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An Unfinished Struggle

The Tale of the Women Councilors' Network

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AN UNFINISHED STRUGGLE
THE TALE OF THE WOMEN COUNCILORS' NETWORK

A NEW BEGINNING

At the time that this book was being compiled, provincial governments had dissolved all local councils and in doing so, had ceased women's representation at the local level.

However, women councilors today are better organized, aware and conscientious of gender inequalities. They intend to tackle the structures responsible for their subjugation and the theft of their representation. Although the Women Councilors' Network may have come to an end, a greater journey has just begun as the struggle for gender equality continues from the new WCN platform of the Women's Concerns Network.

“Thank you for allowing us to reflect and regroup to fight back,” a woman councilor in a speech on International Women's Day 2001

FOREWORD

The formation of the Women Councilors' Network (WCN) is a unique experience in the political history of Pakistan. With the military government's decision to grant gender quota (33%), a substantive number of women councilors entered into local government as public representatives. The majority of them were first time entrants, with limited educational background, political exposure and skills.

The politics of opening up political space for women in the local government through the reservation of seats by the authoritarian military regime had a contradictory meaning and impact. Also, the institutional context of the local government was male-dominated. Women councilors faced tremendous patriarchal resistance in claiming their legitimate right and space to perform their roles effectively in local governance.

Due to strong institutional resistance at the local level, women councilors quickly realized that the only way forward to counter public patriarchy was through their collective voice and will. Pattan Development Organization fully supported them on their idea to form a collective forum in order to have an independent power base. Over the last decade, Pattan held the hands of women councilors, guided them in establishing a cross-party women councilors network (WCN) and facilitated them through tremendous capacity building support to assume a leadership role.

The WCN is the only nationwide membership-based and democratically elected network in the country that has effectively aggregated and articulated women's interest in the local government. The WCN had played a remarkable role in helping women at the local level and raising their concerns within and outside local government institutions. The documentation of the history of activism of the WCN in this book clearly demonstrates the voice agency of women councilors and their ability to make cracks in the system despite all socio-cultural, political and institutional challenges to their participation and representation in public life.

With the expiry of the local government tenure, the provincial governments are trying to reverse the gains of people's representation through proposing reduction of seats at the union council level in the Local Government Act. This will negatively impact the issue of representation in general and women in particular. The overall number of women in the local government system will be reduced to half. Women councilors are now fully aware of the power of their numerical strength in the local councils. They are conscious of the subtle changes that have come at the political and cultural front due to sheer visibility of women in political roles. The WCN is at the forefront of the movement to resist and frustrate any such proposal of provincial governments. They have vowed to continue their struggle to save the Local Government system and to protect the level of women's representation in local governance. The WCN has recently made a strategic decision to convert the Women Councilors' Network into a Women's Concern Network. This has opened the door of the Network to all women who are committed to fight for women's political rights, including the councilors who served during the tenure of local government 2001-2005.

The experience of the WCN is the story of courage, commitment and collective will. Their proven ability to push institutional boundaries to create space for their own agenda through mobilization and organization of women is a matter of great learning and celebration. The WCN has shown us that networking amongst the socially excluded and marginalized, raising a collective voice, agency and action is one of the most important pathways to women's political empowerment.

I salute women's struggles for political power and wish the young generations of Pakistani women to capture political power to bring social change and gender justice in society.

Dr. Farzana Bari

*Director, Center of Excellence in Gender Studies
Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad*

Various Donors Supporting The WCN Project



From left to right: Sarwar Bari National Coordinator Pattan, Ms. Kishwar Mazari, Ms. Rehana Hashmi chairperson Pattan, Mr. Robert Brinkley British High Commissioner, and Dr. Farzana Bari Director Center of excellence in Gender Studies QAU.



Ms. Margrate Stuart of BHC with Dr. Farzana Bari at the launching ceremony of the Women Manifesto in Islamabad 2007



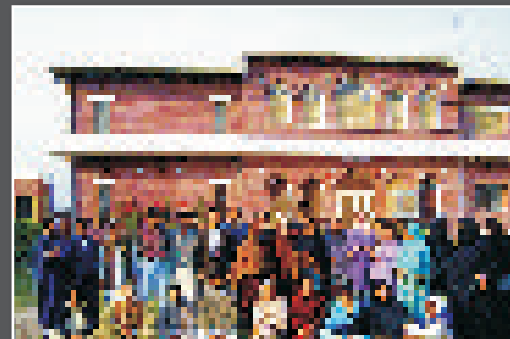
Ms. Anja Minnaert of FES participating in an International Women's Day rally in Lahore 2010



Mr. Gunther Lehreke, Country Director FES Germany with Mr. Shah Mahmood Qureshi (then district nazim, Multan) currently foreign minister of Pakistan at an International Women's Day event in Multan.



Project officer of Embassy of Finland being briefed by Pattan staff about WCN work



Ms. Irmeli Mustonen, Ambassador of Finland with WCN office bearers and Pattan staff outside the Multan Pattan Office

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Documentation of ten long year's worth of work required teamwork. Much of the work was saved in the form of reports and notes in hundreds of soft and hard files and folders. The real matter though, cannot be documented and it remained in the memories of our staff, volunteers and partners. Space constrains me from mentioning all of their names here, but I thank each and every one of them, specifically Khalida, Saboor, Zahid, Muddassir, William, Tanvir, Fida, Mujtaba, Benjamin, Aysha, Aliya, Farhat, Naseem, Murtaza, Nazia, Bina, Kausar, Rizwan, Farooq, Saadia, Yasin, Abre-Saba, Rubina, Asif, Munzoor Hasan, Muzoor Baloch, Tariq, Zamin, Zarina, Ismail Khaskheli and Samina for sharing their time and memories with us.

Without the assistance of our admin and support staff, it would have been impossible to keep our records in order, for which I must thank Faisal, Marjon, Waqas, Shahid, Ismail, Mas, Saundra, Pervez, Stephon, Taj, Murtaza, Mukhtar, Tanvir, Rehman, and Aziz.

Dr. Farzana Bari not only provided us and the women councilors with invaluable intellectual guidance on gender issues, but also with the motivation which generated huge energy and kept us in the right direction. My special gratitude goes out to her for her myriad contributions, which made the Women Councilor's Network a success.

Hundreds of women councilors joined the Women Councilor's Network and it was through their agreements, disagreements and debates that the network was made a great success. Although it's not possible to mention the names of all these pioneering women here, I would like to acknowledge some of them, who became symbols of achievement for all of us. These great women are, Shahzada, ShafqatTaqqi, Bismillah Irum, Shoro Afroz, Mossarrat Cheema, Kishwar Mazari, Shamim Riaz, Om-e-Kulsoom, Rani Waheeda, Huma Nawab, Bushra Adeal, Shabana, ZebaKhattoon, Qaisra Ismail, Kaneez Fatima, Humaira Kausar, Lubna, Shahida Begum, Sajida Malook, Rubina Tehseen, Aziz Fatima, Tanvir Sultana, Salma Yasmin, JiaAnsari, Sofia Khaskheli, Naseem Gul, Tahira Ashraf, Bushra Shaheen, Shehnaz Aklhatar, Nazakat, Perveen Afza, Nuzhat Ashfaq, Sabra Asmat, Rashida, Samina Mukhtar and Shahnaz Adil. They deserve our heartfelt gratitude for keeping the flame burning.

Without the financial support of the international community, we would not have been able to develop and run the various WCNs. Our first support came from the Embassy of Finland after which the British High Commission became our sponsor. The support of DFID for the analysis of local government elections 2000-01 and 2005, greatly helped us to understand the dynamics of women candidature and electoral politics. Action Aid, GTZ and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung also supported our efforts. We are deeply indebted to all of them for their generous assistance and for helping Pakistani women claim their space in society and politics. The formation of the Women Councilor's Network was indeed a unique and strategic step towards gender equality. Our very special thanks goes to the British High Commission for the publication of this book.

I, from the bottom of my heart, appreciate Ms. Hadia Nusrat, Ms. Maryum Mughna and Ms. Beenisch Tahir for converting all the scattered material into book form. Each one of them has worked hard to make this book available and without their effort, the story of Women Councilors' Network could not have reached the public. A special thanks goes out to my daughter Tazeen, for proof reading and valuable suggestions.

Finally, I alone take responsibility for any unintended omissions and extend my apologies should any part of this book be hurtful to anybody's feelings.

Sarwar Bari

National Coordinator Pattan

April 2010 Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad

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PART 1

THE CONTEXT

WOMEN COUNCILORS' NETWORK - HOW, WHY AND WHAT

"Don't walk in front of me, I may not follow. Don't walk behind me, I may not lead. Walk beside me and be my friend." Albert Camus

Political Power Dynamics

"One step forward, two steps back", Lenin's prophetic statement reflects the underlying nature of all struggles. Very often, the classes, nations and ideas fighting for liberation and space are deprived of their acquired achievements by the old system and sometimes, even because of their own mistakes. As a result, the winners of yesterday may look like the losers of today. As history moves on, societies gradually attempt to resolve their contradictions, just as Allama Iqbal said, "...things will not stay the way they are."¹ He also said, "Only change has permanence in the universe."² So, "hope lies" in the struggle to resolve a "contradiction".³ However, history has also shown us that these struggles may take, at best decades and at worst, centuries.⁴ This is especially true of conflicts that erupt between new and old traditions and systems.

Despite systemic changes, a tiny resource-rich, male elite group has continued to perpetuate its supremacy over countries and empires. Interestingly, the use of coercive mechanisms remained very selective, with ideology often used to impose its hegemony.⁵ The elite thrives on sophisticated (mis)use of differences and commonalities of the population it controls. They generated hype for patriotism or religion by creating imagined threats, when it was in fact, their own control under threat. They fragmented the population on various differences. Attempts by anyone to challenge them or expose their nefarious game plan can lead to imprisonment or even death.

For example, Zia's dictatorship (1977-88) promoted sectarianism and ethnic conflict in order to perpetuate its illegitimate rule, while simultaneously misusing religion to promote a 'jihad' in Afghanistan. The British Raj adopted similar tactics - the "divide and rule" policy in India, that used the threat of Fascism in World War II to unite all Indian political forces. This technique was not peculiar only to governments but also occurs at the societal and community level.

At a societal level, these differences were nothing more than different identities of people, which

The elite thrives on sophisticated (mis) use of differences and commonalities of the population it controls. They generated a hype of patriotism or religion by creating imagined threats, when it was in fact, their own control under threat.

does not make one group better than another. Unfortunately, history is full of corrupt rulers and demagogues who have incited hatred by encouraging a false sense of superiority amongst their followers. Although societies are now gradually becoming more conscious of such manipulations, there is one particular system, the very core of which comprises of using power and subordination for survival. Patriarchy, which exists in its

worst form in Pakistan.

Patriarchy in Pakistan is justified through religion and tradition. The smallest demand towards gender equality unleashes the rage of the *mullahs*, the so-called custodians of Islam and the *sardars*, the feudal and tribal leaders, often side with them while modern state establishments willingly appease the two. For *mullahs* are needed for *jihad* and *sardars* are vital vote-bankers. Now however, their history of tyranny has been exposed, compelling them to change their stance, at least rhetorically, on gender equality and human rights.

محمد عبدالصبور: بیٹن
"خواتین نے کونسلرزمینٹ ورک کے پلیٹ فارم سے مختصر مدت میں جس منظم طریقے سے سیاسی کام کیا ہے، وہ صحتی برابری کے حصول کی طرف ایک اہم پیش رفت ہے، مجھے فخر ہے میں نے بھی اس میں اپنا کردار ادا کیا۔"

The Two Gender Gaps

GAP 1: Gender Policy VS. Implementation

There is very little evidence that any of Pakistan's governments, including the incumbent one, have ever seriously tried to implement the policies they had formulated for the improvement of gender imbalances. Rather, there is sufficient evidence to prove that the ruling elite, tribal chiefs and business owners (who also happen to be those running the government), often violate laws and public policies with complete disregard to the rights and dignity of women.

The Constitution of Pakistan⁶ guarantees gender equality under article 25 (2) which states, "There shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex alone." Moreover, its sub clause (3) and the sub-clause (2) of Article 26, allows the state to further legislate for the protection and promotion of women's rights. Therefore, the actions of the ruling elite are obviously in total infraction to the previously-mentioned articles of the Constitution of Pakistan.

In the last 20 years, several survivors of rape (including Mukhtaran Mai)⁷ and victims of violence have approached both the Women Councilors' Network (WCN) and Pattan for help. Often, it was discovered that local political leaders of the ruling party were either directly involved in the crime or indirectly supported the culprits. It is unfortunate to note that the elite is committing most of the human and social right violations in the country.

Some disturbing instances of this include the case of a *Zehri sardar*, also a Senator, who unashamedly defended the grotesque live burial of three innocent women on July 13th 2008 in Jaffarabad District, Baluchistan; the sitting Minister of Education, Mir Hazar Khan Bajarani, who had presided over a case of *vanni*;⁸ a famous *Pushtoon* nationalist leader, Senator Ajmal Khattak, who defended an act of honour killing as part of the *Pushtoon* tradition. These and hundreds of similar cases show that so-called custodians of the law as well as lawmakers themselves, act as a countervailing force

to progress in the country by using their political power to protect their own narrow social and economic interests. This is a clear case of conflict of interest and thus creates a huge gap between state policies and their implementation.

Constitutional guarantees and improvements in public policy on gender matters are encouraging and also provide substantial legal grounds for action against such disparities. However, if this elite stratum continues its present mode of ruling the country, the accomplishment of a gender balance will remain a distant dream.

GAP 2: Women's Contribution VS. Status

A huge gap exists between women's contribution in the productive and reproductive spheres and their status in society and politics. In order to further understand the enormity of women's subordination and marginalization, the areas of economy, society, politics and elections need examination.

For participation in the electoral processes, Pakistani citizens must have a Computerized National Identity Card or CNIC. According to the National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA), in January 2010, there were a total of 41,289,690 men and 27,987,452 women CNIC holders; approximately 13.30 million fewer women than men.

Figure 1.1 shows the huge disparity in male and female voter turnout in local council elections, 2005. The General Elections, 2008 electoral roll again reveals a gap of 12%, with 56% registered male and 44% registered female voters, essentially disenfranchising 9.7 millions women.

Figure 1.1
Male & female voter turnout in local council elections 2005

Province	Male	Female	Total	Variance
Punjab	61.35%	44.52%	53.56%	16.8%
Sind	47.78%	24.50%	37.67%	23.2%
NWF	57.53%	21.12%	41.29%	36.4%
Baluchistan	39.13%	21.79%	31.14%	17.35%
Overall	56.79%	36.33%	47.51%	20.4%

Source: Compiled from ECP website data

The "Protection of Women Act 2010" and the "Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Act, 2009" passed by the Pakistani Senate are some recent, welcome advancements in the field.

Before this, women's political space had also seen improvement through amendments made in the Hudood Ordinances⁹ and by the reserving of 33% quota for women in local councils and 17% in legislative bodies, under the 17th Amendment of the Constitution.

نہجمن برکت: پتھن

"مختلف اضلاع میں خواتین کو نسلرز کے ساتھ کام کرنے سے مجھے خواتین کی نابرابری کو ختم کرنے کی اہمیت کا شدید احساس ہوا۔"

In certain political party constituencies, women were unanimously prevented from casting their votes and contesting the elections, a violation of Clause 79 (2)(a) and Clause 81(1) of The Representation Act 1976.¹⁰ Most religious and secular/liberal parties were guilty of this unlawful practice in the by-elections held in Lakki Marwat, Mansehra and Swat, as reported by the Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN)¹¹, a coalition of 30 leading NGOs.

This took place during the 'enlightened era' of the Musharraf dictatorship and under the liberal-secular civilian governments of Pakistan Peoples' Party, Awami National Party, Pakistan Muslim League-N and Mutahida Quami Movement. Despite the protests of civil society organizations and media criticism, the election authorities took no legal action against the culprits.

Figure 1.2
Pakistan Global Gender Gap ranking 2009

Province	Ranking Out of 134
Overall	132
Health & Survival	12
Economic Participation & Opportunity	132
Educational Attainment	128
Political Empowerment	55

Source: World Economic Forum, 'Global Gender Gap Report 2009'.

The Position of Pakistani Women

According to the Global Gender Gap Report 2009,¹² Pakistan's position on women's political empowerment was impressive at the time of ranking, as seen in Figure 1.2. However, out of an overall 134 countries, Pakistan stood at the bottom of the list at 132, while India was at the 114th position.

This is a true reflection of ground realities. Domestic violence, limited access to health and educational facilities, lack of ownership of productive resources and even the lack of control over their own bodies has forced Pakistani women to lag behind the women of the rest of the world.

Figure 1.3 shows that the gap between male and female literacy is 26%, which is no doubt an outcome of social and policy dynamics governing school and college enrollments and drop outs, which affect men and women differentially.

Pakistan's health indicators have been lower than its South Asian neighbours, with women faring worse than men. Of 153 countries, the ratio of female to male life expectancy in Pakistan stands at 141; India positions at 99 and Bangladesh at 128. In access to pre-natal care, only 69%

of pregnant Pakistani women had access to any facility from 2007 to 2008.

According to the Asian Human Rights Commission, "Every year some 500,000 women die from complications arising from pregnancy and a further 200,000 are estimated to die from unprofessional and clandestine abortions."¹³ It is also noted that, "The maternal mortality rate per 100,000 live births increased significantly from 340 deaths in 1993 to 500 deaths in 2000."¹⁴

Regarding ownership of property, in "2001 less than 3% of women owned any plot, even though 67% of the sampled villages reported that women had a right to inherit land."¹⁵ Ownership of assets seemed to "reduce women's vulnerability to domestic violence" and it provided "women greater bargaining power within households..."¹⁶ It is then no wonder that incidences of violence against women has not declined in Pakistan but instead risen sharply.¹⁷ Talibanization and the spread of extremist and Jihadi ideology has brutalized many parts of Pakistan further deteriorating the position of women in the country.

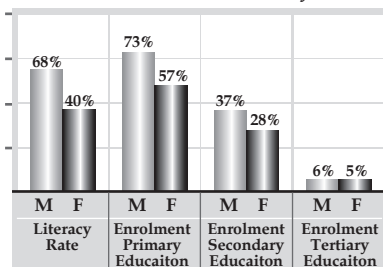
In the last 17 years, the female labour force has grown at "an annual rate of 16.7%"¹⁸ While in the formal industrial labour force, "women constitute 34.3% and in the rural economy their share is 66.4%."¹⁹ Working women are facing discrimination by their employers and getting paid far less wages than their male counterparts. The male to female earning ratio is from 2.58 to 1.15.

Political Input of Women

Despite multi-levelled marginalization and intense deprivation, women's performance both in society and politics, appears to be commendable. Based on a 2009 study by Pattan²⁰ on female parliamentarians, 2002 - 2007 and on an observation by FAFEN of National Assembly sessions, 2009 - 2010, it is clearly seen that the performance and contribution of women MPs has remained impressive.

"As many as 238 questions of 424 (56%) were put forward by female parliamentarians, who represent only

Figure 1.3
Pakistan educational attainment by sex



Source: Global Gender Gap Report 2009

22% of the total number of MNAs. Female legislators raised almost 60% questions put forward by PML-N. 59% of PPP questions also came from female parliamentarians. A total of 68 MNAs, 43 men and 25 women, raised questions during the 19th session despite the fact that women were significantly fewer in number. The largest number of MNAs raising questions, belonged to PML-N (33) followed by PPP (13) and PML (8)."²¹

The women councilors, despite their political inexperience, displayed an impressive performance in the proceedings of their respective councils. According to a Pattan study²² on women councilors' performance between the years 2004 and 2006, their attendance rate remained high. Outside of the councils, their interaction with their constituents has been inspiring, with an average of 70 people a month approaching a woman councilor.

Interestingly, even though the majority of the constituents are poor, there is still an acceptance of women councilors. When a 33% women's quota was introduced and implemented in 2000 to 2001, it was approved by 75% voters.²³

Most of the women councilors acknowledged that the support of male family members was crucial to their success in the elections and their performance as councilors. The general public is showing acceptance towards women's role in the formal political arena. However, the elite continue to deny women this right. The existence of this huge gap definitely warrants further investigation.

Female Access to Education

In the field of education, again females overcame enormous hurdles and performed remarkably better than their male counterparts in various examinations as shown in *Figure*

1.4.²⁴ Although their lead against male students ranges between 10% and 28%, a significant number of educated and able women are still prevented from joining formal professions.

The importance of women's role in the reproductive sphere cannot be credited justifiably, therefore this small mention is intended to acknowledge their invaluable contribution.

Economic Input of Women

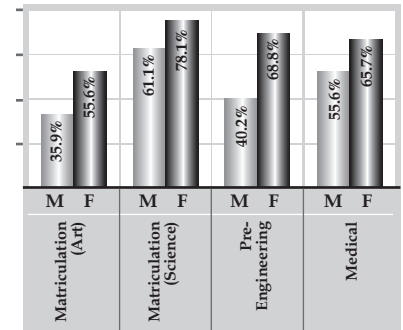
Women's function in the domestic economy has been ignored and is not accounted for in the gross domestic income. The data however, shows that women's participation in the labour force has tripled; rising from as low as 9% in 1971 to 1972, to 22% between 2007 and 2008.

Agriculture and livestock rearing are the fields in which 74% of women are engaged. Of those employed in urban areas, 16% also work in agriculture, while 28% are in the textile sector.²⁵ Despite this, the gender wage gap is over 33%, which means that men are getting 33% higher wages as compared to women other things being equal.²⁶ In other words, female workers cost less than their male counterparts.

Although women's contribution has been acknowledged by the Pakistani government, they have failed miserably to improve women's status. Their input to the economy or to the profit of local and national businesses can be interpreted as economic exploitation. In the interest of their own economic and political gains, governments have refrained from implementing policies and laws that ensure women's equality.

Instead, the proposed cut in women's seats at the union council level and the recent dissolution of local government bodies, exposes the malicious intentions of ruling parties to reverse the process of political empowerment of women. The entire country and women in particular, are trapped in a vicious elite stranglehold.

Figure 1.4
Passing of examinations by sex



Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics (1998)

Most of the women councilors acknowledged that the support of male family members was crucial to their success in the elections and their performance as councilors.

The general public is showing acceptance towards women's role in the formal political arena. However, the elite continue to deny women this right.

“People do not need lessons on who is oppressing them - this they are keenly aware of. Pattan helps design ways for individuals and groups to empower themselves. [training] meetings enhance communication, allowing discussion of possible solutions and building a sense of capacity.”

Prof. Dr. Paul D. Scott,
“Calm Voices of Hope:
Constructing Civil Space
in Pakistan”
Kyoto Journal, Issue 53

Women in Local Government

Before 2000, the local government system was isolated from the public realm due to its relatively narrow social base. Under the Devolution of Power Plan (DOPP) introduced by the Musharraf regime, the local government system was radically transformed. For the first time, the marginalized classes were included in the political space through quota representation.

The DOPP also stipulated a three-tiered governance system by forming village/*mohallah* councils, monitoring committees and Citizen Community Boards (CCBs).

At the union council level, a 21 member house was planned. Six seats were reserved for women, constituting 33%. There were 6,022 union councils in the country creating a total of 36,132 seats for women. The same percentage of quota was also reserved for women at the *tehsil/taulka*/town and district councils as well. The combined strength of women's seats in all 6,453 councils came to a grand total of 40,049 seats. The breakdown can be seen in *Figures 1.5 and 1.6*.

Prior to the local government election of 2005, General Musharraf reduced the union council seats from 21 to 13 due to pressure from provincial Chief Ministers. This impacted women's seats, leaving them with only four seats and an overall loss of 32%, or 11,467, of the total seats.

Women were now left with a cumulative of 28,553 seats only—a major reversal. Furthermore, chief ministers were given a lot of power to remove union, *tehsil* and district *nazims*. The path was thus cleared for elite capture.

The history of Pakistani politics has shown us time and again that the local government system distributes political power and this is therefore preferred by military dictators to keep political parties under check. Civilian political leadership on the other hand, perceive devolution at the local level as a fragmentation of their power, so always roll back the system of local government.

Figure 1.5
Breakdown of union council seats

Category	Seats 2001-2005	Seats 2005-2010
General	12 Male 8 Female 4	6 Male 4 Female 2
Peasant/Workers	6 Male 4 Female 2	2 Male 4 Female 2
Minorities	1	1
Nazim - Naib Nazim Pair	2	2
Total Seats in a Union Council	21	13

Source: NRB, GOP

Figure 1.6
Breakdown of councils

Category	Seats 2000-2005	Seats 2005-2010
City District	4	8
District	92	102
Tehsil/Talluka	335	394
Union	6022	6132
Total	6453	6635

Source: NRB, GOP

Women's local representation during various governments of Pakistan

Year	Government	Women's Representation
1958-1968	Ayub Khan	0%
1971-1977	Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto	0%
1977-1985	Zia-ul-Haq	2 seats at union council level & 10% at other levels (except NWFP)
1958-1988	Mohd. Khan Junejo	Same as above
1988-1990	Benazir Bhutto	None
1990-1993	Nawaz Sharif	10% at all levels
1994-1996	Benazir Bhutto	0%
1997-1999	Nawaz Sharif	12.7% in Punjab & 25.8% in Baluchistan
1999-2008	Pervez Musharraf	33% at all three levels
2008 -2010	Yusuf Raza Gilani	0%

CASE STUDY

Shahzada Bibi The Early Signs of Readiness for Women in Local Government

Ms. Shahzada Bibi, an astute and outspoken peasant woman-activist of South Punjab, wanted to contest the local elections. Clearly understanding local dynamics, she wanted to be nominated by fellow villagers as their candidate in a "Panchayat" or village meeting. She had also requested Pattan's presence and support in the meeting, given its existing relationship of trust with her community. The "Panchayat" ended with the villagers unanimous nomination for Ms. Shahzada. She had defeated the area's strongest feudal nominee in local election.

خالده ندیم: تین

"حدود آرزو نہیں کے خلاف تین اور خواتین کو سطرزنیٹ ورک کی طویل جدوجہد میں بھرپور شرکت نے میری فکر کو جلا بخشی اور جرأت میں اضافہ کیا"

Sowing the Seed of the Women Councilors' Network

The new local government system was very complex, so in order to educate its partners on the system's features and get their feedback, Pattan carried out a number of dialogues. These were conducted in communities where previously Pattan had undertaken flood relief preparedness and mitigation work and had also worked on rights-based empowerment. The partners were encouraged to participate in the forthcoming local elections of 2001.

Pattan's role was to assist in preparing women's nomination documents for the local bodies elections and facilitate access to necessary new local bodies' offices. Via capacity-building programmes, it also helped contesting women in understanding the complex procedures of the new devolved structures.

It was during these engagements that the women councilors and Pattan realized how essential a combined platform was in order to effectively take advantage of this historic opportunity for bringing grassroots leadership to national politics as well as for becoming effective local representatives. There was a need for a comprehensive strategy to transform the presence of women councilors into an institution that would be both meaningful and effective.

Though the councilors were enthusiastic to play their new role as local elected leaders, most were semi-literate, inexperienced, heavily-dependent on male family members and above all, lacked a political platform or support network. These critical issues needed consideration.

Civil society organizations and the international community believed that a separate platform for the women councilors was crucial towards their political empowerment.

Though the councilors were enthusiastic to play their new role as local elected leaders, most were semi-literate, inexperienced, heavily-dependent on male family members and above all, lacked a political platform or support network.

Building Women Councilors' Capacities

Pattan wanted to help the women councilors gel together into a democratic network and saw its role as a capacity builder. In 2001, it was able to take this up under the financial assistance of the Embassy of Finland and a series of capacity building programmes in the South Punjab districts of Multan, Muzaffargarh and Sargodha were initiated.

The practical hurdle of women's mobility was anticipated and overcome by clustering together women councilors from two to three adjacent union councils into one training group.

The local government system is based on three tiers linked together by the *nazim* and *naib nazims*. At the councilor's level, particularly for women councilors, this system doesn't have any formal link. During the course of the training programme, women councilors themselves understood how the networking of all three tiers was the most strategic step to raising the collective women councilors' voice.

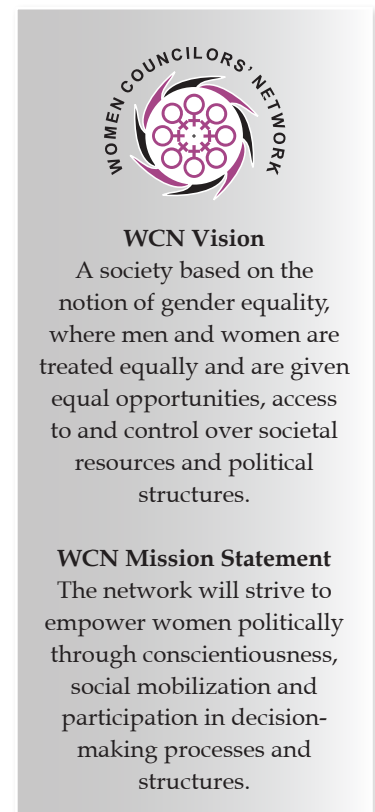
It was during these capacity building sessions that the first seed of the Women Councilors' Network was sown. They gradually built upon this experience taking it to the *tehsil*, then to the district and finally, to the national level; a journey of almost a decade.

Establishing a Women's Democratic Caucus

Under the Pattan umbrella, women councilors from all three tiers of government were invited by active women councilors for a large district-level meeting to discuss and explore possibilities of working together. The idea of a joint platform to channel the efforts of women councilors was floated and well-received. Pattan proceeded to provide necessary facilitation to help materialize this idea.

After a series of consultation meetings, union, *tehsil* and district level women councilors formed interim bodies in all ten of Pattan's project districts, which then prepared detailed Terms of Reference, a vision, a logo and by-laws, later approved in a WCN general body meeting. See Figure 1.7.

Figure 1.7
WCN Logo, Vision and Mission Statement



Steps in the Establishment of the Women Countries' Network

Step1: Training Session with Union Council Clusters

Due to logistical reasons and for the convenience of women councilors, Pattan formed groups of to 4 neighbouring union councils into a single cluster. This led to a smoother conducting of trainings with better attendance.

Step2: Idea for Women Councilors network

During training programmes, the women councilors themselves understood the importance of networking as a Strategic step in raising their collective voice. They expressed the need for a formal organization of women councilors to address their specific issues.

Step 3: Formation of an Interim Network

Active women councilors called a joint meeting of women councilors at the district level in which members from all three tiers were invited to explore of women councilors was floated and received a tremendous response from all. Pattan took charge of Providing the necessary facilitation for this idea. These consultation meetings led to the formation of interim women Councilors' network at the union , *tehsil*, and district council levels.

Step 4: TORs & By-Laws

These interim bodies of women councilors prepared the vision, detailed TORs and by-laws. They also facilitated the process of WCN membership.

Step 5: Membership Campaign

The formation of WCN interim structures was followed by the launching of a membership campaign in each district.

Step 6: Announcement of Elections

After the campaigning was done, elections for WCN office bearers was announced.

Step 7: Formation of an Election Committees

Independent election committees were then formed to facilitate the election process.

Step 8: Formation of Interim Structures & Membership Campaigns

In March and April of 2006, membership campaigns were launched by WCN interim structures with the Collaboration of Pattan Project staff.

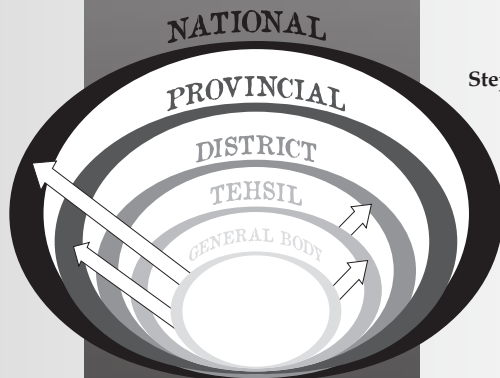
Step 9: WCN Elections

WCN election were held under the surveillance of impartial election committees and according to a direct election system, except for at the district level. The multi-levelled election system worked in this way:

- **Tehsil Level:** Under a direct election system, the General Body would elect the tehsil office bearers.
- **District Level:** Tehsil office bearers elected the district body members.
- **Provincial Level:** General Body members from all over the province, elected the provincial office bearers.

