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REPRESENTATION, PARTICIPATION,  
EMPOWERMENT  
Assessment of Devolution in Union Council,  
Bhangali

Abstract

*This is a piece of process research which studies the much publicized devolution of governance plan in the microcosm of union council Bhangali in the district of Lahore. The structure and operation of devolution at the smallest unit level is documented in the fifteen attached annexure. Two conclusions appear to emerge, first, the elected representatives do their bit but their means and mandate are limited. Second, the hope that devolution would ignite the latent creativity and energies of the people has proved nothing more than a figment of imagination.*

Introduction

The new local government system introduced in 2001 envisions the Union Council as the first level of government administration. Its main function presumably is to identify the urgent needs of the local people and to prepare development projects to address those needs (PLGO 2001, Section 76b). The most important function of the Union Nazim is to provide leadership for Union-wide development and to prepare the annual development plan (PLGO 2001, Section 80a).

One of the distinctive features of the new local government system is that it recognizes the Union Administration as a body corporate. The new system ensures the financial viability of the Union Administration. It provides for regular supply of specified, formula-based funds every month to meet the routine and development needs of the Union Administration (PLGO 2001, Section 120-D). In addition, it also confers taxation powers on the Union Administration to enable it to mobilize its own financial resources. By making the Union Nazim ex-officio member of the District Council and the Naib Union Nazim the ex-officio member of Town Council, the new local government system endeavours to provide an inbuilt mechanism for communication and coordination between different levels of government administration. By skillful lobbying the Union Nazim and the Naib Union Nazim could secure favours for their Union.

One of the important functions of the Union Administration prescribed in the Local Government Ordinance is to identify deficiencies in the delivery of services

and to make recommendations for their improvement to the upper levels of government (PLGO 2001, Section 76c). For this purpose the Union Council is required to appoint monitoring committees (PLGO 2001, Section 88k). The Union Council itself is expected to scrutinize the performance of the Union Administration as well as to review the performance of the Union Monitoring Committees (PLGO 2001, Section 88(o)).

A Union Administration is also expected to encourage amicable settlement of disputes among the people in the Union through conciliation. Conciliation is to be achieved through a conciliation committee, called Musalihat Anjuman, to be constituted in each Union from amongst the residents of the Union who are known for their integrity and good judgment (PLGO 2001, Sections 102 & 103).

The Local Government Ordinance also provides for involvement of public-spirited individuals and groups for community development work (PLGO 2001, Section 98i). Such individuals who are supposed to be persons other than elected officials are to be grouped in the form of NGOs called Citizens Community Boards. A powerful incentive is provided for this kind of community work by requiring that twenty-five per cent of the annual development budget of the Union must be spent through CCBs (PLGO 2001, Section 109(5a)). Up to eighty per cent of the budgeted amount of an approved development scheme of a CCB can be provided by the Union Administration (PLGO 2001, Section 119(2)).

Thus a community of up to fifty thousand people (approximately 17000 voters) i.e a Union Administration has the potential to mobilize pressure for good governance in its area. Such a role of UC assumes the existence of a spirit of teamwork between the Nazim and Naib Nazim as well as an ethos of cooperation among the members of the Union Council (GOP 2000 p.14, para 2.3.1). For this purpose, the Union Nazim has to display high qualities of leadership and the Union Council has to act as a vigilant and resourceful oversight and deliberative body. The monitoring committees should be functional and effective. Musalihat Anjuman and CCBs should be properly constituted and operated in a manner to win the confidence of the general populace.

### General Profile of UC Bhangali

Bhangali is predominantly a rural Union Council. It covers twenty large and small villages (Annexure I). Its population in 2006 was estimated to be over 50,000. The major occupation of the local residents is agriculture. Many are also engaged in fruit growing and milk selling. Bhangali is connected to national electricity supply network of WAPDA as well as to the national telephone network of PTCL. In addition, use of mobile phone is common. The Union Council has yet no access to piped natural gas nor does it have a network of piped drinking water supply. Almost all the people get their drinking water from turbines installed in their own homes. Two government dispensaries and one Basic Health Unit (BHU) have been set up to attend to medical needs of the local people. Of course, now a considerable number of physicians have

also set up private clinics in the area. The UC has one government – run (previously provincial government and now City District Government) middle school for boys and two middle schools for girls. Almost every village has a government primary school for boys and girls. Since 2000, a private philanthropic organization The Citizens Foundation (TCF) has set up three high schools for boys and girls in the UC (two near village Bhangali and one near village Nathoki). Besides, dozens of schools of different levels both for boys and girls have now been set up in the UC by the private sector. Many parents in the UC prefer to send their children, mainly boys, to a distant but well-regarded private school, Ikhwan High School in Burki.

A review of the four year performance of the Union Administration (2001-05) indicates that it tried, though unsuccessfully, to fulfill the barest minimum legal requirements. According to PLGO 2001 the Union Council must meet at least once every month. Thus it should have met at least thirty times between 14 August 2001 and December 2003. However, it met, in fact, for sixteen times (see Annexure II). The Union Council was, however, able to maintain the quorum in all the meetings. The minutes of *Ijlas Karwai* (session), as recorded by the Secretary, indicate that the Union Council deliberations proceeded smoothly without noisy disagreements. There are also indications that the members looked upon the monthly sessions of the Union Council as unwelcome diversion from their daily chores and not as a welcome opportunity to get together in order to deliberate upon pressing issues of the community.

### Resolutions Passed

In two years (2001 and 2002) UC Bhangali passed 35 resolutions as recorded in the minutes (Annexure III). Five of them may be described as procedural resolutions. They dealt with matters of “housekeeping” such as purchase of furniture of UC office, purchase of bicycle for the UC Naib-Qasid. Two resolutions were political in nature – both extended support to the President of the country in his campaign for election. Twenty-eight resolutions i.e., 80 per cent, dealt with substantial issues. The most frequent subject in these resolutions referred to soling (brick lining) of streets. It was followed, in frequency, by soling of open drains. The third in order of frequency was construction of boundary wall for a graveyard, a school or a pond. The fourth most frequent issue addressed by UC resolutions was construction of metalled road. For other priority issues perceived by union councilors of Bhangali see Annexure IV.

