



Women Participation into the Agitational Politics: A Case Study of Lahore and Peshawar

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ABSTRACT

Freedom Movement had been explored by many scholars since independence from multiple dimensions. The role of women into freedom movement remained less explored due to focus on overall all India politics. The purpose of study is to explore detailed role of the Muslim women in civil disobedience movement of 1946 and their contribution in strengthening demand for Pakistan. the study is qualitative which is based on archival sources to get first hand information about the topic. The research reveals active participation of women in civil disobedience in Punjab and NWFP which was far ahead of their time. They came out of seclusion and participated in agitation and even offered arrests. Their participation built and enhanced pressure over the then provincial governments.



Introduction

Muslims women of Indian Subcontinent was considered a secluded community of that time and they were bound to live under the four walls of their homes. Nazir Ahmad favored in his article to educate the Muslim women but still confines the four walls of her homes. Altaf Hussain Hali who was famous for his powerful poetry also supported the women education and discouraged the treatment they were going through. in addition to these the reformer of the 19th century Sir Syed Ahamd Khan focused on the modern education for men firstly as he thought that if they realized the importance of education their women will also entertain with this. The first appearance of women into Indian politics was observed during Khilafat Movement but it remained at limited scale. Bi Amaan and Begum Muhammad Ali were the first to participate in gathering in *pardah* but the middleclass women were remained confined into four walls of their homes. Changing political scenario and the Muslim demand for their rights required participation of all into politics. Education and changing socio-cultural patterns created space for elite women in politics. Jinnah re-organized All India Muslim League in post 1936 election defeat. The next year women sub-committee was created as platform for the Muslim women to work for Muslims. Post 1940 period witnessed accelerated women participation into demand for Pakistan. Women organizations inside League got good response from public. Enhanced franchise base allowed them to vote during 1946 elections. The post-election politics led to civil disobedience movement by League in Punjab and NWFP which required all segments of society to show their strength to force the respective governments to meet their demands.

Literature Review

The sources related to this study are available which are primary as well as secondary and are accessible through online data collection in the National Archives of Pakistan and in libraries. Various primary and secondary resources are available on this subject Freedom Movement Archives, Muslim League Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Papers, Shmasul Hassan Collection newspaper archives of freedom movement (Dawn, Jang, Nawa-i-Waqat, Civil and Military Gazette). Edited work is also very helpful in this regard. There are some other published records like speeches and statements of leaders like Jinnah and official records of the British India are also very treasured sources on this subject. Apart from these The Transfer of Power Papers is also very important source of information on this subject because it provides the diary notes of British officials of that specific era. In addition to these Waheed Ahmad's edited work titled Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah: Nations Voice is the authentic source of information in the form of speeches and statements of Jinnah and vital record of League resolutions, and proceedings. The Indian Annual Register a bi-yearly published document having record of all the happenings of India. The maintenance of this register for almost three decades' credit goes to Mitra who did it responsibly and its each volume provide information in chronological order with precise detail.

Another important and authentic source of information is Jinnah's papers is an outstanding collection of Jinnah's personal papers and letters which Jinnah wrote to other leaders and they wrote to Jinnah. Many relevant correspondences to the topic of study and perspective of the British officials towards the political development of India.

Plenty of secondary data is available on this subject which discuss many dimensions of Jinnah and League. The data have been consulted to understand the role of women in the Civil disobedience movement of the Punjab and NWFP. In addition to these the women participation in the agitational politics was also new addition in the whole scenario of Freedom movement.

Apart from these two very important autobiographies *From Purdah to Parliament* and *Father and Daughter* A political Biography of Shaista Suhrawardy Ikramullah and Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz respectively the marvelous work which is very supportive to understand the political environment of India and the active participation of the women of India in politics and their recognition as an important identity in concluding years of the Subcontinent.

Saiyid (1999) provided a comprehensive and detailed story of the colonial Punjab and nature of Punjabi society and the role and the status of the women of that time

Mirza (1969) was indeed an outstanding work on the political activism of women and their role to attain separate state for the Muslims of India. Jinnah has realized the fact that the inclusion of the women is necessary to achieve his goal of separate state. He was also aware of the fact that the role of women in the National politics in future is mandatory for the state as well as for their self too.

