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**Citizens' Report  
of the Citizens' Campaign  
for Women's Representation  
in Local Government  
in Pakistan  
2000-2001**



**Aurat Publication and Information Service Foundation**

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## Contents

The Beginning of the Beginning	v
Acknowledgements	8
Contributors	9
Glossary	10
1. Voting, Supporting, Agitating	13
2. Looking for the Women Out There	17
3. The Foundation and the Lifeline	23
4. Chipping Away at Centuries of Resistance	37
5. Political Rivalries Allow Space for Women Candidates	65
6. Mobilising the Women and Standing by Those Who Dared	73
7. DCCs Lead by Example	95
8. Checking Rejection of Women Candidates	101
9. The Hotline Between State and Citizens	109
10. Knowledge is Power	121
11. Reaching Out to the Women Out There	129
12. Citizens' Organisations Interact with Political Parties	139
13. Preparation to Move into the Political Arena	149
14. A Citizen's Movement Comes of Age	157
Appendices	163
A. National Steering Committee of CCWR	165
B. Provincial Advisory Committees of CCWR	166
C. Aurat Foundation Staff Participating in CCWR	169
D. Government Officials Participating in CCWR	172
E. District Coordinators and Joint Coordinators of CCWR	174
F. CCWR Support Organisations by Province and District	177
G. Electoral Results of Candidates on Women's Reserved Seats	223
H. Map of Women's Seats Filled by Province and District	224

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## The Beginning of the Beginning

The very discreet entry of about 36,000 women into the jealously guarded domain for public representatives transpired in a dramatic way through direct elections to union councils. It is just as well that it has taken place without too much fanfare, because it would otherwise have sounded so many alarms that there might almost have been a backlash from retrogressive forces in our society. The fact is that when these 36,000 women councillors filled 90 per cent of the seats reserved for women at this level of Local Government, there was a silent revolution, whose reverberations will continue to provide some very significant signposts to the dynamics of the ongoing social transformation in Pakistan.

However, these signposts cannot properly be recognised without having some knowledge and understanding of the socio-economic and political backdrop to these elections. For while these numbers are in themselves very exciting, they do not enable us to assess whether this remarkable event was just a historical accident or a reflection of positive trends in social attitudes and behaviour that promise a more supportive and encouraging political environment for women from now onward. This requires an analytical inquiry into the structural changes taking place in our society that have a bearing on these factors.

These structural changes are certainly manifesting themselves but they do not form part of our social discourse because not everyone is aware of them. Take, for example, the composition of our population that has undergone an important transformation as reflected in the 1998 Fifth National Census of Pakistan. Although only 32 per cent of our population is urban, we are not predominantly a rural society. Of the remaining two-thirds, half reside along major highways or in peri-urban localities. Thus even though a part of their livelihood is derived from rural sources, their consumption and expenditure patterns, their lifestyles and aspirations, would be strongly influenced by their easy access to urban centres. This exposure has set in motion very different socialisation forces for this half of the rural population. The remaining one third of Pakistan's population, which is categorised as rural, also has external impulses of its own, especially where the rural economy is unable to sustain the population subsisting on it. This has a 'push effect', which creates its own interdependencies with external economic and social subsystems. In this age of mass communications, these forces and factors are further weakening the hold of traditional social mores and practices.

In these results of women councillors elected during 2000-2001, there are indications of a more open society, responsive to the changing social realities on

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the ground. Both the willingness and determination of the women to stand for elections, despite an unfavourable environment, and that of the social activists to stand by their side to ensure their participation as decision makers in political institutions, confirm and reinforce this conclusion.

When Aurat Foundation brought out a very coordinated group of civil society partners, with their middle class backgrounds, throughout the country to launch the Citizens' Campaign to mobilise women to participate in Local Government elections, it was because we had a very distinct sense of something critical going on at the grass roots level. Even seasoned political party members could not quite see what was happening right under their noses.

What transpired is now recognised as a political upset for those claiming that direct elections to the reserved seats for women were "unrealistic in the context of Pakistani society". We are gratified that our political intuition was proved right! However, this does not imply that we measure the success of the Campaign by the numbers elected, mainly because we cannot possibly evaluate the contribution of the citizens' groups in quantitative terms. There are many other stakeholders in the electoral process – for example, the political parties and political groups would certainly nominate their party women against the reserved seats for women.

But it would, in any case, be difficult to assess the quantitative impact of the Citizens' Campaign, because their role was not only to assist *any* woman who was willing to contest, but also to build an enabling environment for *all* women who wanted to do so. It is, therefore, difficult for us to assess how many women came forward because they saw the district level Campaign committees stand solidly behind a woman candidate who was being pressurised to withdraw. Or, for that matter, how many women were able to file nominations because the Campaign committees' advocacy successfully paved the way for their participation with the traditional social and political leadership or had some condition relaxed for them by the Election Authorities.

However, the citizens' groups can still claim to have played their historic role in their Campaign in 2000-2001. Political parties in our country can, at one stroke, deprive the female electorate of their constitutional right to vote by drawing up mutual agreements to keep them out of the electoral process. To the extent that the presence of civil society activists as mobilisers and supporters of women candidates checked these 'unholy' arrangements, they helped keep more women in the political arena. Where the contribution of these activists is clearly visible, it is in enabling the participation of dissidents of political groups or parties, as well as that of independent candidates, especially from the middle and lower middle classes, that are considered the backbone of the democratisation

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process in a society. In this they were able to provide services and support to middle and lower middle class men as well. The same assistance was given to the peasants and workers who contested elections on the seats reserved seats for them.

But this input of the citizens' groups towards laying down the foundations of a 'government at the doorstep' would not have been recognised without a proper documentation of the process and the effort to ensure that the reserved seats for women were filled in the 100 districts of Pakistan. We decided to both document and understand what went on behind the scenes of the Campaign, as this would enable us to build a historical record of the process accompanying the political milestones. A more practical reason was to identify successful strategies for future mobilisation and programmes to support women's participation in Local Government elections in Pakistan. Knowing our activists' predilection for indifferent reporting and documentation, we did not visualise an easy time ahead.

Perhaps the idea of a collective Citizens' Report was a novel one and most of them have little or no experience of writing about or analysing their activism. So it was a difficult and time-consuming process to get the main actors to supply the minimum information required to 'tell a tale'. So much has been left unsaid. So many questions remain unanswered. So many stories are still untold. It remains an unfinished agenda.

It is hoped that this rather bare account in the form of a Report entices many of them to offer to complete the stories. It may also cast some light on the signposts to the dynamics of the transformation of our society. This is the beginning of the beginning.

Nigar Ahmad  
Executive Director  
Aurat Foundation

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For the Citizens' Campaign itself, we again acknowledge the UK Department for International Development (DFID) for making possible an undertaking of this scale with our networks. They provided the major funding for the Campaign, along with the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) and UNDP Pakistan.

The Federal Election Commission and the Provincial Election Commissions must be specially mentioned for their prompt and positive response to most problems referred to them during the electoral process. The Provincial Ministries of Local Government and the District Administration in most of the districts provided support for the Campaign.

The collaboration of most of the national and provincial NGOs and other civil society groups was significant in providing the direction for the Campaign. However, the real credit goes to all the community level organisations and citizen's groups as well as individual activists, who gave freely of their time and commitment to ensure an enabling environment for the women to come forward as candidates and as voters in the Local Government Elections 2000-2001. Without the enthusiasm of these citizens and their acceptance of this challenge to "look for the women out there" the results of the Citizens' Campaign would not have made history.

Without the contribution of the Aurat Foundation staff involved in the Campaign, backed by many of their colleagues, it would not have been possible to coordinate such a massive undertaking at the national level within such time constraints. Their involvement in the Campaign was not taken just as a professional duty but as a personal commitment.

And lastly, none of this would have been possible without the courage and determination of the women in almost every union council in Pakistan. They participated in this historic election despite many social and political constraints, to prove that if governments have the courage to take bold affirmative action, they are willing and able to build a dynamic and enlightened Pakistan.



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## Contributors

We would like to acknowledge all the citizens who made this report possible by providing their oral and or written contributions. Their names have been given with their respective accounts in the Report.

A substantive contribution has been made by the following Aurat Foundation staff in their accounts of the process at the district and provincial levels, reflecting their own strategies and experiences.

Adam Malik and Zahratul Fatima	Aurat Foundation, Karachi
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Haroon Dawood and Younas Khalid	Aurat Foundation, Quetta

Nigar Ahmad:	Editing and organisation of the material in an analytical framework that provides a basic understanding of the process and enables the identification of strategies and lessons learnt for the future.
Uzma Khan:	Final editing and strengthening the content with additional information sought from the field. She is also responsible for the final layout design and presentation of the Report.
Shakeel Ahmad:	Overall coordination of compiling the Report, translation of the transcriptions and initial editing.
Zubair Yousaf:	Some of the audio-visual recording of the interviews with the district level coordinators in Punjab and the transcriptions of all the interviews.
Anjum Zaheer:	Illustrations for the cover
Zaheer Shahzad:	Cover design

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## Glossary

AF	Aurat Foundation
ANP	Awami National Party
ARO	Assistant Returning Officer, a post below the RO
baradari	clan
BNP	Balochistan National Party
burqa	long garment worn as an outer covering over clothes by some Muslim women
CAC	Citizens' Action Committee, a district-based group of activists supported by Aurat Foundation
CCWR	Citizens' Campaign for Women's Representation in Local Government
chadar	
chaudhry	local leader, usually from a family with a traditional leadership role
Commissioner	official in charge of a division, an administrative unit comprising many districts
crore	10 million
DC	Deputy Commissioner, the administrative head of a district. The post was abolished after the Local Government Ordinance 2000-2001, and replaced by the post of District Coordination Officer (DCO)
DCC	District Coordination Committee
dera	area/room in the house of an influential where public dealing takes place
DRO	District Returning Officer
fatwa	a religious edict
hujra	area or outer room of a Pashtun or Baloch home, where men sit and talk
imam	the person who leads prayers in a mosque, especially the Friday congregational prayer
Intermediate	completion of 12 years of formal education
Jl	Jamaat-e-Islami, a religio/political party

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jirga	community arbitration council, sometimes exercising judicial powers
JUI	Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam, a religio/political party; initials following the abbreviation represent the particular faction of the party
JUP	Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Pakistan, a religio/political party
khateeb	preacher
kutcheri	court of justice
malik	local leader from an important family
matriculation	completion of high school, equivalent to 10 years of schooling
maulvi	cleric
mohalla	neighbourhood
MQM	Muttahida Qaumi Movement, a ethnic/political party
naib nazim	deputy mayor or deputy chairperson of a local council
nazim	mayor or chairperson of a local council
NIC	National Identity Card
numberdar	village headman, a revenue official
pesh imam	an imam responsible for leading the daily prayers in a mosque
PML	Pakistan Muslim League; initials following the abbreviation represent the particular faction of the party
PPP	Pakistan Peoples Party
PTV	Pakistan Television, the state-owned television network
purdah	the segregation of women from men, whether through clothing or screening
RO	Returning Officer, a post below the DRO
sardar	leader of a tribe or clan
TCC	Tehsil Coordination Committee
tehsil	an administrative unit within a district
ulema	religious scholars

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# 1. Voting, Supporting, Agitating



*Woman casting vote, district Buner, NWFP*

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## 1. Voting, Supporting, Agitating

Pakistani women's participation in mainstream electoral processes has been limited to voting, supporting or agitating. Very few have come through the route of direct elections on general seats at any level. Even when a small percentage of seats were reserved for them, it was usually with the caveat that they would be chosen by the male members already elected through direct vote.

The figures speak for themselves. In 1997, only seven women out of a total membership of 217 and two out of 87 were directly elected to the lower and upper houses of Parliament. Only two out of 460 members of the four Provincial Legislatures were women and were directly elected. In the 1993 Local Government elections, out of a total of 75,556 councillors in all four provinces, 8,246 were women, who had been indirectly elected.

Women's rights organisations and women in major political parties agreed that the minimum necessary affirmative action for bringing women into the political mainstream was to reserve seats for them, but it had to be accompanied by direct interaction with the general electorate. They finally came to a consensus that a minimum of 33 per cent seats at all levels must be reserved for women, who must be chosen through direct elections.

Consequently Aurat Foundation (AF) launched a specific campaign with this demand from 1995 onwards to mobilise its networks for advocacy on the issue. Along with other rights organisations, AF also set out to lobby the legislators and the governments in power.

### **"There are No Women Out There!"**

However, lobbying successive Federal Governments of the major political parties, elicited a negative response from both the Pakistan Muslim League and the Pakistan Peoples Party. The reason given was, "There are no women out there."

Indeed, one of the Local Government Ministers had the audacity to say, "Bibi, you don't know the situation on the ground. We are political people and we know the reality. If you reserve 33 per cent seats for women, you will find that very few genuine women will come forward willingly to contest these seats. In fact, you will find mostly servant girls and harlots will be brought forward by men to occupy the reserved seats." The condition of direct elections on these seats was dismissed out of hand as being "unrealistic in the social conditions of Pakistan".

In March 2000 the military government of President Musharraf accepted

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the civil society demand for reservation of 33 per cent seats for women in Local Government, to be filled through direct elections. Local Government elections were to be held for 144,233 seats of 6,022 union councils, 305 tehsil councils, 30 town councils and 100 district councils. A total of 40,030 seats were reserved for women at all tiers of the Local Government system, of which 36,132 were at the level of union councils, 1,749 at the level of tehsil councils, 161 for the town councils and 1,988 at the level of district councils. In addition, another 95 seats were allocated to women belonging to religious minorities based on the population ratio in some union councils. Overall, the reserved women's seats comprised 27.7 per cent of the total seats in the entire Local Government system. Women representatives for the union councils were to be elected directly on adult franchise basis, while for the middle and the highest tiers, they were to be elected by the Electoral College comprising the elected members of the union councils.

It presented a challenge to civil society organisations to ensure that the women came forward to occupy the seats. It became imperative to look for “the women out there” and to bring them out to participate in the elections.



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## 2. Looking for the Women Out There



*Information camp, district Sahiwal, Punjab*

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## 2. Looking for the Women Out There

The Citizens' Campaign for Women's Representation in Local Government (CCWR) was the response of civil society organisations to this challenge, to look for "the women out there". The Campaign would enable the activists to develop public acceptability about women's role as public representatives. It was also to create an enabling environment at the local level for prospective women candidates in the 6,022 union councils across the country.

Aurat Foundation decided to steer a coordinated Campaign throughout the country, with the help of its vast network of activist community level organisations which were already sensitised about the issue and the specific demand for reserved seats for women. National and Provincial Steering Committees were set up to oversee and guide the Campaign at the different levels.

The experience of Aurat Foundation in organising national level campaigns and these networks of Aurat Foundation finally came in handy to strategise for this massive exercise to reach out to the voters in every constituency under the Local Government elections.

### The Nerve Centres of the Campaign

National and Provincial Coordinators of the Campaign were appointed from among the senior Programme Managers at Aurat Foundation, backed by secretariats located within the Head Office and the Regional Offices at AF to implement the activities of the Campaign and to support district level implementation.

It is the AF teams at the regional level that laid the foundation for the Campaign and kept open the 'lifelines' that provided a very timely and responsive backup support system for the 'nerve centres' set up for implementing the Campaign on the ground.

These 'nerve centres' were the District Coordination Committees (DCCs), which were an expansion of the Citizens' Action Committees that AF had set up in 70 districts over the previous eight years. The DCCs consisted of political activists and other civil society volunteers who agreed to come together to steer the Campaign at the district level.

After receiving orientation on the Campaign, they were assisted by AF to define specific strategies for functioning in the district so as to develop an enabling environment for women to participate in the electoral process, especially as candidates.

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After the first phase, the electoral phase devolved to the tehsil (sub-division) level to make it easier and more accessible for the electorate to participate. For this purpose Tehsil Coordination Committees (TCCs) were set up to undertake and oversee the Campaign activities at that level.

## **The DCCs at Work**

The Campaign was initiated by the DCCs by bringing together various partners with whose assistance they reached out to each union council. They were all provided the orientation to the new Local Government Ordinance and the Citizens' Campaign. Responsibilities were assigned to each member or partner for a specific number of union councils in the district. Among their first assignments was to help to secure ID cards and voter registration of the women in constituencies where there was no resistance to women casting their votes.

In the field, the DCCs began by holding meetings with a select group of supportive people in a specific constituency, expected to concur with the objectives of the Campaign, and to exercise a positive influence on the community. These meetings strategised very practically on how to proceed in each constituency.

Attempts were made to neutralise hostile reaction. A public debate on women's representation was initiated to allay fears and address social concerns. A media campaign was launched at the district level for voter education for which specially designed programmes for the electronic media and election songs had been prepared.

Local political party leaderships were contacted where the parties were organised to slot women workers into seats; it eased the task of the civil society organisations. But the DCCs could still make space for party dissidents and independent women (and men) candidates to come forward for representing the people. This put pressure on the political parties to avoiding entering unlawful agreements to prevent women from voting or standing as candidates.

A key intervention was when the DCCs set up nomination facilitation camps and provided accurate information and free legal aid for prospective candidates to ensure that their nomination papers were not rejected. These camps were open to all candidates, regardless of party or group affiliation, including those who were the opponents of any relatives of DCC members contesting the elections. They were also open to men.

Activists were then identified from key national and provincial organisations to undertake political orientation of the women candidates. Training of trainers was done so that they could undertake a one-day orientation for the

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women on the following topics:

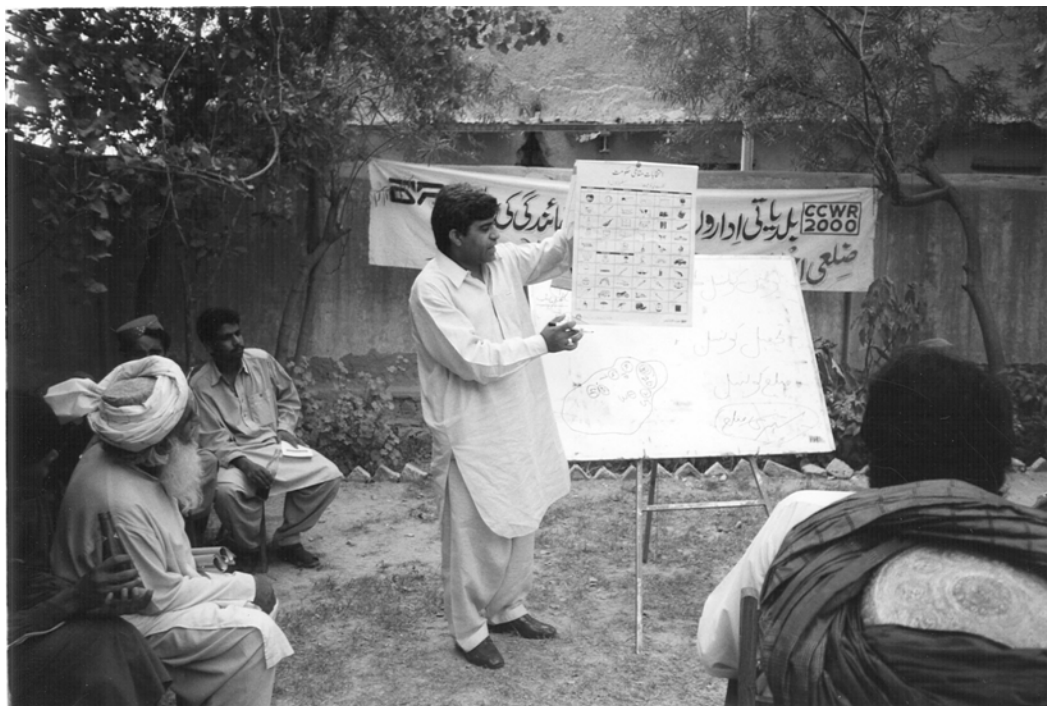
- the situation of women in Pakistan,
- how women can make a difference as public representatives,
- why women should exercise their vote in Local Government elections,
- the basics of the Local Government structures,
- the basics of campaigning, and
- the electoral process and how to vote.

The DCCs completed the process by monitoring voting on the polling day. In addition, they remained available throughout the Campaign period to entertain any complaints about harassment from the women candidates



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### 3. The Foundation and the Lifeline



*DCC outreach meeting, Muslim Bagh, Killa Saifullah, Balochistan*

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### 3. The Foundation and the Lifeline

As the Campaign process unfolded, it threw up such a rich variety of experiences, that it required more sensitive documentation to capture the dynamics of the current social transformation in Pakistan. Behind the scenes of the Campaign there was excitement, at times even danger, there was frustration and disappointment, there was the heady experience of success and a sense of accomplishment, and a national level debate generated on the role of women as public representatives. Some of the case studies and experiences are being recounted in this publication, but this process must be documented in even more detail at a later stage to capture the social and political dimensions for historical purposes.

At this stage it is sufficient to say that the Campaign process was exhilarating and full of suspense because we had no idea how it was going to unfold. That it all turned out successfully in the end was because of a number of factors including a great deal of luck. The single most important factor was that the AF teams and our partners in the field, all the activists that we had cultivated over a number of years, did us proud by taking on and fulfilling responsibilities they had not handled before. All our experience would have come to naught if our fellow citizens had not performed as they did. The Campaign was truly a Citizens' Campaign!

What follows is a tale of adventure through the uncharted territories of electoral politics for most of the civil society activists involved in the Campaign. The Provincial Coordinators and Joint Coordinators of Aurat Foundation and the AF field teams showed a political maturity that was remarkable and laid the solid foundation for our Campaign. When combined with the experience of the volunteers working at the district level, and the involvement and commitment of AF and the partner networks, it provided a powerful tool to analyse and take on the spot decisions.

It was this capacity to respond immediately to the ground situation that resulted in the flexibility and timeliness of steps taken by the field activists, within and outside AF, and by the District or Election Authorities at all levels. The outcome was almost as if there was a direct contact between the public and the Election Authorities and showed what responsiveness can be forthcoming from government authorities if the state and civil society combine to address the concerns of the people.

The major contribution of AF was in laying the proper Foundation for the implementation of the Campaign. Although AF had had the experience of setting

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up and functioning with informally organised citizens groups (known as Citizens' Action Committees or CACs) in 70 districts of the country, the DCCs were still a new experience, requiring a nationwide collaboration in implementing the political agenda of AF. Any mistakes in this could have had a disastrous effect. But the sagacity and political maturity displayed in this exercise by our Campaign Coordinators and their teams ensured success.

The setting up of the District Coordination Committees required a quick assessment of the ground situation and the induction of members with an inclusive approach or a team which aroused the least hostility. This was done very successfully in all the provinces and thereafter the DCCs carried on the torch.

Part of the 'lifeline' was the material produced by AF for voter education and for advocacy for women public representatives, which was used throughout the country. The information conveyed by this material about the new electoral system gave the DCCs an edge over most of the other stakeholders, including the political parties and the district level government authorities. It gave them a standing in the local political scene and made it easier for them to invoke the support they received from local political leadership and the state functionaries. AF also made effective use of the media for the Campaign that also helped legitimise the field interventions of the DCCs.

The other 'lifeline' they provided was the hotline between the electorate and the Provincial/Federal Election Authorities as well as the District Administration. This link between state authorities and civil society developed into a strong reciprocal relationship based on a mutual need for a smooth and effective electoral process enabling Pakistani women to take this 'giant leap for womankind'! Both were doing it to go down in the annals of history.

## **Aurat Foundation, Balochistan**

The Provincial Coordinator of the Campaign held a meeting with the AF staff delegated to the Campaign. After a briefing about the new Local Government system and its structure in some detail, there was a full discussion about the strategies for implementing the Campaign.

First of all identification was done of potential partners for the Campaign in each district. This correct identification was very crucial to the success of our efforts where the network of CACs was not available, which was the situation in the districts of Makran division selected for the first phase of Local Government elections in Balochistan. Organisations with networks and outreach at the tehsil and union council level were listed, including the network of the Legislative Watch and Women in Politics Programmes, i.e. AF's political education work

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with women legislators and women in political parties.

The first orientation and planning meeting of the Provincial Steering Committee also helped identify groups and persons most likely to be helpful. Regular interaction of AF with these networks/individuals started and strengthened with the visit of AF staff to the districts.

Since Balochistan has a very broad spectrum of cultural diversity, every district required a different kind of handling. Therefore, after the completion of the first phase of elections, the districts of Balochistan were divided into the four following categories for the purpose of strategising for the coming phases of the elections:

- Ethnically and religiously divided districts where AF had its network but needed to increase or broaden its outreach.
- Ethnically and religiously divided districts where no organisations and networks exist.
- Purely tribal areas where AF had its network but needed to increase or broaden its outreach.
- Purely tribal areas where no organisations and networks existed.

AF faced some serious problems in districts with no contact or network of civil society. However, the experiences of the Census Campaign of 1998, and Local Government elections in 1999, had provided AF an opportunity to form some contacts and identify potential partners, mostly among well meaning young men with organisations working for the welfare of their communities. Additionally, the network of the Balochistan Rural Support Programme, inactive after the collapse of BRSP, was brought on board.

In this process, ex-student leaders of political parties and unions of different government employees or clerk associations were involved in the formation of the District Coordination Committees. In district Awaran, Khair Jan Baloch, ex-student leader of the Balochistan Students Organisation, was involved in the process as DCC Coordinator. He was later elected as district *nazim* (mayor), Awaran.

#### **Partners Help to Establish DCC: AF Team, Awaran, Balochistan**

Situated a 14-hour drive from Quetta, Awaran is one of the remotest districts of Balochistan. There are no metalled roads in the whole of the district. The elections in Awaran, held in the fourth phase, were for five union councils situated in an area spreading over a radius of more than 200 kilometres.

When Aurat Foundation tried to form a DCC in the area, no local

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CBO or other NGO was found to work in the district. Only the Society for Community Support and Primary Education (SCSPE) had opened some girls' primary schools in collaboration with the Education Department. A few active individuals and social workers were identified through personal contacts and asked to form the DCC. Khair Jan Baloch, an ex-student leader, became the DCC Coordinator.

Mobilisation meetings were held throughout the district with the help of the DCC and SCSPE. As a result of this hard work, most of the seats were contested. At the end, the DCC Coordinator decided to run for the seat of district *nazim* against a local sardar and won after run-off elections.

### **Handling Political Parties with a Representative DCC: Shahbaz Barozai, DCC Coordinator, Sibi, Balochistan**

This is the largest town in the district and the largest in Balochistan after Quetta. Located in a tribal area, it has higher education rates in urban areas, and poor health and education facilities in rural areas. The town is a stronghold of different political parties, like PPP, PML(N), Jamhoori Watan Party (JWP) and PML(Q). Sibi has a large Hindu and Christian population. Urdu and Punjabi speaking people are also settled here and their support is crucial for people contesting the Provincial or National Assembly seats.

It was, therefore, important that the DCC should be a strong one, reflecting various characteristics that could take advantage of the cultural diversity of the district. After a great deal of discussion and consultation with the AF Regional Office, a DCC was formed in the presence of AF programme staff, Ashfaq Mengal and Fauzia Shaheen. It consisted of 41 people of whom the majority were women, and included people belonging to different professions.

The DCC formed and shared their work plan with representatives of various political parties, tribal leaders, and previous councillors. Various political parties wanted us to further their cause. We remained neutral. We focused on only one point: that seats reserved for women should be filled. We assured them that we would provide support during the nomination process, training of candidates and formation of panels. Upon hearing this, political parties and influentials agreed. (Repeated in Chapter 12.)

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## **Aurat Foundation: NWFP**

The most difficult province turned out to be the NWFP, where tribal culture reinforced by religious conservatism, put the most obstacles in the way of the Campaign. What further aggravated the situation was the fact that the (relatively speaking) progressive political parties like the Awami National Party or the Pakistan Peoples Party were boycotting the elections officially, though participating in them through the back door. Issue-based politics had no role to play; political expediency was the order of the day.

This required a great deal of political sagacity from us to work out the right combinations of DCC Coordinators and bring in the appropriate members; in other words, we had to find the right paths through these political minefields. One wrong move could wreck the delicate balance.

What was particularly important in all this was that a dialogue got initiated on the issue in each constituency, which we tried to handle very patiently and tactfully. Many times we were successful; at other times at least the issue of women's representatives was no longer kept under wraps and was being aired for the first time. There were still certain constituencies that we could just not enter without risking our lives. In some of these, local partners asked us to stay away and did their work quietly. In still others there was no possibility at all of even mentioning the topic. Our Campaign Director told us very categorically that we should immediately withdraw in such situations. "We want no martyrs to the cause! There's still plenty of work left to be done elsewhere!"

### **Inducting Religious Elements into the DCC: AF Team, Charsadda, NWFP**

Charsadda was one of the most politically volatile areas in NWFP. As in Mardan and Swabi, where the religious groups along with local leaders of the PPP, ANP, PML and the Tehrik-e-Insaf (TI), had strongly resisted women's political participation both as voters and candidates in the elections, opposition was expected in Charsadda in the fourth phase of the elections.

Keeping in mind the resistance by the conservative sections of society in Swabi and Mardan, a special strategy was adopted to counter the anticipated resistance. Some individuals, enjoying close ties with the most vocal religious leaders, were inducted into the DCC.

This not only provided the chance to these leaders to have a better understanding of Campaign activities, but also helped in bridging

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communication gaps between civil society and religious groups. Through these common friends, the religious circles got accurate information about Campaign activities, leaving little chance for any misunderstanding. At the same time, the Campaign staff was in a position to adapt its strategies in time by getting feedback from the religious groups.

### **Religious Opposition Neutralised: Chitral, NWFP**

Chitral is an economically backward district, inaccessible by road for six months of the year because of snowed up passes high in the mountains. Sunni Muslims are in the majority and Aga Khanis in minority. Keeping in view the sharp religious divide and sensitivity, a prominent local leader, Rehmat Ghafoor Baig, a member of the District Advisory Committee of the Jamaat-e-Islami, a leading religious party in Pakistan, was elected as District Coordinator, while due representation was given to other communities in the DCC.

In northern districts such as Lower and Upper Dir, the Jamaat-e-Islami strongly opposed to women's participation in Local Government. Rehmat was issued a show-cause notice by his own party. Other local religious leaders urged him to stop working with AF. His colleagues tried to convince him about the 'anti-Islamic' nature of the activities of NGOs like AF. The ulema denounced AF, which according to them, was promoting 'vulgarity and obscenity' by preaching women's rights.

One of Baig's strong arguments was that he did not find anything objectionable in the objectives or in the actions of AF staff. The activists of the party closely monitored his activities during the facilitation camps but he resisted all the pressure and continued his activities for the Campaign. He achieved significant results.

Another aspect we had to keep in mind was that due to the presence of a sizeable Aga Khani community receiving development support from the Aga Khan Foundation, the majority Sunni community was very hostile to the Aga Khan Foundation, which was very active for its community. To avoid unnecessary confusion and provocation, the CCWR team deliberately refrained from using the word 'Foundation' in Sunni areas while referring to Aurat Foundation! It was, however, used in the Aga Khani areas for that very reason since it helped create a better rapport with that community. (Repeated in Chapter 12.)

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### **Managing Sectarian Differences: Hangu, NWFP**

Hangu was upgraded to the status of a district in 1998. Sharp sectarian differences between the Sunni and Shia communities existed in Hangu and it was one of the areas where there were the most sectarian riots in the country.

The two Coordinators of the DCC were elected from Sunni and Shia communities to ensure equal representation to both the communities. Both the Coordinators dealt separately with their respective communities, while at the same time keeping close liaison with each other.

### **Selecting the DCC: Lakki Marwat, NWFP**

AF had no formal network in Lakki Marwat. When the AF team first visited the area for identifying the local partners, the people were not ready to hear anything about women's participation in political activities. Referring to the prevailing norms and traditions, everyone, from District Administration to the local activists, ruled out any possibility of women participating in the elections.

Due to the specific socio-cultural environment of the district, local tribal groups were stronger than the political groups. The main groups were the Saifullah group, the Anwar Kamal and Kabir Khan group and the Pir Zakori group. In the selection of DCC members, the local political structure was kept in mind. People with close links to these groups were inducted into the Committee. Soon AF was able to form a DCC of committed activists and with their active support the Campaign activities were launched.

### **Taking Bold Decisions to Counter Religious Opposition: AF Team, Tank, NWFP**

Tank was one of four districts of NWFP where elections were held in the first phase. Although it is a settled area, it has tribal characteristics. The Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI), led by Maulana Fazal-ur-Rahman, had influence over the majority of the population and the party had boycotted the Local Government elections.

In those days, the Campaign against NGOs was at its peak. In such circumstances it was very difficult for the AF Campaign staff to launch the Campaign, but we took the risk. Gul Rehman, an active member of JUI(F) took on the responsibility of coordinating the Campaign in the district. That was a bold step. He carried on his activities and,

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despite opposition, held meetings and personally visited all the 16 union councils of the districts to hold mobilisation meetings there.

As a result of the efforts of AF Campaign staff and the DCC, especially the Coordinator Gul Rehman, 74 per cent of the seats reserved for women in the union councils were filled.

## **Aurat Foundation, Punjab**

Before going in the field to establish DCCs, the Campaign staff in the Lahore Office prepared a district-wise list of prospective members for the DCCs. Districts of Punjab were divided between AF's Lahore and Islamabad offices, 24 and 10 districts respectively. Since CACs were established only in 11 districts, a lot of work had to be done in the districts without CACs. A list of organisations and individuals associated with AF through the Information Network Centres (INC) and the Political Education Programme (PEP) was prepared and they were sent letters with a brief introduction of the Campaign and were requested to become a part of it.

In districts where many organisations did not exist (such as Bhakkar, Layyah, Kasur and others) lists of individuals were prepared that included lawyers, teachers, government employees, trade unionists, political party workers, etc., identified through personal contacts and through other major organisations such as the South Asia Partnership (SAP-PK), the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) and Strengthening Participatory Organisations (SPO).

The selection of organisations and individuals was discussed by the Campaign staff and likely persons were shortlisted to serve as Coordinators at the district and tehsil level and sit on various committees, such as the media committee, resource persons' committee, mobilisation committee, etc. This exercise helped in assessing strengths and weaknesses in each district in terms of available human resources, problems of outreach and interpersonal rivalries among the social activists.

The most critical criterion for selecting the District Coordinator was that he or she be acceptable to the majority of organisations and individuals. Given the time constraint and scale of work, it was difficult to go into exercises of conflict resolution and the strategy was to contain disputes.

The homework done at the AF Office proved useful as it helped us reach decisions and manage possible differences between rival groups among the members of DCCs. An effort was made to make the process inclusive and all prospective members were included in one committee or another.

Orientation meetings were held at the district level and provided



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opportunities to work out new strategies as the Campaign staff came across more suitable people in each category. Three orientation meetings were held on average in each district. The first meeting was an orientation on the importance of women's participation in the political process, addressed to a representative meeting. The outreach capabilities and strengths of each individual and organisation were assessed.

The second meeting was for forming the DCC by developing a consensus on the formation of different committees, which included the Financial Management Committee, Mobilisation Committee, Free legal Aid Committee and District and Tehsil Coordinators as well the appointment of an Office Manager. To maintain financial transparency, a Financial Management Committee was formed with the District Coordinator and two other members of good repute in the district, who were to run the account opened for the Campaign.

In the third meeting a work plan was formulated with specific assignments, which included the setting up of a control room, division of union councils among organisations and individuals for mobilisation of women candidates, training and monitoring, delegation of responsibilities for making sure the Campaign had media coverage and free legal aid.

Detailed guidelines in Urdu were also sent to all the DCCs delineating the Campaign objectives and activities and the expected roles and responsibilities of the committees and subcommittees.

Free legal counselling was one of the major activities of the Campaign. It was ensured while forming the DCCs and TCCs in each district that three or four lawyers were on each Committee. This also helped in expanding AF's outreach to district and tehsil Bar Associations in terms of getting more lawyers involved.

#### **Membership of DCC/TCCs from Opposition: AF Team, Muzaffargarh, Punjab**

In Muzaffargarh, the formation of the District Coordination Committee (DCC) and the Tehsil Coordination Committees (TCCs) faced resistance and opposition of political groups, mainly from Pakistan Muslim League and the Jamaat-e- Islami. Resistance also came from local *biradaries*, specifically Nawabzada's, Baloch's and Jatoi's. In the tehsils of Jatoi, Kot Addu and Alipur, women were being restrained from coming forwards as candidates.

AF held meetings individually and at the group levels. After these meetings AF decided to take many of the members for the DCC and the TCCs from the political parties and the local groups who were opposing women's participation in the elections. This strategy worked as these

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members, once on board, tried to compete with each other to bring more women to stand for the elections to the seats reserved for women.

### **Competition among Local Citizens' Groups: AF Team, Sialkot, Punjab**

During the Citizen's Campaign in Sialkot, the AF Campaign team faced problems in the finalization of the District Coordination Committee (DCC) due to the presence of three strong and active citizens' organizations, Society for Advancement of Higher Education, BEDARI, and Community Development Concern. Each organization wanted its control and hold over the DCC. Working with any one of these major organizations and excluding the other two, would have created more problems for AF and the local network. Under these circumstances, the AF Programme team discussed all the modalities internally and worked out a strategy.

We met individually with all the partners and assured them about AF's neutrality. In these meetings, all the three groups raised their concerns about eliciting cooperation from the other two. After this we ensured that all the major partners were involved in the Election Campaign and shared major responsibilities. Secondly, a Consultative Committee was formed to take joint decisions. The AF team kept its focus on close monitoring of the district and was actively involved in almost all the district planning meetings, especially in identifying the roles and responsibilities of the partners and the Coordination Unit.

As mentioned above, a major contribution of AF was the provision of information to the social activists and to the candidates. A few examples are given below about how women from the lower income groups were able to have access to the information material produced by AF and were able to use it with success even in the case where their election was contested. More on this is given in chapter 10, 'Knowledge is Power'.

### **AF Information Material Strengthened Candidates: Mandi Bahauddin, Punjab**

Zia-ul-Qamar, wife of Saeed Ahmad, resided in Sufipura. Educated up to Intermediate, she ran her own training centre for producing handicrafts. She became a member of DCC Mandi Bahauddin, and after reading the AF election material, decided to stand for election and filed her nomination papers. There were 12 women contesting the

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four seats in her council. Zia-ul-Qamar took part in the training for women candidates and got guidance from AF and the DCC. She had never previously thought of taking part in elections, but through this support, was able to win her seat.

Naseem Akhtar, daughter of Ghulam Qadir Butt, came from village Gudhoo Sultan, Paharianwali. She had completed her matriculation and was teaching in a private school. She was persuaded by a local organisation, Hayyal-al-Falah Welfare Society, to take part in the elections. The DCC Mandi Bahauddin helped her in obtaining the literature published by AF which proved useful in filing her nomination papers. After participating in a training workshop, she organised her campaign so successfully that she defeated all four of her opponents.

Rehmat Bibi, a housewife, was married to Aziz Ahmad, a mechanic. She lived in Bar Musa, tehsil Malikwal. She was the first woman in her family to take part in elections. She received encouragement and help in filing her nomination papers from a local organisation for community development. She was nominated by the DCC Mandi Bahauddin to participate in a training programme and AF literature was an added help in organising her campaign. She credits the local organisation, the DCC and AF for her victory. (Repeated in Chapter 13.)

## **Aurat Foundation, Sindh**

The province of Sindh is perhaps the most politically conscious, in terms of the calibre and activism of its civil society groups and political activists. As a result, even where the CACs exist, there is quite often some internal tussle going on. This does not prevent the CAC from fulfilling its responsibilities, but the AF Regional Office staff has to be constantly on the lookout for any signs of dissension and keep it within manageable limits. Some of the best CACs are in this province.

Thus extra care was exercised at the time of forming the DCCs about the inclusion of political activists who would not impose their own political agenda on the DCCs. Where there were no CACs, efforts were made to bring in members who were clear about the issue of women's representation, had political stature and could carry the group along during the electoral process. This was not as difficult a process as it sounds, because we had run national campaigns for bringing women on the electoral agenda, on the Fifth National Census to pick up women's work, and had been running a Political Education Programme since 1995, in which many of the Sindhi political activists had participated.

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The planning meetings at the Karachi Office helped us to be clear among ourselves as a team why we wanted to induct specific people. This enabled us to be very focussed in our rationale and the accompanying information to argue our case in the field. Even where some of suggested names were replaced, at least the criteria were discussed and the replacements were as good or even better than our suggestions.

#### **Balanced Representation: Khairpur, Sindh**

Two political parties, Pakistan Muslim League (Pir Pagara Group) and the Pakistan Peoples Party dominate politics in Khairpur. AF therefore made sure that they had equal representation in the DCC so as to be able to maintain its non-partisan position. (Repeated in Chapter 12.)

#### **Setting up a DCC in a Fractious Environment: Larkana, Sindh**

The Larkana Citizens' Action Committee had been dealing with serious internal dissensions for some time. To avoid any crisis during the elections, Aurat Foundation decided to induct members into the DCC, who were highly regarded by all, so that the group could work without friction. Also, since precious time had already been lost, it was decided to induct members especially from the media, to make sure that the information about the DCC went out fast.