### Committees Constituted by UC Bhangali

The PLGO 2001 requires the Union Council to elect from amongst its own members seven committees called Monitoring Committees. They are (1) municipal services (2) finance (3) public safety (4) health (5) education (6) literacy and (7) works and services. The UC is also supposed to elect a code of conduct committee which is responsible for enforcing the code of conduct for regulating the conduct of members of the Union Council. The Union Council must also elect a Union

Accounts Committee which is responsible for examination of audit reports. The PLGO 2001 requires the UC to appoint one more committee – Insaaf Committee which selects the panel of Conciliators of Musalihat Anjuman for out of court amicable settlement of disputes. In the first term (2001-05) the Bhangali UC had appointed only two of the mandatory committees, namely Insaaf Committee and Education Committee. None of the remaining three committees appointed by UC Bhangali related to subjects prescribed for appointing monitoring committees. Only two of the five committees (Development and Education) included, at least, one woman member. Inquiries revealed that none of the committees was truly functional. In the second term (2005 - 09) the Bhangali UC appointed only three of the mandatory seven monitoring committees (see Annexure V).

### *Musalihat Anjuman*

In spite of the constitution of *Insaaf* Committee in February 2002 (on the directive of the provincial government) it did not select a panel of three *Musalebeen* (conciliators) from amongst the residents of UC to form a *Musalihat Anjuman*. Under the PLGO 2001 the Union Nazim, the Naib Union Nazim or the members of the Union Council are not eligible for appointment as *Musalebeen* (PLGO 2001, Section 102(1)). In Bhangali, the UC Nazim acted as convener of conciliation council. He convened meetings of conciliation council at the office of the UC once a week, on a fixed day. He asked the parties to the dispute to nominate two persons each as conciliators. This five member conciliation council then tried to arrive at an amicable settlement of the dispute through conciliation. In most cases the disputes brought to the conciliation council related to *nan nafqa* matters i.e claim of an estranged wife against husband for maintenance expenses. This conciliation council derives its authority from the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance 1961 (MFLO 1961).

### Annual Budget Management

Under the PLGO 2001, funds are transferred from the provincial government to the local governments on the basis of a formula worked out by the Provincial Finance Commission (PLGO 2001, Section 120-D(ii)). During the first four years UC Bhangali received an amount of Rs.145,000/- to Rs.180,000/- per month (see Annexure VI) out of this sum an amount of over Rs.40,000/- per month was spent on salaries, office rent and honoraria for UC Nazim and Naib UC Nazim. The honorarium of the UC Nazim is Rs.3000/- per month and that of the Naib Union Nazim Rs.2000/- per month. The three secretaries of the UC are in Basic Pay Scale-5 and the two Naib Qasids in B-1. Their salaries are also paid out of the UC budget. The UCs are required to show a surplus of at least 5 per cent in their annual budget. The balance in the budget is available for expenditure on UC development schemes.

## Pattern of Development Expenditure

UC Bhangali had available to it an amount of rupees over one lakh (one hundred thousand) per month or rupees over one and a half million per year for development work. Barring an expenditure of nearly three lakh rupees on the UC office, rupees 281,000/- on construction of culverts and rupees 250,000/- on boundary wall and latrines of schools all the remaining amount (approximately rupees 65 lakh) was spent on soling of streets and brick lining of open drains between 2001 and 2005. The largest amount of money (nearly Rs.14 lakh or 1.4 million) was spent on streets and drains in village Mandianwala. It was followed by village Tehra (over rupees 12 lakh or 1.2 million). Nearly one million rupees were spent on village Bhangali. For total expenditure on other villages see Annexure VII. All this expenditure of nearly rupees 73 lakh (7.3 million) over four years made little impact on the most pressing problem of most of the villages namely drainage of waste water. Most of the villages present an ugly sight of heaps of filth and stagnant water. The UC leadership has shown no capability of addressing this problem. The City Government or the Provincial Government would need to seek the advice of specialists to tackle this widespread noxious problem.

## Citizen Community Boards

In a period of over five years, only one Citizen Community Board was set up in UC Bhangali. CCB titled Bhangali Welfare was registered with EDO (CD) City District Government Lahore in 2003. In three years, the CCB is not reported to have undertaken any welfare or development work. A possible reason could be that the UC had earmarked no fund for CCBs in the first four years. Another CCB registered with City District Government Lahore (CDGL) in 2003 under the title of Rural Area Development Committee undertook a development project involving construction of a dual carriageway road from Bao Wala to Kalas Mari in UC Bhangali. The total cost of the project was estimated to be over 64.3 million rupees (CDGL 2006). Construction work was started in 2004. However, in a period of nearly three years only part of the road was completed. Differences were reported to have developed with the contractor over rates of construction. As a result only a single carriageway road was constructed from Chungi Gujjar Pura to Dograi Khurd. In addition the contractor left a substantial part of this portion of the road unmetalled which caused great inconvenience to commuters for almost two years. The contractor also failed to construct a *nala* (drain) along the entire length of the road to drain the waste water of the adjacent houses.

The Rural Area Development Committee offers an illustration of a CCB which was not motivated primarily by the welfare of the public at large but by the self-serving pecuniary advantage of a land developer. A single carriageway road in good working condition already existed. There was no pressing need felt and articulated by local residents for constructing the dual carriageway. The land developer assembled a list of thirty-one individuals in December 2003 and succeeded in registering the new CCB with CDGL. He was able to go through with ease the formality of observing

the remaining procedures such as certification by a relevant government department of the estimates of the cost of the scheme, certification that the scheme met other requirements laid down by law and proof of deposit of CCB's share of the cost with the concerned Local Government. The Chairman of the Rural Area Development Committee as shown in the application of registration happens to be a partner of the developer of the Green City housing scheme. The construction of the Bao Wala – Kalas Mari dual carriage way stops abruptly in front of the main entrance to the Green City housing colony. It is obvious that the dual carriageway is primarily aimed at serving the financial interests of the land developer and not “to energise the community” for its welfare. This case also illustrates that elaborate guidelines and rules for CCBs failed to check the misuse of a public spirited initiative.

### Poor Management of Municipal Services

The Burki Road which passes through the entire length of Union Council Bhangali also showcases the ineffectiveness of the Union Administration in tackling residents' problems. The place where the newly constructed dual carriageway joins Burki Road created two difficulties for the commuters. The newly constructed dual carriageway is at a slightly higher elevation than the Burki Road. The contractor failed to connect the two by a suitable sloping joint. By constant use the road wore out uncovering stones used to construct the road. The vehicles had to slow down in order to negotiate this hazard. The second difficulty at this point relates to waste water overflowing and thus washing away this part of the Burki Road. This condition continued for years with no sign of the Union Administration taking any notice. The waste water comes from a *nala* flowing from Kalas Mari along Burki Road. One possible remedy is to direct the flow of the waste water of Kalas Mari in the opposite direction by extending the existing *nala* to a larger *nala* a few thousand feet away close to Mahfooz Shaheed Garrison. A *nala* along Burki Road from Kalas Mari to Dograi Khurd needs to be constructed and extended to Mahfooz Shaheed Garrison. This project may not be within the financial resources of the Union Council. In that case the UC has the option to agitate the matter at the level of the upper echelons of Local Government. It is also likely that the construction of the *nala* was included in the construction estimates of the dual carriageway project but the contractor failed to do so and the CCB failed to enforce the implementation of the project.

