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# **Women's Role in Pakistan's Provincial Legislature**

**The case of Punjab: 1947 - 1999**



**By**

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**National Institute of Pakistan Studies  
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**A thesis submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the degree of  
Master of Philosophy in Pakistan Studies**

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**2006**

**IN THE NAME OF  
ALMIGHTY ALLAH  
WHO IS KIND AND  
MERCIFUL**

## APPROVAL OF THE THESIS FOR SUBMISSION

I hereby recommend that this thesis prepared under my supervision by Miss Fakhra Javed Satti Entitled, "Women's Role in Pakistan's Provincial Legislature the case of Punjab 1947-1999" should be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Pakistan Studies.



**SUPERVISOR**

**DEDICATED**

**TO**

**My Mother whose prayers and  
My Father “Javed Akhter Nasir Advocate”  
Whose patience and endeavours provided the  
Impetus to fulfil this academic task**

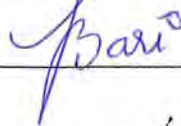
## CERTIFICATE

This thesis by **Fakhra Javed Satti** accepted in this present form by the National Institute of Pakistan Studies for the Degree of Master of Philosophy in Pakistan Studies.


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16. 4. 2007

## DECLARATION

I here declare that this thesis is the result of my individual research, and that it has not been submitted concurrently to any other university for any other degree.

*Fakhra*  
***Fakhra Javed Satti***

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**ABBREVIATIONS**

AIML	All India Muslim League
APWA	All-Pakistan Women's Association
BD	Basic Democracies
BPC	Basic Principles Committee
CAP	Constituent Assembly of Pakistan
COP	Combined Opposition Parties
IJI	Islami Jamhoori Ittihad
LFO	Legal Framework Order
MNA	Member of National Assembly
MPA	Member of Provincial Assembly
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
PAD	Punjab Assembly Debates
PPP	Pakistan Peoples Party
UN	United Nations

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:

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## CHAPTER NO. 1

### DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL STATUS

#### a. PRE – INDEPENDENCE PERIOD:

Before Independence, the parliament, or the central legislature, in the South Asian Subcontinent, developed as an institution in the second half of the nineteenth century. Under the Indian Councils Act of 1861, the Governor-General's Council was reconstituted for legislative purposes by the inclusion of 6-12 additional members, all selected by the Governor General. The Indians could now become members of the Council but they were nominated by the Governor General. About thirty years later, the British Government passed the India Councils Act of 1892, which introduced the principle of representation and elections. The Legislative Council was now expanded to 16 members, some of them were nominated and the others were elected on the recommendations of local bodies, municipalities corporations, universities, and chambers of commerce. Then, the Government of India Act of 1909 again increased the total strength of the Legislative Council to 60.<sup>1</sup> A major part of it was elected directly and the rest indirectly. In the case of direct elections, the franchise was restricted based on high property and educational qualifications. However, in some of the constituencies, the number of voters did not exceed 9-10. Even this franchise was extended only to the male population. The women were denied this right under the 1909 Act. There was hardly any protest at the time against this discrimination from any quarter.

By the time the Act of 1909 was due for review and new package of reforms was promised, a section of women had become conscious of the importance of constitutional reforms and sought to find a place for themselves under the proposed reforms. Numerous factors brought about this change in their outlook. Firstly, education among women contributed to his change

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<sup>1</sup> A.B. Keith, A Constitutional History of India, 1600-1935, Allahabad, 1961, PP. 228-30; Justice (Ret) Masud Ahmad, Pakistan: A Study of its Constitutional History, 1957-1975, Lahore, 1978, PP.1—4.

in their views and attitudes about their place in the society. Initially, various socio-economic elements had blocked the advancement of their education. The general seclusion of the Muslim female particularly the practice of Purdah (veil), the symbol of her identity in the Indian environment, had hindered the process of her education. Even before she wore the veil, it was considered improper for her to go out of the limits of her home.<sup>2</sup> The Muslims attitude toward female education and the general condition of the Muslim community persuaded even Muslim reformers like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to ignore female education. Sir Syed put all the emphasis on the education of Muslim male who provided sustenance to the family.<sup>3</sup> But his colleagues in the Muhammadan Educational Conference held different views on this issue. In the 1890's they began to promote female education. The Anjuman-i-Himayat-I Islam in the Punjab and other similar organizations in other regions established female educational institutions.<sup>4</sup> The progress of Muslim female education in general was very slow. In 1907, the number of Muslim girls in the Primary public schools was not more than 77, 244 and in private schools about 44, 455; the total came to 121,699. There was only one Muslim girl at the college level while in the secondary school, their number was less than 150.<sup>5</sup> Seventeen years later, the total number of literate Muslim women was 137,800, out of whom 3,940, or just 3 percent, had received modern education.<sup>6</sup> This small number of educated Muslim females gradually became conscious of their political rights. They believed that women's right to vote on the pattern of male franchise was a prerequisite for their emancipation and for the realization of their rights.

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<sup>2</sup> Ruth Francis Woodsmall, *Muslim Women Enter a New World*, New York, 1936, PP. 160-161.

<sup>3</sup> M.S. Baljon, *The Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, Lahore, 1964, P. 68.

<sup>4</sup> Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Women's Role in the Pakistan Movement*, Lahore, 1969, PP. 16-17.

<sup>5</sup> Rafiq Zakaria, *Rise of Muslims in Indian Politics: AN Analysis of Development form 1885 to 1906*, Bombay, 1970, P. 200.

<sup>6</sup> Cited in Khawar Mumtaz and Farida Shaheed, *Women of Paksitan: Two Steps Forward One Step Back*, Lahore, 1987, PP> 46-47.

Secondly, the political unrest before the First World War persuaded the two major political parties, the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League (AIML), to come closer to each other. This reconciliation culminated in the Congress-League Pact at Lucknow in 1916. One clause of this Pact suggested that the provincial legislatures should be elected directly by the people through as broad a franchise as possible.<sup>7</sup> Although women were not specifically mentioned but the phrase “as broad a franchise as possible” and the word “people” were interpreted to indicate that those who drafted the Pact did not intend to exclude the females from the electoral rolls. Lastly, the educated women in their struggle were influenced by the extension of franchise to the English females in 1909.<sup>8</sup>

During the First World War, various women organizations emerged that were involved in female welfare. Some of these organized a movement to secure the right to vote for women in the next constitutional reforms. The Indian Women’s Association, enrolling women of every complexion in its fold, was more active than the other organizations.<sup>9</sup> The women struggle entered a new phase after the announcement of August 20, 1917, by the Secretary of State, Edwin Montague that the ultimate object of the British Government was the establishment of responsible government in India.<sup>10</sup> When Montague visited India in connection with the proposed reforms, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu led a fourteen-member women delegation to represent women’s demands before him. There was only one Muslim woman in this delegation, the wife of Maulana Hasrat Mohani, the famous poet-politician.<sup>11</sup> In addition to other demands including the demand for more educational institutions for the females, the delegation asked for the right to vote for women in the future constitution. It demanded

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<sup>7</sup> Syed SHarifuddin Pirzada (ed.), *Foundations of Pakistan, All-India Muslim League Documents: 1906-1947*, Vol. 1, Karachi 1969, P. 392.

<sup>8</sup> P.N. Khera, “Civic Rights of Women in British India”, in Verinder Grover (ed.), *Indian Politics and Constitution-making*, New Delhi, 1990, PP. 493-94.

<sup>9</sup> Shahida Lateef, *Muslim Women in India: Political and Private Realities, 1890s to 1980s*, New Delhi, 1990, P. 83.

<sup>10</sup> ISr Reginald Coupland, *The Indian Problem, 1833-1935*, Oxford, 1945, P. 49.

<sup>11</sup> E.S. Montague, *An Indian Diary*, London, 1930, P. 5.



recognition of women as “people” at the time of drawing up suffrage and the same opportunities of representation in public life and services as were allowed to men. It was clarified that their demands were motivated by a desire to have equal opportunities with men to serve their country in different walks of life, and not to gain merely political rights for the females.<sup>12</sup>

The Secretary of State’s response to the demands of the delegation was sympathetic. The Congress and the AIML also came out in support of their demands.<sup>13</sup> However, when the Montague-Chelmsford Report was published, it made no mention about women’s franchise, although it did point out the obstacles in the way of female education.<sup>14</sup> The women were not discouraged by this rejection of their demands. When the Southborough Franchise Committee came to the Subcontinent to determine the issue of franchise, a women delegation represented the issue of female franchise before the Committee. The Franchise Committee did not recommend the extension of franchise to the female population. The reasons it gave its recommendations included that: (i) none of the local governments had advised the extension of franchise to women; (ii) It was not practicable to bring women to the polling stations during elements; and (iii) conservatism and the general social conditions, especially illiteracy, barred such a concession.<sup>15</sup>

The women were still undaunted. Led by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, they appeared before the Joint Parliamentary Committee to present their case. On hearing their representation, the Committee laid down certain general principles under which the women could acquire the right to vote. Final decision was left to the central and provisional legislatures.<sup>16</sup> Gradually, the provincial legislatures extended the franchise to the females. But the conditions of

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid, PP. 115-16.

<sup>13</sup> Khera, OP. Cit., P. 496.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, P. 497.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., PP. 497-98.

education and possession of property worked against the women's right to vote.<sup>17</sup> In six provinces, the proportion of female electorate was only 6 percent of the total adult female population. It meant that 1 out of 200, or only 0.50 percent., were enfranchised.<sup>18</sup> The rules framed under the 1919 Act had also barred women from membership of the legislatures. In 1923, the Reforms Enquiry Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Alexander Muddiaman, again examined the issue of female representation. The Muddiaman Committee, in its Report the following year, recommended that the electoral rules should be so changed as to empower the central and provincial legislatures to enable women to become members of the legislatures. Consequently, within four years, in seven out of the then nine provinces, women became eligible for membership of the provincial legislature. Subsequently, the central Legislative Assembly also removed the bar on women membership. However, they still could not become members of the Council of State.<sup>19</sup>

The Simon Commission thoroughly investigated the general condition of women in the Subcontinent. It praised the provincial legislatures for extending franchise to women. However, it pointed out the serious flaws in the conditions for franchise which the women could not fulfill. The Muslim women, who had the right to inherit property according to Islamic Law, were deprived of their due rights because of the application of Indian customary law to the Muslims. The customary law deprived even the educated Muslim women from the right to vote. Therefore, the Simon Commission recommended that the female suffrage should be the cardinal part of the franchise system. It suggested that the ratio of female franchise should be increased by prescribing special qualifications for them. It proposed the addition of two more provisions which laid down that: (i) a twenty-five year old wife of a person who fulfilled the property qualification be given the right to vote; and (ii) Similarly a widow of that age whose husband at the time of his death was so qualified should also have

<sup>17</sup> Parveen Shaukat Ali, *Status of Women In the Muslim World*, Lahore, 1975, P. 65.

<sup>18</sup> Khera, *Op. cit.*, P. 499.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, PP. 511-12.

the right to vote.<sup>20</sup> But the women did not like these special provisions because they were against any concessions that were not given to men. When these special provisions were referred to the provincial governments, the governments of Bengal, Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, opposed them on the ground that women themselves had not demanded such concessions; and if conceded, according to them, these would result in the enfranchisement of the "less educated and less responsible classes" of the female community. Their proposal was that the qualifications for women voters should be the same as those for men. The Simon Commission also opposed reservation of seats for women. It wanted the women to contest elections on general seats along with men in case they were not returned in sufficient numbers, the governor should take care of the deficiency at the time of nominations.<sup>21</sup> On female rights and issues, the Nehru Report was silent; it made a general observation, recommending absolute equality of rights for all citizens, irrespective of sex.

The issue of female franchise was also discussed at the Round Table Conferences. Two women, one Muslim (Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz) and the other Hindu (Mrs. Radha Bai Subbaroyan), were among the Indian delegates to these conferences. Later on, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu also joined them.<sup>22</sup> Three women organizations, the All-India Women's Conference, the Indian Women's Association and the National Council of Women, prepared a memorandum for the Conference. Prominent Muslim women like Lady (Anwari Begum) Abdul Qadir, Begum (Geeti Ara) Bashir Ahmad, Mrs. Hamid Ali, Begum Habibullah, Fatima Begum, Begum (Jahan Ara) Shahnawaz, Lady Hidayatullah, Mrs. Tayyabji and Begum Shamsun Nahar Mahmud participated in its preparation.<sup>23</sup> This memorandum demanded that (i) women should be granted immediately political equality by giving them full adult franchises; and (ii) there should be no reservation of seats, nomination or cooption whether

<sup>20</sup> Report of the Indian Statutory Commission (Simon Commission), London, 1930, Vol. II, PP. 93-94.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., PP. 78-79.

<sup>22</sup> Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter: A Political Autobiography*, Lahore, 1971, P. 106.

<sup>23</sup> Lateef, *Op. Cit.*, PP> 87-88.

by stature, convention or at the discretion of the provincial and central governments. They were against reservation of any kind because any such preferential treatment would violate their demand for equality of status with men. The third demand was that there should be no discrimination in the future either against or in favour of women. They also opposed any additional special qualification for women's right to vote, as recommended by the Simon Commission. They did so on the assumption that adult franchise would be extended to women as well as men. Mrs. Subbaroyan, who disagreed with some of these demands, submitted a separate memorandum to the Conference in which she advocated special provisions for the females because otherwise it would be impossible to enfranchise them.<sup>24</sup>

The three women delegates to the Round Table Conferences fought for the rights of women from the Conference platform. They generally supported the demands of the women's organizations. Mrs. Shahnawaz and Mrs. Subbaroyan served on the Franchise Committee appointed by the First Conference, which submitted its report in January 1931. This Committee observed that the number of women as compared to men was very low and any system based on such disparities could not lead to good government. Therefore, it recommended that special qualifications should be prescribed for women to increase their representation. After the Second Round Table Conference, another Committee, headed by Lord Lothian, investigated the issue of franchise. It also visited the Subcontinent. The three women organizations, mentioned earlier, reformulated the women's demands which they submitted in the form of a declaration to the Government of India and the Lothian Committee. They also released the declaration to the press. A deputation of women, which included two Muslim women (Mrs. Hamid Ali and Begum Habibullah), met the Lothian Committee to explain these demands.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Khera, Op. cit., PP. 506-7.

<sup>25</sup> Lateef, Op. Cit., PP. 88.

The Lothian Committee Report appeared in July 1932. It recommended that at least one-fifth of the voters should be women in any newly devised franchise formula in order to force the candidates to consider women's interest and opinions. It also proposed that property qualifications for women should be the same as for men. However, it suggested that mere literacy should be enough for women to have the right to vote. Lastly, it recommended the enfranchisement of wives and widows of husbands who were more than twenty-one years of age and who fulfilled the property qualifications. The Indian women generally opposed the Lothian Report because it went against their demands.<sup>26</sup> In 1933, the British Government published a White Paper which had provisions for female franchise. It laid down the condition that those women who were qualified in respect of their husband's property should file a formal application for registration. Additionally, it raised the educational requirements for women to have the right to vote.<sup>27</sup> The women were again disappointed. The three organizations, the All-India Women's Conference, the National Council of Women and the Indian Women's Association, drew up another memorandum for the Joint Select Committee and sent three representatives (Mrs. Hamid Ali, Begum Shahnawaz and Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi) to plead their case.<sup>28</sup> This time the representations of the women organizations had an impact. The Joint Select Committee, in its Report to the Parliament, recommended that in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, CP and Urban areas of UP, the application requirement be dispensed with in the case of women who qualified in respect of the husband's property. The Committee also recommended that in Bombay, UP, CP, Punjab and Assam, a literacy qualifications should be substituted in place of educational qualifications. The proposals of the Joint Select Committee were generally accepted by the Parliament and incorporated in the Government of India Act of 1935.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Khera, Op. cit., PP. 507-8.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Shahnawaz, Op. Cit. , P. 149.

<sup>29</sup> Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, London, 1934, PP, 73-76.

The 1935 Act for the first time reserved seats for women in the legislatures. In the Council of State, 6 out of 156 seats were reserved for women. These 6 seats were allocated for the provinces of Madras, Bengal, Bombay, UP, Punjab and Bihar; the male and female members of the respective provincial legislatures were to constitute the electoral college. Women of the remaining five provinces (Sind, NWFP, Orissa, Assam and CP) went unrepresented in the Council.<sup>30</sup> In the Central Legislative Assembly, 9 out of 250 seats were reserved for women. These 9 seats were distributed among seven provinces: Madras 2; Bombay 2; Bengal 1; UP 1; Punjab 1; Bihar 1; and CP 1. Here again four provinces (NWFP, Sind Assam and Orissa) went unrepresented. These 9 women were to be elected by an electoral college consisting of women members of their respective provincial legislature.<sup>31</sup>

Similarly, seats were reserved for women in the following provincial legislatures:<sup>32</sup>

	Women(General)	Women (Muslim)	Total
Madras	6	1	215
Bombay	5	1	175
Bengal	2	2	250
UP	4	2	228
Punjab	1	2	175
Bihar	3	1	152
CP	3	-	112
Assam	1	-	108
NWFP	-	-	50
Orissa	2	2	60
Sind	1	1	60

<sup>30</sup> Constitutional Documents (Pakistan), Vol. II, Karachi, 1964, P. 258.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., P. 259.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., P. 290.

In addition, the women could also contest elections from general constituencies.

The Act extended franchise to those women of 21 years of age (i) who possessed property in their own right; ; (ii) who were the wives of widows of men with property qualifications; (iii) who were the wives of men with military services; (iv) who were the pensioned widows and mothers of Indian officers, non-commissioned officers, soldiers or members of the regular force, or any British India Police Force; and (v) who had educational qualifications.<sup>33</sup>

Although Muslim women were active in other forums, they gained real political experience from the platform of the AIML. When Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah undertook the task of reorganization of the AIML, it was soon realized that women should be enrolled as party members. The AIML, in its Patna session in December 1938, adopted a special resolution which outlined the role of women in precise terms and recommended the establishment of the All India Muslim Women's Subcommittee. IT laid down that:

- I. Women subcommittees should be set up at provincial and district levels in every part of the Subcontinent;
- II. These subcommittees should increase the membership of the AIML;
- III. Women leaders were advised to accelerate propaganda and publicity of cultivate a greater sense of political awakening among Muslim women;
- IV. The AIML as the sole representative of the political aspiration of the Muslims had special responsibility to guide women in a manner that they could become equal partners in the social, economic and cultural uplift of the Muslim society as a whole.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. , PP. 307-8.

<sup>34</sup> Pirzada, Foundations of Pakistan, Vol. II, 1970, PP. 318-19.

For the first time, the AIML made an appeal to the Muslim women to organize themselves under its banner. The formation of the Muslim League central subcommittee and subsequently, the provincial and district subcommittees gradually infused consciousness among those Muslim women who till then had lived almost a secluded life.

The central subcommittee would hold its sessions separate from those of the AIML. Although it was formally formed in 1938, but it held its first annual session under the president-ship of Begum. (Amjadi Bano) Muhammad Ali on March 23, 1940. A large number of women leaders from all over the subcontinent participated in this session.<sup>35</sup> They contributed their share in the organization of the Lahore session of the AIML that adopted the Lahore (Pakistan) Resolution. The Muslim women within the AIML became a force recognized by the League leadership. They actively participated in the AIML election campaign and made their contribution in enabling many a League candidate win the elections. When the Muslim League organized civil disobedience movements in the two Muslim majority provinces, the Punjab and NWFP, against the policies of the non-League governments, they surprised everyone by playing a significant role in an area in which they had no experience. They organized demonstrations and courted arrests. Their sacrifices helped in making the AIML popular.

Under the Act of 1935, elections to the provincial legislatures were held twice, in 1937 and 1946. Some women were elected only once while others were returned in both the elections as in indicated in Tables A and B.

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<sup>35</sup> Mirza, Op. cit. , P. 42.



**TABLE A (1937 ELECTIONS)<sup>36</sup>**

Bengal	Mrs. Hasina Murshid; Begum Farhat Bano Khanum
Punjab	Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz; Begum Rashida Latif
Sind	Mrs. Jenubai G. Allana
Bombay	Begum Tayyabji Faizi
UP	Begum Habibullah; Begum Shahida Hasan
Madras	Begum Khadija Yaqub Husain

**TABLE B (1946 ELECTIONS)<sup>37</sup>**

Bengal	Begum Hasan Ara; Begum Anwar Khatoon
Punjab	Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz; Begum Salma Tassaduq Hasain
Sind	Mrs. Jenubai G. Allana
Bombay	Begum Khadija Shafi Tayyabji
UP	Begum (AMjadi Bano) Maulana Muhammad Ali; Begum Abdul Wajid
Madras	Begum Shahiba Sultan Mir Amiruddin
Bihar	Begum Zuhra

All these women members, except Begum Abdul Wajid who was a nationalist, belonged to the AIML. Five of them (Begum Hasan Ara , Begum Anwar Khatoon, Begum Tayyabji,

<sup>36</sup> Indian Annual Register, 1938, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1990, PP. 127, 145, 165, 177, 180 and 271.

<sup>37</sup> Abdul Waheed Qureshi (Comp.), Tarikhi Faisalaha, Isalambad, 1976, PP. 33, 41, 54, 64, 72, 88, 115 and 141.

Begum Muhammad Ali and Begum Amiruddin) were returned unopposed while others won by a wide margin of votes.

In the 1945 elections, no Muslim woman was elected to the central Legislative Assembly. However, when the Cabinet Mission Plan was announced and accepted by the political parties, elections were held to an Indian Constituent Assembly in July 1946; then, Muslim women contested elections to this Assembly. Three Muslim women, all belonging to the All India Muslim League, were elected members of the Constituent Assembly. They were Begum Shahnawaz from the Punjab, Begum Shaista Ikramullah from Bengal and Begum Aizaz Rasul from the UP. Later on, the former two became members of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.<sup>38</sup>

All the Muslim women elected to the Constituent Assembly and the provincial Assemblies belonged to well-known influential and educated families. All of them had received traditional as well as modern education. They had long experience of work for the social and political welfare of the Muslim women in their respective areas. Most of them were members of Muslim and non-communal social-political organizations like All India Muslim women's Conference, All India Women's Conference, the Indian Women's Association and the National Council of Women. The League members among them were active in various organs of its provincial and central organizations. They also actively participated in organizing and working the women's wing of the All India Muslim League. From the platform of the Muslim League they played an important role in the 1945-46 election campaign and in the movement for Pakistan.

Before independence, the central legislature, or the parliament, undertook legislation on issues relating to Muslim women such as child marriage, property rights, widow remarriage, divorce, etc. The Muslim women had most of these rights before the arrival of the

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<sup>38</sup> Indian Annual Register, 1946, Vol. II, PP. 320, 322 and 324.

British according to the Shariat, or the Islamic law, although these were more in theory than in practice. Due to close association of Muslims with the Hindus, they had assimilated many customs and practices of the Hindu majority. As a result, when the British took over power, they mixed Muslim law and the customs that the Muslims had adopted from the Hindus. Therefore, while making laws, the British were influenced by the Hindu religious law and assumed that the same position of customs was acceptable to the Muslims as well. This misperception led many provinces and states, including the Punjab, NWFP, Bombay (including Sind) and Kashmir, to make laws that deprived the Muslim women of their due rights.<sup>39</sup>

During the nineteenth century, the Muslim leaders did not realize the need to reformulate, and reintroduce, the Islamic law. It was in the 1920s and 1930s that they struggled to reform the social condition of Muslim women. The Muslim members of the legislatures would move bills and resolutions on women issues; and women members in the legislature would participate in the debates on them. Among the issues that were in focus, one was the issue of child marriage. In the nineteenth century, some of the Hindu leaders realized the evils of child marriage. Therefore, when the Age of Consent Bill was brought for enactment, it covered only the Hindu community. In fact, the Muslims were equally affected by this evil practice. But they were not aware of its gravity. They did not participate in the debate on the Age of Consent Bill because they at that time considered it a problem of the Hindus. In the 1920s, when the issue of child marriage was again raised, the Muslims also involved themselves in its legislation. At their initiative, the Hindu Child Marriage Restraint Bill was transformed into the Child Marriage Restraint Bill, so that it could apply to all the religious communities of the Subcontinent.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Tahir Mahmood, *Muslim Personal Law*, New Delhi, 1977, PP. 19-20.

<sup>40</sup> Dushka H. Saiyid, "The Changing Position of Muslim Women In Punjab Law, 1872-1947: A Study of the Forces behind these Changes", Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1994, P. 123.

The Child Marriage Restraint Bill proposed that the age of marriage for girls should be fourteen years and for boys eighteen years. The Bill was sent to a committee that included two women, one British physician and another a Hindu lady, to investigate its acceptability. The committee had two Muslim male members, Muhammad Yaqub and Shahnawaz, but no Muslim female member. The committee found that the Muslims were divided into three groups on this issue: (i) those who did not consider early marriage as an evil, as it was permissible in Islam according to their interpretation; (ii) those who felt that the spread of education and the progress of social reform would automatically result in the raising of the age of marriage; and (iii) those who favoured legislation on the issue of child marriage. The committee also observed that the Muslims shared many customs with the other communities of their respective regions. For instance, in Madras, neither the Hindus nor the Muslims practiced early marriage; in Bengal, both the communities followed this practice; in Bombay, Gujrat and UP, both the major religious communities followed this custom except the caste Hindus and upper class Muslims.<sup>41</sup> When the Bill, based on the committee's report, came up for consideration, the conservative Muslim members opposed its contents, but other members including M.A. Jinnah and Shahnawaz not only supported the Bill but also advocated legislation to carry out social reforms.

Another issue that came up for legislation was women's right to inherit property. The Muslim women had this right according to Shariat. But she had been deprived of this right under the customary law or the Anglo-Muhammadn Law, as introduced by the British. She was made totally dependent first on her father, and then on her husband and son (s). If a woman was married outside the clan, caste or tribe she became an outsider therefore, any property given to her meant that the property would go out of the family.<sup>42</sup> Thus, not only the female but her descendants were also deprived of property. The whole atmosphere was male-oriented. If a women had a son, she

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<sup>41</sup> Lateef, Op. Cit., PP. 68-69.

<sup>42</sup> David Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam*, London, 1988, PP. 18-19.

could not give the property that she might have earned by her own labor to anyone else. This was purely a Hindu custom that the Muslims had adopted.<sup>43</sup>

In the 1930s, the Muslims became more active for the enforcement of Shariat. The Shariat Bill was introduced in the central Legislative Assembly in 1937, as was demanded by the Muslims of the Punjab and other parts of the Subcontinent where there was customary law. During the discussions on the Bill, the Muslim members demonstrated high degree of consciousness about the condition and rights of Muslim women. They upheld that the low status of Muslim women in the Subcontinent was due to the influences of Hindu customs and culture although role of Islam in the emancipation of women had been revolutionary.<sup>44</sup> The passage of the Shariat Act was a step forward in advancing the status of Muslim women.

Divorce was another problem that the Muslim women faced which needed legislation in accordance with Islamic Principles. The right of divorce as practiced under the Anglo-Muhammadn Law had given rise to some unhealthy and dangerous practices. Muslim women even resorted to apostasy to get divorce.<sup>45</sup> Numerous such cases came up before the courts in the early twentieth century. There was a need for legislation. The Dissolution of Muslim Marriage Bill, which was introduced and passed in 1939, made divorce for Muslim women much easier by legislating the concept of Khula. When the Bill was discussed, members from both the major communities supported it. The Muslim members, pointing out the miserable condition of the Muslim women, argued that she was unable to dissolve marriage even if her husband totally neglected her or maltreated her. They advocated that Muslim woman should have full rights to exercise her choice in matrimonial matters. The only woman member of the Legislative Assembly, S.K. Radhabai Subbarayon, enthusiastically supported the Bill. She appreciated the support extended by the Muslim members to the Bill. She expressed the hope that the proposed law would raise the status of Muslim women and recognize their

<sup>43</sup> Dushka Saiyid, *Op. Cit.*, P. 19.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, P. 141.

<sup>45</sup> John L. Esposito, *Women and Muslim Family Law*, New York, 1982, PP. 78-79.

individuality. This law made divorce easier for Muslim women. Now a District Judge could dissolve the marriage of a Muslim woman on her application. A Muslim woman could seek divorce on various grounds. Firstly, if the husband failed to provide maintenance for more than two years. Secondly, if she had been given in marriage by her guardian or her father before she had reached the age of fifteen years and she repudiated the marriage before the age of eighteen years. However, if the marriage had not been consummated, the bases on which she could dissolve her marriage were even more liberal and included such issues as assaulting her habitually, disposing off her property, obstructing her religious practice and having more than one wife. The Muslim legislators also demanded adjudication of such dissolution cases by the Qaziz.<sup>46</sup> But this demand did not gather enough support in the Assembly. The Muslim members' interest in legislation on female issues showed their keenness to bring about change in the status of Muslim women. Behind this Muslim interest lay the consciousness that education had been brought about among the Muslim females of their rights.

## **B. POST – INDEPENDENCE PERIOD**

In pure sociological terms, status denotes position in a complex and stratified social structure. However, cultural variations and uneven distribution of power, privileges and effectiveness automatically introduces the notion of comparison and grading in examining the status of any group.<sup>47</sup> In the present discussion, the nature of the women's demand and the development of their franchise and the proportion of their representation during 1947-99 have been discussed. Before independence, the women, in their struggle for the political and constitutional rights, did not demand any special concession like reservation of seats in the legislatures. After independence, there was a change in their position. Now they asked for reservation of seats in the legislatures to protect their socio-economic and political rights under the constitution.

<sup>46</sup> Dushka H. Saiyid, *Op. Cit.*, PP. 146-47.

<sup>47</sup> Urmila Phadnis and Indira Malani (eds.), *Women of the World: Illusion and Reality*, New Delhi, 1978, P. 5.

At the time of independence, Pakistan had a provisional (interim) constitution which was an adapted version of the Government of India Act 1935 with amendments and alternations, it remained operative till March 23, 1956. It had a constituent Assembly that had its origin in the Cabinet Mission plan, the June 3 plan and the Indian independence Act. At first, its strength was sixty-nine and then it was raised to seventy-nine to give representation to refugees from India and the princely states. Two women, Begum Jhan Ara Shahnawaz and Begum Shaista Ikramullah, were elected to this Assembly.

After Independence, when elections were planned in the provinces under the provisional constitution. Separate seats were provided for women through a constitutional amendment. According to the third Amendment in the Government of India Act, 1935, the following reservation was made for women:<sup>48</sup>

Province	Women seats	Total seats
East Pakistan	09	309
Punjab	05	197
Sind	03	111
NWFP	02	85

Adult franchise was extended to the females on the pattern of the male population. Seats reserved for the women were to be filled in by female votes through separate constituencies. The process of Constitution-making in Pakistan went on for almost nine years. The CAP's primary function was to frame a constitution; besides, it was also to act as the interim federal legislature till the election of a new one under the new constitution.<sup>49</sup> Its first constitution-making act was the appointment of a committee on fundamental Rights and Matters relating

<sup>48</sup> Constitutional Documents (Pakistan), vol. II, P. 500.