Another important work by Shah (2020) he examined and explored the role of women in active politics during 1930-1947 and their role in the Civil Disobedience movement with special reference to the province of NWFP.

Afzal (2013) work is an in-depth analysis of a political party with an eye opening facts. He has discussed all the phases of the party in the struggling period and its climax in the form of its final phase made this Muslim party the mass party of that time.

The book of Ali (2000) provided a perception on the emergence of feminism among Muslim women in the sub-continent. The main focus of the study is how the women change the socio political and cultural environment of that male dominated society.

The book of Jaffari (1977) is a documentary study about the letters of some leaders of the Muslim League with Jinnah and his responses. In this book letter of Begum Salama Tasduq Hussain wrote to Jinnah is also included she said "We are very keen that you should meet the leading citizens of Lahore, representing all shades of opinion"

The article of Saiyid (1999) is an exploration of the Jinnah's focus on the active participation of women in the politics of India. The creation of the subcommittee of the Muslim League for women was a bold step of Jinnah. She explored the idea of Jinnah that women did not live under the four walls of the home but played its active role for the society. This concept was a radical change for the society which was still connected with old traditional ideas and role of a traditional woman.

Another article of Sultana (2020) is a good addition of women contribution in active politics in the pre partition period of sub-continent. In her article she highlighted the bold step of Bi Amma and her daughter in law Begum Muhammad Ali Johar who was the first Muslim women arrested in 1915 started the agitational politics in the history of sub-continent. She also highlighted seats reserved for women in the Council of the state and the and in the Assembly according to the Government of India Act 1935.

Willmer (1996) is a comprehensive work on women participation in Pakistan movement. It also gives detail of emerging Women leadership in Punjab from 1940-1947 which altered the course of history by playing their strong role and Begum Jahan Ara said Muslims women were more impatient for Pakistan than men.

Ansari (2012) article is a detailed version of the role of women activists of Lahore in pre preparation and post partition period but the focus of the article is to highlight the great services of the women of the Punjab for the cause of Pakistan.

Saigol (2016) in her article discussed in detail the different strategies of the women's movement in different shifts which will start from Education and move towards the welfare and legal reforms to their ultimate goal of their political and economic rights. According to her the political awareness of the women ended their subjugation and prominent their role as the very important section of the society.

Background

The women participation into politics was observed in second decade of 1900 when Moulana Muhammad Ali Jouhar and others started movement for protection of holy places of Islam. In 1913 this was the first time when Anjumman -e Khuddam-Kaabah movement was the first event where women were involved publically but fixed with the fund raising only. Bi Amma was the first one who took initiative to enter in to the active politics at the time of The Khilafat Movement and imprisonment of her sons Ali Brothers in 1917. Bi Amma's strong stance at the age of 73 set the example against the British Government and their policies and also she became a trend setter for women in the sub-continent. In this regard Her daughter in law the wife of Muhammad Ali Johar and wife of Moulana Hasrat Mohani followed her. Now the women of all communities' poetess, editors and writers supported the Pakistan movement by writing their scripts and columns which also become a reason of exploration of her ideas. (Mirza, 1969)

Begum Muhammad Ali Johar became the president of All India Muslim League Women Wing still have to follow strict Pardah by wearing the Burqa to join the gatherings and meetings of Muslim league. Begum Mulana Muhammad Ali Johar was the first lady who was arrested in 1915 because the British Govt claimed that she was involved against the activities of the British Raj (Sultana, 2020). She actually dedicated her life for the organization of the women of the sub-continent. She also set up the Muslim Girls Student Federation. her passion played a role of an ideological revolution for the coming generations and the future women.

Here comes the role of the wife of Mulna Hssart Mohnai under the dynamic leadership of Quaid Azam who played a significant role for the consciousness of the women of that time as they were far behind from the women of the other communities. (Sultana, 2020) In 1917 Begum Hasrat Mohani with a delegation met Secretary of State E.S. Montague and demanded educational as well as health, maternity services and right to vote in the forth coming reforms. As result of her efforts Government of India Act 1935, women got reserved seats in the Council of the state 6/150 and 9/250 in the Assembly as well. This was the biggest achievement of the women in the form of their representation as a voter. (Mirza, 1969)

