

WOMEN IN POLITICS: CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF GOVERNMENT POLICIES FOR GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA (KP), PAKISTAN

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ABSTRACT

Gender inequality in politics is a dilemma in third world particularly South Asian countries. Despite of strong legal frameworks in Pakistan gender disparities are still evident in public spheres. There is dearth of research on how these frameworks are working in Pakistan in terms of rescuing these gender inequalities in politics, this study presents a critical analysis of legal frameworks to empower women politically in KP. This study generates a comparative analysis of women descriptive and substantive political representation in KP. This study followed qualitative approach i.e. semi structured interviews were conducted from men and women politicians and constituents. The study found that despite the reduced gender gaps in descriptive representation, gender disparities are still evident in substantive political representation in KP and Peshawar. The actual participation of women on decision making positions is still low in KP's politics. Even after the recent Election Act 2017 could not contribute to real political empowerment of women in KP. The study concludes that these legal frameworks could not let alone empower women politically in KP without streamlining other enabling and disabling factors.

Key words: Gender equality, government policies, women, politics.

INTRODUCTION

Globally gender equality movements proceeded in two waves; the first wave focused on women's movement of engagement in politics and the second was concerned with liberation, reproductive rights, decision making, and patriarchy (Winslow, 1995). International political movements has influenced women political empowerment in Pakistan. In Pakistan, reserved seats for women remained a major feature during civilian and military regimes. However, literature remained silent about the impacts of Pakistan's national and international legal framework on women's participation in politics. International agencies and government of Pakistan address post-2000, gender inequality in politics through Millennium Development

Goals (MDGs) 2000, Goal 3 and Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's) 2015 Goal 5. The focus of MDG's was balancing numbers in political representation while SDG's targeted women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political life. Pakistan government had reserved 17% for women in the national and provincial assemblies and 33% in local bodies. More recently, after the implementation of SDG's the development indicators were centered on ministries held by women in the national cabinet, the proportion of women in local government, and their participation at local levels. Political empowerment is not just balancing the numbers

but also substantive participation (Held 2006; Dahl 2007; Alexander et al, 2016). Political empowerment can be divided into three categories: individual, community, and broader factors. These categories encompass political knowledge, access to rights, political mobilization, local representation, participation in elections, participation in the organizations, and leadership equal gender base sharing (Alexander et. al, 2016). Besides, the 18th Amendment Pakistan's politics witnessed several other developments for women's political empowerment, for example, the National Commission on Status of Women (2000) and Women Parliamentary Caucus (WPC) in 2008. Provincial caucuses were launched subsequently, Punjab in 2009, and the remaining provinces followed suit between 2014 and 2016. WPC as a forum for women, provided an opportunity to address their priority issues collectively¹. Resultantly various laws have been put in place to protect women's rights, such as Women Protection Bill 2006, Domestic Violence Bill 2009, Acid control and crime prevention Act 2010, Protection against Harassment of Women at the Workplace Act 2010. After 2010, the Provincial Commission on the Status of Women was established to keep all the provinces on track regarding gender equality MDG's (Khan and Naqvi, 2018). Later in 2015, in response to SDG's Pakistan Development Alliance (PDA) was formed. PDA is a civil society organization's (CSO's) alliance on SDG's. To achieve SDG's a memorandum of understanding is signed between the Parliamentary commission on Human Rights, Parliamentary Task force on SDG's AWAZ-Pakistan and VSO-Pakistan to set priority indicators (PDA, 2019). Pakistan implemented various programs to enhance the substantive participation of women in politics with the collaboration of international development agencies and NGOs to achieve gender equality goals (Weiss, 2007). In response to women's political activism, another recent development i.e., Election Act (2017) mandated 5% of the party tickets to women on general seats.

¹See details on: <http://www.pakp.gov.pk/2013/women-parliamentary-caucus-wpc/>

There is a trend of analyzing gender gaps in descriptive political representation and linking it to substantive political representation. For example; multiple recent researches, studied trends in gender gaps in descriptive political representation and its impacts on the substantive representation of women in the national assembly of Pakistan (Chowdhury, 2018; Duttoya, 2013, Roofi, 2016; Bari, 2010). These studies sampled men and women in the upper tier of the legislature, i.e., National Parliaments, and neglected the sample from provincial assemblies and the local councils (Ibid). For example; Roofi (2016) focused on time series secondary data on women's descriptive representation (in National parliament) and party support in the form of tickets to men and women from 2002-2013 (for National Assembly seats). Similarly, another study by Duttoya (2013) used secondary time-series data (1962-2008) on the increase in women's descriptive representation in Pakistani national parliament as well as substantive representation (in terms of bills initiated by women in 13th legislature). This study interviewed only women MNA's excluded men, constituents and local councilors. Bari (2010) also presented primary and secondary data on women's descriptive and substantive representation, using FGD's with men and women MNA's.

Likewise, in KP, studies lacked in-depth qualitative analysis on how government policies reduced gender disparities in political representation (i.e. descriptive and substantive) as well as participation. In KP, the majority of the studies focused on analyzing gender gaps in descriptive political representation and explaining socio-cultural reasons for it (Daraz, 2012; Naz & Ahmed, 2012; Naz & Chaudhry, 2011; Ahmad & Anwar, 2017). These studies mentioned above were conducted in Pashtun regions of KP including Dir, Malakand and Mardan. Analysis on the impact of government policies on women's political empowerment, particularly in urban settled areas of KP received even lesser scholarly attention than rural and pakhtun regions of KP. A recent study conducted in the urban center of KP, i.e. Peshawar, highlighted gender gaps in political representation, how socio-cultural constraints affected women councilors in their political

activities (Nasreen et. al, 2016). This study sampled women councilors from Peshawar and omitted men and women from upper tiers politics (Ibid).

Various studies also highlighted that the reserved seat policy has enhanced women's descriptive and substantive representation in the National Assembly (NA) of Pakistan (Chowdhury, 2018; Duttoya, 2013, Roofi, 2016; Bari, 2010). Generally, studies missed analyzing the impact of the government. Policies including reserved seats and Election Act (2017) on real participation of women representatives and constituents in politics. Keeping in view the gaps in previous research and complementing the previous studies this study analyzed gaps between the women descriptive and substantive political representation and participation in KP and Peshawar. This study also gauged the impact of reserved seats policy and Election Act 2017. Based on the objectives of this study, we formulated following research questions: Whether the government policies particularly reserved seats and Election Act (2017) reduced gender disparities in politics in KP and Peshawar or not? How have these policies contributed to women's political empowerment in KP? What is the current status of women's representation and participation in KP and Peshawar after introducing government? What were the enabling and disabling factors towards these government devices for women political empowerment in KP and Peshawar?

2. Conceptual and theoretical framework

Theoretically and practically women political empowerment is mainly achieved in two ways either by increasing numbers in formal politics (i.e. descriptive representation) or by advancing women interests in policy (i.e. substantive representation). (Mackay 2004). The new sophisticated understanding of political empowerment (as discussed in introduction section) calls for the critical actors who contribute to women political empowerment (Chaney 2006; Beckwith 2007; Beckwith & Cowell-Meyers 2007). These are 'those who act individually or collectively to bring about women-friendly policy change' (Childs & Krook 2009). Specifically, 'they initiate policy proposals on their own, even when women form a small minority, and embolden others to take steps to

promote policies for women, regardless of the proportion of female representatives ... their common feature is their relatively low threshold for political action' (Childs & Krook 2006). The umbrella term 'critical actor' encompasses a range of types of actor concerned with advancing the SRW (Chaney, 2012). For example, it may include specialists who strategically concentrate on one particular women's issue, such as domestic abuse against women (Ibid).

Contemporary theory propogates that women political empowerment can be achieved y increasing numbers of women in formal politics, advancing women interests in policy alongwith the political actions by critical actors. Contrary to earlier thinking that the overall proportion of women parliamentarians was foremost in furthering the substantive representation of women (SRW). Recent studies have called for a re-evaluation (Beckwith 2007; Childs & Krook 2008) and have emphasized on analyzing the role of critical actors (Chaney 2006; Beckwith 2007; Beckwith & Cowell-Meyers 2007). Critical mass and critical actors theory were useful for answering research questions of this study i.e. how government devices particularly reserved seats contributed to women's political empowerment in research areas. The critical mass theory assumes that a higher percentage of women in legislative bodies can engender political representation and participation (Child & Krook, 2006; Celis et. al, 2008, Celis & Mazur, 2012). The critical mass theory states that women do not influence legislative outcomes until women move beyond mere token status and constitute a critical mass in governing bodies (Celis & Mazur, 2012; Bratton 2005; Reingold 2006). The assumption here is that when women are critical mass and have more choice about accepting/rejecting the culture of dominants (in this case men) and are able to act for women (Celis, et. al 2008).

On the one hand, the concept of critical mass has proven extremely useful in making concrete gains in the "real world," as it insists that a few token individuals are not sufficient for provoking large-scale policy change (Childs & Krook, 2006). The critical mass theory does not open up the research question to explore the various actors, strategies, and outcomes consistent with women's substantive

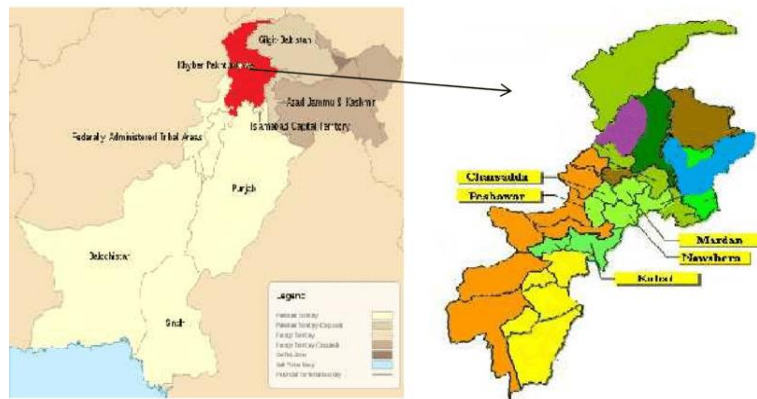
representation and participation (ibid). Critical actors' theory was also consulted to answer how various actors and factors enabled or disabled the implementation of government policies for women's political empowerment. Critical actor's theory explains major actors in gender political empowerment and the roles they play in this complex process (Childs & Krook, 2006). Critical actor's theory because it also offers insights into situations where women are constrained in acting in line with their individual preferences (Childs & Krook 2006). Critical actors' theory does not reject importance of critical mass but assumes that critical mass does not always translate automatically into policy gains for gender

equality. These actors have various constraints related to party affiliation, institutional norms, legislative inexperience, and the external political environment (Childs 2004; Beckwith & Cowell-Meyers 2007; Celis et. al, 2008).