<sup>49</sup> Mushtaq Ahmad, Government and Politics in Pakistan, Karachi, 1970, P. 88.

to Minorities on August 10 four days before independence.<sup>50</sup> After this, it took almost nineteen months to make up the task of constitution-making. In March 1949, the CAP passed the Objectives Resolution on which the future constitution was to be based. There was one general clause in the Resolution about fundamental rights which provided “equality of status, of opportunity and before law social, economic and political justice and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public morality”.<sup>51</sup> However, the resolution did not make any separate reference to women or their status. This partially indicated lack of awareness on the part of constitution-maker about women rights. After passing the Objectives Resolution, the CAP appointed a Basic Principles Committee (BPC) to draft the principles of the future constitution. Besides three subcommittees on federal and provincial constitutions, judiciary and franchise, the BPC appointed a special committee, called the Board of Talimaat-i-Islamia, to advise on matters relating to Islamic principles. The Board was to be chaired by Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvi with Mufti Muhammad Shafi, Professor Abdul Khaliq, Mufti Jafar Hussain, Dr. Hmaidullah and Mulana Zafar Ahmed Ansari as Members. Sayyid Nadvi was invited to come to Pakistan from India but he did not join the Board till 1952.<sup>52</sup> The two women members of the CAP, Begum Shahnawaz and Begum Shaista Ikramullah served on the BPC and its subcommittee on franchise.<sup>53</sup>

The Board of Talimaat-i-Islamia prepared its report without its chairman and presented it to the BPC in January 1950.<sup>54</sup> In its report, the Board vehemently opposed the participation of women in social and political activities in Pakistan. It is considered that free

<sup>50</sup> G.W. Choudhury, *Constitutional Development in Pakistan*, Lahore, 1967, P. 19.

<sup>51</sup> See the text of the Objectives Resolution in Safdar Mahmood, *Constitutional Foundations of Pakistan*, Lahore, 1975, P. 16.

<sup>52</sup> Choudhury, *Op. cit.*, P.22; and Manzooruddin Ahmad, *Pakistan, the Emerging Islamic State*, Karachi, 1966, P. 91.

<sup>53</sup> Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, *Debates, Official Report*, Vol. v, no. 5, March, 12, 1949, PP. 101-2.

<sup>54</sup> See the text of the “Report of the Board of Talimaat-i-Islamia” in Leonard Binder, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan*, Berkeley, 1961. Appendix.



mixing of men and women was the greatest cause of social disorder. The Society, in its view, could enjoy “equilibrium” and make progress only when men and women performed their specified duties in their respective spheres for the development of the society in accordance with the Islamic principles. According to them, the most important activities of women were confined to the four walls of home. Any burden of social duty on their shoulders would affect their main functions at home.

Therefore, the Board did not favor assigning them any outdoor responsibilities, except in situation of urgent necessity. It preferred that women should not be allowed to enter the legislative bodies. If it was necessary to have women legislators due to needs of modern times, they could become members only on two conditions that (i) the eligibility for membership of the legislatures should be limited to those women who had attained the age of fifty; and (ii) the female legislators should observe Purdah during the performance of their legislative duties.

The Board also argued against a woman becoming the head of an Islamic State. According to its recommendations, a woman could not hold the office of the head of an Islamic state in the light of the Quran and Sunnah. It cited Quranic verses to show the superiority of man over women, One verse cited is “Men are in charge of women”, because Allah made one of them to excel the other<sup>55</sup>; the other is: “call to witness from among your men two witnesses. And if two men be not (at hand) then a man and two women<sup>56</sup>”. The relevant Ahadith were also quoted to prove this point; one Hadith was: ‘a nation that appoints a woman as its ruler shall never prosper’.<sup>57</sup> From this the Board concluded that a woman could not be given the responsibility to the head of state. In addition, it opined that a woman could not lead the Jumma (Friday) or the ‘Idain (P l. of Id meaning the two main Muslim Festivals) Prayers. Simultaneously, it clarified that these provisions did not in any

<sup>55</sup> Quran, 4/34

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 2/282.

<sup>57</sup> Sahih al-Bukhari, cited in Binder, Op. cit., P. 426.

way mean the degradation of the women folk .The Board upheld that according to the Islamic principles, men and women had been assigned specific duties which they performed for the well-being of mankind.

The Report of the Board was a secret document, not made public at the time of its submission.

In September 1950, the BPC presented an interim Report to the CAP which was claimed to have been prepared after considering the recommendations of the Board. There was then no way to verifying the veracity of this statement. However, the BPC interim report did not even slightly reflect the influence of the Board's recommendations. Women were nowhere mentioned in the entire interim report. The controversy surrounded its federal formula and its Islamic content in general. It was so in tense that Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan had to withdraw the interim Report and ask the public to give suggestion for its improvement by January 31, 1951.

Meanwhile, in October 1950, the committee on Fundamental Rights and Matters relating to Minorities submitted its report Women were specifically mentioned in this Report.<sup>58</sup> In the section on fundamental rights, clause 1 provided that all citizens were equal before law and equally entitled to protection of law. Clause- 4 stated that there would be no discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth with regard to access to places of public entertainment ,recreation or welfare. It also provided that nothing in this clause would derogate from the powers of the state to make special provisions for the benefit of women and children. Another article entitled every qualified citizen to appointment in the service of the state irrespective of sex, besides other factors.<sup>59</sup> Similarly, every Pakistani,

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<sup>58</sup> See the text of the Report in Safdar Mahmood, Op. Cit. PP. 209-210.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, Article 7.

irrespective of sex, was to have freedom of speech, expression, profession etc. and the right to equal pay for equal work.<sup>60</sup>

The BPC considered this Report along with the proposals that were sent by individuals and organizations to improve the Interim Report. It appointed a suggestions subcommittee chaired by Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar to sift these proposals and draft constitutional provisions. As far as status of women is concerned, two documents need to be mentioned.

One is the twenty-two principles of an Islamic State drafted by thirty-one Ulama belonging to different schools of thought at a conference in Karachi held in January 1951, and the other is the one prepared by Maulana Abul Ala Maududi. Women's rights were not mentioned directly. These were implicitly protected under various principles in accordance with Islamic principles as interpreted by various schools of Islamic thought. However, one principle specifically barred them from heading the state; it provided that the head of the state should always be a male Muslim.<sup>61</sup> According to Maulana Maududi, the women should have the right of vote but he considered that adult franchise for them under the prevailing conditions would be unsuitable and harmful for the welfare of the country. He was of the opinion that the election of women to the legislative assemblies was against the spirit and precepts of Islam; adoption of such a practice would be "nothing more than a blind imitation of the West".<sup>62</sup> In his view, active politics and administration were not "the field of activity of the womenfolk"; it came within the purview of "men's sphere of responsibilities".

He suggested a separate female Assembly whose membership should be confined to women and who should be elected by female voters. Its primary function should be to look after their special affairs such as female education, female hospitals, etc. It could freely

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid, Article 9.

<sup>61</sup> See the "Basic Principles of Islamic State", in Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi, *The Islamic Law and Constitution*, (tr. And ed. By Khurshid Ahmad), Lahore, 1977, PP. 316-20.

<sup>62</sup> Some Constitutional Proposals" in *ibid*, P. 308.

discuss and criticise matters relating to the general Welfare of the country. Moreover, the national legislature must consult the female Assembly on all matters that concerned the welfare of the country. Thus, both the documents segregated male and female activities. They relegated the females to virtually a secondary role in the national polity.

The suggestions subcommittee and the BPC did not give these and other similar proposals any serious consideration. The BPC finalised its report in 1952, which Prime Minister Nazimuddin presented to the CAP on December 22. Unlike the Interim Report, this BPC Report made a few specific provisions for the females. Clause 16 of the Directive Principles of State Policy laid down that the state should endeavour to ensure that besides children and youth, women were not subjected to exploitation or made to enter avocations unsuited to their age and sex.<sup>63</sup> Every citizen, irrespective of sex, who had attained the age of 21 was entitled to have the right to vote.<sup>64</sup> The Report did not recommend any reservation of separate seats for women; they could, of course, contest elections from general constituencies. Except for these provisions, it made no recommendation for raising the status of women.

The Nazimuddin Ministry was dismissed before the CAP could discuss the BPC Report. It was not till October-November 1953 that the CAP took up the discussion of the Report during the prime ministership of Muhammad Ali Bogra. Before that, the All-Pakistan Women's Association (APWA), the most active women organisation, demanded that ten seats should be reserved for women in the National and provincial Assemblies for at least ten years.<sup>65</sup> After the CAP had discussed a part of the Report, the consideration of the Report was again deferred due to elections in East Pakistan in March 1954. After these elections, the final discussion of the BPC Report took place in the July-September 1954 session of the CAP. It was in this session that Begum Shahnawaz presented a "Charter of Women Rights"

<sup>63</sup> See "Report of the Basic Principles Committee" in Safdar Mahmood, *Op. Cit.*, P. 56.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, P. 56.

<sup>65</sup> Khawar Mumtaz and Farida Shaheed, *op.*, p. 53.

in the CAP. This character asked for the reservation of 3 per cent for women in the central and provincial Assemblies. It also demanded equality of status and opportunity, equal pay for equal work and guarantee of rights for Muslim women under the Muslim personal law. The charter was debated in the CAP. The critics argued that some of the demands had not even been conceded in the West, and acceptance of these demands by the CAP would create new problems for the newly independent state. There were supporters as well, who pleaded that almost fifty per cent of the population which had been given the right to vote, could not be ignored.<sup>66</sup>

After a prolonged discussion, the demand for reservation of seats was accepted. The BPC Report that was adopted by the CAP in 1954, made provision to this effect. For the first time, seats were reserved for women. The reservation was about two per cent in the House of Units. (Upper House) and more than four per cent in the House of People (Lower House). The Upper House, in addition to its normal strength of 50, was to have two additional seats reserved for women; one was to be filled by the provincial legislature of East Pakistan and the other by the electoral college in West Pakistan. In the Lower house of 300 members, 14 additional seats were reserved for woman which were to be filled in directly by women voters only.

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<sup>66</sup> Shahnawaz, Op. Cit., PP. 285-86.

THE TERRITORIAL ALLOCATION OF WOMEN SEATS WAS AS FOLLOWS:<sup>67</sup>

East Pakistan	7
Punjab	3
Sind and Khairpur	1
NWFP, Frontier States and Tribal Areas	1
Baluchistan States union and Bahawalpur	1
Karachi, the federal Capital	

The federal legislature was to determine the women constituencies. This reservation was for period of ten years, as demanded by women. The age-limit for the right to vote remained at 21 years. This Report retained Article 16 of the December 1952 BPC Report, without any alteration, in the Directive Principles of State Policy<sup>68</sup>. As is obvious, this constitutional document was an improvement on the earlier constitutional drafts as far as the constitutional status of women was concerned. The CAP adopted the constitutional report on September 21, 1954, and it then adjourned to reassemble to finalise the constitution on October 27.

Before the constitution could take a final shape, the Governor General dissolved the CAP on October 23. A legal battle ensued in the higher courts of Pakistan about the constitutionality of the Governor General's action.<sup>69</sup> The result was the election of a new constituent Assembly in May-June 1955. This Assembly did not reserve any seat for woman

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., P. 140.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., P. 129.

<sup>69</sup> Safdar mahmood, A Political Study of Pakistan, Lahore, 1984, P. 232.

nor did the political parties participating in its election give ticket to any female candidate.<sup>70</sup> After negotiations and lengthy debates, the second Constituent Assembly was able to adopt a constitution which was promulgated on March 23, 1956.

The constitution of 1956 incorporated articles of the Reports of the Committee on Fundamental Rights and the BPC in a slightly modified form. There was a separate section on Fundamental Rights. Women were given rights implicitly as well as explicitly. Article 5 of the Fundamental Rights stated that all citizens were equal before law and all were entitled to equal protection of law. Article 14 provided that in respect of access to places of public entertainment or resort, not intended for religious purposes only, there would be no discrimination against any citizen on the grounds of race, religion, caste, sex or place of birth. It further provided that special provision could be made for women for this purpose. Article 17 laid down that there would be no gender discrimination for appointments in the service of Pakistan. It was also provided that in the interest of any service, specified posts principles of State Policy of the BPC about the social uplift of women was incorporated in the constitution in a changed form; it now provided that the state would endeavour to make provision for securing just and humane conditions of work, ensuring that women, besides children, were not employed in avocations unsuited to their age and sex. Now maternity benefits were also to be given to women in employment.<sup>71</sup> Unlike the constitutional report adopted in September 1954, the Constitution provided for a unicameral legislature, consisting of three hundred members. Ten additional seats were reserved for women in the National Assembly for a period of ten years. These seats were equally divided between East and West Pakistan and were to be filled in directly by women voters.<sup>72</sup> Similarly, in each provincial Assembly consisting of three hundred members, ten additional seats were reserved for

<sup>70</sup> Despite efforts from Begum Shahnawaz and other women politicians, no female could enter the second Constituent Assembly. See Shahnawaz, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 295-96.

<sup>71</sup> Article 28, in *ibid.*, P. 221.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 225.

women for a period of ten year, which were to be filled on the pattern of the seats in the National Assembly.<sup>73</sup>

After the enforcement of the 1956 Constitution, the 80-member second Constituent Assembly was transformed into the interim National Assembly. However, general elections under the new Constitution could not be held partly due to the delay in determining the method of elections, i.e. whether elections should be held on the basis of separate electorates or joint electorates. When this issue was resolved, other factors contributed to their postponement. In October 1958, the whole democratic process was wound up, when President Sikander Mirza imposed martial law in the country and abrogated the Constitution. General Muhammad Ayub Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, took over first as the Chief Martial Law Administrator and then as the President.

Two years after takeover, Ayub Khan restarted the democratic process by introducing the system of Basic Democracies (BD) at the grassroots. Despite all his liberalism, he did not think of ensuring re presentation of women at this level; the BD system did not provide for any reservation of seats for women. Since women had hardly any representation in the BD system, they had little chance of begin elected to the National and provincial Assemblies from the common constituencies because the eighty thousand Basic Democrats from East and West Pakistan constituted the electoral college for these Assemblies. After obtaining a vote of confidence from the newly elected Basic Democrats in a referendum on February 13, 1960, Ayub Khan appointed a Constitution Commission chaired by Justice Shahabuddin. It had five advisers, out of whom two were women, Begum Shahnawaz and Begum Shamsun Naar Mahmud.<sup>74</sup> The commission prepared a comprehensive report. It investigated the factors that had retarded the socio-economic and political development of the country. One basic factor listed was the lack of education among women.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 235.

<sup>74</sup> Edgar A. and Kathryn R. Schuler, *Public Opinion and Constitution-making in Pakistan, 1958-62*, Michigan, 1967, P.49.



It observed: "As for the early training of the child, one great difficulty that has to be faced is the ignorance of an average mother....., as the percentage of the educated amongst women is much lower than amongst men, which in itself is very much should be reserved for women; besides, they should also have the right to contest elections from general constituencies. The constitution of 1962 retained Articles 5, 14, 17 and 28 of the 1956 Constitution, referred to above, that protected women's rights.<sup>75</sup> This constitution reserved seats for women in the National and provincial Assemblies almost in the same proportion as had been done in the 1956 Constitution. In the National Assembly, 6 seats were reserved for women out of a total number of 156 seats. In each of the two provincial Assemblies of East and West Pakistan, 5 out of 155 seats were reserved for women.<sup>76</sup> In December 1967, when the number of seats in the National and provincial Assemblies was uniformly raised to 218, the number of seats reserved for women was also increased to 8 in each of the three Assemblies.<sup>77</sup> Unlike the 1956 Constitution, no period was mentioned for the reservation of these seats. The method of election was also changed. It was now provided that the members of the newly elected National Assembly would in their first meeting elect six women members on the basis of parity between East and West Pakistan. The same procedure was to be followed by the provincial Assemblies.<sup>78</sup> Besides, women could contest and vote in general constituencies.

The issue of reservation, and proportion, of seats for women was debated in the National Assembly during the deliberations on the Electoral College Bill in 1964. One member from East Pakistan Begum Roqya Anwar, moved an amendment to the Bill that at least twenty-five per cent seats should be reserved for women in the legislatures.

<sup>75</sup> The relevant articles in the 1962 Constitution were Articles 15, 16 and 17 of the Fundamental Rights and Article 8 of the Directive Principles of State Policy

<sup>76</sup> Constitutional Documents, Vol. III, P. 76.

<sup>77</sup> Herbert Feldman, Pakistan: From Crisis to Crisis, 1962-69, London, 1972, P. 219

<sup>78</sup> Articles 162 and 169

The amendment had supporters as well as opponents. Its supporters argued that men did not like the women to work along with them and excluded them from every sphere of activity. Therefore, there was a need to reserve seats for women to protect their civic and other rights. The opponents, including Begum Khadija G.A. Khan, were of the opinion that the women already enjoyed basic fundamental rights, namely the right to vote in the general elections and the right to contest elections from general constituencies. They pointed out that the women should participate freely along with men in all political affairs and decisions of the country to acquire awareness and understanding of the political life. The principle of reservation of seats for women, according to them, could not foster the growth of political awareness among them. Therefore, they recommended that the women should contest elections from the general constituencies, and the practice of reservation of seats should be abolished to create self-confidence among them. After discussion, Begum Roqya's amendment was rejected. However, the National Assembly adopted another proposal recommending the setting up of separate polling booths for women during the elections.

The issue of a female Muslim heading an Islamic state indirectly came under discussion during the 1965 presidential elections when Miss Fatima Jinnah was put up as the presidential candidate by the Combined Opposition Parties (COP), which was an alliance of five political parties, the Council Muslim League, the Awami League, the National Awami Party, the Nizam-i-Islam Party and the Jammāt-i-Islami<sup>79</sup>. There was no bar in the 1962 Constitution on a female standing for the office of President. But when Miss Jinnah was made a presidential candidate, a section of the Ulama contended that according to the Islamic principles, it was unlawful to appoint/ elect a female as the head of an Islamic state. Religious injunctions (fatwas) to this effect were issued by the ulama individually as well as collectively. Among these was the fatwa published under the signatures of 650 ulama,

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<sup>79</sup> Hamid Yusuf, *Pakistan in search of Democracy, 1947-77*, Lahore, 1980, P. 71.



besides those issued by the All-Pakistan Jamiatul Mashaikh and the Jamiatul Ulama-i-Pakistan.<sup>80</sup> Strangely enough the defence of Miss Jinnah's candidature was given by Maulana Maududi who had earlier argued against a women heading an Islamic sate. His argument was that in extraordinary circumstances a woman could hold the office of the head of an Islamic State. The Majlis-i-shura of the Jamaat-i-Islami issued a lengthy resolution in justification of its support of Miss Fatima Jinnah.<sup>81</sup> Interestingly, the APWA and its leaders including Begum Raana Liaquat Ali Khan and Begum Zeenat Fida Hasan opposed Miss Jinnah and actively campaigned for Ayub Khan, the ruling party candidate. On this, a group of women consisting of Begum Shahnawaz, Begum Abad Ahmed, Begum Sayed Maududi and others demanded withdrawal of the government grant to the APWA.<sup>82</sup> However, those who opposed Miss Jinnah's candidature did not demand any amendment in the constitution.

After a country-wide movement, Ayub Khan resigned from his office as President and handed over power to General Agha Muahammad Yahya Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army. After discussions with different political forces, General Yahya Khan issued a Legal Framework Order (LFO) in March 1970. The LFO did not have any separate provision for women; however, there was a general clause that in the future constitution, fundamental rights would be laid down and protected.<sup>83</sup> The LFO was a slight improvement on the earlier constitutional documents as far as the number of seats reserved for women was concerned.

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<sup>80</sup> Dawn, October 19, 1964 ; see also Mushtaq Ahmed, Op, Cit. P. 348.

<sup>81</sup> Dawn, November 28, 1964; and see also Abul Ala Maududi, Political Situation in Pakistan, Karachi, 1964..

<sup>82</sup> Dawn October 25, 1964.

<sup>83</sup> Clause 20 (3) b of the LFO.

**THE SEATS IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WERE ALLOCATED  
ON THE BASIS OF 1961 CENSUS:<sup>84</sup>**

Province	General	Women
East Pakistan	162	7
Punjab	82	3
Sind	27	1
Baluchistan	4	1
NWFP	18	1
Centrally Administrative Tribal Area	7	-
Total	300	13

**IN THE PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES, THE RATIO OF  
RESERVATION WAS AS FOLLOW:**

Province	General	Women
East Pakistan	300	10
Punjab	180	6
Sind	60	2
Baluchistan	20	1
NWFP	40	2

<sup>84</sup> Schedule I and II of the LFO.

Article 6 (3) of the LFO laid down that women members of the National Assembly from a province would be elected by the members of the National Assembly elected from that province in accordance with law. Its Article 6 (4) provided that women members of the provincial Assembly would be elected by the members of that provincial Assembly. The mode of election on these reserved seats was the same as in the 1962 Constitution. The LFO did not fix any time period for the reservation of these seats. Besides these reserved seats, women could contest elections from the general constituencies.

In the 1970 elections, some women did contest the elections from the general constituencies. There were 9 women candidates for the National Assembly seats; 3 from East Pakistan, one from Punjab, five from Sind and none from the NWFP and Baluchistan. However, none of them was elected.<sup>85</sup> Women were represented only on reserved seats. The date for election on women seats was March 2, a day before the scheduled meeting of the National Assembly. But due to the postponement of the National Assembly meeting, the elections were not held on that date. Subsequently, due to the political crisis in the country, the Election Commission authorize the Returning Officer to conduct the elections and declare the results. The party position of the members of the National Assembly from East Pakistan, Punjab, Sindh and Baluchistan was such that elections for women seats from these provinces were uncontested. The number of candidates who filed nominations papers was equal to the number of reserved seats and therefore, these candidates were declared elected unopposed. Even in the case of the NWFP, where no party enjoyed a majority, only one candidate filed her nomination paper which was accepted and she was declared elected unopposed.<sup>86</sup>

The deadlock in the political negotiations after the 1970 elections resulted in the military crackdown in East Pakistan which contributed to the breakup of Pakistan. After the separation of East Pakistan (Bangladesh), the work of constitution-making was taken up in

<sup>85</sup> Report on General Elections, Pakistan, 1970-71, Karachi, 1972, Vol. 1, PP. 163-65.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, PP. 166-67.

(West) Pakistan. The members of the National Assembly elected from West Pakistan in 1970, constituted the National Assembly of Pakistan that also had the responsibility to frame a constitution for Pakistan. The National Assembly assigned the task of preparing a constitutional draft to a 25-member Constitution Committee that had two women members, Dr. (Mrs) Ashraf Khatoon Abbasi and Begum Naseem Jahan; later on, Mrs. Jennifer Jahanzeba Qazi Musa was also included in the Constitution Committee.<sup>87</sup> During the deliberations of this Committee, there were deadlocks on several occasions. After one such deadlock in October 1972, the political parties and groupings represented in the National Assembly signed an Accord on constitutional issues; one point in this Accord provided for the reservation of 10 seats for women in the National Assembly.<sup>88</sup> When the Constitution Committee discussed this Accord, twenty-two women organizations including APWA, United Front for Women's Rights, Pakistan Ladies Federation, Women Medical Association, Women Teachers' Association, Ladies Purdah Club and University Women Association demanded reservation of seats for women and direct elections on these seats.<sup>89</sup>

On January 23, 1973, the Constitution Committee submitted its report to the National Assembly. When this report was debated in the Assembly, the issue of women's rights came up for consideration. The Committee had recommended a bicameral house, the Senate and National Assembly. Seats were reserved for women in the National Assembly but not in the Senate. Mrs. Ashraf Abbasi moved an amendment that at least 2 seats out of 14 seats allocated to a province in the Senate should be reserved for women. An amendment of a similar nature was moved by Begum Naseem Jahan. Begum Shireen Wahab, in her amendment, suggested that each provincial Assembly must elect one woman member to the Senate. The main aim of these women members was that since the Senate constituted an essential part of the

<sup>87</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan (Constitution-making), Debates, Official Report (Hereinafter CADC), Vol. I, No. 3, April 17, 1972, P. 399.

<sup>88</sup> See the text of the Accord in Pakistan Times (Lahore), October 21, 1972.

<sup>89</sup> NADC, Vol. II, No. 33, April 7, 1973, P. 2175.

legislature, its approval was required for every bill. And if the women were not represented the Senate, their viewpoint might not be fully considered in legislative matters. They argued that the members of the Senate would be elected on the basis of proportional representation. If seats were not specifically reserved for women in the Senate, it would be left to the discretion of political parties to nominate women candidates. The parties would have no motivation to include women among their candidates since the electoral colleges would be dominantly composed of male members. Therefore, the women, in their view, would not be able to come to the Senate unless there were reservations of seat.<sup>90</sup>

Begum Naseem Jahan, in another amendment, suggested that the seats reserved of women should be filled in by women suffrage. Her argument was that the women would be elected to represent the females. Therefore, there was no point in their election by male-dominated electoral college. The prevailing system of elections placed them in an embarrassing position because whenever they would speak and take position on women's issues or any other issue that was different from men, the male members could point out, how had they taken that particular position when they had been elected by them? This would put them in a difficult situation.<sup>91</sup> But her proposal or the arguments were not supported by any other member. The Law Minister Abudl Hafeez Pirzada, opposed her amendment, arguing that it was not possible for the political parties to find women candidates for any general constituencies. Firstly, the political parties had been able to find candidates in the past only from big cities. Secondly, it had been difficult to persuade a suitable candidate to stand for elections. He pointed out that although women had played a remarkable role in the 1970 election campaign but those women who were given party tickets were unable to get elected. He expressed the view that if the electorate for women seats was confined to female voters, it would produce unhealthy results; the women voters from rural areas would go unrepresented.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, Vol. II, No. 34, April 8, 1973, PP. 2257-59.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, Vol. I, No. 33, April 7, 1973, PP. 2175-76.

Contrarily, under the system proposed by the Constitution Committee, the representatives of the peasant and labourer women could come in the House<sup>92</sup>. The issue of a female heading the state also came up for discussion. One member, Maulana Abdul Haq of the Jamaitul Ulama-i-Islam, proposed an amendment that only a male Muslim should be eligible for the office of President of the State. Mrs. Ashraf Abbasi opposed the amendment, observing that it was unfair to bar women from holding this office. She stated that there were at that time only six women members in the National Assembly. Their representation would not be raised spectacularly in the foreseeable future. Therefore, the incorporation of such a provision in the Constitution was unnecessary. She was supported by Yusuf Khattak and other members<sup>93</sup>. Finally, the National Assembly rejected Maulana Abdul Haq's amendment. After adoption in April 1973, the new Constitution came into force on August 14.

The 1973 Constitution brought a significant change in the constitutional status of women. Besides retaining the provisions of the earlier Constitutions on fundamental rights, it also added new articles to raise the status of women.<sup>92</sup> Clause 25 (1) that "all citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law" was taken from the 1956 and 1962 Constitution. But clause 25 (2) that "There shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex alone" and clause 25 (3) that "Nothing in this Article shall prevent from making any special provision for the protection of women and children" were completely new clauses. In the chapter on the 'Principles of Policy', the Constitution retained Article 28 of the 1956 Constitution and Article 8 of the 1962 Constitution, requiring assurance that women were not employed in vocations unsuited to their age or sex, and maternity benefits were to be given to the women in employment. It also added other new articles in this Chapter. Article 32 provided that special representation would be given to women, peasants and workers in the

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<sup>92</sup> *ibida*, pp. 2178-79

<sup>93</sup> NADC, Vol.V, No.22, March 16, 1973, PP.1413 and 1431

<sup>94</sup> The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973, in Safdar Mahmood, Constitutional Foundation, PP> 805-920.



elected Local Government institutions. Article 34 called for full participation of women in all spheres of national life. Under Article 35, the State was to ensure the protection of marriage, the family, the mother and the child. Another required the State to ensure the well-being of the people, irrespective of sex, caste or creed.

One unique feature that distinguished the 1973 Constitution from the earlier constitutional documents was the lowering of the age of voting. It fixed 18 as the voting age; while in all the previous Constitutions 21 had been the age of voting. However, the 1973 Constitution did not improve upon the provisions of the earlier Constitutions regarding reservation of seats for women. It reserved 10 seats for women in the National Assembly of 200 members for a period of ten years, which came to 5 per cent. But no seat was allocated for them in the Senate despite demands from the women members. In each provincial Assembly, ten seats were reserved for women. The National and provincial Assemblies constituted the electoral colleges of these women seats.

Another distinguishing feature of the Constitution was the representation of women on the Islamic Ideological Council. This provision was made in response to demands from women members of the National Assembly<sup>95</sup>. Article 228 laid down that the Council should have at least one women member. Earlier, neither the 1956 Constitution had provided the any representation. Female members on the Council could definitely influence the interpretation of Islamic laws in favor of women.

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<sup>95</sup> NADC, Vol.II, No.33, April 7, 1973, P.2245.

