one of the seats reserved for the Minorities.

In the re-constituted Senate as well, 17 women (04 from each province and 01 from the Federal Capital) were elected. Table XVI reflects all the names of women Senators, who served during the six years for their respective terms.

Women Senators Elected on Reserved Seats in the Senate of Pakistan 2003-2009

Name	Constituency
Dr. Nighat Agha (retired in 2006)	Punjab
Ms. Gulshan Saeed	Punjab
Ms. Rozina Alam Khan	Punjab
Ms. Saadia Abbasi	Punjab
Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar (elected in 2006)	Punjab
Ms. Abida Saif (retired in 2006)	Sindh
Bibi Yasmeen Shah	Sindh
Engr. Rukhsana Zubairi	Sindh
Ms. Nighat Mirza (retired in 2006)	Sindh
Ms. Tanveer Khalid (elected in 2006)	Sindh
Ratna Bhagwandas (elected in 2006)	Sindh
Ms. Sameen Yousuf Siddiqui (elected in 2006)	Sindh
Ms. Anisa Zaib Tahirkheli	N.W.F.P.
Dr. Kausar Firdaus	N.W.F.P.
Ms. Fauzia Fakhar-uz-Zaman	N.W.F.P.

Ms. Mumtaz Bibi (retired in 2006)	N.W.F.P.
Ms. Afia Zia (elected in 2006)	N.W.F.P.
Ms. Pari Gul Agha	Baluchistan
Ms. Kalsoom Parveen	Baluchistan
Ms. Roshan Khursheed Barocha (retired in 2006)	Baluchistan
Ms. Shereen Noor (retired in 2006)	Baluchistan
Ms. Raheela Yahya Baluch (elected in 2006)	Baluchistan
Ms. Sabina Rauf (elected in 2006)	Baluchistan
Ms. Tahira Latif	Federal Capital

Source: Library of Senate of Pakistan Records

Hence, with a total of 74 women Members and some 17 Senators at one given time, this was the highest number of female representation, ever achieved in the corridors of power. Consequently, many women were included in the Federal Cabinet, appointed as Parliamentary Secretaries and also elected as Chairpersons of various Standing Committees. Ms. Zubaida Jalal remained a Federal Minister in the cabinet of Prime Minister Zafarullah Jamali while Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar was appointed as Advisor. She was later inducted as full Minister in the cabinet of Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz, which also had Ms. Sumaira Malik and Ms. Zubaida Jalal as Federal Ministers and Ms. Hina Rabani Khar, Ms. Ghulam Bibi Bharwana, Ms. Anisa Zaib Tahirkheli and Ms. Shahnaz Sheikh as Ministers of State. Besides, 6 other women Members were made Parliamentary Secretaries while 9 were elected as Chairpersons of the National Assembly's Standing Committees.

A move to establish a Women's Parliamentary Caucus was also made during this time period but remained unsuccessful in the deeply polarised political scenario.

THE EIGHTH PHASE — 2008-2013:

The elections held on February 18, 2008 will always be remembered in the history of Pakistan as a major turning point. Held in the shadows of Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto's martyrdom, the following events also proved historical. Dr. Fehmida Mirza, a third-time

winner from a rural general constituency in Sindh's remote Badin district was elected with an overwhelming two-third majority as the first Woman Speaker of the House, not only in Pakistan but also in the entire Muslim World. Along-with her, as many as 15 other women were also elected from the General seats.

Women Members Elected on General Seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan 2008-Till March 2013

Name	Constituency
Ms. Sumaira Malik (PML)	NA-69 Khushab-I
Ms. Raheela Baluch (PPP-P)	NA-78 Faisalabad-IV
Mst. Ghulam Bibi Bharwana (PML)	NA-87 Jhang-II
Ms. Saima Akhtar Bharwana (Ind)	NA-90 Jhang-V
Ms. Farkhanda Amjad (PML)	NA-92 T.T. Singh-I
Ms. Saira Afzal Tarar (PML-N)	NA-102 Hafizabad-I
Dr. Firdous Ashiq Awan (PPP-P)	NA-113 Sialkot-II
Ms. Sumaira Yasir Rasheed (PML-N)	NA-115 Narowal-I
Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki (PPP-P)	NA-130 Lahore-XIII
Begum Tehmina Daultana (PML-N)	NA-169 Vehari-III
Ms. Hina Rabbani Khar (PML-Q)	NA-177 Muzafargarh-II
Ms. Faryal Talpur (PPP-P)	NA-207 Larkana-IV
Dr. Azra Fazal Pechuho (PPP-P)	NA-213 Nawabshah-I

Mrs. Shamshad Sattar Bachani (PPP-P)	NA-223 Hyderabad-VI
Dr. Fehmida Mirza (PPP-P)	NA-225 Badin-II
Ms. Khushbakht Shujaat (MQM)	Na-250 Karachi-XII

Source: Library of National Assembly of Pakistan Records

Later, Khadeeja Waran was elected from NA-184 Bahawalpur-II in September 2010 when the seat was vacated after her husband Amir Yar Waran resigned from the seat. On March 14, 2012, Natasha Daultana took oath of her seat from NA-168 Vehari-II, which fell vacant after the death of her brother, Azeem Daultana.

The women returning on reserved seats were:

Women Members Elected on Reserved Seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan 2008-2013	
Name	Constituency
Begum Ishrat Ashraf (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Maimoona Hashmi (PML-N) (resigned on 29-12-2011). Replaced by: Shaheen Shafiq (PML-N) on 25-4-2012	Punjab
Ms. Qudsia Arshad (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Tahira Aurangaib (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Nuzhat Sadiq (PML-N) (resigned on 10-3-12 due to her election as Senator in 2012). Replaced by: Seema Mohiuddin Jeelani (PML-N) on 25-4-2012)	Punjab
Ms. Nighat Parveen Mir (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Khalida Mansoor (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Shahnaz Saleem (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Parveen Masood Bhatti (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Sabeen Rizvi (PML-N) resigned on 29-11-12	Punjab
Ms. Shireen Arshad Khan (PML-N)	Punjab

Ms. Surriya Asghar (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Tasneem Siddiqui (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Nisar Tanveer (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Shaheen Ishfaq (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Anusha Rahman Khan (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Beelum Hasnain (PPP-P)	Punjab
Ms. Shakeela Khanum Rashid (PPP-P)	Punjab
Ms. Fauzia Habib (PPP-P)	Punjab
Ms. Mehreen Anwar Raja (PPP-P)	Punjab
Ms. Yasmeen Rehman (PPP-P)	Punjab
Ms. Rukhsana Bangash (PPP-P)	Punjab
Ms. Naseem Chaudhary (PPP-P)	Punjab
Ms. Palwasha Khan (PPP-P)	Punjab
Ms. Farzana Raja (PPP-P)	Punjab
Justice [®] Fakharunnisa Khokhar (PPP-P)	Punjab
Ms. Samina Mushtaq Pagganwala (PPP-P)	Punjab
Ms. Shahnaz Wazir Ali (PPP-P)	Punjab
Ms. Kashmala Tariq (PML)	Punjab
Dr. Attiya Inayatullah (PML)	Punjab
Ms. Bushra Rehman (PML)	Punjab
Begum Shahnaz Shaikh (PML) resigned 17-9-12. Replaced by Ms Rukhsana Jamshaid Buttar (PML) 11-10-12	Punjab
Ms. Nosheen Saeed (PML)	Punjab
Ms. Marvi Memon (PML) (resigned on 22-6-2011). Replaced by: Tanzeela Amir Cheema on June 23, 2011	Punjab
Dr. Donya Aziz (PML)	Punjab

Ms. Fiza Junejo (PML)	Sindh
Ms. Shery Rehman (PPP-P) (Appointed Ambassador to the US in 2011. Seat vacated; resigned on 24-11-11). Replaced by: Surraiya Jatoi on December 29, 2011	Sindh
Ms. Nafisa Shah (PPP-P)	Sindh
Ms. Fauzia Wahab (PPP-P) (died on 17-6-12) Replaced by: Shazia Marri (PPP-P) on 6-7-12	Sindh
Ms. Rubina Saddat Qaimkhani (PPP-P)	Sindh
Ms. Farah Naz Ispahani (PPP-P) disqualified due to dual nationality w.e.f., 17-3-2008 Replaced by Ms Muneera Shakir (PPP-P) on 8-10-12	Sindh
Ms. Shagufta Jumani (PPP-P)	Sindh
Dr. Mehreen Razaque Bhutto (PPP-P)	Sindh
Dr. Nahid Shahid Ali (MQM)	Sindh
Ms. Kishwar Zahra (MQM)	Sindh
Ms. Fauzia Ejaz Khan (MQM) resigned on 29-11-12	Sindh
Ms. Imrana Saeed Jamil (MQM)	Sindh
Ms. Shagufta Sadiq (MQM)	Sindh
Ms. Reena Kumari (PML-F)	Sindh
Ms. Bushra Gohar (ANP)	Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa
Ms. Jamila Gilani (ANP)	Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa
Ms. Khurshid Begum (ANP)	Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa
Ms. Asma Arab Alamgir (PPP-P)	Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa
Malik Mehrunnisa Afridi (PPP-P) died on 4-3-13	Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa
Ms. Farhat Khan (PPP-P)	Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa

Dr. Imtiaz Sultan Bukhari (PML-N)	Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa
Ms. Farzana Mushtaq Ghani (PML)	Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa
Ms. Zubaida Jalal (PML)	Baluchistan
Dr. Zil-e-Huma (PPP-P)	Baluchistan
Ms. Aasiya Nasir (MMA)	Baluchistan

Source: Library of National Assembly of Pakistan
Recordsional Assembly of Pakistan Records

The Senate elections were held in March 2009. With its new composition, 17 women Senators were elected:

Women Senators Elected on Reserved Seats in the Senate of Pakistan 2009-Till date

Name	Constituency
Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar (Retired in 2012)	Punjab
Ms. Gulshan Saeed (Retired in 2012)	Punjab
Begum Najma Hameed (to retire on 11-03-2015)	Punjab
Syeda Sughra Imam (to retire on 11-03-2015)	Punjab
Mrs. Almas Parveen (to retire on 11-03-2015)	Sindh
Ms. Ratna Bhagwandas (Retired in 2012)	Sindh
Mrs. Semeen Siddiqui (Retired in 2012)	Sindh
Ms. Shirala Malik (to retire after 11-03-2015)	Sindh
Ms. Farah Aqil Shah (to retire on 11-03-2015)	Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa

Ms. Farhat Abbas (to retire on 11-03-2015)	Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa
Ms. Fauzia Fakhar-uz-Zaman (Retired in 2012)	Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa
Ms. Afia Zia (Retired in 2012)	Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa
Ms. Suriya Amiruddin (to retire on 11-03-2015)	Baluchistan
Ms. Kalsoom Parveen (to retire on 11-03-2015)	Baluchistan
Mrs. Rehana Yahya Baloch (Retired in 2012)	Baluchistan
Ms. Sabina Rauf (Retired in 2012)	Baluchistan
Dr. Saeeda Iqbal (Elected in 2009)	Federal Capital
Khalida Perveen (Elected in March 2012)	Punjab
Nuzhat Sadiq (Elected in March 2012)	Punjab
Sehar Kamran (Elected in March 2012)	Sindh
Nasreen Jalil (Elected in March 2012)	Sindh
Rubina Rauf Khalid (Elected in March 2012)	Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa
Zahida Khan (Elected in March 2012)	Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa
Rubina Irfan (Elected in March 2012)	Baluchistan
Naseema Ehsan (Elected in March 2012)	Baluchistan

Source: Library of Senate of Pakistan Records

The presence of women in such historically high numbers enabled women to play a more dynamic role and seek offices beyond the traditional “welfare oriented” jobs. It was thus for the first time that Ms. Sherry Rehman served as Minister for Information from February 2008 to March 2009 and Begum Tehmina Daultana remained Federal Minister of Science & Technology from February 2008 to August 2008. Besides her, the cabinet of Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gillani had Dr. Firdaus Ashiq Awan and Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki as Federal Ministers and Ms. Mehreen

Anwar Raja, Ms. Hina Rabbani Khar and Ms. Shagufta Jumani were Ministers of State. Ms. Farzana Raja was appointed to head the biggest-ever welfare project in Pakistan’s history, “Benazir Income Support Programme” with in the status of a Federal Minister while Ms. Shahnaz Wazir Ali served as Special Assistant to the Prime Minister on Social Sector in the status of Minister of State. Another Member, Ms. Nafisa Shah served as Chairperson of the National Commission on Human Development.

In 2011, the Cabinet was reshuffled and yet another landmark was achieved when Hina Rabbani Khar, a young legislator elected from a rural constituency of South Punjab, was appointed Pakistan’s first woman Foreign Minister. Besides her, many other women, previously serving as ministers, retained their positions.

Raja Pervez Ashraf became the Prime Minister of Pakistan in July 2012 and retained almost all previous women Ministers besides including Raheela Baluch as Minister of State for Science & Technology.

There were 5 women Members serving as Parliamentary Secretaries and 6 were elected Chairpersons of the Standing Committees when the Assembly completed its five-year term on March 16, 2013.

THE NINTH PHASE – 2013 – TILL TODAY:

The 13th National Assembly completed its 5-year term on March 16, 2013. This led to the historic first-ever peaceful transfer of power from one civilian government to the next civilian government. This was marked by the honourable exit of Pakistan’s first Woman Speaker as she gave oath to her successor and left her seat amidst standing ovation by the entire House. The new House saw a decrease in the number of women, directly elected from general constituencies as it fell from 17 in 2008 to 9 in 2013.

Women Members Elected on Reserved Seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan 2013-date

Name	Constituency
Ms. Nafeesa Inayatullah Khan Khattak (PTI)	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
Ms. Mussarat Ahmadzeb (PTI)	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
Ms. Sajida Begum (PTI)	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
Ms. Aaisha Gulalai (PTI)	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
Ms. Shahida Akhtar Ali (JUI-F)	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
Ms. Naeema Kishwar Khan (JUI-F)	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
Begum Tahira Bukhari (PML-N)	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
Ms. Aisha (JI)	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
Ms. Anusha Rahman Ahmad Khan (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Zeb Jaffar (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Tahira Aurangzeb (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Parveen Masood Bhatti (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Ayesha Raza Farooq (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Shaista Pervaiz (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Nighat Parveen (PML-N)	Punjab
Begum Majeeda Wyne (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Khalida Mansoor (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Asyia Naz Tanoli (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Rida Khan (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Seema Mohiuddin Jameeli (PML-N)	Punjab

Ms. Shahnaz Saleem Malik (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Leila Khan (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Arifa Khalid Parvez (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Surriya Asghar (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Shazadi Umarzadi Tiwana (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Maiza Hameed (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Farhana Qamar (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Shaheen Shafiq (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Iffat Laiqat (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Shazia Ashfaq Mattu (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Romina Khurshid Alam (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Zahra Wadood Fatemi (PML-N)	Punjab
Dr. Asma Mamdot (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Marriyum Aurangzeb (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Sabiha Nazir (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Amra Khan (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Phyllis Azeem (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Shaza Fatima Khawaja (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Tahmina Daultana (PML-N)	Punjab
Dr. Shireen Mehrunnisa Mazari (PTI)	Punjab
Ms. Munaza Hassan (PTI)	Punjab
Mrs. Belum Hasnain (PPP-P)	Punjab
Ms. Shakila Luqman (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Shagufta Jumani (PPP-P)	Sindh
Ms. Nafisa Shah (PPP-P)	Sindh
Mrs. Surriya Jatoi (PPP-P)*1 (*1 Replaced Shazia Mari after Ms Meri's election on a general seat in 2013 by-elections.)	Sindh
Mrs. Mahreen Razaque Bhutto (PPP-P)	Sindh

Mrs. Alizeh Iqbal Haider (PPP-P)	Sindh
Mrs. Musarat Rafique Masehar (PPP-P)	Sindh
Mrs. Shahida Rehmani (PPP-P)	Sindh
Ms. Kishwar Zehra (MQM)	Sindh
Ms. Tahira Asif (MQM)	Sindh
Ms. Saman Sultana Jafri (MQM)	Sindh
Dr. Nikhat Shakeel Khan (MQM)	Sindh
Ms. Reeta Ishwar (PML-F)	Sindh
Ms. Shahjehan (NPP& later PMLN)	Sindh
Ms. Marvi Memon (PML-N)	Sindh
Ms. Kiran Haider (PML-N)	Baluchistan
Mst. Naseema (PMAP)	Baluchistan
Mrs. Aliya Kamran (JUI-F)	Baluchistan

Source: Library of National Assembly of Pakistan Records

Women Members Elected on General Seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan 2013-date

Name	Constituency
Dr. Azra Fazal Pechuho (PPP-P)	Sindh
Ms. Faryal Talpur (PPP-P)	Sindh
Dr. Fehmida Mirza (PPP-P)	Sindh
Ms. Ghulam Bibi Bharwana (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Saira Afzal Tarar (PML-N)	Punjab
Ms. Sham-un-Nisa (PPP-P)	Sindh
Ms. Shazia Mari (PPP-P)*1 (*1 Elected on Reserved Seat first but won by- Elections from NA 235 in 2013)	Sindh
Ms. Shazia Mubashar (PML-N)	Punjab

Ms. Sumaira Malik (PML-N)*2 (*2 isqualified by the Supreme Court Order on August 28, 2013 and was replaced by her son Mr. Muhammad Uzair Khan (PML-N) on January 27, 2014)

Punjab

Source: Library of National Assembly of Pakistan Records

The Federal Cabinet of 3rd Time Prime Minister, Mian Mohammad Nawaz Sharif has two women Ministers of State, namely:

1. Mrs. Anusha Rahman Ahmad Khan: Information Technology and Telecommunication
2. Mrs. Saira Afzal Tarar: National Health Services, Regulations and Coordination

Another two Women Members have been appointed Parliamentary Secretaries. These are:

1. Marriyum Aurangzeb: Interior and Narcotics Control
2. Shahzadi Umerzadi: Petroleum and National Resources

The House has also elected two women to the Committees of the House. These are:

- Chairperson Standing Committee: Marvi Memon (Information, Broadcasting and National Heritage)
- Chairperson Parliamentary Committee on the Appointment of the Chairman and Members of National Commission on the Status of Women: Begum Tehmina Daultana.

CONCLUSION:

The inclusion and participation of women in the political process has remained consistent despite all odds. The trend has largely depended on the political commitment of the government of the day and more so, on the affirmative actions taken under constitutional guarantees. A detailed analysis of the constitutional mechanisms, provided in the successive statutes of the land, is discussed in the coming chapters.

AT THE END OF THIS CHAPTER...

The reader is able to understand:

- The presence and participation of women legislators in successive legislature of Pakistan
- The role played by the select few of these women in the executive and parliamentary positions
- The achievements made by these women parliamentarians in expanding the political space for others who followed their footsteps

CHAPTER THREE

International and Regional Trends

“Dominance is not a license to exploit because it is not a gift from God. Dominance is a matter of circumstances.”

Condoleezza Rice

INTRODUCTION

Democracy is participation. Democracy is the free expression of ideas and viewpoints. Democracy is a collection of values — respect for the opinion of others, tolerance and dialogue. In its essence, democracy is participatory. It thrives on the cross-pollination of varied and diverse ideas, blossoming from a free and progressive society, without any discrimination of class, colour, creed or gender. So if women are not present at policy and decision-making levels, there is a democratic deficit. This Chapter gives a preview of the global trends and international best practices for ensuring gender parity in the political processes and institutions. It also discusses the role and status of women in Asia’s emerging and fast-maturing democracies with a particular emphasis on South Asia and identifies a link between human development and women’s participation.

THE 21ST CENTURY WORLD:

The dawn of 2014 reveals women leaders around the world have travelled a long distance since the first women were enfranchised a hundred years ago. With perseverance and resilience, they crossed many obstacles and have overcome the difficulties with patience.

The Inter Parliamentary Union’s “Women In Politics” Map, 2014 reveals the substantive advancements made during this course. As per its findings, by 1st January 2014, there were 36 countries with 30 per cent or more women ministers, a jump from 26 in 2012.³⁰

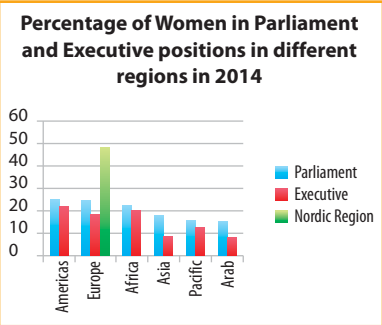
With 14 women in such posts, Nicaragua heads the global table of women in executive, followed by Sweden, Finland, France, Cabo Verde and Norway.³¹

More women are now also in parliamentary politics and influencing the political agenda through their increased presence in the Chambers of Parliaments. The IPU data shows that the percentage of women MPs is now at a record high of 21.8% globally with numbers growing every year. Compared to the situation at the turn of the century, it has made a considerable improvement. In October 1999, the world average of women parliamentarians was only 13%.³²

In 2014, there are also 46 countries with more than 30% of women MPs in at least one chamber, up from 42 in January 2013. The trend, if it continues, would bode well for women’s political participation in the future.³³

“The achievement of democracy presupposes a genuine partnership between men and women in the conduct of the affairs of society in which they work in equality and complementarity, drawing mutual enrichment from their differences.”

