GOVERNANCE AT GRASS ROOTS LEVEL IN PAKISTAN: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Khalil-ur-Rahman Shaikh*

Abstract

Pakistan gained independence on August 14, 1947. Its democratic system has deep historical roots dating back to ancient times. This study explores the growth and development of grassroots governance in Pakistan. A qualitative research approach was employed, incorporating an extensive review of books on the subject and relevant online materials. The research reveals that grassroots governance in Pakistan has undergone several evolutionary phases, supported by a strong legal and constitutional framework. These constitutional provisions have played a crucial role in reinforcing local governance institutions. The study finds that the system of local governance has provided citizens with the opportunity to manage their affairs through elected representatives, thus empowering individuals across different social strata without discrimination based on caste or creed. This empowerment at the local level has been instrumental in fostering inclusive participation in the democratic process and enhancing the overall effectiveness of governance. The study concludes that grassroots governance in Pakistan not only has a rich historical foundation but also continues to be a vital component of the country's democratic framework, promoting equity and inclusion.

***Keywords*:** Council, democratic governance, local government, municipal, National Reconstruction Bureau

Introduction

In a democratic country, generally three tiers of governance have been established through the constitutional arrangement. These include central or federal, state or provincial and local levels. The Local Government may be defined as management of local affairs (U.2009). Being broader concept governance at local level has been defined as the formulation and execution of collective action at the grass roots level (Anwar, 2006). Collective means the Basic Democratic institutions where collective decisions are taken in the matters relating to a particular locality. These institutions are extended powers and authority through the legislation having constitutional enforcement. These institutions breed the future leadership of the state and the country to lead the subjects at the middle and the highest levels. It is nursery where future leaders learn how to manage and control the affairs at local level for the welfare and upbringing of the subjects. It is an agent of social change as local authority has a wide range subsidiary and dependent activities in relation to central government.(Muhammad,2000). Pakistan started its journey of independence on 14th August 1947 as a democratic country The Government of India Act

This work is Licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Non-Commercial 4.0 International License.

* Khalil-ur-Rahman Shaikh, Ph.D., Former Visiting Faculty, Dadabhoy Institute of Higher Education, Karachi

1935 was adopted as an interim constitution. It provided for the establishment of local government in Pakistan. Afterwards each constitution supported this tier of government.

The purpose of writing this article is to trace out the roots of evolution of governance at grass roots level in Pakistan. Moreover, attempt has been made to point out how the people began learning to manage their local affairs. Further to add, the article identifies that the working at local level enables the people to apply their political acumen at the provincial and federal levels in the interest of the country.

Research Problem

1. Whether local governance in Pakistan has evolved through different phases?
2. Is governance at grass roots level in Pakistan based on constitutional and legal provisions?

Hypothesis

1- There is the evolvement of local governance at different phases.
2- The constitutional and local provisions influence the governance at grass-root level in Pakistan.

Literature Review

The Indus Civilisation is known for its modernity, cultured and developed heritage. It possessed well organised political institutions having centralized governance in B.C era. The detailed account of economy, trade, defence and governance has been codified in a book *The Government and Geography of Ancient India* written by Gina Hagler.

The Indo-Pak sub-continent possesses rich and ancient history. Farooqui Salma Ahmed has written book *A Comprehensive History of Medieval India: Twelfth to the Mid Eighteenth Century* which surveys history from the Ancient India to advent of Europeans in the sub-continent. It also covers small kingdoms of the sub-continent. It is one of those books which contain account on political, military and religious history of the territory. The book also provides information about Bakhti Ideology and Sufi Thought.

U.B Singh has written a book entitled *Decentralised Democratic Governance in New Millennium*. The book is important for its material as it contains general introduction of concept of Local Government. More over the author has also given account of Systems of Local Government of the United States, the United Kingdom, Japan, France, Russian Federation and pre and post Indo-Pak sub-continent independence from the British period.

Karachi is the biggest city of Pakistan by population. It is gateway of economic prosperity of the country. Muhammad Abuzar Wajidi has written a book entitled, *"Local Government in Pakistan: A Case Study of KMC (1842 to 1988)*. The book is important as it tells about history of local governance in Pakistan tracing roots in pre partition period. The book contains account of interrelationship between different tiers of Government from bottom to top level.