As a result, the CAC was expanded by selecting people from every prominent organisation of the district. A lawyer, popular among the political and social groups in Sindh, was made the DCC Coordinator, while the Joint Coordinator belonged to the Press Club.

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## 4. Chipping Away at Centuries of Custom



*Orientation for women candidates, district Malakand, NWFP*



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## 4. Chipping Away at Centuries of Custom

The activists in the District Coordination Committees were assigned the charge of not just ensuring that a few women were willing to come forward to contest the elections, but that any woman who wanted to stand or had already filed her nomination papers, should be allowed to do so by her family and societal leaders.

While it was important to get the required number of female public representatives to fill the 33 per cent seats to end the debate about whether Pakistani women were willing and able to come forward as public representatives, it was also critical to bring this issue out from under the wraps for a public debate. Unless every rural and urban neighbourhood discussed the issue of bringing women out into this jealously guarded public domain, and addressed the genuine concerns of their opponents, our victory would only be temporary and superficial. We had to lay at rest the fears of those who felt threatened by this radical shift in women's status. Only then would there begin a gradual acceptance of the right of half the society to assert itself in political matters.

Hence the role of the DCCs was to meet local influentials to convince them about the significance of bringing women out into this arena to benefit from their experiences and their perspective. Resistance to the idea had to be countered by arguments and reasons that each social group could relate to.

### **Rehmat Bibi Stands for Nazim's Seat: Killa Abdullah, Balochistan**

Chaman is a town located on the border with Afghanistan and the route for the Afghan transit trade. Its district, Killa Abdullah, is dominated by tribal social relations and by conservative religious forces, neither of which accord a high status to women.

Elections in Chaman were held in the fourth phase. Two political factions dominated the town: the Pashtoon tribal leaders and the maulvis. Under these conditions, the DCC Killa Abdullah contacted women who could possibly contest the seats reserved for women in the union councils, where the electorate directly voted for them.

The DCC met with Rehmat Bibi, principal of a local private school, and encouraged her to contest the seat of the union council *nazim*. Despite great pressure from tribal and religious leaders ("women in our society cannot participate in politics"), she filed her nomination papers. After that she was threatened and her family was asked to force her to withdraw her nomination papers. However she remained firm and did not

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change her decision.

During the election campaign the DCC continued to help her. They met with religious and tribal leaders and members of her family to convince them to change their stand. They talked of women's role and their positive contribution to society, linking it with their participation in politics. They managed to convince some of the opposing parties to support Rehmat Bibi's decision and approached social workers and local people to enlist their support.

Given her extraordinary situation, she was interviewed on radio by the BBC Pushto Service where she discussed women's rights and the importance of women's participation in politics.

Although she lost the election, she set an example for others, that with courage, confidence and the help of friends, a woman can contest elections in a remote, conservative, religious, tribal constituency.

### **Convincing Women and their Families: Killa Saifullah, Balochistan**

Situated to the east of Afghanistan, Killa Saifullah has a mountainous and harsh terrain. Its literacy rate is high compared with other districts of Balochistan. The district is composed of two tehsils, Killa Saifullah and Muslim Bagh, which together have 15 union councils.

The DCC was formed on 25 March 2001, and immediately afterwards a seminar was held for various social organisations of the area. Subcommittees were formed for the local elections.

Local religious and political parties boycotted the elections. In two separate incidences they spoke out against AF, members of the DCC and NGOs in general. During a Friday sermon on 27 April in Killa Saifullah and 4 May in Muslim Bagh, they lashed out at people supporting women's participation in politics. As a result, women belonging to communities with lower literacy rates opted to stay away from the elections since they were facing opposition from within their own families.

The DCC, along with subcommittee members and NGOs, made eight committees that would work in the most conservative and backward areas of the district. Members of these committees met with various families within these communities and emphasised that women would be able to initiate development projects in their communities as they would have access to funds. They managed to convince people in these communities to allow women to contest and vote in these elections. However, three seats in Muslim Bagh and 11 seats in Killa Saifullah remained vacant.



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### **No Concept that Women Could Participate: Naseerabad, Balochistan**

Naseerabad is part tribal, with strong traditional customs, and incidents of *karo kari* ('honour' killing) are reported quite frequently. Under these conditions, the members of the DCC contacted the elders and social workers to start their work for the Local Government elections.

The DCC Coordinator Naseer Ahmad Mastoi, the Coordinator of the CAC Agha Niaz Magsi, along with the members of the DCC visited the union councils Manjhoti, Kohna Tambu, and Aliabad. It was observed that the panel of candidates did not include names for the six reserved seats for women. When it was pointed out that the panel was not complete, the people in the area were amazed because they had no concept that women could also participate in elections.

When they refused to let their women contest the elections, the DCC members met the influentials of the union councils. These meetings continued until the nomination papers were to be filed, and finally it was agreed to let the women participate. Some men continued to voice their objections.

It is interesting to note, and it surprised the DCC members to learn, that when the results of the Local Government elections were declared, the women councillors got more votes than the men councillors.

### **Breaking the Boycott in Apozai: AF Team, Zhob, Balochistan**

The people of Zhob district in Balochistan are conservative, tribal and religious. The main tribes are the Kakar, Mandokhel and Shirani. While religious parties like the JUI have dominated politics, the PML is also a strong party. Keeping all these factors in mind, AF Quetta decided to send two senior members of the AF team to Zhob at the time of filing of nomination papers for prospective candidates.

On the last day of the filing of nomination papers, the Returning Officer informed us that a woman who wished to contest a seat in union council Apozai was denied her right to do so, because the JUI declared that elections would be boycotted.

The DCC decided that a dialogue should be held with the notables of the area. Such a meeting was held in Apozai, in which Ashfaq Mengal and Rizwan Tahir represented AF Quetta and DCC members and representatives of various CBOs were also present. The AF staff and the DCC emphasised forcefully that women's participation in the coming elections was imperative if the area wished to progress.

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The meeting was very successful as we managed to convince the local elite present. A decision was also taken about which women would contest the six reserved seats in the union councils in Apozai. The next day, women filed nomination papers for all six reserved seats.

### **Getting Support from Local Notables: Zhob, Balochistan**

Zhob is a tribal area, conservative and religious. Religious parties like the JUI have dominated politics. The PML is also a strong party in Zhob City. Pashtoons are the major ethnic group. The DCC was set up and Watan Yar Khilji became the DCC Coordinator.

Problems developed in two union councils, Qamardin Karez and Shafalo, located next to the border with Afghanistan, where two dominant political personalities, Sheikh Al-Hadith and Maulana Allah Dad Kakar resided. Sardar Shah Wali Khan Mardan Zai was the tribal chief.

The DCC Coordinator learnt that Maulana Allah Dad Kakar had forbidden the DCC to mobilise women to contest the elections or even vote. Sardar Shah Wali Khan had also agreed that women would not be allowed to contest.

The DCC Coordinator consulted the AF Team who were in Zhob monitoring the filing of nominations. That night the DCC Coordinator and the two AF staff visited the area notables in their homes to discuss the boycott. Three of these notables agreed with us and arranged a meeting with Sardar Shah Wali Khan.

We met the Sardar at a hotel in Zhob City and the meeting went on for an hour and a half. The Sardar expressed his reservations because women would be stepping out into the public sphere in order to contest and this would lead to immorality. The Sardar said that he would think about the matter and let us know in two days.

After two days, the Sardar held a meeting with the DCC Coordinator and informed him that he had held a consultation with notables belonging to the Mardan Zai and Lone tribes, and they had decided that women would not be allowed to fight the elections. However, women had been handpicked to stand uncontested for these seats. The DCC Coordinator was asked to help with the nomination process.

Sardar Shah Wali Khan himself became a member of the DCC, to counter the opposition of others, and held a meeting with the Campaign staff of AF and the DCC. On the last day of the filing of nomination papers, women were nominated for both the union councils in tehsil Kakar Kharasan. In this way women's seats were filled.

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### **Religious Opposition Neutralised in Harnai: AF Team, Ziarat, Balochistan**

In 2000-01, tehsil Harnai in Sibi district was a part of district Ziarat. Religious and tribal leaders had a hold on this society and women's participation in politics has been minimal. At the time, the JUI had decided to boycott the elections and was threatening those involved in the Campaign.

In the DCC we prepared a strategy. We formed an eleven-member committee consisting of doctors, lawyers, journalists, CBO members, women who had served in the older system as councillors, and representatives of the Election Commission. The Committee met with leaders from the JUI without success. Finally we organised a Conference.

We invited the DC Abdul Rauf Baluch, the AF Provincial Campaign Coordinator, government officials and local women to participate in our Conference. This Conference helped raise awareness about women's issues and paved the way for women to participate in the elections.

Learning that both men and women would attend this Conference, the local religious leaders opposed the idea and warned of serious consequences. The DCC members from Sibi and Harnai then held a meeting with these leaders during the night and convinced them with assurances that the men and women would sit separately with a thick curtain between them.

At the end of the Conference, Aurat Foundation staff, some notables of the area, and the DCC members continued discussions with the religious leaders to convince them of the importance of women's representation in Local Government. Several questions were raised concerning the implications of women's participation in the political process, like purdah and women's mobility, and mostly answered by local notables who had been previously briefed by Aurat Foundation staff. In the end the religious elements promised to remain neutral about the Campaign.

Many women were unable to even pay their nomination fees and the DCC paid these women's fees. Ultimately all but two seats reserved for women were filled. AF provided us with a lot of support.

### **Fatwas by Religious Groups: Bannu, NWFP**

In Bannu religious groups distributed handbills titled "What is

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Aurat Foundation?”. This handbill claimed that in exchange for dollars these people want our honour and faith. It also claimed that a particular group was given Rs 9,800,000 to buy votes and women were being encouraged to be shameless and vulgar by participating in elections. It said that Aurat Foundation was training women to be politically active and its women went from door to door and gave other women, who were illiterate, wrong advice. They tried to convince women to vote and contest elections. They were trying to gain control in the entire district. The handbill claimed that religious parties had reduced their plans to dust.

In this manner, religious parties tried to warn people against AF and other NGOs. All religious leaders/maulvis were requested to use the loudspeakers in the mosques to publicise the negative motives of NGOs. People were warned that if they neglected to fight NGOs, Muslims would not have control over the area, rather Jews would govern Bannu.

While responding to this negative propaganda, local campaign activists held a dialogue with religious elements. Even though opposition to the election campaign did not entirely end, its intensity lessened. In some areas ulema responded very positively.

#### **Threats to Women: Mahfooz-ur-Rahman, DCC Coordinator, Bannu, NWFP**

Women’s participation in politics was an experiment for the people of Pakistan. We faced many problems while conducting our Campaign. We encountered severe opposition from political and religious quarters. Religious and political parties decided to boycott the elections and harassed anyone who chose to participate. They said that the government that came into power as a result of these elections would be one dominated by NGOs and their foreign donors. They declared that this system was born out of Jewish and Christian ideologies.

Women candidates and their supporters faced character assassination from political and religious elements. Minarets of mosques were used to broadcast a message of bigotry. Women who stepped out of their homes to campaign were labelled as women who lacked moral character. Candidates and their supporters received threats from these quarters. We even received death threats and women were told that they would be kidnapped if they dared to step out of their homes.

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### **Rashida Bibi's Struggle: Buner, NWFP**

Rashida Bibi came from a very backward area, Changli, in district Buner. When the government announced that elections would be held according to the new Local Government system, she decided to contest them. She was the first to submit her nomination papers.

The majority of the people in this region were unwilling to accept women in politics and they expressed displeasure over her decision by taking out rallies to stop her from contesting the elections. Announcements were made in mosques that no women would be allowed to contest and that women's participation in politics was unacceptable since it was against the traditions and customs of their community. They wrote letters in this regard to the Governor of NWFP and high ranking government officials, but received no response.

However, Rashida Bibi bowed to the pressure and withdrew her nomination papers but she did not lose heart and immersed herself in social work in her community.

When by-elections were held in 2004, the same people who had opposed her previously, approached her and asked her to contest. This change occurred for a number of reasons. In 2002, AF had established district level Resource Centres for women councillors. The *nazims* had visited the Resource Centre in Buner and had realised its benefits as well as the benefits of having women councillors. Secondly, AF had again run a mobilisation campaign for the by-election and motivated women to stand for election. Finally, the male councillors realised that having empty seats in the council meant that they did not have the same access to funds that other councils did. As a result, the district *nazim* himself filed Rashida Bibi's nomination papers and played an active role in her campaign.

### **Bakhtiana Bibi, a Woman of Indomitable Courage: Buner, NWFP**

Buner is one of the less developed districts in northern NWFP. In earlier elections, women had not been allowed to contest in most of the areas of the district. The Campaign activities in the district motivated the people, especially the women, to contest elections. Despite the campaign against women's participation, 93.2 per cent of the seats reserved for women were filled.

Bakhtiana, the 45 year old wife of Naseeb Gul a daily wage earner, hailed from a poor family of village Sunni Gram, union council Rega. She had three sons and two daughters. Bakhtiana worked as

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domestic help in the houses of Khans and Maliks to supplement the meagre income of her husband.

When the Local Government election schedule was announced, the Campaign was launched in Buner. Bakhtiana attended the activities of the DCC and was motivated to contest the elections when she was told that after being elected as a councillor, she would get funds to work for the development of her village and thus have a good opportunity to serve the people. She filed her nomination papers.

She got the information material and the AF produced audio-cassettes about the electoral process from the DCC and handed these to the people in her village. The cassettes had a lot of information and the people listened to them.

This turned religious elements in the village, especially those from the Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi, Ashaat-e-Tauheed and Jamaat-e-Islami against her. They accused her of furthering the NGOs' agenda by bringing their cassettes to the village and spreading obscenity. The people in the *hujras* and mosques also threatened her husband with a social boycott and even wanted to expel the family from their rented house. They feared that she would get other women of the area to follow the NGO.

The hostile attitude of the people influenced her husband who became averse to the idea of her contesting the elections. He told her that she had become an agent of the United States and the Jews, by pocketing large sums of money she had received from the NGO people.

Bakhtiana informed the DCC members about all this. The DCC members met her husband and told him that after election his wife would become a public representative and get honoraria that would help the family financially. The argument worked well.

Bakhtiana made personal contacts with the people by visiting the homes of the voters and even her opponents. She unveiled her agenda before them and told them that she just wanted to work for the development of her village. She used the cassettes that she had distributed to the villagers, containing songs to motivate women to take part in the Local Government elections. She asked them to carefully listen to the songs and judge for themselves whether they furthered the agenda of either the United States or the Jews. Apart from making personal contacts, she had election posters printed and put up at different sites.

But the religious groups refused to budge. They said that the social boycott of her family would be done if she did not withdraw the

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nomination papers. “Do not come to our houses to mislead our women,” they told her rudely. But the unbowed Bakhtiana announced she would contest the polls, without bothering about the treatment she received from them.

On 2 July 2001, election day, she reached the women's polling station along with other women, but the people did not allow her to cast her ballot. They told her that they had tolerated her campaign, but now she had also brought other women with her for polling, strengthening their notion that she was an NGO agent. They asked her to go back as this was against their cultural norms, and even threatened her with violence.

The mob also insulted her husband and threatened to kill him along with his wife if he did not stop Bakhtiana from taking part in the polls. They told her husband that after becoming a public representative, Bakhtiana would be under the influence of the westernised NGOs, adding she would move freely outside her home, unaccompanied by him.

The DCC members assured her husband that all this was not correct and that he would be allowed to accompany his wife whenever and wherever he deemed necessary. This dispelled his apprehension and he decided not to succumb to the pressure.

Bakhtiana and the four other women left the polling station, disappointed because they had been unable to exercise their right to vote. But when the polling results were declared, everyone, including Bakhtiana, was shocked because she had got 558 votes, the second highest among the women in the 27 union councils of Buner district. Sabroon of union council Soray polled the highest with 1,149 votes. People came to greet Bakhtiana on her victory.

Her initiative to make personal contacts with the voters by visiting their houses, support from the DCC members who convinced her husband to allow her to contest, and the proper use of the election-related material ensured her success in the polls. (Repeated in Chapter 6.)

### **Religious Elements Encouraged to Contest Elections: Charsadda, NWFP**

People faced opposition from religious groups and ulema in various parts of the province. In some cases fatwas were issued banning women from participating in politics. In Charsadda a fatwa was issued in Jamia Masjid Bigal Baba Ji Sardheri that women's participation in politics was repugnant to the principles of Islam. According to the fatwa, women's participation as contestants, voters and even those who supported women

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candidates in any way were declared enemies of Islam. People were requested not to extend any kind of support to women candidates.

The DCC members encouraged some close relatives of the religious leaders to contest the elections. This turned out to be a powerful argument in their hands to counter those who opposed the new Local Government or the reservation of 33 per cent seats for women.

#### **A Narrow Escape: Asim Malik, AF Team, Chitral, NWFP**

The Aurat Foundation team planned to fly to Chitral, but because of bad weather we were forced to travel by road using private transport through Lowari Top, a mountain pass. After six hours of a long and arduous journey, we reached Panahkot, and saw about 300 people holding placards, in a procession led by leaders from different religious and political groups. They were in an angry mood shouting slogans against NGOs, America, and Aurat Foundation. The AF team included two women, Shireen Javed and Anila Naheed. The driver moved the bus to the side to let the procession pass, and we hid the election materials under the seats and Shireen and Anila hid their faces.

I called a boy who was holding a big stick from among the processionists, and asked him what was going on. He replied, "The NGO Aurat Foundation people have come to entice our women to take part in the elections, but our collective decision is that we will not let this happen. We will take our protest procession to the courts and not only will we beat up and throw out the representatives of the NGO, but we will also tear up the nomination papers of those women who have filed their nominations."

The only answer I could give him was, "Brother, if you see anyone from Aurat Foundation, give them a whack from me too!" My female colleagues were keen that we should take a picture of the procession but I was firm on this and asked them to cover their heads and faces and not do anything at all to make the crowd suspicious, because the security risk was too great. When we reached Peshawar at night, we found Aijaz Durrani, one of the AF Campaign team waiting for us; he had heard of the procession and was worried.

#### **Coordinating Campaign Activities: Amir Mughal, DCC Coordinator, Dera Ismail Khan, NWFP**

In Dera Ismail Khan, elections were held in the first phase. This was the hometown of Maulana Fazal-ur-Rahman, Chief of JUI(F), whose



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party was strongly opposed to the Devolution Plan and had boycotted the elections. The DCC put in a great deal of effort to neutralise this opposition.

The DCC continued its efforts for the success of the Campaign by interacting with various political groups, including the Mian Khail group and the Alizai group, Ganda Pur and Kundy, and the Makhdum group.

We also interacted with the officials of the Election Commission of Pakistan, the District Administration and local departments, who were given updates about the situation and consulted. Due to this coordination, the Campaign was successful.

The DCC also held training sessions for candidates. The women were provided political orientation and AF publications were made available to them. Due to our continuous efforts we were successful in eliminating many problems.

As a result, despite the all out efforts to stop people from participating in the polls, a large number of people filed nomination papers. Even in the union council of Maulana Fazal-ur-Rahman, 83 nomination papers were filed, out of which 19 were of women – 12 for women's general seats and seven for peasant/worker seats. The overall result was 67.7 per cent seats filled.

### **Campaigning During the Curfew: Hangu, NWFP**

Hangu, a very conservative area on many accounts due to its proximity to tribal areas, was one of the hardest areas to work in the Campaign. Women were forbidden to cast votes, except in a few urban areas. The local *jirgas* took the decision to ban women from voting and fixed one million rupees as the fine, accompanied by threats to burn down the houses of those families whose women were found violating the decision. One man explained the seriousness of the social taboo to a Campaign team member: "If any woman casts a vote for any male, it implies that she chooses him as her husband." Advocacy for women's political participation was a massive task under these conditions.

The other major difficulty was the continued curfew in the area. Due to violent sectarian clashes in Hangu in March 2000, a curfew was imposed for 65 days, i.e. for most of the time before the elections. The Campaign team worked in very difficult and extraordinary circumstances.

The curfew was only relaxed daily for two hours – later extended to five – leaving little time for normal mobilisation and advocacy-related activities. During this period the Campaign team personally visited the

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nearby areas. Otherwise the Campaign team used their personal contacts extensively (via the telephone) for advocacy with local influentials and for mobilising as much of the local networks as possible. Personal contact was possible in most of the union councils. The Campaign team also worked day and night during the filing of nomination papers, holding meetings with candidates for the *nazim's* positions and the local influentials who visited the court in connection with the nominations.

The two Coordinators and their colleagues were arrested while out campaigning during curfew hours. They had gone to Spin Khawari to meet and convince the family members of Eid Bibi. Not only had they broken the curfew but also defied the ban on motorbike pillion riding. They were later released. Eid Bibi was later elected as District Councillor. Reports from the citizens working in the district indicated that for the 102 reserved seats for women in 17 union councils in Hangu, 98 women were nominated and 64 seats were filled, of which 18 were contested.

### **Women to Solve Women's Problems: Lakki Marwat, NWFP**

AF had no formal network in Lakki Marwat. When the AF team first visited the area for identifying the local partners, the people were not ready to hear anything about women's participation in political activities. Referring to the prevailing norms and traditions, everyone, from District Administration to the local activists, ruled out any possibility of women participating in the elections.

Running the Campaign in Lakki Marwat was like walking on a tightrope for the DCC members, as there was strong public resistance to women's participation in political activities. In most cases the DCC members avoided referring directly to concepts or ideologies related to women's rights or women's empowerment. Instead, in very simple words, they used this argument: Our women face a lot of problems. In some cases they cannot share these problems with male councillors, but with a female councillor they would have no such inhibition. The problems would be communicated and have better chances of being resolved.

### **Keeping Up the Struggle: Lower Dir, NWFP**

In Lower Dir, the Campaign staff faced stiff resistance because all the political parties, social groups and trade unions were opposed to women contesting elections. But the DCC and AF Campaign staff kept up the struggle. Armed activists of militant groups kept on checking the courts

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where the nominations were to be filed. They tore up the nomination papers filed for women candidates and beat up their representatives. The District Administration turned a deaf ear to this harassment. Despite this opposition, 12 nomination papers were filed and eight women returned to the union councils.

As a result of this change, today the seats reserved for women in tehsil council Timergarah are all filled, while eight women are members of the district council against the 11 seats reserved for women.

#### **Opposition from *Jirgas*: Lower Dir, Mardan and Swabi, NWFP**

Due to the social, cultural and religious climate that prevailed in NWFP, women's participation in politics was opposed by traditional elements. *Jirgas* were called in many different communities, which denounced women's participation in politics and declared a ban on it. *Jirgas* in Lower Dir, Mardan and Swabi reached a written agreement to ban women's participation. The decision was also well publicised.

In Timergarah, Lower Dir, local leaders of political and religious parties held a meeting on 19 May 2000 regarding Local Government elections. The agreement stated:

"We, the office bearers and representatives of all parties of Upper Dir take an oath that we oppose the allocation of 33 per cent seats for women in Local Government and general seats from which women can contest and we will totally boycott these elections. We will neither nominate women nor will we allow women who choose to participate to do so. Furthermore, if any male member of any political party supports women candidates, a press release will be given declaring the concerned man's expulsion from that political party. If any party refuses to cooperate, a campaign to expose this party will be initiated."

In a *jirga* in Mardan it was declared that women would not be allowed to contest seats or vote and those who refused to abide by the decisions of the *jirga* would be fined Rs 50,000.

In March 2001, a similar agreement was reached in Marghaz, District Swabi. Local leaders belonging to various religious and political parties participated in the *jirga* and decided that women in Marghaz union council would not be allowed to vote and this decision would hold for all elections to come, and that women who got elected to the four seats in the council would not be able to vote for the district *nazim*. The *jirga* also declared that elections would be conducted in a peaceful atmosphere so that a sense of brotherhood would persist.

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The media ran a campaign against the decisions taken by *jirgas* in various parts of the province. Local activists held dialogues with leaders of political parties who had participated in the *jirgas*. During these meetings it emerged that even though political leaders had put their signatures on this agreement, they actually opposed to it. The PPP, ANP and even the JI leaders refused to recognise the legitimacy of the decisions taken by the *jirgas*. They said that the decision not to support the *jirgas* came from local members of their parties.

The DCC Coordinator of Upper Dir, Amir Zad Gul, along with other members of the DCC, held a press conference in Peshawar and gave press releases in which the undemocratic decisions of the *jirgas* were criticised and brought this issue to the notice of higher authorities. At the behest of Aurat Foundation's Executive Director, regional teams and the National Campaign Coordinator sent letters to provincial and national leaders of NWFP, the Governor NWFP, the Election Commissioner, Provincial Ministers and the President of Pakistan.

As a result, instead of taking open action, which was recorded, against women's participation in politics, these groups resorted to underhand and subtler ways of resistance.

#### **Facing a Range of Problems: Muhammad Shahid Khan, Joint Coordinator DCC, Mardan, NWFP**

In order to conduct the Campaign we formed a core group of both men and women with about 30 members. After this, a focal person was appointed for each of the 74 union councils. With their help a group of women was organised and an AF resource person trained this group. The focal person was also trained in this way.

During the Campaign different issues arose. Religious extremists incited people to riot against NGOs. In the rioting that erupted some offices of NGOs were burnt. Influentials who feared losing their power also opposed elections. Pakhtun culture and purdah also contributed to the difficulty in conducting the Campaign.

Since Mardan is a male-dominated society, in some union councils opposing parties declared that women should not participate in politics. In response we held meetings with the Station House Officers (SHOs) and Senior Superintendent Police (SSP) of various areas like Shahdadpur, Gharyala, Toora, etc. We also involved several religious leaders in our Campaign.

There was little time for people to understand the Local

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Government system since it was new and complex. The DCC held seminars, workshops, press conferences, information camps, and distributed printed material and videos for voter education.

A few days before the elections, political heavyweights started reaching compromises. This greatly damaged our Campaign. When we wanted the law to intervene, the police was unable to alleviate the situation. We could not stop the decision being taken at the lower levels. We were also unable to reach many union councils due to lack of conveyance.

Nomination papers for 96 per cent of the reserved seats were filed. We managed to fill 65 per cent of the seats reserved for women.

### **Operating in a Threatening Environment: Shangla, NWFP**

Shangla is a conservative and backward area. Besides the other mainstream religious political parties, a local organisation, Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi also opposed the new Local Government system and boycotted the elections saying it was unIslamic.

Due to the unfavourable situation, and with consultation of local partners, Shangla was one of those few areas where the AF team kept a very low profile to avoid unnecessary provocation. In one of the Campaign's public meetings, some participants were not ready to hear anything about women's participation in the electoral process. One of them, in a very aggressive mood, considered it against their religion and culture, saying, "Our religion and culture have given more rights and respect to women than any other ideology or system."

In his Friday sermon, one of the prominent ulema of Besham, Shangla, strongly criticised the NGOs, particularly AF, for pursuing a western agenda and promoting vulgarity. Opposing the Local Government system in general, and specifically women's political participation, he asked the congregation why they tolerated AF and had allowed it to hold a meeting the previous day in Besham. The religious leader claimed the NGOs were bent upon destroying family structures by promoting western values. He also hurled threats and warned AF that they would not be allowed to function in these areas in future.

### **"My Islam Allows It": AF Team, Shangla, NWFP**

During the Campaign, we found there was a lot of opposition from political and religious groups to the participation of women in the elections.

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The ulema of Shangla declared that they would not allow any nomination papers for the women's seats to be filed.

It was decided to have a public discussion with them. A seminar was held by Shangla Development Society in the hall of Government College, Alpuri, on Local Government issues, its advantages and hazards. Habib and Aimal Khan from Aurat Foundation were present. Aimal talked about the inclusion of women's participation for the elections. A lot of protest and arguments started in the hall and many people left. The Chairman of the Shangla Development Society managed to pacify others and got them to sit down in their seats once again.

Five days were left for filing the nomination papers, and a camp was organised under the supervision of the Shangla Development Society, a few metres from the office of the Sessions Judge. We had met Umer Daraz Khan and his wife frequently and persuaded them, so he came and filed the nomination papers for his wife.

Five representatives from the Maulvis' Committee came to the office of the Sessions Judge and told everyone to give them the nomination papers of all the women. Umer Daraz Khan refused, saying, "I am a true Muslim and my Islam allows it; if your Islam doesn't, so what? I and my wife will do whatever we like and not for any price will we take back the nomination papers." Hearing this, the maulvis used abusive language towards him and then went away.

After this incident no maulvi objected openly. Only in his Friday sermon did one preach that it was unIslamic for women to participate in the elections and also that the elections themselves were against Islam. By filing the nomination papers, Umar Daraz Khan and his wife had made a breakthrough, and other women also offered their names for nomination. All the women's seats in the union council elections were filled.

### **Leading the Way Through a Minefield: Swabi, NWFP**

During the Local Government elections 2000-2001, the AF formed the DCC in Swabi in collaboration with the CAC, as was done in other districts of the province. All the DCC members unanimously elected Roohul Amin as the DCC Coordinator.

The JUI, JI and the Islahi Jirga (a welfare organisation) members had launched a campaign in the district against women's representation in the Local Government elections. They had termed the polls as an NGO drama, staged to bring women into disrepute, saying it was a conspiracy by the West to make Muslims rebel against Islamic values. They went to

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the extent of accusing those supporting women's representation in the polls of getting funds from AF and the anti-Islamic forces and agencies of the West. They further gave the fatwa that Roohul Amin and his companions had gone out of the ambit of Islam and become infidels and hence their *nikah* (marriage vows) stand broken. Anyone keeping contact with the DCC members would become infidel even after their deaths, for it was forbidden to attend even their funeral prayers.

Similar meetings were held in every mosque and Roohul Amin was the main target. There was a meeting in the Murghaz mosque and five men were given the assignment to kill him. Someone who came to know of the plot informed the DC and the Superintendent Police (SP) Swabi. Both the officials warned Roohul Amin and asked him to exercise caution outside the home. They also gave him maximum protection.

Meanwhile, a meeting of the Islahi Jirga, of which Roohul Amin was a member, was called in Roohul Amin's village. When Roohul Amin reached the venue, there were approximately 250 elders and youths there. When the discussion started, almost everybody agreed with the position of preventing women from voting or standing for election. When he was given permission to speak, Roohul Amin spoke at length on women's role in development work and the significance of their direct election to the councils. He told them that if the six seats of women in their union council went vacant, they would get less development funds than the other union councils where women were elected to the reserved seats.

The DCC Coordinator told them that Dera Ismail Khan was the home district of Maulana Fazal-ur-Rahman and there was no opposition to women's participation in polls there, but only here in Swabi. He said that women had roles to play as mothers, sisters, daughters and wives. If the men gave them respect, other people would follow automatically.

Some *jirga* members taunted Roohul Amin that if he considered it so important, why didn't he bring his own family women in the elections. At this Roohul Amin announced that whether the *jirga* supported him or otherwise, he would take the start with his own family and field his family women in the polls. The *jirga* could not reach any verdict. Another date was fixed for convening the next *jirga* at the *hujra* of Roohul Amin himself.

Meanwhile, Roohul Amin mobilised the active DCC members. The next day, the *jirga* announced that since Roohul Amin was bringing his own family women to the polls they had no authority and would allow him to do so unopposed.

On the other hand, the clerics, especially those from the JUI, JI

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and the imam opposed Roohul Amin tooth and nail and used all kinds of tactics to force him to take back his decision. The opponents sent a *jirga* team to his house, which met his brothers and children, but the DCC members and his family stood by him. He fielded his wife, Nighat Farozan, from the union council Swabi Khas and she was elected. Another woman, Gopala Begum, contested the peasant/worker seat and won. Similarly, Razia, the wife of the DCC Joint Coordinator, also contested and won her seat. (Repeated in Chapter 7.)

#### **Using Dialogue and Contacts: Tank, NWFP**

Tank is one of the most economically backward and conservative tribal areas of the NWFP. Tribal and family affiliations are stronger than political ties. The clergy has a strong hold on the people.

Nearly all the local people we met regarded the idea of women's participation in political activities as ridiculous. They rejected it because they claimed it was against their religious and cultural norms and traditions.

Anti-NGO feelings were strong in the area. Some people sincerely advised us not to undertake any mobilisation of women for Local Government in Tank. The Campaign staff was threatened with dire consequences by some conservative circles, but the team members preferred to hold discussions with them. Thus through dialogue and using personal contacts, we were able to diffuse the tension.

#### **Convincing Local Leaders: AF Team, Upper Dir, NWFP**

We had a meeting with the local leaders in Sundal, a union council in Upper Dir. The Maliks of the villages agreed to the idea but the political party leaders, led by the Jamaat-e-Islami, decided not to field women candidates. We gave them press clippings of newspapers carrying the statements of the Jamaat-e-Islami that they had fielded women candidates in a number of other districts, many of whom had won the elections. After much deliberation, the Maliks decided not to listen to their local party leaders. All six seats reserved for women in Sundal were filled.

#### **Resisting Pressure: AF Team, Upper Dir, NWFP**

In Upper Dir, the situation was totally against women's representation. Representatives of all the major national political parties and local religious leaders reached an agreement not to field women



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candidates in the Local Government elections. They also threatened the people with dire consequences if they fielded women candidates. Armed activists of the militant religious groups kept surveillance on the courts and around the offices of Returning Officers.

However, because of the efforts of the DCC and Campaign staff, 42 nomination papers of women candidates were filed. In reaction to this, the Dir-Chitral road was blocked for more than five hours to pressurise the District Administration to reject the papers. Despite this pressure, the families and the candidates refused to withdraw the papers. In one case, a DCC member, Syed Ghulam, gave the nomination papers on behalf of his wife. He faced severe opposition from religious elements, who tore up the nomination papers. Syed Ghulam went to the AC and insisted on having the papers re-submitted.

As a result, 41 women were elected uncontested to the union councils, and one woman won her seat after election. Due to this effort and the strength to resist pressure, there are now 65 elected women in different levels of Local Government in Upper Dir. (Repeated in Chapter 7.)

**Cooperation from the Village Imam: Malik Ashraf, DCC Coordinator, Chakwal, Punjab**

In our district, in village Malikwal, women have never been allowed to vote. We went and visited the *numberdar* (headman) of the village and the Imam of the mosque. We explained the purpose of the elections in detail and asked them to help us. Then we took the Imam Sahib with us and talked to the people of the village. During the Campaign I learned that the DCCs in other districts were facing opposition from religious groups, but our experience was the opposite. We got cooperation from the religious groups, because as soon as we visited a new village, we met the Imam of the mosque first and got his trust. This had another benefit; the women and men would listen to us patiently. Our tactic gave us a 96 per cent success rate in the election results in district Chakwal, with only four seats not filled.

**Working with Patience: Qamar Zaidi, DCC Coordinator, Jhang, Punjab**

In Jhang during our Campaign we faced a lot of opposition because people did not view NGOs positively. In tehsil Chiniot we had

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gone to a meeting in a local school to talk about women's participation in the elections. As we started speaking, some people started shouting at us and accused us of being agents of the Jews and following their profession and message. They accused us of plotting against women and said that we should be thrown out.

One man remarked that I had grown a beard but was not wearing the Pakistani national dress, because I was wearing a shirt and trousers. He accused us of being Asma Jehangir's agents. We were shocked and appealed to them to listen but they refused.

In the gathering was a law student who had come with her father. She told the audience that as we had come from outside, the people should listen to us. The educated ones among the crowd agreed to listen to us. We realised that the ones insulting us belonged to a religious group.

We confined our talk to voters' education saying that this was a new system and everyone should cast their vote. We told them that women, too, should be allowed to vote. We said that if women were elected they would address women's needs like girls' schools and female healthcare. We also asked the religious community to allow their women to vote.

The religious groups promised to consider our arguments. Later they contacted us for more information and many allowed their women to contest the polls. We had to work with patience and self-control and were quite successful.

### **An Unsuccessful Attempt: Khanewal, Punjab**

The men of Moripur in tehsil Kabirwala, Khanewal, thought that the participation of women in the political process might cause indecency and obscenity in the village. Since women were dependent on the male section of the society, they thought, it was naturally the right of only the men to contest elections and vote.

The Campaign team initiated a debate among the men which resulted in two schools of thought arising in the village elders: one in favour of women's participation in politics and the other opposing it. The former group was led by the male candidate for the seat of *nazim*, Ghulam Mustafa, whose view was that if the villagers did not allow their women to cast their votes, his opponent, who belonged to a nearby village, would win the election with the women's votes of his village.

At the same time, staff from AF's Legislative Watch programme met with the Governor Punjab and requested him to set up separate

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election booths for female voters in Moripur, which he agreed to. In Moripur, the *nazim* candidate also succeeded in getting the support of some men to allow the women in their families to use their right to vote.

However, on the day of polling, no male villager in Moripur allowed the women of his family to vote. Even the women from the house of the *nazim* candidate did not come out. The candidate lost the election.

### **Hope for the Next Elections: AF Team, Khanewal, Punjab**

In Moripur, tehsil Kahirwala, district Khanewal, not a single woman had been allowed to cast her vote since the creation of Pakistan. The decision to bar women from casting their votes was taken collectively by the *baradaris* of the area.

A local schoolteacher contacted the DCC, which in turn contacted AF. He had raised this issue previously but so far he had remained unsuccessful. The TCC and DCC of the area held a meeting with local influentials.

We presented many arguments supporting women's role in politics but the local *baradaris* were unwilling to listen to us. On one occasion, a female member of the AF team spoke aggressively, which made one participant draw out his gun in anger. We managed to diffuse the situation and narrowly avoided disaster.

The schoolteacher was threatened by the local influentials. They accused him of collaborating with NGOs to spread immorality among the women of their community. "Have we become so shameless that our women will cast votes?" They also said that he had taken money from the NGOs to spread their message within their community.

After diffusing the tension, we told them that polling stations would be segregated for men and women and the polling staff would be female. Some local leaders felt that even if they allowed women to vote, they would face opposition from the local people.

They gave us an option. If we were sincere, we should help start a school for girls, and this would help strengthen our position in their community. They said that this would help prepare the ground for women's participation in politics. Our local partner NGOs promised to open a school for girls.

Since then, a school has been opened. The impact of focussing on female education will be gauged during the next elections.

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### **Resolutions Against Campaign Activities: Toba Tek Singh, Punjab**

The Campaign in district Toba Tek Singh was launched in the third phase of the Local Government elections. Although there was no CAC in the district, AF already had contacts in the district because of a number of activities previously organised there.

In 1993, Radio Listening Centres were opened in some of the villages to accompany AF's radio programme on agriculture technologies for rural women. These were later transformed into Information Network Centres (INCs) which continue to operate. Since then, AF had organised district level seminars during the Census Campaign and the Local Bodies Election Campaign in 1998.

When the Campaign was launched in the district, it was the first of its kind in terms of its visibility, magnitude and its focus on women candidates. Clerics and conservative forces felt threatened by the extent to which AF material was being disseminated at meetings and seminars that were well attended by women at both the district and tehsil levels.

The first reaction came in the form of resolutions passed in several mosques of the district during the Friday prayers. The resolutions demanded that the Government ban Aurat Foundation's programmes and the media that promoted women's participation in politics because they were violating Islamic values and destroying societal morals.

In his Friday sermon, Maulana Burqal Tauhidi (lead cleric of the district and leader of the Jamiat-e-Ahl-e-Hadith) condemned AF's activities in the district, saying they were promoting shamelessness and brazenness among women by having them participate in politics. The press covered the resolutions passed during the Friday prayers and it created a tremendous stir among the campaigners in the district.

The DCC called an emergency meeting to counter the situation. It was decided in the meeting that, to prevent further inflaming the issue, no statement would be given to the press to respond to resolutions or to clarify our position. It was also decided to hold meetings at main locations of the district to counter opposition and mobilise support.

Consequently, the DCC's representatives held several meetings in different villages and strategic urban areas. Clerics, village heads, influentials and other eminent persons were invited to the meetings. The main agenda of each meeting was to clarify that the ongoing Campaign was not against Islam (examples were cited of women who participated in politics in Islam) and was not devised to sabotage societal values.

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Instead, the DCC's efforts were to bring women into local councils as problems solvers for issues directly related to women; their presence in the councils would be an asset to local governance.

Following these meetings, the local DCC organised a district level seminar in the city of Toba Tek Singh. They invited people from diverse socio-economic backgrounds to attend. The speakers included clerics, politicians, women candidates, social activists and other influential people of the community who spoke in favour of women's participation in politics. The seminar was a success in terms of the number of people who attended to hear positive arguments being given to support women's political participation. The DCC managed to mitigate the effect of most of the clerics' vilification campaign. Their position was strengthened by the fact that some clerics even supported women who were contesting.

#### **A Question of Saving Face: Qutubuddin Khoso, Joint Coordinator DCC, Jacobabad, Sindh**

On the day of the elections, the DCC and AF Karachi came to Jacobabad to monitor the polling. We reached the Garhi Khero polling station Tajwero at 3:00 p.m. and learned that only nine votes had been cast. The reason given for this was that the people in the village had decided the previous night they would not allow women to vote.

