

BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

A. Brief History of the 12th National Assembly

This section provides an overview of political and legislative developments that led to the birth of the 12th National Assembly, which included brief description on conduct of general elections 2002, and events prior to the formation of governments, the details about women's legislative representation in 12th National Assembly and descriptions of 'Rules of Procedures'.

- **Background to General Elections 2002:**

General elections were held on 10 October 2002, three year after Chief of Army Staff General Pervez Musharraf toppled the PML-N government led by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in a peaceful coup d'état on 12 October 1999. Two days later, on 14 October 2002, General Musharraf assumed powers as Chief Executive through a proclamation of emergency order, also issued by him as Chief of Army Staff. Under the same order, he suspended National and Provincial Assemblies, held the Constitution in abeyance and proclaimed that the 'the whole of Pakistan will come under the control of the Armed Forces'.

General Musharraf's action was contested by a member of the suspended National Assembly, Syed Zafar Ali Shah, through a constitutional petition in the Supreme Court. A Full Bench of the SC, after hearing the parties delivered a judgement that justified the military takeover under the 'doctrine of necessity' and allowed three years period to the Chief Executive to hold General Elections and to restore democracy.¹

Mr. Nawaf Sharif was tried for attempted murder, hijacking and criminal conspiracy, and was sentenced to two life imprisonment terms on two counts in 2000. He left the country with his family and younger brother Mr. Shahbaz Sharif soon after the 'conviction' on 10 December 2000 and took asylum in Saudi Arabia. Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto, who was 'sentenced' by the Lahore High Court to five years' imprisonment in April 1999, was already in exile in London. There were large-scale defections in the PML-N and a new faction with the name PML (Q) was born under the leadership of Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain in March 2001.

Later, five months prior to elections 2002, General Pervaz Musharraf was elected as president through a highly controversial referendum on 30 April 2002.

In June 2002, through Political Parties Order, 2002, the Political Parties Act of 1962 was repealed and a new set of rules for the functioning of political parties was laid out. Under this Order, parties headed by 'convicts' were barred from participating in elections, a provision

¹ Zafar Ali Shah Vs. Pervez Musharraf, Chief Executive of Pakistan (PLD 2000 S.C. 869)

clearly seen as an effort to oust key opposition leaders, Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto and Mr. Nawaz Sharif, from the electoral process.

However, both these parties made quick moves in order to evade this attempt – a new party, the Pakistan People’s Party Parliamentarians (PPPP), headed by Makhdoom Amin Fahim was created in August and the PML-N changed its leadership from Mr. Nawaz Sharif to Mr. Shahbaz Sharif.

Also in June, the Conduct of General Elections (Amendment) Order, 2002, made the condition of graduation compulsory for members of the Parliament and Provincial Assemblies. Five petitions on the subject were heard by a full bench of the Supreme Court which upheld the graduation condition.

In July, the Qualification to Hold Public Offices Order, 2002, was issued which barred a third term in office for all those who had twice been elected as prime minister or chief minister.

On 21 August 2002, the Chief Executive (General Pervez Musharraf) promulgated the Legal Framework Order (LFO), which made changes in 29 articles of the Constitution. These included, revival of the system of joint electorates along with reserved seats for non-Muslims in NA and PAs; restoration and enhancement of seats for women in NA and PAs, as well as, in the Senate for the first time; lowering the voting age to 18; and increase in the size of legislatures. The LFO also included some highly controversial provisions e.g. validation of all acts and decrees of the Musharraf government, including a five-year extension in his presidential term; discretionary powers to the President to dissolve the NA and similar powers to Governors with regard to PAs; and the establishment of a National Security Council.

The LFO also made several changes in articles concerning disqualification and defection. Only hours before the election, the LFO was amended to raise the retiring age of superior court judges by three years. The same order, through another amendment permitted independent candidates to join any party within three days of the announcement of the elections results. The LFO was challenged in the Supreme Court on the grounds that only the Parliament had the mandate to amend the Constitution; however, the Supreme Court observed that the NA would be the proper forum to examine the issue. Both Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto and Mr. Nawaz Sharif were in ‘exile’ at the time of the general elections 2002.

- **Conduct of General Elections 2002 and Formation of Governments:**

General Elections were held on 10 October 2002. There were 342 seats at stake in the National Assembly, including 60 reserved for women and 10 for non-Muslims; 371 for Punjab Assembly, including 66 for women and 8 for non-Muslims; 168 for Sindh Assembly, including 29 for women and 9 for non-Muslims; 124 for NWFP Assembly, including 22 for women and 3 for non-Muslims; and 65 for Balochistan Assembly, including 11 for women and 3 for non-Muslims.

As expected no single party secured a simple majority at the federal level. Three parties, i.e. PML-Q, PPPP and MMA emerged as the largest groups in the NA. The PML-Q won 76 seats out of 269 for which the results were declared (out of 272 general seats contested), followed by the

PPPP (62) and MMA (51). The PML (N) could get only 14 seats. Independents won 26 seats followed by MQM (13), National Alliance (11) and the rest by other smaller groups. In Punjab, the PML-Q secured highest number of seats; in Sindh, the PPPP emerged as the single largest party; in NWFP, the MMA secured majority; and in Balochistan, no party secured simple majority.

The process of government-forming saw an unprecedented delay due to the mixed mandate and Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali of PML-Q was able to become prime minister with a single vote majority on 21 November, that too, because of the support of 10 members of the PPPP forward block (Patriots), who switched loyalties.

Soon after, the PML-Q and MMA formed their provincial governments, in Punjab and NWFP, respectively. A coalition government comprising PML-Q, MMA and GNA (Grand National Alliance) was set up in Balochistan. In Sindh, where the PPPP was the largest group, the process witnessed more delay and power maneuvering, and it was only on 18 December, more than two months after elections, the PML-Q was able to form the government with the support of MQM and other allies.

The elections to the Senate took place on 24 and 27 February 2003, almost four-and-a-half month after general elections.

Table 1
Party Position in 12th National Assembly (as on June 2004)

S. No.	Party Name	Abbreviation	Total
1.	Pakistan Muslim League	PML (Q)	122
2.	Muttahida Majise-e-Amal Pakistan	MMA	60
3.	Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians	PPPP	59
4.	Pakistan Muslim League (N)	PML (N)	18
5.	Muttahida Qaumi Movement	MQM	17
6.	Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians (Patriot)	PPPP(P)	17
7.	Candidates who did not join any political party	IND	17
8.	National Alliance	NA	15
9.	Pakistan Muslim League (F)	PML(F)	5
10.	Pakistan Muslim League (J)	PML(J)	3
11.	Pakistan Peoples Party (Sherpao)	PPP(S)	2
12.	Balochistan National Party	BNP	1
13.	Jamhoori Watan Party	JWP	1
14.	Pakistan Awami Tehreek	PAT	1
15.	Pakistan Muslim League (Z)	PML(Z)	1
16.	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf	PTI	1
17.	Pakistan Puktoonkhawa Milli Awami Party	PPKMAP	1
18.	Mohajir Qaumi Movement Party	MQMP	1*
	Total Candidates		342

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan Report on General Elections 2002

* This seat was then vacant due to death of an elected Member

- **Tenure of the 12th National Assembly and Important Developments:**

Newly-elected members of the 12th National Assembly took oath on 16 November 2002. General Pervez Musharraf also took oath as President under the 1973 Constitution in the morning of 16 November, 2002 just before the commencement of the first sitting of the first session of the National Assembly. The Constitution was restored in part on 16 November; however, the clauses dealing with defection and parliamentary right to amend the Constitution were held in abeyance and restored on 12 March 2003.

Chaudhry Amir Hussain from PML-Q was elected Speaker of the National Assembly on 19 November 2002 by securing 167 votes, while Sardar Mohammed Yaqoob of PML-Q was elected Deputy Speaker by obtaining 163 votes on the same day. MMA's Liaquat Baloch and PPPP's Chaudhry Aitzaz Ahsan, who contested Speaker's election, secured 80 and 71 votes, respectively. In the Deputy Speaker's election, Hafiz Hussain Ahmed of MMA got 82 votes and PPPP's Nabeel Gabol bagged 69 votes.

Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali was elected the Leader of the House through an ascertainment of 172 votes out of 329 votes cast on 21 November 2002. There were two candidates against him from the opposition, Maulana Fazlur Rehman of MMA, who bagged 86, and Shah Mahmood Qureshi of PPPP, who secured 70 votes. Jamali took oath as the Prime Minister on 23 November and obtained vote of confidence from the NA on 30 December by getting 188 votes.

General Pervez Musharraf secured the vote of confidence as President in the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) on a resolution tabled jointly by Prime Minister Zafarullah Khan Jamali, Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain, president Pakistan Muslim League (Q) and leaders of other parties in the ruling coalition, on 1 January 2004. The main opposition Alliance for Restoration of Democracy (ARD) and its smaller allied parties boycotted the vote while the MMA abstained without opposing the president.

There was no provision in the pre-amended Constitution for a presidential vote of confidence but the new Seventeenth Amendment Bill passed by the Parliament in line with the government-MMA agreement added a new clause (8) to the Constitution's Article 41 providing for a one-time vote of confidence for a "further affirmation" of General Musharraf's presidency in return for his promise to relinquish the post of the Chief of the Army Staff by December 31, 2004. President General Musharraf did not keep the promise.

Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain was elected as Leader of the House by securing 190 votes from the National Assembly on 29 June 2004, after Mir Zafarullah Jamali resigned as prime minister on 26 June 2004. Makhdoom Amin Fahim, who was fielded by the ARD, obtained 76 votes while the MMA abstained from the election process. Chaudhry Shujaat took oath as transitional Prime Minister on 30 June and obtained the vote of confidence on the same day with 189 votes.

Shaukat Aziz was elected prime minister by the NA on 27 August with 191 votes after Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain resigned from his office barely after two months on 25 August 2004. The opposition parties held noisy protests in the House and later boycotted the election of the country's 20th prime minister after Speaker Chaudhry Amir Hussain refused to call their

candidate and ARD president Javed Hashmi from jail to take part in the process. Shaukat Aziz took oath as prime minister and obtained vote of confidence from the NA on 28 August with 191 votes.

Maulana Fazal Rehman from MMA was named the Leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly on 25 May 2004, after one-and-a-half year of the commencement of the National Assembly's tenure.

President General Musharraf was elected as President for another term on 6 October 2007 and took oath on 29 November 2007. General Pervez Musharraf proclaimed Emergency throughout Pakistan as Chief of the Army Staff, and promulgated Provincial Constitutional Order on 3 November 2007. Parliament was allowed to continue to function under clause (5) of Article 2 of the PCO. Musharraf stepped down as the Army Chief on 28 November.

The National Assembly stood dissolved on expiration of its five years term on 15 November 2007. Musharraf lifted the State of Emergency on 15 December 2007.

B. Women's Legislative Representation in the 12th National Assembly

Women's representation in the 12th National Assembly was substantially increased after general elections 2002, due to two factors – firstly, because women got the 17% quota of seats in National and Provincial Assemblies and the Senate through the LFO, and secondly, and more significantly, because the highest-ever number of women contested and won elections 2002 on general seats. This took women's overall legislative representation to almost 20% in 2002, from a meager 1.4% in the 11th National Assembly (1997-1999).

The LFO had reserved 60 seats for women in the National Assembly in a House of 342 (17%); 17 in the 100-member Senate (17%); 66 in 371-member Punjab PA; 29 in 168-member Sindh PA; 22 in 124-member NWFP PA; and 11 in 65-member Balochistan PA. All these reservations in the Provincial Assemblies were made on the basis of 17% proportion of representation. The table below illustrates the number of seats reserved for women in each of the legislatures.

Table 2
Number of General and Reserved Seats in All Legislatures

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

This aspect of women’s political participation transformed the political culture of Pakistan to a relative extent and shattered the myth that women were not ready or willing to come into mainstream politics, or they were not yet able to engage in electoral politics at the constituency-level. This also demonstrated the growing acceptance of women’s role in politics, both among political parties and the public, as political parties gave more party tickets to women on general seats, and the electorate accorded them victory by casting more votes in their favour.

- **Overall Women’s Representation**

There were a total of 74 women in the 12th National Assembly, both elected on general seats, as well as, on reserved seats soon after the elections 2002. One woman MNA, Ms. Eman Waseem, who was elected on a general seat from Attock, vacated her seat for Mr. Shauket Aziz on 1 August 2004, to enable him to contest for an NA seat. This reduced the strength of women legislators in the National Assembly to 73 for the rest of its tenure.

[Overall, 233 women were elected to National and Provincial Assemblies and the Senate in elections 2002: 205 came in on seats reserved for women; 25 won elections on general seats (1 later vacated her seat); two came in on seats reserved for non-Muslims and; one on a seat reserved for technocrats. Overall proportion of women’s representation in the national and provincial legislatures, including the Senate, was around 19.8 % from 2002 to 2007.]

Of the 73 women parliamentarians in the National Assembly, 12 were elected on general seats and 60 women came in on seats reserved for women and one on the seats reserved for non-Muslims. Of these: 26 belonged to PML-Q; 20 to PPPP; 13 to MMA; 4 to National Alliance; 3 to PML-N; 3 to MQM; 1 to PML-F; 1 to PML-J; 1 to PML-Jinnah; and 1 was Independent, who later joined a political party.

Table 3
Legislative Representation of Women in Legislatures after Elections 2002

Assemblies	Women Legislators	Total Number of Legislators	Female Percentage of the Total
Overall	232	1170	19.8%
National Assembly	73	342	21.3%
Senate	18	100	18.0
Punjab Assembly	73	371	19.7%
Sindh Assembly	33	168	19.6%
NWFP Assembly	23	124	18.5%
Balochistan Assembly	12	65	18.5%

- **Women Elected on General Seats:**

Originally, 13 women were elected as members of the National Assembly (MNAs) on general seats in 2002. Of these, 5 belonged to PPPP, 4 to PML-Q, 1 to PML-Jinnah and National Alliance each, and 2 were independents.

In post-election developments, an independent MNA, Ms. Zubeda Jalal joined the PML-Q, soon after the elections. Ms. Rubina Shaheen Wattoo (PML-Jinnah) and Ms. Sumera Malik (National Alliance) also came to PML-Q fold after the merger of their parties into the PML-Q. In the meantime, Ms. Eman Wasim (PML-Q) vacated her seat for Mr. Shaukat Aziz's bye-election. Of the 12 women elected on general seats in the NA, 7 belonged to the PML-Q; 5 to and was one independent.

Table 4
Women Elected on General Seats to the 12th NA

S. No.	Name and Constituency	Party	Votes
1.	Ms. Eman Wasim (NA-59 Attock-III)*	PML-Q	65,762
2.	Ms. Sumera Malik (NA-69 Khushab-I)	PML-Q	71,925
3.	Ms. Ghulam Bibi Bharwana (NA-87 Jhang-II)	PML-Q	55,851
4.	Ms. Rubina Shaheen Wattoo (NA-147 Okara-V)	PML-Q	70,774
5.	Ms. Riffat Javed (NA-117 Narowal-III)	PML-Q	49,367
6.	Ms. Hina Rubbani Khar (NA-177 Muzaffargarh-II)	PML-Q	46,752
7.	Ms. Zubaida Jalal (NA-272 Kech-Cum-Gwader)	PML-Q	44,177
8.	Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki (NA-130 Lahore-XIII)	PPPP	46,095
9.	Ms. Khalida Mohsin Ali Qureshi (NA-176 Muzaffargarh-I)	PPPP	58,947
10.	Dr. Azra Fazal (NA-213 Nawabshah-I)	PPPP	75,237
11.	Ms. Shamshad Sattar Bachani (NA-223 Hyderabad-VI)	PPPP	50,624
12.	Dr. Fehmida Mirza (NA-225 Badin-II)	PPPP	71,537
13.	Ms. Saima Akhter Bharwana (NA-90 Jhang-V)	Ind.	56,647

* vacated her seat later for bye-election

Women's representation in the legislatures on general seats saw a marked improvement in general elections 2002, as compared to previous elections since 1985. The elections on general seats have always been contested and won by women on their strong and traditional constituencies. Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto won NA election four times (in 1988, 1990, 1993 & 1997); Begum Nusrat Bhutto won NA seat thrice (in 1988, 1990 & 1993); Syeda Abida Hussain won NA seat thrice (in 1985, 1988 & 1997); Ms. Tehmina Daultana won NA seats twice (in 1993 & 1997).

Three women have won NA elections once: Dr. Ashraf Abbasi (in 1988); Ms. Shahnaz Javed (in 1993); Dr. Fehmida Mirza and Ms. Majida Wyne (in 1997). No woman had ever won election on a general seat from Balochistan until 2002, when Ms. Zubeda Jalal (for the NA) and Ms. Nasreen Rehaman (for Balochistan PA) made the history.

- **Women Elected on Reserved Seats:**

A total of 60 women came in on reserved seats in the 12th National Assembly. Of these, 22 belonged to PML-Q; 15 to PPPP; 12 to MMA; 3 each to PML-N, MQM and National Alliance; and 1 each to PML-F, PML-J.

Table 5
Members Elected Against Seats Reserved For Women to the 12th NA

S. No.	PML(QA)	S.No.	PPPP
1.	Ms. Mehnaz Rafi	30.	Ms. Naheed Khan
2.	Dr. Hajra Tariq Aziz	31.	Mrs. Beelum Hasnain
3.	Ms. Tanzila Amir Cheema	32.	Mrs. Shakeela Khanam Rashid
4.	Dr. Donya Aziz	33.	Ms. Fauzia Habib
5.	Ms. Kashmala Tariq	34.	Ms. Mehreen Anwar Raja
6.	Dr. Saira Tariq	35.	Mrs. Yasmeen Rehman
7.	Ms. Riffat Amjad	36.	Begum Shehnaz Sheikh
8.	Dr. Attiya Inayatullah	37.	Ms. Rukhsana Bangish
9.	Ms. Bushra Rehman	38.	Mrs. Nasim Akhter Chaudhry
10.	Ms. Farzeen Ahmad	39.	Ms. Sherry Rehman
11.	Ms. Shahzadi Umar Zadi Taiwana	40.	Mrs. Rukia Khanum
12.	Ms. Rahila Yahya	41.	Ms. Fauzia Wahab
13.	Ms. Aasia Azeem	42.	Ms. Rubina Saadat Qaimkhwani
14.	Dr. Firdous Aashiq	43.	Ms. Nafeesa Munawar Raja
15.	Begum Tehmina Dastee	44.	Ms. Shagufta Jumani
16.	Ms. Onaza Ehsan		MMAP
17.	Ms. Buhsra Nazir Hazeen	45.	Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi
18.	Ms. Rozina Tufail	46.	Ms. Kaniz Ayesha
19.	Mrs. Tahira Asif	47.	Dr. Farida Ahmad
20.	Ms. K. Fiza Junejo	48.	Ms. Sayyeda Farhana Khalid
21.	Mrs. Zaib Goher Ayub	49.	Ms. Nayyer Sultana
22.	*Ms. Noor Jehan Panezai	50.	Ms. Razia Aziz
	PML (N)	51.	Ms. Ambareen
23.	Ms. Maimoona Hashmi	52.	Ms. Jamila Ahmad
24.	Begum Ishrat Ashraf	53.	Ms. Inayat Begum
25.	Ms. Tehmina Daultana	54.	Ms. Shahida Begum
	PML(J)	55.	Ms. Imrana Khawar
26.	Begum Rehana Aleem Mashahidi	56.	Ms. Bilqees Saif
	National Alliance		PML (F)
27.	Ms. Ayela Malik	57.	Ms. Khurshid Afghan
28.	**Ms. Meena Laghari		MQM
29.	Ms. Gule Farkhanda	58.	Ms. Shamim Akhter
		59.	Ms. Shabina Talat
		60.	Mrs. Afser Begum

*Vice Zubeda Jalal **Vice Sumera Malik

Since, no provision for reserved seats for women existed in elections 1990, 1993 and 1997; there was no representation of women in the Assemblies through reserved seats during this period. The last time, seats were reserved for women in the Assemblies were 1985 and 1988. The proportion of women's representation in 1985 and 1988 was 8.4% in the NA, 4.6% in Punjab Assembly, 4.4% in Sindh Assembly, 4.6% in NWFP Assembly and; 4.4% in Balochistan Assembly. No reservation for women existed in the Senate even in 1985 & 1988 Assemblies.

- **Method of Election on Reserved Seats & Process of Nominations:**

The method of filling in women's reserved seats, as well as, seats for non-Muslims, was and still remains through a party list system of proportional representation, whereby the reserved seats allocated to a province are divided between parties in proportion to the total general seats won by them from that province in the concerned election.

The indirect method of election on women's reserved seats was criticized by civil society organisations and political party women on several grounds, of which the foremost was that it deprived women of the opportunity of dealing directly with the electorate and hampered their entry into mainstream politics. The concern was also raised that women on reserved seats, unlike those on general seats, would have no geographical constituencies, and as such, without representing a specific section of the electorate, or being able to effectively deliver at a constituency-level, their chances of winning a general seat at a later stage would become limited. This was also said that the nomination system would allow complete control over selection to political party leadership, opening the door to nepotism and creating a strong public perception of selections being made on the basis of relationship or influence, rather than merit.

- **Share of Women in the Federal Government:**

Ms. Zubaida Jalal, who was given the portfolio of education, was the only woman minister in the 21-member federal cabinet, announced by Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali, after he was sworn in as Prime Minister on 23 November 2002. Mr. Jamali also appointed four advisors with the status of ministers which included one woman, Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar, who was made in-charge of the Ministry of Women's Development, Social Welfare and Special Education. There was no change in women's representation during the short tenure of Prime Minister Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain (June 2004 – August 2004). Mr. Shaukat Aziz (August 2004 – 2007) after becoming prime minister on 27 August 2004, announced a 59-member federal cabinet, which included six women (one as federal minister and 5 as ministers of state). This increased the share of women in the federal cabinet to 10.1% from the previous 3.7%. However, most of the women were given posts of junior ministers. The ministry of education was also taken away from Ms. Zubaida Jalal and she was made Minister of Social Welfare and Special Education, after splitting it from Ministry of Women's Development. The women ministers were: Ms. Zubaida Jalal, Federal Minister of Social Welfare and Special Education; Ms. Hina Rabbani Khar, Minister of State for Economic Affairs Division; Ms. Ghulam Bibi Bharwana, Minister of State for Education; Begum Shahnaz Shaikh, Minister of State for Health; Ms. Anisa Zeb Tahirkheli, Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting; and Ms. Sumera Malik, Minister of State for Tourism. Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz also appointed three advisors to the PM, including one woman, Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar, who continued to be in-charge of the Ministry of Women's Development. Later, in 2007, Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar was removed from her post and Ms. Sumera Malik was made the Federal Minister for Women's Development. There were 6 women parliamentary secretaries out of 33 (18.1%) and 9 women were chairpersons of standing committees out of a total of 37 in the NA (24.3%) during its five-year tenure.

C. Brief Description of Rules of Procedure

Both Houses of the Parliament run their business according to a code called 'Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business' which not only facilitate the legislation, the prime responsibility of the Parliament, but also set appropriate means for parliamentarians to intervene and speak on the issues of public concerns. In order to give the readers of this study a primary understanding of the parliamentary business, brief definitions of these codes or rules are given below:

➤ Days of Sitting

It is mandatory, under Article 54(2) of the Constitution, for the National Assembly to hold at least three sessions and further to meet for not less than 130 days in each parliamentary year. In addition, more than 120 days should not intervene between the last sitting of the Assembly in one session and the date appointed for its first sitting in the next session.

➤ Classes of Business

Rule 50 divides business of the Assembly under two heads:

Government Business - It includes Government Bills, resolutions, amendments and other motions introduced or initiated by a Minister.

Private Members' Business - It includes Bills, resolutions, amendments and other motions introduced or initiated by private members.

➤ Questions

First hour of every sitting is available for asking and answering of questions, while there is no question hour on Tuesday. A member can ask questions to seek information, draw attention of the government to public grievances and make it answerable to the public.

There are two types of questions:

Starred Questions - to which a written reply is read out by the Minister on the floor of the House.

Un-Starred Questions - to which a written reply is supplied but not read out. Each member may ask two starred and two un-starred questions.

Supplementary Questions are allowed to seek further clarification after a reply of 'starred question' is read out by the Minister. A member can ask not more than two supplementary questions as against each starred question. A member may ask a Short Notice Question relating to a matter of public importance with shorter notice than the normal notice of fifteen days.

➤ Motions:

The parliament or its Houses express their opinion on important issues, matters of sufficient public interest or the breach of privilege either of a member or the House or a Committee thereof through Motions:

Motion of Thanks on President's Address – In order to discuss the matters referred to in the President's address, a Motion of Thanks is moved by Minister for Parliamentary Affairs and seconded by any Minister or member. Thereafter, the Motion of Thanks is put to vote of the House.

Privilege Motion (or Question of Privilege) – A member may, with the consent of the Speaker, raise a question involving a breach of privilege either of a member or of the Assembly or of a Committee thereof in the manner prescribed in rules 95-101.

Adjournment Motion – A member may move a motion with the consent of the Speaker, under rule 109, for adjournment of normal business of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance.

➤ **Calling Attention Notice:**

Rule 88 contains provision for a Calling Attention Notice to draw the attention of a Minister towards any matter of urgent public importance. Through this notice, any member can request a Minister that s/he should pay attention to a particular matter of national importance and take necessary steps.

➤ **Point of Order:**

A member can raise a point relating to the interpretation or enforcement of the Rules of Procedure or such Articles of the Constitution as regulate the business of the Assembly. The Speaker has final powers to decide whether the point raised is a point of order or not.