3. Study area:

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) norwestern region of Pakistan located along Pakistan-Afghanistan border (Mills et. al, 2020). It is one of the provinces of Pakistan, check the location of KP within Pakistan on the map (See Figure 4.1). Nearly 14.6% of Pakistan's population reside in KP (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics [PBS], 2017), majority of population are Pahtuns and Hindko speakers (Mills et. al, 2020).

Fig 4.1: Location of District Peshawar in KP

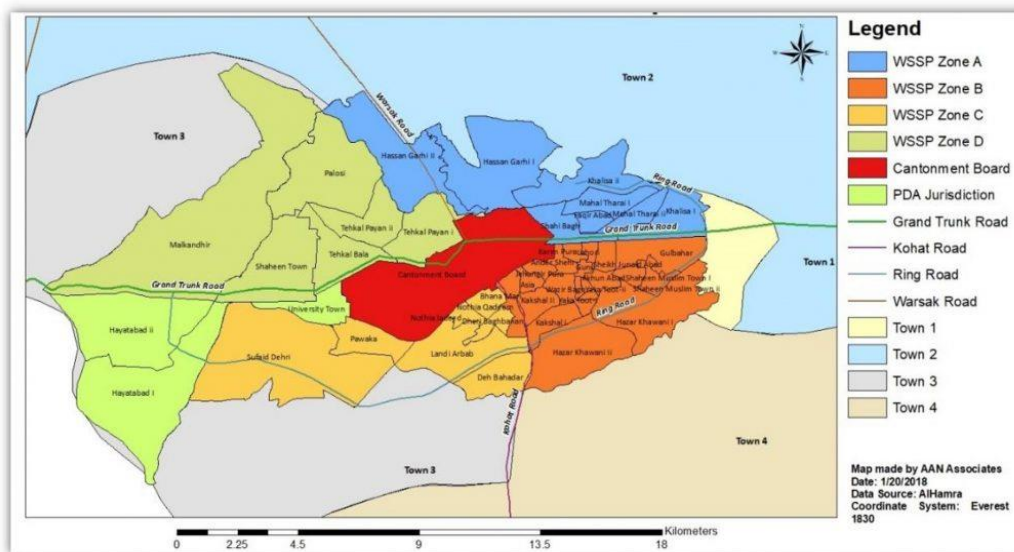


Source: Local Government, Elections and Rural Development Department, KP

KP comprises 36 districts of which Peshawar is the province's provincial capital (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics [PBS], 2017). Peshawar has a population of 4,269,079 inhabitants (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2017). The total population of Peshawar comprises 2,201,257 males and 2,067,591 females (Ibid). Peshawar is the capital and economic hub of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Govt. of KP, 2019). Peshawar comprises of four Town councils² and 92 Union councils (See Figure 4.2). Majority of population in Peshawar is Pashto-speaking but some Hindko-speaking people resides the old city of Peshawar (Shackle, 1980).

²Subunit of District

Fig 4.2: District Peshawar (Interior view and division of municipalities)



Source: Local Government, Elections and Rural Development Department, KP

KP and Peshawar is ruled by multiple parties and remained the victim of political and social turmoil. Awami National Party historically had strongholds in province and its capital city Peshawar (The News International, 2018). The Pakistan Peoples Party had also enjoyed considerable support in the province due to its socialist agenda (Ibid). Despite being a centre for leftist politics in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Peshawar is still generally known throughout Pakistan for its social conservatism (Rakodi, 2016). Majority elected religious government during rule of military dictator General Pervez Musharraf (Simon, 2008). After 2001 the US invasion on Afghanistan ignited the support for Islamist coalition's victory in KP (The News International, 2018).

The gender segregation in educational institutions was enforced by the Islamist government The Islamist government in the province (Misra & Clarke, 2013). Religious coalition in KP swept away by ANP during 2008 elections (Simon, 2008). Later in 2008, the ANP government repealed the policies that imposed political and social restrictions on women during previous coalition government in KP (The News International, 2018). After 2013 PTI during government programs and policies for women political and social empowerment accelerated (Ibid).

Peshawar was selected as a study area because its home to a multicultural and multiethnic population with diverse political affiliations.

Peshawar as a capital also provided feasible grounds to collect data from multiparty representatives and constituents with diverse party affiliations. To keep results nonpartisan and avoid biases in data, researchers selected a range of respondents from diverse party affiliations from Peshawar. The researchers selected Peshawar based on another major reason that previous research in KP lacks analysis on gender political empowerment in urban centers of KP, particularly Peshawar.

4. Methodology and methods:

To analyze how government policies contributed to women at all three tiers of politics i.e. Provincial, Tehsil and Union council levels (See Annexure 1). We interviewed men councilors³, politicians (MPA's)⁴ and constituents. We selected men respondents and women to present the real situation of women in political scenarios and avoid biasness in data. To generate in-depth data and analysis, we used two methods for data collection: key informant interviews, semi-structured interviews. In total 18 key informant interviews were conducted using a semi structured interview guide. Other than the key

³Men and women representatives who are elected in a smaller subunits of Tehsil (i.e. councils) during local government elections 2015

⁴ Men and women members of KP provincial assembly who are elected during general elections 2013 and 2018

informants 74 (men and women) respondents, including 6 MPA's, 28 Councilors and 40 Constituents were also interviewed (See Table

1). Separate semi structured interview guides were used for representatives (i.e. MPAs and councilors) and constituents.

Table 1: Category and number of respondents

Sr. No.	Category of respondents	Number of respondents
1.	Key informants	18
2.	Member of provincial Assembly (MPA's)/Politicians	6
3.	Member of Councils in Peshawar/Councillors	28
4.	Constituents/voters	40
5.	Total respondents	92

Key informants were purposefully selected based on their vast professional experience and expertise on gender and political empowerment to get in-depth knowledge on dynamics of gender and politics in KP and Peshawar (See Annexure 2). Initially few men and women MPAs, councilors and constituents were also selected purposefully based on their knowledge on policies and current developments for women political empowerment in KP and Peshawar. Range of the sample (men and women MPAs, councilors and constituents) extended through snowball sampling technique.

Multiple field visits were made to collect primary data. Daily diary was used to record interviews and notes were taken to capture data in field. Semi structured interviews were conducted mainly in Urdu as it was easier for the respondents to understand the questions and answer those questions accordingly. As the researcher wanted to get detailed information from the respondents so each interview took almost 1.5 hour.

To meet the objectives of this study and to strengthen validity and reliability of data, secondary data was also collected. Secondary data on situational analysis of women political empowerment in KP was gathered from Free and Fair Election Network [FAFEN] (2013), KP assembly and Election Commission of Pakistan's [ECP] websites, reports (2002, 2004, 2008), Government of KP website and Local Government, Elections and Rural Development Department (LGRDD) reports, Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency [PILDAT] (2013) report and Pakistan Bureau of Statistics [PBS] (2017-2018) report.

5. Results and Discussions:

The data analysis in the following section describes how reserved seats and women quota in general seats under Election Act 2017 contributed to women political empowerment. The first part discusses the government policies for women political empowerment in Pakistan. The second and third parts of this section also present primary and secondary data on the status of men and women in KP assembly and in Town councils of Peshawar during previous and current political tenures to critically analyze the impact of these policies on descriptive, substantive representation and political participation of women in the research area. The fourth and fifth section analyzes actors and factors that enabled and disabled the aim of these policies in KP and Peshawar.

5.1. Government policies for women political empowerment in Pakistan:

After independence, during the first two constituent assemblies women representation in Pakistan remained extremely low. The constitutions 1956, 1962 and 1973 reserved seats for women in national legislatures i.e. 10 seats (five each for west and east Pakistan) in 1956, 6 seats (3 each for west and east Pakistan) in 1962 and 10 seats in 1973 for the period of ten years. Later 10 seats were increased in 1985. During Musharraf's regime in 2002 the reserved seats for women were increased to 60 i.e. 18% of the total seats in national assembly. In addition 33% of the seats were reserved for women in local governance. As per the reserved seats policy of Pakistan women on reserved seats are elected to the Senate, National and provincial assemblies and local councils through a party list system of proportional representation. That is, the reserved seats are divided across parties in

proportion to their total general seats won after an election. Fellow party members elected on general seats vote for candidates to the reserved seats. Reserved seats member do not represent any geographical constituencies.

Along with the reserved seats, currently measures have been taken to encourage political participation of women. One striking example of this is the recently passed Election Act, 2017. The Election Act, 2017 ensures 5% representation of women candidates when fielding candidates for general seats. Multiple sections of this act speak of women's political participation as voters and candidates. Section 9 (1) of the Act gives the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) powers to declare an election void if women are restrained from casting their votes. The law further explains that if the women voter turnout remains below 10%, the ECP may presume that women were restrained from voting through a local agreement. Section 18(1) talks about reserved seats for women in Parliament as also mentioned in Article 51 of the Constitution. Section 47 stresses the need to take special measures to increase the enrollment of women voters. In section 206, the Act clearly states that political parties must give five percent of general seat tickets to women.