We immediately contacted the candidate for *naib nazim* of the union council and told him that women's votes had not been cast and if he helped them vote, all their votes as councillors would possibly go to him. It would in any case be good for his reputation and political stature. The candidate saw the strength of our argument and visited each house in village Tajodero and told the villagers that if he got only a few votes, it would badly affect his reputation. So the women must be allowed to vote. The women and supporters then cast their votes. More than a hundred women used their right to vote. The Aurat Foundation team was present throughout.

#### **Female DCC Members Play a Major Role: Muhammed Jan Odhano, Coordinator DCC, Jacobabad, Sindh**

In the area around Jacobabad, a backward district of Sindh, women work in fields, but working for a political and social programme is like the Forbidden Tree for them. Where women's literacy is less than 10 per cent it is impossible for them to leave their homes for outside

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activities. No woman was prepared to participate in the elections.

Despite limited time and resources, the DCC involved different organisations and started work at the union council level. It was apparent from the beginning that no woman was willing to take part in the union council elections of Wafadar Sundrani. The DCC took up the challenge.

After some discussion, we set up committees at the district level to inform the people that if there was no representation of women on these seats, their council would be incomplete; with their votes they could contest other seats too, like the *nazim*, etc.

Among the influential politicians was Qudratullah Sundrani, whom we included in the DCC Campaign. On the opposing side was a landlord, who opposed bringing women forward. He told us that their women could not come out of their homes and they would never permit them to take part in any activity that jeopardised their honour.

The DCC team met the opposition group several times, telling them that after the elections, the council would be incomplete without the inclusion of women. The opposition were assured that the women were not against them.

The female DCC members increased their personal contact with the local women and included them in their training sessions, also training their polling agents in case the women could not attend the sessions.

Because of these efforts, the DCC got the support of not only the local community but the women of the area participated in the elections and were successful.

### **Jehan Ara Stands as an Independent Candidate: Karachi, Sindh**

Despite the fact the Local Government elections were supposed to be non-party based, political parties played a large role in the selection of candidates and supporting them in their campaigning. This was also the case in Soldier Bazar, Karachi, where Jehan Ara lived. She was a Bihari immigrant and had married into a clan of *dhobis* (washermen). Now widowed, she worked as a maid. She had been a member of a political party, but became dissatisfied with how they functioned. She had also had some interaction with a voluntary group of women's activists who provided rehabilitation services to families which had suffered in Karachi's ethnic violence. This is how the AF Karachi team came to know about her, and approached her to stand for a union council seat.

At first Jehan Ara was reluctant, not believing that a poor woman like herself could become a councillor. But with Aurat Foundation's

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motivation, she agreed to stand for election. When her decision became known, she was also approached by the political party to stand on their platform. They also threatened her if she refused. Agreeing to their demand would not only have been a safer option, it would have meant that she would have the backing of the party machinery and help to ensure her victory.

However, the support of AF staff stiffened her resolve to stand as an independent candidate. The AF Campaign team in Karachi provided her with Campaign material and visited her *mohalla* to speak to the voters about the Local Government elections. The local DCC raised Rs. 2,000 to have handbills printed announcing her candidacy. She refused to accept any monetary assistance from them. Though her seat was contested, she won the election.





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## 5. Political Rivalries Allow Space for Women Candidates



*Orientation meeting, district Ziarat, Balochistan*

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## 5. Political Rivalries Allow Space for Women Candidates

Since the Local Government elections were on a non-party basis the *baradaris* (clans) acquired more importance in political decisions at the local level than they would otherwise have done. The AF team designed a strategy whereby we had separate dialogues with each major *baradari* like the Jats, Gujjars, Arains, Kashmiris, Rajputs, Balochs, Tiwanas, etc.

In the dialogue our main argument was that if a *baradari* did not allow women to contest the elections, they would lose power to those political rivals who allowed their women to contest and win any of the six women's seats in the union councils. Since the union councillors formed the Electoral College for the district *nazim*, those who captured most of the women's seats would have an edge over their rival political groups in the number of votes they could muster for this most coveted office. This strategy worked because it had a political rationale and won over customary considerations (usually, but wrongly, given a religious tinge) and women were allowed to contest the elections.

### **Tribal Chiefs See Advantage of Women's Participation: Kohlu, Balochistan**

Before the Local Government elections, the two districts of Kohlu and Barkhan were merged into a single district Kohlu. The two districts were inhabited by various tribes which had a long history of political and tribal rivalry in pursuit of political power. After the merger of the districts, the situation became worse as major tribes were forced to coexist.

As the Local Government election process started, neither tribe was ready to bring women candidates for the reserved seats, despite a number of meetings of AF and the DCC with the tribal elders. According to tribal custom, women had never contested elections in Kohlu. AF consulted the DCC and together they decided to use another strategy to persuade the warring tribes to bring forth the candidates for the women's seats. The elders of the Kethran tribe were told that since all the members of union council, both male and female, would vote to decide the district *nazim*, the group with fewer councillors would lose the seat of the district *nazim*. The same political implication was pointed out to the elders of the other tribe. The tribal elders decided to inform their sardars about this political argument.

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A delegation of Kethran elders met with their sardar, a seasoned politician, who gave permission that women candidates be brought to contest elections on the reserved seats. Simultaneously, a delegation of other tribesmen met with their elders who ordered their tribesmen to bring the women on the reserved seats. Hence all the women's seats from Kohlu had nominations filed against them!

As a result about 94 per cent of the seats of district Kohlu were filled. (The result was initially 100 per cent but the boundaries of the district were changed later and some other union councils were included that had fewer women representatives.)

### **The Numbers Become Politically Important: Amir Mughal, DCC Coordinator, Dera Ismail Khan, NWFP**

In Dera Ismail Khan, elections were held in the first phase. This was the hometown of Maulana Fazal-ur-Rahman, Chief of JULI (F), whose party was strongly opposed to the Devolution Plan and had boycotted the elections. The DCC put in a great deal of effort to neutralise this opposition.

The DCC continued its efforts for the success of its campaign by interacting with various political groups. The political groups included the Mian Khail group and the Alizai group, Ganda Pur and Kundy, and the Makhdum group. The candidates for tehsil *nazim* and the deputy *nazim* were selected from the Mian Khail group, whereas the candidates for *nazim* in tehsil Paharpur was from the Makhdoom group and in tehsil Kalachi from the Gandapur group. After several consultations with them, we were able to develop a strategy to deal with them.

During discussions with each of these groups it was emphasised that unless their women participated in the elections and all the seats were filled in the district government elections, their group would not get importance or priority. After many meetings, the DCC was able to convince the political groups to get as many women to contest the seats as possible.

Our activities included media interaction, and interaction with the officials of the Election Commission of Pakistan, the District Administration and local departments. The DCC also held training sessions for candidates.

As a result, despite the all-out efforts to stop people from participating in the polls, a large number of people filed nomination papers. Even in the union council of Maulana Fazal-ur-Rahman, 83

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nomination papers were filed, out of which 19 were of women – 12 for women's general seats and seven for peasant/worker seats. The overall result was 67.7 per cent seats filled.

### **The Numbers Argument Wins Again: Lakki Marwat, NWFP**

Without a formal network in Lakki Marwat, the AF team's first task when visiting the area was to identify local partners. However, citing the prevailing norms and traditions, everyone, from District Administration to the local activists, ruled out any possibility of women participating in the elections.

Tribal groupings were stronger than political affiliations. The main groups were the Saifullah group, the Anwar Kamal and Kabir Khan group and the Pir Zakori group. After identifying the leading figures in these groups, the DCC started working with them. The key strategy was to highlight the importance of women councillors' vote for the *nazim's* seat. After realising the significance of women councillors' votes, the local tribal elites became active in fielding their women supporters in the elections.

### **Fielding Women Candidates to Win Votes for the Nazim: AF Team, Tank, NWFP**

An economically backward and conservative tribal area of NWFP, Tank was a district where tribal and family affiliations were stronger than political ties and religious elements had great influence on the people.

The first time AF went to Tank was in connection with the Campaign activities. We had no formal network or local partner there. However, we managed to identify a few individuals to run the Campaign. Though small in number, the DCC worked very tactfully without provoking any untoward action.

Most of the people we met ridiculed the idea of women's participation in political activities, saying it was against their religious and cultural norms and traditions. There was also strong anti-NGO feeling in the area. We were sincerely advised not to undertake any mobilisation of women for Local Government in Tank. We were threatened with dire consequences by some conservative groups, but the team members preferred to hold discussions with them. Thus through dialogue and using [personal contacts](#), [we were able to](#) diffuse [the](#) tension.

Instead of going for high profile public activities, the local Campaign team held one-to-one meetings with the candidates for the

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*nazim*'s seat and with the influential among different tribal groupings. The local power brokers were made aware of the importance of women councillors' votes in the subsequent elections of district *nazim*.

Once the local elites realised the importance of women councillors' votes in the numbers game, they started preparing and fielding women candidates to win the coveted office. During the election for the *nazim*, the potential candidates approached the DCC Coordinator for assistance. Each wanted his support because of the goodwill enjoyed by the Coordinator among the elected representatives as he had developed good ties with most of them during the Campaign.

### **The Numbers Argument Continues to Convince: Qamar Zaidi, DCC Coordinator, Jhang, Punjab**

The DCC Jhang, in the course of their work, faced an interesting situation. We went to a village called Machhi Sultan to get women interested and active in the elections. We had not visited this village before but we knew that it was very backward and the women had little or no awareness regarding their rights. Purdah was so strict that no woman could be seen. To persuade the women to participate in the elections seemed an impossible task. However, a local educated landlord arranged a meeting so we could address the local men and women.

When we reached Machhi Sultan, the men and women were seated in someone's *dera* (home). The seating arrangement was such that while the men were facing us, the women had their backs to us. Even though they were not wearing burqas or chadars we could not see their faces nor could they see us.

We did not know anyone there and could talk directly only to the men. However, we started to convince them to allow their women to take part in the elections. Among other things, we told them that since the women could take part in the elections only with the support of the men, they should understand that if the women became representatives, their men would also gain importance.

Finally we tried another argument in our arsenal and were successful in our strategy. We told them very clearly that the group that had more women contesting in the elections would benefit greatly. So if they did not allow their women to contest, their rival groups would send their own women to sweep the polls for the reserved seats for women. Upon hearing this, the men present there agreed to allow their women to vote and contest the elections.

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### **Political Considerations Above All: AF Team, Karachi, Sindh**

In Orangi Town, Karachi, a local organisation invited the AF team to conduct voter education. Most of the inhabitants were Pathan and had not allowed their women to contest. The President of the organisation said, "We are Pathans and it is against our tradition that any woman should contest the elections, or that her name be taken in public and appear on voters' lists for all men to read." An unsuccessful discussion followed.

Eventually we said that if they did not allow their women to contest, they would lose all the 33 per cent seats reserved for women and would have fewer votes to elect the *nazims* of the town and of Karachi itself, as all the union councillors were the Electoral College for these offices. The next day the process of filing nomination papers began for the women candidates!

During this time, different groups within the same union council invited AF to conduct voter education. We used the same argument to convince these groups to allow their women to contest. As a result all seats reserved for women in Orangi Town were filled.





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## 6. Mobilising the Women and Standing by Those Who Dared



*Training workshop for women candidates, district Haripur, NWFP*

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## 6. Mobilising the Women and Standing by Those Who Dared

Where the local leaders could not be convinced and persisted in their opposition, the DCCs and the Regional Campaign Secretariat provided support to the women and the local activist supporters when they wanted to counter the resistance in different ways.

The general strategy was that wherever there was total resistance to the women coming forward as candidates, there would be attempts to ensure at least some nominations and possible elections. This would mean that no union council would be left without at least one women representative and this breakthrough would be symbolic as an opening in that constituency for the future. This depended very much on the courage and the determination of the women and the local activists supporting them. Many DCCs and TCCs supported the women candidates when their families opposed their participation. At the same time they tried to persuade the relatives to support the women too. Most of the time, they were successful.

At the end of the elections, there were only 212 union councils out of 6,022 and only one district (Kohistan) out of 100 that had no women representatives.

### **Involving Minorities: Mohammad Saeed Baluch, Coordinator DCC, Chagai (now Noshki and Dalbandin), Balochistan**

Chagai, bordered by Iran and Afghanistan, was area-wise the largest district in Pakistan. Mengal, Badini, Jamaldini, Mohmmad Hasni, Notaizai, Syed, Braich and other tribes coexist. Brahvi and Balochi and are spoken in the district. There is also a large Hindu population.

The different tribes decided to boycott the elections of 2000-01. The DCC held a meeting with Mir Akram Khan Mengal in Noshki and informed him of the decision by feudal leaders to boycott the elections. Mir Akram was highly respected by the large Hindu population. He was asked to intervene to persuade the Hindus to participate in the elections. DCC members and Mir Akram met with Chaudhry Mohan Laal, Bharabdas, Tek Chand and other influentials in the Hindu Community Hall.

Mir Akram and members of the DCC explained to the gathering that instead of boycotting elections, they should participate in politics and use the platform to highlight their problems and demands.

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The Hindus agreed to participate in the upcoming elections. After looking at the precedent set by the Hindu community at Chagai, minorities in district Kharan also decided to participate in the elections. DCC Coordinator Mohammad Saeed Baluch, Kailash Sadana, Rehmatullah Mengal and other members met with minorities in Kharan. In addition, Chaudhry Mohan Laal, Chaudhry Tek Chand, Bharabdas and Kailash Kumar participated in this meeting.

#### **Hakim Zadi's Door-to-Door Campaign: Jaffarabad, Balochistan**

Hakim Zadi, an illiterate housewife from rural Jaffarabad, approached the DCC for help in completing and filing her nomination papers. During the process, she remained in contact with members of DCC. After her candidature was confirmed, she participated in the training organised by the DCC for women candidates.

As the result of this training, Hakim Zadi formed a group of females of her family and started door-to-door visits, asking people and especially women to vote for her. As she went from house to house, other females of the area started to join her in her campaign and the group of women increased to about 60. As a result, as they went to any other home it seemed that she was leading a small *jaloos* (procession). This was a novelty never before experienced by the people of the area.

Soon after the event, one of the candidates for the district *nazim* seat was informed about what was happening in the area. He had his own panel of candidates in the different union councils. He immediately called Hakim Zadi to his residence and threatened her with dire consequences if she did not stop. But Hakim Zadi remained unafraid and refused to oblige him, even when he offered to include her in his panel. His main emphasis was that Hakim Zadi should not go from house to house soliciting votes. The local chief felt threatened by the new emerging trend of campaigning by ordinary people and specially the women of his area.

From the start to the last day, Hakim Zadi ran her campaign in full swing, without accepting any pressure from any side. In her campaign she was fully supported by the DCC. She won the election and is now working as an active member of the CAC, Jaffarabad.

#### **Neutralising Opposition and Mobilising Women: Jhal Magsi, Balochistan**

District Jhal Magsi is strictly a tribal and feudal area. In the last

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Local Government elections of 1999, only 20 per cent of the seats reserved for women were filled. This time the DCC adopted a two-pronged strategy: to convince the tribal leaders to allow women from their area to stand for elections, and to mobilise women to contest elections. In the elections, held in the second phase, 92 per cent of the seats were filled, the highest in any district during the first two phases.

### **DCC Stands Solidly Behind Syeda Ahsan: Mastung, Balochistan**

Mastung is an agricultural district where large landholders exercise power in society. Mastung is a tribal district and the tribal code prevails. The district is composed of Mastung, Kardgap and Dasht tehsils and 12 union councils. The main language in the district is Brahvi. The PML, PPP, JUI, JUP and BNP dominate politics. Nawab Mohammad Aslam Raisani and Sardar Bahadur Khan Banguizai are the two main figures in politics.

AF held a meeting to highlight the importance of mobilising women for the coming elections. The DCC commenced its activities by holding a seminar in which 30 women participated. Zakira Noreen, a female member of the DCC, addressed the women. Syeda Ahsan, a participant, announced that she would contest the elections.

After a few days she called the DCC Coordinator and told him that her brother and other male relatives were opposed to her participation in the elections. Kausar Hussain, the Coordinator, called an emergency meeting of the DCC and they decided to hold a meeting with her husband. Her husband, Ahsan Shah, said that he supported her decision.

When the DCC tried to persuade her brother, her maternal uncles and other relatives, they remained adamant in opposing her. Syeda Ahsan stuck by her decision to contest. Her husband asked the DCC to go ahead with filing her nomination papers. The DCC paid her nomination fee.

When her male relatives found out that she had filed her nomination papers they approached the Department of Health, where Syeda Ahsan was working temporarily as a Lady Health Visitor, and got them to send her a letter asking for her resignation. She resigned just so she could contest the elections.

All members of the DCC participated fully in her election campaign. At this point her male relatives severed all contact with her. In spite of this, she continued with the election campaign.

Election results for this constituency revealed that the *nazim* secured 714 votes while Syeda Ahsan secured 703 votes. These were the

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most votes anyone secured after the *nazim*.

### **Nur Bibi's Courageous Stand: Pishin, Balochistan**

Pishin is a tribal area which is conservative and religious, and where women are not allowed to go out of their homes. Despite this, they came out to participate in political activities.

In the fourth phase of the Local Government elections, Nur Bibi, a 60 year old widow, showed interest in the programme of AF and the DCC and decided to take part in the elections. She was personally known to a member of the DCC.

When the local sardar came to know that a woman from his area was going to submit her nomination papers without his knowledge and permission, he was furious and contacted her family, ordering them to stop her or face the consequences. Threatened by the sardar, her family tried to stop her. But Nur Bibi was firm in her resolve and submitted her nomination papers. When the sardar heard this, he contacted the DRO and RO and asked them to cancel her nominations.

Nur Bibi approached the AF and DCC for help. They held a meeting and advised her to file a writ petition in the High Court against the cancellation of her nomination. When the sardar got to know about this, he was so angry that he had Nur Bibi beaten up.

However, before the High Court could give a verdict in the Nur Bibi case, the sardar contacted AF and the DCC, requesting them to ask Nur Bibi to withdraw her writ petition. He promised the members that he would let Nur Bibi join his panel in the elections and she would win unopposed. After this assurance, Nur Bibi withdrew her writ petition.

### **DCC Sibi Supports Rehana Hamid for Nazim: Shahbaz Barozai, DCC Coordinator, Sibi, Balochistan**

DCC Sibi also worked in Bolan, Harnai and Kohlu. We wanted to show that a woman could contest the seat of *nazim* from Balochistan. Therefore we asked Rehana Hamid Khan, a CAC member, to contest the district *nazim* seat. We also prepared Mohammad Sadiq, another CAC member, to contest the district *naib nazim* (deputy mayor) seat. As soon as political and religious elements found out that we were supporting a woman to stand for election, they started targeting us. Rehana Hamid received threats of kidnapping. Even her family members were pressurised. Our opponents offered that if we withdrew Rehana's

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nomination for *nazim*, they would support six women to become councillors. We refused their offer.

Rehana Hamid Khan received the votes of 657 union councillors in the district, but lost. The fact that she contested in the elections gave much hope and inspiration to women in other parts of the district. As a result many women participated in elections. Rehana took a keen interest in her campaign and even visited the polling booths on election day.

### **Bakhtiana Bibi, a Woman of Indomitable Courage: Buner, NWFP**

Buner is one of the less developed districts in northern NWFP. In earlier elections, women had not been allowed to contest in most of the areas of the district. The Campaign activities in the district motivated the people, especially the women, to contest elections. Despite the campaign against women's participation, 93.2 per cent of the seats reserved for women were filled.

Bakhtiana, the 45 year old wife of Naseeb Gul a daily wage earner, hailed from a poor family of village Sunni Gram, union council Rega. She had three sons and two daughters. Bakhtiana worked as domestic help in the houses of Khans and Maliks to supplement the meagre income of her husband.

When the Local Government election schedule was announced, the Campaign was launched in Buner. Bakhtiana attended the activities of the DCC and was motivated to contest the elections when she was told that after being elected as a councillor, she would get funds to work for the development of her village and thus have a good opportunity to serve the people. She filed her nomination papers.

She got the information material and the AF produced audio-cassettes about the electoral process from the DCC and handed these to the people in her village. The cassettes had a lot of information and the people listened to them.

This turned religious elements in the village, especially those from the Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi, Ashaat-e-Tauheed and Jamaat-e-Islami against her. They accused her of furthering the NGOs' agenda by bringing their cassettes to the village and spreading obscenity. The people in the *hujras* and mosques also threatened her husband with a social boycott and even wanted to expel the family from their rented house. They feared that she would get other women of the area to follow the NGO.

The hostile attitude of the people influenced her husband who

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became averse to the idea of her contesting the elections. He told her that she had become an agent of the United States and the Jews, by pocketing large sums of money she had received from the NGO people.

Bakhtiana informed the DCC members about all this. The DCC members met her husband and told him that after election his wife would become a public representative and get honoraria that would help the family financially. The argument worked well.

Bakhtiana made personal contacts with the people by visiting the homes of the voters and even her opponents. She unveiled her agenda before them and told them that she just wanted to work for the development of her village. She used the cassettes that she had distributed to the villagers, containing songs to motivate women to take part in the Local Government elections. She asked them to carefully listen to the songs and judge for themselves whether they furthered the agenda of either the United States or the Jews. Apart from making personal contacts, she had election posters printed and put up at different sites.

But the religious groups refused to budge. They said that the social boycott of her family would be done if she did not withdraw the nomination papers. "Do not come to our houses to mislead our women," they told her rudely. But the unbowed Bakhtiana announced she would contest the polls, without bothering about the treatment she received from them.

On 2 July 2001, election day, she reached the women's polling station along with other women, but the people did not allow her to cast her ballot. They told her that they had tolerated her campaign, but now she had also brought other women with her for polling, strengthening their notion that she was an NGO agent. They asked her to go back as this was against their cultural norms, and even threatened her with violence.

The mob also insulted her husband and threatened to kill him along with his wife if he did not stop Bakhtiana from taking part in the polls. They told her husband that after becoming a public representative, Bakhtiana would be under the influence of the westernised NGOs, adding she would move freely outside her home, unaccompanied by him.

The DCC members assured her husband that all this was not correct and that he would be allowed to accompany his wife whenever and wherever he deemed necessary. This dispelled his apprehension and he decided not to succumb to the pressure.

Bakhtiana and the four other women left the polling station, disappointed because they had been unable to exercise their right to vote.



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But when the polling results were declared, everyone, including Bakhtiana, was shocked because she had got 558 votes, the second highest among the women in the 27 union councils of Buner district. Sabroon of union council Soray polled the highest with 1,149 votes. People came to greet Bakhtiana on her victory.

Her initiative to make personal contacts with the voters by visiting their houses, support from the DCC members who convinced her husband to allow her to contest, and the proper use of the election-related material ensured her success in the polls. (Repeated from Chapter 4.)

#### **‘Candidates’ of Aurat Foundation: AF Team, Punjab**

Though elections were held on a non-party basis, almost every political and religious party or faction ran candidates for election. However there were a large number of women candidates who stood on their own without any political affiliation. The DCCs told us during monitoring visits that a number of such women candidates, when asked who was supporting them, answered, “We are candidates of Aurat Foundation.”

#### **Shagufta Alam’s Undaunted Stand: Faisalabad, Punjab**

Shagufta Alam was a resident of Mai di Jhuggi, a slum area on the outskirts of Faisalabad. She belonged to the Awan *baradari* which was predominant in the area. When reserved seats for women were announced under the new Local Government system, she decided to stand for elections. Already involved in social work in her area, she thought that being a councillor would help her continue her social work in a more effective way. Her husband and mother-in-law permitted her to go ahead with elections. Neighbours also supported her candidacy. She finally filed her nomination papers. Since two rival groups were contesting for the union *nazim* seat, she was able to obtain the support of one group.

Within a week of filing nomination papers, her brothers, with whom she had not been on speaking terms for some months, came to her house and scolded her for not getting permission from them before standing for elections. They then asked her to withdraw support from the group that was backing her since it was their rival group. She said that she was happy with the group and saw no reason to quit them. At this a hot exchange of words followed between her husband and her brothers and ended in a physical brawl. The brothers thrashed her husband badly and fled the house, threatening them with more serious consequences.

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Shagufta's husband received serious bruises on his face and other injuries. She took him to a nearby hospital for treatment. Then she went to lodge an FIR with the police station but they kept delaying it on one pretext or another. She kept pursuing the case and finally on the second day after the incident, the police registered the FIR.

In the meantime, the DCC learnt of the incident and met Shagufta Alam and offered her support. She was disturbed and somewhat insecure because of her brothers' threats. The representatives of DCC gave her reassurance and promised her full support during her election campaign. The AF campaign staff and DCC members visited her three times to show solidarity and to keep her morale high. A big seminar was also organised in her constituency by the DCC. This was meant to provide her with the opportunity to do canvassing and express solidarity. Besides this, the DCC's representatives also participated in her corner meetings and provided her with election material.

As the date for polling drew near, the members of the DCC met the Deputy Commissioner Faisalabad and asked him to provide her with security on election day. The DC promised that the union council would be declared sensitive and security would be provided to Shagufta Alam. All these measures helped her in conducting her campaign peacefully. Shagufta Alam lost the election by a narrow margin.

**Groundwork for Mobilisation: Jameel Awan, DCC Coordinator, Gujranwala, Punjab**

During the Campaign we faced many problems but many of us in the DCC had had some relevant earlier experience functioning with a voluntary group representing diverse interests and sections of society. This was when we started to work with Aurat Foundation as a part of their Citizens' Action Committees (CACs) network in the country. We used to take up some problem that was troubling women or creating difficulties for them. Then we would all put our heads together and design an appropriate strategy to tackle it. In our CAC there were businessmen, labour leaders, lawyers, media professionals, teachers, health professionals, social workers and members of community organisations. There were many women in our CAC, mostly social workers or teachers. So we had many experienced people, who also had good contacts among the government or the MNAs and MPAs. We were able to solve many problems and we were well regarded and respected in Gujranwala.

Just before the elections we had tried out an experiment. In every

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single one of the 104 wards or constituencies, we set up mini-CACs comprising 10 men and five women. Their role was to go into their ward and research the needs of the residents of that area. They brought this list to the main CAC. We prioritised the needs in each ward and selected the ones that were the easiest to work for and would show results. Then we usually contacted the relevant government department or a local philanthropist to a function as the chief guest and brought up our problem after the event. We nearly always got the required sanctions or resources.

When we were merged into the DCC for the purpose of these elections, we carried on with some of our earlier work. With our previous experience and repute, we were able to mobilise a large number of women to contest in the elections. However, we soon realised that many of them did not have any ID cards. This was an oversight by us. So we redesigned the strategy to mobilise women who already possessed ID cards and to get ID cards for those who did not have them.

In deciding which women should be mobilised, we focussed on women who were active in NGOs, lady health workers, retired teachers, and social workers. To mobilise them we formed different groups, including both males and females, to meet the local male political and social leaders, as we needed their support. People asked us, "What will women get if they become councillors?" We answered, "Women will gain influence and power in the local communities. Also, the district *nazim* will not only give respect to the women elected but also to their families." This strategy was very successful.

We also reaped the fruit of our ward-level experiment. Many of our mini-CAC members were elected, both male and female. The people had expressed their appreciation by electing them as their public representatives.

### **Politics is Also for the Poor: Surraya Manzoor, District Councillor, Gujranwala, Punjab**

I was elected in the local elections, first as a union councillor then as a city councillor. My decision to enter politics, contest the elections and finally win was not an easy journey. While I met supportive people, I also encountered opponents.

We are poor as my husband is a rickshaw driver and supports the family on his meagre income. We have four children and I manage the best I can.

My participation in politics was accidental, not having any

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previous connection. I was the first woman in my family to join politics. This decision was not easy because I did not think I was qualified, but my husband's encouragement and my determination gave me confidence.

Quite by chance I attended an Aurat Foundation seminar with a friend and neighbours, not knowing why or to what purpose. The seminar was about the local elections, the participation of women and how to prepare for it. I decided to join the political process.

When I told my family about my decision, only my husband supported me and no one else. However, he explained to me that politics was not for poor people like us and especially not for women. He had complete trust in me so he gave me permission to contest the polls. As a result he had to face a lot of opposition from his family and outsiders too.

I wanted to stand for the seat from the area controlled by an influential family who planned to get the women in their family elected unopposed and my nomination was a stumbling block for them.

I knew nothing about the electoral process but was very keen so my husband and I met Malik Jameel Awan and Haji Abdul Rauf. They were encouraging and offered us every type of help. I lacked sufficient money to file my nomination papers. The local people contributed the fees for it and Malik Jameel of the CAC helped fill and submit them.

The most difficult problem was the pressure from different people, including my relatives, to withdraw my papers. When I refused, they heaped blame and insults on me and spread all sorts of rumours. They even offered me bribes. They threatened my husband and family. This was the worst time for me. My husband was very frightened and requested me to withdraw. I myself was very worried and could not sleep properly at night.

The Aurat Foundation trainers, Salman Bhai and others, gave me strength. They told me that when men's threats do not work, they start attacking the reputation of women. They told us to be firm and face the challenges rather than be scared. The opponents did not allow me to hold meetings for campaigning, so I asked the Committee (DCC) to help me.

The Committee members arranged a meeting for me, where it was announced that my nomination papers had already been accepted and that I had local support. They also helped by giving us Campaign posters which we put up at different sites. The posters gave the message that women's inclusion in politics was very important. The Committee had proved to be a wonderful resource and were like my family members.

I did not have money to run my campaign and even the money

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contributed by friends was very little, so I decided to sell my jewellery.

My opponents were influential and stronger, but I was confident that my people would not let me down. Still, I was shocked when I won with 1,400 votes and became aware of people garlanding and congratulating me. They took out a procession celebrating my victory shouting 'Zindabad'! I was so proud that I would now be representing women.

This victory turned my life around and I believe that nothing is impossible. The people who had objected to my nomination now cheered. I give the credit of my success to my husband, my family, Aurat Foundation and the Committee who advised and helped me.

When women try hard enough, they can get the cooperation of men. I believe that my participation in politics was like the first drop of rain that will make it easier for women in future.

**DCC Provides Support and Confidence: Rashid Ahmed Bhatti, DCC Coordinator, Hafizabad, Punjab**

The result of our Campaign was that the message reached a woman who wanted to contest the elections but the local MNA put pressure on her not to. When I got to know about this, I spoke to the MNA and said that if he threatened the woman, I would take the case to the press. He apologised to the woman and she was successful in the elections.

In another union council, a poor man's wife stood for a seat against a very influential man's wife. This man put pressure on the poor woman, bribing her up to Rs. 50,000, but she refused the bribe because she was assured of our support. She contested the election and won.

Similarly, in Pindi Bhattian union council, the *nazim* tried to stop a widow from standing for the elections because he wanted to put up one of his own family members. We talked to the *nazim* and told him that if he stopped the widow from contesting the elections it would harm his case. He gave up his opposition and the woman won.

While monitoring the election camp in Pindi Bhattian (tehsil headquarter in district Hafizabad), which was set up outside the Tehsil Courts, I saw a woman aged about 50 sitting inside the camp, somewhat embarrassed and nervous. I asked her what brought her there. She answered that she was baking *roti* (flat bread) at her *tandoor* (oven) and that the supporters of a candidate running for union *nazim* of her village brought her there to file her nomination papers as they wanted her to

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stand for a councillor's seat. I noted that she did not look as if she wanted to run for election, and she responded, "I am not that willing but once I get elected I will tell them what BD (Basic Democracy, a reference to a term used in Ayub Khan's period) is all about."

Towards the end of the last day of filing nomination papers, I came to know that one seat reserved for women, was still vacant in one of the union councils. I rushed to this village and began to search for a woman who could be requested to stand for election. Finally I came across an elderly woman and persuaded her that if she stood for election and got elected, she would enjoy the authority that the government promised to delegate to councillors in the new Local Government system. She agreed because there was no expenditure to be incurred as she did not have to run a campaign. She went all the way from her village to the district courts to file her nomination paper. She got elected unopposed. Early one morning, a month after taking oath, she came to me and enquired, "When will I get those powers that you promised I would have after getting elected?"

#### **Support from Campaign Activists: Pakpattan, Punjab**

Khadijah Begum lived in village Bahmini, district Pakpattan. Her husband was a shopkeeper and the rest of the family earned their living though daily wages. She was both socially and politically active in the area, having been a polling agent in previous elections. She dreamed that the time would come when she would be able to ask people to vote for her. Now that the time had arrived, she was determined to stand for election, and filed her nomination for a general Muslim women's seat.

At first her family was in favour of her standing. But the local Chaudhrys did not want her to stand because they had decided the women from their own families would stand for those seats. They contacted her husband and his elder brother and bribed them to convince her to withdraw her nomination. She refused, and was beaten and locked in her own house. Her family even tried to starve her to come round, but her husband was very upset and tried to smuggle in some food to her.

Finally, the brother-in-law forcibly put her thumb to a request to withdraw her nomination. After three days she was released because the date for filing nominations was over. But the family did not know that the date had been extended by another two days.

Khadijah managed to sneak out in a burqa and file her nomination. Her family was very angry when they learnt of this and

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threatened her. She sent a note through a girl in the family to the local TCC. The TCC Coordinator visited her immediately and took her to the police station where she filed an FIR against her male family members. The police visited the men in her family and warned them to behave.

The TCC continued supporting her during the remaining time up to the elections, even receiving her election symbol. In the meantime, the Campaign staff also reached her village and met with her husband, then with Khadijah Begum herself and other family members and held a series of discussions with them.

After this, the TCC held a press conference and the Campaign team videoed an interview with her. With so much support and publicity, most of Khadijah Begum's family decided to support her. They were of the view that now even the government was with her! She won the election.

### **Husband Supports Both Wives: Rahim Yar Khan, Punjab**

Nusrat Ejaz lived in village Sardargarh in district Rahim Yar Khan. The village is backward and the majority of the inhabitants are tenants and small landholders. Despite socio-cultural constraints, Nusrat Ejaz was able to study for her BA. After her marriage, she became involved in social work in the area and established the Anjuman-e-Behbood-e-Khawateen (Women's Welfare Organisation). Her husband supported her in her work and she set up a high school and a college. Though the family had to face opposition from the local landlords, yet they persevered.

When the Local Government elections of 2000-2001 were announced, her husband decided to contest the union *nazim* seat. He encouraged both his wives, Nusrat Ejaz and Kundan Mai, to contest the elections and canvassed along with them. Since he could only take one of them at a time on his motorbike, they campaigned in rotation! During the election campaign, Nusrat Ejaz was supported by the DCC which provided her with election material, training and moral support. Her husband lost the election, whereas both she and Kundan Mai won.

This success motivated her to contest a district council seat. Keeping in mind her leadership skills, the DCC activists supported her decision. Following suit, the second wife also decided to contest a tehsil council seat. Again both won the elections.

Nusrat Ejaz has been an active member of the CAC and a member of the Resource Group in the district-level Resource Centre for Women Councillors in Rahim Yar Khan. The district *nazim* and member,

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District Bait-ul-Mal Committee have appointed her coordinator for women's development projects.

### **Convincing Men to Allow Family Women to Participate: Rahim Yar Khan, Punjab**

Shabnam, a young woman with an MA from Bahawalpur University, belonged to a politically active land-owning family in Khanpur, district Rahim Yar Khan. She wanted to stand for election but with no support from her family and without knowing how to file her nomination papers, she was at a standstill.

The Coordinator of the local TCC, Jatoi, had meanwhile come up with a novel way to inform people about the help the TCC could provide in running for elections. He had a pamphlet printed advertising this information and a contact telephone number. From his grocery shop he would slip in a copy of the pamphlet into every customer's shopping bag.

This is how a pamphlet reached Shabnam. She got in touch with the TCC and obtained the information she required. She collected the necessary papers and went to file her nomination at the *kutcheri*. At this point the men in her family realised what she was doing, and also turned up at the *kutcheri*. An argument ensued, in which she was supported by the TCC. Her family members were finally convinced that Shabnam was determined and it would be more damaging to the family's honour if the people learnt that she was not allowed to stand.

While her family did not support her during the election period, her school friends helped her to campaign. When the elections took place, she won. She was so delighted that she phoned Aurat Foundation that night to inform them of her victory.

### **First Entry into Politics: Rahim Yar Khan, Punjab**

Farzana Hameed was the principal of a private school in Rahim Yar Khan. Her father was a shopkeeper and her brother assisted in the shop. Farzana's family had never participated in politics. She happened to attend one of the seminars organised by the Citizens' Action Committee on women's participation in politics, where representatives of the DCC and the AF Campaign staff motivated her to stand for election.

She came home and sought advice from her father who, with some reluctance, allowed her to take part in the elections. She filed her nomination paper for a union council seat. Farzana Hameed was



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competing with 12 other female candidates. She sought advice from the DCC on how to canvass, in addition to using the AF election material and getting training for her polling agents. She won the election. (Repeated in Chapter 13.)

**Mediating with Hanifa Kalhoro's Relatives: Ayaz Latif Dayo, DCC Coordinator, Ghotki, Sindh**

Hanifa Kalhoro was a housewife in union council Ruk, district Ghotki. She had studied up to class 5. She wanted to file her nomination papers, but her relatives were strongly opposed to this.

Some thought that if a woman stepped out of the house for politics it would jeopardise the honour of the family and they would not be able to face other families. The more religious ones refused to accept a woman who was openly working in politics. They gave speeches in mosques saying that taking part in politics was unIslamic, and threatened to boycott her socially if she did not stop.

The more political group in the family went to the sardar, who hoped to stand for the district *nazim* seat, falsely claiming that Fazal Kalhoro, Hanifa's husband, was working against him and that if Hanifa were elected to the union council, she would vote against him.

When this case came to the notice of the DCC, a three-member committee was formed which included Dr Sanaullah Kolachi, Shahjahan Pahnwar and myself. The committee decided that meetings should be held with the locals as well as the sardar who opposed Hanifa standing for election. Later, we conducted meetings independently with all the people who were opposing this woman.

Initially these people were not prepared to listen. Then we assured them that once elected, Hanifa would only represent women, their issues, the education in the village, progressive schemes and try to solve women's problems in her union council sessions. We convinced the candidates for district *nazim* that she would not use her vote against them.

We arranged three meetings between the opposing relatives and Fazal Kalhoro after which the people were satisfied to an extent. The result of this mediation was that four more women from union council Ruk were ready to participate in the elections – among them was the union *nazim* candidate's daughter-in-law, a lady doctor.

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**The Father-in-Law Agrees: Muhammed Jan Odhano, Coordinator, DCC Jacobabad, Sindh**

It was the last day to submit nomination papers in the Local Government elections in union council Miranpur, tehsil Garhi Khero, Jacobabad. We were afraid that one of the peasant/worker seats reserved for women would remain vacant. I was from this union council and I held a meeting with the DCC. We decided that permission should be sought for my cousin Ayesha Odhano's nomination papers to be filed.

Ayesha Odhano comes from a religious family of Jacobabad and most of the women in her family take no part in activities outside the home other than family social gatherings. Her father-in-law is a maulvi, the *pesh imam* of a mosque and is respected for his opinion in religious matters.

Our DCC group went to the maulvi to seek permission. He was reluctant because women in politics were not considered respectable. We made efforts to convince him that Islam did not forbid this action. We also tried another approach. We appealed to him that we had come to his house to ask for a favour and hoped that he would not disappoint us. It is the custom in some parts of Sindh that even if an enemy arrives at your doorstep with mediators, he is usually forgiven.

The father-in-law finally agreed but felt that if she lost, it would bring shame on him. The DCC group assured him that we would personally bear all the election expenses. Immediately after the agreement, Ayesha Odhano's nomination papers were filed, but as the deadline for the submission of the papers neared, three more women followed Ayesha's example and filed their papers, so elections had to be held for the two peasant/worker seats reserved for women.

Because of our commitment, the DCC privately picked up her electioneering expenditures amounting to Rs. 7,000. Ayesha won her seat, and when the results were declared, she had secured the highest number of votes cast in the union council, even more than the *nazim* of her union council!

Ayesha's father-in-law was pleased and acknowledged that his daughter-in-law had got more votes than the *nazim* because of the DCC and now he could hold up his head in pride.

**Surraya Altaf Challenges Traditions: Muhammed Jan Odhano, Coordinator DCC, Jacobabad, Sindh**

Surraya Altaf was a housewife in Jacobabad. She had studied up

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to Intermediate and her husband, Altaf Wagan, was also educated. But their family came from a tribal background and did not approve of women's participation in politics.

When the elections were announced, various associations in civil society became active in the Campaign. Since Jacobabad was included in the first phase, the people were not fully convinced and some were not even aware that elections to Local Government were to be held. The response from the women was disappointing; they were not ready to participate in the elections. At this time the Aurat Foundation DCC began to look for suitable women candidates.

Two local journalists, Parvez Abro and Ghulam Haidar, informed our DCC that Altaf Wagan's wife was educated and interested in participating in the elections. We formed two teams, one to talk to Surraya and the other to her husband, Altaf. My sister Sughra met Surraya. The teams told them that educated people like them should be foremost in the political programme, and should also bring their women to participate in the elections. We also promised to help them in filing their nomination papers. The couple said they needed some time to think it over.