Research Methodology

The article is based on historical survey of growth of pre and post partition of the sub-continent, thus, qualitative method of research has been adopted instead of quantitative. It comprises of primary and secondary source. The secondary source of qualitative research. Books, periodicals and material available on internet have been referred for making this paper rich and purposeful.

Discussion

The local governance system as old as when a human being got birth on this earth and problems began emerging to be governed at local level. The small population living in a limited area began to manage their own affairs based on practices and traditions. These were undocumented and so strong that if any person violated them he was brought to book. As population increased and villages and cities converted into big localities mankind felt necessity of having levels of government more than one. Thus, the concept of local governance was institutionalized in form of the Local Government. It survived into democratic and undemocratic countries. However relief of local government for the subjects depended upon jurisdiction, powers, authority and funds etc of grass roots governance. The governance at local levels proved nursery of breeding politicians who were to lead a country at middle and top tiers of government.

In a democratic country, normally three tiers of governance have been established through the constitutional arrangement. These include central or federal, state or provincial and at local level. The constitution contains provisions for the establishment of local government and then the concerned legislature makes legislation to meet the requirement of the constitution for empowering people to govern themselves at local level through their elected representatives.

The term Local Government has been defined as management of local affairs (U, 2009). Broadly it has also been defined as the execution and formulation of collective action at the local level (Anwar (ed), 2006). Local area is an area under the local council's jurisdiction (East Pakistan, 1964). Collective action means the Basic Democratic institutions where collective decisions are taken in the matters relating to a particular locality. These institutions are extended powers and authority through the legislation having constitutional enforcement. These institutions breed the future leadership of the state and the country to lead the subjects at the middle and the highest levels. It is nursery where future leaders learn how to manage and control the affairs at local level for the welfare and upbringing of the subjects. It is an agent of social change as local authority has a wide range subsidiary and dependent activities in relation to central government (Muhammad, 2000)

The concept of local governance in the Indo-Pak sub-continent is not new. It gets roots at least from the Maurya Empire (320 BC to 185 BC) (Gina, 2017) founded by Chandragupta Maurya. The Local Government was established in rural and urban areas with different

design. The Local Government in cities and towns was different from that of villages because former were much larger in size (Manju, 2021).

The institutions of Local Government survived also under the Delhi Sultanate (1192-1286 A.D) (Sunil, 2017) and the Mughal rule over the Indo-Pak sub-continent. During the period of the Sultans of Delhi, structured administration from center to local was established for the convenience of the subjects. The provinces were divided into shiqs and parganas. Shiqs were headed by Shiqdar. The parganas were divided into village which worked under the amils. Khats and patwaris were assisted by the officials of the village (Farooq, 2011). The state appointed these officials which even continued during the Mughal period. At that time there was no concept of elections as prevailed now.

Present modern system of governance at local level came into inception during the British rule over the sub-continent (mainly ruled from 1857 to 1947). Beginning of basic democracies institutions took place in 1688 when Municipal Committee was established in Madras. It was first administrative experience of its nature in the sub-continent (Fazal, 2017). The author writes that in 1726 Municipal Charter Act was passed which established corporations in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta which was later on extended to other parts of the country.

In 1907, the king of England constituted a Royal Commission headed by Sir Charles on decentralization. A very comprehensive report was prepared by the Commission. It dealt with connection between the central (India) and the governments of the provinces and provincial and local governments. The Commission recommended to expand area of working of the Local Government (Vibhuti, 1987). In 1850 such system was introduced in Lahore and Amritsar and through 1867 Act Municipal Committees came into existence in Rawalpindi and Lahore. Karachi Board of Conservancy was established in 1846 and later on under 1850 Act Karachi Municipal Committee found its existence in 1851 (Muhammad, 2000).