### Poor Management of Public Funds

In the third meeting of UC Bhangali (10 October 2001) in the first term, Naib Union Nazim tabled a motion in the House that the UC office temporarily be shifted (from village Bhangali) to a conspicuous place on the main Burki Road. He was seconded by Ch. Shaukat Ali of Dograi Khurd and M. Ashraf from Nathoki. The minutes of the meeting record that the motion was unanimously approved. In reality, two members, Haji Ghulam Mohyuddin from village Bhangali and Arif Hussain from Nathoki were opposed to this decision. The two, reportedly, declared in protest not to attend the meetings of the Union Council in future. The UC

already has a spacious and well-furnished office building in village Bhangali. In addition the Union Administration spent around rupees three lakhs (three hundred thousand) on that office building in the first term for its expansion and renovation. A second storey was added to the existing building. However, the Union Administration continues to use the temporary office even in the second term for holding the meetings of the Union Council and for other official business. The Naib Union Nazim of the first tenure has now become the Union Nazim. The temporary office consists of a small room in the office of a relative of the Union Nazim who is engaged in real estate business. The Union Administration pays a monthly rent of Rs. 5,000/- to the owner. This case illustrates a number of things regarding the functioning of the UC under the new local government system. Firstly, it exemplifies the tendency of UC Nazim and his faction to bulldoze decisions in the Union Council. The spirit for consensus and desire to take the members along by persuasion seems to be lacking. Secondly, it shows that in incurring expenditure, financial propriety is not observed. In this case, on the one hand, the Union Administration spends lakhs of rupees on the expansion of the existing office building and on the other hand, displays no hesitation in paying rent for the temporary office. Thirdly, it demonstrates that an overriding concern of the elected officials in Local Government remains pecuniary advantage even at the expense of public interest. Fourthly, the existing political and administrative mechanisms offer practically no safeguards against abuse of authority and misuse of public funds. This case also shows that the Union Council as a body has acted as a rubber stamp and not as a vigilant watchdog of the interests of the community. It is reported that the two dissenting members of the Union Council sent a written complaint to the DCO but political pressure was applied to cover up a blatant violation of the principles of financial propriety (PLG 2001). According to some people one of the reasons for shifting the UC office from village Bhangali was that in the election the residents had in a majority voted for the opponent of the UC Nazim. If true, it reveals another dark side i.e., factionalism of local politics which devolution hoped to but has failed to control.

### Social Background of Members

In the first term, four seats of the Union Council, all reserved for women, remained unfilled. Two of these were Muslim (General) Female seats and two were Peasant/Worker (Female) seats (Annexure I). Thus, the total strength of Union Council Bhangali for the first four years remained 17 and not 21 as prescribed by the PLGO 2001. The average age of the member of the Union Councils worked out to 43 (Annexure VIII). 5 councilors (29 per cent) were engaged in agriculture related occupations. Four (or 23 per cent) of the councilors pursued activities related to the occupation of property dealing, two were petty contractors, three operated some kind of store (motor cycle spare parts, carpets and needle work) and one was a housewife. In terms of education six or 35 per cent were illiterate, five or 29 per cent had gone through 4 to 8 years of schooling and six had had ten or more years of schooling (Annexures IX and X).

In the second term the average age worked out to 38.6 years. A little over thirty per cent of the councilors in the second term were engaged in agriculture related occupations. Two or 15 per cent were contractors, three operated some kind of store (cloth bags, needle work, grocery), three were housewives and one was engaged in work relating to property dealing. In terms of education the illiterates comprised 23 per cent. Those with four to eight years of schooling constituted 38 per cent and those with ten years or more of schooling were also 38 per cent. In the second term the union councilors were relatively younger and better educated.

### Women Members

In the first term, there were only two women members in UC Bhangali. One was illiterate and the other had received up to eight years of schooling. The lack of interest on the part of women in local politics is demonstrated by the fact that both women were elected unopposed in the first term. In the second term, both the lady councilors were re-elected. Two others were elected this time to fill all the four women seats. One of the new lady members was illiterate and the other was educated up to college level. Although it is urbanizing rapidly, UC Bhangali is still rural in character. One indicator of the conservative outlook of the area is that at least in one case the lady councilor was represented in UC sessions by her husband (Annexure XI).

### Pattern of Voting in UC Elections

In the first term the total number of valid votes cast for the office of Nazim and Naib Nazim was 8608. The winning team for the office of Nazim and Naib Union Nazim obtained 5124 votes or 59.5%. In the second term, the total number of valid votes cast was 7409. The winning team secured 2858 votes or 38.5 per cent. In both terms, the winning general councilors secured their seats on the Union Council by polling only 5 to 9 per cent of the total valid votes. Most of them, in both terms, polled most of their votes in the villages of their domicile (Annexures XII and XIII).

In the first term, Saeed Dogar, the UC Nazim bagged 90 per cent of all the valid votes in his village Tehra. The Naib Nazim, Farman Ali bagged 50 per cent of all the valid votes in Phularwan. General Councilor, Ch. Shaukat Ali's votes in Dograi constituted 72 per cent of all the votes polled by him. Haji Shaukat Ali's (General Council) votes in Tehra constituted 70 per cent of all the votes polled by him. General Councilor Haji Ghulam Mohiyuddin's votes in Bhangali, General Councilor Fiaz Ahmad's votes in Nathoki and General Councilor Rasheed's votes in Nathoki constituted over 90 per cent of all the votes polled by each.

In the second term, Farman Ali, the UC Nazim bagged 30 to 41 per cent of all the valid votes in Phularwan. The Naib Nazim Mushtaq bagged 79 to 83 per cent of the valid votes in Nathoki. A similar pattern of voting was observed in the case of the four general councilors, the four women councilors and the two peasant and worker councilors (Annexures XIV and XV).