➤ **Resolutions:**

The Parliament or its Houses often express their opinion or make recommendations or convey a message on some definite important issue in the form of a resolution. Through its resolution, sometimes, the House commends, urges or requests an action or calls attention to a matter or situation for consideration by the Government. Under rule 157, any member or a Minister may move a resolution relating to a matter of general public interest.

Government Resolution – When a resolution is moved by a Minister, it is called resolution of the government.

Private Member's Resolution – A resolution which moved by a member, other than the Minister, is called a private member's resolution.

➤ **Legislation:**

Both Houses of the Parliament, the Senate and the National Assembly work together to carry out Parliament's basic work – legislation or lawmaking. A bill is a legislative proposal in a distinct form which becomes an Act of Parliament if passed by both the Houses and assented to by the President.

Private Members' Bill – In the case of a private members' Bill, as per rule 118, a member may move for leave to introduce a Bill after giving ten days written notice of his intention to do so.

Government Bills – In the case of Government Bill, it is introduced by a Minister, in accordance with the provisions of rule 120, after giving a written notice, accompanied by a copy of the Bill and Statement of Objects and Reasons signed by the Minister.

➤ **Quorum**

Under rule 5, if at any time during a sitting of the National Assembly, the attention of the Chairperson is drawn to the fact that less than one-fourth of the total membership of the Assembly is present, s/he either suspends the business of the Assembly until at least one-fourth of such membership is present, or causes the bells ring for five minutes. If quorum is not available even on resumption of the proceedings, s/he adjourns the sitting for the next working day.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Overall Performance of the 12th National Assembly

The 12th National Assembly was unique in the sense that it was presenting several distinctive features, both positive and negative: it remained under the shadow of a military dictatorship throughout its tenure; it was a ‘graduate Assembly’; a substantial number of women legislators were sitting on both the treasury and opposition benches; there was a sizeable strength of elected members of six religious parties represented by MMA. And leaders of these mainstream political parties – Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto, Mr. Nawaz Sharif and Mr. Asfandiyar Wali – were not present in the House. It was also the first National Assembly in Pakistan’s turbulent political history to complete its five-year tenure.

1.1 Number of Sessions, Working Days and Hours:

The 12th National Assembly had a total of 43 sessions in five years, i.e. from 16 November 2002 to 15 November 2007. There were 10 sessions in first year; 12 in second year, 7 in third year, 8 in fourth and 6 in fifth year. The NA met for a total of 608 working days in five years; 131 days in first year, 130 days in second year, 132 days each in third and fourth year and for 83 days in the fifth year. In terms of the working hours, the National Assembly devoted 1237 hours and 20 minutes to its proceedings in five years; 121 hours and 25 minutes in first year, 331 hours and 5 minutes in second year, 271 hours in third year, 303 hours in fourth and 210 hours and 50 minutes in the fifth year.

Table 6
Number of Sessions/Working Days/Hours of the 12th NA

Years / Bills	Total Number of Sessions	Total Number of Working Days	Total Number of Working Hours
First Year (Nov. 16, 2002- Nov.15, 2003)	10	131	H:121 M:25
Second Year (Nov. 16, 2003- Nov.15, 2004)	12	130	H:331:M:05
Third Year (Nov. 16, 2004- Nov.15, 2005)	7	132	H:271:M:00
Fourth Year (Nov. 16, 2005- Nov.15, 2006)	8	132	H:303:M:00
Fifth Year (Nov. 16, 2006- Nov.15, 2007)	6	83	H:210:M:50
Total (in five years)	43	608	H:1237 M:20

The constitutional requirement for the National Assembly to meet in a parliamentary year is 130 working days, which include the adjournment period of up to two days in between the actual sittings, e.g. if the House is adjourned on Friday and meets on Monday, two days in between, i.e.

Saturday and Sunday, will be counted as working days. Ironically, the 12th National Assembly barely met the constitutional requirement of 130 days during its four years, which include the recess days. If these days are discounted, the NA has actually met for 65 days in the first year, 92 days in the second year, 81 days in the third year, 89 days in the fourth year and 57 days in the fifth year. The ‘actual days’ on which the NA met in five years, therefore were 384 in comparison to 608 working days that include 224 days of recess. More sadly, the NA did not even fulfill the constitutional requirement of meeting for 130 days in the last and the fifth year, during which it met only for 83 days.

In another comparison to see how many hours the elected representatives have actually spent in discussing and dispensing the legislative and parliamentary business in the House, irrespective of the quality of its substance, it becomes known that they spent an average of little over 3 hours per days during these five year (dividing the 1237 actual hours by the actual 384 days).

1.2. Government Bills/Ordinances Introduced, Passed & Enacted:

A total number of 222 bills/ordinances were introduced or laid before the National Assembly during its five-year tenure. Of these, 50 were passed and only 38 became Acts; around 180 remained pending and 11 were withdrawn. There was little legislation in the first year due to highly tense atmosphere, and only two bills were passed by the House and later became Acts, including the Finance Bill, out of the 20 introduced or laid before it.

Table 7
Government Bills Introduced, Passed & Enacted by the 12th NA

Years / Bills	Total Bills/Ordinances Introduced/Laid	Bills Passed	Bills/Ordinances Became Acts
First Year (Nov. 16, 2002- Nov.15, 2003)	20	02	02
Second Year (Nov. 16, 2003- Nov.15, 2004)	25	17	15
Third Year (Nov. 16, 2004- Nov.15, 2005)	41	18	11
Fourth Year (Nov. 16, 2005- Nov.15, 2006)	53	05	05
Fifth Year (Nov. 16, 2006- Nov.15, 2007)	83	08	05
Total (in five years)	222	50	38

The situation improved during the second and third year, which saw the passage of 17 and 18 bills, respectively. However, 15 bills/ordinances became Acts in the second year and 11 in the third year. In the last two years, the situation again worsened and only 5 and 8 bills were passed in the fourth and fifth year, respectively, and 5 became Acts each in the fourth and fifth year.

A cursory look at the Table 7 reveals that the number of bills, which remained pending and finally lapsed at the culmination of the National Assembly’s tenure, is huge, i.e. around 180. This shows that the House either did not allocate sufficient time for deliberation on these pieces of

legislation or it lacked the will to pursue them. In any case, this reflects a tremendous waste of work spent on preparation of these bills by the concerned ministries.

Bills Vs Ordinances: A total of 134 Presidential Ordinances were promulgated during the 5-year tenure of the NA as compared to 88 bills during the same period. This shows no change in the pattern of ‘legislation through ordinances’ continuing since 1985. In fact, it shows a progression towards increase in the number of ordinances in successive Assemblies, e.g. 12 ordinances were promulgated during the tenure of 7th NA (1985-1988); 49 during the 8th NA (1988-1990); 89 during the 9th NA (1990-1993); 354 during the 10th NA (1993-1996); 123 during the 11th NA (1997-1999); and 134 during the 12th NA (2002-2007). However, the ratio of the passage of ordinances by the National Assembly and their eventually becoming an Act is substantially low than that of the government bills, and it has drastically come down during the tenure of the 12th National Assembly, which is an encouraging sign.

Focus of legislation: The National Assembly passed 50 bills or ordinances out of 222 bills/ordinances introduced or laid before it. Of the 50 bills or ordinances passed by it, 38 became Acts (33 bills and 5 ordinances) through approval by the Senate and assent of the President. Of the 50 bills/ordinances passed by the House, 15 dealt with the setting up of new institutions or amendments for changes in their rules, functioning etc.; 1 was constitutional amendment (17th Constitutional Amendment); 5 were finance bills; 4 were amendment bills related to the Federal Public Service Commission; 3 related to legal proceedings and rights; 3 related to fiscal and trade/investment matters; 2 related to women’s legal rights (one brought amendments to make ‘honour’ crime punishable, and the other introduced amendments in two of the Hudood Ordinances – **details in Chapter Two**); 2 for amendments in code of criminal procedure or civil procedure; 1 each related to laws on contempt of court, defamation, political parties, and anti-terrorism, in addition to one each relating to the National Security Council and increasing the salaries and allowances of the Members of Parliament.

1.3. Private Members’ Bills Introduced and Passed:

A total of 240 Private Members Bills were moved or submitted by the Members of the 12th National Assembly, both from treasury and opposition benches on Private Members’ Days. Of these, 202 were admitted by the House, 23 were disallowed, 13 were shown as under process, 1 was withdrawn and 1 was not granted leave.

Table 8
Private Members’ Bills Introduced & Passed by 12th NA

Years / Bills	Bills Received	Bills introduced	Bills Passed
First Year (Nov. 16, 2002- Nov.15, 2003)	13	-	-
Second Year (Nov. 16, 2003- Nov.15, 2004)	58	10	-
Third Year (Nov. 16, 2004- Nov.15, 2005)	75	01	-
Fourth Year (Nov. 16, 2005- Nov.15, 2006)	54	16	01
Fifth Year (Nov. 16, 2006- Nov.15, 2007)	40	43	-
Total (in five years)	240	70	01

Interestingly, 100 of the 240 Private Members' Bills were moved by women legislators (**details Chapter Two**).

Only one Private Members' Bill, "The Marriage Functions (Prohibition of Ostentatious Display and Wasteful Expenses) (Amendment) Bill, 2006," was passed by the National Assembly and the Senate on the same day, 22 August 2006, after receiving the report of the Standing Committee on 8 August 2006. It became law soon after in 2006. The bill was moved by Mr. Muhammad Laeeque Khan of MMA and one of his party colleagues. The bill while easing some restrictions on one dish condition in marriage functions, curtailed other wasteful expenses on the occasion.

1.4. Resolutions Moved and Passed:

A total of 46 resolutions were moved and passed by both the government and Members of the National Assembly as Private Members' resolutions. Of these, 20 were government resolutions moved by ministers, and 26 were private members' resolutions moved by members from both Treasury and Opposition benches.

Of the total, 14 resolutions were moved by women legislators (**details Chapter Two**).

Table 9
Resolutions Passed by the 12th NA

Resolutions	Government Resolutions	Private Members' Resolutions
First Year (Nov. 16, 2002- Nov.15, 2003)	04	07
Second Year (Nov. 16, 2003- Nov.15, 2004)	05	14
Third Year (Nov. 16, 2004- Nov.15, 2005)	02	13
Fourth Year (Nov. 16, 2005- Nov.15, 2006)	Nil	07
Fifth Year (Nov. 16, 2006- Nov.15, 2007)	09	05
Total (in five years)	20	26

The highest numbers of resolutions (16) were passed by the House on acts of aggression by Israel in Palestine and acts of aggression in Iraq; 7 resolutions were on condemnation of acts of terrorism in Pakistan.

Of the all resolutions, 7 were on condoling death of former parliamentarians; 4 were about condemning blasphemous cartoons and remarks; 4 government resolutions were on appreciating President General Musharraf's policies and reposing 'full confidence' in his leadership – the last government resolution moved in the House was by Minister for Parliamentary Affairs on 7 November 2007, which asked "to endorse and affirm the Proclamation of Emergency and

Provisional Constitutional Order of 3rd November 2007”; 6 were about women’s rights and their situation; 4 related to public matters; 3 were on the issue of Kashmir; 3 about measures on earthquake; 2 condemning award of British title to Rushdie; 1 each on situation in Balochistan and implementation of 7th Wage Award for journalists.

1.5. Questions Asked and Answered:

A total of 47014 questions were asked by Members of the National Assembly, both from treasury and opposition benches during the five-year tenure of the House. Unfortunately, nearly two-thirds of these were either lapsed or disallowed; and only 10099 had been answered. This is not a healthy parliamentary tradition and reflects major institutional flaw in the working of the elected House.

This is also dismaying in the sense that questions asked during the Question Hour are meant to make the government answerable to the public and make the latter aware of the activities of the Ministries and Divisions. Members usually seek information through these questions on matters of public importance.

Table 10
Questions Asked/Answered and Disallowed/Lapsed in the 12th NA

Questions	Received	Answered	Disallowed	Lapsed
First Year (Nov. 16, 2002- Nov.15, 2003)	7289	1928	1028	3806
Second Year (Nov. 16, 2003- Nov.15, 2004)	12008	2462	2025	7495
Third Year (Nov. 16, 2004- Nov.15, 2005)	10476	2101	2343	5647
Fourth Year (Nov. 16, 2005- Nov.15, 2006)	10318	2325	2030	5825
Fifth Year (Nov. 16, 2006- Nov.15, 2007)	6923	1283	1524	4445
Total (in five years)	47014	10099	8950	27218

1.6. Calling Attention Notices Served and Statements Made On:

A total of 3157 calling attention notices were put up by the Members of the 12th National Assembly during five years. Like questions, over half of these calling attention notices lapsed as these were not answered. Of the total calling attention notices, only 329 got replies and 23 were referred to concerned Committees. This is needless to say that lack of response to the majority of calling attention notices, which are, in fact, urgent matters of public importance requiring immediate steps by the concerned minister or ministry, shows disrespect to the concern expressed by the House, as well as, apathy to the matters of public importance.

Table 11
Calling Attention Notices Served and Answered in the 12th NA

Calling Attention Notices	Received	Statements made on	Referred to Committees	Lapsed
First Year (Nov. 16, 2002- Nov.15, 2003)	619	52	01	566
Second Year (Nov. 16, 2003- Nov.15, 2004)	1034	104	04	873
Third Year (Nov. 16, 2004- Nov.15, 2005)	611	80	03	528
Fourth Year (Nov. 16, 2005- Nov.15, 2006)	556	47	11	-
Fifth Year (Nov. 16, 2006- Nov.15, 2007)	337	46	04	-
Total (in five years)	3157	329	23	1967

1.7. Motions Received and Discussed:

A total of 305 motions were received from the Members of the National Assembly for discussion on matters of public importance during five years, however, only 36 were placed on the agenda of the House and discussed.

Table 12
Motions under Rule 69 Received and Discussed by the 12th NA

Motions Under Rule 69	Received	Discussed
First Year (Nov. 16, 2002- Nov.15, 2003)	69	04
Second Year (Nov. 16, 2003- Nov.15, 2004)	106	05
Third Year (Nov. 16, 2004- Nov.15, 2005)	61	22
Fourth Year (Nov. 16, 2005- Nov.15, 2006)	49	05
Fifth Year (Nov. 16, 2006- Nov.15, 2007)	20	Nil
Total (in five years)	305	36

1.8. Privilege Motions Received and Resolved or Disallowed:

Members of the National Assembly moved altogether 692 privilege motions during five years. Of these 216 were disallowed on various grounds; 317 were either brought before the House or referred to the privilege committee; 29 were asked to be resolved in the Chief Whip's office and; 10 were resolved in the Speaker's chamber.

1.9. Adjournment Motions Received and Discussed:

A total of 2910 adjournment motions were received by the Members of the 12th National Assembly during five years. Of these, 545 were declared inadmissible, 547 were brought before the House, but only 147 came up for discussion. A substantial number of the total motions lapsed (355) and 25 were deferred or ruled out of order.

1.10. Parliamentary Practices and Legislative Process of the 12th National Assembly

As noticed in the above columns, the 12th National Assembly has been struggling to complete or dispose of the heavy agenda it was faced with, in terms of a substantial amount of bills, resolutions, questions, calling attention notices and different types of motions, in addition to its routine debates. The 12th National Assembly, as being the first assembly to complete its tenure, was also faced with the challenge of compliance with parliamentary traditions and setting standards for effective conduct of proceedings.

Although, members of the 12th National Assembly and all associated with it deserve appreciation that they were, at least, able to sail through even in extreme turbulent times and complete the tenure of the Assembly, there were some major digressions from democratic traditions and shortcomings in the legislative processes that impacted negatively on its overall parliamentary performance.

Major Digressions from Parliamentary Traditions and Constitutional Requirements: Some of the major digressions from the Parliamentary traditions and constitutional requirements during the five-year tenure of the 12th National Assembly were:

- ▶ The President, who was part of the Parliament, also wore a military uniform as Chief of the Army Staff, throughout the tenure of the National Assembly;
- ▶ The President failed to address the Parliament at the beginning of every parliamentary year, except for the second year, during the 5-year tenure of the National Assembly;
- ▶ The National Assembly did not meet the constitutional requirement of completing 130 days in its fifth year, although it had barely met this requirement in its early four years;
- ▶ The National Assembly endorsed the extra-constitutional act of the Chief of Army Staff of proclaiming ‘State of Emergency’, and suspension of the Constitution in its last session held on 7 November 2007;
- ▶ The Speaker of the National Assembly twice faced a no-confidence motion in five years for his alleged ‘impartial behaviour’ towards opposition.

Process of law-making: One serious flaw with the process of law-making in the 12th National Assembly, as with the previous Assemblies also, has been the lack of sufficient time for debate in the House. The tendency to bulldoze legislation has been a crucial concern for several years with all the previous Assemblies, and there have been precedents when bills and even constitutional amendments were passed by the House in a few minutes’ time. The 12th National

Assembly was not an exception and despite calls from legislators for more time to discuss the bills introduced, most of the legislation was done in a hasty manner.

Although, all bills/ordinances which come up for legislation are referred to concerned Standing Committee after the House grants them leave to be adopted for consideration. The Committees are proportionately represented by all parties, and its members undertake debate on the proposed bills, however, this debate should not be considered as substitute to the debate in the full House which is a normal parliamentary practice in elected Houses.

The 12th NA passed 50 bills (42 bills and 8 ordinances), only 38 bills became Acts (33 bills & 5 ordinances). Of these Acts, the 17th Constitutional Amendment Bill, 2003, was debated by the House for four days (16 hours), the highest number of days allocated for debate to any piece of legislation. The Anti-Terrorism (Amendment) Bill, 2003, was passed in 5 minutes; the National Security Council Bill, 2004, and the Defamation (Amendment) Bill, 2004, both were passed in 35 minutes; the Political Parties (Amendment) Bill, 2004, in three hours; and the Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (Amendment) Bill, 2004, was passed in 30 minutes.

A majority of bills were passed the day they are laid before the House with the reports of the Standing Committees, mostly without any debate. Some of the bills passed without any debate included: the Removal from Service (Special Powers) (Amendment) Bill, 2003 (Ord. No. I of 2003), the Members of Parliament (Salaries and Allowances) (Amendment) Bill, 2005; the Federal Public Service Commission (Amendment) Bill, 2005 (Ord. No. XV of 2005); the Fiscal Responsibility and Debt Limitation Bill, 2003 (VI of 2005); the Legal Practitioners and Bar Councils (Amendment) Bill, 2005 (XII of 2005); and the National Database and Registration Authority (Amendment) Bill, 2006 (Ord. XIII of 2006).

Lack of Quorum: Quorum has been a persistent issue before the House through its five-year tenure. As per Rules of Business and Procedures, completing the quorum is responsibility of the treasury benches and, therefore, 'lack of quorum', is usually interpreted as the lack of interest by the treasury benches in the House Business. The Opposition benches registered their complaints on many occasions. Ch Aitzaz Ahsan, while on point of order on 10 September 2005, raised the issue of lack of quorum and stated that the quorum in this parliament broke '333' times. The Speaker himself admitted the problem and warned the members of the treasury benches to be present in the House.

The quorum of the House was broken for 68 times during five years of the 12th National Assembly. Of these, on 32 occasions the quorum could not be completed despite repeated ringing of bells and sessions were adjourned for the next day, while the proceedings resumed after the completion of quorum 36 times.

In the first year, the lack of quorum was pointed out 9 times; the sessions were adjourned for the next day on 6 occasions while the proceedings resumed after the completion of quorum 3 times. In the second year, the lack of quorum was pointed out 19 times; the sessions were adjourned for the next day on 6 occasions while the proceedings resumed after the completion of quorum 13 times. In the third year, the lack of quorum was pointed out 24 times; the sessions were adjourned for the next day on 10 occasions while the proceedings resumed after the completion

of quorum 14 times. In the fourth year, the lack of quorum was pointed out 8 times; the sessions were adjourned for the next day on 6 occasions while the proceedings resumed after the completion of quorum 2 times. In the fifth year, the lack of quorum was pointed out 8 times; the sessions were adjourned for the next day on 4 occasions while the proceedings resumed after the completion of quorum 4 times.

Walkouts and boycotts: The proceedings of the House were continuously marred with walkouts and boycott of sessions throughout the tenure of the NA. There were a total number of 165 walkouts from the House during five years, while the proceedings were boycotted on 45 occasions.

CHAPTER TWO

Year-Wise Performance of Women Parliamentarians

1. First Parliamentary Year (16 November 2002 to 15 November 2003)

The first parliamentary year of the National Assembly was not conducive in terms of participation in the House proceedings for the newly-elected and very enthusiastic women legislators. Many of these women were elected to the House for the first time. The business of the House, and hence members' participation in the proceedings was largely affected by a long drawn-out protest by the opposition benches over the LFO. The opposition didn't participate in the proceedings, except on a few occasions, and kept on interrupting the proceedings with slogans and desk-thumping most of the time. This resulted in frequent adjournment of sessions due to lack of quorum, and on occasions the proceedings were suspended for hours to meet the quorum. In addition to this, political tension over the arrest of Makhdoom Javed Hashmi, a PML-N MNA, and President General Musharraf's inability to address the joint sitting of both Houses of the Parliament further reduced the space for debate on any issue.

1.1. Overall participation in the proceedings by women parliamentarians:

During the first year of the National Assembly, 30 women parliamentarians participated in the regular business of the House and made 142 interventions. In total, they brought 13 Calling Attention Notices and 1 Resolution, asked 80 Questions (49 Starred, 16 Un-starred and 15 Supplementary Questions), raised 24 Points of Order, 4 Privilege Motions, 1 Private Members Bill and participated in general debate on 18 different occasions.

Table 13
Number and Types of Overall Interventions: First Year (2002-03)

Starred Questions	49
Un-starred Questions	16
Supplementary Questions	15
Debates	18
Points of Order	24
Calling Attention Notices	13
Privilege & Adjournment Motions	04
Private Members Bills	01
Resolutions (moved & passed)	02
Total	142

Ms Kashmala Tariq and Ms Mehnaz Rafi, with 20 and 16 interventions, respectively, had the highest rate of participation among their women colleagues during the first parliamentary year. Ms Kashmala Tariq put 3 calling attention notices, asked 12 questions, raised 2 points of order and participated in 3 debates, while Ms Mehnaz Rafi put 3 calling attention notices, asked 6 questions, raised 6 points of orders and participated in 2 debates. Other top speakers included Dr Rozina Tufail with 11 interventions, Ms Gul-e-Farkhanda 9, Ms Zeb Gohar Ayub Khan 9, Ms Aashiq Firdus Awan 8 and Ms Nafisa Munawar Raja 6 interventions.

Top Five Positions in Overall Performance: First Year (2002-03)

1	Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q)	20 initiatives
2	Mehnaz Rafi (PML-Q)	16 initiatives
3	Rozina Tufail (PML-Q)	11 initiatives
4	Gul-e-Farkhanda (NA) Zeb Gohar Ayub Khan (PML-Q)	9 initiatives 9 initiatives
5	Aashiq Firdus Awan (PML-Q)	8 initiatives

Ms Ishrat Ashraf, Ms Tahmina Daultana, Ms Tahira Asif, Dr Farida Ahmed, Ms Rahila Yahya, Ms Shehnaz Shaikh, Ms Shamim Akhtar, Ms Afsar Begum, Mrs Rifat Javed Kohloon, Ms Naheed Khan, Ms Sherry Rehman and Ms Samia Raheel Qazi, Ms Inayat Begum, Mrs Kaniz Anisha, Ms Shamshad Sattar Bachani, Ms Bilqis Saif, Ms Khurshid Afghan, Ms Bushra Rehman, Ms Rifat Amjad, Ms Jameela Ahmed, Ms Farzeen Ahmed Faraz, and Ms Rehana Aleem Mashhadi did speak on the floor of the House during the first year but their interventions were between one to five.

1.2. Issues raised by women parliamentarians:

- **On women's rights**

Women parliamentarians raised crucial issues concerning women and elimination of 'honour' killing (*karokari*) and discussion on the Hudood Ordinances made much echo on the assembly floor during the first year. Other issues of women's rights raised by the women parliamentarians through questions and calling attentions notices, included: discriminatory obligation on women in Army Medical College to remain un-married during their education; posting of husband and wife in the same city; promotion of women's work/handicraft in international market by the Export Promotion Bureau; number of women staff in Ministry of Foreign Affairs and; children's education with a special focus on girl child.

- **On general issues of national & public importance**

Women parliamentarians made significant interventions on other issues of national importance such as foreign policy, trade policy, environment, health, education, food and agriculture. Some of them were vocal on sensitive but subtle issues like environmental protection. They questioned the sale of leaded petrol in the country and its environmental impact, industrial contamination,

air pollution, recycling of plastic bags and tin waste. They also called for raising awareness among public on how to keep the environment clean.

In the wake of price hike of food and petroleum products, they also raised important issues in the food and agriculture sector, including the patenting of food and agricultural items, price increase in agricultural inputs, subsidy on tube wells in cities as well as in rural areas, uniform electricity bills, system to check the CNG prices, and developing a sustainable and effective policy for poverty alleviation.

Women parliamentarians also showed concern about the health sector and asked the government, through questions and calling attention notices, to fix the fee for medical checkup at private clinics, treatment of civilians in CMH, Lahore, sale of medicines under generic names, decrease in the prices of Hepatitis vaccine and controlling Hepatitis B through proper sanitation and drinking water facility.

Another noticeable set of interventions by women members comprise the demands and complaints about the provision of basic services and various development schemes in their respective constituencies. Apart from provision of electricity and gas connections, such interventions included the over-billing on electricity in Hyderabad and Karachi, blackouts in Karachi, District Armed Soldiers Board in Sialkot, overhead bridge on railway crossing and individual financial assistance in Sindh. The members also complained against the delays in releasing development funds.