The main aim of reserved seats policy is to ensure descriptive representation of women with an aim that the increased descriptive

representation of women in federal and provincial cabinets as well as local councils may increase their substantive representation and political participation. While Election Act (2017) is a recent development and primarily meant to ensure women representation on general seats and their participation as contestants and voters in elections. The impact of these measures on women descriptive and substantive representation and political participation is discussed in the later sections.

5.2. Reserved seats and women in political decision-making positions:

Till date in Pakistan the socio-political context favored slow and steady progress in women political activism and participation. The policy of women reserved seats remained intact during many political regimes in Pakistan from 1947 to 2018. The representation of women on reserve seats at national levels steadily rose from 6 in 1962 to 60 in 2018. It was Musharraf's regime when the number of reserved seats drastically increased and later in 2002 till 2018, 60 women members of National Assembly (MNAs) elected on reserved seats. After Musharraf's regime, not only women descriptive representation on reserved seats drastically increased but also the number of elected women representatives on general seats doubled from 7 in 1997 to 14 in 2002 (See Table 2).

Table 2: Representation of women in NA (1962-2018)

Year	Total no. of parliamentary seats	No. of women elected on general seats	No. of seats reserved for women	Total no. of women MNAs (%)
1962	156	2	6	8 (5.1%)
1965	156	0	6	6 (3.8%)
1970	313	1	12	13 (4.2%)
1977	210	2	10	12 (5.7%)
1985	237	4	20	23 (9.7%)
1988	237	4	20	24 (10.1%)
1990	217	2	0	2 (0.9%)
1993	217	4	0	4 (1.8%)
1997	217	7	0	7 (3.2%)
2002	342	14	60	74 (21.6%)
2008	342	16	60	76 (22.2%)
2013	342	10	60	70 (20.4%)
2018-present	342	8	60 (59R+1M)	68 (19.8%)

Source: Own compilation with data from secretariat of the National Assembly of Pakistan

Although due to reserved seats policy overall number of women representatives on reserved

seats sharply increased in national assembly (NA) till 2008 and maintained during the last

elections (i.e. 2018). Just like National assembly of Pakistan, provincial assemblies (PAs) also witnessed steady increase in women descriptive representation after Musharraf's regime. 17% reserved seats were ensured in all the provincial assemblies since 2002 till the last national elections. This showed that Pakistan had achieved MDG 3 by increasing women representation in national and provincial assemblies.

The number of women on reserved seats consistently remained around 17 to 20% in NA but appearance of women representatives on general seats declined from 2008-2018 i.e. 16 in 2008 to 8 in 2018 (See Table 2). Number of women on general seats consistently remained low in all in all provincial assemblies (PA's) during 2002-2019. Particularly in KP and Baluchistan assembly, either none or a single woman got elected on general seat during 2002-2019(See Table 3).

Table 3: Women descriptive representation in Provincial assemblies (2002-2019)

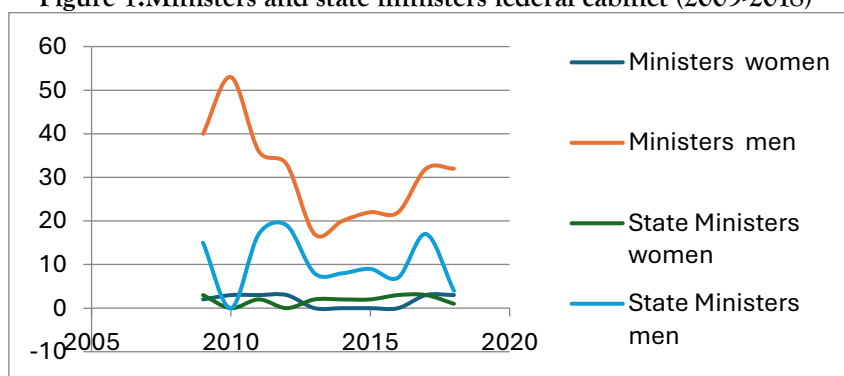
House/Assembly	Total	2002-2007			2008-2012			2013-2018					2018-2024				
		G	R	% Total	G	R	% Total	G	M	T	R	%Total	G	M	T	R	%Total
Senate	104	1	17	17.3	0	17	16.9	2	0	1	17	19.8	2	0	1	17	19.2
National	342	13	60	21.3	16	60	22.2	10	0	0	60	20.5	8	1	0	59	19.9
Punjab	371	7	66	19.7	10	66	20.5	10	0	0	66	20.5	6	1	0	64	19.1
Sindh	168	4	29	19.6	1	29	17.9	2	0	0	29	18.5	2	0	0	29	18.5
NWFP/KP	124	1	22	18.5	0	22	17.71	0	0	0	22	17.7	1	0	0	20	16.9
Baluchistan	65	1	11	18.5	1	11	18.5	1	0	0	11	18.5	0	0	0	10	15.4

Source: Own compilation with data from secretariat of the National Assembly of Pakistan, Provincial assemblies and Election commission of Pakistan

With increase in descriptive representation of women on reserved seats, their substantive representation in NA and PA's particularly KP had not much improvement even after Musharraf's regime. Pakistan Bureau of Statistics (2019) report shows that number of women state ministers, ministers, advisors and special assistants at federal level remained almost

stagnant from 2009 to 2018 (See Figure 1-3). Number of men ministers remained 17-53 and men state ministers remained in between 0-17 in the federal cabinet. On the contrary number of women state ministers remained in between 0-3 and women ministers remained between 0-4 in the federal cabinet. (See Figure 1).

Figure 1: Ministers and state ministers federal cabinet (2009-2018)^{*1}



From 2009-2018, number of men advisors ranged from 0-6 while number of women advisors never exceeded 1. Similarly the number of men special assistants to Prime Minister (PM) also remained higher than women special assistants to PM during the years 2009 to 2018 in the federal cabinet (See Figure 2 and 3).

Figure 2: Number of advisors to Prime Minister (2009-2018)^{*1}

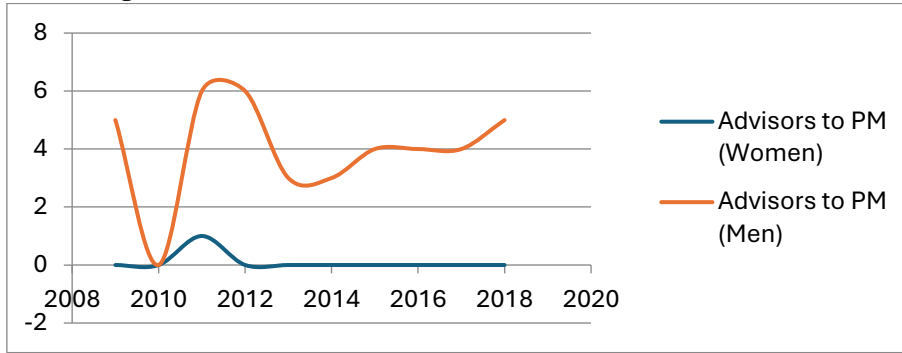
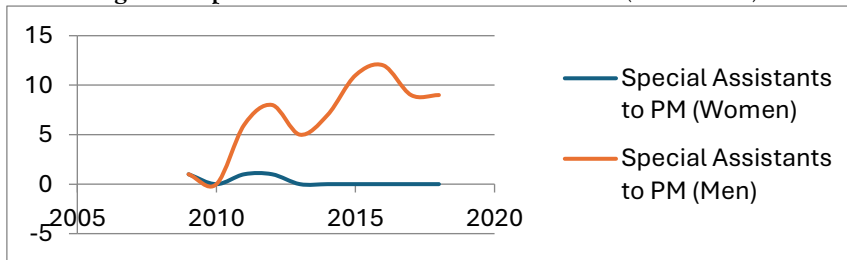


Figure 3: Special assistants to Prime Minister (2009-2018)^{*1}



The gender gaps in ministerial positions in all the four provincial cabinets also remained huge from 2008 to 2018 (See Figure 4-6). The time-series data from 2009-2018 shows that situation of women in ministerial positions in provincial cabinets was no different than national cabinet. The number of women ministers and advisors

never exceeded 5 and special assistants never exceeded 2 in any of the provincial cabinet during 2009-2018. In all provincial cabinets at average there was only one woman special assistant to CM during 2008-2019 (See Figure 4-6).

