

POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT OF **WOMEN AND YOUTH**

A Comparative Analysis of Election Manifestos of Seven Major Political Parties of Pakistan



ASSOCIATION FOR BEHAVIOR & KNOWLEDGE TRANSFORMATION

www.abkt.org



The main objective of the *Jamhori Mайдan Programme (JMP)*, which means *an arena of democracy*, is to mobilize, organize and educate the rural communities at the grassroots level about engendered democracy. This program aims to democratize traditional and intolerant local political values to create space for women and youth for their representation and expression of political will.

The project aims to strengthen and improve the political and social system from village to district level. Various interventions are used such as civic and voters' education of citizens, capacity building of political activists especially women and youth, encouraging participatory approaches in decision-making, capacity building of elected councilors as well as young leaders, and representatives of line departments and media are the direct beneficiaries of this project.

Women are usually deprived due to conservative and fundamental cultural constraints to express their political will and participate in the political and decision making process. JMP focuses on mobilizing and organizing a constituency of support at the local level among elected representatives, young leaders, media persons, and local influential persons to create a conducive environment for women and youth participation and representation.



POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN AND YOUTH



A comparative analysis of and community conversations on the election manifestos of seven major political parties of Pakistan



ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We would like to acknowledge the technical assistance by Lexperts® in conducting the desk review of the election manifestoes of seven major political parties and facilitating community consultations on the analysis of the manifestoes. Lexperts® is a Peshawar-based registered consulting firm, providing services in strategic and operational planning, research and analysis, governance and rule of law, monitoring and evaluation, capacity development and community-driven development etc.

Acknowledgement is also due to community elders, political and social activists, lawyers, journalists, officials of the Election Commission of Pakistan at 03 project districts i.e. Dir Upper, Dir Lower and Malakand of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. They enriched the discussions on various aspects of lack of participation of women and youth in the political processes at the grass roots level and identified challenges and solutions to bridge the gaps in theory and practices of various political parties to empower women and youth in leadership roles.

Last but not the least, ABKT recognises the valuable contributions made by the Jamhuri Maidan Programme staff in facilitating community consultations in the 03 project districts.

Copyright©

Association for Behaviour & Knowledge Transformation -ABKT

Printed in Pakistan

Any part of this document could be reproduced with reference to ABKT.



ENERGIZER

DO's

1. Attention & Participation
2. KNOWLEDGE OF SUBJECT MATTER
3. COMMUNICATION SKILLS
4. EYE CONTACT
5. FRANK, OPEN, JOYFUL
- PITCH OF VOICE
- RESPONSIVE / RESPONSIVE
- TIME MANAGEMENT
- PUNCTUAL
- UNDERSTANDING Px

DON'Ts

22. DON'T BE SHY
- QUESTIONS
1. WHAT WENT WELL?
2. WHAT WAS DIFFICULT?
3. DID I ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVES OF THE SESSION?
4. WHAT DID I LEARN FROM TODAY'S SESSION?

AMJAD+M
HANNAH+SOHEB
ASMA +
GHAUS+

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acronyms

Preface

Executive Summary

Introduction

Purpose and Scope of the Study

Desk Review of Manifestos of the Study

Community Feedback through Consultative Dialogues at District Level

Challenges to Youth Participation

Challenges to Women Participation

Recommendation from Consultative Dialogues

Key Findings

General Recommendations

Specific Recommendations

Annex - 1

Annex - 2

Annex - 3

Annex - 4

ACRONYMS

ABKT	Association for Behavior and Knowledge Transformation
ANP	Awami National Party
CBO	Community Based Organization
CNIC	Computerized National Identity Card
DCC	District Coordination Council
EC	Election Commission
ECP	Election Commission of Pakistan
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
IEC	Information, Education, Communication
Jl	Jamat-e-Islami
JMP	Jamhuri Maidan Programme
JUI-F	Jamiat-e-Ulama-e-Islam (Fazl-u-Rehman)
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NADRA	National Database and Registration Authority
PML (N)	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PPPP	Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf
QWP	Qaumi Watan Party

PREFACE

ABKT

is implementing the JMP in the three districts of Dir Lower, Dir Upper and Malakand in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with the aim to strengthen and engender the democratic system in Pakistan.

The manifestos' review of seven major political parties is one of the interventions of JMP which aims to facilitate important stakeholders of the political system - political parties, Election Commission of Pakistan and communities to overcome challenges in participatory democracy in the three target districts. The intention of this process is to provide ground for constructive feedback to the political leadership of the parties from the district and village level party workers, and community members for expressing their points of view regarding what has been written in their party's manifestos and its practical implementation on the ground. We believe that this will bring the political parties and communities closer to each other and help to resolve the issues of women and youths' participation in the electoral processes. JMP through its other components, is providing political and voter education to the communities, basic political training to the party workers especially youth and women, leadership skills and enhancing citizens' engagement through the formation and training of citizens' oversight forums. ABKT is thankful to the political parties' workers, district and village level leadership, representatives of the Election Commission of Pakistan, lawyers, social activists and media representatives for their participation and valuable inputs in the activities of JMP.



ABKT's vision is to contribute to the development of democratic, prosperous and peaceful society that guarantees equal opportunities for all citizens of Pakistan.



Association for Behavior & Knowledge Transformation
www.abkt.org



Socio-economic and political empowerment of marginalized groups and communities, especially women, youth and children through mobilization, organization, capacity development, and advocating for their rights and entitlements



Association for Behavior & Knowledge Transformation
www.abkt.org

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

According to one estimate, Pakistan is having 68% of its population below the age of 25, which is estimated to carry forward till 2020.¹ With almost half of the population comprising of women, out of a total of 57% literacy rate, the male to female literacy ratio is estimated at 69:45%.² Unfortunately, majority of women and youth remains politically dis-empowered, and in the case of women, considerably disenfranchised. As it has been witnessed in the general elections 2013 in case of PTI for every other political party, the mobilization of youth and women could be a game changer in the political system of Pakistan. Certain parts of Pakistan have seen consistent patterns of disenfranchisement of women such as Malakand Division wherein women voters have been barred from polling their votes in the name of custom or traditions. Despite the efforts, and some achievements by civil society organizations such as ABKT, the issue of barring women from voting and contesting elections in Malakand division still remains a challenge. In each successive election from 2001 to 2013, the local leadership of major political parties was part of agreements to bar women from voting in parts of Malakand division.

Election manifestos of political parties become a mere formality if they are not backed by implementation plans. Majority of the electorate are either not aware or do not take electoral promises seriously as expressed in the election manifestos. The only accountability mechanism for the enforcement of the election manifestos is an informed and educated electorate, which is not up to the desired level in Pakistan. Constituencies are built by local political leadership on the basis of clans and tribal fraternities rather than programmes of action of the political parties. Political parties address the needs and demands of a specific clientele than delivery on election manifestos. In these circumstances, election manifestos lack implementation plans.

Generally political parties have a very progressive agenda, as reflected in their election manifestos, on women and youth empowerment. In order to analyze the factors that lead to the problem of implementation of the manifestos, ABKT conducted a desk review and consultative dialogues with communities in three districts i.e. Dir Lower, Dir Upper, and Malakand in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In the first step, the election manifestos of seven major political parties of PML (N), PPP, PTI, JI, JUI-F, ANP and QWP were reviewed. The scope of the study was to the extent of the political empowerment of youth and women as reflected in their respective manifestos. It was found that political parties have generally included the subject of women and youth empowerment in their manifestos but a few political parties have an outline of women youth political empowerment action plan.