Universal Declaration of Democracy, as adopted by the Inter Parliamentary Union, Cairo, 16th September, 1997



This is also reflected in the growing number of women presiding officers in the world legislatures. In October 1999, the number of Women Speakers, Chairpersons or Presidents of either of the Houses of Parliament was 25. In 2014, the number is 40

³⁰http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/wmmmap14_en.pdf
³¹Ibid, IPU
³²Politics: Women’s Insight, pp 101, Inter Parliamentary Union, Geneva, 2000

³³http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/wmmmap14_en.pdf

in 38 countries. At least two countries, Antigua and Barbuda and Bolivia, having bicameral legislatures have both houses headed by women. Furthermore, the acceptability to accommodate women as deputy chairs of the legislatures has further grown. Now 88 out of the 188 members parliaments of the IPU have women deputy speakers.³⁴ This, on the other hand, may also suggest that this is often the glass ceiling for women MPs.

A detailed tabulation of women leaders the world-over is placed as Annex-B

Nevertheless, women leaders seem to have learnt the lesson that “government is the sum of its people. If you want to change things, you have to get involved. If you want your voice to be heard, then get inside.”³⁵ Moreover, they are also fast learning “the rules of the game and the language of politics, while fully preserving their identity as women and avoiding the pitfall of demeaning imitation of their male counterparts.”³⁶

Yet the relentless struggle for equity and equality of opportunities is marred by a plethora of social, cultural, economic and procedural hitches, which block their progress. They continue to find it difficult to “grow” after a certain invisible “red line”.

And the red lines are intricately woven in the socio-economic fabric across societies. 70% of the world’s poor are women and at least two-third of them are illiterate. No education means a blocked way forward. And for poverty, the fact that their efforts constitute a large portion of undocumented, unreported and unappreciated socio-political economy³⁷ augurs well for the economic plight of women. The notion “Poverty has a woman’s face” seems a common tagline across the developing world where lack of economic empowerment makes it increasingly difficult for women to independently pursue an “unconventional” carrier beyond the household chore and politics is one such sphere.

And then, far more than their men colleagues, women

politicians are always engaged in a “balancing act”, seeking to do political work without sacrificing their family life and incurring severe criticism for putting political ambitions before the welfare of their children.³⁸

It is, therefore, obvious that gender equality is not merely a technocratic goal but a socio-political and socio-cultural commitment.³⁹ And the international examples strongly support it. In 2012, Albania ranked 84th in the world for women ministers. It now ranks 27th with 30% of women ministers following the decision of new Prime Minister Edi Rama to give more responsibility to women and youth⁴⁰.

WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN ASIA:

Andrea Fleschenberg rightly notes that the Asian countries have been in the lead when it comes to women entering the top echelons of political power, with Sirimavo Bandaranaike and Chandrika Kumartunga (Sri Lanka), Indira Gandhi (India), Benazir Bhutto (Pakistan), Corazon Aquino and Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo (The Philippines), Megawati Sukarnoputri (Indonesia), Khalida Zia and Haseena Wajid (Bangladesh) being just some examples of female political leadership throughout the region.⁴¹

There is also credible evidence that in Asia, women have demonstrated the political contributions they are capable of making by becoming vibrant voices in formal political institutions, like the legislatures and local governments and in civil society activism. It can, therefore, be rightly assumed that they have been part of the impetus behind political crisis and conflict, as well as processes to forge peace and social transformation.⁴²

³⁴Ibid, IPU

³⁵Valli Nasr. *The Dispensable Nation*, pp30, Doubleday, USA

³⁶Anders B. Johnsson, *Forward of Politics: Women's Insight*, pp i, Inter Parliamentary Union, Geneva, 2000

³⁷Azar Ayaz & Andrea Fleschenberg, *The Gender Face of Asian Politics*, ppvii, Oxford University Press, Karachi

³⁸*Politics: Women's Insight*, InterParliamentary Union, Geneva, 2000

³⁹Ibid

⁴⁰IPU

⁴¹Azar Ayaz & Andrea Fleschenberg, *The Gender Face of Asian Politics*, pp ix, Oxford University Press, Karachi

⁴²*Power, Voice and Rights: A turning Point for Gender Equality in Asia and the Pacific*, UNDP Publication, 2010

And yet, Asia represents the unique saga of opportunities and obstacles, individual success and collective challenges. On one hand, the continent is the World's leader in producing the first woman President (Mongolia 1953) and first woman Prime Minister (Sri Lanka 1960). On the other, women's political citizenship in the region continues to be characterized by expulsion and marginalization. With slightly above 18% and 17% average, respectively, of women's representation in Parliaments, Asia and its Arab countries have the second lowest women MPs' proportion in the world. The lowest average is in the Pacific Region with 16.2%⁴³.

It is worth noting that till 1999, the entire Asian continent, comprising some 52 countries, had only one woman Presiding Officer (Najma Haptulla, the Chairperson of the Council of States –Rajiya Sabha). What is more, she was the 2nd woman in the entire history of parliamentary politics of Asia to have been elected to this position. Prior to her, Japan had made history when it elected Madam T. Doi as the Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1993, the first in Asia. It is indeed encouraging that in the following 14 years, as many as 9 countries⁴⁴ have elected women to be their "top parliamentary face". Three of them are in South Asia⁴⁵.

SOUTH ASIA — ONE STEP FORWARD; TWO STEPS BACKWARD:

Nowhere else in the world is the paradoxical nature of treating women more evident than in South Asia. It is here that woman is revered as goddess and yet relegated to a low-grade subject. It has lead the world by giving the first woman Prime Minister, first Muslim woman and youngest Prime Minister and the first Muslim woman Speaker and yet it is here where the highest number of women illiterates inhabit. The region has the world's second highest number of infant and maternal mortality rates.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTIONS; THE QUOTA SYSTEMS IN SOUTH ASIA:

The women of South Asia have, nevertheless, made

important and impressive strides towards claiming political parity. The Constitutions of all eight SAARC⁴⁶ countries guarantee equal rights to women. In Nepal, the Constituent Assembly provided for 33% quota for women in the Assembly in 2009. Afghanistan's basic law ensures 27% women's representative quota. Pakistan's Constitution has a 17% reservation of women seats in all legislatures. Bangladesh's unicameral Jatyo Sansad has 14% seats reserved for women.

In the Indian Constitution, 33% quota was reserved for women to be elected Village Council chiefs at the local bodies level, through a constitutional amendment in 1993⁴⁷. However, no such provision at the central or state level exists. It is thus that the talk of preferential quotas, either through direct reservation of seats or through allocation in Party tickets has gained currency in India. The 108th Constitutional Amendment Bill titled: "Women's Reservation Bill" was moved in the Rajiya Sabha, which was passed by the House with a 2/3rd majority on March 9, 2010. The event however witnessed rowdy scenes and uproar in the House, with collation partners of the Congress-led government threatening to leave the collation⁴⁸. The Bill was then referred to the Lok Sabha, where it remained pending till the dissolution of the House in February 2014.

In Bhutan, Sri Lanka and the Maldives, limited number of women have managed to enter the respective parliaments, as no "enabling environment" through preferential quotas is available. Bhutan and Sri Lanka have only 6% women in their respective legislatures while the Maldives has 7% women Members in its unicameral People's Majlis.

⁴³IPU statistics, 2014

⁴⁴Georgia (2001), Israel (2006), Turkmenistan (2006), Uzbekistan (2008), Pakistan (2008), India (2009), Lao (2011), Singapore (2013), Bangladesh (2013-14)

⁴⁵Pakistan (2008), India (2009), Bangladesh (2013)

⁴⁶South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

⁴⁷Chattopadhyay, Raghavendra, and Esther Duflo. 2004. *Women as Policy Makers: Evidence from a Randomized Policy Experiment in India*. *Econometrica* 72(5): 1409-43

⁴⁸"Rajya Sabha passes Women's Reservation Bill". *The Times Of India*. 9 March 2010.

The State of Orissa in India has made a significant pass from the country's practice by fixing a 50% women's representative quota in local bodies. This has enabled more and more women local leaders to grow and take hold of the grassroots affairs⁴⁹.

CASE OF MISSING WOMEN IN SOUTH ASIAN POLITICS:

A significant aspect of South Asian political landscape is the case of "missing women". Although in almost all countries of South Asia, women are seen in the forefront of political movements, including mass agitations and election campaigns, it is intriguing that only 7% of its women are actually bona-fide members of political parties⁵⁰.

The gross under-representation of women in the

political arena seems to have a rippling effect on other areas of governance as well. The women's representation in the policing system is only 5% in the entire South Asia while less than 10% of the total judges in South Asia are women⁵¹.

On reason for this "under-representation" is the growing fear among women political workers of facing violence, including sexual harassment. A recent UN Women's report, which is based on a survey conducted in India, Pakistan and Nepal, reveals that "almost 90% of women in these South Asian countries feel that violence breaks their resolve to join politics."

WOMEN'S FRIENDLY LEGISLATION IN SOUTH ASIA:

Sr. No	Legislation	Afghanistan	Bangladesh	Bhutan	India	Maldives	Nepal	Pakistan	Sri Lanka
1.	Harassment at Work Place	No	Yes (2000)	No	Yes (2013)	Yes (2014)	No	Yes (2010)	Yes (1995)
2.	Domestic Violence	No	Yes (2010)	Yes (2013)	Yes (2005)	Yes (2012)	Yes (2008)	No	Yes (2005)
3.	Acid Crimes / Burn Laws	No	Yes (2002)	No	Yes (2013)	Yes (2013)	No	Yes 2011	No

⁴⁹<http://www.unwomensouthasia.org/2012/the-changing-face-of-leadership-in-odisha-2/>

⁵⁰<http://www.unwomensouthasia.org/focus-areas/leadership-participation/fact-figures/>

⁵¹ *ibid*

⁵¹<http://southasia.oneworld.net/news/fear-of-violence-keeps-women-out-of-politics-in-south-asia#.U2Nl162Sxqs>

CONCLUSION:

realization to enable women to actively participate and meaningfully contribute in political decision-making as legislators and executives has gained credence during the last fifty years. The fact that till 1971, women in Switzerland did not have voting rights explains well that even in the advanced world, acceptance of women as equal partners has been a relatively new phenomenon. The progress, nevertheless, has been rapid. What is more, it has now become an established fact as democracies in the 21st century can only claim authenticity if they are participatory and all-inclusive. In Asia, the trends have been mix. While it has been electing women to the top executive positions, it has at the same time the most hostile environment, impeding the women's access to the corridors of power. South Asia show-cases this paradox. There are, nevertheless, encouraging stories emanating from the SAARC Region. The regional examples can have a rippling effect on the neighbouring states and sharing of experiences can help create conducive environment for enhanced political role of women in South Asia.

AFTER READING THIS CHAPTER...

The reader is able to:

- Realise the growing trends of women's political power the world over
- Comprehend the international focus on creating enabling environment for women in international political map
- Find the paradoxical political nature of Asia viz-a-viz gender
- Focus on the trends and tides of gender politics in South Asia
- Understand the need and existence of affirmative actions for women's inclusion in the political processes in South Asia
- Compare the legislative measures taken in the SAARC region to protect and promote women's rights

CHAPTER FOUR

Setting the “Women’s Agenda”

*Peace, secured livelihoods, education and Development:
This is Women’s Agenda*

Dr. Fehmida Mirza

INTRODUCTION

The basic duty of the parliamentarians is to make laws for the benefit of the people; keep a vigilant oversight over the executive to ensure the growth of a harmonious society and to make effective representation of the constituents, highlighting the plight of the community. This Chapter deals extensively with the development of a Social Reforms Agenda, the international commitments in shape of the Millennium Development Goals and the devolution of the related sectors to the provinces.

MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS 2000-2015:

The inaugural Millennium Summit held in New York announced a rights based global commitment to was the dawn of Millennium Development Goals by bringing together representation of 189 UN member states in 2000, to liberate people from the shackles of poverty through the reaffirmation of the fundamental values of freedom, equality, solidarity, tolerance, and respect for the planet and shared responsibility.



The pledge resulted in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) Declaration which called for eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, universal primary education, promoting gender equality and women empowerment, reductions in child mortality, improvements in maternal health, combat HIV/aids, malaria and other diseases, ensuring environmental sustainability and developing a Global Partnership for development by 2015.

WHAT WERE THE OBJECTIVES?

Historically various countries, through different initiatives were pursuing their social development agenda in silos. The MDGs provided an unprecedented common platform for global dialogue on social development articulating clearly defined targets and key measurable indicators using a baseline of 1990. The MDGs also helped to streamline and channel development aid assistance in one bucket providing more transparency and clarity and prioritizing the investments to various social development programmes.

- ### MDGS GOALS
- Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
 - Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education
 - Goal 3: Promote gender equality & empower women
 - Goal 4: Reduce child mortality
 - Goal 5: Improve maternal health
 - Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
 - Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability
 - Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development

COMMON PLATFORM VS PERFORMANCE:

As a result of this common platform provided by the MDGs, a critical global discourse emerged putting a spotlight on various social development challenges and gaps that confront our world. There has been substantial progress in achieving the Millennium Development Goals and several successes in reaching specific targets globally and in individual countries.

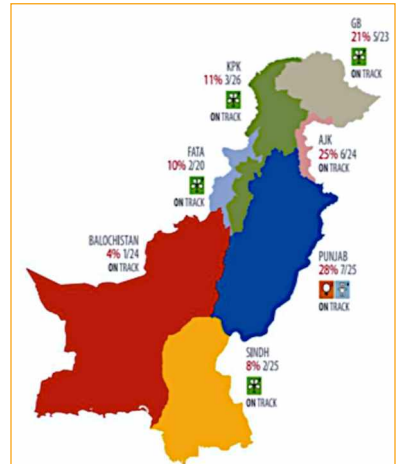
This process has succeeded in placing people at the center of the development agenda across the world. Many countries including some of the poorest have aligned their policies and resources with the goals to make unparalleled gains. Several critical targets have been met or will be met by the end of 2015, both at the aggregate level and in individual countries.

However, the prospects for achieving all of the Goals differ sharply across and within countries and regions. More than a billion people still live in extreme poverty. Far too many people face serious deprivations in health and education, with progress hampered by significant inequality related to income, gender, ethnicity, disability, age and location. The prolonged global economic down turn and violent conflicts in recent years have exacerbated poverty, inequality and exclusion. Biodiversity loss, the degradation of water, dry lands and forests and intensifying risk of climate change threaten to reverse our achievements to date and undermine any future gains. (UN General Assembly Report 2013).

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN PAKISTAN: GAPS AND CHALLENGES:

Since the inception of Pakistan, social development initiatives have been severely neglected due to oscillating political ideologies and disruption to the country's political process. The MDGs gave a structure and a framework to redress many social, economic and gender inequalities that continue to hamper the overall progress of Pakistan as a Global Citizen.

History and nature have played a significant role in diverting and dispersing Pakistan's focus on MDGs. Up until 2010, the military coup in 2000 and oscillating political landscape coupled with devastating natural calamities including the earthquake (2008) and floods (2010, 2011), were unmitigated setbacks to the advancement on many goals and targets of MDGs in Pakistan and for overall economy of the country.



Map of Pakistan Showing province-wise status of progress on MDGs. The overall progress of Pakistan is 29% on 10/34 indicators.

(Source Pakistan MDG Report 2013)

The stark inequalities and the growing disparity between the haves and the have-nots translate to a much wider consequence that of civil unrest, rise of fundamentalism and strengthening a legitimizing sedition.

The continued war on terror and the largeness of internal displaced people (IDPs) has placed a heavy burden on the already eroded institutions and weakened capacity of systems to deliver education, health and other basic services. Furthermore the crippling impact of war on terror has had a catastrophic impact on the overall human situation, both economic and



psychosomatic on the citizens of Pakistan. The cost of war for Pakistan has been paralytic. In addition, damage to infrastructure, destruction of investment climate and a sharp deceleration of economic activity across the country was witnessed. Pakistan has shown gradual progress on almost all the indicators despite the volatile regional and national situation impacting the socio, political and economic landscape.

PROGRESS OF MDGS IN PAKISTAN:

Pakistan committed to 16 targets and 41 indicators against which progress towards achieving the Eight Goals of the MDG's is measured. Time series data available for 33 of these indicators reveal that Pakistan is on track to achieve the targets on 9 indicators, whereas its progress on 24 indicators is off track. Considering the Progress on MDGs so far it is evident that Pakistan will miss majority of the MDGs targets if "business as usual" continues until the deadline of 2015.

The table below shows the detail of the performance on the Indicators for Pakistan:

PAKISTAN'S PROGRESS ON MDGS⁵³

<p>1 ERADICATE EXTREME POVERTY AND HUNGER</p>	<p>Pakistan is unlikely to achieve its MDG target since it is still off-track in 2 out of 3 Pakistan's employment to population ratio has increased from 27.1% to 30.9% and malnutrition has decreased from 40% to 31.5% during the period 2001-11</p>
<p>2 ACHIEVE UNIVERSAL PRIMARY EDUCATION</p>	<p>Even though, current trend in primary enrollment is upward, the country will not meet the goal of universal primary education. Literacy rate is 58% against the set target of 88% during 2011/12, while the primary school enrollment rate and survival rate in primary schools were 57% and 50%, respectively, against the target of 100%.</p>
<p>3 PROMOTE GENDER EQUALITY AND EMPOWER WOMEN</p>	<p>Many initiatives have been taken which improved the Gender parity but the current level is still far below the MDG 2015 target. The country will not be able to meet the MDG target since there has been slow progress. Pakistan is marking lowest figures (2.32% women representation and in employment).</p>
<p>4 REDUCE CHILD MORTALITY</p>	<p>The country will not be able to meet the MDG target since there has been slow progress on reducing increase child mortality rate. Under-five mortality fell from 117 deaths to 89 deaths per 1000 live births during the period 1990-2013 which is still lagging behind the set target of 52 deaths per 1000 live births.</p>
<p>5 IMPROVE MATERNAL HEALTH</p>	<p>Maternal mortality has declined by nearly half, but falls far short of the MDG target due to insufficient measures. National MMR remained high at 276 against the set target of 140 per 100,000 while the situation in Baluchistan is severe where MMR is 758.</p>
<p>6 COMBAT HIV/AIDS, MALARIA AND OTHER DISEASES</p>	<p>The incidence of HIV is declining steadily in the country; however, there is growth in TB cases marking the worst faring indicator Incidence of TB cases have increased up to 230 cases/10,000 population however, prevalence of malaria remains under control vis-à-vis effective prevention and treatment measures.</p>
<p>7 ENHANCE ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY</p>	<p>Access to Sanitation remained at 72%, which is far below the set target of 90% while forest cover is slightly below the set target of 6%. Overall, with four out of seven indicators on track, Pakistan is likely to achieve MDG 7 with continued efforts</p>
<p>8 A GLOBAL PARTNERSHIP FOR DEVELOPMENT</p>	<p>For Pakistan, efforts to improve market access regionally and globally achieved mixed results marked by security concerns and mistrust. Total ODA fluctuated between US\$ 732 million to US\$ 3.5 billion during this period</p>

⁵³Source MDG Report 2013, Planning and Development

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: POST 18TH AMENDMENT:

The 18th Constitutional Amendment of Pakistan was passed in the National Assembly on the 8th April 2010 devolving more functions and responsibilities in 17 areas to the provinces from federal government to ensure Provincial autonomy and empowerment along with the 7th NFC Award Post 2010, the 18th amendment to the Constitution devolved the powers of social development from a federal mandate to the provinces creating a chasm of knowledge and expertise with respect to the MDGs. Moreover, simultaneous devolution of many ministries without a prior addressal of the provinces' lack of implementation capacities, accentuated the decade old administrative and technical capacity vacuum to carry out programs and interventions in the provinces

Although this is a recent development in the political landscape of Pakistan, it continues to face teething problems in defining jurisdictions, legalities and provincial rights and responsibilities with regard to economic and social subjects. The ministries of education, health, environment, labor and social welfare were completely devolved to the provinces, thus shifting the functional responsibilities of the MDGs to the provinces.

ROLE OF FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS IN MAINSTREAMING HUMAN & SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT:

The 18th Amendment devolves functions and responsibilities to the sub national governments and is a step to ensure provincial autonomy. It has spurred comprehensive institutional and administrative reforms to guide and redefine the nature of governance in Pakistan.

PARLIAMENTARY OVERSIGHT ON THE MDG TARGETS IN PAKISTAN:

The MDGs including health, education, poverty reduction, women and children, environmental conservation and other related areas fall under the direct administration and legislative control of the Provinces. Therefore Federal and Provincial Task Forces on MDGs are convened in the respective legislatures, to

List of Key Ministries Devolved after 18th Amendment	
1	Education
2	Health
3	Environment
4	Human Rights
5	Labor and Human Resource
6	Minority Affairs
7	Population Welfare
8	Sports
9	Youth Affairs
10	Women Development
11	Tourism

address the challenges in the post-18th Amendment scenario and to strengthen the legislative, oversight, and representation at role of the Federal and Provincial Legislature.