Figure 4: Women Ministers in Provincial cabinets (2009-2018)^{*1}

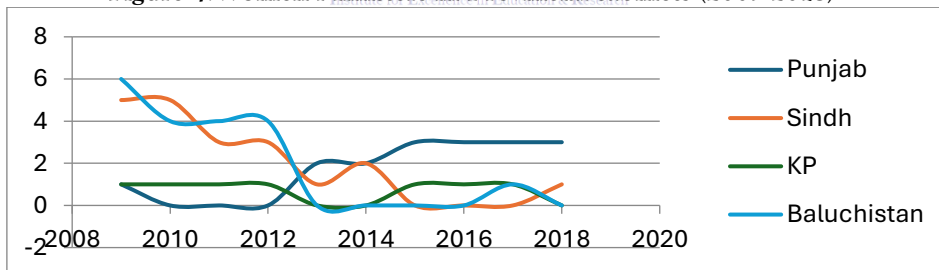


Figure 5: Women Advisors in provincial assemblies of Pakistan (2009-2018)^{*1}

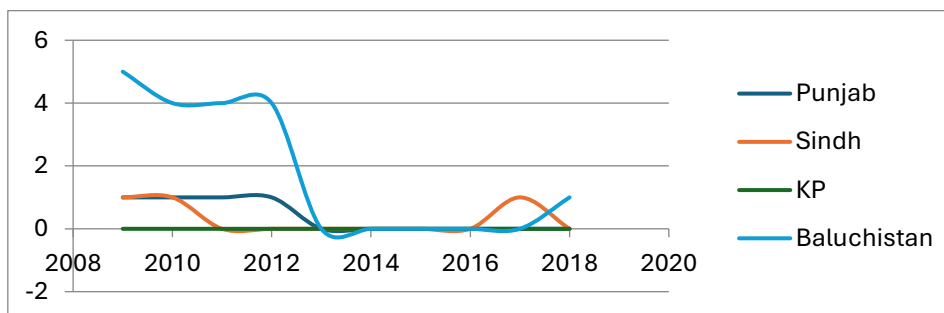
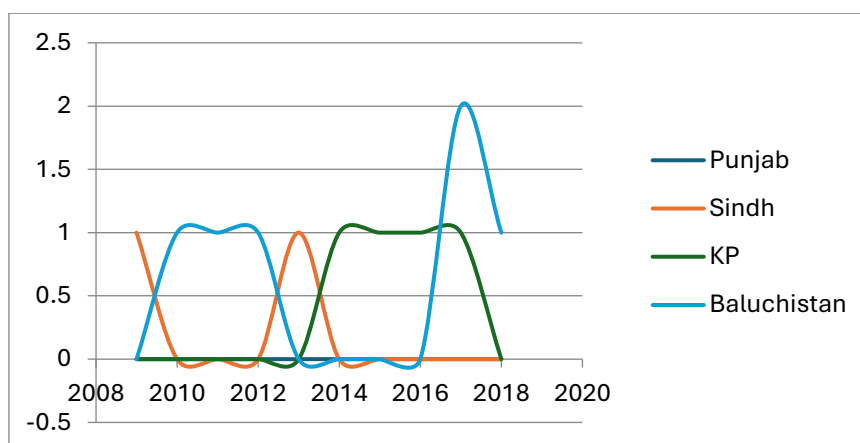


Figure 6: Women Special Assistants to CM provincial assemblies (2009-2018)^{*1}



*¹Source: Authors own compilation of data from Pakistan Bureau of Statistics (2019)

Currently KP presents the most dismal situation in terms of women substantive representation among other provincial cabinets as the current cabinet in KP has not a single woman minister, advisor and special assistant to CM. In addition to the ministerial positions, the representation of women in standing committees in KP assembly is still questionable. Out of 37 standing

committees, three are chaired by women parliamentarians in KP assembly. There is no women representation in committees on key departments like energy and power, works, irrigation, agriculture, home and tribal affairs while there nine female members in Zakat, Ushr, Social welfare and women empowerment department (See Table 4).

Table 4: Gender wise distribution of men and women representation in standing committees KP assembly (2018)

Sr.No.	Name of committee	Male members	Female members	Total members
1	Public accounts	8	2	10
2	Law, parliamentary affairs and human rights	7	3	10
3	Local govt. rural development and elections	8	2	10
4	Food department	9	1	10
5	Planning and development	8	2	10
6	Population welfare department	4	6	10
7	Revenue and estate	9	1	~
8	Administration	10	~	10
9	Zakat, ushr, social welfare, women empowerment	1	9* ²	10
10	Establishment	5	5	10
11	Elementary and secondary education	9	1	10
12	Sports tourism archealogy, youth affairs	8	2	10
13	Science and technology	8	2	10
14	Housing deptt/ PHA	9	1	10
15	Inter provincial coordination	8	2	10
16	Energy and power	10	0	10
17	Transport	9	1	10
18	PHED	10	~	10
19	Labour Department	7	3	10
20	Mines and Minerals Development Department	8	2	10
21	Relief, Rehabilitation and Settlement Department	6	4	10
22	Irrigation	10	0	10

23	Information, public relation and culture deptt	9	1* ²	10
24	Industries and commerce	8	2	10
25	Home and Tribal affairs	10	0	10
26	Health	8	2* ²	10
27	Environment deptt	8	2	10
28	Finance deptt	9	1	10
29	Excise and taxation	9	1	10
30	Higher education and libraries department	8	2	10
31	Communication and works deptt	10	0	10
32	Auqaf, religious and minority affairs	8	2	10
33	Agriculture, fisheries and livestock deptt	10	0	10
34	Law reforms and control on subordinate legislation	7	1	8
35	Procedure on conduct of business rules and privileges	9	1	10
36	Judicial	5	4	9
37	House and Library	4	2	6

*2These committees are headed by female chairpersons

Source: Data extracted in May 2020 from website of KP assembly (<https://www.pakp.gov.pk/committee-type/standing-committee/>)

In KP assembly there is no bar on selection of members of standing committees. The procedure for the election of members of standing committees is that parties usually nominate members. The final selection of the nominated members is the discretion of the speaker who is empowered by the assembly members by a unanimously passed resolution. In the Town councils of Peshawar, the procedure for electing the members of the committee is same as the KP assembly. The data from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Local Government Elections and Rural Development Department (KPLGRDD) showed that each council is represented by 33% of women councilors while average representation of women in each town council committees is about 14%. Only social/women welfare committees are chaired by women councilors while there is no women member in crucial committees like finance, accounts, works and taxation in any of the four councils in Peshawar is chaired by women councilor (See Annexure 3a-3d)

The above discussion shows that till date Pakistan in general and KP in particular achieved 22% of women representation in the parliament by introducing reserved seats policy.

The policy of 'numbers' has at least increased the presence of women in NA and PAs. Although reserved seats steadily enhanced presence of women in formal politics in KP assembly and councils of Peshawar since 1962 but substantive representation of women on ministerial positions in KP assembly from 2008-2019 is extremely low. Similarly low women representation in committees on key departments in current KP's cabinet and councils of Peshawar also show that despite of being a critical mass now, women representatives are still not the critical actors in KP and Peshawar. This shows that reserved seats policy could not substantively contribute to substantive representation of women in KP and Peshawar.

5.3. The impact of reserved seats policy and Election Act (2017) on women political participation:

Reserved seats for women in politics have remained a prominent feature in Pakistan since 1962. In fact the reserved seats could not contribute in the appearance of influential women politicians. After independence, Begum Raana Liaqat Ali set an example of an influential female politician in the new country. After Begum Raana, a few influential politicians appeared in Pakistan's politics, like Benazir Bhutto (BB) at the national level and Begum Nasim Wali in KP. BB and Mrs. Wali's case highlight multiple similarities of their political struggles. All of them proved themselves as

strong politicians when the political sphere was not conducive for them and their parties. Begum Raana continued to struggle after her husband's assassination, BB started campaigning when her father was imprisoned and hanged. Similarly, Mrs. Wali husband was detained when she continued political struggle. Their struggles had a commonality of carrying the cause of their husband (in Mrs. Wali's case) and father (in BB's case). BB's and Mrs. Wali's political struggles are quite similar as they had started their campaigns to get their male family members relieved from the government detention. It was the support of the party towards Mrs. Wali and BB to fulfil their political motives. Many Key informants including former politicians and journalists also mentioned that it was when PPP was running in Bhutto's name and ANP was running in Wali Khan's name, both the parties could not afford to lose their political identity which led to support for the female heirs of both the families as parties political leaders. The political influence of both the female politicians' does not only credit to their own struggles but also their political background and party support played a major role. For example, for Mrs. Wali, the political campaigning during 1977 elections was devotedly run by party workers. Similarly BB's political campaign during 1988 elections was immensely supported by party members and workers.

The reserved seats along with the appearance of strong female politicians like BB set the stage for many other women to participate in politics. Pakistani politics witnessed many female politicians who won on general seat at federal level such as Ms. Fehmida Mirza, Shahnaz Wazir Ali, Ms Firdous Ashiq Awan, Ms. Ayla Malik, Ms. Nafisa Shah.... But in case of these entire female politicians one thing i.e. their family's political background was in common. This critical mass and the appearance of female politicians in decision-making positions fuelled women's political activism at the national level. The new wave of pro-women legislation was laid down in 12th NA and PAs with complete support of women's rights and human rights organizations. For example Ms. Sherry Rehman moved a PMB in 2003 titled "The Protection and Empowerment of Women Bill" in 2003. Ms. Rehman also moved "Honor killing bill" for

which there were no provisions on Qisas and compensation.

Although women from within the ruling party tried their best even till the last moment to get both these positive amendments incorporated in the bill. They failed due to strong resistance from some quarters in the government and party. Similarly many other Bills were moved by women legislators like Pakistan Penal Code (Amendment) Bill, 2004 (Amendment in 366-C), the Uplift and Welfare of Women Bill, 2004, the Uplift and Welfare of Women Bill, 2004, the Equality of Opportunity for Women Employment Bill, 2005; the Prevention of Domestic Violence Bill, 2005; and the Hudood Laws (Repeal) Bill, 2005, the Family Courts (Amendment) Bill, 2004, the Offence of Zina Enforcement of Hudood (Amendment) Bill, 2005, and the Offence of Qazf Enforcement of Hudood (Amendment) Bill, 2005 the Pakistan Citizenship (Amendment) Bill, 2005 (twice moved), the Establishment of the Office of Wafaqi Woman Motasib Bill, 2005, the Senior Citizens Bill, 2005, by Ms. Mehnaz Rafi; the Protection of Serving Women Bill, 2005 (twice moved), the Inheritance for Women Bill, 2005, the Economic Stability of Women Bill, 2005, the Hudood Laws Effective Enforcement and Protection Bill, 2005, the Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill, 2005, and the Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Bill, 2005, the Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill, 2005, the Prohibition of Marriage with the Holy Quran Bill, 2005, and the Dowry and Bridal Gifts Restriction Bill, 2005, the Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 2005, 'The Protection of Women (Criminal Laws Amendment) Bill, 2006. A majority of their legislative efforts did not succeed.