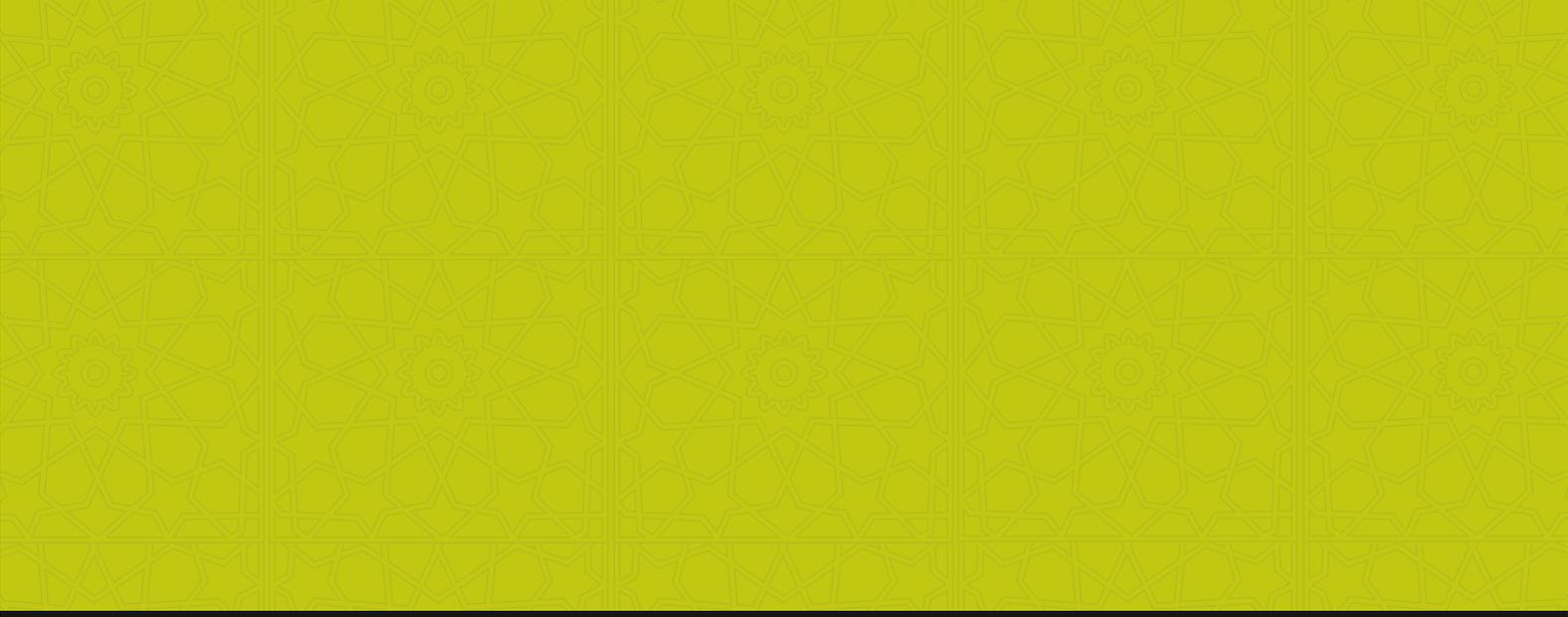
The results of the desk review of the election manifestos of the above-mentioned political parties were presented to community elders, representatives of political parties, civil society representatives, and officials of the Election

¹ Pakistan's Youth Bulge: Gift or a Curse? <http://plastictearz.wordpress.com/tag/youth-bulge-in-pakistan/>

² Demographics of Pakistan http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_Pakistan#Literacy.5B19.5D

Commission of Pakistan in the three target districts where ABKT is implementing the JMP. Five consultative dialogues were held in each district, in which at least 450 people participated, consisting of the above-mentioned cross section of society including women and youth (See list of participants for each district in Annex 4). The group work of the consultative dialogues was focused on identifying challenges and possible solutions to the inclusion of women and youth as voters and candidates in the electoral and political processes.

The critical feedback from important stakeholders in the three districts pinpoints a number of factors for the marginalized role of women and youth in the political parties and processes at the grassroots levels. Some of these key challenges are lack of information, political education and opportunities, lack of merit in political parties at the local level, and lack of resources and political will of the leadership of political parties to empower women and youth in the political processes. In order to address these issues, some general and specific recommendations for an enhanced political role of women and youth are given at the end of the report.



SECTION I

INTRODUCTION

Malakand division is situated close to the Pakistan-Afghanistan border on the northwestern side, while it touches China and Tajikistan on the northern side. It comprises of seven districts Shangla, Swat, Buner, Malakand, Dir Lower, Dir Upper and Chitral. The most populated districts in Malakand division are Swat (1,257,602) and Dir Upper (575,858) with the total population of Malakand division around four million people according to the Census Report of 1998.³ The majority of the population is ethnic Pakhtuns of the Yousafzai tribe but Gujjars, Kohistanis (mostly in upper regions of Swat and Dir districts) and Chitralis are also important ethnic denominations. The Sunni variant of Islam is practiced by majority of the population; however, there are clusters of Pashto-speaking Hindus and Sikhs in Swat and Buner districts. In 1969-70, Swat, Dir, and Chitral 'princely states' were formally merged in Pakistan and became part of Malakand division. The Pakhtuns' ethnic, religious and national identities make contesting claims among them, which are often demonstrated through rival political ideologies and parties.

Party politics in Malakand Division usually centers around families and clans. The major political parties in Malakand Division are Pakistan People's Party, Awami National Party, Qaumi Watan Party, Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam, Pakistan Muslim League (N), Jamat-e-Islami and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. All of these parties have, in majority cases, office-bearers and organizations at the district, sub-division (*Tehsil*) and village levels in Malakand division.

From a gender and human rights perspective, Pakhtun women do not enjoy the rights and privileges at par with women in the developed societies. Women are considered part of family honor, which also means that women should avoid public life as far as possible. It is one of the reasons that prevent women from taking part in the election processes both as voters and candidates. In the past, representatives of political parties have signed written agreements that bar women from voting (see Annex - I). Similarly the local culture vests authority in the elders of the community, which prevents a majority of aspiring youth from becoming part of the decision-making and political processes and structures.

The Local Government Ordinance 2001 provided a good opportunity for women to take part in the political process due to the 33% quota for women councilors. However, women were banned during the local government elections in 2001, 2005 and in general elections 2013 through a press conference and written agreements by all major political parties in Dir Lower and Dir Upper. In 2001 in Lower Dir, ABKT collected the nomination papers of 65 women candidates to contest election but the election commission officials refused to accept the nomination papers due to law and order issues. After successful negotiations; however, election authorities agreed that male can submit nomination papers on behalf of the female candidates. For the local government election in 2005, ABKT along with other local CBOs established the District Coordination Forum (DCF), which played an active role to motivate and mobilize women

³"District Census Reports 1998", Population Census Organization Govt. of Pakistan, Islamabad - http://www.khyberpakhtunkhwa.gov.pk/Departments/BOS/Khyber_Pakhtunkhwa_dev-statis-popu-tab-160.php



NAME = HOPE
GROUP No = 4
Right violation
1) physical violence
2) Right to Information
3) child labor
4) Mental Abuse
5) Right to Vote

Solution
Education and
Awareness

گروپ نمبر 3 (سازگرب)
حقوق ماٹرنس میں الزامی حقوق کی پابلی
1) عورتوں کا رولہ میں کوئی حد سے شمول نہ کرنا
2) خواتین کا جائزہ میں شمول نہ کرنا
3) خواتین کا تعلق میں
4) عورتوں سے شفقت لینا
5) خواتین کے حقوق کا حق
6) خواتین کے حقوق کا حق
7) خواتین کے حقوق کا حق
8) خواتین کے حقوق کا حق

Express Now
1) ...
2) ...
3) ...
4) ...
5) ...
6) ...
7) ...
8) ...

SECTION II

SCOPE OF STUDY AND METHODOLOGY

ABKT conducted a desk review of the election manifestos of seven major political parties to the extent of political empowerment of women and youth. The findings of the desk review were presented to representatives of the selected political parties' workers at the district and village levels in consultative dialogues. Along with the political workers, 450 representatives of civil society, journalists, lawyers, and the ECP also took part in fifteen consultative dialogues in the three target districts. The major political parties included in the study are: PML (N), PPP, PTI, JI, JUI-F, ANP and QWP.

The final report of the analysis comprises of the desk review of the above-mentioned political parties and the discussion and recommendations of the consultative dialogues. The findings and recommendations of the report are published for the general audience, the government of Pakistan, the ECP, civil society organizations, and the national leadership of the political parties to take steps in the direction of encouraging women and youth, both as voters and candidates, at the district and sub-districts levels in Malakand division in particular, and in Pakistan in general.

SECTION III

DESK REVIEW OF MANIFESTOS

I. Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)

PML (N) is currently the majority party holding 189 of 342 parliamentary seats. With 148 seats from Pakistan's largely populated province Punjab, it is one of the major parties represented in all four provincial legislatures, FATA and the Federal Capital.⁴ For the third time that Nawaz Sharif is leading PML (N) as the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Participation of women in national development and their social, political and economic empowerment by recognizing their role as agents of change.” (PML (N))

In PML (N)'s manifesto, economy, energy, agriculture, education and health come as the top priorities.

