

The Dilemma of Women Empowerment under Local Self-Government System in District Lakki Marwat: From In-built Socio-Political Resistance Theory



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Abstract

This study is composed of three main parts. Part I deals introduction and the global efforts to empower women. Part II describes the Constitutional status of women and women representation under different local government systems in Pakistan. Part II highlights the situational analysis in District Lakki Marwat; challenges faced by rural women to play an affective in the socio-economic development of the area; and the recommendations to overcome those anomalies. The data of this research work is mainly based upon primary sources (especially interview); and secondary sources. In addition, mixed method composed of qualitative and quantitative has been employed. For qualitative data analysis, content analysis is followed to interpret various legal documents. Similarly, statistics have been used to substantiate the research problem with arguments. In addition to this, level of analysis method is applied to highlight global efforts of women empowerment to local government level. Dr. Amir Ullah Khan has applied 'In-built Socio-Political Resistance Theory' on this study.

Introduction

The global institutions have framed various laws and established institutions to safeguard the legitimate rights of women irrespective of their culture, race, colour, language, geography, and religion. Pakistan in compliance to those global legal documents has introduced political reforms at national, provincial, and local levels to empower a woman politically, socially, financially, and administratively so as to contribute to socio-economic development of the country. Participation of women in political life is *sine qua non* to ensure the due role of women in the state affairs and protection of their rights. Without the active participation of women in the political decision-making process, the goals of equality, empowerment, development, and peace cannot be easily imagined. In Pakistan women comprise half of the total population. Ironically the women's status is much lower than that of men in all spheres of life. Women are generally kept restricted to their homes to look after household affairs. Similarly, politics is considered as a masculine job or simply male-dominated public activity.¹

At micro political level, local self-government institutions provide opportunities political, financial, and administrative participation and training to neglected classes – women, minority, peasants/labourers. –Rule of law requires the provision of equal representation and participation of women at all tiers of local government system. Role of Women in decision-making is one of the most important conditions for their

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empowerment in all its manifestations. Keeping in mind, the importance of women's participation in decision-making, the government of Pakistan initiated efforts to widen the scope of women's participation in the development process. The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Local Government Act, 2013 is a milestone to provide women the opportunity to participate in political power structures either to contest local bodies' elections on general seats or on seats reserved for women. This structural framework provided for women's participation in political decision-making, an opportunity to enable women to play their role in local development, and also to provide leadership at grass-roots level.

A. Global Initiatives for Empowerment of Women

Global community has taken into consideration the protection of women's rights and their empowerment through formulation of international laws and their implementation in the member states so as to give them due role in policy making and its implementation from macro (national) to micro (local) political levels. The United Nations Organisation since its inception guaranteed gender equality. The Charter of the United Nations, 1945 set out its main goals to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, equality between men and women regarding their basic rights, essential participation to the entire development, dignity, and protection of health. Article 1st of the United Nations charter states: "there must be women respect and elimination of all kinds of discrimination based sex, language, race or religion. There shall be fundamental freedoms for both on the basis of gender equality". In addition to this, prohibition of discrimination based on sex, language, race or religion is repeated in Article 13 and 55 of the UN Charter (UNOC).² The international community has not stopped its efforts to protect the rights of human beings across the world without any discrimination; and adopted Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948; which declared the equality of rights between men and women without any discrimination based on inter alia, sex. Besides this, there is also Universal Bill of Human Rights; which binds all member states to protect women's rights; to prohibit discrimination against women based on sex; and to ensure the enjoyment of rights on the basis of equality contained in its Article 3). It focuses on the right to life, health care, protection of child, freedom of thought, political participation, association and freedom from torture. It also guarantees right to work and right to adequate education.³