National Assembly and the Senate could make only two laws for women during 2002-2008: the law on 'honour' killings in 2004 and the Protection of Women Act in 2006. From 2008 to 2012 General elections were held in 2008. But, there was no going back to the momentum created by the previous National Assembly. The National Assembly (2008-2013) made history on 4 August 2009 by passing the Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Bill 2009. Unfortunately, this bill got lapsed in the Senate and nothing could be done to save it due to changes in the legislative process after the 18th

Constitutional Amendment. In 2010, came two laws to curb sexual harassment against women as official bills. The first one is Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2010, which makes amendment in section 509 of the PPC relating to sexual harassment of women at workplace. The other, more comprehensive law titled “The Protection against Harassment of Women at the Workplace, Act, 2010”. The year, 2011, ended with two more very important laws to end injustice and discrimination against women by penalizing offences related to customary practices and acid crimes i.e. Prevention of Anti-Women Practices (Criminal Law Amendment) Act (2011). Later The Domestic Violence Prevention and Protection Bill (2012), The National Commission on the Status of Women Act (2012), The National Commission for Human Rights Act (2012), The Dowry and Bridal Gifts Act, The Women, Violence and Jirgas Act, Marriage in the Quran and Women Agriculture Bill 2019 were also presented.

The appointment of few women ministers at the federal further contributed to strengthening women’s political base at provincial levels. This political base for women was also reflected in PAs particularly KP where first-ever woman minister was appointed by the ANP government and election of a woman Deputy Speaker in Sindh Provincial Assembly were also measures in the same positive direction. Later in 2013 Ms.Roghani (2013-2018) served as first female deputy speaker in KP. Ms. Ayaz and Ms. Roghani had appeared from mainstream women population in KP as their families did not have any political background. During the last GE (2018) the representation of women on general seats in KP declined. Only one female appeared on general seat in KP assembly i.e. Samar Haroon Bilour. Her case was exceptional and she was given her husband’s seat by the party when her husband got martyred in bomb blast while campaigning for 2018 election. There is no woman minister and special assistant in KP cabinet. The case of Samar Bilour resembles Mrs. Wali and BB’s early political struggles. Samar is also supported by the party to occupy party seat (her husband’s seat) in Peshawar.

The trend of pro-women legislation in NA trickled down to KP assembly. Provincial Commission on Status of Women was established and empowered under PCSW Act

(2009) followed by many other pro-women legislations like The KP Deserving Widows and Special Persons Welfare Foundation Bill (2014), The KP Dowry, Bridal Gifts and Marriage functions Bill (2017), The KP protection against Harassment of women at the workplace Bill (2018), KP domestic violence (prevention and protection) Bill (2019), Enforcement of women property rights Bill (2019), The KP Regulation of Lady Health Workers Program and Employees(Regularization and Standardization) (Amendment) Bill,(2021), The KP home based workers(welfare and protection) Bill, 2021.

It was not surprising that women legislators introduced this pro-women legislation in national and KP assemblies. The commitment of women legislators in national and KP assembly to fulfill their responsibility as women to work for women endorses the critical mass notion. Their commitment as women legislators was also reflected by their participation in KP assembly proceedings during 2013-2017. According to FAFEN (2018), women raised 20% of questions, 18% of adjournment motions⁵, 20% of resolutions⁶, 37% of private member bills⁷ and 15% of call attention notices⁸ in KP assembly from 2013 to 2017(See Figure 7).

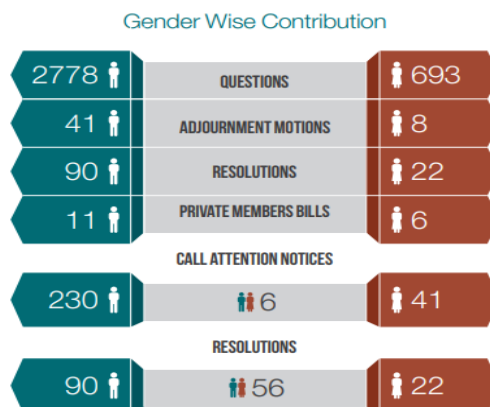
⁵Adjournment motion is the procedure for adjournment of the business of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, ...

⁶ A non promulgated bill or law upon which deliberation is requested by a member

⁷A private member's bill in a parliamentary system of government is a bill (proposed law) introduced into a legislature by a legislator who is not acting on behalf of the executive branch.

⁸'Call Attention Notice' means a notice by which a special question of public importance may be raised by member of assembly to the concerned minister with the permission of the speaker

Figure 7: Gender-wise substantive political representation in KP assembly 2013-2017



Source: FAFEN (2013)

<http://fafen.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Women-Legislators-Report-KP-Final.pdf?x22764>

The representation of women voices versus the number of women legislators in KP assembly showed that women MPAs had actively participated during KP assembly sessions but their legislative activities were more inclined to the women issues. The inclination of women legislators towards women issues was also reflected from their responses on current legislations done by women MPAs in KP assembly. For example, a woman MPA (KP assembly) said:

“There are many pro-women laws recently tabled by women MPAs. Among them, the most relevant are domestic violence bill, dowry act and the women empowerment policy”

Unlike women MPAs, responses of men MPAs reflected their legislation towards community development issues like provision of health facilities, improvement in education system, budget funding for infrastructure development in their respective constituencies. Majority of men councilors and politicians actively participated in budget sessions and raised voice for fund allocation to resolve various community development issues. While discussing the funds allocation to community development in budget sessions a male MPA revealed that he emphasized on fund for public health issues for which least fund was allocated during the budget sessions (2019) in KP assembly.

The participation of women MPAs in budget sessions remained lower than the men MPAs. A daily reporter on KP assembly sessions from a reputed news agency highlighted that hardly any female MPA participated during budget sessions observed and reported by him during 2013-2019.

The data from female MPAs also reflected that majority of the female MPA’s attended budget sessions silently and a few just questioned lack of funding for women development programs. For example a female MPA revealed that she questioned the lack of provisions on maternal health during last budget sessions in KP assembly. Similarly women councilors in Town councils of Peshawar were also inclined towards women issues. Many women councilors showed higher participation in legislation/projects for women development like dowry packages, transport for working women and sewing machines for the needy women. Unlike women councilors, men councilors showed more involvement in community development issues such as rehabilitating a water supply scheme, installing street lights, and constructing streets. The responses of men and women constituents also reflected that the community usually approached the male councilors to fix any community development issue in Peshawar. It was endorsed by many key informants, including social workers and former politicians, that female representatives are not practically involved by the council and provincial assembly cabinet, party and constituents in general community issues, especially in KP. The lesser the female representatives were involved in community development issues, the lesser was their political awareness. The majority of the female MPAs and councilors could hardly tell about community development issues and legislation. Many could not even compare their and opposing party’s manifestoes and agendas. Male representatives accredited less involvement

of female representatives and their lack of political awareness to their legislative inexperience as representatives. Secondary data also reflected that 86% of women MPAs in 2013 and 77% of them had their first term in 2018 in

KP assembly. The ratio of new women MNAs and MPAs was also higher than the experienced ones in NA and other PAs of Pakistan (See table 5).

Table 5: Newly elected women representatives in NA and PAs of Pakistan

Assembly	2013			2018		
	New	Total	%	New	Total	%
National	45	60	75	36	60	60
Punjab	58	66	88	49	66	74
Baluchistan	8	11	73	11	11	100
Sindh	19	29	66	17	29	56
KP	18	21	86	17	22	77

Source: Authors own compilation of Data from ECP 2013 & 2018 Reports

The data reflected that an increased number of women representatives had increased women's political activism in terms of pro-women legislation in National assembly, KP assembly. Women representatives in KP assembly and Town councils substantively represented women issues as depicted by the number of pro-women legislations and projects initiated by them during 2013-2019. To what extent the benefits of pro-women legislation have trickled down to women citizens is still a question mark? The majority of women constituents in Peshawar were not aware of recent legislation and could only tell the ruling party's name. Few women constituents particularly working women in Peshawar could just discuss and appreciated few policies like Right to Information Act and Workplace Harassment Act. Men and women

constituents also tried to approach men representatives for resolution of community development issues in Peshawar. This further reflected that the participation of women representatives in political decision making for other community development issues was lower than the male representatives.

Just as the increased number of women representatives had a slight impact on the participation of women as representatives, this also had a gradual impact on women participation as contestants and voters in KP and Peshawar. In comparison to their population in the province, women participation as contestants and voters remained lower during 2002-2018 but women contestants on general seats gradually increased at National level and in KP (See Table 6).

Table 6: Women contestants on general seats in NA and KP assembly

General elections	1997		2002		2008		2013		2018	
	NA	KP	NA	KP	NA	KP	NA	KP	NA	KP
No. of women candidates	56	01	61	2	72	12	135	26	183	33
Issued tickets	-	-	38	2	31	4	61	10	105	28
Independent	-	-	23	0	41	8	74	16	66	5
Winner	-	-	13	1	16	0	10	0	8	1
% winning candidates			12	50	22	0	7	0	4	3

Source: Authors own compilation of data from ECP, NA and PA websites

Relatively higher number of women contestants participated during last elections (i.e. GE-2018) due to Election Act (2017) which bound parties to allocate of 5% party tickets to women on general seats. Although the number of women contestants gradually rose in KP, none or at most a single women contestant could win on

general seat during the last four elections (i.e. GE-2002, 2008, 2013, 2018). Election Act (2017) also mandated 10% female voting out of total polled votes in every constituency. Even after the 10% necessary female voting, female voter's turnout drastically declined by 11% from 2013 to 2018 in KP (See Table 7).

Table 7: Voter turnout from 2008-2018 in KP

Voter turnout	GE-2008	GE-2013	GE-2018
Male	45%	46.10%	51.77%
Female	12%	43.46%	32.96%
Gender disparity	33%	2.64%	18.81%

Source: Authors own compilation of data from ECP

The gender disparities between male and female voter turnout remained starker in KP than other provinces during GE 2018 (See Table 8).