Women parliamentarians put a bulk of questions and asked supplementary questions on a lot of general but important issues like looting of money by forex companies, the PTV income from registration fee and the amount it pays for its collection, smuggling of human beings, questioning the condition of new identity cards for issuance of passport, remittances of foreign airlines, issues of the paper manufacturing factories being closed down, foreign investment by Pakistani investors, education to overseas Pakistani children, non-implementation of devolution plan in cantonments, cash award for non-official informer, and for officials of Tax Deptt., receipts at Revenue Department, Karachi Zone Public complaints ref tax evasion by Pak National Shipping Corporation (PNSC), appointments made in Ministry of Finance, vacant posts in Ministry of Commerce and contractual employees in Ministry of Law, etc.

They also made notable contribution in the discussion on country's foreign policy on Iraq, 17th Constitutional Amendment, declaration of assets from judges and bureaucrats, and rules of business and procedure.

Debate on the 17th Constitutional Amendment – presenting the party position

On 27 December, 2003, Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi (MMA) and Ms. Mehreen Anwar Raja (PPPP), participated in the debate on the 17th Amendment, and advocated their party position on the proposed amendment.

(See original debate dated 27 December 2003 in Chapter Five)

1.3. Resolutions moved by women parliamentarians:

Only one resolution was moved by a woman legislator, Ms. Rozina Tufail, out of a total of 11 resolutions moved and passed by the National Assembly during the first parliamentary year. Of these 11 resolutions, 7 were private members' resolutions and 4 were government resolutions. Ms. Rozina Tufail's resolution, passed by the National Assembly on 16 September 2003, called upon the government to "to bring forth various agreements with regard to W.T.O for discussion in the National Assembly". None of the resolutions related to any issue concerning women.

Resolution on 'honour' killing – braving the resistance

The resolution and discussion on 'honour' killing were deferred many a times to next private members day on one or the other pretext. On 4 November 2003, PML-Q MNAs Ms. Mehnaz Rafi and Mr. M. P. Bhandara, as co-movers of the resolution for elimination of 'honour' killing, made repeated requests for moving the resolution, but they could not succeed. On 11 November, Mr. M. P. Bhandara insisted that he should be allowed to move the resolution by suspending the rules on the assurance of the Speaker, which he gave to the movers of the resolution during a meeting in his chamber some days ago. The Deputy Speaker, upon several interventions by the members, eventually allowed Mr. Bhandara to move it. The resolution was presented in the House and both Mr. Bhandara and Ms. Mehnaz Rafi spoke on it, however, it was not carried or rejected by the House as it had not been formally put before the House.

(See original debate dated 4 November 2003 in Chapter Five)

1.4. Bills moved by government on women's rights issues:

The government did not move any bill directly dealing with women's rights issues, nor was any such legislation undertaken during the first parliamentary year. It may be recalled here that the National Assembly passed only two bills in the year, including the Finance Bill.

1.5. Private Members Bills moved by women parliamentarians:

There was only one Private Members Bill moved by any of the women legislators during the year; and it was "The Protection and Empowerment of Women Bill, 2003" moved by Ms. Sherry Rehman (PPPP) and others.

The bill heralded a new era of 'pro-active legislative measures' for women in the National Assembly and its latter years saw dedicated efforts by the newly-elected women parliamentarians in this area.

Table 14
Private Members Bills moved by Women Parliamentarians: First Year (2002-03)

S. No	Name of Mover/Party	Title of the Bill	Date of Submission	Immediate Status	Final Status
1.	Sherry Rehman (PPPP) and others	The Protection and Empowerment of Women Bill, 2003	15-10-2003	Admitted	Introduced on 14-09-2004

The bill was submitted to the National Assembly Secretariat on 15 October 2003, however, it came on the agenda of the House almost a year later on 14 September 2004, and was referred to the concerned Standing Committee. The Standing Committee presented its report to the House on 13 September 2005, again after a period of one year; however, no further movement happened over it and the bill finally lapsed when the Assembly completed its tenure in 2007. The Bill dealt with several aspects of women's concerns and their legal rights, also carrying several measures to empower them. It also included one article for the repeal of the Hudood Ordinances.

1.6. Space for participation - issues and constraints:

The Speaker as well as the Deputy Speaker of the House were continuously criticized for ignoring and denying women parliamentarians the opportunity to speak on the floor of the House. On many occasions, women parliamentarians, e.g. Ms Mehnaz Rafi and Ms Aashiq Firdus Awan, made formal complaints to the Speaker that women were being given less time for discussion. Ms Zeb Gohar Ayub, on 27th October 2003, on a Point of Order, protested that women elected on 'proportional representation' were being completely ignored during the assembly proceedings. She requested the Speaker to devise a mechanism for creating special opportunities, for example 'Zero Hours', for women parliamentarians so that they were able to participate in the assembly proceedings effectively. On other countless occasions, the Speaker turned down women members' requests for supplementary questions and 'point of order' for declaring it 'not according to the rules'.

During this whole parliamentary year, not for a single time any woman member was put on the list of the 'Panel of Chairmen'. By the end of the parliamentary year, Ms Zeb Gohar Ayub, called the attention of the Speaker towards this discriminatory practice, upon which the Speaker promised to correct the situation in the next year.

1.7. Women's rights issues raised by men parliamentarians:

Among male parliamentarians, apart from Mr. M. P. Bhandara who was the second mover along with Ms. Mehnaz Rafi in the resolution for elimination of 'honour' killings in the country, only three MNAs, Mr Muhamamd Hanif Abbassi, Mr. Kunwar Khalid Younus and Ch. Anwar Ali Cheema raised the issues of women's rights in general. Mr. Muhammad Hanif Abbassi put three questions on the floor of the House regarding the number of 'Burn Units' in the country for the treatment of women involved in stove burning, institute for the welfare of women, and names of areas where government had launched women welfare projects. Mr. Kunwar Khalid Younus,

through a question asked the government to provide a province and district-wise lists of women arrested by NAB and details of charges, while on another occasion raised the point of order that the House shall take up the resolution on 'Recommendations of the National Commission on the Status of Women'.

2. Second Parliamentary Year (16 November 2003 to 15 November 2004)

Although the in-House protest by the opposition benches gradually slowed down in the second parliamentary year, the phenomenon of ‘lack of quorum’ continued to mar the National Assembly proceedings during the year due to occasional boycotts, as well as, due to the lack of interest from the treasury members, the ministers and parliamentary secretaries.

2.1. Overall participation in the proceedings by women parliamentarians:

During the second parliamentary year, 57 women parliamentarians participated in the regular business of the House and made 493 interventions. In total, they brought 26 Calling Attention Notices, put 321 Questions (99 Starred, 118 Un-starred and 104 Supplementary questions), raised 32 Points of Order, brought 8 Privilege Motions and 6 Adjournment Motions. They also moved 10 private members’ bills to repeal or amend the discriminatory laws against women while introducing a few bills for empowering women. They significantly contributed in general debates on national issues and participated in such debates on 88 occasions.

Table 15
Number and Types of Overall Interventions: Second Year (2003-04)

Starred Questions	99
Un-starred Questions	118
Supplementary Questions	104
Debates	88
Points of Order	32
Calling Attention Notices	26
Privilege & Adjournment Motions	14
Private Members Bills	10
Resolutions	01
Personal Explanations	01
Total	493

The level and frequency of women’s participation in the second parliamentary year increased significantly, at least, it was much higher than the previous parliamentary year. They demonstrated their individual progress by learning and using rules. The number of women participants also rose from 30 to 57.

Ms Sherry Rehman made 40 interventions, the highest number of initiatives during the second parliamentary year. Other active women legislators of the year included: Ms Inayat Begum with 35 interventions, Ms Mehnaz Rafi 30, Ms Gul-e-Farkhanda 28, Ms Fauzia Wahab 27, Ms Bushra Rehman 26, Ms Ayla Malik 25 and Ms Shagufta Jumani with 17 interventions.

Top Five Positions in Overall Performance: Second Year (2003-04)

1	Sherry Rehman (PPPP)	40 initiatives
2	Inayat Begum (MMA)	35 initiatives
3	Mehnaz Rafi (PML-Q)	30 initiatives
4	Gul-e-Farkhanda(PML-Q)	28 initiatives
5	Fauzia Wahab (PPPP)	27 initiatives

Ms. Aashiq Firdus Awan, Ms. Mahreen Anwar Raja, Begum Ishrat Ashraf, Ms. Naheed Khan, Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi, Ms. Kashmala Tariq, Dr. Azra Fazal Pechuho, Ms. Yasmin Rehman, Ms. Bilqees Saif, Ms. Beelam Hasnain and Ms. Kaniz Aisha made 10 to 15 interventions during the year; and Ms. Jamila Ahmed, Ms. Memoona Hashmi, Ms. Shahzadi Umardadi Tiwana, Ms. Tahmina Daultana, Dr. Farida Ahmed, Dr. Fehmida Mirza, Ms. Robina Saadat Qaimkhwani and Ms. Razia Aziz spoke or intervened 6 to 9 times.

Ms. Shakeela Khanum Rashid, Ms. Shahida Akhtar Ali, Ms. Tahira Asif, Ms. Shamshad Sattar Bachani, Ms. Aysha Munwar, Ms. Bushra Anwar Sipra, Ms. Farhana Khalid Banori, Ms. Fauzia Habib, Ms. Khurshid Afghan, Ms. Nafisa Munawar Raja, Ms. Zeb Goher Ayub Khan, Ms. Shabina Talat, Ms. Asia Nasir, Ms. Tehmina Dasti, Dr. Attiya Inayatullah, Ms. Khalida Mohsin Qureshi, Ms. Robina Shaheen Wattoo, Ms. Afsar Begum, Ms. Attiya Inayatullah, Ms. Khalida Mohsin Qureshi, Ms. Robina Shaheen Wattoo, Ms. Afsar Begum Ms. Ambareen Naeem, Ms. Asia Azim, Ms. Donya Aziz, Ms. Farzin Ahmed Faraz, Dr. Hajra Tariq Aziz, Ms. Nasim Akhtar Ch., Ms. Nayar Sultana, Dr. Noor Jahan Panezai, Ms. Rehana Aleem Mashhadi, Ms. Rozina Tufail, Dr. Rifat Amjad, Ms. Rukia Khanum Somroo, Ms. Saima Akhtar Bharwana, Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki, Ms. Shamim Akhtar and Ms. Shahnaz Shaikh spoke or intervened for 5 or less than five times, some of them only once or twice.

2.2. Issues raised by women parliamentarians:

- **On women's rights**

Legislative initiatives on law on 'honour' killing, the repeal or amendments in the Hudood Ordinances and reforming Pakistan Penal Code and the Family Court Act, dominated the proceedings of the House during the second year as far as core issues of women's rights were concerned.

As mentioned earlier, the level of women legislators' participation was almost more than double as compared to the first parliamentary year. The increase in participation was not limited to quantity but was also manifested in quality. Women legislators were expanding the range and scope of their vision and outlook vis-à-vis women's concerns; and their interventions were touching general as well as specific needs of women in different walks of life and discriminations faced by them mostly through questions and calling attention notices, such as: proposal for women TV channel; proposal to establish hostels for working women; number of women in jails arrested in narcotics cases, and details of sentences awarded to them; questioning *jirga* ban on women's participation and contesting elections in Dir; increasing women's literacy rate in rural areas; issue of acid throwing on women; women's social, political and legal rights;

number of women employees in NADRA; life threat to Solangi family in interior Sindh; about UNDP Gender Support Programme on political schooling of women parliamentarians; increase in number of ‘honour’ killing cases after 60 years of freedom; Islamabad Police’s refusal to register FIR against the government employee who misbehaved with a women journalist; PTV’s non-coverage of discussion on women’s rights in the House; removing condition for women’s photo on NIC; doing away with scarf from the uniform of PIA airhostesses; and allocation of specific time for women parliamentarians on important issues.

- **On general issues of national & public importance**

Women legislators also spoke on a number of other issues apart from issues directly concerning women. They expressed extreme concern on some significant public issues like, health, foreign affairs, environment, economy/energy, education, natural resources (land/water/forests etc), finance and accounts, food & agriculture, legislation, import export, privatization, governance, employment, language & culture, tourism, business & trade, media/PTV, railways, rules of procedure and business and situation of crime and courts.

2.3. Resolutions moved by women parliamentarians:

The only resolution moved by a woman parliamentarian out of total 19 resolutions (14 private and 5 government resolutions) during the second parliamentary year was the one moved by Ms Mehnaz Rafi. Her resolution was about “recommending to the Government to take steps for proper legislation for economic, social, political and legal rights of women”, and it was passed by the National Assembly on 19 October 2004.

2.4. Bills moved by government on women’s rights issues:

The government moved an official bill on the elimination of ‘honour’ killing on 30 July 2004. It was referred to the concerned Standing Committee which presented its report to the National Assembly on 21 October 2004. Later, the Senate also passed it, and it became a law soon afterwards as Act I of 2005.

Table 16
Government Bills Moved & Passed on Women’s Rights Issues: Second Year (2003-04)

Short Title of the Bill	Introduced on	Report of the Standing Committee presented on	Passed on	Final Status
The Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 2004	30-07-2004	21-10-2004	26-10-04	(Became Act) I of 2005

Discussion on ‘honour’ killing & Hudood laws – shifting the paradigm

The background to the enactment of law on ‘honour’ killing needs to be recorded here. A private members’ bill titled “The Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 2004”, moved by Ms. Sherry Rehman on 14 January 2004, was also about elimination of ‘honour’ killings in Pakistan. This was the time when the Ministry of Women’s Development had already started

work on drafting the official bill on the same issue. Ms. Mehnaz Rafi and Ms. Kashmala Tariq had also introduced their private members' bills to bring about some amendment in the law to curb 'honour' crimes. Ms. Sherry Rehman's bill came on the agenda on 14 September 2004, and it was similar to the draft prepared by civil society organisations, particularly by Ms. Shahla Zia of Aurat Foundation. Both the drafts carried provisions to end waiver/exemption of Qisas and compoundability (compromises) in crimes committed in the name of 'honour'. On the same day (14 September 2004) Ms. Sherry Rehman's another bill (the Protection and Empowerment of Women Bill, 2003, moved in the first year) was also introduced in the House. Prior to introduction of both these bills, Motion of the bills were delayed for long time in order to create consensus on them. Due to consistent requests from Ms. Sherry Rehman, her bill was then put on the agenda and discussed three times, on 31 March 2004, 6 April 2004 and 8 June 2004. Each time, after some discussion the bill was deferred to next sitting or session on the request of Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar, Ms. Mehnaz Rafi and other women members from the treasury. On 8 June, Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar intercepted the discussion on the bill, and criticized Ms Sherry Rehman and the opposition for exploiting the bill for their political purpose. She also termed the bill, presented by Ms. Sherry Rehman, a political statement and not a legal document. On 27 July 2004, Mr. Naveed Qamar and Ms. Sherry Rehman, both from PPPP, on points of order, demanded of the Speaker to take up 'the Protection and Empowerment of Women Bill, 2004', moved by Ms. Sherry during the first parliamentary year. On 28 July, Ms. Sherry Rehman and Mr Naveed Qamar, again asked the Speaker to take up the bill. Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar, the Advisor to PM on Women's Development, argued that the bill as proposed by the opposition was flawed and could not be approved, and that the government had agreed to bring its own bill on 'honour' killing.

(See original debate dated 28 July 2004 in Chapter Five)

Three days later, on 30 July, 2004, an official bill on ending 'honour' killing was moved in the House. The bill, on which Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar, Advisor to PM on Women's Development was working for quite some time in collaboration with civil society organisations, did not have both the provisions on Qisas and compensation, which were part of the private bill. However, since authors of this study were privy to the efforts being made in this regard, it could be said that Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar, Ms. Mehnaz Rafi and Ms. Kashmala Tariq from the ruling party tried their best even till the last moment to get both these positive amendments incorporated in the bill. They failed due to strong resistance from some quarters in the government and party.

Enactment of law on 'honour' killing – the first step

As described earlier, the official bill on the elimination of 'honour' killing was passed by the National Assembly on 26 October 2004. The debate during its passage was brief, and Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar basically acknowledged the efforts of all those who contributed in its passage, including women legislators from the opposition, and thanked her colleagues for their support.

(See original debate dated 26 October 2004 in Chapter Five)

2.5. Private Members Bills moved by women parliamentarians:

Women parliamentarians moved altogether 10 private Members Bills during the second parliamentary year. Except for three of these 10 bills, namely, the Freedom of Information Bill, 2004, the Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2004, and the Control of Thalassaemia Bill, 2004, all were directly focusing on women's rights issues, although with different perspectives and in accordance with the ideology and manifesto of the respective parties of the movers. The history of "The Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 2004, a private members bill moved by Ms. Sherry Rehman has already been explained above.

Table 17
Private Members Bills Moved by Women Parliamentarians: Second Year (2003-04)

S. No.	Name of Mover/Party	Title of the Bill	Date of Submission	Immediate Status	Final Status
1	Sherry Rehman (PPPP) and 7 others	The Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 2004	14-01-2004	Admitted	Introduced on 14-09-2004
2.	Sherry Rehman (PPPP) & 13 others	The Freedom of Information Bill, 2004	14-05-2004	Admitted	Rejected in the House on 12-10-2004
3.	Mehnaz Rafi (PML-Q)	The Pakistan Penal Code (Amendment) Bill, 2004 (Amendment in 366-C)	09-06-2004	Admitted	Introduced on 02-05-2005
4.	Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q)	The Pakistan Penal Code (Amendment) Bill, 2004	10-06-2004	Admitted	Rejected on 19-04-05
5.	Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q)	The Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill, 2004	10-06-2004	Admitted	Rejected on 01-03-05
6.	Samia Raheel Qazi (MMAP) and 19 others	The Uplift and Welfare of Women Bill, 2004	29-07-2004	Admitted	Introduced on 14-02-2006
7.	Gul-e-Farakhanda (NA) and 8 others	The Control of Thalassaemia Bill, 2004	24-09-2004	Admitted	Introduced on 19-10-2004
8	Mehreen Anwar Raja (PPPP) and 4 others	The Family Court (Amendment) Bill, 2004	29-10-2004	Disallowed 21-03-05	Disallowed 21-03-2005
9	Mehreen Anwar Raja (PPPP) and 4 others	The Pakistan Penal Code (Amendment) Bill, 2004	29-10-2004	Admitted	Dropped in the House on 13-19-2005
10.	Mehreen Anwar Raja (PPPP) and 4 others	The Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2004	29-10-2004	Admitted	Introduced on 05-09-2006

Of the total 10 private members' bills moved during the second year, 5 were introduced in the House and 5 were rejected/dropped or disallowed. Mehnaz Rafi's bill on 'honour' killing was introduced in the House on 2 May 2005, almost a year later, and nothing happened further despite repeated calls by the mover.

Among important private members bills moved during the second year included: the Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 2004, by Ms. Sherry Rehman (discussed earlier); the Pakistan Penal Code (Amendment) Bill, 2004 (Amendment in 366-C), by Ms. Mehnaz Rafi; the Uplift and Welfare of Women Bill, 2004, by Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi; the Pakistan Penal Code (Amendment) Bill, 2004, and the Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill, 2004, by Ms. Kashmala Tariq; Ms. Mehreen Anwar Raja also moved a bill titled 'the Family Court (Amendment) Bill, 2004'.

2.6. Space for participation - issues and constraints:

The only significant change on the part of the Speaker towards women legislators was the inclusion of a woman member in the 'Panel of Chairmen' on regular basis. Thus, during the second parliamentary year, the composition of 'Panel of Chairmen' was set as 'one woman and three male members of the parliament'. Six women members, namely Ms Noor Jehan Panezai, Ms Bushra Rehman, Ms Zeb Gohar Ali, Dr Attiya Inayatullah, Ms Gule-e-Farkhanda and Ms Mehnaz Rafi were put on the Panel of Chairmen to preside over the assembly proceedings in the absence of the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker. However, both the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker continued to face the same criticism as in the last year for not accommodating women legislators to speak on the floor.

During one of the Question Hours in second year, when Ms Marhreen Anwar Raja, on supplementary question, asked Minister for Communication about the construction of Kahoota-to-Kotaly Satian Road, the Deputy Speaker turned her question down as 'out of context/irrelevant' by arguing that the road did not fall in the jurisdiction of National Highway Authority (NHA) and, therefore, it was provincial matter. Ms Raja, however, insisted, and soon it turned into a one-to-one debate. Finally a couple of other members intervened and confirmed that Ms Raja was right and the road was under NHA jurisdiction. At this, the Speaker asked Ms Raja to put a fresh question. Interestingly, during the whole debate on whether the said road was a national or provincial matter, the Parliamentary Secretary for Communication remained indifferent.

2.7. Women's rights issues raised by men parliamentarians:

In the second parliamentary year, the following male members of parliament raised their voice to end discrimination against women on various occasions: Mr Gayan Chand Singh, Ch Aitzaz Ahsan, Dr Amir Liaqat Hussain, Syed Haider Abbass Rizvi, Syed Naveed Qamar, Mr Muhamamd Hanif Abbassi, Mr. Kunwar Khalid Yunus, Mr. M P Bhandara and Dr Farooq Sattar. On 16 July 2004, when the Assembly discussed the issue of life threat to Solangi family in interior Sindh, Mr Gayan Chand Singh, Ch Aitzaz Ahsan, Dr Amir Liaqat Hussain, Syed Haider Abbass Rizvi and Syed Naveed Qamar not only criticized the government for not providing due security to the couple but also reiterated their demand to pass legislation for elimination of 'honour killing' practices in the country and take up the already introduced bills

on women's empowerment. Through a Calling Attention Notice on 30 March 2004, Mr. M P Bhandara raised concern on the 'honour' killing of a woman and a man in Mirpur Mathelo, and selling of a girl-bride by her father against her will. Dr Farooq Sattar also joined Mr M P Bhandara and asked the Speaker to take up the Bill on 'honour killing' at the earliest. On 6 April, while on a point of order, Mr M P Bhandara suggested that the amendments in 'The Criminal Law Amendment Bill 2004', as proposed by Ms Mehnaz Rafi and himself shall be clubbed together with that of Ms Sherry Rehman's bill. Mr. Kunwar Khalid Yunus, through a Calling Attention Notice on 16 October 2004, asked the treasury to legislate on social, political and legal rights of women.

In March 2004, Mr Muhamamd Hanif Abbassi submitted a Question about the 'number of women victimised in 'honour' crimes (karokari) during the last three years, and the number of offenders sentenced so far. The question was put on the House agenda twice but remained unanswered. Interestingly, first it was sent to the Ministry of Women's Development on 15 March. Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar, Advisor to PM, on 18 March responded on the floor that the question shall be sent to Ministry of Interior. The Ministry however, wrote back to the Speaker that it was not relevant to them. The government, thus, remained confused on which ministry was supposed to deal with the issue of 'honour' killing cases. On 2 April, the Speaker finally directed the Ministry to respond the question on next day. In the ultimate, the question remained un-answered.

3. Third Parliamentary Year (16 November 2004 to 15 November 2005)

Women parliamentarians were fast learning through rules and insight into the dynamics of legislative functioning; and they were employing their knowledge and communication skills to prove themselves as public representatives. The results were coming with the same pace: the number of their interventions soared from 493 in the second year to 1158 in the third parliamentary year. They were also accommodating a wide range of issues to be raised in the House, national issues as well as issues related to the women's rights.

3.1. Overall participation in the proceedings by women parliamentarians:

During the third parliamentary year, 52 women parliamentarians took part in the regular business of the House and altogether made 1160 interventions which were more than double the number of interventions in the second year (i.e. 493 interventions in 2004). In total, they submitted 26 Calling Attention Notices, asked 842 Questions of which 149 were dealt with as Starred questions, 518 as Un-starred and 175 as Supplementary questions, raised 98 Points of Order, brought 21 motions on the whole (including Privilege Motions, Adjournment Motions) and moved 44 Private Members Bills. They also put 6 Resolutions and 3 Personal Explanations. Women parliamentarians' participation in general debates on issues of national importance was recorded on 119 times, which showed their interest in formulating and expressing opinion on these issues.

Table 18
Number and Types of Overall Interventions: Third Year (2004-05)

Starred Questions	149
Un-starred Questions	518
Supplementary Questions	175
Debates	119
Points of Order	98
Calling Attention Notices	26
Adjournment & Privilege Motions	21
Private Members Bills	44
Resolutions	06
Personal Explanations	04
Total	1160

The third parliamentary year, in fact, belonged to Ms. Yasmin Rehman, who made the highest number of interventions i.e. 136 (she asked 9 Supplementary, 31 Starred and 85 Un-Starred questions, put 4 motions and participated in various debates on 7 times). She was followed by Ms. Beelam Hasnain and Ms. Kashmala Tariq made 90 interventions each, Ms. Fauzia Wahab

87, and Ms Mehnaz Rafi with 63 interventions. Ms Samina Khalid Ghurki made 62 and Ms Inayat Begum 61 interventions.

Top Five Positions in Overall Performance: Third Year (2004-05)

1	Yasmin Rehman (PPPP)	136 initiatives
2	Beelum Hasnain (PPPP) Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q)	90 initiatives 90 initiatives
3	Fauzia Wahab (PPPP)	87 initiatives
4	Ms Mehnaz Rafi (PML-Q)	63 initiatives
5	Ms Samina Khalid Ghurki (PPPP)	62 initiatives

Ms Samia Raheel Qazi made 55 interventions, Ms Sherry Rehman 41, Ms Shakeela Khanum Rashid (34), Ms Naheed Khan (31), Ms Robina Saadat Qaimkhawani (32), Ms Bilqees Saif (29), Dr Farida Ahmed (26), Ms Mahreen Anwar Raja (23), Ms Farhana Khalid Banori (22), Ms Gul-e-Farkhanda (21), Dr Azra Fazal Pechuho (20), Ms Kaniz Aisha Munawar (20), Ms Memoona Hashmi (19), Ms Ambreen Naeem (19) and Ms Jamila Ahmed (18).