A Union Council-wide political loyalty seems not yet to have developed. Voters tend to vote largely on the basis of village affiliation. In the first term ten of the twenty villages were represented in the Union Council. The large villages (Tehra, Nathoki, Phularwan) captured ten of the 21 seats. Bhangali, though a populous village, was represented by a single (general) councilor. In the second term, only eight of the twenty villages managed to send one or more councilor to the Union Council. Phularwan, Nathoki and Mandianwala captured eight of the thirteen seats of the Union Council (Annexure I). Apart from the ten smaller villages, two large villages – Tehra and Bhangali went completely unrepresented. The reason probably is that the larger villages put up too many candidates who split one another's votes. In the Union Council sessions, members acted more as representatives of their villages than as representatives of the entire Union. Allocation of development funds was also done on village basis. Hardly any Union-wide development scheme was proposed (Annexure III).

### State of Community Mobilization

The values of the traditional village community seem to have withered away. For example, voluntary communal manual work by village community for the benefit of the entire village is now unthinkable. The villagers of Padri were not able to produce such a voluntary force for the de-silting of 1000 feet long water channel running from Padri to village Bhangali. This work was executed through hired labour at considerable cost. The nature of the silting process is such that it requires de-silting once every year for which funds may not be readily available.

Another example of lack of a spirit of enlightened self-interest is also provided by Padri. We were told that a few years earlier the village had managed to set up a public system of supply of piped drinking water. The system failed as users delayed or declined to pay water bills. Now every household has its own electric turbine for supply of drinking water with which the residents seem to be satisfied.

### Citizen-Politician Interface

An illustration of representative system producing public services in response to popular pressure was witnessed in UC Bhangali but outside the framework of local government system. The residents of National Assembly Constituency NA 130 that includes UC Bhangali badly need a connection to the national gas pipeline. This service was being arranged in Nathoki by the local MNA. The supply had not yet started but the pipes were being laid. The people acknowledged the services of the lady MNA and showed appreciation for her efforts. On her part the MNAs conduct shows that she realized that she had to provide the required service in order to win a seat in the National Assembly. A complex process of interaction between the people and the MNAs, MPA's and local councilors seems to be at work. The local voters are using their citizen power to vote skillfully to secure benefits from elected representatives. At times, the public representatives appear to be in stiff competition with one another to win the favour of the electorate. If allowed an uninterrupted

operation, the democratic electoral process shows promise to yield an accountable and responsive service delivery system.

The pattern of allocating funds for development work illustrates the sensitivity of elected representatives to the demands of their voters. The councilors tended to sponsor development work for their own villages (Annexure III). Hardly any member suggested union-wide development projects. They were keen to live up to the expectations of their electorate as well as to provide benefits and services which were visible in concrete form to the residents. Almost all the development funds have been expended on soling (brick-lining) of streets and drains. The central problem of draining waste water has, however, remained unsolved. The Nazims or Councilors seem to have taken no initiative to seek expert advice on tackling the problem. They have also shown no capability of mobilizing the residents for waste water management or for mobilizing community resources for that purpose. They seem to view their role merely to channel government funds (but not community resources) into areas of need identified by them.

### Public Service Delivery

The City District Government Lahore has allocated eighteen sanitary workers to Union Council Bhangali. They are headed by a *Darogha*. They report daily to the UC Nazim at his residence. The *Darogha* marks their attendance. The Nazim directs them, for that day, to proceed to one of the twenty villages for sanitary work. It is for the first time that sanitary workers have been assigned for sanitary work in these villages. Visits to the villages revealed that the CDGL sanitary workers have no special know-how or equipment to collect and dispose off the village garbage. Most of the residents throw their garbage in open spaces in the village where it piles up in large heaps. The villagers also drain the waste water from their houses to some open space where it accumulates over years into a filthy pond. The rural Union Councils need to consult sanitary experts in order to find inexpensive and effective methods for disposing off village garbage and waste water. The existing arrangement is not effective. The villagers are highly dissatisfied with the existing unsanitary and unhygienic condition.

The government primary school for boys in Dograi Khurd is not equipped with electricity supply. It has no fans. It has also no supply of drinking water. A hand-pump was once installed in the courtyard of the school, but it has been vandalised and therefore non-functional. Two latrines were constructed sometime ago but they are also not functional. The school has two teachers who claimed that seventy students were admitted to the primary school. On the day of our visit the number was not more than thirty.

The condition is, more or less, similar in other government primary schools. The boys' school at Kalas Mari does have desks. It also has electricity and fans. The head teacher stated that it had been arranged on 'self-help' basis. This school claims to have 120 students. The actual number on the day of our visit was less than half of

that number. The school has five teachers. All the teachers are trained; three are regular employees in basic pay scale 7 to 14. The remaining two work on contract. The inspection of the primary schools has been assigned to retired, non-commissioned officers of the army. They are provided with motor cycles and they check on the attendance of pupils and teachers.

The condition of the government primary schools for girls is similar. The primary school for girls in Phularwan, for example, is located in the same enclosure as the primary school for boys. Both the schools have no electricity supply or functional latrine. A hand-pump exists and works but has no proper arrangement for waste water drainage.

As the subject of education is not within the jurisdiction of the Union Administration, the primary schools despite devolution appear to be distant and thus “out of sight” of the District Government. In the first term (2001-05) Union Administration provided boundary wall to one or two government primary schools and helped with the construction of a latrine in a girls’ school. But it attracted objection from the auditors. The appearance of better equipped private schools has also adversely affected the government primary schools. The better off people tend to send their children to private schools. Only the children of poorer parents cluster in the government primary schools. For this reason, these schools suffer from government neglect.

The UC Bhangali has within its territorial limit one Basic Health Unit (BHU) and two basic health dispensaries. In view of frequent complaints of absenteeism on the part of the medical staff and of non-availability of medicines the provincial government has associated the Punjab Rural Support Programme with the day to day administration of the BHU and the dispensaries. As a result of an agreement the PRSP monitors, on a daily basis, the attendance of the medical staff. The PRSP also supplies medicines to the dispensaries and the BHU. Thus in the field of health also, the Union Council appears to be playing no meaningful monitoring role.

Transport facility in Union Council Bhangali is provided entirely by the private sector. It has a reasonably good and inexpensive system of bus transport. Auto-rickshaws and tongas are also available. A sizeable section of the population owns bicycles, motor cycles and cars. At one time, small scale entrepreneurs, plied wagons on Burki Road. A big bus transporter, using his political influence, persuaded the provincial government to ban wagon transport service. After a few months of operation and finding it not lucrative, the bus transporter stopped his bus service. Fortunately for the local residents, small scale enterprising private bus transporters stepped in and filled the void. This case, however, illustrates how, occasionally, some affluent people engage in power play to the detriment of the ordinary people.