Besides this, the United Nations General Assembly in its 22nd Session adopted *the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, 1967* declared discrimination against women as an offence against humanity; and it guided the member states to "abolish all the existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which caused discrimination against women; and it also obligated the states to provide equal rights to both men and women". In this declaration the member states agreed upon the following critical areas: i) Right to freedom of vote, expression and holding public offices; ii) Right to protection, disposition and enjoyment of property; & iii) Right to adequate education. This legal document protects the political right of women to participate in the political process at all levels through exercise the right to vote in the electoral process; along with the possession of public offices. It also gives guarantee of economic rights through protection of possession of property. Moreover, it considers education as a tool of emancipation of women in a society, so it also urged the member states to provide education as a fundamental right.⁴

The United Nations adopted Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discriminations against Women in 1979; which came into force in 1981. Its preamble states: “discrimination against women still exists and violates the principals of equality, humanity and respect for women dignity”. It laid down some principles and framework to abolish discrimination against women in political, cultural, social and economic spheres of life. It guides the member states to legislate properly for the protection of women’s rights; and to refrain from taking any discriminatory action; and to avoid any discriminatory legislation which endangers the legitimate rights of women in a society. In addition, it also urged the states to abolish such customs and traditions which promote gender discrimination in a society.⁵ To protect the justifiable rights of women in the world, the United Nations organised four world conferences on women – Mexico City in 1975, Copenhagen in 1980, Nairobi in 1985 and Beijing in 1995. Fifty-one original members pleaded for the participation of women and their right to vote in public offices. The United Nations Charter focussed on the equal rights of men and women. United Nations General Assembly called the first world conference on women empowerment in Mexico from 19th June-2nd July, 1975; in which it identified the following three key objectives – promotion of gender equality and elimination of gender based discrimination; integration and full participation of women in the entire development; and maximisation of women contribution in the promotion and strengthening of world peace – for United Nations to work on.⁶ The UN General Assembly convened the 2nd World Conference on Women in Copenhagen, Denmark from 14th-30th July, 1980. The participants identified the disparity between women’s rights and their capacity to enjoy them. They also highlighted three spheres – equal access to quality education; equal access and opportunities of employment; & equal access to adequate protection of health services – wherein adequate measures were needed.⁷

United Nations convened the 3rd World Conference on status of women in Nairobi from 15th -26th July, 1985; wherein the member states recommended the following three basic categories – equal constitutional and legal status; equal social participation; & equal political participation and decision-making – to overcome the obstacles in achieving the main objectives of the United Nations for women empowerment.⁸ Later on, the United Nations convened the 4th World Conference on women in Beijing, 1995; which was based on Vienna Convention on human rights and adopted as ‘Beijing Declaration and Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA)’ with an agenda on women’s empowerment. It stands as a milestone for the advancement of women in the 21st century. The most important areas among the twelve critical areas identified in the BPFA are – women and poverty, women education and training, women and health, women and the economy, violence against women, women in power and decision-making, institutional mechanism for women advancement, & human rights of women.⁹

Another significant step of the international community was to hold ‘The International Conference on Population and Development’ in 1994 which is considered as a milestone for the protection of women’s rights, because the participants in the conference discussed the important issues like women’s rights, gender equality, women’s empowerment and elimination of discrimination against women in all its manifestations, child protection, health care, and education. The participants emphasised on full political participation of both male and female for the development along with the declaration of education and training of the women as important tool for achieving the real

development. It was also made obligatory on states to eradicate gender based discriminations against women; and to provide all possible opportunities to make women's life as a standard life.¹⁰

In 2000, leaders of 189 states met together at United Nations in New York and adopted 'Millennium Declaration' as a commitment to build safer, prosperous and equitable world. They set out eight different but important goals to be achieved by 2015. These goals were: i) To eradicate extreme form of poverty and hunger by providing opportunities of employment on basis of equality without any discrimination to both male and female; ii) To achieve high level of education through providing basic education and training without any discrimination; iii) Promotion of gender equality and to empower women through education; & iv) To provide health facilities to protect their health.¹¹

The aforementioned international legal codes and institutional framework for the amelioration of the status of the women across the world shows the seriousness of the issue. Each document legally bounds its signatory to comply with it and to legislate accordingly to provide a standard life to women, which is considered as a neglected class of the society in developing countries especially.