Ms Tahmina Daultana, Ms Ishrat Ashraf, Ms Shagufta Jumani, Ms Khursheed Afghan, Ms Shamshad Sattar Bachani, Ms Aisha Munawar, Ms Fauzia Habib, Ms Shahzadi Umarzadi, Ms Shamim Akhtar, Dr Noor Jahan Panezi, Ms Razia Aziz, Ms Shahida Akhtar Ali, Ms Bushra Rehman, Dr Fahmida Mirza, Ms Asia Azim and Ms Farzine Ahmed Faraz made 6 to 15 interventions, while rest of the about 14 women MNAs intervened for 1 to 3 times.

3.2. Issues raised by women parliamentarians:

Women legislators showed increased commitment to women's rights issues through their active involvement in the House proceedings during the third parliamentary year. They also demonstrated their learning of the parliamentary procedures through using the provision of 'Question Hour' and 'Points of Order' and 'Debates' for their interventions. They raised policy issues with close reference to discriminations against women in public sector as well as in their daily and private life.

- **Women in employment:**

Ms Kashmala Tariq, Ms Inayat Begum and Ms Beelum Hasnain put a series of questions regarding number of women working in various ministries. The information received in response to these questions offers a valuable analysis into the strength and status of women in employment. The questions covered following ministries and institutions: the province-wise and scale-wise number of women in M/o Education, M/o Culture and Sports, M/o Education, M/o Housing, M/o Communication, M/o Defense, M/o Defense Production, M/o Special Education, M/o Food & Agriculture, M/o Women Development, M/o Information & Broadcasting, M/o Petroleum, M/o Railway, M/o Industries; Number of women on Censor Board, the Cabinet Davison, the PM Secretariat, the Establishment Division, and Securities and Exchange Commission of Pakistan.

Some other questions enquired about the number of women's seats in the Local Government Elections, number of women posted as ambassadors of Pakistan at present, number of women visited abroad along with Advisor to the PM on Women's Development, and province-wise number of women and men doctors recruited during the last two years. Other important issues raised during Question Hours were the 'sexual harassment of women at work place', a survey on the incidence of sexual harassment of women in government offices, and implementation of 'Code of Workplace Ethics'.

- **Violence against Women:**

The third parliamentary year, i.e. year 2005, was a bad year in terms of major violations of women's fundamental rights, including their right to life and security. Through Calling Attentions Notices, Points of Order and Resolutions, the women parliamentarians condemned the incidence of violence against women in the country and pressed the government for action, legislation and implementation of existing policies to curb this violence. The issues related to violence against women raised during this year included:

- attack on women's marathon race in Gujranwala;
- harassment and maltreatment of women MNAs from the opposition by Police in Lahore on 16 April 2005;
- manhandling of women in marathon race in Lahore by police on 14 May 2005;
- maltreatment and humiliation of PML-N women activists by Lahore police on 11 May 2005;
- stopping women from casting vote in local government elections in 30 union councils in NWFP;
- murder of Zubeda Begum, a candidate in local government elections, and her daughter in NWFP, to prevent her from contesting elections;
- rape of a girl in Shahzad Town, Islamabad and no progress in the case even after order of inquiry by President General Musharraf;
- Mukhtaran Mai's case – police shifted Mukhtaran Mai to an undisclosed place; government pledged to take notice, that the house arrest of Mukhtaran Mai to be removed, and her name shall be taken off from the Exit Control List;
- permanent solution of the kidnapping and rape of women, with reference to the kidnapping of college student Nazish in Sialkot on 3 February 2005;
- the case of Dr. Shazia in Sui, Balochistan,.

On Mukhtaran Mai's security – supporting the courageous woman

Ms. Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q) raised the issue of security of Mukhtaran Mai, a rape victim, on 11 March 2005, and demanded of the government to provide her security and put names of the perpetrators of the crime on ECL. She also acknowledged the services of Ms. Shahla Zia, the co-founder of Aurat Foundation, who passed away a day earlier on 10 March 2005.

(See original debate dated 11 March 2005 in Chapter Five)

Concern about inquiry of a rape victim's case

On 3 June 2005, Ms. Fauzia Wahab (PPPP), on a point of order, expressed her concern on the case of rape of a girl in Shahzad Town, Islamabad, and inquired about the progress in the case even after order of inquiry by President General Musharraf.

(See original debate dated 3 June 2005 in Chapter Five)

Disenfranchisement of women in local government elections – call for action

On 30 August 2005, Ms. Mehnaz Rafi, Ms. Rehana Aleem Mashhadi, Ms. Gule-Farkhanda and Ms. Zeb Gohar Ayub from PML-Q moved a calling attention on stopping women from casting vote in local government elections in 30 union councils in NWFP. It was a long debate, participated by Ms. Shamim Akhtar, Ms. Aisha Munawar, Mr. Kanwar Khalid Younas, Mr. Gyan Chand and Ms. Kashmala Tariq, besides the movers. All strongly condemned the attempts by certain elements to prevent from exercising their fundamental right in accordance with the constitutional and legal provisions of the land. They also called for stringent measures to stop these violations of law. Ms. Kashmal Tariq also raised the issue of murder of a brave woman, Zubeda Begum, who ventured to come out and poll her vote in Dir, but was killed.

(See original debate dated 30 August 2005 in Chapter Five)

• **Moments of solidarity:**

International Women's Day: In order to mark the International Women's Day on 8 March, 2005, women parliamentarians from all the political parties jointly moved a resolution which the House adopted unanimously. Women parliamentarians also organized a special meeting of the 'Women Development Committee' of the National Assembly and asked the Speaker to adjourn the House for sometime so that all the women members could participate in the meeting.

Together against violence: The police baton charged the students of OPF Girls College, Islamabad, on 11 April, 2005, when they were demanding the grant of graduation degrees. When raised in the National Assembly, the issue saw a moment of solidarity from the opposition as well as the treasury benches. Syed Nayyar Hussain Bukhari (PPPP), Ms Mehnaz Rafi (PML-Q) and Ms Samia Raheel Qazi (MMA), on Points of Order, strongly condemned the violence by the police and OPF administration, and demanded that the college should be given their degree.

Moments of friction:

On 18 April 2005, seven women MNAs from PPPP, Ms Sherry Rehman, Ms Beelam Hasnain, Ms Fauzia Habib, Ms Khalida Mohsin Qureshi, Ms Yasmin Rehman and Ms Shamshad Satar Bachani, along with their male colleagues, submitted Privilege Motions that they were harassed, ridiculed and maltreated by the Punjab Police on 16 April 2005, when they were on their way to welcome Mr. Asif Ali Zardari on Lahore Airport. Women MNAs from the treasury benches, at

this, blamed the opposition for this incident. Ms. Mehnaz Rafi defended the imposition of Section 144 by the Punjab government and blamed the opposition for breaking law in Lahore. Ms. Bushra Rehman criticized the opposition for taking law into hand and thereafter fabricating a story of harassment of women MNAs just to defame the government.

3.3. Resolutions moved by women parliamentarians:

Six resolutions were moved by women parliamentarians in the third parliamentary year out of the total of 15 resolutions (13 private and 2 government resolutions). The first one was moved by Ms. Mehnaz Rafi on 8 March 2005, calling for “provision of justice for Mai Mukhtaran and Dr. Shazia Khalid and resolved to ensure social, legal and political rights of women according to the Sunnah of Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)”. Another resolution was moved by Ms. Mehnaz Rafi, on 11 April 2005, to “condemn the attack that took place in Gujranwala against the women”. The resolution was adopted unanimously. The third resolution was moved by Ms. Rozina Tufail on 13 April 2005, to express “confidence and support of the people in favour of the Government’s Kashmir Policy and will support its all such policies in future”. Ms. Kashmala Tariq’s resolution on 14 October 2005 was “regarding creation of Relief Fund by the MNAs for the affectees of earthquake”. Ms. Mehnaz Rafi brought another resolution on 21 October 2005, on “proposing that each of the 342 MNAs should collectively take responsibility for the reconstruction of a specific area in the earthquake affected regions”. Ms. Asiya Azeem in a resolution on 1 November 2005, called for “mandatory three months rescue training for male and female students in all the educational institutions”. All these resolutions were unanimously adopted by the House.

Attack on women in Gujranwala marathon – expressing solidarity

Ms. Mehnaz Rafi (PML-Q) resolution on 11 April 2005, condemning the attack that took place in Gujranwala against the women during a marathon. Several women and men parliamentarians including, Dr. Firdous Ashiq Awan, Ms. Yasmeen Rehman, Ms. Fauzia Wahab, Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar, Dr. Noor Jahan Panezai, Chaudhry Aitzaz Ahsan and Raja Pervaiz Ashraf, participated in the debate and condemned the attack. The resolution was adopted unanimously.

(See original debate dated 11 April 2005 in Chapter Five)

3.4. Bills moved by government on women’s rights issues:

There had been no official legislation in the National Assembly through any bills or ordinances directly addressing women’s legal rights or their concerns during the third parliamentary year, however, the Prevention and Control of Human Trafficking (Amendment) Bill, 2005, and the National Commission for Human Rights Bill, 2005, moved during this year, had some bearing on women to benefit from anything positive in these bills.

3.5. Private Members Bills moved by women parliamentarians:

There were a total of 44 private bills moved by women parliamentarians in the third parliamentary year as compared to 10 in the second year and only one in the first year. This was a gigantic leap. This shows the generation of a genuine interest among women legislators to have some kind of positive legislation in the interest of women from their own or their parties' perspective. There were also quite a number of legislative initiatives focusing on issues related to governance and public interest.

Table 19
Private Members Bills moved by Women Parliamentarians: Third Year (2004-05)

S. No	Name of Mover/Party	Title of the Bill	Date of Submission	Immediate Status	Final Status
1.	Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q) and two others	The Family Courts (Amendment) Bill, 2004	29-12-2004	Admitted	Introduced on 05-09-2006
2.	Mehnaz Rafi (PML-Q)	The Pakistan Citizenship (Amendment) Bill, 2005	03-01-2005	Admitted	Disposal on 12-04-05
3.	Beelum Hasnain (PPPP)	The Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill, 2005	22-02-2005	Admitted	Dropped in the House on 13-09-2005
4.	Beelum Hasnain (PPPP)	The Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2005	22-02-2005	Admitted	Rejected on 19-04-2004
5.	Beelum Hasnain (PPPP)	The Allocation of Funds for Development Project Bill, 2005	22-02-2005	Under Process	Mover asked for obtaining previous concern of the Federal Government
6.	Sherry Rehman (PPPP) and 12 others	The Equality of Opportunity for Women Employment Bill, 2005	10-03-2005	Admitted	Introduced on 07-02-2006
7.	Sherry Rehman (PPPP) and 14 others	The Prevention of Domestic Violence Bill, 2005	10-03-2005	Admitted	Introduced on 8-08-2006
8.	Mehnaz Rafi (PML-Q)	The Pakistan Penal Code (Amendment) Bill, 2005 (310-A)	11-03-2005	Admitted	Introduced on 14-02-2006
9.	Sherry Rehman (PPPP)	The Pakistan Press Bill, 2005	12-03-2005	Admitted	Dropped in the House on 13-09-2005
10.	Sherry Rehman (PPPP) and 11 others	The Hudood Laws (Repeal) Bill, 2005	12-03-2005	Admitted	Introduced on 07-02-2006
11.	Dr. Hajra Tariq Aziz	The Islamabad Wildlife Protection,	18-03-2005	Admitted	Reject in the House on

23.	Dr. Farida Ahmad Siddiqui (MMAP) and 16 others	The Prohibition of Marriage with the Holy Quran Bill, 2005	18-05-2005	Disallowed	Introduced in the House on 13-09-2005
24.	Mehnaz Rafi (PML-Q)	The Senior Citizens Bill, 2005	16-05-2005	Admitted	Introduced on 05-09-2006
25.	Samina Khalid Ghurki (PPPP)	The Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2005	21-05-2005	Admitted	On Request Member deferred on 14-02-2006
26.	Samina Khalid Ghurki (PPPP)	The Service Tribunals (Amendment) Bill, 2005	21-05-2005	Admitted	Dropped in the House on 13-09-2005
27.	Rubina Saadat Qaimkhani (PPPP) and 5 others	The Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2005 (Articles 91-92)	25-05-2005	Admitted	Deferred on 14-02-2006
28.	Rubina Saadat Qaimkhani (PPPP) and 5 others	The Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 2005	25-05-2005	Admitted	Introduced on 14-02-2006
29.	Rubina Saadat Qaimkhani (PPPP)	The Federal Public Service Commission (Amendment) Bill, 2005	22-05-2005	Admitted	Dropped in the House on 13-09-2005
30.	Dr. Farida Ahmad Siddiqui (MMAP) and 6 others	The Direct Excess to Courts by the Victims Bill, 2005	05-07-2005	Disallowed	Disallowed on 23-07-05
31.	Samia Raheel Qazi (MMAP) and 17 others	The Economic Stability of Women Bill, 2005	18-07-2005	Under Process	Dropped in the House on 13-02-2007
32.	Mehnaz Rafi (PML-Q)	The Pakistan Citizenship Bill, 2005	19-09-2005	Admitted	Introduced on 07-02-2006
33.	Samia Raheel Qazi (MMAP) and 26 others	The Hudood Laws Effective Enforcement and Protection Bill, 2005	20-09-2005	Disallowed	Disallowed on 03-10-2006
34.	Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q)	The Offence of Zina Enforcement of Hudood (Amendment) 2005	14-10-2005	Admitted	Dropped in the House on 07-02-2006

		Bill, 2005			
35.	Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q)	The Offence of Qazf Enforcement of Hudood (Amendment) Bill, 2005	14-10-2005	Admitted	Dropped in the House on 08-03-2007
36.	Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q)	The Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2005 (Articles 73 and 80)	14-10-2005	Admitted	Dropped in the House on 12-09-2006
37.	Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q)	The Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2005 (Insertion of New Articles 40-A)	14-10-2005	Admitted	Dropped in the House on 13-02-2007
38.	Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q)	The Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2005 (Amendment in Article 11)	14-10-2005	Admitted	Dropped in the House on 08-05-2007
39.	Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q)	The Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2005 (Amendment in Article 8)	14-10-2005	Admitted	Dropped in the House on 12-09-2006
40.	Beelum Hasnain (PPPP)	The Federal Public Service Commission Bill, 2005	15-10-2005	Admitted	Dropped in the House on 12-09-2006
41.	Samina Khalid Ghurki (PPPP)	The Service Tribunals (Amendment) Bill, 2005	25-10-2005	Admitted	Introduced on 06-12-05
42.	Beelum Hasnain (PPPP)	The Pakistan Bait-ul-Mall (Amendment) Bill, 2005	08-11-2005	Admitted	Dropped in the House on 12-09-2006
43.	Samia Raheel Qazi (MMA) and 16 others	The Protection of Serving Women Bill, 2005	15-11-2005	Admitted	Introduced on 07-02-2006
44.	Dr. Farida Ahmad Siddiqui (MMA) and 14 others	The Dowry and Bridal Gifts Restriction Bill, 2005	15-11-2005	Admitted	Introduced on 07-02-2006

Out of the total 44 private members bills moved by women, 36 were admitted by the National Assembly Secretariat; 5 were disallowed at the initial stage; and 3 were held for being 'under process'. Of the 36 bills that had been admitted, 15 were laid before the House and the rest were dropped/disallowed/deferred for different reasons. The bills that had been introduced in the House were placed before the elected members after huge delays from the time these were actually submitted.

A majority of private members bills moved by women legislators, i.e. 24 out of 44, were directly related to women's rights issues. General focus has been to legislate for uplifting women's status and end grave discriminations against them.

Ms. Sherry Rehman and Ms. Kashmala Tariq moved the highest number of private members' bills, 7 each, during the year, followed by Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi, who moved 6 bills. Ms. Mehnaz Rafi and Ms. Beelum Hasnain moved 5 bills each, and Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki moved 4 bills.

Among important bills moved during the third year were: the Equality of Opportunity for Women Employment Bill, 2005; the Prevention of Domestic Violence Bill, 2005; and the Hudood Laws (Repeal) Bill, 2005, moved by Ms. Sherry Rehman; the Family Courts (Amendment) Bill, 2004, the Offence of Zina Enforcement of Hudood (Amendment) Bill, 2005, and the Offence of Qazf Enforcement of Hudood (Amendment) Bill, 2005 by Ms. Kashmala Tariq; the Pakistan Citizenship (Amendment) Bill, 2005 (twice moved), the Establishment of the Office of Wafaqi Woman Motasib Bill, 2005, the Senior Citizens Bill, 2005, by Ms. Mehnaz Rafi; the Protection of Serving Women Bill, 2005 (twice moved), the Inheritance for Women Bill, 2005, the Economic Stability of Women Bill, 2005, the Hudood Laws Effective Enforcement and Protection Bill, 2005, by Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi.

Other bills of significant nature for women were: the Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill, 2005, and the Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Bill, 2005, by Ms. Beelum Hasnain; the Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill, 2005, by Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki; the Prohibition of Marriage with the Holy Quran Bill, 2005, and the Dowry and Bridal Gifts Restriction Bill, 2005, by Dr. Farida Ahmad Siddiqui; and the Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 2005, Ms. Rubina Saadat Qaimkhwani.

On 8 March 2005, bills for amendment in Pakistan Penal Code (PPC) and Code of Criminal Procedure (CrCP), already moved by Mr M P Bhandara, Ms Mehnaz Rafi, Ms Kashmala Tariq, Ms Mahreen Anwar Raja and Mr Kunwar Khalid Younis, were put on agenda for discussion. However, with the consent of the movers, it was decided that the bills on Pakistan Penal Code (PPC) moved by Mr M P Bhandara, Ms Kashmala Tariq and Ms Mehnaz Rafi would be clubbed together, while other bills would be discussed separately.

On 19 April 2005, the three bills by Ms Mehnaz Rafi, Ms Kashmala Tariq and Mr M P Bhandara were clubbed together into one i.e. 'The Pakistan Penal Code (Amendment) Bill, 2005' and the same was moved for leave by Ms Mehnaz Rafi. Despite the fact that all the three movers belonged to majority party in the government, the consensus could not be created. The House, thus, refused the leave to introduce the bill.

3.6. Space for participation: issues and biases:

Although there was some positive change in the Speaker's attitude towards accommodating women legislators during the House proceedings, it did not improve to the extent that there were no complaints in this regard; and such complaints about the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker for ignoring women legislators continued to echo even during the third parliamentary year. One such instance of this discriminatory practice has been:

Mukhtaran Mai – Listen! It is not a Point of Order

Raja Pervaiz Ashraf (PPPP), Mr. Liaqat Baloch (MMA) and Ms. Naheed Khan (PPPP) wanted to raise the issue of Mukhtaran Mai on Points Of Order, on 7 March 2005. After listening to Raja Pervaiz Ashraf and Mr Liaqat Baloch, the Speaker said that such issues could not be discussed on Points of Order. He, however, didn't allow Ms. Naheed Khan at all, arguing it was not a Point of Order. This turned into an argument between Ms. Khan and Mr. Speaker. The Speaker said that Ms. Khan had addressed the Chair in a 'rude' manner. He asked Ms. Khan and other women members, who stood in her support, to 'Sit Down'. At this, Syed Khursheed Shah intervened and asked the Speaker to show patience and respect for women members. All the women members from the opposition walked out in protest, and so did the male members from the opposition on the call of Nawab Muhammad Yousuf Talpur. The Mukhtaran Mai's issue, however, was not allowed for discussion. 7 March 2005.

(See original debate dated 7 March 2005 in Chapter Five)

Following the practice of putting one woman legislator on the list of 'Panel of Chairmen', which started in the second parliamentary year after the issue was pointed out by Ms. Zeb Gohar Ali, the Speaker nominated following women legislators for the 'Penal of Chairmen': Ms Shakila Khanam Rashid, Begum Ishrat Ashraf, Begum Bushra Rehman, Ms Asiya Nasir, Ms Zeb Gohar Ali Ayub and Ms Mehnaz Rafi.

Lack of interest from treasury benches: On 18 March 2005, Ms. Tahmina Daultana, on a Point of Order, complained to the Speaker that the ministers and parliamentary secretaries did not take the question hour seriously and remained absent from the House. There were several instances when even the treasury members did not bother to attend the House proceedings.

3.7. Women's rights issues raised by men parliamentarians:

In the third parliamentary year, prominent male members of the National Assembly who stood in support of their women colleagues included: Mr. Raja Pervaiz Ashraf, Mr. Kunwar Khalid Yunus, Mr. M P Bhandara, Ch Aitzaz Ahsan, Syed Nayyar Hussain Bukhari, Mr. Mehmood Khan Achakzai, Mr Gayan Chand Singh, Mr Liaquat Baloch and Hafiz Hussain Ahmed

On 7 March 2005, Mr. Raja Pervaiz Ashraf and Mr. Liaquat Baloch, along with their women colleagues, on Point of Order raised the issue of providing protection to Mukhtara Mai. They argued that the culprits in Mukhtaran Mai case had been released and they could harm her. The Speaker, however, didn't allow the discussion.

Mr. M. P. Bhandara moved two bills i.e. 'The Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 2005' and 'The Prohibition of Marriages with the Holy Quran Bill 2005' on 8 March and 13 September respectively. Mr Kunwar Khalid Yunus, while on a Point of Order on 19 April, requested the Speaker that his bill 'The Prohibition (Enforcement of Hadd) (Amendment) Bill 2005' should be put on the agenda.

These MNAs also raised the issue of kidnapping and gang rape of a college student, Nazish, in Sialkot on 3 February 2005, and kidnapping, rape and killing of 4 minor girls from Gujranwala; preventing women from casting vote in local government elections in 30 UCs in NWFP; violence against women in Gujranwala, attacking their marathon race; police baton-charge on OPF girl students demanding graduation degrees.

4. Fourth Parliamentary Year (16 November 2005 to 15 November 2006)

Women parliamentarians' participation in the National Assembly proceedings during the fourth parliamentary year showed consistency with the third year both in terms of participation in the debates, as well as, in number of overall interventions. It also showed marked improvement in terms of substance, i.e. issues they raised at the floor of the House. .

4.1. Overall participation in the proceedings by women parliamentarians:

During the fourth parliamentary year, 51 women parliamentarians took part in the regular business of the House and altogether made 1044 interventions which are nearly equal or little less than the number of interventions made by them during the third year (1159). In total, they submitted 16 Calling Attention Notices, asked 799 Questions (427 as Starred questions, 285 as Un-starred questions while 87 were asked as Supplementary questions), raised 80 Points of Order and brought 15 motions on the whole (including Privilege Motions, Adjournment Motions). They also moved 29 Private Members Bills. Women parliamentarians' contribution to general debates on important national issues was listed as 105 interventions.

Table 20
Number and Types of Overall Interventions: Fourth Year (2005-06)

Stared Questions	427
Un-starred Questions	285
Supplementary Questions	87
Debates	105
Point of Orders	80
Calling Attention Notices	16
Privilege & Adjournment Motions	15
Private Members Bills	29
Total Interventions	1044

This year Ms Samia Raheel Qazi made the highest number of interventions i.e. 100, while Ms Yasmin Rehman made 90, Ms Fauzia Wahab and Ms Bushra Rehman, both made 72 interventions each, Ms Samina Khalid Ghurki 50, Ms Robina Saadat Qaimkhwani and Dr Farida Ahmed made 48 interventions each.

Top Five Positions in Overall Performance: Fourth Year (2005-06)

1	Samia Raheel Qazi (MMA)	100 initiatives
2	Yasmin Rehman (PPPP)	90 initiatives
3	Fauzia Wahab (PPPP) Bushra Rehman (PML-Q)	72 initiatives 72 initiatives
4	Samina Khalid Ghurki (PPPP)	50 initiatives
5	Robina Sadat Qaimkhwani (PPPP) Dr Farida Ahmed (MMA)	48 initiatives 48 initiatives

Ms Nafisa Munawar Raja and Ms Ishrat Ashraf made 45 interventions each, Ms Mehnaz Rafi (44), Ms Rukia Khamum (36), Ms Inaayat Begum (34), Ms Jamila Ahmed (33), Ms Naheed Khan (28), Ms Shamshad Sattar Bachani (26), Ms Bilqees Saif (26), Ms Shakeela Khanum Rashif (22), Ms Kaniz Aisha Muhawar (20), Dr Azra Fazal Pechuho (17).

Mr. Farhana Khalid Banoori, Ms Sherry Rehman, Ms Aisha Munawar, Ms Khalida Mohsin Qureshi, Ms Tahmina Daultana, Ms Mahreen Anwar Raja, Dr Rozina Tufail, Ms Asia Nasir, Ms Gul-e-Farkhanda, Ms Robina Shaheen Watoo, Ms Shagufta Jumani, Ms Tahira Asif Ali, Ms Razia Aziz and Ms Bushra Rehman made interventions ranging from 6 to 15.

Although the number of women parliamentarians, who participated in the House's proceedings during the fourth year remained almost the same as in the third year, however, the level of their participation changed significantly from low to high rate. The women parliamentarians who were less active during previous years became more vocal and participatory in the fourth year. This shows how fast they were gaining experience and learning rules and procedures to express themselves through questions, points of order, calling attention notices resolutions, motions or bills.