The system of election is shown in *Figure1.8*.

Figure 1.8
WCN election system



WCN Structure

Each WCN chapter had the following office bearers

- President
- Vice President
- General Secretary
- Joint Secretary
- Finance Secretary
- Information Secretary
- Administrative Affairs Secretary

All office bearers and executive council members of the national provincial and *tehsil* bodies were elected by the general body members; the district bodies were elected by the *tehsil* bodies of their districts.

Additionally, at each level, there was an Executive Council, which connected to various chapters both horizontally and vertically. See *Figure 1.9*.

WCN Elections

Once the formation of the WCN interim structures was complete, a district membership campaign was launched and followed by an announcement for the election of WCN office bearers; the election process itself was facilitated by independent election committees. By the beginning of 2004, WCN elected bodies were operational in all districts.

Two meetings of all WCN presidents and general secretaries were held in June of 2004 to work out the details of provincial networks. In these meetings the working principles, main areas of advocacy and some key criteria for provincial WCN chapters were prepared and agreed upon by the group.

The WCN Provincial Networks

A provincial organizing committee consisting of five members was also nominated, the main responsibility of which was to arrange WCN provincial elections. It requested each district network to elect two of its office bearers as central committee members for the provincial network. A 20-member, provincial central committee was thus also elected in June of that year.

Provincial elections were held in August 2004 in

which the provincial committee voted for president, vice president, general secretary information secretary and finance secretary. WCN's first tenure of local government districts and *tehsil* had 909 member councilors in all with 122, 93 and 694 from district, *tehsil* and union councils respectively.

It was in August of 2004, that Pattan received financial support from the British High Commission, enabling them to scale up and deepen their work with women councilors.

The WCN Tehsil Networks

In the second tenure of local government elections, from 2005 to 2009, WCN did not fare very well as some women did not contest the elections while others were defeated. Therefore, based on the democratic process and WCN by-laws, Pattan and the women councilors came to a mutual agreement to make changes to the WCN structure to make way for a new elected body. The decision to organize *tehsil* level chapters was also made at this point.

By 2007, a total of 61 WCN chapters were established in 24 districts and 37 *tehsils* of three provinces, reaching a membership of 2,420 women councilors. These elections were held under the surveillance of impartial election committees with an average voter turnout of 62 percent.

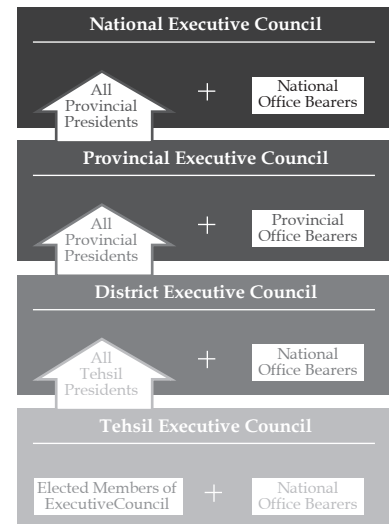
The WCN National Network

On the occasion of International Women's Day, 8th March 2008, hundreds of women councilors arrived in Islamabad from 24 districts to play a direct role in the election of one national and three provincial bodies of WCN.

The polling was covered by the media and observed by women members of parliament of the PPP, PML-Q, PML-N and ANP political parties. Two day later, the newly-elected office bearers took oath, collectively administered by women MPs of various political parties.

Thus the seed of the women's caucus was sown in Pakistan. Before polling, women councilors celebrated International Women's day, making it the largest IWD gathering ever held in Islamabad. The festivities were however tinged with the fear of losing the local government system altogether.

Figure 1.9
Inter-related structure
of WCN executive councils



WCN Constraints and Challenges

The majority of women councilors were politically inexperienced, less educated than the men and poor. Most of them neither had their own income to spend on their official work nor were they provided an honorarium to this effect. They also lacked a political and social platform, an essential ingredient for making any sort of impact.

Most nazims were hardly interested in running their councils as institutions; for instance, they would not convene monthly mandatory council sessions. This as a result further isolated and disempowered the women councilors.

Bari and Zia (1999) and Bari (2008)²⁷ analyzed and identified some major hurdles faced by women councilors that can be categorized as discursive, cultural, institutional and personal. These four barriers were higher than the four walls of a house and posed a real challenge to many women wanting to bring a meaningful change in society through the new local government system.

Another serious issue was that of union women councilors when elected directly by electorates wielded less power than those elected indirectly for tehsil or district councils. These union councilors were prone to the pressures of constituents but lacked the power to do anything for them.

The situation was frustrating for many councilors as there was little available data comparing women councilors' responsibilities inside and outside of the councils. During Pattan's engagement with them, it was observed that women councilors work outside their councils was more intense and time consuming than their achievements inside the councils.

Despite external constraints, countervailing forces and their own internal weaknesses, most women councilors were very keen about their newfound role. This was a sign of hope for Pattan as skills can be improved, knowledge imparted and money arranged, but passion if not present, cannot be created. This is what convinced Pattan to start a comprehensive capacity building and networking programme for the new women councilors.

Women Councilors' Demographics

According to a Pattan opinion poll,²⁸ nearly 80% of women councilors acknowledged the role of male family members and biradari (clan) elders in their success, as opposed to the role of political parties, which seemed relatively invisible. Statistics reflected that most women councilors interviewed (88.8%) had no previous history of participation in any elections as a candidate, while 87% of them were housewives.

In both the 2001 and 2005 local elections, almost half of the women councilors were between the ages of 25 and 45 years. As for educational background, 38% were illiterate or semi-literate and about 36% were middle school-passed or matriculate.

Physical assets included ownership of 0 to 7 acres

of land for almost two-thirds of the families of councilors. A substantial percentage of women councilors belonged to the lower strata of society.

This movement indeed contained a seed of a silent, social gender revolution.

Women councilors take a genuine

interest in their political role. In response to a question on councilor-community contact, 85% said that they meet 50 people in a month on average, while 5% of them said that they met between 51 and 100 persons. Interestingly, 70% of women councilors were approached by only female electorates whereas 24% said that both men and women came to see them.

Survey data shows that the majority of these women belonged to very poor families; 93% of them were either destitute, very poor or poor, clearly indicating that the reservation of women's seats at the local level paved the way not only to address the issue of gender but also that of class.

This historic step marked the beginning of power fragmentation. It also provided a unique opportunity to political parties and civil society organizations to organize and strengthen this new connection between electorates and councilors. Unfortunately, very few used the situation to its full advantage.

The reservation of women's seats at the local level paved the way not only to address the issue of gender but also that of class.

“Working with women councilors was an eye opening experience for concepts of gender equality and women's empowerment. As a woman, this was the first time I realized the underlying causes of gender inequality in our society. Interaction with women councilors and Pattan staff inspired me deeply for gender change. It also enhanced my self-esteem and self image; essential for any positive change.”

Aliya Banu
Co-Project Manager, Pattan

The Journey

Understanding the Hidden Chains

The story of the Women Councilors' Network is one of women at the very grassroots of Pakistani Society, who, by joining the formal political arena, had unintentionally or knowingly broken centuries-old patriarchal norms.

Co-option was a compelling force and many new entrants succumbed to the existing traditional norms. For others, the emotional, physical and financial reliance on their menfolk remained a critical pre-condition to their professional survival. A lack of better role models and conscientious political training resulted in some women councilors favouring the use of power, money and manipulation over engagement, dialogue and participation.

Since the political arena was so new to these women, they did not have the slightest idea of how to speak publicly. Research surveys²⁹ reflect that they either depended on male colleagues and/or relatives to speak for them, or simply kept silent.

As already mentioned, the financial backing of male family members was vital to their success, so most women councilors dared not risk crossing a certain point for fear of losing that support.

The existence of a strong local women's movement and political bodies could also have helped the councilors' transformation. Training and engagement programmes by various NGOs' were far too superficial to make any real impact.

These women were left at the mercy of familiar local dynamics that perpetually reinforced the traditional mind set. It would take at least a few decades and intense contestation of ideas to pave the way for gender equality here.

Despite the many setbacks, Pattan discovered that women councilors were generally more democratic, harder working, better listeners, faster learners and above all, more compassionate than their male counterparts. They forged ahead with just elementary knowledge of the field and quickly embraced the democratic values of engagement, dialogue and participation.

Challenges Along the Way

Women councilors in Pakistan have been working against the odds, facing challenges at both collective and individual levels. The WCN caucus is breaking through traditional barriers and raising awareness about these challenges as a key strategy to engage the masses and decision-makers.

Of the challenges at hand, a lack of funds and honoraria for councilors was the major problem. Accessing even a meagre amount was an uphill task and WCN often had to step in to help their member councilors receive these funds.

Male *nazims* also posed an obstruction by making the receiving of funds conditional to their being used in "ghettoized" areas with women-related projects (sewing centers, craft centers etc.) rather than in more urgent needs such as infrastructure development.

Some union councils did not conduct regular meetings, reducing opportunities for councilors to play an active role. There have also been cases in some union councils where the government has victimized *nazims* of an opposing party when allocating funds, leading to non-incorporation of women's issues in the agenda. Also, provisions in the Local Government Ordinance permits *nazims* to take decisions with a simple majority of 51%, thereby excluding women. These are all obvious dampers to the morale of women councilors.

Women's lack of political participation, assertion for their share and their role in local government decision-making and budgetary allocation is a direct result of limited access to education and training. Men are usually able to dominate because of their culturally accepted positions of authority in society and government, by virtue of which they control information and union council resources.

The WCN has become a powerful platform for women's rights advocacy in Pakistan. Their achievements are at two levels, national and personal. Nationally they were committed to becoming the voice of all Pakistani women and personally, their gains were complex and ran deep, striking at the very heart of patriarchal conditioning, breaking new grounds for real change.

CASE STUDY

Halima Sadia Feared Vote-Buying by Opponents

Running against eighteen men on a general seat in Sargodha, Halima Sadia, a middle-aged woman and wife of a government employee, was quite optimistic that she could win. Three more women in her panel were old colleagues from the WCN and were a source of great support to her. "The choice of contesting a seat traditionally held by men was a difficult one," admitted Halima. "Many tried to convince me to step down. Some even told me that it would be illegal to contest for that seat. Others said it was socially immoral to contest what is regarded as a man's right. But I, with the support of my family and Pattan, persisted." Halima was a formidable challenger to male dominance in a conservative belt of Punjab. Her community recognized the work she had done in her previous tenure. "My only fear is the abuse of the Code of Conduct my competitors are committing and the excessive use of money and force that is being employed to influence voters' choice."

ماجدہ جمیل: تہن

"میں نے خواتین کونسلرز نیٹ ورک کے ساتھ کام کرتے ہوئے یہ سیکھا کہ اہل اقتدار یا حکام بالا کی طرف سے نافذ کردہ غلط پالیسیوں پر چپ نہیں سادھ لینی چاہئے بلکہ جہاں تک ممکن ہو سکے اپنے حقوق کے حصول کے لئے آواز بلند کرنی چاہیے۔"

Outcomes

In a matter of a decade, WCN created history by turning the tide of patriarchal control in politics, carving a legitimate political space for women and defending it through democratic means. Their struggles have set a standard for women's inclusion at an institutional level, while their personal gains are invaluable to the establishment of a women's social capital that was previously non-existent.

The women councilors' contributions, viewed within their communities and personal lives, can be divided into three categories.³⁰

1. Social Contributions

Women councilors have built social assets over time through services rendered to their communities. According to data collected (Pattan, 2006)³¹ from members of WCN, most women councilors were assisting communities to access social safety nets such as *Bait-ul-Mal* and *Zakat* Committees, subsidized food and social services. This was true for 75% of WCN members in Punjab and 62.5% in the North West Frontier Province. Sindh however, did not have a very good record in this regard largely due to a lack of effective implementation of capacity building.

Women councilors have also been fulfilling another important function of helping families to collect needed finances for weddings and dowries. Some of them (12.5%) have even been involved in the arranging of marriages, a role taken up only by people given high respect and credibility in Pakistan.

Children and young adults have benefitted from WCN community in the form of assistance in getting admission into schools and vocational training institutions. Health care has also been area of WCN social work with councilors helping their communities receive subsidized or free treatment.

When it came to dealing in police-related and legal matters, WCN, due to its connection to different legal aid and human rights organizations, was able to help people in interactions normally considered quite complicated. Hence the women councilors' social contributions had an impact on their communities.

2. Physical Contributions

Of the physical contributions that women councilors have made for their communities, the most significant include the carpeting of roads, brick-lining of streets, building of schools and craft centers and acquiring of sewing machines. This was all done within the already miniscule development fund given them which was not even half the financial allocation given to male councilors.

Dir in NWFP, was the worst example of this situation where there were absolutely no funds at all allocated to women. On the other hand, district assemblies in Sindh held the best record in 2005, when there were cases of women councilors receiving funding equal to that of the men.

One further disadvantage faced by women councilors was that they were generally discouraged in using their funds for development projects and were forced to stick to "women-specific" domains such as maternal health and sewing centers.

3. Political Contributions

The most valuable achievement of women councilors made through their work has been their political contribution. Most have had a sustained political growth, with many moving up professionally, for instance, from the union council to the tehsil or district assembly, in their second tenure.

In Punjab 54% and in NWFP and Sindh, 25% applied for membership in their local government committees, with 62.5% in Sindh and 50% in NWFP and Punjab improving their membership status.³² The lower percentages in NWFP's case are explainable by the extreme social pressures of the region that curb women's participation, while in Sindh the reasons could be due to the fact that the devolution process was still being streamlined three years into the new system, unlike in Punjab. Today 39% of WCN office bearers also hold official positions in political parties. Of these, 54% are presidents or vice presidents and 16% are general secretaries.³³

In general, women councilors of all areas have always keenly participated in training opportunities and rallies held by civil society organizations.

Secrets of Success

Several questions have risen regarding the training of women councilors. Does training lead to a strengthening of personal qualities, such as leadership and charisma? Does experience in social work and education matter; if so, then to what degree? How important is family and male support to the personal success of the woman councilor?

Pattan has identified some common threads running through the successes of women councilors.³⁴ Capacity-building, networking, family support, personality, experience in social work, education and political linkages all play a part in the success stories studied.

Family

In Pakistani society, defiance to one's family, especially by a woman, is not tolerated. A woman who is at odds with her family is treading an extremely turbulent path. Many Pakistani families, even some in urban settings, find it difficult to allow their daughters or wives to work, believing that the public arena is a man's world, not a woman's.

Family support is hence a pre-requisite for the success of a woman councilor. Most WCN office bearers have admitted that support from their families and husbands was imperative to the proper execution of their jobs.

Education

A definite factor contributing to the success of women councilors, arming them with the necessary knowledge to work the system to their advantage in pursuit of their social, political and developmental aims. Well-educated councilors are better able to mobilize larger development funds for the benefit of their communities.

Lack of education however, has not been too great an obstacle for there are several cases of semi-illiterate and illiterate women councilors who have achieved remarkable success. They managed to tap into sources of funds from outside of their union councils to use in school construction, education and development.

Political Linkages

Though a large majority of women councilors lacked a formal political affiliation with any party prior to their participation in the elections, those who became better known were soon inducted into various parties.

Some WCN members who graduated to provincial legislative bodies to become office bearers of various political parties were:

- Shameela Aslam of Vehari (PML-M)
- Samia Amjad of Khanewal (PML-Q)
- Farah Deba of Lahore (PML-N)
- Sajida Tabbasum of Mansehra (PPP)

Capacity-Building

Of all reasons for success, Pattan has concluded that the most crucial of these is capacity-building. Without a knowledge of their rights, roles and responsibilities and of the political process, it would have been difficult for women councilors to become effective political and social actors.

Capacity-building provides them with the requisite knowledge and skills for local level decision-making. WCN, with the help of other civil society organizations, has generated a body of women equipped for political responsibility.

“Capacity building by Pattan improved our skills. I learned about my responsibility to advocate for access by the poor to social safety net programmes, established linkages with other NGOs and government partners. Generally, these activities have empowered women councilors to actively participate in mediation activities and monitoring committees.”

Zubaida Khanum
Multan

The Women Councilors' Network's struggle in Pakistan has truly been, "one step forward, two steps back." The elitist agenda in the country resurfaces from time to time in the form of cut backs in the power of devolved structures. Its easiest target this time was women councilors, now occupying a historic number of seats and a force to be reckoned with.

In 2005, before the local bodies elections, the government announced a reduction in women's seats in union councils from 6 to 3. In reaction, WCN and Pattan staged countrywide demonstrations for two days. Using their tools of advocacy, councilors lobbied with ministers, MPs and donor agencies, holding meetings and giving presentations. Although these efforts did not lead to a complete reversal of orders, the women were able to retrieve the right to one seat.

In October 2008, the incumbent government tested the waters by announcing a cut in women's seats once again. In protest WCN sent a delegation to the Federal Minister for Women and Development, informing her of their position. The government responded to WCN's appeal positively with an announcement that there was no plan to cut women's seats. This was yet another victory in WCN's portfolio of successes.

منظور حسین بلوچ: تین

"مقامی حکومت کے نظام میں خواتین کی نمائندگی ایک اہم اقدام تھا۔ اسی طرح خواتین کو سٹریٹجک ورک بھی خواتین کی سماجی اور سیاسی آگے کے لحاظ سے تاریخی حیثیت رکھتا ہے اور صنفی برابری کے حصول کیلئے نشان راہ بھی۔"

Bridging the Gap

Knowing full well the hidden potential of thousands of women councilors coming together to claim their space and thus dislodging elite power lords, the civilian elite rulers, once back in power after the 2008 General Elections took no time to remove this threat. Their first step was to choke the local government system and reduce women's seats.

The Women Councilors' Network immediately launched a campaign to save the local government system and their seats. They believed that by making some noise through rallies and demonstrations, they could recapture their seats as they had once before in the Musharraf rule.

The WCN protested for two consecutive days in front of the building of the Ministry of Women and Development in Islamabad and forced the government to retreat. The civilian government proved more rigid than the military regime.

There has been no serious resistance to the current reversal from the rest of the stakeholders. A campaign was launched recently, under the leadership of Former Chairman National Reconstruction Bureau, Mr. Daniyal Aziz; but it

failed to mobilize thousands of local councils, as it relied heavily on zila and tehsil nazim support.

Much has changed in the country; the media is extremely powerful, the civil society is vocal and the judiciary is independent. Above all, there are now thousands of women councilors and hundreds of women's associations. These changes should be realized and used as strengths.

The gap between policy rhetoric and implementation is enormous. The law of the land is violated by the rulers themselves while women remain victims of cyclical injustice. Since women best understand the issues of other women, they are the ones who can bring about a change in their status.

Using the WCN platform for mobilization is a clear example of this. Therefore, the call of the hour is for women to stand up and claim their rightful space.

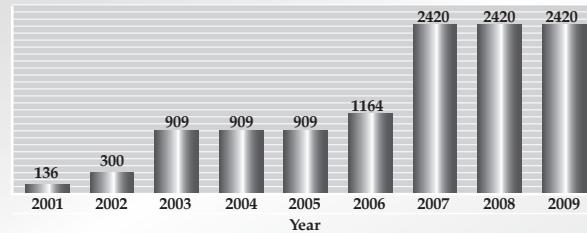
Much has changed in the country; the media is extremely powerful, the civil society is vocal and the judiciary is independent. Above all, there are now thousands of women councilors and hundreds of women's associations. These changes should be realized and used as strengths.

WCN Growth Membership & Chapters 2001-2009

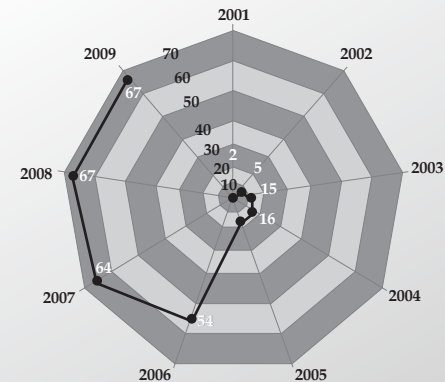
Increase in the Number of Members & Chapters

Year	Members	Chapters
2001	136	2
2002	300	5
2003	909	15
2004	909	16
2005	909	16
2006	1164	54
2007	2420	64
2008	2420	67
2009	2420	67

Increase in the Number of Members



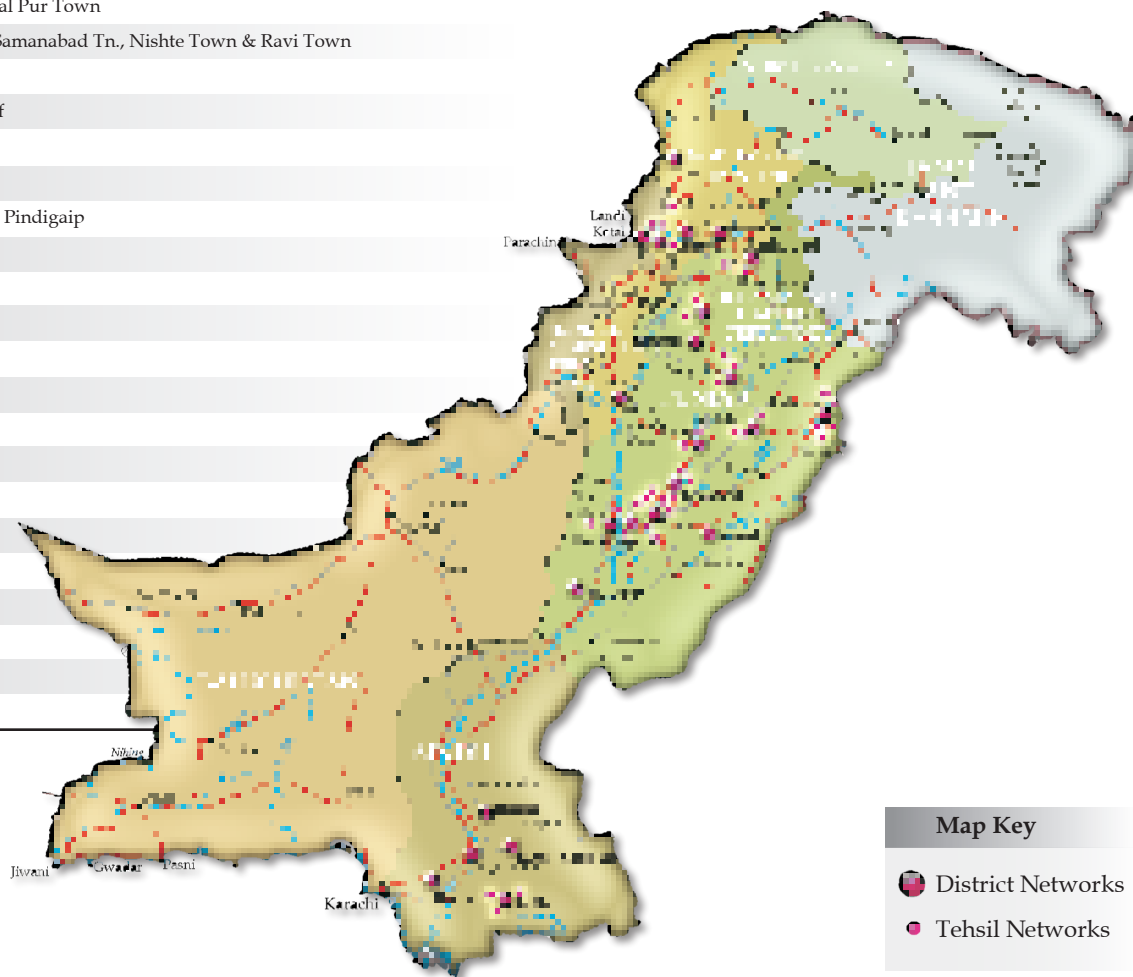
Increase in the Number of Chapters



WCN Country-Wide Growth

District Network Formations

Year	District	Tehsil
2001, 2006	Multan	Jalalpur, Shujabad, Boson, Mumtazabad, Sher Shah & Shah Ruk-e-Alam
2002, 2006	Khanewal	Mian Chunn, Kabirawala & Khanewal
2002, 2006	Muzaffargarh	Muzaffargarh & Kot Addu
2003, 2006	Faisalabad	Iqbal Town, Madina Town & Loyal Pur Town
2003, 2006	Lahore	Shalimar Tn., Datagunj Bux Tn., Samanabad Tn., Nishte Town & Ravi Town
2003, 2006	Sargodha	Sargodha, Shahpur & Sahiwal
2003, 2006	DG Khan	Dera Ghazi Khan & Taunsa Sharif
2003, 2006	Jhang	Jhang & Shor Kot
2003, 2006	Rawalpindi	Rawal Town & Potohar Town
2003, 2006	Attock	Attock, Fatehjang, Hassan Abdal, Pindigaip
2006	Chakwal	Chakwal & Choasaidan Shah
2006	Dir	No Tehsil Networks
2006	Mardan	"
2006	DI Khan	"
2007	Badin	Tando Bago, Tallhar & Badin
2007	Vehari	No Tehsil Networks
2007	Rajan Pur	"
2007	Khushab	"
2007	Hyderabad	"
2007	Thatta	"
2007	Tando Allah Yar	"
2007	Matiari	"
2007	Mansehra	"
2007	Peshawar	"



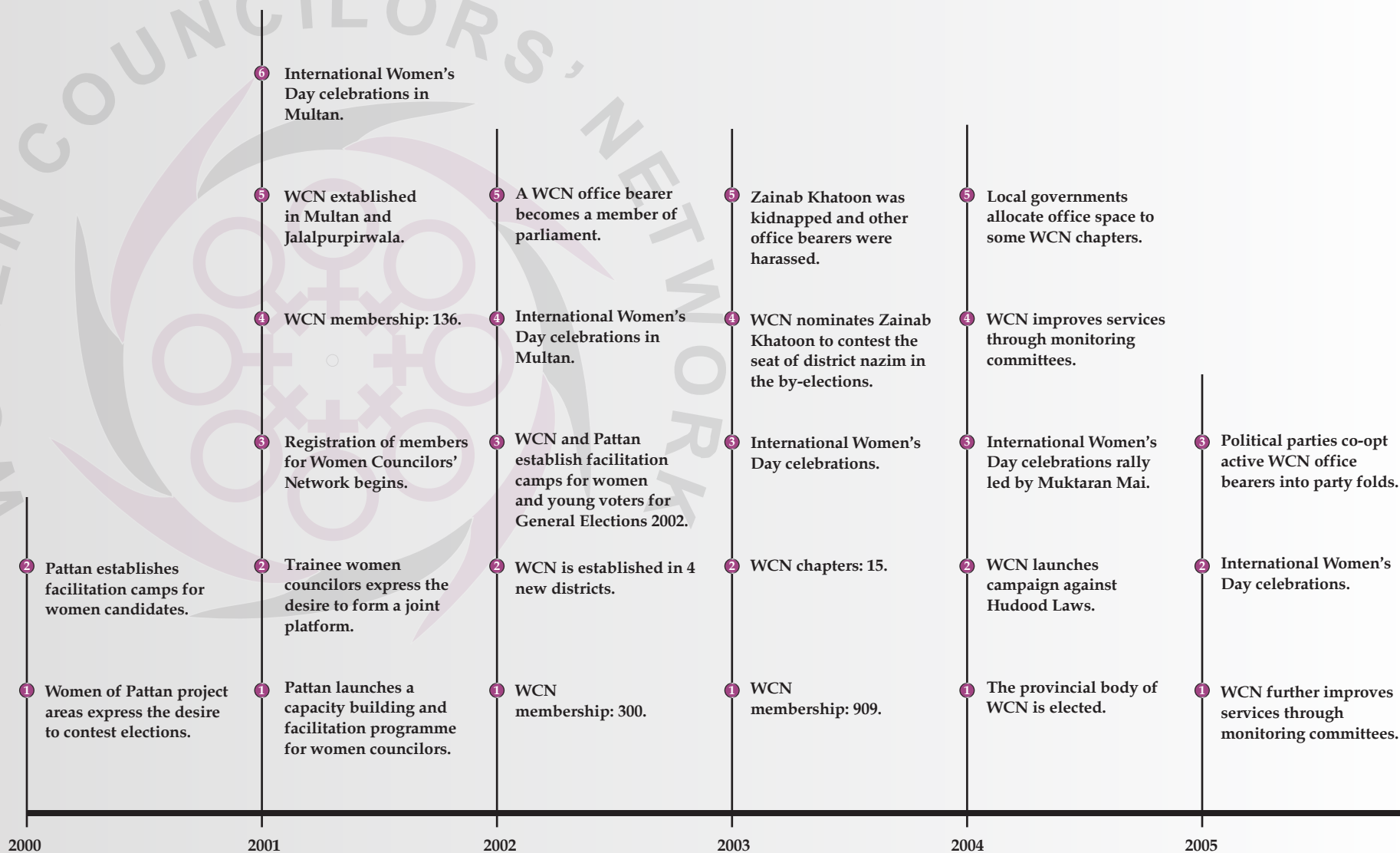
Provincial & National Network Formations

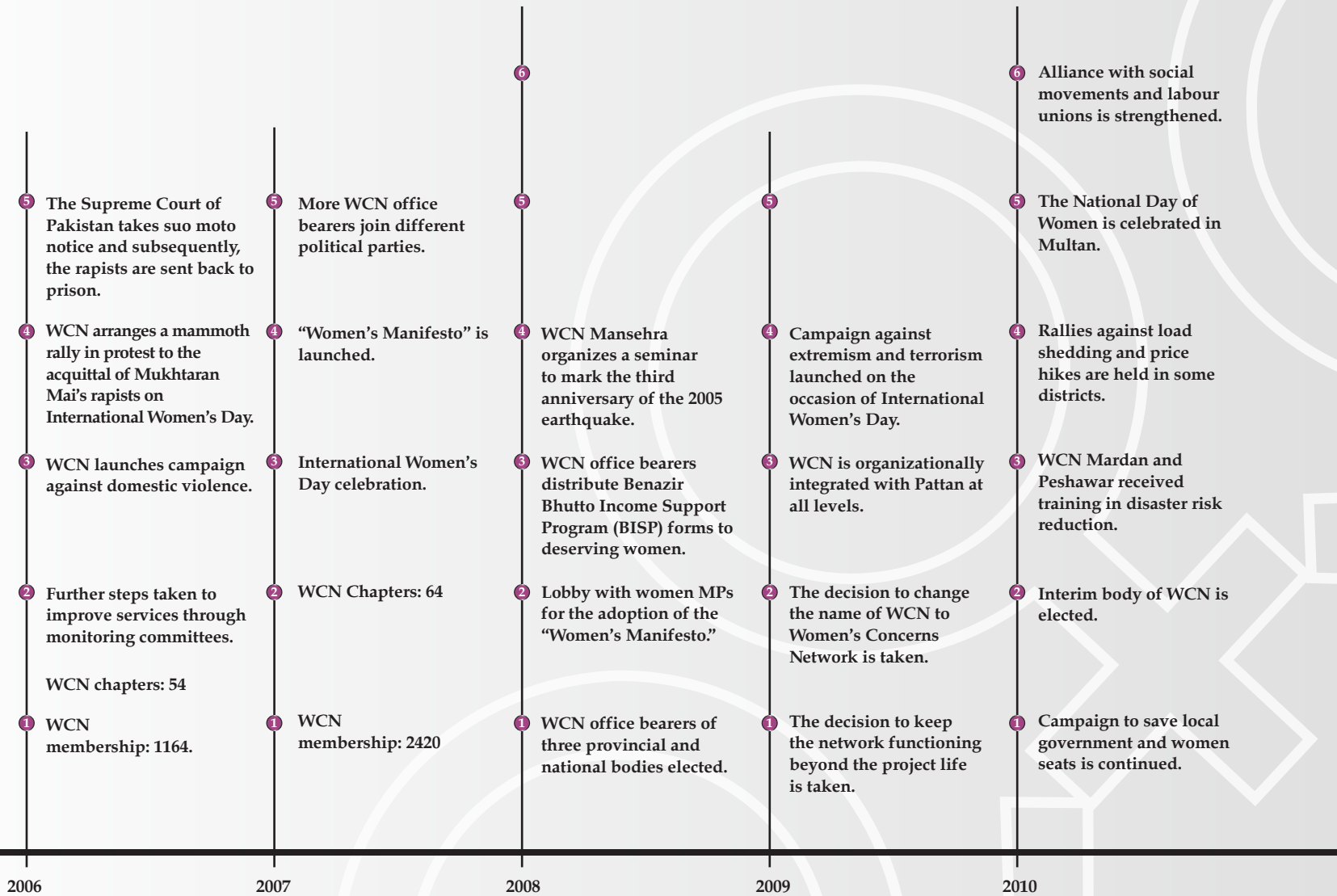
2004	Province: Punjab
2008	Provinces: Sindh & NWFP
2008	National

PART 2

WCH CONTRIBUTION

Timeline of Key WCN Achievements, 2000-2010





TRANSFORMATIVE PROGRAMME

“If you have knowledge, let others light their candles in it” Margaret Fuller

The Need for Capacity Building

The most watched and scrutinized people are elected representatives; the closer they are to their constituents, the greater the pressure and hence, the higher the scrutiny. Unlike MPs, local councilors live with their constituents and need to perform well to prove their worthiness. For these councilors, two things are essential; the right attitude and knowledgeable skills.