All India Muslim League: Women Sub-committee

Jinnah re-organized League in 1937 with amendments in the constitution, working committee, central council, membership, and space for introduction of new organs in the party. Next year, 1938, Jinnah approved formation of All India Women Sub-committee with objective to engaged the women at the provisional and district level to give the counter narrative to others and played a significant role in political consciousness of the women. (H.Saiyid, 1999) Quaid-e-Azam involvement as a party leader can be seen in 1940 when he brought Muslim women to take part actively and mobilized the younger generations as well. Fatima Begum The principal of Islamia College for women Lahore invited him to address the students. He addressed the audience in the way

"No nation can make any progress without the co-operation of its women" Jinnah quoted the example of Islam by focusing on the role of the women which they had played in the Prophet's time. (H.Saiyid, 1999) Apart from this he said "No nation is capable of remaining a strong nation, unless and until its men and women do not struggle together for the achievement of its goals." (H.Saiyid, 1999)

This speech has done with deep impression on the women audience where they realized that they are equal to men in this movement and this is the time they have to show their potential and do something for the cause and achievement of Quaid's aim. For this he always can be seen with his sister Fatima Jinnah for the encouragement of the women of that time.

In the provisional elections of 1937, many leading women won seats named Begum Shah Nawaz from Punjab, Begum Hukum Bengal Begum Ezaz Rasool and Begum Begum Habibullah from Lucknow Begum Kaleem from Bihar and many other Muslim women won seats. (Sultana, 2020) Now the locals changed their mind set regarding the female education after success story of the provisional elections and they start

considering the role of women in the male dominated society of India. The role of these exemplary ladies formed women, s wing of Muslim league to attain the goal of Muslim League and Quaid's encouraging remarkson the political uplift of the women proved instrumental in this regard. This wing remained weak till Patana session of the Muslim League 1938. (H.Saiyid, 1999)

Apart from these the year of 1938 was a year of change for the political involvement of the women by establishing the Women wing of Muslim League on the request of Begum Hafiz-ud-din the wife of Nawab of Surat. on her stance to organize the women, sQuaid liked her idea and at the same year the entry of Fatima Jinnah in the politics on the advice of her brother was also an encouragement for the women (H.Saiyid, 1999)The women wing start working in the Centre as well as the provinces. In addition to these a short period of two years after Patana session the political consciousness of the women touched its peak the women section of All India Muslim League held its annual session on 23rd march 1940 at Islamia College for Girls Lahore where they called the Muslim women to come out their isolated environment and organized themselves under the banner of league. (Shah, 2020)

At that occasion two resolutions passed one for the subcommittee of the league in rural areas and other for the Muslim men to help their Muslimwomen their legal rights which Sharait provide them but the society denied them. Political participation of women crossed all the difficult stages and entered in to the new phase of success. Apart from these in 1941 Muslim Girls Student Federation formed by Lady Abdul Qadir, Fatima Begum and Miss Qureshi. For the awareness purpose Miss Qureshi went to visit College to College campaign for awareness and for the support of idea of Pakistan. This All India Women Federation was inaugurated by Begum ShiastaIkramullah. (shaheed, 1991)

In the elections of 1946 women candidate were nominated Begum Salma Tassaduque Hussain and the Begum Shah Nawaz who took up the challenge to visit the countryside for the league. Muslim league as a representative party of Indian Muslims. Muslim league won 79 out of 175but still was not able to form ministry. (Sultana, 2020)A large number of women come out for the procession in Lahore. On this agitation Begum Shah Nawaz arrested and many women arrived to express their solidarity to arrest themselves. Begum Kamal- din from North West Frontier province arrested and sent to women jail in Lahore. These brave ladies did not surrender even at the time of arrest and passed a message to Government of that time by their resistance. In addition to these a young girl set the example of her bravery by fixing the flag of League in place of Union jack at the Governor's office having strict security but she did it with her national spirit. The devoted and selfless services of these women will always remember. (Mirza, 1969)

The Elections of 1945-46 and the role of Women of North West Frontier province

The women of the North west Frontier and their full involvement with full of energy in the elections of 1945-46 was also a turning point in the history of freedom movement when All India Muslim League sent a delegation to the Frontier Laday Abdullah Haroon President All India Zanana Muslim League and some important figures were the Begum Salma Tassduq,Ftaima Begum, Begum Zahida Shah , Begum Karim Dad Khan and Begum H.A.. Hakim. (Shah, 2020) This delegation reached Peshwar on October 17 addressed the women to vote for the League and also request for fund raising of elections for league. At this movement a large number of Pardah observing ladies enrolled themselves as members of women Muslim league.by seeing this the active political role of these women another branch was opened at Peshwar with Begum Qazi Mir Ahmad and Begum Abdul Wahid as Secretary. (Shah, 2020)