4.2. Issues raised by women parliamentarians:

The substance of women parliamentarians' interventions in the fourth parliamentary year, as well as, in the previous year (2004-05), illustrated that they had a good lot of public issues to be discussed on the floor of the House, in addition to a host of issues related to women's rights and their welfare.

- **On women's rights**

Some of the issues raised by women members of the National Assembly which were of direct concern to women included: funds provided by foreign countries for technical education of women? vehicles donated by M/o Women's development; Pakistani women shall have the right to get their husbands registered as Pakistani citizens (Mehnaz Rafi had once submitted a bill for that in the National Assembly which was opposed in the Standing Committee); proposal to put father's name on women NICs? useless advertisement by M/o Women's Development; projects for betterment of women in rural areas; welfare project for women in District Okara; funds allocated to the Women Health Project; non-availability of seats for ladies on local transport; details of National Fund for Advancement of Rural Women; number of tours undertaken by women MNAs from NWFP; welfare of imprisoned women; funds from ADB for women health projects in last two years.

Reserved vs. general seats for women – call for party quotas

On 7 February 2006, Dr. Rozina Tufail (PML-Q), on a point of order, raised the issue of discrimination against the women MNAs elected on reserved seats compared to women MNAs elected through general seats. She said that women on reserved seats 'have a feeling and they are made to feel that they are less important than women who come in on general seats, and even in cabinet, the issue is raised that these women have not been elected'. She appreciated

that there had been a change in terms of social acceptability of women's rights, including change in male behaviour. She called for change in law to make it mandatory for political parties to allocate a certain percentage of general seats for women; so that they could come to House as elected members, in the manner the other members were elected. She pleaded that women then would have no complex and nor male parliamentarians would have any grudge about female members that they should be given less 'development funds'. She said

(See original debate dated 7 February 2006 in Chapter Five)

Women MNAs also particularly raised issues about working women or women in employment, such as: technical support for women in National Vocational Training Centres; women working in Police department in ICT; day care centres for working women's children; skill development training for women in the country; hospital for working women in Islamabad; steps during the last three years to provide a harassment-free environment to women employees; total number of women in police in Islamabad; gender-wise break up of recruitment in ICT police during 2005-06; skill development centres for women in earthquake zone; and termination of 'overtime' condition for women workers.

Discrimination against women in the Citizenship Act – demand for equality

On 24 August 2006, Ms. Yasmin Rehman, through a supplementary question, raised the issue that "if Pakistani men have the right to get their foreign spouse registered as the citizen of Pakistan, why women do not have such provision". Dr. Sher Afgan Niazi, Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, responded that the law did not allow the right to women. Ch. Aitzaz Ahsan and Khawaja Muhammad Asif argued in favour of ending this discrimination against women on the 'right to citizenship'. Ch. Aitzaz Ahsan gave precedence from the past that in 1989, when he was Minister for Interior, he dealt with a case of two women petitioners, brought about by an MQM member of the National Assembly, who wanted to get citizenship for their husbands. Ms. Mehnaz Rafi, during the discussion reminded the Chair that she had already submitted a bill to end this discrimination against women. The bill was, however, rejected by the Standing Committee on Interior twice.

(See original debate dated 24 August 2006 in Chapter Five)

4.3. Resolutions moved by women parliamentarians:

No resolution was moved by any woman MNA, nor was there any resolution dealing with women's right issues among the total 7 private members' resolutions moved and passed during the fourth parliamentary year.

4.4. Bills moved by government on women's rights issues:

On 15 November 2006, the National Assembly passed the official bill 'The Protection of Women (Criminal Laws Amendment) Bill, 2006, moved by the government on 21 August 2006. The bill carried 29 amendments in two of the Hudood Ordinances (the Offences of Zina and Qazf

Ordinances). Some of its salient features were: it separated the Hadd and Tazir offences/punishments in the above two ordinances; rape (zina-bil-jabr) was also separated from fornication/adultery and shifted to the PPC from the Zina Ordinance; however, the offence of fornication (all sex outside marriage) was inserted in the PPC as separate sections (496B & 496C) with imprisonment up to five years and fine up to ten thousands rupees; procedure for complaint of zina & qazf changed; and simultaneous imposition of qazf made possible.

Table 21

Government Bills Moved & Passed on Women's Rights Issues: Fourth Year (2005-06)

Short Title of the Bill	Introduced on	Report of the Standing Committee presented on	Passed on	Final Status
The Protection of Women (Criminal Laws Amendment) Bill, 2006	21-08-06 Referred to Select Committee	Report of Select Committee Presented on 04-09-06	15-11-06	(Became Act) VI of 2006

When Mr. Wasi Zafar, Minister for Law, Justice and Human Rights, introduced the bill on 21 August 2006, Raja Pervaiz Ashraf from PPPP, on a point of order, complained that PPPP was the first to submit a similar bill three years back which was, however, never put on the agenda of the House. He also complained that the government had not circulated the current bill among the Assembly members for review. In order to create consensus on the proposed bill, he suggested that both the bills should be sent to a broad-based Select Committee, comprising members from the opposition as well as the treasury benches.

Makhdoom Amin Fahim, PPPP, supported the suggestion that the bills should be discussed in a larger 'Select Committee' for a consensus. Ch. Nisar Ali Khan, PML-N, also expressed similar concerns. In the meanwhile, the MMA members, as a protest against the government's will to bulldoze the legislation, tore off the copies of the bill. This followed a heated debate – all among the men parliamentarian, the Speaker, Raja Pervez Ashraf, Makhdoom Amin Fahim, Ch Nisar Ali Khan, Mr Muneer Khan Orakzai (FATA), Ch Shujaat Hussain, Ch Aitzaz Ahsan, Mr Liaqat Baloch, M Ijaz-ul-Haq (Minister for Religious Affairs), Hafiz Hussain Ahmed, Mr Muhammad Ali Durani, Sahibzada Haji Muhammad Fazal Karim, Dr Amir Liaqat Hussain (State Minister for Religious Affairs), Mr Mahmood Khan Achakzai and Mr Wasi Zafar. The bill was finally referred to a Select Committee of the National Assembly amid an uproar and loud protest by the MMA. The PML-Q and its coalition partners, as well as, a mainstream opposition party, the PPPP, participated in the Select Committee deliberations, whereas the MMA and the PML-N boycotted its proceedings. The Select Committee discussed the Bill for about two weeks and presented its report to the National Assembly on 4 September 2006. The MMA, at this stage, threatened to resign from the Assemblies, if the bill was passed. President PML-Q Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain entered into negotiations with the MMA over the bill, and a so-called 'ulema committee' was formed with mutual consensus between the PML-Q and MMA to see if the Bill contained anything repugnant to Islam. The 'ulema Committee' gave some suggestions for incorporation in the bill. The PPPP and the MQM rejected any outside-the-Parliament parleys on the Bill and termed the formation of the 'ulema committee' a violation of the constitutional

privilege of the Select Committee. Civil society organizations, while articulating their long-standing demand for the total repeal of the Hudood Ordinances, said that they would accept the bill passed by the Select Committee with strong reservations. They described the bill as inadequate and discriminatory in several areas. The bill was finally brought on the agenda of the National Assembly on 15 November, 2006, and was approved through a voice vote the same day, with the ruling party and its coalition partners (MQM and others), as well as, the PPPP and the PKMAP voting for it and none against it; the MMA boycotted the proceedings and the PML-N abstained from voting. The bill also got passed by the Senate on 23 November, 2006, and the President gave his assent on 1 December, 2006, making it a law, immediately enforceable.

Debate on Protection of Women (Amendment) Bill, 2006 – the ideological divide

When the Protection of Women (Criminal Laws Amendment) Bill, 2006, came on the agenda, on 15 November, 2006, for consideration of the House with the report of the Select Committee, it had a long and perhaps the most substantive debate in the National Assembly in an ideological context. Several MMA parliamentarians, including Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Laiquat Baloch, Maulana Abdul Ghafoor Haideri, Maulana Abdul Malik Wazir, Mr. Farid Ahmed Paracha, Mr. Laiq Ahmed Khan, Hafiz Hussain Ahmed and Mr. Asadullah Bhutto, spoke against the bill at length. Two women parliamentarians, Dr. Farida Ahmed and Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi, also spoke on the bill strongly condemning and rejecting it. From the PPPP side, only Ms. Sherry Rehman took part in the debate and supported the bill. The MQM parliamentary leader, Dr. Farooq Sattar also made a long speech in the favour of the bill. From the treasury benches, the Law Minister Mr. Wasi Aafar and Minister for Parliamentary Affairs Dr. Sher Afgan continued to defend the bill on various occasions. Ms. Kashmala Tariq and Ms. Shehnaz Sheikh from the ruling PML-Q made small interventions, also to defend the bill. PML-N MNA Khawja Saad Rafiq and Sahibzada Haji Mohammed Fazal Karim spoke against the bill. In the end, President PML-Q Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain and Prime Minister Mr. Shakat Aziz participated in the debate and defended the bill.

(See original debate dated 15 November 2006 in Chapter Five)

(Only two speeches – by Dr. Farida Ahmed (MMA) and Ms. Sherry Rehman (PPPP) – are being reproduced here due to space limitations)

4.5. Private Members Bills moved by women parliamentarians:

Women parliamentarians moved 29 private members' bills during the fourth year, quite less than the number of bill they moved in the previous year. Out of the total 29 private members bills moved by women, 25 were admitted, however, only 15 were introduced eventually in the House. Rest of the bills were dropped, disallowed, deferred or returned due to refusal of the grant to leave in the House being opposed by the government or for any other reason.

Table 22
Private Members Bills Moved by Women Parliamentarians: Fourth Year (2005-06)

14.	Rubina Shaheen Wattoo (IND)	The Muslim Family Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2006	24-06-2006	Admitted	Dropped in the House on 13-02-2007
15.	Rubina Shaheen Wattoo (IND)	The Pakistan Bait-ul-Mal (Amendment) Bill, 2006	24-06-2006	Admitted	Introduced on 12-09- 2006
16.	Rubina Shaheen Wattoo (IND)	The Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Bill, 2006	24-06-2006	Admitted	Introduced on 12-09- 2006
17.	Samina Khalid Ghurki (PPPP)	The Pakistan Postal Services Management Board (Amendment) Bill, 2006	15-07-2006	Admitted	Introduced on 12-09-2006
18.	Samina Khalid Ghurki (PPPP)	The Agricultural Pesticides (Amendment) Bill, 2006	15-07-2006	Admitted	Introduced on 08-05-2007
19.	Begum Ishrat Ashraf (PML-N)	The Cantonments (Amendment) Bill, 2006	21-07-2006	Admitted	Dropped in the House on 12-09-2006
20.	Begum Ishrat Ashraf (PML-N)	The House Building Finance Corporation (Amendment) Bill, 2006	21-07-2006	Admitted	Dropped in the House on 12-09- 2006
21.	Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q)	The Offense of Zina (Enforcement of Hadd) (Amendment) Bill, 2006	20-07-2006	Admitted	Introduced on 08-08-2006
22.	Begum Ishrat Ashraf (PML-N)	The Parliamentary Supervision of Subordinate Legislation Bill, 2006	17-08-2006	Admitted	Dropped in House on 08-05-2007
23.	Shakeela Khanam Rasheed (PPPP)	The Boded Labour system (Abolition) (Amendment) Bill, 2006	17-08-2006	Admitted	Dropped in House on 08-05-2007
24.	Yasmeen Rehman (PPPP) and 4 others	The Drugs (Second Amendment) Bill, 2006	31-08-2006	Admitted	Introduced on 08-05-2007
25.	Yasmeen Rehman (PPPP) and 10 others	The Control of Viral Diseases Transferred via Blood Production Bill, 2006	05-09-2006	Admitted	Introduced on 08-05-2007
26.	Asiya Nasir and 2 other MNAs)	The Constitution	08-09-2006	Admitted	Dropped in 2006

	(MMAP)	(Amendment) Bill, 2006 (Articles 51 and 59)			House on 13-02-2007
27.	Yasmeen Rehman (PPPP) and 11 others	The Compulsory School Attendance Bill, 2006	11-09-2006	Admitted	Introduced on 08-05-2007
28.	Mehreen Anwar Raja (PPPP) and 3 others	The Pakistan Penal Code (Amendment) Bill, 2006	18-09-2006	Admitted	Introduced on 08-05-2007
29.	Syeda Farhana Khalid Banoori (MMAP) and 14 others	The Pakistan Pharmacy Council, Bill 2006		Admitted	Dropped in House on 13-02-2007

Of the total 29 bills moved, 12 had direct concern with women's rights issues, from the perspective of the movers' or party the belonged. The table above shows that women parliamentarians were confidently moving legislation on issues of public importance as well as on governance and constitutional issues.

Domestic violence against women – face-to-face in the House

Some of the private members bills, when tabled before the House actually created a storm. In particular the bill on domestic violence against women moved by Ms. Sherry Rehman, gave a jolt to the conservative and feudal lobby in the House and a heated debate took place on its admissibility. This happened on 8 August 2006, when Ms. Sherry Rehman's bill on 'domestic violence came on the agenda. She had moved this bill on 3 March 2005. A long and acrimonious debate took place after Dr. Sher Afgan Niazi, Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, termed the bill as 'against Shariah', while indirectly justifying wife bashing. Chaudhry Aitzaz Ahsan and Mr. Nayyar Hussain Bukhari intervened to defend the bill and repudiate the views expressed by Dr. Sher Afgan. Even Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi urged Dr. Sher Afgan not to wrongly interpret Quran. At one stage, Mr. Laiquat Baloch uttered some words which infuriated almost all women parliamentarians and the House witnessed a pandemonium soon afterwards. A number of women MNAs stood up from their seats and started protesting. Mr. Laiquat Baloch took back his words and apologized to women parliamentarians, saying that he regretted if his words had offended anybody. In the meantime, however, Maulana Abdul Malik read a verse from the Holy Quran and made some remarks about beating of women. Women parliamentarians at this point gathered in front of the Speaker's dais in protest and remained standing there for quite sometime as proceedings of the House continued. Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi favoured the admissibility of the bill and Ms. Mehnaz Rafi suggested that Ms. Sherry's bill could be clubbed with her own bill on the same subject. Later, both the bills were introduced in the House.

(See original debate dated 8 August 2006 in Chapter Five)

Ms. Mehnaz Rafi also moved a bill “the Offense of Qazf (Enforcement of Hadd) (Amendment) Bill, 2006”, to reform the Qazf Ordinance. In the meantime, Ms. Kashmala Tariq brought to amend another Hudood Ordinance, through a bill titled “the Offence of Zina (Enforcement of Hadd) (Amendment) Bill, 2006”.

In the same context, MMA women legislators moved several bills including: the Family (Stability and Protection) Bill, 2006; the Women Protection Bill, 2006; the Women Honour Bill, 2006, by Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi; and two by Dr. Farida Ahmad Siddiqui, namely, the Offence of Qazf (Enforcement of Hadd) (Amendment) Bill, 2005, and the Offence of Zina (Enforcement of Hudood) (Amendment) Bill, 2005.

Two bills on Muslim family laws namely, “the Muslim Family Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2006”, by Aisha Munawar and Ms. Inayat Begum were moved in the fourth year; and one with the same title was moved by Ms. Rubina Shaheen Wattoo. Ms. Shakeela Khanam Rasheed also moved an important bill called “the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) (Amendment) Bill, 2006”.

4.6. Space for participation - issues and constraints:

Question Hour was suspended by the Speaker or the Deputy Speaker, many a times during the full tenure of the Assembly. However, it were mostly women parliamentarian who raised strong concerns over the suspension of Question Hour. On 30 August 2006, Ms Nafisa Munawar Raja complained that Question Hour was given less time and hence less significance. Most of the Hour is spent on Points of Order. She also said that the ministers and parliamentary secretaries did not take the questions seriously, and therefore, most of the public issues were ignored.

In the fourth parliamentary year, the set pattern of usually having one woman and three men legislators on the ‘Panel of Chairmen’ witnessed some irregularities. For example, no woman legislator was put on the panel during the 33rd session of the Assembly. For the 38th Session, however, two women members, Ms Shakila Khanum and Dr Noor Jahan Panezai, were put on the Panel of Chairmen along with two men legislators. For a total of 8 sessions during the fourth parliamentary year, only four women could avail opportunity to serve on the ‘Panel of Chairmen’. Dr Noor Jahan Panezai was selected for the panel thrice; among other members who performed this role included Ms Farzeen Ahmed Sarfraz, Ms Tahira Asif and Ms Mahreen Anwar Raja while Ms Shakila Khanum Rashid shared the responsibility with Dr Panezai during the 38th session.

4.7. Women’s rights issues raised by men parliamentarians:

On 5 May 2006, Sardar Bahadur Khan Sihar, through a Calling Attention Notice, demanded the government to take serious note of the discrimination against women councilors in District Dir, who were barred from their right to participate in the election of District and Tehsil Assemblies of Dir. On 15 November 2006, Dr Farooq Sattar and Ch. Shujaat Hussain took part in the discussion over the ‘The Protection of Women (Criminal Laws Amendment) Bill, 2006’ and supported its passage as a law. On 7 February 2006, Mr Kunwar Khalid Younus introduced a motion for the bill, ‘The Offence of Qazf (Amendment) Bill, 2005’, which was adopted after voting.

5. Fifth Parliamentary Year (16 November 2006 to 15 November 2007)

Compared to the previous years, the fifth and the last parliamentary year (2006-07) of the 12th National Assembly hosted the least number of sessions i.e. only 6 sessions, of which 43rd session lasted only for three days while the 44th was a single-day session called only to pass resolution in support of the emergency, imposed by Chief of Army Staff General Pervez Musharaf on 3 November 2007. The decrease in number of sessions obviously affected the quantum of women's interventions. However, on an average it remained almost the same as in the third and fourth years considering the number of sessions held.

5.1. Overall participation in the proceedings by women parliamentarians:

During the fifth parliamentary year, 50 women members took part in the regular business of the House and made 859 interventions which are around 82% of the number of interventions made during the fourth parliamentary year (1044). In total, they submitted 18 Calling Attention Notices, put 682 Questions (423 as Starred Questions, 175 as Un-starred while 84 were asked as Supplementary Questions), raised 72 Points of Order and brought 15 motions on the whole (including Privilege Motions, Adjournment Motions), and moved 17 Private Members Bills. Women members participated in the national debates on 50 occasions.

Table 23
Number and Types of Overall Interventions: Fifth Year (2006-07)

Supplementary Questions	84
Starred Questions	423
Un-starred Questions	175
Debates	50
Point of Orders	72
Calling Attention Notices	18
Privilege & Adjournment Motions	15
Private Members Bills	17
Resolutions	05
Total Interventions	859

The group of women legislators, which remained active since the second or the third year of the National Assembly, again dominated the rankings for the fifth year in overall parliamentary performance with Ms. Yasmin Rehman on top with the highest number of 84 interventions, followed by Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi (67), Ms. Beelam Hasnain (61), Ms. Fauzia Wahab (56), Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki (53), Ms. Shakeela Khanum Rashid (51) and Ms. Inayat Begum with 46 interventions.

Top Five Women Parliamentarians in Overall Performance: Fifth Year (2006-07)

1	Yasmin Rehman (PPPP)	84 initiatives
2	Samia Raheel Qazi (MMA)	67 initiatives
3	Beelum Hasnain (PPPP)	62 initiatives
4	Fauzia Wahab (PPPP)	56 initiatives
5	Samina Khalid Ghurki (PPPP)	53 initiatives

Ms Farhana Khalid Banoori made 41 interventions, Ms Mehnaz Rafi (36), Ms Nafisa Munawar Raja (35), Ms Shamshad Sattar Bachani (25), Ms Bilqees Saif (24), Dr Azra Fazal Pechuho (24), Ms Mahreen Anwar Raja (24), Ms Kaniz Aysha Muhawar (22), Ms Jamila Ahmed (23) and Ms Ishrat Ashraf made 19 interventions.

The overall interventions by Dr Farida Ahmed, Ms Ruqia Khamum, Ms Shagufta Jumani, Ms Robina Saadat Qaimkhwani, Ms Tahmina Daultana, Ms Sherry Rehman, Ms Naheed Khan, Ms Nasim Akhtar Chaudhry, Ms Razia Aziz, Ms Gul-e-Farkhandaa and Ms Aysha Munawar ranged between 7 to 15. The rest of 23 women legislators intervened for 1 to 5 times.

5.2. Issues raised by women parliamentarians:

- **On women's rights**

Overwhelming focus of questions being asked by women legislators remained on women's rights issues, mostly towards their situation in general and betterment in particular. The issues which were asked by women parliamentarians included: appointment of Lady Drug Controller in NIH; development projects for destitute women; number of girls kidnapped in Islamabad during July – December 2006; funds spent for the development of women during 2006-07; any proposal to include women in the PMDC council; total number of women victims of stove burning recovered, can't work; construction of Ladies Club in F-9 Park Islamabad; health projects for women and children; Cases of women harassment registered against police officials in ICT during 2005-07; grant provided by JICA/Government of Japan during last five years, etc. The content of a significant number of these interventions indicated that one purpose, among many, behind these interventions was to collect quality information on the issues.

- **On general issues of national & public importance**

Women parliamentarians also shifted their focus from specific women's rights issues to the issues of larger public interest and asked questions as well as moved amendment bills on health, freedom of information, environment protection, marriage functions and agriculture issues etc. Usually women members, being from different constituencies and associated with different political parties, put different set of question on similar issues. However, there were instances when the members put similar type of questions on same national issue. For example, Ms Nafisa Munawar Raja, Ms Fauzia Wahab, Ms Samia Raheel Qazi and Ms Shakeela Khanum on different occasions put similar question on the trade volume between Pakistan and foreign countries.

5.3. Resolutions moved by women parliamentarians:

There were two private members' resolutions by women legislators and one government resolution on women's rights issues during the fifth parliamentary year. The government resolution was moved by Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar, Minister for Tourism, on 23 February 2007 to "condemn the brutal killing of Mrs. Zil-e-Huma Usman, Minister for Social Welfare, Government of Punjab". On the same day, Ms. Aisha Munawar moved a resolution to "condemn terrorism in Bajor, Domadola and Waziristan resulting in killing of women". On 31 July 2007, Ms. Mehnaz Rafi moved a resolution calling upon the government to "commemorate struggles of Madr-e-Millat Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah, in connection with freedom of Muslims of India, on her 114th anniversary". All resolutions were adopted by the House.

Speedy justice and eradication of poverty – speaking for all

Two more resolutions, moved by women legislators could not be passed by the House, although both were allowed to be tabled before the members. One was moved by Ms. Beelum Hasnain, on 9 October 2007, on 'inexpensive and speedy justice to the citizens'; and the other, by Ms. Yasmeen Rehman, on the 'eradication of poverty in the country', the same day. The first resolution had a brief reply from the concerned minister, however, Ms. Yasmeen Rehman, made a long speech while presenting the resolution.

(See original debate dated 9 October 2007 in Chapter Five)

5.4. Bills moved by government on women's rights issues:

There was no official legislation by the government during the fifth year on any issue directly dealing with women's rights or their immediate concerns.

5.5. Private Members Bills moved by women parliamentarians:

Women parliamentarians moved 17 private members bills during the fifth year, quite significantly less than the number in previous years, with may be the reason that the Assembly also met for much less days than in all the previous years, i.e. only for 83 working days (57 actual days) as compared to an average of 130 working days in the four preceding years.

Table 24
Private Members Bills Moved by Women Parliamentarians: Fifth Year (2006-07)

3.	Sayed Farhana Khalid Banoori (MMA) and 18 others	The Allopathic System (Prevention of Misuse) (Amendment) Bill, 2006	28-11-2006	Admitted	Introduced on 08-05-2007
4.	Dr. Azra Afzal Pechuho (PPPP) and 6 others	The Child Labour and Shelterless Children (Protection from	08-02-2007	-----	Returned to MNA

16.	Samia Raheel Qazi (MMA) and 10 others	The Criminal Law (Amendment) (Protection of Women) (Repeal) Bill, 2007	30-07-2007	Under Process	Member resigned
17.	Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q)	The National Commission for Human Rights Bill, 2007 (Amendment) Bill, 2007	07-11-2007	Under Process	
7.	Sayeda Farhana Khalid Banoori (MMA) and 19 others	The Pakistan Pharmacy Council, Bill 2007	19-02-2007	Admitted	Introduced on 08-05-2007
8.	Beelum Hasnain (PPP)	The Freedom of Information (Amendment) Bill, 2007	07-03-2007	Admitted	Moved and Deferred on 09-10-2007
9.	Beelum Hasnain (PPP)	The Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2007	07-03-2007	Admitted	Moved and Deferred on 09-10-2007
10.	Rubina Saadat Qaimkhani (PPP) and 4 others	The Injured Persons (Medical Aid) (Amendment) Bill, 2007		Admitted	Introduced on 09-10-2007
11.	Asiya Nasir (MMA)	The Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2007	08-05-2007	Admitted	Member resigned
12.	Sayeda Farhana Khalid Banoori (MMA) and 9 others	The Drugs (Amendment) Bill, 2007	15-05-2007	Admitted	Member resigned
13.	Sayeda Farhana Khalid Banoori (MMA) and 12 others	The Drugs (Amendment) Bill, 2007	15-05-2007	Under Process	Member resigned
14.	Yasmeen Rehman (PPP) and 7 others	The Establishment of Local Education Authority Bill, 2007	13-06-2007	Under Process	Under Process
15.	Asiya Azeem (PML-Q)	The Members of Parliament (Salaries and Allowances) (Amendment) Bill, 2007	13-06-2007	Under Process	Disallowed

Out of the total 17 private members bills moved by women, 10 were admitted by the National Assembly Secretariat; and only 4 were laid before the House before the expiry of the five-year term of the National assembly. There was no significant legislative activity in the fifth year vis-à-vis crucial women's rights issues; and women legislators mostly focused on miscellaneous issues of constitutional amendments and public welfare. However, Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi moved a private bill as the last attempt to get repeal of the Protection of Women Act, 2006, through her “Criminal Law (Amendment) (Protection of Women) (Repeal) Bill, 2007”. Another significant bill moved by Dr. Azra Afzal Pechuho in the fifth year was “the Child Labour and Shelterless Children (Protection from Exploitation) Bill, 2007”.