In the case of women councilors, most had the right attitude but lacked necessary expertise for their newfound role. Many were not only fresh to the political arena but were semi-literate and also lacked the formal support and official platform enjoyed by more experienced political workers.

Based on this observation, backed by lessons learnt from initial WCN training sessions, Pattan developed a comprehensive capacity building programme, the three main aspects of which were:

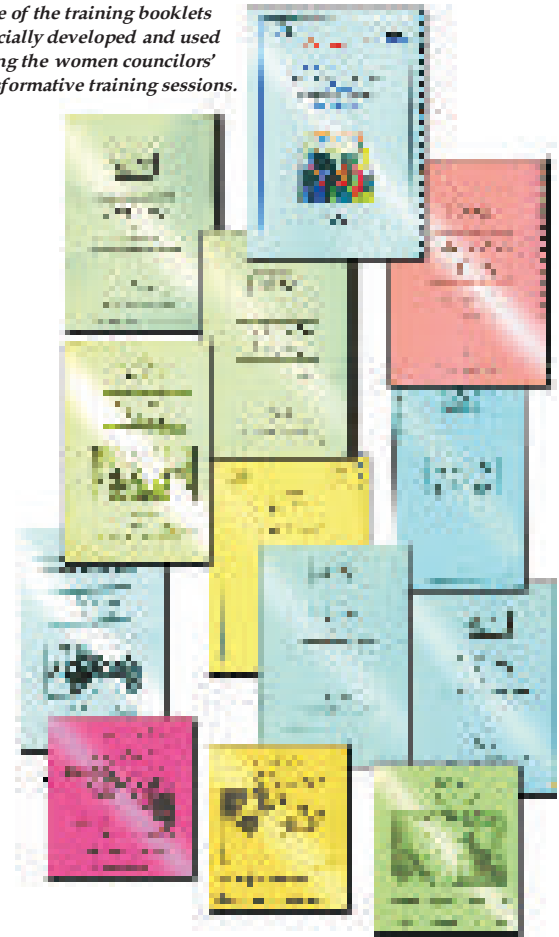
1. Classroom and hands on training
2. Knowledge enhancement
3. Transformative engagement

“Learning by doing is a highly effective way of learning. This experience in itself is what the WCN had offered to many women councilors. During my work with Pattan, I saw women councilors embracing challenges with courage and strength to create a better world for themselves and for other women. Therefore it will have a long lasting impact.”

Ms. Marjon Eshuis
Netherlands volunteer who worked with Pattan

Pattan developed, printed and distributed literature to women councilors, to equip them with the tools and knowledge. An entire list of the training material can be seen in Annex B.

Some of the training booklets especially developed and used during the women councilors' transformative training sessions.



Enhancing Performance through Transformative Programmes

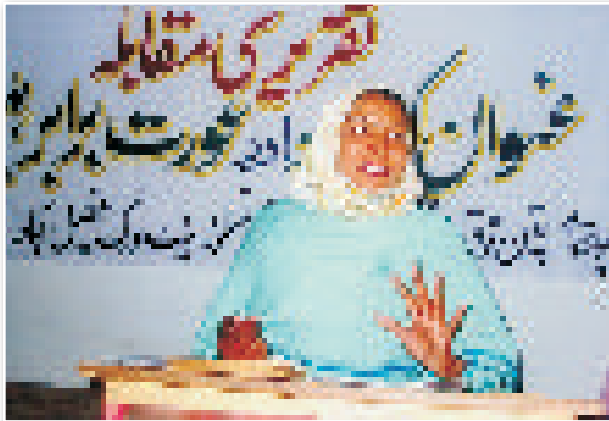
During the two tenures of local governments, 2001 to 2005 and 2005 to 2010, Pattan's capacity building approach was not confined to just training. It facilitated the women councilors in and beyond their constituency work. The aim was to influence gender policies through advocacy, which is intrinsically linked to social mobilization and participation.

The most effective and sustainable method to achieve this was to help women councilors become trainers and mentors themselves. From 2001 to 2009, a total of 2,522 training and awareness sessions were held with 2,500 women councilors of 24 project districts. Figure 2.1 shows the nature and number of sessions held during this period.

The Results

The awareness and capacity building programme had a direct effect on the confidence and skills of women councilors. Now more vocal and assertive, their participation became even more meaningful, both in their councils and WCN meetings.

Furthermore, their interaction with constituents and the media also improved greatly, generally leading to a marked increase in people's respect for them. Most of these women councilors are now master trainers with other organizations.

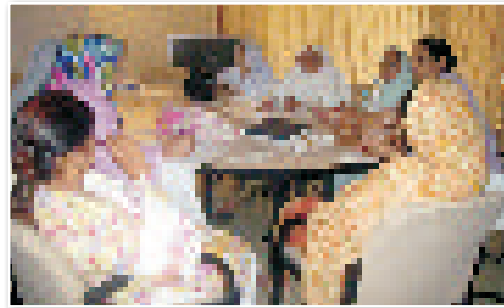


A women councilor participating in a speech competition

Figure 2.1

Training and awareness sessions held from 2001 to 2010

Session Topics	Number of Sessions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What is local government ▪ The role of women councilors ▪ Skill building in effective participation in council sessions ▪ Budget making ▪ Constituency work ▪ How to make speeches ▪ Social transformation ▪ What is gender 	2145
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Special training programme for WCN office bearers (account keeping, handling media, advocacy, lobbying, networking, political bargaining and more) 	105
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Training of trainers on CEDAW 	2
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ CEDAW, MDGs and GRAP awareness campaigns (speech competitions, seminars, awareness sessions) 	270
Total	2522



Advocacy training sessions of WCN general secretaries



Training on CEDAW and MDGs



Group work during capacity building sessions



Training on CEDAW and MDGs

"بلیس انتر میمنہ خواتین کونسلز نیٹ ورک ملتان
شہر نشے کا عادی تھا۔ گھریلو حالات ایسے تھے۔ محنت مزدوری کر کے حالات کا مقابلہ کیا۔ رشتہ داروں کی باتیں برداشت کیں۔ میری جرأت اور ہمت کے باوجود محلہ والوں نے ایکشن لڑنے میں بھرپور مدد کی اور میں کونسل منتخب ہو گئی۔"



Pattan staff talking to councilors on CEDAW



Meeting with school teachers for planning of speech competition on gender equality



MDG and CEDAW training session in Multan



WCN office bearers with the Pattan team outside the Pattan Multan office, after a training session



P R E S S C O V E R A G E

For a complete listing of press coverage on this topic, please refer to Annex C in Part 3 of the book.

AWARENESS THROUGH THEATRE

“Just as water is wet and fire is hot, the natural expression of awareness is the flame-like heat of compassion” Tulku Ugyen Rinpoche

The Background of Pakistani Folk Theatre

Pakistan is made up of communities with a strong culture of music and dance, such as *luddi*, *bhangra* and *dhamaal*, which are some of the more popular musical traditions. Originally, the womenfolk too would actively participate, but ever since Zia’s retrogressive regime, fuelling fundamentalist *mullahs* and suppressing women, the little entertainment that women had enjoyed was subsequently lost to them.

It has been necessary to reclaim not only lost traditions but to introduce new ones as well. Pattan’s cultural desk — Pattan *Lok Natak* decided to revive street theatre, a much-loved form of rural entertainment.

Theater Training

The concept of using theatrical skits, both as an entertainment and an awareness tool was introduced to the Women Councilors’ Network by *Pattan Lok Natak*, the folk theatre division of Pattan.

The women’s training skills were not limited to acting but also covered writing, directing, engaging the audience and more. Pattan trained 144 women councilors in three-day training sessions, using a basic theatrical and motivational syllabus.

Although initially, most of the women were shy about learning to act, the continued training helped them overcome their inhibitions. With each rehearsal they would feel more and more confident and liberated. The experience brought visible changes in their personalities and helped make them more vocal.

After completion of their training at *Pattan Lok Natak*, the women councilors would then perform their skits in their own neighbourhoods to an interested and enthusiastic audience.

Issues Brought to Light Through Performances

During theater trainings, the women were divided into three groups, each performing a different topic but under a common theme of female subjugation.

The topics, which can be seen in *Figure 2.2*, included rural women’s issues, girls’ education, domestic violence, women’s political role, forced marriages and tribal customs like *Karo Kari* (pre-meditated honor killing), *Watta Satta* marriage (exchanging brides between two families), and *Vanni/Sawara* (settling of murder cases through exchange of women).

Some plays were especially written for women councilors’ empowerment in the community.

WCN National & International Performances

WCN has staged a total of 103 performances in various localities of their project districts. Some of their theatrical performances went as far as national and international events, as in the case of the women councilors of Rawalpindi, who performed in “International Rural Women’s Day” in 2009 and 2010, organized by Potohar Organization for Development Advocacy, PODA. The International Women’s Day 2010, Lahore also saw a performance by WCN.

Pattan Lok Natak has had a tradition of arranging a “Theater Festival” on International Women’s Day since 2005. In all, more than 10,000 people have been educated on women’s issues in these events. The topics of each year’s International Women’s Day theatre performance can be seen in *Figure 2.3*.

“What I learnt was so empowering and liberating, I became determined to transfer it to other women and girls.”

Haleema Saadia

Figure 2.2
Special plays on women issues

Name	Subject Matter
Gunjilan	The story of how a woman councilor of strong character challenges the practice of forced marriage
Mai Ni Mein Kinoonh Aakhan	The custom of Vanni Sawara
Chhoo Mantar	The misdeeds of peers and religious gurus
Sochan Wich Faqeer	The story of a rape victim and how a local feudal politician exploits the situation
Bhanbar	Domestic violence
Maqtaal	Forced marriage and the custom of marrying a woman to the Quran
Rais Khana	The connection between women's exploitation and entrenched poverty

Figure 2.3
International Women's Day theatre performances

Year	Topic	Number of Theatre Groups	Venue
2005	Karo-Kari	5	Multan Arts Council
2006	Women Councilors and Society	3	Multan Arts Council
2007	Vanni /Sawara	5	Dawn Auditorium
2008	Domestic Violence	3	Rawalpindi Arts Council
2008	Domestic Violence	5	Faisalabad Arts Council
2009	Women & Peace in the context of Swat	3	Rawalpindi Arts Council

What I Learned as a Theater Trainer

by William Pervaiz

Coordinator, Pattan Lok Natak

Training women councilors in theater was a truly memorable experience for me, not only as a teacher, but also from a learning perspective. I discovered that the true quality of women's talents could only be appreciated by a man willing to let go of a chauvinistic mind set. I was surprised by the innovative ways used by the untrained women councilors to prepare their wardrobes for performances; for instance, pulling their hair forward to their chins for creating a beard, or using props professional performers would.

Our patriarchic society keeps women inhibited, assuming that they accept this, but in fact, this is far from the truth. My experience was that women belonging to extremely conservative areas were more liberal, for example, shaking hands with male trainers at departure. These same women would also participate in musical events far more exuberantly than the rest. It could perhaps have been a reaction to the suppression imposed upon them for centuries. Whatever the reasons for it may have been, it was an encouraging sign.

As a trainer, I was initially very strict about maintaining discipline in my classes. After the first two training sessions, I quickly realized that if the women felt constrained, they would not express themselves freely and the whole exercise would be counterproductive. So I changed my approach in the next sessions and sure enough, these classes were not only more enjoyable for all participants, but were also more fruitful.

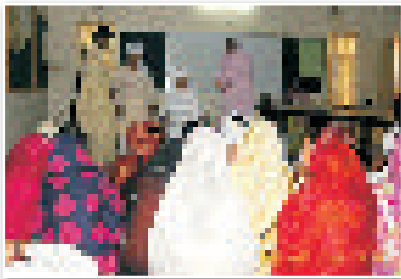
When this endeavour began, women's performing was considered a stigma, but with perseverance, now even these women's own families have joined hands with them in this effort. Not only are the women councilors staging shows in their own neighborhoods and regions, but are also participating in country level events. Some are even training other women. There is a breaking of a new dawn as women councilors use the medium of theatre for the first time to raise awareness about important issues concerning all aspects of women's lives.



A Pattan Lok Natak Training session



A crowd watches a street theatre performance by WCN on International Women's Day 2006



Depiction of the custom of Vanni/Sawara during WCN theatre training



Women councilors deeply engrossed in their roles while acting out the issue of forced marriage during one of their trainings.



Women councilors marking the end of a training session with singing and dancing

P R E S S C O V E R A G E



For a complete listing of press coverage on this topic, please refer to Annex C in Part 3 of the book.

BEYOND QUOTA

“I think the key is for women not to set any limits” Martina Navratilova

Casting the First Stone The Sad Tale of Zainab Khatoon

Shah Mahmud Qureshi, the current Foreign Minister of Pakistan, became the first nazim of the Multan District under the new local government system. He resigned from the post to contest the forthcoming general election in 2002. Since his seat had now become vacant, the by-election was announced.

In a meeting of the Women Councilors' Network Multan, it was decided that one of its active members, Zainab Khatoon, would be nominated as their candidate. The General Body of WCN also later endorsed her nomination unanimously. Zainab belonged to a poor family; her husband was a food hawker. The network announced her candidature through a press conference in which Ms. Khatoon declared her assets and demanded other candidates to do the same. The media, including the BBC Urdu Service which is very popular in the country, gave wide coverage to her candidature.

This unnerved the main contender of the vacant post: Pir Riaz Hussain Qureshi, a feudal lord and spiritual leader of the Pakistan People's Party, supported by the Musharraf regime. He had wanted to be elected unopposed, but since other candidates had also jumped into the race, this was not possible. For a feudal lord, running against a female candidate was akin to losing the election.

At first he attempted to isolate Ms. Khatoon by using his official influence, but in vain. He then convened a meeting of women councilors to which only thirty women turned up. In contrast, more than one hundred women councilors of WCN had supported Ms. Khatoon's nomination. He then resorted to intimidating the

husbands of some WCN office bearers using the police, local administration and secret agencies. They were threatened with dire consequences should their wives fail to withdraw their support to Khatoon. Although that had a partial effect, Khatoon remained determined to continue her campaign. The unethical alliance of Qureshi and the administration was beginning to be exposed in the media and could become a cause of embarrassment to him.

Finally, Qureshi approached Pattan's National Coordinator, Sarwar Bari, to ask him to withdraw support from Khatoon and without hesitation, his request was dismissed by Bari as “nonsense.” The very next day, Zainab Khatoon and her family had mysteriously disappeared; their house was locked and neighbours had no idea of their whereabouts. The police refused to register the disappearance and Pattan had no choice but to take her case to the high court.

Through further string-pulling, Qureshi managed to bribe certain NGOs and effect their reports. As a result, some newspapers ceased coverage of WCN-Pattan press briefings. Realizing the potential damage that Qureshi's callous tactics could cause in Multan, Pattan adopted a two-pronged strategy.

First, Justice (ret.) Majida Rizvi, Chairperson of the National Commission on the Status of Women, and Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar, Minister for Women and Development were duly informed. Bari rushed to Islamabad, where civil society organizations held a joint press conference followed by a demonstration in front of the Election Commission of Pakistan, both well covered by leading newspapers. The very next day, which was the day before polling, Ms. Khatoon was finally produced to a high court judge.



Zainab Khatoon addressing a WCN convention

Not only were important lessons learnt from the case of Zainab Khatoon, it also strengthened the resolve of Pattan and its partners. As one office bearer of WCN, Om-e-Kulsom, said “Without sacrifice, rights can never be achieved.”

Dr. Farzana Bari, in a hard-hitting article³⁵ exposing the patriarchic harassment of a feudal *pir*, said “Zainab Khatoon is a test case for the state and the society, our failure to uphold her right to political participation and representation and to her personal security and dignity will be the failure of humanity and social justice.”

The recent case of Mai Jori (March 2010) has some parallels with Zainab Khatoon’s story. When she filed her nomination papers for the by-election of PB 25 constituency of Jaffarabad, Baluchistan, Mai Jori encountered the same attitude from the local tribal *sardars* as Khatoon. She too was harassed but refused to budge to the pressure to withdraw from the contest. She was lucky to have had the full support of a civil society organization as well as good media coverage, shielding her from an abduction. Here was another stone cast against the patriarchic stranglehold.



پروپرسیشن - یونین کونسل 2001-05

"2001 میں بھی اقلیتی نشست پر یونین کونسل منتخب ہوا تھا جب زینب خاتون کو ضلعی ناظم کے استعفیائی دنگل سے نائب کر دیا گیا تو تحریک ممبر استعفیائی کاغذ میری چوٹس کو محدود کر دیا گیا اور اس کے خلاف میں نے ہائی کورٹ ملتان بیج میں زینب خاتون کی بازیابی کی درخواست دے دی۔ جس پر پھر ریاض حسین قریشی کی طرف سے مجھے پھیلے لالچ دیا گیا اور جب میں نے انکار کیا تو مجھے ہراساں کرنا شروع کر دیا گیا۔ ایسے گتے تھا کہ قانون کے محافظ نے بس ہو چکے تھے۔ میڈیا خاموش ہوتا جا رہا تھا جس پر مجھے منظر سے نائب ہونا پڑا۔"

Figure 2.4
Number of participants in WCN conventions

Women Councilors	514
Family members	
Male	120
Female	224
Potential female candidates	48
Others	520
Total number of people	1426

Figure 2.5
Number of male and female KIG-sponsored candidates in each district

Unions	146
Female General	258
Female Peasant/Worker	240
General	224
Male	19
Female	9
Nazim	7
Male	13
Female	
Naib Nazim	14
Male	4
Female	
Minority Seats	3
Male Peasant/Worker	7
Total	547

“I am proud of motivating the women of Dir to challenge the unanimous decision of political parties of stopping them from contesting the elections in 2005.”

Tariq Rahim

Formation of the Khawateen Ittehad Group (KIG)

After four years of Pattan's intense engagement with WCN on capacity building, constituency work and a variety of campaigns, women councilors had gained confidence and expertise and were ready to contest general (non-quota) seats. They now had their own platform for the upcoming local elections and the support of civil society organizations such as Pattan.

In 2004, to prepare network members for candidature, Pattan organized a series of WCN conventions in all project areas, attended by 1,426 women councilors and candidates in total. A joint convention of all WCN chapters was also held at Pattan's Multan office.

In December of 2004, the government announced the reduction of three seats from six in union councils, triggering a country-wide uproar. Prepared to resist this reversal, WCN in collaboration with Pattan, held a two-day demonstration in January of 2005.

Although, one snatched seat was retrieved from the government as a result of the protests, Pattan and WCN still needed to find other alternatives to compensate the remaining lost seats.

KIG Formation

In subsequent months of 2005, WCN and Pattan organized a series of joint conventions in Islamabad, Multan and other project districts, which was attended by almost 3,000 women.

Studies reflect that the encouragement and support of male family members was crucial for women to contest and win the elections in many cases.³⁶ Pattan therefore encouraged men of the family to also participate in the conventions. Please see Figure 2.4.

It was during a Multan convention in May that the idea to expand WCN to allow non-councilor women to also benefit from its platform under the name of Khawateen Ittehad Group (Women's Unity Group) was given. The next

step would be conducting general body meetings in all districts, to mobilize candidates and voters for KIG.

Unanimous resolutions adopted in the WCN conventions included:

- Acknowledgment to Pattan for its continued support to WCN and women's causes.
- Formation of the Khawateen Ittehad Group.
- Contesting elections on women's issues, regardless of political affiliations.
- Launching advocacy campaigns against gender discrimination and to maximize representation of women in forthcoming local elections.
- Formation of district raabta (coordination) committees for mobilization of women candidates and voters.
- Enhancement of women candidates' election campaign skills.

Fielding of Candidates

After WCN's national convention, KIG panels in 15 districts were formed. KIG was Pakistan's first ever electoral grouping organized by women to contest any election. It fielded 574 candidates for election in 146 unions of 15 districts and against various categories of seats, including general seats traditionally held by male candidates. Even in Swat and Dir, where political parties had agreed to prevent women from voting, 48 women courageously filed their nomination papers, breaking time-old suppressive traditions.

As a motivational technique, men supporting gender equality were welcomed to KIG, leading to some panels with male candidates, contesting especially the *nazim* and *naib nazim* seats. The approach was successful in helping women win since voting for KIG men was indirect support for KIG women candidates. In Faisalabad, one complete female panel was formed in this way. Figure 2.5 shows a seat-wise division of KIG male and female candidates.



Khawateen Ittehad Group press conference at the Holiday Inn, Islamabad



Journalists at the KIG press event



KIG founding members talking to the press

The News International on 8th June 2005 reported, "The local bodies' politics in remote and developed areas of South Punjab have taken a turn following the formation of Khawateen Ittehad Group, to challenge the male candidate on each Union Nazim seat in almost every district in the upcoming local government polls."

CASE STUDY

Tehsin Jaffery Up Against Code-Violating Opponents

Mrs. Tehsin Jaffery, a middle aged ex-civil servant, contested the naib nazim seat as part of a panel in UC no.34 of Muzaffargarh. Despite a long-standing career in public dealing as supervisor in the Social Welfare Department and later on as Muzaffargarh's city president of the PML-Q, she found it difficult to compete with her opponents who were employing official means, to underhandedly create obstacles in her way.

Her opponent, the Qureshi Group, was able to manipulate a change in the location of a polling station, where it had stood for several past elections, to a another place that was in the midst of a locality inhabited by their supporters, the Chandio Biradari. "This change will favor our opponent, Akram Chandio of the Qureshi Group," noted Tehsin. "We've appealed to the local Election Commission authorities to return the polling station to its old location, but the appeal has been rejected."

Like other women contestants, she also faced financial crises, as she could not afford the many propagandist tools and extravagance being used by her opponents. "We are trying to run our campaign in accordance with the Code of Conduct, but it seems a futile effort, as our opponents are blatantly violating it by wall-chalking, fluttering big banners and using all other means to sway the voter's choice," she said. "No action has been taken to stop these Code violations." She would complain that her opponents verbally abused female candidates in their meetings and rallies but no action was taken against anybody. These incidences raised her suspicions that her opponents were in secret collaboration with the police, who may have even helped them win the last local election.

CASE STUDY

Kundan Sial A Tough Fighter

Kundan Sial was an elderly woman in her late sixties living in Jalalpur Pirwala, a far flung, conservative, feudal tehsil of Multan. In 2005, she challenged 28 male opponents for a general seat in a union council. She admitted that the area was not conducive to women working in the public sphere, but she was a tough fighter, unnerving opponents from influential feudal families backed by mainstream political parties. "It is because of my age and the support I receive from my husband, sons and sons-in-law that I was able to hold the office of union councilor in the previous local council. It is because of their support that I am able to contest a general seat now," she revealed in an interview with Pattan.

Many of Kundan's opponents failed to pass the eligibility criteria to contest the election, but she had other challenges ahead as she geared up her election campaign. "I will not be able to fund large rallies or meetings nor do I have the financial ability to woo voters with dinners and tea parties. I will not be able to give travel allowances to voters to reach polling stations on election days as other candidates are doing," she said, listing all violations of the Code of Conduct that her opponents were committing.

She planned on filing a complaint against these violations that trample the level playing field for candidates. She had already incurred Rs. 30,000 expense on her campaign and feared that in case her opponents continued to use money to sway voters' choice, she would be unable to compete.

Facilitating KIG Candidates

Pattan launched a comprehensive support programme for KIG and non-KIG women candidates. To assess needs and constraints, brainstorming sessions were held and attended by 1,021 potential candidates. Two major issues came to light in these sessions: lack of funds and intimidation by local elite. These were then addressed through press conferences held in various districts.

Facilitation Camps

Static and mobile facilitation camps were established by Pattan for candidates, from which a total of 11,626 candidates benefitted. For details, see *Figure 2.6 & 2.7*.

Corner Meetings

Pattan also facilitated 334 male and female KIG candidates to hold corner meetings for voter outreach and sharing of their manifestoes. These were attended by 3,254 voters in all, as can be seen in *Figure 2.8*.

Polling Agent Trainings

A total of 1,108 KIG candidates' polling agents were also trained in 18 districts through specially arranged sessions, as shown in *Figure 2.9*. A training manual was specifically developed, printed

and distributed to educate polling agents about their duties and included topics such as polling agent appointment, transfer and termination, relationship between the polling agent and presiding officer, duration and timings of the polling process, responsibilities of a polling agent on polling day, awareness on election stamps and ways to check rigging.

*Figure 2.6
Pattan's Static Facilitation Camps*

Districts	Tehsils	Camps	People Informed	People Facilitated		Total
				Male	Female	
19	26	26	5416	2519	1550	9485

*Figure 2.7
Pattan's Mobile Facilitation Camps*

Districts / Tehsils	Unions	Villages	Camps	Voters & Candidates Facilitated		
				Male	Female	Total
9	23	26	5	1153	558	2141

*Figure 2.8
Corner Meetings of KIG Candidates*

Unions Councils	Corner Meetings	Voters		Candidates	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
75	137	1379	1875	116	218

*Figure 2.9
District-wise Training of Polling Agents*

Districts Unions	Number of Training Sessions	Number of Polling Agents		
		Male	Female	Total
113	108	413	695	1108

Election campaign posters
for KIG candidates



CASE STUDY

Gulnaz Naseem Leading Her All-Women Panel

Gulnaz Naseem was a former labor councilor in the Union Council of Mansoorabad, Faisalabad. She was the proud leader of a unique organization of brave and pioneering women hailing from diverse socio-economic backgrounds, in the cotton capital of Pakistan. Her 13-member electoral group was the only all-women panel in the country that had contested every one of the UC seats. The women by her side included a traditional birth assistant, (*dai*), a woman who ran her own PCO, a principal of a private school, a medical doctor, senior politicians, domestic workers, a seamstress amongst many others. All were adamant on giving a tough fight to their male opponents or to anyone questions women's right to representation. Gulnaz Naseem's call for the mobilization of an all-women panel wasn't without problems. Through a sewing center that she had started for increasing women's income during her previous tenure as a labor councilor, she approached her constituency. The women's initial enthusiasm and commitments were seriously dampened when their men-folk refused to support the idea of an all-women panel. It took almost two months of rigorous canvassing for her to finally gather thirteen women who believed strongly that such a panel was not only possible, but essential for any tangible change in the lives of people, particularly women. Gulnaz was confident that she would get at least 50 percent of the men's vote in her union council and a 100 percent votes from the women, of which at least one third were working women. The remaining men were the ones who still had issues with accepting women's role in politics. "These men don't feel disgraced when their wives leave home to work, nor are they slighted when their wives share in running the household finances. But they feel insulted when their women ask to leave home to work as public representatives," observed Gulnaz, scorning societal contradictions.

According to Gulnaz, the Women Councilor's Network, had played a central role in raising the level of political participation of women in Faisalabad. Councilors, who had joined WCN four years ago, found their engagement with it beneficial in terms of their increasing confidence and understanding of the local government system. Five of these WCN members contested general seats, directly taking on male counterparts and had the confidence to win.

Election Results

Women from poor and lower middle class backgrounds, especially those contesting *nazim* and *naib nazim* seats, were being threatened by local power lords. The use of pressure tactics, such as influencing employers of male family members, forced some of these women to withdraw their candidatures. Some women candidates, who were also office bearers in political parties, were severely reprimanded by their parties after they announced their intentions to contest.

The intimidation, political odds, lack of financial resources and social pressure to conform, made it a toughly contested local election for the women. Despite this, KIG drew quite an impressive result with as many as 60% candidates being successfully elected. This demonstrated that an election can be won even without extravagant use of money and muscle power, using only prudence and dedication.

Their commitment and endurance of the contesting women indeed made it a historic day. Even in the reclusive district of Dir, 50% of female candidates won their contested seats. Figure 2.9 gives a district-wise breakdown of winning and losing candidates of the *Khawateen Ittehad* Group.

Figure 2.3

International Women's Day theatre performances

District	Number of KIG Candidates	Winners	Losers
Multan	31	15	16
Jalalpurpirwala	31	23	8
Khanewal	38	28	10
Muzaffargarh	42	22	20
DG Khan	14	7	7
Sargodha	46	31	15
Jhang	47	24	23
Faisalabad	88	44	44
Lahore	50	26	24
Chakwal	44	26	18
Attock	56	22	34
Swat	12	10	2
Dir	38	19	19
Mardan	29	10	19
Murree	10	6	4
Total	576	347	229

“Our task is to mainstream women in politics, not to segregate them.”

Bushra Adial
A WCN & KIG leader

CASE STUDY

Naheed Hafeez Forced to Withdraw

40-year old Naheed Hafeez, of lower middle class stature, filed her nomination papers for the nazim seat (UC 39, Multan) and was paired with a male *naib nazim*. Contesting opposite her was Naseem Babar, who was backed by big industrialist and politician, Faisal Mukhtar (Mukhtar later became city district *nazim*). Naseem Babar had consistently been pressurizing Ms. Naheed to withdraw her candidature and upon her refusal, resorted to using obnoxious language against her. Babar's harassment tactics continued to her naib nazim candidate, who resultantly lost his job in Pak-Arab Fertilizers, a company recently acquired by Faisal Mukhtar. The pressure on Ms. Naheed's naib nazim candidate was not eased until he had no choice but to drop out of the race, thereby disqualifying Ms. Naheed.



KIG convention in Multan



A joint WCN-KIG national conference in Islamabad on the local body system



KIG convention at the Khanewal District Council Hall in 2005



Women councilor participants at the Islamabad conference

PRESS COVERAGE



P R E S S C O V E R A G E



RESISTANCE AGAINST MAKING LOCAL GOVERNMENT LESS LOCAL

"It's hard to fight an enemy who has outposts in your head" Sally Kempton

Local Government Under Threat

In December 2004, four years after coming into power, General Pervez Musharraf, architect of the local government system, weakened the most admired aspects of his Devolution of Power Plan. Through an amendment in the local government ordinance, he eliminated half the seats of the union council, maintaining a 33% women's quota but radically reducing their strength from 21 to 11 seats.

The reduction seriously damaged not only the political representation of women, but also that of marginalized classes such as peasants and labourers. It weakened the formation of any potential alliances between these groups, while enabling the ruling elite to influence the future composition and direction of local councils by keeping the numbers small enough to manipulate a victory. It also undermined the intention of local governments to increase the ratio of population to local council seats.

Union councils underwent a 37% reduction from 126,462 to 79,703 seats; a huge cut of 46,759. The number of women's seats alone dropped from 36,066 to 24,528. Although local government systems were dissolved, no alternative replacement was given to the people, leaving them without elected representatives at the local level.

Pakistan's International Standing on Local Councils

The NWFP presently retains only two seats for women while other provinces have no more than three. Yet, various provincial governments have bills proposing further reduction in union council seats. If this is to become law, the population to seat ratio will be further skewed and Pakistan's rank in the Global Gender Gap Index will

fall lower.³⁷ Before dissolution of the local governments, Pakistan's position was 55th of 134 countries.