Table 8: Gender disparities in voter's turnout in PAs during GE-2018

Voter Turnout	Punjab	Sindh	KP	Baluchistan
Male	59.63%	51.02%	53.86%	48.88%
Female	52.90%	42.54%	34.51%	40.39%
Gender disparity	6.73%	8.48%	18.35%	8.49%

Source: Authors own compilation of data from ECP

Moreover, in three KP constituencies (two NA and one PA) female turnout remained less than 10% of the total polled votes (Dawn, 2018a). In KP, Kohistan had highest gender disparities in terms of voters registration followed by Peshawar in GE-2018 (ECP, 2018; FAFEN, 2018). Male and female voter turnout in local government elections (LGE) in KP also showed huge disparity of 30% (ECP, 2016). It was also reflected in responses of the women constituents in Peshawar that majority of them were uninformed voters. The majority of these women constituents, except for a few educated working women, did not know which candidate they voted and why they voted for a particular candidate, they only remembered which party they voted for in GE-2018. On the contrary responses of the majority men constituents interviewed clearly justified their voting for a particular candidate. The majority of men's constituent's responses highlighted that they voted for a particular candidate keeping in view his previous efforts for the community and his agenda for the upcoming tenure.

Increased women numbers in KP assembly due to reserved seats policy, amplified their political activism but contributed less to their political awareness and participation in KP. The increased presence of women as representatives did not significantly impact the political participation of the women MPAs in KP assembly and councilors from Peshawar. Number of women representatives in KP assembly did not prove to be assisting factor in their recognition among constituents in KP and Peshawar. Even the mandatory 5% party tickets

to women contestants could not change voting behaviors of men and women constituents for women contestants in KP and Peshawar e.g. winning women candidates on general seats never exceeded one from 2002-2018. In councils of Peshawar, women's critical mass could not raise their socio-political capitals within the community as majority of the constituents approached male MPAs or male councilors for resolving community development issues. The mandatory 10% women voting had no significant impact on women's voting behaviors in KP and Peshawar. However, education levels of women constituents and their participation in economic spheres were accelerating effect on their voting behaviors in Peshawar like educated working women reported informed voting during GE-2018. This showed that 'numbers' just provided space to women in form of their presence in KP assembly and councils in Peshawar (i.e. reserved seats) to raise voice for women. The above findings relate to the previous studies (Chowdhury, 2018; Duttoya, 2013, Roofi, 2016; Bari, 2010) i.e. increase in women descriptive representation, improved their substantive representation in terms of pro-women legislations only. In KP and Peshawar, the participation of women in politics during last two decades showed that reserved seats policy and Election Act 2017 could not contribute to the real aim of women political empowerment i.e. substantive political representation and participation.

5.4. The game changers or the string pullers:

The gatekeepers have the power to facilitate or restrict the people's access to political positions in Pakistan. As per Musharraf's decentralization policy, reserved seats member are elected through proportionate representation based on each party's strength in the assembly/council voted by their fellow party legislators. This means that selection of women as a reserved seat member solely depends upon the political parties and the majority party legislators i.e. men. Key informants also recalled Musharraf's refracted 33% reserved seats for women in all legislative assemblies due to immediate backlash by conservative political parties. On reserved seats and on general seats, the gatekeepers' i.e. political parties, has a prominent role in women's political representation and participation in Pakistan. Since 2002 till 2018, few women as compared to men were issued party tickets on National assembly seats. The number of party tickets issues to women exceeded than the independent women candidates in GE-2018 which can be partially attributed to Election Act 2017 that bound parties for 5% allocation of party tickets to women on general seats (See Table 6). Despite increasing number of women contestants on general seats the number of winning candidates in Pakistan declined from 22% in 2002 to 7% in 2013 and 4% in 2018 (See Table 6). Major political parties i.e. Pakistan Tehrik-e- Insaf (PTI), Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) and Pakistan People's Party (PPP) issued tickets to the minimum number of women as was permissible by the law, barely following the official 5pc requirement in GE-2018 (Dawn, 2018b).

In KP the number of party tickets issued to women was lower than the independent women candidates consistently during GE-2002, 2008 and 2013. The trend was altered in 2018 by government through Election Act (2017). In KP, only one woman won on general seat on PAs constituencies in 2018. Many key informants including senior journalists, former politicians, social and political workers confirmed that 'Samar'⁹ was actually backed by the political party as the party was sure that

Bilour's¹⁰ constituency would have earned vote for any of his family member even a female i.e. 'his wife'. Other than Samar's case, most women candidates were issued tickets by the parties on unwinnable NA's and PA's constituencies in KP. For example; various reputed news agencies of Pakistan and KP including DAWN, The News, Express tribune, Jang, Daily Mashriq reported that many parties fielded women candidates in conservative areas such as PTI fielded Hameeda Shahis on PK-10 Upper Dir and Sidra Khalid on PK-26 Kohistan, and PPP fielded many women candidates on southern districts e.g. Syeda Yasmin Safdar on PK-88 Bannu, Mehr Sultana from PK-89 Bannu, Farzana Shireen from PK-91 LakkiMarwat and Khurshid Bibi from PK-98 Dera Ismail Khan. It was also reflected in the responses of many key informants that Upper Dir and Kohistan are extremely conservative parts of KP where in the past the political parties' candidates had even banned women's voting through written or verbal agreements.

Moreover, many key informants (particularly observers of last elections like representatives from FAFEN and ECP) also highlighted that women candidates faced resistance during their election campaigns in Southern districts of KP before GE-2018. PTI and ANP fielded some female candidates on Hazara region constituencies where the both the parties had no chances to win. Similarly PML-N issued fielded women candidates in those constituencies where the party is not popular like Sumera Khan on PK-58 Charsadda, Farah Khan on PK-60 Charsadda and Sobia Shahid on NA-7 Lower Dir. A few female who had a strong economic and political background with higher chances of electability like Asma Alamgir from PPP and Samar Haroon Bilor from ANP were candidates from major constituencies in Peshawar (The News, 2018).

Besides the majority of women contestants were fielded on unwinnable constituencies, the responses of women MPAs (who occupied reserved seats later) also reflected that their political campaigns were not backed and supported by political parties. As a result many

⁹Haroon Bilour's wife

¹⁰ Haroon Bilour was a key member of ANP whose family (The Bilours) won from PK-78 for five consecutive terms

women MPAs who lost elections on general seats later occupied reserved seats upon party recommendations in PA of KP. Many women MPAs, many women councilors in Peshawar reported meager or no support and funding at all from parties during their political campaigns in LGE-2015. It was also reflected in responses of women councilors that their parties engaged them in running political campaigns for other men candidates than their own during LGE-2015.

Above discussion reflected that gatekeepers are critical to get more women in KP's politics. The gatekeepers largely determined the entry and fate of women into elected/reserved positions generally in Pakistan and KP in particular. In KP, The entry of women into elected political positions was hampered by the political parties by fielding women contestants on unwinnable constituencies. The criteria for gatekeepers support were economic and political backgrounds as well as chances of electability of women contestants in KP which was quite evident in case of Asma Alamgir and Samar Bilour. Mrs Wali's example is also very relevant here. These examples showed that a woman candidate stands stronger who has adequate funds for their campaigns and who will not squeeze the party which was also reflected in case of women councilors who received none or meager support from parties and were directed to campaign for other men candidates. The legislation like Election Act 2017 could not protect, let alone promote women participation in elections generally in Pakistan and in KP and Peshawar particularly.

5.5. Zenana Dabba¹¹

Reserved seats have a twofold impact on women political empowerment. Although reserved seats enhanced women's political presence in NA and PAs of Pakistan, it has restricted women representatives to pro-women issues. Many women MPA's highlighted that as reserved seat member, they are expected to speak on behalf of women and they don't get funds for general community development issues as they are indirectly elected and don't have a constituency. Moreover, as a reserved seat members, women

MPA's still make a minority and cannot challenge the political decisions of majority (men MPAs) in KP assembly. This was also reflected in responses of many women MPA's. For example; one of the women MPA's while explaining substantive impact of reserved seats said that:

"As a reserved seat member, I faced a lot of criticism when I raised objection on a decision during budget meeting. Even the senior men MPA's said that I should not speak during budget sessions because I don't have any constituency"

The mindset i.e. 'women representation for women voices' impacted representation of women MPAs and councilors in committees. Committees such as social welfare, women empowerment in KP assembly and beautification committees in councils of Peshawar, which were expected to work for women issues constituted more women members (See Annexure. Responses of men and women MPAs showed that women are expected to deal with and better handle women's issues. Like many men MPAs revealed that women MPAs were given higher membership in social welfare and women empowerment committee because women MPAs were more aware of women issues than men MPAs. This mindset was reflected in current practice in KP assembly i.e. women MPAs efforts specifically for pro-women legislation. The future political agendas of women MPAs were mostly relevant to women issues. For example; many women MPAs desired funds for skill trainings of women, girl's schools, maternity health etc. One of the three women MPAs desired to have a constituency. Her response reflected that she had her own shadow constituency, her native village, where she resolved community development issues. For example; the same woman MPA said that after multiple efforts she rehabilitated a water scheme in her village through Tehsil municipal administration's (TMA) fund but because she was not directly representing the constituency so the elected male MPA from that constituency took major credit and affixed caption board of the scheme with his name in the area. This shows that without direct constituencies, female representatives' efforts in KP assembly for community development were not counted.