PROVINCIAL TASK FORCE:

Provincial Task Forces are convened considering that after the 18th amendment, key subjects of the MDGs fall under the direct administration and legislative control of the Provinces and the 7th NFC Award has led to allocation of more resources to provinces. It is therefore critically important for the provincial legislatures to play a proactive role in accelerating the pace in achieving the agreed and committed targets for post 2015 development agenda. The suggested Terms of Reference of the National and Provincial Task Force are given below for the provincial and national legislatures:

Provincial Task Force Proposed Interventions and TORs

1. Promote discussion through provincial assemblies' debates and questions to obtain information, raise awareness, to hold provincial governments to account and to draw attention to the post 2015 debate
2. Conduct committee hearings that investigate provincial priorities in greater depth and that give opportunities to hear testimony from independent experts and civil society representatives
3. Convene constituency meetings and public forums to establish dialogue with members of the public to inform them of the issues and ensure that their voices are heard
4. Engage with local and relevant authorities, civil society organizations, media and the private sector by sharing information and supporting their participation in decision making
5. Provide representation to all sectors of society by ensuring that citizens, different stakeholders and civil society groups have a voice at the national level and are able to participate in the decision making process.
6. Influence the formulation of the new development goals by engaging with the intergovernmental negotiations and policy discussion at provincial Level.
7. Introduce, scrutinize and review legislation

MILLENNIUM ACCELERATION FRAMEWORK (MAF):

The UNDP experts reviewed the progress of MDGs in 2010 and highlighted the critical importance for accelerating progress on selected MDGs. One of the strategies proposed is the MDGs Acceleration Framework (MAF), an approach that identified and prioritized bottlenecks to progress and helped formulate pragmatic indigenous national visions and policy priorities and solution by respective countries' on selected MDGs. The MAF is now adopted by over 50 developing countries to accelerate progress on selected MDGs with regular time bound action plans with along with monitoring plan embedded with progress.

The plan aims to achieve:

- Enrolment of 100% of out-of-school children in primary school
- In-school retention of all enrolled children, and completion of their primary education
- Improvement in quality of primary education

The MDG Acceleration Framework (MAF) provides a systematic way for countries to develop their own action plan based on existing plans and processes to pursue their MDG priorities. It is an immediate and focused effort to obtain success on an off track goals. It also helps governments to focus on disparities and inequalities.

MAF ON EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN:

To initiate an in-country dialogue on education a multi-stakeholder consultation was held to develop the acceleration framework to achieve the MDG target on Education. In Pakistan, a National Action Plan 2013-2016 on Education has been designed to accelerate implementation of MDG for education in the next three years. The development of the MAF on education in Pakistan is built upon existing country knowledge and experiences and policy and planning processes making it a concentrated effort to reach the MDGs by 2015

Net Enrolments and Planned Additional Enrolments Targets for MAF for Education of Pakistan:

Province/Area	2011-2012	Benchmark 2012-2013	2013-2014	2014-2015	2015-2016
Pakistan	68%	70%	77%	84%	91%
Baluchistan	51%	51%	54%	57%	60%
FATA	60%	62%	63%	64%	65%
GB	63%	65%	70%	74%	79%
ICT	70%	72%	80%	90%	98%
KP	81%	82%	86%	91%	95%
Punjab	70%	72%	81%	91%	100%
Sindh	63%	65%	70%	75%	80%
AJ&K	58%	60%	65%	69%	75%

The Table below elaborates on the situation analysis of the education sector across the country by identifying key areas of focus and priorities. For more information on respective provincial education scenario, refer to Pakistan MAF Report 2013:

ACCESS

In School Factors	Strategies/Interventions
Shortage of teachers	Hiring of more teachers
Teacher absenteeism	Strict monitoring of teachers
Missing basic facilities	Provision of basic facilities
Lack of friendly environment	No Corporal Punishment
Teachers' harsh attitude	Incentives to retain students e.g. free books, uniforms food

Out-of-school Factors	Strategies/Interventions
Shortage of Schools	More schools to be established
Distance especially for females	New schools established nearer to communities
Insecurity	NFE/Community/Feeder Schools to be established
Poverty	Enforcement of security and law and order
Cultural norms	Free education
Parents are reluctant	Awareness campaigns on importance of education
Parents lack awareness	Community involvement in education

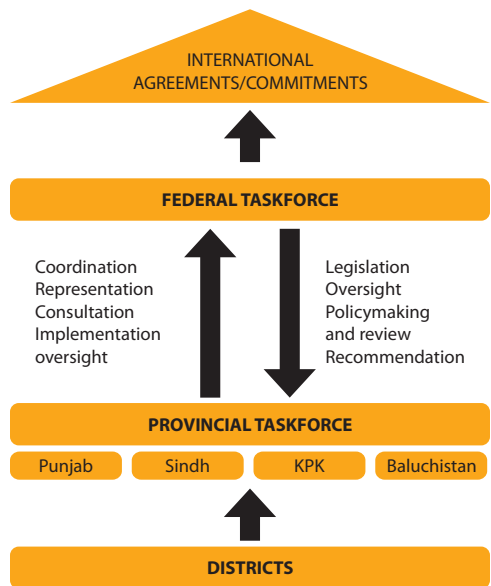
QUALITY	
In School Factors	Strategies/Interventions
Poorly trained Teachers	Training of Teachers/refresher courses
Outdated Teaching Methods	Teaching methods to be revised
Missing facilities	Provision of basic facilities
Lack of Monitoring/Supervision	Involve community members to monitor schools
Out-of-school Factors	Strategies/Interventions
Poor Governance	Effective monitoring and supervision
Political Pressure	Rewards and punishments
	Involve community members to monitor schools
	End undue political interference and ensure merit based appointment

Source: National Plan of Action 2013-16, Achieving Universal Primary Education in Pakistan: MDG ACCELERATION FRAMEWORK

PROVINCIAL AND FEDERAL OVERSIGHT OF MAF FOR EDUCATION:

With the development of MAF for Education consistent efforts are being made to make progress on the goal of Education indicators. The Parliamentarians and provincial Legislatures should play their responsible oversight and strategic role to ensure the achievements on the agreed and committed targets as the respective MAFs are in the phase of implementation in the provinces.

The objective of formation of these task forces is to maintain and sustain an enabling environment for initiating an open, inclusive and transparent consultation process among all the stakeholders to further the development agenda in Pakistan.



GAPS, CHALLENGES AND LESSON LEARNT OF MDGS:

The pursuit of MDGs however noble in retrospect was highly ambitious. These goals were defined as a roadmap for world development by 2015 and provide a framework to measure progress against time bound targets.

We all should be cognizant of the reality that the world has changed radically since the turn of the millennium. New economic giants have emerged, new technologies are reshaping, the world consumption patterns are changing, and our societies and new patterns and activity are heightening the pressures on our planet.

The Strength Weakness Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) analysis is elaborated in the Figure below.

STRENGTHS

- United International Agenda
- Directed resources and coordinating International action to achieve goals embraced by consensus
- Established, time bound and concrete targets
- Strengthened global partnership for development
- Provided benchmark for Post 2015 development agenda

WEAKNESSES

- Lack of indigenous national local planning
- An international agency driven top down initiative
- Lack of alignment between goals, targets and indicators
- No explicit targets for global partnership in modern technology
- Insufficient and highly uneven progress
- No mid term review
- Not a natural calamity inclusive agenda

OPPORTUNITIES

- Forming and utilizing potential of National and Provincial level task forces on MDGs
- Establishment of dedicated MDGs desks in Planning & Development
- National level consultations and engagement with all key stakeholders
- Focus on strengthening of National Data Sources

THREATS

- Potential negative impact of new information technologies on traditional indigenous knowledge systems
- Eco-systems maintained for maximum productivity may lose their resilience in the long run
- Increased population

Suggested Recommendations for Post 2015 to obtain Transformative Shift:

1. Peace, Securities and Stability
2. Inclusive Social and Human Development: Take everyone along
3. Environmental Security and Sustainable development at the core
4. Transparency and accountability across at all levels
5. Transform economies for jobs and inclusive growth
6. Forge a new global partnership for trade and not aid

POST 2015 DEVELOPMENT AGENDA:

The World's quest for dignity, peace, prosperity, justice, sustainability and an end to poverty has reached an unprecedented moment of urgency (UN Secretary General Report 2013). As the deadline for achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) expires in 2015, global efforts to craft the Post-2015 development agenda are accelerating. The Post 2015 development agenda embodies a three dimensional nexus of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) with focus Economic, Social and Environmental sustainability.

The role the Federal and Provincial MDGs Task force can play is not only oversight but also exchange information, knowledge and examples of good practices with peers and international and development research institutions build capacity of the relevant departments and ensure that good governance, transparency and accountability is at the center of all the human and social reforms in Pakistan.

NATIONAL SCENARIO:

The present government is fully committed to make a progress on MDGs and provide a comprehensive input on new and inclusive Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

Considering the challenges of existing MDGs Framework followings steps have been taken by the present Government to have a more inclusive strategy by;

- Formation of national and provincial MDGs task

International Scenario

The report of the UN High Level Panel on Post 2015 Development Agenda recognizing both the strengths and the weaknesses of the MDGs, the report lays stress on eradicating poverty and transforming economies through sustainable development. It acknowledges the progress made towards achieving the MDGs, which resulted in half a billion people graduating from poverty, a decline of 30% in child death rates and a plunge in deaths from malaria by one quarter. However, at the same time, the report is quite mindful of the weaknesses of the MDGs and urges to go beyond these goals. It asserts that reaching out to the poorest people and addressing social exclusion in its extreme form did not resonate strongly with the current goals.

(Source High Panel UN Report)

forces to have inputs of the provinces to set national priorities post 2015

- Establishment of dedicated MDGs desks in Ministry of Planning & Development for robust stakeholder consultation at federal and provincial level
- National level consultations and engagement with all key stakeholders including corporate sector and media
- Strengthening of national data sources by innovative and creative information technologies at all levels.

WITH PARTICULAR FOCUS ON:

Peace Stability & Security, Human Rights, Equality Peace, Justice, democratic and good governance, gender mainstreaming Data Revolution environmental sustainability, disaster preparedness and response, aid trade off with more robust trade mechanism

BUILDING BLOCKS FOR A SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AGENDA⁵⁴:

Stakeholder Ownership
Short-term and Long-term
M&E embedded in each Goal
Civil Society/Private Sector should be engaged at the initial level
Invest in Capacity of the statistical Institution
Qualitative Vs Quantitative measurement

For such a sustainable development agenda to be effective, four building blocks need to be agreed upon: a far-reaching vision of the future firmly anchored in human rights and universally accepted values and principles, including those encapsulated in the Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Millennium Declaration; a set of concise goals and targets aimed at realizing the priorities of the agenda; a global partnership for development to mobilize means of implementation; and a participatory monitoring framework for tracking progress and mutual accountability mechanisms for all stakeholders.

PAKISTAN'S NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL PRIORITIES IN EMERGING VISION 2015:

The key elements of the emerging vision for the development agenda beyond 2015 include:

1. Universality:	To mobilize all developed and developing countries and leave no one behind.
2. Sustainable Development	To tackle the interlinked challenges facing the world, including a clear focus on ending extreme poverty in all its forms.
3. Inclusive Economic Transformations	To ensuring decent jobs, backed by sustainable technologies, to shift to sustainable patterns of consumption and production.

4. Peace and Governance	As key outcomes and enablers of development
5. a new global partnership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To recognize shared interests, different needs and mutual responsibilities. To ensure commitment to and means of implementing the new vision.
6. Being "fit for purpose"	To ensure that the international community is equipped with the right institutions and tools for addressing the challenges of implementing the sustainable development agenda at the national level.

REGULAR MONITORING AND ACCOUNTABILITY

Regular monitoring and accountability will be a critical success factor for the sustainable implementation of the post-2015 development agenda. Governments, especially parliaments, will play a central role. Data gathering, quality and analysis are the fundamental building blocks to measure and evaluate the success of any social development. Therefore the federal and provincial data collection centers should prioritize technical infrastructure and capacity building coupled with a logical framework

The provinces should formulate their human and social development framework

⁵⁴UN General Assembly Report 2013

To move forward towards a universal Post-2015 Development Agenda Sustainable Development has to be kept at its core with:

- Poverty eradication
- Inclusive growth targeting inequality,
- Protection and management of the natural resource base of our planet within a rights-based framework
- The nexus between peace and development being the overarching objectives of sustainable development.

This would require a profound transformational shift from business as usual to address the emerging challenges of sustainable development.

from inputs, insights and actions from their respective districts. Once agreed with all relevant stakeholders within the provinces the commitments in the form of goals, indicators and targets will be shared with the concerned ministries at the federal level and federal MDGs Task Force.

SUGGESTED INTERVENTIONS

	LEGISLATION	OVERSIGHT	REPRESENTATION
A.	Necessary laws to ensure the implementation of Article 25-A, of the constitution guaranteeing free and compulsory education.	Community oversight and district based reporting.	Regular call-attentions and questions, seeking information from the Executive on the progress, pace and implementation of various projects concerning health, education, poverty alleviation and livelihoods.
B.	Home based workers	Lady Health Workers- Integration into the health system.	
C.	Immunization and Community Health Integration	Implementation of 10% jobs quota. Ghosts schools and curriculum monitoring.	

CONCLUSION:

To summarize, the provinces not only have immense opportunities but responsibility to begin a journey alleviating social disparities and inequalities that Provinces themselves identify and implement rather than those priorities being dictated. The legislatures at all levels need to take stock of where they are and where they need to head; firstly in the time that remains until end of 2015, and secondly, in the post 2015 period.

This prime task needs to be dispensed through esprit de corps by:

- Coordinating and engaging with stakeholders across the country,
- Identifying and prioritizing the critical social development agenda respective to their provinces,
- Deploying and allocating appropriate resources with stringent oversight and monitoring mechanisms that drive and promote transparency and good governance.

Pakistan is at a precipice where as a nation we carve out a path for ourselves, reducing direction and dependency on the international community, to achieve peace, harmony economic independence and social equality and justice in the pursuit of providing a better quality of life for all Pakistanis. The end that needs to be kept in mind is the progress of the nation and it's citizens to a quality of life that will be a model of transformation for the world.

AT THE END OF THIS CHAPTER ...

The Reader is able to comprehend:

- Overview of the MDGs
- Changing trends of Social Development in Pakistan
- Global and National Performance of MDGs
- What role Provincial Parliamentarians can play in Accelerating performance on Millennium Acceleration Framework of Education after the 18th amendment
- SWOT Analysis of MDGs
- Suggested Role of Provincial legislatures in global and national development Agenda 2015

CHAPTER FIVE

Long Walk To Constitutional Freedoms

“The paucity of women in public office is a sign of fundamental malfunction of democratic systems that are being deprived of the contributions of more than half of its citizens... The composition of the governing institutions is a legitimizing agency for the political regime. Predominantly male institutions cannot serve this legitimizing function in today’s world.”

Janet Clark

INTRODUCTION

The creation of Pakistan, based upon democratic values of equal participation, new brought new hope to all, including women. The later course of events, however, suggests otherwise. In Nelson Mandela’s words, there was still a long walk to freedom. This Chapter focuses on the post-independence period, especially the evolution of the constitutional landmarks, which guaranteed equal and meaningful participation for women and the enactment of numerous laws, accordingly. At the same time, it brings to light the statutes, which have not only been discriminatory in nature but have actually hindered the path of women’s political, economic and social empowerment. A detailed tabulation of all women-related legislation also forms the annexure of this chapter.

BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE 1956 CONSTITUTION:

On March 23, 1956, the State of Pakistan got its first Constitution, proclaiming it “the Islamic Republic of Pakistan”. This Constitution provided for a:

- Parliamentary form of government with a Unicameral House
- Was federal in character with two provinces, East and West Pakistan
- Contained 234 Articles, was divided into 13 parts and had 6 Schedules.⁵⁵

The salient features of this document, related to or impacting women are as under⁵⁶:

Article	Feature	Remarks
Fundamental Rights		
5(1)	All citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law	Equality of citizenship
14(1)	In respect of access to places of public entertainment or resort, not intended for religious purposes only, there shall be no discrimination against any citizen on the grounds only of race, religion, caste, sex or place of birth	While women’s privacy was protected, their access, otherwise, was also compromised.
14(1)	Nothing in this Article shall prevent the making of any special provision for women	

⁵⁵ Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, pp102, Oxford Pakistan

⁵⁶ *The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, as passed by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on 29th February, 1956, printed by the Print Unit of the National Assembly Secretariat, Islamabad*

17(1)	No citizen otherwise qualified for appointment in the service of Pakistan shall be discriminated against in respect of any such appointment on the grounds only of race, religion, caste, sex residence or place of birth ... Provided further that in the interest of the said service, specified posts or services may be reserved for members of either sex	Though economic empowerment of women was protected, there was still room for stereotyping of employment and gender bias in recruitment and postings.
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Directive Principles of State Policy

28 (c)	The State shall endeavor to: Make provision for securing just and humane conditions of work, ensuring that children and women are not employed in avocations unsuited to their age and sex, and for maternity benefits for women in employment	Principles of Social uplift
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The Parliament of Pakistan

44 (2)(1)	There shall, for a period of ten years, from the Constitution Day ⁵⁷ , be ten seats reserved for women members only, of whom five shall be elected by constituencies in East Pakistan and five by constituencies in West Pakistan; and constituencies shall accordingly be delimited as women's territorial constituencies for this purpose...	Women seats were reserved for two terms only. Women were given double franchise as women seats were to be filled through direct election
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The Provincial Legislature

77 (2)(1)	There shall, for a period of ten years, from the Constitution Day, be ten seats reserved in each Provincial Assembly for women members only, and constituencies shall accordingly be delimited as women's territorial constituencies for this purpose...	Same formula was adopted at the provincial level as on the federal level
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Although not a “glaring piece of women’s lib”, the 1956 Constitution, nevertheless was a historic document in a sense that after a delay of almost nine years, the country at least had a basic law of its own, which not only guaranteed equality of all citizens but also provided a fantastic scheme of double franchise and direct election of women representatives. It is unfortunate that this document could neither see the light of day nor could survive the test of time. The first Constitution of Pakistan was abrogated within two years of its inauguration when on October 8, 1958, Martial Law was proclaimed in the country.

⁵⁷ 23rd March, 1956

Although no elections were ever held under this Constitution, the principle of women’s political representation, nevertheless was set for all times to come.

BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE 1962 CONSTITUTION:

General Ayub Khan (later Field Martial) imposed Martial Law on October 8, 1958, bringing in a legacy of military interventions to Pakistan. He dissolved the Parliament and put the parliamentary system to rest. Instead, a system of Basic Democracies was introduced in 1960, whereby the entire country was divided into eighty thousand electoral units, each choosing its own BD Member called the “elector”, entrusted to elect the local, provincial and federal assemblies, as well as the President of the country. Based on this Electoral College, General Ayub got himself elected as President of the country on 14th February, 1960 and within two years, gave a new Constitution, which:

- Provided for a Presidential form of Government
- Envisaged indirect elections through BD system
- Was Federal in character with East and West Pakistan provinces
- Had 250 Articles, was divided into 12 parts and had 5 Schedules

The salient features of this document, related to or impacting women are as under⁵⁸:

Article	Feature	Remarks
Chapter 1: Fundamental Rights		
15	All citizens are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection of law	Equality of citizenship
16	In respect of access to places of public entertainment or resort, not intended for religious purposes only, there shall be no discrimination against any citizen on the grounds only of race, religion, caste, sex or place of birth but nothing in this Article shall prevent the making of any special provision for women	women’s free access and privacy was protected.
17(1)	No citizen otherwise qualified for appointment in the service of Pakistan shall be discriminated against in respect of any such appointment on the grounds only of race, religion, caste, sex residence or place of birth ... Provided further that in the interest of the said service, specified posts or services may be reserved for members of either sex	Though economic empowerment of women was protected, there was still room for stereotyping and bias of employment

⁵⁸ The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, as enacted by the President of Pakistan on 1st March, 1962, printed by the Print Unit of the National Assembly Secretariat, Islamabad

Chapter 2: Principles of Policy		
8	Just and humane conditions of work should be provided and children and women should not be employed in vocations unsuited to their age and sex, and maternity benefits should be provided for women in employment	Humane Conditions of Work. This was non-binding
The Central Legislature of Pakistan		
20(2)	Four of the seats of members for each province shall be reserved exclusively for women, but this clause shall not be construed as making a woman ineligible for election to any other seat in the National Assembly	Reserved Women seats with provision to contest from the general seat as well
The Provincial Legislature		
71 (2)	Eight of the seats of members of the Assembly of each Province shall be reserved exclusively for women, but this clause shall not be construed as making a woman ineligible for election to any other seat in the Assembly	Same formula was adopted at the provincial level as on the federal level
The Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, 1961		
Fourth Schedule	Ordinances proclaimed by the President protected under the Constitution	

This Constitution remained in force till March 25, 1969 when finally Field Martial Ayub Khan had to step down in wake of popular agitation against him. The irony is that he himself violated his own hand-written Constitution and instead of handing over the powers to the Speaker of the National Assembly, as prescribed in the Constitution, abdicated in favour of his Commander-in-Chief General Yahya Khan. Pakistan was plunged into yet another Martial Law. General Yahya ordered elections for a new Constituent Assembly under a Legal Framework Order on March 30, 1970 which:

- Brought an end to “One Unit Scheme” and revived the old provinces of NWFP, Punjab, Baluchistan, Sindh and East Bengal.
- Envisaged a Constituent Assembly with a life of 120 days only to frame the future constitution, failing which it would stand dissolved.
- The Constituent Assembly had 300 Members, 162 from East Bengal and 138 from all other provinces.
- In addition to the above, 13 seats were reserved for women.