The system of Local Government was further strengthened through the Municipal Act 1864 which laid the foundation of such system in Bengal. The municipalities of Dhaka, Chittagong, Burdwan, Midnapur and Hughly having Municipal Board for each municipality were established in pursuance of this Act. The municipalities could collect funds for conservancy and other local objects by levying rates of houses, lands, animals, vehicles and so on. (Banglapedia)

During British period, various other laws were passed relating to local governance. Such as 1864 Act by Bengal, Conservancy Act 1842, 1865 Act by Madras, 1868 Act by NWFP, Resolution on Local Self Government adopted by the Government of Lord Rippon in 1882, Local Self Government Acts passed by provincial governments from 1883-84, 1867 Act by the Punjab, Bombay Municipal Act 1901, Government of India Resolutions in Local Government in 1915 and 1918, the Government of India Act, 1919 and the Government of India Act, 1935.

The English Parliament passed the Government of India Act 1919 famous as Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Along with other reforms the subjects were divided into transferred subjects and reserved subjects. Former contained the subject of Local Government to be supervised by the Minister (Government-of-India)

In 1935 another Act was passed by the Parliament of England which was enforced in the Indo-Pak subcontinent in 1937. It was a bulky document which contained Fourteen Parts, Three Hundred and Twenty One Sections and Ten Schedules. The section 311 (2) of the Act defines a term "Local Government" (Concise, 2011). It provides "Local Government" means any such Governor in Council, Governor acting with ministers, Lieutenant-Governor in Council, Lieutenant1Governor or Chief Commissioner as was at the relevant time a Local Government for the purposes of the Government of India Act or any Act repealed by that Act, but does not, save where the context otherwise requires, include any Local Government in Burma or Aden" (legislation.gov).

The VIIth Schedule of the 1935 Act contained Federal, Provincial and Concurrent Legislative Lists (legislation, pp-316-322). The Provincial Legislative List provides for the establishment of various forums including municipal corporations and district boards etc. (p.321)

After the partition of the sub-continent under 3rd June Plan 1947 and Indian Independence Act 1947, Pakistan emerged as an independent country in August 1947. With some modifications the Government of India Act 1935 was enforced as an interim constitution in Pakistan. Pakistan received its own constitution after long period of nine years (1947 to 1956). Before it, the first constituent assembly passed "Objectives Resolution" in March 1949 which set the outlines of country's future constitution. First permanent constitution was passed by the constituent assembly in 1956. In order to elect local government office bearers some progress was witnessed during 1956 but it was only in the Punjab and Bengal. From 1956 to 1958 administrators appointed by federal government managed most of the councils (Zain, Yene & Shahid, 2020). The authors further write that in most of the cases, elections were not held after expiry of the office term.

The constitution of 1956 lasted only for about two and half years when on 7th October 1957, the country experienced first Martial Law which continued till March, 1969 (Lawrence, 1971). General Muhammad Ayub Khan, Field Marshal, became the first Chief Martial Law Administrator of Pakistan and emergency was enforced in the country through Proclamation of Seventh day of October 1958. Later on he became second President of the country. He dissolved the higher tier of elected government and revived the local governments as the only tier which could represent the government (Nadeem & Ahsan, 2019). He promulgated Basic Democracies Order 1959 in pursuance of 1958 proclamation. It contained Six Parts, Hundred Articles and Eight Schedules. It was very comprehensive document which paved the way for self-government in the country.

The Chapter III of Part II mentioned the composition of the councils at local level. It provided six tiers set up local councils ranging from Union Councils, Town and Union

Committees, Thana Councils, Tehsil Councils, District Councils, Divisional Councils and Provincial Development Council (Gazette, 1959). Thana Council was established in the province of East Pakistan whereas the province of West Pakistan received Tehsil Council. The Tehsil and Thana Council were link between Union Councils and District Councils and they could not perform any function independently (Afzal, 1964).

The Establishment of Ward was provided under Article 17 of the Order aimed at electing the members of the concerned Union Council. The Councils could collect certain fees/taxes for the development works and revenue generation to meet their expenses. The Chapter II of Part IV contained provision of the Local Taxation. The Clause 1 of the article 60 empowered a District Council and a Union Council to levy all or any of the taxes, rates, tolls and fees mentioned in the Fifth Schedule, with the previous sanction of the government and with the previous sanction of the Commissioner respectively, in prescribed manner (Gazette of Pakistan, p-385). The schedule contained list of 29 taxes and fees etc. Entry No.28 provided, "Any other tax which the Government is empowered to levy by law" (p-403). Basic Democracies' main functions were to "oversee the judicial police and developmental functions pertaining to their areas." (Sabir Shah, 2015). The important tier of the system was Union Council. It was given specific functions whereas Thana and Divisional Councils performed advisory functions. The Union Council enjoyed various functions such as agriculture, community development, small industry, and increased food production in the union council to maintain law and order through the rural police. It was given judicial powers to try criminal cases and minor civil through its conciliation courts. The union councils were responsible for planning and implementing rural public works programs for construction of roads, irrigation channels and embankments, bridges and culverts.. It was empowered to levy taxes, impose rates, tolls and fees (Banglapedia).