Civil Disobedience movement of the Punjab and the Role of women

The role of Begum SalamaTasadduqe Hussain in the civil disobedience movement in Punjab as well as in NWFP is commendable because she was the lady who energize the female of these provinces by engaging them in meetings, gatherings and processions to play their due role. After reorganization of the Muslim League by Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah the women of different provinces were more energetic and prepared for the wider political goals. SalamaTasadduqeHussain the member of the Punjab women Muslim League committee visited a number of districts of the province and convey the message of the party to the masses. Many branches of the Muslim league were opened with the help of Begum Salma at district and Tehsil level. The result of her efforts were the message of party reached even in the remote areas of the Punjab. (Mirza, 1969). In 1943 she was added in the Muslim league central subcommittee. She got the chance to present her services more vigorously. The coming session of the All India Muslim League was going to be held in the month of December the Punjab Provisional women subcommittee decided to participate in the session with more energy. When this session held on 24th December 5000 women including SalamaTasadduqe Hussain from Punjab participated in this session. While addressing the session Jinnah was so happy and recommended that there would be a Women National Guard representing the whole country. Jinnah was of the opinion that in the coming days women will be considered the soldiers of our country who will work day and night for the cause of Pakistan. (Mirza, 1969). Another achievement of Begum Salma was

the Girls Student Federation which provide a Centre to all the activities of the women which were working separately. Apart from these Countless services of Begum Salama Tasadduqe Hussain and her success in the Lahore Constituency was also a great achievement of that time. She delivered a lot in the whole election process. (Mirza, 1969).

Another important and leading figure in the list of women of the Punjab was the Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz the daughter of Mian Sir Muhmmad Shafithe pionering political leader of All India Muslim League and senior leader of British colonialism. (Ali, 2000) Begum Shah Nawaz efforts for the women of the British India are admirable because she removed the social and cultural constraints which were existed at that time and become fruitful for the social uplift of the women of the Punjab and India. She was the first female member of All India Muslim league. She was the only Muslim member who attended the round table conferences. (Ali, 2000). She formed the Punjab Provisional Muslim's League. She was also elected member of Punjab Legislative Assembly and elected Parliamentary Secretary for Education Medical relief and Public Health. In 1946 she was again elected a member of Punjab Legislative Assembly. (Shahnawaz, Father and Daughter: A Political Biography , 1971). Apart from these she was sent to USA to tell the point of view of All India Muslim League. (Lateef, 1990). Her contribution in the literature was also remarkable novel named Hasanara was written with the perspective of strong women who will bear all the sufferings but never give up. (Shahnawaz, Hasanara Begum, 1916) Her focus was on the women uplift and give them equal opportunities with the men (Mumtaz Shah Nawaz, 1990). The list of the contribution of Begum Jhan Ara for the betterment of the society as well as for the social uplift of the women of the India is long but one of her contribution was *Bill of the age of Consent* her husband was the only Muslim member of the part of the bill. The Bill was about the fixing the age of the girls and boys. Her husband supported the bill by every means even the bill passed. This was a great achievement of societal change. (H.Saiyid, 1999)

In the Civil Disobedience Movement, she was arrested but no one could stop her to achieve her aim. Begum Jhan Ara Shah Nawaz was a source of encouragement for the ladies of the India and after that the ladies of that province too.

In addition to these Begum Viqar-un-Nissa Noon is also one of those women who contributed a lot under the guidance of Jinnah for the reason of the socio political uplift of the women of the Punjab and she was also the founder of various organizations of the women. The concluding years of 1945-1947 were considered the most critical years of Pakistan Movement due to Civil Disobedience. She organizes Girls student's bands, Volunteer women and arranged many trips to visit the different areas of the country to propagate the cause Muslim League. With start of the Civil Disobedience Movement in Punjab against Khizar ministry she took active part in the marches. Apart from these for a long time she was associated with Red Cross (Mirza, 1969)

In addition to these when the elections of 1946 were on full swing both the Muslim League and the Congress were struggling. In this difficult times she came out and actively participate in the politics now she became the member of the Lahore Women Subcommittee of the Muslim League.