Elections were held under this scheme in December 1970 but the Assembly could never meet. The political stalemate led to chaos, eventually leading to Civil War and then the outbreak of the Indo-Pak War.

BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE 1973 CONSTITUTION:

In 1971, the eastern wing of the country was separated in the aftermath of the Indo-Pak War to become Bangladesh. The remaining West Pakistan was renamed “Pakistan” and chose to frame a new democratic constitution under the leadership of Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Consequently, the Members elected under LFO from the Western side of Pakistan formed the Constituent Assembly and on April 10, 1973, it passed a unanimous document, the historic 1973 Constitution. It was promulgated on August 14, 1973.

- This document is the **ONLY** consensus constitutional document so far.
- Comprising 280 Articles, divided into 12 Parts and supplemented by 5 Schedules (sixth and seventh has been omitted), it is THE most comprehensive document, which amicably deals with issues of provincial autonomy, division of powers and democratic dispensation.
- 20 Amendments have been carried out in the Constitution. While the 8th and 17 Amendments capture the democratic soul of Federalism, the 18th, 19th and 20th Amendments revived the original spirit of a democratic state.
- The most dynamic document in terms of rights, liberties and freedoms of all citizens, especially women and children.

The salient features of this document, related to impacting women are as under⁵⁹:

Article	Feature	Remarks
Part I – Introductory		
3	The State shall ensure the elimination of all form of exploitation and the gradual fulfillment of the fundamental principle, from each according to his ability to each according to his work	Elimination of exploitation
4	To enjoy the protection of law and to be treated in accordance with law is the inalienable right of every citizen	Right of individuals to be dealt in accordance with law
Part II- Fundamental Rights		
11 (2)	All forms of forced labour and trafficking in human beings are prohibited	Human trafficking
25 (1)	All citizens are equal before law and entitled to equal protection of law	Equality of citizens
25 (2)	There shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex	This was for the first time that gender discrimination was addressed

⁵⁹ The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, as modified up to 28th February, 2012, printed by the Printing Corporation of Pakistan, Islamabad

25 (3)	Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the protection of women and children	State's responsibility towards women and children
25 (A)	The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of five to sixteen in such manner as may be determined by law	This Article was incorporated on the recommendation of the Women's Caucus
26 (1)	In respect of access to places of public entertainment or resort, not intended for religious purposes only, there shall be no discrimination against any citizen on the grounds only of race, religion, caste, sex or place of birth.	Women's free access and privacy was protected and clearly explained.
26 (2)	Nothing in clause (1) shall prevent the State from making any special provision for women and children	
27 (1)	No citizen otherwise qualified for appointment in the service of Pakistan shall be discriminated against in respect of any such appointment on the grounds only of race, religion, caste, sex residence or place of birth ... Provided further that in the interest of the said service, specified posts or services may be reserved for members of either sex if such posts or services entail the performance of duties and functions which cannot be adequately performed by members of the other sex	Economic empowerment of women was protected, and grounds for challenging their non-inclusion for any reason were also incorporated
Chapter 2: Principles of Policy		
34	Steps shall be taken to ensure full participation of women in all spheres of national life	Women's mainstreaming
35	The State shall protect the marriage, the family, the mother and the child	Protection of family and right of a mother
37	The State shall — (e) make provisions for securing just and humane conditions of work, ensuring that children and women are not employed in vocations unsuited to their age or sex, and for maternity benefits for women in employment.	Protection of women from exploitation at work

38	The State shall — (d) provide basic necessities of life, such as food, clothing, housing, education and medical relief for all such citizens, irrespective of sex, caste, creed or race, as are permanently or temporarily unable to earn...	For the first time discrimination on the basis of “sex” was also included
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Part III- Chapter 2- The Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)

51 (1)	There shall be three hundred and forty-two seats for members in the National Assembly, including seats reserved for women and non-Muslims	60 Reserved Women seats with provision to contest from the general seat as well
51 (6)	For the purpose of election to the National Assembly — (d) members to the seats reserved for women.... Shall be elected ... through proportional representation system of political parties’ lists of candidates	Proportional representation for women has been adopted with following seat reservation: Baluchistan=3; KPK=8; Punjab=35; Sindh=14
59 (1)	The Senate shall consist of one hundred and four members, of whom — (c) two on general seats, and one woman and one technocrat ... shall be elected from the Federal Capital... (d) four women shall be elected by the members of each Provincial Assembly	Women’s representation in the Senate has also been ensured

PART IV- Chapter 2- The Provincial Assemblies

106 (1)	Each Provincial Assembly shall consist of general seats and seats reserved for women and non-Muslims as specified ...	Proportional representation with the following allocation: Baluchistan=11; KPK=22; Punjab=66; Sindh=29
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PART IX – Islamic Provisions

228 (3)	While appointing members of the Islamic Council, the President shall ensure that: (d) at least one member is a woman	For the first time women have been included in the Islamic Ideology Council
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THE IMPACT OF 18TH AMENDMENT:

The 13th Parliament of Pakistan, through a laborious process stretching over ten months, passed the comprehensive package of amendments, the 8th Amendment Bill on April 19, 2010. Through this one stroke, 102 amendments were brought in the statutes book.

One of the salient features of this Amendment was the complete abolition of the Concurrent List, which paved the way for the transfer of the entire socio-economic agenda to the provinces. As a result, all issues, directly related to women's political, social, cultural and economic empowerment have been transferred to the provinces. Consequently, the Ministry of Women's Development has also been devolved. However, all international obligation and commitments, i.e. the UN Women, CEDAW etc. are with the Federal Government through the Ministry of Law, Justice and Human Rights.

SALIENT LAWS IMPACTING WOMEN:

MUSLIM FAMILY LAWS ORDINANCE 1961:

Regarded as the most progressive law, the MFLO's history goes back to 1955, when the then Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra took a second wife without the consent of his first wife. This led to a public debate, igniting strong reaction from All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) since Bogra's first wife was APWA's active member. A United Front for Women's Rights was formed which took the battle to the streets, compelling the Government to appoint a seven member Marriage Commission (also referred to as the Family Laws Commission) under Justice Sir Abdur Rashid, the Chief Justice.

Although owing to political upheavals, the Commission's Report at that time was practically shelved, it nevertheless formed the basis of the MFLO, which was finally promulgated by the first military ruler General Ayub Khan in 1961.

The law has since then remained a bone of contention between the conservatives and the liberals. There have been numerous attempts for its repeal in and outside the Assembly since 1962.

HUDOOD ORDINANCE, 1979

On February 10, 1979, the military regime of General

LANDMARK SECTIONS OF THE LAW

Section 4: Orphaned grandchildren may receive share from the property of their grandparents.

Section 5: Nikah to be registered with the union council to be legally valid.

Section 6: No married man contract a second marriage without the permission of Arbitration Council which shall ensure that the man has good grounds for second marriage and has obtained his first wife's permission to do so.

Section 7: A divorcing husband shall send notice of divorce to the union council and supply a copy of it to the divorcee wife, after which an arbitration council would try for reconciliation between the two parties.

Section 12: Ban on child marriage with a minimum age for the marriage of boys (18 years) and girls (14 years).

Zia-ul-Haq, on the recommendations of handpicked Council of Islamic Ideology, promulgated a set of six laws through an ordinance, which is popularly called Hudood Ordinance. These were:

1. Zakat and Ushr Ordinance
2. Offences against property (Enforcement of Hudood) Ordinance no. VI of 1979
3. Offence of Zina (Enforcement of Hudood) Ordinance no. VIII of 1979
4. Offence of Qazf (Enforcement of Hadd) Ordinance no. VII of 1979
5. The Prohibition (Enforcement of Hadd) Order no. 4 of 1979
6. Execution of Punishment of Whipping Ordinance no. XI of 1979

For women especially, the most controversial of these are the two laws

What is Hadd and Tazir?

"Hadd" means punishment ordained by the Holy Qur'an or Sunnah;

"Ta'zir" means any punishment other than 'hadd'

Enforcement of Hudood Ordinance (VI OF 1979)

[10th February, 1979]

pertaining to sexual offences, i.e. the Zina and Qazf Ordinances. These laws created six distinct categories of sexual offences and assigned punishments for each:

1. Zina liable to Hadd;
2. Zina liable to Tazir;
3. Zina-bil-jabr liable to Hadd;
4. Zina-bil-jabr liable to Tazir;
5. Qazf liable to Hadd; and
6. Qazf liable to Tazir.

The introduction of these laws resulted in the offences of rape and adultery in the Pakistan Penal Code (PPC) to be repealed as they were substituted by a new set of definitions.

THE LAW OF EVIDENCE, 1984

As if the Hudood Ordinance was not enough, the Zia regime struck another blow to women's status in Pakistan by promulgating the infamous "Qanoon-e-Shahadat Act 1984" — the Law of Evidence, on October 28, 1984, with an aim to "revise, amend and consolidate the law of evidence so as to bring it in conformity with the injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah".⁶⁰

The Article 17 of this Law relegated women to half the legal status of a man.

17. Competence and number of witnesses:

1. The competence of a person to testify, and the number of witnesses required in any case shall be determined in accordance With the injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah:"

2. Unless otherwise provided in any law relating to the enforcement of Hudood or any other special law:

a. in matters pertaining to financial or future obligations, if reduced to writing, the instrument shall be attested by two men or one man and two women, so that one may remind the other, if necessary, and evidence shall be led accordingly ;and

b. in all other matters, the Court may accept, or act on the testimony of one man or one woman or such other evidence as the circumstances of the case may warrant.

CRIMINAL LAW (AMENDMENT) ACT, 2004:

Amendments were brought in sections 299, 302, 305, 308, 310, 311, 316, 324, 337N and 338E of the Pakistan Penal code Act 1860 and in Chapter XIV, Sections and 345, whereby honour killing was declared a case of cold-blooded murder and hence non-compoundable offense.

PROTECTION OF WOMEN (CRIMINAL LAWS AMENDMENT) ACT 2006:

Under this new law⁶¹:

- 29 amendments were brought in two of the Hudood Ordinances of 1979, namely *Zina* and *Qazaf*.
- The offenses of Hadd and Tazir were separated
- Rape was separated from fornication/adultery and was moved to the PPC

⁶⁰ The QANUN-E-SHAHAOAT ORDER (X OF 1984), [28th October, 1984]

⁶¹ Shahina Hanif and Amina Samiuddin, *Women's Participation in Politics – Impediments and Challenges*, Shirkatgah Lahore

THE CRIMINAL LAW (AMENDMENT) ACT 2009:

- It addresses the issue of sexual harassment of women at public, private and work places by adding Section 509A to the PPC.
- At the same time, the maximum punishment has also been increased for such crimes in Section 509.
- As a result, insult, humiliation and intimidation are considered punishable criminal offenses.

PROTECTION AGAINST HARASSMENT OF WOMEN AT WORKPLACE ACT, 2010:

It aims to create a safe working environment for women so that their right to work with dignity is ensured.

CRIMINAL LAW (AMENDMENT) ACT 2011:

- Also known as "Acid Crimes Act, it amends Sections 332 of the PPC and Schedule II of the Code of Criminal Procedure 1908.
- Two new Sections, 336A and 336B have been added to the PPC defining the "hurt caused by corrosive substance" and prescribing the punishment for the crime, which is a minimum of 14 years imprisonment and fine of Rs. 1 million.

In addition to the above, the 13th National Assembly undertook over two dozen Bills pertaining to women and children⁶², earning it the unique position in history for championing a bold social reforms agenda. The list of these Bills is placed separately in Annexure F.

⁶² Reaffirming Foundations, Five Year performance Report of the 13th National Assembly of Pakistan, NA Secretariat, Islamabad

A CHRONOLOGY OF GENDER SENSITIVE LEGISLATION AND POLICY IN POST-INDEPENDENCE

Year	Legislation and Policy towards women
1947	Pakistan adopted a modified version of the Government of India Act 1935, containing provision of reserved seats for women
1948	Muslim women's right to inherit property, including agriculture land was included in the Muslim Personal Law.
1954	The Constituent Assembly unanimously adopted a Charter, giving equal status and equal opportunities for women, equal wages for equal work, and protection of women's rights in the Muslim Personal Law; the Assembly however amended the demand for reserved seats for women as 3%, instead of 10%.
1956	Women obtain the right to a double vote one for the general seats and one for women's reserved seats.
1961	The government promulgated the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, which laid conditions on Muslim men's right to polygamy, required registration of marriage and divorce, allowed inheritance of children of predeceased parents, introduced a standard nikahnama (marriage for) and raised the minimum age of marriage for girls from 14 to 16 years.
1967	The West Pakistan Assembly passed the Prohibition on Exhibition of Dowry Bill, moved by a woman member of the Assembly, Sahibzadi Mahmooda Begum.
1969	The Martial Regime of General Yahya Khan declared the kidnapping of women and children as a crime punished by death.
1973	The 1973 Constitution was unanimously passed under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan's Peoples Party – the Articles 25, 27, 32, 34, 35, and 228, provided for the reservation of ten seats in the National Assembly, and five per cent in the provincial assemblies for women for a period of two general elections. All government services were declared open to women, barring the police force.
1975	In response to UN declaring '1975-1985 the Decade for the Development of Women', Z A Bhutto's government created the first Women's Rights Committee, headed by the then Attorney General Mr. Yahya Bakhtiar, to recommend steps for improving the status of women.
1979	The government established Women's Division in the federal government, whereas at provincial level it established Women's Development Cells.
1983	Although the year was marked with discriminatory government decisions towards women, however, it also heralded a development in terms of policy i.e. setting up of Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women.

Year	Legislation and Policy towards women
1984	The Majlis-e-Shoora (the parliament as was named during General Zia-ul-Haq) adopted legislative measures to double the number of reserved seats for women i.e. from ten to twenty seats.
1988	Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto, Chairperson of Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) became the first woman Prime Minister of Pakistan and Muslim World.
1989	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government of Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto removed the secret classification of the 1985 report of the Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women and released it as a public access document. • The Women's Division was upgraded to Ministry of Women's Development (MoWD). • The PPP government set up the First Women's Bank Limited. • The PPP government set up the first Women Police Stations with all women staff members and opened up recruitment of women to all ranks of the Police Service.
1993	Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto was elected as Prime Minister for the second time.
1994	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Under the Premiership of Benazir Bhutto, the government established the Commission of Inquiry on Women, headed by a Supreme Court Judge and included political and NGO representatives and legal experts as its members. • Women were appointed as Magistrates and Family Courts Judges. • Justice Majida Rizvi (Sindh High Court) and Justice Khalida Rasheed (Peshawar High Court) became the first women High Court judges.
1995	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Islamic Ideology Council declared the feudal custom of marrying girls to the Quran as un-Islamic and immoral. • The Punjab government passed an Ordinance reserving one-third of all local council seats for women.
1996	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government under the leadership of Benazir Bhutto, ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). • The government started drafting the National Plan of Action, a mandatory follow-up to the 4th World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995.
1997	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Pakistan Commission of Inquiry on Women (COIW), headed by Justice Nasir Aslam Zahid, submitted its report, which contained a number of excellent recommendations towards women, to the PM Nawaz Sharif. The report was co-

Year	Legislation and Policy towards women
	<p>authored by Shahla Zia (Aurat Foundation) and Asma Jahangir (HRCP). (earlier, the government of Benazir Bhutto was sacked and Nawaz Sharif (PML-N) was elected as Prime Minister (PM).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Parliament, by enacting a law, declared the death penalty mandatory for gang-rape.
2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • General Pervez Musharraf, in his speech at Human Rights Convention, declared 'honour' killing as pre-mediated murder. • The military government established, on permanent basis, the Pakistan National Commission on the Status of Women (PNCWS), tasked with giving recommendations on discriminatory laws and violence against women.
2001	<p>The government, under the Local Government Ordinance 2001, reserved 33 percent seats for women in districts, town and tehsil councils.</p>
2002	<p>The military dictator, and self-proclaimed as President of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf announced, on 8th March, the National Policy on the Development and Empowerment of Women.</p> <p>The number of seats for women in the Senate, National Assembly and the provincial assemblies of Pakistan were increased from 20 to 60 with a view giving women adequate representation in Parliament.</p>
2003	<p>The special committee set by the National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW) submitted its report and recommended review of the Hudood Ordinances; it also suggested repeal of the Hudood Ordinance.</p> <p>The Supreme Court of Pakistan, in its landmark decision, declared that Muslim girls could marry without their 'walis' (guardians) consent.</p>
2004	<p>The Standing Committees on Law, Justice and Human Rights approved amendments in the draft Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 2004, to address 'honour' killing.</p>
2005	<p>The military government signed the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act 2004, that provided death penalty or 25 years imprisonment for perpetrators of 'honour' crimes.</p>
2006	<p>The government passed the 'Protection of Women (Criminal Laws Amendments) Bill, 2006, on November 23, 2006 and made it a law; The Bill carried 29 Amendments in the Offence of Zina (Enforcement of Hudood) Ordinance, 1979, the Offence of Qazaf (Enforcement of Hudood) Ordinance, 1979, the Pakistan Penal Code, the Code of Criminal Procedure and the Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act, 1939. The Bill amended only two of the four Hudood Ordinances (the Offences of</p>

Year	Legislation and Policy towards women
	Zina and Qazaf Ordinances) but didn't touch the other two ordinances (the Offences against Property and Prohibition Ordinances).
2008	A cross party Women's Parliamentary Caucus was formed on November 21, 2008 under the leadership of Dr Fehmida Mirza, Speaker of the National Assembly of Pakistan.
2009	The National Assembly of Pakistan passed the 'Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Bill, 2009, on August 4, 2009; the Bill, however, lapsed in the Upper House of the Parliament, the Senate of Pakistan. The Bill was returned to the National Assembly on _____ and handed over to 'Mediation Committee'.
2010	The Parliament/National Assembly & Senate passed a bill on sexual harassment at workplace into an act titled 'Protection against Harassment of women at the Workplace Act, 2010'.
2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The National Assembly passed the 'Acid Control and Acid Crime Prevention Bill, 2010', on May 10, 2011, to prevent incidents of acid throwing at women besides to compensate them and rehabilitate them. • Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) Act No. XXV of 2011, 'Criminal Law (Second Amendment) Act 2011', on December 28, 2011, to prevent the use of Corrosive Substances (Acid-throwing) on women. • Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) Act No. XXVI of 2011, 'Criminal Law (Third Amendment) Act 2011', on December 28, 2011, to protect women from forced marriage, marriage with Holy Quran, badla-e-sulh, wanni or swara and also to protect their inheritance rights.
2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Senate passed the 'Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Bill, 2012, on February 20, 2012, to institutionalize measures which prevent and protect women, children and any vulnerable person from acts of domestic violence • Act of Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament), March 10, 2012, 'to set up a National Commission on the Status of Women' for the promotion of social, economic, political and legal rights of women, as provided in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, and in accordance with international declarations, Conventions, treaties, Covenants and agreements relating to women, including the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).
2013	The National Assembly passed a Bill, 'Reproductive Healthcare and Rights Act 2-13, on March 12, 2013, to give recognition to and promote reproductive healthcare rights and provide reproductive healthcare in accordance with the Constitution

Year	Legislation and Policy towards women
	<p>and international commitments made by the government of Pakistan, under the Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and those to which Pakistan is a State Party.</p>
2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Senate introduced a Bill, 'Anti-Rape Laws (Criminal Law Amendment) Act 2013', on January 13, 2014 to prevent rape incidents in Pakistan, to provide justice to the victims of rape and for the criminals responsible for this offense to be duly convicted. • The Senate introduced an amendment Bill, 'Protection against Harassment of Women at the Workplace (Amendment) Act 2014', January 20, 2014 to make the Act also applicable in educational institutions in matters relating to the pursuit of studies in addition to matters relating to work or employment • The Senate introduced a Bill, 'Anti-Honour Killing Laws (Criminal Laws Amendment) Act 2014' on February 24, 2014, in order to deter and prevent honour killings in Pakistan, which claim the lives of hundreds of victims every year

CONCLUSION:

The constitutional and legal history of Pakistan reveals a complex mix of achievements and disappointments. While the basic law of the land, its Constitution, has by large remained supportive, various edicts of the country, enacted and enforced by the State have not only discriminated against but also actually affected the status of women in Pakistan. It can also be observed that although the rights movement, including women, has remained intertwined with the movements of democracy in the country, the Martial Law regimes of Ayub Khan and later Pervez Musharaf have shown some degree of “women’s friendly approach”. However, it is equally true that the worst set-backs to women’s rights were also incurred during yet another military regime, i.e. General Zia-ul-Haq. Democracy (in whatever form it may have been) has by and large provided space and heard the voices to women.