Figure 2.10 compares Pakistan and India's ratio of local council seats to population. India has an average of 1 council for 4,800 people while in Pakistan it was 25,644 people to 1 council, prior to its dissolution in 2010.³⁸ For 375 people there is one councilor in India, whereas in Pakistan, the number was 1,971. For a 1000 population, there is one woman councilor in India, whereas in Pakistan it was 1 to 5,948.

Figure 2.10
Local council seats: population in India and Pakistan

Body	India	Pakistan	Seat: Population Ratio	
			India	Pakistan
All local councils	250,000	6,629	1:4,880	1:25,644
All local councilors	3,200,000	86,251	1:375	1:1,971
Women councilors	1,200,000	28,582	1:1,000	1:5,948
Male councilors	20,000,000	57,698	1:600	1:2,946

Source: Compiled from National Reconstruction Bureau data sets and Wikipedia March 2010

The Reaction

The reduction in seats by the government triggered a hue and cry all over Pakistan. It angered the union councilors. The *nazims* were equally annoyed to be replaced with caretaker administrators. Since the councilors and *nazims* did not have their own effective platform there was no organized protest against the amendments.

Civilian Government VS. Local Government

Historically, Pakistan's military dictators have always introduced a local government system, while its civilian governments prevented the survival of elected local councils. Scholars have investigated the first half of this phenomenon but very little research has been undertaken on the second half.

On 1st January 2010, the centre finally handed over local government back to the provinces. The provinces celebrated the return of this lost right by ironically putting the local system into an immediate stranglehold. Within nine days, of its return, the local government was slaughtered by the Balochistan assembly, like a runaway girl. The assembly took only ten minutes on 9th January 2010, to make the decision, indeed deserving some sort of medal of consensual efficiency. Other provincial assemblies in the country soon followed suit.

This is nothing short of the murder of local democracy. Assemblies may try and legitimize the killing, but murder by any other name is still murder. Once again, politicians proved that they resented the elected local government system because it empowered ordinary folk and weakened their own higher control. Thus, democracy is strangled at its very first breath.

The dissolution of local bodies by the provincial government has a parallel with *karokari*, a tribal custom of killing a woman by male family members, in the name of honour. The slightest defiance by a woman is sufficient for the men of her family to perceive it as an act of regarding the family's honor. The act of murdering the woman supposedly restores honour to the family and additionally preserves the age-old patriarchic community structure. These 'honour killings' are often condoned and even appreciated by the tribal male community. It makes one wonder how the value of honour could be superior to that of a human life. The peeling back of the layers of this crime reveals a very ugly reality of Pakistani society.

In my view, *karokari* is a crucial issue of control, rooted in a demand for obedience and loyalty. This obedience to a single ruling force has lost its value because of persistence and strong movements of resistance against tyranny over time. Therefore new reasoning had to be developed to achieve the same old objective and make it palatable once again. In this case, the justification of honour masks the age-old objective of control. The smallest iota of defiance by a woman poses a severe threat to control, as it can unleash a rebellious energy that spreads like wild-fire.

For a moment,

Let us assume that a community overlooks a small disobedience by a woman. What could that lead to?

Of course, it will encourage more women to follow the same course. What would that result in? Men would no longer be in control of women. This would not only effect the household economy but also the rural economy, as women are the backbone of both.

The local landlord is a lynchpin of this system. We know for a fact that local chiefs play a crucial role in most cases of crimes committed under the guise of tribal customs, such as *karokari*, *vanni*, etc. They serve a double purpose: to keep the men folk happy and to maintain the elite's control in local affairs, ultimately perpetuating an ancient status quo. Curbing the slightest defiance is therefore imperative to this system.

Examined from this angle it is obvious that the local elite of an area perceives elected local councils as a serious threat and therefore sabotages any process, which may lead to their empowerment. Is it not true that whenever Pakistan had an elected civilian government, it never simultaneously had elected local councils? A seasoned politician well-understands the power of his/her voters and uses all means, fair and unfair, to keep them 'happy'.

The electoral processes not only create space for new people to emerge as leaders but also introduce new dynamics into the political playing field at local and national levels. Constituents normally approach locally elected representatives for the resolving of their numerous issues. Simply put, it is relationship of demand and supply. The addition of many more elected councilors intensifies the political competition by increasing the supply. Constituents who would normally only look towards their MP, now have many more doors.



A very influential politician had pitched his maidservants and tenants in the local elections to support his own interests. What struck me was that he was trying to have them elected, though unsuccessfully, without any contest. When I asked him why he would do such a thing, he responded, "If they win through a contest, they may begin to feel that they are my equal but should they lose, I lose too. I am in a big fix."

Constituents who would normally only look toward their MP, now have many more doors opens to them for addressing their problems. Furthermore, the new councilors were once themselves constituents, dependent on an MP for services' provision. Now they are able to provide similar services to their own community and do tit with greater empathy.

This is how the fragmenting of power at the local level takes place and ist seen as a threat by traditional power brokes and cronies of local chiefs. Since political leadership often relies heavily on cronyism and sycophants, it stands to reason that a process which encourages new, more competent entrants into the political market, is strongly unwelcome by the leadership.

This mindset was clearly seen in an encounter that I had in December of 2000 in Rajanpur District, south-west Punjab. A very influential politician had pitched his maidservants and tenants in the local elections to support his own interests. What struck me was that he was trying to have them elected, though unsuccessful, without any contest. When I asked him why he would do such a thing, he responded, "If they win through a contest, they may begin to feel that they are my equal but should they lose, I lose too. I am in a big fix". I had to admire him for his bluntness towards his predicament despite his anti-democratic attitude. One can well imagine the fate of such local chiefs if dozens of poor and marginalized men and women became councilors through elections.

For political chiefs, local elections where a sign of collective defiance; and act of being dishonoured. They saw it as a threat undermining their centuries-old control and treated it like a 'political karokari'. In 2005, they ruling elite made a failed attempt to murder local democracy, but it was on January 9th, 2010, that they finally succeeded.

I was reminded of horrifying incidents of political suppression of local government contestants (related elsewhere in this book) and they grotesque, live burial of three innocent women on July 13th 2008 in Jaffarabad District by Baloch sardars. These shameless acts were

blatantly defended by these very rulers but to single them out for blame does not solve the problem.

In the past almost all successive civilian governments have destroyed local councils and I fear that they will attempt to repeat this history. Will the common people of Pakistan allow them this?

Most recent surveys and opinion polls clearly show overwhelming public support for the elected local government system. More than 70% respondents of a nationwide survey by the Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN) rejected a revival of the 1979 local bodies system and favoured the 2001 system.

Pockets of resistance exist and this time it will probably not be as easy to destroy the local government as it was in the past. On the issue of continuity of the existing local government system, there also appears to be a serious divide amongst chief ministers, their cronies and the public at large.

The explanaiton to why civilian rulers in Pakistan always deny the people their own local elected bodies is intrinsically linked to the customary, centuries-old suppression of the marginalized by feudal power. The dissolution of local bodies is no less evil than the traditional act of killing an innocent woman for a perceived wrongdoing.



Pattan and the women councilors holding a protest in Islamabad

The Response of WCN to Cuts in Local Government

The Women Councilors' Network, is perhaps the only nationwide councilors' association. To work out an apt response to the drastic arbitrary amendments in the Local Government Ordinance 2001, WCN met in Multan with Pattan and agreed to launch the 'Save Women Seats' protest campaign. It would comprise of brief seminars in all project districts to inform the public about the impact of this reduction in order to mobilize them for solidarity. Detailed plans were chalked out to hold token hunger strikes, arrange rallies, press briefings, briefings to donors and meetings with ministers.

Seminars on Implications of LGO Amendments

Pattan and WCN first held numerous seminars in all project districts to inform and mobilize both stakeholders and the general public. These events explained the political motivation behind these amendments and how they would potentially strengthen the elite capture of local politics. Their aim was to initiate a debate and develop a strategy with the stakeholders against these amendments.

Over all, 570 participants, including members of local councils, party workers, people from civil society organizations and representatives of social movements, participated in the seminars and passed resolutions against the amendments.

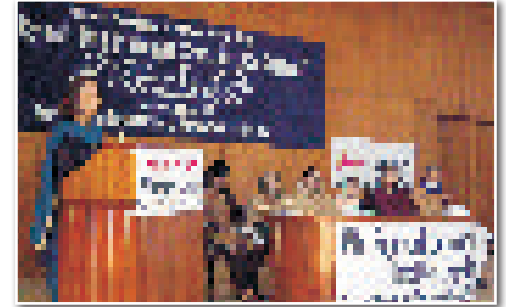
Hunger Strikes on National Day of Women 2005

On the 12th of February 1985, the Women Action Forum organized a rally in Lahore against the imposition of Hudood Ordinances by Zia's regime. Although the demonstration was brutally crushed on that day 25 years ago, the 12th of February is marked every year since then, as the National Day of Women in Pakistan.

As a tribute to the sacrifices made by the Women Action Forum on that fateful day and to protest the LGO amendments, WCN and Pattan held token hunger strikes for four hours simultaneously in all project district and tehsils across Pakistan.



Ms. Shafqat Taqi in the seminar addressing women councilors



Seminar for raising awareness about local government amendments



Women councilors participants of the LGO seminars



Women councilors and Pattan staff holding a hunger strike in Muzaffargarh in 2004

Demonstration in Islamabad

More protest rallies and seminars were held on January 14th and 15th, 2005 in front of the Parliament House, Islamabad and attended by more than 600 women councilors from 11 districts. Many civil society organizations representatives were also enthusiastic participants in the events.

On the first day's rally, staged in front of the Ministry of Women and Development, Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar, the then minister, joined the protest and spoke to the participants assuring them that she would take up the issue with President Musharraf and the Prime Minister. The demonstration continued to the Parliament where leaders of WCN made speeches and had a sit-in lasting several hours.

On the second day, a large conference, attended by hundreds of women councilors and various stakeholders, was held. Famous poetess Kishwar Naheed recited her poems and Pattan *Lok Natak* performed a play on women and politics. Reinvigorated by the proceedings, participants resolved to continue their campaign till their demands were met. The theme of the upcoming International Women's Day on the 7th of March was also decided by WCN and Pattan to be, "No to Cuts in Women Seats".



Ms. Nilofar Bakhtiar talking to women councilors

International Women's Day 2005

Celebrations of the International Women's Day 2005 began in Multan on the on 6th of March with a drama festival

and cultural evening. It was however, the IWD rally which was the most memorable event that year. According to the daily Dawn,³⁹ "A record number of women came out on the roads...". Pattan documented more than 6000 women, men and children participants.

Although the theme, "No to Cut in Women Seats", was overshadowed by the more burning issue of Mukhtaran Mai, who also led the IWD rally; the number of women councilor turnout was visible proof of the sheer force of women in local councils.

The rally size encouraged other stakeholders to also join the protest, while media headlines and editorials further helped raise the issue.

The International Women's Day 2005 demonstration was successful on both counts; one seat was returned to women by the government and the Supreme Court of Pakistan took suo moto notice of the Mukhtaran Mai case.



Mukhtaran Mai leading the IWD rally 2005 in Multan flanked by Tahira Abdullah (left) and Dr. Farzana Bari (right)



Women councilors and the Pattan team participate in a torch-lit demonstration in Islamabad protesting the cut in women's seats

Save Women Seats - Save Local Government Campaign, 2008 to 2010

Besides the already mentioned critical amendments to the LGO by the Musharraf regime in 2004, there had been no other threat to the local government system. This could not be expected from the new civilian government of 2008, because of their previous history. Despite being ostracized under the Musharraf regime, the new rulers apparently had not learnt their lesson, their first step after coming into power was to suffocate the local councils. In less than two years, in the beginning of 2010, they dissolved the local councils altogether.

The survival of the local government was under serious threat; both WCN and Pattan feared that if nothing was done, local councils would soon be made redundant. These fears, unfortunately, became a reality when the provincial government settled in and the councils crippled as civil bureaucracy took the reins of the local government.

Local councils were trying to survive dysfunctional practices such as discouraging of budgeting and non-

transparent budget approval procedures. The protection of whatever remained of the local government system was vital.

The office bearers of WCN were nervous about their own positions. Some felt that dissolution of the local government would be like imprisonment. They resolved to resist this u-turn made by the government and prepared themselves for a long battle. A comprehensive and peaceful campaign was devised with Pattan's help. Its main thrust was to enlighten the public on the importance of local government for democratization, peace and good governance in the country.

Pattan's observation, in hindsight, is that not enough 'noise' was made for shaking the stakeholders into action. *Nazims*, civil society organizations, women groups, labour unions and especially PMLQ, the political party that had benefitted the most from the DoPP, had failed to rise promptly in response to this situation.

Campaign activity details are listed in *Figure 2.11*.

“The Women Councilors' Network platform and family support gave me the courage to stand up for my rights and to fight for women's cause.”

Baitulharam
President, WCN Mardan

Figure 2.11
Various campaign activities during 2008 to 2010

	Nature of Activity	Number of Participants	Number of Events
1	International Women's Day Events highlighting "Women's Quota and "Survival of Local Government"	12,000	4
2	Seminars and conventions	1,500	17
3	Demonstrations, rallies and walks	5,284	85
4	Protests in front of the Punjab Assembly House in collaboration with civil society organizations and ALCAP	1,200	2
5	Press Conferences	660	22
6	Sehri and Iftari Sit-ins (during Ramzan, the month of fasting)	1,378	35
7	Launching of signature campaign	-	5
8	Campaign for the local government system in Islamabad Capital Territory	-	3
	Total	22,562	173

International Women's Day 2010

The theme of 2010's International Women's Day Celebration was, "Women and Local Democracy." On the 7th of March, over 3,000 women councilors from across the country gathered in Lahore in front of the Punjab Assembly and marched on the Mall Road.

The rally included women MPs, working women associations, partners of various civil society organizations and their representatives. All voiced the same cry, "We Want Our Seats Back!" According to some newspapers it was one of the largest International Women's Day demonstrations. The gathering reinforced WCN's resolve to save women's seats in the local government system and with Pattan, it remains dedicated to this objective.

Sehri-Iftari Dharnas (Sit-ins)

During *Ramzan*, work slows down in Pakistan. Working hours are reduced, political campaigns postponed and NGO field work is also cut down. WCN and Pattan decided to use this time to its advantage and quite contrary to the slow pace of the month, launched the Sehri-Iftari sit-ins in all project districts under the slogan, "*Khawateen Numaindgi Bachaio Tehreek*" (The Save Women's Representation Movement).

As political parties had not fulfilled promises they made

during the election campaigns, sit-ins were staged in front of the residences of various political party MPs at *Sehri* and *Iftari* (the time of day for starting and ending a fast).

These sit-ins were held in front of the Prime Minister's residence in Multan, as well as in front of other prominent politicians homes, including Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan, leader of the opposition, Makhdum Amin Faheem, cabinet minister and Ayaz Amir. Some of the MPs spoke to the protestors and promised to take up the issue with their party leaders.



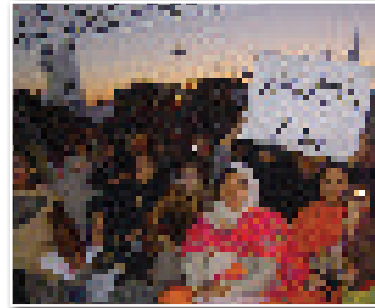
The International Women's Day 2010 rally held in Lahore



Participants of the IWD 2010 rally called for the return of women's seats in local government



Protest march in Faisalabad



A WCN sit-in in Islamabad



WCN office bearers holding country-wide Sehri-Iftari Sit-ins

فرحت صدیق: صدر خواتین کونسلرزمیٹ ورک سرحد

"ڈیرہ اسماعیل خان جیسے پسماندہ ضلع میں خواتین کو اپنے حقوق کے حصول کے لئے متحرک رکھنا جان بھیلی پرکھنے کے مترادف تھا مگر کوئی اور راستہ بھی تو نہ تھا۔"

WCN Campaign Contours

A multi-pronged campaign was necessary in order to highlight importance of women representation, their participation in decision-making and performance inside and outside of local councils and its visibility through publicity. The following activities were undertaken for the protection of local government and women seats during the two tenures of local councils. Therefore, it is imperative to fully understand the link between the two. Any local government, which denies substantive quota to women, would not be acceptable to WCN. Making WCN visible and highlighting their contribution and role was thus necessary.

Op-ed Articles

- Pattan staff, senior management and supporters contributed op-ed articles in support of women quota and local government system.
- October 8, 2002, *The News*, Gender and Class, written by Dr. Farzana Bari & Sarwar Bari.
- February 28, 2003, *The News*, Threat to devolution plan, written by Sarwar Bari.
- March 18, 2003, *Daily AI — Akhbar Islamabad*, Challenges to LG system, written by Sarwar Bari
- March 22, 2003, *Daily SAHAFAT Islamabad*, *Daily PAKISTAN Islamabad*, Challenges to LG system, written by Sarwar Bari
- March 24, 2003, *Daily Asas Rawalpindi*, Challenges to LG system, written by Sarwar Bari
- May 30, 2003, *The News*, Gender mainstreaming, written by Dr. Farzana Bari
- July 12, 2003, *The News*, Dare to Stand, written by Dr. Farzana Bari
- July 16, 2004, *The News*, Devolution and Civil Society, written by Sarwar Bari
- August 14, 2001, *The News*, Flawed analysis of LG polls, written by Dr. Farzana Bari & Sarwar Bari
- August 22, 2004, *The News*, Women's representation, written by Dr. Farzana Bari
- January 14, 2005, *The News*, Reversing devolution, written by Dr. Farzana Bari
- March 26, 2005, *The News*, Should the Nazim be replaced, written by Sarwar Bari.

TV and Radio Talk Shows

- Pattan also participated in several radio and TV talk shows.

International conferences

- Pattan gave presentations on WCN in various regional and international conferences.
- February 2006, New Delhi, "Local Government System in Pakistan."
- September 2007, New Delhi "What Are Local Governments Doing to Create Transparency and Accountability to Citizens: Pattan Supports Women in Pakistan's Local Councils".
- June 2009, India, "Local Governance what system is better for Pakistan?"
- September, 2009, Seoul, Korea: "Strengthening Local Governance through Women Quota."
- December 2009, Islamabad, "Socialization of Governance: Pakistan's Experience in Local Government System."
- Research/surveys: Opinion polls were conducted in order to ascertain public opinion on women quota, number of seats, election method to elect women and performance of women councilors, etc.
- Presentation to European Mission and other donors in Islamabad on implications of cut in women seat.
- Signature campaign has been launched in Islamabad Capital Territory.
- Protest/ Rally/seminars/Press conferences

Letters Sent to Officials in Pakistan

To protect women's seats in local government, Pattan & WCN sent letters to the following people:

Mr. Justice Iftikhar
Muhammad Chaudhry
*Chief Justice of the
Supreme Court of Pakistan*

Political leaders:

Asif Ali Zardari
*President of Pakistan and
Co-Chairperson Pakistan Peoples Party*

Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif
*Former Prime Minister and
Leader of Pakistan Muslim League (N)*

Chaudhry Shujat Hussain
*Former Prime Minister and
President Pakistan Muslim League (Q)*

Munawar Hassan
Ameer Jamaat-e-Islami

Altaf Hussain
Leader Mutahida Quomi Movement

Asfand Yar Wali Khan
President Awami National Party

Imran Khan
Chairman Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf

Maulana Fazlur Rehman
Leader Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam

Electronic & print media:

Asthma Shirazi, ARY

Meher Bokhari, SAMA

Javed Choudary, EXPRESS

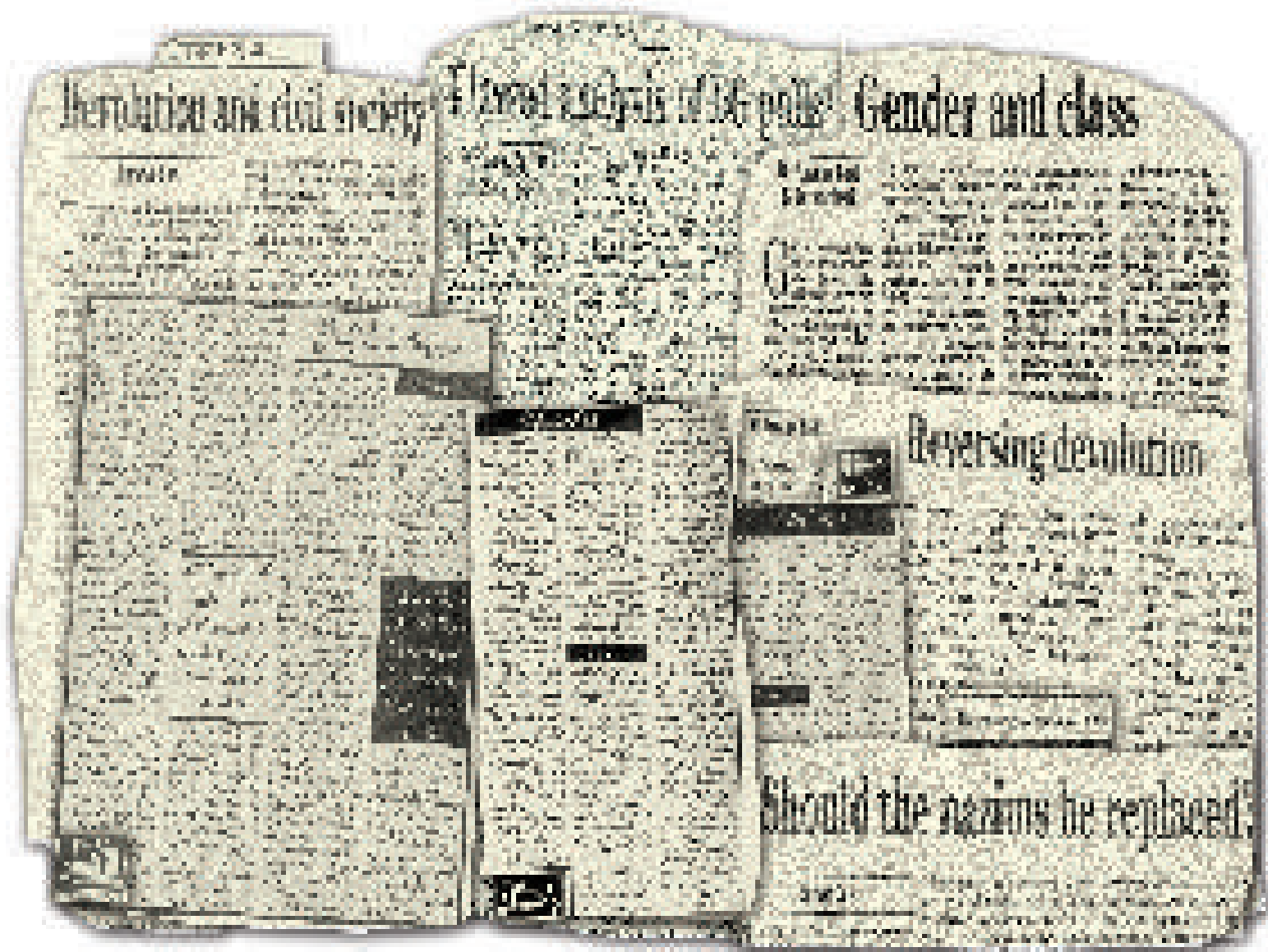
Talat Hussain, AAJ

Mubashir Luqman, EXPRESS

Hamid Mir, GEO

To view letter content, please see Annex E.

P R E S S C O V E R A G E





P R E S S C O V E R A G E

RESISTANCE AGAINST HUDOOD LAWS

“It is not gender which is destroying our culture...it is our interpretation of culture which has destroyed gender equality” Cambodian civil society group

The Hudood Ordinances 1979

On February 9, 1979, military dictator Zia-ul-Haq (1977-88) promulgated the Hudood Ordinances. The law was hailed as a landmark step towards Islamization by pro-military political forces. Women groups and progressive political parties vehemently opposed the law as draconian because of harsh punishments, such as stoning to death for adultery, whipping and amputation of hands.

The law consisted of five ordinances and gave men huge power over women. Every year 1,500 cases were registered against women, most of whom were sent to prison.⁴⁰ Data shows that less than 10% of them were punished and the rest were acquitted. Most of these women languished in prisons for years.

Zia’s anti-women onslaught was finally resisted by the Women Action Forum (WAF), which came into being in September of 1981 and since then has continued its struggle against the Hudood Ordinances. Zia was killed in an air crash and his rule was followed by four civilian governments between 1988 and 1999, but none of these ever tried to amend or repeal the Hudood law due to their close alliance with religious parties.

During Musharraf’s rule, a PPP Member of Parliament, Ms. Sherry Rehman, moved a bill entitled Women Protection Bill (WPB), first in 2003 and then in 2004. It was rejected by the speaker of the National assembly on technical grounds.

PPP and other political parties also failed to mobilize enough public support in favour of the WPB. However, this move encouraged civil society organizations to come out on this issue.

Push for Change:

Role of Women Councilors’ Network and Pattan

The women’s quota in local government paved the way for ordinary women to voice their problems through female councilors. The Women Councilors’ Networks around the country started reporting these cases to Pattan, many of which were related to rape and domestic violence. Pattan would take up these cases with the relevant authorities and the media when needed. It would also register cases with the police and judiciary.

International Women’s Day (IWD) 2004

It is estimated that over 10,000 women were killed in the name of honour between 1999 and 2004. To highlight this issue, the theme of International Women’s Day 2004 was, “Stop Honour Killing.” Mukhtaran Mai led the IWD rally in which more than 5,000 women participated.

One year later, on the 3rd of March 2005, the Multan bench of the Lahore High Court reversed the trial court’s judgment in Mukhtaran Mai’s gang rape case and ordered the release of five of the accused men. The acquittal caused an enormous public outcry. Pattan stepped into the leading role with WCN and held a huge rally four days later, protesting the high court verdict.

Led by Mukhtaran Mai once again and Dr. Farzana Bari, the rally was attended by more than 4,000 women and prompted the police to register a contempt of court case against the Pattan leadership and Mukhtaran Mai. The case had now caught the attention of the international media and pictures of the protest rally were seen on the front pages of several leading newspapers.

This forced the Shariat Court as well as the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, Justice Muhammad Iftikhar Chaudhary, to take suo moto notice of the case.

The rally had triggered debates on the Hudood Ordinances once again and created an environment favourable to the possible repeal of this black law. It was imperative to show the public's indignation to help achieve this and the Women Councilors' Network played a crucial role by holding demonstrations all over the country.



"Stop Honour Killing" was the plea voiced by over 5000 women on International Women's Day 2004 in Multan



Protestors during IWD 2004 in Multan



The sheer number of participants in the IWD 2004 rally held in Multan was staggering

Repeal Hudood Ordinances Now”

This was the theme of the International Women’s Day, 2006. The Women Protection Bill was under consideration at the National Assembly and Musharraf’s regime, backed by its international supporters, was eager to portray a liberal stance.

Pattan’s opinion was that the required combination of crucial factors needed to revoke this law, were in place. The previous year’s international coverage of Mukhtaran Mai’s case and the reaction of women’s groups and human rights activists had created great energy and the renewed hope for

change in the Hudood Ordinances.

Pattan was in the perfect position to push the agenda further, as it could mobilize thousands of women in all its project districts; so in months following International Women’s Day, the campaign gained significant momentum.

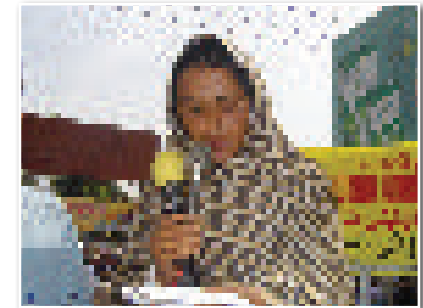
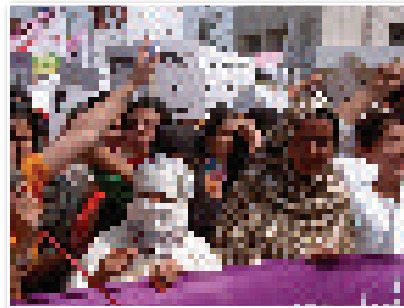
Religious parties strongly disagreed with the seminars that Pattan and WCN was organizing against the Hudood Ordinances. At one occasion, in the Khanewal district, mullahs threatened to attack the seminar venue, but participating women remained undeterred and proceedings continued as planned, exposing the *mullahs’* bluffs.



The march at International Women’s Day 2006 in Multan calling for the repeal of the Hudood Ordinances and justice for Mukhtaran Mai, was led by Mukhtaran Mai herself and WCN heads



A huge number of fervent WCN participants at the IWD rally 2006 held in Multan



Ms. Nazir Qureshi (top) former President Sindhi Tehreek, on the forefront of the rally and Mukhtaran Mai (right) delivering a speech against Hudood Laws during the 2006 IWD rally

صوفیہ خاتمی: انفارمیشن سیکرٹری خواتین کونسل زنیٹ ورک سندھ

”غریب ہونے کے باوجود میں بھاری اکثریت سے ایکشن جیتی۔ میرے خاندان والوں نے میرا ساتھ دیا۔ مختلف سول سوسائٹی تنظیموں کے ساتھ رابطہ رہا۔ خواتین کونسل زنیٹ ورک میں شامل ہونے کے بعد مجھے ناخوشگوار اور دلہلا۔ نیٹ ورک کے پروگراموں میں شرکت کیلئے ملک کے مختلف حصوں میں تہا آنے جانے میں کوئی خوف محسوس نہیں ہوا۔“

Islamabad Protests

In September 2006, all leading NGOs gathered in Islamabad for a march to the Parliament, protesting the delays in passing of the bill, as well as to attend a series of advocacy events. WCN and Pattan played a vital role throughout

this period. In November of the same year, the Hudood Ordinances were finally amended. This was perhaps the first ever retreat of the *mullahs* in the history of Pakistan. As a result, hundreds of women were released from prisons.



WCN and Pattan staff making a chain as part of the protest in Islamabad



Dr. Farzana Bari being arrested by the police during the Hudood protest



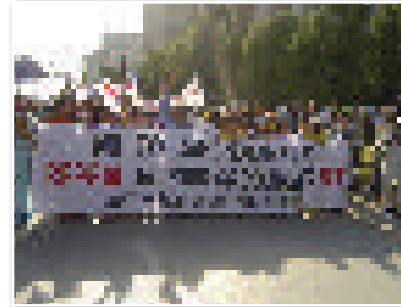
The rally held in September 2006, Islamabad against Hudood Ordinances grabbed world-wide media attention



Sarwar Bari being arrested by the police during the Hudood protest



Picketing in front of the Parliament House Islamabad by WCN office-bearers and Pattan staff



The Joint Action Committees of NGOs unite in Islamabad in 2006 for the final push to repeal the Hudood Ordinances

P R E S S C O V E R A G E





P R E S S C O V E R A G E

P R E S S C O V E R A G E



For a complete listing of press coverage on this topic, please refer to Annex C in Part 3 of the book.



P R E S S C O V E R A G E

IMPROVING GOVERNANCE

“Everything we shut our eyes to, everything we run away from, everything we deny, denigrate or despise, serves to defeat us in the end” Rigoberta Menchú Tum

Resolving Governance Issues

The Local Government Ordinance 2001, had intended that elected councilors should have a supervisory role over devolved line departments. Unfortunately, an effective monitoring system could not be put in place mostly due to lack of funding and logistical support. To address this issue, Pattan and WCN formulated a way to improve the working of monitoring committees by using the Women Councilors’ Network chapters in all the project districts. The first step taken was to identify and shortlist monitoring committees in each district.

Figure 2.11 gives a breakdown of monitoring committees and its members with whom Pattan and WCN worked. In all, 1,697 members from 471 monitoring committees of health and education benefitted from this initiative.

Figure 2.11
Number of monitoring committees and members of health and education

Number of Districts	20
Number of Monitoring Committees	
Union Councils	402
Tehsil Council	43
District Councils	20
Members of Monitoring Committees	
Male	1,110
Female	900
Total	2,000

Training Sessions with Monitoring Committees

To involve all tiers of local government in this endeavour, an official and comprehensive capacity building, constituency-interaction plan was prepared and

implemented. Pattan played a vital role by providing logistical support and training to WCN and monitoring committee members.