B. Constitution of Pakistan on Women Empowerment

Keeping in view the international legal obligations, the various governments in Pakistan from time to time have taken different legal and institutional steps to protect due rights of women in the country. In this connection, Pakistan first signed 'the 1953 Convention on the Political Rights of Women'. Ex-President of Pakistan General Ayub Khan ratified the 'UN Convention on the Consent to Marriage, Minimum age for Marriage, Divorce and registration of Marriage'. He also promulgated 'Muslim Family Law Ordinance (MFLO), 1961' to protect women's rights including their economic rights.¹²

Women's representation under various constitutions of Pakistan has been safeguarded. The 1956 Constitution of Pakistan provided ten seats in Federal Legislature (National Assembly) – five from each wing of Pakistan;¹³ and it provided ten reserved seats in Provincial legislatures.¹⁴ Similarly, six reserved seats for women – three from East and three from West Pakistan – were provided under the 1962 Constitution of Pakistan.¹⁵ Moreover, Article 3 of the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan discourages and urged the eradication of all kinds of exploitation from the society. This Constitution also guarantees women's rights; and eliminates of all kinds of discrimination against women. Article 25(1) of the constitution guarantees equality before law and equal protection of law. Article 25(2) ensured that there will be no discrimination on the basis of sex. Article 27 prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex, religion, race, creed and cast for government employment. Article 34 adds that state shall provide equal opportunity for the full participation of women in all spheres of nation. Article 38 ensured that it is the state responsibility to secure the well-being of its citizens without any discrimination. Article 51 and 106 provide for the reservation of seats in the legislatures.¹⁶

C. Local Self-Governments in Pakistan and Women's Empowerment

Local self-government is the fundamental public institution which provides a broad-based political, administrative and financial participation to all walks of people at the grass roots levels. However it is quite ironic to say that the democratic leadership and bureaucracy always created hurdles to flourish local government system in the country; while the

military regimes – whatever might be the designs of those regimes – but they introduced such system to give opportunities to common man to become the political system at micro level and to decide their petty issues at their door steps; and also to get political education and training.¹⁷ The concept of women empowerment will be briefly analysed in the light of General Ayub Khan's Basic Democracies (BD) system of 1959; Local Government System of General Zia-ul-Haq, 1979; the Local Government System under General Pervez Musharaf, 2001; and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Local Government Act, 2013. It is worth to mention that the local bodies' elections were hardly held in the Seventy-three years of the country's life. Under BD system, local bodies elections were held in 1962; under Zia's Local Government Ordinance of 1979, such elections were in 1979, 1983, and 1987; under General Musharaf's Local Government Ordinance, 2001, two times local bodies' elections were held – in 2001 and 2005.¹⁸ Later on, through 18th Amendment in the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan, the local government was made a provincial subject; and it was made obligatory on the federating units to legislate on local government system in their respective provinces and to hold elections.¹⁹

As earlier mentioned that General Ayub Khan introduced the first local government system in the country with a nomenclature of Basic Democracies under 'the *Basic Democracy Ordinance, 1959*' to provide opportunities to people to participate directly in the management of their local affairs through their directly and indirectly elected representatives.²⁰ However, the bureaucrats the Commissioners at Division level, Deputy Commissioner at district level, and assistant Commissioner at tehsil level exercised control over the affairs at each level. Women were neglected by having no reserved seats in the four tiers – District council, Tehsil or Thana Council, Union Council, and Municipal or Town Committees. This system was demolished in 1969. The local government system was thrown to cold storage till 1979.