**LIST OF WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIAN IN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**

**1947**

<b>S. NO</b>	<b>NAME</b>	<b>METHOD</b>
1	Begum Shaista Suhrawardy Ikramullah	Reserved Seat
2	Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz	Reserved Seat

**1955**

**NIL**

**1962**

1.	Begum Roquyya Anwar	Reserved Seat
2.	Begum Serajunnessa Choudhury	Reserved Seat
3.	Begum Shamsun Nahar Mahmood	Reserved Seat
4.	Mrs . Mariam Hashimuddin Ahmed	Reserved Seat
5.	Begum Mujeebun Nisa Muhammad Akram	Reserved Seat
6.	Begum Khudeja G.A. Khan	Reserved Seat
7.	Begum Zari Sarfaraz	Reserved Seat
8.	Miss Zohra Aziz	Reserved Seat
<b>1965</b>		
9.	Mrs . Mariam Hashimuddin Ahmed	Reserved Seat
10.	Begum Khudeja G.A. Khan	Reserved Seat
11.	Begum Zari Sarfaraz	Reserved Seat
12.	Begum Mujeebun Nisa Muhammad Akram	Reserved Seat
13.	Begum Razia Faiz	Reserved Seat
14.	Begum Dolly Azad	Reserved Seat
<b>1970</b>		
15.	Shireen Wahab Sahiba	Reserved Seat
16.	Mrs. Nargis Naim Sandhu	Reserved Seat
17.	Begum Zahida Sultana	Reserved Seat
18.	Begum Nasim Jahan	Reserved Seat
19.	Dr. Mrs.Ashraf Abbasi	Reserved Seat

20.	Jennifer Jehanzeba Qazi Musa	Reserved Seat
<b>1977</b>		
21.	Mrs. Nargis Naim Sandhu	Reserved Seat
22.	Mrs. Bilqis Habibullah	Reserved Seat
23.	Mrs. Dilshad Begum	Reserved Seat
24.	Mrs. Bilqis Begum	Reserved Seat
25.	Begum Kalsum Saifullah	Reserved Seat
26.	Miss Mubarik Begum	Reserved Seat
27.	Begum Nafisa Khaild	Reserved Seat
28.	Mrs. Nasima Sultana Akmut	Reserved Seat
29.	Begum Nusrat Bhutto	Reserved Seat
30.	Begum Samia Usman Fateh	Reserved Seat
31.	Mrs. Shavak Rustam	Reserved Seat
32.	Begum Naseem Abdul Wali Khan	Reserved Seat
<b>1985</b>		
33.	Sahibzadi Mehmooda Begum	Reserved Seat
34.	Mrs. Nisar Fatima Zahra	Reserved Seat
35.	Begum Afser Riza Qizilbash	Reserved Seat
36.	Begum Sarwari Sadiq	Reserved Seat
37.	Begum Silvat Sher Ali Khan	Reserved Seat
38.	Mrs. Ishrat Ashraf	Reserved Seat
39.	Mrs. Khurshid Begum	Reserved Seat
40.	Mrs. Rehana Aleem Mashhadi	Reserved Seat
41.	Dr. Mrs. Attiya Inayatullah	Reserved Seat
42.	Mrs. Rafia Tariq	Reserved Seat
43.	Mrs. Farrukh Mukhtar	Reserved Seat
44.	Mrs. Afroze Nizar Ahmad	Reserved Seat
45.	Mrs. Rashida Pasha Khuro	Reserved Seat
46.	Begum Salma Ahmad	Reserved Seat
47.	Mrs. Qamar –Un- Nisa Qamar	Reserved Seat
48.	Mrs. Kulsum Saifullah Khan	Reserved Seat

49.	Mrs. Bilquis Nasr –Um- Minallah	Reserved Seat
50.	Begum Bilqees Shah Baz	Reserved Seat
51.	Dr. Miss. Noor Jehan Panezai	Reserved Seat
52.	Mrs. Dure Shawar Mazari	Reserved Seat
53.	Syeda Abida Hussain	NA-66 Jhang
54.	Begum Nasim Majid	NA-146 Bahawalneger
	<b>1988</b>	
55.	Mrs. Kulsum Saifullah Khan	Reserved Seat
56.	Mrs. Malik Mehr –Un- Nisa	Reserved Seat
57.	Begum Rehana Sarwar	Reserved Seat
58.	Begum Sarwari Sadiq	Reserved Seat
59.	Begum Nadir Khan Khakwani	Reserved Seat
60.	Mrs. Amna Piracha	Reserved Seat
61.	Mrs. Razia Sultana	Reserved Seat
62.	Mrs. Rehana Aleem Mashadi	Reserved Seat
63.	Mrs. Shahnaz Begum	Reserved Seat
64.	Mrs. Abida Malik	Reserved Seat
65.	Mrs. Amira Ehsan	Reserved Seat
66.	Mrs. Attiya Inayatullah	Reserved Seat
67.	Mrs. Shahnaz Wazir Ali	Reserved Seat
68.	Begum Nasreen Rao Rashid	Reserved Seat
69.	Mrs. Shamim N.D. Khan	Reserved Seat
70.	Dr. Mrs. Mehmooda Shah	Reserved Seat
71.	Mrs. Zareen Majeed	Reserved Seat
72.	Mrs. Rukaya Khanam Soomro	Reserved Seat
73.	Bibi Amna	Reserved Seat
74.	Mrs. Samina Razak	Reserved Seat
75.	Begum Nusrat Bhutto	NA-164 Larkana
76.	Dr. Mrs. Ashraf Abbasi	NA-165 Larkana
77.	Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto	NA-166 Larkana
78.	Syeda Abida Hussain	NA-68 Jhang

79.	Begum Majida Wayne	NA-123 Khaniwal
<b>1990</b>		
80.	Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto	NA-166 Larkana
81.	Begum Nusrat Bhutto	NA-164 Larkana
<b>1993</b>		
82.	Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto	NA-166 Larkana
83.	Begum Nusrat Bhutto	NA-164 Larkana
84.	Mrs. Shahnaz Javed	NA-126 Saiwal
85.	Mrs. Tehmina Augeel Daultana	NA-130 Vehari
<b>1997</b>		
86.	Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto	NA-166 Larkana
87.	Begum Nusrat Bhutto	NA-164 Larkana
88.	Begum Majida Wayne	NA-123 Khaniwal
89.	Syeda Abida Hussain	NA-69 Jhang
90.	Dr. Fehmida Mirza	NA-173 Badin
91.	Mrs. Tehmina Daultana	NA-130 Vehari

## CHAPTER NO. 2

### PERFORMANCE IN THE PUNJAB PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE (1947-69)

During 1947-69, there were five provincial Legislatures in Punjab. The first Punjab Legislature was constituted in accordance with the June 3 plan and the Indian Independence, Act. After independence, when elections were planned in the provinces under the provisional constitution' separate seats were provided for women through a constitutional amendment. According to the third amendment in the Government of India act, 1935, the following reservation was made for woman<sup>13</sup>

	Woman seats	Total seats
East Pakistan	9	309
Punjab	5	197
Sind	3	111
NWFP	2	85

Adult franchise was extended to the females on the pattern of the male population. Seats reserved were to be filled in by female votes through separate constituencies. The first provincial legislature had two female members, Begum Jahan –Ara shahnawaz and Begum Salma Tassaduq Husain .Both belonged to West Pakistan.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Constitutional Documents (Pakistan), Vol. II, P.500.

<sup>2</sup> See Punjab Legislators (1947)



out of Purdah in 1919, in order to participate in social and political life. Jahan Ara was among them. Even after her marriage to Shahnawaz who was also a politician and remained a member of the Punjab Legislative Council and the Indian Legislative Assembly, Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz was active in socio-political life. She took part in the women franchise movement. She gained prominence when she participated in the Round Table Conference in London. She was one of the three women who attended these conference. During 1933-37, she was member of the Advisory Committee of the League of Nations, a delegate to the International Labour Conference and a member of the All-India Muslim League Council. In the elections under the Act of 1935, she was elected to the Punjab Assembly. She had the distinction to become the first Muslim women parliamentary secretary of Education, Medical Relief and Public Health in the Punjab. She was expelled from the All-India Muslim League for her refusal to resign from the National Defence Council on which she was taken by the Viceroy. She rejoined the League in 1946, and was elected member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly as well as the constituent Assembly of India. When the Punjab Muslim League organized the civil disobedience movement against the Khizr Hayat Ministry in the Punjab, she enthusiastically took part in the movement and courted arrest. At the time of Independence, she was elected member of the first CAP, the first parliament outside the Parliament, she was member of the working committee of the Pakistan Muslim League. She was reelected member of the Punjab Assembly in 1951, and became member of the West Pakistan Assembly in 1955 and 1962. Among her activities outside the parliament was her participation in the APWA. She had keen interest in literature and used to contribute articles in the *Sharif Bibi and Tehzib-i-Niswan*. Her books include her political autobiography, *father and daughter*, (1971).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> See Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter*, PP. 2-14, 41-43, 59-65, and 97-98.



Later on, in the 1970s, Begum Shahnawaz's daughter, Nasim Jahan also entered the parliament. She was married to Akbar Khan who rose to become the Chief of General Staff of the Pakistan Army. In 1951, she and her husband along with a few military officers and civilians were arrested in the Rawalpindi conspiracy case. Although she was released but she led a lonely inactive life after that she participated in the 1960s as defender of the women's rights and led demonstrations in support of the Muslim Family Laws Promulgated by Ayub Khan. When Z.A. Bhutto established the PPP, she joined the party and campaigned for its candidates in the 1970 elections. She was herself elected to the parliament in the 1970s.<sup>4</sup>

Begum Salma Tassaduq Husain born in Gujranwala. She belonged to the educated family, she had keen interest in literature, poetry. She also became social member and she took interest in politics. After her marriage to Dr. Tassaduq Hussain, her uncle Sir Fazil Hussain, be Ammah and Fatima Begum Push her into politics. After marriage, she started to study national politics keenly. Quaid-i-Azam was her favourite leader. After her meeting with Quaid-i-Azam she started her social work with hardworking. Begum Salam Tassaduq was active in socio-political life. She was one of other women, who bear more torture, sealed in jails several time for the creation of Pakistan<sup>5</sup> Begum Salma Tassaduq also participated for establishing women schools, Social welfare organization for political training for Muslim women.

In 1918, first conference of All India Muslim women held in Lahore presided by Abro Begum. Begum Salma Tassadqu also participated.<sup>6</sup> She joined the Muslim League in 1909.<sup>7</sup>

Under the act of 1935, elections to the provincial legislature were held in December, 1945. Begum Salma Tassaduq Husain won the election. She was one of the League member who were active in various organs of its provincial and central organizations. They also actively participated in organizing and working the women's wing of the All India Muslim League.

<sup>4</sup> Mumtaz and Shaheed, women of Pakistan, PP 59 59, 62 and who is who in National Assembly of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1976, P. 146.

<sup>5</sup> See Arifa Subha Khan, Amma Hawa Say Amma Councilor Tak P. 122.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, PP. 113, 114.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, P. 118.

From the platform of the Muslim League they played an important role in the 1945-46 election. Campaign and in the movement for Pakistan. She also helped people in Bihar rift. When the Punjab Muslim League organized the civil disobedience movement against the Khizr Hayat Ministry in the Punjab, she enthusiastically took part in the movement and courted arrest<sup>8</sup> when civil disobedience started in NWFP also. She also joined the movement and motivate other women's and upset the Governor Sir. Oolf, Kero and Viceroy of India Mountbatton that he alarmed British Govt. about the power of movement. When Referendum held in NWFP Quaid-i-Azam selected three women for keen eye of political activities in NWFP. Begum Salma Tussadaq was one of them.<sup>9</sup> This Legislature, lasted till January 24, 1951, when it was dismissed by Governor Moody, on the advice of prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, Governor Moody dissolved the assembly, dismissed the government and imposed the Government and imposed the Governor rule under article 93(A) on January 24.

The second Legislature came in to being on, March, 1951, which had a membership of 197 seats. This Legislature constituted in accordance with the June 3 plan and Indian independence Act. According to the third amendment in the Government of India Act, 1935, the following women came in Legislature<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid, PP. 130-134.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, P. 135.

<sup>10</sup> See Punjab legislatores (1951-55).

## WOMEN'S LEGISLATORS IN PUNJAB LEGISLATURE (1951-1955)

Name	Constituencies
Khudeja Begum	P.W. 5 Zone (Outer Lahore) reserve seat
Gulzar Begum	P.W 58 Zone (Multan)
Jahan-Ara Begum Shah Nawaz	P.W 66 zone ( outer Lahore)
Salma Tassaduq Hussain	P.W 161 zone (inner Lahore)
Mrs. S.P Singha	P.W 168 Zone ( Pakistani Christian and Anglo-Pakistan)
Zeenat Jahan Begum	P.W 173 Zone ( Rawalpindi)
Baji Rasheeda Latif	Inner Lahore

Begum G.A. Khan, was a leading social and political worker of the Punjab who had participated in the Pakistan movement. Before her joining politics, she served as Headmistress of a school for several years and was also associated with the Girls Guides Movement. Begum G.A. Khan born on 18 March, 1915. She was daughter of Home Minister Ghulam Hassan Khan belonged to Frid Koat and wife of Cornl. G.A.Khan. She was also president of social welfare council of West Pakistan from 1965-1970. After Independence, in 1951, she was elected member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly and later on, member of the West Pakistan Legislative Assembly. Outside the Assemblies, she was participated in the activities of the APWA and the Red Cross Society. In 1956, she was taken as Minister of social welfare in the West Pakistan Cabinet. Due to her best performance, Govt. of Pakistan give her Tumgha Pakistan, Sitara Imtiaz, Sitara Pakistan . A special award was given to her best performance in 1965 war.<sup>11</sup> Gulzar Begum Muhammad Ali, She was M.B.B.S. Doctor, L.R.C.P. M.R.C.S. D.O.Ms. (London), L.M. Dublin<sup>12</sup>.

During 1951-55 different ministries changed in Punjab .during the Liaquat period, Mian Mumtaz Khan Daultana had won the elections and had become the Chief Minister. During

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, PP. 153, 154.

<sup>12</sup> Autobiography of Punjab legislators, P. 97.

**Issues taken by Punjab legislator during 1947-1958**

<b>S. No</b>	<b>Issues</b>	<b>percentage</b>
1	Political	15
2	Social	20
3	Gender	15

**Issues taken by Punjab legislator during 1962-1969**

<b>S. No</b>	<b>Issues</b>	<b>percentage</b>
1	Political	10
2	Social	17
3	Gender	8

the last month of his rule, Khawja Nazimuddin had placed the responsibility of the Khatme Nubuwwat Movement in Punjab on Mumtaz Daultana and had thus obtained his resignation. Malik Feroz Khan Noon who was at that time serving as the Governor of East Pakistan was made the new Chief Minister of Punjab. The Muslim League members of the Assembly displayed their loyalty by electing him as their leader.

Elections for the new constituent Assembly were to be held shortly. Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Gormani was therefore busy in his political maneuvering in order to get the central ministers elected from Punjab. In May 1954, Mushtaq Gormani took a sudden turn and dismissed the Noon Government in view of public interest and, in line with the wishes of Daultana, appointed Abudl Hameed Khan Dasti who was habitual of supporting every ruling party that is why, he and his supporters did not find any difficulty in forming the new government with the backing of Daultana. This government remained in office till the creation of one unit in West Pakistan.<sup>13</sup> The most important hindrance in the way of constitution making was the issue of representation of various provinces in the legislature. The situation was that fifty six percent of the country's population was concentrated in only one Province (East Pakistan). The remaining forty four percent of the population was scattered in the four provinces of West Pakistan and several small states. If population had been regarded as the criterion for representation, East Pakistan would have got a permanent majority in the Assembly. The provinces and states of West Pakistan were not totally baseless.

Hussain Shaheed Soharwardi was the Law Minister in the Second Cabinet of Muhammad Ali Bogra. He prepared a draft bill for the creation of one unit. It was presented in the session of the new constituent assembly in July 1955. According to the Bill, Punjab was given forty percent of the seats in the Assembly of the one unit. It was in spite of the fact that fifty-six percent of the total population of West Pakistan lived in Punjab. This sacrifice on the part of

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<sup>13</sup> Prof. Sh. Muhammad Rafique, *Standard History of Pakistan since 1947*, Lahore, 2000, PP. 121-122.

Punjab was meant to satisfy the smaller provinces. It was proposed that till the general elections, the members of provincial assemblies should elect, the members of new assembly of West Pakistan. The one unit finally came into being on October 14, 1955. Nawab Mushtaq Ahmed Gorman was sworn in as new Governor and Dr. Khan Sahib as the new Chief Minister. Dr. Khan Sahib formed the caretaker govt. till the establishment of the West Pakistan Assembly.<sup>14</sup>

The Second Provincial Legislature disappeared from the political scene October 14, 1955 when one unit came into being. The third provincial legislature appeared on political scene according to 1956 constitution. The constitution provide in each provincial Legislature consisting of three hundred members, ten additional seats were reserved for women for a period of ten year, which were to be filled on the pattern of the seats in the National Assembly.<sup>15</sup>

During 1956-58 in Punjab Assembly there were following lady members.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid, PP. 156, 157.

<sup>15</sup> Despite efforts from Begum Shahnawaz and other women politician, no female could enter the second constitution Assembly. See Shahnawaz, P. 235.

<sup>16</sup> See Punjab legislators (1956-58)

## WOMEN'S LEGISLATORS IN WEST PAKISTAN ASSEMBLY (1956-1958)

Name	Constituency
Begum Khudija G.A khan	P.W. 1 Zone (Lyallpur District )
Begum Mumtaz Jamal Anwar	P.W 7 Zone (Peshaware District )
Begum Zennat Fidah Hussain	P.W 8 Zone (Rawalpindi District )
Aisha Muhammad Afzal Aziz Arain	P.W 53 zone ( Sukkhar District) Reserve seat
Faqira Khan Jaddon	P.W 70 Zone (Hazara District)
Jahah Ara Shah Nawaz	P.W 109 Zone (Lahore District) Reserve Seat
Salma Tassaduq	P.W 247 Zone ( Multan District) Reserve Seat
Mrs. S.P Singha	P.W 265 Zone (Sialkot District ) Non Muslim Reserve seat
Tahira Ijaz Hussain Agha	P.W 270 Zone (Hyderabad District) Women Reserve seat
Begum Zari Sarfraz	P.W 279 Zone(Mardan District)
Zubeda Ihsan-ul-Haq	P.W 280 Zone (Bahawalpur District)

Some women Legislators belonged to families which were less known politically or had little interest in politics. They were basically social workers. Most of them became active in politics during the Pakistan movement. Begum Zari Sarfraz was an active social worker who entered politics during the Pakistan Movement. She joined the Muslim League in 1944, and helped organize the women's committee of the Mardan District Muslim League. Later on, she became its president. She campaigned for the League candidates in the 1945-46 elections. She took part in the civil disobedience movement organized by the NWFP Muslim League against the Dr. Khan Sahib's Ministry and the July 1947 referendum in the province. After Independence, she served on various social organizations; she was member of the Pakistan

Social Welfare Council, Vice President of its regional council and president of the Peshawar Branch of the TB Association.<sup>17</sup> Other women Legislators were, Begum Zeenat Fida Hussain was one of them who bear torture courted arrested several time during creation of Pakistan.<sup>18</sup> Begum Aysha Abdul Aziz was amongst one of them who done so much work in NWFP because in NWFP Purdah was strict. Wife of Sardar Abdul Rab Nishter encouraged women in NWFP. Begum Mumtaz Jamal, Zarian Sarfraz, Aysha Abudl Aziz, Zubida Hasan-ul-Haq were side by side with her. In Lahore, Office of Muslim League ladies wing was established on Impress Road. Begum Aysha was Finance incharge of ladies wing.<sup>19</sup>

When March 1945, civil disobedience started in NWFP, Begum Zari Sirfraz and Mumtaz Jamal wre also most enthusiastic protesters of it. They were also member of NWFP Muslim League Zari Sirfraz, Mumtaz Jamal, Zeenat Fida, Aysha Azzi, Zubida Hasan ul Haq allwere shining stars of politics, linked with politics in any shape. They did pure politics. Mumtaz Jamal and Zarian Sarfraz play important role after creation of Pakistan. They pushed women from Home to Assembly.<sup>20</sup> The third Legislature disappeared from the political scene wi th the abrogation of the 1956 constitution and imposition of Martial Law in the country in October 1958, with General Ayub Khan as the Chief Martial Law Administrator.

The fourth Provincial Legislature, or the first West Pakistan Provincial Assembly under the 1962 constitution, was elected in April-may 1962. Under this constitution, the Provincial Assemblies were to have 155 seats, five of these seats were reserved for women. The president and the members of all the assemblies were elected by the B.D. members. Thus, the constitution provided for an indirect system of elections.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Arifa Subha Khan, *Amma Hawa Say Amma Councilor Tak*, PP. 150-151.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, P.122.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, P. 126

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, PP 127, 134, 148, 150, 154.

<sup>21</sup> Prof. Sh. Muhammad Rafique *standard History of Pakistan since 1947*, Lahore, 2000 P.230.



During 1962 – 1965 there were following lady members in this Assembly.

Women's legislator provincial Assembly of Pakistan (1962-1965)

Name	Constituency
Begum Mahmooda Salim Khan	P.W 8 Zone ( II- Peshawar D.I Khan Division)
Begum Ashraf Burni	P.W 18 Zone ( Hyderabad, Karachi, Kalat Division)
Dr. Ashraf Abbasi	P.W 28 Zone ( Bahawalpur, Khairpur, Quetta, Division)
Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz	P.W 57 Zone (Lahore, Multan Division)
Sahibzadi Mehmooda Begum	P.W 67 Zone ( Rawalpindi Sargodha Division) <sup>22</sup>

Some women parliamentarians gained prominence from the platform of the PPP. Mrs. Ashraf Abbasi was one of them who joined the PPP when Z.A. Bhutto organized that party. Prior to that, she had been an active social worker. A medical doctor, she worked as medical officer in Civil Hospital Larkana (1954-55), and as general practitioner (1960-73). She was member of the population planning council, the social welfare council, the Pakistan Nursing Council, the Syndicate of the Sind University, Jamshoro, and the Governing Body of the Fatima Jinnah Medical College, Lahore. She widely visited foreign countries and participated in seminars and conferences. In 1962 and 1965, she was elected to the West Pakistan Assembly on a woman seat. In the elections of 1970, she campaigned for the PPP candidates in Sind. She had the rare distinction to serve as the woman Deputy Speaker in the sixth parliament. After the imposition of Martial Law in 1977, she was imprisoned, and on release, she worked for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan<sup>23</sup>.

The second West Pakistan Provincial Assembly under the constitution, or the fifth parliament, was elected in April 1965, after the presidential elections. Again, five women were elected to this parliament; all the three members of the fourth parliament; Ashraf

<sup>22</sup> See Punjab Legislatures (1962-65)

<sup>23</sup> Arifa Subha, Khan, Amma Hawa say Amma councilor Tak, PP. 157.

Abbasi, Sahibzadi Mahmooda Begum were reelected, but the three women elected (Begum Mumtaz Jamal elect from P.W. 15 zone IV. Begum Mumtaz Safdar elect from P.W. 155 zone V. Begum Zahida Khaliaq Zaman elect from PW 151 zone II were all new members.<sup>24</sup> This parliament was dissolved as a result of the second country wide martial law.

**Women's legislators in provincial Assembly of west Pakistan ( 1965-1969)**

Name	Constituency
Dr. Ashraf Abbasi	P.W .152 Zone II
Sahibzadi Mehmooda Begum	P.W.153 zone III
Begum Mumtaz Jamal	P.W.154 Zone IV
Begum Mumtaz Safdar	P.W. 155 Zone V
Zahida Khaliq Zaman	P.W 151 Zone I

<sup>24</sup> See Punjab Legislatures 1962-69.

The Legislatures in which they had representation did not go beyond 3-4 per cent of the total membership. Despite this low representation, the women members did not feel any inhibition in actively participating in the parliamentary proceedings. If one compares their performance with the performance of an average male member, their contribution was in no way negligible. It was quite commendable they spoke not only an issue relating to the women but also participated in debates on every important national issue that came for consideration before the House.

### **1. NATURE OF PARTICIPATION**

Their participation in the parliament was of a varied nature. They regularly participated in the debates on the annual budgets and raised issues of Public interest. They also took part in the discussion on the bills and resolutions and moved amendments. They raised points of order, asked starred and unstarred questions and interrupted in the parliamentary proceedings to get information from the Treasury Benches or to show their disagreement on a specific point. They also served on various committees of the House. Despite their insignificant representation, they made their presence felt in the House by participating through these mechanisms.

A major part of the parliamentary work was transacted through the standing committees and select committees of the House. These committees were appointed for a fixed term or purpose and submitted reports from time to time. The representation of women members on some of these committees enabled them to make their contribution for the solutions of different problems. In the first parliament, there were just two members, Begum Shahnawaz and Begum Tussaduque who served on these committees. However, they worked on more committees than any of their successors. They would use different methods to accelerate the pace of their work.

Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz and Begum Slama Tussaduque Hussain served on committees dealing with social, economic and political issues. In 1948, Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz was appointed a member of the West Punjab Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Bill.<sup>25</sup> She was taken on the Basic Principles committee of the CAP and its Subcommittee on Franchise. The following year, she was appointed a member of Library Committee.<sup>26</sup> She was appointed a member of Privilege.<sup>27</sup> She was also selected on the committee for the West Punjab Electricity Bill. Begum Salam Tussaduque Husain selected on the committee for the West Punjab Agriculture Income-Tax Bill.<sup>28</sup> The following year (1948), she was appointed a member of the West Punjab Protection bill of Evacee Property Bill.<sup>29</sup>

In 1948, she was selected on the committee for the Indian Stamp (West Punjab Amendment Bill).<sup>30</sup> She was also appointed in House Committee.<sup>31</sup> Begum Shahnawaz, Begum Khudegja G.A. Khan Begum Zeenat Jahan, Mrs. S.P. Singha, Begum Rashida Latif Baji, Begum Zeenat Fida Husain served on committees.

In 1951, Begum Shahnawaz, Zeenat Jahan, Begum G.A. Khan, Mrs. S.P. Singha, Baji Rashida Latif were appointed member of children Bill committee.<sup>32</sup>

The following year, Rashida Latif Baji, Begum Shahnawaz, G.A. Khan, Zeenat Jahan were appointed member of Muslim Aquaf Bill committee.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> PAD, January 9, 1948, P. 95

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, January 15, 1948, P. 233

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, January 23, 1948, P. 482

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, April 2, 1948, P. 429

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, January 9, 1948, P. 109

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, April 2, 1948, P. 430

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, January 8, March 16, 1948, P.P, 23, 26.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, December 18, 1951, P. 163.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, December 21, 1951, PP 294-295.

In 1952, Begum G.A.Khan was appointed a member of House committee and in the following year, Zeenat Fida Hasan was appointed for committee of petition.<sup>34</sup> Begum Shahnawaz and Begum G.A. Khan were appointed members of the Punjab Education (Control of Private Institutions) Bill.<sup>35</sup> The following year (1952), Begum G.A. Khan was appointed the member of committee of Petition.<sup>36</sup> In 1954, Khudeja G.A. Khan was appointed the member of committee on petition.<sup>37</sup> The following year, Begum Salma Tusaduq Husain was appointed member of Election to the Public Accounts Committee.<sup>38</sup> In 1956, Begum Shahnawaz appointed a member of the West Pakistan General Clause Bill, 1956.<sup>39</sup>

In 1957, Begum Sarwri Irfan Ullah appointed a member of the West Pakistan High court (Special Jurisdiction) Bill, 1957.<sup>40</sup>

The following year, Begum Zeenat Fida and Begum Sarwari Irfan Ullah appointed for the West Pakistan National Calamities (Presentation and Relief) Bill, 1957.<sup>41</sup>

In 1957, Begum Zeenat Fida and Tahira Agha appointed the West Pakistan National Calamities (Provincial and Relief) Bill, 1957. The following year, Begum Shahnawaz and Zeenat Fida appointed the Punjab District Boards (West Pakistan Amendment) Bill, 1957.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, January 7, March 1, April 28, 1952, PP 426-427, 8-9, 79.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, May 1, 1952 P 245.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, December 5, 1952, P 53.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, February 2, 1954, P.88

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, December 6, 1954, P. 647.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, June 2, 1956, P. 902

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, January 30, 1957, P. 224.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, January 30, 1957, P. 224.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, February 1, P. 363.

In 1957, Begum Mumtaz Jamal and Aisha Abdul Aziz appointed the Punjab Municipal (West Pakistan Amendment) Bill, 1957.<sup>43</sup>

The following year, Begum Zeenat Fida and Slama Tussaduq Husain appointed for "The West Assembly (Offices) Bills, 1956."<sup>44</sup> Mrs. S.P. Singha appointed for "West Paksitan Urban Rent Restriction Estrictyion Bill."<sup>45</sup>

In 1957, Begum Zari Sirfraz appointed for "The West Pakistan (Adaptation and Repeal of Law) bill 1957."<sup>46</sup>

Begum Tahira Agha and Zeenat Fida appointed for "Election to the Public Accounts committee.

In the 1960s, the women members were appointed on fewer committees as compared to the first parliament.

In 1964, Sahibzadi Mahmooda Begum was elected member of the standing committee of the Family courts Bill.<sup>47</sup>

In 1966, she was also the member of standing committee of the West Pakistan Redemption and Restriction of Mortgaged Lands (Amendment) Bill 1966.<sup>48</sup>

She was also member of standing committee of Law and Parliamentray Affairs on the West Pakistan control of Janez Bill, 1965.<sup>49</sup>

Begum Mumtaz Jamal became member of West Pakistan Dowry (Restriction on display) Bill, 1966.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid, February, 1, 1957, P.382.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, February 6, 1957. P 670.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, February 6, 1957. P 670.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, March 5, 1957, P. 1014.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, June 30, 1964, P. 15.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, July 11, 1966, P.6799.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, December 5, 1966, P. 2490.

In 1965, Sahibzadi Mahmooda Begum became member of standing committee on social welfare on the Punjab Trade Employees (West Pakistan Amendment) Bill, 1965.<sup>51</sup>

The following year, Begum Mumtaz Jamal member of standing committee on social welfare on the West Pakistan Prohibition of immoral Practices Bill, 1965.<sup>52</sup>

Besides serving as members of the committees, the women parliamentarians also served on the Panel of Chairmen. During (1947-69, Begum Shahnawaz, Begum Salma Tussaduq, Begum G.A.Khan, Dr. Gulzar Begum Muhamad Ali, Begum Zeenat Jahan Fida were elected on the panel of chairmen several times. By Serving in these capacities, they demonstrated that they were as active participants in the proceedings of the parliament as the male members.

The women members made impressive speeches when they raised important issues during the debates on the annual budgets, bills or resolutions. They either appreciated or criticized the government and made alternative suggestions to the problems under consideration of the House. Their budget speeches were often long in which they covered social, economic and political aspects of life. Sometimes the House appreciated the points that they raised speeches. In 1948, members were discussing on West Punjab Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Bill. Begum Shahnawaz and Begum Salam expressing comprehensive views according to Shariat. Others male members supported their views.<sup>53</sup>

Sometimes, women members criticized and made alternative suggestions to the problems under consideration of the House. Begum Slama criticized govt. policy about Publicity Department is not strong and gave suggestions how to make it strong.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid, December 5, 1966, P. 2491.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, June 6, 1966, P. 2232.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, January 15, 1969, P. 2343.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, January 9, 1948, P. 86-92.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, January 8, 1948, PP.61-62.