A meeting between MC members and Pattan would be held before a field visit, to plan logistical details, areas to be monitored and responsibilities of each member accompanying the monitoring teams. Through 115 sessions, approximately 900 female and 1,110 male councilors of 402 union councils in 20 districts of Punjab, Sind and NWFP received training. A gender breakdown is shown below in Figure 2.12.

Figure 2.12
Gender division of community-based sessions

Male	Female	Total
4,192	4,705	8,897

Interaction Between Service Providers, Users and Representatives

Access to and quality of governance services could be improved through a community’s interaction with its elected officials and this is what WCN and Pattan set out to do when they conducted a series of interface sessions to prepare communities in each project area on the forthcoming work. A total of 209 sessions were organized in 16 districts as can be seen in Figure 2.13.

Figure 2.13
Participants of interface sessions with councilors

Districts	Number of Sessions	Councilors		Community		Total		
		M	F	M	F	M	F	All
16	139	367	450	1275	2670	1642	3120	4762

More interface sessions were also held with *nazims* and *naib nazims* of union councils since they were responsible for preparing budgets and running the affairs of their unions. As members of the district councils, they also had the additional job of taking up issues of service delivery. As many as 111 union nazims and naib nazims participated in 70 such interface sessions as shown in *Figure 1.14*.

Figure 2.14
Participants of interface sessions with nazims and councilors

Number of Districts		13
Number of Sessions		70
Councilors	Male	343
	Female	226
Community	Male	1502
	Female	688
Nazim/Naib Nazim	Male	110
	Female	1
Total	Male	1955
	Female	939
All		2894

Along with community based interface sessions, 74 meetings between councilors and officials were also held in which as many as 781 women and 125 male councilors participated, as shown in *Figure 2.15*

Figure 2.15
Male and female councilors' meetings with various officials

Male	Female	Total
125	781	906

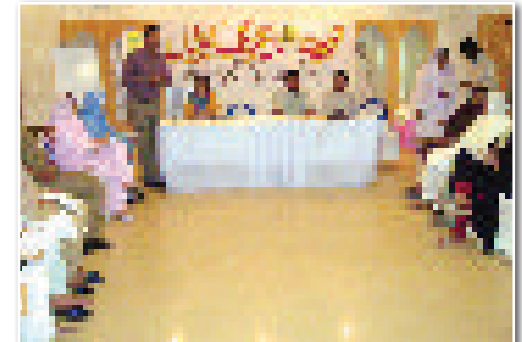
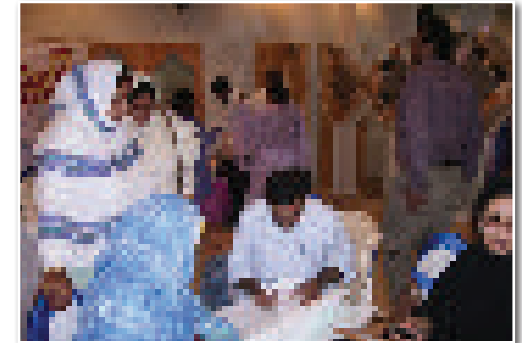
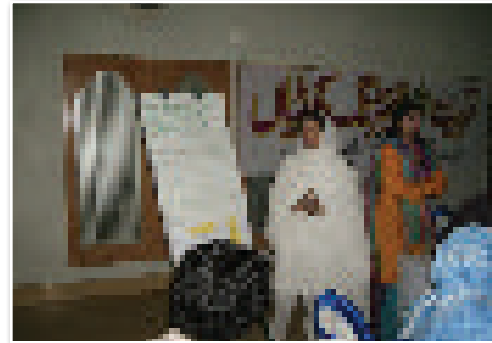
The health monitoring committees held 45 meetings with various health officials in 12 districts, while educational monitoring committees held 43 meetings with various officials of the education department in 16 districts, as can be seen in *Figures 2.16* and *2.17* respectively.

Figure 2.16
Interaction between Health Monitoring Committees & Health Officials

Districts	Number of Sessions	HMC Membersv		Health Officials	
		M	F	M	F
12	45	269	323	70	20

Figure 2.17
Interaction between Education Monitoring Committees & Official of Education

Districts	Number of Sessions	Councilors		Education Officials	
		M	F	M	F
16	43	212	279	44	18



Training sessions of monitoring committees

Monitoring of Social Services

The health and education committees would visit health centres and schools to meet with the authorities. They would also talk to patients and students about how satisfied they were with the service and attitude of service providers.

Issues reported by Education Committees

- Non-existence of School Management Committees
- Poor conditions of cleanliness in school premises
- Non-availability of drinking water in schools
- Delays in payment of scholarships to students
- No connections for power supply in schools
- Lack of toilets and sports facilities.
- Inadequate classrooms and furniture
- Inadequate staff
- Teacher absenteeism.
- Low student attendance.
- Delays in distribution of free books

Issues reported by Health Committees

- Doctor absenteeism
- Lack of safe drinking water at health centres
- Insufficient medicines in the *Tehsil*
- Headquarter dispensaries.
- Most of the Basic Health Unit (BHU) staff remain absent from their duties
- Un-ethical behaviour of the BHU staff with the patients.
- Violation of opening and closing timings of BHUs.

Action Taken by Monitoring Committees

In the light of their monitoring visits, the committee members prepared and submitted detailed reports to their

councils and sent copies to relevant departments for further action. Follow-up visits were then made by the monitoring committees to the department heads to enquire on specific steps taken to improve services.

The Effects of Monitoring Committees' Field Visits

- Recognition of the importance of monitoring committees by education and health department heads
- Notice taken by the same department heads of issues raised in the reports
- Positive impact on department services
- Greater respect of committee members amongst communities, councils and officials
- Enhanced confidence of committee members
- Acknowledgment by government officials of the value of MCs' feedback on social service delivery as a step towards improvement

Effects of Interface Sessions

- Increased understanding of other's point of view, leading to greater trust amongst stakeholders
- Rise in people's confidence in the local government system
- Greater public awareness of the role and limitations of government departments
- Positive change in public perception of the role of women councilors
- Increase in women councilors' reach to women constituents

Concrete Achievements

The entire list of work accomplished through the interface sessions and monitoring committees is too long to include, therefore a few important achievements are mentioned here.

DG Khan

The issue of inadequate teachers in a local school was raised and resolved through a meeting of the women councilors and the Executive District Officer (EDO) Education. The problem of non-availability of drinking water in another school was addressed and corrected by taking the complaint to the Tehsil Municipal Officer.

Jhang

Women councilors protested a local gang rape crime and demanded the arrest of the culprits, resulting in prompt action by the administration.

Upon visiting a union council of 91, the MCs found that a Basic Health Unit (BHU) had been closed for several weeks. Although the union *nazim* was uncooperative on the issue, the MC continued its pressure till he finally agreed to sign a petition. This was then sent to the EDO health and within a week, the medical staff was restored to the BHU.

Multan

The issue of a collapsed boundary wall of the Government Girls Primary School Union Council, Qadirabad raised some important privacy and safety concerns. The MC prepared an application and submitted it to the EDO education, who visited the school and approved the required funds for reconstruction.

Dera Ismail Khan

On the complaint of the MCs, furniture was provided to one school and mosquito sprays to one union council.

Sargodha

There were a surplus of teachers in one school while in another, there was a shortage of teachers. The MCs raised

this issue with the head of the education department and the *nazim*. As a result, extra teachers were transferred to the needy school. The BHU of union council Ghangwal had been closed for the last three years but in response to an MC report and follow up by WCN, the BHU was made functional.

Sahiwal

There was no lady doctor in the THQ. In response to an MC report, a lady doctor was appointed in the *tehsil* Rural Health Centre.

Lahore

The EDO health, in response to MC reports, made a surprise visit to a BHU and issued warning notices to absentee staff.

Jalalpur Pirwala

A power connection was cleared and given to a special education school in response to an MC report.

Khanewal

Communities with high cases of hepatitis B informed active members of the WCN and health monitoring committees who then brought this to the notice of the EDO Health and district *nazim*. The EDO took prompt action and instructed the THQ to provide necessary support and treatment to the hepatitis B patients as well as launch a 10-day Hepatitis-B scanning campaign.

Attock

The MC members successfully helped find a missing girl in *tehsil* Jand. They also helped a girl, forcibly married to an elderly and violent man, to acquire a divorce.

Improving governance and solving problems of the people through collective action was a major development in areas where client-patronage mechanisms had been the norm for decades. This worked because of a sophisticated interplay of stakeholders. This not only improved service delivery but also enhanced standing of the women councilors in their respective areas.

Demonstration Against the National Reconciliation Ordinance

The NRO was an outcome of a USA-UK brokered deal between former President General Pervez Musharraf and the late Ms. Benazir Bhutto. It granted general amnesty to politicians and bureaucrats who were accused of corruption, money laundering, murder and terrorism between 1986 and 1999. Declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Pakistan in December 2009, it threw the country into a political crisis.

The day the infamous National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) was made public, WCN and Pattan held a meeting in Multan. Everybody had read the NRO and were infuriated by it, including people sympathetic to Bhutto and Musharraf. All participants in the meeting unanimously decided to hold a protest demonstration against the NRO.

It was decided that WCN leaders and the Pattan team would burn copies of the NRO in front of the Multan Press Club in order to show their disgust. This was perhaps the first reaction from any civil society organization against the NRO. Today, the fallout of the NRO threatens the stability of democratic order and could lead to conflict between the parliament and the judiciary.



Burning of a copy of the NRO by in a demonstration in Multan



WCN and Pattan staff chanting slogans against the NRO



A street theatre performance by Pattan Lok Natak on the NRO



P R E S S C O V E R A G E

For a complete listing of press coverage on this topic, please refer to Annex D in Part 3 of the book.

HELPING CONSTITUENTS

“Every time we liberate a woman, we liberate a man” Margaret Mead

Community Contact and Issues

One of the most important functions of a local councilor is being accessible to his/her constituents as access to national or provincial parliamentarians can be quite difficult. In a country like Pakistan, where gender segregation and poverty runs deep, a substantive quota for women is vital for ease of communication between local councilors and their constituents

The reservation of 33% seats for women in all three tiers of the local government system made this possible. It created opportunities for through women representatives at the women’s mobility and interaction. This change in the political status of women was historical significance in Pakistan.

According to the south Asia Partnership Survey, 78% women councilors said that they had been approached by their constituents for help; a 2004 Pattan study shows similar findings.⁴¹ as many as 85% women councilors said that on average they met up to 50 people in a month, while 8% of them said that met between 51 to 100 persons, of which 69 were women constituents, *Figure 2.18* and *2.19* has details of this.

Survey data also reflects that the majority of people approaching women councilors were poor and destitute; a clear indication that the reservation of seats for women had paved the way to address not only the gender issue but also of class. The situation provided a unique opportunity

to political parties and civil society organization to organize and strengthen this newly created connection between electorates and councilors.

The nature of help requested by people from councilors reflected a poor performance of the system For instance, 34% asked for Zakat, 18% needed help with local area problems such as roads, water electricity, sanitation, etc., 14% wanted their councilors to solve family dispute while 11% 9% and 5% asked for employment, dowry and school admissions for their children.

Survey data reflects that the majority of people approaching women councilors were poor and destitute; a clear indication that the reservation of seats for women had paved the way to address not only the gender issue but also of class.

There is an influx of people now coming to women councilors with a diversity of problems as well as expectations to have them solved. The women councilors would then either contact the councilors’ network, political parties, *nazims* or other relevant government departments and officers with these individual issues or if needed, discuss them in their councils.

For helping the needy, they would sometimes get in touch with local philanthropists and for resolving family disputes, they would even provide

mediation themselves.

Since most of these problems were an outcome of a greater economic dilemma and weak governance at the country level, the women councilors, despite enormous efforts, could not always resolve them. However, they frequently took the opportunity to highlight these issues with the WCN providing the perfect platform for this.

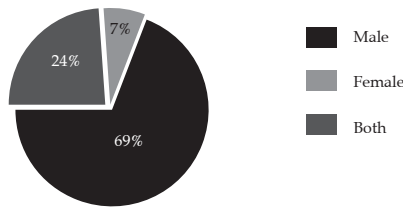


Figure 2.19
Gender division visitors to women councilors

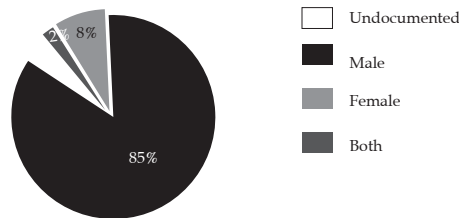


Figure 2.18
Percentage of women councilors approached by number of visitors

The Benazir Bhutto Income Support Programme

In 2008, the leaders of WCN met Ms. Farzana Raja, Chairperson of Benazir Bhutto Income Support Programme (BISP). One year later, at the launching ceremony of a Pattan book, they had another opportunity to network with BISP and women MPs of various political parties as well as with Dr. Fehmida Mirza, Speaker National Assembly, who was also presiding over the ceremony.

The WCN members of various districts present at the event voiced the same complaint that the BISP forms were not available to many poor women of their area. The Speaker took note of the issue, while Dr. Attiya Inayatullah, member National Assembly PML-Q, promised to send 2,000 forms to Pattan for distribution through WCN. Her promise was fulfilled and an additional 5 forms were given to each WCN office bearer from Pattan for further distribution to needy women of their villages and neighborhoods.

Study of the Nikakahnama (Wedding Certificate)

During a training and orientation workshop, women councilors raised the issue of *mullahs* traditionally crossing out the column

relating to the bride's right to divorce during a wedding ceremony. In order to determine the extent of this illegal practice, Pattan and WCN conducted a survey; the collected data showed that of 692 respondents, 669 mullahs crossed out the column without getting the consent of the brides. These findings were used as part of an awareness campaign.

Help Given to Constituents

The WCN also helped a large number of people of their constituencies in the following ways.

- Facilitated in getting of funds from Rozgar Scheme, Baitul Maal and Zakat
- Helped improve schools and Basic Health Units by supplying drinking water, paving streets, improving sanitation, etc.
- Resolved the issue of a woman suffering from domestic violence in DG Khan
- Provided sewing machines to destitute women from government funds
- Constructed waiting rooms for women.
- Visited *Dar-ul-Amaan* (a women's shelter), to inquire on the living conditions residents
- Worked closely with Faisalabad power loom workers, demanding better working conditions.
- Supported PTCL workers in Rawalpindi
- Arranged protest demonstrations against price hikes and food shortages
- Organized a rally with the Labour Quami Movement (LQM) against inflated electricity and gas bills. The protest was joined by thousands of people and triggered similar protest in other cities forcing the government to announce a 40% cut in the bills
- Launched a protest for the restoration of Sui Gas in one locality in DG Khan

Improvement of Social Sector Services

WCN played a significant role in improving social sector facilities in a number of districts. A small example is an issue it tackled in Jalalpur Pirwala, a town of Multan City District. In 2005, Surrayia Jabeen, a member of the district council and of WCN, was approached by the people of her area to complain about a teacher who had been absent from school for many months. Ms. Jabeen took this issue to the Executive District Officer Education and was promised that it would be addressed, but nothing changed. Undeterred, Ms. Jabeen continued to pressure the EDO for some time, until it was clear to her that he would not take any remedial action. She then went higher up and raised the issue in the district assembly. This got the desired reaction and an enquiry against the absentee teacher was initiated, followed by disciplinary action until the teacher started once again to fulfill her duties at school on a regular basis.

SOLIDARITY WITH RAPE VICTIMS

“The ultimate tragedy is not the oppression and cruelty by the bad people but the silence over that by the good people” Martin Luther King, Jr.

Violence Against Women in Pakistan

There is no definite explanation to why violence against women has been on the rise⁴² in Pakistan despite a surge in women’s political representation and innumerable civil society organization campaigns. Pattan’s view is that an interplay of several factors are responsible.

Firstly, as more women become conscious of their rights, they push for their space. This leads to acts of violence against them as they stand up for their rights. Deepening and engendering of poverty could be another factor, while the mushrooming of electronic media has also contributed by more extensive reporting of such cases.

Addressing the Issue

In its 20 years of experience in disaster reduction, Pattan had learnt the importance of constructing a culture of preparedness and risk reduction. These lessons were then taught to WCN in order to apply to situations of societal violence against women. Through capacity building programmes, women councilors were encouraged to take up such cases.

To combat violence against women effectively, it was imperative first to begin maintaining a record of cases and then to be able to provide the needed support. WCN chapters in all 24 districts fulfilled this role with great commitment and enthusiasm.

They not only kept a record of cases of violence reaching them but would also contact Pattan and other service providers in cases requiring special attention. WCN even launched successful campaigns, staged rallies and held press conferences to show solidarity with rape victims. Participant statistics can be seen in *Figure 2.20*.

Figure 2.20

Participants of WCN-Pattan rallies and press conferences

Total Number of Events	66
Women Councilors	5211
Nazim/N. Nazim	274
CSO Representatives	1227
Others	1114
Total Number of Participants	7826

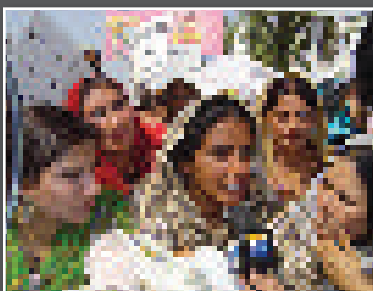
WCN’s Role in Cases of Violence

The reported cases were divided into categories: mental torture, physical torture, child marriages, forced marriages, *Watta-Satta*, *Vanni-Sawara*, honour killing and acid burn. A lot of family and marital disputes were also brought to WCN for reconciliation.

Victims of violence and rape approached WCN and Pattan for legal, financial and social support. Their cases were handled with discretion, sensitivity and with the aim of initiating reconciliation processes between parties.

Women councilors were best placed for this noble task. They had popular legitimacy, support of their own network as well as their coalition with Pattan. Being rooted locally, women councilors were accessible to victims, while Pattan with its offices in major cities could take up cases at the national level effectively.

From 2002 to 2009, the various chapters of WCN dealt with 548 cases of violence against women, including the very well-known cases of Mukhtar Mai, Sonia Naz, Abida Perveen, Saima Batool of Chakwal, Nazish Asghar, Gulshan Bibi of Mansehra, Shazia Khalid and the Sulangi case.



Mukhtaran Mai talking to the national media

WCN and the Case of Mukhtaran Mai

What distinguished Mukhtaran Mai from other survivors of rape, was her defiance to the overwhelming pressure of the Musharraf government and local feudal lords of her area. Legitimacy-starved leaders usually rush to the homes of rape victims and in front of television cameras, dole out taxpayers money to the victims. In most cases, this was enough to silence the victims but Mukhtaran refused to take money from the government. Instead, she demanded the government to build a school for girls in her village, convinced that education was the key to liberation. She spoke from the hearts of the people and this made her an icon.

Mukhtaran Mai was the victim of a gang rape committed by men from a powerful feudal family of her village. After this crime, which was perpetrated as revenge for a family issue, she was paraded naked by her abusers in the village till rescued by her father. A woman punished in this way, is expected to kill herself soon after, but Mukhtaran Mai broke the tradition and called out for justice.

Her village, Meerwala, falls into Pattan's project district of Muzaffargarh. Within a few days of the crime, the Pattan team along with WCN office bearers reached her and a long-term relationship was formed. In 2004 Mukhtaran Mai was invited to lead thousands of women in the International Women's Day rally in Multan. This was her first participation in a public rally in which she also made a speech, her very first public address.

In May of the same year, Pattan invited her to Islamabad, where she addressed the media. As she could only speak and understand her regional language of Seraiki, she had to be translated to the media. She appealed to people of Pakistan to help raise money for schoolteachers of schools in her village. As a result, a solidarity group was formed, which raised some money instantly. The Embassy of Finland also contributed towards the fund, which was managed by a committee of three women; Khalida Perveen of Pattan, Om-e-Kulsoom, President of WCN Muzaffargarh and Mukhtaran Mai herself.

On the 3rd of March 2005, the Multan bench of the Lahore High Court acquitted five of the six culprits while the death sentence of the sixth was reduced to life imprisonment. This triggered a huge outcry and again Mukhtaran Mai was called to Islamabad by Pattan to build pressure against this verdict. Two days later, on the 5th of March, Dr. Farzana Bari and Mukhtaran Mai jointly addressed a press conference that received huge coverage both inside and outside of Pakistan.

On the 7th of March 2005, Pattan organized a massive rally in connection with International Women's Day, which was led by Mukhtaran Mai and Farzana Bari. According to media reports this was largest IWD rally ever held in Multan. The speakers criticized the verdict of the court and participants vehemently shouted slogans against it. As a result, a contempt of court case was registered against Mukhtaran, Farzana Bari, Sarwar Bari, Abdus Saboor, Rashid Rehman and Tahira Abdullah. Media coverage of the rally and subsequent newspaper editorials impacted the judiciary.

On the 11th of March 2005, the Federal Shariat Court suspended the decision of the Lahore High Court. Within a couple of days, the Supreme Court intervened and set aside the orders of the Shariat court, resulting in the release of all the accused. This was a completely unacceptable decision and created great anger against the government. Finally, on the orders of government of Punjab, all the accused were detained again.

Throughout these difficult days, WCN and Pattan stood solidly with Mukhtaran Mai and, along with other CSOs assisted her to file an appeal in the Supreme Court. During this entire ordeal, Mukhtaran Mai displayed a very strong character and refused to back down till she got justice. Her steadfastness energized everybody around her and saved many of her own supporters from a spiritual surrender. It was this quality that prompted Nicholas D. Kristof to comment, "I don't know whether people felt this when they were around Mother Teresa or Martin Luther King Jr, but around Mukhtar Mai, I can feel true greatness."



Mukhtaran Mai giving an interview to a foreign correspondent

Protest Rallies:**International Women's Day 2006**

In 2006, on the occasion of International Women's Day, WCN and Pattan held a rally in Multan led by nine rape victims, including Mukhtaran Mai. With more than 3,000 women councilor participants, this was perhaps the largest IWD rally ever held.



The International Women's Day protest rally held in Multan in 2006

WCN had numerous protest rallies that attracted a lot of attention and support for cases of violence against women. Some of these are mentioned here.

■ Live Burial of Women in Jaffarabad, Baluchistan

In July 2008, three women were buried alive after being accused of marrying against the wishes of their tribal elders. The murders led to a national campaign by women rights groups in the country, actively supported by WCN through their participation in country-wide rallies.

The protest rallies coupled with wide media attention finally triggered a debate in the Upper House of the Senate and forced the government to arrest the culprits. They were finally sentenced in March 2010 by the court with the main offender receiving the maximum sentence of 50 years in prison.

■ Rally against Murder of Tasleem, Hyderabad

On November 10th, 2008, Tasleem Solangi was killed by her ex-husband and brothers in Hyderabad, Sind. WCN held a demonstration against the murder outside the press club and demanded the arrest of the killers.

■ Protest against Bonded Labour, Mirpurkhas

A local man of influence had been incarcerating women in his private jail in Mirpurkhas, Sind. When WCN Hyderabad came to know, they visited the site to verify facts and then, in collaboration with other NGOs, protested against the man, demanding that the government take steps to release the women.

■ Rally in Support of Kousar Mai

In Rajanpur District, WCN staged a rally comprising of 150 people (120 male, 30 female), in support of Kousar Mai, a survivor of violence. It urged the government to expedite the pace of the case.

Besides these protest rallies, WCN office bearers met with Khalid Maqbool, Governor of Punjab, and demanded a ban on the sale of acid. In Muzaffargarh, South Punjab, one WCN office bearer even became chairperson of the Women's Crisis Centre.



Country-wide protests against the live burial of women in Baluchistan

P R E S S C O V E R A G E





P R E S S C O V E R A G E

For a complete listing of press coverage on this topic, please refer to Annex D in Part 3 of the book.

ASSISTING VICTIMS OF TERRORISM

“Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves” Abraham Lincoln

The Anti-Taliban Offensive in Pakistan

In May 2009, the Pakistan Military launched an offensive against the Taliban in Malakand, in the north of Pakistan, causing thousands of resident families to flee to safer areas. With considerable experience of working with disaster-affected communities, Pattan responded to this unprecedented emergency and sent an assessment team to Mardan, where almost 90% of the internally displaced persons (IDPs) were being sheltered.

The presence of a strong chapter of the Women Councilors' Network in the region proved a great advantage; WCN Peshawar and WCN Dera Ismail Khan came forward to support Pattan and WCN Mardan in their work at the Shahzad and Yasin IDP Camps, Mardan.

Transforming Gender Blindness Through Strategic Intervention

In order to assess the needs of the IDPs living in camps, WCN and Pattan formed committees and deployed them in areas of high IDP concentration. It was soon realized that there was complete blindness to women's needs in the relief assistance programs of the Mardan camps.

Both relief agencies and religious groups working there did not have any female staff, hence women's particular needs were not being addressed. WCN held a comparative edge over other agencies there, as its office bearers had the experience, confidence and social base to work in this field.

Pattan supported WCN by providing needs assessment and distribution training to them within a period of two days. Collection points were also simultaneously being established in all Pattan project districts around the country, where local WCN staff helped in the gathering of funds and goods.

By the time the collection and fund raising was gaining momentum, some strategic steps by WCN had radically transformed the problematic situation in the two camps. With very little financial investment, two women's facilitation centers had been set up. The women sheltering in the camps were informed about these centers through megaphone and camp-to-camp visits by women councilors.

Camp administration and relief agencies alike greatly appreciated this intervention and gave WCN their full support. Within 48 hours, the state of affairs saw a great improvement as relief agencies began responding to women's needs through the WCN centers. The media also highlighted the importance of the WCN initiative, which furthered the cause.

Support to IDP Host Families

Besides the IDP women facilitation centers, WCN also contributed to those IDPs living with host families. It is noteworthy that nearly 80% of IDPs had been taken in by local families that included those of women councilors and union council nazims.

“I am proud of helping my sisters who had suffered terribly under the Taliban in Swat. My prolonged interaction with internally displaced women helped me understand the anti-women mind set of the Taliban. I have no doubt in my mind about how cruel they could be. We must eliminate this way of thinking in Pakistan.”

Abr-e-Saba
Coordinator, Dera Ismail Khan
(managed Mardan facilitation center for 2 months)

Revenue Collected by WCN

In all, Pattan and WCN managed to collect and dispense 400,000 rupees worth of cash. With assembled food rations and other items, the entire effort was collectively valued at approximately one million rupees.

Goods and money collected for the IDPs across the country by WCN were also distributed amongst the IDPs living with hosts families.

WCN IDP Camp Activities

Other activities in the IDP shelters that WCN and Pattan were also involved in, included:

- Helping IDP women to form their own committees for managing the camps and expressing their concerns.
- Providing counseling to women and children.
- Facilitating IDP women to form kitchen and sports committees.
- Mapping of relief agencies working in the camps and their initiatives
- Liaising with camps administrations daily.
- Enlisting literate women with the Shahzad and Yasin IDP Camps administration
- Collecting data of pregnant women, widows and disabled persons in Shehzad Camp.
- Organizing sports events for women in Shehzad Camp.
- Regularly contacting and briefing the media on IDP women's issues.
- Preventing the marriage of a girl child.
- Helping families, financially and otherwise, in weddings.

Furthermore, for better projection of IDP issues, WCN-Pattan joined the PUKAR Alliance, a network of the Jang Group. WCN Mardan went a step ahead and after receiving training in rehabilitation and recovery needs assessment,

they travelled to Swat to help returned IDP women settle back in their homes.

Points of Contention

Strangling the Local Government at its Greatest Time of Need

The greed for power had blinded the provincial (coalition) government of Awami National Party and Pakistan People's Party towards the local government. According to the law, it was the responsibility of the local government to manage the emergency.

Instead, all powers of the local government were snatched and given to the civil bureaucracy. Despite this denial, both male and female councilors and union, *tehsil* and district *nazims* played a significant role in registering and settling of IDPs in host homes.

Harassment of Civil Society Organizations by Banned Jihadi Groups

The president of the Mardan chapter of WCN belonged to the *Patlung* Union Council and requested Pattan to visit her area to carry out a needs assessment; quite a few IDPs had arrived there and were living with host families.

When the team visited the *Patlung* IDP camps, they noticed that members of a banned *Jihadi* organization were also present and working there. Pattan female staff had been taking photographs in a segregated camp for women with no objection from the IDP women themselves. But when the *Jihadis* got news of this, they arrived on the scene and attempted to snatch the camera away from the Pattan women. Nearby police made no attempt to stop them, it was only because of the Pattan staff's resistance that the group finally backed off.

“Working with internally displaced women for two long months, in a very harsh and dangerous environment has made me strong enough to cope with any difficult situation in the future.”

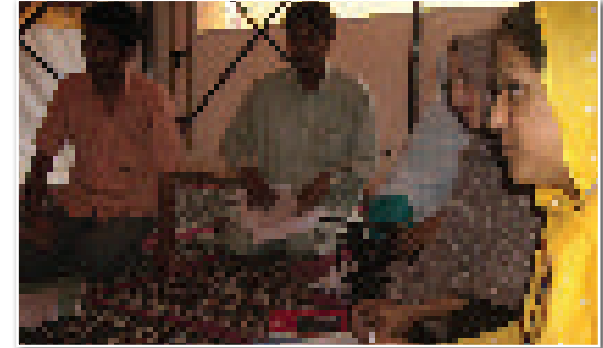
Bina Fida
Coordinator, Mardan

Figure 2.21
Overview of WCN-Pattan relief work with IDPs (May - July 2009)

Relief Provided	Quantity / Families
■ Facilitation to female IDPs	650
■ Diapers	2,040
■ Hygiene Kits to women	100
■ Mirrors, combs, threads, needles, etc.	600
■ Mosquito repellent coils	600
■ Bath soap and washing powder	720
■ Dry milk	100
■ Electric fans	10
■ Wheel chairs for the disabled	20
■ Facilitation to widows	25
■ Undergarments and sanitary pads	5,000
■ Sports kits	70
■ Medicine	200
■ Food ration for one month	220
Total	10,355



Women's facilitation camp in Mardan set-up by WCN and Pattan in 2009



Pattan provided WCN staff with the required training to effectively carry out relief work



It was made sure that IDP women's specific needs were met at the WCN facilitation centre





WCN and Pattan workers gathering essential data about the women in the camps



Receiving of relief goods gathered in WCN project districts



The data gathered was compiled and displayed for quick reference purposes



Women councilors distributing relief packages amongst IDP women



WCN office-beareres setting up a much-needed women's facilitation centre in the camp

CAMPAIGN FOR PEACE

“There is no way to peace, peace is the way” A. J. Muste

The Effects of Peace on Women

Women are easy victims of conflict and its aftermath, a fact established through women’s personal accounts of living in war zones.⁴³ In Pattan’s experience with women councilors, the disturbance in peace was a cause of great concern for the women.

Their fears were not unfounded, for on-going sectarian killings were a reminder of the bloodbath at the time of the partition of India. They were aware of the anti-women, *mullah* stance echoed in the military regime of Zia-ul-Haq, the Afghani Taliban and the Irani Ayatollah’s governments. Therefore, any conflict involving *mullahs* were a cause of even greater worry.

WCN’s Plight for Peace

In Muslim countries, women have always been the first casualties of war. That is why whenever peace was disturbed, WCN and Pattan responded jointly by organizing rallies, seminars and press conferences as a protest. The recorded number of people at these events was 14,629, of which 75% were women. Details can be seen in *Figure 2.23*

Topics discussed in these events included:

- Talibanization and Terrorism
- Murder of Journalists in Conflict Zones
- Taliban Occupation of the *Lal Masjid* in Islamabad
- Public Flogging of a Minor Girl in Swat
- The Burning of Girls’ Schools and Colleges in Conflict Zones
- Israeli Attack on Lebanon and Gaza
- USA and UK-led Invasion of Iraq

- Indo-Pak Peace
- Sectarian Killings
- Burning of Christians Neighbourhoods in Punjab

The Loss of Peace in Pakistan

During meetings, seminars and rallies for peace, WCN and Pattan made the following inferences:

- Peace and democracy are the two deficits of the unholy collaboration between an extremist mindset and the groups who terrorize citizens.
- Pakistan is an example of where the civilian elite violate the rights of their own people using an oppressive state apparatus as a shield against the wrath of the exploited public.
- In return for government protection, the elite have to accept the supremacy of the establishment or otherwise be overthrown from power.