Women and youth are also part of the PML (N) agenda of change. PML (N) highlights its agenda for women in the following manner:

“In Islam, women enjoy a place of honour and dignity that is unparalleled in history. The place of both men and women in the society is acknowledged in Islam. It is for this reason that acquiring knowledge has been ordained for both.”

The PML (N) manifesto outlines a number of steps towards women development but only some extracts relevant to the scope of the study are reproduced below:

Respect, dignity, protection and property rights of women as enjoined by Islam

Participation of women in national development and their social, political and economic empowerment by recognizing their role as agents of change

⁴Party Position (National Assembly) <http://ecp.gov.pk/overallpartyposition.pdf>

Enact or improve legislation on violence against women and child abuse, and eliminate illegal and unjust practices under which women are discriminated.

Steps will also be taken to increase women's participation ratios in financial institutions, superior judiciary, health and educational management and law enforcement agencies at executive level.⁵

“Participation of women in national development and their social, political and economic empowerment by recognizing their role as agents of change.” PML(N)

The objective of PML(N) for the political empowerment of women is narrated generally without any concrete action plan.

In the section on youth, the PML(N) manifesto highlights the importance of Pakistani youth in the following manner:

“Youth is Pakistan's future. More than 63 percent of our population is less than 25 years of age. PML (N) believes that it is our youth which, if given proper education and skills, can change the destiny of the nation.”⁶

In addition to other youth development measures, the PML (N) is cognizant of the political empowerment of youth in the political processes and institutions and targets the local government institutions as a nursery for grooming future politicians for the country. The manifesto promises the following measures for the political empowerment of youth:

“To involve youth in governance at the local level, special seats will be reserved for them in the Union Councils and District Councils to prepare them for a bigger role in National and Provincial Assemblies.”⁷

The PML (N) promises implementation of its commitments in the manifesto by constituting “sub-committees on different sub-sectors or issues consisting of all stakeholders to work out detailed implementation plans with cost estimates and a realistic time frame.”⁸

The idea of involvement of youth in

“To involve youth in governance at the local level, special seats will be reserved for them in the Union Councils and District Councils to prepare them for a bigger role in National and Provincial Assemblies.” (PML (N))

governance at the local council level is appreciable and it is hoped that the PML (N) will implement this manifesto goal in the upcoming local government elections.

2. Pakistan People Party Parliamentarian

The PPPP mentions core priorities in its election manifesto 2013 amongst them, “[t]he PPPP sees the inclusion and empowerment of all citizens, especially the marginalized and the vulnerable, the women, the minorities and the young and dispossessed, as fundamental to the rights framework on which our federation is built.” It promises to “move forward on mainstreaming women, minorities and the youth of Pakistan by consistently and incrementally securing and enhancing their legal and constitutional rights in an increasingly volatile world.”

In its section on “Power to Women”, the manifesto states:

“In its spirit and philosophy, from the very first PPPP government of Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and especially through Shaheed

⁵Pakistan Muslim League (N), National Agenda for Real Change, Election Manifesto 2013, p 42

⁶Ibid supra note 4, p. 43

⁷Ibid supra note 4, p. 43

⁸Ibid p. 88



Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto's terms in office, the Party has promoted a clear agenda and stood for the rights of the disadvantaged and vulnerable segments of society.”⁹

The manifesto promises a number of initiatives for women development. The relevant section on political empowerment states:

“Institute quotas in political parties to increase the participation of women, we will propose a law for political parties to commit to an additional 10 percent quota for women while selecting candidates on general seats.”¹⁰

The institutional mechanism and its statutory backup for increasing the women quota to 10 per cent on general seat demonstrate clarity of the PPPP on women empowerment. The PPPP, being the largest opposition party in the Parliament, can initiate a bill in this regard.

Institute quotas in political parties to increase the participation of women, we will propose a law for political parties to commit to an additional 10 per cent quota for women while selecting candidates on general seats.” PPPP

Similarly, on the section on “Power to Youth” the manifesto of PPPP states:

“Throughout the history of the Party, young

people have played a vital role as agents of change at the forefront of movements to restore democracy. With more than 60 per cent of our population now under the age of 30, Pakistan is faced with the challenge of bringing millions of young people into the economy. We intend to transform this youth 'bulge' into an invaluable human capital dividend that will benefit Pakistan's future generations.”

The manifesto promises the following measures for the political empowerment of youth:

“Set up Youth Councils to promote youth participation in policy making, with representatives from ministries, youth organizations and provincial youth nominees. The Youth Council will be a statutory body will be formed at the national, provincial and district levels.

“Establish a Youth Parliament at the national and provincial levels, set up by the respective Youth Councils and with regular funding from the government.”¹¹

PPPP's idea of a statutory youth council with representatives from the ministries, youth organizations, and provincial youth nominees is a laudable step. Similarly, a youth parliament at the national level will enhance the role of

⁹ Manifesto 2013 Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians p. 18

¹⁰ Ibid p. 18

¹¹ Ibid p. 19

youth in the political affairs of Pakistan. PPPP, being one of the major parties of the country, can take steps, even if not in power, to work on the idea of formation of district youth councils.

“Establish a Youth Parliament at the national and provincial levels, set up by the respective Youth Councils and with regular funding from the government.” PPPP

3. Pakistan Tehrek-e-Insaf

holds third position with 33 seats in the parliament. The

PTI slogans of “change” and a “new Pakistan” largely attracted the youth of Pakistan to vote for PTI in the general elections.

The manifesto of PTI encapsulates the women development agenda in its gender policy in the following words:

“PTI will have a proactive gender policy for the development of women to realize their full potential. Women, despite being 50% of the population, have little protection under the law. Where there is the legal protection, its implementation is not ensured. In such a dismal situation, it is extremely important that this vulnerable segment of the population is made to feel secure and offered equal opportunity to develop to the full.”¹²

The PTI promises to identify and eliminate all discriminatory provisions of the Constitution to ensure the equal legal status of women. Specifically addressing the issue of political participation of women, the manifesto states the following:

“Ensure significant and meaningful participation of women at all levels

“Zero tolerance for any or all agreements

“Zero tolerance for any or all agreements barring women from participation in voting.” (PTI)

¹² PTI Manifesto Elections 2013 p. 44

¹³ Ibid p. 45

¹⁴ PTI Manifesto Elections 2013 page 38



4. Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (Fazl-ur-Rehman)

In its manifesto for Elections 2013, the JUI-F promises women's rights in the following ways:

“Women will be made equal citizens bringing at [p]ar with their male counter parts in all walks of life. It will be the basic covenant of our Manifesto that women in all state affairs and in all achievements will be equally treated with their male counterparts.

Women's rights will be protected in line with Islamic principles and the constitution. Women's right to livelihood will be endorsed in all departments/areas. Their dignity will be preserved.”¹⁵

“It will be the basic covenant of our Manifesto that women in all state affairs and in all achievements will be equally treated with their male counterparts.” (JUI-F)

The JUI's policy for women being equal citizens is a laudable policy goal. The manifesto; however, does not mention concrete measures to achieve this objective. Section 17 of the manifesto of JUI-F has the following provision about youth.

For youth, the JUI's Manifesto states, “JUI will work for secure financial and bright future of youth.”¹⁶ This is not

clear whether securing financial and bright future will be achieved through establishing youth-based enterprises or loan schemes. It also does not outline any policy goal for the political empowerment of youth.

5. Jamat-e-Islami

The JI's election manifesto emphasizes the importance of women rights in the light of Islam.

It appreciates the importance of women in the national affairs and promises to ensure their protection of legal, economic and political rights in accordance with Islam. The manifesto specifically addresses women's education, health, and employment rights and the elimination of injustices against women through legal and social means.¹⁷ The elimination of injustices against women through legal and social means is broad and generic. There is no listing of the injustices or the legal and social means to remove those injustices.

Elimination of injustices against women through legal and social means. (JI)

The manifesto of JI recognizes youth as a national asset. It claims that the youth of Pakistan (girls and boys) are restless and facing difficulties. The manifesto promises to address the youth issues on priority basis. More specifically, it promises promotion of education,

¹⁵ Jamiat Ulema e Islam, Pakistan Election Manifesto 2013 p. 11

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ Jamat-e-Islami, Intikhabi Manshoor 2013, p. 32-35

employment on merit, and sports activities for the youth. It is evident that the political empowerment of youth needs improvement in the manifesto of JI. The manifesto mentions promotions of education, employment, and sports activities but these are not the only issues being faced by the youth of Pakistan.