## Conclusion

The first principle on which the strategy for devolution of power is claimed to be based is to make politics and development process people-centred. It seeks to create

an enabling environment for significant citizen empowerment, participation and representation making government increasingly bottom-up and responsive. Deriving inspiration from Orangi Pilot Project (OPP) and AKRSP the authors of devolution hoped that in the enabling environment of new government system people will be empowered to solve their problems through their initiatives with their own resources. People-centred development and governance, they hoped, would 'ignite the latent creativity and energies of the people of Pakistan'.

The devolution plan is also based on the principle of rights and responsibility. Under devolution strategy every village and town has the right to organize itself to directly undertake developmental activities and channel government and community resources into areas of need identified by them. Elected representatives have the responsibility to promote the formation of organizations for community development. The citizens have the responsibility to collect and channel information on local conditions and government performance.

The devolution strategy views elected representatives primarily as political leaders and not as managers of functions. They are expected "to create progressive mindsets, develop enthusiasm for the right initiatives and dissuade people from regressive tendencies". Compared with the above principles of devolution the performance of UC Bhangali does not come out to be as very impressive. These objectives have hardly been fulfilled. The project aimed to mobilize the people through the process of election and responsibility but it is clear even the elected representatives are not mobilized not to speak of the general public. The elected representatives are not keen to attend and participate in the few meetings held during the year. The attendance was less than two-third most of the time. The attendance and participation of women and special groups like minorities representatives is poorer. Many-a-time women were represented by their husbands and they failed to identify any gender issues.

This failure to mobilize and activate the general public is most notable. Even the incentive of the government contributing 75 per cent to all local public initiatives has failed to mobilize. The only initiative on record is the widening of a section of the Burki Road which was motivated more by the commercial consideration of a housing society developer. The Union Council on its part for the first 4 years did not earmark any funds to be used through the citizen community boards. Only one CCB was formed which remained practically inactive. It seems community spirit and volunteerism are on the decline and the devolution plan has failed to counteract the rising current of individualism and commercialism generated by the fast moving privatization and the refrain of globalization in the society. In fact, even the elected representatives showed more keenness in getting an honorarium than working in the spirit of public service.

The Union Council as a collective body failed to monitor the performance of government offices in its territorial limits. Monitoring committees did not produce

any monitoring reports. The Union Council also completely abdicated its functions relating to conciliation of disputes in civil and criminal matters.

The local bodies are not a new phenomenon. They have existed under different names since before the creation of the country. However, even today these bodies continue to address the same old issues of street and drain lining. The far more significant issues of education, healthcare, transport, security, policing, justice and employment, are outside the purview of the union council, a level where the people can actually participate in the delivery and monitoring of these services.

Traditionally, the local bodies system has provided a useful means to extend political control to the grass root level and receive favours in lieu of votes for the ruling party. The current devolution set up has been no exception.

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## Annexure I

Representation of Villages in UC Bhangali  
(2001-05 and 2005-09)

Sr. No.	Village	2001		2005	
		Categories	Nos.	Categories	Nos.
1.	Tehra	Nazim, Gen. Councilor, Minority Councilor	3		
2.	Brahmanabad	-		Minority Councilor	1
3.	Bhagwanpura	-		-	
4.	Labour Camp	-		-	
5.	Phularwan	Naib Nazim, Labour Councilor	2	Nazim, 2 Gen Councilors, Labour Councilor	4
6.	Dogarai Khurd	Gen Councilor	1	Woman Councilor	1
7.	Bhangali	Gen Councilor	1	-	
8.	Burj	-		-	
9.	Wara Mohle Wasian	Gen Councilor	1	Gen Councilor	1
10.	Wara Shah Muhammad	-		-	
11.	Wara Jamiata	-		-	
12.	Nathoke	3 Gen Councilors, 2 Labour Councilors	5	Naib Nazim, Woman Labour Councilor	2
13.	Mandianwala	Gen Councilor	1	Male and Female Labour Councilors	2
14.	Kalass Mari	Gen Councilor	1	-	
15.	Dhori	Woman Councilor	1	Woman Councilor	1
16.	Padri	Labour Councilor	1	Gen Councilor	1
17.	Rakh Padri	-		-	
18.	Dhur Wala	-		-	
19.	Chughal Pura	-		-	
20.	Hera Singh Wala	-		-	
Total:			17		13

## Annexure II

### Meetings of Union Council Bhangali (2001-2003)

<b>Date</b>	<b>Present</b>	<b>Quorum</b>
17.08.01	16	94%
11.09.01	13	76%
10.10.01	13	76%
15.11.01	09	52%
10.12.01	09	52%
23.01.02	12	70%
08.02.02	11	64%
01.04.02	13	76%
06.04.02	13	76%
25.06.02	10	58%
30.06.02	15	88%
30.07.02	11	64%
08.01.03	12	70%
19.05.03	9	52%
02.07.03	9	52%
03.09.03	9	52%

The actual total membership of the UC was 17.

## عملدرآمد رپورٹ بابت منظور شدہ قرار داد بائے یونین کونسل بھنگالی لاہور

2001-02

نمبر سلسلہ	املاس مندرجہ	قرارداد نمبر	مذکورہ قرارداد	محرک	فیصلہ کیفیت
1	10.10.01	1	ہیڈ سٹریٹس کے چارڈا سٹال	شوکت علی جزل کونسل (ڈاگرا اے خورڈ) تائید نائب ناظم	شفوفہ پر منظور ہوئی اور فیصلہ ہوا کہ ڈی۔ ای۔ او پلسٹری انجکشن کو کھلا کھلا جائے۔
2	10.10.01	2	علاقہ میں اوبیشیوں کو بھینسن (Vaccine) لگانے کا سٹال	تقریر محمد جزل کونسل (کلاس ماڈی) تائید شوکت علی (ڈاگرا اے خورڈ)	شفوفہ پر منظور ہوئی اور فیصلہ ہوا کہ وٹیری می ہسپتال کے انچارج کو کھلا کھلا جائے۔
3	10.10.01	3	ای ٹی کونسل کے نائب ناظم کیلئے ساؤنڈنگ فری لے کا سٹال	سید احمد جزل کونسل تائید شہزادہ	شفوفہ پر منظور ہوئی
4	10.10.01	4	حکومت کی بابت پانچ گڑھی سارن کینڈی اور ڈاکٹریل ویٹیکل جوڑ	ناظم ای ٹی کونسل	مختلف دہات کے پانچ گڑھ پٹائے گئے جن میں سے ایک ایک فریڈ سٹارن اور ڈیکلے چٹا جائے گا۔
5	10.10.01	5	ای ٹی کونسل کے وائٹ کو میں روڈ لے جانے کی جوڑ	نائب ناظم تائید محمد شرف (تھوکی او) شوکت علی (ڈاگرا اے خورڈ)	شفوفہ پر منظور ہوئی
6	15.11.01	6	ای ٹی کونسل کے وائٹ کیلئے فریڈ فری لے کی جوڑ	نائب ناظم	شفوفہ پر منظور ہوئی
7	10.12.01	7	بجٹ ای ٹی کونسل 1991-92 سال 2001-02	ناظم ای ٹی کونسل	شفوفہ پر منظور ہوئی
8	23.01.02	8	ای ٹی کونسل کے وائٹ کیلئے سا ان فری لے کیلئے چٹے (purchase) کسٹمی کی لنگھیل کا سٹال	رشد احمد جزل کونسل تائید نائب ناظم و مشتاق احمد	تیس رگڑی چٹے کسٹمی لنگھیل دی گئی
9	23.01.02	9	ای ٹی کونسل کے املاس 10 چٹے سے 12 چٹے تک زمین کر لے کا سٹال	محمد رشید (تھوکی) تائید برادری (تھوکی)	شفوفہ پر منظور ہوئی
10	23.01.02	10	آفت زدہ علاقوں کے زہری سالہ مات سٹال کر لے کا سٹال	محمد رشید (تھوکی) تائید میاں فیاض (تھوکی)	شفوفہ پر منظور ہوئی