Later on, Zia-ul-Haq introduced new form of local government. The local governments were empowered to manage their own affairs especially in civic amenities. Only 10 per cent seats were reserved for women in district council and 2 per cent in other tiers of the local government in Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan. NWFP were exempted from it. This quota was increased from 2 per cent to 10 per cent during 1991-1993. In local bodies' elections of 1998, women seats were increased to 12.7% in Punjab, 25% in Balochistan, 2.9% in NWFP and 23% in Sindh. Unfortunately these elections were held only in Punjab and Balochistan (Khan, 2013: 34; & Yazdani, 2004).²¹

General Pervez Musharaf announced his famous seven point reform agenda (Haq, 2017: 17). His regime reserved 33% seats for women in all tiers (Union, Tehsil and District councils) of the local government; which enabled the women to capture maximum number of seats, that is 36000 out of 40000, at the grass roots level.²² Under Article 140-A of the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan, the subject of local government was transferred to federating units. The provinces therefore replaced *The Local Government Ordinance, 2001* with *Balochistan Local Government Act 2011*, *Sindh People's Local Government Act 2013*, *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Local Government Act 2013* (KP LGA, 2013) and *Punjab Local Government Act 2013*.²³

The KP LGA, 2013 provided for a three tiered political-administrative structure composed of Village and Neighbourhood Council at the bottom, Tehsil and Town Council in the middle, and District Council at the top. The Village and Neighbourhood Council had the powers to monitor and supervise the affairs of health, education

agriculture, and other offices within its territorial jurisdiction; and to provide a platform for dispute resolution; and also register birth, death, and marriages; and to provide clean drinking water to local people, etc.²⁴ In addition, the Tehsil Council exercised the power to approve taxes, penalties, etc as the Nazim's proposed; and to approve bye-laws, annual budget, developmental projects; and to ensure financial transparency through Elected Finance Committee and Elected Tehsil Accounts Committee.²⁵ The upper tier, the District Council had also powers like Tehsil and Town Council but at district level.²⁶

1. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Local Government Act (KP LGA), 2013 and Women Empowerment

On 31st Oct, 2013 Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Assembly approved Local Government Act 2013. It is mostly similar to *Local Government Ordinance 2001*.²⁷ It specifies non-party based elections for village and neighbourhood councils but in tehsil and district councils, candidates may contest elections from party side.²⁸ All the tiers of local government (Village, Neighbourhood, Tehsil and District councils) have 33% reserved seats for women (Table-1). **Table-1**

Representatives	VC/NC	Tehsil Councils ²⁹	District Councils ³⁰
General Members	5-10 Population based	24	33
Women	2	8	11
Youth	1	2	2
Peasants	1	2	2
Minorities	1	2	2

2. A Case Study of District Lakki Marwat

Lakki Marwat District is located in Southern Region of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa having area of 3164 Sq. Km with the population 8,76,182 out of which 441816 are male and 434357 are female (**Table-2**). The literacy rate is 45.75% with 75.32% male and 21.09% with female.³¹ It is consisted of two Tehsils; one is Lakki Marwat Tehsil and Sarai Naurang.. Lakki Marwat Tehsil Council contains 24 wards with total 24 general seats, 8 seats for women, 2 for peasants and workers, 2 for youth and 2 for minorities. The Lakki Tehsil is consisted of 69 village councils and 4 neighbourhood councils (**Table-3**) with 490 general seats, 146 for women, 73 for peasants and workers, 73 for youth, 73 for minorities in total 24 wards of Lakki Marwat Tehsil. Sarai Naurang Tehsil contains 9 wards with 9 for general seats, 1 for women, 1 for peasant, 1 for youth and 1 for minorities. There are 20 village councils and 3 neighbourhood councils in Sarai Naurang Tehsil with total 177 seats for general, 46 for women, 23 for peasants and workers, 23 for youth and 23 for minorities (**Table-4**).³²