Their budget speeches were often long in which they covered social, economic and political aspects of life. In the Budget session of 1948, Begum Shahnawaz comprehensively covered political, social, economic and female matters. She criticized as well as gave suggestions to govt.<sup>55</sup>

However, the speeches of a few women were sometimes not focused on the subject under discussion. They cited incorrect information which was often corrected by other members. For example, in 1948 session, discussion on Education Policy was under consideration Begum Slama criticized that very little has been given for women Education by govt. The Miinster of Education corrected her that under the constitution, common budget made and there is no gender discrimination.<sup>56</sup>

Sometimes, women Threat to resign when any derogatory remarks were passed against the women. In 1948 session, when a member Mian Wali Muhammad Gohar was discussing on Budget General Discussion, he criticized on women then Begum Shahnawaz threaten to resign if this kind of speech is to be delivered here again.<sup>57</sup>

The women moved amendments to the bills and resolutions to put forth their view point in the parliament. They moved a few but quite important amendments to the bills and resolutions. Some women member's however, other were less vocal and less active. In the first parliament, Begum Shahnawaz in the second parliament, Begum G.A. Khan, in the third parliament, Begum Zeenat Jahan Fida and Begum Mumtaz Jamal, in the fourth Palriament sahzadi Mahmooda Begum and Begum Mumtaz Jamal in the fifth Sahibzadi Mahmooda Begum and Begum Zeenat Fida Husain were the most active members who moved amendments to bills and resolutions on social, political and women issues. Most of their

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid, Jnuary 12, 1948, P. 120-130.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, January 19, 1948, PP. 323-327, 351.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, March 18, 1948, P. 68



amendments on social issues were regarding removal of illiteracy taxes and advancement of education and unemployment.<sup>58</sup>

On the women issues, their amendments related to the reservation of seats for women, the Pakistan Marriage Expenditure Bill and the Muslim Family Laws Bill, establishment of Qazi courts, some of their amendments were accepted by the House.<sup>59</sup>

The women members raised point of order on a number of occasions, some points were admitted while other were rejected. The Point of Order raised by them can be divided into four categories. The first category was of those points of order when members digressed from the subject under discussion.<sup>60</sup> The second category was of those points of order when anything objectionable was published in the press or when any derogatory remarks were passed against the women folk in the House. The third category was of those points of order when noise and confusion were disturbing the proceedings of the House.<sup>61</sup> The fourth category was of those points of order in which the women members drew the attention of the speaker to the quorum of the House.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> For instance, see the amendment to the "Social Welfare On the Punjab Trade Employees (West Pakistan) (Amendment) Bill moved by Shaibzadi Mahmooda Begum in PAD, January 8, 1964, P. 86.

See the amendment to the clause 5 of the West Pakistan on Quetta Division Prohibition of Walver Bill 1964, moved by Begum Mumtaz Safdar in PAD, January 8, 1964, P. 88.

See the motion moved by Zeenat Fida on Punjab Education (Control of Private Institutions Bill) in PAD, January 15, 1952, P. 968-982.

<sup>59</sup> See the Resolution moved by Begum Shahnawaz "Establishment of Qazi Courts" PAD, December 12, 1962.

See the Resolution moved by Begum Shahnawaz January 31, 1957, P. 295-299.

<sup>60</sup> See the point of order moved by Begum G.A.Khan in PAD May, 1, 1952m O, 226,

<sup>61</sup> See the point of order moved by Sahibzadi Mahmooda Begum in PAD, July 3, 1963, PP. 104-105 and also see in PAD, March 26, 1964, P. 50.

<sup>62</sup> See the point of order moved by Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz in PAD, July 1, 1963, P. 78.

During the debates on the budgets and bills, the women members often interrupted to ask questions on the subject under discussion. In the first parliament, their interruptions were about women issues or on the reports of different committees.<sup>63</sup>

All these activities their interest in parliamentary affairs.

## 2. CONTENT OF PARTICIPATION

The issues on which the women parliamentarians spoke may be divided into three categories:

a. those issues that were of a political nature like the political system, reorganization of the administrative system and foreign policy; (b) the social issues that were of a general nature like general education and health problems and those issues which related to the economic system and general economic conditions; and (c) those social and economic issues that were specific to women such as problems of their education, employment, etc. on all these issues, the women parliamentarians gave useful suggestions which were often supported by other members and accepted by the House.

### PHASE ONE, 1947-58

In this section, we have discussed the performance of the women parliamentarians in the first parliament on the three subjects mentioned above. As discussed in chapter two, the total number of women members in this parliament was two, Begum jahanara shahnawaz and Begum salma Tussaduque, who had been elected on the Muslim league ticket. During 1951-55 ,total number of women members in this parliament were seven. During 1956-58,total number of women members in this parliament were twelve.

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<sup>63</sup> PAD, January 13, 1948, PP. 206-209, Ibid, March 18, 1948, P. 49.

## POLITICAL ISSUES

Begum shahnawaz advocated reforms in the administrative system of the country. Under the prevailing system, the processing of files was unnecessarily delayed, sometimes a file would not move until the crisis that it was dealing with was over. Modern methods had to replace these archaic procedures, especially in financial matters. The delay in routine matters, she stated, was equally detrimental to the interests of the state. In emergency matters, she suggested, the minister-in-charge and the secretary of the ministry should ensure the completion for work within the prescribed time.<sup>64</sup>

During the 1948 session, she tried to impress upon the govt the urgent need for setting up well-organised information departments at the centre and in the provinces on the pattern that these had operated in the second world war. It was the duty of the state, she said, to communicate correct information to the people to make them responsible citizens. The proposed information departments should not merely be official propaganda machines but a reliable means of information to make the people enlightened citizens of a free state. The officials of this department should disseminate information through every available mechanism. This would create an atmosphere which would make the people politically conscious however, the house rejected her proposal at the time.<sup>65</sup>

Begum salma Tussaduque, criticized that due to weaker publicity department the position of Pakistan is not clear in the world. She suggested that Govt. should adopt modern techniques to make publicity department strong like London, Newyork and Washington. For this purpose, Govt. should appoint such able persons who can present Pakistan's image in a

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid, January 12, 1948, P. 121.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, January 12, 1948, PP. 128-129.

best way in front of the world and govt. should send these persons to foreign countries for learning new techniques.<sup>66</sup>

About citizen Education, Begum Shahnawaz suggested that industrial Centres should be established in order to skilled labour can produce because 11% people work in factories. Their education, she urged, that should be at lést middle class. In this way Pakistan can compete with developed countries.<sup>67</sup>

Begum Shahnawaz criticized that several died people can be survived if transport system remain under govt. control.

She proposed that Govt. should draw a line that how can make a developed province coming next 15 years. She gave example of Russia that construct a new world within 31 years. She opined that through planning province can be developed.<sup>68</sup>

Begum Salma criticized police and irrigation department because govt. was giving heavy salaries to officer, it was injustice because it create discrimination between people. She suggested allowances with salaries given to officers should be minimized.<sup>69</sup>

In 1952, Begum Shahnawaz moved a resolution "completion of constitution". She regretted that after 5 years of Pakistan's existence the promises that had been made to the people during the Pakistan movement had not been fulfilled. She argued that objective of resolution to move here in Punjab Provincial Assembly as follows:-

1. When this approved Resolution would move to National Assembly, then the members of National Assembly, then the members of National Assembly will try to best to completing the task of constitution making without the least possible delay. (2) Recently, meeting of

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid, January 8, 1948, P. 62.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, January 12, 1948m P. 126.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, January 12, 1948, PP. 120-121.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, January 13, 1948, P. 187.

three constituent committees will be held. They will bound to complete the task of constitution at once.

This Resolution appreciated by House members.<sup>70</sup> Discussing on the resolution of "Completion the constitution" in 1952, Baji Rashida Latif, anyhow accepted it but criticised it, she argued why this resolution did not moved in National Assembly and why moved in Provincial Assembly. She alleged that it is a eye wash and Govt. is not sincere to complete constitution because govt. support English constitution. She opined that Govt. is expending lot of money on constitution making and govt. can draw the constitution by simply, adopting Islamic laws.<sup>71</sup>

In 1954, Begum shahnawaz suggested that the chief minister should not have more than two portfolios so that he could devote more time for supervising the work of various ministries and plan for the ministries in his charge. She asked ,can a man ,however able ,handle so many portfolios satisfactorily. She suggested that planning commission should be established which consist of three members. One for commerce ,second for economics ,and third for administrations. For this purpose there should be three directors who planned for coming five years ,because in case ,if a ministry change then development work will continue according to pattern by another ministry.<sup>72</sup>

In 1954,during budget general discussion, begum shahnawz supported the appointment of parliamentary. secretaries she argued that elected representatives is a check on officers either officers are performing their duties with responsibility in their department or not.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Ibid, May 8, 1952, PP. 517-518.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid, May 8, 1952, P. 525-528.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, March 5, 1956, PP. 171-172.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, March 1, 1956, PPP. 391-393.

In 1956, during discussion on Chitral resolution Begum Shah Nawaz condemned the Indian attitude on the Kashmir issue. Soon after independence India unlawfully annexed the state of Jammu and Kashmir. As a result, an armed conflict developed between India and Pakistan over the accession of the state whose people were already waging a struggle for emancipation against its Dogra Hindu Maharaja. India took the issue to the UN but the UN failed to play successfully its role either in this conflict or in another one of vital interest for the Muslims, the Palestine issue. She criticized the UN for unfairly treating the Muslim countries and for doing nothing as far as the Kashmir and Palestine issues were concerned. It neither realised that the Kashmiris had risen in revolt against the tyranny of the Dogra ruler nor did it come to its assistance. She felt that the great powers which were members of the UN were not doing justice to the oppressed people of the Muslim countries. She believed that the UN's survival depended on ensuring justice to the oppressed people. Despite all its shortcomings, she said, the UN should be given an opportunity to solve the burning contemporary disputes. She suggested that govt. as well as opposition should be united in order to enemy could not destroy.<sup>74</sup>

In 1956, during Chitral Resolution Begum Zari Sirfraz criticised the recent statement made by the Indian Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru, that Chitral is a part of Kashmir and it come under the Suzerainty of Kashmir. She criticised that due to our internal conflicts enemy is taking advantage. She said with determination, enemy should realize Chitrali people sacrificed with their life in creation of Pakistan as well as in Kashmir, freedom war. Chitrali people will fight in favour of Kashmiris. She suggest parliamentarians should abolish conflicts between each other, and show their strength to enemy.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid, May 28, 1956, P. 519-522.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, May 28, 1956, P. 516-518.

In 1954, discussing during Chitral Resolution, Begum Salma, Begum Zubida Hasan ul Haq and Begum Mumtaz Jamal criticised Indian Prime Minister's statement and suggested that parliamentarians should abolish conflicts between each other in order to enemy disparate because, enemy is taking advantage from our conflicts. They claimed women will stand side by side men and will fight for the solidarity of the country.<sup>76</sup>

Begum Shahnawaz criticized, in a free Islamic country discretionary powers should not given to Governor who misuse it.

She also suggested govt. should establish councils for people counseling in administrative matters. Divisional Advisory councils should be established in order to can help the C.S.P. officers. She gave example of England, where Divisional council established for solving the people problems.

She suggested technical secretaries should be appoint in technical department because they will be aware of the technicalities of department.<sup>77</sup>

In 1957, discussion on "West Pakistan Ministries (salaries, Allowances and privileges) bill 1957, Begum Shahnawaz criciticised that the tragedy of parliamentary life has been two-fold.

1. The first is that he House has been sitting for a very short space of time and
2. Secondly, constitution is very very sacred but do not amended only if there is a grave-emergency. She gave example of American constitution that has been amended only twice. But tragedy of our parliament life is that every govt. that has come into saddle has had no respect for the sancity of the constitution at all. Even now and then they bring amendments to the constitution to serve their purpose only. She criticised on the

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid, May 28, 1956, P. 540-543.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, May 30, 1956, PP. 678-679.

powers of the Governor that why these powers should be placed in the hands of one single person. She suggested do not think as Republicans but think as Pakistani.<sup>78</sup>

In 1957, discussion on the west Pakistan ministers salaries allowance and privileges bill 1957. Begum salma Tussadnque ,criticized addition of ministers, and if demands of ministers fulfilled by legislatures then it will be impossible to save national(khazana)she criticized chief minister that he try to give more and more relaxations to ministers like free furnished house and medical facilities etc, she requested do not abolish the aim of one unit. She focused on refugee problem s who are deprived from shelter food, basic necessities of life Govt did not pay attention to their problems. She also criticized that govt. did not increased the salaries of poor railway servants and govt. gave argued there is no capacity in budget, she also criticised ministry is a misusing staff cars , she regretted that all these relaxation which are enjoying by ministers received from the taxes of poor people. They earned from their blood.<sup>79</sup>

In 1958, during the question of privilege, Begum Shahnawaz criticized no rules and regulations in parliament .speaker is a custodian of the house .It is responsibility of speaker to sovereign the house .before presentation of budget few days should be given to house for studying keenly.

But there are no rules about this, for very short time budget is given for studying. She also criticized duration and responsibilities of legislatures and suggests that

1. Legislatures should study keenly budget in order to make beneficial suggestions.
2. Legislatures should study the administration of province particularly his areas administration's defects because people cast vote and sent their representatives to parliament for solving their problems

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid, February 4, 1957, PP. 559-560.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, February 4, 1957, PPP. 619-621.



During “city of Lahore corporation Bill”, 1958. Begum Shahnawaz opposed it because it is first step to cease local self govt. She argued local bodies are first step of democracy. The aim to establish local bodies in order to people can rule in their house.<sup>80</sup>

#### A. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES:-

The areas that constituted Pakistan were the least developed areas of the Subcontinent. They lacked basic social and educational facilities. At the time of Independence, there were only two general universities, one in East Pakistan and other in West Pakistan. The number of colleges teaching arts and science subjects was 65; high school 408, primary schools 8, 413 and vocational schools 46. By 1954, the number of universities rose to 4, colleges 111, and high schools 747, primary schools 14,162 and vocational schools was 644; colleges 0.014 million, high schools 0.06 million; primary schools 0.77 million; and vocational school 0.004 million. While in 1954, the enrolment in universities was 1,998; colleges 0.043 million; high schools 0.11 million; primary schools 1.55; and vocational schools 0.011 million.<sup>81</sup>

Women legislatures showed interest in the promotion of education. They served on different bodies appointed by the government to reorient the educational system particularly Begum Shahnawaz, Begum G.A.Khan was also parliamentary secretary of Education. Begum Shahnawaz was member of the Central Board of Education. Women legislatures considered education as the key factor in development. They urged for the establishment of more schools and colleges and demanded scholarships for deserving students to enable them to go abroad for higher education. During the Resolution of “Establishment of Maktabas in Village Mosques. Both Begum Shahnawaz and Salma Tussaduque considered education as the key

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid, March 14, 1958, PP. 29-30.

<sup>81</sup> M.L. Qureshi, planning and development in Pakistan Review and alternatives, 1947-82, Lahore, 1984, PP. 35-36.

factor in development. They urged for the establishment of more schools and colleges. They expressed her concern about low rate of literacy which at that time was estimated to be merely 10 percent. Literacy, in her opinion, was essential for development of democracy. Begum Shahnawaz suggests two ways for its elimination: first, every citizen should pay an educational cess, and the funds thus collected should be utilized for establishing primary schools; and second every literate person should treat adult education as a social service and assist in reducing illiteracy. Begum Salma suggests open more and more in maktab in village mosques in order to common education propagate as well as strong character built.<sup>82</sup>

Speaking on the Resolution regarding establishment of Islamic Academy. Begum Salma appreciated the resolution moved by Abdul Sattar. She suggests in oriental college Islamic Academy should be established. Adult education should be start in mosques. Ulama should guide to people about social problems in light of Quran and Sunnah.<sup>83</sup>

Speaking on the resolution regarding establishment of Islamic Academy, Begum Shahnawaz appreciated this resolution. She says Islam is a complete code of life. Which present all social matters like marriage, divorce, inheritance etc. First religion is Islam which declares marriage is a social contract. She criticized, under the prevailing British System. Education was limited to learn arithmetic, reading, writing but neglected character building. Due to this influence, after the creation of Pakistan social evils are common like corruption, dishonest etc. Islamic Academy is essential in order to enforce Islamic Education and teachers should be Ulama. Research on Islam should also start in this academy.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> PAD, April 8, 1948, P. 526-533.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid, April 1, 1948, PP. 407-408.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid, April 1, 1948, P. 401-404.

In 1951, Baji Rashhed Latif appreciated resolution of "Compulsory Physical and Military Training" move by Chudhry Ali Akber. She suggested this education is essential both for boys and girls because Pakistan has faced lot of problems due to lack of this education in creation of Pakistan. Govt. should start this education in schools. This suggestion is useful for country because through it Pakistan can defend their country.<sup>85</sup>

Discussing on Education (Control of Private Institution) Bill in 1952, Begum Shahnawaz appreciated it. She argued the statement of objects and reasons is very clear and there can be no question of eliciting public opinion about it. She argued that the statement of objects and reasons does not in any way do a way with the freedom of the Christian or Islamic institution. It only says that education should planned. The hon'ble should side with us in seeing that a useful measure of this type is expedited and passed as soon as possible.<sup>86</sup>

In 1952, discussing on "children bill" Begum G.A.Khan criticized opposition. She says that this bill is a first step of social legislation children are the wealth of a nation. She argued govt. had intend to send destitute children to certified schools. Govt. should arrange their maintenance and medical aid. Probiton officer should also appoint to check the schools, either they educate the children in right direction or not. Realizing the importance of this bill parliamentarians should approved at once.<sup>87</sup> Begum Shahnawaz appreciated bill and suggests children are wealth of a nation and it is responsibility of govt. to take care. Govt. should establish such institutions that can provide better education to these children.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid, December, 20, 12951, PP. 238-239.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, May 1, 1952, PP> 226-227.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid, December 9, 1952, P. 162-165.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid, December 15, 1952, P. 513-516.

A resolution, "Education Commission" moved by Abdul Waheed Khan in 1952. Discussing on resolution, Begum Zeenat Fida Hassan appointed it and criticized our educational system is backward and bogus. She suggests adoption of new techniques is key of development. She emphasized when Pakistani students go abroad for technical or higher education they faced lot of problems. Education is a key factor of development. Govt. should appoint a Education Commission.<sup>89</sup>

In 1953, Begum Shahnawaz and Begum Zeenat Fida, appreciated free primary education. They opined it will useful for promoting more and more education. They also appreciated govt. approved scholarships for refugees students to enable them to go abroad for high education. Begum Zeenat Fida appreciated Govt. established college in Lahore and science college in Multan for girls.<sup>90</sup>

In 1954, Begum G.A.Khan (Palriamentary Secretary of Education) showed figures of education institutions established by govt. during her speech in budget general discussion. She compared that during 1948-49 primary education institutions were 40780 and students were 31,592 while this year primary education institute are 7972 and students are 724,161 and in middle and high classes strength of students has increased in this ration. She claimed it is govt. achievement free primary education will operate in April 1953 and 9 crore amount have fixed for it. In Islamic education reforms are also introduced. Events of great Islamic legends have included in curriculum. In history course, Islamic history has introduced, civil education has also introduce. Uniform dress has also introduced in educational institutions in order to abolish any discrimination between students.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid, December 11, 1952, PPP. 264-266.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, March 18, 1953, P. 152-157, Ibid, March 19, 1953 ,P 2212-217.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, March 2, 1954, P. 445-449.

In 1956, during budget-General discussion, Begum Tahira Aijaz Hussain Agha pointed that the problems of education alone is a gigantic one literacy figures as a whole hardly 10 percent and female literacy is not even 3 percent in the province. If we want to see democracy flourish in our country, you have got to educate your masses emphasis should be primary and secondary education.<sup>92</sup>

Begum Sarwri Irfanullah, argued a nation cannot rise to progress until its people should be educated. She gives the examples of Turkey when it came into being where conditions were same like Pakistan but Turkey promote education and now it is stand with developed countries. She suggests govt. upgrade the moral values of people and built their character strong through education.<sup>93</sup>

In 1957, Sarwri Irfanullah discussing the resolution of "Free and Compulsory Education" moved by Mr. Zain Noori. She appreciated this bill. She proposed that education is a key factor for development. The mystery of developed countries development is that they devote fully attention to education. She suggests that without education people cannot perform their skill in any field. She gives the example of China and Japan few years ago, where condition was same like Pakistan. They were backward in different fields like Pakistan. But they devote their full attention towards education. The result is that they are famous in industry and counted developed countries. She suggests govt. should promote more and more education like developed countries. Free and compulsory education should be introduced till metric. She criticized the commercial basis schools take heavy fee and result is not positive because teacher are not educated. That's way children deprived from teaching and they cannot useful for the country. Govt. should play important role towards this problem. She also criticized that machinery school education is not suitable with our culture

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid, May 22, 1956, PP. 123-124.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid, May 24, 1956, P. 263-266.

and religion. Govt. should take such steps for education in order to children can avoid machinery schools.<sup>94</sup>

Begum Tahira Agha, criticized British education system. She argued that British system designed to secure needs of foreign administration continues graduates produced graduates and double graduates produced by these slave schools and colleges men of no faith, no character and no honour and who can be purchased by any body for a pittance. She suggests govt. should aim at providing free basis education to every body, to build national character as the highest creation of God because a man of faith and character is worth and empire.

In Islam Take the example of the illustrious which side would you have chosen? The way of power and pelfat and blood for the vandication of lofty. Ideals and moral values. She emphasized govt. should greater emphasis on primary and secondary education. Cut down red-tapism. Give liberal grants-in-aid give the example of the 72 year old Anjumn-e-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore facing a deficit of ten laks of rupees. She criticized that unless the Govt. come forward the Anjumn will be compelled to close down some of its educational institutins. Some case in Jamia Arabia of Hyderabad Sind. She suggests govt. should have clear-cut policy and targets. Throw way the army of misfits who control the education department. She suggests make adequate funds available convert every mosque into a maktab and every Muhala into a teacher. She drew attention towards grievence of poor primary teachers and secretaries peon is equal. She remarked teacher give the best basic education to the children of the nation and it is most disgraceful. She suggests make Sindi the medium of instruction in Kharpur and Hyderabad Division and should also develop regional languages.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid, January 31, 1957, P. 313-315.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid, March 4, 1957, P. 1598.

Health facilities in Pakistan were extremely poor. In 1947, there were 292 hospitals and 722 medical dispensaries.<sup>96</sup>

During the budget discussion in 1950, Begum Shahnawaz observed that health was one of the most important subjects on which depended the development of the nation. The Ministry of health, she said, should concentrate on the problems of high child and maternal mortality. For this purpose infant welfare centres should be established every where. She asked for the posting of doctors in the rural areas and provision of facilities to them and in the areas in which they were posted.<sup>97</sup>

Begum Shahnawaz emphasized that infant meternity centres are very few govt. should more infant centres established even in each Tehsil. She also proposed that Public Health and medical department there should be two wings of one department and there should be one head. One is preventive side and other is curative side if there is no complete cooperation between each other then nation's health cannot be better. She suggests Up-to-date Meu Hospital in Lahore because it is pre-historic. For this pupose five lac should be needed for purchasing instruments and screens.<sup>98</sup> Begum Shahnawaz suggested govt. should medical despencies in villages.<sup>99</sup> Begum Zeenat Fida suggest Govt. should give special attention towards mental health as well as physical health. Otherwise, mental diseases will harmful for countries.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Queshi planning and development in Pakistan P. 38.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid, March 3, 1952, P. 122-127.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid, January 12, 1948, P. 126-128.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid, March 18, 1953, P. 152-157.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid, March 19, 1953, P. 212-217.

Begum Sarwri Irfanullah said 80 percent of people lived in villages. In villages, health facilities are unsatisfactory. She suggested govt. should establish child welfare centres as well as mobile dispensaries.<sup>101</sup>

At the time of Independence, more than seven million refugees came to Pakistan from different parts of India. Pakistan had limited resources to deal with this and other problems. Begum Shahnawaz suggested that those refugees who could manage cultivation of land should be allotted agriculture land of Thal.<sup>102</sup> Begum Salma suggest when Govt. will establish waves colonies for refugee then problem will emerge. She proposed 8 govt. should distribute thread machines to refugee women in order to they can produce thread. It will be helpful of financial support for their family. In 1948, during demands for grants-general administration. She also proposed govt. should construct separate colonies for refugees, given loan to them in order to they can start business. She emphasized that refugees are in very bad position. She suggested that govt. should utilized the amount of famine schemes for development of refugees.<sup>103</sup>

In 1948, discussing on "Rehabilitation Policy Begum G.A.Khan criticized govt. development work on Thal Project for refugees. Because there is no pre-planning and slow construction. She suggested to make plans before starting and construction work should be fast.<sup>104</sup>

Begum Shahnawaz suggested in agriculture field there is need for higher education. Govt. should give attention to intensification of agriculture. Through it 5% more wheat can produce from one acre but for this purpose, there is need of artificial fertilizers. She also

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid, May 24, 1956, P. 263-266.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid, January 12, 1948, P. 122-124.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid, January 8, 1948, P. 62, Ibid, March 22, 1948, P. 197.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, March 11, 1948, P. 619.



suggests there should be a survey in Punjab mineral resources and it is essential to produce more things from these resources. She also suggests researches should take guideline from research of American, Russia etc. because water logging has become complicated problem. She proposed lining method also used in this context.

About forests she suggests some steps should be taken (i) to start plantation (ii) Anti-Grazing legislation should be introduced (iii) Anti-Erosion steps should be taken.<sup>105</sup> Begum Sarwri Irfanullah criticized bogus methods used by govt. in agriculture field. That is way inspite of hardworking but result remained negative. She suggests govt. should take such steps to guide agriculturists, farmers about agriculture reforms that what kind of methods in agriculture are being used in developed countries. She assured that if agriculture will strong then country will strong.<sup>106</sup>

Speaking on the resolution regarding appointment of a committee to enquire into the causes of unemployment by Nur Ahmed. She suggested that this committee should use the reports on the subject prepared by the central and provincial government of undivided India. In her opinion the use of these reports would enable the committee to prepare its report at an early date. She suggested that the govt. should initiate development projects on which local labour should be used and that it should establish training centres to produce skilled man power for the Industrialization of the country.<sup>107</sup> Begum G.A. Khan explained that Govt. has established new factories in order to unemployment can be minimised.<sup>108</sup> Begum Shahnawaz was member of various social welfare organization asked for the amelioration of the conditions of the common man in the parliament. During the budget discussion in 1950,

<sup>105</sup> Ibid, January 21, 1948, PPP. 126-128., Ibid, January 12, 1948, P. 128., Ibid, January 12, 1948, P. 122-124.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid, May 24, 1956, P. 263-266.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid, April, 1, 1948, P. 374-376.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid, March 2, 1954, P. 460-463.

Begum Shah Nawaz demanded the creation of a separate ministry of social service whose head should be sent to the UN social service sector for training. This ministry should have offices at the province. It should develop a system that would induce every individual in the country to devote a few hours of his/her time for social service.<sup>109</sup> Such a system would result in the accomplishment of a great deal of work in the shortest possible time. However her proposal was rejected at the time. Begum Zeenat Jahan Begum, remarked actual meaning of welfare state of upgrade the living standard of common people. She suggested if govt. want to make a welfare state then govt. should take special steps to prevent population growth. She also suggests govt. should planned before developmental programmes start. Relationship between govt. and private agencies should be strong. She gives example of other countries where govt. gives grant to private agencies. She emphasized to adopt such methods adopt such method in order to welfare state can do more work. She argued no doubt, govt. works are more efficient but lot of time waste. If public welfare work done by volunteers then people time and govt. money will save. She gives example of Anjamm Women Pakistan run through 8 schools in different parts of Pakistan. She suggested govt. should pay attention to savings and invest this saving in productive work. For payment of national loan sinking fund should introduced in order to national loan can be paid every year.<sup>110</sup>

Begum Rashida Latif Baji moved a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the daily increase in wheat prices and distribution of unwhole some and defective wheat flour by the ration depots to the public but this motion rejected by the House. Baji Rasheeda also criticized a pattern of the Punjab Muslim Auqaf Bill because it was compiled according to Gurdwara Act of Sikhs. She argued Islam is a complete code of life and suggested to make this bill according to

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid, March 3, 1952, P. 122.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid, March 16, 1955, PP. 458-459.

Islam.<sup>111</sup> During the budget discussion in 1952, Begum G.A.Khan appreciated budget (1952-53) presented by Finance Minister. She claimed present Govt. try to provide convenient to people in every field like (1) Civil Defence 1 crore have fixed for this purpose. (2) 15 crore have fixed for rehabilitation policy (3) 5 crore have fixed for education including Adult Education. (4) 2.5 crore have fixed for health. (5) 7 crore and 26 lac have fixed for the welfare of people. (6) 1 lac have fixed for Bazm-i-Iqbal. Begum Zeenat Fida appreciated (1952-53) govt. budget. She emphasized more development should be introduced in villages; her whole speech revolved the village. She remarked that amount has fixed for welfare of common people is enough but due to bogus methods, large amount is wasted. For this purpose a board should establish or responsible people supervised such schemes in order to actual amount can spend on people welfare.<sup>112</sup>

Unemployment is a big problem. Begum Sarwri, remarked even graduate people are deprived from job. She suggests govt. should pay attention to domestic industries, encourage domestic industries. If govt. propagates domestic industries then lot of people will get jobs and absorb in these industries. 80 percent people live in village, she criticized govt. did not pay attention to tenant although tenants worked hard. She suggests govt. should give relief to tenants. She remarked Pakistan is backward in agriculture. Govt. should give facilities to tenants and give ownership right to farmers. In this method, agriculture production can be increased. She suggests lot of changes need in agriculture system. Govt. should provide new scientific instruments to farmers in order to agriculture development. In 1957, during demand for grant industries discussions, Begum Sarwri emphasized for establishing cottage industries. National economy depend on agriculture, majority of people live in villages their source of income is agriculture. They worked during crops cultivation and cutting. She

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, January 7, 1952, P. 516-519, 426.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid, March 4, 1952, P. 203-208, Ibid, March 5, 1952, P. 275-280.

argued cottage industries will minimize unemployment from country. In 1956, Begum Zeenat Fida Hassan pointed out that basic purpose of one unit was to collective all resources on one place for the economical development of country. She criticized that there is no mention any planning for economic development of province in budget. She suggests that govt. had announced a branch of national council for welfare state and 5 lac fixed for it. But it should not on the pattern of National Council made by central govt. because it was totally under foreign influence because its head was foreign woman and American experts for planning for social work. She criticized not follow foreign in every thing. Govt. should provincial council not run on pattern of National Council.<sup>113</sup>

In 1956, during budget-General discussion, Begum Tahira Aijaz Hussain Agha She criticized govt. budget that it is like a balance sheet, of a joint stock company, showing expenditure and income a routine type of statement of accounts. She criticized the police and revenue take away the lion's share of national revenues and nothing left for the nation then how to rise living standard of the masses. She criticized govt. not intend to stop concentration of wealth in a few hands. She criticized different standards of administration and different laws still hold good in different parts of the unified province. Different standard of taxation prevail in different divisions of West Pakistan. Taking the example of land revenue assessment, Peshawar and greater part of Dera Ismail Khan Division, Pay at an average Rs.3 per acre, Rawalpindi, Lahore and Multan divisions Pay Rs. 4-15-0 per acre, and Hyderabad and Khairpur divisions pay Rs. 7-1-0 per acre. This is not uniformity. During budget discussion in 1952, Baji Rashid Latif criticized govt. policies (1) Govt. imposed heavy taxes, income, property, house etc. which cannot bear by common man. She suggests Govt. scan impose heavy tax on smuggling and recreation. (2) Women department has ceased in 29 February in which several women get military training. (3) In Lahore corporation, total seats

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<sup>113</sup> Ibid, March 14, 1957, P. 5171-73, Ibid, September 18, 1957, P. 312, Ibid, May 23, 1956, PP. 198-199.

announced are 68, 61 are reserved for men and only 7 are reserved for women. It is totally unjust. For cleaning programmes and other works women can be more useful than men.<sup>114</sup> In 1952 Baji Rashida Latif moved an amendment of urban immovable property tax (Amendment) Bill. She criticized govt. policy about poor, widows, orphans who were facing heavy taxes enforced by govt. She drew attention of parliament to miserable condition of poor widows and orphans due to taxes. In 1957, Begum Shahnawaz discussed on flood which caused destruction in Punjab. She suggested three aspects will have to be considered. Firstly how to prevent the recurrence of floods, secondly, how to provide relief, thirdly, how to make up for the food shortage because of the floods. Begum Zeenat Fida suggests that govt. should take steps for preventing flood. She suggests that people who live in lower coastal areas should rehabilitate in upper areas during flood period and go back to their places after flood in order to start cultivation because due to flood its soil became fertile. She suggests establish a cell which repairs canals that broke during floods in order to save crops. She also suggests examine to China how China deal during flood? What are precautions in order to make planned before floods.<sup>115</sup>

In 1950, Zeenat Jahan, discussing on the resolution "Food Situation". These days economically deadlock exists in province due to low food production. It is a natural process. She suggests govt. and opposition should co-operate at this stage, through it public problems will be minimized. She suggests that population growth is a world problem. Govt. should plan about it, because population growth is a factor of shortage of food. In 1957, Begum Zeenat Fida appreciated govt. budget. She suggests govt. should establish an agency for shortage of food in order to it can give better suggestions to overcome this problem. Govt. should make plans for the increment in production of food. She proposed that govt. should

<sup>114</sup> Ibid, May 22, 1956, PP. 123-124. Ibid, March 4, 1952, P. 218-222.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid, December 22, 1952, P. 55-58, Ibid, March 4, 1957, P. 44, Ibid, September 21, 1957. PP. 486-487.

establish a social welfare institute which can assessment the expenditures of govt. and results and prepare future recommendation to make it better.<sup>116</sup> Begum Shahnawaz suggests for eradication of corruption in three steps (1) to separate Executive and Judicial from each other (2) to lower the efficiency bar for instance 500 rupees. For promotion ability and honesty should measure (3) Select officers through public service commission like other developed countries. (4) Non-corrupted officers should be select.