Both the teams had three to five subsequent meetings with Surraya and her husband, after which they agreed. Their clan was highly critical of this decision as politics was not considered respectable work because it required women to move about outside their homes. Altaf and Surraya ignored them and joined the DCC's programme.

Surraya started holding meetings with the women in their homes, as a result of which they became interested, and many became actively involved in the electoral process. During this time, AF's female Campaign staff came from Karachi and met Surraya. They praised her efforts, which increased her self-esteem. Surraya Altaf won her seat.

#### **Supporting a Woman of a Rural Labour Household: Mirpur Khas, Sindh**

Iqbal Bibi from Mirpur Khas came from a poor rural labour household and had eight children. Her eldest daughter Razia Kausar, a health worker, had finished her school education, and was keen for her mother to join politics. She was able to persuade her mother to participate in the union council elections.

Razia Kausar contacted a DCC member, Azhar Abbas, and informed him about her mother's intention. He suggested that it would be easier for her if she approached a political party she liked and contested

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as one of their panel.

Iqbal Bibi contacted the area representative of the Peoples Party, because the Peoples Party had more influence in the area. The representative enquired about her family background and not only did he refuse her a ticket, but also showed his displeasure at her even applying. Iqbal Bibi felt very insulted and refused to contest the elections.

Razia again approached the DCC requesting them for help. Imtiaz Panhwar of the DCC was given the responsibility of helping Iqbal Bibi get a party ticket so she could contest the elections. He spoke to the PML(F) City Organiser, Zulfiqar Ali Junejo, who got her a party ticket.

After Iqbal Bibi's nomination was filed, the PPP became aware of it. The representative was particularly angry because he had rejected her. He tried to get his party men to get her to withdraw. One of them, later the union council *nazim*, frightened and threatened her family, telling her to withdraw. Iqbal Bibi remained firm in her resolve. Members of the DCC, Abdul Rasheed Shoro and Shahid Mughal, toured the area along with the PML(F) representatives. Iqbal Bibi's morale was strengthened now that she had their support and protection for her safety.

On the day of the elections, the PPP prevented the polling agents of Iqbal Bibi from going to the polling booth, and because of her limited resources she was unable to provide transport for her voters. Although Iqbal Bibi secured 335 votes from her community, she was unsuccessful. This was a moment of reflection for the PPP as their last PPP candidate secured 380 votes. (Repeated in Chapter 12.)

#### **Paying the Nomination Fees: Shakoor Abbassi and Qazi Zulfiqar, DCC Members, Naushero Feroze, Sindh**

During the Local Government elections 2000-2001, a man came to the office of the DCC saying that even though he had given his wife permission to take part in the elections, he did not have the money for filing the nomination papers, and there were many men like him. At this the DCC formed a committee to search for women who were ready to take part in elections but did not have the fees. We met the men in similar situations in union councils Padidan, Phul, and Naushero Feroze and assured them that we would pay the women's fees.

The DCC paid Rs. 500 each for the fees of Zahida Parveen, Maryam Paryo, Hooran, Shamshad Soomro and Apa Naseem. This, more than most things, showed the people that we were keen to involve women in the elections. All the women were successful and their votes were very

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important during the elections of the district *nazim* and tehsil *nazim*. The government gave awards to the councillors and also announced development schemes for them.

In this way, trust and rapport developed between the councillors and the civil society activists.



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## 7. DCCs Lead by Example



*Training workshop for women candidates, conducted by AF Karachi, organised  
by DCC Sukkur, Sindh*

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## 7. DCCs Lead by Example

When many of the activists of the DCCs and the district level Citizens' Action Committees realised, especially in the first phase, that there were no candidates for some women's seats and these were likely to remain vacant, they decided to file nominations of their family or organisation members. They realised that to convince the men of other families to allow their women to participate in politics, they had to lead by example.

### **Leading the Way Through a Minefield: Swabi, NWFP**

During the Local Government elections 2000-2001, the AF formed the DCC in Swabi in collaboration with the CAC, as was done in other districts of the province. All the DCC members unanimously elected Roohul Amin as the DCC Coordinator.

The JUI, JI and the Islahi Jirga (a welfare organisation) members had launched a campaign in the district against women's representation in the Local Government elections. They had termed the polls as an NGO drama, staged to bring women into disrepute, saying it was a conspiracy by the West to make Muslims rebel against Islamic values. They went to the extent of accusing those supporting women's representation in the polls of getting funds from AF and the anti-Islamic forces and agencies of the West. They further gave the fatwa that Roohul Amin and his companions had gone out of the ambit of Islam and become infidels and hence their *nikah* (marriage vows) stand broken. Anyone keeping contact with the DCC members would become infidel even after their deaths, for it was forbidden to attend even their funeral prayers.

Similar meetings were held in every mosque and Roohul Amin was the main target. There was a meeting in the Murghaz mosque and five men were given the assignment to kill him. Someone who came to know of the plot informed the DC and the Superintendent Police (SP) Swabi. Both the officials warned Roohul Amin and asked him to exercise caution outside the home. They also gave him maximum protection.

Meanwhile, a meeting of the Islahi Jirga, of which Roohul Amin was a member, was called in Roohul Amin's village. When Roohul Amin reached the venue, there were approximately 250 elders and youths there. When the discussion started, almost everybody agreed with the position of preventing women from voting or standing for election. When he was given permission to speak, Roohul Amin spoke at length on

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women's role in development work and the significance of their direct election to the councils. He told them that if the six seats of women in their union council went vacant, they would get less development funds than the other union councils where women were elected to the reserved seats.

The DCC Coordinator told them that Dera Ismail Khan was the home district of Maulana Fazal-ur-Rahman and there was no opposition to women's participation in polls there, but only here in Swabi. He said that women had roles to play as mothers, sisters, daughters and wives. If the men gave them respect, other people would follow automatically.

Some *jirga* members taunted Roohul Amin that if he considered it so important, why didn't he bring his own family women in the elections. At this Roohul Amin announced that whether the *jirga* supported him or otherwise, he would take the start with his own family and field his family women in the polls. The *jirga* could not reach any verdict. Another date was fixed for convening the next *jirga* at the *hujra* of Roohul Amin himself.

Meanwhile, Roohul Amin mobilised the active DCC members. The next day, the *jirga* announced that since Roohul Amin was bringing his own family women to the polls they had no authority and would allow him to do so unopposed.

On the other hand, the clerics, especially those from the JUI, JI and the imam opposed Roohul Amin tooth and nail and used all kinds of tactics to force him to take back his decision. The opponents sent a *jirga* team to his house, which met his brothers and children, but the DCC members and his family stood by him. He fielded his wife, Nighat Farozan, from the union council Swabi Khas and she was elected. Another woman, Gopala Begum, contested the peasant/worker seat and won. Similarly, Razia, the wife of the DCC Joint Coordinator, also contested and won her seat. (Repeated from Chapter 4.)

### **Resisting Pressure: AF Team, Upper Dir, NWFP**

In Upper Dir, the situation was totally against women's representation. Representatives of all the major national political parties and local religious leaders reached an agreement not to field women candidates in the Local Government elections. They also threatened the people with dire consequences if they fielded women candidates. Armed activists of the militant religious groups kept surveillance on the courts and around the offices of Returning Officers.

However, because of the efforts of the DCC and Campaign staff, 42 nomination papers of women candidates were filed. In reaction to this,

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the Dir-Chitral road was blocked for more than five hours to pressurise the District Administration to reject the papers. Despite this pressure, the families and the candidates refused to withdraw the papers. In one case, a DCC member, Syed Ghulam, gave the nomination papers on behalf of his wife. He faced severe opposition from religious elements, who tore up the nomination papers. Syed Ghulam went to the AC and insisted on having the papers re-submitted.

As a result, 41 women were elected uncontested to the union councils, and one woman won her seat after election. Due to this effort and the strength to resist pressure, there are now 65 elected women in different levels of Local Government in Upper Dir. (Repeated from Chapter 4.)

#### **Remaining Neutral Between Candidates: Khairpur, Sindh**

The DCC had a large number of female members. When there was reluctance from the public to bring their women forward as candidates, the DCC encouraged its own members to participate in the coming elections to set an example for other women. Five members participated in the elections. Male members of the DCC also convinced their female relatives to contest.

However, according to the code of conduct for the Campaign, information and orientation was also provided to the likely opponents of the candidates connected to the DCC. Thus the DCC maintained a neutral position in this context as well.

#### **Benefiting the Family: Barkat Ali Qureshi, Coordinator TCC, Khairpur, Sindh**

My family members, especially my father, opposed my decision to allow my wife to contest from Shikarpur during the first phase of the elections.

According to my father it was unIslamic and against our family traditions. I reasoned with him, using examples from Islam, without any effect. Then I explained to him that since this was a new system, my wife stood a good chance of winning. Entering politics and becoming a political force in the community would greatly benefit our family. This argument worked and he consented. My wife won and the same family members, who had initially opposed us, now came forward to congratulate us.

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**“Why Don’t You Ask Your Own Wife?”: Naushero Feroze, Sindh**

In Naushero Feroze, the DCC Coordinator went to the *khateeb* of the local mosque and tried to convince him to allow his wife to stand for elections. The rejoinder from the *khateeb* was, “Why don’t you ask your own wife to stand?” The Coordinator went home and discussed the situation with his wife and convinced her to stand. He then went back to the *khateeb* and said, “My wife is standing for the elections.” As a result the *khateeb* also asked his wife to stand for elections. Both women won.

**DCC Joint Coordinator’s Wife Contests Seat: Sukkur, Sindh**

Liaqat Soomro was the Joint Coordinator of the DCC in Sukkur. In a meeting he was questioned by some women that if DCC members were asking women to participate in the elections, why did they not ask their own wives, sisters and daughters to contest.

Taking up this challenge, Liaqat asked women from his extended family to participate; only his wife Rubina agreed. When she filed her nomination papers for a general women’s seat, the whole family, including the educated members, boycotted her and her husband. They asked Rubina to withdraw her nomination, while Rubina and Liaqat continued trying to convince them of the importance and correctness of what she was doing. After a hard time, the family were finally convinced. It was in fact a double victory: Rubina also won her seat.

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## 8. Checking Rejection of Women Candidates



*Information camp for women candidates organised by DCC Hyderabad, Sindh*

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## 8. Checking Rejection of Women Candidates

One of the key contributions of the Campaign for facilitating potential women candidates was the setting up of a camp close to the office where the Returning Officers were accepting the nomination papers of the candidates. For the first time in the history of Pakistan such camps were set up to facilitate the candidates. This was an extraordinary intervention by a non-government agency in the formal electoral process, which is considered the sole preserve of the official electoral authorities. That AF and its civil society network was allowed to do so, speaks highly for the respect and trust the Campaign activists evoked from the electoral authorities and the District Administration.

The idea of a facilitation camp originated from the DCC of Dera Ghazi Khan (Punjab) that took the initiative to assist the potential women candidates to file their nominations during the first phase. When the experience was shared in the National Review and Planning meeting after the first phase, it was appreciated by all the DCCs. It was felt that since many requirements of the new Local Government system were confusing, it was likely to lead to a very high rejection rate of nomination papers. Even the election officials present in the meeting recognised the brilliant idea of the facilitation camps.

### **An Innovative Idea: Sajjad Naqvi, DCC Coordinator, Dera Ghazi Khan, Punjab**

In the first phase of the elections, the DCC Dera Ghazi Khan implemented an innovative initiative by introducing the idea of setting up a facilitation camp for women candidates. We realised the importance of this activity because the system was new and the women filing nominations had had no previous experience of contesting elections. Our camp was very popular and we helped fill out the forms of the women and especially arranged free legal aid for them. After the first phase, we told all the DCCs and Aurat Foundation about it. It was decided at the National Review Meeting to include this into the national Campaign for the coming phases.

By the second phase, all DCCs and TCCs set up camps at the district and tehsil headquarters at the time of filing nominations. They provided information and necessary assistance, including free legal aid to candidates to complete their papers.

The services provided at these facilitation camps included:

- information on the eligibility of candidates for different categories,

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- verification of candidature from the voters' list,
  - information about the types of nomination forms and particulars to be filled in each form,
  - information on the amount of election fees and the process of depositing them,
  - free legal services in filing the nomination papers, and
  - dissemination of political information through pamphlets, posters, booklets, etc. about the Local Government System and the Campaign.

In addition to explaining how to fill the nomination form, the most important information provided by the facilitation camps concerned the correct fee for filing each nomination. A common mistake by the local Election Commission staff was charging Rs. 1,500 for filing nomination for a union council seat, for which the fee was only Rs. 500. The Campaign staff provided the correct information, which was only accepted by the election officials after verification. This was a matter in which the public frequently expressed their gratitude, since it saved them the unnecessary cost.

The facilitation camps strengthened the enabling environment for aspiring women candidates to find their way in the electoral process. This encouraged such women to come forward as candidates who would otherwise not have known whom to turn to, especially in the case where the family was indifferent or opposed to their candidature. There was no discrimination in the services provided in the camps on the basis of political group or party affiliation, or on the basis of creed, class or even gender. This substantially reduced the number of rejections from the second phase onwards.

An unexpected but significant outcome of the motivational Campaign, and particularly the facilitation camps, was that men from the middle and working classes came forward as supporters of their women. Many of them were also motivated to come forward as candidates themselves. These men would otherwise not have had access to this kind of information and support, which ensured their success.

#### **Motivating Women in the Family: Chitral, NWFP**

Mumtaz was the driver of the vehicle hired for the Aurat Foundation Peshawar Campaign staff in Chitral. He was also the president of the local drivers' union. He sat in the mobilisation meetings held with the various communities, and was so convinced, that he motivated his wife and sister-in-law to contest elections, despite opposition from the family members. Both the women won the elections on peasant/worker seats.



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### **Role Reversal – Rejecting the Mobilised! Tank, NWFP**

The motivation Campaign of the activists generated a great deal of interest and attracted many unexpected enthusiasts in this less developed district of NWFP. A local night watchman in a union council approached the DCC and asked them to file the nomination of his daughter on the reserved seats for women. The DCC declined to do so, on the grounds that his daughter was 20 years old and was not eligible to contest elections since the minimum age for candidates was 25. The man said angrily, “You should have educated public representatives. No woman in our area above the age of 20 is educated. You must include my daughter in the candidates.” While accepting the truth of this statement, the DCC Coordinator reluctantly refused to oblige him. The night watchman went away very disappointed.

### **Support for Candidates from Lower Income Groups: Jacobabad, Sindh**

A vegetable seller approached the DCC for help because his wife was standing for the peasant/worker seat and he had no means to campaign for her. The DCC provided him with a bicycle for her election campaign. During the process the man got so motivated that he also decided to file his own nomination. Both he and his wife won their seats.

### **Providing Assistance in Campaigning: Larkana, Sindh**

Sarwar, a bullock cart driver, belonged to Shahdad Kot, a tehsil of Larkana, and was well known in the area. He decided to run for the peasant/worker seat. The DCC Larkana had formed a committee in Shahdad Kot, which would conduct training for women candidates. Sarwar contacted the DCC and obtained full information about the election procedure.

When the DCC found out that very few women were contesting from Shahdad Kot, they requested Sarwar to let his wife contest in the coming elections. In this situation, when the seats were lying vacant in the first phase, the DCC promised to assist his wife in her campaign. They said that they would even provide posters and stickers for her campaign. This convinced Sarwar since he realised that this level of publicity would benefit his campaign as well.

Both Sarwar and his wife won in the elections, with Sarwar’s wife securing more votes than him!

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The process continued till the fifth phase, when elections were held for the district and tehsil councils as well. Here, too, the information and facilitation service was not limited to the aspiring women candidates but was also given to male candidates, as well as to the local election machinery. This generated a great deal of goodwill among the public and the government for the local activists in particular, and for NGOs in general.

By the end of the fifth phase of the union council level elections, the DCCs and TCCs had run 250 facilitation camps during the entire period specified for nominations. Of these, 35 were in Balochistan, 33 in NWFP, 126 in Punjab and 56 in Sindh.

## **Facilitation Camps During District and Tehsil Council Elections**

The success of facilitation camps at the union council level nominations created a demand from the activists and the public to set up similar camps for the tehsil and district council elections. The DCCs ran camps at the district level and distributed Campaign material, including a special booklet on rules and regulations for candidature for tehsil and district councils. Some of the TCCs, however, set up such camps with their own resources. For the provincial capital cities, the Campaign Secretariats took the responsibility for running the camps in collaboration with other NGOs and activist groups.

Altogether, the DCCs and TCCs ran 163 facilitation camps for four consecutive days scheduled for this activity: 27 for Balochistan, 24 for NWFP, 79 for Punjab and 33 for Sindh.

### **Lawyers Go On Strike Against the DCC Camp: Bahawalnagar, Punjab**

In tehsil Chishtian in Bahwalnagar district, there was a problem with opposing groups of lawyers. One group that was working with the DCC was providing free legal aid through the facilitation camp. The other group of lawyers went on strike, saying the lawyers who were assisting us had no mandate to provide this information. Eventually the two groups went to the Assistant Commissioner and after negotiations it was decided that the facilitation camp would be moved to a slightly different place.

### **Free Legal Aid to Candidates: Bahawalpur, Punjab**

The DCC had written permission from the Deputy Commissioner to set up a facilitation camp in the city of Bahawalpur. Free legal aid was provided to candidates to help them file nominations, with lawyers sitting

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from 9:00 in the morning to 5:00 in the evening. Another group of lawyers complained to the Deputy Commissioner that the camp was blocking the right of way on the main street. The real cause of their concern was that they used to charge prospective candidates Rs. 1,000 per nomination form and were now losing income. Charging candidates for helping them fill forms was a traditional way of making money before elections. They convinced a judge that they were right and on the third day the facilitation camp had to be moved to a place slightly further away.

#### **Voters' List Held Back: AF Team, Bahawalpur, Punjab**

In Hasilpur tehsil, district Bahawalpur, the DCC also set up a camp. At night we stored the information material, including the voters' lists, in a local shop that provided photocopying services. Next morning when we went to collect our material on the way back to Bahawalpur, the shopkeeper returned everything except the voters' list. After some argument he explained that before the elections, he had made multiple photocopies of parts of the district voters' lists that he planned to sell at inflated prices. Since the Campaign staff had copies of the voters' lists that could be accessed freely by the general public, he had not been able to sell his photocopies and was losing income. This was another of the traditional ways of making money prior to an election. He finally returned our copy of the voters' lists.

#### **Overcoming Financial Constraints: Jameel Awan, DCC Coordinator, Gujranwala, Punjab**

Most women candidates were economically dependent on male members of their family. They lacked financial resources to run their election campaigns. The problem was how to publish posters, stickers, and pamphlets without funds. They designed their own strategy with the support of the DCC to disseminate the material printed by AF. They distributed these materials after writing their own names and the union council numbers and election symbols on these. Thus they managed to overcome their financial constraints.

#### **Challenging the Lawyers' Moneymaking: Jameel Awan, DCC Coordinator, Gujranwala, Punjab**

The DCC Gujranwala started candidate facilitation camps and some local lawyers, both male and female, were available at these camps

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to offer free legal aid. A conflict emerged since other lawyers, who were charging Rs. 1,500 to Rs. 2,000 from the candidates as legal fees, felt that we were undermining their business by giving free services. We held a meeting with them where we explained to them that offering free legal aid was part of our nationwide Campaign. We highlighted that our motive was to mobilise women and this was a crucial part of our strategy. In this manner we managed to continue our services.

#### **Permission to Set Up Camp: AF Team, Pakpattan, Punjab**

We set up an information camp outside the *kutcheri* for the potential women candidates in connection with the elections in Pakpattan. We especially gave a written request for permission from the District and Sessions Judge, but it was refused on the grounds that no unauthorised person could set up camp.

We decided to go ahead and set up our camp but changed the site. We now used the outside of the shops with photocopying machines. The candidates flocked to our camp and we had quite a rush.

The District and Sessions Judge and the Deputy Commissioner passed by and saw the candidates getting information. They wondered who we were and why we were working with the candidates. When they were satisfied with our explanation, the Sessions Judge gave us permission to move our camp back outside the courts. He also arranged a meeting for us with the Returning Officers.

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## 9. The Hotline Between State and Citizens



*Monitoring polling in district Upper Dir, NWFP*

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## 9. The Hotline Between State and Citizens

From the outset there was very good interaction between the AF Campaign staff, the citizens' organisations and the various government authorities dealing with the elections.

Earlier in the Campaign, most of the DCCs had assisted the government registration and Election Authorities in facilitating the provision of identity cards and voter registration in electoral rolls. In many cases this process had some pre-requisites that were creating serious problems for the voters. When the problem could not be resolved at the local level, it was referred to the Campaign Secretariats to take up with the Election Authorities at the provincial level.

Throughout the electoral process, the DCC activists maintained regular contact with the Campaign management at the national and provincial level, who in turn were in direct contact with the Election Authorities at those levels. Problems in the nomination and electioneering processes were promptly communicated through the National and Provincial Campaign Secretariats (staffed by AF Campaign personnel), to the Election Authorities at various levels, including the Federal Election Commission. Many of the irregularities and queries were addressed immediately and relief was provided on the spot.

The Campaign staff and most of the DCCs were also requested by the local Election Authorities or the District Administration to assist the various government functionaries to acquire a better understanding of the new system. The Campaign material was supplied to and widely used by the Provincial Election Commissions in their training programmes and for voter education.

The close collaboration with the district level election and administrative authorities in many districts sensitised the government functionaries to be sympathetic to problems of women's participation in the electoral processes, and at times they took some positive measures to assist the women. However, in some districts the reaction of the District Administration was not so positive. This was mainly because the intrusion of civil society into a highly exclusive preserve of the state authorities was a novel experience for the bureaucracy. However, except for NWFP where the response was mixed at times, the Federal Election Commission and the Provincial Election Commissions extended their cooperation and facilitation for the Campaign.

### **Complaint Against an RO: Dera Murad Jamali, Balochistan**

The AF team was on a monitoring visit of the facilitation camps established by the members of DCC in their areas for filing nominations.

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They wanted to meet with the ROs to brief them about the Campaign. While they were waiting for the meeting in the Bar Room, people came to complain that the RO was asking them to bring women candidates for submission of nomination papers and their scrutiny. To do so was very costly for the people living in far flung areas of the district. It was also contrary to the instructions of the Election Commission which had exempted female candidates from appearing for the submission of nomination papers.

During the meeting with the Returning Officer the issue was raised but he stuck to his stand and was rude to the AF team and the members of DCC.

It was decided by the AF team and the DCC to bring the matter to the notice of the Election Commission in Islamabad. Younas Khalid, the AF Provincial Coordinator in the Quetta office, conveyed the issue to the AF Head Office in Lahore and to the Election Commission in Islamabad.

Early next morning, the DCC members came to the Rest House where the AF team was staying. They said that the District Election Commissioner wanted to meet them. This official told the AF team that the night before he had received five faxes from the Election Commission in Islamabad about the attitude of the RO towards women candidates. After this he called up the RO and warned him about his attitude. He also directed him strictly not to bind female candidates to come during the process of filing nomination process.

During the conversation of the District Election Commissioner with the RO, his tone remained quite harsh because he was treated in the same way by Election Commission officials in Islamabad, he told the AF team before they left his office.

### **ID Cards for Women: Gwadar, Balochistan**

In Balochistan a National Identity Card (NIC) cannot be issued unless the applicant has a Local or Domicile Certificate (depending on his or her ethnic background). In the run up to the elections in the first phase in district Gwadar, people complained that women in their region could not obtain NICs because they needed a Local Certificate, which – contrary to the process in other areas of Balochistan – required a photograph for women as well, which was not acceptable to them. This problem was raised by the DCC with the relevant local authorities, the DC and the District Committee for Local Certificates, and as a result the condition of including the photograph was relaxed for women. A number of women



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were then issued Local Certificates, and later NICs.

**Extension in Date for Filing Nominations: AF Team, Killa Abdullah, Balochistan**

On the final day allowed for filing nominations during the fourth phase, the our team visited the facilitation camp at Chaman in Killa Abdullah and learnt that only one set of the voters' list was available with the authorities and it could not be photocopied because there had been no electricity in the area for the previous two days. Candidates had not been able to get their documents and NICs photocopied for the submission of nomination papers. Due to this, no papers had been filed for most of the male and female seats of the union councils.

We immediately contacted the Election Commission in Islamabad and requested an extension in the period for filing nominations. We also asked the DCC members to directly contact the Election Commission in Islamabad, for which we gave all the relevant contact numbers. Thus the matter was brought to the notice of the official concerned. The DCC members were asked to call back after 20 minutes, when they were told that the Election Commission had verified the matter through their sources in the district and had decided to extend the date of submission of nomination papers for two days.

This response of the Election Commission came as a great surprise to the DCC and to the candidates, who had lost all hope of filing their nomination papers.

**Issuing Local and Domicile Certificates: AF Team, Naseerabad, Balochistan**

District Naseerabad is a tribal area. Political awareness is increasing, but at a slow pace. Jamali, Imrani and Khosa are the main tribes.

A problem arose during the second phase of the elections. In order to obtain a Local or Domicile Certificate, a person had to have a National Identity Card; but in order to have an NIC, the Local or Domicile Certificate was in itself a requirement.

We were in Dera Murad Jamali at the time and the CAC and DCC of Naseerabad informed us of this problem. We immediately informed our office in Quetta, and the Provincial Coordinator requested a meeting with the Balochistan Governor Amir-ul-Mulk Mengal, Provincial Minister for

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Women's Development Mrs Roshan Khurshid Barocha, and the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner, Naseerabad.

As a result of this lobbying, the Government of Balochistan issued a directive for all Deputy Commissioners to immediately issue provisional Local or Domicile Certificates on the attestation of one local notable, so that people could get their NICs and be able to vote.

An additional problem was that given the great distances in Balochistan, it was very difficult for many people to reach the district headquarters from where they lived, to get their Local or Domicile Certificates. The concerned authorities were also requested to delegate the powers to issue provisional Certificates to the Assistant Commissioners and Tehsildars in the sub-divisions. This request was also accepted and instructions issued to the sub-division level. Many people were able to file their nomination papers and contest the elections. Many women who had never had an NIC got one made now. In this Herculean task, the late Khalid Mengal, then PRO to the Governor Balochistan and a member of the Provincial Steering Committee, played a pivotal role.

#### **Earning Goodwill of the Voters: Quetta, Balochistan**

The delimitations of Quetta district had been a problem for local authorities since 1992, to the extent that Local Government elections could not be held in the district in 1992. The problem persisted even with the current elections. After the new delimitation of union councils, the voters' lists did not match voters to their actual areas, with the result that people had their names in the wrong area list. To file their nominations, candidates had to ensure that their correct serial number in the list, as well as the serial numbers of their proposers and seconders, were filed. Without this they could not file their nominations.

To solve the problem, the military authorities in collaboration with the District Administration, decided to hold a two-day camp in the District Courts, where lists were placed for the public. Eleven ROs of Quetta, along with military officers, were asked to make the necessary corrections. AF Quetta was requested by the military authorities to help the women voters during the camp. In the end, not just women but also male voters as well as different political groups were given advice by the AF team. This led to the recognition of Aurat Foundation's role and much goodwill from the public.

Aurat Foundation further learnt that because of the incorrect voters' lists during the nomination period, only one set of the complete

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updated voters' lists would be available with the Election Commission. The AF team obtained the updated set from the Provincial Election Commission and had it photocopied on an urgent basis. They then set up a facilitation camp with the correct voters' lists. People who approached the offices of the Provincial Election Commission for the information were sent to the AF camp to consult the lists.

Due to the rush of candidates, law enforcement agencies had to be requested to make arrangements after midnight, as some of the people tried to snatch the lists and threatened the AF staff. The incident was reported in several national and regional newspapers. (Repeated partially in Chapter 10.)

#### **Change in Colour of Nomination Forms and Increase in Number of ROs/AROs: Turbat, Balochistan**

During the first phase of the elections, 45 per cent of the nomination papers filed by women in district Turbat were rejected. This was mainly due to the wrong papers being filed for a particular category. Women were allowed to contest five categories of seats but since the nomination forms for all categories were white, they were confused about which forms to fill against which category.

Only one RO was based in Turbat, which meant that due to the distances between the union councils and the district headquarters in Turbat (in some cases about 400 kilometres, with no metalled roads and transportation facilities), no appeals against rejection of nomination papers could be filed.

The Provincial Coordinator and staff of the Campaign in Aurat Foundation's Quetta Office spoke about both problems directly with the Election Commission in Islamabad and Quetta and with the Government of Balochistan. After this, not only were the colours of the nomination forms of different categories made different, it was also decided to increase the number of Returning Officers. From the second phase onwards, Returning Officers and Assistant Returning Officers (AROs) were appointed for no more than eight union councils in Balochistan.

#### **Monitoring Polling in Village Mat: Chiniot, Punjab**

During monitoring of the polling station at village Mat union council, the AF Team from Islamabad questioned a few women about the problems they were encountering. One candidate, Taj Bibi, said that the

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staff at the station had made the women queue outside under the blazing sun while the men were asked to stand in the veranda. One male *nazim* was canvassing unchecked inside the polling station. The monitoring team lodged a complaint with the staff, police and army personnel present at the station. As a result the *nazim* was asked to leave and the women were given space in the veranda.

**Information About Correct Fees Given to Public: Jameel Awan, DCC Coordinator, Gujranwala, Punjab**

During the nomination period we faced another major problem regarding nomination fees. The government had fixed Rs. 500 per candidate but most of the banks were charging women candidates Rs. 1,000. Some candidates and political activists approached us and complained about this issue. We brought this issue before the Local Government officials and formed a four-member committee to seek clarification. We also met the District Election Authority and requested that the RO be directed to receive the correct fees himself. The District Election Authority Office issued a notification in this regard.

We designed posters and distributed these in the district and tehsil *kutcheri* with the names of all the ROs and their contact information. We directed candidates to contact the government officials who had been named on these posters. The majority of the candidates appreciated our efforts. (Repeated in Chapter 10.)

**Access to Voters' Lists: Ashiq Bhutta, DCC Coordinator, Multan, Punjab**

The biggest problem was submission of the nomination papers without having access to the voters' lists. The CAC Multan contacted the DC Multan who cooperated and installed six or seven photocopying machines in his office. In this way we were able to get the photocopies of the voters' lists in large numbers and solved the problem.

**Linkage Between Candidates and Electoral Authorities: Sheikhpura, Punjab**

Although there was a separate electorate at the union council level for the councillors, a court ruling had been given that the offices of the *nazim* and *naib nazim* was open to all religious communities. So Charles Masih, a Christian from Youngsonabad, decided to contest the

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seat for the *nazim* and filed his nomination papers. However, the RO said that he had no notification to this effect from the Provincial Election Commission, and accepted the objection of a local Muslim. Charles Masih hired a lawyer to help him fight his case, but it did not help. At noon on the last day of filing nominations, he rang up Aurat Foundation for help. With some difficulty and great persistence, the Provincial Election Commissioner was located, who obliged by faxing instructions to the Returning Officer. Charles Masih was able to stand for *nazim*, and won. (Repeated in Chapter 10.)

### **Seats for Non-Muslims: Karachi, Sindh**

During the election campaign a general misunderstanding prevailed that there was only one seat for non-Muslims at the union council level. Two local leaders, Saleem Khurshid Khokar and Michael Javed, visited Aurat Foundation to confirm whether as members of a religious minority they were eligible to contest the peasant/worker, the *nazim* and the *naib nazim* seats. Once this was confirmed, they decided that the Christian community of Karachi would hold a meeting at St Michaels School, Essa Nagar, for Aurat Foundation to give them the information. After this meeting, they put up their candidates wherever there was a majority of Christians in the community.

Shazia Yusuf, a Christian woman, contested the peasant/worker seat in Liaqatabad union council and won.

Shahzadi Michael, who contested the *nazim's* seat of a union council in Essa Nagar, was expected to win. On polling day the opposing group, with a Muslim candidate, threatened the Christian community and tried to prevent them from voting. Many Christian voters were afraid and returned to their homes without casting their votes.

Shahzadi reported the matter immediately to AF Karachi office as well as to the Election Commission. The AF staff immediately informed the Election Commission, as a result of which polling time was extended by two hours. Despite this, she withdrew from the election. She was afraid for her safety and so was the Christian community, and very few of them returned to cast their votes. (Repeated partially in Chapter 10.)

### **Getting the District RO Back on Duty: Naushero Feroze, Sindh**

On the last day of filing nominations in district Naushero Feroze, the National Campaign Secretariat in Aurat Foundation Lahore received

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information that the DRO and District and Sessions Judge had stopped accepting the forms at 12 o'clock and gone home.

Apa Naseem Umrani, one of the candidates, informed the DCC Office of this lapse. The DCC Coordinators, Shakoor Abbasi and Qazi Zulfiqar, and the other DRO reached the office where 29 women candidates and 80 men were waiting to submit their forms. The political groups and the district representatives were also there. They had tried to phone the absent DRO but he refused to return. The AF Campaign team member, Adam Malik, was in Mithiani and reached Naushero Feroze within an hour.

The DCC decided to ask Aurat Foundation's Executive Director, Nigar Ahmad, for advice. She told them to wait while she informed the authorities. She rang the Director General of the Federal Election Commission in Islamabad, who set things in motion. Within half an hour, the official was back on duty and stayed until the evening to collect the nomination papers of the candidates. This incident restored the faith of the political parties in the DCC.

At 8:00 p.m. that night the Executive Director got a telephone call from the local head of the PPP in Naushero Feroze to thank her. He said if she had not done something, they would not have been able to file nominations. (Repeated in Chapter 12.)

### **Correcting an RO's Mistake: Thar, Sindh**

Thar, located in the desert region of Sindh, has a large population of non-Muslims. The DCC informed the local population that non-Muslims could not only contest the seats reserved for them in the local councils, but also the seats in the peasant/worker category and the posts of *nazim* and *naib nazim*, according to a recent Punjab High Court ruling upholding their right to stand for these seats as well. The DCC encouraged them to contest the above-mentioned seats to ensure their proper representation. These communities were also urged to allow women to contest.

As a result, non-Muslims filed nomination papers for these posts as well, but the Returning Officers of tehsil Muthi refused to accept the new information. They thought that people filing their nomination forms had made a mistake. Hence they changed the nomination papers and moved the names of 22 people, which included seven women, from the list of contestants for peasant/worker seats to the seats reserved for minorities. When the list of candidates was made available, the non-Muslim contestants realised that their names had been removed from the

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seats that they had wished to contest.

The people approached the DCC in Thar, who contacted the Karachi office of AF. The DCC also contacted the office of the Returning Officer and clarified this issue. In the meantime AF Karachi contacted the Provincial Election Commission and requested them to move quickly. As a result, the mistake of the Returning Officer was rectified and nomination forms were registered for the seats that these people originally wanted to contest.

By-elections were held in March 2004 for a total of 4,869 seats in 104 districts throughout Pakistan. Of these, 2,866 were filled and 2,003 remained vacant. One woman was elected the nazim of a union council in Sindh, and 44 women were elected to seats reserved for minorities. A total of 2,911 women were elected in the by-elections.

### **Recognition from Chief Election Commissioner**

The following are extracts from an article printed in the daily Nation on 1 June 2004 referring to a statement of the Chief Election Commissioner, Justice (Retd.) Irshad Hassan Khan:

The Chief Election Commissioner observed that lack of education, insecurity and other societal compulsions caused women to stay away from the political process. He believed that women at the grass roots level were still unaware of their rights, especially political ones, which necessitates the launching of a “vigorous women’s awareness campaign”.

Irshad Khan emphasised arranging workshops, seminars, refresher courses and continuous training programmes at district/tehsil level for women’s political awareness, their participation and effective management in the electoral process. [...]

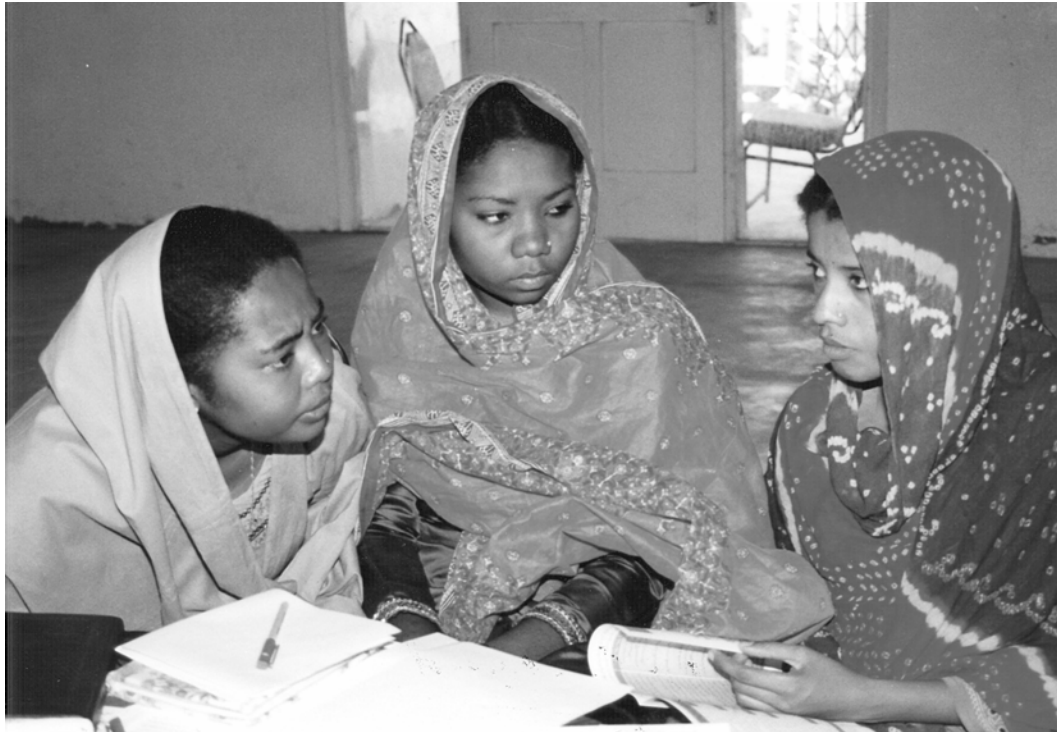
He appealed to the National Reconstruction Bureau, Aurat Foundation, Women’s Division, NGOs, parliamentarians and particularly women parliamentarians and members of the provincial assemblies to also hold seminars and workshops highlighting the rights of women and educating and motivating them to participate in the electoral process.





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## 10. Knowledge is Power



*Discussing election material, district Badin, Sindh*

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## 10. Knowledge is Power

An important aspect of the Campaign was voter education. This was not only for creating awareness about the political and women's rights issues, but also to ensure a minimum rejection of votes.

For these Local Government elections every voter had to cast five different votes simultaneously for candidates in five different categories. Even at the time of filing nomination papers there was a great deal of confusion among the candidates. The likelihood of rejection of votes was greater because the majority of the voters living in rural areas were illiterate.

Aurat Foundation prepared a set of posters, pamphlets, stickers and audiocassettes in four languages (Urdu, Punjabi, Pushto and Sindhi), charts of ballot papers with different colours and different election symbols, all of which were distributed in large numbers during the Campaign.

Four documentaries were also prepared for the purpose of voter education. These were initially recorded in Urdu but later they were also dubbed into Brahvi, Balochi and Pashto. For the screening of the documentaries in Balochistan, a mobile film van was used. In other districts, these documentaries were screened through cable network, where available. At the time when these documentaries were screened on the cable network, cable operators blocked all the other channels. This was done on the special request of DCC members. The purpose was to focus the attention of the people on the message.

The material was distributed through various civil society organisations, trade unions, community development workers, political activists, provincial line departments, newspaper distributors and truck, bus and van drivers. Material was also distributed from the facilitation camps for filing nomination papers.

The cassettes of songs were played on local radio programmes in all the districts, tea stalls, and video rental shops, through Aurat Foundation's 1,826 village and urban community-based Information Network Centres and by drivers of public transport vehicles.

The material motivated women to come forward as candidates and was in great demand from the potential candidates, the political parties, the District Administration and the Election Authorities.

The candidates and their supporters, who were trained under this Campaign, held village level meetings and distributed material and disseminated information about the electoral process. Women councillors and their campaigners used voter education materials of AF widely for their own canvassing, by writing or stamping their own names on the posters, along with the

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names of their union councils and election symbols. This made a lot of difference to women who had not been able to get their campaign materials printed for one reason or another.

Different parties and groups at the union council level put up entire panels of election candidates. These panels acquired AF Campaign material, particularly the charts and leaflets on casting votes, for the training of their panel candidates and voters.

The District and Tehsil Coordination Committees and their subcommittees used the Aurat Foundation material about the new system of Local Government and the new electoral process, for seminars and meetings for voter education in general and for the candidates and their campaigners in particular. Awareness-raising about the Campaign was also done at meetings organised with the support of voluntary organisations, youth groups, village organisations, church groups, trade unions, women's rights groups, and welfare and development organisations.

The DCCs also distributed election material through their networks for the mobilisation and training sessions held at different levels.