Table-2 Population of Lakki Marwat³³

Population	876182
Male	441816
Female	434357
Transgender	9
Household	98051

Table-3 Numbers of VC and NC in District Lakki Marwat

Name of Tehsils	Number of Village Councils	Number of Neighborhood Councils
Lakki Marwat	69	4
Sarai Naurang	20	3

Table-4 Total Seats in VC and NC³⁴

Name of Tehsils	General	Women	Peasants/Worker	Youth	Minorities
Lakki Marwat	470	146	73	73	73
Sarai Naurang	177	46	23	23	23

Total population of District Lakki Marwat is 8,76,182; out of which total number registered voters are 3,62,993 with 2,04,717 male and 1,58,276 female. During Local Government Elections of 2015, total 175149 votes are polled with 1,19,795 male and 55,354 female, out of which 165337 were valid and 9812 were rejected. The total turn out in percentage was 48.25, which was low in respect of the registered voters with 58.52% male and 24.97% female.³⁵ On 30th May, 2015 Local bodies' elections were held in District Lakki Marwat. Total 457 female candidates contested elections in total 96 Villages and Neighbourhood Councils in District Lakki Marwat on 192 reserved seats for

women. The primary data shows that there is only one vacant seat of female reserved seats.³⁶

Key Challenges to Rural Women's Participation and Representation

Local Government is a tool for the devolution of powers on the grass root level for the development of society through active participation of the people. With active role of every section of the society, development is just fantasy. Participation of both male and female leads to prosperity and progress in society. Best utilization and mobilization of people is one of the most important factors for the democracy. Women participation and representation in local government seems to be very low in respect of the population. 457 female candidates contested local bodies elections of 192 reserved seats; and total 55354 female polled their votes against total 158276 registered female votes. This low rate of participation and representation is due to some key challenges and problems faced by women during election as discussed in the subsequent paragraphs. Women also faced a lot of problems that restrained them from active political participation in rural areas which hindered their way to play an important role in the society.

The survey research in the selected area of study helped to unearth some key challenges in the way of women's political, administrative and financial empowerment which need to be overcome so as to enable women to participate in local government institutions. During interview with ladies councillors, male councillors, Nazims and Naib Nazims, members of Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) and Government officials of local government, the following problems and challenges have been identified.

1. Social Challenges

First, conservative societal structure of the rural society of district Lakki Marwat is one of the main social issues in this connection. Their socio-cultural code of conduct (popularly known as Pakhtoonwali) does not let them to allow their female outside of houses to earn bread and butter. Earning is considered as man's social responsibility.

Likewise, District Lakki Marwat is a closed and conservative society. Its social norms do not permit the women to participate in public affairs. The people are also Islamic minded. Veiling is considered an important social norm. Woman without veil is considered as a curse for her family. Women are not allowed to go out of home without their male family members and have no space for the meetings with stranger. Village Lady Councillor of Landiwa-1 Shah Zarina stated in this regard:

"Veiling is most important to me than everything. Our society does not allow for mix gathering out of homes with strangers. We cannot attend meetings of the village council regarding the funds and development plan for the concerned area. We therefore have very rare participation in the decision-making in local government system; and thus very low share of developmental fund is given to us."³⁷

Second, behavioural or attitudinal issue is also prevailing in Lakki Marwat which hinders the empowerment of women therein. Good behaviour attracts people towards the environment to live and work and vice versa. In rural society of Lakki Marwat, female mostly feels embarrassment to go out of home due to mixed gathering with strangers. Naeem Ul Haq interviewed two district ladies councillors who responded as:

“In our male dominant society, females feel embarrassment in the presence of male in offices and outside of it. During a meeting for the District developmental plan and allocating of developmental budget, a colleague embarrassed me indirectly through mobile phone. Due to extreme fear of my family members and insecurity, I left and forfeited going to attend meeting in future.”³⁸