AT THE END OF THIS CHAPTER:

The reader is able to:

- Trace the constitutional history of Pakistan
- Observe the gradual progress in the widening of constitutional space for women in Pakistan
- Know the laws which affect women

CHAPTER SIX

Learning the Tricks of the Trade: Rules of Business & the Committee System

“Article 67: Rules of Procedure, etc.

- 1. Subject to the Constitution, a House may make rules for regulating its procedure and the conduct of its business, and shall have power to act notwithstanding any vacancy in the membership thereof, and any proceedings in the House shall not be invalid on the ground that some persons who were not entitled to do so sat, voted or otherwise took part in the proceedings.*
- 2. Until rules are made under clause (1), the procedure and conduct of business in a House shall be regulated by the rules of procedure made by the President.”*

Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan

INTRODUCTION

The very credibility of legislature as an institution is intimately related to the performance of its members. Within the House, they are expected to adhere to rules and maintain decorum and dignity. Outside the House, their conduct should not bring disgrace and dishonour to them and to the high institution to which they have been elected. It, therefore, becomes essential for them to bring their professional conduct within the ambit of established parliamentary traditions, conventions and the prescribed Rules of Procedure and Business of the House, to which they have been elected. A thorough understanding about Rules is not only important for the parliamentarians to ensure their efficiency and effectiveness as law-makers but also to enable them to intervene and speak on issues of public importance.

This Chapter aims at providing a broader familiarization of the Parliamentary working of the House through the written Rules of Procedure as well as its traditions and conventions.

Basic Tenants of Democracy are:

1. Inclusivity
2. Tolerance and forbearance
3. Mutual respect and sense of accommodation
4. Moral strength and inherent fearlessness

HOW DOES A PARLIAMENT WORK?

The Parliament works through **THREE** primary sources:

- A. The Constitution
- B. The Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business
- C. Parliamentary Traditions, Customs and Convention

A. THE CONSTITUTION:

1. It's the Basic Law of the Land
2. All powers of the Parliament are drawn from the Constitution
3. The Constitution of Pakistan, in its Part III, Chapter-2, provides for a Majlis-e-Shura, the Parliament.
4. Its Articles from 50 to 89 discuss in detail:
 - The Composition, dissolution, rights and privileges of the National Assembly and Senate and the Parliament's relation with the President
 - Qualification and disqualification of its Members; powers of its presiding officers
 - The legislative, financial and administrative powers of the two Houses
5. Besides, its various Chapters also amicably discuss

the role, powers and functions of the Parliament.

6. Similarly, the Chapter 2 of Part IV of the Constitution provides for the functioning, powers and scope of the Provincial Assemblies. These are defined in Articles 106 to 128.

B. THE RULES OF PROCEDURE & CONDUCT OF BUSINESS:

While the Constitution provides for the boarder framework of composition and powers of a legislature, it leaves the day-to-day working procedure of the House to its discretion.

Article 67 allows the House to frame its own rules **“for regulating its procedure and the conduct of its business”**.

The same is also applicable to the Provincial Assemblies under Article 127.

WHAT ARE THE AREAS COVERED BY THE RULES OF PROCEDURE?

The Rules clearly define every procedure to be adopted by any individual Member or the Assembly as a whole in the execution of the Business of the House.

- The National Assembly first adopted its own Rules of Business on August 5 1992. These were re-written in light of 17th Amendment on February 23, 2007 and further modified after 18th Amendment on December 24, 2010.
- The Senate of Pakistan rewrote its Rules on March 8, 2012.
- The Punjab Assembly works under its Rules of Procedure & Conduct of Business, 1997
- The Sindh Assembly adopted its improvised rules on October 31, 2013
- The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly last amended its Rules on September 10, 2012
- The Baluchistan Assembly works under its Rules of Procedure & Conduct of Business, 1974

This includes:

- Election procedure of the Leader of the House; Presiding Officers and appointment of the Leader of the Opposition
- Leaves of absence, resignation and vacation of seats
- Sitting of Assembly and Classification of its Business
- Questions; Matters of Public Importance; Calling Attention; Privilege; Adjournment Motions; Resolutions
- Legislation; procedure on Government and Private Member Bills
- Financial Matters; Budget — its presentation; reading; debate; passage
- Working of the Committee System
- Behaviour, conduct, rights and powers of Members and other general provisions

A QUICK UNDERSTANDING OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE AND CONDUCT OF BUSINESS IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY 2007

While a comparative study of Rules of Procedure, in vogue in the respective federal and provincial legislatures is also placed in this Chapter, a detailed review of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business of the National Assembly, 2007, is placed under for better understanding of the reader.

1	Quick Facts:	It is divided into: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 22 Chapters • 294 Rules • Five Schedules
2	The Speaker	Speaker is the Custodian of the House. He holds the powers to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preserve order and decorum • Interpret Rules • Allow or disallow a Member from speaking on a Point of Order, Resolution, Motion etc. • Suspend the Membership of an individual or the proceedings of the House • Allow or disallow the Strangers form witnessing the proceedings

		<p>of the House</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Decide about the admissibility of a Question, Point of Order, Motion, Resolution, Calling Attention etc. <p>In addition to the above, the Speaker also has the Residuary powers, i.e. anything not present or explained in the Rules is left to the interpretation of the Speaker</p>
3	Business in the House	<p>Rule 50 classifies the House Business as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government Business, as moved by the relevant Minister In charge Private Members⁶³ Business: As per Sub-Clause (3) of Rule 50, Private members' business shall include Bills, resolutions, amendments and other motions introduced or initiated by private members. <p>Rule 51 fixes Tuesday as "Private Members' Day"</p>
4	Role of a Member	<p>A Member has three following roles to play:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Legislation Oversight Representation <p>Accordingly, one is provided with numerous avenues under the Rules to play these roles. For example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Legislation: Through Private Member's Bill & Committee participation Oversight: Through Questions, Committees etc. Representation: Through Motions; Resolutions etc.
Legislation		
5	Private Member's Bill	<p>Chapter XIV of the Rules of Business pertains to Legislation. Under its Rule 118, a Private Member can introduce a Bill by giving a ten clear days written notice to the Secretary.</p> <p>Under Sub-Rule 5, the Secretariat of the National Assembly is bound to provide possible assistance to a Member so "that the Bills are not rejected merely on technical grounds."</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rule 119 deals with the Introduction of the Private Members' Bill in the House. According to it: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Motion for leave to introduce the Bill shall be set down in the Order of the Day on Private Members' Day

⁶³ According to Rule 2 (definitions): "Private member" means a member other than a Minister

		<p>2. If a motion is opposed, the Speaker may without further debate put the question for vote. When the leave is granted, the concerned Member shall move to introduce the Bill forthwith, and the Bill shall stand introduced. Copy of the Bill shall be supplied to the Members.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As per Rule 122, the Bill is then referred to the respective Standing Committee for detailed Report. • Once the Bill is received back, Rule 123 demands its circulation among members and provides for clear two working days from the day of its circulation to the day of its fixation in the House. • Under Rule 124, the Member in-charge may move a motion to demand: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) that it be taken into consideration at once; or (b) that it be taken into consideration on a date to be fixed forthwith; or (c) that it be referred to a Select Committee; or (d) that it be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon. • Rule 129 allows other Members to move amendments, if the Bill is taken for consideration. • Once the House approves the Bill to be considered, the Minister in-charge then moves for the passage of the Bill under Rule 137. • Upon passage, it is referred to the other House (Senate) for consideration under Rule 140. • If the other House also passes it without any amendments, it is sent to the President for assent. Otherwise, it is referred back to the House from where it was originated for reconsideration. The House may again send it to the concerned Standing Committee to review the amendments only. On receipt of the Standing Committee's Report, it is presented to the House and upon its passage is sent to the President for his assent (Rule 154 (8)).⁶⁴
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Oversight & Representation

6	Questions	<p>By raising Questions, a Member can hold the Executive accountable and provide a check on its working.</p> <p>Chapter IX provides for the procedure of submitting and raising Questions in the House.</p> <p>Rules 69-86 deal in detail with the notice, admissibility, scope and</p>
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⁶⁴ For detailed reading and understanding, refer to the Chapter XIV of the Rules of Procedure & Conduct of Business in the National Assembly, 2007, NA Secretariat, Islamabad

		<p>supplementary questions.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Under Rule 69, each Session's first hour, after the recitation from the Holy Quran is fixed for Questions. It is called "The Question Hour" • Under Rule 70, 15-day notice is required from the date of the written submission of a question to the date of its fixation in the House. • There are three types of Questions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Starred Question: To which a member desires an oral answer and which is distinguished by an asterisk mark. When a question is answered orally, supplementary questions can be asked thereon. A member can ask only 02 Starred Questions on any given day. • Un-starred Question: One, which is not called for oral answer and on which no supplementary questions can consequently be asked. To such a question, a written answer is deemed to have been laid on the Table. A Member can ask not more than 2 un-starred questions on one given day • Short Notice Question: One, which relates to a matter of urgent public importance and can be asked with shorter notice than the period of notice prescribed for an ordinary question. Like a starred question, it is answered orally followed by supplementary questions.⁶⁵
7	Discussion on Matters of Public Importance ⁶⁶	<p>The Rule 87 provides for raising matters of Public Importance with the concurrence of the Speaker. For the purpose, the Speaker may allocate half an hour on a Private Members' Day.</p> <p>A member is required to give a 3-day prior notice for such discussion. This notice may be moved jointly by more than one member.</p> <p>According to sub rule 6: "There shall be no formal motion before the Assembly nor voting. The member who has given notice shall make a short statement and the Minister concerned shall reply. If the time permits, the Speaker may allow any member to put a question for the purpose of further elucidating any matter of fact."</p>
8	Calling Attention ⁶⁷	<p>Rule 88 stipulates the procedure for a Calling Attention. Accordingly: A member with a prior permission of the Speaker may seek the attention of the Minister concern to any matter of urgent public concern, to which the Minister will make a brief statement</p>

⁶⁵ Rule 79, Chapter IX

⁶⁶ Chapter X, the Rules of Procedure & Conduct of Business in the National Assembly, 2007, NA Secretariat, Islamabad

⁶⁷ Chapter XI, ibid

		<p>There can be no debate on such statement⁶⁸ but the Member/s under whose name/s the Calling Attention is moved can ask one question.</p> <p>As per Rule 91, one-day advance notice is required for such Calling Attention.</p>
9	Adjournment Motion ⁶⁹	<p>Under Rule 109, a Member may move, with the consent of the Speaker, for adjourning the Business of the House in order to take up for discussion a matter of urgent public importance. It is called the Adjournment Motion.</p> <p>A Member is to submit a written Motion to the Secretary at least one day prior, explaining the urgency of the matter (Rule 110)</p> <p>Details and pre-requisites for such Motion are placed in Rule 111.</p>
10	Resolutions	<p>There are two types of Resolutions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Those specified in the Constitution such as Resolutions of No Confidence or impeachment of the President; Extension, approval or disapproval of Ordinances etc. • Those not specified in the Constitution: Chapter XV of the Rules of Procedure deals with such Resolutions. <p>Under Rule 157, any Member can “move a resolution relating to a matter of general public interest: Provided that the number of resolutions to be moved by a private member in the same session shall not exceed five.”</p> <p>Such resolutions are however the “opinion of the House and are not mandatory for the Executive to be implemented”.</p>
<p>Other Mechanisms of Business</p> <p>In addition to the above, the Members have other parliamentary mechanisms available under the Rules of Procedure for participation and protection of their role</p>		
11	Point of Order	<p>Rule 17 defines the scope and extent of a Point of Order. It must:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relate to the interpretation or enforcement of the rules • Be within the cognizance of the Speaker. • Not be for seeking information. • Not be for explaining personal position. • Not be hypothetical in nature
12	Matters which are not Point of Order	<p>Under Rule 18, the Speaker may permit members to raise issues, which do not fall under the ambit of Point of Order. For the purpose, he may fix half an hour on any/every day except Fridays.</p>

⁶⁸ Rule 89, ibid

⁶⁹ Chapter XIII, the Rules of Procedure & Conduct of Business in the National Assembly, 2007, NA Secretariat, Islamabad

		This provides Members with opportunities to raise verity of issues, concerning their oversight as well as representation roles.
13	Questions of Privilege	A Member may raise a Question of breach of privilege of a member or of a Committee under Rule 95 provided the issue involved relates to the official discharge of a Member's duties.

CONDUCT OF A MEMBER:

Rule 30 details the Conduct of a Member in the House while Rule 31 deliberates upon the Conduct of a Member, while speaking. The same are attached as Annexure.

COMPARISON MATRIX ON 'RULES OF PROCEDURE'

		NATIONAL ASSEMBLY	SENATE	PUNJAB ASSEMBLY	SINDH ASSEMBLY	KPK ASSEMBLY	BALUCHISTAN ASSEMBLY
1	Quick Facts	22 Chapters 294 Rules 5 Schedules	18 Chapters 270 Rules 3 Schedules	19 Chapters 233 Rules 4 Schedules	22 Chapters 268 Rules 5 Schedules	24 Chapters 251 Rules 5 Schedules	19 Chapters 233 Rules 4 Schedules
2	The Speaker/Chairman	Chapter III Rule 9-31	Chapter III Rules 9-10	Chapter III Rule 8-14	Chapter III Rule 9-17	Chapter IV Rule 8-15	Chapter III Rule 8-14
	Power and Functions of Speaker/Chairman	Rule 14	Rule 13	Rule 12	Rule 14	Rule 12	Rule 12
3	Business in the House	Chapter VII Rules 46-58	Chapter VI Rules 32-40	Chapter V Rule 20-29	Chapter VI Rule 28-37	Chapter VI	Chapter V Rule 20-29
	Classes of Business i. Government Business ii. Private members' Business	Rule 50	Rule 24	Rule 23	Rule 30	Rule 23	Rule 23
	iii. Other Business	None	Additionally, Senate Business	None	None	None	None
	Private member Day	Rule 51 fixes Tuesday as Private Members Day	Rule 25 fixes Monday as Private Members Day	Rule 24 fixes Thursday as Private Members Day	Rule 31 fixes Tuesday as Private Members Day	Rule 22 fixes Thursday as Private Members Day	Rule 24 fixes Thursday as Private Members Day
4	Role of a Member	1.Legislation 2.Oversight 3.Representa- -tion	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same
LEGISLATION							
5	Private Member's Bill						
	Notice Period	10 Day Notice as per Rule 118	10 Day Notice as per Rule 94	15 Day Notice as per Rule 89(1)	15 Day Notice as per Rule 94	5 Day Notice as per Rule 77	15 Day Notice as per Rule 78
	Introduction of Private Member Bill	Rule 112	Rule 98	Rule 90	Rule 95	Rule 77	Rule 84
	Time for consideration of Bills	2 days as per Rule 123	2 days as per Rule 99	3 Days as per Rule 95(3)	3 Days as per Rule 100	3 Days as per Rule 82(1)	3 Days as per Rule 85
	Member in Charge moves a Motion	Rule 124 same as NA	Rule 100 same as NA	Rule 96 same as NA	Rule 101 same as NA	Rule 85	Rule 86
	Members move amendment	Rule 129	Rule 104 (2)	Rule 105	Rule 110	Rule 98	Rule 91

	NATIONAL ASSEMBLY	SENATE	PUNJAB ASSEMBLY	SINDH ASSEMBLY	KPK ASSEMBLY	BALUCHISTAN ASSEMBLY
Passing of Bills	As per Rule 137, Relevant Minister pass the bill after approval	As per Rule 113, Member in Charge pass the bill after approval	As per Rule 109, Member in Charge pass the bill after approval	As per Rule 114, Member in Charge pass the bill after approval	As per Rule 105, Member in Charge pass the bill after approval	
Transmission of bill to other house	Rule 140, bill is transmitted to Senate after approval from National Assembly	Rule 117, bill is transmitted to National Assembly after approval from Senate	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Transmission to President/Governor for assent	Rule 154(8) calls for transmission of bill to President for assent	Rule 126(8) calls for transmission of bill to President for assent	Rule 111 calls for transmission of bill to Governor for assent	Rule 116 calls for transmission of bill to Governor for assent	Rule 110 calls for transmission of bill to Governor for assent	Rule 99 calls for transmission of bill to Governor for assent
6 OVERSIGHT & REPRESENTATION						
Questions	Chapter IX	Chapter VII	Chapter VIII	Chapter VII	Chapter IX	Chapter VII
Notice, Admissibility, Scope	Rule 69-86	Rule 41-60	Rule 42-61	Rule 38-56	Rule 31-48	Rule 33-50
Question Hour	Rule 69	Rule 41	Rule 42	Rule 38	Rule 31	Rule 33
Notice of Question	Rule 70	Rule 42	Rule 43	Rule 39	Rule 32	Rule 34
Form of Notice of Questions 1. Starred Question 2. Unstarred Question	Rule 71	Rule 43	Rule 45	Rule 41	Rule 34	Rule 36
Short Notice Questions	Rule 79	Rule 51	Rule 44	Rule 40	Rule 33	Rule 35
7 Matters of Public Importance						
Discussion on matters of Public Importance	Rule 87	Rule 60	Rule 61	Rule 56	Rule 48	Rule 50
Notice Period	3 Days' Notice as per Rule 87(1)	3 Days' Notice as per Rule 60(1)	2 Days' Notice as per Rule 61(1)	2 Days' Notice as per Rule 56(1)	2 Days' Notice as per Rule 48(1)	2 Days' Notice as per Rule 50(1)
No Formal Motion	Rule 87(6)	Rule 60(3)	Rule 61(4)	Rule 56(4)	Rule 48(4)	Rule 50(4)
8 Calling Attention						
Procedure of Calling Attention	Rule 88	Rule 64	Rule 62	Rule 65	Rule 52(A)	

		NATIONAL ASSEMBLY	SENATE	PUNJAB ASSEMBLY	SINDH ASSEMBLY	KPK ASSEMBLY	BALUCHISTAN ASSEMBLY
	Advance Notice	1 day before the day on which notice is to be considered as per Rule 91	1 day before the day on which notice is to be considered as per Rule 65	At least 48 hours before the start of session as per rule 62(2)	At least 48 hours before the start of session as per Rule 65(2)	One hour before the sitting otherwise it would be considered for next sitting as per Rule 52(D)	
9	Adjournment Motion						
	Rules	Rule 109-117	Rule 85-93	Rule 80-88	Rule 85-93	Rule 69-76	Rule 70-77
	Members Move Bill with consent of Speaker	Rule 109	Rule 85	Rule 80	Rule 85	Rule 69	Rule 70
	Notice of Motion	At least 1 day Notice Prior to session as per Rule 110	At least 2 hours' notice prior to session as per Rule 86	At least 2 hours' notice prior to session as per Rule 81	At least 1 hour before commencement of sitting as per Rule 86	At least 1 hour before commencement of sitting as per Rule 70	At least 1 hour before commencement of sitting as per Rule 71
	Conditions of Admissibility of Motion	Rule 111	Rule 87	Rule 83	Rule 88	Rule 71	Rule 72
10	Resolutions						
	Resolution not specified in the Constitution/on General Public Interest	Chapter XVI	Chapter XIV	Chapter XIII	Chapter XVI	Chapter XVIII	Chapter XIII Part A
	Resolution specified in the constitution	Chapter XV	Chapter XIII	Chapter XIV	Chapter XV	Not available	Chapter XIII B
	Right to move Resolution	Rule 157	Rule 132	Rule 114	Rule 123	Rule 123	Rule 102
RULES OF PROCEDURE FOR PARTICIPATION AND PROTECTION OF THEIR ROLE							
11	Point of Order	Chapter III	Chapter XVIII	Chapter XVIII(G)	Chapter XXI (F)	Chapter XXII	Chapter 18(F)
	Scope and Extent	Rule 17	Rule 243	Rule 209	Rule 232	Rule 225	Rule 201
	Speakers Permission to raise Point of Order.	Rule 18	Rule 243(2)	Rule 209 (2)	Rule 232 (7)	Rule 225(1)	Rule 201(2)
	Matters which are not Point of Order	Rule 17(7)	Rule 243(7)	Rule 209 (7)	Rule 232 (7)	Rule 225 (6)	Rule 201 (7)
12	Privileges	Chapter XII	Chapter X	Chapter X	Chapter XI	Chapter XI	Chapter X
	Questions of Privilege	Rule 95-108	Rule 70-84	Rule 68-79	Rule 71-84	Rule 53-65	Rule 55-69
	Breach of Privilege	Rule 95	Rule 70	Rule 68	Rule 71	Rule 53	Rule 55

THE COMMITTEE SYSTEM

“Congress in Session is Congress on exhibition while Congress in its Committee rooms, is Congress at work”

Thomas Woodrow Wilson

28th President of the United States of America

Often called the “brain of the House”, the system of parliamentary committees is particularly useful in dealing with matters, which on account of their special or technical nature, are better considered in detail by small number of members rather than by the House itself. According to M.N. Kaul, it saves time of the House for the discussion of important matters and prevents Parliament from getting lost in details and thereby losing hold on matters of policy and broad principles.⁷⁰

PURPOSE OF COMMITTEE:

- To deal with specific items requiring expert or detailed deliberation.
- To assist the House in the efficient discharge of its functions.
- To save the time of the House for the discussion of important matters.
- To make Parliamentary surveillance more effective and meaningful.
- To ensure accountability of the Executive to the Parliament.