The elections of local councils were held in two provinces of the country i.e West Pakistan and East Pakistan in 1960. Total 80,000 were elected in all tiers of the councils. These members were given power to elect the President/Members of the Parliament (Sabir Shah). The local body institutions were to perform two functions, firstly, the social activities in their constituencies and secondly, to be organised as electoral college of the election to the office of the president and to elect members of the national and provincial assemblies (Muhammad, 2021). He also writes that after holding first elections of Basic Democracies; 80000 BD members voted for General Ayub Khan to become the President of Pakistan on February 15, 1960 who assumed the presidential office after two days. It is said that the President Ayub Khan seemingly attained stability and security under the basic democratic system (Safdar, 2000).

The basic democracies again formed Electoral College in the general elections held in 1965. The sister of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah namely Fatima Jinnah announced to contest elections against the president General Ayub Khan (Tahir, 2010). The basic democrats elected General Ayub Khan as president. The author further writes that the basic democrats had also elected the National and the Provincial Assemblies on non party basis in April 1962.

General Ayub Khan, the president, appointed a commission with justice Shahab-ud-din as a chairman aimed at making recommendations of future constitution. It submitted its report on 1st May 1961. The cabinet appointed its sub-committee under the chairmanship of Manzoor Qadir, Minister for External Affairs. The sub-committee after examining the report prepared its own report. (G, 2011). At last, he writes, the President promulgated 1962 constitution.

Article 156 of the constitution 1962 contained the provisions regarding the Local Government. Clause 4 of the said article empowered the members of the Electoral College to perform functions entrusted through the constitution and the law. Under clause 5 of the said article the members of the Electoral College were to perform functions relating to local government despite the dissolution of the Electoral College under clause 2 (A) of the order.

General Ayub Khan resigned as President in March, 1969. General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of the army, imposed next Martial Law in the country and also became the president. He promulgated in March, 1970 the Province of West Pakistan (Dissolution) Order 1970. The article 4 of the Order restored the provincial status of the Punjab, Sindh and the Khyber Pakhutnkhuwa. Moreover, Balochistan received status of a province (Gazette, 1970).

The President of Pakistan promulgated Legal Framework Order 1970…..The document provided for the constitution of central and provincial legislatures, procedure of holding general elections and qualification and criteria of a candidate desiring to contest the elections and resignation from the seat of a legislature etc (S,1970). The General Elections were held in 1970 in which sixty percent of registered voters cast their votes (historypak.com). In the meanwhile, war began between Pakistan and India in 1971 which culminated on dismemberment of Pakistan. East Pakistan emerged as independent country of Bangladesh.

The National Assembly passed interim constitution of Pakistan and it was enforced on 21st April, 1972. The interim constitution divided subjects into three Legislative Lists i.e. Federal, Provincial and Concurrent. The subjects assigned to the provinces were enumerated in the Provincial Legislative List. Entry 12 of Provincial Legislative List provided for the system of Local Government. It provided for the constitution and powers of the municipal corporations, , mining authorities, improvement trusts, district boards and other local authorities for the purpose of local self-government or village administration" (Manager, 1972)

The interim constitution of Pakistan proved short lived as the Parliament passed a third constitution of the country in 1973 which took effect from 14th August 1973. It was a bulky document which contains Nine Parts, Two Hundreds Eighty Articles and Five Schedules. Article 32 of the constitution dealt with the institutions of the local government. It provides, "The State shall encourage local Government institutions composed of elected representatives of the areas concerned and in such institutions special representation will be given to peasants, workers and women" (na.gov).