11	23.01.02	11	بلتر کے سامنے ٹولی ہوائی پکی مرمت کا مطالبہ	براہ منجلا ٹیڑا تائید شوکت علی (ڈگری اے خورو)	شفق ظہر پر منظور ہوئی
12	23.01.02	12	سیلٹری ورکروں کیلئے رہنمایاں بننے اور چھانڈا بننے کے مطالبہ	میاں فیاض احمد (تھوکی) تائید رشید احمد (تھوکی)	شفق ظہر پر منظور ہوئی
13	23.01.02	13	نائب قاضی میں کونسل کیلئے فوری طور پر سائیکل خریدنے کی تجویز	مشتاق احمد (چری)	شفق ظہر پر منظور ہوئی
14	23.01.02	14	ایس میں کونسل کے بلتر کے اکانہ کرایہ ادا کرنے کا مطالبہ	شوکت علی (ڈگری اے خورو)	شفق ظہر پر منظور ہوئی
15	23.01.02	15	تھوکی میں واڈنگلی کا مطالبہ	میاں فیاض احمد (تھوکی) تائید رشید احمد (تھوکی)	کئی کورنٹ کو گھنٹے کا فیصلہ
16	23.01.02	16	حکومتی ناظم ایس میں کونسل کے سیلٹری عمل کیلئے روڈیاں ملانے کا مطالبہ	نائب ناظم ایس میں کونسل	منظور ہوا کہ ایس میں کونسل کے بجٹ سے روڈیاں ملائی جائیں۔
17	08.02.02	17	حکومت کی بجائے پرائیویٹ سیکٹر کیلئے روڈیاں ملانے کا مطالبہ	ناظم ایس میں کونسل	چار روڈ کی کونسل تشکیل دی گئی۔ صرف سرو کونسلروں کو شامل کیا گیا۔
18	08.02.02	18	اسپورٹس کونسل تشکیل دینے کا مطالبہ	ناظم ایس میں کونسل	چار روڈ کی اسپورٹس کونسل تشکیل دی گئی۔ صرف سرو کونسلروں کو شامل کیا گیا۔
19	08.02.02	19	ڈاؤن ٹاؤن کونسل تشکیل دینے کا مطالبہ	میاں فیاض احمد (تھوکی) تائید مشتاق احمد	چار روڈ کی کونسل تشکیل دی گئی۔ ایک قانون کو نسلروں کو شامل کیا گیا۔
20	08.02.02	20	ایک ٹیبل کونسل تشکیل دینے کا مطالبہ	شوکت علی (ڈگری اے خورو) تائید فران علی	چار روڈ کی ایک ٹیبل کونسل تشکیل دی گئی۔ ایک قانون کو نسلروں کو شامل کیا گیا۔
21	01.04.02	21	موشی منڈیا والے کے تیسری قیامی منسوبہ بجائے امداد فراہمات 9 لاکھ روپے	حاجی سعید احمد جزل کونسلر (منڈیا نوالہ)	شفق ظہر پر منظور کی گئی۔ اور estimate کیلئے سب اگست سے رجوع کرنے کا فیصلہ ہوا
22	01.04.02	22	موشی منڈیا کے تیسری قیامی منسوبہ بجائے امداد فراہمات 4 لاکھ روپے	حاجی شوکت علی جزل کونسلر (منڈیا نوالہ)	شفق ظہر پر منظور کی گئی۔ اور estimate کیلئے سب اگست سے رجوع کرنے کا فیصلہ ہوا
23	01.04.02	23	موشی تھوکی کے منسوبہ بجائے امداد فراہمات 5 لاکھ روپے	میاں فیاض احمد (تھوکی) تائید شرف (تھوکی)	شفق ظہر پر منظور ہوئی۔ اور estimate کیلئے سب اگست سے رجوع کرنے کا فیصلہ ہوا