She was the organizer of the public rallies, election campaigns and processions. She prepared many volunteer women who were performing their duties for the cause of Muslim League. Her visits became a motivation for the females of the Punjab and other areas which assured the success of elections. (Mirza, 1969).

In the Civil disobedience movement Viqar-un-Nissa noon arrested three times but no hurdle or pain could stop her. She was the leading and prominent figure of this civil disobedience Movement who always play her positive and dynamic role to mobilize the women of the Punjab. To challenge the ruling party in Punjab was an impossible task but these brave women wrote a new chapter of bravery and success.

Apart from these another leading lady was Fatima Begum the editor of famous newspaper *Paisa*. Her contribution in other newspapers and journals were also seen like *Shraif Bibi* and *Khatoon*. She was the leading name in the politics of Punjab and worked for the women of the Punjab for the awareness and education of the girls. She was the founder of Islamia College for Girls and High School for Girls. (Kiran, 2017). In addition to these she was the General Secretary of the Punjab Muslim women League. Her significant role can be seen in the Civil disobedience movement of Punjab. She was also a great agitator against the Khizar ministry and did not hesitate of imprisonment. Her extensive tours for the cause of Muslim League and for the creation of Pakistan was also a the greatest service ever provided by her. (Hashmi, 2001)

The formation of Khizar ministry in Punjab astonished the men and the women of the Punjab because they have rendered great services for the cause of Muslim League. The surprising situation in the Punjab took women in agitational politics. To control the situation, the Khizar ministry put a ban on Muslim League National Guard and its flag and uniform was too ban in the province. as they started the agitation they were

arrested. Police arrested Syed Amir Hassan Shah from his residence and many women were also arrested. but soon Begum Salama Tasadduq Hussain reached there with some other women and asked them to withdraw.

The next stage was more critical when Begum Salama Tasadduq Hussain with fifteen women were arrested. Before her arrest she has already convinced the ladies be ready for any sacrifice. After her arrest the people of the city saw a new spirit and courage of the women in the active politics. (Mirza, 1969) furthermore they were becoming stronger day by day and their resistance proved fruitful when the British Government announced the transfer of Power on 20th February and they arrested men and women were released on 26th February. Thousands people gathered there to welcome these brave people of the League who did not surrender even in the times of trouble. In front of these brave people the Government surrendered finally. In this era many examples can be quoted the spirit of Fatima Sughra who climbed with the help of a pipe and hoisted the league flag by making with her Duppta in place of Union Jack on the Civil Secretariat (Singh, 2009).

This incident considered a land mark and a proud moment for the women of the Punjab who became more energetic and more enthusiastic towards their mission. (Khanam&Samiuddin, 2002). Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot the president of the Punjab Muslim League admired the commendable job of the women of the Punjab "Muslim India is proud of the heroic and noble part which Muslim women have played in the struggle. (Times, 1947)

This victorious moment and success of Civil Disobedience movement in Punjab Begum Salma Tassaduq Hussain took notice that in NWFP Civil disobedience movement is on its peak She also sent a delegation to the province of NWFP to further guide the females of the NWFP.

Role of Women of the NWFP Muslim League in the Civil Disobedience movement

The Frontier provisional league launched a civil Disobedience movement against Dr Khan Sahib on 21 Feb 1947. Initially it was restricted to meetings, gatherings and processions but soon it blocked the whole province in many ways. The situation became worst after imposition of article 144 which banned political gatherings in public. Dr Khan sahib policy not to arrest any women gave them an edge to the leaguers to protest against ministry freely. (Shah, 2020) But in Punjab women were tortured and imprisoned due to agitation. The Frontier women agitation recorded more disciplined and less harmed. The successful campaign of Punjab women league against Unionists Ministry encouraged the women in NWFP (Fida, 2020).

some prominent figures visited Frontier to support the Zanana Muslim League. Fatima Begum, Nasira Saddiqui, Zubida Shah, Begum Karim Dad, Mumtaz Shah Nawaz and Hussan Ara. on 12th march 25 women in burqas passed through the main bazar of the city and set the example for other women of that era. According to The Pakistan Times of March 29, 1947, all they were the educated young ladies of Peshawar. (Shah, 2020). These women having League's flag in their hands and slogans against Dr Khan Sahib's ministry.