6. Awami National Party

The manifesto of ANP encapsulates women rights and empowerment in the following manner:

“Pakistani women are trapped in a web of dependency and subordination due to their low social, economic, and political status. The majority of women suffer from all forms of poverty, discrimination and violence. There are inherent structural impediments that prevent and discourage women from participating in the decision making process and this perpetuates their disadvantaged status. Although Pakistan has made commitments at the National and International levels to ensure women's rights, there is a wide gap between commitment and implementation.”¹⁸

The manifesto outlines a number of

“Pakistani women are trapped in a web of dependency and subordination due to their low social, economic, and political status.” (ANP)

measures for the protection of women's rights and empowerment. Specifically on women's political empowerment, the manifesto highlights the following measures:

“Ensure a minimum of 33% quota for women at all levels of political, policy and decision-making positions and provide meaningful and

necessary technical and financial support to enable them to participate.

“Ensure direct elections for women in all elected positions including reserved seats/quota, as the party believes that there is no substitute for direct elections.”

At the conceptual level, there is clarity of

“Ensure a minimum of 33% quota for women at all levels of political, policy and decision-making positions and provide meaningful and necessary technical and financial support to enable them to participate.” (ANP)

concept in understanding the problems of women in the ANP manifesto and proposed measures are also sufficiently clear.

The manifesto has no separate section on youth but mentions under the head of employment that employment opportunities will be created to save youth from drugs and extremism. Political empowerment of youth is not mentioned in the manifesto of ANP.

7. Qaumi Watan Party (QWP)

Section 8 of the manifesto of QWP addresses issues of women empowerment, youth, labour and minorities together. Relevant to the political participation, the manifesto states the following regarding women and youth development.

“The Party will take necessary steps to ensure women's rights and empowerment for their better role in the national processes and locally.

“The Party will promote a minimum of 33% quota for women at all levels of responsibility and enable them [to participate] to meaningfully participate in the functions of the State.

¹⁸ Awami National Party, Election Manifesto 2013, p 5



“The Party will ensure that necessary steps are taken to achieve MDGs set forth by the UN regarding women's rights and empowerment and that laws relating to women's rights conform to international standards.”

Conceptually, the QWP understands the political empowerment issue of women and proposes concrete measures to overcome the existing

“Party will promote a minimum of 33% quota for women at all levels of responsibility and enable them to participate to meaningfully participate in the functions of the State” (QWP)

gaps.

Regarding youth, the manifesto states:

“The Party will start career development and apprenticeship programmes for the educated and unemployed youth.

“The Party will also initiate youth development programmes to enable them to play a greater and more effective role in the national affairs.”¹⁹

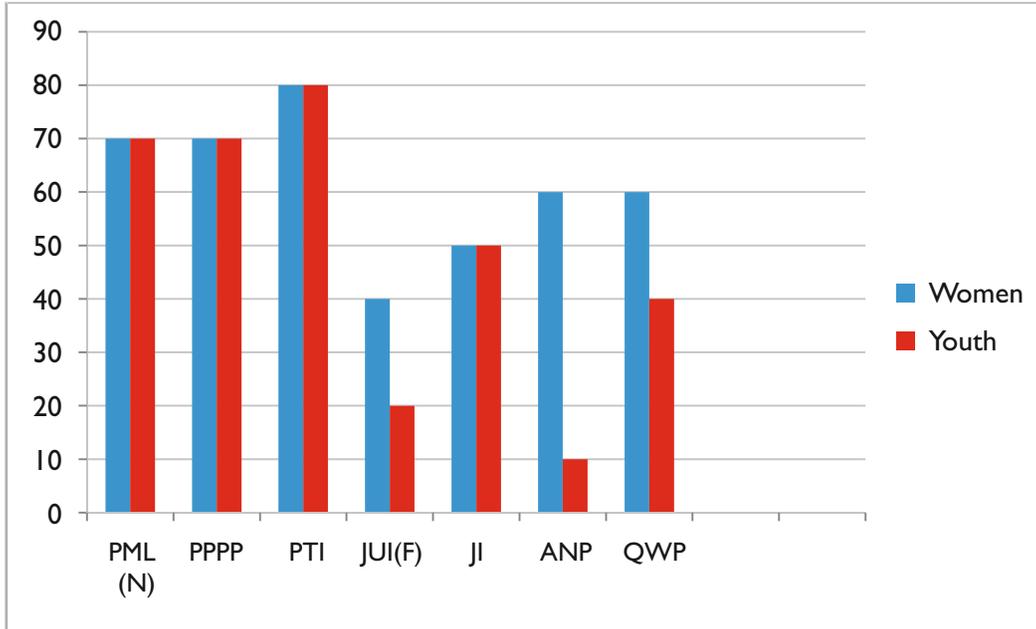
The youth section of the QWP is generic and broad and doesn't specifically addresses the issue of disempowerment of youth in the political system and the way forward to overcome this challenge.

Based on two criteria i.e. a) understanding of the issue and b) action plan for implementation, the charts below show an analysis of women and youth's political empowerment programme of the political parties as reflected their election manifestos of 2013.

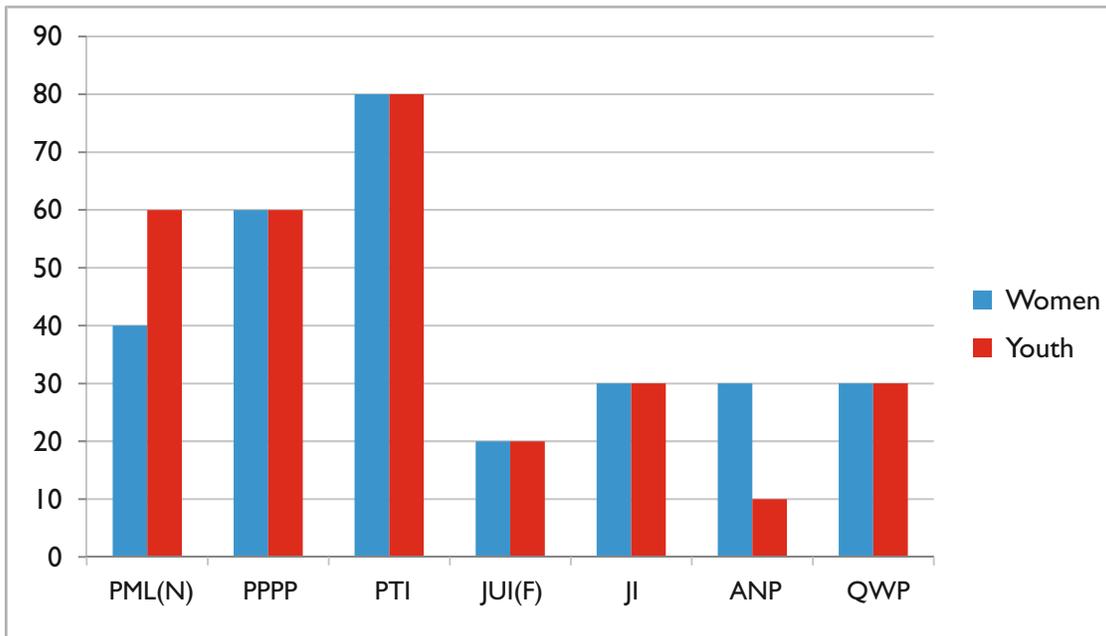
“The Party will also initiate youth development programmes to enable them to play a greater and more effective role in the national affairs.” (QWP)

¹⁹ Election Manifesto of the Qaumi Watan Party, p. 13

Understanding of Issue



Action Plan for Implementation





SECTION IV

COMMUNITY FEEDBACK THROUGH CONSULTATIVE DIALOGUES AT DISTRICT LEVELS

Generally, it was found that all the seven major political parties, by and large, have included the development of women and youth in their election agendas. The women and youth agenda of the political parties, as described in their respective manifestos, was discussed in fifteen consultative dialogues with community representatives in three districts: Dir Lower, Dir Upper, and Malakand. In each district five consultative dialogues took place at district and sub-district level. Participants in the consultative dialogues included district representatives of the political parties, youth and women representatives, members of civil society, district bar council members, journalists and district officials of the Election Commission of Pakistan.