Major political parties asked the DCCs and the AF Campaign staff to provide an understanding of the new electoral system to their candidates, including men. Similarly, the local Election Authorities and the District Administration asked the AF Campaign staff and DCCs to provide orientation to their election staff or the district staff dealing with the elections.

### **Reducing Rejection of Votes: Balochistan**

With the help of the Aurat Foundation's head office, video films were prepared in Brahvi, Pushto, and Urdu containing the following information: women's issues, specific issues of women in Balochistan, the structure of the proposed Local Government bodies, and the procedure of filing nominations and casting votes in the union council elections.

With Aurat Foundation providing the costs and the District Administration providing security for the staff and vehicle, a mobile film van visited Sibi, Dhadar and Machi (Kachhi), Noshki and Dalbandin (Chagai), and Kharan. Separate shows were arranged for men and women by the DCCs. In Ziarat, Harnai, Kalat and Mastung the DCCs used the films individually.

After this experience, the Provincial Election Commission was of the view that rejection of votes came down to five or six per cent, compared to the earlier 28 per cent. Where the films were shown, a high percentage of women's seats were filled: 100 per cent in Kharan, 96.5 per cent in Chagai and 81 per cent in Sibi. (Repeated with detail in Chapter

**Providing Correct Voters' Lists: Quetta, Balochistan**

The delimitations of Quetta district had been a problem for local authorities since 1992, to the extent that Local Government elections could not be held in the district in 1992. After the new delimitation of union councils, the voters' lists did not match voters to their actual areas, with the result that people had their names in the wrong area list. To file their nominations, candidates had to ensure that their correct serial number in the list, as well as the serial numbers of their proposers and seconders, were filed. Without this they could not file their nominations.

Aurat Foundation learnt that because of the incorrect voters' lists during the nomination period, only one set of the complete updated voters' lists would be available with the Election Commission. The AF team obtained the updated set from the Provincial Election Commission and had it photocopied on an urgent basis. They then set up a facilitation camp with the correct voters' lists. People who approached the offices of the Provincial Election Commission for the information were sent to the AF camp to consult the lists. (Repeated from Chapter 9.)

**Recognition of DCC's Knowledge: AF Team, Punjab**

We only realised once the elections were over, how knowledgeable the DCCs had become about the whole Local Government system. For instance, we learnt that the DCC Coordinator from Multan, Ashiq Bhutta, a labour leader who had not completed his matriculation, had been invited by Bahauddin Zakaria University in Multan to give a lecture on the Local Government system.

**How to Stamp Ballot Papers: Jamshed Karim, DCC Coordinator, Bahawalpur, Punjab**

A question raised by the newspapers was how could illiterate women stamp five ballot papers simultaneously. The DCC of Bahawalpur made a documentary video film that explained the five ballot papers in detail. At that time there was an army major in Bahawalpur working for one of the agencies. He took the video cassette to Multan and showed it in different places so people understood the procedure of casting their ballot. This was shown in official circles too, and we sent a copy for Aurat Foundation's record so that in future election campaigns we would have

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audio-video material to explain the procedure. (Repeated in Chapter 11.)

**Information About Correct Fees Given to Public: Jameel Awan, DCC Coordinator, Gujranwala, Punjab**

During the nomination period we faced another major problem regarding nomination fees. The government had fixed Rs. 500 per candidate but most of the banks were charging women candidates Rs. 1,000. Some candidates and political activists approached us and complained about this issue. We brought this issue before the Local Government officials and formed a four-member committee to seek clarification. We also met the District Election Authority and requested that the RO be directed to receive the correct fees himself. The District Election Authority Office issued a notification in this regard.

We designed posters and distributed these in the district and tehsil *kutcheri* with the names of all the ROs and their contact information. We directed candidates to contact the government officials who had been named on these posters. The majority of the candidates appreciated our efforts. (Repeated from Chapter 9.)

**Notification for Elections: Rashid Ahmed Bhatti, DCC Coordinator, Hafizabad, Punjab**

When we started the election campaign, Aurat Foundation gave us published information material which we distributed to all the people in the district. They were surprised because, previously, no information had been given to them before any elections. The Assistant Director of the Local Government and the Election Officer were also surprised because while they had not yet received the notification for the elections, Aurat Foundation had collected all the information and made it available. Articles and editorials were written in newspapers, and political people and parties came to us because they were also unaware that elections were about to be held.

**Election Songs on Public Transport: Rashid Ahmed Bhatti, DCC Coordinator, Hafizabad, Punjab**

We gave the local transporters cassettes of the election songs. They played these songs in their buses and wagons and the information reached the furthest villages. To publicise the Campaign we contacted the local cable system and gave a small advertisement which was used

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repeatedly by the cable network. Our message reached many people.  
(Repeated in Chapter 11.)

#### **Linkage Between Candidates and Electoral Authorities: Sheikhpura, Punjab**

Although there was a separate electorate at the union council level for the councillors, a court ruling had been given that the offices of the *nazim* and *naib nazim* was open to all religious communities. So Charles Masih, a Christian from Youngsonabad, decided to contest the seat for the *nazim* and filed his nomination papers. However, the RO said that he had no notification to this effect from the Provincial Election Commission, and accepted the objection of a local Muslim. Charles Masih hired a lawyer to help him fight his case, but it did not help. At noon on the last day of filing nominations, he rang up Aurat Foundation for help. With some difficulty and great persistence, the Provincial Election Commissioner was located, who obliged by faxing instructions to the Returning Officer. Charles Masih was able to stand for *nazim*, and won.  
(Repeated from Chapter 9.)

#### **Seats for Non-Muslims: Karachi, Sindh**

During the election campaign a general misunderstanding prevailed that there was only one seat for non-Muslims at the union council level. Two leaders from the Christian community, Saleem Khurshid Khokar and Michael Javed, visited Aurat Foundation to confirm whether as members of a religious minority they were eligible to contest the peasant/worker, the *nazim* and the *naib nazim* seats. Once this was confirmed, they decided that the Christian community of Karachi would hold a meeting at St Michaels School, Essa Nagar, for Aurat Foundation to give them the information. After this meeting, they put up their candidates wherever there was a majority of Christians in the community.  
(Repeated from Chapter 9.)

#### **Voters' Education in a Mosque in Mehmoodabad: Karachi, Sindh**

Two representatives of a religious party, Tanzeem-e-Islah-e-Muashra, attended the AF voter education workshop. They found the workshop helpful since party workers and voters learnt about the new election procedures. They requested AF to conduct more training for them. AF told them that training could not be conducted for members of

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only one party, but if they made arrangements and invited AF to speak, AF would do so.

Subsequently, the organisation arranged for training in a local mosque after the evening prayers. The AF team, which included a woman trainer, gave the training not only to people who had been invited, but also to people who were present to offer their prayers.

Leaders of the religious party said that voters should allow their female relatives to contest the elections. They said women could do everything and a woman had entered their mosque and addressed the men gathered there for the first time. At this an argument ensued amongst those gathered and two camps developed among them, with opposite stands on women's participation in politics.

Subsequently the organisation imparted this training to their voters. As a result people came forward and contested the elections.

#### **Voter Education for Party Women: Karachi, Sindh**

The PPP Women's Wing central leader, Farzana Raja, attended AF's voter education workshop. After attending the workshop, she requested AF to conduct a workshop for PPP's women candidates so that they would be able to teach their voters how to cast votes. Since AF did not conduct separate training for each party, they could not oblige, but agreed to act as resource persons if the PPP themselves arranged it.

The workshop was arranged in their Provincial Secretariat and was attended by 250 women. These women candidates imparted the information to voters in their own constituencies in different parts of Karachi. AF material was disseminated widely. (Repeated in Chapter 12.)

#### **Encouraging Minorities to Stand for Other Seats: Thar, Sindh**

Thar is located in the desert region of Sindh and has a large population of non-Muslims. The DCC informed the local population that non-Muslims could not only contest the seats reserved for them in the local councils, but also the seats in the peasant/worker category and the posts of *nazim* and *naib nazim*, according to a recent Punjab High Court ruling upholding their right to stand for these seats as well. The DCC encouraged them to contest the above-mentioned seats to ensure their proper representation. These communities were also urged to allow women to contest. As a result, non-Muslims filed nomination papers for these posts as well.



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## 11. Reaching Out to the Women Out There



*Voters' education organised by TCC Thul, district Jacobabad, Sindh*

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## 11. Reaching Out to the Women Out There

The importance of the role of the media was assessed at the time of designing the strategy for the Campaign. Members from the print and electronic media were brought into the National and Provincial Steering Committees. At the district level, local newspaper reporters were asked to join the DCCs and TCCs.

The print media, especially the local newspapers, printed articles, interviews, reports, analyses and the Campaign activities, with special emphasis on women's representation. A major section of the print media also strongly resisted the negative campaign on women's representation by a section of retrogressive elements.

Some of the DCCs and the networks of the civil society organisations also used local cable networks to disseminate messages and posters.

The Campaign staff participated in interviews and discussions on radio and television through quiz programmes, talk shows and current affair programmes, and contributed regular articles for the newspapers. They also helped prepare special radio and television programmes. A mobile van was used to show documentaries on women's representation, the new Local Government system and the polling procedures in rural areas of Balochistan.

Our experience showed that local newspapers and weeklies enjoyed a significant influence at the district level as they were widely read across the district and covered social issues, cultural events, political dynamics and the happenings of political groups in their areas. Given their influence, the AF Campaign staff was particular in co-opting journalists from local newspapers and district correspondents of national level dailies.

As a result of involving the media people in the Campaign, the AF team saw the local newspapers publish educational messages for voters, articles on the importance of women's representation in the Local Government and political processes and important information about election procedures. Discounts from 25 to 50 per cent were given to the DCCs for advertising space in newspaper and weeklies. Part of the strategy was to oblige the local papers in order to build a liaison with them and contribute towards their meagre income.

All the Regional Offices understood the significance of the media for a Campaign of this nature to be able to reach out to women in every single constituency in the country. Very early on, all the Campaign Steering Committees had defined a media policy that was integrated into the various Campaign structures.

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## **AF Balochistan Media Strategy**

AF Quetta already had strong linkages with the media at the different levels. AF Quetta had previously worked with provincial level media under its Legislative Watch Programme. Senior journalists were members of the Legislative Watch Group and were also involved in different activities of Aurat Foundation under the Legislative Watch Programme.

At the district level almost all the media correspondents were members or coordinators of CACs. This earlier experience was the strength of Aurat Foundation and helped define its strategy for involving the media in the Campaign.

After AF formulated the strategy at the provincial and district levels, representatives of the Balochistan Union of Journalists were brought into the Campaign very early on as members of the Provincial Steering Committee.

In areas where there was no network of Aurat Foundation, the Balochistan Union of Journalists, their correspondents, and Press Clubs helped AF in media coverage and also served as active members of the DCCs.

During the Campaign, the issue of Local Government elections was the main issue in the media. The AF team helped local level media with material and data for writing articles and news items on the elections. In some cases features and articles were even written for the journalists, which were later published in their names in the regional newspapers.

### **Use of Mobile Film Van: Balochistan**

At the end of the first phase, a suggestion was made to use mobile film vans in Balochistan with the help of the Local Government Department and the Corps Commander's Office (through the Local Government). The Campaign staff held meetings in late May and early June 2001 with the military authorities, the Local Government Department and the Information Department, and a comprehensive plan was prepared.

With the help of the Aurat Foundation's head office, video films were prepared in Pushto, Brahvi and Urdu containing the following information: women's issues; specific issues of women in Balochistan; the structure of the proposed Local Government bodies; and the procedure of filing nominations and casting votes in the union council elections. With Aurat Foundation providing the costs and the District Administration providing security for the staff and vehicle, the mobile film van visited Sibi,

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Dhadar and Machi in Kachhi, Noshki and Dalbandin in Chagai, and Kharan. Separate shows were arranged for men and women by the DCCs.

Both the authorities and the people appreciated the films in general. More than 60 copies of the films were given to individuals who used it in hotels and on cable networks. During the fifth phase there was a huge demand from Ziarat, Harnai, Kalat and Mastung to send the van there, but the administration did not allow this due to security problems created by religious factions. However the DCCs in these districts used the films individually.

After this experience, the Provincial Election Commission was of the view that rejection of votes came down to five or six per cent, compared to the earlier 28 per cent. Where the films were shown, a high percentage of women's seats were filled: 100 per cent in Kharan, 96.5 per cent in Chagai and 81 per cent in Sibi. (Repeated in detail from Chapter 10.)

## **AF NWFP Media Strategy**

Different bodies were formed at the national, provincial and district level to achieve the objectives of the Campaign and implement the strategy prepared for that. The AF Peshawar Campaign Staff involved media personnel in the Campaign from the very beginning, by including them in the Provincial Steering Committee and the DCCs. The 13-member Provincial Steering Committee had five media persons – two from the electronic media (one each from Pakistan Television and the Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation) and three from the print media. They were invited along with other members to the Campaign Review and Planning Meetings. Their orientation was held on 10 October 2000.

Special attention was focussed on the regional press and the media professionals associated with it. Meetings were held with them in different districts. They were inducted into the DCCs and AF material provided to them. This helped them pen articles on women's participation in the electoral process, which they got published in the regional press.

### **Intelligent Use of the Media: Dera Ismail Khan, NWFP**

Dera Ismail Khan is in the south of NWFP. The district has a radio station whose broadcasts can be heard in districts Tank, Lakki Marwat and Bannu in NWFP, in South Waziristan Agency and in districts Layyah, Bhakkar and Dera Ghazi Khan in Punjab.

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The DCC of Dera Ismail Khan evolved a good strategy to take the Campaign to the areas where the Campaign activists could not reach physically. There is a brief pause when one programme ends and the other starts on the radio – called a filler in broadcasting jargon – which can be from 10 seconds to two minutes. Rubina Qamar, a DCC member, was also a compere at Radio Pakistan, Dera Ismail Khan. Through her, the DCC got special permission from the Station Director of Radio Pakistan Dera Ismail Khan and different producers of the programmes to use the fillers to mobilise women to cast their ballot and contest the Local Government elections. Whenever the DCC member-cum-radio compere would have any filler, she would utilise that to motivate women to take part in the electoral process. Thus the Campaign message was broadcast to a large number of people without any financial cost.

The DCC also invited potential women candidates to the radio station and arranged discussions for them. The women appeared in different panels to explain why they were contesting and what problems they were facing in the election campaign.

Government officials were also invited to the programmes to explain the new system and respond to the problems raised by the potential candidates, specifically women candidates.

## **AF Punjab Media Strategy**

Before the election campaign, the AF Punjab team designed a media strategy in order to utilise media in an effective manner. They focused on local print media. Initially they included three to four media persons and formed a media committee in each DCC at the district and provincial levels. They had strong contacts within the media but mobilisation was the crucial factor because this was the first ever such campaign in Pakistan and in most of the areas political participation of women was considered either against religion or tradition.

The Jamaat-e-Islami and other religious parties were also running a media campaign, albeit against women's representation in the elections. Therefore, the AF Punjab team designed a campaign to counter them. Articles, editorials, and press releases, prepared by the AF media team, were published in newspapers. They contacted people who were active in the media and made sure that their counterarguments were published right next to the negative items that were published by the religious parties. They tried to get interviews of women candidates published in daily newspapers in local and provincial media.

With the collaboration of the DCCs, the AF team identified key journalists

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to write articles in support of women's participation in politics. They used different newspapers' forums to hold discussions on this issue.

Some DCCs also used cable television channels to discuss this issue to secure support for women's participation in politics. For example, DCCs in Chakwal, Multan, Hafizabad, etc. used local cable networks to promote their messages.

After the elections AF analysed the role of the media and identified the positive contribution of the local media compared to the national and provincial media. The local media were very influential, easily accessible and had a wide reach. They helped minimise biases that prevailed about women's participation in the elections. Generally people perceive the local media to be biased, unskilled and unprofessional but AF's experience with them proved that this was incorrect. The local media gave full support to women candidates. That the DCC had strong connections with the local media only furthered the Campaign's cause.

The AF media team identified different government agencies and electronic and print media people and evaluated their contribution. Principally, the main sources of election information were the Provincial and Federal Election Commissions, but AF's regional offices and the DCCs played a similar role for different agencies and individuals. All the journalists got information and data from AF's offices and published these. This reflects the trust they enjoyed at the local level. Most journalists conceded that AF information channels were fast and reliable for getting information. Journalists in their articles and features recognised AF's work. Even the district Election Commission Offices used to get information regarding election procedures from Aurat Foundation.

#### **AF Team: Lahore, Punjab**

The Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) was conducting a nationwide campaign against women's participation in the elections. They announced that they would protest the allocation of 33 per cent women's seats outside every Press Club in the country. In response, and in collaboration with the DCCs, we held demonstrations outside every Press Club in almost all the districts of Punjab to support women in politics. If the JI protested in the morning, we protested in the same district during the evening. As a result, the newspapers would carry stories of demonstrations both for and against women's participation the same page. (Repeated in Chapter 12.)

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**How to Stamp Ballot Papers: Jamshed Karim, DCC Coordinator, Bahawalpur, Punjab**

A question raised by the newspapers was how could illiterate women stamp five ballot papers simultaneously. The DCC of Bahawalpur made a documentary video film that explained the five ballot papers in detail. At that time there was an army major in Bahawalpur working for one of the agencies. He took the video cassette to Multan and showed it in different places so people understood the procedure of casting their ballot. This was shown in official circles too, and we sent a copy for Aurat Foundation's record so that in future election campaigns we would have audio-video material to explain the procedure. (Repeated from Chapter 10.)

**Election Songs on Public Transport: Rashid Ahmed Bhatti, DCC Coordinator, Hafizabad, Punjab**

We gave the local transporters cassettes of the election songs. They played these songs in their buses and wagons and the information reached the furthest villages. To publicise the Campaign we contacted the local cable system and gave a small advertisement which was used repeatedly by the cable network. Our message reached many people. (Repeated from Chapter 10.)

**An Unusual Way to Disseminate Information: Rahim Yar Khan, Punjab**

The Coordinator of the local TCC, Jatoi, came up with a novel way to inform people about the help the TCC could provide in running for elections. He had a pamphlet printed advertising this information and a contact telephone number. From his grocery shop he would slip in a copy of the pamphlet into every customer's shopping bag. This is how a pamphlet eventually reached Shabnam and inspired her to stand for election, and eventually win.

**AF Sindh Media Strategy**

Aurat Foundation Karachi planned a media strategy to involve Sindhi journalists. Sindhi language newspapers are read widely and are influential. In Karachi, contacts with the journalists, column writers and owners of English and Urdu newspapers were increased. In Hyderabad, individual and joint meetings



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were held with the owners and journalists of every major and minor Sindhi newspaper and they gave maximum coverage to the Campaign. They also highlighted the role of the DCCs so that a large number of women candidates could stand for elections.

### **Media Committee: AF Team, Hyderabad, Sindh**

Hyderabad is considered to be the nerve centre of Sindhi media, because 11 newspapers are published from Hyderabad along with some Urdu papers too. In Hyderabad district, the DCC set up a Media Committee in which M A Laghari, Riaz Sohail, Lala Hassan Pathan, Faisal Solangi, Parvez Samoon, Razia Shah and Akhtar Malha were included.

The Media Committee decided at its first meeting that all the journalists should be contacted by telephone, after which a Press Conference would be held in Hyderabad at the Press Club. During this time, two members of the Committee, Lala Hassan Pathan (news editor 'Sindh') and Riaz Suhail (sub-editor 'Kavish') contacted the office bearers of the Hyderabad Press Club and senior journalists. Suhail Sangi (editor 'Sindh'), Ali Hasan (BBC Hyderabad), Lala Rahman Samoon (President, Press Club), Aziz Malik, ('Dawn' Hyderabad), Ansari Naqvi ('The News'), Hamid Shaikh ('Awam'), Jai Prakash (news editor 'Ibrat'), Faiz Khoso ('Jang'), Iqbal Mallah (editor 'Pakistan') and others were contacted by telephone and also personally. They were requested to support the effective representation of women in Local Government.

### **Credibility With Journalists: AF Team, Hyderabad, Sindh**

The positive response from the journalists, and the trust between them and the AF Media Committee, was witnessed when a member in the Hyderabad Press Club accused Aurat Foundation and other NGOs of collecting crores of rupees in the name of campaigns. Suhail Sangi, the editor of the daily 'Sindh', immediately contradicted this statement by printing that this was not true of Aurat Foundation because their work was transparent. Aziz Malik, from the daily 'Dawn', also confirmed this.

During several press conferences the DCC discussed the countrywide Campaign of Aurat Foundation for the importance of women's participation in elections. A conference was held with journalists in the Sindh Education Trust Building in which the need for women to come forward as public representatives

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and the role of the media was discussed. The Aurat Foundation team from Karachi also participated in this conference. The DCC informed them that Aurat Foundation planned to launch a Campaign at the union council level and requested the journalists to support it and participate in the activities. They were assured that transport would be provided to them.

In the beginning only seven to 10 journalists attended the meetings, but later several of them contacted the DCC and came forward themselves to find out about the ongoing activities. Media Committee members M A Laghari and Lala Hassan Pathan wrote four articles about the role of women as public representatives in Local Government; some newspapers also wrote editorials.

Due to the media campaign in Hyderabad, the work of the DCC was given wide coverage by the newspapers in other districts too. The main credit goes to Lala Hassan Pathan and Riaz Suhail, that the Campaign was given so much coverage in the media.

#### **Publicity Through Local Radio: AF Team, Khairpur, Sindh**

Local Radio Khairpur reached Sukkur, Ghotki and Naushero Feroze. We used our contacts and our daily activities were announced on the radio. This helped us gain popularity. The DCC started airing election songs in Sindhi and interviews of women candidates. This gave confidence to many other women and they too came forward to contest the elections.

#### **Broadcasting Election Messages and Songs: Larkana, Sindh**

The media was used effectively by the DCC. After some meetings, the Station Director agreed to broadcast election messages and election songs in Sindhi, which set the mood for the elections. The DCC also used its own initiative and used cable television to publicise the Campaign's objectives. Election material and information in Sindhi was distributed widely. Soon both men and women came to the DCC camp in large numbers from various areas and union councils.

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## 12. Citizens' Organisations Interact with Political Parties



*Public meeting organised by DCC Okara, Punjab*

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## 12. Citizens' Organisations Interact with Political Parties

Although the Campaign was non-partisan, clearly local political groups and political parties were very interested in the process and could not be sidelined in the activities. As stakeholders in any electoral process, whether non-party or otherwise, they were included in all the programmes so that they would neither feel excluded nor feel suspicious of civil society activists playing their legitimate political role. We also wanted support for the Campaign's agenda from all the regular political actors so that the issue of women's role as public representatives is internalised and integrated in their future programmes. At the same time, it was made clear that the Campaign activities also supported party dissidents, independent groups or individuals as well, who wanted to play a role in the elections.

Local activists of all political parties, minority organisations and religious groups were invited to the orientation meetings and were asked to actively participate in the Campaign. Political groups were approached to include women in their panel of candidates. Local political parties were also invited to send their activist women or prospective candidates to participate in the orientation programmes organised for the candidates.

Political parties' local offices were used to hold orientation and mobilisation meetings. Election material prepared by the Campaign was disseminated at the political party offices and through political activists in both rural and urban areas. Political parties used the Campaign material during their own electoral campaigns.

Where there was strong opposition from the religious political parties, discussions were held with the local party leadership and some of their members were brought into the Campaign network. Even where the discussions failed to convince, the inclusion of the party members helped to neutralise the opposition.

**Networking with Political and Religious Parties: Mohammad Saeed Baluch, Coordinator DCC, Chagai (now Noshki and Dalbandin), Balochistan**

Chagai, bordered by Iran and Afghanistan, was area-wise the largest district in Pakistan. Mengal, Badini, Jamaldini, Mohammad Hasni, Notaizai, Syed, Braich and other tribes coexist, and there is also a large Hindu community.

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Due to the conservative nature of the district it was very tough to run a Campaign to mobilise women. The low population density in Chagai aggravated this situation, as it was impossible to reach all the scattered communities with our meagre resources. The DCC found a way to reach all these communities by including members of union councils from each tehsil in the DCC. This helped us in reaching the grass roots level and involving the people in these areas in the Campaign activities.

We also networked with representatives from various religious and nationalist parties and due to these linkages we did not face too many problems. The Assistant Election Commissioner Chagai, Sultan Bazaïd was very helpful and supportive of our Campaign and let us set up an election camp in the premises of his office. Local Government officers gave information and provided guidance about the election process, including filing of nomination papers.

**Handling Political Parties with a Representative DCC: Shahbaz Barozai, DCC Coordinator, Sibi, Balochistan**

This is the largest town in the district and the largest in Balochistan after Quetta. Located in a tribal area, it has higher education rates in urban areas, and poor health and education facilities in rural areas. The town is a stronghold of different political parties, like PPP, PML (Nawaz), Jamhoori Watan Party (JWP) and PML(Q). Sibi has a large Hindu and Christian population. Urdu and Punjabi speaking people are also settled here and their support is crucial for people contesting the Provincial or National Assembly seats.

It was, therefore, important that the DCC should be a strong one, reflecting various characteristics that could take advantage of the cultural diversity of the district. After a great deal of discussion and consultation with the AF Regional Office, a DCC was formed in the presence of AF programme staff, Ashfaq Mengal and Fauzia Shaheen. It consisted of 41 people of whom the majority were women, and included people belonging to different professions.

The DCC formed and shared their work plan with representatives of various political parties, tribal leaders, and previous councillors. Various political parties wanted us to further their cause. We remained neutral. We focused on only one point: that seats reserved for women should be filled. We assured them that we would provide support during the nomination process, training of candidates and formation of panels. Upon hearing this, political parties and influentials agreed. (Repeated from Chapter 3.)

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### **Religious Opposition Neutralised: Chitral, NWFP**

Chitral is an economically backward district, inaccessible by road for six months of the year because of snowed up passes high in the mountains. Sunni Muslims are in the majority and Aga Khanis in minority. Keeping in view the sharp religious divide and sensitivity, a prominent local leader, Rehmat Ghafoor Baig, a member of the District Advisory Committee of the Jamaat-e-Islami, a leading religious party in Pakistan, was elected as District Coordinator, while due representation was given to other communities in the DCC.

In the northern districts such as Lower and Upper Dir, the Jamaat-e-Islami was strongly opposed to women's participation in Local Government. Rehmat was issued a show-cause notice by his own party. Other local religious leaders urged him to stop working with AF. His colleagues tried to convince him about the 'anti-Islamic' nature of the activities of NGOs like AF. The ulema denounced the NGO, which according to them, was promoting 'vulgarity and obscenity' by preaching women's rights.

One of Baig's strong arguments was that he did not find anything objectionable in the objectives or in the actions of AF staff. The activists of the party closely monitored his activities during the facilitation camps but he resisted all the pressure and continued his activities for the Campaign. He achieved significant results.

Another aspect we had to keep in mind was that due to the presence of a sizeable Aga Khani community receiving development support from the Aga Khan Foundation, the majority Sunni community was very hostile to the Aga Khan Foundation, which was very active for its community. To avoid unnecessary confusion and provocation, the CCWR team deliberately refrained from using the word 'Foundation' in Sunni areas while referring to Aurat Foundation! It was, however, used in the Aga Khani areas for that very reason since it helped create a better rapport with that community. (Repeated from Chapter 3.)

### **Political Agreements to Bar Women from Politics: Mardan and Swabi, NWFP**

During the second phase of local government elections in Mardan and Swabi, agreements were signed in some union councils between the candidates for *nazim*, *naib nazim* and councillors' seats and the local political and religious leaders to bar women from the electoral process. It

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was agreed that women would not be allowed to vote or contest elections. An understanding was also reached that the women who had filed nomination papers would be made to withdraw their nominations. Women elected unopposed would not be allowed to cast their votes for the district and tehsil/town council elections.

After the local DCC had failed in its efforts to cancel the agreements, the AF Campaign staff stepped in and wrote letters to all the concerned authorities to take action. There was very little and ineffective response to this violation of the constitutional rights of the women of the constituency. After elections, Bakht Zareena, wife of Juma Gul, from village Punjpeer, and Mashooq Zari, wife of Naseeb Gul, of village Niyam Khel, both in district Swabi, contacted AF Peshawar to take legal action on their behalf.

On 26 April 2001, Aurat Foundation filed a constitutional writ petition under Article 199 of the Constitution of Pakistan through Advocate Qazi Muhammad Jamil. All authorities concerned were made respondents. The writ petition was accepted by the Peshawar High Court, hearings were held and all the male candidates who had been party to the agreements and had since won elections, were asked to appear before the Court.

The judgement of the Court stated:

“There is no cavil with the proposition that every citizen of the country has a right to form or be a member of a political party as enshrined in Article 17(2) of the Constitution, which includes the right to contest and participate in elections. There is also no cavil with the proposition that every citizen who is registered as a voter regardless altogether of gender has an indefeasible right to exercise his or her vote. There is also no cavil with the proposition that this right being inherent in every registered voter can be exercised by him or her alone and thus cannot be foregone and forsaken by an agreement entered into by any person howsoever high he may be, therefore no means or devices including threats of dire consequences or agreements amongst the candidates for election to an office can curb, curtail or fetter it.

“As a matter of fact, employment of such means by any person irrespective of his status and stature in society will not only be void and illegal but criminal as well which can well be punished under the law. We strongly deprecate all such means, devices, threats and even agreements aimed at restraining the female registered voters from participating in the electoral process. The judgements cited by the learned counsel for the



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petitioners at the bar fully illustrate the nature of this right which under no circumstances admits of any inroad or invasion from any quarter whatsoever.”

Thus the High Court accepted the inalienable right of women to cast their vote as well as stand for election. However, it dismissed the petitions on the grounds that it could not be proved that the “means and devices including threats and agreements aimed at refraining the registered female voters from participating in the electoral process were in fact employed by the respondents”.

#### **AF Team: Lahore, Punjab**

The Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) was conducting a nationwide campaign against women’s participation in the elections. They announced that they would protest the allocation of 33 per cent women’s seats outside every Press Club in the country. In response, and in collaboration with the DCCs, we held demonstrations outside every Press Club in almost all the districts of Punjab to support women in politics. If the JI protested in the morning, we protested in the same district during the evening. As a result, the newspapers would carry stories of demonstrations both for and against women’s participation the same page. (Repeated from Chapter 11.)

#### **Voter Education for Party Women: Karachi, Sindh**

The PPP Women’s Wing central leader, Farzana Raja, attended AF’s voter education workshop. After attending the workshop, she requested AF to conduct a workshop for PPP’s women candidates so that they would be able to teach their voters how to cast votes. Since AF did not conduct separate training for each party, they could not oblige, but agreed to conduct it if they themselves arranged it.

The workshop was arranged in their Provincial Secretariat and was attended by 250 women. These women candidates imparted the information to voters in their own constituencies in different parts of Karachi. AF material was disseminated widely. (Repeated from Chapter 10.)

#### **Balanced Representation: Khairpur, Sindh**

Two political parties, Pakistan Muslim League (Pir Pagara Group) and the Pakistan Peoples Party dominate politics in Khairpur. AF therefore

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made sure that they had equal representation in the DCC so as to be able to maintain its non-partisan position. (Repeated from Chapter 3.)

### **Supporting a Woman of a Rural Labour Household: Mirpur Khas, Sindh**

Iqbal Bibi from Mirpur Khas came from a poor rural labour household and had eight children. Her eldest daughter Razia Kausar, a health worker, had finished her school education, and was keen for her mother to join politics. She was able to persuade her mother to participate in the union council elections.

Razia Kausar contacted a DCC member, Azhar Abbas, and informed him about her mother's intention. He suggested that it would be easier for her if she approached a political party she liked and contested as one of their panel.

Iqbal Bibi contacted the area representative of the Peoples Party, because the Peoples Party had more influence in the area. The representative enquired about her family background and not only did he refuse her a ticket, but also showed his displeasure at her even applying. Iqbal Bibi felt very insulted and refused to contest the elections.

Razia again approached the DCC requesting them for help. Imtiaz Panhwar of the DCC was given the responsibility of helping Iqbal Bibi get a party ticket so she could contest the elections. He spoke to the PML(F) City Organiser, Zulfiqar Ali Junejo, who got her a party ticket.

After Iqbal Bibi's nomination was filed, the PPP became aware of it. The representative was particularly angry because he had rejected her. He tried to get his party men to get her to withdraw. One of them, later the union council *nazim*, frightened and threatened her family, telling her to withdraw. Iqbal Bibi remained firm in her resolve. Members of the DCC, Abdul Rasheed Shoro and Shahid Mughal, toured the area along with the PML(F) representatives. Iqbal Bibi's morale was strengthened now that she had their support and protection for her safety.

On the day of the elections, the PPP prevented the polling agents of Iqbal Bibi from going to the polling booth, and because of her limited resources she was unable to provide transport for her voters. Although Iqbal Bibi secured 335 votes from her community, she was unsuccessful. This was a moment of reflection for the PPP as their last PPP candidate secured 380 votes. (Repeated from Chapter 6.)

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### **Getting the District RO Back on Duty: Naushero Feroze, Sindh**

On the last day of filing nominations in district Naushero Feroze, the National Campaign Secretariat in Aurat Foundation Lahore received information that the DRO and District and Sessions Judge had stopped accepting the forms at 12 o'clock and gone home.

Apa Naseem Umrani, one of the candidates, informed the DCC Office of this lapse. The DCC Coordinators, Shakoar Abassi and Qazi Zulfiqar, and the other DRO reached the office where 29 women candidates and 80 men were waiting to submit their forms. The political groups and the district representatives were also there. They had tried to phone the absent DRO but he refused to return. The AF Campaign team member, Adam Malik, was in Mithiani and reached Naushero Feroze within an hour.

The DCC decided to ask Aurat Foundation's Executive Director, Nigar Ahmad, for advice. She told them to wait while she informed the authorities. She rang the Director General of the Federal Election Commission in Islamabad, who set things in motion. Within half an hour, the official was back on duty and stayed until the evening to collect the nomination papers of the candidates. This incident restored the faith of the political parties in the DCC.

At 8:00 p.m. that night the Executive Director got a telephone call from the local head of the PPP in Naushero Feroze to thank her. He said if she had not done something, they would not have been able to file nominations. (Repeated from Chapter 9.)



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## 13. Preparing to Move into the Political Arena



*Training workshop for women candidates, Roras, district Sialkot, Punjab*

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## 13. Preparing to Move into the Political Arena

A one-day orientation programme was developed for women candidates on the following themes:

- What is politics and why should women participate in politics?
- The new Local Government system and polling procedures.
- How to run an effective election campaign.

A large number of training of trainers workshops (TOTs) for activist women and men were organised by the Campaign staff for the orientation of potential candidates. These activists were identified by the DCCs and were to provide orientation at the tehsil or union council level, so that most of the women interested could participate. The TOTs were arranged soon after the formation of DCCs and the majority of DCC members also participated in the workshops.

The DCCs organised the orientation meetings for potential women candidates. A cluster-based strategy combining three to four union councils was adopted. A total of 1,707 training sessions, covering 5,649 union councils, were held to provide training to the candidates. The activity was so popular that a lot of women candidates came along with many of their supporters. Even some men candidates came to attend the orientation meetings except that due to cultural reasons the DCCs in NWFP and Balochistan were unable to accommodate them in these sessions. Besides selective monitoring, the Campaign staff also provided logistical support, material and facilitation to the DCCs where required.

Altogether training was provided to 77,832 participants, of whom 33,061 were women candidates. The rest were mainly their supporters or those canvassing for them or acting as their polling agents. This group also included local level activists, especially women, who were interested in working in this field even after the elections.

### **First Entry into Politics: Rahim Yar Khan, Punjab**

Farzana Hameed was the principal of a private school in Rahim Yar Khan. Her father was a shopkeeper and her brother assisted in the shop. Farzana's family had never participated in politics. She happened to attend one of the seminars organised by the Citizens' Action Committee on women's participation in politics, where representatives of the DCC and the AF Campaign staff motivated her to stand for election.

She came home and sought advice from her father who, with some reluctance, allowed her to take part in the elections. She filed her nomination paper for a union council seat. Farzana Hameed was

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competing with 12 other female candidates. She sought advice from the DCC on how to canvass, in addition to using the AF election material and getting training for her polling agents. She won the election. (Repeated from Chapter 6.)

### **Farhat Jabeen Enters Politics: Charsadda, NWFP**

Farhat Jabeen lives in Mirzagaan village in district Charsadda. Hailing from a family well-known for its political and social work, she had long worked for the welfare of the women of her area but felt she needed a better platform from which she could work more effectively.

In Charsadda it is very difficult for a woman to take part in the political process. When Local Government elections were announced in 2000, Farhat decided to contest one of the seats reserved for women. Her family members strongly opposed her decision on the grounds that she had been diagnosed with cancer and her illness would get worse because of her hectic activities during and after the elections. Despite this, Farhat was determined to contest. Acknowledging her keenness, she was allowed to do so.

During her campaign she met the Charsadda DCC that was working in the district for motivating women to take part in elections. After winning her seat and becoming a member of the union council, Farhat laid the foundation of the Women and Children Development Organisation (WCDO) and was elected its chairperson. As chairperson she signed a project with SPO on raising awareness about violence against women.

Farhat became very busy in welfare activities which resulted in further deterioration of her health, but she did not let it become an obstacle to the accomplishment of her mission. After being introduced to Aurat Foundation and its activities for women rights, she started visiting the CAC office in Charsadda regularly and became a permanent CAC member. She participated in different seminars and workshops organised by Aurat Foundation. Through those programmes she developed strong linkages at the district level.

By using those linkages she formed the women's wing, comprising 150 women, of the Awami National Party in district Charsadda. It was an impossible task which she made possible due to her personal efforts. She was made the district president of the women's wing by the party. Begum Nasim Wali Khan, then provincial head of ANP, awarded Farhat Jabeen the Pukhtunkhwa Qaumi Award at a party convention in



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December 2003 for her services to the party. Acknowledging her efforts, she was taken into the Provincial Working Council.

As a councillor, Farhat had four resolutions passed for setting up sewing centres as vocational centres for women. She also had a resolution passed for digging a hand pump and another for constructing water channels in her union council.

#### **Informal Education Outreach Networks Used for Training and Voter Education: AF Team, Punjab**

In Punjab, the most effective role was that of teachers and field staff of non-formal schools in mobilisation, training and dissemination of material. This was particularly true in districts Sialkot, Layyah and Bhakkar, where NGOs were running scores of non-formal schools. These NGOs volunteered their staff to work for the Campaign. In Bhakkar and Layyah, this strategy paid dividends, since there were not many organisations in these districts. In Sialkot, Baidari, Bunyad, Community Development Concern (CDC) and the Society for Advancement of Higher Education (SAHE) were major partners in UNICEF's Universal Primary Education Programme, and had an outreach in nearly all the villages of the district. This effectively helped in contacting prospective women candidates and organising training sessions for them as well as disseminating election material to them.

#### **'Low-caste' Women Win against Chaudhrys' Families: Faisalabad, Punjab**

In Jaranwala, Faisalabad, the local Chaudhrys could not find any women to stand for the elections, so they convinced the 'low caste' women servants in their households to stand for the women's seats. The women filed their nominations reluctantly, but when they met the DCC representatives and took part in the training and orientation programme of the Campaign, they became very motivated to stand for the elections.

The Chaudhrys later realised that these would be important seats for the district level elections, and if they needed support in the union councils they would have to seek these women's support, which they felt was beneath their dignity. They decided to make the women from their own families stand instead, and asked the 'low-caste' women to withdraw their nominations. By this time the women had become involved in their election campaigns and understood the importance of representing the

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women, so they refused. They also felt strengthened by the support of the DCC and the local activists; so they went on to fight the elections against the women from the Chaudhrys' families and two of the women won.

**Convincing Male Leaders to Allow Women to Attend Training: Jameel Awan, DCC Coordinator, Gujranwala, Punjab**

Before the election campaign, AF gave formal training to the women candidates from the 34 districts of Punjab about running an election campaign. During the election campaign we designed a candidate-training programme, especially for those contesting in rural areas. But women candidates in rural areas were not ready to attend our training sessions due to family and social pressures, especially by the local male leaders.

We designed another strategy for women candidates to participate in our training. We met local political and religious leaders to make them realise the importance of our training for the elections because it included voter education. Initially we had decided to make only one visit per union council but due to the internal conflicts within the communities we visited more than once. After these visits we managed to convince people to allow women to attend our training sessions.

**Getting Training to Run a Campaign: Khushab, Punjab**

Irshad Begum was an active woman, a midwife by profession, and had organised a welfare scheme for women in her community in Qadirabad, district Khushab. It was in fact the women from this scheme who encouraged her to take part in the elections. She became the first woman in her family to ever stand for election. It was a difficult time; not only was she politically inexperienced, she also had nine opponents. She was greatly helped by the DCC, which arranged for her to attend an orientation session. Her work as a midwife also gave her great outreach in the public. These factors enabled her to win the election.