2. Political Challenges

First, unawareness and less education in the selected areas also created hurdles in the way of women to actively participate in the local bodies elections; and to play their due role in the local government institutions if elected. Females have no access to media and press. In District Lakki Marwat women do not show interest in participating in local government activities. According to Farzana, a lady councilor in village council Landiwah-1:

“We are unaware about the significance of local government system, and our due role and powers and functions in this system. Public awareness about their role in the local bodies is the most important factor for its success. There is no mechanism of awareness to get aware the general masses about it. The role of the government to impart political education and training to local people is unsatisfactory.”³⁹

Second, the influence of political party on the candidates also restricts their political freedom. According to KP Local Government Act, 2013 candidates may contest election from the platform of a political party on reserved seats at Tehsil and District councils levels. Political parties have a great influence on the candidate's election. Those candidates only won the elections who enjoy support of a party. During an interview with Nazim of Union Council *Landiwah*, Muhammad Haleem Khan stated:

The representation of women in the local government system is only myth. Family members of the women candidates use money; and political parties support them to contest elections. Seats are given only to those who have already an influence in the politics in the locality. Non-party based election is necessary for the true democracy at grass root level. The rich candidate uses money to buy the votes to win. They just contest election on the behalf of their family members to remain more influenced in politics.⁴⁰

Third, women faced huge number of challenges and problems in polling stations during local bodies' elections. These problems arise due to captured-polling stations by supporters of contesting candidates and political parties, far flung polling stations from the voters' houses or villages and electorates' less access to them, slow process of the votes polling, and ill-security management.

Recommendations

Women are half of the population of the country. A society flourishes only if when every citizen is given appropriate opportunities and the guarantee of legitimate rights. Discriminatory policies harm society and create more problems in return. Without women active role and participation, decentralization is useless and against the spirit of democracy. In addition, it has also constitutional and statutory implications.

There are some recommendations and suggestions to make female more active and powerful to flourish a true democratic culture in the society through decentralization of powers.

First, the government must take cognizance of the low literacy rate in District Lakki Marwat; and it should introduce reforms in education sector. Huge budgetary allocation should be ensured. Proper training to teachers should be imparted so as to keep them abreast of the needs of the modern changing world. Female education should also be prioritized so as to make them aware about their legitimate rights including political rights. This will bring a social change in the society and change in the attitude of the local people towards women's role in local and national politics.

Second, reservation of seats and allocation of funds for women must be ensured to empower them. Despite reservation of seats, women representative still cannot play due role in the local government institutions. They have also less number of seats in all the tiers of the local government system. In the distribution of the developmental funds they must be given the fixed amount minimum up to 33%.

Third, direct method of election for women representative needs to be introduced. This will enable them to express their opinion independently without under the thumb of any political party. This will also give impetus to their empowerment.

Fourth, electoral reforms are also needed to be introduced in District Lakki Marwat because most of the polling stations are joint polling stations wherein both male and female cast their votes. Such reform in the electoral process will make political process as compatible with the social norms of the locality; because women in District Lakki Marwat cannot cast vote in a comfortable manner in the presence of male. In addition, in most of the polling stations female polling staff was found absent. In some of the polling stations the female were disfranchised due to systematic or institutional issues. In District Lakki Marwat eight incidents were happened during the Local Bodies' Elections of 2015.⁴¹ Shortly, the provincial election commission office should manage separate polling stations and polling booths along with the female polling staff to ensure better participation of female in casting votes.

Fifth, the provincial and district governments should also take initiatives to make the local woman financially empower; because in District Lakki Marwat, they have no source of income and they have low standard of living. Local Government is a tool to provide economic opportunities to enhance and strengthen the society economically. Most of the widows and orphans are dependents. Funds given to ladies councillors must be only used to ameliorate their standard of living by giving them various vocational trainings and education to enable them to generate finance for themselves and spend a proper way.