Peace is disturbed when a system loses its sense of justice and fair play, creating opportunities for external interference and vice versa. Since military dictators lacked moral legitimacy, they sought external support. This anti-people chain has perpetually held the nation in a stranglehold.

In order to remain in power, Pakistan’s military dictators have willingly served foreign interests, at the terrible cost of Pakistani citizens. Ayub Khan (1958-68) threw Pakistan into a cold war, making Pakistan a frontline state against the Soviet Union. Zia (1977-88) provided *Jihadis* to fight the covert war of western powers in return for support to remain in power. Pervez Musharraf (1999-2008) then had the job of undoing the consequences of Zia’s actions.

فرحت بتول: پین

"خواتین کے ساتھ کام کرنے سے میرے اندر جرأت اور حوصلہ پیدا ہوا اور میں نے اکیلا محسوس کرنا ختم کر دیا۔"

US Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, recently admitted that the CIA helped ISI to create *Jihadi* Organizations in Afghanistan. These were later re-used in the 1990s by the military establishment, to fight in Kashmir and as a lead up to the Taliban movement. The same organisations were involved in sectarian killings as well. Peace was lost, as the old allies became enemies.

Figure 2.23
District-wise number of participants in peace related events.

District	Number of Participants		
	Male	Female	All
1. Hyderabad	162	291	453
2. Matiari	38	109	147
3. Thatta	25	192	217
4. Rajanpu	56	179	235
5. DG Khan	171	350	521
6. Muzaffargargh	270	589	859
7. Multan	779	2,897	3,676
8. Vehari	59	111	170
9. Faisalabad	535	1,890	2,425
10. Lahore	147	365	512
11. Sargodha	234	678	912
12. DI Khan	291	525	816
13. Khushab	6	58	64
14. Rawalpindi	35	87	112
15. Islamabad	875	2,625	3,500
Total	3,683	10,946	14,629



Various peace demonstration by WCN and Pattan held in Islamabad, protesting talibanization and extremism.

P R E S S C O V E R A G E



For a complete listing of press coverage on this topic, please refer to Annex C in Part 3 of the book.



P R E S S C O V E R A G E

SOLIDARITY WITH RAPE VICTIMS

“The ultimate tragedy is not the oppression and cruelty by the bad people but the silence over that by the good people” Martin Luther King, Jr.

WCN Partners and Linkages

Finding friends and allies is critical for peaceful social change. The Women Councilors' Network Faisalabad took the lead and deepened its relationship with the Labour Quami Movement (LQM), one of the most effective labour organizations of the country. WCN also helped LQM to form a union of women workers of the power loom sector.

In south Punjab, WCN built a strong relationship with the South Punjab NGOs Forum, a coalition of more than 70 organizations.

In 2009, WCN developed links with the *Awami Jamhuri* Forum and the Progressive Coordination Committee.

The following activities were undertaken in collaboration with partners and helped build and reinforce partnerships.

■ Protest against Inflated Electricity Bills

WCN Faisalabad teamed up with LQM to organize a rally protesting rising electricity bills. Joined by thousands of like-minded people, the Faisalabad rally triggered similar protests all over the country, forcing the government to concede to a 40% cut in bills.

■ Rape Case Investigation in Faisalabad

Office bearers of WCN Faisalabad and LQM visited a village from where the news of a girl's rape had reached them. After meeting with the victim, her family members and other concerned people, they established the nature and occurrence of the incident. With Pattan's involvement, they then proceeded to arrange and provide legal support to the plaintiff.

■ Movement for Independence of Judiciary

To help make Pakistan a true democratic country, an independent judiciary is vital. In Faisalabad, WCN in collaboration with LQM and Pattan played a leading role for the restoration of the judiciary during the lawyer's movement.

■ Women's Convention

The Women Councilors' Network and Pattan supported LQM in holding a convention for women in Faisalabad. The event helped LQM organize working women in the city.

■ Peaceful Walks Condemning Extremism

WCN, LQM and Pattan arranged four peaceful walks with 801 participants, comprising of CSO activists, political workers, lawyers and ordinary citizens. The rallies were organized to condemn Talibanization and extremism in the country.



WCN and LQM in a demonstration for the restoration of the judiciary

WCN and LQM also held a demonstration against the flogging of a young girl in Swat by Islamic extremists. These events were covered well by the print and electronic media.

■ Networking with Social Movements

WCN built alliances with the Working Women Association, Lahore, Awami Jamhuri Forum, Labour Quomi Movement, Sindhiani Tehreek, Associations of Local Council Punjab.

■ Connecting with women MPs

Linkages were developed between WCN and women MPs through activities such as the WCN oath-taking ceremony, WCN elections, launching of 'The Women's Manifesto' and International Women's Day events.

An oath-taking ceremony of the Women Councilors' Network was administered jointly by women MPs of various political parties on the 3rd of June 2008 in Islamabad.

Almost 150 women councilors and representatives of CSOs and political parties participated in the event. Dr. Farzana Bari and former president of WCN Ms. Shafqat Taqi were also on the panel. The ceremony was a rare show of women's solidarity across the political spectrum.

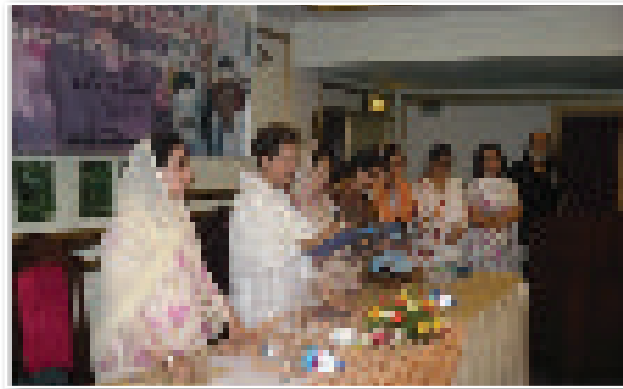
■ Pakistan-India Councilor's Exchange Tour

In collaboration with the Institute of Social Sciences (ISS) of India, a leading think tank on local government, Pattan

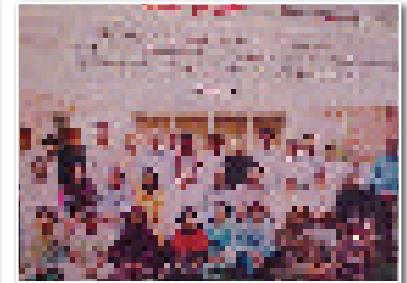
organized exchange study tours of councilors and leaders of local councils of both countries.

A delegation of WCN was sent to India and in return a delegation of Indian local councilors visited Pakistan. Pattan and WCN arranged both events in Pakistan. Indian media named the Pakistani delegation, "Ambassadors of Peace."

The exchange helped participants of both countries to understand the importance of peace in the region and deepened understanding of each other's local government system.



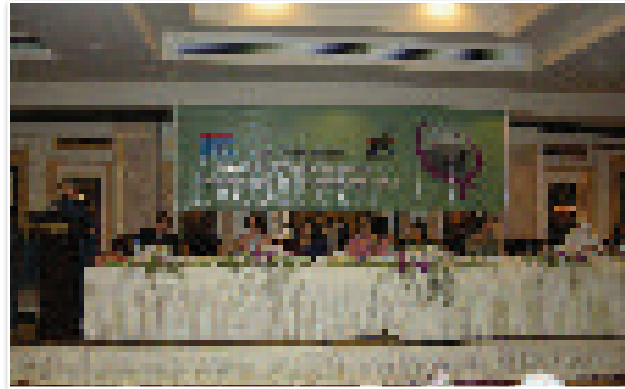
Dr. Attiya Inayatullah PMLQ, Ms. Bushra Rehman ANP, Ms. Tehmina Daultana PMLN, Ms. Kudsia Arshad PMLN and Ms. Nabeela Hussain ANP at the WCN oath-taking ceremony



Delegation of nazims from Pakistan with Union Minister Mr. Mani Shahkar Atyar, Director Institute of Social Sciences New Delhi, Dr. George Mathew and institute faculty members



Women councilors taking oath



Pattan book launching ceremony where WCN office-bearers had the opportunity to liaise with women MPs's and other political officials

P R E S S C O V E R A G E





P R E S S C O V E R A G E

INFLUENCING ELECTION MANIFESTOES

“Women’s chains have been forged by men, not by anatomy,” by Estelle R. Ramey

Before the general election 2008, the Women Councilors’ Network and Pattan decided to lobby with different political parties to influence them on the issue of gender reforms. Therefore, on December 1st and 2nd 2007, a two-day consultative workshop was held in Islamabad by the presidents and general secretaries of WCN Sindh, NWFP and Punjab. Participating political representatives included women MPs and women wing chairpersons of Jamaat-i-Islami, Pakistan Muslim League, Pakistan Peoples’ Party, Awami Tehreek, Awami National Party and various others. The title of the workshop was, *Making Manifestoes Gender Sensitive: Voices of Grassroots Women Leaders*.

These series of workshops helped develop a consensus position and the resolutions were then compiled into a document entitled, *Aurat Manshoor: Intikhabaat 2008* (Women Manifesto: Election 2008). The document was essentially a road map on how social and political organizations in Pakistan could achieve gender equality. This was printed and distributed to all workshop participants. The WCN leaders had managed to convince some of the political party representatives to pledge their support for *the Women Manifesto* and include a few of its points with their own party manifestoes, which at the time, had not yet been made public.

After the success of the Islamabad workshop, various chapters of WCN held similar meetings and press conferences in their own cities to help generate support for *The Women Manifesto*. In Multan, copies of it were presented to contesting candidates of NA-149 and NA-150 during “Meet the Candidates Forums”, which were attended by a total of 207 people (178 male and 29 female). In Muzaffargarh, the same forum had 191 attendees, and

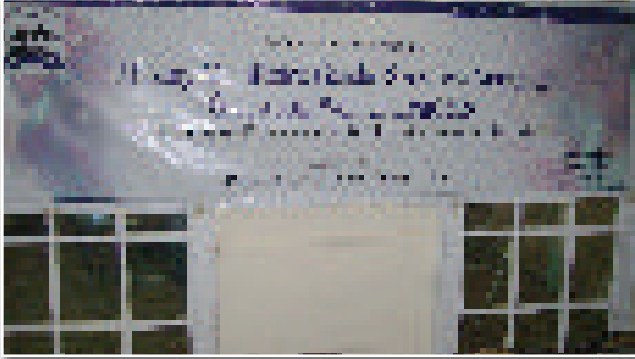
was similarly used as a platform. The endeavour of WCN was commended by all candidates and they vowed to develop and adopt *The Women Manifesto* if they succeeded in the forthcoming elections.

Following the general election, the title of the manifesto document was changed to *Sinfi Barabri Ka Munshoor: 2008-13* or Gender Equality Manifesto: 2008-13. It was translated into Sindhi and distributed that year to thousands of people, especially around the time of International Women’s Day, March 2008.

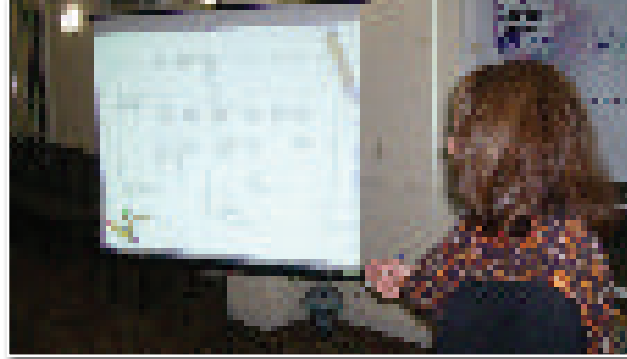
A copy of the manifesto is reproduced below.



The Women’s Manifesto documents



The workshop banner reflecting the agenda of the Women Manifesto



Dr. Bari explaining the Manifesto



Dr. Farzana Bari addressing guests and women councilors at the Women Manifesto workshop



Women councilors participating in the workshop



Women representatives of various political parties listen to the lecture on the Manifesto



MPs being interviewed by the media

English Translation of Salient Points of The Women's Manifesto with Amendments

Legislative Bodies

- Reserve 33% seats of nazims and naib nazims for women in all three tiers of local government.
- Reserve 30% quota for women at all levels of local government departments.
- Increase women's quota from 17% to 25% in provincial and national assemblies and the senate.

We urge political parties to nominate women candidates on every fifth constituency so that they may learn about political and electoral processes.

- Abolish indirect mode of election to fill quota seats of women and adopt a direct election method.
- Reserve 25% quota for women in all national assembly and the Senate standing committees.

Federal and Provincial Cabinets

- Reserve 25% portfolios for women in the federal and provincial cabinets.

Representation in Political Parties

We urge political leadership of political parties to undertake the following reforms in their parties:

- Abolish women wings and mainstream women in political parties.
- Allocate 50% party offices to women at all levels of parties.
- Launch membership campaigns to increase women members in their parties.

Legal Reforms

- Repeal Hudood Laws.
- Pakistani law gives women inheritance rights but because of violations, only 3% own immovable assets.

We demand this law's strict implementation and the punishment of the violators.

- Take concrete legal and administrative measures to implement CEDAW articles and achieve the Millennium Development Goals within the stipulated time.
- Empower National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW).
- Take concrete steps for the provision of protection of victims of domestic violence.
- Establish women courts in all districts.

Social Reforms

- Develop gender sensitive curricula for all educational institutes.
- Take concrete measures to eliminate heinous anti-women customs and traditions like *vanni*, *sawara*, etc.
- Punish those who practice child marriage. To eliminate this practice, registration of birth must be made easy and compulsory. Parents who fail to register may be punished.
- The law gives women the right to divorce, but usually the *nikah-khwan* deletes the relevant column without the bride's consent. The government should disqualify any *nikah-khwan* who violate this law.

Economic Protection

- Distribute state land to landless women farmers. In case land is given to a household, half of the share must belong to the wife.
- The public and private sector should provide equal opportunities to women in employment and equal wages in similar jobs.
- Make sure all tiers of government adopt a gender based budgeting practice.

Health

- Make sure a lady doctor is present in each BHU and appoint one lady health visitor for each *mauza*.
- Every pregnant woman should be provided regular free check ups to reduce birth related mortality.
- Develop and implement regular medical check up system for schools.



P R E S S C O V E R A G E

For a complete listing of press coverage on this topic, please refer to Annex D in Part 3 of the book.

PART 3
IN CONCLUSION

THE 5 Ps

The 5 Critical P's of Organizational Sustainability

Presence **1**

The first P, presence, is simply the right of a person or organization to be a member of an umbrella organization, the right to attend its meetings without any restrictions, the right to give his/her opinion and the right to vote. An example is the reservation of the allowed quota for women to contest elections. Once elected, a woman has an equal right to be present in her council. Although absolutely essential, sheer presence is not enough and must be justified through relevant actions.

Participation **2**

The Second P, participation, goes beyond merely being physically present and requires a person to contribute towards

Their organization's objectives. This can be done by:

- Raising issues
- Introducing personal or followers' perspectives without hesitation or fear.
- Listening to other people's point of view passionately and patiently.
- Giving honest opinions and suggestions.
- Participating in debates.
- Voting
- Taking on responsibilities.

Performance **3**

The third P in the cycle, is performance and entails the professional, passionate and timely completion of assigned or voluntary tasks. It is imperative to the success of an organization. Performance also includes the extent to which a person or organization is capable of achieving its stated objectives and is ready to respond to emerging challenges in a structured and competent manner.

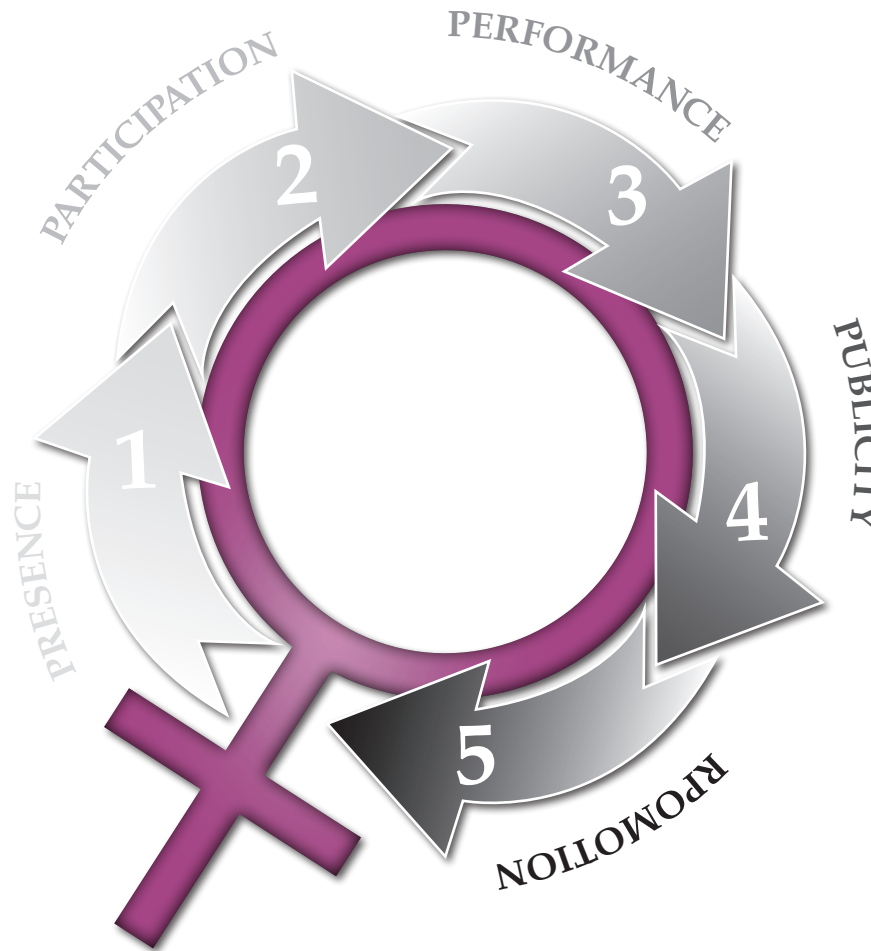
Publicity **4**

The fourth P, publicity, fulfills the important job of advertising an organization's achievements to a larger public using the media. If not done effectively, the 3rd P, performance, will have only a limited impact. A lack of publicity may also prevent feedback from independent and neutral observers, which is essential for fine-tuning. Good advertising helps expand the social and financial support base and hence facilitates scaling up and replication. However, the exact objective, timing and type of publicity is crucial to its success. An organization must also exercise caution in the amount of advertising it undertakes, which should neither be too much nor too little.

Promotion **5**

The fifth and final P, promotion, is a step beyond publicity. Advertising does not always necessarily bring the desired attention from needed quarter. This is where more one-on-one, social promotion plays a role. Formal promotion techniques include inviting empathetic parties to the organization's public meetings, seminars, conferences, etc. Having the organization's work covered in third publications is also promotion. Another more informal kind of promotion is simply word of mouth, or mentioning of the organization's achievements in social interactions.

The 5 P's of Model



As a result of Pattan's long engagement with the women Councilor's Network, relevant experience was gained on the successful working of an organization. This knowledge has been synthesized into the 5 Ps cyclical model.

For WCN, the first P of presence, began with the very first step of bringing women into the political decision-making process by reservation of a 33% women's quota in local councils.

Due to hurdles discussed earlier in this book, women councilors were unable to effectively translate their enthusiasm into action and this is where Pattan stepped in to help.

In assisting the women councilors to better serve their constituents, Pattan helped them fulfill the remaining 4Ps and this is how the model evolved. The 5 Ps model can be used and adapted to similar work.

HARVESTING THE LESSONS

“Divide your movements into easy-to-do sections. If you fail, divide again.” Peter Nivio Zarlenga

Pattan had never worked with women on such a large and organized scale before 2000. This experience proved to be a profound one for all the staff involved. The women councilors’ positive energy and passion for their job not only kept the team going throughout the project but kept the flame of hope burning that one day, gender equality in Pakistan will be achieved.

Address Gender Segregation

In Pakistan, gender segregation is very deep-rooted and wide spread. Even in mixed gender areas, men and women tend to form ghettos. For instance, in the field of agriculture, where women play a crucial role, gender boundaries are clearly defined, the same is the case for factories too.

Unlike the economic arena, within the councils there was no gender differentiation as far as working and decision-making was concerned. This was indeed a major gender breakthrough in the country. However, very little investigative and transformative effort was made to understand the implications of quota from this angle.

Be Fully Prepared

Although women’s quota in the local government revolutionized the local polity to a certain extent, the strategy for its implementation was half-baked and half-hearted. For example, no serious steps were taken to create an enabling environment for women councilors and no quota was reserved for them at higher levels of local councils and line departments. There was also no honorarium granted to women councillors, despite it being much-needed as most of them were either poor or did not have their own assets or sources of income. This had

a direct bearing on the women councilors’ mobility and range of influence. When Pattan learnt of this, it launched an advocacy campaign for the allocation of an honorarium for women councilors and a reservation of a women’s quota for the *nazim* position.

The indirect methods of filling reserved women’s seats was another serious issue that caused discrimination against indirectly-elected *tehsil* and district women councilors by male colleagues. WCN and Pattan demanded the abolition of these elections method for women’s seats but these demands need to be voiced more loudly and consistently.

Build Alliances

Democratic governance cannot be achieved without strong social movements. Therefore, it was imperative to transform WCN into a social movement by supporting causes of other like-minded movements and building trust amongst them.

Since WCN was not intended as just a trade union of women councilors but a platform to all the women of Pakistan, it was generally involved in women’s issues and supported other causes as well. Participation in various campaigns helped women councilors understand the importance of peaceful resistance, thus bridging political differences and created cohesion on gender issues amongst them.

It was also learnt that in the absence of strong women’s social movements, NGOs need to contribute more strategically. Similarly, another lesson learnt was that male family members, who play a crucial supportive role to women councilors, need to be further engaged in future work of the WCN.

Many women spend a large part of their time in a traditional environment which reinforces patriarchal

values that neutralize an NGO's contribution. Therefore, it is important that such projects involve frequent interaction with male family members, women constituents and working women associations of the area.

Realize the Potential of the Marginalized

Since marginalized and neglected social groups are eager for change, it is easier, more rewarding and more cost effective to work with them. But this must be under the condition that the outside agency or NGO ensures the group's genuine participation in decision-making at all stages and allows them to manage their own affairs. The agency's role should only be that of a catalyst, not a driver of change.

This is easier said than done as often project staff finds it self-empowering to act as the leader in the partnership and often, the partners even accept them as such. This may either be because most partners regard the outsider as neutral or in some cases, the host partner/s tend to promote the outsider (NGO staff) as a proxy leader.

Therefore, the real lesson is to understand the psychosocial and political dynamics of partners and to develop clear-cut indicators transforming the top-down mindset into bottom-up one and to help build the marginalized people's own leadership.

Think Beyond Project Life

The project should be considered a seed; it must be sown properly and cared for at all critical stages of growth. A day then comes when it requires little attention. It should not be forgotten that metamorphosis is an integral aspect of any project's life. Thus, women councilors changed the name of their organization from the *Women Councilors' Network into the Women's Concerns Network* in order to not only keep their cause alive but also expand its membership beyond just councilors.

Build Strategic Ability and Secretariat Support

Most district-level women councilors played a commendable role, performing well in their councils, passionately helping

their constituents and performing remarkably in district and national advocacy campaigns. Although their response to Pattan's requests to take on certain issues were always positive and they would immediately contact local Pattan staff for assistance when needed, office bearers of national and provincial WCN bodies could not, due to various factors, take up initiatives on their own or promptly respond to emerging situations.

The national and provincial leadership was found to be more interested in local issues than in a national-level public debate on gender and rights. Despite resource constraints, Pattan tried to provide secretariat support to various chapters but because office bearers were scattered all over the country, it was difficult to use the space on a regular basis.

Therefore, the need to develop a strong secretariat for WCN at the provincial and national level and enhance the knowledge base of leadership on public policy was another important lesson learnt.

Counter Duplication

The issue of duplication in the engagement of women councilors by different NGOs was a major one, with most NGOs working with the same women in many districts. Since some donors did not care about this, there resultantly was a lot of duplication.

This effected the women councilors. For example, if one NGO was paying a handsome honorarium while another one required the attendance of a training session or seminar without remuneration, it created an unproductive situational contrast. Duplication issues also caused women councilors of remote areas to be ignored.

Transform Program Staff

Finally, working with women councilors passionately and joining them in rallies transformed the Pattan staff as well. Their ability to understand gender inequality and their resolve to fight against gender injustice has deepened greatly. The important lesson learnt here was that of building staff empathy with a partners' cause.

“My experience in Pakistan is that in order to pressurize the authorities for the acceptance of demands, unity in ranks coupled with sufficient noise is essential. Only women's resistance can break the grip of the patriarchic elite.”

Sarwar Bari
National Coordinator Pattan

Way Forward

The following measures need to be undertaken to impact all levels of society and politics:

- Without further delay, launch a campaign for the announcement of a local elections schedule.
- Find ways to bring women activists and intellectuals into the fold of the neo-WCN and broaden its grassroots base.
- Build alliances across the country with social movements and beyond the border with women's movements.
- Deepen knowledge of Pakistani society and strategize accordingly.
- Bridge the gap between public policy rhetoric on gender equality and anti-women practices. The public policy on gender, Pakistan's commitment to the international community under various protocols and covenants, such as CEDAW and the Constitution of Pakistan, provide enormous space to resist peacefully against countervailing forces that violate the law of the land.
- Prioritize gender issues for effective advocacy and develop a road map for concrete achievements. The Women's Manifesto 2008-13 provides broad guidelines of action for this.
- As in neighbouring countries, there should be one woman councilor representative for a population of one thousand.
- Fill all quota seats through direct elections.
- All women councilors should be paid an honorarium so that they can perform their official role effectively.
- While working, use the 5 Ps as a measure of achievement. When applied to WCN, the 5 Ps cycle began with quota (as mentioned before) which was the first P of Presence. The remaining 4 Ps of Participation, Performance, Publicity and Promotion were accomplished through all of WCN's various activities described in this book. These achievements however, have only been partial, therefore the neo-WCN and Pattan need to now strategize on how to fulfill the last 4 Ps at an optimum level.

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1. Bertolt Brecht (1898—1956)
2. “ثبات ایک تغیر کو ہے زمانے میں“ Alama Iqbal (1872-1938) national poet of Pakistan
3. Bertolt Brecht (1898—1956)
4. For instance, the struggle between feudalism and capitalism took almost two centuries in Europe.
5. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Antonio_Gramsci#Hegemony. Antonio Gramsci argued that the “ruling classes ‘maintained control not just through violence and political and economic coercion, but also ideologically, through a hegemonic culture in which the values of the bourgeoisie became the ‘common sense’ values of all. Thus a consensus culture developed in which people in the working-class identified their own good with the good of the bourgeoisie, and helped to maintain the status quo rather than revolting.”
6. The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan; Article 25 (1,2&3), 26 and 38 (a, b, c, d & e).
7. Mukhtaran Mai, born in 1972, in the remote village of Meerwala, Muzaffargarh District, was the victim of a gang rape. It was a form of honour revenge committed on the orders of a *panchayat* (tribal council). By custom, rural women are expected to commit suicide after such an event. Instead, she spoke up, and pursued the case, which was picked up by civil society organizations and the international media, creating pressure on the Pakistani government and the police to address the rape. The case eventually went to trial, and her rapists were arrested, charged and convicted, until an appeals court overturned the convictions. The case is still pending with the Supreme Court of Pakistan.
8. Vanni is a tradition in which women of one family are given away to male members of their rival’s family as compensation.
9. The Hudood Ordinances was enacted in 1979 by military dictator Zia-ul-Haq as part of his drive to Islamize the constitution, the polity and society. The Hudood Laws intended to implement Islamic Shari’a by enforcing punishments mentioned in the Quran and Sunnah for zina (extramarital sex), qazf (false accusation of zina), offence against property (theft) and prohibition (the drinking of alcohol). The ordinance has been criticized as it lead hundreds of incidents where a woman subjected to rape, or even gang rape, was eventually accused of zina and incarcerated, the punishment defended as ordained by God, making the woman a victim of extremely unjust propaganda.
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13. Asian Human Rights Commission (2008), ‘The State of Human Rights in Eleven Asian Nations-2008.’ Hong Kong
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19. Ibid
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22. Pattan (2004 & 2006) Performance of women Councilors

23. Sarwar Bari (Ed) 2001, "Research Study: Local Government Elections, March 2001-Phase II
24. Federal Bureau of Statistics (1998), compendium on gender statistics, Pakistan, p.120
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26. Ibid
27. Bari and Zia (1999), "Baseline Report on Women Participation in Political & Public Life in Pakistan." Bari (2008), "Role and Performance Assessment of Pakistani Women Parliamentarians 2002-07."
28. Pattan (2001, 2005), Farzana Bari, "Research Study: Local Government Elections, December 2000 — (Phase-1) Analysis of Local Government Elections. And and Sarwar Bari (Edited), "Common Ground, Analysis of Local Government Elections 2005,"
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Part 2 - WCN Contributions

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GLOSSARY

AHRC	Asian Human Rights Commission
ANP	Awami National Party
BHU	Basic Health Unit
BISP	Benazir Bhutto Income Support Programme
CCB	Citizen Community Board
CNIC	Computerized National Identity Card
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DOPP	Devolution of Power Plan
EDO	Executive District Officer
FAFEN	Free & Fair Election Network
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
ISS	Institute of Social Sciences
IWD	International Women's Day
LGO	Local Government Ordinance
LQM	Labor Qaumi Movement
MC	Monitoring Committees
MP	Member of Parliament
MQM	Muttahida Qaumi Movement
NADRA	National Database & Registration Authority
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz
PML-Q	Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid-e-Azam
PODA	Potohar Organization for Development Advocacy
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
PUKAR	An NGOs network formed by Jang Group
WAF	Women's Action Forum
WCN	Women Councilors' Network & Women's Concerns Network
WPB	Women's Protection Bill

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- <http://www.ahrchk.net/index.php>
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ANNEXURES