24	01.04.02	24	موضوع ہنگامی کے منسو یہ جات امداد انرجیا 2 لاکھ روپے	محکمہ زمین، سیکرٹری ٹی بی کونسل	شفوف طور پر منظور ہوئی۔ اور estimate کیلئے سب اگلیز سے رجوع کرنے کا فیصلہ ہوا
25	06.04.02	25	ریفرق م میں جزیلہ و ریشرف کی حمازت	نائب ناظم ٹی بی کونسل تائید شوکت علی	شفوف طور پر منظور کی گئی۔ پروکونسل نے ذمہ داری قبول کی کہ وہ ایک ویکن موم سے بھر کر پینا، پانکستان لے جائے گا۔
26	25.04.02	26	ایضا	ناظم ٹی بی کونسل	شفوف طور پر منظور کی گئی۔
27	25.04.02	27	پیشہ دار ننگس کی وصولی اس سال حالات کے پیش نظر نگی جائے	ناظم ٹی بی کونسل تائید نائب ناظم	شفوف طور پر منظور کی گئی۔
28	30.06.02	28	اپنی مدد آپ سے تقریر کنل (اڈو انڈا) میں فراہمی گئی کیلئے ترقی منظوری	میاں فیاض احمد جزیلہ کونسل (توقی)	شفوف طور پر منظور ہوئی۔ اور فیصلہ ہوا کہ سیکرٹری ہدایات بتایا کہ جواب کو ذمہ کو کھلا جائے۔
29	30.06.02	29	موضوع منڈیا نوالہ میں لڑکیوں کے سکول میں لیزرین بنانے کا مطالبہ	حاجی سعید احمد جزیلہ کونسل (منڈیا نوالہ)	شفوف طور پر منظور ہوئی۔
30	30.07.02	30	موضوع ڈاگر اے میں میں سڑک سے رو بار تک سولنگ کی منظوری کیلئے قرار داد پیش کی	پا بی بی شوکت علی جزیلہ کونسل (ڈاگر اے نورو)	شفوف طور پر منظور ہوئی۔
31	30.07.02	31	واڑو شاہد میں غیر نالیوں سولنگ گلی تالہ والی کی منظوری کیلئے قرار داد پیش کی	میاں فیاض احمد جزیلہ کونسل (توقی)	شفوف طور پر منظور ہوئی۔
32	30.07.02	32	واڑو شاہد میں تالہ والی گلی کی منظوری کیلئے قرار داد پیش کی	محمد شرف جزیلہ کونسل (توقی)	شفوف طور پر منظور ہوئی۔
33	30.07.02	33	واڑو لے اسپاں میں حاجی رفاقتہ والی گلی کی منظوری کیلئے قرار داد پیش کی	رشید احمد جزیلہ کونسل (توقی)	شفوف طور پر منظور ہوئی۔
34	30.07.02	34	واڑو لے اسپاں میں نالیوں و سولنگ گلی محمد اور بس کی منظوری کیلئے قرار داد پیش کی	حاجی فاقہ علی (واڑو لے اسپاں)	شفوف طور پر منظور ہوئی۔
35	08.01.03	35	تعلقہ مقلوں سے پیارہ منسو یہ جاتہ اے منظوری و تینڈر جاری کرنے کے پیش کئے گئے	تعلقہ سیران	11 منسو یہ جاتہ اے غیر نالیوں و غیر منظور ہوئے۔

## Annexure-IV

## Prioritization of Services by Union Council Bhangali 2001-02

Broad Category	Demand	Frequency
Streets and Roads	Soling (bricklining) of streets	20
	Construction of metalled road	6
	Construction/repair of culvert	3
	Soling of bridge	1
Drains	Soling of open drains	17
	Construction of “nala”	4
	Desilting of “nala”	1
	Construction of underground sewerage	2
	Construction of overhead tank for drinking water	1
	Construction of “verandah” at graveyard	1
House keeping	Purchase of bicycle for office Naib Qasid	1
	Purchase of furniture for UC Office	1
	Purchase of handcarts, brooms for sanitary workers	1
	Location of UC office in a conspicuous place	1
	Payment of rent for UC office	1
Boundary Wall	Boundary wall for graveyard	8
	Boundary wall for school	3
	Boundary wall for pond	1
Natural Gas	Supply of natural gas	1
Construction / Repair of Building	Repair dispensary	1
	Construction of veterinary dispensary	1
	Construction of latrine in a girls’ school	1
Miscellaneous	Supply of electricity to school	1
	Upgradation of primary school	1
	Vaccination of cattle against virus	1
	Exemption from tax for calamity hit areas	1
	Disciplining of headmistress	1

## Annexure V

Monitoring and Other Committees formed by UC Bhangali  
2001-05 & 2005-09  
(Under Sec 88 Clause K PLGO, 2001)

Monitoring and other committees	Term I 2001-05	Term II 2005-
Municipal Services		✓
Finances		✓
Public Safety		
Health		
Education	✓	
Literacy		
Works and Services		✓
Code of Conduct Committee		
Union Accounts Committee		
Insaaf Committee	✓	

## Annexure VI

Financial Position of Union Council Bhangali 2001-2005  
(Actual)

Financial Year	Total Income (Rs.)	Total Expenditure (Rs.)
2001-02	1,999,159.00	1,855,991.00
2002-03	2,099,541.00	1,952,886.00
2003-04	2,099,541.00	2,053,319.00
2004-05	2,193,723.00	2,273,737.00
Total:	8,391,964.00	8,135,933.00

## Annexure VII

Village-wise development work in UC Bhangali  
(2001-2005)

<b>Village</b>	<b>Development work</b>	<b>Amount</b>
Thera	soling street & drains	99,900
	soling street & drains	75,000
	soling street & drains	200,000
	soling street & drains	400,000
	soling street & drains	100,000
	soling street & drains	100,000
	soling street & drains	99,900
	soling street & drains	65,000
	soling street & drains	99,000
	sub-total	
BHANGALI	remove silt from rain water channel	50,000
	soling street	33,600
	soling of street & drains	200,000
	construction of verandah in graveyard	100,000
	soling of street & drains	100,000
	construction of culvert	50,000
	soling of street & drains	99,500
	soling of street	64,000
	soling of street	86,861
	soling of street & drains	99,500
	soling of street & drains	99,900
	sub-total	
NATHOKEI	soling of street & drains	50,000
	soling of street & drains	64,000
	soling of street & drains	500,000
sub-total		614,000
MANDIANWALA	soling of street & drains	75,000
	construction of school bathroom	25,000

	soling of street & drains	900,000
	soling of street & drains	99,900
	soling of street & drains	99,900
	soling of street(for minority settlement)	97,500
	slabs over waste water nala	99,500
sub-total		1,396,800
BURJ	soling of street & drains	100,000
	soling of street & drains	100,000
	soling of drains	96,724
	soling of street	80,000
sub-total		376,724
DOGRAI KHURD	soling of street & drains	100,000
	soling of street and construction of school bathroom	85,000
	soling of street & drains	100,000
	construction of culvert	25,000
	construction of culverts	57,000
sub-total		367,000
PHULARWAN	boundary wall for school	99,900
	soling of street & drains	100,000
sub-total		199,900
WARA MOHLE WASIAN	soling of street & drains	100,000
	soling of street & drains	100,000
sub-total		200,000
BHAGWANPURA	soling of street & drains	100,000
	construction of culvert	25,000
	construction of culvert	25,000
	repair nala	98,800
sub-total		248,000
DHURWALA	soling of street	100,000
LABOUR CAMP	soling of street & drains	100,000
BRAHMANABAD	soling of street & drains	100,000
CHUGAL PURA	soling of street & drains	100,000