About (Home Department) she criticized bogus jails system and changes must (1) Guideline from international laws (2) Changes are essential in jails. About Juvenile offenders she proposed laws should make: (1) to establish children courts (2) Guideline from Reformatory institution establish in hungry. (3) Through research prevent crimes. (4) Guideline from laws of League of Nation.

About Revenue department she proposed new techniques should apply because it's a bogus method. She suggests like America and Russia graduated scale should apply in this province.<sup>117</sup>

### c. GENDER ISSUES

In the first parliament, the women's rights did not generate immediate recognition although they had recently participated in the Pakistan movement and contributed their shares in the rehabilitation work for the refugees. One reason for this phenomenon was the absence of public consciousness of women's rights. This was reflected in the constitutional reports prepared during this period; the BPC interim Report and the Report of the Board of Islamic Teachings made no mention of the rights of women. Begum Shahnawaz persistently raised issues that had been discussed before Independence such as property rights, marriage ceremonies and family laws. She complained that even after Independence the rights of

<sup>116</sup> Ibid, December 13, 1952, P. 402-404, Ibid, March 14, 1957, P. 1568-1570.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid, January 12, 1948. P. 1222, 122, 124.

women, as accorded to them by the Shariat, had not been legislated by the parliament. The marriage and divorce laws were the same as those that prevailed before Independence.

In 1947, the number of female primary schools was 18.4 percent out of a total of 8,413; high schools 15.7 percent out of 408; and colleges teaching arts and science subjects 12 percent out of 40. In 1954, the number of primary school was 17.5 percent out of 14,162; high schools 19.8 percent out of 747; and colleges teaching arts and science 18.9 percent of 111.

In 1947, female enrolment at the primary level was 14.3 percent out 0.77 million; high schools 12.1 percent out of 0.06 million; colleges 7.1 percent out of 0.014 million; and university level 8.7 percent out of 644. In 1954, female enrolment at the primary level was 15.5 percent out of 1.55 million; high schools 13.8 percent out of 0.11 million; colleges 14 percent out of 0.043 million; and university level 2.5 percent out of 1,998.<sup>118</sup>

Begum Shahnawaz called for a system of education that would enable the females coming out of the schools and colleges to perform their responsibilities in various avocations of life. She proposed the introduction of "Home Science" in every women school and college so that they could be well versed in domestic affairs. In 1948, discussing on education policy, Begum Salma, criticized govt. policy which creates gender discrimination. She suggested specific amount should be fixed for women in next budget. A nation cannot progress until its women side by side with men. So Govt. should take special steps for the welfare of women. Science should be introduced in Girls high schools and separate medical colleges should open for girls. She suggested medium of instruction should be Urdu because it will convenient for girls. She asked if govt. failed to work for the welfare of women then assistance should provide Quaid-e-Azam relief fund.

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<sup>118</sup> Qureshi, Planning and Development in Paksitan, PP. 35-36.

In 1952, discussing on education policy, Dr. Gulzar Begum Muhammad Ali appreciated Govt. open college for girls in Multan. Due to deprivation of science the girls of Multan came to Lahore for F.Sc. in order to become doctors. Emerson college Multan is boys college where science facility is available but people do not like to send their girls to co-education. She suggests Govt. should take special steps in this context. In 1954, during budget General discussion, Begum Shahnawaz criticized on govt. in equality, injustice with men in education. She argued govt. established new schools, 6,027 primary, 797 middle, and 345 high for male. ON contrary, the ratio of female schools is 1945 primary, 149 middle, 77 high schools establish for women. While 27,110 teachers are male and 8,533 are female teachers. Total expenditures on male education is 3 crore while on female is only 71 lac. This is a great imbalance between them. Parliamentary secretary of education, Begum G.A.Khan showed figure of educational institutions of girls, three new colleges, three schools upgraded to high will establish. 33 % scholarship approved for girls. Apart this PTC, CT, JV, SV students also for approved scholarship in order to motivate girls for becoming teachers. Within a year four girls high school and college will also establish. F.Sc. classes have introduced in several girls college. First aid home-nursing and domestic education have made compulsory for girls. In 1956, during budget-General discussion, Begum Tahira Agha emphasized on women education that govt. should share in the expenditure on education for the education of women. Women want more schools, more colleges, more bearing Houses, more scholarships, more training schools for women teachers, more medical colleges for women, more maternity homes, more child welfare centres, industrial homes and widow homes at least in every district and Tehsil headquarters. She argued if govt. cannot reach every nook and corner of this vast province of about three lakh square miles, so that country may be walk shoulder to shoulder with other nations of the world. For this it is very necessary that the mother of the nation should be educated. If a nation educate a woman it means it



educate a family. Women are 50 percent of the country's population and therefore govt. should be given top priority to women.

In 1956, Begum Zubida Hassan ul Haq drew the attention of the House towards insufficient educational reforms in Bahawalpur. She criticized girls schools buildings are insufficient and students are a lot. Even one school have 200 students but no place for sitting. Exist school buildings are in very bad position. She criticized govt. showed in budget that 307 new primary schools will establish in United West Pakistan, but no clarify how much will open in Bahawlpur. She gives example govt. showed in budget in detail about Sind, NWFP schools but not mention Bahawalpur. She suggested that govt. should open ladies industrial school in order to women can learn skills and able to earn their food.<sup>119</sup>

In 1948, Begum Salma suggests industrial department should establish industrial centres that run through by women. For instance, soap factory should handover to women in order to they can work according to her will. Machinery should import for knitting socks. In this way women can economically independent. In 1950, during budget discussion Baji Rashid Latif argued that it is responsibility of govt. provide employment to women. She suggests govt. should handover clothing factories to women in order to they can sewing. In this way govt. can minimize unemployment from the country.<sup>120</sup> In 1954, Begum Shahnawaz criticized about low ratio of lady doctors in the province. She argued that in 16 districts only 15 lady doctors are working and in district Muzzafargarh there is no single one lady doctor. She also criticized shortage of beds for pregnant women. Total beds are 4,800 in Punjab and in Walingodon maternity hospital only 100 beds which are insufficient and due to shortage of

<sup>119</sup> PAD, March 1, 1954, P. 393-395.

Ibid, March 2, 1954, P. 460, Ibid, May 22, 1956, P. 124. Ibid, May 29, 1956, P. 614-616. Ibid, January 12, 1948, P. 323-327. Ibid, March 12, 1952, PP. 705-706,

<sup>120</sup> Ibid, January 8, 1948, P. 62. Ibid, March 4, 1952, P. 222.

beds pregnant women faced lot of problems. She suggest at least 200 beds should increased. In 1956, Begum Zeenat Fida suggests govt. should establish more maternity and child welfare centres. Training centres for nurses should increased in order to far flung village areas trained nurses can help the women.<sup>121</sup>

Discussing on Rehabilitation policy, Salma wanted to draw attention to female refugee and children that are deprived from assistance of Punjab govt. Only few assistance provide to them through Quaid-i-Azam relief fund. She suggested govt. should establish weaving centres, the factories where Army, Police, Post offices workers dress prepared should given under the control of women in their needs. In 1952, discussing on govt. Rehabilitation policy, Begum G.A Khan focused on poor refugee women. She drew attention towards their bad condition. She suggests that amount which spent on officers of rehabilitation department and its building. That money should be given scholarship to poor refugees women in order to they can fulfill their basic needs. Secondly, govt. should establish such institutions where women can learn useful things in order to earn their food. Side by side these institutions govt. should establish primary schools in order to their children can get education. In 1956, Begum Zeenat Fida , govt. appreciated govt. fixed amount for widows. She emphasized the govt. should not only show in budget but take practical steps for the help of widows because they are in very bad condition. She suggests govt. authorized summary powers to magistrates in order to help widows. She suggests govt. should establish widow houses every where in the country. In 1950, Begum G.A.Khan suggest govt. should propagate widow and orphans child schemes to every corner of West Pakistan.<sup>122</sup> When the West Punjab Muslim Personal law (Shariat) Application bill was going for approval. Malik

<sup>121</sup> Ibid, March 1, 1954, P. 393-395, Ibid, May 23, 1956, P. 214-216.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid, March 25, 1948, PP. 338-339, Ibid, March 11, 1952, PP. 616-617, Ibid, March 23, 1956, PP. 200-210, 214-216.

Feroz Khan Noon member of Punjab Assembly moved motion referred to select committee, Begum Shahnawaz, opposed it and complained that even after independence the rights of women, as awarded to them by Shariat had not been legislated by the parliament. She criticized about the "Law of Transfer of Property" and argued that it was valid before independence. Now parliament should approved the bill as soon as possible. Begum Salma also opposed the motion. She gave threat if select committee take decision which against the interest of women then women will agitate till its solution. She suggest Holy Quran is Supreme guide then why bill referred to select committee. In Muslim Shariat bill both, Begum Shahnawaz and Begum Salma regretted male members attitude particularly Khan Abdul Sattar Niazi who criticized women. They argued women participate in Pakistan movement and contributed their share in the rehabilitation work for the refugees. They are stronger as men. They can play vital role in progress of country. They complained that even after independence, the rights of women, as awarded to them by the Shariat, had not been legislated by the parliament. But women legislatures will go to every extent for passing this bill because this bill guarantees the women rights. When male member Syed Akbar Khan passed derogatory remarks against women, Begum Salma argued that Hazarat Aysha and Rabi Basri were also women who play a leading role. She also proposed adult education. A nation cannot rise to its glory when its nation is illiterate. So govt. should take steps in this content.<sup>123</sup>

In 1957, Begum Shahnawaz moved a resolution of the West Pakistan Marriages (expenditure bill). She told that on October, 1950 Nur Ahmed (MNA) had introduced this bill which called for the fixation of expenditure on marriage ceremonies including dowry. The bill was passed but its provision was never seriously enforced. She criticized wasteful

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid, January 9, 1948, P. 86-89, 92, Ibid, January 29, 1948, P. 561-566, 569-577, Ibid, January 19, P. 355-359.

marriage ceremonies. She compares expenditures on wasteful ceremonies in Pakistan with India. She criticized Pakistan is wasting income 7% while India is 3% 45 crore annual national income is wasting on ceremonial occasions. She suggests if Pakistan spend 3% on ceremonial occasions then it can saved 45 crore which can be spend on national construction. She emphasized the revival of the simple and inexpensive marriage parties of the early Muslim days. She urged that instead of all the unnecessary expenditures on marriages, the women should be given right to inherit property. It was the duty of the govt. according to her, to protect the Muslims from extravagance. The enforcement of Islamic laws would make the people realize the objectionable nature of these practices and induce them to take right decision. However, she acknowledged that no law could reform a society unless it had the will and the sincerity of reforming itself. In 1957, Begum Zeenat Fida appreciated women volunteers for social work and better performance in every field. Minister of social welfare have also seen the performance of Pakistan women's association. She criticized that last days in local bodies elections women did not devote the right to vote. In 1957, Begum Sarwri Irfanullah criticized that there is a huge imbalance between the salaries of men and women which is injustice. She suggests govt. should provide special facilities to female workers during pregnancy. In 1955, Begum Salma introduced the Muslim Marriage Laws (consolidation and clarification) bill. Discussing on the importance of this bill, she says Holy Quran is a complete code of life. She criticized that people are neglecting the teachings of Holy Quran. She emphasized that those people who commit second marriage should be guardian of his children and first wife. It is responsibility of husband to private all basic necessities of life to his first wife and children: They should must give guarantee before second marriage that they will remain guardian of their wife and children. Secondly, Islam advice to "Talak Aasan". She suggests govt. should enforced "Talak Aasan" "Third Divorce". Thirdly, she suggests to establish such courts where they can get their rights easily.

Because men deprived to women from "Haq Mehr". Fourthly, She criticized those people who are in abroad for earn food. They forget their children and wife and commit new marriage. She suggest govt. should introduce such method that half of their salary directly convey to their wife and children. Fifthly, like the registration of birth and death, marriage registration should be introduced and govt. should also appoint official Nikah Khawan.<sup>124</sup>

## **PHASE TWO 1962-69**

Like phase one, we have divided the work done by the women parliamentarians in this phase as well under three subjects: the political issues the social and economic issues; and the female issues. As mentioned elsewhere during this period, two parliaments functioned under the 1962 constitution: one was elected in April 1962 and the other in April 1965. In the 1962-64 parliament, women in this parliament were elected only on the five reserved seats. Mrs. Dr. Ashraf Abbasi belongs to Pakistan peoples party, Begum Shahnawaz, Sahibzadi Mehmooda Begum, Begum Ashraf Burni belonged to Muslim League. Begum Mahmooda Salim Khan belonged to ConML. In the 1965-69 parliament, Zahida Khaliquz Zaman and Sahibzadi belonged to ConML while Dr. Ashraf Abbasi, Begum Mumtaz Jamal and Begum Ashraf Burni were in opposition.

### **a. POLITICAL ISSUES**

The 1962 constitution provided for presidential system vesting the president with wide administrative, legislative and financial powers. This system operated from 1962 to 1969. In 1963, Begum Shahnawaz, the opposition members opposed the presidential system introduced by Ayub Khan. She particularly criticized the restrictions that the regime had imposed on the freedom of the press which, Begum Shahnawaz once observed, amounted to "Uprooting of democracy" from the country. She alleged that press was forced to print

<sup>124</sup> Ibid, January 31, 1957, P. 295, 299, Ibid, March 14, 1957, P. 1570, 1573, Ibid, March 31, 1955, P. 1238-1241.

only the official viewpoint and gave no coverage to views about the rights and privileges of the people. Cited the example of democratic countries like USA and Great Britain have given so much liberty, freedom to their press. Earlier, in the Parliamentary phase, Begum Shahnawaz observed that when opposition raised some vital basic issues, but no a single one of them has been replied to opposition by government. Such an attitude, she said, was a negation of democratic Islamic State, she further remarked the people had every right to criticized the government if they disagreed with its, policies. As far as the administration is concerned, Begum Shahnawaz pointed that the Ministers should tour less and sit more in their offices and Frame policies. She request that the technical departments should have technical experts as secretaries to handle technical affairs, well versed in their own spheres advice the Ministers on technical matters and help to carry on and Implement the policies of the Ministers. About new regional system of administration that has been introduced. Begum Shahnawaz remarked, it is good but unless there is a chief to co-ordinate and to supervise the administration of these regional directorate, there is overlapping and co-ordinate. There will be no success in this system because the secretaries are much busy and there are too many departments in their hands. They cannot spare time to scrutinize every director's suggestions and files sent to them and help to co-ordinate work. She believed that the Revenue Board is playing a very injustices done by local officials and should continue its good work. She remarked, Revenue Board has a number of very important functions to perform one of them is that it has an appellant jurisdiction of the highest type. She suggests as long as the judiciary and Executive are not divided it is necessary that the Board should retain this powers. Begum Shahnawaz criticized the provision (EBDO) of presidential election bill because disqualification under EBDO (Elective Bodies Disqualification Order). She pressed for its deletion because its retention would make it a law of an uncivilized society. By this provision, the government could disqualify any person whom it disliked. She criticized

when a govt. makes rules and regulations then rules should be implement on every body, but there is no justice because when Qyoom Khan talked on some important issues govt. arrested without any case. This is not democracy.

In 1962, discussion on Adjournment motion moved by Rao Khurshid Ali, Begum Shahnawaz appreciated it. Begum Shahnawaz was of the view that Pakistan should pursue an independent foreign policy based on the principles of friendship with all and enmity towards none. She criticized that Russia used Veto Power against Kahsmir Resolution. She expressed that successful foreign policy of a country depended on good planning, insight, wise. She cited example that when she was member of constituent Assembly during 1947-54 always criticized Pakistan foreign policy. She criticized when Pakistan became member of UNO then its member countries of UNO are 106 block. Among them most countries are member of neutral block. She criticized that Pakistan is a member of seato and sento and Pakistan support America against Russia as a companion of USA. She remarked if Indian Prime Minister can go to impartial block then why Pakistan not? As concern Kashmir's Problem. She suggests freedom should be given to Kashmiris in every matter. Either they want to cross ceasefire line for helping their relatives. She also suggests Pakistan should separate from seato and sento agreements. Because, Russia is supporting his friend India. While America claimed it is companion of Pakistan but it did not support Pakistan. She stressed govt. should change foreign policy and enter impartial block. She also suggests efforts should be spared to establish cordial relations with the Muslim countries and other Afro-Asian countries. In 1965, discussing on a resolution "Tributes to the Armed Forces of Pakistan and Homage to the memory of Shaheeds" Sahibzadi Mehmooda Begum tribute to armed forces of Pakistan, Shaheed and Pakistani people who play a vital role during 1965 war. She also appreciated opposition's services during the war, because the whole nation was united and solid like a rock. The whole world witnessed that the Pakistani nation despite its numerous internal

differences, had become united. The nation once again began to remember the teachings and principles of Islam which had been forgotten during the previous years. During the war, 5 lac people lost their houses. She suggested govt. should a housing scheme introduce in order to rehabilitate the war suffer people.

Begum Zahida Khaliq criticized the 1965 war started by India. She remarked that India had never accepted Pakistan. In United India, Hindu tortured Muslims. As a result Pakistan came into being, After creation of Pakistan India never accept Pakistan. It tried her best to make any hurdle in every field to make Pakistan weak. India started 1965 war in order to become weak Pakistan. She tributed to all nation who became united and fought against enemy. Due to war destruction, some people of Lahore and Sialkot became homeless. She appreciated them and assured them the sympathies and co-operation of all nation with suffered people and govt. will provide them houses and every facility of life.<sup>125</sup>

Begum Mumtaz Jamal was of the view about Kashmir Problem should be solved through self determination. She tribute to Armed forces as well as whole nation. She claimed that women will fight along men. She gives the example of the daughters, sisters and mothers of Islamic legends like Muhammad Bin Qasim, Mahmmod Ghazvi. Sahibzadi Mehmooda Begum suggests that although its matter relates with central govt. but through the house convey to central govt. that military training must given to young people who lived in border areas and equipment also given to them. She criticized 8 months ago, enemy Kidnapped our daughters, sisters because neither younger have military training nor weapons.

During 1968, discussing on West Pakistan Railway Budget, 1968-69, Dr. Mrs. Ashraf Abbasi give suggestions to Railway administration. (1) The Railcar 103 should be connected with Rail car 114. Because, the people from Larkana are wasting the whole day when they

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid, December 10, 1963, P. 75-77, Ibid, January 29, 1963, P. 81, Ibid, July 7, 1962, P. 71-74, July 3, 1962, P. 71-74, Ibid, December 1, 1965, P. 31-34, Ibid, December 7, 1965, P. 862-865.



have to go to smaller places where the Express trains do not stop. If Rc 103 is connected with Rc 114, one can reach before noon, and a lot of time will be saved. (2) Larkana should have one car inclusively, which should run between Rohri and Larkana. It should start from Larkana and reach Rohri. It should take the Passengers of Karachi Express and leave Rohri for Larkana. After reaching Larkana, it should start back from Larkana to Rohri so that passengers coming from Larkana are able to catch the train for coming to Lahore. (3) Larkana is a big station, and there the station master does not have a phone even as so many times people have faced difficulties. She suggests govt. should give a phone connection at Larkana Railway station. During cut motion on demand for Grants in respect of new expenditure in Railways. Begum Shahnawaz, criticized that there were great expectations from Railway Minister that he will change Railway department through his vision, imagination initiative ability but nothing modernize Railway department cites the example of Switzerland that once she was training in first class. She observed, there were three or four rooms nobody present except her. When she traveled in lower class she observed, that there is no difference between first and lower class only a little. As compare with Pakistan, she criticized there is a great difference between them. All bogused methods are using in Railway administration should adopt modern methods. She remarked that a allegation on Railway department is that lot of dishonesty exists. She suggests if supervision of department is accurate then dishonesty will minimize. She observed Railway income is down. She suggests that 91) tariffs should Rationalise. (2) When govt. give subsidy to other departments then govt. should pay. Railway is a commercial department. Railway department should never concession in this context. (3) Rather than luggage send through bogies people send luggage through trucks. She suggested whenever new system will not adopt we cannot compete with road transport. She claimed Broad Guage of Railway of Pakistan is the biggest of the world. Neither in America nor in Britain it exists. Due to damage machinery half luggage loaded on bogies, as compare to

other countries-cited of other countries, they loaded 400 tun luggage in bogies while in Pakistan 300 tun loaded. She suggests govt. should repair railway machinery. She also suggests govt. should make crossings and connection between branch lines.<sup>126</sup>

Begum Asharaf Burni, appreciated abolition in Pakistan of all taxes and duties other than Revenue and income tax and the ceiling of 1/10 of net annual income as the maximum tax on income not exceeding rupees, 500, 000,00..She opined that the provincial govt. should recommend to the central govt. to abolish in Pakistan all taxes and duties other then land revenue and income tax which should be assessed and collected by two departments. Of the central govt. and the income accruing from these taxes should be allocated by the central govt. to the provincial govt. according to their share. She suggested that govt. should enforced taxes on luxury items because it is a technical matter. Begum Shahnawaz criciticised that 7 cror is expending on general administration but there is no positive result. If 700 section officers appointed then it could not changed Toder Mill System cannot succeed because it has become old. She suggested that to see the land tenure system of other countries. Where instead of Patwaris, machines are using for office work. She observed lot of Patwaris complete that work in many days which machine can complete within an hour. She suggests that the cost of machine is 80,000. govt. should buy this machine in order to time as well as money can save.

Because, when a person go to change revenue number one or two years pass but it cannot change. She suggests govt. should adopt new land tenure system and bring expert people. She also criticized govt. discrimination in its policies, cited the Thal and Warsik Projects.<sup>127</sup> She pointed out that govt. expend million rupees on Warsik for leveling, in

<sup>126</sup> Ibid, June 23, 1965, PP. 793-794, Ibid, June 22, 1966, P. 4632, Ibid, June 4, 1968, PP. 8157-8158, Ibid, June 18, 1963, P. 71-76.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid, January 9, 1969, P. 1062-1064, Ibid, June 27, 1964, P. 21-29.

provision of staff one lac and 6 thousand and 36,31,000 amount expend on purchase of tools, but govt. did not enforced it. On contrary, govt. enforced 65 rupees tax per acre on Thal land. Although govt. had received  $\frac{3}{4}$  land during rehabilitation process. IT is injustice.

### **B. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES:-**

During this period, the state of education improved more than the period of the first parliament. However, it was still quite inadequate. In 1960, the number of primary schools was 17,901; high schools 1069; vocational schools 100; colleges 126; and universities 4. In 1969, the number of primary schools had risen to 41,290; high schools 1995; vocational schools 190; colleges 290; and universities 7. In 1960, the enrolment in primary schools was 1.89 million; high schools 0.15 million; vocational schools 0.013 million; colleges 0.076 million; and universities 4,092. In 1969, the enrolment at the primary level rose to 3.91 million; high schools 0.34 million; vocational schools 0.029; colleges 0.175; and universities 15,475.<sup>128</sup> In 1962, during General budget (1962-1963) discussion, Begum Mehmooda Salim Khan criticized educational backwardness which exists in country. Govt. should not satisfied only with high buildings because our country is very poor it required lot of work. She criticized Minister of Finance did not fixed amount for schools in backward areas; where they deprived from basic facilities like blackboard, not anything available for sitting and teachers are also temporary. Due to these problems how students can get education. She suggests that emergency steps should taken for solving this problem, Teachers should permanent. Science should introduce in schools, salaries of teachers is insufficient which cannot fulfill their basic necessities of life. She suggests govt. should make such committees that observe the problems of teachers and solve it. She emphasized the need for free and compulsory primary education. She supported the idea to give grant to social and welfare department should be doubled because through it developed areas will be developed. In 1962, during "Approval of

<sup>128</sup> Qureshi, planning and development in Pakistan PP. 35-36.

Expenditure” Begum Shahnawaz criticized that govt. showed 204 lac expenditure in developmental expenditure, while 7 cror expenditure for university campus. Govt. should educate more and more people. She emphasized the need for free and compulsory primary education. She gives example of Kamal Atta Turk who literate 70% people in 12 years. Govt. should to take guideline from Turkey. In 1962, discussing during make a motion by Haji Abdul Majid Jatoi for the adjournment of the business of the Assembly to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely the failure of govt. to make payment of pay to the primary teachers of Dadu district. Minister of education, Begum Mahmooda Salim Kahn explained under the rules half payment given by govt. and half given by board to teachers. Govt. had paid half payment to board but board had spent. Govt. have requested to finance Minister on adhoc basis payment for one month should given to teachers. For this purpose govt. called a meeting of commissioners and govt. will consult him how payment can refund. In 1963, an adjournment motion moved by Mr. Muhamamad Qasim Mela in business of the Assembly to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, the resentment caused in the country and the injury done to the susceptibilities of the people by the inclusion of a basically un-Islamic question in this year’s social works, part I paper, of the Punjab University in which the examiners have been asked to prove with arguments whether it was better to be in love before marriage or to enter into marriage bonds. First and then make love. Discussing on this adjournment motion Minister of Education, Begum Mehmooda Salim Khan explained that one subject of social work is “comparison between East and West Society and their merit and demerits.” There are two examiners external and internal. Internal are those who teach course and set papers. External are those who take an essay from West and set the paper. This un Islamic question given by external examiner. Govt. tried to contact with him but failed. She ordered to Education department, to investigate this even and next time not used these uncivilized words. She request to hon’ble member to withdraw this

motion. IN 1963, Minister of Education, Begum Mahmooda Salim Khan explained that govt. had announced compulsory Islamic Studies from Primary to college level. She emphasized that Islamic Education is essential for removing social evils in society. She suggests to the members of Parliament should make such committees in their areas for removing evils in the society. She also explained that a misunderstanding about scholarships of students in Bahawlpur has stopped but it is not reality. During 1962-63 govt. has given more facilities to Bahawalpur last two years, 53 new primary schools has established. Seven middle and 16 high schools established. Govt. had established a committee in order to give jobs to peons because due to misunderstanding peons were removed from schools. Another committee has establishment for observing the problems of boarding students. Uniform is also used in schools and colleges for elimination any discrimination between students. Begum Shahnawaz criticized lack of educational facilities in Multan district. Govt. announced two lac for girls college in Lyya but college did not establish. Dr. Ashraf Abbasi criticized as far as education is concerned there is upgrading of so many schools and so many colleges but is not clear which schools are to be upgraded and what will happen? Whether educationally backward regions will get any priority or not? All this should have been clear before approving the budget, whether wasting the money or make use of it. She criticized there was compulsory education in the former province of Sind before one unit and after that nothing has been done about it and it has come to a stand still. Primary education is concerned it has deteriorated. Begum Shahnawaz suggests lot of changes in educational system (1) Purpose of education should realize to students in order to they can live according to Islam. (2) Radio is a best source of propagating education. Great achievements of Islamic legends should be convey to students through radio. (3) Through variety shows lifestyle of Islamic legends should realize. In village govt should realize to students establish agriculture centres for getting job after learning skills in order to after getting basic education students get jobs. Like this industrial

centres should be established. She also suggests aptitude tests should must taken of every students in order to students can adjust to their suitable jobs. Begum Mumtaz Jamal criticized machinery schools. She suggest govt. should establish standard school in order to cease machinery school. She criticized the low standard of education. It is essential for solidarity of education. It is essential for solidarity of country. She argued, students waste their 16 years because they cannot implement it. She suggest students should get technical education in order to they can get job in industries like transistors, Radio, bicycles, motor machines. In this way unemployment will minimize.

Sahibzadi Mehmooda Begum criticized that after twenty years why 80% people are illiterate what are defects in our educational system. Those countries that get freedom with Pakistan 80% people had become literate. A nation cannot be developed without education. She suggested govt. should establish a semi govt. institution of education on pattern of WAPDA or PIDC. In this institute educationists include in order to they can research on education. What are defects and what method of Islamic education could apply? She criticized under the prevailing British rule those officials are hurdle in progress of National language Urdu because they placed English in place of Urdu Actually they are in complex and copy foreigners. A nation cannot develop which have no identity of National Language.<sup>129</sup>

During 1962-69, health facilities slightly improved. In 1960, there were 343 hospitals and 1,195 medical dispensaries while in 1969, the number of hospitals had risen to 495 and dispensaries to 2,136.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> PAD, June, 22, 1962, PP. 45-46, Ibid, June 28, 1962, PP. 11-12, Ibid, December 17, 1962, PP. 1159-60, Ibid, January 2, 1963, P. 108, Ibid, December 19, 1963, P. 77-80, Ibid, December 17, 1963, P. 20-22, Ibid, June 22, 1963, P. 30, Ibid, June 23, 1964, P. 74-79, Ibid, June 22, 1966, P. 4603-4619m 4632-4636.