ANNEX A DIRECTORY OF WCN OFFICE-BEARERS

National Office Bearers, 2005-2009



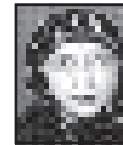
Bismillah Irum
President
Khanewal



Bushra Shaheen
Vice President
Khanewal



Huma Nawab
General Secretary
Muzaffargargh



Nazakat Zahid
Finance Secretary
Rawalpindi



Rani Wahida
Information Secretary
Muzaffargargh



Shahnaz Akhter
Joint Secretary
Rawalpindi

Provincial Office Bearers Punjab, 2001-2004



Shafqat Taqi
President
Attock



Tehmina Tariq
Vice President
Multan



Qaisra Ismail
General Secretary
Sargodha



Perveen Afza
Finance Secretary
Jhang



Razoq Rao
Information Secretary
Jhang

Provincial Office Bearers, Punjab



Tahira Ashraf
President
Multan



Maqsooda Parveen
Vice President
Khanewal



Om-e-Kaloom
General Secretary
Muzaffargargh



Fouzia Javed
Finance Secretary
Khanewal



Tanveer Sultana
Information Secretary
Jhang



Rehana Yasmeen
Joint Secretary
Faisalabad

PUNJAB

District Network

1. Multan	2. Muzaffargargh	3. Dera Ghazi Khan	4. Rajanpur	5. Khanewal
Kalsoom Zahra <i>President</i>	Raheela Paracha <i>President</i>	Fehmida Irshad <i>President</i>	Zubida Begum <i>President</i>	Khalida Talib <i>President</i>
Rabia Manal <i>Vice President</i>	Kalsoom Taqi <i>Vice President</i>	Farhat Mansoor <i>Vice President</i>	Nasreen Abid <i>Vice President</i>	Ghazala Shaheen <i>Vice President</i>
Rahat Zar Taj <i>General Secretary</i>	Tasneem Kosar <i>General Secretary</i>	Robina Irshad <i>General Secretary</i>	Naheed Iqbal <i>General Secretary</i>	Zahida Rafique <i>General Secretary</i>
Lubna Qasim <i>Finance Secretary</i>	Shahnaz Zulfiqar <i>Finance Secretary</i>	Abida Parveen <i>Finance Secretary</i>	Kaneez <i>Finance Secretary</i>	Khalida Saqi <i>Finance Secretary</i>
Mussarat Yasmin <i>Information Secretary</i>	Shazia Iqbal <i>Information Secretary</i>	Naseem Akhter <i>Information Secretary</i>	Irshad Bukhari <i>Information Secretary</i>	Ghulam Sakina <i>Information Secretary</i>
6. Vehari	7. Jhang	8. Faisalabad	9. Lahore	10. Sargodha
Nusrat Almas <i>President</i>	Parveen Afza <i>President</i>	Azra Naseem <i>President</i>	Salma Yasmin <i>President</i>	Kishwar Mazari <i>President</i>
Sakina Bibi <i>Vice President</i>	Mussarat Nazir <i>Vice President</i>	Hajan Basheeran <i>Vice President</i>	Shamim Riaz <i>Vice President</i>	Jahan Ara <i>Vice President</i>
Lubna Ihtisham <i>General Secretary</i>	Zahida Chaudary <i>General Secretary</i>	Manwer Sultana <i>General Secretary</i>	Shagufta Sarwar <i>General Secretary</i>	Fouzia Shahmas <i>General Secretary</i>
Zubida Malik <i>Finance Secretary</i>	Rukhsana Ilyas <i>Finance Secretary</i>	Shahnaz Mukhtar <i>Finance Secretary</i>	Munaza Ayub <i>Finance Secretary</i>	Fateh Bibi <i>Finance Secretary</i>
Tahira Islam <i>Information Secretary</i>	Noshaba Noreen <i>Information Secretary</i>	Abida Perveen <i>Information Secretary</i>	Rukhsana Liaquat <i>Information Secretary</i>	Shahnaz Parveen <i>Information Secretary</i>
11. Khushab	12. Chakwal	13. Rawalpindi	14. Attock	
Rasoolan Bibi <i>President</i>	Saira Inayat <i>President</i>	Samina Mukhtar <i>President</i>	Sadiqa Sultana <i>President</i>	
Razia Batool <i>Vice President</i>	Robina Afzal <i>Vice President</i>	Doltana Kousar <i>Vice President</i>	Nusrat Jailani <i>Vice President</i>	
Shazia Rani <i>General Secretary</i>	Raffat Azher <i>General Secretary</i>	Doltana Kousar <i>General Secretary</i>	Razia Mudssar <i>General Secretary</i>	
Robina Shaheen <i>Finance Secretary</i>	Haseena Shahzadi <i>Finance Secretary</i>	Mukhtar Begum <i>Finance Secretary</i>	Rukhsana Afzal <i>Finance Secretary</i>	
Irshad Begum <i>Information Secretary</i>	Azra Begum <i>Information Secretary</i>	Rajab Shehzad <i>Information Secretary</i>	Ajaib Sultan <i>Information Secretary</i>	

SINDH

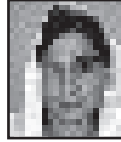
Provincial Office Bearers



Afroz Shoro
President
Hyderabad



Amint Khatoon
Vice President
Badin



Nasim Gul
General Secretary
Thatta



Hayyabdiat Bhan
Finance Secretary
Badin



Sofia Khaskhali
Information Secretary
Matiari



Jeeya Ansari
Joint Secretary
Badin

District Network

1. Hyderabad	2. Badin	3. Thatta	4. Matiari	5. Tando Allah Yar
Najima Chandio <i>President</i>	Khursheed Memon <i>President</i>	Safia Baloch <i>President</i>	Akeel Arbab <i>President</i>	Baji Anees <i>President</i>
Yasmin Qureshi <i>Vice President</i>	Shazia Khaskhali <i>Vice President</i>	Pirani <i>Vice President</i>	Pirani Baloch <i>Vice President</i>	Amina Kaloi <i>Vice President</i>
Maheen Chaudary <i>General Secretary</i>	Zarina Khaskhali <i>General Secretary</i>	Rehana Baloch <i>General Secretary</i>	Sadori Khaskhali <i>General Secretary</i>	Qamar Jehan <i>General Secretary</i>
Jehan Bano <i>Finance Secretary</i>	Naseem Shah <i>Finance Secretary</i>	Amina Baloch <i>Finance Secretary</i>	Khatool Malahi <i>Finance Secretary</i>	Najima Ajmal <i>Finance Secretary</i>
Shabnam Soomro <i>Information Secretary</i>	Hidayat Bhan <i>Information Secretary</i>	Zulekhan Bhai <i>Information Secretary</i>	Asoo <i>Information Secretary</i>	Rehana Memon <i>Information Secretary</i>

Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (KP)

Provincial Office Bearers, of KP



Farhat Siddique
President
Dera Ismail Khan



Farhat Begum
Vice President
Peshawar



Gulshan Bibi
General Secretary
Dera Ismail Khan



Zakia Bibi
Finance Secretary
Badin



Liaquat Begum
Information Secretary
Dir



Zeba Khatoon
Joint Secretary
Mansehra

District Network

1. Dir	2. Peshawar	3. Mardan	4. Mansehra	5. Dera Ismail Khan
Rooh-e- Falak <i>President</i>	Shahbana saifullah <i>President</i>	Bait-ul- Haram <i>President</i>	Perveen Saif <i>President</i>	Dilshad Begum <i>President</i>
Fazeelat Begum <i>Vice President</i>	Jozfeen Qadoos <i>Vice President</i>	Wahida <i>Vice President</i>	Amira Noreen <i>Vice President</i>	Amina Bibi <i>Vice President</i>
Shabnam Bibi <i>General Secretary</i>	Noor Jehan <i>General Secretary</i>	Shahida Begum <i>General Secretary</i>	Shakeela Saddique <i>General Secretary</i>	Nelofar Bukhari <i>General Secretary</i>
Bakhshana <i>Finance Secretary</i>	Nihar Begum <i>Finance Secretary</i>	Gulfam <i>Finance Secretary</i>	Shakeela Rubani <i>Finance Secretary</i>	Kaneez Bibi <i>Finance Secretary</i>
Shehzad Ghai <i>Information Secretary</i>	Mussarat Nazir <i>Information Secretary</i>	Sara Gul <i>Information Secretary</i>	Ghulab Jan <i>Information Secretary</i>	Hameeda Begum <i>Information Secretary</i>

ANNEX B

PATTAN'S CAPACITY BUILDING AND AWARENESS MATERIAL FOR WOMEN COUNCILORS

Capacity Building Training Manuals, 2001 - 2009

- *"Siasi Karkunno Ki Terbiat Ka Program"* (Training Program for Political Workers): Volume I, II, III, IV, V, VI and VII
- *"Sinfi Amour"* (Gender Issues)
- *"Salahiyatun Aur Mahartun Mein Azafa"* (Enhancement in Abilities and Skills)
- *"Khawateen Kay Khilaf Her Kissim Kay Imtiazat khatm Kernay Ka Convention"* (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, Millennium Development Goals and Gender Reform Action Plan)
- *"Mukami Hakumtun Mein Khawateen Councillors Ki Zemiendarian Aur Kirdar"*
(Role & Responsibilities of Women Councilors): Local Government System 2001
- *"Masail Ki Nishan Dehi, Hul Aur Tarikay"* (Identification of Issues, Solution & Methods)
- *"Sochnain Ki Salahiat Barhanay kay Aalat,"* (Thinking Tools)
- *"Zarai-e- Iblag kai Sath Taalqat"* (Media Interaction)
- *"Awami Pairavi kia Hai?"* (What is Advocacy?)
- *"Theatre Training."*
- *"Accounts Wa Budget Ki Tayari"* (Accounts and Budget Preparation).
- *"Lugun ku Munazam Aur Mutharak Karnay Kay Tareekai"* (Methods of Social Organisation and Mobilization)
- *"Shirakti Mansuba Bandi, Nigrani Aur Jaiza"* (Participatory Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation)
- *"Tanzeemkari Aur Mansuba Kay Intzamat"* (Organization and Project Management)
- *"Tez Shirakti Jaiza"* (Participatory Rapid Appraisal)
- *"Training of Monitoring Committees"*
- *"Sinfi Tashadud"* (gender based violence)

Awareness and Educational Material

- *"Aurat Manshoor: 2008-2013"* (Women Manifesto: 2008-2013, in Urdu and Sindhi)
- *"Baldiati Adarai Aur Khawateen"* (Local Council and Women)
- *"Awami Agenda brai Nazimeen Aur Naib Nazimeen"* (Peoples' Agenda for Union Nazim & Naib Nazims) in Urdu and English
- *"Omeedwaroon kai leyia Rahnumai Ka Kitabcha"* (Guiding Principles for Candidates: Local Government Election 2005)
- *"Polling Agentun kay leyia Rahnumai Ka Kitabcha"* (Guiding Principles for Polling Agents: Local Government Election 2005)
- *"Khawateen Numaindgi Bachao Tehreek"* (Save Women's Representation Campaign)
- *"Siasi Khawateen Ki Du Jehiti Jang"* (Multi-dimensional Struggle of Political Women)
- *"Khawateen aur Intkhabaat 2005"* (Women and Elections 2005)
- *"Millennium Development Goals, 2000-2015"*
Pictorial Illustrations of Articles of iConvention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)
- *"Aalimi Yumai Khawateen Ki Tareekh Aur Ahmiat."* (History & Importance of International Women's Day)
- *"Khawateen Aur Aman."* (Women and Peace)
- *"Khawateen Aur Jamhuriat."* (Women and Democracy)
- *"Khawateen ko Jamhoouriat Kay Zareay Ba Ikhtiar Banana."* (Empowering Women Through Democracy)
- *"Khawateen Aur Mukami Jamhuriat."* (Women and Local Democracy)
- *"Ghairat kay Nam Per Qatal Bund Karo."* (Stop Honour Killing Now)
- *"MUKami Siasat Mein Khawateen Ki Numaindgi."* (Women's Representation in Local Politics)
- *"Hudood Ordinance Ku Abhi Munsukh Karru."* (Repeal Hudood Ordinances Now)
- *"Intakhabi Istlahat: Khawateen Ki Siasi Quaat Ki Bunyad."* (Empowering Political Women Through Electoral Reforms)
- *"Ba Ikhtiar Aurat: Paidar Jamhuriat."* (Empowered Women Essential for Sustainable Democracy)
- *"Aurat, Mukami Hukmrani Aur Aman."* (Women, Local Governance and Peace)
- *"Aurat Ki Siasat Mein Masawi Mukam Ki Jadojehd."* (Women's Struggle for Equality in Politics)
- Five motivational posters for women voters & candidates in Urdu and Sindhi for local government election 2005
- Posters on violence against women in Urdu and Sindhi
- Pattar's monthly magazine, published since 2002

ANNEX C

MEDIA COVERAGE

Transformative Programme

- **October 13th 2008**, Hafat Roza Nawa-e- Johar Joharabad, Pattan arranged *awareness workshop under CEDAW awareness program for women councilors held in Khushab by Pattan*. 2 columns.
- **October 20th 2008**, Daily Khabrain Multan, Daily Jang ,*Women will struggle for the achievements of their rights; Bismillah Irum President National Women councilors Network shared during awareness workshop under CEDAW awareness program for women councilors held in Khanewal by Pattan*. 2 columns.
- **October 23rd 2008**, Daily Tajarat Sargodha, WCN Sargodha arranged awareness workshop under CEDAW awareness program in Tehsil Shahpur. 2 columns.
- **October 23rd 2008**, Daily Express Peshawar, *Pattan arranged awareness workshop under CEDAW awareness program in Mardan*. 2 columns.
- **October 24th 2008**, Daily Hilal-e-pakistan Karachi, Country wide WCN formed shared by WCN President Thatha during *awareness workshop under CEDAW awareness program in Thatta*. 2 columns.
- **October 25th 2008**, Daily Nawa-i-waqt Multan, In backward area of the country women are facing problems, shared by Social Mobilizer Pattan during *awareness workshop under CEDAW awareness program in Tehsil Jam pur district Rajan pur*. 2 columns.
- **November 3rd 2008**, Daily Ilhaaq Peshawar, *Pattan arranged awareness workshop under CEDAW awareness program in Dir*. 2 columns.
- **December 25th 2008**, Daily Nawa-i-waqt Lahore, Daily Pakistan, Waqat, *Steps should be taken to mainstreaming women , Humera Saeed , WCN member shared during awareness workshop under CEDAW awareness program for women councilors held in Vehari by Pattan*. 2 columns in each.
- **January 1st 2009**, Daily Pakistan, *Speech competition at college level arranged by Pattan ; Men and women are equal, under CEDAW awareness program in district Khanewal*. 1 column.
- **January 18th 2009**, Daily Aitadal Dera Ismail Khan, *There is need to mainstream women, speeches by various speakers on one day awareness workshop under CEDAW awareness program held in Dera Ismail Khan arranged by Pattan and WCN*. 3 column with photo.
- **January 20th 2009**, Daily Express Peshawar, Daily ILHAAQ Peshawar ,Daily Ausaf, *Islam has given unique position to women and they can contribute in every department effectively, speeches by various speakers on one day awareness workshop under CEDAW awareness program held in Mardan district attended by Women councilors, CSO and community members arranged by Pattan and WCN*. 3 column.
- **January 21st 2009**, Daily Eemaan Karachi, Daily PAK Karachi, *Women quota in legislative assemblies would be increased upto 25%, shared by Tasleem Pasha, Member WCN during awareness workshop under CEDAW awareness program for women councilors held in Tando Allayer by Pattan*. 2 columns in each.
- **January 26th 2009**, Roznam Faisalabad , Daily ILHAAQ Peshawar ,Daily Ausaf, *Islam has given unique position to women and they can contribute in every department effectively, speeches by various speakers on one day awareness workshop under CEDAW awareness program held in Mardan district attended by Women councilors, CSO and community members arranged by Pattan and WCN*. 3 column.

Awareness Through Theatre

- **August 4, 2005**, Dawn, *Two artists perform a drama on Voters mobilization*.
- **July 7th 2007**, Dawn, *Pattan Theatre festival begins from 13th*
- **December 20th 2007**, Dawn, *Women can bring positive change in politics. Youth & Women can be aware through street theater; 2 columns with Photo*.
- **March 4, 2008**, The Nation City, *Theatre festival to highlight women Issues, festival arranged by Pattan & WCN*.
- **March 7th 2008**, Dawn, *Mistreatment of women put on stage, 2 columns with Photo*.

Beyond Quota

Zainab Khatoon

- **June 12th 2002**, The Dawn, *Women councillors for role in decision-making*. 2 columns
- **June 2nd 2003**, The News, *SPNF Flays Punjab govt for interfering into dist govt affairs*. 1 column
- **June 22nd 2003**, Daily Khabrain, Multan, *More candidates filed nomination papers for the slot of district nazim*. 2 columns
- **June 26th 2003**, The News International, *Woman vies for Multan nazim slot*, 2 columns
- **July 2nd 2003**, Daily Express, *Zainab Khatoon candidate for the slot of district nazim announces her assets*. 1 column
- **July 11th 2003**, The News International, *Two candidates for Multan district nazim election 'abducted'*. 3 columns
- **July 11th 2003**, Dawn, *'Disappearance' of woman councillor a conspiracy: Majida*. 2 columns
- **July 11th 2003**, Daily Jang, *Raiz Quresi kidnapped Zainab Khatoon*. 4 columns
- **July 11th 2003**, Daily Times, *NGO demanded Postponment of Multan Nazim election : called a joint press conference by WCN & Pattan along with other NGOs* .
- **July 12th 2003**, The News, *"Dare to Stand" article written by Farzana Bar.*, 4 column.
- **July 12th 2003**, The News, *Demonstration against kidnapping of candidate for district nazim seat held:* 4 column with Picture
- **July 12th 2003**, Daily Jang, *Daily Sahafat protest aginst kidnapping of Zainab Khatoon in front of ECP Islamabad*
- **July 16th 2003**, Daily Express, *Application on district nazim seat election has rejected by the court*. 2 columns
- **July 17th 2003**, Dawn, *Councillor complains of harassment by MPA*. 1 column
- **July 17th 2003**, Dawn, *Nazim's election: plea dismissed*. 2 columns

Khawateen Itthad Group

- **January 16th 2005**, Daily Jinnah Islamabad, *Reduction in women seats is unjustified. Government should fulfill the requirements of justice*. 3 columns
- **June 8th 2005**, The News International, *KIG to launch candidates at UC level, 10-12 womencandidates in each district have announced to to contest on UC nazim slot against male members*. 4 columns
- **June 11th 2005**, Daily Express Faisalabad, *Women councillors declare to participate in LB elections under the name of KIG*. 2 columns.
- **June 30th 2005**, Daily Pakistan Islamabad, *Women demand election commission to protect womencandidates*. 2 columns
- **June 30th 2005**, The News International, *Women councillors form group to contest LB polls, More than 150 women councillors from Punjab and NWFP formed KIG, KIG's key objectives are to pressurize political parties to give women 50% representation in election for public offices at all levels*. 3 columns
- **June 30th 2005**, Daily Express Islamabad, *KIG form municipal elections*. 2 columns
- **June 30th 2005**, Daily Asaas Rawalpindi, *WCN forms KIG for municipal elections*. 2 columns
- **June 30th 2005**, Azkaar Rawalpindi, *municipal election, KIG is ready to compete*. 3 columns
- **June 30th 2005**, Sahafat Muzafferabad, *Women NGOs front will put candidates to compete on nazim seats*. 3 columns
- **June 30th 2005**, Islam Rawalpindi, *WCN forms KIG for municipal elections*. 2 columns
- **June 30th 2005**, Daily Jinnah Islamabad, *KIG formed for municipal elections, they would fight on 600 seats*. 3 columns
- **June 30th 2005**, Jang Rawalpindi, *110 Women councillors form a group that will fully participate in the municipal elections*. 2 columns.
- **June 30th 2005**, Ausaf, *Nazims were engaged in corruption and nepotism, women councillors demand an effective check and balance system*. 3 columns
- **June 30th 2005**, Ausaf, *Pattan demands from political parties 33% women quota in nazims election*. 2 columns
- **July 16th 2005**, Jang Multan, *KIG will fight elections in 11 districts*. 2 columns
- **July 20th 2005**, Jang Multan, *Pattan holds Election Information camps in Khanewal*. 1 column
- **August 16th 2005**, Hamdard , *KIG demands supervision of the municipal election in all Ucs by the army*. 3 columns
- **August 16th 2005**, Ausaf, *537 KIG candidates are to compete in Punjab*. 1 column

Resistance Against Making Local Government Less Local

- **March 20th 2004**, Dawn, *LG performance not satisfactory: study, a large number of women councillors believe that the UCs and DCs are not working as institutions, these councils had been made non-functional and were incapable to serve any purpose.* 3 columns
- **March 21st 2004**, The Nation, *Women councillors lack knowledge about LG system.* 4 columns
- **April 11th 2004**, The News on Sunday, *Devolution questioned; A report critiques the premise of the devolution plan while another one assesses the working capacity of women councillors, Pattan in its study report found that a large number of women councillors are dissatisfied as councilors.* 7 columns
- **April 15th 2004**, The News, *Dismissal of lady councillor resented, WCN register protest against unjustified dismissal of a lady councillor.* 1 column
- **June 25th 2004**, Dawn, *Women councillors hold rally, large number of women councillors protest against 'discrimination' and non-provision of honorarium and development funds to them.* 1 column
- **December 7th 2004**, The News International, *Union Councils- the female factor, the presence of women councillors in the male dominated society is gradually making an impact and they are steadily gearing to take on a much bigger role towards social transformation and gender development.* 6 columns
- **December 30th 2004**, Dawn Lahore, *Reduction in UC seats criticized,* 1 column
- **December 31st 2004**, The News International Lahore, *Women councillors reject LG amendments, cut in the number of councillors has created unrest among women councillors.* 4 columns
- **January 1st 2005**, The News International, *Amendment in local govt ordinance flayed.* 2 columns
- **January 7th 2005**, The News International, *Protest march to be held on January 14th.* 2 columns
- **January 7th 2005**, Daily Times, *Civil society opposes changes to local govt law.* 1 column
- **January 7th 2005**, Dawn, *Changes in Local Govt Ordinance opposed.* 2 columns
- **January 7th 2005**, The Nation, *Civil bodies Flay women seats cut in union council.* 2 columns
- **January 8th 2005**, Dawn, *NRB chief backs CSOs stance on women seats.* 1 column
- **January 8th 2005**, The Pakistan Times, *NGOs rejected proposed changes in LG Ordinance.* 3 columns
- **January 8th 2005**, The Nation, *Nilofar to take up women seats issue.* 1 column
- **January 9th 2005**, Dawn, *Women critical of cut in number of UC members.* 3 columns
- **January 15th 2005**, The Daily Mail, *picture coverage of Women protest against cut in union council seats.*
- **January 15th 2005**, The News International, *Reduction in local govt seats a great betrayal: NGOs.* 4 columns
- **January 15th 2005**, The Nation, *Restoration of women seats in union councils demanded.* 3 columns
- **January 15th 2005**, Dawn, *Women protest against cut in union council seats,* 3 columns
- **January 16th 2005**, The Nation, *Women demand 50pc quota in local govt.* 3 columns
- **January 16th 2005**, Pakistan Observer, *Women Councillors threaten hunger strike,* 1 column; *Reduction in UC seats.* 1 column
- **January 16th 2005**, The News, *Govt asked not to slash people's representation.* 2 columns
- **January 17th 2005**, The News International, *Numbing silence.* 1 column
- **January 28th 2005**, Dawn, *Cut in UC seats a concession to elites: PPP.* 2 columns
- **February 5th 2005**, The Nation, *Nazims to resist LG administrators.* 2 columns
- **February 5th 2005**, Dawn, *Nazims, naib nazims reject changes in LB laws.* 2 columns
- **February 20th 2005**, Dawn, *NGOs to speak on changes to LG law.* 1 column
- **February 22nd 2005**, Dawn, *Changes in Local Government Ordinance opposed.* 5 columns
- **February 22nd 2005**, The News International, *Civil society rejects amendments in LGO.* 2 columns
- **February 22nd 2005**, The Nation, *Cut in Ucs to affect marginalised groups.* 3 columns

- **February 22nd 2005**, Daily Times, *Civil Society groups rejects changes to LGS*. 2 columns
- **April 26th 2005**, The News International, *Proposed changes in LG Ordinance to have negative impact*. 4 columns
- **May 23rd 2005**, Dawn, *Holding of fair elections-Civil society govt support to ECP vital*. 2 columns
- **June 28th 2005**, The Nation, *Convention on LG polls 2005 tomorrow*. 2 columns
- **June 29th 2005**, The Pakistan Times, *Pattan organises convention on LG poll today*. 1 column
- **June 30th 2005**, Dawn, *LG polls: women councillors form pressure group*. 5 columns
- **June 30th 2005**, The Nation, *Women councillors form group to contest LG polls*. 3 columns
- **July 14th 2005**, The Nation, *EC asked to postpone LG polls in flood affected areas*. 3 columns
- **July 14th 2005**, Dawn, *Call to put off LG polls in flood-hit areas*. 1 column
- **July 16th 2005**, The Statesman, *Pattan launches polls analysis*, 3 columns; Pakistan Observer. Picture coverage
- **July 16th 2005**, Dawn, *Project to analyze LG polls launched*. 2 columns
- **July 16th 2005**, The Nation, *NGO launches research project for LG elections*. 3 columns
- **August 9th 2005**, The Nation, *Barring women from casting vote in LG polls slammed*. 3 columns
- **August 16th 2005**, The Nation, *Female candidates demand security for LB polls*. 3 columns
- **August 27th 2005**, The Nation, *LG pollskillings probe by judicial body demanded*. 3 columns
- **August 27th 2005**, The Nation Lahore, *Poor arrangements, violence during LB polls: survey*. 4 columns
- **August 27th 2005**, The Post, *'Massive violation of election laws observed'*. 3 columns
- **August 27th 2005**, The News International, *Survey reveals recent LB polls more chaotic than previous one*. 3 columns
- **August 27th 2005**, The Nation, *LG polls killings probe by judicial body demanded*. 3 columns
- **September 7th 2005**, Dawn, *Free, fair elections in 2007-Speaker for learning lessons from recent LG polls, it is necessary to learn lessons from the recently - held local govt polls in order to ensure true democracy through holding of free, fair and transparent general elections in 2007*. 3 columns
- **September 10th 2005**, The Nation, *Raise in fee for women dist assembly seats resented*. 2 columns
- **September 11th 2005**, The Nation, *WCN protests nomination fee increase*. 1 column
- **September 11th 2005**, Daily Times, *Women protest rise in local election fee*. 1 column
- **September 11th 2005**, Pakistan Observer, *Women councillors protest against rise in nomination fee*. 1 column
- **September 11th 2005**, Dawn, *Protest against increase in nomination fee*. 1 column
- **September 11th 2005**, The Post, *Women councillors hold demo outside EC*. 3 columns.
- **November 19th 2005**, The Nation, *NGOs for local govt role on reconstruction, CSOs demand involvement of LG system and elected representatives in the process of reconstruction and rehabilitation of earthquake- affected areas.Pattan adds that involvement of affected communities and CSOs is a must to enhance the quality and distribution of development*. 3 columns
- **February 08th 2008**, Daily Nawa-i-Waqt Multan. *33% quota should be given to women in the Senate, Provincial and National assemblies. Political parties should dedicate every fifth constituency for women, nomination for the senate must be given constitutionally, 50% quota in party hierarchy demanded for women (Pattan+WCN-vehari chapter hold a press conference*. 2 columns with pictures.
- **February 08th 2008**, Daily Jang Multan. *Political parties should emerge/include WCN's manifesto into party's manifesto. (Pattan+WCN-vehari chapter hold a press conference*. 1 column with pictures.
- **February 13th 2008**, Daily Apna Akhbar D.I.Khan. *The right of casting the vote should be given to women, those who create impediments in the process should be penalized*. 2 columns.
- **February 13th 2008**, Daily Aitadal D.I.Khan. *In upcoming election which will be held on 18th Feb, the franchise of caste the vote should be given to women*. 1 column.
- **March 19th 2008**, Daily Express Multan. *The women parliamentarians will continue their struggle towards any gender imbalance, women courts should be established in all districts and shelter homes should be provided to needy women, only women could solve the women's problems. Pattan and WCN in Express Forum*. 3 columns with pictures.
- **April 11th 2008**, Daily Nawa-i-Waqt Multan. *The LG system should be protected as describes in 1973 constitution, 25% representation should be given to women in the provincial and federal cabinet, and 33% must be given to women in Senate, in order to eradicate the political dynasties the nominations of women for the senate and assemblies must be taken in a democratic way*.

- **June 04, 2008**, Daily Ausaf Islamabad. *The LG system is not being abolished.* 2 columns.
- **June 04, 2008**, Daily AajKal Islamabad. *LG system should not be abolish. (Pattan's protest in front of Parliament House).* 3 columns with pictures.
- **June 04, 2008**, Daily Jinnah Islamabad. *The LG system is not being abolished, only initial recommendations are in process (interior minister's affirmation to Pattan).* 2 column with pictures.
- **June 01st, 2008**, Daily Jang Rawalpindi. *We would like to empower the women.* 1 column.
- **July 15th, 2008**, Daily Fori Action Faisalabad. *LG system created revolution , country has made tremendous progress in last eight years which could not be made during the last fifty years.(WCN-Khanewal chapter).* 2 columns.
- **July 15th, 2008**, Daily Express Multan. *Abolishment of LG system will be a conspiracy against the people. (WCN-Khanewal chapter)* 1 column.
- **July 15th, 2008**, Daily Naya Daur Multan. *Through the LG system people got basic facilities and it has solve problems of the people, country has made tremendous progress in last eight years and brought about revolution.* 2 column with pictures.
- **September 05th, 2008**, Daily Apna Akhbar D.I.Khan, Daily Aaj Peshawar. *To save LG system, women staff members of Pattan holds a protest in front of press club, women will come out in the streets and will hold a protest in front of Parliament House, Islamabad*
- **October 16th, 2008**, Daily Pakista Islamabad. *WCN has started their campaign to protect the LG system.* 2 columns.
- **October 16th, 2008**, Daily Aaj Kal Islamabad. *Campaign to protect the LG system started.* 2 columns.
- **October 16th, 2008**, Daily Al-Akhbar Islamabad. *WCN is on guard to save the LG system (WCN-Rawalpindi chapter's press conference).* 2 columns.
- **October 16th, 2008**, Daily Business Times Islamabad. *WCN has launched protest campaign to save the LG system. (WCN-RWP chapter hold press conference).* 2 columns.
- **October 16th, 2008**, Daily Express Islamabad. *WCN has launched protest campaign to save the LG system. (WCN-RWP chapter hold press conference).* 1 column.
- **October 16th, 2008**, Daily News Mart Rawalpindi. *Campaign for protection of LG system has started by WCN-RWP.* 2 columns.
- **October 16th, 2008**, Daily Pakistan Islamabad & Daily Aaj Kal. *WCN has launched protest campaign to save the LG system. (WCN-RWP chapter hold press conference).* 2 columns.
- **October 20th, 2008**, Daily Express Multan. *Pattan will hold protest in favor of LG system today.* 1 column.
- **October 21st, 2008**, Daily Nawa-i-Waqt Multan. *Instead of abolishing, the LG system should be made more effective; problems have been solved due to the presence of women in LG system.* 2 columns with pictures.
- **October 21st, 2008**, Daily Express-Sargodha. *There will be a protest if LG system would abolished, for the development of the country it is essential that women should provided with representation on the propotion of population. (WCN-Sargodha chapter).* 2 columns.
- **October 21st, 2008**, Daily Express-Multan. *The LG system should be continued. (WCN-Multan chapter's meeting).* 2 columns with pictures.
- **October 24th, 2008**, Daily Khabrain Peshawar. *WCN-Dir Chapter holds an emergency meeting to address women issues in LG system.* 1 column.
- **October 24th, 2008**, Daily Awami Awaz Thatta. *Picture showings WCN hold a rally in favour of LG system*
- **October 24th, 2008**, Daily Kavish Hyderabad. *Picture showings WCN hold a rally in favour of LG system*
- **October 25th, 2008**, Daily Ibrat Hyderabad. *Picture showings WCN hold a rally in favour of LG system*
- **October 25th, 2008**, Daily Kaynat Karachi. *Picture showings WCN hold a rally in favour of LG system*
- **October 25th, 2008**, Daily Tameer-e-Sindh Sukkur. *Picture showings WCN hold a rally in favour of LG system*
- **October 26th, 2008**, Daily Express Peshawar. *Women councilors ruled out the abolishment of LG system. (WCN-Peshawar chapter) Coulumn-03*
- **October 26th, 2008**, Daily Mashriq Peshawar. *The conspiracy of cut down women representation in LG will not be successful.(WCN-Peshawar chapter).* 2 columns.
- **October 30th, 2008** Daily Jinnah Islamabad. *WCN demanded that honoraria should be given to WC at tehsil and town level, total number of women councilors is working in 67 tehsils of 25 districts and there are 2700 members of WCN are in total.* 2 columns with pictures.
- **October 30th, 2008**, daily Khabrain Islamabad. *There is no plan to reduce or eliminate the women representation at any level.(WCN+Pattan's office bearer's meeting with Sherry Rehman).* 2 columns with pictures.
- **January 15th, 2009, Daily Nya Akhbar Faisalabad.** *The Present LG system is necessary to protect women rights, due to the LG system women could have justice and they can prove their skills, pattan has done a lot of work fo the violence against women, we strongly demand to Chief Minister that the old LG system should not be restored. (press conference conduct by Pattan+WCN-Fsd chapter).* 3 columns with pictures.
- **January 15th, 2009, Daily Pegham Faisalabad.** *pattan's motive was to support LG System, it's the first time when women got full representation, under the existing LG system a lot common problems of people were solved and for this concern the women councilors has also played their role effectively. Because of the local bodies women are in position to address the issues of women of union council level.* 3 columns with pictures