**Training Helps Women to Contest Elections: Mandi Bahauddin, Punjab**

Zia-ul-Qamar, wife of Saeed Ahmad, resided in Sufipura. Educated up to Intermediate, she ran her own training centre for producing handicrafts. She became a member of DCC Mandi Bahauddin, and after reading the AF election material, decided to stand for election

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and filed her nomination papers. There were 12 women contesting the four seats in her council. Zia-ul-Qamar took part in the training for women candidates and got guidance from AF and the DCC. She had never previously thought of taking part in elections, but through this support, was able to win her seat.

Naseem Akhtar, daughter of Ghulam Qadir Butt, came from village Gudhoo Sultan, Paharianwali. She had completed her matriculation and was teaching in a private school. She was persuaded by a local organisation, Hayyal-al-Falah Welfare Society, to take part in the elections. The DCC Mandi Bahauddin helped her in obtaining the literature published by AF which proved useful in filing her nomination papers. After participating in a training workshop, she organised her campaign so successfully that she defeated all four of her opponents.

Rehmat Bibi, a housewife, was married to Aziz Ahmad, a mechanic. She lived in Bar Musa, tehsil Malikwal. She was the first woman in her family to take part in elections. She received encouragement and help in filing her nomination papers from a local organisation for community development. She was nominated by the DCC Mandi Bahauddin to participate in a training programme and AF literature was an added help in organising her campaign. She credits the local organisation, the DCC and AF for her victory. (Repeated from Chapter 3.)

An interesting outcome of the training sessions was that a large number of women who were elected started claiming their affiliation with Aurat Foundation and increasingly demanded the DCCs to solve their problems after the elections. This linkage has remained and the women councillors continue to ask for assistance. Aurat Foundation has developed programmes for capacity building for strengthening the councillors with knowledge, important linkages and networking to enable them to participate effectively in the local councils.

## **Conclusion**

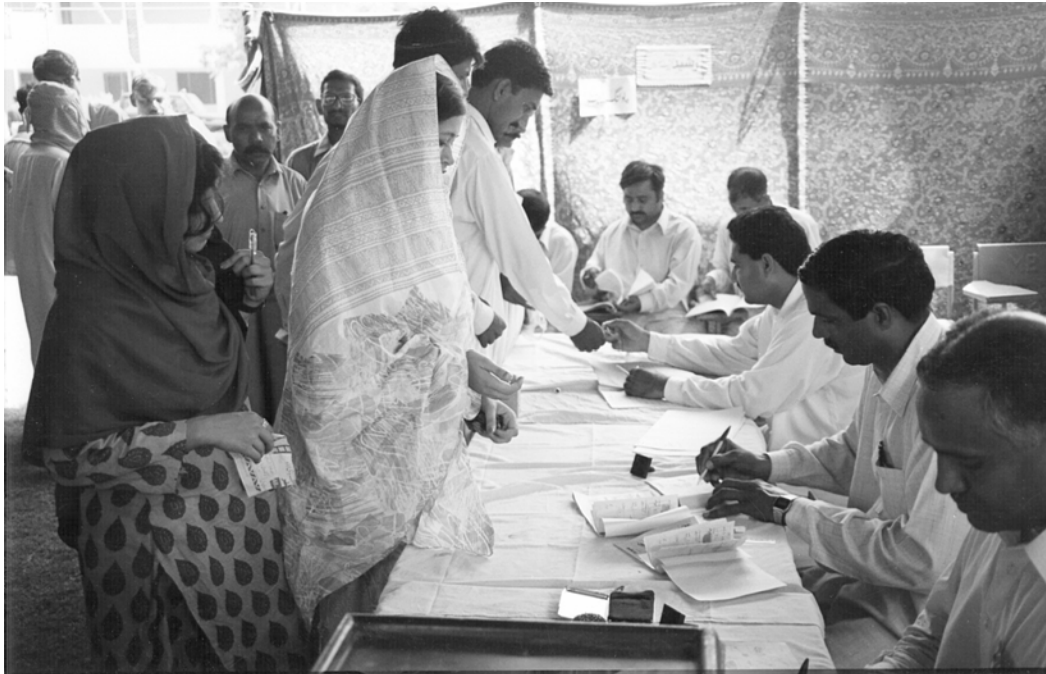
The interest in the elections by the women has shown that they are willing to come forward as public representatives and that there is little opposition to this mobilisation, except in a few pockets. Furthermore, citizens' groups and organisations have shown that they can be a strong force for positive change in the country, by initiating a national level political discourse on women as public representatives, by developing an enabling environment for women's participation in politics through voter education and facilitation of women (and

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men) candidates from a wider cross section of society; and by collaborating effectively with the government to provide the much needed linkages between the electorate and the Election Authorities. They have thus been able to define a legitimate political role and space for themselves, now recognised by the public and the government as different from the political parties and yet essential to the democratisation of politics in Pakistan.

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## 14. A Citizens' Movement Comes of Age



*Polling day, district Narowal, Punjab*

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## 14. A Citizens' Movement Comes of Age

The most significant outcome of the Campaign was that our efforts and the ultimate results proved that “there are women out there”. A record number of nominations were filed and for the first time in Pakistan’s political history 32,222 women councillors were elected through direct elections. All the union councillors indirectly elected another 3,741 women to the tehsil, town and district councils.

Thus the Campaign proved that we were right to trust our own experience and judgement to have accepted the challenge of mobilising women to contest the elections, despite consistent discouragement from those who felt threatened by any change in the status quo. By their advocacy and supportive interventions, and indeed by their very physical presence in the union councils, the activists ensured a much higher response for women’s representation than would have been otherwise. No government in future will be able to use this as an alibi to withdraw this affirmative action for women to come forward as public representatives.

Another significant outcome has been that the Campaign showed clearly that the citizens’ movement in Pakistan is stronger than realised by either state or civil society. Through their political commitment, their organisation and their outreach, the activists groups have the capacity to be a strong force for positive social change at a national level.

The Campaign showed that civil society groups have been able to define a legitimate political role and space for themselves, which is now being recognised by the public and the government as different from the political parties and yet essential to the political dynamics in the country.

It is all the more vital for civil society groups to engage with political parties and local political groups, who are also legitimate stakeholders in the electoral process, so that it does not generate unnecessary suspicion or hostility about the role of the civil society groups as aspirants and contenders for political power with these political institutions. In actual fact, our political role generated competition within the political parties and local political groups to put women’s issues on their parties’ agenda and to secure future commitments. Our non-partisan facilitation kept up the pressure on all the different groups. Furthermore, the lines of communication with the political parties have to be kept open because the electoral process is only the beginning and much more has to be done afterwards.

However, we consider it absolutely critical to the success of a Campaign like this, run by civil society organisations, that neutrality is maintained between

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the rival political groups, not only in strategy but also in the implementation. The Campaign showed once again that being non-partisan in the field enabled the social activists to play their political role without compromising their political neutrality and their own political agenda. It provided more political space and legitimacy for their own work with the electorate and was, at the same time, inclusive in involving the political activists belonging across the entire political spectrum.

A very significant outcome of the Campaign was that it has proved that societal attitudes are not hostile towards women's presence and role in political decision-making institutions, as assumed by most people, especially those interested in preserving the status quo. In fact, there is now the acceptability of women occupying a much guarded public space, usually reserved for men.

The Campaign initiated a political discourse at the village and urban *mohalla* (neighbourhood) level on women's role as public representatives, which reverberated in every union council across the country. That it received an overall positive response from the people is reflected in the number of nominations filed, the contest for the reserved seats, and in the overall societal response to the advocacy of our activists.

Even where the response has been negative, at least the issue is out in the open and is being discussed by all concerned. The protest of activist groups, especially those at local level, to this negative response as well as the statements by important government functionaries, etc., were all a part of the open debate on the issue and showed that there was a social and political space to do so.

A key outcome was that we realised that issue-based voter education still needed a big push from civil society groups, because our public representatives usually prefer a patron-client relationship with their constituents and people also give priority to personal problems over collective ones. For this, material incorporating the collective issues must be repackaged, provided in time and through effective channels across the various constituencies, for the voters to articulate their demands clearly and consistently.

The civil society activists undertook education of candidates, voters, political groups, and many government functionaries, which has created goodwill for them and assisted in a smoother electoral process for the electorate and the Election Authorities.

Involving the media within Campaign Committees at the national and provincial and local levels was strategically very effective as they had a sense of ownership of the Campaign. They prepared some of the materials and gave valuable advice and assistance on dissemination of the Campaign material. This helped both with the content and the timeliness of its dissemination.



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Local print media, especially the vernacular press, used the Campaign material and carried a large number of news items and articles about Campaign activities and issues. There had never been so much local level coverage of women's issues across the country. They also carried on discussions on the issue of women's representation in the Press Clubs and other forums at the district and provincial level. Overall, the media was an active partner in the Campaign

Collaboration with the registration and Election Authorities and the District Administration in most of the districts facilitated the electorate, especially the women, and set a healthy precedent in many districts for the government and the civil society groups to work together in the larger public interest. This cooperation enabled the citizens' organisations to provide the much needed linkages between the electorate and the relevant government authorities for information and support and for speedy action, and was ultimately responsible for the overall encouraging results.

A very important aspect of this motivational Campaign was that men from the middle and working classes were able to participate as supporters of their wives but were also motivated and facilitated to come forward as candidates themselves. Further facilitation through voter education and nomination camps ensured that many of the candidates from these segments of society were successful in the elections. This is likely to have a significant bearing on the democratisation of politics in Pakistan. Para repeated.

A major outcome of the Campaign was that there is finally concrete evidence that there has been a significant change over time in men's attitudes, especially of those from the middle and lower middle classes, towards women's greater participation in political institutions. The role played by activists across the country in developing an enabling environment for women to come forward as public representatives, has been truly critical and commendable.

Most significantly, about 85 to 90 per cent of the activists involved in mobilising women candidates were men from the middle and lower middle class. They gave freely of their time and took many risks at the local level to ensure an enabling and supportive environment for women candidates to participate in the elections. Other men, who were reluctant, listened to them while making their decisions to allow their family women to come forward as public representatives.

This is further confirmed by the vital role played by men when they brought forward their women relatives as candidates, to serve as an example for others to follow. This is indicative of a new social phenomenon and is their most important contribution. In this way they gave the message to their fellow citizens that "politics was respectable". They have thus reclaimed politics for all concerned citizens!

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# Appendices



*Polling day, district Sahiwal, Punjab*

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## A. National Steering Committee of CCWR

### National Steering Committee

1. Nigar Ahmad, Executive Director, Aurat Foundation
2. Ali Akbar, Executive Director, Strengthening Participatory Organisations (SPO)
3. Ch Abdul Qayyum, ex-Secretary Local Council Election Authority, Balochistan
4. Gul Rehman, President, Muttahida Labour Federation
5. Kaneez Fatima, President, Pakistan Trade Unions Federation
6. Karamat Ali, National Coordinator, Pakistan Institute of Labour Education and Research (PILER)
7. Muhammad Tehseen, Executive Director, South Asia Partnership, Pakistan (SAP-PK)
8. Rashid Bajwa, General Manager, National Rural Support Programme (NRSP)
9. Shandana Khan, General Manager, Rural Support Programmes Network
10. Shirin Pasha, media specialist

### National Coordinator

Rana Sarwar, Aurat Foundation

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## B. Provincial Advisory Committees of CCWR

### Provincial Advisory Committee, Balochistan

1. Bijar Baloch, representative, Makran NGOs Coordination Council
2. Faiz Mohammad Kakar, Secretary, Balochistan NGOs Federation
3. Fouzia Deba, President, Ehed; women's rights activist
4. Hassan Baloch, labour leader, Balochistan Labour Federation
5. Hidayatullah Khan, Project Coordinator, Tribal District Management Project, UNDP
6. Irfan Ahmad, Society for Community Support for Primary Education for Balochistan
7. Khalid Hussain Mengal, Public Relations Officer to Governor Balochistan
8. Lal Jan, Coordinator, Institute of Development Studies and Practice (IDSP)
9. Masroor Alam Khan, head of current affairs, PTV Quetta
10. Salahuddin Nasik, senior journalist, Daily Jang
11. Shahzada Zulfikar Baloch, Daily Nation; President, Balochistan Union of Journalists
12. Shams-ur-Rehman, Secretary, Balochistan Federation of Trade Unions
13. Tanveer Iqbal, Senior Producer, Current Affairs, Radio Pakistan, Quetta
14. Yasmin Mughal, Coordinator, Balochistan Development Coordination Council
15. Zafar Zeeshan, Regional Director, SPO Quetta

### Provincial Coordinators

Younas Khalid, Coordinator, Aurat Foundation  
Fauzia Shaheen, Joint Coordinator, Aurat Foundation

### Provincial Advisory Committee, Islamabad

1. Aqeela Tahir, National Rural Support Programme
2. Dominic Mughal, Christian Study Centre
3. Farzana Bari, Pattan Development Organisation
4. Muhammed Younas Awan, President, Hadaf; labour leader
5. Mushtaq Gadi, Sungi Development Foundation
6. Naeem Mirza, Aurat Foundation
7. Naseem Tariq, newscaster TV; radio producer
8. Nasreen Azhar, Human Rights Commission of Pakistan
9. Rehana Khilji, SPO

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10. Sajid Mansoor Qaisrani, Aurat Foundation
  11. Shafqat Muneer, Journalists for Human Rights and Development
  12. Shaheena Anwar, TV producer

#### **Provincial Coordinators**

Saleem Shah, Coordinator, Aurat Foundation  
Faqeer Hussain, Joint Coordinator, Aurat Foundation

#### **Provincial Advisory Committee, NWFP**

1. Aqeel Muhammad Khan, Samaji Behbood Coordination Council, Swabi
2. Arshad Haroon, Regional Director, SPO
3. Bushra Gohar, Chairperson, Human Resource Management and Development Council (HRMDC)
4. Iffat Jabbar, producer Radio Pakistan, Peshawar
5. Liaqat Bacha, leader, Muttahida Labour Federation (MLF)
6. Mariam Bibi, CEO, Khwendo Kor (KK)
7. Nasir Ali Khan, professor Peshawar University
8. Nisar Ahmed Khan, journalist
9. Shaukat Ali Yousaf Zai, Editor Al-Akhbar
10. Stephen Saleem, human rights activist; leader of Christian Community
11. Suhail Qalandar, Chairman, Peshawar Press Club
12. Tahir Mahmood, senior producer PTV
13. Yasmin Begum, Regional Director, Shirkat Gah

#### **Provincial Coordinators**

Aimal Khan, Coordinator, Aurat Foundation  
Ijaz Durrani, Joint Coordinator, Aurat Foundation

#### **Provincial Advisory Committee, Punjab**

1. Altaf Baloch, labour leader, MLF
2. Aziz Mazhar, journalist
3. Farah Pervaiz Salih, Citizens Commission for Human Development
4. Fauzia Rauf, Shirkat Gah
5. Ghulam Mustafa Baloch, SPO
6. Haneef Ramay, PILER
7. Irfan Mufti, SAP-PK
8. Ismat Tahira, Deputy Secretary, Department of Social Welfare and Women's Development, Punjab

- 
9. Malik Muhammad Jameel Awan, Coordinator, NGOs Coordination Council
  10. Munnaza Tarar, Bunyad
  11. Nasir Javed Ghuman, Advocate; Kissan Bachao Tehrik, Punjab
  12. Niaz Ahmed Kathia, Dihad Dost Tanzeem
  13. Rahat Babar, TV producer and compere
  14. Syed Saqlain Imam, journalist

#### **Provincial Coordinators**

Ubaidullah Chaudhry, Coordinator, Aurat Foundation  
Salman Abid, Joint Coordinator, Aurat Foundation

#### **Provincial Advisory Committee, Sindh**

1. Akhtar Baloch, journalist, Coordinator, HRCP
2. Amanullah Sheikh, member, District Bar Council, Larkana
3. Ehsan Leghari, Coordinator, Oxfam, Sindh
4. Ghaffar Malik, President, Sindh Development Society
5. Gianchand, Advocate
6. Jabbar Khattak, Chief Editor, Daily Awami Awaz
7. Kanwal Sindhi, President, Sindh Journalists Network for Children
8. Lala Arshad, Coordinator, Bhitshah Declaration Coordination Council (BDCC)
9. Muhammed Ayub Sheikh, Additional Secretary, Local Government Department, Sindh
10. Qadeer Baig, Director, NGO Resource Centre (NGORC)
11. Shakoor Abbasi, Coordinator, Sindh NGOs Forum
12. Shama Sheikh, SPO
13. Tasneem Aslam, TV producer
14. William Sadiq, Coordinator, Idara-e-Amn-o-Insaf

#### **Provincial Coordinators**

Zahra-tul-Fatima, Coordinator, Aurat Foundation  
Adam Malik, Joint Coordinator, Aurat Foundation



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## C. Aurat Foundation Staff Participating in CCWR

### Balochistan

1. Abdul Qadir
2. Abdul Razzaq
3. Adeela Anwar
4. Allauddin Khilji
5. Arifa Shah
6. Fauzia Shaheen
7. Haroon Daud
8. Ishfaq Maingal
9. Rizwan Tahir
10. Saima Haroon
11. Sumera Jamal
12. Syed Nasim Kausar
13. Tasneem Kousar
14. Younas Khalid
15. Zafar Ahmad
16. Zafar Iqbal

### Islamabad

1. Aslam Shah
2. Faqeer Hussain
3. Farzana Shireen
4. Hafiz Shakeel Ahmed
5. Imran Khan
6. M Nazir Khan
7. Mumtaz Begum
8. Naeem Mirza
9. Niamat Hussain
10. Saeed Khan
11. Sajid Mansoor Qaisrani
12. Saleem Shah
13. Samina Begum
14. Shakeel Ahmed

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**NWFP**

1. Aimal Khan
2. Aneela Naheed
3. Arshad Khan
4. Asad Ali
5. Asim Malik
6. Bilal Ahmad Durrani
7. Falak Niaz
8. Gul-e-Rana
9. Habib Ahmad
10. Hazrat Khan
11. Ijaz Durrani
12. Khan Gul
13. Momina Arifeen
14. Muhammad Raza
15. Noor Akbar
16. Noreen Ruby
17. Rukhsana Aziz
18. Saima Munir
19. Shabeena Ayyaz
20. Shireen Javed
21. Uzma Mehboob
22. Zil-e-Huma

**Punjab**

1. Amina Zaman
2. Andleeb Chaudhry
3. Anjum Zaheer
4. Arif Nonari
5. Atta-ur-Rehman Sheikh
6. Farzana Mumtaz
7. Iftikhar Ahmad
8. Iftikhar Ali
9. Imtiaz-ul-Haq
10. M A Cheema
11. Masood Khalid
12. Muhammad Rashid
13. Muhammad Tanwir

- 
14. Muhammad Zaheer
  15. Muhammad Zahid Khan
  16. Raazia Naqvi
  17. Saleem Bhatti
  18. Salman Abid
  19. Ubaidullah Chaudhry
  20. Waqar Gillani
  21. Wasim Jafri
  22. Zaffar Iqbal

### **Sindh**

1. Abd-ur-Razzaq
2. Adam Malik
3. Anis Fatima
4. Anis Haroon
5. Azra Rehman
6. Hidayat Narejo
7. Mohammad Azmat
8. Muhammad Arif
9. Muhammad Aslam Barohi
10. Muhammad Faisal
11. Muhammad Farooq
12. Nuzhat Shirin
13. Rashid Masih
14. Riaz Khan
15. Safina Javed
16. Seema Sheikh
17. Shahid Masih
18. Shakil Ghor
19. Shams Kazmi
20. Wadood Muhammad
21. Waqar Munir
22. Zahra-tul-Fatima

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## D. Government Officials Participating in CCWR

### Balochistan

1. Agha Mohammad Kasi, Station Director, Radio Pakistan, Quetta
2. Ch Abdul Qayyum, Consultant, Local Government
3. Hassnain Kazmi, Station Director, Radio Pakistan, Zhob
4. Iftikhar Qureshi, Provincial Election Commissioner, Balochistan
5. Khuda Bakhsh Baloch, Deputy Commissioner, Nasirabad, Pishin
6. Masood Ahmed, Information Department, Balochistan
7. Masroor Alam Khan, Senior Producer Current Affairs, PTV, Quetta
8. Mehboob Anwar, Deputy Election Commissioner HQ, Balochistan
9. Mohammad Aslam, Deputy Election Commissioner, Balochistan
10. Mubashar Ahmed, Secretary, Local Government
11. Naeem Ahmed, PRO Election Commissioner, Balochistan
12. Naseem Lahri, Assistant Commissioner, Noshki
13. Qayyum Baidar, Producer, Current Affairs, PTV, Quetta
14. Qazi M Saleem Akhtar, Provincial Election Commissioner, Balochistan
15. Roshan Khurshid Barocha, Provincial Minister for Social Welfare, Women's Development, Population and Information Technology
16. Shahzada Farhat, Information Officer, Information Department, Balochistan
17. Shakir, Assistant Election Commissioner, Quetta District
18. Sultan Bazaid, Assistant Election Commissioner, Chagai
19. Tariq Hayat, Political Agent, Zhob

### Islamabad

1. Hassan Muhammad, Director General, Election Commission of Pakistan
2. Kanwar M Dilshad, Joint Secretary, Election Commission of Pakistan
3. Naheed Kauser, Assistant Director, Ministry of Women's Development
4. Rehmat Ali Mujahid, Joint Secretary and National Project Director, Election Commission of Pakistan

### NWFP

1. Altaf Khan, Provincial Election Commissioner, NWFP
2. Arbab Shehzad, Commissioner, Malakand Division
3. Badshah Gul Wazir, District Coordination Officer, Buner
4. Bashir Zafar, Deputy Election Commissioner, NWFP
5. Sardar Latifullah Saduzai, Deputy Secretary, Local Government, NWFP

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6. Sarwar Khan Durrani, Ex-Provincial Election Commissioner, NWFP
  7. Talib Hussain, Assistant Election Commissioner (Admin), Election Commission, NWFP

#### **Punjab**

1. Farhat Khan, Election Commission, Punjab
2. Ismat Tahira, Deputy Secretary, Social Welfare Department, Punjab
3. Qazi Afaq, Secretary, Social Welfare, Punjab
4. Riaz Ahmad Tarar, Director Local Government, Punjab
5. Saeed Ahmad Khan, Director, NGO Section, Social Welfare Department, Punjab
6. Saqib Aleem, Deputy Commissioner, Muzaffargarh
7. Col (Retd) Shehbaz, Director Local Government, Punjab

#### **Sindh**

1. Ata-ur-Rahman, Assistant Commissioner, Pakistan Election Commission
2. Muhammad Ayub Shaikh, Additional Secretary, Local Government
3. Munnawara Alam, Secretary, Provincial Election Authority

## E. District Coordinators and Joint Coordinators of CCWR

Province/District	Coordinator	Joint Coordinator
<b>Balochistan</b>		
Awaran	Khair Jan Baloch	Abdul Wahab Bizenjo
Chagai	Saeed Baloch	Muhammad Ismail
Gwadar	Nasir Raheem	Ishaq Baloch
Jaffarabad	Jamaluddin Bharani	Rustum Mari Khan
Kachhi	Fiaz Hussain	Abdul Sattar
Kalat	Saeed Ahmad	Jahangir Ahmadzai
Kharan	Haji Niamatullah	Haji Arz Muhammad
Khuzdar	Naeem Sabir	Shamim Akhtar
Killa Abdullah	Hameedullah Kakar	Sadique Achakzai
Killa Saifullah	Faiz-ul-Haq	Abdullah
Lasbela	M Azeem Ronjha	Muhammad Omar Lasi
Loralai	Yaqub Dilsoz	Akhtar Bibi
Mastung	Kausar Hussain	Ghulam Rabani
Nasirabad	Naseer Mustoi	Agha Niaz Magsi
Panjgoor	Kishwar Nazeer	Noor Ahmad
Pishin	Siddiq Panazai	Naseema Panazai
Sibi	Shahbaz Khan Barozai	Rubina Shehwani
Turbat	Nasir Sajjad	Muneer Gichki
Zhob	Wattan Yar Khilji	Ali Raza Changhzai
Ziarat	Asmatullah	Naseebullah
<b>NWFP</b>		
Abbottabad	Naveed Hussain	Omar / Waseem
Bannu	Mahfooz-ur-Rahman	Pir Omar Nawaz
Battagram	Shaukat Jamal	Dost Muhammad Maalki
Buner	Hakim Zada	Rizwan Ullah
Charsadda	Ali Akbar Khan	Misbah-ud-Din
Chitral	Abdul Ghafoor Baig	Sartaj Ahmad Khan
Dera Ismail Khan	Aamir Hameed Mughal	Kamran Ameen
Hangu	Gulzar Bangash	Azmat Ali Bangash
Haripur	M Younas Awan	Jehangir Khan
Karak	Allah Nawaz Khattak	Naeem-ur-Rasheed

Kohat	Jehanzeb Jani	Mussarrat Shafi
Lakki Marwat	Izzat Khan	Abdul Mutlib
Lower Dir	Amirzad Gul	Shaad Begum
Malakand	Dr Rasheed Zeerak	Sajid Rehman
Mansehra	Musaddiq Ali	Irum Basheer
Mardan	Pir Abdul Nasir	Muhammad Shahid
Nowshera	Sohail Kakakhel	Hameem Gul
Peshawar	Shakeel Waheedullah	Anila Qamar
Shangla	Iftikhar Hussain	Aftab Ali
Swabi	Rooh-ul-Amin	Abdul Hakeem
Swat	Shaukat Saleem	Rahim Dad
Tank	Gul Rehman	Khawaja Mir Bhitani
Upper Dir	Muneer Ahmad	Nisar Ahmad Advocate
<b>Punjab</b>		
Attock	Malik M Mushtaq	Shamim Manzoor
Bahwalnagar	Syed Tahir Ahmad	Muhammad Din Raffiqui
Bahwalpur	Jamshed Karim Khan	Parveen Ghauri
Bhakkar	Rashid Mahmood	Javed Iqbal
Chakwal	Malik M Ashraf	Qazi Imtiaz
Dera Ghazi Khan	Sajjad Hussain Naqvi	Tayyab Farooq
Faisalabad	Aziz-ur-Rahman Aqeel	Raza Ali Shah
Gujranwala	Malik Jameel A Awan	Nasir Abbas Bokhari
Gujrat	Masood Akhtar	Abida / Syed Fazal
Hafizabad	Rasheed Ahmad Bhatti	Saleem Akhtar
Jhang	Qamar Zaidi	Sajid Abdullah
Jhelum	Shaukat Mehmood	Rashida Aziz
Kasur	Qudsia Latif	Malik Jameel Awan
Khanewal	Rana M Aslam Nadeem	Sh Qaiser Javaid
Khushab	Abul Hassan Hamdani	Naseem Akhtar
Layyah	Mehr Shaukat Ali	Ahmad Hassan
Lodhran	M Hafeez Arain	Malik Ishfaq
Mandi Bahauddin	Muhammad Yusuf	Ijaz Sheikh
Mianwali	Ziaullah Khan	Muhammad Ibrahim
Multan	M Ashiq Bhutta	Omar Ali Khan Baloch / Faisal Khwaja
Muzaffargarh	Azhar Baloch	Mushtaq Shah
Narowal	Johnson Bhatti	Muazzam Ali Khokar
Okara	Rana Shafiq-ur-Rehman	Fahmeeda Begum

Pakpattan	Muhammad Jalil Butt	Tariq Malik
Rahim Yar Khan	Omar Ali Khan Baloch	Ramzan Jatala
Rajanpur	Fahim Jaffar	Naeem Akbar Jaskani
Rawalpindi	Mustafa Hussain	Aftab Ahmad Abbasi
Sahiwal	Alamdard Hussain Shah	Ibrahim Azeem Daniel
Sargodha	M Anwar Gondal	Nasir Javed
Sheikhupura	Muhammad Azam Malik	Muhammad Saadiq
Sialkot	Tauqir Abbas Shah	Zafar Nadeem Daood
Toba Tek Singh	Abdul Ghaffar	Akhtar Ali Dhaloon
Vehari	M Saadiq Mirza	Shazia
<b>Lahore Town</b>		
Aziz Bhatti Town	Nazir Ahmad Ghazi	Fareeda Begum
Data Ganj Bakhsh Town	Iftikhar Ahmad	Qazi Jabir
Iqbal Town	Muzna Lateef	Muhammad Hafeez
Nishtar Town	Fauzia Tanveer	Shaista Jan
Ravi Town	Maqsood-ul-Hassan	Misbah Kokab
Shalimar Town	Zafar Malik	Rukshana Manzoor
<b>Sindh</b>		
Badin	Iqbal Haider Rashidi	Murtaza Memon
Dadu	Waheed Kalhor	Mullah Baksh Leghari
Ghotki	Ayaz Lateef Dayo	Shah Jehan
Hyderabad	Ghaffar Malik	Lala Hassan Pathan
Jacobabad	Muhammad Jan Odhano	Qutubuddin Khoso
Khairpur	Qurban Mangi	Niaz Khaskhaili
Larkana	Amanullah Sheikh	Javed Shah
Mirpur Khas	Rashid Shoro	Bhagwan Das
Naushero Feroze	Hafiz Hidayatullah	Khan Ahmad Rajpar
Nawabshah	Bakhtiar Channa	Ghulam Mustafa Korai
Sanghar	Aslam Memon	Hasan Askari
Shikarpur	Agha Shafeeq Ahmad	Mukhtiar Memon
Sukkur	Sarwar Samejo	Liaqat Soomro
Thar	Abid Channa	Nasreen Khan
Thatta	Asif Qureshi	Ismail Memon



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## F. CCWR Support Organisations by Province and District

### BALOCHISTAN

#### Chagai

1. Anjuman Ittehad Naujawanan Killi Mengal, Noshki
2. Balochistan National Movement, BNM Office, Nokundi
3. Bolan Youth Welfare, Town Committee Office, Noshki
4. Chagai Aiwan-e-Saqafat, Masjid Road, Dalbandin
5. Chagai Citizens' Action Committee, Aminuddin Road, Noshki
6. Chagai Development Society, c/o Qadeer Medical Store, Jinnah Road, Noshki
7. Chagai Welfare Society, BNM Office, Dalbandin
8. Chagai Welfare Society, c/o Qadeer Medical Store, Jinnah Road, Noshki
9. Daak Development Society
10. Health Office, Civil Hospital, Noshki
11. Hindu Panchayat, Chagai Aiwan-e-Saqafat, Dalbandin
12. Jamhoori Watan Party, Office JWP, Dalbandin
13. Pakistan Youth Federation, Press Club, Dalbandin
14. People's Youth Organisation, District Secretariat PPP, Dalbandin
15. Rasko Adabi Dewan, Dalbandin
16. Rasko Adabi Dewan, Jinnah Road, Noshki
17. Zia-ul-Haq Foundation, Masjid Road, Dalbandin

#### Gwadar

18. Baloch Educational and Social Organisation, Nigor Ward, UC North Gwadar
19. Baloch Fellowship School, Nigor Ward, UC North Gwadar
20. Baloch Students Organisation, Intermediate College, Gwadar
21. Kalag Social Welfare Association, UC Kalag, Tehsil Pasni
22. Marie Stopes Society, Ladies Market, Gwadar
23. Muhalla Nigran Committee, Kumari Muhalla, near QESCO Office, UC South Gwadar

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24. National Rural Support Program Pasni, near Coconut Farm, Main Bazar Pasni
  25. National Rural Support Programme, opposite Fish Harbour Housing Complex, Harbour Road, Gwadar
  26. Public Welfare Centre Pasni, Bus Stop Main Bazar, Pasni
  27. Rural Community Development Council Pasni, c/o Community Development Department, Pasni
  28. Rural Community Development Council, Club Street, Hashmi Ward, Gwadar
  29. Shams Tuition Centre, UC South Gwadar
  30. Taleemi Committee, Ruzhan School, UC Central Gwadar

#### **Kachhi**

31. Awami Ittehad Gandawah, Dak Khana Gandawah
32. Social Mobilisation Advocacy Research and Training (SMART), Dak Khana Gandawah
33. Society for Community Organisation and Promotion of Education (SCOPE), Dera Allah Yar
34. Tanzeem Ittehad Naujawanan, Qazi Muhallah, Gandawah

#### **Kalat**

35. Anjuman Ittehad Naujawanan Gazag, c/o Mir Ahmed Zehri, B&R Office, Kalat
36. Anjuman Ittehad Naujawanan Nechara, UC Nechara, Tehsil Kalat
37. Anjuman Ittehad Naujawanan, c/o Mohammad Anwar, Agriculture Office, Kalat
38. Anjuman Ittehad Naujawanan, UC Nechara, Village Pandran, Kalat
39. Farooqia Welfare Society, Dubai Hair Cutting, Dak Khana Road, Kalat
40. Harboi Organisation, c/o Mehboob Ahmed Shahwani, Nama Nigar Baakhabar, Kalat
41. Hunkain Welfare Society, near Female Education Office, Kalat
42. Ittefaq Welfare Society, Khawaja Painter, Shahi Bazar, Kalat
43. Kalat Education Environment and Development Society, Kalat Zari Markaz, Town Road, Kalat
44. Kalat Education Environment and Mental Protection Society (KEEPS), UBL Kalat Branch, Kalat
45. Kalat Law Chamber Welfare Society, near DCO Office, Kalat

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**Kharan**

46. Abdul Malik, Shopkeeper, c/o Riaz Stationers, Kharan
47. Haji Muhammad Arif, c/o Riaz Stationers, Kharan
48. Haji Niamatullah, c/o Riaz Stationers, Kharan
49. Izzatullah Shah, c/o Riaz Stationers, Kharan
50. Malik Arz Muhammad, c/o Riaz Stationers, Kharan
51. Muhammad Azam Raiki, c/o Riaz Stationers, Kharan
52. Muhammad Ishaq, c/o Riaz Stationers, Kharan
53. Muhammad Saeed Malang, Press Club, Kharan
54. Qazi Riaz Ahmed, c/o Riaz Stationers, Kharan
55. Sher Muhammad Raskohi, c/o Riaz Stationers, Kharan

**Khuzdar**

56. Bilsum Social Welfare, Bilsum Office, Haroon Market, Hospital Road, Khuzdar
57. Dehi Taraqati Tanzeem, Ornach
58. Health and Rural Development Society
59. Press Club, Faisal Market, Chakar Khan, Khuzdar
60. Rabia Khuzdari Educational and Social Society, Bahana Ghatan, Khuzdar
61. Shashan Development Society, Nal
62. Smart Balochistan, Ajeeb Hair Dressers, Hospital Road, Khuzdar
63. Social Welfare Office, Khuzdar
64. Social Welfare, Sasol
65. Society for Community Support and Primary Education in Balochistan, Khuzdar

**Killa Abdullah**

66. Anjuman Ittehad Naujawanan Lwar Masezai, Killi Lwar Masezai, Killa Abdullah
67. Anjuman-e-Falah-o-Behbood Masezai, Mazai Adda, Killa Abdullah
68. Sabawan Welfare Society, Killi Segai, Tehsil Gulistan
69. Social Welfare Society, Nawak Suleman Khail, Tehsil Gulistan
70. Spectrum Society, Killi Nadir Abdul Rehmanzai, Gulistan
71. Young Kuzak Welfare Society, Kandahari Adda, near Fauji Market Chaman
72. Young Masezai Development Society, Maizai Adda, Killa Abdullah

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73. Youth Organisation Killi Habibzai, Habibabad Bazar, Killa Abdullah  
**Killa Saifullah**
74. Chand Falahi Tanzeem Muslim Bagh, Killi Sam Khail, Muslim Bagh
75. Ittehad Naujawanan Killi Abloon, Kaleemullah Stationery, Muslim Bagh
76. Khidmat-e-Khalq Foundation, Al-Nasim Cloth Market, Killa Saifullah
77. Public Welfare Society Qilla Saifullah, Junction Chowk, Killa Saifullah Bazar
78. Tanzeem Ittehad Naujawanan Kan Mehtarzai, High School Kan Mehtarzai, Muslim Bagh
79. Tanzeem Ittehad Naujawanan Killi Haji Abdul Qadeer, Mulla Naik Muhammad Shopkeeper, Muslim Bagh
80. Tanzeem Ittehad Naujawanan Killi Sam Khail, Killi Sam Khail, Muslim Bagh
81. Welfare Society Sargarh Muslim Bagh, Mir Wais Medical Store, Muslim Bagh
- Lasbela**
82. Bela Friends Social Society, PO Bela
83. Bela Youth Social Forum, Main Bazar, Bela
84. Press Club Bela, Main Bazar, Bela
85. Press Club Uthal, PO Uthal
86. Rural Social Association Mussani, UC Shumali Bela
87. Welfare Association for New Generation, WANG Office, near Karachi Bus Stop, Bela
88. Welfare Society Uthal, PO Uthal
- Loralai**
89. Anjuman Ittehad Naujawanan Musa Khail, Jalat Khan Esot Nazim, UC Kewan
90. Anjuman Ittehad Naujawanan, Nana Sahib, Dukki
91. Bright Future Development Musa Khail, Jalat Khan Esot Nazim, UC Kewan
92. Development Association of Youth, c/o Karachi General Store, Baghi Bazar, Loralai
93. Education Development and Welfare Organisation, Ibn-e-Sina Dawa Khana, Shara-e-Abdul Qadir, Loralai
94. Gul Welfare Organisation Dukki, Gul Complex, Dukki Bazar
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95. Labour Federation Musa Khail, c/o Jalat Khan Esot Nazim, UC Kewan
  96. Light of Awareness for Fair Advancement of Mankind (LAFAM), Hazara Muhallah, Loralai
  97. Mistry Workers Union, c/o Press Club Loralai, Baghi Bazar
  98. Musa Khail Bachao Tehreek, Jalat Khan Esot Nazim, UC Kewan
  99. Muslim Tribal Welfare Association Dukki, Halqa Nan Sahib Ziarat, Dukki
  100. Press Club, Baghi Bazar, Loralai
  101. Sanjawi Social Development, Main Bazar, Loralai
  102. Social Development Educational Federation Musa Khail, Jalat Khan Esot Nazim, UC Kewan
  103. Tanzeem Naujawan Tanzi Sar, Musa Khail
  104. Trust for Voluntary Organisations (TVO), Regional Office, Boys College, Loralai
  105. Ujala Social and Development Society Musa Khail, Jalat Khan Esot Nazim, UC Kewan

#### **Mastung**

106. Anjuman-e-Ittehad Naujawan Kirdgab, UC Kirdgab, Mastung
107. Bilsum Taraqiyyati Tanzeem Bara-i-Khawateen, Stadium Road, Mastung
108. Dinar Social Academy, UC Spaizand/Splnji, Tehsil Dasht, Mastung
109. Industrial and Social Welfare Society Mastung, Link PO Road, UC Mastung 1 and 2, Mastung
110. Sarawan Development and Welfare Society, UC Kanak, Mastung
111. Shashan Welfare Society, UC Khad Kucha, Mastung
112. Z Educational Welfare Society Mastung, Mehrab Road, UC Mastung 2

#### **Naseerabad**

113. Balochistan Adabi and Welfare Society, NADRA Office, Dera Murad Jamali
114. Balochistan National Party, Sohbatpur Chowk, Quetta Road, Dera Murad Jamali
115. Balochistan Social Academy, Dileep Medical Store, Quetta Road, Dera Murad Jamali
116. Behrani Welfare Association, Jawad Public Model School, Behrani Colony

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117. Jhalawan Social Development Society, Faisal Plaza, Quetta Road, Dera Murad Jamali
  118. Naseerabad Ittehad Welfare Society, Tehsil Road, Dera Allah Yar
  119. New Bolan Welfare Society, Kot Mengal, Quetta Road, Dera Murad Jamali
  120. Old Rajpoot Society, New Bus Adda Colony, Dera Murad Jamali
  121. Secretary Market Committee, Market Committee Hall, Dera Murad Jamali
  122. Shine Educational Society, Shine Public School, Murad Colony, Dera Allah Yar
  123. Social Welfare Department, Dera Murad Jamali
  124. Society for Education Promotion and Rural Support (SEPRES), New Baloch Colony, Dera Allah Yar

#### **Panjgur**

125. Dehi Ijtimai Taraqqiati Forum, UC Chitkan, Panjgur
126. Marie Stopes Society, UC Chitkan, Panjgur
127. Mistaq Social Welfare Society, UC Washboot
128. Noken Sohb Social Development Society, UC Gramkan, Panjgur

#### **Pishin**

129. Al-Khidmat Welfare Society, UC Pishin City 1
130. Batezai Welfare Society, Killi Batezai, Pishin
131. Dehi Taraqqiyati Tanzeem, Barshor, Pishin
132. Education Welfare Society, UC Pishin City 1
133. Falahi Tanzeem Balozai, UC Khanozai, Killi Balozai
134. Friends Welfare Society, UC Pishin City 1
135. Nave Sahar Foundation, C-5, Kabir Building, Quetta
136. Press Club, Main Bazar, Pishin
137. Talent Health Trust, UC Pishin City 1
138. Tameer-e-Millat Welfare Society, UC Bagh, Tehsil Barshor
139. Tanzeem Ittehad Naujawanan Bostan, Killi Bostan, Pishin
140. Tanzeem Ittehad Naujawanan Umerzai Balozai, UC Khanozai, Killi Umerzai Balozai
141. Tanzeem Naujawanan Tangi Road, Mullazai