<sup>130</sup> Qureshi, Planning and Development in Pakistan, P. 38.

Mrs. Dr. Ashraf Abbasi criticized that govt. did not established maternity homes in various regions because so many ladies are dying their unnatural death unattended. She also criticized T.B. clinics which are run by the local authorities, local associations and the T.B. associations, are working better than those run by the Govt. why? Because proper and sufficient medicines are not supplied. A doctor sits there but the medicines are not available. In the Northern Region there is privatization of the dispensaries belonging to the Local Bodies but in the Southern Region there is a dual control and they are not working satisfactorily. In 1962, Begum Mehmooda Salim Khan laid emphasis on the establishment of more hospitals to end the sufferings of the people due to lack of hospitals in hilly areas. Patients stay in hospitals verandas even in winter season. She suggest mobile dispensaries should establish in every village in order to people can get medical treatment. She also criticized that lady doctors are not available in villages of Dera Ismail Khan. Only one maternity home is available that is run by Red-Cross that is insufficient. She also suggested govt. should establish mobile dispensaries. She spoke on the then widely prevalent disease of Tuberculosis. (T.B.). She proposed that T.B. centers should be opened in the provinces. Women are more suffered in T.B. then women. Sahibzadi Mehmooda Begum criticized when doctors/lady doctors take holidays then even any one doctor is not available in hospital. She suggests leave reserved quota should established in order to public interest like India. She suggests in hospital accommodation should provide for doctors in order to end the sufferings of the people due to lack of hospital accommodation. Begum Mumtaz Jamal suggests in health department there should be health research department which research base on how to prevent diseases. What methods used for free medical treatment etc.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> PAD, June 22, 1963, P. 30., Ibid, June 22, 19862, PP. 45-46, Ibid, June 28, 1962, PP. 18-19, Ibid, June 22, 1964, P. 71-75, Ibid, June 22, 1966, P. 4632-4636.

Dr. Mrs. Ashraf Abbasi, an opposition members, opposed those taxes which affected the common man. She says that govt. should see the greater interest of the nation and it is also the duty of Govt. to judge whether the agriculturist, who is the backbone of the nation, can bear the burden of the increased taxes. It is also an open secret that the agriculturists of this country, no matter where he is whether in Punjab or Sarhad or Sind is over burdened by taxes. The only difference is that at certain places the land revenue is more and where it is less, there is agriculture tax imposed in certain areas. Sahibzadi Mehmooda Begum, criticized announcement on radio on December 25, by the Minister of Rehabilitation that rehabilitation process has completed. She criticized rehabilitation process is not complete even 25% because every govt. used this department as a political purpose by allotment of lands, factories, cinemas in order to establish govt. through vote. She criticized distribution of houses, in un-planned because in a house, one family allot bathroom other family allot kitchen. This will create controversies between each other. 50 percent refugees who claimed for lands their names only mentioned in official documents practically not given land to them. She observed women refugees pushed by peons in rehabilitation department so much insulted. Widows and old people were also bad treated by rehabilitation department. Now 12000 people are those whose claims for land is not approved. Solidarity of Pakistan depend on rehabilitation of refugees. Sahibzadi Mehmooda Begum discussing on the West Pakistan Dowry (Restriction Bill) 1965 moved by Babu Muhammad Rafique. She appreciated the bill but with amendment, because lot of mistakes in this bill for example the amount fixed for the people who give heavy dowry is so small. Any how, she appreciated this bill because it is a step to remove social evil. She suggests that govt. should take step for removing social evils from society. As concern with Shariat law then there is no contradiction between them. These are two different things. This bill relates with Public interest. This caused a great destruction



in society; she observed parents even sold their residential homes for giving dowry to their daughters. Dowry is a curse- Govt. should take step for removing it.<sup>132</sup>

Dr. Mrs. Ashrar Abbasi suggests that population is divided from income point of view into three classes- the lower class, the middle class and the higher class. Similarly, instead of having four or five types of compartments in railway, it should be divided into three compartments. It will be more practicable. She suggested that there should be not first-class because it is useless. The facilities that exist in first-class are practically the same as in the second class. So there can be one air conditioned class which will be the higher class and then the lower class, which may call the third class. Facilities that we get in the third class can be added by some more facilities and that can be sued as the middle class. As the middle class people might want to run away from the rush of third class so, by spending a little more money, they can travel in the middle class which may call the second class or the intermediate class. The other suggestion that 5% increase in the fare was unfair because lower class people are not getting many facilities. They have just to cling to the doorways for reaching from one place to another. SO adding burden to them, she opined, will be unfair. When govt. is taking something in form of increasing fare if govt. give them certain facilities as fare etc., they will feel that they are getting something in return. Govt. should provide blotted doors in the compartments, because, if at night one likes to sleep he cannot; as he cannot shut or lock up the doors to secure safety of his goods etc. Safety in the Railway has decreased so much that so many murders and dacoities are being committed in the trains. Fans are not in the third class compartments. During hot days, it is absolutely like a hell to travel under existing conditions in 3<sup>rd</sup> class compartments. Second class bathrooms tankies also leaking badly. During hot season, water is not available at most of the stations. Leave

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<sup>132</sup> Ibid, June 23, 1963, P. 109, Ibid, June, 24, 1965, P. 615, June 24, 1962, P. 52-55, Ibid, December 9, 1965, P. 1221-1223.

aside the coolers, ordinary water is also not available. The tap is situated usually at the end of the station and the passengers have to run to get water from the tap. By the time they get there, they have to run back without water because the train has started to move. During the rice harvesting season the wagons are not properly supplied to the traders. When rice is not taken away from the stations at the proper time, naturally, the agriculturists suffer the most.

When Awami Express runs from Peshawar to Karachi, some through boggy can be added to it, like the one in Tezgam which can be cut at Rohri station and attached to suitable further train to proceed to Kotri via Dadu. This will be an alternative if they cannot run the whole train straight from Lahore to Kotri via Dadu. Therefore, certain direct compartments if added to Awami Express will add to the facility to the common man.<sup>133</sup>

### C. GENDER ISSUES.

During this period, the state of female education was better than the earlier phase. The number of female primary schools in 1960 was 18.2 percent. Out of 17,901; high schools 19.0 percent out of 1,069; and colleges both arts and science 25.4 percent. Out of 126 by 1969 the number of primary schools rose to 27.1 percent. Out of 41,290; high schools 26.1 percent. Out of 1,995; and colleges 29.3 out of 290. In 1960, the enrolment at the primary level was 19.6 percent. Out of 1.89 million; high schools 15.4 out of 0.15 million; colleges 15.8 percent. Out of 0.076 million; and universities 19.0 percent out of 4,092. In 1969, the enrolment in Primary schools was 26.3 percent. Out of 3.91 million; high schools 18.4 percent. Out of 0.34 million; colleges 25.7 percent. Out of 0.175 million; and universities 21.3 percent. Out of 15,475.<sup>134</sup>

<sup>133</sup> Ibid, June 16, 1966, PP. 3854-3855, 318.

<sup>134</sup> Qureshi, Planning and Development in Pakistan, PP. 35-36.

During this period, the women joined professions other than education, these were medicine, journalism and some departments of the civil services. However their proportion in these professions was still very small.

The women parliamentarians showed their concern for their educational advancement and economic independence. Sahibzadi Mahmooda Begum, alleged that the government had not given proper attention to female education. The number of primary and high level female institutions was inadequate and those already operating were deficient in necessary facilities. Some villages had no even a single school for girls. She demanded govt. should allocate 50 percent amount education reserved for women education. She pointed out that only one medical college for girls. For establishing new medical colleges 500 beds hospitals are needed in every division like Meo Hospital.

In 1966, Begum Shahnawaz emphasized that without female education and participation in national life, the country could not progress. She asked that since the number of educated females had considerably increased all the services. Including the foreign services and administrative services should be opened to them. In 1963, Begum Shahnawaz moved a motion, the total of Rs. 4,94,300 on account of 25-general administration. Total new expenditure be reduced by Rs. 4, 94,299. She criticized that women and children are 3/7 part of total population. But govt. did not attention to their problems. Cited of U.S.A. She stated that in 1918, U.S.A. established a women Bureau in Ministry of Labour and made permanent by an act in June 5, 1920 is charged with formulating standard policies for promoting the welfare of women, improving their conditions increasing their efficiency and advancing their opportunities for profitable employment. It investigates and publishes reports upon matters pertaining to the welfare of women.

The bureau is concerned with all women at work, or seeking work, and with their training and skills. With women in all fields of employment, with the student selecting her

career; with the girl on her first jobs and older women worker; and with women who are both homemakers and wages earners. The bureau makes digests of existing labour laws and regulations covering women and laws affecting women's civil and political status. In cooperation with other labour department bureaus the women's bureau assists in programmers for the welfare of women.

She suggests on the pattern of U.S.A. govt: should establish such a women's bureau in order to facilitate women. During Railway budget for the year 1963-64 Sahibzadi Mehmooda Begum criticized that women are 50 percent of whole population but govt. had not provide facilities to women. She stressed that when ladies travel they have got their children with them and in the trains less compartments for ladies than the gents. She suggests, there should be an increase in the compartments for ladies in the trains. IF not more there should at least be an equal number of compartments both for ladies and gents. Begum Mumtaz Jamal criticized law and order situation, no sense of security because young girls kidnapped, rapped and then killed. When a wife did not give permission for second marriage to his husband, she killed by husband. She suggests govt. should adopt new methods for investigation. Govt. should increase the strength of Magistrate. She stressed that educated women can promote moral values in society. She also suggested to propagate national language because it is culture heritage. Sahibzadi Mahmooda Begum endorsed her contention about the inadequacy of government steps for female hospitals, dispensaries and urged for improving the facilities for female health. She suggests govt. should establish hospitals in every district. She also suggests a women house should be opened in every division. Some women who have no

shelter to nourish their children. Govt. should open women houses in order to women can earn their food and educate their children. In this way they can lead respective life.<sup>135</sup>

During ordinances resolution regarding approval of the Basic Democracies order (West Pakistan Amendment) ordinance 1963. Begum Shahnawaz criticized in BD system that only 35 women elected out of 80,000 representatives. She cited that she worked in municipal committee of Lahore corporation and observed women can serve in these committees in a better way than men because women take care their children and home. She criticized in this ordinance representation of women had been neglected. She suggests that like Provincial Assemblies seats should be reserved for women in BD System.

Sahibzadi Mahmooda Begum suggests govt. should 15 percent reserved seats for women in B.D. System because they are 50 percent of whole population. Without it political awareness could not awake in females. Begum Shahnawaz moved a resolution of "Establishment of Qazi Courts". She criticized society did not give right to women. She observed several women sold in different districts. Some married through mortgage. Some engaged and married in childhood. Females are not independent. They did not take even a Paisa from their will of their husband's money. Their properties are reserved on the name of their fathers and husbands. She remarked, Islam is a complete code of life. It guarantees the rights of women. Islam is that religion which gives rights to women. Holy Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) accepted women a citizen of independent entity and gave rights on parity as a sister, daughter, mother, wife. She criticized when women wanted to take her share from property or divorce. She went to court again and again. She cited example of other Islamic countries where female wrote only one letter to Qazi and their problems solved in one or two

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<sup>135</sup> PAD, June 23, 1965, P. 771-774, Ibid, June 27, 1964, PP. 29-30, Ibid, December 18, 1963, P. 65-67, Ibid, June 16, 1965, P. 318., Ibid, June 21, 1968, PP. 9293-9294, Ibid, June 22, 1968, P. 9554-9557, Ibid, June 23, 1965, P. 771-774.

months. She remarked the objective to move this resolution to set such courts (1) Where women can get their rights easily (2) Women can describe their problems without any fear or hesitation. She suggests either govt. rename these Qazi courts to family courts or special courts. Presiding officer should be session judge. Investigations powers should be given to these courts. In these courts, judges as well as Ulama should appointed who had knowledge about Islamic Shariat and Fiqa. If possible women lawyers also should be appoint. She also requested to Ulamas to realize the people about women right given by Shariat though Jummah prayers, lectures etc. This resolution appreciated by other women parliamentarians.

When Ayub Khan took over power, the women organizations were impressed by his liberal outlook about women's rights. These organizations, particularly the APWA, urged him to implement the recommendations of the commission on Marriage and Family laws. In response to their appeals, in March 1961, he issued the Muslim Family Laws ordinance to implement some of the recommendations of the commission. This ordinance aimed at correcting the injustice done to the women folk in marriage, divorce and polygamy. It required registration of marriages and divorces. A man who wanted to marry a second time had to obtain permission from his first wife and was also to inform the Arbitration council about the reasons of his second marriage. In case of divorce, the husband was to send a written notice to the chairman of the local council. The divorce case was to be decided by the local council within ninety days. Any marriage during this period was invalid. The ordinance raised the age of marriage, in the case of boys to 18 and the girls to 14. It also gave the grandson of a deceased son the right of inherit the property of his grandfather. When the Muslim Family Law (West Pakistan Amendment) bill 1964 moved by Amir Habib Ullah Khan Sadi in West Pakistan Assembly, Begum Shahnawaz criticized it and remarked the objective of family law ordinance had failed. Because, a husband who has more than one

wife pushed former wife and children from house and do not justice to his children and wife. She suggested the appointment of special female magistrates to decide cases of divorce.

The preceding account shows that despite their low representation, the women parliamentarians played a significant role. There were just two women in the first parliament. But they felt no inhibition in serving on various bodies of the House. Their contribution to parliamentary proceedings was no less important than the male members. As pioneer women parliamentarians, they set a good example for their successors. The women representation increased in the 1960s. They had five members in each of the two parliaments of this period. Although their representation had enhanced but their contribution to parliamentary proceedings and to various bodies of the House did not increase proportionately.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Ibid, January 1, 1964, PP. 58-59, Ibid, January 1, 1964, PP. 68-69, Ibid, December 13, 1962, P. 873-878, Ibid January 8, 1964, P. 99.

**Issues taken by Punjab legislator during 1947-1958**

<b>S. No</b>	<b>Issues</b>	<b>percentage</b>
1	Political	15
2	Social	20
3	Gender	15

**Issues taken by Punjab legislator during 1962-1969**

<b>S. No</b>	<b>Issues</b>	<b>percentage</b>
1	Political	10
2	Social	17
3	Gender	8



**CHAPTER NO. 3**  
**PERFORMANCE IN THE PARLIAMENT**  
**1972-1977**

On March 25, 1969, the imposition of second country wide martial law resulted in the abrogation of the 1962 constitution and dissolution of the parliament constituted under it. As mentioned elsewhere, in December 1970, general elections were held under the LFO. The failure of the winning parties to evolve a consensus on constitutional issues created a crisis that culminated in the breakup of Pakistan. After the separation of East Pakistan, the election results in the 1970 elections were accepted for (West Pakistan. According to LFO introduced by Yahya Khan six seats reserved for women in Punjab Provincial Assembly. Out of 180 total seats.

**DURING 1972 -1977 THERE WERE FOLLOWING WOMEN**  
**LEGISLATORS IN PUNJAB ASSEMBLY.**  
**WOMEN'S LEGISLATORS IN PUNJAB LEGISLATURE 1972-1977**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Constituency</b>
Begum Abad Ahmed	PP-183 III
Syed Abida Hussain	PP-182 II
Begum Baluqis Habib Ullah	PP-186 VI
Hussaina Khokhar	PP-185 V
Nasira Khokhar	PP-181 I
Begum Rehana Sarwar	PP-184 IV

Begum Syeda Abida Hussain: House wife: feudal lord. Born on 1946 at Jung,  
 Qualifications: Senior Cambridge from Jesus and Mary School, High Cambridge from

Switzerland, Fine Arts diploma from Italy. Positions held: Councilor, MNA in 1985, 1997 minister of Social Welfare in 1997, MPA of Punjab Assembly during 1972-77. Ambassador of Pakistan in America in 1991. Her husband<sup>1</sup> was also in politics. He became federal minister of local bodies in 1981. Federal Minister of Education in 1990. Begum Rehana Sarwar: Lawyer; Qualifications: M.B.E. from Lahore College. L.L.B. from Punjab University. Positions Held: Member of Punjab Provincial Legislature 1972-77, reelected in 1977. MNA in 1988. Parliamentary Secretary, Federal Minister of Women Division.<sup>1</sup>

Begum Abad Ahmed Khan elect from PP-183 women's constituency III. Mrs. Syed Abida Hussain elect from PP-182 women's constituency II. Begum Balquis Habib Ullah elect from PP-186 women's constituency-VI. Mrs. Hussaina Khokhar elect from PP-185 women's constituency V. Miss Nasira Khokhar elect from PP-181 women's constituency-I. Begum Rehana Sarwar (Shaheed) elect from PP-184 women's constituency IV.

The 1973 constitution provided 240 seats in the Punjab Assembly, plus 12 seats reserved for women. The first elections under this constitution were held in March 1977.

During march 1977 to July 1977 there were following women legislators in Punjab legislature.

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<sup>1</sup> Arifa Subha Khan, Amma Hawa Say Amma Councilor Tak, PP 241-243, 246-248.

## WOMEN'S LEGISLATORS IN PUNJAB LEGISLATURE

MARCH 1977 TO JULY 1977

Name	Constituency
Miss Irshad Gill Mujahid	PP-251 XI
Miss Nasir Khokhar	PP-241 I
Mrs. Nur Jehan Faufiq Qureshi	PP-243 III
Mrs. Rafiqa Sultana Chughtahi	PP-250 X
Begum Rehana Sarwar	PP-246 VI
Mrs. Saghira Islam	PP-247 VII
Syeda Razia Munawar Hussain	PP-252 XII
Mrs. Tahira Yaseen Aman-ullah	PP-244 IV
Miss. Zahida Abdullah	PP-248 III
Mrs. Zakia Shah Nawaz Khan Niazi	PP-245 V
Begum Zahoor Akram Hayat Malik	PP-248 VIII

Mrs. Zakia Shahnawaz Niazi: House Wife and agriculturist: born on March, 1946 at Isakhail, District Mianwali. Qualifications: School certificate from Queen Mary's college Lahore in 1961. Positions held: member of Provincial Assembly in 1977.<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Rukhsanan Begum: House Wife: born on January 16, 1945 at Sargodha. Qualification F.A. Position held: Member, District Board since 1957.

Begum Saghira Islam was teacher, born on October 15, 1945, at Gurdaspur (India); Qualifications: M.A. B.Ed. Positions held: Elected member Provincial Assembly, April to July 1977: reelected in 1988.

<sup>2</sup> Autobiography of Punjab Legislatures, PP. 108-109.

Miss Irshad Gil Majahid elect from PP-251 women's constituency XI. Miss Nasira Khokhar elect from PP-241 Women's constituency-I. Mrs. Nur Jehan Faufiq Qureshi PP-243 women's constituency-III. Mrs Rafiqa Sultana Amin Chughtahi elect from PP-250 women's constituency X. Begum Rehana Sarwar elect from PP-246 women's constituency VI. Mrs. Saghira Islam elect from PP-247 women's constituency VII. Syeda Razia Munawar Hussain elect from PP 252 women's constituency XII. Mrs, Tahira Yasin Aman Ullah elect from PP-244 women's constituency IV. Miss Zahid Abdullah elect from PP-248 women's constituency VIII. Mrs. Zakia Shah Nawaz Khan Niazi elect from PP-245 women's constituency VI. This parliament survived only till the imposition of third martial law on July 5, 1977. According to the 1973 constitution, the women had a little more representation in the parliament than the earlier parliaments. But it was still in no way a reflection of the proportion of their population in Pakistan. With rare exceptions, the women members of the 1970s were all new members reflecting the change in the political Scenario of the country. They had now relatively more mechanisms to influence the proceedings of the Parliament than were available to their predecessors.

The number of women who participated in political life was very small. Their representation in the parliament was in no way a reflection of their proportion in population or political life. Those women who were in the parliament whether they belonged to political families or non-political families had initiative as well as encouragement from their families. Many of them started their political careers before Independence by joining the All-India Muslim League while several others joined politics during the movement against Ayub Khan. The women parliamentarians were invariably involved in social work before and after their entry into parliament.

## 1. NATURE OF PARTICIPATION

The women members played their active role in Assembly. One woman member (Begum, Rehana Sarwar) became Secretary of Education of the Punjab Assembly. Like their counterparts in the earlier. Parliaments, women actively participated in the parliaments, proceedings. They served on standing and select committees. They served on standing and select committees. For instance, Begum Hussina Khokhar served on the "The Martial law regulation no. 118 (Punjab Amendment) bill 1973 committee.<sup>3</sup> Begum Balqis Habib Ullah elected on the committee of the "Act No. 36 1973). Services and general Administration and communication<sup>4</sup>. Begum Hussina Khokhar elected on the committee "Act of university of Engineering and Technology Lahore 1974<sup>5</sup>. Begum Bilqis served on the committee "Act hotels and Restaurant 1974 Services and general administration and communication. Begum Abad Ahmed Khan elected on the committee "Act No. 57, 1973 local govt social and welfare and Auquaf<sup>6</sup>. Begum Rehana served on the committee "Act No. 28, 1974 law and parliamentary affairs<sup>7</sup>. Like the earlier Parliaments, another method of participation in the parliamentary proceedings was by raising points of order. The points raised by women members can be put into three categories. First, they raised points of order when any member of the House used derogatory or obscene language against women. They protested against the use of such language and asked for expunging. Such observation from the proceedings of the House. They also raised points of order on occasions when any member talked casually about women or opposed the inclusion of women members in various committees such points were raised during the discussions on the reserved seats for women<sup>8</sup>. Second, they raised points of order to draw the attention of the speaker that a particular member was not following the

<sup>3</sup> PAD, April 4, 1973, P. 5317

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, November 9, 1973, P. 365

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, February 6, 1974, P.1130

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, October 1, 1974, PP 77-78

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, June 13, 1975, P 86

<sup>8</sup> See the point of order raised by Syeda Abida Hussain in PAD, October 1, 1974, P-114. See the point of order raised by Begum Abad Khan in PAD, April 4, 1973, P. 5209.

Rules of the House or was unnecessarily interrupting its proceedings<sup>9</sup>. Lastly they raised points of order when any member did not speak relevant to the subject under discussion or when he repeated a point<sup>10</sup>. Women members raised points of order in which they drew the attention of the speaker to the quorum of the House<sup>11</sup>. The women members also used the question hour to get information on a certain issue or to draw the attention of the government to a matter of importance. This facility was not used by all the women members. A majority of them remained silent; and only a few of them asked questions.

The women members also moved amendments which may be divided into two categories. The first category was of those amendments that they moved to improve the constitution (Draft) Bill. Most of the amendments were moved by Begum Rehana Sarwar. Some of the amendments were rejected, a few were accepted and a majority of them were withdrawn. Begum Rehana Sarwar moved an amendment "The Guardian and wards Act (Punjab Amendment) 1972. Its about orphans and women rights. She also moved an amendment Pakistan Panel court 72 (Amendment Punjab). The municipal Administration Ordinance (Punjab Amendment) bill 1972 moved amendment by Begum Rehana Sarwar. The second category was of those amendments that were moved to amend bills on social subjects like pure food, houses rent, prohibition of beggary etc<sup>12</sup>.

A new phenomenon of the parliament in the 1970s was that the women members now used other available mechanisms to make their presence felt in the house. They moved resolutions, adjournment motions, privilege motions, and raised pints of privilege, information and explanation. Begum Rehnaa moved a resolution "National press trust should retain for secure the interests of journalists. For make it more efficient and democratic

<sup>9</sup> See the points of order raised by Begum Rehana Sarwar in PAD, Jun 22, 1972, P. 374 and Ibid, February 8, 1973 PP. 2381, 2140.

<sup>10</sup> See the point of order raised by Begum Balqis Ullah in PAD, June 17, 1972.

<sup>11</sup> See the point of order raised by Begum Rehana Sarwar and Begum Hussina Kokhar in PAD, January 31, 1973, P. 1376.

<sup>12</sup> See the amendments moved by Begum Rehana Sarwar in *ibid.*, February 8, 1973, PP. 2352, 2360, 2363; and *ibid.*, January 25, 1973, PP 802, 806 and in *Ibid.*, July 12, 1973, P. 2534.

institution, she suggested, old journalists should give representation, board trustees selection should be operate every three years. Begum Abad Khan moved a resolution that communication and broadcasting , law, rehabilitation are big departments. There should be separate ministries. Miss Nasira Khokhar moved a resolution that Govt should establish a committee of women which secure problems and rights of women workers. Mrs. Hussina Khokher moved a resolution that change the name of civil lines Multan college by name of Iftikhar Shaheed degree college. Begum Abad Ahmed Khan moved a resolution that only one way traffic on roads and prohibition at footpaths business. Miss Nasira Khokher moved a resolution of Punjab pure food bill 1976<sup>13</sup>.

The women members moved privilege motions or points, which were entitled to priority in recognition and consideration. A motion, when accepted was sent to the privilege committee of the House. The subject covered by these motions included women and political issued. For example, these motions, or points, were moved when there was representation about women. Begum Rehana Sarwar moved a privilege motion that dowry is a matter related with women. She demanded six women and three men should include in dowry committee. There should be representation given to women. This privilege motion was accepted by the House. Begum Abad Khan, Begum Rehana Sarwar, Mrs Syeda Abida Hussain were elected in dowry committee.<sup>14</sup>

## 2. CONTENT OF PARTICIPATION

The women members took part in issue relating to women, society, economy and politics through the above mechanisms. Their emphasis was more on woman and economic issued than the other issued. The women issues included family laws, dowry and job opportunities for them. Among the economic issues were reforms in the economy on socialist

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., February 8, 1973, P. 2381, Ibid, February 24, 1973, P. 3227, Ibid, July 12, 1973, PP 2513-2514., Ibid, December 19, 1974, P. 304., Ibid., July 1, 1976, PP. 2074, 2104.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., July 25, 1972, P. 1778.

lines. The political issues related to constitution making and foreign policy. The social issues included education and health.

a. CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL ISSUES.

Begum Rehana Sarwar regretted that children kidnapping in a heinous crime and it is a continuous torture for the parents who don't even know the whereabouts of the child and therefore, for the very crime committed death sentence should be awarded to the culprits. She suggested that it is not necessary to prove the intention of the Kidnappers because, firstly, the accused deprives the parents of their child and secondly, the accused uses or at least wants to use the child in future for one of his ulterior motives and that motive is very clearly described in section 364 (a) of the PPC. Therefore, she moved an amendment parliament should to constitute a law and to make amendment in Section 364. PPC in order to give full justice to poor people in the society, who have suffered and are suffering because of injustice.<sup>15</sup>

She moved another amendment to make the principles of state policy as the guideline of the interpretation of the constitution and other laws. The executive must also accept these as a guideline otherwise the inherited arbitrariness would persuade it to ignore these principles. But there was opposition to this amendment and she had to withdraw her motion.<sup>16</sup>

Begum Rehana Sarwar urged for the framing of a constitution for Pakistan that would provide a democratic system suitable to its needs. The constitution itself would not make the people democratic unless they themselves developed democratic thinking in Pakistan, She said, everyone wanted maximum possible benefits for himself but was unwilling to make his own contribution. She moved an amendment and expressed the view that the democratic system in Pakistan should be based on people's democracy that would provide representation to all classes. In the system that had existed in the past, more than eighty percent of the population consisting of workers, tenants, peasants and women had been deprived of due

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., June 6, 1974, PP. 1747-1748

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., October 3, 1974, PP. 345-346



representation. The peoples democracy, according to them, would bring about a democratic transformation through constitutional means and give representation to workers tenants, peasants and women in local council, Dehi Council, mohallah committee, Halqa council, Municipal Committee, Zila Council, Municipal Corporation etc<sup>17</sup>.

The women members took keen interest in the political situation of the country. For instance, Mrs. Syeda Abida Hussain discussing on law and order situation that there is lawlessness and very few people in Pakistan today are even aware of the majority of laws existing in the country. It cannot be corrected by the policy of a particular Government because respect for law is something which has to come through the awakening of a social conscience, she suggested, social conscience can only be awakened when every citizen is aware that a social conscience is required. When laws and social balance will impose, then economic injustices will be removed, and once they are removed, every citizen will become more aware of the law and transgression of the law will become a bit issue.<sup>18</sup> Discussing on a resolution moved by Allama Rehmat Ullah Arshad that "Students violated by Police in Lahore" Miss Nasira Khokhar opposed it and argued that govt could not allow anybody to disturb law and order situation in the country. Govt could not permit to students who take weapons and use against govt. She alleged some groups which disturb law and order situation. They gave money to students for protest on raods. She requested other political parties should not utilized students for political purposes and maintain pure political environment in the country. Begum Rehan Sarwar alleged some professional demonstrators included in striking against govt and they are terrorists, they are not sincere with country, and they protest for their personal interests. Students are not included in it. Any govt could not want to disturb law and order situation.<sup>19</sup> Another issue on which the women members took active part was the acquisition of nuclear technology for Pakistan. In 1974, when India's

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., February 26, 1975, PP. 855-856.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., February 2, 1973, PP. 1754-1755

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., February 22, 1973, PP. 2965-2990

explosion of a nuclear device was debated in the House, Mrs Syeda Abida Hussain expressed the view that it had changed the objective realities in South Asia and induce the world powers to intervene in the region. She observed that Pakistan believed in the proletarian Internationalism but despite this, it had been threatened by the Indian claim that its nuclear programme was for aggression in Kashmir and its intervention in the break-up of Pakistan. Pakistan should move carefully to prevent India from starting another war. It should acquire nuclear technology and ask for peace on equal terms. She urged that peace should be sought through the principles of proletarian internationalism and unity of the workers of the world.<sup>20</sup>

Begum Rehana Sarwar appreciated the Islamic summit held in Lahore is a great pride and honour for Pakistan. Not only the Islamic countries but also the big powers declared the conference a big success<sup>21</sup>.