The four provinces are empowered to make legislation on the establishment and development of local government institutions. Article 140-A (1) of the constitution 1973 provides, "Each Province shall, by law, establish a local government system and devolve political, administrative and financial responsibility and authority to the elected representatives of the local governments (na.gov, p.73).

The provincial legislatures of the respective provinces have passed various Local Government Acts since 1973 which provided local people an opportunity to manage and govern their own affairs. General Pervez Musharraf declared emergency in 1999 in Pakistan. He was called "Chief Executive" of the country. He kept the constitution in abeyance; however, it was restored by promulgating Legal Framework Order 2002. Earlier he took presidency in 2001 (Britannica). He wanted to put local government system in place. Lieutenant General (retd) Tanveer Naqvi, the President's Advisor and head of the National Reconstruction Bureau conceived a system of basic democracy. The system provided that every district is to be headed by its own councils and the elected members of the Union Councils were to elect the *Nazims* and *Naib Nazims* within their districts (Hamid, 2017). At this time the provincial legislatures were not in field, thus, new local government law was promulgated through ordinances issued by the Governors of the respective provinces in 2001.

The chairman of NRB resigned from his post in August 2008. The institutions of basic democracies continued to function even after resignation of General Pervez Musharraf established through the ordinances. Such ordinances got legal cover through seventeenth amendment passed by the Majlis-e-Shoora (Pakistan's Parliament) in 2003. However, soon such ordinances lost their efficacy when the respective provincial legislatures passed Local Government Acts. With the passage of time amendments have been made in such basic democracy laws.

The Local Government institutions continued to function in the four provinces and the federal capital area. Moreover, elections are regularly held in the councils and the cantonment boards. These institutions nurture the future leadership of the country at grass roots level.

The people living in cantonment boards also received basic democratic system. They elected their own representatives like people living in non-cantonment areas. During the British suzerainty in Indo-Pak sub-continent, Cantonment Boards Act 1924 was passed and enforced. After independence of Pakistan on 14th August, 1947, it was adopted and enforced in the country with certain modifications to make it applicable to the entire country (bareactslive).

The section 13A of the Act contained the provisions of the establishment of the cantonment boards (p-20). According to section 15 (1) of the said Act every cantonment was divided into wards for equalizing number of such wards to the number of elected members of the Board provided for that cantonment in section 13A, excluding the number of seats, if any, reserved for women , workers, peasants and minority communities under subsection (4) of that section (p-23). The section 15 provides for the electoral rolls and

qualification and disqualification of members, election of members, conduct of members and term of the members etc. The Act extends right to the citizens of Pakistan living in their respective cantonment boards to elect their representatives to manage, control and solve their problems at the local levels.

Conclusion

The governance by people at the local level prepares future leadership of the country. Such experience of the people of the sub-continent dates back to B.C period. Awareness and consciousness of governance evolved gradually traditionally, constitutionally and legally. Experienced and trained leadership may govern the country in better way. Since the inception of Pakistan the local governance institutions have got strength which has continuously been empowering the basic democrats to create facilities and solve the problems of the people at their door steps. These institutions are protected by the constitution of the land which guarantees their bright future and smooth and efficient working.

References

Ahmad, Farooqi Salma, (2011), *A Comprehensive History of Medieval India: Twelfth to the Mid Eighteenth Century*, Dorling Kindersley (India) Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, p.100

Baduruddin, S.G.M., (1970), *Election Handbook 1970*, Marketing Associates (Ltd), Karachi

Bashini, Manju, (2021), *My Book of History & Civics*, New Sarswati House (India) Private Limited, New Delhi, p.91

Chaudhry, G.W, (2011), *Constitutional Development in Pakistan*, Bhatti Sons Publishers, Lahore, p.133

Hagler, Gina, (2017), *The Government and Geography of Ancient India*, The Rosen Publishing Group, New York, p.4

Khan, Hamid, 2017, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, The Times Press Ltd, Karachi, p.486

Kumar, Sunil, (2007), *The Emergence of Delhi Sultanate: 1192 to 1286*, The University of Michigan, Michigan, p.15

Mahmood Safdar, (2000), *Pakistan: Political Roots and Development 1947-1999*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, p.362