WARA SHAH	soling of street & drains	100,000
MUHAMMAD	soling of street & drains	100,000
	soling of street & drains	290,000
sub-total		490,000
UC OFFICE	construction of office of UC	99,900
	construction of office of UC	99,900
	construction of office of UC	99,900
sub-total		299,700
PADRI	remove silt from rain water channel	100,000
DHORI	soling of street & drains	100,000
	soling of street & drains	100,000
Sub-total		200,000
UC 61	construction of culverts	99,900
	remove silt from rain water channel	99,000

#### Annexure VIII

#### Average Age of Union Councilors UC Bhangali 2001 and 2005

Average Age	2001	2005
Mean	43.2	38.6
Median	43	40
Mode	45	40

Annexure IX

Educational Background of Union Councilors  
UC Bhangali  
2001 and 2005

<b>Education</b>	<b>2001</b>		<b>2005</b>	
Illiterate	6	35.0%	3	23.0%
Four to Eight years schooling	5	29.2%	5	38.4%
Ten and more years schooling	6	35.0%	5	38.4%
Total	17	100%	13	100%

Annexure X

Occupational Background of Union Councilors  
UC Bhangali  
2001 and 2005

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>2001</b>		<b>2005</b>	
Agriculture	5	29.2%	1	7.6%
Property dealer	4	23.5%	1	7.6%
Milk seller	2	11.7%	3	23.0%
Contractor (petty)	2	11.7%	2	15.3%
Business	3	17.6%	3	23.0%
Housewife	1	5.8%	3	23.0%
Total	17	100%	13	100%



Annexure XI

Meetings of Union Council Bhangali  
August 2001 to December 2001  
Attendance of Women Councilors

<b>Dates</b>		
<b>2001</b>	<b>H</b>	<b>F</b>
17.8	Present	Present
11.9	Present	Present
10.10	Husband	Present
15.11	Husband	Present
10.12	Absent	Present

Meetings of Union Council Bhangali  
January 2002 to December 2002

<b>Dates</b>		
<b>2002</b>	<b>H</b>	<b>F</b>
23.1	Husband	Present
8.2	Husband	Absent
1.4	Husband	Present
6.4	Husband	Present
25.4	Absent	Present
30.6	Husband	Present
30.7	Husband	Absent

Meetings of Union Council Bhangali  
January 2003 to September 2003

<b>Dates</b>		
<b>2003</b>	<b>H</b>	<b>F</b>
8.1	Present	Present
19.5	Husband	Present
2.7	Present	Present
3.9	Present	Absent

*Note:* H & F are the names of two women councilors

## Annexure XII

Votes polled as a percentage of total valid votes (2001)  
UC Bhangali

Category	Name	Votes Polled	Per cent
Nazim	Saeed Dogar	5124/8608	59.5
Naib Nazim	Farman	5124/8608	59.5
	Shaukat (Dograi)	835/8480	9.8
	Shaukat (Tehra)	695/8480	8.2
	G. Mohyuddin	469/8480	5.5
Muslim General	Haji Rifaqat	654/8480	7.7
	Fiaz	465/8480	5.5
	M. Rasheed	505/8480	5.9
	Haji Saeed Ahmad	621/8480	7.3
	Faqir Mohammad	439/8480	5.2
	Haleema	Elected unopposed	
	Firdos	Elected unopposed	
Labour	M. Sarfaraz	1480/8623	17.2
	Mushtaq Ahmad	1505/8623	17.5
	Arif Hussain	1000/8623	11.6
	M. Ashraf s/o M. Latif	1446/8623	16.8
Minority	Boota Masih	498/882	56.5

## Annexure XIII

Votes polled as a percentage of total valid votes (2005)  
UC Bhangali

Category	Name	Votes Polled	Per cent
Nazim	Farman Ali	2858/7409	38.5
Naib Nazim	Mian M. Mushtaq	2858/7409	38.5
Muslim (General) Men	M. Afzal	571/6801	8.4
	Niaz Hussain	565/6801	8.3
	M. Riaz	512/6801	7.5
	M. Idrees Iqbal	480/6801	7.0
Muslim (General) Women	Rukaya Bibi	1939/6590	29.4
	Firdos Bibi	1854/6590	28.1
Labour (Men)	M. Sarwar	976/6442	15.1
	M. Ashraf	974/6442	15.1
Labour (Women)	Uzma Aziz	2515/6538	38.5
	Haleema	2098/6538	32.1
Minority	Niamat	2443/6502	37.5

## Annexure XIV

Election Results UC Bhangali (2001)  
Per cent votes polled in own village

Category	Name	Village of Domicile	Votes in own village as % of votes cast	Votes in own village as % of total votes polled
Nazim	Saeed Dogar	Tehra	90.7	9.9
Naib Nazim	Farman	Phularwan	50.0	4.4
Muslim (Gen) Male	Shaukat	Dograi	45 to 60	72.8
	Shaukat	Tehra	88.2	70.2
	G. Mohyuddin	Bhangali	17 to 43	91.8
	Haji Rifaqat	Wara Mohle Wasian		
	Fiaz	Nathoki	29 to 33	95.0
	M. Rasheed	Nathoki	35 to 36	92.0
	Haji Saeed Ahmad	Mandianwala	40 to 50	69.2
	Faqir Mohammad	Kalas Mari	53.9	79.4
Labour (Male)	M. Sarfaraz	Phularwan	49 to 57	41.5
	Mushtaq Ahmad	Padri	74.1	34.9
	Arif Hussain	Nathoki	32 to 34	47
	M. Ashraf s/o M. Latif	Nathoki	43 to 56	49.5
Minority	Boota Masih	Tehra	77.8	36.7

## Annexure XV

Election Results UC Bhangali (2005)  
Per cent Votes polled in own village

Category	Name	Village of Domicile	Votes in own village as % of votes cast	Votes in own village as % of total votes polled
Nazim	Farman Ali	Phularwan	30 to 41	9.9
Naib Nazim	Mian M. Mushtaq	Nathoki	79 to 83	19.7
Muslim (General) Men	M. Afzal	Phularwan	42 to 51	64
	Niaz Hussain	Phularwan	35 to 48	59.4
	M. Riaz	Padri	57 to 64	74.4
	M. Idrees Iqbal	Harbanspura (Rehmanpura)	85.8	73
Muslim (General) Women	Rukaya Bibi	Dograi	76 to 80	36
	Firdos Bibi	Dhori	74.9	20.9
Labour (Men)	M. Sarwar	Phularwan	35 to 57	26.5
	M. Ashraf	Mandianwala	58 to 70	62
Labour (Women)	Uzma Aziz	Mandianwala	70 to 84	27.4
	Haleema	Nathoki	61 to 77	37
Minority	Niamat	Brahmanabad	50 to 80	15