Sixth, an effective monitoring mechanism is the most important pre-requisite for good governance. Without it, the system fails to run; and the government is unable to deliver services to its electors. In Local government system, there must be an effective monitoring system at all tiers to monitor the activities of the councillors. This will generate the mechanism of financial accountability to protect women due rights in the distribution of funds. It will also control male councillors' monopoly on exploitation in the distribution of funds.

Lastly, the role of religion in the political culture of District Lakki Marwat cannot be set aside. On religious grounds, women are kept away from mixing with alien males and speaking on public places. They even cannot campaign door to door in their own villages. It is therefore recommended that the government should introduce such electoral and political mechanism which does not in contradiction with the religious teachings of the

local people. Simply, there is need of micro political system which must be compatible with socio-cultural and religious traditions of the people.

Conclusion

The thorough analysis of the case study based research study in the light of global legal documents and national and provincial legislation in Pakistan, it can easily be inferred that the women are still not empowered politically, economically, and administratively. No doubt, reservation of 33% seats in local government does not contribute to empower women to play active role. The lack of national political leadership's will to give an independent political status to women also hindered to empowering them. Similarly, the reluctant approach of the national political leadership to flourish local self-government is another obstacle to women empowerment at the grass-roots level. The bureaucratic intrigues do not allow the local government institutions to flourish in the country; and also to empower women in all its manifestations. Such political and structural factors are main hindrances to the empowerment of women at the grass-roots levels through local self-government institutions. In addition, the socio-cultural values of the local areas in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa including District Lakki Marwat also hinder the empowerment of women through local self-government.

This study helps to generate a unique theory i.e. 'In-built Socio-Political Resistance Theory' in the light of political, bureaucratic, social, cultural, and religious factors which resist the empowerment of women.⁴² Nothing is impossible to refine the political system. However, sincere and devoted political leadership is required to bring people's friendly reforms, to formulate policies for their electorates' welfare and to exercise their authority as their electorates' sacred trust with a sense of popular accountability.

Endnotes

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²⁴ Section 29 of Chapter VII, *Khyber Pukhtunkhwa Local Govt Act 2013*.

²⁵ Section 25 of Chapter V, *Khyber Pukhtunkhwa Local Govt Act 2013*

²⁶ Khyber Pukhtunkhwa Local Govt Act 2013, Chapter IV, Section 18

²⁷ See Section 6 & 7 of *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Local Government Act, 2013* (KP LGA 2013) & LGO 2001

²⁸ Section 27 & 74 of KP LGA 2013

²⁹ 2nd Schedule, Part-B, LGA, 2013, 78

³⁰ 2nd Schedule, Part-A, LGA, 2013, 77

³¹ UNESCO. 3rd Report on *Literacy Trends in Pakistan*, Office Islamabad, May 2003.

³² The data was collected from the Head Office Local Government, District Lakki Marwat, 20th Oct, 2017. See Naeem Ul Haq, *Women Empowerment in Local Government in District Lakki Marwat: Problems and Prospects*, (unpublished BS Thesis), Department of Political Science, Islamia College Peshawar, 2017

³³ The data was collected from the District Government Office, Lakki Marwat, 20th Oct, 2017. See Naeem Ul Haq, *Women Empowerment in Local Government in District Lakki Marwat: Problems and Prospects*, (unpublished BS Thesis), Department of Political Science, Islamia College Peshawar, 2017, 17

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³⁷ Interview with Shah Zarina w/o Ayub Khan, Lady Councillor, Village Council Landiwah-I, 28th Oct, 2017 quoted in Naeem, *Women Empowerment in Local Government in District Lakki Marwat...*, 23

³⁸ Ibid.

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⁴¹ KP LGE-2015, *Preliminary observations, findings and recommendations for reforms*, 2015

⁴² Dr. Amir Ullah Khan, Associate Professor & Chairman Department of Political Science, Islamia College Peshawar Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is the founder of the 'In-built Socio-Political Resistance Theory'. He introduced this theory, and applied on this case study.