The desk review of manifestos was presented to the participants. Representatives of each political party explained his/her party's point of view to the rest of the participants. In the second session, participants were requested to identify challenges and solutions to women and youth's participation in the political system as voters and candidates during elections in the three districts.

It is worth mentioning here that the disenfranchisement of women in the form of a ban on voting of women in the target districts has been witnessed in the past elections. Even district level political leadership of different parties were reportedly involved in imposing a ban on women voting, which was disclaimed by national level political leadership of these parties.²⁰

The consultative dialogues aimed at three aspects of the problem:

1. Gaps in theory and practice of the political parties in the three target districts regarding the implementation of policy goals as enshrined in their respective manifestos
2. Exploration of the reasons and challenges in implementation of the manifestos to the extent of women and youth participation, both as voters and candidates
3. Recommendations for taking concrete steps to enhance the participation of women and youth in the political processes, at least, in the three target districts

A summary of the discussions of the consultative dialogues at district and sub-district level highlighting the challenges and possible solutions to the inclusion of women and youth as voters and candidates in the three target districts is presented below.

“Leadership roles in political parties are not based on merit, which de-motivates youth from performing their due role in politics.” Party worker.

1. Challenges to Youth

Some of the participants in the consultative dialogues at the district levels were of the view that leadership roles in political parties are not based on merit, which de-motivates youth from performing their due role in politics. Political leadership remains within families

²⁰ Zahir Shah Sherazi, “KP government confirms women vote blocked by political parties”,

Dawn, May 10, 2013 published at <http://www.dawn.com/news/1026733/lower-dir-ppp-anp-ji-team-up-to-bar-women-voters>



regardless of their poor performance. It was also highlighted that politics is an expensive engagement whereas the youth lack the resources to invest in political campaigns, and thus are excluded from the political arena.

The perception of some of the participants was that political parties use the youth for voters' mobilization during elections and rallies but ignore them in decision and policy-making procedures within the parties. Participants also highlighted that the lack of political education of youth and the overall political culture in the country were two other factors causing demotivation for the youth. The ban on students' union in colleges and universities was also mentioned as a negative factor for students' engagement in healthy politics.

“Participants also highlighted that the lack of political education for the youth and the overall political culture in the country were two other factors leading to de-motivation of the youth.” (A local resident)

2. Challenges to Women

Participants of the consultative dialogues in the three districts highlighted the following challenges faced by women to participate in the political processes as voters and candidates:

Local leadership of political parties is not interested to involve women in the political processes at local level

The social structure is male-dominated leaving women disempowered in majority of public processes including politics

Majority of women are economically dependent, which is also one of the major reasons that stop them from taking part in the political process as candidates

Cultural values of discrimination against women are used as a shield to disenfranchise and dis-empower women as voters and candidates

Low literacy rate and lack of opportunities for women lead to lack of interest in politics among women

Security concerns and appointment of male presiding officers in women polling stations discourage women participation during voting. Polling stations are established at unmanageable distances from women voters and joint polling stations discourage women participation in voting

A large segment of women population do not have computerized national identity cards (CNIC), which disenfranchise them.

The lack of adequate arrangements for women with children standing in queue for hours on election day is another factor that discourages women participation in the electoral processes

Challenge: Low literacy rate and lack of opportunities for women lead to lack of interest in politics among women.

Recommendations from the Consultative Dialogues with the Communities

To increase the political role of youth and women at the local level, the participants of the consultative dialogues came up with the following recommendations:

Political parties should encourage merit and provide opportunities to aspiring youth in the parties' structure in leadership roles

Political parties should consider a quota for youth in the intra-party elections for various party offices at district and sub-district levels

Dynastic politics and monopoly of feudal classes on politics should be discouraged

Educational institutions and the curriculum should provide an environment for the students and youth to be prepared for playing a political role in state affairs

Student unions in colleges and universities is a nursery for producing good leadership at national and local levels but the ban on student unions have negatively impacted student politics; therefore, ban on student unions should be lifted

Civic education programmes, workshops, seminars and special events should be organized for interested youth to be oriented about political processes and leadership roles

Recommendation: Political parties should encourage merit and provide opportunities to aspiring youth in the parties' structure in leadership roles.

For women, political awareness programmes should be organized by relevant stakeholders to increase the level of interest of women in politics such as radio talk shows, community level awareness campaigns, IEC material in native languages etc.

The lack of national identity cards among women, which leads to their disenfranchisement, should be addressed. The

government authorities should arrange facilities to provide national identity cards to women in remote areas

All customs and traditions that bar women from playing their due role in the political sphere should be addressed through strict implementation of the laws that ensure equal rights for women

Elections should be declared null and void in any constituency or polling station that bar women from voting

Security and logistic arrangements, separate polling stations and female staff should be assigned during polling should be improved to ensure maximum women participation during voting

Government should take measures to increase women literacy and education

The lack of national identity cards among women, which leads to their disenfranchisement, should be addressed. The government authorities should arrange mobile facilities to provide national identity cards to women in remote areas.



SECTION V

KEY FINDINGS

The analysis of the manifestos shows, with varying degrees, that almost all political parties have youth and women development as part of their election agendas. A few political parties such as PPP, PTI and PML (N), have clearer vision for the political empowerment of youth and women. The majority of the electorate in Pakistan does not take election manifestos seriously. There is no legal framework or accountability mechanism for the political parties to ensure implementation of their election manifestos. Political parties build their constituencies on the basis of fraternities, tribal and clan identities, and addressing to the needs and demands of a specific clientele than delivery on election manifestos. In such a scenario, manifestos are published for a specific audience and lack implementation plans.

Generally, the leadership of political parties at the national level disassociate themselves from any practice that deny women voting rights but in practice the parties cannot alienate their district and local leadership to adhere to national and international standards on voting practices.

All political parties should lead by examples in empowering youth and women in the political processes. While several political parties have prominent women leaders, women still lack the space and opportunities for an enhanced role in their own parties. Political parties have “women wings” but very few amongst them are functional. The activities of “women wings” are entirely dependent on directions from the “male wings” of the political parties.

Similarly, the empowerment of youth has become a slogan for each political party but very few political parties have taken concrete steps to ensure youth

inclusion in the party leadership positions. Politics has become very expensive, thus leaving aside aspiring youth and women to play leadership roles because of lack of resources at their ends.

“Generally, the leadership of political parties at the national level dissociate themselves from any practice that denies women voting rights but in practice the parties cannot alienate their district and local leadership to adhere to national and international standards on voting practices.”

The Election Commission of Pakistan did not penalize the violation of code of conduct and therefore, the practice of barring women voters from voting has not been discouraged.

Enfranchisement of women can be ensured provided that political parties in Malakand division show strong political will for the inclusion of women and youth in the political and election process.

“The empowerment of youth has become a slogan for each political party but very few political parties have taken concrete steps to ensure youth inclusion in the party leadership position”.

SECTION VI

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to encourage women and youth as voters and candidates in the political processes, government authorities should seriously consider addressing the structural causes of women and youth exclusion in the political processes. It means that exclusion of women and youth from the political mainstream is just one dimension of a broader social parameter that affects dis-empowerment of youth and women. Government policies and practices should prioritize the economic empowerment of women, investing in education for women and youth. This investment will ultimately lead to increased awareness and political participation from the disadvantaged segments of the society, especially women.

“Election Commission of Pakistan should take punitive measures against the violators of election code of conduct to discourage the practice of banning women voters in future elections”.

“Political parties in Malakand division should demonstrate strong political will for the inclusion of women and youth in the political and election process”.

SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS

1. **To the Government of Pakistan**
 - a. All laws and regulatory frameworks that ensure equal opportunities and inclusion of women and youth in the political processes, elections and voting etc. should be promoted through media campaigns and should also be implemented in letter and spirit.
 - b. Government should consider the inclusion of political education and importance of participatory democracy in the educational curriculum at appropriate levels.
 - c. The lack of Computerized National Identity Cards (CNIC) registration in rural areas also excludes a large number of voters, especially women. The National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA) should take measures, such as mobile registration facilities, to ensure facilitation of citizens in the far flung areas in getting CNIC.
2. **To the Election Commission of Pakistan**
 - a. The Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) should invest in voters' and civic education programmes to ensure maximum participation of voters in the elections.
 - b. The ECP should consider the special needs of women, especially in culturally conservative areas, in setting up polling stations and deploying polling staff during elections. The presence of male polling staff in female polling stations discourages a significant number of citizens to allow their female in casting votes during elections.
 - c. The Election Commission of Pakistan should frame an accountability mechanism for the political parties to deliver on their promises in the



election manifestos

d. The Election Commission of Pakistan should take punitive measures against the violators of election code of conduct to discourage the practice of banning women voters in future elections.