Malik Nadeem & Ahsan Rana, (2019), "The History of Local Governance in Pakistan-What Lessons Learnt?" *Journal of International Politics*, Vol-I, Issue 3, SRY Ahwa Publishers, Lecus, www.sryahwapublications.com/submit-paper

Mishra, Vibhuti Bhushan, (1987), Evolution of the Constitutional History of India, 1773-1947, Mittal Publications Delhi, p.38

Muhammad Afzal, (1964), Basic Demcracies: Law and Principles of Local Government in Pakistan, All Pakistan Legal Decisions, p.25, https://www.google.com.pk/books/edition/Basic_Democracies/r5I5AQAAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&bsq=inauthor:"Afzal+Mahmood"&dq=inauthor:"Afzal+Mahmood"&printsec=frontcover

Rafique Zain, Yene Rosilawati & Shahid Habib, (2020) "Development of Local Governance and Decentralisation to Empower Citizens in Pakistan: A Historical Analysis", *UPevista UNICEF Journal* No.53 (May, 2020), www.unisci.es/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/UNISCID/ZAINpdf-1.pd, p.53

Shah Anwar, (2006), Local Governance in Developing Countries, The World Bank, Washington, p.1

Singh, U.B, (2009), Decentralised Democratic Governance in New Millenium, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, p.1

Talbot Ian, (2010), Pakistan: A Modern History quoted in Kamran Tahir, "Electoral Politics in Pakistan: 1955-69", *Pakistan Vision*, Vol.10, No.1, Pakistan Study Center, University of the Punjab, Lahore, p.90

Wajidi, Muhammad Abuzar, (2000), Local Government in Pakistan: A Case Study of KMC (1842-1988), Royal Book Company, Karachi, p.18

Ziring, Lawrence, (1971), The Ayub Khan Era: Politics in Pakistan, 1958-1969, Syracuse University Press, California, p.115

Periodicals/Dictionary

Shah Sabir, "The 55 Years Journey of LBs", *The NEWS*, 26.04.2015, Karachi

Concise Oxford Dictionary, (2011), Oxford University Press, Oxford, p-45

East Pakistan, Basic Democracies and Local Government Department, 1964, "A Handbook of Basic Democracies, Corrected upto 29th February, 1964, Volume-I", p.6

Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary, 27th October, 1959, pp.371-374

Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary, 30th March 1970, p.2

The Manager, (1972), the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press, Islamabad, p.106

Websites

Banglapedia, National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh "Basic Democracies", https://en.banglapedia.org/index.php/Basic_Democracies

Banglapedia: National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh, https://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Municipal_Act_1864

"*Government of India Act 1935*", p.217, retrieved from ukpga_19350002_en.pdf (legislation.gov.uk)

Hassan Muhammad, (2021), "Critical Analysis of Presidential Elections 1965 Pakistan", nasirlawsite.com/laws/ewpa.htm#:~:text=The%20Establishment%20of%20West%20Pakistan%20Act%2C%201955&text=An%20Act%20to%20provide%20for,for%20other%20purposes%20connected%20therewith.

Rabbi Fazal, "Local Government System in Pakistan: A Historical and Critical Review (Urdu)", (2017), National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad, p.11, retrieved from https: //www.researchgate.net/publication/342644080_Local_Government_System_in_Pakistan_A_Historical_and_Critical_Review_Urdu/link/5efe497345851550508780d2/download

PalArch's Journal of of Archaelogy of Egypt/Egyptology, retrieved https:////www.academia.edu/49818951/CRITICAL_ANALYSIS_OF_PRESIDENTIAL_ELECTION_1965_IN_PAKISTAN

"Pervez Musharraf, President of Pakistan", *Britannica Encyclopedia*, https:// //www.britannica.com/biography/Pervez-Musharraf

"The Cantonment Boards Act 1924", *The Government of Pakistan*, www.bareactslive.com/ACA/ACT1466.HTM https://byjus.com/free-ias-prep/ncert-notes-government-of-india-act-1919
https:// historypak.com/elections-of-1970/
https:// //www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1935/2/pdfs/ukpga_19350002_en.pdf, p.217.
https: //na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1549886415_632.pdf, p.17