¹¹Word used for ladies compartment in Urdu (National language of Pakistan)

Women councilors also showed greater involvement in pro-women activities such as distribution of dowry packages, sewing machines... The reason for women councilor's greater inclination was their interest in women issues and lack of their legislative inexperience in community development issues. Responses of many men and women councilors also depicted that women councilor never handled development issues like water and sanitation, street/road rehabilitation etc within the community. Most women councilors' length of political tenure in Peshawar was at maximum 4 years, which means that 2015-2018 was their first term. Moreover, many women councilors in Peshawar had not even attained matriculate degrees.

Peshawar's men and women constituents depicted mindsets similar to representatives about how women representatives should act in political decision-making. The data from men and women constituents reflected their preference for men over women MPAs and councilors to resolve community development issues. While supporting the male MPA's, the men and women constituents said that male MPA's resolved a wide range of local related issues such as water sanitation/ filtration, establishing or modifying health facilities, and the installation of street lights. A male constituent, while opposing women participation in politics and supporting men participation in politics, said:

"We have seen women MPA's on media and TV channels, but we have not seen any woman MPA since last four years in our area. Yes, male MPA from our area has corrected our water pipelines, installed streetlights and paved the streets. So, we will prefer to vote for male candidate in next elections too"

A few men and women constituents supported women's political participation and agreed that balanced participation of women in decision-making would represent women's needs and interests. A female constituent, while expressing her views on women participation in politics, said:

"Women appearing in politics are good as at least they will represent women and will help them resolving their issues"

The above data indicates that reserved seats have pushed women MPAs in KP and women

councilors in Peshawar in "Zenana Dabba". In this respect the women representatives were oriented towards specific domains as proof of sexism and undermined their legitimacy i.e. if they are women representatives and reserved seat members, they cannot be 'people' representatives in KP and Peshawar. As reserved seat members in Peshawar's KP assembly and councils, women could not defend and develop a real sense of the people and their issues. Women MPAs in KP assembly and councilors in Peshawar had least political legitimacy as the majority benefited from reserved seats could just work for women. Their efforts for general community development issues were not even counted, which shifted the credit to directly elected male MPAs in KP. Along with the little political legitimacy the mindset that Duttoya (2013) explained as "women as vulnerable and need of protection in Pakistan" further restricted role of women representatives in KP assembly and councils of Peshawar to representatives of women who needs to be developed and not considered actors in development.

Moreover, in KP assembly, some sectors seem to be perceived as feminines, such as social welfare and women empowerment, while some as very masculine like finance, energy and works which certainly enclosed women MPAs in another 'Zenana Dabba'. Similarly; in councils of Peshawar, sectors like taxation, accounts and works were perceived as the masculine ones while beautification and social welfare as feminine ones. In the research area, this 'feminization of politics' gained roots as the men and women constituents supported women representation for women issues only. 'Feminization of politics' is also supported by various reports produced by many development organizations (Bari 2009). The feminization of politics is another by-product of reserved seats which could not help women representatives to challenge the culture of dominants in KP assembly and councils of Peshawar.

6. Conclusion:

Findings of this study depict that women from mainstream populations (i.e. middle class) appeared in KP in politics during Musharraf's regime after introducing reserved seats at provincial and local levels. The reduced gender gaps in women's descriptive representation

enhanced their attention to pro-women legislation in KP assembly. However, women's descriptive representation in KP assembly was enhanced, but their participation as ministers, advisors, special assistants, committee chairpersons/members remained low consistently from 2002-2018. Election Act (2017) could not achieve its real aim (i.e., enhancing women's political participation as contestants and their representation on general seats) in KP assembly during GE-2018. Political parties had been a major disabling factor towards the aim of Election Act (2017). Women's representation on reserved seats in KP Assembly and councils of Peshawar further propagated the feminization of politics in KP and Peshawar. Women political activism and 10% necessary polling (mandated by Election Act, 2017) could not substantively reduce gender disparities in voting in KP and Peshawar. Gender disparities remained starker in KP than other provinces during the last elections i.e. GE-2018. Similarly, Peshawar ranked second in terms gender disparities in voters registration. The government devices could not enhance political literacy of women councilors and constituents in Peshawar. Legislative inexperience and low education levels of women councilors in Peshawar were also limiting factors to their political decision-making participation. Indeed, reserved seats policy seems effective in lifting the barriers that women encounter when they wish to enter politics in KP; they seem less efficient when it comes to effectively challenging dominant representations of politics as being, literally and symbolically, a masculine domain. Despite the current developments (like Election Act, 2017) for reducing gender gaps in politics, significant gender disparities still exist in substantive representation and political participation in the research area. The results showed that the government devices could contribute less to gender equality in politics in context of KP and Peshawar. This study serves as document for policy makers to bring policy changes for women political empowerment keeping in view the disabling and enabling factors and actors. This study also provides useful information for women organizations to devise strategies and programs for women political empowerment in accordance to the current situation in the research area.

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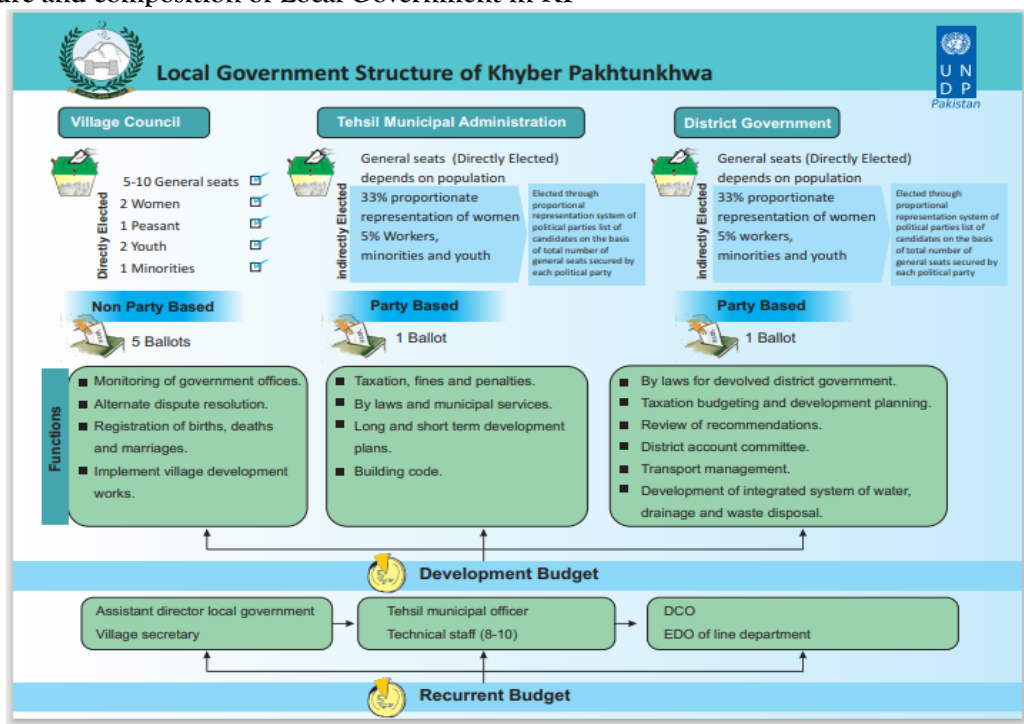
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Annexure 1
Structure and composition of Local Government in KP



Annexure 2
Detail of key informants

S#	Name*	Status
01	KI01	Provincial ombudsperson on Harassment of women KP, senior activists on women rights, Running an NGO on women rights protection at provincial and national level, Former senior staff of National NGO on women rights i.e. Aurat foundation
02	KI02	Secretary of PCSW, former MPA
03	KI03	Member of FAFEN, Senior official of an NGO and headed multiple gender and political empowerment project in Peshawar and KP.
04	KI04	Chair of Women parliamentary caucus, Vast experience in NGO's and women empowerment programs, MPA
05	KI05	Former deputy speaker KP assembly, Currently MNA
06	KI06	Head, Gender Studies, UoP, Member of PCSW
07	KI07	MPillresearcher, researched on the same topic in Peshawar
08	KI08	Former Tehsil Member, current MPA (SA LG, RD & E Deptt)
09	KI09	Former Mayor, Peshawar
10	KI10	Head, Aurat Foundation, KP
11	KI11	Former Secretary LCB and current DG City District Government KP
12	KI12	NGO Head, Social and women rights Activist, former Tehsil member and current MPA
13	KI13	Senior program officer UNWomen
14	KI14	Journalist and senior correspondent Mashriq news for updates on politics and coverage of council and

		provincial assembly sessions .
15	KI15	Journalist and senior correspondent Dawn news for updates on politics and coverage of council and provincial assembly sessions Peshawar office.
16	KI16	Official Election commission of Pakistan (Peshawar Office)
17	KI17	Former Secretary social welfare and women empowerment department
18	KI18	Former Deputy Mayor, Peshawar

Annexure 3a*²
 Town 1 committees

No. 477-87 /NN/TMA/Town-1
 Dated Peshawar the 20/03 /20016

ORDER

Consequent upon the decision in the Town Council Session held on 16-03-2016, the powers of the constitution of different committee in Town-I, Peshawar was converted to the Nazim Town-I and Naib Nazim, Town-I, Peshawar. The following committees are hereby constituted in Town-I, Peshawar in the best interest of general public as well as Town-I, Peshawar, with immediate effect.