TYPES COMMITTEES:

No.	Type	Rule
1	Standing Committees	Rule 198
2	Sub Committees	Rule 224
3	Special Committees	Rule 244-B
4	Select Committees	Rule 244-A
5	Parliamentary Committees	Rule 244-C, other laws
6	Finance Committee	Article 88 of the Constitution

CLASSIFICATION OF COMMITTEES BY FUNCTION:

No.	Type	Function	Number
1	Standing Committees With Ministries	Oversight & legislative role on a the respective ministry	Presently 29
2	Standing Committees Without ministries	Conduct of the House and Assembly as well as financial accountability	Presently 6: 1. Business Advisory

⁷⁰ M. N. Kaul, *Practice and Procedure of Parliament*, Lok Sabha Secretariat, Metropolitan Book Co. New Delhi

			<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Finance Committee of the House 3. Committee on Rule of Procedure & Privileges 4. House & Library 5. Public Accounts Committee 6. Public Assurances Committee
3	Sub Committees	Of any Committee	As and when required
4	Special Committees	For specific purpose	Presently 1: Kashmir Committee
5	Select Committees	Formed to consider a Bill	As and when required
6	Parliamentary Committees	Joint Committees of the two Houses	<p>Presently 04:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. On Appointment of Chairperson and Members of the National Commission on Human Rights 2. On Appointment of Chief Election Commissioner and Members of the Election Commission of Pakistan 3. On Appointment of Judges of the superior courts 4. On Appointment of the Chairperson of the National Commission on the Status of Women

JURISDICTION OF A STANDING COMMITTEE ON A MINISTRY:

To deal with:

- The subjects assigned to the Ministry under the Rules of Business, 1973 (rule 198);
- The Bills – referred to the Standing Committee by the House upon introduction (rule 122);
- In the case of a Bill, the Committee shall also examine whether the Bill violates, disregards or is otherwise not in accordance with the Constitution.
- The Committee may propose amendments which shall be shown in its report along with original provisions of the Bill: Provided that the Committee shall have no power of preventing the Bill from being considered by the Assembly. (Rule 201-1&2)
- The Subject or matter within its cognizance referred to it by the House or the Speaker (rule 199).
- Any report, other than those referred to in rules 176, 178 and 179, laid on the Table of the House, stands referred to the Standing Committee concerned. (Rule 181)

SUOMOTO POWERS OF A STANDING COMMITTEE:

- Under Rule 201 (4&5), A Committee may examine the:
 - Expenditure
 - Administration
 - Delegated Legislation
 - Public Petitions, and
 - Policies

of the Ministry concerned and its associated public bodies.

- The report of findings and recommendations are forwarded to the Ministry which shall submit its reply to the Committee [Rule 201 (4)]
- It can also scrutinize the Ministry's Public Sector Development Program during Jan-Feb for next financial year.

POWER TO TAKE EVIDENCE OR CALL FOR PAPERS:

- A Committee has power to require the attendance of persons or the production of papers or records, if it considers necessary. However, in case of objection about the relevancy of evidence or production of document, the question shall be referred to the Speaker, whose decision thereon

shall be final (Rule-227);

- Committee is empowered to administer oath and examine the witnesses (Rule 228 and 229)
- For compelling the attendance of any person or production of a document, the Committee has the power vested in the Civil Court under the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908

C: WHAT ARE PARLIAMENTARY TRADITIONS & CONVENTIONS?

The founding fathers of Westminster Parliamentary Democracy built the institution of the Parliament on the principles of democracy. In its over 700 years of history, the "Mother Parliament" developed its own customs, traditions, conventions and etiquettes. Many of these rules were penned as "Standing Orders" or the "Rules of Business" but far more still are the un-written agreements, which have been followed with diligence and respect over centuries.

These unwritten rules are the Parliamentary Traditions and Conventions.

Some Examples of Parliamentary Traditions in Pakistan's Democracy:

1. All presiding officers wear black gowns while presiding over the proceedings of the House
2. Each Bill is read three times
3. The House proceedings are adjourned if a news of the death of a sitting Member is received
4. Members must not put their back to the Chair
5. The Sargent At Arms proceeds the Speaker upon his procession into the House and announces his/her arrival
6. The Treasury sits on the right hand of the Speaker and the Opposition sits on the left side of the Chair

CONCLUSION:

Understanding of the working of the Legislature is essential for every member, in order to act efficiently in the House. The basic understanding of the Constitution and apt knowledge of the Rules of Business and parliamentary conventions is required for a Member's effective performance in law-making, oversight and representation in the House as well as in the Committees.

AT THE END OF THIS CHAPTER:

The Reader is well – conversant with:

- The Rules of Business and various mechanisms provided under the rules in the discharge of one's duties
- Understands the dynamics, scope and classification of the Committee system; its formation and powers as well as his/her/or 'the' role of a Committee member.
- Realizes the importance of parliamentary customs and is able to differentiate between a Rule and a Convention.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Building Networks

“We, the women parliamentarians, recalling that peace is born from the soul of each one of us, seek to evolve sustainable mechanism by engaging in networks, partnerships and create synergies with the media, civil society and government ...”

Declaration of the National Convention of Women Parliamentarians

May 26, 2010, Islamabad

INTRODUCTION

Success is a product of teamwork. Political achievements are never made in isolation. Parliamentarians are expected to rise above personal prejudice, party bias and tendencies of “solo flights” to reach out for higher gains. Democracy being inclusive in nature, it is required from the democratic representatives to create understandings and build bridges, both within and outside the Parliament, while respecting each others opinions and creating consensus on minimum common agenda. This Chapter focuses on the importance and synergies of women parliamentarians to work together and establish linkages with the Civil Society, government agencies and other development partners at local, national, regional and international levels.

CHALLENGES:

Women legislators, across the globe, are faced with myriad challenges. Some of the commonly observed are:

- Women’s weak numerical strength in the legislative chambers
- Women’s inability to grow into a “critical mass” and create the “Women’s Impact”
- Women’s own gender insensitivity
- “Women legislators” viz-a-viz “Women Activists”.

A. The Number Game:

According to the Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU) statistics, women account for only 20% of the world MPs⁷¹. This means that in every country of the world, they form a minority in parliament, an institution traditionally governed according to the principles and worldview of their male memberships. In Pakistan’s Assemblies, the percentage of women range from 19% (National Assembly) to 17% (Baluchistan, KPK, GB Assemblies). A detailed paper on the global position of women in parliaments is attached as Annex-A.



B. CRITICAL MASS:

In political science literature, the concept of critical mass infers to the **guaranteed and sustained presence of a minimum required proportion of women politicians in the legislative chambers, which enables them to impact policies**, resulting in governance more responsive to women⁷². The UN estimates this number to be at least 30% of the total membership of any legislature.

What is Critical Mass?
 A term from nuclear physics, it means: “Quantity needed to start an irreversible chain reaction.”

C. WOMEN’S IMPACT:

Even if in considerable numbers, the mere presence of women in a legislative chamber does not guarantee their free access,

⁷¹ Guidelines For Women Caucuses, page9, Inter Parliamentary Union Publication

⁷² Sandra Grey, Does Size Matter? Critical Mass and Women MPs in the New Zealand House of Representatives, Paper for the 51st Political Studies Association Conference 10-12 April 2001, Manchester, United Kingdom

involvement and recognition at the decision-making bodies. Equal emphasis is needed on encouraging “women’s impact” rather than their attendance. This impact is reflected through women members’ ability to influence policies without fear. This means “critical mass” cannot be created only through numbers but it also involves “women’s impact factor”. For example, in Pakistan’s case, the affirmative actions of Quotas have not automatically enabled women Members on Reserved Seats to get “equal status” at par with those elected from general constituencies.

D. WOMEN POLITICIANS VIZ-A-VIZ WOMEN ACTIVISTS:

Historically, women rights activists have tried dominating the work agenda of women politicians. At times, it has remained difficult to differentiate between the two groups, which has often created misnomers. Yet, the two are distinct in their identities and work-approach. As legislators, women parliamentarians are required to follow their party’s policy; are bound by party discipline and therefore need to strike a balance between their legislative role and the ideological and/or emotional link with the women’s movement.

What is more, unlike the activists, politicians may not be “subject specialists”. They are in need of building their capacities, which they tend to do by learning from each-other as well as through their frequent interactions with Civil Society. There is, therefore, as much a need and urge for cooperation “within” as much it is with others outside the Chambers.

BUILDING MUTUAL UNDERSTANDINGS:

Under these conditions, women MPs tend to coalesce and create spaces, enabling them to make their voices heard, forge ties of mutual solidarity and contribute to the work of parliament. Within the Chambers, their success largely depends on their ability to reach out beyond party lines. In recent years, this has given credence to the idea of “caucus”.

Outside, they must have an effective mechanism of collaboration with the Civil Society, the Media and with the regional and international partners.

What is Caucus?

A group of people with similar interests, often within a larger organization or political party

Oxford Advance Lerner’s Dictionary

THE IDEA OF CAUCUS:

Parliaments are politically divided institutions. The lines are clearly drawn, based on mandate, ideologies, agendas and manifestos. Often, sudden and immediate political considerations hamper the often-agreed understanding within the groups. The sustainability of a formal alliance or association across parties, therefore, remains an uphill task in the Chambers.

The idea of cooperating through “an informal understanding” of a Caucus has proved effective in case of women in over 81 parliaments, as identified by the IPU⁷³.

HOW TO FORM A CAUCUS? THE “FOUR STEP” APPROACH:

Based upon international experiences, the IPU suggests a “four step” approach.

Step I: Assess the Environment

- Is the time right to create a women’s caucus?
- Are women MPs prepared to look beyond political divisions?
- Will efforts to form a Caucus be supported or opposed?



⁷³ IPU
⁷⁴ Guidelines for Women Caucuses, IPU publication, Inter Parliamentary Union, Geneva, Switzerland

- Are the needed resources lined up to sustain the Caucus?

Step II: Laying the Foundations

- What will be the legal and administrative procedure to set up the Caucus?
- Has the consensus document of the Caucus Objectives, mission and Work areas formulated?
- What will be the status of the Caucus viz-a-viz the Parliament?

Step III: Getting the Caucus Up & Running

- What is the structure — Central decision making body, Committees, organs etc.
- How, when and who will coordinate the meetings?
- How are the decisions going to be made? Consensus, majority or left to the discretion of the Chair?
- Who and how will Finances be met?

Step IV: Caucus in Action

- What is the of Work-plan to meet the objectives set?
- What are strategies to ensure the effectiveness of the Work plan?
- Monitoring and Evaluation mechanisms
- Alliances and networks

HOW CAN A CAUCUS WORK?

1. Caucus must be a **cross-party forum** and should not encourage “exclusions”. Parliaments comprise political groups. No matter how small or how “hard-core”, the assured presence of each one on board sends a strong message of “wide acceptability”.
2. All members must be treated as **“equals”**. No special considerations on the basis of influence, status, party position, or majority in the parliament. Backbenchers within parties feel left out on the floor. The encouragement in a Caucus incentivizes them to develop into “dedicated comrades”.
3. Mutual understanding must be created around a **“minimum agreed Agenda”**. This helps in developing trust. The respective party manifestos may provide useful information to identify such “joint programme”.
4. **Leadership counts**. It must be inspiring, seen as dedicated and widely respected. Further, the Caucus leadership must be carefully balanced



between the treasury and the opposition in order to create **inclusion, transparency and accountability**.

5. Caucus works on “**consensus**” not “majority”. The majority party has to continue giving space and must not try to bulldoze an issue if the Members are not prepared to accept it.
6. Caucus is a **parliamentary forum**; not an NGO. Women parliamentarians must not act as “firebird activists”.
7. Caucus is a **recommendatory body**; it’s not an implementation mechanism. It must not be seen as an “intrusion on the powers of the Executive” or a “trespass on provincial autonomy”.
8. Caucus is ONLY successful if it is “**indigenous**” in nature; A “donor-driven agenda” never works as it is always seen with an eye of suspicion by all and the “sovereignty conscious” legislators may feel intimidated by the “finance managers”.
9. Caucus memberships are **voluntary**. Members may retract under pressure or political considerations. Working through the Caucus, therefore, can be painfully slow; have patience and keep focus!
10. Parties widely differ on the approach towards women. An act considered “draconian or discriminatory” by one, may be acceptable to the other. It’s not advisable to hit the “reason” directly but to **target the “symptoms”**.

RISKS FOR CAUCUS

1. Dr. Jennifer Bennett once remarked: “Democracy is not a single-structured phenomena”. Party loyalties, ethno-cultural considerations and personal interests often mar the way forward.
2. Women legislators, elected on party tickets, may not find it easy to cross the Rubicon every time at the risk of defying party policies or inviting the ire of their party leaderships. Let’s not forget, working at the Caucus level remains more or less a voluntary service with little or no party or parliamentary rewards.
3. Over-excitement kills. The mere consensus-building capacity of the Caucus may not always be in a position to cope with every challenge. Media hype or Civil Society expectations must be

rationalized.

4. Personal animosities and political rivalries may continue to threaten the needed conducive environment for an effective Caucus.
5. The traditional mind-set, unsympathetic parliamentary leadership or “red-tape” driven bureaucracy may not help or facilitate in logistics, finance or in organizational and administrative matters. Women legislators must be prepared to find their own way rather than to expect “divine help”.

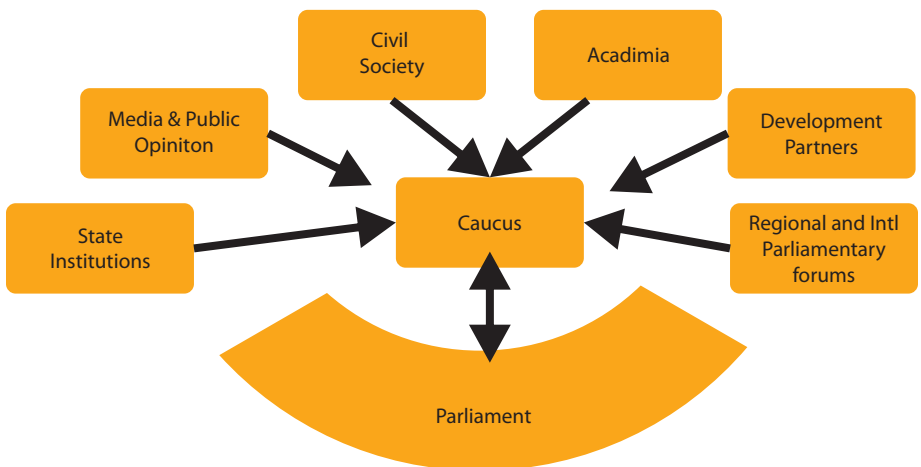
LINKAGES FOR CAUCUS:

1. Parliamentary Leaderships: Build effective and working relationships with all parliamentary leaderships. The Caucus members must develop goodwill and trust for Caucus with their respective parliamentary leaderships. This eventually pays when issues are taken by Caucus to the Floor for debate and vote.
2. Linkages between the Federal and Provincial Caucuses: Pakistan is a federation. In the post-18th Amendment scenario, subjects of women, labour, education, health, agriculture and several others have been transferred to the provinces, enhancing the law-making roles of the respective provincial legislatures. This calls for greater, expanded and institutionalised cooperation among women legislators and the federal and the provincial levels. The respective caucuses can build a working relationship with periodic, tangible and target-specific meets to chalk out joint strategies.
3. National and Provincial Institutions: Caucus must be seen working “hand in glove” and not in animosity and rivalry with existing line departments and institutions. These may include:

- a. Women Ministries
 - b. National & Provincial Commissions on the Status of Women
 - c. Election Commission
 - d. Planning Commission
 - e. Home Departments
 - f. Health, education and other social sector departments
4. **Civil Society:** Women organizations are the corner stones of the support base. These are the useful source of information, technical advice and ground mobilization. Relationship of mutual trust and cooperation must be kept at all times.
 5. **Development Partners:** Caucuses are voluntary forums with little or no financial and other resources. A healthy relationship with the global and national development partners can address this issue.
 6. **Media:** Public opinion matters the most. It can work two-ways i.e. it is capable of “building an issue” as it is in “destroying a case”. Media management, therefore, is an essential aspect of Caucus work.
 7. **Academia:** Sustainable mechanisms of cooperation must be built by the Caucus with the Academia, which serves multiple purposes. It

helps in getting technical and research-based feedback and advice while it also enables the intellectual grooming and capacity building of the Caucus members.

8. **Regional and International Parliamentary Organisations:** These platforms provide for a rich exchange of ideas, support and exposure. Established and well known multilateral parliamentary forums, such as the Inter Parliamentary Union, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, the Asian Parliamentary Assembly, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Islamic Countries, the Association of SAARC Speakers and Parliamentarians and the Parliamentary Assembly of the ECO Countries provide dedicated forums for women parliamentarians. In addition, networks of women parliamentarians are also established in different regions, for example, the SAARC Network of Women Parliamentarians, based in Dhaka, Bangladesh.



CONCLUSION:

There is credible evidence that compared to men, women parliamentarians are far more under public and media scrutiny. On one hand, it means that much is expected from them. On the other, there are overt and covert pressures under which women parliamentarians have to work. In addition, the invisible glass ceilings hinder their path of upward mobility. The need to forge hands to jointly cut through these barriers. It is also important for them to ensure that the issues of their concern remain on the legislative agenda and are not thrown off the table on the pretext of “lesser important subjects”. Cross party alliances of women parliamentarians have worked worldwide in extracting the desired objectives from parliaments in shape of laws, policies and oversight roles.

This support mechanism has to be built in all spheres — with Civil Society and women organisations, state institutions, Media, academia, development partners etc. These linkages are essential for creating public pressures, strengthening advocacy on issues of both immediacy and longer term impact and getting them resolved.

The caution, however, is that legislators have to act as legislators and not as activists. They must not forget that they are the lawmakers and the law is for (and affects) all, without distinction of class or gender. The spirit of law must not be compromised.

AT THE END OF THIS CHAPTER:

The reader is able to:

1. understand the terminologies of:
 - Critical Mass
 - Women's Impact
 - Caucus
2. The position of women in parliaments
3. The importance and need for building networks
4. The concept of Caucus operative in different parliaments
5. The synergies in building caucuses
6. The risks for such alliances
7. The needed partnerships

CHAPTER EIGHT

Mastering the Magic of Media

“Public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment nothing can fail; without it nothing can succeed. He who molds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or decisions possible or impossible to execute.”

Abraham Lincoln

INTRODUCTION

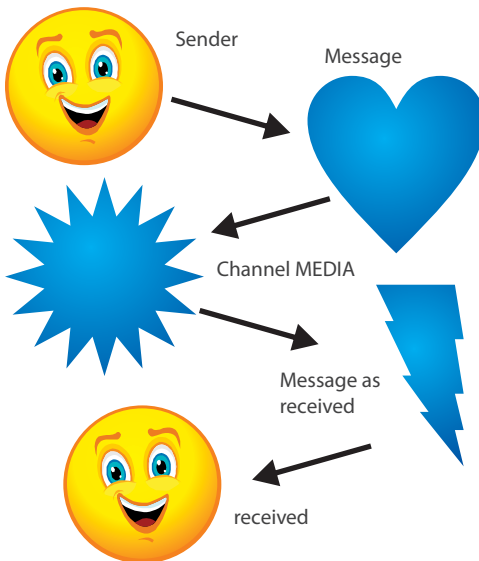
In the tech-driven contemporary society, media forms the prime window of information to the world of politics and politicians. Through a click of handy pocket devices, the general public gets the opportunity to peep into the hidden, classified and often personal domains of those they wish to know about. In addition, the value and sanctity of the print line remains intact. These are the multiple mediums of information, which build and transform public perceptions, beliefs, ideas and social perspectives.

A careful, planned and prompt management of print, electronic and social media holds the key to success. This Chapter focuses on the unavoidable impact of media on the electorate, best practices, lessons learnt and suggested key strategies to cope with the “delicate nature” of the fourth pillar of the state.

WHAT IS COMMUNICATION?

In its simplest definition the process of message development and its assured delivery to the target audience is communication. The widely known model of this process involves the:

- Sender
- The Channel or the MEDIA
- The Receiver



COMMUNICATION IS POWER IN POLITICS:

If politics has to do with power and power is defined as the ability to influence others, then, clearly, politics is inherently linked with communication. Unless we communicate, we will never be able to impart what we want, and if we do not let others know what we want, we cannot encourage them to do what we consider to be desirable or discourage them from doing what we consider undesirable. So communication is critical to political processes.⁷⁵

It must be remembered that in political communication, all three segments of communication model are **EQUALLY** important. The Sender must be articulate in encrypting the message; the “Media” chosen should be carefully tackled so that the message reaches the receiver as planned. In short, effective communication skills are a pre-requisite for a public leader.

Ninety percent of leadership is the ability to communicate something people want.