#### **b. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES**

During this period, the number of primary schools was 53162; high schools 3214; vocational schools 239; colleges 433; and universities 142. The enrolment in the primary schools was 5.53 million; high schools 0.51 million; vocational schools 0.033 million; colleges 0.223 million; and universities 24149<sup>22</sup>. Miss Nasira Khokhar and Mrs. Syeda Abida Hussain, spoke on the educational problems. Speaking on the budget in 1975-1976, Mrs. Syeda Abida Hussain observed that despite huge expenditure, the state of education had gradually deteriorated. According to her, the attitude of the bureaucracy and the people, rather than the government policies, had been responsible for this phenomenon. Whenever a person was given a position of authority in education, he generally misused power for his personal advancement. Pakistan could not progress educationally. She said, unless this attitude changed. She pointed out that a large number of schools exists on paper but in reality

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., June 19, 1974, PP. 2269-2272

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., June 13, 1974, P. 1866

<sup>22</sup> M.L.Qureshi, planning and development in Pakistan Review and alternatives, 1947-82, Lahore, 1984

they do not exist at all. She suggested that education especially primary education needed to be given priority because, in her opinion, the ability of the youth depended on it. For this purpose, the primary school teachers should be properly trained and paid so that they could concentrate on their jobs.<sup>23</sup>

Mrs. Syed Abida Hussain criticized that in some areas some schools remain closed unofficially. In fact, they do not function and when reports are lodged with District Inspector of schools or the Divisional Inspector of schools, it is stated by them that since they do not have transport facilities at their disposal it is very difficult for them to check up these cases in these far flung areas. She suggested that govt should take steps in this regard.<sup>24</sup> Begum Rehan Sarwar, appreciated that govt opened many schools and colleges specially in the backward areas. Besides this, nationalized many schools and colleges. Besides govt also tried to improve the quality of education. New syllabus and new curriculum introduced. The methods of teaching improved. The method of evaluation teaching improved. The method of evaluation also improved and made it compulsory that Dinyat and Islamiyat should also be taught in every class. Govt made education free up to 8<sup>th</sup> class. The budgetary allocation for the annual development programme regarding education for 1972/73 was 11.96 crores while in 1971-72 it was only 6.25 crores, which shows a lot of progress.<sup>25</sup> Women legislatures drew attention towards those areas that deprived from schools and colleges. Miss Nasira Khokhar pointed out that there is no engineering college in Distt Rawalpindi. She claimed that industrial units of distt Rawalpindi can fulfill the demands of Engineering college. She suggested that govt should establish Engineering college at once. She also pointed out that the educational facilities in the villages of camble pur are unsatisfactory. Govt should pay attention in this regard. Begum Rehana pointed out that in Govt Girls high School Gujranwala where lack of school teachers as compare to students strength. She suggested

<sup>23</sup> PAD., June 18, 1975, PP 336-337

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., January 31, 1973, P. 1225

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, October 3, 1974, P. 349

Govt should appoint new teachers for overcome the lack of teachers. She also criticized that strength of students is so much in Gulzar Islam high school Gujranwala but lack of sitting rooms. Due to lack of sitting rooms for students they sit on the roof of school in intense heat. Govt should take steps in this regard. She also pointed out that there is even no any single high school for girls and boys in chahmera Lahore. Miss Nasira Khokhar pointed out that there is no any single high school for girls in Mandra distt Rawalpindi.<sup>26</sup> During this period, overall health facilities increased although these were still quite inadequate. The number were still quite inadequate. The number of hospitals had increased to 528 and dispensaries to 3220. The women members discussed the inadequacy of the health facilities particularly in the rural areas. Mrs. Zakia Shah Nawaz Khan Niazi alleged that health facilities in the villages are very much neglected. The doctors don't go there and most of the lives in villages are pass away because of neglect. She suggested that it should be mandatory for every doctor to serve in the rural areas for a specified period and that there should be no discrimination in the posting of doctors to these areas. More attention should be paid to the hospitals in rural areas, more dispensaries should be establish in the villages and more health centres should be established in the rural areas. Especially, top priority should be given to the preventive medicines.<sup>27</sup> Miss Nasira Khokhar drew attention towards distt hospital Rawalpindi where hospital staff and nurses are short as compare to patients. Hospital building is also not sufficient according to population. She suggested more staff, nurses appoint and new rooms should construct. She also critical that the medical students of 3<sup>rd</sup> year have no place to start practice. She suggested govt should nationalized Holy Family Hospital in order to they can start practice.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., January 31, 1973, PP. 1331-1333.,

Ibid, April 4, 1974, P. 253

Ibid, June 5, 1974, PP. 1506, 1508.,

Ibid., October 30, 1974, P. 1519.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., June 23, 1977, P. 441

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., June 24, 1975, P. 738., Ibid., June 18, 1976, P. 1012.

Hasina Khokhar alleged that health visitors use medicine in dispensaries for their personal interest. When a poor woman go for delivery then health visitors take 50 rupees from her that is unfair. She suggested govt should take steps in this regard. She also suggested that govt should provide all facilities in village dispensaries like X-ray machine, postmartm tools etc. She opened, if better facilities provide to doctors and their children then they can go to villages.<sup>29</sup>

Begum Rehan Sarwar suggested govt should provide First-Aid facilities to public at every check post.<sup>30</sup>

The PPP women parliamentarians supported the economics policies of their government. They advocated that socialism, as laid down in the PPP manifesto, should be adopted as the system of state economy. Mrs. Syeda Abida Hussain observed that high productivity was the principal weapon in the battle for economic independence. She urged the government to adopt new methods for increasing productivity was the principal weapon in the battle for economic independence. She urged the government to adopt new methods for increasing production on the pattern of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. The colonial practice of degrading the labour be abolished, and the trade unions, she suggested, be associated with the management of the factories and the production process, she appreciated that the economic development for the year 1972 shows a GNP growth of 2% which is on the higher side than it has been through out the history of Pakistan.<sup>31</sup>

Begum Rehana Sarwar asked that dependence on imports, foreign aid and loans should be reduced. Economy dependent on aid, she said, was severely affected when aid was blocked and often resulted in devaluation and inflation. This happened in Pakistan in 1973, when rupee had to be devalued and inflation soared. As a result, the prices of exports declined in foreign markets, but the prices of imports and exportable commodities rose in the

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., June 21, 1976, P. 1300

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., January 23, 1973, P. 589

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., October 2, 1974, PP. 270-272

home market. She informed that the government raised the prices of wheat to save foreign exchange which was pent on importing exchange which was spent on importing commodities such as sugar and wheat.<sup>32</sup>

Begum Abad Ahmed Khan and Mrs. Syeda Abida Hussain advocated rapid industrialization, with concessions to industries established in the less developed regions of the country. Mrs. Syeda Abida Hussain pointed out that letter of credit had opened in backward areas and machinery has also transferred and private banks have given loan for the industrial development of backward areas but govt could not applicable it yet.<sup>33</sup> Miss Nasira Khokhar suggested that when govt established industry there residential quarters should be also established rather than five merla plot because population is growing day to day and it would be impossible for govt to give plot to every worker.<sup>34</sup>

The women members emphasized the development of agriculture on socialist lines. Begum Abad ahmed Khan suggested that for the development of country cultivation should be harvest on pieces of land. Begum Rehana suggested that radical changes should be brought about in the method and technology of agricultural productivity. She pointed out water logging exists in some areas of Punjab. She suggested govt should establish research centres for the training of farmers and officers.<sup>35</sup>

Mrs. Syeda Abida Hussain, she observed, Pakistan's survival, would be endangered if its agrarian problems were not solved. The agrarian sector, in her view, faced a crucial battle for its survival due to growing urbanization which was deeply affecting the rural population.<sup>36</sup>

Mrs. Zakia Shah Nawaz Khan Niazi criticized that most of the villages don't have drinking water, in the areas of Tehsil Isa Khel most of the women have travel many many

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., October 5, 1973, PP. 1054-1056

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., July 27, 1972., PP. 2051-2053

Ibid., January 23, 1973., P. 422

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., June 13, 1977., PP. 1826-1827

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., January 30, 1973, P. 1078.,

Ibid., March 16, 1973, P. 4587.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., June 27, 1975, P. 1112

miles on foot to get drinking water for their homes and for their children. The water which they drink is not good because it remains lying in stagnant and is injurious to their health. By drinking water they develop many diseases. She suggested that govt should overcome this difficulty.<sup>37</sup> Begum Rehana Sarwar appreciated people, govt left no stone unturned in promoting social well being of all the people, in promoting cultural and social harmony and in providing equal job opportunities and academic freedom and opportunity of equal participation in all spheres of life.<sup>38</sup>

Begum Hasina Khokhar suggested for promoting cultural and social harmony govt should banned the English movies and songs specially banned the Naheed Akhter songs that are like to show the candle and ask them not to burn. Because young generation is representative of future. Begum Rehana Sarwar criticized that govt should prohibit smoking in cinema houses because women, children also came in cinema. For maintaining pleasant environment in cinema govt should banned smoking.<sup>39</sup>

Begum Rehana Sarwar appreciated govt action during flood. Punjab was confronted with un-recendented floods and there was a lot of destruction to life and property and the govt played a very important role to provide food, shelter and clothing to those persons who belonged to the flood effected areas and the burden of repairs of dams, canals, rivers, bridges and roads was shouldered by this government.<sup>40</sup>

### C. GENDER ISSUES

Mrs. Zakia Shahnawaz Khan Niazi suggested that govt should give high priority to education especially the propagation of universal education for girls. Mosques in the rural areas should be used for education of girls. There should be vocational centres provided in the rural areas for the training of women to do and learn needle work and stitch craft so that

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., June 23, 1977, P. 442

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., October 3, 1974 P. 350.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., June 21, 1976 PP. 1298-1299,

Ibid., November 18, 1976, P. 1048

<sup>40</sup> June 13, 1974., P. 1866.

the articles which they produce should be good and can be exported. In this manner the women of rural areas would not only earn their livelihood but also will earn foreign exchange. She pointed out that the women in rural area take very active part in economic well being of their families. Govt should give special attention in fields of education, social welfare and health in order to the right of women are safeguarded.<sup>41</sup>

Discussing on "Family Laws" Mrs. Syeda Abida Hussain she gives the example of Tunisia Syria, and Algeria that the family laws, progressive family laws have been introduced in several other Muslim states. They are on the verge of passing them. She criticized that family laws in Pakistan are not progressive while in Iran these family laws are progressive. Although constitution give equal rights to women and women can enjoy equal civic rights to man. She regretted that family laws Bill rejected in 1963. In 1972 Muslim family laws (repeal) bill, which was debated for months, it was also disposed off in a few days.<sup>42</sup>

Begum Rehana Sarwar appreciated that equal opportunities have been provided to women in Pakistan people party's Manifesto, they have also been given equal opportunities according to Article 34 of the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. It has been assured that women should be given full participation in all spheres of national life but it is very unfortunate to observe that yet much attention is required to be paid to the backward areas, rural areas, to the undeveloped areas and to the unproductive areas of the Punjab. The female population is 50% of the total population and it is incumbent upon the female population to join hands with the male population in order to rebuild to reconstruct, Pakistan. In order to strengthen Pakistan and in order to upgrade Pakistan socially, economically and politically for a brighter future much attention is required to be paid women. She assured if proper opportunities are given and if favourable circumstances prevail women can work harder than men. She gives example of backward areas. Where women carry mud and bricks

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., June 23, 1977, P. 441

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, October 2, 1974, P. 268.



on their heads and doing this laborious job because there is no other job available in that particular area. Neither the women neglect their children in such particular area nor women ignore their homes during her laborious job. She suggested that it is necessary that proper job opportunities should be provided to women in their home towns in their own villages so that there they can play an important role in the development of country.<sup>43</sup>

Begum Rehana Sarwar claimed that never in the history of Pakistan has any Government paid such attention towards the uplifting and upgrading of women in society. Govt also gave them equal rights under the constitution of Pakistan and gauranted equal participation in all spheres of national lfie.<sup>44</sup>

Begum Syeda Abida Hussain, criticized that men did not recognized labour and say that women sit idle at the end of it. She pointed out that women does filed labour. The entire cotton.

Begum Rehana Sarwar Shaheed criticized that the number of comprehensive school for girls is not in proportion to the female population in Punjab. She suggest government should take steps to solve this problem and give full justice.<sup>45</sup>

Begum Syeda Abida Hussain, speaking on a point of reservation of seats for women. She, alleged of seats for women. She, alleged that govt does not give equal rights to women. It does not give the women their due place and it is because of that the woman is unable to contest an election and she cannot aspire to return to the Assemble as she is considered to be inferior.<sup>46</sup>

The preceding account shows that women seats increased during 1970-1977. The women parliamentarians played a significant role. There were just six women during 1972-1977 parliament. But they feld no inhibition in serving on various bodies of the house. Their

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., April 11, 1977, P. 43

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., April 11, 1977, P. 43

<sup>45</sup> January 31, 1973, P. 1246

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., November 29, 1973, P. 809

contribution to parliamentary proceedings was no less important than that of the male members. As pioneer women parliamentarians, they set a good example for their successors. The women representation increased in 1973 constitution. There were 12 women in the first parliament under 1973 constitution. Although their representation had enhanced but their contribution to parliamentary proceedings and to various bodies of the House did not increase proportionately.

**Issues taken by Punjab legislators during 1972 –77**

S. No	Issues	Percentage
1	<b>Constitutional &amp; polITICAL</b>	10
2	<b>Social</b>	17
3	<b>Gender</b>	20

## Chapter No.4

### PERFORMANCE IN THE PARLIAMENT

#### 1985-1999

On July 5, 1977 the imposition of third country wide martial law resulted in the abrogation of the 1973 constitution and dissolution of the parliament constituted under it. During General Zia's regime it was announced that elections for the provincial Assemblies would be held on February 28, 1985 and election were held on non Party base. Those women who elected from reserved seats were following in Punjab legislatures.

#### Women's legislators in Punjab legislature 1985-1988

Name	Constituency
Miss Shaheen Attiqur Rehman	Punjab (reserve Seat)
Mrs. Shama Tariq	Punjab (reserve Seat)
Mrs. Shaheen Munawar	Punjab (reserve Seat)
Mrs. Shahida Yasmin Malik	Punjab (reserve Seat)
Syeda Nigat Naeem	Punjab (reserve Seat)
Mrs. Zakia Shah Nawaz Niazi	Punjab (reserve Seat)
Mrs. Bushra Rehman	Punjab (reserve Seat)
Mrs. Najma Tabish Alwar	Punjab (reserve Seat)
Mrs. Sajjida Begum	Punjab (reserve Seat)
Mrs. Rukhsana Begum	Punjab (reserve Seat)
Mrs. Khurishid Begum	Punjab (reserve Seat)
Dr. Shela B.Charles	Punjab (reserve Seat)
Mrs. Najma Hameed	Punjab (reserve Seat)

### Women's Legislators elect from general seats 1985-1988

Name	Constituency
Begum Farhat Khawaja Rafique	Lahore 13 PP-106
Syeda Shahida Near Neyyer Abedi	Sialkot I PP -142

Mrs. Najma Hameed was house-wife and social worker: Born on March 18, 1943 at Faisalabad. Qualification: F.A. in 1962. Positions held: councilor Rawalpindi Municipal Corporation since 1979. MPA and Parliamentary Secretary for Health 1985-88. Minister for Social Welfare. July to November 1988. re-elected member, Provincial Assembly of the Punjab in 1988. Member Official Delegation to U.N. General Assembly's 40<sup>th</sup> Session in 1985.

Syeda Nighat Naeem: House Wife: born on July 10, 1950, at Multan. Qualifications: B.A. Mrs. Khurshid begum: House Wife: born on June 15, 1939 at Chak No. 24/G.B. Tehsil and District Faisalabad. Qualification: B.A. from Govt. College for women Faisalabad. Positions held: B.D. member, Union Council 1960-65, Member district council Faisalabad 1973-83 and 1983, todate.

Miss Shaheen Attiq-ur-Rehman: Lawyer, born on April 23, 1949 at Sialkot; Qualifications: M.A. Administrative science in 1971 and L.L.B. in 1974 from Punjab University. Positions held: Councilor Lahore Municipal Corporation in 1983, member Provincial Assembly Council of Punjab 1983-85, Minister for social welfare and women division 1985-87. Mrs. Shaheen Munawar Ahmad: Agriculturist; born on August 3, 1947; Qualifications: Got School Education at Convent of Jesus and Mary, Lahore; F.A. from Lahore college for women, B.A. from Kinnaird college, Lahore.

Mrs. Shama Talib: House Wife; born on November 15, 1942, at Rawalpindi;

Qualifications: F.A. Diploma in child Psychology.

Mrs. Najma Tabish Alwari: House Wife; born July 18, 1948; Qualification: M.A.

Begum Farhat Khawaja Rafique: B.A. B.Ed. School teacher; born on September 15, 1934 at Ameritsar (India); Qualifications: B.A. from Lahore College for women, B.Ed. from college for Education (Women). Position held: Councilor, Lahore Municipal Corporation Sialkot, 1979, re-elected in 1983, Member, Provincial Council of Punjab, 1983, Minister for Livestock and Dairy Development, Punjab from 30<sup>th</sup> April, 1985 to August, 1987.<sup>1</sup>

Begum Bushra Rehman was write, Journalist, columnist and poet; born on August 29, 1944, at Bahawalpur, Qualification: M.A. (Journalism), B.Ed. from university of Punjab. Positions held: Member Divisional Council Bahawalpur, elected Member Provincial Assembly of Punjab 1985-88 and re-elected in 1988 to date; awarded Gold medal for best parliamentarian in 1988. Awarded titles of Kadir-ul-Kalam Shirin Bayan and Bulbul-I-Pakistan by the Punjab Assembly in 1990.<sup>2</sup>

Miss. Shaheen Atiq-Ur-Rehman, Mrs. Shama Talib, Mrs. Shaheen Munawar, Mrs. Shahida Yasmeen Malik, Syed Nighat Naeem, Mrs. Zakia Shah Nawaz Niazi, Mrs. Bushra Rehman, Mrs. Najma Tabish Alwari, Mrs. Sajda Begum, Mrs. Rukhsana Begum, Mrs. Khurshid Begum, Dr. Shela and Mrs. Najma Hameed, She was also Parliamentary secretary to health. Two women, Begum Farhat Khawaja Rafique elect from Lahore 13 PP-106, Syeda Sahida Neyyer Abedi elect from Sialkot 1 PP-142. On May 30, 1988 General Zia-Ul-Haq issued a proclamation under which the National Assembly and the four Provincial Assemblies were dissolved. President Zia ousted the Junajo government and setup Caretaker government in the centre and in the provinces on July 20, President Zia announced the

<sup>1</sup> Ibid, PP. 78, 83, 98-99.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, PP. 82, 108.

Programme of fresh general election according to the schedule, elections for the national and provincial assemblies were to be held on November 16 and 19 respectively. ON July 21, he announced that the new election would also be held on non party basis. But he died on August 17, 1988, he flew to Bahawalpur in order to watch the exercises or military units. But the C-130 aero plane crashed after few moments after taking off.

During 1988 election, following ladies came in parliament. All seats were reserved.

#### Women's Legislators in Punjab Legislatures 1988-1990

Name	Party
Begum Afifa Mamdot	IJI (Reserve Seat)
Mrs. Tahira Khan	IJI (Reserve Seat)
Mrs. Najma Hamid	IJI (Reserve Seat)
Mrs. Zubaida Malik	IJI (Reserve Seat)
Mrs. Shahida Farooq Malik	IJI (Reserve Seat)
Begum Zubaida Mansoor Malik	PPP- (Reserve Seat)

Begum Afifa Mamdot was agriculturist: born on September 4, 1929, at Quetta: Qualification Graduation: Positions held: Minister of State for Health and Social Welfare, Govt. Of Pakistan for 3 ½ years 1982-85. Member Official Delegation to U.N. General Assembly's 33<sup>rd</sup> session held at New York. Participated in International Muslim Women Conference held at Teheran (Iran) in 1988 and world peace conference, held at Baghdad (Iran) in 1988 elected member, Provincial Assembly of the Punjab in 1988.

Mrs. Tahira Khan was agriculturist: born on September 25, 1943, at Bahawalpur: Qualification: F.Sc. from College of Home Economics Lahore in 1961. B.A.(Hons.) from Punjab University Lahore: Positions held: Elected member, Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, since 1988. her father, Mian Nizam-ud-Din haider ahd been member of National Assembly.

Miss Fozia Habib born on March 28, 1953 at Peshawar: Qualifications: M.A. Economics, Positions held: Elected member Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, since 1988.

Mrs. Shahana Naseem Farooqi was business women born on May 30, 1953 at Chittagong. Qualification B.Sc. Home Economics, Positions held: elected member of Provincial Assembly of the Punjab since 1988.

Mrs. Zubaida Malik was Medical Practitioner: Faisalabad in 1955. Diploma in Homeopathy from Medical College, Faisalabad in 1966: Positions held: President PPP Faisalabad Division (Women Wing) for 7 years: councilor Municipal Corporation Faisalabad 1979-83 elected member of Provincial Assembly of the Punjab since 1988.

Mrs. Shahida Farooq Malik was agriculturist born on February 19,1956, at Lahore: Qualifications: B.A. from Govt. College for Women, Sargodha in 1978: Positions held: President of student union. Govt. College Sargodha, Best Debater and best Speaker of the college: elected member provincial Assembly of the Punjab in 1985-88, Chairperson Public Accounts Committee-1, 1985-88. She reelected member Provincial Assembly of the Punjab in 1988.

Begum Zubaida Manoor Malik born on May 2, 1942 at Lahore: Qualifications: B.A. from Islamia College for Women, Lahore in 1958. Positions held: president PPP Lahore city (Women Wing), member of Provincial Assembly of the Punjab since 1988. Her husband Mian Mansoor Malik had been member of provincial assembly in 1977.

Baji Nusrat Rasheed was House Wife: Born in 1945, at Lahore: Positions held: General Secretary and President of PPP Rawalpindi (Women Wing) 1973-86: General Secretary of PPP Rawalpindi Division Since 1986, elected member of Provinces Assembly of the Punjab since 1988.

Miss. Afifa Fazal born on September 5, 1958m at Lahore: Qualifications: F.A. from Kinnaired College Lahore, in 1976, B.A. in 1978: Positions held: Member of Jahez fund committee, Member, M.S.F. Sans Francisco U.S.A. 1977-78, elected member of Provincial Assembly of the Punjab since 1988.

Begum Afifa Mamdot (IJI) (reserved seat), Mrs. Tahira Khan (IJI), Mrs. Najma Hameed (IJI), Miss Fozia Habib (PPP), Begum Saghira Islam (PPP), Mrs Shahana Naseem Farooqi (IJI), Mrs, Zubaida Malik (IJI), Mrs Shahida Farooq Malik (IJI), Begum Zubaida Mansoor Malik (PPP). On August 6, 1990 President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolved National Assembly according to Article 58-2B. Provincial Governors also dissolved Provincial legislatures. President announced new elections on October 24, 1990. During 1990-1999 there not reserved seats for women. Nawaz Sharif govt. established on November 6, 1990 but it was dissolved on July 18, 1993 by the president Ghulam Ishaq according to article 58-2B. Benazir Bhutto gout established on October 19,1993 but it was dissolved on October, 12,1999 dismissed Nawaz Sharif govt.

During 1990-1999 there were following lady members came in Parliament. Dr. Sheila B. Charles, Begum Rah Hameed Gill, Sumaira Rabb'ari Khar, Mrs. Zakia Shahnawaz Niazi, Mrs. Rukhsana Begum, Syeda Nighat Naeem, Mrs. Bushra Rehman, Mrs. Khurshid Begum, Miss Shaheen Munawar Ahmad, Mrs. Shama Talib, Mrs. Najma Tabish Alwari, Miss. Robina Ansari, Fozia Bahram elect from Chakwal PP-18.



Dr. Sheila Charles, she was medical doctor born on September 23, 1932, at Lahore; qualifications F.Sc from Lahore college for women, L.S.M.F from west Pakistan medical college, Bahawalpur in 1962, short surgery Course from Jinnah Hospital, Karachi in 1966, Sight-Testing Diploma from Scotland in 1968.

Miss Robina Ansari; Social worker; born June 7, 1962 at Kot Fateh Din Khan, Kasur; Qualification Matric in 1976; Positions held: elected as MPA for the remaining term of the Assembly against the seat vacated due to the death of her elder sister, Mrs. Sajida Ansari, MPA.

Mrs. Fozia Behram: Business Woman and agriculturist, born on May 19, 1954 at Lahore; Qualification B.A. in 1974 from Govt. college for women, Lahore. Diploma in General and Hotel Administration and sales, in 1978 from polyglot school, London. Position held: member District council Chakwal from 1987 to date; president Muslim League (women branch) District Chakwal from 1985 to date, Vice President Muslim League, District Chakwal 1990, visited Iran in June 1990 as Member of Punjab Parliamentary Delegation.

The number of women who participated in political life was very small. Their representation in the parliament was in no way a reflection of their proportion in population or political life. Those women who were in the parliament whether they belonged to political families or non-political families had initiative as well as encouragement from their families. Many of them started their political careers before Independence by joining the All-India Muslim League while several others joined politics during the movement against Ayub Khan. The women parliamentarians were invariably involved in social work before and after their entry into parliament.

### (i) NATURE OF PARTICIPATION

Women have insignificant representation, in the parliament. Their participation in the parliament was of a varied nature. They regularly participated in the debates on the annual budgets and raised issues of public interest. They also took part in discussions on the bills and resolutions moved amendments. They raised points of order, asked starred and unstarred questions and interrupted in the parliament proceedings to get information from the Treasury Benches or to show their disagreement on a specific point. Despite their insignificant representation they made their presence felt in the house by participation through these mechanisms.

A new phenomenon of the parliament in the 1970's was that the women members now used other available mechanisms to make their presence felt in the House. They moved resolutions, adjournment motions, privilege motions, and raised points of privilege, information and explanation. Begum Najma Tabish Alwari, moved a resolution that a foreign magazine passed derogatory remarks against the Holy Prophet (PBUH). She suggested that govt. should take action in order to in future; everyone can avoid to passed such reactions<sup>3</sup>. Begum Bushra Rehman moved a resolution "The provincial social security ordinance (Amendment) bill 1985<sup>4</sup>. Begum Bushra Rehman moved a resolution that govt. should specify fund for needy, ill, poor, scholars and Novelists. She suggested that govt. should appoint a special committee of MPA's in order to they can observe the problems of journalists, novelists, Poet, Scholars in order to help them by specify fund<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> PAD., October 14, 1985, P210.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., October 15, 1985, P277.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., October 22, 1985, P723.

Begum Bushra Rehman moved a resolution about corruption in intermediate and secondary education Board Punjab 1987<sup>6</sup>. Begum Bushra Rehman moved a resolution “The cleanliness of the cities of Punjab bill, 1988”.

Begum Bushra Rehman moved a resolution that “provincial govt. request to federal govt. that according to article 34 of constitution of Pakistan according to basic human rights 50% population of female should represent at national level in all fields<sup>7</sup>.”

Najma Tabish Alwari moved a resolution that Mulana Manzoor Chunioti moved a resolution against women members. He passed derogatory remarks against women. He attacked all women prestige. Dr. Shela B Charles moved a resolution that govt. should denationalized all missionary schools<sup>8</sup>.

Mrs. Tahira Khan moved a resolution that “A residential colony should construct in Lahore for Provincial Assembly servants and allotted them<sup>9</sup>”. Begum Raj Hameed Gill moved a resolution that according to article 36 of constitution 5% quota reserved for minorities in jobs and educational institutions<sup>10</sup>. Begum Najma Tabish Alwari moved an adjournment motion that International food council donated 5 lac. to Pakistan for flood effecters but govt. of Pakistan did not provide this donation to flood effecters<sup>11</sup>. Najma Tabish Alwari moved an adjournment motion that junior doctors in Multan, Bhawalpur striked against govt. due to strike, people faced lot of problems<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., October 30, 1987, P1762.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., January 26, 1988, PP983,1006.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., January 28, 1988, PP1028-1029.,

Ibid., October 21, 1986, P1391.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., December 15, 1988, P318.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., April 5, 1996, P105.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., October 17, 1985, P426.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., October 22, 1985, P750.

Begum Raj Hameed Gill, moved adjournment motion that a group printed Holy Quran verses and pictures of Hazrat Maryam in clothes. It is a Pre-Planned conspiracy against Muslims and minorities<sup>13</sup>.

The women members moved privilege motions, or points, which were entitled to priority in recognition and consideration. A motion, when accepted, was sent to the privilege committee of the house. The subjects covered by these motions included women and political issues. For example, these motions or points, were moved when there was misreporting about women, or improper language was used against them in the press. In 1987, Mrs. Shaheen Munawer moved a privilege motion on a report in the Pakistan Times about incorrect news of female parliamentarians. This amounts not only to the breach of privilege of the lady members but this is a reflection upon the house. It is a breach of privilege of the entire House. She requests to refer this matter to the privileges committee<sup>14</sup>.

In 1991, Fozia Bahram, raised a point of privilege against the daily Jang for Publishing insulting language against women. The speaker, accepted her point, and sent the matter to the privilege committee<sup>15</sup>.

In 1985, Najma Tabish Alwari, raised a point of privilege against the Pakistan Television which telecast the proceeding of all three assemblies NWFP, Sindh, Baluchistan during Martial law uplifting resolution but T.V did not telecast the proceeding of Punjab Assembly. The attitude of Pakistan television was partial. She remarked that T.V is an important national Institute. All citizens of Pakistan have equal rights but T.V neglect Punjab<sup>16</sup>. Begum Farhat Khawaja Rafique raised a point of privilege against police who illegal captured her house towards four sides in a lie murder case of a student of Islamia

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., April 1, 1996, PP113-114.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., October 12, 1987, P245.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., March 3, 1991, P241.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., June 2, 1985, P508.

college of civil lines. She requested that govt. should take action against police<sup>17</sup>. Syeda Sajda Nayeer Abadi moved a privilege motion that despite the rolling of speaker to removed objectionable words from proceeding of House but all newspapers reported it as a news<sup>18</sup>. Dr. Shela Charles moved a privilege motion that govt. did not specify funds for minorities in budget which damage the prestige of minorities and sent the motion to privilege committee<sup>19</sup>. Mrs. Shaheen Munawar Ahmed moved an amendment that Punjab Jinnah Abadies for Non-Proprietors in Rural Areas Bill, 1986, as recommended by the standing committee on Revenue be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion there on by the 31st July, 1986<sup>20</sup>.

The women members raised points of order on a number of occasions; some order on a number of occasions, some points were admitted while others were rejected. The points of order raised by them can be divided into four categories. The first category was of those points of order to draw the attention of the speaker that a particular member was not following the rules of the House<sup>21</sup>. The second category was of those points of order when noise and confusion were disturbing the proceedings of the House<sup>22</sup>. The third category was of those points of order when anything objectionable was published in press or media<sup>23</sup>. The fourth category was of those points of order when any member of the House used derogatory or obscene language against women<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., October 28, 1985, PP1014-1015.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., October 3, 1987, P1742.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., December 18, 1988, P451.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., May 22, 1986, P548.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., April 10, 1985, P32.,

Ibid., May 29, 1985, P100.

<sup>22</sup> See the point of order moved by Dr. Shela B Charles in Ibid., June 15, 1985, P1835.

<sup>23</sup> See the point of order moved by Najma Tabish Alwari in Ibid., October 21, 1986, P1391.