5.6. Space for participation - issues and constraints:

The Question Hours, which offered a flexible space to women legislators for raising socio-economic and development issues as well as the issues of their constituencies, were frequently suspended or cut short, apparently for lack of time or for some urgent matter. This annoyed the women legislators:

‘Reply Not Received’ – Not as yet!

On 26 April 2007, Ms Nafisa Munawar Raja complained that one hour for the ‘Questions’ was too short to take up the questions properly. Such a short time deprived MNAs to ask supplementary questions which are most of the time due for a comprehensive understanding of the issue. She asked the Chair to either increase the ‘Question Hour’ time or at least decrease the number of questions on daily agenda to a certain limit. She also protested strongly that the Chair ignored the back benchers. Ms Memona Hashmi drew the attention of the Chair towards the matter and contended that the ministers and their parliamentary secretaries shall be prompt to reply questions. She said a lot of their questions were returned un-answered and hence marked as ‘*Reply Not Received*’. Ms. Yasmeen Rehman made a similar complaint on 26 April 2007.

(See original debate dated 26 April 2007 in Chapter Five)

Some other members complained that the concerned ministers and their parliamentary secretaries did not take the ‘Question Hour’ seriously. Ms Mahreen Anwar Raja and Ms Samia Raheel Qazi reacted strongly against the State Minister for Interior when he commented that registration of Afghan refugees’ was a provincial matter and therefore the members shall ‘put fresh question’. The members, however, rejected the argument that the issue was a provincial matter’. They argued that classification of issues as ‘provincial or federal’ was just a lame excuse because federal ministers and parliamentary secretaries were expected to have complete information on issues whether national or provincial. The members also blamed the ministers and their parliamentary secretaries that they did not prepare for the questions.

On 4th May 2008, Ms Bilqis Saif, while on Point of Order, complained that among the questions put on the agenda for discussion, 45 questions were not answered and hence tagged as ‘*Reply*

Not Received. Ms Mehnaz Rafi, also made a similar complaint that one of her question was put on agenda twice but both time it was returned as *'Reply Not Received'*.

Ms Inayat Begum suggested that the long 'answers' which spread over 2-10 pages shall be provided to the members at least one day before the sitting, with the agenda of the House, which would enable the concerned members to prepare for the supplementary questions if they required so.

Panel of Chairmen: During this parliamentary year, the Speaker frequently changed the pattern of 'Panel of Chairmen', but this time in favour of women legislators. For the 39th session, one woman member was put on a 'Panel of four Chairmen', for the 40th session the 'Panel of Chairmen' comprised two women and three men members, whereas for the last four sessions the ratio was set as two women and four men. Women representation in the 'Panel of Chairmen', during the last parliamentary year of the 12th National Assembly, improved noticeably i.e. from 25% to 33.33%. For a total of 6 sessions during the fifth parliamentary year, six women made their way for the prestigious position of the 'Panel of Chairmen', namely, Begum Bushra Rehman, Ms Mahreen Anwar Raja, Ms Shakeela Khanum Rashid, Ms Yasmeen Rehman, Dr Noor Jahan Panezai and Ms Mehnaz Rafi.

Lack of Interest by the Cabinet: The complaint that the cabinet members (advisors, ministers) as well as, parliamentary secretaries and standing committees' chairpersons) did not take interest in 'Business of the House' echoed even during the fifth parliamentary year. On 13 February 2007, Ms. Sherry Rehman, on a Point of Order, made a similar complaint that although the government had the largest cabinet in Pakistan's parliamentary history, not a single minister, advisor, parliamentary secretary or chairperson standing committee was present in the House. Ms Mahreen Anwar Raja and Ms Samia Raheel Qazi, on 26 April 2007, asked the Speaker that the concerned ministers and their parliamentary secretaries did not take the 'Question Hour' seriously and hence remained absent.

5.7. Women's rights issues raised by men parliamentarians:

Ch. Shujaat Hussain moved a private members bill this year titled "the Prevention of Anti-Women Practices Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 2006, with the intent to ban and penalize harmful customary practices against women, such as, marriage with Holy Quran and *vani* etc.

CHAPTER THREE

3. Overall Performance of Women Parliamentarians in the 12th National Assembly in Five Years (2002-2007)

A five-year overview of the quantum of interventions of women parliamentarians in the 12th National Assembly depicts a continuous progress in their level of participation with the passage of each successive year. The number of their interventions, if calculated on a per day average on the basis of actual days in each parliamentary year (as shown in the table below) shows that they have on an average made 10 interventions per day, i.e. they have made an overall 2698 interventions in five years of the National assembly, which actually met for 384 days. This is a quite impressive showing given the political and parliamentary experience they possessed, in addition to the overall tense political climate they had been faced during the tenure of the National Assembly.

Table 25
Number of Interventions and Per Day Average in Five Years (2002-2007)

Parliamentary Year	No. Actual Days	No. of Total Interventions	Per Day Average
1 st	65	142	2.2
2 nd	92	493	5.3
3 rd	81	1160	14.3
4 th	89	1044	11.7
5 th	57	859	15.0
Total	384	3698	9.6

The performance indicators also show that there has been a sudden jump after the first two years and then a consistent pattern sustained at a same level of interventions during the latter years. The lower turnout in the first year's interventions can largely be attributed to the continuous protest from the opposition benches during the first parliamentary. Another factor behind their comparatively low participation during the first two parliamentary years might be their lack of information on 'Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business'. Although the rate of interventions decreased a bit in the fourth parliamentary year, it noticeably improved during the fifth year despite the fact that successive arbitrary decisions by the President General Musharraf during the last months of 2007 almost paralyzed the parliament.

3.1. Overall participation by women parliamentarians in five years:

There have been altogether 2698 interventions by 58 women legislators during the five years' tenure of the 12th National Assembly. As explained earlier, the interventions of women ministers, chairpersons of Standing Committees, parliamentary secretaries, advisors, though recorded and

highlighted in this report, have not been included in the interventions because most of these were official responsibilities.

Among the total of 58 women legislators, who appeared as active participants in this list of overall performance in five years, 28 women legislators, mostly from the opposition benches, made less interventions during the first parliamentary year. This establishes that if the opposition benches were not protesting and boycotting the National Assembly proceedings, the performance of women legislators could have been even greater in the first two year also.

Women legislators made most of their interventions during the ‘Question Hour’ i.e. they asked 2724 questions (which came on the agenda), as far as the number of various types of interventions were concerned. Followed by their interventions through questions, they raised 306 Points of Order; moved 101 Private Members’ Bills; 99 Calling Attention Notices; and 14 Resolutions. They also participated in Debates on 380 occasions

Table 26
Number and Types of Overall Interventions in Five Years (2002-2007)

Interventions	Parliamentary Year					Total
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th	
Questions	80	321	842	799	682	2724
Debates	18	88	119	105	50	380
Points of Order	24	32	98	80	72	306
Calling Attention Notices	13	26	26	16	18	99
Adjournment & Privilege Motions	04	14	21	15	15	69
Private Members Bills	01	10	44	29	17	101
Resolutions	02	01	06	-	05	14
Personal Explanations	-	01	04	-	-	05
Grand Total	142	493	1160	1044	859	3698

3.1.2. Questions asked by women parliamentarians in five years:

As mentioned earlier, the newly-elected women parliamentarians were quickly learning different rules of procedure and conduct of business of the House. They were also learning skills to use all other means available to speak out in the Parliament, particularly through participation in debates. They, however, learned the dynamics of the ‘Question Hour’ and utilized it to the maximum. They asked questions on all national and international issues, from women’s rights to socio-economic and political rights, as well as, on the development issues of their respective areas. They asked questions relating to the problems of the electorate and departmental efficiency in providing services to the citizens. They were also keen in seeking information on government institutions to question and promote transparency and accountability in governance. Some women members consistently put questions for information on number of women working in government departments.

In total, during five years, women members received answers for 2724 of their questions, of which, 808 were dealt with as ‘Starred Questions’, while 1360 were treated as ‘Un-starred Questions’. Supplementary Questions were 556 in number. The answers for the starred-questions were read out by the concerned minister or parliamentary secretary on the floor of the House and the members were allowed to ask ‘Supplementary Questions’ for further clarification. The answers for the un-starred questions were provided only in writing.

Table 27
Total Number of Questions Asked in Five Years (2002-2007)

Sr No.	Type of Intervention	Parliamentary Year					Total
		1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th	
1	Starred Questions	49	99	149	427	84	808
2	Un-starred Questions	16	118	518	285	423	1360
3	Supplementary Questions	15	104	175	87	175	556
	Grand Total	80	321	842	799	682	2724

Women parliamentarians submitted thousands of questions of which many were rejected or disallowed by the Speaker while for a lot of questions the reply was not received. For instance, the data provided in Chapter One revealed that a total number of 47014 questions were asked by all parliamentarians in five years, and 10099 were answered by the government representatives in the House, and a huge number of 27218 questions actually lapsed and 8950 were disallowed.

The data in the table (Table 29) above shows only those questions that had been answered by the treasury benches, i.e. 2725 questions asked by women parliamentarians out of 10099 total questions that were answered. This makes the women’s share of questions at 27% of the total, a significantly higher proportion vis-à-vis their representation in the House.

The highest numbers of questions were asked by Ms. Yasmeen Rehman (286) followed by Ms. Beelum Hasnain (218); Ms. Fauzia Wahab (208); Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi (180); Ms. Inyat Begum (168); Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki (151); Ms. Shakila Khanam Rashid (103), and Ms. Mehnaz Rafi (99).

3.1.3. Participation in debates by women parliamentarians in five years:

Women parliamentarians significantly contributed in ‘debates’ on issues of national importance. Compared to other types of interventions, the participation in debates required to be focused and time-specific, and as such it reflects the experience, command on the subject and the manner of presentation of the person speaking. This is an essential skill of a good parliamentarian. Women legislators took active part in the debates on all major issues, e.g. the 2005 earthquake and rehabilitation issues, the military operation in Balochistan, national foreign policy, privatization, trade, environment, poverty, employment and other issues of national importance. They also took part debates on women’s rights issues through points of order and during the presentation of resolutions and bills. Although, sometimes while participating in debates the political blame-game between the treasury and opposition benches, crept in on several occasions, most of the times women parliamentarians articulated their point of view around the issues quite impressively.

Table 28
Total Number of Debates Participated in Five Years (2002-2007)

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

In total, women members took part in national parliamentary debates on 380 occasions. The year-wise breakdown of these debates shows a notable progress in women's participation in discussion on national issues.

The parliamentarian who took maximum part in parliamentary debates was Ms. Mehnaz Rafi. She participated in debates on 25 times, followed by Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi (21); Ms. Naheed Khan (20); Ms. Fauzia Wahab (18); Ms. Yasmeen Rehman (17); Ms. Sherry Rehman (16); Ms. Bilquees Saif (15) and Ms. Kaniz Aisha Munawar 14 times.

3.1.4. Points of order raised by women parliamentarians in five years:

Among other available means of parliamentarian participation, the 'point of order' also offers wide space to speak out. Technically, point of order is raised for interpretation or enforcement of the Rules of Procedure or such Articles of the Constitution as regulate the business of the Assembly. Because points of order are supposed to be concerned with the business of the House, therefore, these are not required to be submitted in advance, but can be raised during the House proceedings. Members of the National Assembly, men or women, usually utilized the point of order for raising some urgent issue. Although, most of the time the Speaker didn't allow such points of order on technical basis, the members were successful in raising voice on any urgent or specific issue by drawing attention of at least the other members of the House and the media present in the press gallery.

A majority of points of order raised by women members were urgent in nature e.g. condemning the maltreatment of women MNAs and journalists by Punjab Police in Lahore (on 16.4.05), inquiry report about the girl raped in Shahzad Town, Islamabad, food crisis in the country, relief work in earthquake zone in extreme winter etc.

Table 29
Total Number of Points of Order Raised in Five Years (2002-2007)

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

Women parliamentarians raised a total of 306 points of order in five years. The number of points of order raised by women remained low during the first two years i.e. 24 and 32, respectively, however, it increased progressively in the succeeding years, showing their performance level going up steadily through time and experience.

Ms. Naheed Khan made the highest number of interventions through points of order, i.e. on 36 times, followed by Ms. Mehnaz Rafi (31); Ms. Sherry Rehman (17); Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi (16); and Ms. Kashmala Tariq (12).

3.1.5. Calling Attention Notices served by women parliamentarians in five years:

Unlike debates and points of orders, the calling attention notices are required to be submitted in advance through a prescribed procedure. Being a planned intervention, calling attention notice does not carry space for any urgent issue to be dealt with. On the contrary, it accommodates public issues of significant importance and serves the purpose of drawing government's necessary intervention on the issue.

The calling attention notices served by women parliamentarians on which statements were made by the government dealt with important issues like the train accident in Ghotki, spread of 'Bird Flu', increase in petroleum prices, smuggling of children to UAE for camel race, murder of Babar Samson, a Christian religious leader and his assistant in Peshawar, preventing women from casting vote in local government elections in 30 UCs in NWFP, terminating PTCL employees, high airfare by PIA compared to other private airlines etc.

Table 30
Total Number of Calling Attention Notices Served in Five Years (2002-2007)

Type of Intervention	Parliamentary Year					Total
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th	
Calling Attention Notices (responded)	13	26	26	16	18	99

In total, 3157 calling attention notices were submitted in the National Assembly by all parliamentarians, of which 1967 were lapsed, 23 were referred to the concerned standing committees while statements were made only on 329 calling attention notices. Of these 329 calling attention notices, which were responded by the government with a statement, 99 were put by women parliamentarians. As such, women's share in the total calling attention notices, responded by the government stands at 30%, an impressive contribution given their number and experience in the House.

The highest numbers of calling attention notices were put up by Ms. Mehnaz Rafi (15), followed by Ms. Kashmala Tariq, Ms. Sherry Rehman and Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi putting up 6 notices each; and Ms. Fauzia Wahab put 4 calling attention notices.

3.1.6. Resolution moved by women parliamentarians in five years:

Through a resolution, members of the Assembly may express their opinion, make recommendations, call attention and request action by the government on important issues of public interest. The resolution usually accommodates a particular issue of wider dimension possibly with the expectation of general consensus within the House and outside.

In total, women parliamentarians moved 14 resolutions out of 66 resolutions moved in the National Assembly during five years. Of the total 66 resolutions, 20 were government resolutions moved by the ministers, while 46 were private resolutions moved by the private members. Among the 14 resolutions moved by women legislators, 13 were private members resolutions and one was government resolution. Of the 14 resolutions moved by women parliamentarians, 11 were passed and 3 could not be carried by the House.

Table 31
Total Number of Resolutions Moved and Passed in Five Years (2002-2007)

Type of Intervention	Parliamentary Year					Total
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th	
Resolutions (moved/passed)	2	1	6	0	5	14

Women parliamentarians moved resolutions on critical issues concerning women and citizens, e.g. on elimination of ‘honour killing (Ms. Mehnaz Rafi and MR. M. P. Bhandara – it was not passed); on details and implications of World Trade Organisation agreements (Ms. Rozina Tufail); on proper legislation for economic, social, political and legal rights of women (Ms. Mehnaz Rafi); provision of justice for Mai Mukhtaran and Dr. Shazia Khalid (Ms. Mehnaz Rafi); supporting government’s Kashmir policy (Ms. Rozina Tufail); creation of Relief Fund by MNAs for earthquake affectees (Ms. Kashmala Tariq); urging MNAs for collective responsibility for the reconstruction of a specific area in the earthquake affected regions Ms. Mehnaz Rafi); calling for a mandatory three months rescue training for male and female students in all the educational institutions (Ms. Asiya Azeem); condemning the attack on women during their marathon race in Gujranwala on 11 April 2005 (Ms Mehnaz Rafi); condemning the brutal killing of Mrs. Zil-e-Huma Usman, Minister for Social Welfare, Government of Punjab” (officially by Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar, Minister for Tourism); condemning terrorism in Bajor, Domadola and Waziristan resulting in killing of women (Ms. Kaniz Aisha Munawar); calling upon the government to commemorate struggles of Madr-e-Millat Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah, in connection with freedom of Muslims of India, on her 114th anniversary (Ms. Mehnaz Rafi); on inexpensive and speedy justice to the citizens (Ms. Beelum Hasnain – could not be passed); on the eradication of poverty in the country (Ms. Yasmeen Rehman – could not be passed).

Mr. M. P. Bhandara and Ms. Mehnaz Rafi did their best to bring a resolution against ‘honour’ killing (*karokari*) during the first parliamentary year, and though Mr. Bhandara succeeded in reading out this in the House after consistent efforts, it could not go through and was never passed.

Ms. Mehnaz Rafi brought the highest number of resolutions (6) in five years, followed by Ms. Rozina Tufail 2; Ms. Kashmala Tariq, Ms. Asiya Azeem, Ms. Aisha Munawar, Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar, Ms. Yasmeen Rehman and Ms. Beelum Hasnain 1 each.

3.1.7. Private Members’ Bills moved by women parliamentarians in five years:

There was a hectic activity among women parliamentarians to move private members bills, individually, as well as, in collaboration with male and female party colleagues during the five-year tenure of the 12th National Assembly, particularly in the third and following years. Women

parliamentarians moved altogether 100 private members' bills out of a total of 240 private bills moved during the five years. Of these 100 private bills, 1 was moved in the first parliamentary year; 10 in the second year, 44 in the third year; 29 in the fourth year and 16 in the fifth year.

Table 32
Total number of Private Members Bills Moved in Five Years (2002-2007)

Type of Intervention	Parliamentary Year					Total
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th	
Private Members Bills	1	10	44	29	17	101

The increased number of private members bills moved by women during five years showed their enthusiasm and eagerness, growing to the extent of an impatient desire, to quickly do something for women of Pakistan, since they had got an opportunity to do so. This also demonstrated their ability to identify the issue, scrutinise the existing law, decide the proposed content and then to perform the most difficult task, i.e. to draft the bill or get it drafted. The drafting was, and perhaps still is, the most challenging and a technical job for all legislators, including women legislators, considering the unavailability of adequate services at the National Secretariat for the purpose, and almost no such support by the political parties. Women parliamentarians were doing this with their own resources and hard work.

Ironically, the enthusiasm shown by women parliamentarians to get some positive legislation done for women, as well as, to ensure formal equality and wellbeing of citizen, was not reciprocal. This has also been true in the case of all private members bills moved, e.g. a total of 240 private bills were moved during five years and only 70 were introduced in the House; the rest (170) were rejected/disallowed on several grounds.

The same happened to the majority of private members' bills moved by women; firstly these came on the agenda of the House with much delay and, secondly, they were rejected, disallowed, deferred or dropped in the House immediately, and if by any luck, they had been fortunate enough to be introduced, they remained pending with the House for a long time further and finally lapsed. The reality that only one private members' bill was passed out of the total 240 moved in the 12th National Assembly speaks of the parliamentary culture vis-à-vis private members' bills.

Of the 101 private members' bills moved by women parliamentarians, 60 were dropped, disallowed or rejected, and only 40 were laid or introduced before the House. Interestingly, from amongst the overall 70 private bills introduced before the House, women legislators' bills had maximum share i.e. 40 out of 70.

Of these 40 bills, only one private bill, i.e. the Prevention of Domestic Violence Bill, 2005 (moved by Ms. Sherry Rehman) was clubbed with another similar private bill i.e., the Domestic Violence Against Women (Prevention and Protection) Bill, 2006 moved by Ms. Mehnaz Rafi after both were referred to the concerned Standing Committee.

Three women parliamentarian of three different parties shared the record of moving the highest number of private members bill in five years; they were Ms. Sherry Rehman, Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi and Ms. Kashmala Tariq moving 11 bills each, followed by Ms. Mehnaz Rafi and Ms. Beelum Hasnain who moved 8 bills each; Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki moved 6 bills, while Dr. Farida Ahmed, Ms. Yasmeen Rehman, Ms. Farhana Khalid Banoori and Ms. Rubina Saadat Qaimkhwani moved 5 bills each.

Table 33

Women legislators with the Highest Number of Private Members bills in Five Years

	Name of parliamentarian and party	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year	5th Year	Total
1.	Ms. Sherry Rehman (PPPP)	1	2	7	-	1	11
2.	Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi (MMA)	-	1	6	3	1	11
3.	Ms. Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q)	-	2	7	1	1	11
4.	Ms. Mehnaz Rafi (PML-Q)	-	1	5	2	-	8
5.	Ms. Beelum Hasnain (PPPP)	-	-	6	-	2	8
6.	Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki (PPPP)	-	-	4	2	-	6
7.	Dr. Farida Ahmad Siddiqui (MMA)	-	-	3	2	-	5
8.	Ms. Yasmeen Rehman (PPPP)	-	-	-	3	2	5
9.	Syeda Farhana Khalid Banoori (MMA)	-	-	-	1	4	5
10.	Ms. Rubina Saadat QaimKhani (PPPP)	-	-	3	1	1	5

Women MNAs of PPPP had the highest number of private members bills on their credit as they moved 43 bills out of the total of 101 bills; followed by MMA women legislators who moved 30 bills altogether. The PML-Q women legislators moved 25 bills, but this was purely an effort of two of its most active women parliamentarians, Ms. Mehnaz Rafi and Ms. Kashmala Tariq, who moved 19 of the 25 bills. All three private bills of PML-N were moved by its MNA, Begum Ishrat Ashraf.

Table 34

Party-wise Contribution in Private Members Bills in Five Years (2002-2007)

	PPPP	MMA	PML-Q	PML-N	Total
First Year	1	-	-	-	1
Second year	5	1	4	-	10
Third Year	21	10	13	-	44
Fourth Year	9	11	6	3	29
Fifth Year	7	8	2	-	17
Total	43	30	25	3	101

The majority of private members' bills moved by the women legislators were either moved individually, or more often, jointly with other male and female colleagues of their parties. Among various types of interventions or various means of raising issues in the House, the 'Bills' or 'Motions' have a quality distinct from other types i.e. the quality of being a group initiative. Most of the times, the private bills were prepared and moved in groups of women parliamentarians, supported by their men colleagues. Some private bills were also cross-party

initiatives and had members, both male and female, of different parties as the movers. The group initiatives also confirmed or reinforced party position on any specific issue. For example, the following bills moved during the fourth parliamentary year were joint initiatives; however, the main movers were the ones whose name usually came first.

- ‘The Hudood Laws (Repeal) Bill, 2005’ moved by:
Ms Sherry Rehman, Ms Naheed Khan, Ms Shagufta Jumani, Mr Qurban Shah, Ms Beelam Hasnain, Makhdum Shah Mahmood Qureshi, Mr Abdul Majid Prizada, Mr Aitzaz Ahsan, Ms Mahreen Anwar Raja, Ms Fauzia Wahab & Ms Fauzia Habib.
- ‘The Pakistan Environmental Protection (Amendment) Bill, 2005’ moved by:
Ms Fauzia Wahab, Ms Yasmeen Reman, Ms Fauzia Habib, Ms Mahreen Anwar Raja, Ghulam Murtaza Sati, Mr Khalid Iqbal Memon, Mr Rafiq Ahmed Jamali, Ms Shakeela Khanum Rashid, Ms Samina Khalid Ghurki, Ch Manzoor Ahmed, Ch Qamar-ul-Zaman Kaira, Mr Zulfiqar Ali Gondal, Ms Mehnaz Rafi, Ms Bushra Rehman, Mr M P Bhandara, Mr Tasneem Ahmed Qureshi, Ms Khalida Mohsin Qureshi, Nawab Abdul Ghani Talpur, Ms Beelam Hasnain, Ms Azra Fazal Puhncheo, Mr Hizbullah Baghio, Syed Ghulam Murtaza Shah.
- ‘The Protection of Serving Women Bill, 2005’ moved by:
Ms Samia Raheel Qazi, Dr Farida Ahmad Sadiqi, Ms Inayat Begum, Ms Jamila Ahmed, Syeda Farhana Khalid Banuri, Ms Anbreen Naeem, Ms Asia Nasir, Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman, Hafiz Hussain Ahmed, Ms Aysha Munawar, Ms Shahida Akhtar Ali, Ms Balqis Saif, Ms Razia Aziz, Ms Nayyar Sultana, Ms Imrana Khawar, Qazi Hussain Ahmed & Mr Liaqat Baloch.
- ‘The Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 2005’ moved by:
Ms Rubina Saadat Qaimkhwani, Ms Yasmin Rehman, Syeda Farhana Khalid Banoori, Ms Fauzia Habib, Ms Shakila Khanam & Ch Manzoor Ahmed.
- ‘The Uplift and Welfare of Women Bill, 2005’ moved by:
Ms Samia Rahil Qazi, Dr Farida Ahmad Sadiqi, Ms Inayat Begum, Ms Jamila Ahmed, Syeda Farhana Khalid Banuri, Ms Anbreen Naeem, Ms Asia Nasir, Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman, Hafiz Hussain Ahmed, Ms Aysha Munawar, Ms Shahida Akhtar Ali, Ms Balqis Saif, Ms Razia Aziz, Ms Nayyar Sultana, Ms Imrana Khawar, Qazi Hussain Ahmed & Mr Liaqat Baloch, Maulana Abdul Akbar etc.
- ‘The Prevention of Domestic Violence Bill, 2006’ moved by:
Ms Sherry Rehman, Mr Aitzaz Ahsan, Ms Shagufta Jamani, Dr Azra Fazal, Ms Shakeela Khanum, Ms Yasmin Rehman, Ms Nafeesa Munawar Raja, Syed Naveed Qamar, Ms Fauzia Wahab, Dr Fahmida Mriza, Ms Mahreen Anwar Raja, Mr Abdul Majid Prizada, Mr Qamar-ul-Zaman Kiara, Syed Nayar Bukhari & Raja Pervaiz Ashraf.