Dianne Feinstein

⁷⁵ Mehnaz Afkhami, *Leading to Action, A Political Participation Handbook for Women*, pp7, *Women's Learning Partnership for Rights, Development, and Peace (WLP)*, http://www.learningpartnership.org/sites/default/files/shared/u16/LeadingToAction_English.pdf

With as much as 50% of women in the total population of Pakistan and 21% seats in the Parliament of Pakistan, the share of women in wage employment is a meager 10.5%. This shows the lack of courage and support of the society to mainstream women in the economic development agenda of the country.

TOOLS FOR EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION SKILLS:

1. Read: Read anything; anytime; anywhere. One can never speak if one is not “well-read”.
2. Write: Reading ignites thought process. This process is articulated by penning the thoughts. Writing, therefore, helps defining the messages one wishes to convey.
3. Speak: Once researched and defined, it’s time to convey the message(s) to the public. But before one speaks, one must be clear:
 - a. WHAT is to be spoken?
 - b. WHO is to be addressed?
 - c. HOW is it to be coined in words?

THREE INGREDIENTS OF WELL-PLANNED COMMUNICATION:

1. Objectives: Communicate with a clearly stated goal in mind
2. Audience: Communicate to clearly defined groups of people
3. Messages: Communicate a small number of clear, concise, consistent and memorable ideas

IMPACT OF MEDIA IN WOMEN’S POLITICAL DISCOURSE

“One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman.”

Simone de Beauvoir

In today’s world of communication, Media, being the link between the sender and the receiver, holds the balance. It shapes our opinions and attitudes, determines the public discourse and thereby defines our political, cultural, and economic priorities. As a result, individual as well as collective political inclinations are articulated. Universally considered a pillar of the State, which works as a watchdog, Media is

in fact shaping values and redefining cultures.

In all these aspects, the impact and effects of Media on women, more so on women leaders, is tremendous and abysmal at the same time. It’s tremendous, since it’s revolutionizing lives with new ideas. It’s terrible since not only does it portray women as objects but it also reinforces stereotypes. These stereotypes hinder empowerment, socially as well as politically.

Simone de Beauvoir’s famous quote highlights the underlying reason behind the prevalent social practice in Pakistan. Women’s role in politics and their political communication is not restricted by their biological sex but by their gender, constructed through the representation of women in the public discourse by the Media. To attain equal representation, it is therefore of vital importance to analyze and understand how gender parity can be obtained in the prevailing political communication models. A man shown shaking hands with common people is a display of his being “people’s man” while a woman spotted shaking hands suggests indecency.

WOMEN AND MEDIA – A SOCIAL TABOO

Media presence and appearances are often considered as inappropriate and unacceptable for women in societies like Pakistan. There is a certain mindset attached to the women who appear in media and this stereotyping goes far beyond judging of character of women. Society at large has the perception that respectable women stay away from politics and media, and as a result even as public representatives, the women political leaders, cautiously pick and choose the chances to avail media appearances. Women’s public and political participation is a critical step towards reshaping economic, political, and social conditions to allow for equality in opportunities for women and men. Women can be informed, thoughtful,

and strategic advocates. This needs to be understood for a democratic, inclusive processes, and effective political participation.

CHALLENGES FOR WOMEN LEADERS IN MEDIA:

As much as the importance of media cannot be denied, the true representation and positive portrayal of

women politicians in media is also a challenge in its own right. Women politicians are often caught in situations, which not only denigrate an individual's image but have a catalytic impact on the entire set of women parliamentarians.

CREATE SYNERGIES TO REDEFINE MEDIA PRIORITIES:

The trends of attaching subjectivity and glamour to women rather than focusing on their talents, ideas and potential leads to an environment which is generally hostile and unsupportive to women. The foremost challenge, therefore, is to create synergies to reshape the media angles and refocus its priorities. Strategies must be devised to ignite an "issue based" debate rather than personal remarks and conduct.

Example:

The cost of women politicians' handbags should not become the most important subject of media debates but their efficiency as legislators should be the point of interest. Women legislators have proved to be the "movers and shakers" of House business as more than 60% of the total number of bills, legislation, call attentions, questions etc. are submitted by women members.

BREAKING STEREOTYPES:

Women are often bracketed with "soft issues", mostly concerning morning shows, the "Page 2" gossip columns and the "social welfare" matters. Their key role as serious players in peace, security, reconciliation and development are compromised. Women legislators must be seen as genuinely concerned and keen followers of hard-core political events and realities.

Example:

When the Afghan Government initiated negotiations with the Taliban, there were reports of compromising women's role in policy-making, suggesting confining their mobility and voice. Fauzia Kufi, the former Deputy Speaker of the Lower House of Afghan Parliament, effectively pleaded the women's case, featuring on the title page of TIME magazine, establishing that since women and children were the worst effectees of the War, their voices must be included in any scheme to address the menace and not silenced.

USING WOMANHOOD AS STRENGTH:

It has often been observed that women leaders, while feeling handicapped as women, try to distance themselves from women's issues and other women legislators. Acting like men never helps. Acting strong, it does. They must realize that there is nothing more powerful than their own self. A befitting media portrayal, depicting their sensitivity towards human issues and feelings, brings on instant connect with the electorate.

Example:

The powerful click, showing Benazir Bhutto hugging a sobbing woman after a bomb blast or Begum Kulsoom Nawaz's car, bearing her, being lifted by a car lifter during a public agitation or the former Speaker holding the first-born child in the Internally Displaced Persons Camp of Swat.

PROJECTING "BEAUTY WITH BRAINS":

To look and be seen as beautiful is a natural right and desire. "Over attention" to looks, however, may prove an over-kill and tarnish the overall impact. It is important for women parliamentarians to create a personal image, which must portray them as serious and capable parliamentarians and not as "China Dolls". Choice of wardrobe and make-up is, therefore, a very strong and strategic statement. A balance has to be created, without foregoing individuality.

Example:

During the National Convention of Women Parliamentarians, 2010, a legislator was found wearing false nails, measuring at least six inches!!!!!! Many others opted for maxis and false eyelashes.

CONTROLLING PERSONAL ANIMOSITIES IN PUBLIC:

Media revels on "cat fights". Nothing can be more fatal for a serious parliamentarian than to be depicted in public as one. Controlling emotions, respecting colleagues and differing gracefully on issues is a skill, which must be perfected. Sarcastic and personal remarks must be avoided at any cost.

Example:

The two senior women parliamentarians, leveling personal allegations in a TV talk show or a three-column picture of women parliamentarian, locked in a "fist-battle" can have a very negative impact about women as politicians.

BUILDING RELATIONSHIPS WITH MEDIA THROUGH DIGNIFIED PUBLIC RELATIONS EXERCISES:

Working relationships always pay. Cultivating media personnel but with dignity and self-respect is essential to ensure the transmission of the right message at the right time. Personal rapport with women journalists can prove beneficial.

Example:

Women journalists from the platform of South Asian Women Journalists (SWAM) and Women Journalists Associations have remained sympathetic towards the issues and problems of women journalists. Many women journalists have been seen on the forefront to highlight women's issues and hence are natural allies of women parliamentarians.

EFFECTIVENESS OF MEDIA ENGAGEMENTS

Media engagement symbolizes a useful synchronicity between the public and its representatives. But this is to be ensured that along with clear objectives of media engagement, there should be effective sustainability of that engagement as well. Some politicians are naturally charismatic and are popular in the public. People love to follow them but not every politician has this gift. But there are ways and means of dealing with these lacunas.

To come out as a political leader, it is an imperative that one is seen sharing the concerns of the people and the locality. For people to know that their leaders share their concerns, mapping lines of communication would help to be in position where one can articulate one's interests more effectively. By adopting innovative and courageous new media practices, women politicians can set themselves apart from the rest. New media is an opportunity for women politicians to set the example and become leaders in this approach.

Women in Social Media- Synergies and Techniques of Social Media Engagement for Women Parliamentarians

POLITICS AND SOCIAL MEDIA – THE NEWLY WED COUPLE

With the changing demographics and technological interventions, the world around us is not just a global village but an intricate inter-connected “web” as well. One primary reason for this connectivity is attributed to the rise of the age of social media. Numerous social media sites have gained popularity in recent years; where they are growing steadily with increased frequency of usage by general public. No wonder, the political nuisance of this “New Media” has also gained currency as Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, YouTube besides others have become credible tools of “new propaganda machinery”. The use of social media in today’s politics is critical for varied reasons. As millions of people are involved with social networks daily, it is an opportunity for the politicians to be in touch with large numbers of voters quickly, constantly and at a lower cost.

This constant connectivity and freedom of expression also contribute to the establishment of openness in the society. Along with media, social media has also been termed as a hallmark of a healthy democracy, as it ensures the free and frank participation of citizens in the political process and by providing a platform through which people can communicate about, and with governments, parliaments and judiciary without any fear. This dynamic exchange of information and ideas is contributing towards a healthier and more participative democracy.

ADVANTAGES OF SOCIAL MEDIA ENGAGEMENT FOR WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS

- Social media has come out as a blessing and a boon for women politicians.
- Having faced mobility restrictions for ages, the entire world has suddenly come to their fingertips. They have a direct, free, easy and prompt access to each and every individual electorate.
- Besides, unlike traditional media, where women are marginalized and materialized, there are no entry barriers in social media.

Key Facts

- 32.7% of total world population is internet user.
- 44.8% of total internet users are Asians.
- China stands at first, India third and Pakistan twentieth among world’s top 20 internet user states.
- 15.5 % of total population of Pakistan is internet user.
- Facebook is the most visited Internet site in Pakistan with more than 6 million users

51% of 6 million Facebook users belong to 18-24 years of age group.

- The various social media platforms have become enabling tools for women to overcome the barriers faced by them.
- They can establish virtual connectivity complementing their physical appearances and can communicate directly with the electorates.
- The women candidates are now able to

Opportunities Provided by Social Media to Women:

- Easy network with other women
- Create online presence, which build confidence
- Appeal to other women and peers through styles and issues that are directly relevant and attractive
- Provide alternative power bases, which might be of interest to mainstream politicians

establish a web presence and gain public visibility which, whilst not necessarily mean achieving an advantage over their male competitors, but they could at least claim an even playground.

- With the increasing digital population of the country, the social media engagement also provides a chance to women politicians to bridge the digital divide between the traditional politics and the new generation.
- The advantages of the web-based forms of political communication, especially social media forms, also include having much more control over their own messages and making informed strategies for their campaigns. This works particularly well for women because this empowers them to get over their unelected or junior status in the political parties.
- Another great advantage of the social media presence is that in addition to sending information out to potential voters, the adoption of social media by the politicians have made them come out as very proactive. They have now become part of the mediated lives of their voters, proactively arriving in their Facebook news streams and Twitter feeds without their needing to actively seek them out. For women politicians, who have less brand recognition, this is a considerable opportunity. This proactive engagement also builds a positive reputation of the politicians and fosters a much more interactive relationship between candidates and voter.

A WORD OF CAUTION; IT'S A DANGEROUS JUNGLE OUT THERE...

With all its merits, Social Media has its disadvantages as well. A vast jungle of the “unknown”, it runs the risk of:

- Unleashing faceless smearing slurs
- Spread of misleading and false propaganda
- Defamation Campaigns

STANDARDS OF EFFECTIVE SOCIAL MEDIA ENGAGEMENT

As it stands, the social media is ripe with opportunities for politicians and parliamentarians alike to connect with voters. This engagement can foster transparency and even spar with opponents in the same ways as the traditional media allows. To make it more effective and

useful some standards have to be maintained. Maintaining standards in the following factors would contribute to a useful social media engagement:

1. Persona

Like traditional media, the social media fosters on the personality appearance. Although it gives you more control of how you want to depict your persona and connect to the masses, it also gives the public the chance to be more critical and more vocal about their likes and dislikes. Women parliamentarians especially have to be careful while maintaining their social media engagements. Unlike traditional media, it is not a one-time affair of a program or a morning show, social media means being a part of the day to day life of your voters. What kind of quotations you post; which pictures you share and how you respond to certain news becomes critical in shaping the perception the potential voter will carve for you. **In a conservative society like Pakistan, where women have just started gaining back their voice, a balance has to be maintained between how openly you want to engage with your voters and still come out as a decent and serious politician.**

2. Language and Communication Strategy

Language being the most important element of any engagement also has a strong influence on relation between citizens and politician. **What physical appearance, dressing and make up is to the traditional media, language is to the social media.** Confusion and misinterpretation can cloud a political message as it passes from politician to public by use of inappropriate language. The appropriate language is such that it presents the message loud

It seems like there is a dawn of **twitter politics** with:

- Short message
- Shallow impact
- Rapid communications

and clear. Also, it should be within the context of the target audience. For an effective communication strategy at social media forums, the following key points come in handy for women politicians:

- Know what the main objectives are and how to measure if these have been achieved (e.g. number of followers, response to posts, supportive comments, 'likes');
- Examine the activities of 'competitors' to identify the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats for their own online 'presence';
- Identify who is the audience, in particular who is currently listening/reading them and which new audiences they would like to attract;
- Seek to understand how the current 'brand' or image is currently seen by the public and compare this to the image that the communicator wishes to have;
- Understand which are the main platforms for finding an 'audience' (e.g. are they mainly on Facebook or Twitter or another platform?).

The choice of words should be simpler and understandable by a wide set of audience. Social media could provide the politicians with instant responses from the public, which can eventually help them in re-strategizing and devising their next move. To ensure accountability to the general public, social media can be utilized to explain and justify the undertaken actions. This would help foster the kind of civil, rational discourse that has been missing from mainstream politics for a long time.

3. Engagement

Proactive engagement with the citizens is the key to successful utilization of social media tools. Unlike traditional website, social networking sites are not just meant for advertising but to maximize

the engagement. The politicians have a chance to speak and listen to people in a way which makes them feel connected and part of the political discourse. Facebook page or a Twitter handle made and forgotten is an opportunity lost. The only way social media sites will work to the advantage of politicians is through sustainable engagement. They will need to post new stories, connect with new people, answer questions and get engaged. Seeing a candidate on TV creates distance between the viewer and the politician but reading a message in one's Twitter or Facebook stream, amongst posts from friends and colleagues, creates a level of intimacy that is distinct from other media.

4. Reciprocity

The to and fro engagement at the social media gives an illusion of reciprocity which is seen as an honest signal and is considered as one of the foundations of social trust. To be a successful politician, it is important to be considered honest and someone who is able to reciprocate to the electorate's feelings, developing a strong social connection. To work well in this regard, the politicians or their social media managers must have a substantive understanding of the structure of virtual and real social networks as its effectiveness depends on accurate dissemination targeting. Due to the free flow of information, maintaining an honest voice is even more important than in traditional media.

5. Consistency

As much as social media is hailed as the "in-thing" and the "way forward" for politicians and political campaigns, it has to be kept in mind that it is not a stand-alone thing. Social Media

campaigning should act as an additive to the overall ground activities: Seminars, rallies, political events and traditional media; and there should be a consistency across all mediums to reinforce the political message. To successfully utilize social networking sites the social media presence of the politicians should be integrated with their overall campaign communications, which means:

- The color schemes should match as much as possible
- The voice and tone should be consistent, and
- The campaign message must remain constant across all mediums.

In short, social media strategy needs to be part of an overall campaign plan, and must fit within that plan as part of the complete picture of the political engagement.

THE BOTTOM LINE

The recent times have seen effective usage of social media in organizing resistance and planning campaigns. The Arab Spring, the Egypt Revolution, the Twitter crisis of Turkey and UK riots are some of the

50 % of the registered Pakistani voters are between 18 to 35 years of age and it would be a political suicide for parties and politicians to ignore the fact that this segment of population uses the Internet and social media the most...

recent examples. It is well known that Social Media had a great role in US Presidential elections and Nicolas Sarkozy and François Hollande too, used social media very effectively in French Presidential elections. Surprisingly, it really played a very important role in helping Hollande to win presidential elections.

During the 2013 elections, the political parties in Pakistan also made effective use of the importance of social media engagement with the voters. The election results amply demonstrated that Social Media has introduced new practices in the political paradigm.

CONCLUSION:

Media is political lifeline. It's the art, which has to be mastered. Image building is a tightrope walk. A slight misadventure can cost carriers. Women politicians have to extra conscious in devising their media strategies. Social media is as much an opportunity as it's threat. Use cautiously but smartly.

AFTER READING THIS CHAPTER...

The reader is able to fully understand:

- Communication, the known model and its importance in political discourse.
- The relation of Media with communication and its pivotal role
- Media challenges and concerning synergies
- Rise, spread and strategic position of Social Media
- Advantages and Disadvantages of Social media
- Women politicians and Social Media
- Synergies to create effective Social Media presence

Annexure

- Annex A: Women's Suffrage Timeline
- Annex B: Facts and Figures: Leadership and Political Participation; Women in parliaments
- Annex C: Salient Intentional Conventions and Convents on Women's political participation
- Annex D: Gender Budgeting
- Annex E: Bills Passed by the 13th National Assembly during 2008-13, Concerning Women and Children
- Annex F: Rule 30 & 31 of the Rules of Procedure & Conduct of Business in National Assembly, 2007

Annex-A

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE TIMELINE

Unless otherwise indicated, the date signifies the year women were granted the right both to vote and to stand for election. The countries listed below currently have a Parliament or have had one at some point in their history.

1788	United States of America (to stand for election)
1893	New Zealand (to vote)
1902	Australia*
1906	Finland
1907	Norway (to stand for election)*
1913	Norway**
1915	Denmark, Iceland
1917	Canada (to vote)*, Netherlands (to stand for election)
1918	Austria, Canada (to vote)*, Estonia, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, Ireland*, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Poland, Russian Federation, United Kingdom*
1919	Belarus, Belgium (to vote)*, Luxembourg, Netherlands (to vote), New Zealand (to stand for election), Sweden*, Ukraine
1920	Albania, Canada (to stand for election)*, Czech Republic, Slovakia, United States of America (to vote)
1921	Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belgium (to stand for election)*, Georgia, Lithuania, Sweden**
1924	Kazakhstan, Mongolia, Saint Lucia, Tajikistan
1927	Turkmenistan, India
1928	Ireland**, United Kingdom**
1929	Ecuador*, Romania*
1930	South Africa (Whites), Turkey (to vote)
1931	Chile*, Portugal*, Spain, Sri Lanka
1932	Maldives, Thailand, Uruguay
1934	Brazil, Cuba, Portugal*, Turkey (to stand for election)
1935	Myanmar (to vote)
1937	Philippines
1938	Bolivia*, Uzbekistan
1939	El Salvador (to vote)

1941	Panama*
1942	Dominican Republic
1944	Bulgaria, France, Jamaica
1945	Croatia, Guyana (to stand for election), Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Senegal, Slovenia, Togo
1946	Cameroon, D.P.R. of Korea, Djibouti (to vote), Guatemala, Liberia, Myanmar (to stand for election), Panama**, Romania**, The F.Y.R. of Macedonia, Trinidad and Tobago, Venezuela, Vietnam, Yugoslavia
1947	Argentina, Japan, Malta, Mexico (to vote), Pakistan, Singapore
1948	Belgium**, Israel, Niger, Republic of Korea, Seychelles, Suriname
1949	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Chile**, China, Costa Rica, Syrian Arab Republic (to vote)
1950	Barbados, Canada (to vote)***, Haiti,
1951	Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, Grenada, Nepal, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines
1952	Bolivia**, Côte d'Ivoire, Greece, Lebanon
1953	Bhutan, Guyana (to vote), Mexico (to stand for election), Syrian Arab Republic**
1954	Belize, Colombia, Ghana
1955	Cambodia, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru
1956	Benin, Comoros, Egypt, Gabon, Mali, Mauritius, Somalia
1957	Malaysia, Zimbabwe (to vote)**
1958	Burkina Faso, Chad, Guinea, Lao P.D.R., Nigeria (South)
1959	Madagascar, San Marino (to vote), Tunisia, United Republic of Tanzania
1960	Canada (to stand for election)***, Cyprus, Gambia, Tonga
1961	Bahamas*, Burundi, El Salvador (to stand for election), Malawi, Mauritania, Paraguay, Rwanda, Sierra Leone
1962	Algeria, Australia**, Monaco, Uganda, Zambia
1963	Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Kenya, Morocco, Papua New Guinea (to stand for election)
1964	Bahamas**, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Papua New Guinea (to vote), Sudan
1965	Afghanistan, Botswana, Lesotho
1967	Democratic Republic of the Congo (to vote), Ecuador**, Kiribati, Tuvalu, Yemen (D.P.R.)
1968	Nauru, Swaziland
1970	Andorra (to vote), Democratic Republic of the Congo (to stand for election), Yemen (Arab Republic)

1971	Switzerland
1972	Bangladesh
1973	Andorra (to stand for election), Bahrain, San Marino (to stand for election)
1974	Jordan, Solomon Islands
1975	Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Vanuatu
1976	Portugal**
1977	Guinea Bissau
1978	Nigeria (North), Republic of Moldova, Zimbabwe (to stand for election)
1979	Marshall Islands, Micronesia (Fed. States), Palau
1980	Iraq, Vanuatu
1984	Liechtenstein, South Africa (Coloreds and Indians)
1986	Central African Republic, Djibouti (to stand for election)
1989	Namibia
1990	Samoa
1993	Kazakhstan, Republic of Moldova
1994	South Africa (Blacks)
2005	Kuwait
2006	United Arab Emirates***

In Saudi Arabia, men were granted the right to vote for the first time in 2005, but women were explicitly denied the right of suffrage.