Apart from this the Civil disobedience movement got boost by reorganization of the FZML at the end of March. Begum Qazi Mir Ahamd the president and Zari Sarfraz the Vice President. Peshawar became the center of attraction for all these activities. In addition to these in the days of Civil Disobedience Movement this become a routine affair in Peshawar. (Shah, 2020). Another delegation visited NWFP under the leadership of Fatima Begum to coordinate with the provisional and the Central Muslim League committees to discuss the future plans of the party. (Inqilab, 1947)

Now Government arrested Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Samin Jan, Pir Sahib of Manki Shrif. After this situation become more tense in Frontier and masses become more emotional and charged to give a stronger resistance against the Government. Congress cum Khudai Khidmatgar Movement reference. On 3rd April 1947 an other incident took place 1500 women marched towards the residency of Dr Khan Sahib and erected the flag of League on his house. They did not stop here and moving towards the Government house but was stopped by police. They were very clear and determined the dismissal of Dr Khan Sahib ministry and to hold new elections. They also demanded to release the League leaders. On 9th April 1947 under the leadership of Fatima Begum they protested against the Black Laws, of the Congress Ministry and condemned them by demanding the immediate resignation of Dr Khan Sahib. (Times, 1947)

In addition to these no unpleasant incident took place except on 14th April when women were marching towards the Governor House 58 Down Bombay Express driver did not stop and injured thirty women with minor injuries and four with serious injuries. Fatima Begum the president of the Provisional Muslim women subcommittee informed via telegram to the Governor and also send copy to Jinnah and Viceroy. This inhuman action condemned by all means because it was the peaceful procession. (Times E., 1947)

Apart from these at the end of the April after the arrest of Pir Sahib of Manki Shraif situation got worst but now the British were concerned for security because the Congress ministry did everything to contain the

Leaguers but fail to disrupt the masses. Now Governor General Visited the NWFP to monitor the actual situation he was shocked to see the women involvement on large scale The meeting of the Mountbatten with women of the NWFP was an important turning point in the history of the active politics of the women. (Campbell-Johnson, 1951) In addition to these when Mountbatten came back to NWFP he was convinced enough and told Jawaharlal Nehru there is no solution except fresh elections for the satisfaction of the Frontier people.

The league leaders who were released on bail visited Jinnah and was decided to continue the Civil Disobedience movement quietly (Afzal, 2013) Now Mountbatten changed his view of fresh elections to hold referendum under section 93. The main purpose of this vote was to know the will of the people they want to join Pakistan or Hindustan. Hence the Civil Disobedience Movement ended on 3rd June 1947 Quaid -e- Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah on 3rd June 1947 appreciated their efforts for the separate home land. (Allana, 1967)

Jinnah asked the frontier people to end the civil disobedience movement peacefully because after the success of this movement Jinnah was confident that the people of the NWFP will give their vote to join the constituent Assembly of Pakistan. (Allana, 1967) In addition to these Jinnah appreciated the women of the Frontier and their dedication to the cause of Pakistan In these words

The hardships and pains bear all the members of the society is appreciable and specially the role and courage of Frontier women is a motivating factor in this regard. (Allana, 1967). The appreciation of Jinnah doubled them now they were more determined. They started their visits to convince the people of the province.

Conclusion

The civil disobediences movements of Punjab and NWFP were the final political tactic from League to pressurize the provincial authorities. The League organs worked well in various types of protests and agitation. But the women participation created wholesome impact over the local authorities due to cultural sensitivity and organized way of protests. Arrests were offered but there were no large-scale women prisons to keep them along with women police officers. Similarly, women participation inspired youngsters, and male Muslim population to come out with their women or follow their footsteps. The male and children participation added more pressure over the provincial governments as it could spark Indian Navy Revolt type situation. The Indian National Army's memories had not faded yet which spread its roots among the masses through domestic support base. It added more pressure from the central authorities to handle and calm the situation with amicable strategies. Moreover, in case of NWFP, the women participation also inspired support in the upcoming referendum in favor of Pakistan. Indeed, Pakistan movement and the course of politics would have been less potent if the women did not come out of purdah to support their fellows in the freedom movement.

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