3. To the Political Parties

a. Political parties should demonstrably implement measures that enhance youth and women participation in the political processes. As a first step, political parties should chalk out an action plan to increase the percentage of youth and women in leadership roles at different tiers of responsibilities in the parties. b. The involvement of youth in subsidiary organizations of the political parties such as student or youth organizations should be rewarded by giving them more prominent positions in the party structures.

c. Political parties should have leadership development programmes in the shape of training centres to prepare youth and women for leadership roles in the party structures d. Political parties in Malakand division should demonstrate strong political will for the inclusion of women and youth in the political and election process.

4. To the Civil Society

a. Civil society should prioritize their interventions targeting the empowerment of

youth and women in the political system and processes. Special programmes should be initiated about voters' education and participation in elections to ensure women and youth participation, especially in areas with low turnout of youth and women voters.

b. Civil society should organize public forums of citizens and leadership of political parties to assess the promises of the political parties in the election manifestos, especially with regard to women and youth participation.

5. To the Media

The media outlets need to periodically show the importance of women and youth's participation in the political processes and structures through public interest advertisements and remind the political parties of the promises made in the election manifestos

ANNEX I (SIGNED WRITTEN AGREEMENTS THAT BAR WOMEN FROM VOTING IN 2013 GENERAL ELECTIONS)

محمد

معاہدہ مابین تمام سیاسی دہڑوں پارٹیاں جنرول PK 95

ہم صحابیوں ① حاجی عبدالرحمن خان جمعیت العلماء اسلام ② مکتبہ اہلسیاحیہ نی بی بی
 ③ اعجاز الملک افکاری جماعت اسلامی ④ ڈاکٹر فقیر صاحبہ بی بی آئی ⑤ عبدالواہد اے ون پی
 ⑥ قاری عبداللہ راہ حق پارٹی ⑦ ڈاکٹر دیدار محمد سلیم بی بی نے آ 2 مورخہ
 10 مئی 2013ء متفقہ طور پر فیصلہ کیا کہ چھٹی ستران کے ذریعے کے مطابق
 PK 95 میں بھی تمام یونٹ سیشن سیشن فوائس یونٹ سیشن میں کلے میں
 موجود حالات کے سیشن نظر اس بار فوائس ووٹ ڈالنے میں حصہ
 لیں گے۔

حضور بالا فیصلے کے کسی پارٹی یا فرد نے خلاف ورزی کی تو
 پارٹی کا مذکورہ بالا غائبانہ مبلغ 1500000/- بحاسی لاکھ پچیس ہزار روپے باقی
 رقم غائبانہ کو ادا کرنے کا پابند ہوگا۔ اور دیگر پارٹیاں نیز
 بزرگ فوج پورس منع کیا ہے۔ اور یونٹ سیشن کو نیز کیا جائے گا

معاہدہ

10 مئی 2013ء

① حاجی عبدالرحمن خان

② مکتبہ اہلسیاحیہ

③ اعجاز الملک افکاری

④ ڈاکٹر فقیر صاحبہ

⑤ عبدالواہد اے ون پی

⑥ قاری عبداللہ راہ حق

⑦ ڈاکٹر دیدار محمد سلیم

① محمد عبداللہ

② احمد منیر

③ فضل محمود

④ مظفر

⑤ حاجی امین احمد

⑥ محمد یونس



ANNEX 2 NUSRAT BEGUM - THE SYMBOL OF COURAGE

THE STORY OF A FEMALE CANDIDATE WHO CONTESTED THE GENERAL ELECTION FOR THE FIRST TIME IN DIR LOWER

Dir Lower is one of the under developed districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, where religious parties are dominant and people are deeply religious and traditional. Nawab-e-Dir, a despot ruled Dir till 1970. Women remained secondary citizens in the overall history of Dir Lower. Education and social development remained stunted during the era of Nawab-e-Dir, which was perpetuated later on by his followers (religious clerics). Therefore, there is an overall social injustice and women are not allowed to take part in social, political and economic activities. Literacy rate is very low as compared to male. Females were banned from political activities even in the LG polls 2001 and 2005. ABKT played an important and vital role in the political empowerment, representation and participation of women in Dir Lower.

Mrs. Nusrat Begum is an active individual social activist of Dir Lower. She is 43 year old, and belongs to a less educated lower middle class family of Warsak, Tehsil Adenzai, Dir Lower. She studied only up to primary level due to poverty and lack of trend. She has 4 sons studying at different levels. Despite enormous challenges, she decided to cross the boundaries of her dependency and participated in different social activities.

She participated in the intra party election of PTI and elected as district vice president at Dir Lower level. Then the party promised her to file nomination papers for national assembly seat on behalf of PTI. Though she couldn't get a party ticket, however, a number of people motivated, and supported her to contest election independently. She contested the general election 2013 from the constituency NA-34 Dir Lower. This was a great courage and ray of hope for the female of the area. She broke the silence and made a history in Dir Lower.

ANNEX 3: 1ST JOINT QUARTERLY COF & YLF MEETING DIR LOWER

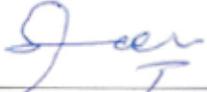
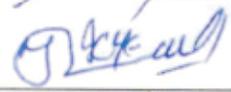
Subject: Demand for women representation as 33% in the decision making and governance at local and lower level of local government

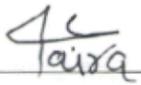
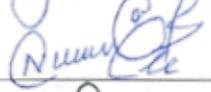
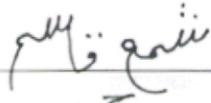
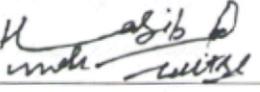
Forum: Citizen Oversight Forum and Young Leader Forum Jamhori Miadan Program Dir Lower

All the members of Citizen Oversight Forum (COF) & Young Leader Forum (YLF) Dir Lower anonymously passed through this resolution on 13th February, 2014 in a meeting held in Shelton hotel Timergara under Jamhori Maidan Programme, demanded that as the local Government act 2001 & 2005 ensured women's 33% representation at local level, but the local government act 2013 decreased their representation less than 20%.

Keeping in view this, the above mentioned forum demanded that the women representation should be increased at least to 33% for their due participation in the decision making and governance at local and lower level of local government.

Members of the Forum are as follows;

S. #	Name	Address	Status	Signature
1	Samiullah Khatir	Timergara Dir Lower	YLF Member	
2	Akbar Khan	Timergara Dir Lower	COF Member	
3	Alamzeb Khan	Timergara Dir Lower	YLF Member	
4	Javed Iqbal	Timergara Dir Lower	COF Member	
5	Abdullah Roghani	Lajbok Timergara Dir-L	YLF Member	
6	Sher Muhammad Khan	Talash Dir Lower	YLF Member	
7	Abdul Haq	Khall Dir Lower	YLF Member	
8	Mufti Irfanuddin	Talash Dir Lower	COF Member	

9	Saira Shams	Timergara Dir Lower	YLF Member	
10	Naeema Naaz	Chakdara Dir Lower	COF Member	
11	Sayed Natasha	Osaki Dir Lower	COF Member	
12	Shamim Ara	Chargori Dir Lower	COF Member	
13	Reshma Ihsan	Badwan Tehsil Adenzai	YLF Member	
14	Shama Qasim	Balambat Dir Lower	COF Member	
15	Farooq Iqbal	Khema Dir Lower	COF Member	
16	Amjad Bacha	Badwan Tehsil Adenzai	YLF Member	
17	Murad Ali Khan	Rabat Dir Lower	YLF Member	
18	Habib Muhammad	Talash Dir Lower	COF Member	
20	Nazir Ahmad	Mayar Samarbagh	COF Member	