- **Focus of Private Members Bills and Some Important Bills:**

The 101 private bills moved by women parliamentarians were equally focused on women's rights issues and general issues of importance, including governance and constitutional matters. Of these, 45 bills had direct concern with core and critical women's rights issues – legal, social or economic – and 45 dealt with improvement in laws, institutions, general welfare of public, or constitutional amendments; and about 10 had some indirect bearing on women's concerns.

- **Women's rights and welfare:**

Some of the important private bills moved during the five years with a clear focus on women's rights issues included:

By Ms. Sherry Rehman: the Protection and Empowerment of Women Bill, 2003; the Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 2004; the Equality of Opportunity for Women Employment Bill, 2005; the Prevention of Domestic Violence Bill, 2005; and the Hudood Laws (Repeal) Bill, 2005; the Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill, 2005; the Pakistan Penal Code (Amendment) Bill, 2005

By Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi: the Uplift and Welfare of Women Bill, 2004; the Protection of Serving Women Bill, 2005 (twice moved), the Inheritance for Women Bill, 2005, the Economic Stability of Women Bill, 2005, the Hudood Laws Effective Enforcement and Protection Bill, 2005, the Family (Stability and Protection) Bill, 2006; the Women Protection Bill, 2006; the Women Honour Bill; and the Criminal Law (Amendment) (Protection of Women) (Repeal) Bill, 2007.

By Ms. Kashmala Tariq: the Pakistan Penal Code (Amendment) Bill, 2004, and the Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill, 2004; the Family Courts (Amendment) Bill, 2004; the Offense of Zina Enforcement of Hudood (Amendment) Bill, 2005; the Offense of Qazf Enforcement of hudood (Amendment) Bill, 2005; the Offense of Zina (Enforcement of Hadd) (Amendment) Bill, 2006.

By Ms. Mehnaz Rafi: the Pakistan Penal Code (Amendment) Bill, 2004 (Amendment in 366-C); the Pakistan Citizenship (Amendment) Bill, 2005 (twice moved), the Establishment of the Office of Wafaqi Woman Motasib Bill, 2005, the Senior Citizens Bill, 2005; the Domestic Violence Against Women (Prevention and Protection) Bill, 2006; and the Offense of Qazf (Enforcement of Hadd) (Amendment) Bill, 2006.

Some other private bills moved by women legislators were: the Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill, 2005, and the Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Bill, 2005, by Ms. Beelum Hasnain; the Family Court (Amendment) Bill, 2004, by Ms. Mehreen Anwar Raja; the Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill, 2005, by Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki; the Prohibition of Marriage with the Holy Quran Bill, 2005, the Dowry and Bridal Gifts Restriction Bill, 2005, by Dr. Farida Ahmad Siddiqui; the Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 2005, by Ms. Rubina Saadat Qaimkhawani; three separate bills on Muslim family laws by Aisha Munawar, Ms. Inayat Begum and Ms. Rubina Shaheen Wattoo; the Boded Labour System (Abolition)

(Amendment) Bill, 2006, by Ms. Shakeela Khanam Rasheed; and the Child Labour and Shelterless Children (Protection from Exploitation) Bill, 2007, by Dr. Azra Afzal Pechuho.

- **General public welfare and reform:**

Some private members bills moved by women parliamentarians of significant nature included: The Freedom of Information Bill, 2004 (Ms. Sherry Rehman); The Control of Thalassaemia Bill, 2004 (Ms. Gule Farakhanda); The Pakistan Press Bill, 2005 (Ms. Sherry Rehman); The Pakistan Environmental Protection (Amendment) Bill, 2005 (Ms. Fauzia Wahab); The Direct Excess to Courts by the Victims Bill, 2005 (Dr. Farida Ahmad Siddiqui); The Pakistan Bait-ul-Mall (Amendment) Bill, 2005 (Ms. Beelum Hasnain); The Disaster Management Bill, 2006 (Ms. Razia Aziz); The Agricultural Pesticides (Amendment) Bill, 2006 (Ms. Shamshad Sattar Bachani); The Parliamentary Supervision of Subordinate Legislation Bill, 2006 (Ms. Ishrat Ashraf); The Boded Labour System (Abolition) (Amendment) Bill, 2006 (Mrs. Shakeela Khanam Rasheed); The control of Viral Diseases Transferred via Blood Production Bill, 2006, and The Compulsory School Attendance Bill, 2006 (Ms. Yasmeen Rehman); The Child Labour and Shelterless children (Protection from Expolitation) Bill, 2007 (Dr. Azra Afzal Pechuho); The Donation and Transplantation of Human Organs Bill, 2007 (Ms. Sherry Rehman); and The National Commission for Human rights Bill, 2007 (Ms. Kashmala Tariq). Several bills for amendments in the constitution were also moved by Ms. Ms. Kashmala Tariq and Ms. Beelum Hasnain.

3.1.8. Bills moved by government on women’s rights issues in five years:

Out of a total 38 laws that were made during five years, two related to women’s concerns, i.e. to reform or amend laws concerning women: the first one was an official bill on the elimination of ‘honour’ killing, which was passed by the National Assembly on 30 July 2004. The second important bill moved in the National Assembly by the government sought amendments in two of the Hudood Ordinances, i.e. the Offences of Zina and Qazf Ordinances (details in Chapter Two).

3.1.9. Individual scores of 25 most active women parliamentarians in five years:

As stated earlier, 58 out of 73 women parliamentarians participated to varying degree in the proceedings of the National Assembly, excluding interventions of office-holders performing official responsibilities. Perhaps naturally, out of these 58 women, there were about 25 women legislators, who performed extremely well – both in terms of quantity and quality – and also both as a whole in all-round performance in most of the areas of interventions, as well as, in exclusive areas of their interest and expertise. For example, some parliamentarians moved more questions; some were keen on participating in debates; some were bringing resolutions and private bills; while some were more interested in raising issues through points of order.

Ms. Yasmeen Rehman of the PPP, with the individual score of 322, has to her credit the highest number of interventions in five years through an excellent all-round performance during the five parliamentary years of the 12th National Assembly. Quite surprisingly, she was not as high-profile and publicity-oriented personality as many of her other colleagues, yet her climbing to the top of the ladder must have been the result of extensive home work and commitment to the cause

of public service. Ms. Yasmeen asked 286 questions; participated 17 times in debates and moved 5 private bills among other interventions.

Incidentally, the second, third, fourth and fifth positions are occupied by more well-known and activist women, both in the arenas of politics and social welfare.

Ms. Fauzia Wahab (PPPP), a politically-conscious women's rights activist came second in the ranking of individual score with 242 interventions, followed by another well-known woman politician, Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi (MMA), who came on third position with altogether 238 interventions. Ms. Beelam Hasnain, also an activist and politically active person as head of the women's wing of PPPP Punjab for several years, stood at fourth position with 231 interventions. The fifth position is held by a seasoned politician and women's rights activist, Ms. Mehnaz Rafi (PML-Q) with 187 interventions. She may be the most senior among all the 25 most active women parliamentarians in terms of political and civil rights activism.



Ms. Inyat Begum of MMA is sixth in ranking with the individual score of 179, followed by Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki of PPPP with 165 interventions. Ms. Samina was elected on the general seat in general elections 2002.






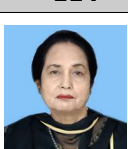

Ironically, only two women legislators in the list of 25 most active women parliamentarians were elected to the National Assembly on general seats, Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki on 7th position and Ms. Shamshad Sattar Bachani, also from PPPP, on 23rd position. All the rest of 23 women legislators were elected to the National assembly through reserved seats.






The eighth position is held by another prominent political and civil rights activist and lawyer, Ms. Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q) with 132 interventions, followed by a veteran politician hailing from a well-known PPPP family in Lahore, Ms. Shakila Khanam Rashid, with 114 interventions.







The tenth position is held by Ms. Sherry Rehman with 106 interventions. She is a well known journalist-cum-activist, who quickly transformed herself into the new role of a matured politician through her active participation in public forums, including media.

Table 35
25 Most Active Women Parliamentarians of the 12th National Assembly

S. No.	Name and Party				Total No. of Initiatives
1.	Ms. Yasmeen Rehman (PPPP)				322
	Questions (answered)	286	Participation in Debates	17	
	Points of Order	3	Calling Attention Notices	3	
	Privilege Motions	3	Resolutions (moved)	1	
	Adjournment Motions	4	Private Members Bills	5	
Ms. Fauzia Wahab (PPPP)				242	
2.	Questions (answered)	208	Participation in Debates	18	
	Points of Order	10	Calling Attention Notices	4	
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	-	
	Adjournment Motions	1	Private Members Bills	1	

3.	Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi (MMA)				238*	
	Questions (answered)	180	Participation in Debates	21		
	Points of Order	16	Calling Attention Notices	6		
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	-		
	Adjournment Motions	2	Private Members Bills	11		
4.	Ms. Beelum Hasnain (PPPP)				231	
	Questions (answered)	218	Participation in Debates	4		
	Points of Order	-	Calling Attention Notices	-		
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (moved)	1		
	Adjournment Motions	-	Private Members Bills	8		
5.	Ms Mehnaz Rafi (PML-Q)				187	
	Questions (answered)	99	Participation in Debates	25		
	Points of Order	31	Calling Attention Notices	15		
	Privilege Motions	1	Resolutions (moved/passed)	6		
	Adjournment Motions	2	Private Members Bills	8		
6.	Ms. Inyat Begum (MMA)				179	Photo Not Available
	Questions (answered)	168	Participation in Debates	8		
	Points of Order	1	Calling Attention Notices	-		
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	-		
	Adjournment Motions	-	Private Members Bills	2		
7.	Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki (PPPP)				165	
	Questions (answered)	151	Participation in Debates	3		
	Points of Order	3	Calling Attention Notices	2		
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	-		
	Adjournment Motions	-	Private Members Bills	6		
8	Ms. Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q)				132**	
	Questions (answered)	89	Participation in Debates	11		
	Points of Order	12	Calling Attention Notices	6		
	Privilege Motions	1	Resolutions (passed)	1		
	Adjournment Motions	-	Private Members Bills	11		
9.	Ms. Shakila Khanam Rashid (PPPP)				114	
	Questions (answered)	103	Participation in Debates	8		
	Points of Order	1	Calling Attention Notices	1		
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	-		
	Adjournment Motions	-	Private Members Bills	1		
10	Ms. Sherry Rehman (PPPP)				106	
	Questions (answered)	51	Participation in Debates	16		
	Points of Order	17	Calling Attention Notices	6		
	Privilege Motions	1	Resolutions (passed)	-		
	Adjournment Motions	4	Private Members Bills	11		

11.	Ms. Kaniz Aisha Munawar (MMA)				103
	Questions (answered)	81	Participation in Debates	14	Photo Not Available
	Points of Order	4	Calling Attention Notices	1	
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	1	
	Adjournment Motions	-	Private Members Bills	2	
12.	Dr. Farida Ahmed (MMA)				101
	Questions (answered)	76	Participation in Debates	10	Photo Not Available
	Points of Order	8	Calling Attention Notices	1	
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	-	
	Adjournment Motions	1	Private Members Bills	5	
13.	Ms. Rubina Saadat Qaimkhwani (PPPP)				100
	Questions (answered)	77	Participation in Debates	9	
	Points of Order	7	Calling Attention Notices	1	
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	-	
	Adjournment Motions	1	Private Members Bills	5	
14.	Ms. Ishrat Ashraf (PML-N)				95
	Questions (answered)	71	Participation in Debates	9	
	Points of Order	8	Calling Attention Notices	3	
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	-	
	Adjournment Motions	1	Private Members Bills	3	
15.	Ms. Nafessa Munawar Raja (PPPP)				92
	Questions (answered)	79	Participation in Debates	5	
	Points of Order	7	Calling Attention Notices	-	
	Privilege Motions	1	Resolutions (passed)	-	
	Adjournment Motions	-	Private Members Bills	-	
16.	Ms. Bilqees Saif (MMA)				89
	Questions (answered)	58	Participation in Debates	15	Photo Not Available
	Points of Order	12	Calling Attention Notices	1	
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	-	
	Adjournment Motions	2	Private Members Bills	1	
17.	Ms. Jamila Ahmed (MMA)				82
	Questions (answered)	78	Participation in Debates	2	
	Points of Order		Calling Attention Notices	1	
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	-	
	Adjournment Motions	-	Private Members Bills	1	
18.	Ms. Naheed Khan (PPPP)				81***
	Questions (answered)	18	Participation in Debates	20	
	Points of Order	36	Calling Attention Notices	1	
	Privilege Motions	2	Resolutions (passed)	-	
	Adjournment Motions	3	Private Members Bills	-	

19.	Ms. Farhana Khalid Banoori (MMA)				81
	Questions (answered)	65	Participation in Debates	6	Photo Not Available
	Points of Order	1	Calling Attention Notices	2	
	Privilege Motions	1	Resolutions (passed)	-	
	Adjournment Motions	1	Private Members Bills	5	
20.	Ms. Mahreen Anwar Raja (PPPP)				75
	Questions (answered)	53	Participation in Debates	9	
	Points of Order	5	Calling Attention Notices	3	
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	-	
	Adjournment Motions	1	Private Members Bills	4	
21.	Ms. Gule Farkhanda (PML-Q)				73
	Questions (answered)	46	Participation in Debates	8	
	Points of Order	13	Calling Attention Notices	3	
	Privilege Motions	1	Resolutions (passed)	-	
	Adjournment Motions	1	Private Members Bills	1	
22.	Dr. Azra Fazal (PPPP)				72
	Questions (answered)	53	Participation in Debates	10	
	Points of Order	5	Calling Attention Notices	2	
	Privilege Motions	1	Resolutions (passed)	-	
	Adjournment Motions	-	Private Members Bills	1	
23.	Ms. Shamsad Sattar Bachani (PPPP)				69
	Questions (answered)	52	Participation in Debates	7	
	Points of Order	7	Calling Attention Notices	1	
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	-	
	Adjournment Motions	1	Private Members Bills	1	
24.	Ms. Rukia Khanam Soomro (PPPP)				52
	Questions (answered)	51	Participation in Debates	1	
	Points of Order	-	Calling Attention Notices	-	
	Privilege Motions	-	Resolutions (passed)	-	
	Adjournment Motions	-	Private Members Bills	-	
25.	Ms. Shagufta Jumani (PPPP)				51
	Questions (answered)	36	Participation in Debates	5	
	Points of Order	7	Calling Attention Notices	2	
	Privilege Motions	1	Resolutions (passed)	-	
	Adjournment Motions	-	Private Members Bills	-	

* 238 includes 2 points of Personal Explanation

** 132 includes 1 point of Personal Explanation

** 81 includes 1 point of Personal Explanation

Closely following after the tenth position are Ms. Kaniz Aisha Munawar (MMA) with 103 interventions, Dr. Farida Ahmed (MMA) with 101, Ms. Rubina Saadat Qaimkhani (PPPP) with 100, Ms. Ishrat Ashraf (PML-N) with 95, Ms. Nafessa Munawar Raja (PPPP) with 92,

Ms. Bilqees Saif (MMA) with 89, Ms. Jamila Ahmed (MMA) with 82, Ms. Naheed Khan (PPPP) and Ms. Farhana Khalid Banoori (MMA) with 81 interventions each, Ms. Mahreen Anwar Raja (PPPP) with 75, Ms. Gule Farkhanda (PML-Q) with 73, Dr. Azra Fazal (PPPP) with 72, Ms. Shamshad Sattar Bachani (PPPP) with 69, Ms. Rukia Khanam Soomro (PPPP) with 52 and Ms. Shagufta Jumani (PPPP) with 51 interventions.

Almost all of the women parliamentarians mentioned above are experienced politicians having long associations with their respective parties, for example, Ms. Naheed Khan was the political secretary to Shaheed benazir Bhutto; Ms. Ishrat Ashraf is a well-known politician of PML-N, also serving as head of PML-N women's wing; Dr. Farida Ahmed is an ideologue of Jamaat-e-Islami, and Ms. Rukia Khanam Soomro is head of the women's wing PPPP Sindh for several years. Similarly, Ms. Shamshad Sattar Bachani belongs to a prominent PPPP family with a strong constituency-backing; Ms. Shagufta Jumani is an experienced political activist, and Ms. Gule Frakhanda having strong commitment to women's empowerment. The rest of MMA and PPPP, too, are known political and social figures in their own right.

- **Party affiliation of 25 active women MNAs:**

The PPPP has the largest group among the 25 most active women MNAs with its 14 MNAs in the list, sharing together 1772 initiatives. They are followed by 7 women legislators of MMA with an overall 784 initiatives; 3 of PML-Q women MNAs with 392 initiatives, and one from PML-N with initiatives 95.

The participation of women MNAs of the PPPP and MMA looks even bigger if compared with their overall strength in the House. The PPPP had 20 women legislators, and MMA had 13 women legislators in the National Assembly, meaning thereby that 14 out of 20 PPPP women MNAs were actively involved in parliamentary business in the House, while 7 out of 13 MMA women actively participated in proceedings of the House. The PML-N had only three women legislators in the House, of which one is part of the list of 25, while two of its other members, though not in the list of 25, were also quite active in the House business.

The dismal part of the list is about the performance of the ruling party PML-Q, which had the highest number of women legislators in the House i.e. 29, however, only three of its members were able to make it to the list of 25.

The fact is that 22 out of 25 most active women parliamentarians of the 12th National Assembly belonged to the opposition parties, and only three were from the ruling party.

Women legislators below the ranking of 25th have made overall interventions going down from 48 to 1 at the bottom. Ms. Tehmina Daultana (PML-N) was active in participating in debates with an overall 48 interventions, followed by Ms Bushra Rahman 43, Ms Memoona Hashmi 34, Ms Razia Aziz 28, Dr Rozina Tufail 27, Dr Firdous Ashiq Awan 26, Ms Ayla Malik 25, Ms Ambareen Naeem 25, Ms Zeb Gohar Ayub 22, Ms Khurshid Afghan 20, Ms Shahida Akhtar Ali 20, Ms Asiya Nasir 19, Dr Fehmida Mirza 16, Ms Tahira Asif 16, Ms Fuzia Habib 16, Ms Farzeen Ahmed Sarfaraz 16, Ms Khalida Mohsin Qureshi 15, Ms Shamim Akhtar 14, Ms Shabina Talat 13 and Dr Noor Jahan Panezai 13 interventions. The rest of 13 women MNAs, including Ms Tehmina Dasti, Naseem Akhtar Ch, Ms Robina Shaheen Wattoo, Ms Afsar

Begum, Ms Shahzadi Umer Zadi Tiwana, Ms Asiya Azeem, Ms Nayyer Sultana, Ms Rehana Aleem Mashhadi, Ms Shahnaz Sheikh, Ms Rukhsana Bangash, Ms Saima Akhtar Bharwana, Dr Attiya Inayatullah and Ms Riffat Amjad made interventions ranging from 13 to 1.

3.1.10. Comparison between women and men parliamentarians in overall performance in five years

Although this is not one of the basic purposes of the study to compare the performance of men and women parliamentarians, some sketchy analysis is done here in a few areas to ascertain the level of women parliamentarians' performance. The areas where some comparative figures have been derived out of the exercise of scrutinizing National Assembly debates by the authors of this study are:

- Questions
- Calling Attention Notices
- Private Members Bills
- Resolutions
- Privilege and Adjournment Motions

Table 36
Performance Comparison between Women & Men Parliamentarians in Five Years
(2002-2007)

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

- **Women parliamentarians' share in questions in five years:**

The table above (Table 38) shows that a total number of 10099 questions were answered in five years by the government representatives in response to a total number of 47014 questions asked by all members of the National Assembly. Of the questions answered (10099), men parliamentarians had 7375 questions to their credit from amongst 269 men parliamentarians in the House of 342. The rest of the 2724 questions were asked by women parliamentarians from amongst 73 members in the House. This makes the women's share of questions at 27% of the total, a significantly higher proportion vis-à-vis their representation in the House.

- **Women parliamentarians' share in calling attentions notices in five years:**

The government representatives from the treasury benches made statements on 329 calling attentions notices during five years. Of these, 230 notices were served by men parliamentarians and 99 calling attention notices were served or put up by women parliamentarians. Thus, women legislators have a 30% share of the total calling attention notices, responded by the government, again an impressive contribution given their number and experience in the House.

- **Women parliamentarians' share in private members bills in five years:**

A total of 240 private members bills were moved from amongst all parliamentarians in the House during five years. Of these, 139 were moved by men parliamentarians and 101 were moved by women parliamentarians. In this area, women parliamentarians' share has excelled to 42%, a very significant effort in legislative functioning.

- **Women parliamentarians' share in resolutions in five years:**

A total of 46 resolutions were passed by the National Assembly during five years. Of these, 35 were moved by both government and men parliamentarians from opposition parties, while 11 were moved by women parliamentarians. Women parliamentarians' share here is 24%.

- **Women parliamentarians' share in privilege & adjournment motions in five years:**

A total of 864 privilege and adjournment motions were moved from amongst all the members of the House. Of these, 795 were moved by men parliamentarians and 69 were moved by women parliamentarians. Women parliamentarians' share in moving privilege & adjournment motions in five years is 8%, considerably low, making this area more male-dominated in parliamentary performance of the 12th National Assembly.

3.1.11. Areas of focus of women parliamentarians in five years:

Elected on the 'reserved seats', the majority of women parliamentarians, at their most, were expected to raise women's rights issues and bring women-specific legislation. Once in the parliament, the women on reserved seats, however, didn't hold to this pre-set obligation and extended their thinking and vision to all public spheres. They raised issues of their 'virtual' constituencies, human rights, governance, foreign affairs, economy, trade, environment, culture, education and health, as well as, the issues of women's rights. For the sake of clarity, the issues have been classified in three main categories i.e. women's rights issues, issues of public welfare and governance issues.

- **Women's rights issues**

Among the women's rights, the following issues made much echo on the floor of the House: Elimination of Karokari and Hudood Ordinances; discriminatory obligation on women in Army Medical College to remain un-married during their education; posting of husband and wife in the same city; promotion of women's work, handicrafts in international market through Export Promotion Bureau; allocation of specific time for women parliamentarians on important issues;

proposal for women TV channel; resolution against acid throwing on women; life threat to Solangi family in interior Sindh; removing condition for women's photo on NIC; doing away with scarf from the uniform of PIA airhostesses; number of women working in various ministries and government departments; number of women put as Ambassadors of Pakistan at present; sexual harassment of women at work place, the incidence of sexual harassment of women in government offices, and implementation of 'Code of Workplace Ethics'; police shifting Mukhtaran Mai to an undisclosed place, her house arrest and taking off her name from ECL; case of Dr Shazia in Balochistan; Day Care Centres for working women's children; hospital for working women in Islamabad; termination of 'overtime' condition for women workers; proposal to put father's name on women holders of NICs; discrimination against the women MNA on reserved seats compared to elected women MNAs; non-availability of seats for ladies on local transport; women's rights to get their foreign spouse registered as Pakistani citizens; welfare of imprisoned women; appointment of Lady Drug Controller in NIH; number of girls kidnapped in Islamabad July–December 2006; women victim of stove burning who recovered but unable to work; construction of Ladies Club in F-9 Park Islamabad; cases of women harassment registered against police officials in ICT during 2005-70; fixing of retirement age for airhostesses as 45 years; women crisis management centre; number of women died during childbirth, in urban and rural area, in the last 3 years.

- **Issues of public welfare**

Environment: sale of leaded petrol in the country and its environmental impacts; industrial contamination and air pollution; recycling of plastic bags and tin waste; raising awareness among public on keeping the environment clean; contamination by the leather industry; felling of old trees in Balochistan; planting and up-rooting of Date Palm trees in Islamabad by CDA; felling of trees in Muree and Kotli Satian; 13% increase in LPG prices; management of national parks;

Health: treating of civilians in CMH, Lahore; sale of medicines under generic names; decrease in the prices of Hepatitis vaccine; controlling Hepatitis B through proper sanitation and drinking water facility; smuggling of human beings; use of narcotics for anesthesia in government hospitals; high medicine prices compared to India; Hepatitis immunization; sale of Viox medicine despite ban; profit earned by cigarette companies and ban on publicity of smoking; difference between the government and UN figures on HIV cases in Pakistan; local companies manufacturing medicines for the multinational companies; price difference for same medicines by various companies; issuing licenses for manufacturing medicines in violation of Drug Act 1976; manufacturing of medicines at home, not in factories; installing modern plants for liver grafting? Registered pharmaceutical companies; need to increase Basic Health Units in the country; Provision of safe drinking water for prisoners in jails; War between PMDC and HEC for recognition of the teaching hospitals; fixing of examination fee by the private doctors; non-availability of Hepatitis medicines; appointing physiotherapist in Basic Health Units in rural areas; Maulvi Fazalullah's appeal to women in Swat for saying 'no to polio drops to their children'; facilities provided to foreign drug manufacturing companies;

Education: Criteria for the approval of private universities; printing of pictures of Holy Prophet Muhammad (Sallah-o-Alaihe Wasalam) in the book of History of 8th class by National Book Foundation; tenure track system in universities; ghost girls schools in Sindh; new educational curriculum; students of rural Sindh being denied admission in Karachi universities; distribution of scholarships among the poor minority students; provision of computer in *Mudarsas*; rate of enrollment in higher education; politics on appointment of teachers in Sindh delaying the

education facility; inclusion of history of Hinduism in the curriculum of class ix and x; percentage of GDP allocated for education and health 2007-08; number of ex-Army officials appointed as VC in government universities; scholarship to students from rural areas; allotment of plots for private schools; Garrisons in Sindh are not admitting the students from rural Sindh;

Food & Agriculture: Food crisis in the country; Food Support Programme; social security system for farmers; the percentage of local and imported seeds; the patenting of food and agricultural items; price increase in agricultural inputs; subsidy on tube wells in cities as well as in rural areas; uniform electricity bills; increase in the prices of Urea; subsidy to urea producing units; development of fisheries; harmful impact of fertilizers on soil; mango crop under virus threat; subsidies given on rice export for year 2005-06; water wastage due to delay in drip irrigation system; Intellectual Property Organization of Pakistan; number of registered companies manufacturing pesticides; Year wise supply of cotton to local customers; Reasons for increase in urea fertilizers' prices; Enhancing the production of fertilizers and DAP; Total production of honey in the country registered during 2006-07; Increase in the prices of flour in the country; Production of sunflowers during 2005-07; price hike on food and petroleum products.