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**Quetta**

142. Al-Khaliq Foundation
143. Anjuman Zamindaran, Sarawan House, Raisani Road, Quetta
144. Area Development Program Balochistan (ADPB)
145. Balochistan Coordination Council (BCC), No. 8-40/1752, Faisal Street, Rehmat Colony No. 2, Sirki Road, Quetta
146. Balochistan Friends Society
147. Balochistan Labour Federation, Imdad Chowk, Quetta
148. Balochistan Rural Support Programme, Sariab Road, Quetta
149. Balochistan Trade Unions Association
150. Balochistan Tribal District Management Programme (UNDP), Sariab Road, Quetta
151. Balochistan Union of Journalists, Adalat Road, Press Club, Quetta
152. Education Health Environment Development (EHED)
153. Family Planning Association of Pakistan, Satellite Town, Quetta
154. Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, 3rd Floor Baldia Plaza, Mezan Chowk, Quetta
155. Institute for Development Studies Practices, C-32, Railway Housing Society, Quetta
156. Organisation for Community Development, No. 385, Block 4, Satellite Town, Quetta
157. Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation, Ghalib Road, Quetta
158. Participatory Integrated Development Society, 11-A, Chaman Housing Scheme, Quetta
159. Press Club, Adalat Road, Quetta
160. Society for Community Support and Primary Education in Balochistan, 3-A, Ahmedzai Colony, Sariab Road, Quetta
161. Strengthening Participatory Organisations (SPO), 430-D, Samungli Housing Scheme, Quetta
162. Syndicate for Enabling Human Resource for Empowerment (SEHER), B-1, Jinnah Town, Quetta
163. Tanzeem Bahali-e-Mazooran
164. Taraqqee Foundation, Samungli Housing Scheme, Quetta
165. UNDP, 543-1/A, Agha Nasir Ali Street, Chiltan Road, Quetta Cantt
166. World Wild Fund, Satellite Town, Quetta

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167. Youth Welfare Organisation, Nichari Road, Quetta  
168. Zeb Public Welfare Society, Block 4, Satellite Town, Quetta

**Sibi**

169. Al-Mustafa Welfare Society, Rind Ali Bazar, Dhadar  
170. Anjuman Ittehad Naujawanan, Gharibabad, WAPDA Road, Sibi  
171. Bolan Community Development Program, Iqbal Road, Sibi  
172. Bolan Development Society, Main Bazar, Mach  
173. Chamrokh Society, Rind Ali Bazar, Dhadar  
174. Development Association of Youth, near Mela Ground, Jail Road, Sibi  
175. Insaf Welfare Society, Juma Kachh, Bolan  
176. Ittehad Public Welfare Society, Sohbat Sarai, Sibi  
177. Khidmat-e-Khalq Welfare Society, Railway Colony, Sibi  
178. Khosa Welfare Society, 7 Marla Scheme, Looni Road Sibi  
179. Kissan Foundation Bala Nari, Tehsil Haji Shehar, Bala Nari  
180. Pak Public Development Society, Main Bazar, Mach  
181. Press Club, Main Bazar, Mach  
182. Rahber Welfare Society, Village Kurak, Sibi  
183. Saher Women's Development Society, near Market Road, Sibi  
184. Sangat Welfare Society, Iqbal Road, Sibi  
185. Shaheen Welfare Society, Jinnah Road, Sibi  
186. Society for Community Organisation and Promotion of Education (SCOPE), Behrani, Dera Allah Yar  
187. Society Taleem-o-Taraqee, Bolan  
188. Sunrise Development Society, Village Dur Khan, Dhadar  
189. Watan Teacher Association, Liaqat Bazar, Sibi

**Turbat**

190. Anjuman Zanana Taleem Absar (AZT), c/o Room No. 101-102, First Floor, Bismillah Market, Main Road, Turbat  
191. Kech Education Development Society, c/o Room No. 101-102, First Floor, Bismillah Market, Main Road, Turbat  
192. Marie Stopes Society, Turbat Medical Centre Road, Turbat  
193. Mekran Coordinating Council (MCC), Saif Office, Commissioner Road, Turbat



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194. Mekran Resource Centre, Room No. 101-102, First Floor, Bismillah Market, Main Road, Turbat
  195. Mistaq Development Organisation, Jama Masjid Road, Turbat
  196. National Rural Support Program, Commissionary Road, Turbat
  197. Rural Community Development Council, Absar Turbat, c/o Room No. 101-102, First Floor, Bismillah Market, Main Road, Turbat
  198. Rural Community Development Organisation, UC Balicha, Turbat
  199. Social Development Society Kalag, c/o Room No. 101-102, First Floor, Bismillah Market, Main Road, Turbat
  200. Strengthening Participatory Organisation (SPO), Pasni Road, Turbat
  201. Trust for Voluntary Organisation (TVO), Commissionary Road, Turbat
  202. Youth Club Absar, c/o Room No. 101-102, First Floor, Bismillah Market, Main Road, Turbat

#### **Zhob**

203. Agri Development Society, Tawana Pakistan Programme, Zhob
204. Anjuman Ittehad Naujawanan Azbarghi, Shah Computer Centre, Rahim Plaza, Thana Road, Zhob
205. Anjuman Ittehad Naujawanan, Killi Apozai, c/o Mohammad Zahir Khan, Librarian Government Degree College, Zhob
206. Anjuman Khidmatgaran Shirani, c/o EDO Education Department, Zhob
207. Development Association of Youth, Nazir Photo Studio, Market Road, Zhob
208. Eagle Welfare Society, Social Welfare Office, near Government Model High School, Zhob
209. Information Network Centre, Nazir Photo Studio, Market Road, Zhob
210. Social Youth Organisation, Jan Mohammad Naswar Farosh, Mian Khail Galli, Zhob
211. Society for Development, Shah Computer Centre, Rahim Plaza, Thana Road, Zhob
212. Society for Support Education, Shah Computer Centre, Rahim Plaza, Thana Road, Zhob
213. Tanzeem Ittehad Wala, c/o Ashraf Kharoti Atta Farosh, Market Road, Zhob
214. Youth Friends of Pakistan, Shirin Sweet House, near MCB, Thana Road, Zhob

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215. Zhob Welfare Society, Social Welfare Office, near Government Model High School, Zhob

## **NWFP**

### **Abbottabad**

216. Al-Nisa Development Organisation, Upper Kehal, Abbottabad  
217. Bar Association, District Court, Abbottabad  
218. Family Welfare Centre, Jangi, Mansehra Road, Abbottabad.  
219. Friends Association, near Abbottabad Public School, Mirpur, Abbottabad  
220. Hazara Abbaseen Art Council, Jalal Baba Auditorium, Abbottabad  
221. National Rural Support Programme (Galyat Project)  
222. Nelaan Development Federation, Village Chamnakka, Havalayan, Abbottabad  
223. Pakistan Volunteer Organisation, Habibullah Colony, Jangi Road, Abbottabad  
224. Sarhad Rural Support Programme, PMA Road, Abbottabad  
225. Union of Journalists, Press Club near Hockey Stadium, Abbottabad  
226. Women's Development Association, Agriculture Colony Mandian, Abbottabad

### **Bannu**

227. Al-Habib Foundation NWFP, GHS No 1, Bannu City  
228. District Social Welfare Coordination Council, District Chapter  
229. Global Development Program, Defence Officers Colony  
230. Integrated Rural Support Programme  
231. Kavish Development Organisation, Bazar Ahmad Khan  
232. Kurram Social Welfare Council  
233. Miryan Youth Council, opposite Milad Park, Bannu City  
234. United Welfare Association

### **Battagram**

235. Ajmira Welfare Society  
236. Anjuman Falah-o-Behbood  
237. Awami Tanzeem  
238. Bar Association

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239. Bazargai Welfare Organisation
  240. Dehi Tanzeem Bana Ellai
  241. Ganugwal Welfare Organisation
  242. Ittefaq Welfare Organisation
  243. Karwan Gulistan Kandar
  244. Khairkhwa Welfare Organisation
  245. Malkal Welfare Organisation
  246. Malki Foundation
  247. Tanzeem Al-Falah
  248. Tanzeem Naujawanan
  249. Tanzeem Naujawanan Hajmira
  250. Tanzeem Naujawanan Karab
  251. Tanzeem Naujawanan Peshora
  252. Tekri Welfare Society

#### **Buner**

253. Al-Khair Social Welfare Organisation, Chamla, Tehsil Daggar, Buner District
254. Anjuman Al-Faiz Samaji Behbood, Soora Village
255. District Coordination Council Network, Daggar Pull
256. District Coordination Council of Social Welfare Organisations, Toorgat, Karapa
257. Tanzeem Naujawanan Bara-e-Behbood-e-Muashra, Chingley Bazar
258. TB Association, Daggar Pull

#### **Charsadda**

259. Anjuman Dehi Taraqqi-o-Samaji Behbood Nisatta, Mohallah Madani, Village and PO Nisatta
260. Anjuman Naujawanan Khidmat-e-Khalq, Nazo Killay
261. Azam Khan Special Education Centre, near WAPDA office, Marian Road
262. Job Creators Organisation, near Saleem Sugar Mills, opposite Fuel Station
263. Mohammadzai Welfare Society, Village and PO Sardheri
264. Muttehida Islahi Committee, Village Ghazo Dheri, PO Cheena, Tehsil Tangi, Charsadda District
265. Parang Women's Development Organisation, Mohallah Maro Khel,

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- Parang
266. Peoples Youth Organisation, Shabqadar
  267. Shama Dehi Taraqqiati Tanzeem, Village and PO Nisatta
  268. United Youth Welfare Organisation, Sardheri
  269. Women Welfare Organisation, opposite Municipal Committee, Utamanzai
  270. Youth Welfare Society Razzar, Tehsil and District Charsadda
- Chitral**
271. District Coordination Council Network, City and Tehsil Chitral
  272. Drivers Association, City and District Chitral
  273. Labour Union, C&W office, Chitral
  274. Legal Aid Forum, City and District Chitral
  275. Young Welfare Organisation, Morkoh, Chitral
- Dera Ismail Khan**
276. Daman Environment Protection Society, Chah Syed Munawar Shah, Dera Ismail Khan
  277. Development Association of Youth, Mughal House, near Rang Mahal, Qasuria Street, Dera Ismail Khan
  278. Hamdam Welfare Society, Street Neem Wali, behind Liaquat Park, Dera Ismail Khan
  279. Idara-e-Khidmat-e-Khalq, near Mission Hospital, Draban Road, Dera Ismail Khan
  280. Sehar Organisation, Thalla Bambu Shah, Dera Ismail Khan
- Haripur**
281. Anjuman e Behbood e Khawateen, Shakir Road
  282. Anjuman Falah-o-Bahbood, Banda Muneer Khan
  283. District Bar Association, District Courts, GT Road
  284. District Social Welfare Coordination Council, Circular Road
  285. Falcon Youth Welfare Organisation, Tarbela Road, Ghazi
  286. Haripur Chambers of Commerce and Industries, Silkway Plaza
  287. Haripur Union of Journalists, Old Sabzi Mandi
  288. Human Development and Advocacy Foundation, T&T Colony
  289. Human Resource and Gender Development Foundation, Sain Sehali Road, Bakra Mandi
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290. Ittefaq Dehi Tanzeem Swabi Maira, GT Road
  291. Qalam Qartas, Sector No. 3, Khalabut Township
  292. Rural Development Project, Fort Road
  293. Sahara Development Foundation, Farooqia Abad, Hattar
  294. Samaji Tanzeem Bara-i-Bahali, Mutassereen-i-Tarbela Dam (SMT), Khalbut Township
  295. Save the Children, Sattar Manzil, Tehsil Road
  296. TIP Employees and Workers Union, Khanpur Road
  297. United Welfare Society, Village and PO Barkot

#### **Karak**

298. Al-Fateh Welfare Organisation, Nawaz Plaza, Main Bazar, Tehsil and District Karak
299. Khwendo Kor, Bannu Road, Karak

#### **Kohat**

300. Eagle Youth Organisation, Village Jangle Khel, Tehsil and District Kohat
301. Majlis-e-Islah-o-Behbood-e-Muashra, Jangle Khel, Kohat
302. Minhaj Welfare and Human Rights Society, Main Bazar, Kohat
303. Orakzai Falahi Tanzeem, Garhi Behram Shah, Jangle Khel
304. Public Welfare Society, Merazai, Bannu Road
305. Sapna Welfare Organisation, Mansoor Khel, Jangle Khel
306. Women's Rights Organisation, Shaheen Plaza, Bannu Road
307. Young Blood Donor and Welfare Organisation, Jani Photo Studio, opposite Girls High School No 2, Kohat City
308. Youth Welfare Association, College Town, Kohat

#### **Lakki Marwat**

309. Marwat Kashkaran Welfare Committee, Mohallah Hassan Khel, Village and PO Tajazai, Tehsil and District Lakki Marwat
310. Sarhad Welfare Organisation, Village and PO Shahbaz Khel
311. United Humanitarian Organisation, Village and PO Shahbaz Khel
312. United Youth
313. Wurruno Kor, Darra Pezu, Lakki Marwat
314. Young Social Workers Society, GT Road, Serai Nourang
315. Youth Social Welfare Organisation, Abakhel, District Lakki Marwat

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**Lower Dir**

- 316. Anjuman Behbood-e-Khawateen, Ziarat Talash
- 317. Anjuman Dehat Sudhar Council, Laal Qilla, Maidan Payeen
- 318. Anjuman Falah-o-Behbood, Baba Gram Maidan
- 319. Azad Falahi Tanzeem Nojawanan, Banda Talaash, Lower Dir
- 320. Dehi Taraqqiati Falahi Tanzeem, Qazi Abad, Samar Bagh, Jandol
- 321. Falahi Tanzeem Sehat-o-Taleem, Mundah, Jandol
- 322. Idara-e-Khidmat-e-Khalq, Ziarat Talash
- 323. Islahi Tanzeem Dheri Talash, Dheri Talash
- 324. Rural Development Organisation, Timergarah
- 325. Social Welfare Youth Organisation, Balambut

**Malakand**

- 326. Community Development Organisation, Village Kharakai, Dargai, Malakand Agency
- 327. Narcotics Control Council of Malakand, Kharkai, Dargai, Malakand Agency
- 328. Pegham Welfare Society, Thana, Malakand Agency
- 329. Press Club, Butkhela
- 330. Ranhra Welfare Tanzeem, Village Agra, Malakand, Malakand Agency
- 331. Sahara Tanzeem, Old Skha Kot, Malakand Agency

**Mansehra**

- 332. Al-Munir Foundation, Baffa
- 333. Anjuman Falah-o-Behbood Khawateen, Jabori
- 334. Aurat Association, Ghazi Kot Township
- 335. Bar Association, Mansehra City
- 336. Environmental Protection Society, Sucha
- 337. Hazara Young Welfare Society, Ghazi Kot
- 338. Hazara Youth Welfare Association, Ghazi Kot
- 339. Ittehad Welfare Association, Mansehra City
- 340. NGOs Ittehad Mansehra, Mansehra City
- 341. Sarhad NGOs Ittehad, Mansehra City
- 342. Tehreek Naujawanan, Mansehra City
- 343. Union of Journalists, Mansehra City

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**Mardan**

- 344. Anjuman Naujawanane Tooro, Tooro Mera
- 345. Dar-ul-Falah, Takht Bai
- 346. Ittehad Tanzeem, Khanpur Kallan
- 347. Mardan Development and Welfare Organisation, Dosehra Chowk, Mills Road, Marian
- 348. Pakistan Youth Organisation, Gujar Garhi
- 349. Pioneer Press Club
- 350. Social Development Organisation, Kas Koroona, Mardan
- 351. Takht Bai Blood Donors Association, Takht Bai
- 352. Takht Bai Union of Journalists, Takht Bai
- 353. Village Development Organisation, Khazana Dheri
- 354. Wekh Zalmai, Mardan Turu, Mardan
- 355. Women and Children Welfare Organisation, Takht Bai
- 356. Women's Development Organisation, Eidgah Road

**Nowshera**

- 357. Al-Fatah, Khat Kili, Nowshera Khurd
- 358. Sana Welfare Organisation, Khushal Colony, Nowshera Cantt
- 359. Shinkey Pal Tanzeem, Ziarat Kaka Sahib
- 360. Ulasi Khair Khagara, Akora Khattak

**Peshawar**

- 361. Behbood-e-Insaniyat Welfare Organisation, Nauthia Jadeed, Peshawar
- 362. Civic Awareness and Promotion Society, Tanki Plaza, PO Ashrafia Colony, Ring Road, Peshawar
- 363. Dost Welfare Foundation, Hayatabad, Peshawar
- 364. Human Resources Management and Development Centre, 8 Usman Road, Old Bara Road, University Town, Peshawar
- 365. Humanity Organisation for Peace (HOPE), No. 35, Street No. 17, Gulbahar No. 2, Peshawar
- 366. Islahi Tanzeem Hajizai, Mathra, Village Akakhel, PO Mathra
- 367. Islahi Tanzeem Nowjawan, Ghaleegee
- 368. Khwendo Kor, No. 149, Sector K 3, Phase 3, Hayatabad, Peshawar
- 369. Sarhad Rural Support Programme, 7-8 Shami Road, Peshawar Cantt
- 370. Shirkat Gah, Abdara Road, University Town, Peshawar

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371. Social Welfare Organisation, Lakarraai  
372. The HOPE, Village and PO Badezai, Peshawar

**Shangla**

373. Al-Khidmat Tanzeem, Basi, Alpuri  
374. Khair Khegara, Pir Khana, Ullandar  
375. Khidmat-e-Khalq, Village Matta, Tehsil Alpuri  
376. Mashaal Welfare Society, Tehsil Alpuri  
377. Shahpur Youth Society, Village Shahpur, Tehsil Alpuri  
378. Shangla Development Society, Village and PO Lilowanai, Alpuri  
379. Social Community Welfare Association Damorai, Tehsil Alpuri  
380. Village Council for Awareness and Development

**Swabi**

381. Al-Mustaid Welfare Society, Karnal Sher Kili, Swabi  
382. Anjuman Samaji Behbood, Chhota Yaar Hussain, Tehsil and District Swabi  
383. Awami Welfare Society, Tehsil Lahore, Swabi  
384. Islahi *Jirga* Swabi, Tehsil Swabi  
385. Ittefaq Welfare Society, Village and PO Swabi  
386. Rashakai Social Welfare Organisation, Village Rashakai, Tehsil and District Swabi  
387. Swabi Women Welfare Society, Karnal Sher Kili, District Swabi  
388. Tanzeem-e-Naujawan, Topi  
389. Tehreek-e-Naujawan, Khalabut, Tehsil and District Swabi  
390. Utman Welfare Society, Kotha Village, Swabi  
391. Youth Welfare Society Sheikh Jana, District Swabi  
392. Youth Welfare Society Sheikh Jana, Women Wing, Sheikh Jana Village, Tehsil and District Swabi

**Swat**

393. Anjuman Falah-e-Moashra, Rang Mohallla, Mangora  
394. Dehi Taraqqiati Council, Totano Banda, Tehsil Kabal, Swat  
395. Falahi Tanzeem Ningolai  
396. Green Hills Development Society  
397. Idara-e-Juawand Social Welfare, Mangora, Swat  
398. Roshni Welfare Society, Bara Bandai



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399. Tanzeem Naujawanane Islah-e-Muashra, Kuza Bandai, Swat

400. Ulas Khegara, Miandam, Khwaza Khela, Swat

**Tank**

401. Al-Mujahid Falahi Tanzeem, Gomal, Tehsil and District Tank

402. Anjuman Falah-e-Insaniyat, Mohallah Dr Rab Nawaz, Tehsil and District Tank

403. Daman Welfare Organisation, Mohallah Dost Mohammad Khan, Dera Ismail Khan Road, Tank

**Upper Dir**

404. Sahara Falahi Tanzeem, Dir Khas

405. Social Development Organisation, Upper Dir

**PUNJAB**

**Attock**

406. Al-Ghazali Educational and Social Welfare Society, Allama Iqbal Model School, Dhok Fateh, Attock

407. Anjuman Falah-o-Behbood, Attock City

408. Anjuman Moashrati Behbood, Chowk Markazi Jamma Masjid, Attock City

409. Awami Tarap Welfare Society, Attock

410. Bar Association Attock

411. Chuch Noujawan Tanzeem, Dhaki Road, Khuzd

412. Dehi Taraqqiati Tanzeem, Village Bohi Guard, Hassan Abdal

413. Falahi Committee Khaur, Akhori Attock

414. Fateh Jhang, City Fateh Jhang

415. Friends Welfare Society, POL Khor Company, Pind Gheb

416. Idara Falah-o-Behbood, Village Hamak, Tehsil Fateh Jang

417. Idara Rafah-e-Aam, Hazara Road, Hassan Abdal

418. Idara Samaji Behbood, Village Kot Sundki, Hassan Abdal

419. Ijtamai Taraqqiati Society, Mohalla Tobi New Abadi, Fateh Jang

420. Islah-e-Moashra, Attock

421. Sufa Educational Trust, Attock

422. Union of Journalists, Press Club, Attock

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423. Union of Journalists, Press Club, Pindi Gheb

**Bahawalnagar**

424. Al-Badar Welfare Society, Main Bazar, Chishtian, Bahawalnagar  
425. Anjuman Falah-e-Mareezan, Pakki Mandi, Haroonabad, Bahawalnagar  
426. Anjuman-e-Falah-e-Mareezan, Haroonabad, Bahawalnagar  
427. Common, Hotiana House, Mubarak Gate, Bahawalnagar  
428. Concern Foundation, Baldia Colony, Chishtian, Bahawalnagar  
429. Haryana Welfare Society, Dong Bonga, Bahawalnagar  
430. Islahi Committee, Chowk Fawara, Fort Abbas, Bahawalnagar  
431. Jamiat-e-Abbassia, Naala Pain Par, Fort Abbas, Bahawalnagar  
432. Jamiat-ul-Quresh, Jinnah Colony, Bahawalnagar City  
433. Pak Public Hospital, Main Bazar, Chishtian, Bahawalnagar  
434. Pakistan Welfare Society, Bidana Sharqi, Chishtian, Bahawalnagar  
435. Patients Welfare Society, Minchinabad, Bahawalnagar  
436. Sir Syed Welfare Society, Chishtian City, Bahawalnagar  
437. Sutlej Welfare Foundation, Chistian, Bahawalnagar  
438. Young Scholars Public School and Bahawalnagar Welfare Society,  
College Road, Bahawalnagar City

**Bahawalpur**

439. Aizaz-e-Niswan, Satellite Town, Bahawalpur  
440. Al-Aziz Welfare Society, Satellite Town, Bahawalpur  
441. Al-Fatah Youth Welfare Society, Tareen Road, Bahawalpur  
442. Al-Fateh Development Organisation, Tareen Road, Bahawalpur  
443. Anjuman Falah-e-Moashra, Islampur, Bahawalpur  
444. Bait-ul-Falah-e-Niswan, Commercial Area, Bahawalpur  
445. High Court Bar Association, Bahawalpur  
446. NGOs Development Committee Social Agencies, Bahawalpur  
447. Pakistan Rural Workers' Social Welfare Organisation, Gulistan Colony,  
Bahawalpur  
448. Pakistan Social Association, Ahmedpur Sharqia  
449. Sadiq Dost Academy of Pakistan, Ahmedpur Sharqia

**Bhakkar**

450. Al-Noor Social Welfare Organisation, 86-A, Ward 5, Jinnah Street,  
College Road, Bhakkar

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451. Al-Raza Social Welfare Society, Qasr-e-Zainab Road, Bhakkar City
  452. Anjuman Islah-e-Moaashra, Mandi Town, Bhakkar City
  453. District Bar Association, District Courts, Bhakkar City
  454. District Press Club, Bheel Road, Bhakkar City
  455. M I Middle School, Mandi Town, Bhakkar City
  456. Qadir Foundation, Bheel Road, near GPO, Bhakkar City
  457. Shaheen Falahi Anjuman, Chak No. 34 TDA, Bhakkar
  458. Social Welfare Society, PO Chheena, Tibbi Faqir, Bhakkar

#### **Chakwal**

459. Al-Baidar Welfare Society, Telangang
460. Bar Association, Telangang
461. Chakwal Press Club, Chakwal
462. Dar-ul-Shafa Social Welfare Society, Bhon Road, Chakwal
463. District Bar Association, District Chakwal
464. Door Step Project, Chakwal City
465. Jinnah Welfare Society, Malikwal, Tehsil Telangang
466. Salt Range Archeological and Heritage Society, Duameel, Tehsil Chowdah Syedan Shah
467. Union of Journalists, Telangang
468. Zulfiqar Welfare Society, Bhon Road, Chakwal City

#### **Dera Ghazi Khan**

469. Al-Asar Complex, Block S, near Old City Police Station, Dera Ghazi Khan
470. Al-Asar Development Foundation
471. Al-Nisa Development Organisation, Block M, Dera Ghazi Khan
472. Anjuman Islah-o-Falah, College Road near Girls College, Taunsa Sharif
473. Children Welfare Council, Street No. 3, Mohalla Noor Zang, Dera Ghazi Khan
474. Pakistan Association of Blind and Disabled Foundation, Dera Ghazi Khan
475. Simi Women's Development Organisation, Shahdan Lund, Dera Ghazi Khan
476. Tanzeem Al-Falah, College Road, Taunsa Sharif, Dera Ghazi Khan

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**Faisalabad**

- 477. Behbood-e-Niswan Network, No. P-449, Street No. 1, Islam Nagar, Faisalabad
- 478. Caritas, Bishop's House, Railway Road, Faisalabad
- 479. Faisalabad Journalists Association, Circular Road, opposite Habib Bank, Faisalabad
- 480. Islam Nagar Welfare Society, Street No. 7, Islam Nagar, Faisalabad
- 481. Sarsabz Foundation, No. 6503, Street No. 3, Roza Park, Mansoorabad, Faisalabad

**Gujranwala**

- 482. Ababeel Women's Welfare Society, Niaz House, Kalimabad, Gujranwala
- 483. Al-Junnat, Gujranwala
- 484. Al-Mubasim Welfare Society, Kamoke Road, Street Al-Hadis, Masjid Kamoke
- 485. Al-Mustafa Welfare Society, Gujranwala
- 486. Al-Watan Forum Pakistan, Ehtesham Colony, near Sui gas Office, Gujranwala
- 487. Anjuman Tahzeeb-e-Millat, Gujranwala
- 488. Anjumen-e-Taamir-e-Now, Taanlianwala, Noshera Road, Gujranwala
- 489. Asian Education Society, Model Town, Gujranwala
- 490. Best Welfare Organisation, Gujranwala
- 491. Dehi Taraqqiati Council, Gujranwala
- 492. District Bar Association, District Court, Gujranwala
- 493. District Press Club, Trust Plaza, GT Road, Gujranwala
- 494. Ewan e Zaraat, Gill Road, Civil Lines, Gujranwala
- 495. Fair Field Welfare Society, Mohalla Muslim Ganj, near Government Girls College, Kamoke
- 496. Gujranwala Community Development Organisation, Jinnah Road, near Tariq Mills, Gujranwala
- 497. Insan Dost Tehreek, Satellite Town, Gujranwala
- 498. Jinnah Welfare Organisation, near Telephone Exchange, Kamoke
- 499. Jinnah Welfare Society, Qilla Mustafa Abad, Kamoke
- 500. Khidmat-e-Khalq, Gakkhar, Wazirabad
- 501. National Welfare Society, Abdullah Colony, Kashmir Road, Gujranwala
- 502. Organisation for Participatory Development, Trust Plaza, GT Road,

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### Gujranwala

- 503. Pakistan Kalam-e-Nau Welfare Academy, Gakkhar, Wazirabad
- 504. Pakistan Youth Organisation, Aroop More, Sialkot Road, Gujranwala
- 505. Punjab Rural Support Programme, Rahawali Cantt, Gujranwala
- 506. Rehmani Welfare Society, GT Road, Kamoke
- 507. Rural Women's Social Organisation, Satellite Town, Gujranwala
- 508. Shaheen Welfare Councillors Club, Satellite Town, Gujranwala
- 509. Social Services Society, Peoples's Colony, Gujranwala
- 510. Social Welfare Society Gujranwala, Tehsil Wazirabad
- 511. Social Welfare Society, Gunnianwala
- 512. Young Welfare Association, Mandiala Chatha, Wazirabad

### Gujrat

- 513. Al-Rahi Trust, Jalalpur Jattan Road, Gujrat City
- 514. Anjuman Islah-e-Naujawanan, Gujrat
- 515. Aurat Welfare Association, Gujrat
- 516. Buttar Welfare Society, Kharian City
- 517. Church of Pakistan, Bhimber Road, Gujrat
- 518. Community Health and Development Programme
- 519. Decent Welfare Society, Railway Road, Gujrat
- 520. District Bar Association, Court Road, Gujrat
- 521. District TB Association, DHQ Hospital, Gujrat
- 522. Gujrat Decent Welfare Society, Gujrat
- 523. Gujrat Journalists Union, Press Club Gujrat
- 524. Improvement Foundation, Gujrat
- 525. Khumhi Welfare Society, Village Khumhi, Tehsil Kharian
- 526. Pakistan Brick Kiln Labour Union, Sargodha Road, Gujrat
- 527. Social Welfare Society, Moin-ud-din Pur, Gujrat
- 528. Thinkers Forum, Court Road, Gujrat

### Hafizabad

- 529. Al-Faisal Development Council, Ameen Hospital, PO Road, Hafizabad
- 530. Al-Farid Welfare Society, Hafizabad
- 531. Al-Madina Welfare Society, Amin Hospital, Hafizabad
- 532. Al-Rahim Welfare Society, Pindi Bhattian
- 533. Anjuman Falah-o-Behbood, Koskay Road, Mohalla Bahawalpur,

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#### Hafizabad

- 534. Bunyad Community Literacy Programme, Anarkali Bazar, Sarkari Parao, Hafizabad
- 535. Dehi Taraqati Council, Ali Abad, Tehsil and District Hafizabad
- 536. Dehi Taraqati Council, Saikhi Tehsil, Pindi Bhattian
- 537. Dehi Taraqati Council, Vainka Nar, PCO Khas, Tehsil and District Hafizabad
- 538. District Development Coordination Council, DE Colony, Bypass Road, Hafizabad
- 539. Gulzar-e-Madina Welfare Society, Bhowan Kalan PCO, Tehsil and District Hafizabad
- 540. Health and Social Welfare Society, PCO Khas Kanki Mandi, Tehsil and District Hafizabad
- 541. Human Welfare Organisation, PO Venka Nar, Tehsil and District Hafizabad
- 542. Public Welfare Society, Sakhi PO, Rasoolpur Road, Tehsil Pindi Bhattian, District Hafizabad
- 543. Saia Welfare Association, Madina Colony Modheehan Wala, Hafizabad
- 544. Shehri Ijtamai Taraqati Council, Pindi Bhattian
- 545. Sunny Welfare Society

#### Jhang

- 546. Al-Hina Karim Welfare Society, Mandi Shah Jewna, Jhang
- 547. Anjuman Shahrian-e-Chiniot, Mohalla Graha, Chiniot
- 548. Anjuman-e-Behbood-e-Marizaan, DHQ Hospital, Chiniot
- 549. Anjuman-e-Rafah-a-Moashra, Kot Murad, Tehsil Shorkot
- 550. Association for the Rights of the Children, Raza Printers, Library Park, Chiniot
- 551. District Bar Association, Zilla Kutcheri, Jhang
- 552. Haroon Primary Education Society, Mohalla Sultanwala, Tehsil Road
- 553. HIRA Foundation, Ahmedpur, Tehsil Sial, District Jhang
- 554. Human Rights Organisation, Human Rights Office, Kutcheri Chowk, Jhang
- 555. Jhang Union of Journalists, opposite Zilla Council Hall, Jhang
- 556. Pakistan Society Bara-i-Tahaffuz-e-Maholiat-o-Muashrati Taleem, Kutcheri Chowk, Jhang

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557. Pakistan Welfare Society, Wagha Bagh  
558. Pakistan Youth Organisation, Mohalla Kapayial, Saddar, Jhang  
559. Patient Welfare Society, DHQ Hospital, Jhang  
560. Paven Welfare Society  
561. People Welfare Society, Dhuriwala, Jhang  
562. Public Welfare Society, Chak No. 12, 13, 14, Chiniot, Jhang  
563. Shelter, Mohalla Sultanwala, Jhang

#### **Jhelum**

564. All Pakistan Women's Association, Bilal Town, Jhelum  
565. Al-Shafaq, Shadab Road, Jhelum  
566. District Bar Association, Kutcheri, Jhelum  
567. Falahi Markaz, Iqbal Library Road, Jhelum  
568. Fatima Jinnah Welfare Society, c/o Nighat MPA, Civil Lines Jhelum  
569. Jhelum Art Society, Rohtas, Jhelum  
570. Jhelum Press Club, Civil Lines, Jhelum  
571. Katrilla Welfare Society, Kala Gojran, Jhelum  
572. Legal Aid Society, Zilla Kutcheri Road, Jhelum  
573. Social Welfare Society, Domeli, Tehsil Sohawa, District Jhelum  
574. Union of Journalists, Civil Lines, Jhelum  
575. Women Voice, Sagarpur, Pind Dandiayal, Jhelum  
576. Women's Welfare Society, River Road, Jhelum  
577. Young Welfare Society, Dhok Jhala, Jhelum

#### **Kasur**

578. Al-Khair Foundation, Mir Mohammad, Kasur  
579. Al-Umar Foundation, Raja Jang, Kasur  
580. Anjuman Falah-o-Behbood, Village Athilpur, Kasur  
581. Ittehad Foundation, near ID Card Office, Railway Road, Kasur  
582. Jaagrati, Village Chheena Aarla, Kot Radha Kishan, Kasur  
583. Jinnah Welfare Society, Rao Khanwala, Kasur  
584. Rural Development Organisation, Jeomail, Kasur

#### **Khanewal**

585. Anjuman Falah-o-Behbood, 138/10-R Jehania, Khanewal  
586. Anjuman Islah-e-Moashra, Chak No. 135/10-R, Jehania, Khanewal  
587. Bar Association Kabirwala, Tehsil Kabirwala, District Khanewal

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- 588. Bismillah Welfare Society, Chak No. 7/9-R, Tehsil and District Khanewal
  - 589. Dehi Tanzeem for Women, Kabirwala
  - 590. Jahanian Welfare Society, Tehsil Jehania
  - 591. Pakistan Youth League, Tehsil Jehania
  - 592. Peoples Technical and Educational Society, Tehsil Jehania
  - 593. Social Development Foundation, 11 Civil Lines, Khanewal
  - 594. Social Welfare Society, Katalpur, Kanchiwala, Tehsil Kabirwala
  - 595. Teachers Union
  - 596. Union of Small Farmers Mian Chunnu, Awan Building, Shahana Road, Khanewal
  - 597. Women's Development Organisation, Chak No. 136, 10/R, Tehsil Jehania
- Khushab**
- 598. Al-Falah Society, 164/C ADS - II Joherabad, Khushab
  - 599. Young Lawyers District Bar Association
- Lahore**
- 600. Al-Aisha Anjuman Khawateen, Nawan Kot, Multan Road, Lahore
  - 601. Anam Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Model School, Bedian Road, Lahore
  - 602. Anjuman-e-Falah-o-Behbood, Lakshmi Chowk, Lahore
  - 603. Association of Network for Community Empowerment (ANCE), 10-New Shalimar Road, Nawan Kot, Multan Road, Lahore
  - 604. Citizens Welfare Organisation, Gulshan-e-Ravi, Lahore
  - 605. Community Support Concern, No. 575-5, Sector D-I, Township, Lahore
  - 606. Community Welfare Organisation, No. 97-H/2, Johar Town, Lahore
  - 607. Ehsas, 147/3, Kothay Pind, Faisal Town, Lahore
  - 608. Ghazali School System, Haer, Bedian Road, Lahore
  - 609. Goad (Lahore), No. 4, Street 27, Main Bazar, Canal Park, Gulberg II, Lahore
  - 610. Green Circle Organisation, PO Box No. 5130, Model Town, Lahore
  - 611. Haer Welfare Society, Village Haer, Bedian Road, Lahore
  - 612. Happy Home School, Chah Miran, near Miran Zanjani, Lahore
  - 613. Khidmat-e-Khalq Council, Mananwala, Bedian Road, Lahore
  - 614. Labour Party of Pakistan, 40 Abbot Road, Lahore
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615. Legal Aid Committee, Model Town Courts, Ferozpur Road, Lahore
  616. Little Star Welfare Society, Gulshan-e-Ravi, Lahore
  617. Meeran Education Society, Atif Public School, Chah Miran, Lahore
  618. New Pak Angels School, Wasanpura, near Neelum Cinema, Lahore
  619. Pak Environment Education Society, Wasanpura, Lahore
  620. Pakistan Youth Talent Council, Shadman Colony, Lahore
  621. Peace Education Society, Bandianwala Pul, Chungi Amar Sadhu, Lahore
  622. Punjab Teachers' Union, Village Gaga, Lahore
  623. Rising Youth Council, Gulshan-e-Ravi, Lahore
  624. Social Democratic Movement, c/o PILER, Chungi Amar Sadhu, Ferozpur Road, Lahore
  625. Social Welfare Society, Parachute Factory, Industrial Area, Gulberg, Lahore
  626. Social Welfare Society, Rajgarh near Firdaus Cinema, Lahore
  627. Youth Commission for Human Rights, No. 122, Street No. 3, Officers Colony, Cavalry Ground, Lahore
  628. Youth Council, Kot Khawaja Saeed, Lahore

#### **Layyah**

629. Al-Sheikh Welfare Society, Jinnah Park Road, Layyah
630. Anjuman Niswan, Housing Colony, Layyah
631. Baloch Falah-e-Mareezan, Kot Sultan, Layyah
632. Baloch Welfare Association, c/o District Bar Association, Layyah
633. Jinnah Welfare Society, Mohallah Chandiawala, Layyah
634. Pakistan Welfare Society, Chowk Azam, Layyah
635. Professors and Lecturers Association, Government Degree College, College Road, Layyah
636. Public Welfare Society, Jamman Shah, Layyah
637. Riasat Welfare Society, Pir Jhugi, Layyah
638. SEHET, Housing Colony, College Road, Layyah
639. Thal Development Organisation, Lodhra House, Railway Road, Karor, Layyah
640. Ujala Foundation, Railway Road, Layyah

#### **Lodhran**

641. Al-Khidmat Foundation, Madina Colony, Lodhran City

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642. All Pakistan Clerks Association, c/o District Education Office, Lodhran City
643. Citizens Rights Forum, opposite DCO Office, Ghalla Mandi, Lodhran
644. District Bar Association, Distric Courts, Lodhran City
645. Farmers Development Organisation, Pull Sukh Bias, Tehsil Dunyapur, Lodhran
646. Ladies Club, Bahwalpur Road, Lodhran
647. Lodhran Pilot Project, Main Chowk, Lodhran City
648. Mission Foundation, 233-A/7, Lodhran
649. PACE, Railway Road, Lodhran
650. Pakistan Medical Association, Syed Hospital, Lodhran City
651. Pakistan Youth League, c/o Multan Chapter, 29 Writers Colony, Multan
652. Pharmacist and Druggist Association, c/o Al-Madina Medical Store, near Syed Hospital, Lodhran City
653. Public Welfare Organisation, Tehsil Dunyapur
654. Samaji Inqalabi Council, Kahrore Pakka, Lodhran
655. Sirani Welfare Society, Dhanot, Kehrore Pakka, Lodhran
656. Tanzeem-e-Asaatza (Pakistan), c/o Government High School, Lodhran
657. Toor Welfare Society, Dunyapur City
658. Young Welfare Society, Dhanot, Kehrore Pakka, Lodhran
659. Youth Welfare Organisation, Bright Home, Eidgah Colony, Lodhran City

#### **Mandi Bahauddin**

660. Adam Welfare Society, Gohkhoka, Phalia
661. Al-Ijaz Developmant Council, Pindi Kaloo, Phalia
662. Allama Iqbal Welfare Society, Sindhuwala, Phalia
663. Anjuman Islah-e-Moashra
664. Anjuman Naujawanan Falah-o-Behbood, Village PO Bosal Sukha, Malikwal
665. Awami Refahi Tanzeem
666. Bhojwal Development Society, Bhojwal, Malikwal
667. Community Development Council, Barosi, Malikwal
668. Hayyal-al-Falah Welfare Society
669. Insaf Welfare Society, Rainkay, Phalia
670. Jamaat-e-Islah-e-Muashra, Thatta Khan Mehar, Phalia
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671. Muslim Free Education Society
  672. Samaji Behbood Council, Railway Road, Malikwal
  673. Shaheen Welfare Society, Qadirabad, Phalia
  674. Shahtak, near Ghausia Masjid, Mandi Bahauddin
  675. Social Welfare Society, Kot Nawab Shah, near Shahtaj Sugar Mills, Mandi Bahauddin
  676. Tameer-e-Insaniyyat Welfare Society, Bheoko Road, Phalia
  677. Tanzeem Rafa-e-Aama, Village PO Shaheenian, Mandi Bahauddin
  678. Union of Journalists
  679. Village Welfare Society, Mailu Kohna Khas, Phalia
  680. Young Welfare Society, Bosal Musawir, Malikwal