S.#	Name	Affiliation / Designation in Party
1	Samaiullah Khatir	President Tehsil Balambat , PML-N
2	Akbar Khan	Development Practitioner and ED in DITSWC NGO
3	Alamzeb Utmani	General Secretary PSF Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, PPP (P)
4	Javed Iqbal	Ex. Nazim Urban Council Timergara & Distt. Chairman Anti Narcotics Lower DIR, PPP (P)
5	Abdullah Roghani	Lawyer Peshawar High Court
6	Sher Muhammad	Journalist Daily Nai Baat / Aaj
7	Abdul Haq	Ex. UC Nazim Tehsil Khall / Jamat -e-Islami Activist
8	Mufti Irfanuddin	Tehsil President, JUI-F
9	Saira Shams	General Secretary women wing Malakand Division, PTI
10	Naeema Naaz	President Women Wing Malakand Division , PTI
11	Sayed Natasha	Social Worker
12	Shamim Ara	Social Worker / Health Practitioner
13	Reshma Ihsan	District President Women Wing Dir Lower , PTI
14	Shama Qasim	Ex. Lady Councillor UC Balambat
15	Farooq Iqbal	General Secretary PML -N Lower Dir and MPA Candidate in 2013 General Election
16	Amjad Bacha	Tehsil President (Qa umi Watan Party) QWP
17	Murad Ali Khan	Member Provincial Youth Organizing Committee (Pakhtun Student Federation PSF) ANP
18	Habib Muhammad	Journalist (Daily Ausaf, Mashriq, Aaj, Pakistan)
20	Nazir Ahmad	Jamat-e-Islami Tehsil Secretary

IST JOINT QUARTERLY COF & YLF MEETING DIR UPPER



District: Dir Upper

Date: 14/02/2014

Meeting Number: 01

Meeting Venue: Hotel Green Hills Dir

Total Members: 30

Present Members: 28

Agenda:

1. To understand the Citizens oversight process
2. To debate over Right to Information Act KPK 2013
3. To review the Local Government Ordinance KPK 2013

Proceedings:

Participants were the members of Citizen oversight forum and Young leaders Forum organized by Association for Behavior & Knowledge Transformation under his Jamhuri Maidan Program at Upper Dir. Meeting was initiated with the Holy verses of Quran by a COF member. Agenda of the meeting was discussed by the facilitator of the meeting one by one. Participants were very active in interactive discussion on the above mentioned agenda and facilitator take and note the action points of the meeting.

Findings of the meeting:

After review the local government ordinance KPK 2013 participants passed a resolution by the whole forum that "previous local Government ordinance there was a quota of 30% for the women in the local bodies system. Though the KPK government introduced a very good system for the local bodies system but it is a very less quota of 20% for the women of the KPK while they are in majority according to population report. So there is dire need to increase this quota from 20% to 50% at least so that women could play their pivotal role to empower their community and resolve their issues and problems"

They demanded from the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Government, Chief Election Commissioner, Chief Justice of Pakistan, and all the parties' leaders to revise the Local Government Ordinance KPK in favor of 50% increasing the quota for women in local bodies system of KPK.



Participants of the meetings

Copy to:

- Minister Local Government KPK
- Secretary Local Government KPK
- Chief Election Commission Office KPK
- Election commission Office Upper Dir
- Chief Justice Peshawar High Court
- Chief Justice Supreme Court Pakistan
- President Pakistan People's Party KPK
- Amir Jamat Islami KPK
- President Awami National Party KPK
- President Pakistan Tehreek Insaf KPK
- President Qaumi Watan Party KPK
- Amir Jamait Ulama.i.Islam KPK
- President Pakistan Muslim League KPK
- Executive Director ABKT



District: Dir Upper

Date: 26/03/2014

Meeting Number: 02

Meeting Venue: Sohail Hotel & restaurant

Total Members: 10

Present Members: 8

Agenda:

- To review the Local Government election preparation at upper Dir.
- To discuss the voter registration process.

Proceedings:

Participants were the members of Citizen oversight forum and Young leaders Forum organized by Association for Behavior & Knowledge Transformation under his Jamhuri Maidan Program at Upper Dir. Meeting was initiated with the Holy verses of Quran by a COF member. Agenda of the meeting was discussed by the facilitator of the meeting one by one. Participants were very active in interactive discussion on the above mentioned agenda and facilitator take and note the action points of the meeting.

Findings of the meeting:

After the brief discussion in the meeting participants shared their progress of the previous action points. It was decided to know about preparation for local government elections at upper Dir. Participants are concerned with the information regarding the polling plan from Election commission office Dir through right to information act 2013 KPK:

- Reconsideration of Village councils population should be unified.
- Youth should be allowed to be a chairman if he get high vote on reserve seat.
- Female should be allowed to be a chairperson if he get high vote on reserved seat.
- Separate polling stations should be established for female.
- Total polling stations at Upper Dir.
- Total polling stations for female
- Joint polling stations for male and female
- Proposed polling satiations for female at upper Dir.
- Any plan for voter registration campaign?



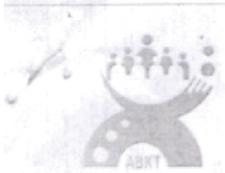
Participants of the meetings

Copy to:

- Election commission Office Upper Dir
- Deputy commissioner Dir Upper
- Minister Local Government
- Offices of All Parties at District.
- Executive Director ABKT



S#	Name	Signature
1	Rahmat Hussain	
2	Muhammad Iqbal	
3	M. Ayub	
4	Akbar Ghaffar	
5	MASEEM Saif	
6	Asad Yousaf Zai	
7	Badshah Dini	
8	Sajid Khan	
9	Qaiser Ali	
10	Rahmat Karim	
11	Muhammad Saleem	
12	Salehullah Khan	
13	Badshah wali	
14	Ali Bahadar Wardag	



15	Amber Z Ahmad	[Signature]
16	Umama Khan	Zalvi
17	M Ishaq Khan	[Signature]
18		
19		
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		
25		

S#	Name	Political Affiliation	Occupation
1	Rahmat Husain	PPPP	Media
2	Badshahuddin	ANP	Business
3	Shahwazir	PTI	Private job
4	Muhammad Israr	PPPP	Business
5	S. Zeshan Ali Shah	PTI	Media
6	Anwerzeb	Jl	Contractor
7	Muhammad Ayub	PML(N)	Private Employment
8	Muhammad Islam	Jl	Media
9	Syed Shakirullah		Private Job
10	AbuzarGhaffar	ANP	Bank employee
11	Naila	QWP	Private Job
12	Rabia Khan	PTI	Bank Job
13	Hadia	Jl	Social Worker
14	Kishwar Sultan	PPPP	Social Worker
15	Sarwat	Jl	Private Job
16	Rabia	PML(N)	Private Job
17	Naseehat	Jl	House lady
19	Naseem Afghan	ANP	Social Worker
20	Farmanullah	PPPP	Student

1ST JOINT QUARTERLY COF & YLF MEETING MALAKAND



ASSOCIATION FOR BEHAVIOR & KNOWLEDGE TRANSFORMATION (ABKT)



Resolution passed in COF, YLF joint meeting/session

Action points of resolution

- To raise awareness in community about women participation in politics/election as voter as well as candidate.
- Coordination meetings of COF with the district cabinet of the major political parties to discuss the inclusion of youth and women in the upcoming local Government election.
- Letter to DEC to establish separate polling stations for female.