Reference to several dates for one country reflects the stages in the granting of rights.

* Right subject to conditions or restrictions

** Restrictions or conditions lifted

***UAE held their first elections for both men and women in Mid-December 2006. However, they may only vote for 20 seats in the UAE Federal National Council which serves only an advisory purpose. No elected officials have actual political power. Ranking government officials are appointed.

Data from the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

Annex-B

FACTS AND FIGURES: LEADERSHIP AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION WOMEN IN PARLIAMENTS

- Only 20.9 per cent of national parliamentarians were female as of 1 July 2013, a slow increase from 11.6 per cent in 1995 [1].
- As of June 2013, 8 women served as Head of State and 13 served as Head of Government. [2].
- Rwanda had the highest number of women parliamentarians worldwide. Women there have won 56.3 per cent of seats in the lower house [3].
- Globally, there are 37 States in which women account for less than 10 per cent of parliamentarians in single or lower houses, as of July 2013 [4].

ACROSS REGIONS

- Wide variations remain in the average percentages of women parliamentarians in each region, across single, and lower and upper houses. As of 1 July 2013, these were: Sub-Saharan Africa, 20.9 per cent; the Middle East and North Africa, 13.8 per cent; Asia, 18.3 per cent; Pacific, 15.4 per cent; Americas, 24.8 per cent; Nordic countries, 42 per cent; and Europe excluding Nordic countries, 22.7 per cent [5].

OTHER DOMAINS OF GOVERNMENT

- As of January 2012, only 17 per cent of government ministers were women, with the majority overseeing social sectors, such as education and health [6].
- Women's representation in local governments has made a difference. Research on panchayats (local councils) in India discovered that the number of drinking water projects in areas with female-led councils was 62 per cent higher than in those with male-led councils. In Norway, a direct causal relationship between the presence of women in municipal councils and childcare coverage was found [7].

EXPANDING PARTICIPATION

- 30 per cent is widely considered the "critical mass" mark for women's representation. As of July 2013, 35 countries, including 9 in Africa, had obtained this benchmark [8]. Out of the 35 countries, 29 had applied some form of quotas opening space for women's political participation [9].
- In countries with proportional electoral systems, women hold 24.6 per cent of the seats. This compares with 18.5 per cent using the plurality-majority electoral system, and 21.5 per cent using a mixed system [10].
- More women in politics does not correlate with lower levels of corruption, as is often assumed. Rather, democratic and transparent politics is correlated with low levels of corruption, and the two create an enabling environment for more women to participate [11].

NOTES

- [1] Inter-Parliamentary Union, July 2013, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>.
- [2] UN Women, checked monthly against updates from the United Nations.
- [3] Inter-Parliamentary Union, May 2012, World classification.
- [4] Inter-Parliamentary Union, July 2013, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>.
- [5] Inter-Parliamentary Union, May 2012, World average.
- [6] Inter-Parliamentary Union, January 2012, "Women in Politics: 2012."
- [7] R. Chattopadhyay and E. Duflo, 2004, "Women as Policy Makers: Evidence from a Randomized Policy Experiment in India," *Econometrica* 72(5), pp. 1409-1443; K. A. Bratton and L. P. Ray, 2002, "Descriptive Representation: Policy Outcomes and Municipal Day-Care Coverage in Norway," *American Journal of Political Science*, 46(2), pp. 428-437.
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- [10] Ibid.
- [11] UN Development Fund for Women, 2008, *Progress of the World's Women 2008/2009: Who Answers to Women?*, New York.

Annex-C

SALIENT INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS AND COVENANTS, SEEKING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL AND LEGISLATIVE PROCESSES

- 1. CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN (CEDAW)**
 - 1.1. Article 7: According to the Article 7 of the CEDAW, the State Parties are responsible to eliminate all kind of discriminations against women and to ensure the equality of men and women in the political and public life. Article 7(a) of the CEDAW ensures women's right to vote in all elections and public referenda and eligibility for election to all publically elected bodies. Participation in the formulation of government policy and its implementation and to hold public office along with the performance in all public functions at all levels of government is ensured in Article 7(b), while in Article 7(c), the State Parties must ensure the women's participation in non-governmental organizations and associations, which are concerned with the public and political life of the country.
 - 1.2. Article 8: Article 8 of the CEDAW stresses on the provision of equal opportunity to women with men, to represent their Government on international level and participate in the work of international organizations (UNWOMEN).
- 2. CONVENTION ON THE POLITICAL RIGHTS OF WOMEN (CPRW)**
 - 2.1. As clear from it name, CPRW recognizes men and women to equally take part in the government of the country; either directly or through their chosen representative. Both men and women have the right to equal access to the public services in the country in order to equalize the status of men and women in the enjoyment and exercise of political rights.
 - 2.2. According to the Article 1, Article 2 and Article 3, the State Parties must provide voting rights in all elections; State Parties shall ensure women eligibility for election to all publicly elected bodies established by national law; and also the entitlement of women to hold public office and to exercise all public functions; respectively, established by national law, on equal terms with men, without any discrimination (Convention on the Political Rights of Women).
- 3. INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS (ICCPR)**
 - 3.1. According to the ICCPR, the State Parties recognize the inherent dignity and equal rights of all human family, which is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world, and that these rights derive from the inherent dignity of the human person. Thus the ideal situations of free human beings enjoying civil and political freedom and freedom from fear and want is the responsibility of the State Parties to be created. It is the responsibility of the State Parties to provide all the human rights to its citizens to the present Covenant, eliminating all kind of discriminations on the basis of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.
 - 3.2. In the Article 3, the State Parties are responsible to provide equal rights to men and women in order to avail all the civil and political rights, as set forth in the present Covenant.

- 3.3. Without any kind of discrimination on the basis of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status, in Article 25(a); 25(b); and 25(c); State Parties shall make sure that every citizen takes part in the conduct of Public affairs, either directly or through freely chosen representatives; vote and to be elected in the genuine periodic elections with the universal and equal suffrage; and have access to the public services in the country on the basis of equality, respectively (United Nations Human Rights).

4. UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS (UDHR)

In order to provide equal political rights, According to Article 25 of the UDHR, State Parties shall ensure the participation of everyone in the government of his country on equal basis, either directly or through freely chosen representatives. It is also the responsibility of the State Parties to provide an equal access to the public services to all the citizens, and also to provide equal opportunity to all citizens to vote in accordance with the universal and equal suffrage (The Universal Declaration of Human Rights).

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Annex-D

GENDER BUDGETING

DEFINITION:

- "Gender Budgeting is an application of gender mainstreaming in the budgetary process. It means a gender-based assessment of budgets, incorporating a gender perspective at all levels of the budgetary process and restructuring revenues and expenditures in order to promote gender equality."⁷⁶
- The term "Gender responsive budgeting", "Gender Budgets", "Women's budgets" and "Budget statements for women" refer to:

"A great variety of processes and tools which aim to enable impact evaluation of government budgets in gender terms. During the evolution of these processes, efforts have been focused on auditing government budgets in order to determine its impacts on women and girls differentiated from men and boys. In these appraisals not only expenditure (including transfers such as pensions, family benefits, etc.) is covered, but also income or revenue of government."⁷⁷

THE UNWOMEN DEFINES "GENDER BUDGETING" AS:

Gender-responsive budgeting (GRB) is government planning, programming and budgeting that contributes to the advancement of gender equality and the fulfillment of women's rights. It entails identifying and reflecting needed interventions to address gender gaps in sector and local government policies, plans and budgets. GRB also aims to analyze the gender-differentiated impact of revenue-raising policies and the allocation of domestic resources and Official Development Assistance.

GRB initiatives seek to create enabling policy frameworks, build capacity and strengthen monitoring mechanisms to support accountability to women. This website provides governments, non-governmental organizations, parliaments and academics with resources for understanding and applying GRB.

⁷⁶ Council of Europe's Steering Committee for Equality between Women and Men (CDEG)

⁷⁷ Source: Inter Parliamentary Union

EXAMPLES OF INITIATIVES TAKEN BY DIFFERENT COUNTRIES REGARDING GENDER BUDGETING

Canada	In 1993, the Canadian branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom developed a women's budget in celebration of the League's 75th anniversary. The publication is based on five principles, all of which have a clear link with war, military and defense.
Spain	A study was undertaken in the Basque Country by the Basque Women's Institute in 2001. It showed the lack of gender-disaggregated statistics and led to a number of recommendations. The Cordoba provincial authorities have recently launched a similar study.
Finland	After noticing the fact that most small firms are managed by women and that tripartite negotiations had favored big businesses, a network of women members of parliament launched a number of initiatives to <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensure that more account would be taken of the needs and interests of small enterprises • Promote the adoption in the state budget of a special micro-loans programme for women entrepreneurs.
Norway	An initiative to introduce a gender perspective in the state budget was taken in 2002 in Norway. The Ministry of Children and Family Affairs of Norway was the first to make gender equality a cross-sectorial concern to be addressed in all of the ministry's activities.
Lithuania	A pilot project was introduced in Lithuania on gender budgeting in the health care sector, which led to the adoption of an action plan. The pilot project showed, for example, that women received 1.8 times more resources for cancer prevention than men, while men received 6.7 times more resources for programmes of addiction prevention.
United Kingdom	A Women's Budget Group in UK has conducted a gender-based analysis of the budgets of the New Deal programmes for the unemployed. The statistics show a strong imbalance, to women's disadvantage, in the distribution of funding.
Sweden	The Swedish government adopted the concept of gender mainstreaming in the nineties, and all ministers are responsible for guaranteeing gender quality in their respective policy fields. In April 2004, the Swedish Government adopted an action plan on gender mainstreaming in government services 2004-2009, which puts special emphasis on gender budgeting.
Switzerland	On the local level, a number of very interesting and successful gender budgeting projects have been implemented in Basel (Switzerland). The Basel project concluded that: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More unpaid hours of work were worked than paid hours of work • Women worked more than men (when both paid and unpaid work were taken into consideration).

Poland	<p>A project similar to Basel was implemented in Gdańsk (Poland). The Gdańsk project highlighted:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The lack of programmes for senior citizens (both women and men) • The unequal treatment of women and men on the labor market • Low rate of professional activation of women
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ROLE OF PARLIAMENTARIANS IN INTRODUCING GENDER RESPONSIVE BUDGETS

1. Conduct Independent Analysis of the Budget	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parliamentarians should analyze the budget independently. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Gain detailed knowledge of the budget and its implications to make informed changes to budgets, including knowledge of its gender impact. • Built up and strengthen capacity in research including trained staff in gender and other appropriate resources such as sex disaggregated data within the parliament.
2. Enhance knowledge and capacity to understand Budgetary Issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Members of parliament should be concerned about their own knowledge and capacity to understand economic issues in general and budgetary issues in particular. • They can get training facilities from a number of civil society groups and research institutes as well as international organizations to empower themselves on this issue.
3. Scrutinize information on the basis of which budget is prepared and presented	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gain access to the information on the basis of which the budget is prepared and presented by the executive. • Scrutinize the fundamental pieces of information on which budgetary decisions should be made. • Collaborate with the oversight commissions and gain updated record of communication that is done by the commissions with the audit office
4. Actively utilize the oversight role of Legislative committees to analyze the Budget	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legislative committees should be given the legal and other means to carry out their work properly. • In the case of the budget, other financial committees should also be set up which can include one on gender and budgetary policy. • Other possibilities are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To introduce public hearings, ▪ Increasing the support staff for the analysis ▪ Expanding committee time for discussion in relation to floor debate
5. Introduce reforms to the budget process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parliamentarians should introduce reforms to the budget process depending on present state of development in each

		<p>country. This includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The timing in which the budget is to be presented and approved ▪ The information that is to come with it (including of course gender impact) ▪ Expanding committees ▪ Strengthening resources
<p>6.</p>	<p>Institutionalizing the practice of gender responsive budgeting</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parliamentarians should take steps to institutionalize the practice of gender responsive budgeting. • The efforts should not be a one-off or depend on the sympathy of a few willing Parliamentarians. • Formal structures across and work with other committees, such as women's rights or equal opportunities must be put into place and given the proper elements to become an every-day part of parliamentary work.

Box 2: The Budget Act 2000 of French Parliament

According to The Budget Act for 2000, the French Parliament established the obligation on government to submit an annex to the draft Budget Act presenting the moneys earmarked to promote gender equality and those that are specifically dedicated to addressing women's needs. This parliamentary initiative presents a detailed identification and catalogue by each ministerial department and the actions they have taken to foster gender equality or to heighten awareness in addition to programmes specifically targeting various categories of women.

Box 3: Why should Parliamentarians be involved?

The Parliament is a body that has the obligation to control or check the government and to approve legislation that can affect the budget process at the same time that it is obliged to legislate around the issues of gender equality.

Although external pressures may also cap or limit budgetary indicators, Parliament has the obligation to discuss about the legality of the issues being adopted and to warn of possible violation of rights of citizens, in particular of women that can occur.

Approval of budgets by parliamentary bodies is required in most countries although the scope that parliamentarians have in changing any part of the budget through political accords or other means can be more limited depending on the composition of the Parliament and relative power of the committees dealing with these issues (oversight, budget, fiscal, economic policy).

It is thus important to keep in mind that the ultimate step toward adopting Gender Responsive Budgeting as a common tool within the budgeting process is limited by technical aspects (gender analysis with proper analytical frameworks and data) as well as by political ones.



Recommendations for Systematic Gender Mainstreaming of Pro-grammes & Policies Implemented by Provincial Bodies and Institutions

Employee Training	Provincial bodies and institutions should provide training for the employees of provincial bodies and institutions on gender mainstreaming, gender analysis and gender budgeting.
Incorporation of the objective of Gender equality in provincial policies	The objective of achieving gender equality should be included in the objectives of the programmes and policies of all provincial bodies and institutions, so that their implementation contributes to achieving gender equality.
Consideration of Gender statistics while creating programmes	All the available information on women and men relevant for the programme areas should be used when creating programmes and planning activities, so that programmes and policies, as well as the means used for their realization, are responsive to the social status and the needs of women and men, thus contributing to decreasing existing gender inequalities.
Evaluation of the potential impacts of various programs on women and men	The impact on women and men in the relevant areas should be evaluated when creating programmes and policies.
Establishment of Gender-sensitive indicators	Gender-sensitive indicators should be established with which to evaluate the success of the realized programmes, and on the basis of which data on programme beneficiaries will be collected
Regular Record keeping	Regular record should be kept of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The proportion of women and men among programme beneficiaries, • The division of resources provided by the programme among women and men should be kept by the provincial bodies
Assurance of gender equality through Proper monitoring by provincial bodies	Monitoring the implementation of policies and programmes should be a regular activity of the provincial bodies and institutions, in order to ensure that the programmes and policies realized contribute to achieving gender equality
Dialogue between the relevant actors at national, provincial, and especially local level	A dialogue of all the relevant actors at national, provincial, and especially local level should be organized for the purpose of ensuring favorable conditions and creating a favorable environment to contribute to the economic empowerment of women, and especially women from vulnerable groups.
Implementation of measures aiming to change traditional gender roles	Measures aiming to change traditional gender roles of women and men should be implemented, which represent obstacles to the full participation of women in all the spheres of social life, especially in the labor market, as well as special measures aimed at reconciling professional and family life.

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- *United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)*
- *Council of Europe: Report on Gender Budgeting and The Role of Parliament*
- *UNDP Budgeting to Reduce Poverty and Achieve the MDGs: Gender-Sensitive Budgeting*
- *Study on GRB initiatives in Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, United Kingdom and France*
- *Doc. 1076: Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men of Parliamentary Assembly, Council of Europe*

Annex-E

BILLS PASSED BY THE 13TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DURING 2008-13, CONCERNING WOMEN AND CHILDREN

2012-2013:

1. The Reproductive Healthcare and Rights Bill, 2013
2. The My University Bill, 2013
3. The right to free and compulsory Education Bill, 2012

2011-2012:

4. The National Commission on the Status of Women Bill, 2012
5. Shifa Tameer-e-Millat University Bill, 2011
6. The Delimitation of Constituencies (Amendment) Bill, 2011
7. The National Commission for Human Rights Bill, 2011
8. The Acid Crimes (Criminal Law Second Amendment) Bill, 2011
9. The Prevention of Anti-Women Practices (Criminal Law Third Amendment) Bill, 2011
10. National University of Modern Languages (Amendment) Bill, 2011
11. The National Vocational and Technical Training Commission Bill, 2011
12. The General Statistics (Reorganization) Bill, 2011

2010-2011

13. The Women in Distress and Detention Fund (Amendment) Bill, 2011
14. The Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 2010
15. The National Defence University Bill, 2009
16. The Benazir Income Support Programme Bill, 2010
17. The Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Bill, 2010

2008-2009-2010

18. The Institute of Space Technology Bill, 2009
19. The Protection Against Harassment of Women at the Workplace Bill, 2010
20. The Pakistan Institute of Development Economics Bill, 2009
21. The Public Defender and Legal Aid Office Bill, 2009
22. The Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 2009
23. The Guardians and Wards (Amendment) Bill, 2008
24. The Pakistan Institute of Fashion and Design Bill, 2009
25. The Family Courts (Amendment) Bill, 2008
26. The NFC Institute of Engineering and Technology Multan Bill, 2009
27. Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Bill, 2009

Annex-F

RULE 30 & 31 OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE & CONDUCT OF BUSINESS IN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, 2007

30. CONDUCT OF MEMBERS WHILE PRESENT IN THE ASSEMBLY.-

While the Assembly is sitting, a member -

- (a) shall not read any book, newspaper or letter except in connection with business of the Assembly;
- (b) shall not pass between the Chair and any member who is speaking;
- (c) shall not interrupt any member while speaking by disorderly expression or noises or in any other disorderly manner;
- (d) shall always address the Chair;
- (e) shall keep to his usual seat while addressing the Assembly;
- (f) shall maintain silence when not speaking in the Assembly;
- (g) shall not obstruct proceedings and shall avoid making running commentaries when speeches are being made in the Assembly;
- (h) shall not chant slogans, display banners or placards, throw and tear Table documents and reports, etc.;
- (i) shall not indulge in rowdy behaviour;
- (j) shall not approach the dais of the Speaker in a threatening manner;
- (k) shall not act to erode the sanctity of the House or act in a manner which lowers the dignity of the House;
- (l) shall not act in any manner detrimental to the order and decorum of the House;
- (m) shall not applaud when a stranger enters any of the galleries except when a foreign delegation or a foreign dignitary is specially invited to the sitting;
- (n) shall not while speaking make any reference to a stranger in any of the galleries except when a foreign delegation or a foreign dignitary is specially invited to the sitting;
- (o) shall not occupy a seat in the galleries nor while in the Chamber engage himself in conversation with any visitor in a gallery;
- (p) shall not use a mobile telephone;
- (q) shall not chew or eat or drink or smoke; and
- (r) shall not bring any stick unless permitted by the Speaker.

31. CONDUCT TO BE OBSERVED WHILE SPEAKING.-

- (1) The subject matter of every speech shall be relevant to the matter before the Assembly.
- (2) Except with the permission of the speaker, a member may not read his speech but may refresh his memory by reference to his notes.
- (3) A member while speaking shall not -
 - (a) discuss any matter which is sub-judice;

- (b) reflect upon the President in his personal capacity: Provided that nothing in this clause shall preclude any reference, subject to the provisions of the Constitution, to the President in relation to any act done by him in his official capacity;
- (c) discuss the conduct of any Judge of the Supreme Court or of a High Court in the discharge of his duties; 13
- (d) make a personal charge against a member, Minister or the holder of a public office, except in so far as it may be relevant in regard to the matter before the Assembly;
- (e) use his right of speech for the purpose of wilfully and persistently obstructing the business of the Assembly;
- (f) use offensive expressions about the conduct of proceedings in the joint sitting, National Assembly, Senate or a Provincial Assembly or a Committee or Sub-Committee;
- (g) un-necessarily cast reflection on the conduct of any person who cannot defend himself before the Assembly;
- (h) reflect on any determination of the Assembly except on a rescission motion;
- (i) use the President's name for the purpose of influencing the debate; or
- (j) utter treasonable, seditious or defamatory words or make use of offensive or un-parliamentary expression.

Explanation.-In this clause, "un-parliamentary expression" means any expression which imputes false motives to a member or charges him with falsehood or is couched in abusive language.

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Syed Shamoan Hashmi holds an extensive and a varied background in both radio as well as television. He is also an acclaimed human rights activist with particular interest in gender related issues. In his capacity as the Joint Secretary of the Speaker's Chamber at the National Assembly of Pakistan, he was instrumental in the creation of an across-the-board, all-parties "Women Parliamentary Caucus" --- the first of its kind alliance of women legislators in the history of Pakistan. Apart from that, he's also on the visiting faculty of numerous institutions, including Govt. Kennard College Lahore, Beaconhouse University, National Institute of Cultural Studies etc., where he teaches Mass Communication and Liberal Arts at the post-graduate level.



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