#### **Mianwali**

681. Al-Mujahid Welfare Council, Musa Khel, Mianwali
682. District Bar Association, District Courts, Mianwali
683. District Press Club, Railway Road, near District Jail, Mianwali
684. Fine Samaji Behbood Council, Tarag, Eisakhel, Mianwali
685. Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (District Chapter), PAF Road, Mianwali City
686. Karwan Community Development, Main Bazar, Kalabagh, Mianwali
687. Public Welfare Council, Government Centre Model School, Mianwali
688. Sojhla Community Development, Railway Station, Kundian, Mianwali
689. Women's Development Concern, Mohallah Eidgah, Kundian, Mianwali

#### **Multan**

690. Agahi Foundation, Shah Rukn-e-Alam Colony, Multan
691. Ashiana Welfare Society, 29 Writers Colony, Masoom Shah Road, Multan
692. Awaz Foundation, Shams Abad Colony, Multan
693. District Bar Association, District Bar, Multan
694. Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, opposite Hajveri Arcade, Kutcheri Road, Multan
695. Justice and Peace Commission Multan, Naqshband Colony, Chowk Rasheedabad, Multan
696. Mutihada Labour Federation, Tanveer Colony, Suraj Kund Road, Multan
697. Pakistan Youth League, 29 Writers Colony, Masoom Shah Road, Multan

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- 698. Pattan Taraqiati Tanzeem, Mozu Bahadurpur Bosanpur, Multan
  - 699. Roshni Welfare Organisation, Ali House, Street 9, Police Line No. 1 Multan
  - 700. Sanjok Taraqiati Tanzeem, Mohalla Qaiserabad, Street 3, Khanewal Road, Multan
  - 701. SPO, 20/A Officers Colony, Multan
  - 702. Working Women Federation, Manzoor Colony, Chowk Kumharaan Wala, Multan
- Muzaffargarh**
- 703. AIMS Organisation, Pull Dine Wala, Tehsil Jatoi, Muzaffargarh
  - 704. Allah Akbar Welfare Society, Jehan Khan, PO Mehmood Kot, Tehsil Kot Addu
  - 705. Anjuman Falah-e-Mareezan, Saddar Hospital, District Muzaffargarh
  - 706. Anjuman Falah-e-Moashra, Moochiwala, PO Makhan Bela Dubelar Nawani, Tehsil Muzaffargarh
  - 707. Anjuman Samaji Behbood, Village Kotla Leghari, Moza Sadan Vali
  - 708. Anjuman Tameer-e-Watan, Basti Babrian, Tehsil Muzaffargarh
  - 709. Bismillah Welfare Society, Muhammad Wala PO Railway Station, Mehmudkot
  - 710. District Press Club, near Zilla Council, Railway Road, District Muzaffargarh
  - 711. Hamdard Welfare Society, Basti Mumtazabad, PO Karry, Tehsil Kot Addu
  - 712. Inqalabi Tanzeem, Jehan Khan, PO Mehmud Kot, Tehsil Kot Addu
  - 713. Insaf Development Organisation, c/o Wasaib Taraqiati Council, Qureshi, Tehsil Kot Addu
  - 714. Insan Dost Tanzeem, Tehsil Kot Addu, District Muzaffargarh
  - 715. Khwaja Farid Welfare Society, Railway Road, District Muzaffargarh
  - 716. Kissan Welfare Society, Basti Ghazalian, Tehsil Jatoi
  - 717. Laraib Welfare Society, Tehsil Muzaffargarh, Madagar, Ward No. 2, Kot Addu, Muzaffargarh
  - 718. Peoples Social Welfare Organisation, Chowk Godar, Dera Ghazi Khan Road, Muzaffargarh
  - 719. Peoples Welfare Council, PO Mochiwala, Rohila Nawali Muzaffargarh
  - 720. Rural Community Welfare Society Madni Town, Kot Addu,
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**Muzaffargarh**

- 721. Sahara Development Organisation, Basti Aara Akbar Shah, PO Aara Akbar, Tehsil Kot Addu
- 722. Sulaimani Welfare Society, Darulshad Bandi Shah, Tehsil Alipur
- 723. Thal Development Organisation, PO Box No. 8, Muzaffargarh
- 724. Thal Protection for Women Society, c/o Bhatti Clinic, Mohallah Rawlee Wala, Qaimullah, Muzaffargarh
- 725. Women's Social Organisation, PO Box No. 19, Tehsil and District Muzaffargarh

**Narowal**

- 726. Al-Hamd Welfare Society, Village Talvandi, Narowal
- 727. Alipur Sydan Welfare Association, Alipur Syedan, Narowal
- 728. Anjuman-e-Behbood-e-Mareezan, Sadowal Oncha, Narowal
- 729. Anjuman-e-Farogh-e-Taaleem, c/o Bar Association, Tehsil Shakargarh, District Narowal
- 730. Faiz Committee, Kala Qadir, Shakargarh, Narowal
- 731. Help and Development Society, Railway Road, Narowal
- 732. Islahi Council, Village Tatlay Kalan, Narowal
- 733. Muslim Welfare Society, Mahianwala, Narowal
- 734. Narowal Rural Development Programme, Village Satowal, Shakargarh
- 735. Public Development Society, Amin Colony, Kutcheri Road, Narowal
- 736. Social Welfare Society, Ainiwal, Narowal
- 737. Social Welfare Society, Basra Jaala, Shakargarh, Narowal
- 738. Social Welfare Society, Ghota Fateh Garh, Tehsil Shakargarh, Narowal
- 739. Social Welfare Society, Mirwala, Narowal
- 740. Social Welfare Society, Sudwala, Narowal
- 741. Social Welfare Society, Village Dheng, Narowal
- 742. Social Welfare Society, Village Dhudial, Narowal
- 743. Social Welfare Society, Village Nonar, Shakargarh, Narowal
- 744. Social Welfare Society, Village Pajowal, Narowal

**Okara**

- 745. Anjuman Behbood-e-Khawateen, Anwar Shaheed Colony, Renala Khurd, Tehsil and District Okara
- 746. Anjuman Faizan Ghausia, Deepalpur City, Okara

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747. Anjuman Falah-e-Niswan, Shergarh Road, Renala Khurd, Tehsil and District Okara
748. District Bar Association, District Courts, Okara City
749. District Press Club, c/o Ittefaq Property Dealer, Renala Khurd, Okara
750. Green Circle Organisation, Shirin Muaafi, Hujra Road, Deepalpur, Okara
751. Lok Saanjh, Village Dola, Hujra Shah Muqem, Deepalpur, Okara
752. Social Welfare Society, Chak No. 21-GD, Okara
753. Zam Zam Welfare Society, c/o Tehsil Bar Association, Deepalpur City, District Okara

#### **Pakpattan**

754. Arifwala Press Club, Tehsil Bar Press Club, Arifwala
755. District Bar Association, District Courts, Pakpattan
756. Human Rights Society, opposite Bar Council, Zilla Kutcheri Road, Pakpattan
757. Sabra Memorial Welfare Society, Malik Tariq, Principal Government Degree Fareedia College, Pakpattan
758. Social Development Council, Adda Malka Hans, Pakpattan
759. Social Development Foundation of Pakistan, Green Town, Qaboola Road Arifwala
760. Wasaib Foundation, PO Box No. 4, Arifwala, District Pakpattan

#### **Rahim Yar Khan**

761. Aas Development Organisation, Wapda Colony, Allahabad, Tehsil Liaquatpur
762. Al-Faiq Secondary Science School, Al-Ghaffar Welfare Society, Satellite Town, Khanpur
763. Al-Farooq Samaji Behbood Council, Adda Khanpur
764. All Pakistan Youth Federation, Mumtaz and Company, Ghalla Mandi Jadeed, Khanpur
765. All Pakistan Youth League, Street No. 2, Rahim Yar Khan
766. Allied Welfare Society, Mumtaz and Company, Ghalla Mandi, Khanpur
767. Al-Noor Education Welfare Society, Rahim Yar Khan
768. Al-Saeed Welfare Society, Ghaddafi Colony, Rahim Yar Khan
769. Anjuman Behbood-e-Awam, Rahim Yar Khan
770. Anjuman Falah-e-Mareezan, Representative Naw-e-Waqt, near Dilkash Hotel, Khanpur
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771. Anjuman Mussarrat-e-Tamadni, Rahim Yar Khan
  772. Anjuman Sahafian, Khyber Tobacco Company, Railway Bazar, Khanpur
  773. Anjuman-e-Sahafian, opposite Lari Adda, Liaqatpur
  774. Ansar Welfare Society, Old Cinema Road, Khanpur
  775. Bazm-e-Faiz, Zilla Kutcheri, Rahim Yar Khan
  776. Bright School Association, Rahim Yar Khan
  777. Dastgir Welfare Society, Rahim Yar Khan
  778. Five Star Federation, Naveed Medical Store, Club Road, Liaqatpur
  779. Free Legal Aid Society, General Sectaray, District Bar Association
  780. Free Legal Aid Society, Tehsil Court, Liaqatpur
  781. Hari Alam Welfare Society, Sarafa Bazar, Rahim Yar Khan
  782. Ideal Computer College, D/3, Street No. 2, Scheme 1, Block Z, Satellite Town, Sadiqabad
  783. Ijtamai Taraqqiati Council, Chak 112/NP, Tehsil Khanpur
  784. Imran Bhatti Welfare Society, Nehar Kinara, Khanpur
  785. Indus Welfare Society, Rahim Yar Khan
  786. Ittehad Welfare Society, Rahim Yar Khan
  787. Jaag Welfare Movement, Nice Computer College, Satellite Town, Rahim Yar Khan
  788. Jauhur Educational and Welfare Society, Model Town B, Khanpur
  789. Kaneez Fatima Welfare Foundation, Rahim Yar Khan
  790. Khatoon-e-Sulah Health and Development Centre, Rahim Yar Khan
  791. Khawaja Farid Welfare Society, Fatehpur Kamal, Tehsil Khanpur
  792. Khawateen Ijtimai Taraqqiati Council, Tehsil Khanpur
  793. Kiran Welfare Society, Colony Haji Mohammad, Hospital Road, Rahim Yar Khan
  794. Kiryana Merchant Association, Kutcheri Road, Liaqatpur
  795. Legal Aid Society, Tehsil Court, Sadiqabad
  796. Life Blood Donor Society, Rahim Yar Khan
  797. Majlis-e-Ahellane Khanpur, Bhatti Market, Nehar Kinara, Khanpur
  798. Muheeb Welfare Society, Airport Road, Rahim Yar Khan
  799. Mumtaz Welfare Council, Rahim Yar Khan
  800. National Press Club, Sadiqabad
  801. Original Women Organisation, Khushi Mohammad Advocate, Sadiqabad
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802. Pakistan Youth League, 686 Model Town B, Khanpur  
803. Pakistan Youth League, Farhan General Store, Main Bazar, Liaquatpur  
804. Pakistan Youth League, PO Jamaluddin Wali, Tehsil Sadiqabad  
805. Pakistan Youth League, Sabha Boutique and Parlour School, Rahim Yar Khan  
806. Press Club, Khanpur  
807. Princeton Network Institute, Rahim Yar Khan  
808. Private School Management Association, PO Jamaluddin Wali, Tehsil Sadiqabad  
809. Rana Mohammad Ali Welfare Society, Rahim Yar Khan  
810. Roshan Welfare Council, Rahim Yar Khan  
811. Shajar Samaji Tanzeem, near Hashmat Hotel, Khanpur  
812. Social Welfare Society, Zilla Kutcheri Rahim Yar Khan  
813. Society for Social Economic and Education Development  
814. South Asia Patnership, c/o Naveed Medical Store, Liaquatpur  
815. Tehzeeb Development Organisation, Jalil Sweet Mart Feroza, Tehsil Liaquatpur  
816. Urban Resource Centre Khanpur, Amir-ud-din Road, Khanpur  
817. Women Noor Society, No. 134, St. No. 25, Scheme No. 2, Block Z, Gulshan-e-Iqbal, Rahim Yar Khan  
818. Women's Welfare Association, Naz Cinema Road, Khanpur  
819. Young Welfare Society

#### **Rajanpur**

820. Al-Khidmat Society, Dajal, Jampur, Rajanpur  
821. Dehi Samaji Taraqqiati Council, PO Box No. 3 Rajanpur, Tehsil and District Rajanpur  
822. District Bar Association  
823. District Press Club  
824. Sanatzar  
825. Tameer-e-Millat Welfare Society, Waraich Colony c/o PO Box 3 Rajanpur  
826. Teachers Association, Rajanpur  
827. Ushr Zakat Committee, Women's Rural Development Organisation, PO Box No. 3, Tehsil and District Rajanpur



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**Rawalpindi**

828. Afzal Welfare Organisation, Sadiqabad
829. Al-Ahad Society, Rawalpindi
830. Al-Arosha Development Trust
831. Al-Falah Society, Dhok Hassan, Rawalpindi
832. Al-Noor Welfare Society, M-389, Street No. 1, Amanatpur, Rawalpindi
833. Al-Tahoor Organisation
834. Anjuman Parwane-e-Rasool
835. Country Wide Social Development Society
836. District Bar Association, Saddar Bazar, Rawalpindi
837. Eidgah Young Welfare Society
838. Falah-e-Khalq Foundation
839. Farooq-e-Azam Welfare Society
840. Gulshan Development Organisation
841. Gulzar-e-Quaid Welfare
842. Human Development Organisation
843. Ilm Trust Pakistan, Sadiqabad, Rawalpindi
844. Insaf Welfare Society
845. Ittehad Welfare Society, Pindora, Rawalpindi
846. Jazba Foundation and Community, No. 161, Abadi No. 2, Tench Bhutta, Rawalpindi
847. Kehkashan Welfare Society, Kehkhashan Colony, Rawalpindi
848. Mother and Child Health Care Research
849. Murree Welfare Society, Murree
850. Muslim Development Organisation, Rawalpindi
851. Muslim Educational Welfare Society, 62-B, Sector No. 2, Khayaban-e-Sir Syed, Rawalpindi
852. Muslim Welfare Society, Pir Wadhai, Rawalpindi
853. Network for Sustainable Development
854. NGO Network, Rawalpindi
855. Pak Progressive Social Welfare Society, P-1046, Saidpur Road, Rawalpindi
856. Rural Area Development Organisation (RADO), Village Phadwari, Tehsil Murree, District Rawalpindi

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857. Roshan Development Organisation  
858. Sanjh Development Organisation, Katarian, Rawalpindi  
859. Social Welfare Youth Organisation, Saidpur Road  
860. Ujala Foundation and Community Network for Sustainable Development  
861. Union of Journalists  
862. Unique Welfare Society, Ramyal, Rawalpindi  
863. Wafa Development Society  
864. Youth Welfare Organisation Murree, Syed Shopping Centre, The Mall, Murree  
865. Youth Welfare Society, Shah Bagh, Kahuta

#### **Sahiwal**

866. All Pakistan Women's Association, Civil Lines, Sahiwal City  
867. Azmat Welfare Trust, College Road, Sahiwal City  
868. Christian Committee, Jail Road, Sahiwal  
869. Homeland Welfare Society, Shadman Colony, Sahiwal  
870. Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (District Chapter), c/o Naubahar Travels, High Street, Sahiwal

#### **Sargodha**

871. Al-Nida Welfare Society, Islamabad Colony, Sargodha  
872. District Courts Bar Association, District Court Sargodha  
873. Human Welfare Organisation, Sargodha  
874. Jinnah Welfare Society, District Sargodha  
875. Kiran Welfare Society, Chak Muzaffer, Shahpur Saddar  
876. Kissan Bachao Tehreek Pakistan, District Courts, Sargodha  
877. Liberal Forum, Districts Courts, Sargodha  
878. Public Welfare Society, Shahpur, Sargodha  
879. Sahara Development Organisation, Zafar Colony, Sargodha  
880. Sehar Welfare Organisation, Khateeb Colony, Tehsil Shahpur Saddar, District Sargodha  
881. Shaoor Development Society, Bazar No. 2, Silanwali  
882. Tangh Wasaib, Street No.1 Qainchi Mor, Sargodha  
883. Welcome Welfare Society, 10 Old Civil Lines, Sargodha  
884. Young Welfare Association, Hawali Gujjar, Tehsil Bhalwal

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**Sheikhupura**

- 885. Ghareeb Ittehad Anjuman-e-Shamisa Pakistan, 11 Sub-Divisional Courts, Ferozwala, Sheikhupura
- 886. Kissan Welfare Society, Chak No. 371, Nankana Sahib, Sheikhupura
- 887. Safdarabad Welfare Society, Ratti Tibbi, Safdarabad, Sheikhupura
- 888. Sangat (Tanzeem), Sharif Plaza, Sargodha Road, Sheikhupura
- 889. Sanjh Vihar, Mor Khanda, Shaukatabad, Sheikhupura
- 890. Sawani Sanjh, Village Maliwal, Khunda Mor, Sheikhupura
- 891. Young Martin Welfare Society, Village Martinpur, Nankana Sahib, Sheikhupura
- 892. Young Welfare Society, Mustafabad, Ahmed Colony, Sheikhupura

**Sialkot**

- 893. All Pakistan Labour Federation, Mustafa Town, Sialkot City
- 894. Allama Iqbal Social Welfare Society, Village Miani, Sialkot
- 895. Awareness and Action Society, c/o Government Degree College for Women, Sialkot City
- 896. Baidari Group (Refahi Committee), Village Roras, Sialkot
- 897. Bunyad Literacy Community Council, Saddar Bazar, Cantt Area, Sialkot City
- 898. Christian Peoples Organisation, Head Marala, Sialkot
- 899. Citizens Rights Forum, c/o District Bar Association, District Courts, Pasrur, Sialkot
- 900. Community Development Concern, Dhallaywali, Head Marala, Sialkot
- 901. District Bar Association, District Courts, Sialkot City
- 902. Geophile, Kotli Loharan, Dhallaywali Road, Sialkot
- 903. Koshish (Tanzeem), Khananwali, PO Chawinda, Pasrur, Sialkot
- 904. Pakistan Anti-Narcotics Movement, Ghoinke, Tehsil Daska, Sialkot
- 905. Pakistan Crescent Youth Organisation, Saddar Bazar, Sialkot City
- 906. Society for the Advancement of Higher Education (SAHE), 34/381 Iqbal Street, Sialkot
- 907. Umang Welfare Society, 22-A, Model Town, Uggoki, Sialkot
- 908. Village Development Council, Village Bhoobkanwala, Tehsil Daska, Sialkot
- 909. Young Supreme Council, Daska City, Sialkot

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**Toba Tek Singh**

- 910. District Bar Association, Toba Tek Singh
- 911. Helping Hands, 46 Commercial Area, Toba Tek Singh
- 912. Jinnah Public Welfare Society, Abdullapur, Tehsil Gojra
- 913. Social Welfare Society, 319/G-B, Tehsil Kamalia
- 914. Teko Welfare Organisation, Toba Tek Singh
- 915. Teko Welfare Society, Rojana Road, Toba Tek Singh
- 916. Toba Cultural Society, Jhang Road, near Noorani Cotton Factory
- 917. Toba Union of Journalists, Rojhana Road, Toba Tek Singh
- 918. Youth Welfare Society, Chak No. 277/G-B, Tehsil Gojra

**Vehari**

- 919. Al-Qamar Welfare Organisation, Moon Laboratory, DHQ Hospital, Vehari
- 920. Health Worker Association, Peoples Colony, Vehari
- 921. Small Farmer Association, Rail Bazar, Burewala
- 922. Social Community Development Organisation, Peoples Colony, Vehari
- 923. Social Community Development, Al Aziz Market, Burewala
- 924. Society and Empowerment of People (SEP), Old Lari Adda, Vehari
- 925. Union of Small Farmers, Rail Bazar, Burewala
- 926. Young Men Society, Jehania Link, Eidgah Road, Mailsi
- 927. Young Women's Society Lal Jehania, Eidgah Road, Mailsi
- 928. Youngman Prize Board of Education, Eidgah Road, near Circular Road, Mailsi
- 929. Youngman Society Mailsi, Railway Road, Tehsil Mailsi, District Vehari

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**SINDH****Badin**

- 930. Aiwan-e-Sahafat, Main Road, Tehsil and District Badin
- 931. Al-Habash Jamait, c/o Mohammad Iqbal, Sheedi Para, Badin
- 932. Aurat Development Association, Seeram Road, Badin
- 933. Badin Development Research Organisation, c/o Mohammad Khan Samo, Seeram Road, Badin
- 934. Citizens Welfare Association, near Press Club, Badin

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935. Fundamental Human Rights and Rural Development Association, PO Dalhart, Tehsil Dalhart, District Badin
  936. Fundamental Human Rights Association Matli
  937. Kashmir Press International, Dalhart
  938. Naujawan Sangat, c/o Iqbal Sheedi, Tehsil and District Badin
  939. Old Boys Association, Tando Bago
  940. Pirbhat Social Welfare Association, Main Road, Badin
  941. Press Club, Old Mosque Road, Badin
  942. Shaheed Hakim Mohammad Welfare Organisation
  943. Sindh Graduates Association, near Press Club, Badin
  944. Sindh Journalist Network, near Social Welfare Office, Badin
  945. Sindh Social Welfare Society
  946. United Memon Jamail
  947. Young Mallah Welfare Association, Mallah Para Tehsil, District Badin
  948. Young Sheedi Welfare, Sheedi Para near House Chowk, Badin

#### **Dadu**

949. Association Butt Sirai, c/o Sirai, Tehsil and District Dadu
  950. Aurat Ittehad Sindh
  951. Bright Future Citizens Forum, Mehar
  952. Chandio Welfare Association, Kumb Chandio, c/o Dr Azam Chandio, Aftab Clinic, Khairpur Nathan Shah
  953. Coordinating Council Mehar, Tehsil Mehar, District Dadu
  954. Dadu Ittehad, PO and District Dadu
  955. District NGOs Network Dadu, No. A-975/89 B, Station Road, Dadu
  956. Goth Sudhar Sangat Jani Chandio, Johi Road, Dadu
  957. Goth Sudhar Sangat Jani Chandio, PO Jani Chandio Tal Mehar
  958. Goth Sudhar Sangat Tharri Jado Shaheed
  959. Manchhar Development Association Sehwan, behind Shell Petrol Pump, New Bus Stand, Dadu
  960. PML(N) Ladies Wing, c/o Panhwar Para Dadu, Main Road, Dadu
  961. PPP Ladies Wing, Dadu
  962. Press Club, Dadu
  963. Shahbaz Welfare Association, Shehbaz Colony Mondar Naka, Dadu
  964. Shaheed Makhdoom Bilawal Development Foundation and Academy, PO
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- Shaheed Makhdoom Bilawal, Tehsil and District Dadu
965. Shahri Falah-o-Behbood Tanzeem Bhan Sayed Abad, Tehsil Bhan Sayed Abad, District Dadu
966. Village Development, Butsari PO Mehar, Taluka Mehar

#### **Ghotki**

967. Al-Firdous Taraqqiati Tanzeem Khanpur, Tehsil Khanpur, District Ghotki
968. All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA), District Ghotki
969. Aurat Taraqqiati Tanzeem Kabir Kolachi, District Ghotki
970. Bakhtawar Taraqqiati Tanzeem
971. Hur Mayahid Welfare Association Dahaski, District Ghotki
972. Hydri Welfare Organisation
973. Jagerta Forum, District Ghotki
974. Mashal Development Organisation Delilpur
975. Mehran Samaji Tanzeem
976. Muhammad Alam Welfare Association (MAWA), Mirpur Mathelo
977. Naujawan Sangat
978. NGOs Network
979. Pathan Welfare Organisation
980. Roshni Development Organisation
981. Rural Development Organisation Coordination Council (RDOCC), District Ghotki
982. Sachal Sami Welfare Association Khad Wari
983. Shah Latif Development Organisation, District Ghotki
984. Sindh Graduates Association, District Ghotki
985. Sindhi Adabi Sangat
986. Sindhyani Taraqqiati Tanzeem
987. Super Star Welfare Lakho Langri, District Ghotki
988. Union of Journalists Ubawaro
989. Women's Development, Ghotki
990. Young Kolachi Welfare Association, District Ghotki

#### **Hyderabad**

991. Bhandar Hari Sangat, near Ali Palace, Qasimabad, Hyderabad
992. Bhitshah Declaration Coordinating Council (BDCC), Flat No. 2, Block-8,

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- Bhittai Nagar
993. Goth Sudhar Sangat, Jamshoro Phatak, District Jamshoro
994. Jaycees, Naseem Gul Centre, Thandi Sarak, Hyderabad
995. Roots for Equity, Tando Mohammad Khan, District Hyderabad
996. Sindh Development Society (SDS), Bungalow No. 48, Bhittai Nagar, Hyderabad
997. Sindh NGO Federation (SINGOF), Naseem Nagar, near Morai Institute, District Hyderabad
998. Sindh Rural Development Society (SRDS), Mir Colony, Tando Jam, Hyderabad
999. Sindh Shahri Tanzeem, Al-Madina Store, Qasimabad, Hyderabad
- Jacobabad**
1000. Al-Habib Social and Education Association, near Municipality, Jacobabad
1001. Al-Leghari Welfare Association, c/o Press Club, Garhi Khairo, District Jacobabad
1002. Bhittai Declaration Coordination Council, PO Tangwani, Tehsil Kandh Kot, District Jacobabad
1003. Bhittai Welfare Association, opposite Civil Hospital, Jacobabad
1004. Christian Social Uplift Organisation, SP House Road, First Family Lane, Jacobabad
1005. Community Development Organisation, Shaikh Abdul Nabi Road, First Family Lane, Jacobabad
1006. Jacobabad Literacy Forum, Dakhan Mohalla, Jacobabad
1007. Lateef Village Welfare Association, Shahi Bazar, Garhi Khairo
1008. Mashal Society Kandh Kot, PO Tangwani, Tehsil Kandh Kot, District Jacobabad
1009. Mehran Welfare Association, near Railway Primary School, Jacobabad
1010. Mirali Welfare Association Garhi Khairo, c/o Press Club, Garhi Khairo
1011. NGOs Network Kandh Kot, PO Tangwani Tehsil Kandh Kot, District Jacobabad
1012. NGOs Network Thul, Rahber Chok Thul, District Jacobabad
1013. Press Club, DCO Office Road, Jacobabad
1014. Rural Women's Uplift Organisation Kandh Kot, Saddar Bazar, Jacobabad
1015. Rural Women's Welfare Association, Eidgah Mohalla, Kandh Kot,
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District Jacobabad

1016. Shah Abdul Latif Sangi Sangat Kandh Kot, PO Tangwani, Tehsil Kandh Kot, District Jacobabad
1017. Sindh Development Society Network Thul, c/o Gul Model College, Jacobabad
1018. Sindh Graduates Association, c/o Gadai Library, Jacobabad
1019. Sindh NGOs Network Federation, PO Tangwani, Tehsil Kandh Kot, District Jacobabad
1020. Soomro Village Welfare Association, Village Ahmed Mian Soomro, District Jacobabad
1021. Tanzeem Falah-e-Naujawan Gulab Marri, PO Gulab Mari, Tehsil Garhi Khairo, District Jacobabad
1022. Village Development Association Meeranpur, PO Meeranpur Buriro, Tehsil Garhi Khairo, District Jacobabad

**Karachi**

1023. Amnesty International Pakistan, Section Office Pakistan, B-12 Shelozone Centre, Gulshan-e-Iqbal, Karachi
1024. Catholic Social Services, 2 Mohan Terrace, Shahra-e-Iraq, near 7 Star Jeweller, Saddar, Karachi
1025. Idara-e-Amn-o-Insaf
1026. Inter Press Communciations (IPC)
1027. Khaskheli Social Welfare Association, Malir
1028. Orangi Pilot Project Research and Training Institute, Street 4, Sector 5/A Qasba Colony, Mangopor Road, Karachi
1029. Pakistan Institute of Labour Education and Research (PILER), Street 1, Sector X, Sub Sector V, Gulshan-e-Maymar, KDA Scheme 45, Karachi
1030. Pakistan Voluntary Health and Nutrition Association, 9-C, 18th Commercial Street, Karachi
1031. Pakistan Women Lawyers Association (PAWLA), 710, 7th Floor, Kashif Centre, Karachi
1032. SHEHRI, Citizens for Better Environment, 206 G, Block 2, PECHS, Karachi
1033. Shirkat Gah, D-77, Block 2, Clifton, Karachi
1034. Urban Resource Centre, 3-48, Maulimabad, Khalid bin Walid Road, Karachi



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**Khairpur**

1035. Adabi Samaji Sangat, Kot Diji, District Khairpur
1036. Ajrak Ari and Cultural Youth Organisation, District Khairpur
1037. Alflah Association Sobhodero, PO Sobhodero, District Khairpur
1038. Alkhair Welfare Association, Sachal Shopping Centre, District Khairpur
1039. Alkhair Welfare Trust, near Civil Hospital Gambat, District Khairpur
1040. All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA), PO Khairpur, Mall Road
1041. All Sindh Mangnejo Welfare Association, Hingorja, District Khairpur
1042. Allama Iqbal Educational and Social Welfare Association, District Khairpur
1043. Almakhdoom Naujawan Samaji Sangat, PO Peryalo, District Khairpur
1044. Almuftaba Welfare Association, District Khairpur
1045. Almustafa Welfare Association District Khairpur, PO Bazdar Wada Taluka Thari Mirwah, District Khairpur
1046. Bhitai Social Welfare Association, PO Sadergi Bhutyoon, Tehsil Kingri, District Ghotki
1047. Bozdar Wada Social Welfare and Development Organisation
1048. Citizen Welfare Council, District Khairpur
1049. Dodo Shaheed Welfare Association, District Khairpur
1050. Environmental Protection Organisation, District Khairpur
1051. Faizabad Welfare Association, District Khairpur
1052. Global Social Welfare Association, District Khairpur
1053. Goth Singhar Foundation
1054. Hamdar Welfare Organisation
1055. Hashmi Welfare Association
1056. Hussaini Social Welfare Association, District Khairpur
1057. Indus Development Society, District Khairpur
1058. Indus National Development Society, District Khairpur
1059. Irfan Educational Society Sobhodero, District Khairpur
1060. Jeejal Rural Development Society, District Khairpur
1061. Khairpur Development Society, District Khairpur
1062. Khairpur Rural Development Association, District Khairpur
1063. Latif Cultural and Social Organisation, District Khairpur
1064. Life Reform Welfare Organisation, District Khairpur

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1065. Mahar Welfare Association, District Khairpur
  1066. Maitla Welfare Association, Ahmedpur, Tehsil Kingri, District Khairpur
  1067. Marooria Samaji Tanzeem Piryaloi, District Khairpur
  1068. Marvi Rural Development Organisation, PO Kumb, Tehsil Kot Diji, District Khairpur
  1069. Meer Wah Social Welfare Association, District Khairpur
  1070. Mehran Intellectual Forum and Social Development Organisation, District Khairpur
  1071. Mehran Social Welfare Association, PO Kolab Jail, Tehsil Kingri, Kingri
  1072. Memorial Educational Society
  1073. Nijat Foundation, District Khairpur
  1074. Paras Youth Forum Khairpur, District Khairpur
  1075. Red Crescent Society, District Khairpur
  1076. Sachal Samaji Sangat, District Khairpur
  1077. Sachal Social Welfare Association, District Khairpur
  1078. Sadiq Social Welfare Association
  1079. Sassi Women's Development Forum
  1080. Shah Development, District Khairpur
  1081. Shahbaz Social Welfare Association
  1082. Shahbaz Young Welfare Association
  1083. Shaheed Mohammad Paryal Mangi
  1084. Sindh Balak Sangat
  1085. Sindh Education, Health and Environment Association
  1086. Sindhi Rural Development Association
  1087. Sujag Social Welfare Association, Kumb
  1088. Umang Development Society, District Khairpur
  1089. Village Development Association
  1090. Welfare Association Bhangu Behai, District Khairpur
  1091. Woman and Youth Development Institute
  1092. Women Village Welfare Association, District Khairpur
  1093. Young Gilal Social Welfare Association, District Khairpur
  1094. Young Leghari Welfare Association
  1095. Young Social Welfare Association Therhi, Tehsil and District Khairpur
  1096. Young Social Welfare Association, Pakka Jank, Tehsil Faiz Ganj
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1097. Young Welfare Society, Kingri

**Larkana**

1098. Al-Habib Welfare Association, Village Ali M Soomro, District Larkana

1099. Burriri Welfare Association Kambar, District Larkana

1100. Dosti, District Larkana

1101. Friends Welfare and Development Society, District Larkana

1102. Friends Welfare and Development Society, Kambar

1103. Larkana Organisation of Hawkers, District Larkana

1104. Liberal Forum Pakistan, District Larkana

1105. Marvi Welfare Association, District Larkana

1106. Meenhal Welfare Association, District Larkana

1107. Mehran Welfare Tanzeem, Naseerabad, District Larkana

1108. Message Group, District Larkana

1109. NGOs Network Shahdadkot, District Larkana

1110. Old Social Welfare Association, Dokri, District Larkana

1111. Shama Women's Welfare Association, Rahooja, District Larkana

1112. Sindh Graduates Association, Meero Khan, District Larkana

1113. Sindhi Adabi Sangat, Kambar

1114. Sindhi Adabi Sangat, Meero Khan, District Larkana

1115. Soorath Liberal Women's Forum, Meero Khan

1116. The Health and Education Society, District Larkana

1117. United Welfare Association, Meero Khan

1118. Writers Club, District Larkana

**Mirpur Khas**

1119. Citizens Gymkhana, opposite Cafe Sherbaz, District Mirpur Khas

1120. Environment Protection Agency, c/o Azhar Motors, Iqbal Road, Mirpur Khas

1121. Narcotics Control Council, Chagi Para, Mirpur Khas

1122. Pakistan Social Association, Zamindar Cotton Factory, Mirpur Khas

1123. Red Crescent Society, near Latif Hospital, Mirpur Khas

1124. Rotary Club

1125. Rural Welfare and Development Organisation

1126. Sindh Abadgar Board, c/o Citizens Gymkhana

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**Naushero Feroze**

- 1127. Aurat Sujag Foundation, Tehsil Padidan, District Naushero Feroze
- 1128. Bhitshah Declaration Coordination Council (BDCC), Abbassi House, District Naushero Feroze
- 1129. Goth Sudhar Sangat, near Kalhora Station, Naushero Feroze
- 1130. Government Secondary Teachers Association, near Civil Hospital, Naushero Feroze
- 1131. Marvi Welfare Association, College Road, Naushero Feroze
- 1132. Naujawan Anjuman, PO Phull, District Naushero Feroze
- 1133. Press Club, Naushero Feroze
- 1134. Primary Teachers' Association, near Sindh School, Naushero Feroze
- 1135. Sahkar Dost Welfare Association, Kandiaro Tehsil, District Naushero Feroze
- 1136. Shahri Ittehad, PO Phull, District Naushero Feroze
- 1137. Sindh NGOs Federation, Abbassi House, District Naushero Feroze
- 1138. Solangi Welfare Association
- 1139. Soormian Sath, Al-Sadiq Colony, Tehsil Moro, District Naushero Feroze
- 1140. Sujag Aurat Foundation

**Nawabshah**

- 1141. Al-Mehzar Welfare Association, Bhangwar Colony, Nawabshah
- 1142. Azad Social Welfare Association, c/o Saleh Bilo, Moni Bazar, Nawabshah
- 1143. Bhitai Welfare Association, Daulat Colony, Nawabshah
- 1144. Brohi Welfare Association, VIP Road, Bhangwar Colony, Nawabshah
- 1145. Graduates Association of Pakistan, No. 48 VIP Road, Bhangwar Colony, Nawabshah
- 1146. Nawabshah Public School, Nawabshah City
- 1147. Press Club Sakrand, Tehsil Sakrand, District Nawabshah
- 1148. Primary Teachers Association, Sindhi Main School, Hospital Road, Nawabshah
- 1149. Shah Abdul Latif Welfare Association, Daulat Colony, Nawabshah
- 1150. Shah Sachal Sami Welfare Association
- 1151. Shehri Rabita Council, Bar Council, Nawabshah
- 1152. Sindh Journalist Network, Nawabshah Road, Sakrand

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**Sanghar**

- 1153. Caritas, Catholic Church, Sanghar
- 1154. Choteyaroon Development Organisation, Bhitai Printing Press, District Sanghar
- 1155. Dharti Dost Organisation, Bhitai Printing Press, District Sanghar
- 1156. Makhi Welfare Organisation, near Girls College Shahdadpur, Sanghar
- 1157. PANAHA, Wood House, near Mir Ice Factory, Lander Para, Sanghar
- 1158. Rural Women's Welfare Organisation, Liaqat Market behind Habib Bank, Sanghar
- 1159. Sanghar Press Club, District Sanghar
- 1160. Social Democratic Women Organisation, Shahdadpur, District Sanghar

**Sukkur**

- 1161. Al-Habib Taraqiati Tanzeem
- 1162. Bhattai Colony Welfare Association, Shah Khalid Colony, Sukkur
- 1163. Colony Welfare Association
- 1164. Development Association of Social Change
- 1165. Falahi Tanzeem
- 1166. Maro Ara Welfare Association, opposite Hotel Al-Habib Mari, Sukkur
- 1167. Meenara Road Sukkur
- 1168. Mehran Social Welfare Organisation
- 1169. Mirani Welfare Association, near Shalimar Cinema, Sukkur
- 1170. Pano Aqil Welfare Forum
- 1171. Press Club, Sukkur
- 1172. Rotary Club Sukkur, Eidgah Road, Sukkur
- 1173. Rural Development Organisation (RDO), Sukkur
- 1174. Safe Development, Mary Land School, Newpind, Sukkur
- 1175. Shah Faisal Social Welfare, Shah Faisal Colony, Sukkur
- 1176. Sindhi Adabi Sangat
- 1177. Sukkur Bacharo Tehreek
- 1178. Sukkur Blood and Drugs Donating Society, Eidgah Road, District Sukkur
- 1179. Sukkur Shehri Ittehad
- 1180. Young Advocate Forum

**Tharparkar**

- 1181. Bajeer Welfare Association, Mithi

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1182. Maroo Ara Thardeep Coordination Council, PO Mithi, District Tharparkar
1183. Sujag Association, Mithi Dhabhro PO Diplo
1184. Thar Sujag Association
1185. Thar Welfare Council, Mithi
1186. Thardeep Rural Development Program, TRDP Mithi, Hussain Shah Dargah, District Tharparkar
1187. Village Development Organisation, Mithi Dhabhro

**Thatta**

1188. M H Hashim Thatvi Educational Society, near PO Makli, Thatta
1189. Mehran Educational Welfare Association, near Telephone Exchange
1190. Sindh Journalist Network for Children, National Highway, Thatta
1191. Sindh NGOs Federation, Shah Latif Colony, Makli, Thatta
1192. Thatto Friends Association, Shah Latif Colony, Makli, Thatta

## G. Electoral Results of Candidates on Women's Reserved Seats

### Local Government Elections 2000-2001\*

	No. of Councils	Women's Reserved Seats#	Women Nominated	Women Elected	% Seats Filled
<b>Union Councils</b>					
Balochistan	518	3,108	3,437	2,374	76.4%
NWFP	957	5,742	6,817	3,963	69.0%
Punjab	3,453	20,718	40,099	20,007	96.6%
Sindh	1,094	6,564	10,237	5,878	89.5%
Pakistan	6,022	36,132	60,590	32,222	89.2%
<b>Tehsil/Town Councils</b>					
Balochistan	77	173	254	151	87.3%
NWFP	54	231	332	205	88.7%
Punjab	127	1,143	2,320	1,124	98.3%
Sindh	104	363	769	356	98.1%
Pakistan	362	1,910	3,675	1,836	96.1%
<b>District Councils</b>					
Balochistan	22	173	207	152	87.9%
NWFP	24	315	488	278	88.3%
Punjab	34	1,139	1,984	1,115	97.9%
Sindh	20	361	602	360	99.7%
Pakistan	100	1,988	3,281	1,905	95.8%
<b>All Councils</b>					
Balochistan	615	3,432	3,848	2,655	77.4%
NWFP	1,033	6,258	7,575	4,416	70.6%
Punjab	3,603	22,950	44,163	22,196	96.7%
Sindh	1,200	7,229	11,391	6,535	90.4%
Pakistan	6,484	40,030	67,546	35,963	89.8%

\* Figures are obtained from Aurat Foundation's reports on the Campaign activities.

# The women's reserved seats include both the general and the peasant/worker reserved seats.

H. Map of Women's Seats Filled by Province and District