Sl	Name of Committee	Committee Chairman	Committee Voice Chairman	Member	Member
1	Finance	Muhammad Shoib Bangash.	Malak Muhammad Usman Basheer.	Haji Saeed Ahmad.	Umar Khetab.
2	Taxation Rent.	Malak Muhammad Usman Basheer	Muhammad Nawaz Khan Orakzai	Muhammad Imran UC-11.	Wali Muhammad.
3	Works & Service.	Khan Zeeb	Muhammad Imran UC-11	Sultan Zeb Khetab	Gul Charan Singh
4	Education (Female)	Hussan Bano	Rakhmina Bibi	Nazak Bibi	D.Saiqa Nooreen
5	Education (Male)	Delawar Khan	Haji Saeed Ahmad.	Naeem Ullah	Fahad Shafi
6	Social Welfare	Nazak Bibi	D.Saiqa Nooreen	Rakhmina Bibi	Hussan Bano
7	Purchase	Mian Zulfiqar	Wali Muhammad.	Aziz Khan Safi	Khan Zeeb
8	Health	Haji Saleem	Aziz Khan Safi	Khan Zeeb	Umar Khan
9	Insaaf	Imran Khan UC-23	Fahad Shafi	Malak Muhammad Usman Basheer.	Umar Ali Khan Yousaf Zai
10	Anti Encroachment & Traffic Control	Sayed Tariq Ali Shah	Imran Khan UC-23	Muhammad Shoib Bangash.	Malak Muhammad Aslam
11	WSSP (Zone I)	Aziz Khan Safi	Malak Muhammad Aslam	Naeem Ullah	Haji Saeed Ahmad.
12	WSSP (Zone II)	Umar Khetab.	Mian Zulfiqar	Sayed Tariq Ali Shah	Khan Zeeb
13	Sports & Culture	Umar Ali Khan Yousaf Zai	Imran Khan UC-23	Fahad Shafi	Gul Charan Singh
14	Price Control	Naeem Ullah	Muhammad Imran UC-11..	Fahad Shafi	Malak Muhammad Aslam
15	Code Of Conduct	Muhammad Nawaz Khan Orakzai	Umar Khan	Mian Zulfiqar	Malak Muhammad Aslam

Monitoring Committees Order
1

Annexure 3b*²
 Town 2 Committees

**OFFICE OF THE
 TOWN MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION
 TOWN-II, PESHAWAR**

No. _____ /TMA/Town-II/Peshawar.
 Dated: _____ /2015.

Notification

Mr. Syed Nazim Ali Shah, convenor/ Town Naib Nazim/ Town Council/ Town-II Peshawar is pleased to notify the following Monitoring committees/ House Committees of the Town Council Town-II Peshawar duly elected by the Town Council-II Peshawar under chapter VI of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Local Government Ordinance 20-2013 as amended Up-to-date in its meeting held on 11-11-2015 Secretary Town Council Town-II Peshawar will be ex-officio Secretary of all the House and Monitoring Committees. He may however deputee any official to attend the meeting of the committees on his behalf.

S. No	Committee	Chairman	Members
1.	Finance Committee	1. Naveed Ur Rehman	1. Malak Shah Faisal 2. Ambarsen Bibi
2.	Works Committee	1. Fuzdullah 2. Jamshed Khan (vice chairman)	1. Engineer Faridullah 2. Fazilat Bikhur
3.	Auction Committee	1. Haji Saïd Rehman	1. Sartaj Khan 2. Musamif Shah
4.	Code of Conduct Committee	1. Shonib Khan 2. Ebad Ur Rehman (vice chairman)	1. Qari Muhammad Istiaq 2. Zainab Javed
5.	BCA and Taxation Committee	1. Sami Ullah 2. Abdalmateen Khan (vice chairman)	
6.	Health Committee	1. Kharrun Sherzad 2. Ashbeer bin Ashraf (vice chairman)	1. Faiz Rehman Shuhab
7.	Sports Committee	1. Arshad Khan 1. Iqbal Khan (vice chairman)	1. Naveer Ullah
8.	Insaaf Committee	1. Tahir Khan 2. Jangraiz Khan (vice chairman)	



9.	Education Committee	1. Malak Nasir 2. Israfil Khan (vice chairman)	
10.	Purchase Committee	1. Ihsan Ullah 2. Tajamul Khan (vice chairman)	
11.	Sanitation Committee	1. Adiq ur Rehman 2. Arbab Haroon (vice chairman)	
12.	Social Welfare Committee	1. Yasmeen Doran 2. Saim Bibi (vice chairman)	1. Rokhsana Bibi 2. Muslim Taj 3. Shamsad Begum 4. Jasmine 5. Najiba Bibi

Syed Naeem Ali Shah
Naib Nazim
Town Council Town-II
Peshawar

No. _____ /N.N-T-II

Copy to the:-

1. Nazim, TMA, Town-II Peshawar.
2. Town Municipal Officer Town-II Peshawar.
3. Town Officer Finance Town-II Peshawar.
4. Town Officer Regulation Town-II Peshawar.
5. Town Officer Infrastructure Town-II Peshawar.
6. Admin Officer Town-II Peshawar.
7. Assistant Director Audit Town-II Peshawar.
8. Official concerned.

Syed Naeem Ali Shah
Naib Nazim
Town Council Town-II
Peshawar

Annexure 3c*2
Town 3 Committees

7- female

Sr	Name of Committee	Committee Chairman	Member	Member	Member	Member
1.	Finance	Abdul Wahab Khalil	Haji Aftab Muhammad	Ali Jan	Abdul Azeem	Dr. Ali Haider
2.	Accounts	Mian Izhar Khan	Bashir Orakzai	Haji Aftab Muhammad	Muhammad Saleh	Momin Kha
3.	Assurance	Iqram Ullah Khalil	Asad Khan Shinwari	Dawood Barki	Mati Ullah Khattak	Waqar Jave
4.	Code of Conduct	Farhat Ullah	Abdul Azeem	Habib Shah	Bashir Orakzai	Mian Izhar Khan
5.	Works	Taj Ur Rahman	Iqram Ullah Khalil	Farnat Ullah	Haji Aftab Muhammad	Majid Ismail
6.	Licenses	Asad Khan Shinwari	Majid Ismail	Ali Jan	Asif Bangash	Faiz Bakhsh
7.	Sports	Bashir Orakzai	Muhammad Saleh	Dawood Barki	Fakhar Alam	Momin Kha
8.	Waste & Gas Coordination	Malik Wajid Ullah	Mian Izhar Khan	Asad Khan Shinwari	Dawood Barki	Farhana Attaullah
9.	Health	Dr. Ali Haider	Taj Ur Rahman	Fakhar Alam	Farhat Ullah	Samina Kau
10.	Education	Mati Ullah Khattak	Majid Ismail	Faiz Bakhsh	Momin Khan	Samina Gul
11.	Beautification	Asif Bangash	Iqram Ullah Khalil	Ali Jan	Faiz Bakhsh	Aisha Bano
12.	Anti Encroachment & transport	Majid Ismail	Abdul Wahab Khalil	Farnat Ullah	Iqram Ullah Khalil	Asif Bangash
13.	Public Health & Engineering	Abdul Azeem	Malik Wajid Ullah	Mian Izhar Khan	Fakhar Alam	Summiya Baloch
14.	Women Welfare	Aisha Bano	Noreen Anif	Samina Kausar	Rana Mudassar	Farhana Attaullah
15.	Sanitation & Water Supply	Haji Aftab Muhammad	Taj Ur Rahman	Mati Ullah Khattak	Habib Shah	Muhammad Saleh
16.	Public Welfare & Minority	Asif Yousof	Bashir Orakzai	Malik Wajid Ullah	Taj Ur Rahman	Habib Shah
17.	Purchase	Abdul Wahab Khalil	Malik Wajid Ullah	Mian Izhar Khan	Asad Khan Shinwari	Waqar Jave

Annexure 3d*2
Town 4 Committees

نے تمام اراکین کونسل کی باہمی صلاح و مشورے سے مختلف سب کمیٹیاں تشکیل دیں، یہ من کی تفصیل سب اہل علاقہ فرمائیں۔

سب کمیٹیوں کے صاحب

فہرست تشکیل شدہ سب کمیٹیاں

نمبر	نام سب کمیٹی	نام چیئرمین	ممبرز سب کمیٹی
1	سینٹرل کمیٹی	علی اکبر خان	1- انعام اللہ، 2- ہارون خان، 3- سردار حسن، 3- حاجی نیاز محمد
2	کونسل کمیٹی	محمد ظفر (ایڈووکیٹ)	1- ہارون خان، 2- حسین خان، 3- زرمل خان، 3- حاجی جان افضل
3	کوآآف کنڈکٹر کمیٹی	وحید خان	1- حسین خان، 2- انعام اللہ، 3- زرمل خان، 3- الیاس خان
4	سپورٹس ایجنس کمیٹی	ریاض خان	1- انعام اللہ، 2- وحید خان، 3- کفایت اللہ، 3- حاجی جان افضل
5	پینشن کمیٹی	حاجی جان افضل	1- شیر احمد، 2- سردار حسن، 3- ملک امان خان، 3- ہارون خان
6	کیڈٹس آف ایڈمیشن کمیٹی	انجینئر محمد عمران	1- انعام اللہ، 2- کریم خان، 3- الیاس خان، 3- نجی گل
7	تیسٹیشن سب کمیٹی	حاجی ملک امان	1- حاجی جان افضل، 2- کریم خان، 3- کفایت خان، 3- حسین خان
8	ووٹرز و پینشنرز، ووٹرز ایجوکیشن، سوشل ویلفیئر سب کمیٹی	بی بی خواجہ	1- سلمی شاہین کاکڑ، 2- گننا بی بی، 3- فنیات بی بی، 3- خالدہ بی بی
9	ورک سب کمیٹی	انجینئر قادر نواز	1- حاجی جان افضل، 2- عمران خان، 3- کفایت خان، 3- ہارون خان
10	لامینڈ آرڈر سب کمیٹی	شیر احمد آفریدی	1- محمد ظفر، 2- نجی گل، 3- حاجی جان افضل، 3- زرمل خان
11	سینٹرل ایڈجکٹیشن سب کمیٹی	نصر من اللہ	1- سلمی شاہین کاکڑ، 2- سعیدہ بی بی، 3- خالدہ بی بی، 3- شیر احمد

*2Source: Local Government, Elections and Rural Development Department (LGRDD), KP