- **January 15th, 2009**, Daily Rehbar Faisalabad. *The present LG system helped resolve the issues of the people, women had more opportunities to enter the politics.* 2 columns with pictures.
- **January 15th, 2009**, Daily Report Daily Maroof Times, Lailpur News, Daily Press News, Daily Fori Action, Faisalabad. *Picture showing the press conference conducting by Pattan and WCN on the issue of LG system.*
- **January 15th, 2009**, Daily Zarb-e-Ahan Faisalabad. *LG system should not be abolished, as this system resolves a lot of problems of the people and huge number of women had opportunity to join politics.* 2 columns with pictures. (Pattan & WCN-Faisalabad press conference)
- **January 15th, 2009**, Daily Shelter-faisalabad. *LG system should not be abolished, as this system resolves a lot of problems of the people and huge number of women had opportunity to join politics.* 2 columns with pictures. (Pattan+WCN-Fsd press conference)
- **January 19th, 2009**, Daily Mashriq- Isb/Rwp. *WCN-Rawalpindi chapter conducting press conference “LG system should not be politicized” common problems of the people are solved in their door-step.* 2 columns.
- **January 19th, 2009**, Daily Khabrain Islamabad. *“LG system should not be politicized” common problems of the people are solved in their door-step.* 2 columns.
- **January 19th, 2009**, Daily Asas Rawalpindi. *LG system should not politically victimized, WCN-RWP chapter press conference.* 1 column.
- **January 19th, 2009**, Daily Ausaf Islamabad. *LG system should not politically victimized, WCN-RWP chapter press conference.* 2 columns with pictures.
- **January 22nd, 2009**, Weekly Interchange Chakwal. *Press conference conducting by WCN Chakwal-chapter, People of vested interest are attacking the LG system, due to the existing LG system the women got their representation it also created awareness for their rights, its also provide them opportunities to be a part of decision making.* Couolumn-03.
- **January 23rd, 2009**, Daily Dhan Kahoon Chakwal. *The existing LG system should stay because the women got the maximum representation under it. Women councilors will deter any efforts to abolish the LG system forcefully with the Nazims.* 2 columns.
- **January 24th, 2009**, Weekly Anokha Chakwal. *The existing LG system should stay because the women got the maximum representation under it. Women councilors will deter any efforts to abolish the LG system forcefully with the Nazims.* 2 columns.
- **January 26th, 2009**, Daily Jang Multan. *Government should proposed amendments in LG system, instead of abolishing the same, 21 seats of union councils should be restored (WCN-Khanewal chapter's press conference).* 2 columns with pictures.
- **January 26th, 2009**, Daily Ausaf Multan. *The abolishment of the LG system will be tantamount to murdering of the democracy, Gov should concentrate on the weaknesses of the system, if LG system tried to be abolish WCN+Pattan will starts protesting.* 2 columns with pictures.
- **January 26th, 2009**, Daily Express. *A better LG system should be formed by making amendments in it, water supply and work of sanitation should be given to union councils.* 2 columns.
- **January 26th, 2009**, Daily Nawa-i-Waqt Multan. *WCN will start protesting if LG system will abolished, steps must be taken in order to make women's representation effective in LG system and constitutional protection should be given.* 2 columns with pictures.
- **January 26th, 2009**, Daily Naya Daur Multan. *Instead of abolishing the LG system, the weaknesses should be eliminated, steps must be taken in order to make women's representation effective in LG system and constitutional protection should be given.* 2 columns with pictures.
- **January 26th, 2009**, Weekly Shab-o-Roz Khanewal. *The women councilors will come out in the streets if the LG system abolished, press conference conducted by WCN office bearers, 21seats should be restored in union councils, due to the LG system a women of the middle class got access to the Provincial and National Assemblies, the abolishment of the LG system will be tantamount to murdering of the democracy.* 3 columns.
- **January 26th, 2009**, Daily Khabrain. *WCN will launch strong protest if the LG system is put to an end.* 1 column.
- **January 27th, 2009**, Daily Razaqat Sargodha. *If the LG system will abolished, women councilors of Sargodha will start movement and would offers arrest. In order to gratify some vested interests, the Punjab government is all set to abolish the district government system, women got 33% quota in district government for the first time in the history of this country.* 2 columns.
- **January 27th, 2009**, Daily Jang Lahore. *A seminar arranged by PATTAN for the protection of LG system in Khushab press club-01 pic.*
- **January 27th, 2009**, Daily Jinnah Lahore. *A seminar arranged by PATTAN for the protection of LG system, in Khushab press club-01 pic.*
- **January 27th, 2009**, Daily Nawa-e-Jamhoor. *Picture (WCN's Sargodha chapter conducting a press conference).*
- **March 04th, 2009**, Daily Asas Rawalpindi. *Restoration of funds is pleasing; we did not let the LG system become politicized or victimized.*
- **August 09th, 2009**, Daily Express Multan. *Different CSO's protest for save LG system, early election schedule demanded, Pattan& WCN's office bearer's stage demo in front of PM house.* 2 columns with pictures.
- **September 06th, 2009**, Daily Express Multan. *Pattan & WCN staging protest in favour of LG system, sit-in in front of MPA's office and candlelit rally was arranged; speakers said that if conspiracies are not stopped against the women councilors then we will launch organized movement.* 2 columns with pictures.

- **September 06th, 2009**, Daily Express Multan. *A sit-in organized by Pattan +WCN in front of PM house tomorrow.* 1 column.
- **September 10th 2009**, Daily Jang Multan, *Women's candlelit sit-in for the protection of women's seats in LG in front of Prime Minister House in sehri time. Large number of Pattan & WCN's office bearers join the sit-in.* 2 columns with pictures.
- **September 10th 2009**, Daily Express Multan. *CSO's protest for the sake of women's seats in LG, demanding that in LG the representation should be given to women peasant & minorities.* 2 columns with pictures.
- **September 10th 2009**, Daily Khabrain Multan. *Protest in front of PM house at the time of Sehar by WCN, protest is all about the protection of women's seats in LG system.*
- **September 10th 2009**, Daily Ausaf Multan. *Protest for 'Save Women Representation in LG' as LG provides justice at doorstep.* 2 columns.
- **September 10th 2009**, Daily Nawa-i-Waq Multan. *A protest held by Pattan+WCN against the reduction of women's seats in LG system, struggle will going on for the constitutional and legal rights.* 2 columns with pictures.
- **September 10th 2009**, Daily Pakistan Multan. *Women organizations hold a protest in favour of LG system in front of PM house, at sehar-time protest lead by Tahira Ashraf demanding that weaknesses should be eliminating from existing LG system.* 2 columns with pictures.
- **September 10th 2009**, Daily Hazara News. *WCN will hold protest in front of Parliament House if the LG system will dissolved, it provide awareness, women got 33% quota, it provide access to power, due to the corrupt practices of the few person the system should not wrapped up, unfortunately this system was introduced by the military dictator, it must be protected if the same was introduced in democratic regime.* 2 columns with pictures.
- **September 11th, 2009**, Daily Darpan D.I.Khan. *Candle lit rally in favour of LG system organized by Pattan, if the system tried to be abolish, we can sacrifices anything.* 3 columns with pictures.
- **September 11th, 2009**, Daily Apna Akhbar D.I.Khan. *Pattan organized a candlelit rally in favour of LG system* 3 columns with pictures.
- **September 11th, 2009**, Daily News Mart Rawalpindi. *It's better to dissolve the provincial government, than LG system, we warn government to take any step against the LG.* 2 columns.
- **September 14th, 2009**, Daily Jurat Karachi. *WCN has launched protest campaign in Sindh, WCN will fight for maintaining reserved seats for women, minorities and peasants.* 2 columns.
- **September 14th, 2009**, Daily Nawa-i-Waqt Lahore. *WCN Faisalabad chapter has stage a protest in favour of LG system.* 1 column with pictures.
- **September 14th, 2009**, Daily Jang Lahore. *Pattan+WCN took out a rally in favour of continuation of women representation in LG.* 1 column.
- **September 14th, 2009**, Daily Naya Ujala Faisalabad. *In order to save LG system, Pattan starts protest rally, for the first time women got 33% representation, we will protest if the system will abolished.* 3 columns with pictures.
- **September 14th, 2009**, Daily Pakistan Lahore. *In order to save LG system Pattan+WCN stage a candle-lit rally, a sit-in by women in front of Khalida Mansoor's(MNA) house and demanding that discriminatory laws should be eliminated.* 2 columns with pictures.
- **September 14th, 2009**, Daily Irfan Faisalabad. *In order to protect the women representation, Pattan organized a rally, the objective of the rally is to save women representation in LG system through which the women can perform for their rights.* 3 columns with pictures.
- **September 14th, 2009**, Daily Shelter Faisalabad. *WCN staged candlelit protest under the leadership of WCN's president and Pattan's coordinator.* 2 columns with pictures.
- **September 14th, 2009**, Daily Paigham Faisalabad. *Pattan & WCN has stage candlelit protest, the objective of the rally is to save women representation in LG system.* 2 columns.
- **September 14th, 2009**, Weekly Ghouri News Faisalabad. *Picture shows the Pattan+WCN candlelit rally for the protection of women representation in LG system.*
- **September 14th, 2009**, Daily Waqif, Daily Report, Daily Awaz, Daily Rahbar Faisalabad. *Pattan+WCN candlelit rally for the protection of women representation in LG system. Pictures*
- **August 15th, 2009**, Daily Ausaf Multan. *Pattan record protest in front of PM house.* 1 column with pictures.
- **August 15th, 2009**, Daily Ausaf Multan. *Pattan stage a demonstration for protection of LG system in front of PM House.* 2 columns with pictures.
- **September 16th, 2009**, The News International. *Protest for 'Save Women Representation in LG'.* 1 column
- **September 17th, 2009**, The News. *A picture showing candle lit protest by Pattan+WCN in front of press club, Multan in Sehri time.*
- **September 17th, 2009**, Daily Jang Multan. *WCN has announced to launch protest for the protection of LG system, Government should allow women to participate in politics.* 2 columns with pictures.
- **September 17th, 2009**, Daily Ausaf Multan. *Candle-lit protest organized by Pattan's women. A woman holds banners and placards and demanding increase in their representation.* 2 columns with pictures.

- **September 17th, 2009**, Daily Khabrain Multan. *WCN+PATTAN's stage protest against the abolishment of LG system in different cities including Multan, instead of reducing the women representation the same should be increased.* 2 columns.
- **September 17th, 2009**, City News, Protest for 'Save Women Representation in LG'. 1 column.
- **September 18th, 2009**, Daily Ausaf Multan. *WCN-Vehari chapter starts their movement to save the LG system, a sit-in takes place in front of Tehmina Daultana's house.* 2 columns with pictures.
- **September 18th, 2009**, Daily Jinnah Lahore. *A picture shows protest in favour of LG system.*
- **September 18th, 2009**, Daily Khabrain Multan. *To save the LG system, movement begins, record protest in front of parliamentarian's houses.* 1 column.
- **March 8th, 2010**, Daily times, *A show of women power.* 4 columns with pictures.
- **March 8th, 2010**, Daily Jinnah, Daily Jang, Daily Express, Daily Din, *Women are political assests and their role is appreciateable. Photographs.*
- **March 8th, 2010**, The Daily News, *Rallis mark international Day.* 4 columns.
- **March 8th, 2010**, Daily Ausaf, *A century has passed.*

Resistance Against Hudood Laws

- **08.03.2006**, BBC Urdu.com, *Rally led by Mukhtara Mai, repeal Hadood Ordinance*, 1 column with pictures.
- **09.03.2006**, Daily Times, *Police try to stop Mai-led rally in Multan, the rally of thousands of women was stopped by the police. But they marched a different route instead.* 1 column with pictures.
- **09.03.2006**, Dawn, Lahore, *Mukhtar Mai leads women's day rally attendents demanding repeal of Hudood ordinances.* 3 columns with pictures.
- **09.03.2006**, The News, International, *Mukhtaran Mai leads Women's Day rally, article saying around 3000 women attended the rally.* 2 columns with pictures.
- **09.03.2006**, The Post, *Mai leads rally, vows to fight on, article saying 3000 people attend Women's Day demo.* 2 columns with pictures on title page
- **09.03.2006**, Daily Nawa-I-Waqat, Multan, *Rally led by Mukhtara Mai, saying rally was attended by thousands of women from all provinces.* 2 columns
- **09.03.2006**, The Daily Jang, Multan, *Rally led by Mukhtara Mai, repeal all discrimanatory laws against women.* 4 columns
- **09.03.2006**, The Daily Jang, Multan, *Rally led by Mukhtara Mai*, 1 column with pictures.
- **09.03.2006**, Daily Nawa-e-Sianat, *4 pictures of women chanting slogans.*
- **09.03.2006**, Daily Nayadaur, *Rally led by Mukhtara Mai, women rights should be given, more than 4000 women attending the rally.* 4 columns.
- **09.03.2006**, The Daily Jang, Lahore, *Rally led by Mukhtara Mai- countrywide protest on International Women's Day more than 5000 women attending.* 4 columns with pictures.
- **09.03.2006**, Daily DIN, Lahore, *Countrywide rallies on International Women's Day. Rally In Multan led by Mukhtara Mai.* 3 columns with pictures.
- **09.03.2010**, The Daily JANG, Rawalpindi, *picture coverage of the International Women's Day.*
- **09.03.2006**, Daily AUSAF, Multan, *Speeches on Rally by Mukhtara Mai, Sarwar Bari, Farzana Bari on 8th International Women's Day. Women rights should be protected.,* 4 columns with pictures.
- **09.03.2006**, The Nation, Lahore. *Picture coverage of the International Women's Day on title page.*
- **09.03.2006**, Daily Khabrain, *Rally on International Women's Day led by Mukhtara Mai.* 1 column with pictures.
- **09.03.2006**, The News International, *Non- stop fight for women's rights pledged. Article about Mukhtara Mai's fight for rape victims and her demand for protection to women.* 4 columns with pictures.
- **09.03.2006**, Daily Pakistan, *Speakers of International Women's Day demand: Repeal Hadood Ordinance immediately.* 4 columns.
- **09.03.2006**, Daily Khabrain Multan, *Demanding for Justice by rape victims.* 3 columns with pictures on title page.
- **09.03.2006**, Khoobru Special Edition, *International Women's Day.* 1 page picture coverage.
- **09.03.2006**, Daily Express Multan, *Rally led by Mukhtara Mai, discriminatory law should be abolished, Rally led by Mukhtara by including all rape victim women on International Women's Day.* 4 columns with pictures.
- **09.03.2006**, The Daily Pakistan Multan, *Dr Farzana Bari and Mukhtara Mai leading rally.* 4 columns, 6 pictures.
- **09.03.2006**, Awaz Lahore, *International Women's Day.* Picture on title page.

- 09.03.2006, Dawn Islamabad, *Mukhtar Mai leads women's day rally*. 2 columns.
- 10.03.2006, The News International, *Women Power saying International Women's Day in Multan was attended by 7,000 to 10,000 women*. 1 column.

Joint activities of Pattan/ WCN with other organizations in Islamabad

- 28.06.2004, The News, The Nation, *Speakers about Hudood laws that cause intolerance*. Article and picture.
- 13.03.2004, The News International, *Govt's political expediency on Hudood Ordinance flayed, JAC says women won't rest until law is repealed*. 3 columns.
- 06.07.2006, The News International, Daily Times, The Nation cover *Call for immediate repeal of discriminatory laws*. Article and pictures.
- 13.07.2006, Daily Times, The News International, Dawn Islamabad, *report about seminar on 'Repeal Hudood Ordinance'*, articles and picture coverage.
- 15.07.2006, Daily Times, *NGOs demand protection for freed women*, 1 column.
- 21.07.2006, Daily Nawa-i-Waqat, Khabrain cover *protest against Hudood Ordinance*. Pictures.
- 24.08.2006, The Post National, *We want Hudood Ord repealed: NGO activist. Majority of CSOs believes: No women empowerment unless all discriminatory laws including Hudood laws are repealed*. 6 columns.
- 26.08.2006, Daily Times, *Govt using Women's Protection Bill for political gains: NGOs, Leading NGOs have issued a statement condemning the government's decision to accept the suggestion of the opposition*. 3 columns.
- 29.08.2006, Dawn Islamabad, *Speakers for abolition of Hudood laws, Farzana Bari speaks at a seminar on Hudood laws in Islamabad*. 2 columns with picture.
- 05.09.2006, Dawn Islamabad, *Repeal of Hudood laws sought*, 1 column.
- 14.09.2006, The Post, National, Daily Times, Dawn Islamabad, The Nation, *Write about 12 top CSOs criticising govt's politicking over the Hudood Ordinance*. Articles and pictures.
- 14.09.2006, Daily Jang, Daily Express, *cover press conference/sit-in on repeal of Hudood Ordinance*. Pictures.
- 15.09.2006, Daily Askar, Daily Pakistan, Daily Din, Daily Kainat, Daily Jinnah, Daily Ausaf, Daily Express, Daily Jang, Daily Khabrain, *coverage of protest against response on Hudood Ordinance by governmental officials*
- 18.09.2006, Pakistan Observer, *NGOs to launch drive over delay in abolishment of Hudood bill, Farzana Bari demands total repeal of Hudood Ordinances organized by Joint Action Committee in a press conference*. 3 columns. Picture.
- 18.09.2006, DAWN Islamabad, *Govt warned of protests if Hudood laws not repealed. 16 CSOs warned the govt of countrywide protests*. 3 columns. Picture of Civil society activists Sarwar Bari, Samina Khan...at a press conference.
- 18.09.2006, The Post, City, The Nation, City, Daily Times, *covered NGOs demand to repeal the Hudood laws. Articles and pictures of the press conference*.
- 18-09-2006, Daily Jang *covers press conference about Hudood Ordinances*. 1 column.
- 21.09.2006, The News International, *coverage of protest rally in Islamabad against delay in repealing Hudood Laws. Some 500 members of different NGOs protesting*. Pictures.
- 21.09.2006, The Patriot, *women demanding repeal of Hudood Ordinance during demo in front of the Parliament House*. Pictures.
- 21.09.2006, Pakistan Observer, *Repeal of Hudood Ordinance demanded*. 3 columns with picture.
- 21.09.2006, Dawn, Islamabad, *Women Rally against Hudood laws, hundreds of women form dozens of CSOs held a rally in front of the Parliament House*. 1 column with pictures.
- 21.09.2006, The Nation, *NGOs rally for Hudood Ord repeal, large number of men and women participated in rally*. 6 columns with pictures.
- 21.09.2006, Business Recorder Islamabad, *policemen trying to stop women activists to stage a protest against delay in repealing Hudood Ordinances*. Pictures
- 21.09.2006, Post City, *Protests against newly-proposed amendments to Hudood laws in front of the Parliament House*. Pictures.
- 16.11.2006, Dawn Islamabad, *Civil society rejects Women Protection Bill, CSOs held a protest demonstration outside the Parliament House*. 4 columns with pictures.
- 16.11.2006, The News International, *PATA secretary, DCO directed to produce abducted girl before SC*. 3 columns with pictures.
- 16.11.2006, Pakistan Observer, *Women Protection Bill rejected, hundreds of women's rights activists held a demo outside the Parliament House*. 1 column.
- 16.11.2006, The Post, City, *coverage of demo outside Parliament House*. Pictures.
- 16.11.2006, The Nation, *NGOs demand repeal of Hudood Ord, protest demonstration outside parliament House attended by large numbers of representatives of different NGOs*. 3 columns with pictures.
- 16.11.2006, Daily Times, *A big 'NO' to (amended) women's bill, hundreds of women rights activists held a demonstration*. 3 columns with picture.

- 16.11.2006, The Khabrain, *picture coverage of demo outside Parliament House concerning Hudood ord.*
- 16.11.2006, Ausaf, *picture coverage of demo outside Parliament House concerning Hudood ord.*
- 16.11.2006, Daily Pakistan, *picture coverage of demo outside Parliament House concerning Hudood ord.*
- 16.11.2006, Daily al Akhbar , *picture coverage of demo outside Parliament House concerning Hudood ord.*
- 16.11.2006, The News International, *picture coverage of demo outside Parliament House concerning Hudood Ord.*
- 16.11.2006, Daily Nawa-i-Waqat Islamabad, *Daily Jinnah, Universal, Daily Din, repeal Hudood Ordinances protest. Pictures.*
- 21.11.2006, Daily Khabrain, Nawa-I-Waqat, Al Akhbar, Daily Jinnah, Daily Ausaf, Daily Pakistan, Daily Azkar, Daily Kainad, Daily Din, Daily Insaf, *coverage of repeal Hudood Ordinances protest. Pictures.*

Improving Governance

- February 5 to 12, 2008, Weekly Tajasus, Jhang
- February 27, 2008, Daily Millat, Faisalabad and Jinnah, Lahore
- February 28, 2008, Daily Report, Lahore and Daily Saadut, Faisalabad, *Pattan and WCN, Jhang jointly arranged an interface session with the officials of the department of social welfare & dar-ul-amaan and industrial homes at press club, Jhang.*
- April 25, 2008, The Daily Nawa-I-Waqat, Rawalpindi and Osaaf, Jang, Express, Nayadaur, Pakistan Multan; *Pattan & WCN, Vehari organized an interface session with the officials of social welfare and health department.*

Solidarity wit Rape Victims

- March 9th 2004, The News International, *Women's rallies call for end to honour killings*, 3 columns
- March 9th 2004, Daily Times, *Women hold rallies to stop honour killings*, 3 columns
- March 9th 2004, The News International, *Women march against honour killings*, 6 columns
- March 9th 2004, Daily Ausaf Multan, *Seminar on International Women's Day*, 2 columns, picture
- March 9th 2004, Daily Jang, *IWD Rally all discriminatory laws should be repealed*, 4 columns
- March 12th 2004, Nawa-I-Waqt, *Women edition. Men celebrated women's day*, 7 columns
- May 19th 2004, Daily Ausaf Islamabad, *Protest in front of Parliament house*, 3 columns
- May 19th 2004, Daily Khabrain, Nawa-I-Waqt, Daily Express, *Press conference and protest to show solidarity with rape victims*
- July 13th 2004, Dawn, *Couple threatens suicide*, 3 columns
- July 13th 2004, The Nation, *Harassed couple to protest before parliament today*, 3 columns
- October 9th 2004, The News International, *Rally demands proper legislation against honour killing. HR activists threaten countrywide movement if demand not met*, 4 columns

Campaign for Peace

- March 19, 2009, The Daily Din Peshawar, Kainaat Islamabad, Osaaf Islamabad, Nawa-i-Waqat Rawalpindi, News Mart Rawalpindi, Jinnah Rawalpindi, Apna Akhbar Dera Ismail Khan, Darpan Dera Ismail Khan, Parwaz Dera Ismail Khan, Aitadal D.I Khan, Express Peshawar and Inkeshaf Dera Ismail Khan report; *WCN Dera Ismail Khan organized a rally in collaboration with the other civil society organizations to register their protest against the worsening law and order situation and dwindling writ of the government as the target killings and suicide bombing had become a daily routine in the district. Participants demanded that government should take stringent action against the terrorists and restore peace.*
- April 1, 2009, The Daily Nawa-i-Waqt, Multan reports; *WCN Punjab held a meeting in Multan which was chaired by Ms. Tahira Ashraf, President. Members of WCN strongly condemned the terrorist attack on Manwan Police Training School, Lahore and demanded that government should take strict action against terrorists groups who were responsible for the cowardly attack on the training school. Participants also showed their concerns over the deteriorating law and order situation in the province and urged government to take immediate remedial measures.*
- April 14, 2009, The Daily Nawa-i-Waqt Multan reports; *Tahira Ashraf, President WCN Punjab said in a press release that rulers are trying to replace the present local government system with the absolute bureaucratic system of commissioners and DCOs despite their tall claims about the democracy. She said that WCN would launch the*

movement if the local governments are not allowed to exercise their powers and function independently. She demanded that government should form the councils consisting of 21 members at the UCs level which should include six women like previous and hold direct election to elect the UCs, towns and districts Nazims on the reserve seats.

- **April 5, 2009**, The Daily Nawa-i-Waqt, Nay Dour and Shub-O-Roz Multan on **April 6, 2009** report; Bismillah Irum, President National WCN in a press statement strongly condemned the public-flogging of a woman in Swat. She termed the incident as inhuman and urged government to punish the culprits expeditiously.
- **April 28, 2009**, Pakistan Observer Islamabad, Daily Kainaat, Islamabad, Nawa-i-Waqt Rawalpindi, Jinnah Rawalpindi, City Post Islamabad, The Nation Rawalpindi, The News Rawalpindi and Daily Pakistan, Islamabad report; Members of WCN participated with the other civil society activists in a peaceful protest rally at Abpara Chowk, Islamabad against the Isrial's aggression in Palestine and Lebanon on the call of the Citizens Peace Committee.

Influencing Election Manifestoes

- **January 4, 2008**, Dera Ismail Khan, The Daily Sadaehaq and Daily Inkeshaf report; WCN, Dera Ismail Khan during a briefing of local journalists unveiled the Aurat Manshoor to protect the political and economic rights of women in the country. Some key recommendations of Aurat Manshoor included; constitutional cover to LG system, 33% representation for women in national and provincial assemblies and 25% representation in senate and standing committees.
 - **January 4, 2008**, The daily Parwaz, D.I. Khan, Daily Aitadal, D.I.Khan and Daily Darpan, D.I. Khan , **January 5, 2008**, The Daily Apna Akhbar, WCN D.I. Khan briefed media on the Aurat Manshoor. Highlighting the salient features, Farhat Siddiq, President WCN, D.I.Khan said that Aurat Manshoor recommended 33% representation for women in local governments and 25% seats in national and provincial assemblies.
 - **January 6, 2008**, The Daily Nishadahi, Chakwal Reports; WCN Chakwal launched the awareness campaign regarding the Aurat Manshoor in the district. Office bearers of WCN Chakwal urged the political parties to integrate the Aurat Manshoor in the parties' manifestos so that 52% women could play their due role in the development of the country. They demanded measures to ensure 33% seats for women in local governments, 25 quota in all departments and 25% seats in provincial & national assemblies.
 - **January 8, 2008**, The Daily Leader, Lahore and Daily Survey Report, Lahore report; President of WCN Jhang, Ms. Afza Sheikh urged on the parliamentarians, which are to be elected in the coming general election, to get the Aurat Manshoor approved in the Parliament. She was talking to the journalists in a news briefing held by the WCN Jhang to apprise media about the Aurat Manshoor which had been jointly approved by the WCN in Islamabad recently.
 - **February 8th, 2008**, The Daily Osaaf, Multan, Daily Pakistan, Multan, Daily Khabrain, Multan, Daily Nawa-I-Waqt and Daily Jang, Multan Report; Shameela Aslam, President, WCN Vehari, during a press conference organized by the WCN, said that formation of women councilors network is a step towards the mainstreaming of women at the national level. She urged that all political parties should not only include the WCN's Aurat Manshoor in their manifestos but strategy should also be chalked out to implement the WCN's Aurat Manshoor in letter and spirit. She demanded that instead of 11% representation, women should be given 33% representation in senate, provincial and national assemblies.
 - **February 15th, 2008**, The Daily Osaaf, Multan, Daily Nayadaur, Multan, Daily Jang, Multan and Daily Pakistan, Multan Reports; WCN, Vehari arranged an interactive dialogue titled as 'Aurat Manshoor and Political Parties' in a local hotel. Political leaders, women councilors, members of other civil society organizations, office bearers of WCN Vehari and Pattan's staff were among the participants. On the occasion, Shameela Aslam, President WCN Vehari said that women would support only those political parties which would include the Aurat Manshoor in their manifesto for the upcoming general election. While addressing to the participants, Mr. Zahid Wahla, Vice Provincial President, PML (N) said that 099% of the recommendations given in the Aurat Manshoor was being included by PML (N) in its manifesto and after coming to power PML (N) would ensure representation for women at all the levels.
 - **February 22, 2008**, The Daily Leader, Lahore
 - **February 23, 2008**, The Daily Mahaza, Lahore
 - **February 24, 2008**, The Daily Paigham, Faisalabad
 - **February 25, 2008**, The daily Report, Faisalabad
 - **February 25, 2008**, The daily Report, Faisalabad
- WCN, Jhang urged on the newly elected members national & provincial assemblies Ms. Tahira Bhurwana and Ms. Ghulam Bibi Bhurwana to take appropriate action for the approval of Aurat Manshoor in the assemblies.

WCN Google Search Data

Title on Web	Link	Date
About Women Councilors Network	www.pattan.org	
Hyderabad :Women councilors for LB system - DAWN local	www.dawn.com	Jan 23, 2009
Women empowerment becomes a reality in rural Pakistan	www.hundu.com	July19, 2004
Global Network on Local Governance (GNLG)	www.gnlg.org/newsletter_month_detail.asp?newsid=28...2...7	
International Women Day to be marked on March 8	www.bsseducators.com	
Drama Festival: NGOs and the Women Councilors Network, South Punjab	www.dawn.com	March 6, 2005
Votes for women – Developments Magazine	www.developments.org.uk	
GNLG Newsletter - January 2007	www.algwa.org	Jan 2007
Seminar on Women voices and hidden pain. Sub title: Women demand equitable rights, resources	www.global-sisterhood-network.org	March 2008
Press report s:Speakers urged to create gender equality	marvimemon.wordpress.com	June 2008
The Global Network of Government Innovators South Asian Regional	www.innovations.harvard.edu	
NGOs demand postponement of Multan Nazim elections	www.dailytimes.com.pk	
Status of Women in Political Parties across Pakistan	www.iknowpolitics.org	
Disaster management and local authorities	www.thenews.com	
Daily Times - Leading News Resource of Pakistan	www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=story_9-6-2005...23	
ARDA - Alliance for Reform and Democracy in Asia	www.asiademocracy.org/content_view.php?section_id=11...id	
IWD 2009: Women at every turn	www.isiswomen.org/index.php?option=com...task...	
Women councilors demand equal share in resources	www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G1-181722530.html -	
Shad Begum is a courageous woman.	blumail.org/shareastory/index.php/stories/read/11	
Attack on MNA condemned -DAWN - National; February 17, 2007	www.dawn.com/2007/02/17/nat23.htm	
International Women's Day 2005 Newspaper Articles	https://docs.indymedia.org/pub/.../INTERNATIONALWOMENSDAY.doc	
SACW 9 Feb 2005	www.mail-archive.com/sacw@insaf.net/msg00277.html	
Ominous silence on status of women in Pakistan	southasia.oneworld.net/.../ominous-silence-on-status-of-women-in-Pakistan -	
GNLG Steering Committee Meets For Evolving Future Action Plan	www.gnlg.org/global-network-local-governance-1.asp?sub	
The DSG Governance Research Program	www.scj.go.jp/ja/int/kaisai/jizoku2007/materials/.../13QURESHI.pdf	
Article: Hunger Strike by Women Councilors	www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-128627657.html	
Claiming space: a report based on case studies of women councilors.	ames.lib.umn.edu/acclist/ames3-08.phtml	
Haleema Sadia	www.123people.co.uk/s/haleema+saadia	
Women councillors seek 33pc funds	www.dawn.com/2006/09/11/nat.htm	
Women urged to take part in local polls	www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=story_9-6-2005...23	
Five women to contest for UC nazim slots	http://www.dawn.com/2005/07/17/nat34.htm	
Article: Hunger Strike by Women Councilors	http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-128627657.html	
In Muzaffargarh, hunger striker camp was attended by Huma Nawab, President of Khawateen Councilors Network	brecorder.com/index.php?id=197724...25...bibl...	
	www.accessmylibrary.com/coms2/summary_0286-18370972_ITM	
PPF - Media Files Details	www.pakistanpressfoundation.org/usermediafileswithoutpics.asp?uid	
Local Government Alliances/Networks Situation Analysis CIDA	g2lg.gop.pk/Portal/index2.php?option=com_docman&task...	
Empowerment of women councillors demanded	http://www.thenews.com.pk/daily_detail.asp?id=161387	

ANNEX D

A Specimin of the letter sent to Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and Political Leaders.



سُرت دی سُوئی، پریم دے دھاگے، پیوند لگے ست سنگے
کہے حسین فقیر سائیں دا، تخت نہ ملدے منگے

شاہ حسین (1538 - 1601)