<sup>24</sup> See the point of order movd by Shahida Malik in Ibid., May 22, 1986, P502.

## (ii) CONTENT OF PARTICIPATION

The issues on which the women parliamentarians spoke may be divided into three categories: (a) those issues that were of a political nature like the political system, reorganization of the administrative system and foreign policy: (b) the social issues that were of a general health problems and those issues which related to the economic system and general economic conditions: and (c) those social and economic issues that were specific to women such as problems of their education, employment, etc. On all these issues, the women parliamentarians gave useful suggestions which were often supported by other members and accepted by the House.

### (a) POLITICAL ISSUES

Begum Bushra Rehman supported democracy should establish in country. She expressed the view that the democratic system in Pakistan should be based on People's democracy that would provide representation to all classes<sup>25</sup>.

The women members opposed the imposition of martial law. They supported the federal form of govt. with powers to safeguard not only the territorial integrity of the country but also the well being of its people. Begum Farhat Khawaja Rafique criticized that Martial law is not suitable for country. She remarked, Army duty is to defend the country. Mrs. Zakia Shah Nawaz supported that there should be freedom of press on the country. She remarked that press should print not only the official view point but also gave coverage to views about the rights and privileges of the people<sup>26</sup>. Mrs. Najma Tabish Alwari, moved a resolution that according to article 150 of provincial assembly Punjab standing and select committees should

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., May 29, 1985, PP193-194.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., June 2, 1985, P469.,  
Ibid., June 5, 1985, P776.,  
Ibid., June 8, 1985, P1174.

not established at once. Despite of proceeding two Assembly sessions these committees could not established. For facilitation of assembly proceedings for completing the parliamentary affairs these committees play an important role. Due to absence of these committees lot of assembly time will waste on official and non-official bills, privilege motions etc. It is impossible for members of assembly to take part in the parliamentary affairs. She suggested standing and select committees should be established at once<sup>27</sup>.

Dr. Shela B Charles suggested that Easter Sunday is one of the most sacred and religious festival for the Christians. Govt. should be declared Easter and Christmas as national holidays.<sup>28</sup> Mrs. Shaheen Munawar Ahmed criticized the beaurcacy and called them the galaxy of stars. This system which has been the legacy of the imperial Raj, The British needed some people for administration which would supervise these local natives in their absence. When they left, they left local lords instead. She gives example primarily duty of the deputy commissioner was to be the collector. The D.C was meant to by the collector of revenue for the district, but today he has the right to interfere in every sphere of life. In every thing he has a hand. Weather it is the govt. of Sikander Mirza, whether it is the government of Ayub Khan, whether it is the govt. of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, whether it is the government today, beaurucrates always interfere. She alleged, that they prepared the budget. They write everything, they make the allocations and they are the people who make the priorities without consulting the elected representatives of the people or the representative institutions of this country, and they just want parliamentarians to affix their signatures on some thing with is primarily for their own good<sup>29</sup>. Discussing on law and order situation women. Parliamentarians expressed their views that if police worked honestly then the chances of law

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., May 26, 1985, PP95-96.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., June 5, 1985, P789.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., June 4, 1985, PP. 690-691

and order disturbance will minimize. They suggested that salary of police should be increase. Syeda Nighat Naeem, pointed out some causes that disturbed law and order situation and also gives some suggestion. (1) Due to low salary of police, they take bribery and left criminals who disturb law and order situation. (2) Basic thing to revolutionary change in police character. (3) New curriculum and new system should introduce for training the police. (4) To increase the payment of police in order to abolish bribery.

She alleged that the prisoners rushed from jails, they destroy law and order situation. She suggested that special attention should given to jails administration<sup>30</sup>.

Mrs. Zakia Shahnawaz Niazi also pointed out causes and gives suggestions about law and order situation. (1) Unemployment is a big problem. Due to unemployment, young generation involved in dicottees, smuggling, murders etc. She suggested that new small and big industries should established in villages as well as cities, National handicrafts centers should also opened in order to overcome unemployment. (2) Corrupt people also disturbed law and order situation. Corruption is badly clung with country. She suggested hard punishment should given to corrupt people. (3) Drug smuggling is also a big human problem. She suggested responsible persons should not only be sacked but hanged. (4) Educational system should be good. Parents should give attention towards their children. Youth culture centers should establish where sports should must organize in order to students can utilize their spare time towards constructive works. (5) Traffic problem is also a big human problem. She criticized that drivers do not obey rules and regulations (6) Govt should give authority gun license to every citizen<sup>31</sup>.

Fozia Bahram suggested for better law and order situation. (1) There should be re-organize police department (2) Police should provide modern equipment. (3) Police should

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., October 17, 1985, PP. 458-459

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, October 20, 1985, PP. 485-487



divided into different departments and duties should assigned according to their department. In this way, crimes will minimize<sup>32</sup>.

Women parliamentarians criticized Hindus torture on Muslims of India Begum Bushra Rehman, Najma Tabish Alwari, Begum Syeda Nighat Naeem, criticized Hindus tortures, riots against Indian Muslim by Hindus. They suggested Muslim countries of the world should unite. They should assemble on one platform and use political and morale pressure on India. Muslim countries should try their best to get rid of Indian Muslims from Hindus torture<sup>33</sup>. Mrs. Shaheen Manawar Ahmed, discussing on 1985-86 budget, she criticized this budget is only for the luxury oriented bureaucracy of ours. Pakistan is very poor country. She opined, Pakistan could not develop having better administration by building more offices for ACs and Deputy commissioners. She alleged that only one Deputy commissioner wants Rs. 1,00,000 for the renovation of his house while other side, poor people are dying with deprivation of food, shelter etc. She gives the example Pind Dadan Khan, an area which is lacking in facilities and basic necessities of life, people are drinking water dugout the ditches over there but the deputy commissioner of Jhelum wants money for the renovation of his house. She suggested until administration did not good then Pakistan could not progress<sup>34</sup>.

#### **(b) SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES**

Begum Bushra Rehman, emphasized the need for free and compulsory primary education. She supported that education specially primary education needed to be given priority because in her opinion, the ability of the youth depended on it<sup>35</sup>. Begum Farhat Khawaja Rafique suggested that govt should establish more new schools in inner Lahore. She

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., June 10, 1991, PP. 106-108

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., June 4, 1987, PP. 46-50, 54-55, 61-62.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., June 4, 1985, PP. 692-693.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., June 2, 1985, P. 420.

emphasized the need for free and compulsory primary education. For this purpose, the primary school teachers should be properly trained and paid so that, they could concentrate on their jobs<sup>36</sup>.

Discussing on Educational policy, Mr.'s Zakia shah Nawaz Niazi suggested that for the development in educational systems, teachers should be properly trained in order to they deal with students according to their psychology. She also suggested government should provide same facilities, status, prestige to teachers like other professions like doctors, Engineers, CSS qualified officers. She alleged that in village, there are many school which are deprived from furniture, water basic facilities. She suggested govt should provide basic facilities to these schools, technical institutions should also established. Special institutions should also established for guiding the students for future profession in order to they can adopt according to their aptitude<sup>37</sup>. Discussing on 1986-87 budget, Dr. Shela B Charles appreciated govt has allocated 581.98 crores for education. It is very big amount. She observed that in her area two or three schools have got no building and there is always a dispute when they hire buildings on rent for schools where half of the portion of the building is taken by the land lord. They must not have taken such buildings, because there is always a dispute between the landlord and the school teachers and as such the teachers cannot educate the children properly. When there is rain or storm then the children of the schools which have no roofs have to go home. She suggested proper building for schools should be provided, or new buildings should be taken on rent for the new schools. She also suggested that as Dinya't is compulsory for the Muslim students, the Bible study should be made compulsory for the Christian students. Begum Raj Hameed Gill and Dr. Shela also criticizing the govt policy of nationalization of educational Institutions opined that the state of education had further

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., June 5, 1985, P 779.

<sup>37</sup> November 7, 1985, PP. 1697-98

declined after the nationalization. She suggested that Punjab govt should denationalized the missionary schools as Sind all schools have been denationalized because with this the minority children will get a lot of religious teachings. There were boarding houses attached to these schools and the poor parents used to send their children to these schools. But after they have been nationalized, these poor people cannot send their children to these schools<sup>38</sup>. Dr. Shela B. Charles suggested that government should some reserved seats for the minorities in Medical colleges, Engineering Colleges and law colleges.<sup>39</sup>

Begum Shama Talib observed that health was one of the most important subjects on which depended the development of the nation. She remarked health facilities in villages are not satisfactory, doctors do not like to go village. She asked for the posting of doctors in the rural areas and provision of facilities to them and in the areas in which they were posted<sup>40</sup>.

Dr. Shela B. Charles and Mrs. Zakia Shahnawaz appreciated that the bed charges that have been finished is a very good thing for the poor class. Dr. Shela opined, that the poor class could not afford to pay the charges to the extend of five to ten rupees when their income is income is so minimum. Nurses at the Hospitals are very poor about it because it was a big problem to take this amount from the patients who were there for months together<sup>41</sup>. Mrs. Zakia Shahnawaz laid emphasis on the establishment of more hospitals to end the sufferings of the people due to lack of hospitals<sup>42</sup>.

Dr. Shela B Charles suggested govt should provide industrial homes in the poor villages where more than 12000 people are living, because most of the widows and the orphans have no source of income. With the functioning of these industrial homes they can

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., May 31, 1986, P 998.,  
Ibid., June 18, 1991, PP 1296-1297.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., June 5, 1985, P 789.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., May 31, 1986, PP 980-982.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., May 31, 1986, Pp 992-996.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., June 17, 1987, P 676.

earn their livings and at the same time and when they have these industrial homes, then these industrial products could go abroad and thus get a lot of foreign exchange. Foreigners always like Pakistani embroidery and knitting work<sup>43</sup>.

Begum Bushra Rehman criticized Federal govt which closed 119 Industries for Punjab. There is no head office of any bank in Punjab. There is also not any investment promotion Bureau offices in Punjab. Due to close industries by federal govt lot of young generation had deprived from job. She suggested federal govt should restart these industries.<sup>44</sup>

Begum Farhat Khawaja Rafique remarked that agriculture is backbone of Pakistan economy. She suggested that govt should great emphasize on agriculture by using new techniques for getting more production<sup>45</sup>.

Dr. Shela B Charles. Opposed those taxes levying by Finance Minister, which affected the common man. Due to this tax the lower staff of the excise and taxation department used to take lot of bribe, and every body was compelled to give them bribe because they wanted their gain tax to be reduced. She suggested that govt should provide relaxation to people in matter of taxes<sup>46</sup>.

She also requested to govt that all the charitable Hospitals running under the churches must be exempted from heavey taxes because they are beneficial not only for the poor Christians but also for the poor Muslims. She emphasized that the Batania Hospital, under the catholic church Sialkot should be exempted from the heavy taxes which has been imposed on it. The Batania Hospital is a very big hospital and is meant for the poor classes and it has been heavily taxed. Litigation is going on in this regard. She suggested govt should remove

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., May 31, 1986, P 998.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., May 26, 1985, PP 195, 199.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., June 5, 1985 P. 778.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., May 31, 1986 P 996.

the burden of heavy tax on this hospital by ex-empting it from that tax<sup>47</sup>. Discussing on water deadlock in Punjab, Chashma Jehlum link is a integral symbol of Punjab. For overcoming water shortage, she suggested modern technology should use which is apply in developed countries. In this way, 100 million Gallon water can be increased in Sindh and it can be divert into Chasma canal link. There will be no side effects of it<sup>48</sup>.

Najma Tabish Alwari drew attention towards the water problem of Punjab which is creating hate between provinces and it is danger for country. She suggested it should be solved. She suggested equal rights should be given to every province<sup>49</sup>.

Dr. Shela B Charles suggested that there should be a quota system for the minorities in the govt services, particularly when most of the minorities are jobless and have no source of income and are passing their lives very miserably. It is the duty of the Govt to overcome this unemployment when they have already decided to provide as much employment as possible.

She drew attention to the main problem of the minorities "Graveyards" in the province of the Punjab because they are point out that either the land is encroached by the outsiders unlawfully or there are donkeys and horses tied on the graves and most of the corruption is done they have no boundary walls, they have no Chowkidars. She suggested govt should build boundary walls around each graveyard in the Punjab and at the same time they should provide a Mahafaz<sup>50</sup>.

Dr. Shela B Chalres regretted the bad condition of sanitary workers. She remarked, this is the poor class of workers who are doing the most difficult job. She suggested govt

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid., June 5, 1985, PP 789-790.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., June 2, 1985, PP 412-413.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., June 8, 1985, PP 1173-1175.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., May 31, 1986, PP 997-999.

should provide them uniform; increase their pay and at the same time enhance their allowances<sup>51</sup>.

### (C) GENDER ISSUES

Mrs. Zakia Shah Nawaz alleged that the government had not given proper attention to female education. The number of primary and high level female institutions was inadequate and those already operating were deficient in necessary facilities. The prevailing system of education was not suitable for the females and she suggested that right kind of education be imparted to them which would make them conscious of their duties<sup>52</sup>.

Begum Bushra Rehman, endorsed her contention about the inadequacy of government steps for female education and urged for improving the facilities for female education<sup>53</sup>.

Begum Farhat Khawaja Rafique pointed out that due to deprivation of female college in inner Lahore, majority girls left their education after matriculation. She suggested govt should establish degree college for girls in inner Lahore. In order to girls can continue their education Begum Najma Hameed suggested that a vocational subject should be compulsory in high classes in order to female students can learn skill for getting job as well as education. Due to importance of computer education should given in order to girls can operate computer. She pointed out that there is no professional institute (B.Ed, CT etc) for girls in Rawalpindi. Govt should establish professional institute in Rawalpindi at once<sup>54</sup>.

Khurshid Begum remarked that in Chack Jumra town committee Faisalabad consist of 90 villages but there is no college for girls. She suggested govt should establish degree college for women in Chack Jumra at once<sup>55</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., May 31, 1986, P 999.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., November 7, 1985, P 1698.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., June 2, 1985, P 420.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., June 5, 1985, PP 779-1277

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., May 27, 1986, P 755.

Mrs. Zakia Shah Nawaz pointed out that Essa Khel is a big Tehsil but there is no even single one lady doctor. Due to non availability of lady doctor females faced lot of health problems. Specially during pregnancy period. She suggested govt should appoint female lady doctor in Essa Khel<sup>56</sup>.

Dr. Shela B. Charles suggested that govt should reserved seats for minorities women in the population planning department and Nursing department. They should also be given jobs, according to quota system, in every govt department<sup>57</sup>. Mrs. Tahira Khan criticized that there are only 13 women in parliament who represent female of 51% of total population. She claimed, that she was only one member who came in parliament on general seat. She suggested govt should increase the seats of women<sup>58</sup>. Fozia Bahram criticized that very few female became parliamentarians. Because political parties did not allot them tickets. She gives example, that she gives example, that she was only one woman who elect from IJI ticket from whole of country. She suggested that parliament should amended the article 5 of the constitution and compelled political parties to specify ticket for females.<sup>59</sup>

Begum Najma Tabish Alwari appreciated govt give representation to female in democratic institutions. She emphasized that in senate representation should be given to female<sup>60</sup>. Begum Bushra Rehman appreciated Family laws she suggested Marriage councils should establish in every village, city and twon in order to safeguard the rights of women. She also appreciated that govt had established mother-care centres, industrial centres, cottage

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., May 31, 1986, P. 994.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., June 5, 1985, P. 789.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., December 18, 1988, P 446.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., October 7, 1987, PP 227-228

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., June 8, 1985, PP 1174-1175.

industry for female. She suggested women can work in Bengal factories, button making factories and thread making factories and can become economically independent<sup>61</sup>.

Begum Shama Talib pointed out that small industrial unit working in female jail of Multan but it works not satisfactory. She suggested that centres should established for adult female education in jails and also vocational institutions where they can learn also skills, it linked with educational department. In order to after completing course they can get degrees. When these female, released from jails they get jobs<sup>62</sup>.

Mrs. Zakia shah Nawaz appreciated that govt establish working women hostels. She also pointed out that some female prisoners cases did not defend in jails.<sup>63</sup>

Begum Bushra Rehman criticized that females purses snatched, their cars snatched They insulted openly. There is no article in constitution that punished these criminals. She suggested govt should punished these criminals at once<sup>64</sup>.

The preceding account shows that despite their very low representation, the women parliamentarians played a significant role. There were very few women in this era. But there contribution to parliamentary proceedings was no less important than the male members. As pioneer women parliamentarians, they set a good example for their successors.

#### Issues taken by Punjab legislators 1985-99

S . No	Issues	Percentage
1	Political	7
2	Social	15
3	Gender	7

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., June 12,1991,p 770.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., May 31, 1986 P. 981.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., June 17, 1987, P 678

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., December 11, 1986, PP. 61-62



## CONCLUSION

The present study shows that the women had a very small representation in the Punjab Legislature despite the fact that they constituted half of the population of Pakistan. All the women members, with a few exceptions were elected on the seats reserved for women. Although the women could contest on the general seats but either they themselves avoided to contest elections or the political parties hesitated to give tickets to female candidates. The proportion of seats reserved for the females in the three constitutions (1956, 1962 and 1973) was not more than the Government of India Act of 1935. In the early years of constitution-making, the constitution-makers resisted reservation of seats for women. The Interim Report and Nazimuddin Report of the BPC did not even mention the issue. However, subsequently, as a result of the struggle of the two women parliamentarians and the APWA, the constitution-makers reluctantly accepted the demand for reservation of seats for women. In 1953-54, the women asked for only 3 percent reserved seats in each of the central and provincial legislatures; interestingly, this was the women's demand before Independence. In the 1960s and 1970s, they did demand more reserved seats but none listened to them. The method of election of women on the reserved seats also became a subject of debate. The 1956 Constitution provided for special female territorial constituencies for their election. Under the 1962 Constitution, the members of the National Assembly constituted the electoral college. The 1973 Constitution made a similar provision in this regard. The women members strongly objected to this; they wanted an electoral college consisting of the females on the pattern of the Government of India Act of 1935. Despite the seemingly modern outlook of the constitution-makers, this demand was turned down. The women members did not pursue their demand. The successive government in Pakistan did take some measures to undo injustice done to women, but that proved insufficient and women continued to suffer discrimination in

several fields of national life. Various commissions and committees were formed and recommendations were made but no concrete action was taken to raise the status of almost half the country in certain fields. One of the major issues which could not be addressed so far was proper representation of women in parliament, provincial assemblies and down to union council level. The effective participation of women in decision making is today considered a prerequisite for genuine and meaningful democracy. While it is easy to say that legislators represent women as well as men, since both have voted for them, this is a simplistic assertion which evades the real issue. The reality is that in patriarchal society, male representatives tend to largely reflect male perspectives and even their articulation of women's concerns is reflective of their own perceptions about them, not those of women. Moreover matters of particular concern to women are unlikely to receive the serious concern, understanding or resolution required without their actual and sufficient presence in the legislative forums. The fact that women's right issues have barely been touched upon in the assemblies since the departure of women on reserved seats, is sufficient evidence of this reality.

There were also problems with the system, the provision of reservation did not extend to the senate, which also has to approve all legislation except the financial bills. The proportion of reserved seats was too insignificant for women to be effective in parliament. And the indirect system of filling the reserved seats by the already elected members of the respective assemblies was flawed. It did not give women the opportunity to gain experience in electoral politics, nor did it help them to develop their own constituencies which would have given them a firmer and more permanent foothold within their own parties. Moreover, there was a strong perception of nepotism by political parties in the matter of selecting women for these seats, rather than women coming in on the basis of merit or their track record.

The performance of the women parliamentarians was quite impressive despite their negligible number. The study demonstrates that two kinds of women entered the Parliament: those who belonged to well-known political families and those who came from less known political families but were engaged in social welfare activities. During these fifty two years, the women legislators in Punjab displayed different levels of consciousness on various issues. The women legislators threw light on the problems of the females. In different Parliaments, they advocated protection of the women rights. However, the legislators of the 1970s demonstrated more forceful viewpoint on women issues than their predecessors. The resolution that they moved for the establishment of a commission on the status of women and their demand for the improvement of the condition of working women were positive indication of that point. The government accepted their demand and partially implemented it. The number of women legislators was greatly increased under the LFO of 2001. there performance has not been the part of the present study.

## APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

ABBASI, Dr. Mrs. ASHRAF KHATOON (b. 1925): MBBS; medical officer, Civil Hospital, Larkana (1954-55); general practitioner (1960-73); member, Divisional Council, Khairpur; member, Population Planning Council, Social Welfare Council, Pakistan Nursing Council, the Syndicate of the SInd University, Governing Body of the Fatima Jinnah Medical College, elected Member of the West Pakistan Legislative Assembly 1962, 1965; joined PPP; elected MNA 1971, Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly.

KHAN, Begum Khaedeja G. A. : ed. Punjab University Lahore); served as headmistress in government schools in the Punjab; associated with the Girls Guide Movement, APWA and Pakistan Red Cross Society; councilor, Municipal Corporation, Lahore; elected member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly on the Muslim League ticket 1951; Deputy Minister, Social Welfare, West Pakistan Government 1956; elected MNA 1962, 1965.

SHAHNAWAZ, BEGUM JAHAN ARA (b. 18896): ed. Ed. Queen Mary College, Lahore; married to Shahnawaz 1911; member, All India Women's Conference, All India Muslim Women's Conference, Red Cross Society, Anjuman-i-Khawateen-i-Islam and APWA; member, All India Muslim League; elected member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly 1937, 1945, 1951; member of the Assembly of Pakistan 1947; MPA West Pakistan Assembly 1955, 1962; author, Hasan Ara Begum (Lahore, 1915) and Father and Daughter (Lahore, 1971).

SARFRAZ, BEGUM ZARI (b. 1923): ed. Punjab University; member, Pakistan Social Welfare Council; vice president Regional Social Welfare Council; president, TB Association, NWFP; joined Muslim League 1944; president, Mardan District Muslim Committee 1948-58; elected MPA, NWFP Legislative Assembly 1952; elected MNA 1962, 1965

**MAMDOT, BEGUM AFIFA**

Agriculturist: Born on September 4, 1929. at Quetta: Qualifications: Graduation: Positions held: Minister of State for Health and Social Welfare. Government of Pakistan. For 3 ½ years 1982-85. Member Official Delegation to U.N. General Assembly's 33<sup>rd</sup> session held at New York. Participated in International Muslim Women Conference at Teheran (Iran) in 1988 and World Peace Conference held at Baghdad (Iraq) in 1988, elected Member: Provincial Assembly of the Punjab in 1988.

**MRS. TAHIRA KHAN**

Agriculturist: born on September 25, 1943 at Bahawalpur. Qualifications: F.Sc. From College of Home Economics Lahore in 1961. B.A. (Hons) from Punjab University, Lahore. Positions held: elected Member. Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. Since 1988. Her father, Mian Nizam-ud-Din Haider, had been Member National Assembly.

**MRS. NAJMA HAMEED**

Housewife / Social Welfare: Born on March 18. 1943.at Faisalabad. Qualifications: F.A. In 1962. Positions Held. Councillor, Rawalpindi Municipal Corporation since 1979. MPA and Parliamentary Secretary for Health 1985-88. Minister for Social Welfare. July to November, Provincial Assembly of the Punjab in 1988. Member Official Delegation to U.N. General Assembly 40<sup>th</sup> Session in 1985.

**MISS FOZIA HABIB**

Born on March 28, 1953, at Peshawar: Qualifications: M.A. Economics. Positions held: Elected Member. Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, Since 1988.

### **MRS BEGUM BUSHRA REHMAN**

Writer: Journalist. Columnist and Poet: Born on August 28, 1944 at Bahawalpur.

Qualifications: M.A.M. (Journalism) B.Ed. From University of Punjab. Positions held: Member Divisional Council Bahawalpur. Elected Member provincial Assembly of Punjab 1985-88 and elected in 1988 to date. Awarded Gold Medal for best Parliamentarian in 1988. Awarded titles of Kadi-ul-Kalam. Shirin Bayan and Bulbul-i-Pakistan, by the Punjab Assembly in 1990.

### **BAJI NUSRAT RASHID**

Housewife: Born in 1945, at Lahore. Positions held: General Secretary and President Pakistan Peoples party Rawalpindi. (Women Wing) 1973-86. General Secretary. Pakistan Peoples Party Rawalpindi Division. Since 1986. elected Member. Provincial Assembly of the Punjab since 1988.

### **MISS AFIFA FAZAL MAHMOOD**

Born on September 5, 1958. at Lahore. Qualifications: F.A> From Kinnaird College Lahore in 1978. Positions held: Member Jahez Fund Committee: Member M.S.F. San Francisco U.S.A. 1977-78. elected Member Provincial Assembly of the Punjab Since 1988.

### **MRS. SHAHANA NASEEM FAROOQI**

Agriculturist: Born on February 19, 1956 at Lahore: Qualifications: B.A. From Govt. College for Women, Sargodha in 1978. Positions held: President, Students Union Govt. College For Women Sargodha. Best Debator and Best Speaker of the College. Elected Member, Provincial Assembly of the Punjab in 1985-88. Chairperson Public Accounts Committee-I 1986-88. Re-elected Member, Provincial Assembly of the Punjab in 1988.

**BEGUM SAGHIRA ISLAM (PPP)****(Seats Reserved For Women)**

Teacher: Born on October 15, 1945 at Gurdaspur (India). Qualifications: M.A. B.Ed.

Positions held: Elected Member, Provincial Assembly, April to July 1977, Re-elected in 1988.

**MRS. ZUBAIDA MALIK**

Medical Practitioner: Qualifications: Matric From Govt. Girls High School, Faisalabad in 1955. Diploma in homeopathy from Medical College. Faisalabad, in 1966. Positions held: President Pakistan Peoples Party, Faisalabad Division (Women Wing) for 7 years. Councilor. Municipal Corporation, Faisalabad, Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. Since 1988.

**BEGUM ZUBAIDA MANSOOR MALIK**

Born On May 2, 1942, at Lahore: Qualifications: B.A. From Islamia College for Women, Lahore in 1958. Positions Held President Pakistan Peoples Party, Lahore city (Women Wing). Member Provincial Assembly of the Punjab since 1988. Her husband Mr. Mansoor Malik had been Member Provincial Assembly in 1977.

**MRS. SHAHIDA YASMIN MALIK.**

B.A. (W.S.) Acting Chairperson Public Accounts Committee No. 1. Housewife; born on February 19, 1956 at Lahore. Qualifications: F.Sc. in 1975 and B.A. in 1978, form Government College for Women Sargodha.

**BEGUM FARHAT KHAWJAA RAFIQUE**

B.A. B.Ed. (Lahore, PP. 106) School teacher, born on September 15, 1934 at Amritsar India). Qualifications: B.A. From Lahore College For Women, B.Ed. From College for Education (Women); Position Held: Councillor, Lahore Municipal Corporation.

**SYEDA SAJIDA NAYYAR ABDI**

B.Sc. (Sialkot PP-142)

Agriculturist: Born April 12, 1945 at Panipat (India); Qualifications: B.Sc. (Home Economics); Positions held: Counselor Municipal Corporation Sialkot, 1979, re-elected in 1983, Member, Provincial Council of Punjab, 1983, Minister for Livestock and Dairy Development, Punjab from 30<sup>th</sup> April, 1985 to August 1987.

**DR. SHEILA B. CHARIES**

Medical Doctor: born on September 23, 1932, at Lahore: Qualifications: F.Sc. form Lahore College for Women. I.S.M. from West Pakistan Medical College; Bahawalpur in 1962, Short Surgery Course from Jinnah Hospital, Karachi in 1966, Sight-Testing Diploma from Scotland in 1968.

**MRS. ZAKIA SHAHNAWAZ NIAZI**

House wife and agriculturist; Born on March 5, 1946 at Isakhail, Distric Mianwali; Qualifications: School Certificate from Queen Maïry's College Lahore in 1961: Positions held: Member, Provincial Assembly in 1977.

**MRS. RUKHSANA BEGUM**

House wife: Born on January 16, 1945 at Sargodha, Qualifications: F.A> Positions held: Member, District Board Since 1957.

**SYEDA NIGHAT NAEEM:**

B.A. (WS-5)

Housewife born on July 10, 1950, at Multan. Qualification: B.A.



**MRS. BUSHRA REHMAN**

M.A. B.Ed. (WS-1) Writer, Publisher and columnist, born on August 29, 1944 at Bahawalpur, Author of 16 Library books, Editor, Monthly "Waten Dost", Lahore; Positions held: Member National Film Censor Board, Member Board of Governors, Punjab Council of the Arts and Lahore Museum, Lahore.

**MRS. KHURSHID BEGUM**

B.A. (WS-2) House wife; born on June 15, 1939 at Chak NO. 24 G/B, Tehsil and District Faisalabad, Qualification. B.A. from Government College for Women. Faisalabad, Positions held: B.D. Member Union Council, 1960-65, Member District Council, Faisalabad, 1979-83 and 1983 to date.

**MISS SHAHEEN ATTIQ-UR-REHMAN**

B.A. L.L.B. (WS-6) Lawyer; born on April 23, 1949 at Sialkot, Qualifications: M.A. Administrative Science in 1971 and L.L.B. in 1974 from Punjab University. Positions held: Councilor, Lahore Municipal Corporation in 1983. Member Provincial Council of Punjab 1983-85, Minister for Social Welfare and Women Division 1985-87.

**MRS. NAJMA TABISH ALWARI**

B.A. (WS-9) Housewife; born July 18, 1948; Qualification: M.A.

**MRS. SHAHEEN MUNAWAR AHMAD**

(Ws-7) Agriculturist; born on August 3, 1947. Qualifications: got School education at Convent of Jesus and Mary, Lahore; F.A. From Lahore College for Women. B.A. from Kinnaird College, Lahore.

**MRS. SHAMA TALIB**

House wife; born November 15, 1942, at Rawalpindi. Qualifications: F.A. Diploma in Child Psychology.

**MISS ROBINA ANSARI**

Social Worker; born June 7, 1962 at Kot Fateh Din Khan, Kasur; Qualification Matric in 1976; Position held: elected as MPA for the remaining term of the Assembly against the seat vacated due to the death of her elder sister. Mrs. Sajida Ansari, MPA.

**BEGUM RAJK HAMEED GILL.**

Begum Raj Hameed Gill, wife of Mr. Hameed Gill; was born on May 21, 1952 in Sialkot, and is an intermediate. She has continuously been serving as member of the provincial Assembly of the Punjab since 1985, having been elected in 1985, having been elected in 1985, 1988, 1990, 1993 and for consecutive fifth term, in 1997 against one of the member District Minority committee, Sialkot from 1988 to 1990 and 1990 to 1993; member advisory council of Pakistan for Minorities, and member District Health committee of Education Board in 1990. She also served as member of Church of Pakistan; President Masihi Razaqat for women Sialkot, and President Christian welfare Association of Pakistan.

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