S.No	Name	Party appellation/designation	Occupation	Signature
1	Muhammad Imran	JUI	Business + politics	
2	Muslim khan	PPP area president	Social and political worker	
3	Jehan Badshah	ANP	Political worker	
4	Usman Yousafzai	Journalist	Journalist	
5	Ghufran Ahad	EX-Nazim PPP	Lawyer	
6	Muhammad Iqbal shakir	Poet and writer	PHD in progress	
7	Imran khan	PPP/PTUDC	Political worker	
8	Ijaz khan	ANP	Business	
9	Bacha Husain	ppp	Political and social worker	
10	Zia ul Haq	PTI	Lawyer	
11	Farhat		Private school	
12	F azilat		Private school teacher	
13	Gauhar Rehman	Jl Pakistan	Business	
14	Haji Nasir hayat	Social worker	MD memorial hospital Batkhela	
15	Rashed Khan	Jl Pakistan		

Approved by DIL

ANNEX 4:LIST OF KEY PARTICIPANTS OF CONSULTATIVE DIALOGUES ON MANIFESTOS REVIEW IN DIR LOWER

S. No	Name	Party affiliation/occupation	Address
1	Amjad Hussain	Coordinator TYF/Social activist	Village Nasafa, Dir Lower
2	Akhunzada Sikandar	Coordinator QWP	Khall, Dir lower
3	Hamid Hussain	President UC Rabat PTI	Rabat, Dir lower
4	Ali Shah	Social worker	Timergara
5	Mian Shakirullah	Information secretary JI	Timergara
6	Naveed Iqbal	President PSF	Tora Tiga
7	Alamzeb Advocate	Gen. Secretary PSF Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Timergara
8	Inayatur Rahman	Election Commission Officer	Timergara
9	Abdullah Roghani	Advocate	Timergara
10	Ihsanul Haq Tajak	Ex. Nazim	Timergara
11	Murad Ali Khan	Member Provincial Committee PSF	Rabat
12	Akbar Khan	Social Activist	Timergara
13	Eng. Imran Sheikh	President PSF Dir Lower	Timergara
14	Faridullah	Advocate	Chakdara
15	Razdar Ahmed	Worker PML(N)	Ouch
16	Ihsan Danish	News Reporter	Chakdara
17	Ahmed Hussain	Coordinator TYF	Rehman Abad
18	Mairajuddin	Social Worker	Timergara
19	Lal Badshah	Social worker	Balambat
20	Syed Inamul Haq	President Mercy Hands	Timergara
21	Chand	PML(N)	Chakdara, Tehsil Adenzi, DIR Lower
22	Shafiq	PTI	Munjai, DIR Lower
23	Uzma	Activist	Mian Banda, Dir lower
24	Nusrat Begum	PPPP	Ziarat, Talash, DIR LOWER
25	Saira Shams	PTI	Balmbat Colony DIR Lower

26	Sara Aneela	PPPP	Village RABAT
27	Irum Naaz	Jl	Village RABAT
28	Sumaira		Village RABAT
29	Reshma Ihsan	PTI	Balmbat Colony DIR Lower
30	Shaheen Begum	ANP	Qaziabad Koto Balambat
31	Sadaqat	PPP	Balmbat Timergara
32	Farhana	QWP	Chakdara Tehsil Adenzai Dir Lower
33	Mahira	PML(N)	Chakdara Tehsil Adenzai Dir Lower
34	Natasha	Youth Activist	Lower Dir

ANNEX 4:LIST OF KEY PARTICIPANTS OF CONSULTATIVE DIALOGUES ON MANIFEST REVIEW IN DIR UPPER

S#	Name of participant	Party affiliation/ Occupation	Location
1	Anwar Zeb Khan	Govt. Contractor	Main Dir Upper
2	Badshahwali	Social Worker	Dir Upper
3	Khan Zarin	Social Worker	Dir upper
4	Farman Ullah	President ISFSBBU	Chokyaton Dir Upper
5	Asghar Khan	G.SPSF	Dir Upper
6	Ihsan Ullah	Chief organizer QWP	Dir Upper
7	Imteyaz Khan	President PYO	Dir Upper
8	M.Abdulah	Tehsil President ANP	Dir Upper
9	Mujib Alam	UC President Shababmilli	Chokyaton, Dir Upper
10	Badshah Budden	SV President ANP	Main Dir Upper
11	Hasrat Hussain	Media representative	Main Dir Upper
12	Wahid Ullah'	Tehsil GS ANP	Wari Dir Upper
13	M. Baz Khan	President PML(N)	Main Dir Upper
14	Isra Yousafzai	Provincial V -president PYO	Dir Upper
15	Rahat Ullah	District President PYO	Dir Upper
16	Waseem	Distt V President PTI	Dir Upper
17	Haqeeem Ullah	President PPP Barawal	Dir Upper
18	Baradar Khan	EX UC NazimDarikand Jl	Dir Upper
19	Syed Ull Azeem	Ex N. NazimBarawal PPPP	Dir Upper
20	Gul Ahmed	Social Worker	Dir Upper

21	Shabina Ara	Worker JI	UC Chapper Distt Upper Dir
22	Hadiya Bibi	Housewife	Usheri Distt Upper Dir
23	Rabia Bibi	Worker QWF	Tarpatar
24	Raheela Bibi	Worker JI	Usheri Distt Upper Dir
25	Rabia Khan	Worker PTI	Wari Distt Dir
26	Miss Rawayat	Worker PML(N)	Wari Distt Dir
27	Miss Naila Parvez	Worker ANP	Beglighar Upper Dir
28	Kishwar Sultan	Worker PPPP	Shaw Mollah Upper Dir Dir Khass
29	Naseehat	Worker ANP	Gandigar Darora U Dir
30	Sarwat	Worker JI	Shaw Dir Upper Dir

ANNEX 4:LIST OF KEY PARTICIPANTS OF CONSULTATIVE DIALOGUES ON MANIFESTOS REVIEW IN MALAKAND

S#	Name of participant	Occupation	Location
1	Nazir Hussain	Political worker	Malakand
2	Shah Khim	Social worker	Batkheela Malakand
3	M .Usman Yousafzai	Journalist	Batkheela Malakand
4	Noor Ullah	Business	Aladand Malakand
5	M.Asim	Political worker	Batkheela Malakand
6	M.Tariq Khan	Political worker	Batkheela Malakand
7	Abid Khan	Political worker	Batkheela Malakand
8	Shah Zaman	Social worker	Batkheela Malakand
9	Bacha Husain	Political worker	Batkheela Malakand
10	Muslim Khan	Political worker	Batkheela Malakand
11	Anjam Ali	Political worker	Batkheela Malakand
12	Shah Hussain	Political worker	Batkheela Malakand
13	Suleman Khan	Social worker	Malakand
14	Khan Zareen	Social worker	Malakand
15	Wali Rehman	Political worker	Malakand
16	M. Saleem	Social worker	Malakand
17	Rashid Khan	Political worker	Malakand
18	M.Akhtar	Political worker	Malakand
19	Ajor Khan	Social worker	Malakand
20	Ali Muhammad	Social worker	Malakand
21	Maaz	Business	Malakand
22	Kareem Ul Haq	Political worker	Malakand
23	Ashraf Khan	Social worker	Malakand
24	Abdul Kabir	Social worker	Malakand
25	Junaid Ahmed	Political worker	Malakand
26	Nazir Ahmed	Political worker	Malakand

27	Ameer Usman	Social worker	Malakand
28	Rasheed	Political worker	Malakand
29	Irshid Rasheed	Political worker	Malakand
30	Haji Khatir khan	Social worker	Malakand
31	Prof: Hamid	Professor	Malakand
32	Farid	Political worker	Malakand
33	Wahid Ullah	Political worker	Malakand
34	Rahman Gul	Political worker	Malakand
35	Shfqat	PTI worker	Batkhela Matkani
36	Nargis	PTI worker	Matakni
37	Naosheen	ANP worker	Skhakot
38	Neghat	PPPP worker	Malakand
39	Marvi	PTI worker	Malakand
40	Irfania	PTI worker	Malakand
41	Fazeelat	PTI worker	Skhakot
42	Muhammad yaseen	PTI worker	Malakand
43	Afzal Hussain	PSF worker	Thana
44	Bakhtirawan	IJT worker	Batkhela
45	Muhammad adnan	PTI worker	Malakand
46	Ihsanali	PML (N) worker	Malakand
47	Muhammad fawad	PTI worker	Batkhela
48	Laila Shoiab	PTI worker	Malakand
49	Suliman khan	BNT worker	Malakand

DISCLAIMER

The order of the flags and the political parties does not signify the importance or popularity of any political party.



About ABKT

Association for Behavior & Knowledge Transformation (ABKT) is a non-government, non-partisan development organization with the mission of social, economical and political empowerment of marginalized communities, especially women, youth and children through mobilization, organization, capacity building, and advocating for their rights and entitlements. Led by a woman social entrepreneur, Association for Behavior and Knowledge Transformation (ABKT) is a registered non-profit development organization under “The Voluntary Social Welfare Agencies (Registration and Control) Ordinance 1961.” ABKT has organized/formed hundreds of community-based organizations in Malakand Division and mobilized them for specific causes to engage with government institutions, support organizations and other important stakeholders in the region and beyond for the empowerment of marginalized communities.



ASSOCIATION FOR BEHAVIOR & KNOWLEDGE TRANSFORMATION
www.abkt.org