Earthquake: Women legislators were quite prompt in responding to the October 2005 earthquake in the country and raised following issues for earthquake affectees; restoration of education in earthquake affected areas; fund raising for earthquake affectees; corruption in NA Relief Cell; loss of post offices in earthquake; rechecking school buildings in Islamabad and Rawalpindi; adoption of earthquake affected children; selling of orphans from earthquake areas to sex workers; declaring rescue training as compulsory for students; ?

Balochistan issues: one medical college for 1100 students in Balochistan; supporting Balochistan's deteriorating agriculture by giving subsidy on electricity; military operation and other issues in Balochistan; allotment of lands in Gawadar; discrimination with Balochistan in terms of employment; gas royalty to Balochistan; laying of new railways tracks in Balochistan; no Grid Station in the whole Balochistan province; electricity to Balochistan via D I Khan; assassination of Nawab Akbar Bugti;

Natural Resources: Per capita water availability for the total population of the country and any plan to increase this capacity; criteria for price fixing of 28 agro forms sold in Islamabad; terminating the provision of Sindhi newspapers in PIA flights; high air fares by PIA compared to other private airlines; discontinuation of PIA flights from Karachi to Moenjo Daro; Improvement in safety standards of PIA aircrafts; Number of aeroplanes of PIA upgraded; procurement of sub-standard spare parts by PIA; Millions of rupees spend on painting of tails of PIA airplanes in 2006; the length of Pakistan-India-Iran Gas Pipeline; fruit exported to USA from Pakistan; export of rice and vegetables; decision making in Export Promotion Bureau; Energy crisis, load shedding and price hike in oil products remained: increase in prices of petroleum products; supply of electricity to Pakistan from Central Asia via Afghanistan; incidents of blasts on gas pipelines 2004-5/financial loss/steps taken; import of electricity from Kyrgyzstan; Function of National Council for Conservation of Wildlife; income received by KESC from supplementary billing

Import & Export: export permits for timber, wheat flour and rice issued for Afghanistan last three years; import of wheat and meat; amount of toys exported during last two years; export of manpower from Pakistan; Financial embezzlement in Employees Old Age Benefit Institutions; Inflation rate registered during 2006-07 and reasons thereof; Total short fall in custom duty suffered by CBR during 2006-07; foreign investment in the country; Interests paid on external

loans; Licenses to companies for exploration of oil and gas in NWFP; huge construction of roads in Islamabad and environmental disaster due to the felling of green belts; proposal to utilize solar energy for street lights; Increase in the price of furnace oil; Enhancement of trade volume with Jordan, Sudan, Azerbaijan, Romania, South Africa, Mali, Malta, Spain and Chile during the last three years; Share of textile, leather and marble in total trade volume of the country; trade between Pakistan, Ireland and Germany; Plots allotted to foreigners in Islamabad; Embezzlement 20 crore rupees in CDA accounts 2003; sale of commercial and residential plots in Islamabad;

Railways: revenue generated from leasing out the railways land; income earned by the Railways from its lands last five years; Agreement with Belgium for development of railways; Total land of Pak Railways at Lahore, Karachi, Peshawar, Rawalpindi and Islamabad; the process adopted by the M/o Railways for auctioning or leasing out their lands; compensation to the people displaced from Railways land; allotment of Pakistan Railways' lands; ; umber of Pakistan Railway's Hospitals in the country; privatization of Railways; repair of railways tracks; sub-standard and outdated Railways Signal System; installation of Close Circuit Cameras at Rail station; inquiry into the closure of Mari Indus-Bannu small gauged railway track;

Tourism: Promotion of recreational places in Swat; No facilities for tourists at Moenjo Daro Monuments; Province wise income earned from tourism 2006-07; Promotion of historical cities through tourism; Steps taken to safeguard the national heritage; Any proposal to set up TV booster in Swat, Kalam areas to develop tourism; Establishment of tourists villages in the country; tourism promotion in the country; steps to increase earnings from tourism; PTDC motels and tourists information centres and their locations; archaeological sites and museums in the country; revenue collected form tourism; institutions for tourism development; construction of international airports in Multan, Bahawalpur and D G Khan; construction of road to Delhi & Sri Nagar.

Miscellaneous: Ban on Kite flying not implemented; Human Rights Officers deputed in Islamabad police stations; Lavish use of electricity in parliamentary lodges and other government buildings; Ceasing the development grants of the opposition members; Proper sewerage system to control Hepatitis; proposal to set up FM radio in FATA; Culprits involved in murder of Zil-e-Huma, provincial minister and Secretary General PML-Q; Steps taken to check the quality of non-integrated milk; Non-up gradation of the air traffic control system at various airports in the country; Whether the Children Library is handed over to the Lal Masjid students; Discrimination with people of Multan district while people from Gujrat are given job; Registration of Afghan nationals and other refugees by NADRA; Province wise number of Afghans registered so far; Proposal to establish a new port in Lasbela, Karachi; Hasty and improper burial of the ones killed in Lal Masjid Operation; ending PTV monopoly on coverage of NA session; issuing licenses for new T.V. channels; monitoring of private TV channels; bringing PEMRA under some ministry; looting of money by forex companies; the PTV income from Registration fee and the amount it pays for its collection; number of sick industries in the country; army personnel working in Planning and Development Division; Hydraulic Rescue system at Motorway; Motorway from Multan-Rajanpur to Ratodero and Gawadar; Motorway from Multan to Gawadar; Indian proposal for grant of visa for whole the country instead of districts;

- **Governance, human rights and minorities issues**

Encroachment over Roman Catholic Housing Cooperative; job quota in Federal Government departments for minorities; number of minorities in BPS-19 and above in Federal Government;

attacks on worship places of minorities; scholarship for minority students; disappearance of journalists from North Waziristan; smuggling of children to UAE for camel race; monitoring physical abuse and violence against children; any plan to ban the ghost/sleeping NGOs; Grant of maximum loans to farmers; Micro credit finance service; Loss in foreign exchange reserves; Audit for Pak missions abroad; Expenditure on the training of officers in USA; Oil products pricing formula; The aid received during 2001-03; Proposal to privatize National Investment Trust; Revenue collected from mobile companies; whether the vehicle with red number plates are exempted from toll tax; public representatives having dual nationalities; removal of religion column from passport; custodial deaths in the country; Proposal for issuance of permanent SAARC visa for parliamentarians; development funds for opposition MNAs; Appointment of Permanent Representative to UN Mission; Christians given assistance on Christmas during last 5 years; international human rights treaties signed by Pakistan.

- **Contribution of men parliamentarians on women's rights issues**

Counting on men parliamentarians' response to their women colleagues' policy initiatives and interventions was also part of the study. Although this support by men parliamentarians remained low in numbers for various reasons, it was worth mentioning. During the five years, only 17 out of total 269 men members of the National Assembly stood in support of their women colleagues, or individually initiated issues of women's rights. In the first year, apart from Mr M P Bhandara (late) who was very vocal and supportive on 'honour' killing and amendments in the Hudood Ordinances, three other members, namely Mr Muhamamd Hanif Abbassi, Kunwar Khalid Yunus and Ch Anwar Ali Cheema raised women's rights issues in general. In the second parliamentary year, around nine men members supported issues of women's rights. Mr Gayan Chand Singh, Ch Aitzaz Ahsan, Dr Amir Liaqat Hussain, Syed Haider Abbass Rizvi and Syed Naveed Qamar, on 16 July, raised the issue of life threat to Solangi family in interior Sindh. Mr Muhamamd Hanif Abbassi through a Question asked for data on the 'number of women victimized for Karo Kari; during the last three years. On 16 October 2004, Mr M P Bhandara and Dr Farooq Sattar asked the Speaker to take up the Bill on 'honour killing' at the earliest. Kunwar Khalid Yunus, on 16 October 2004, expressed the need to legislate on social, political and legal rights of women.

In the 3rd parliamentary year, Raja Pervaiz Ashraf, Mr Liaqat Baloch, Hafiz Hussain Ahmed, Kunwar Khalid Yunus, M P Bhandara, Ch Aitzaz Ahsan, Syed Nayyar Hussain Bukhari, Mehmood Khan Achakzai and Mr Gayan Chand Singh stood in support of their women colleagues. The issues they supported included, protection to Mukhtara Mai, kidnapping and gang rape of a college student Nazish in Sialkot (on 3rd February 2005), rape and murder of four minor girls in Gujranwala, preventing women from casting vote in local bodies elections in 30 UCs in NWFP, attacking women's marathon race in Gujranwala and police baton charging OPF girls demanding graduation degrees. During fourth year, the male voices in support of women's rights include Sardar Bahadur Khan Sihar on barring women councilors in District Dir to participate in the District and Tehsil Assemblies of Dir, Dr Farooq Sattar and Ch Shujaat Hussain over the 'The Protection of Women (Criminal Laws Amendment) Bill, 2006', while Kunwar Khalid Yunus introduced a bill, on 'The Offence of Qazf (Amendment) Bill, 2005'.

CHAPTER FOUR

Summary of Main Findings

The entry of women politicians into the Parliament, through a special provision of ‘reserved seats’ in 2002, was an important development in the parliamentary history of Pakistan. Enthusiastically aware of their new role, women parliamentarians found themselves surrounded by media attention and increased expectations from different sections of society, soon after their election to the 12th National Assembly.

Women parliamentarians, particularly those who were elected on reserved seats, were equally anxious about the fragility of their status. They, however, looked for means of visibility, expression, articulation and positioning of their political being. Once in the National Assembly, the women parliamentarians went beyond the political borders, expanded their horizons and proved that they were suited to their new role of ‘public representatives’.

On the other hand, people in general and women in particular, civil society organisations, media and other concerned quarters, with or without expectations, kept their attention on women’s presence in the Parliament from day first. It created a potential for debates, opinions, comments, and analyses on women’s political representation, about the impact of quotas, the discussion on ‘beyond the numbers, etc.

The present study is part of these endeavours, which try to understand this phenomenon, perhaps, with a difference, that it is also committed to maximize women’s political representation in all elected institutions, and further strengthen it to achieve the goal of gender equality in Pakistan. Below, we are producing the main findings of the study with the hope that they could result in further discussion and understanding of the legislative role of women parliamentarians in particular:

About background and women’s legislative representation:

1. The political scene was heavily manipulated before the conduct of general elections 2002, through legislative and political measures with the purpose of marginalizing mainstream political parties and their leadership.
2. The 12th National Assembly remained under the shadow of a military dictatorship throughout its 5-year tenure. The passage of 17th Constitutional Amendment by it further consolidated President General Musharraf’s rule.
3. The 12th National Assembly had the highest ever proportion of women’s representation in Pakistan’s legislative history, i.e. 21.3% with 74 women in the House of 342 members. Since, a woman MNA vacated her seat, there remained 73 women in the Assembly for the rest of its tenure.

4. Of the 73 women, 60 came in on reserved seats; one on the seats reserved for non-Muslims and; 12 on general seats by contesting elections in 2002.
5. After mergers of different factions of PML, National Alliance and independents into PML-Q, the party position vis-à-vis women MNAs was: 34 belonged to PML-Q; 20 to PPPP; 13 to MMA; 3 to PML-N; and 3 to MQM.
6. Most of the women elected on general seats belonged to traditional political families with feudal background enjoying strong constituency backing. A significant number of women elected on reserved seats were party activists with a middle class or upper middle class background and a strong track record in politics, as well as, in activism on women's rights.
7. A number of women were also elected on reserved seats being close to party leaders or being relatives of key party leaders, without having any personal political background.
8. A majority of women legislators were new entrants in the 12th National Assembly without having any previous parliamentary experience.

About overall performance of the 12th National Assembly

9. The National Assembly barely met the constitutional requirement of 130 days per year during its first four years. It did not fulfill the constitutional requirement in the last and the fifth year, during which it met only for 83 days.
10. The president failed to address the Parliament at the beginning of every parliamentary year, except for the second year; during the 5-year tenure of the National Assembly.
11. The National Assembly endorsed the extra-constitutional act of the Chief of Army Staff of proclaiming 'State of Emergency', and suspension of the Constitution in its last session held on 7 November 2007.
12. The Speaker of the National Assembly twice faced a no-confidence motion in five years for his alleged 'impartial behaviour' towards opposition.
13. The process of law-making was seriously flawed. There was a visible lack of sufficient time for debate in the House. The tendency to bulldoze legislation persisted and most of the legislation was undertaken in a hasty manner.
14. Quorum has also been a persistent issue before the House throughout its five-year tenure. It was broken for 68 times during five years. There had also been 165 walkouts from the House during five years, while the proceedings were boycotted on 45 occasions.
15. The National Assembly passed 50 bills/ordinances and only 38 became Acts during five years, out of total 222 bills/ordinances moved in the House.
16. Around 184 bills/ordinances remained pending and finally lapsed at the culmination of the National Assembly's tenure. This shows a tremendous waste of work spent on preparation and introduction of these bills by the concerned ministries.
17. Similarly, rather more unfortunately, there had been an obvious disregard to the individual efforts of parliamentarians, wherein they moved 240 Private Members Bills, of which only 70 were introduced and the rest were disallowed on various grounds.
18. The same had been the case with Questions and Calling Attention Notices. A total of 47014 questions were submitted, of which 10099 were answered, and nearly two-thirds of these either lapsed or were disallowed. A total of 3157 calling attention notices were put up and only 329 got replies.

About the overall performance of women parliamentarians

19. Four key words – **pioneering, participation, persistence and purpose** – sum up the overall achievements of women parliamentarians in the 12th National Assembly. **Pioneering** in the sense that it was the first National Assembly where women had a substantial strength; there were a lot of expectations attached to them; and that they did not disappoint and lived up to the expectations in many respects; **Participation**-wise, they performed extremely well; and it might be a challenge for their successors to compete with them; **Persistence** they showed by gradually increasing their interventions in each successive year; **Purpose** they never forgot the commitment to women’s cause and spared no opportunity available to speak on behalf of the women and common citizens of Pakistan.
20. Women parliamentarians were learning rules of procedure, perhaps as quickly as possible, and applying them judiciously in order to perform well in the elected and the most august House – a sense of responsibility inspired by enthusiasm to do something for their own people was quite visible from their speeches and interventions.
21. There have been altogether 3698 interventions by 58 women legislators during the five years. There were:
 - 2724 questions (which came on the agenda);
 - 380 times participation in debates;
 - 306 Points of Order;
 - 99 Calling Attentions Notices;
 - 101 Private Members’ Bills;
 - 14 Resolutions; and
 - 69 Adjournment & Privilege Motions.
 - 5 Points of Personal Explanation
22. The number of their interventions, if calculated on a per day average on the basis of actual days in each parliamentary year, shows that women parliamentarians have on an average made 10 interventions per day, i.e. they have made an overall 3698 interventions in five years of the National assembly, which actually met for 384 days.
23. The increase in participation was not limited to quantity but was also manifested in quality. Women legislators were expanding the range and scope of their vision and outlook; and were picking issues of public importance.
24. Women legislators made most of their interventions during the ‘Question Hour’ as far as the number of various types of interventions were concerned, followed by their participation in debates (380); Points of Order (306); Private Members Bills (101); Calling Attentions Notices (99); Adjournment & Privilege Motions (69) and Resolutions (14).
25. Women parliamentarians utilized Question Hour’ and ‘Points of Order’ to the maximum. In fact, they reacted and complained, both formally and informally, to the Speaker each time the Question Hour was suspended or Points of Order were denied. Most of the substance of women’s intervention, thus, made its way to the floor of the House through questions hour and points of order.
26. Most of the questions put by MNAs were, in fact, initiated by their voters, party workers and human rights activists and organizations. Putting or submitting Questions to the relevant ministries provide opportunity to the parliamentarians in public dealing.

- Simultaneously, it also provides an opportunity to learn in details various affairs of the state institutions.
27. Among the women's rights, the issues which were raised frequently included, the elimination of *Karokari* and the Hudood Ordinances; the cases of violence against women; discriminatory practices in institutions; posting of husband and wife in the same city; promotion of women's work, proposal for women TV channel; resolution against acid throwing on women; life threat to Solangi family in interior Sindh; number of women working in various ministries and government departments; number of women put as Ambassadors of Pakistan at present; sexual harassment of women at work place, the incidence of sexual harassment of women in government offices, and implementation of 'Code of Workplace Ethics'; discrimination against the women MNA on reserved seats compared to elected women MNAs; non-availability of seats for ladies on local transport; women's rights to get their foreign spouse registered as Pakistani citizens; welfare of imprisoned women; preventing women from casting vote; attack on women in Gujranawala etc.
 28. Women legislators also spoke on a number of other issues apart from issues directly concerning women, minorities and governance. They expressed extreme concern on some significant public issues like, health, foreign affairs, environment, economy, energy, education, natural resources (land, water, forests etc), finance and accounts, food & agriculture, legislation, import export, privatization, governance, employment, language & culture, tourism, business & trade, media/PTV, railways, rules of procedure and business and situation of crime and courts.
 29. Women parliamentarians were discriminated in terms of time and opportunities to speak and raise issues in the legislatures; there were several instances when they were ignored or disallowed to make an intervention by the chair; their questions, calling attentions notices and resolutions are delayed without reason and explanation from the chair.
 30. Women parliamentarians' share in some categories of interventions as compared to men parliamentarians during five year is:
 - 27% of the total questions;
 - 30% of the total calling attentions notices;
 - 42% of the total private members bills;
 - 24%. of the total resolutions; and
 - 8% of the total adjournment & privilege Motions.
 31. Out of a total 38 laws that were made during five years, two related to women's concerns, i.e. to reform or amend laws concerning women: the first one was an official bill on the elimination of 'honour' killing, which was passed by the National Assembly on 30 July 2004. The second important bill moved in the National Assembly by the government sought amendments in two of the Hudood Ordinances, i.e. the Offences of Zina and Qazf Ordinances.
 32. Women parliamentarians participated to varying degree in the proceedings of the National Assembly – both in terms of quantity and quality – and also both as a whole in all-round performance in most of the areas of interventions, as well as, in exclusive areas of their interest and expertise. Some parliamentarians moved more questions; some were keen on participating in debates; some were bringing resolutions and private bills; while some were more interested in raising issues through points of order.

33. 25 women parliamentarians altogether made 3132 out of 3698 total interventions in five years, meaning there by that they actually dominated the proceedings of the House in various categories from amongst the 58 women parliamentarians.
34. The highest numbers of questions were asked by Ms. Yasmeen Rehman (286) followed by Ms. Beelum Hasnain (218); Ms. Fauzia Wahab (208); Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi (180); Ms. Inyat Begum (168); Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki (151); Ms. Shakila Khanam Rashid (103), and Ms. Mehnaz Rafi (99).
35. Ms. Mehnaz Rafi took maximum part in parliamentary debates (25 times), followed by Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi (21); Ms. Naheed Khan (20); Ms. Fauzia Wahab (18); Ms. Yasmeen Rehman (17); Ms. Sherry Rehman (16); Ms. Bilqees Saif (15) and Ms. Kaniz Aisha Munawar 14 times.
36. Ms. Naheed Khan made the highest number of interventions through points of order, i.e. on 36 times, followed by Ms. Mehnaz Rafi (31); Ms. Sherry Rehman (17); Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi (16); and Ms. Kashmala Tariq (12).
37. The highest numbers of calling attention notices were put up by Ms. Mehnaz Rafi (15), followed by Ms. Kashmala Tariq, Ms. Sherry Rehman and Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi putting up 6 notices each; and Ms. Fauzia Wahab put 4 calling attention notices.
38. Ms. Mehnaz Rafi brought the highest number of resolutions (6) in five years, followed by Ms. Rozian Tufail 2; Ms. Kashmala Tariq, Ms. Asiya Azeem, Ms. Aisha Munawar, Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar, Ms. Yasmeen Rehman and Ms. Beelum Husnain 1 each.
39. Ms. Sherry Rehman, Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi and Ms. Kashmala Tariq moved the highest number of private members bills, 11 bills each, followed by Ms. Mehnaz Rafi and Ms. Beelum Hasnain who moved 8 bills each; Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki moved 6 bills, while Dr. Farida Ahmed, Ms. Yasmeen Rehman, Ms. Farhana Khalid Banoori and Ms. Rubina Saadat Qaimkhwani moved 5 bills each.
40. The increased number of private members bills moved by women during five years showed their enthusiasm and eagerness. This also demonstrated their ability to identify the issue, scrutinise the existing law, decide the proposed content and then to perform the most difficult task, i.e. to draft the bill.
41. The enthusiasm shown by women parliamentarians to get some positive legislation done for women was not responded in the same manner by the House. Firstly their bills came on the agenda after much delay and, secondly, they were rejected, disallowed, deferred or dropped in the House immediately, and if by any luck, they were introduced, they remained pending with the House for a long time further and finally lapsed.
42. Only one private members bill was passed out of the total 240 moved in the 12th National Assembly. It speaks of the parliamentary culture in Pakistan vis-à-vis the treatment of the elected House towards private members bills.
43. The majority of private members' bills moved by the women legislators were either moved individually, or more often, jointly with other male and female colleagues of their parties. Most of the times, the private bills were prepared and moved in groups of women parliamentarians, supported by their men colleagues.
44. Some private bills were also cross-party initiatives and had members, both male and female, of different parties as the movers. This indicates the possibilities of securing broader consensus on important issues of public interest, if desired.
45. Ms. Yasmeen Rehman of the PPPP, with the individual score of 322, has to her credit the highest number of interventions in five years; Ms. Fauzia Wahab (PPPP) came second in

- the ranking of individual score with 242 interventions, followed by Ms. Samia Raheel Qazi (MMA), who came on third position with 238 interventions. Ms. Beelam Hasnain of PPPP stood at fourth position with 231 interventions. The fifth position is held by Ms. Mehnaz Rafi (PML-Q) with 187 interventions.
46. Ms. Inyat Begum of MMA is sixth in ranking with the individual score of 179, followed by Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki of PPPP with 165 interventions. The eighth position is held by Ms. Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q) with 132 interventions, followed by Ms. Shakila Khanam Rashid (PPPP) with 114 interventions. The tenth position is held by Ms. Sherry Rehman with 106 interventions.
 47. Only two women legislators in the list of 25 most active women parliamentarians were elected to the National Assembly on general seats. All the rest of 23 women legislators were elected to the National Assembly on reserved seats. Almost all women in the list of 25 were experienced politicians having long associations with their respective parties.
 48. The PPPP has the largest group among the 25 most active women MNAs with its 14 MNAs in the list, sharing together 1772 initiatives. They are followed by 7 women legislators of MMA with an overall 784 initiatives; 3 of PML-Q women MNAs with 392 initiatives, and one from PML-N with initiatives 95.
 49. The record of women parliamentarians of the ruling party, PML-Q, is not encouraging, despite having the highest number of women legislators in the House. Only three of its members were able to make it to the list of 25, however, several are there with intervention ranging from 1 to 50.
 50. Among the most active women MNAs, 22 out of 25 parliamentarians of the 12th National Assembly belonged to the opposition parties, and only three were from the ruling party. Women legislators below the ranking of 25th have made overall interventions going down from 48 to 1 at the bottom.
 51. Women on reserved seats contributed more in terms of raising issues in the National Assembly and undertaking other legislative initiatives. Women who came in on general seats were mostly ineffective in their performance and their participation was limited to occasional interventions.
 52. An ideological divide clearly appeared among political parties with the initiation of debate on the Hudood Ordinances in the House. This initiated a battle of bills also on amendments in these laws. The PPPP women and their male supporters in the party were asking for the repeal of these laws, while the MMA women and their colleagues in the alliance were preparing to put up tough resistance towards any such attempt. The PML-Q women were trying to tread the middle path with some amendments in the laws.
 53. The overall increase in women legislators' participation, in fact, was the result of a progressive working relationship between the treasury benches and the opposition. This progressive working relationship changed the proportion of women's participation in the proceedings.
 54. There was lack of technical assistance or support for drafting of bills and other legislative inputs, either from the parties or the National Assembly itself.

**Excerpts from Original Debates of
The 12th National Assembly
(2202-2007)**

[In the following pages, some original debates or discussions, mostly on women's rights issues, borrowed as it is from the official gazettes (National Assembly Debates) have been reproduced with references in the main body of the study i.e. in Chapter Two]

