



Social Audit of Local Governance and Delivery of Public Services 2011 – 2012

National Report

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United Nations Development Program

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Preface

Acknowledgements

The Social Audit 2011/12 marks the successful completion of 3rd third iteration of the baseline social audit that was undertaken in 2001/02. 1st and 2nd iterations were conducted in the years 2004/05 and 2009/10 respectively.

‘Social Audit’ has been one of the key outputs of the ‘Support to DTCE’ project, meant to measure the performance of local governance and public service delivery through the quantitative and qualitative citizen perception surveys across the four provinces.

Standardized quantitative instruments have been used during the four social audits for the sake of comparability however, relevant qualitative tools have been introduced in this iteration to enrich the analytical part of the report so as to synchronize it with the existing governance environment in the country. Hence, the report is a combination of: a) historical perspective of local governance in Pakistan; b) the 18th constitutional amendment; c) existing local government system in Balochistan and progress on preparation of future local government laws in the remaining three provinces; d) existing local governance structures in the four provinces; and e) citizens’ feedback on local governance and public service delivery. This unique blend of information enlightens its reader about the real issues, public demands, state-citizen relationship and the ever widening gap between citizen satisfaction and public service delivery.

Conscious efforts were undertaken to make the Social Audit 2011/12 a world class exercise that is highly transparent, neutral and credible.

The whole process was outstandingly led by an independent seven-member Social Audit Team comprising of experienced professionals in the field of quantitative and qualitative research. This team was ably guided by the Peer Review Group, an honorary body constituted to give advice on international best practices for undertaking the Social Audit 2011/12. Joint discussions between the Peer Review Group and the Social Audit Team enabled the latter to finalize the Methodology, Sampling Frame and Operational Plan of the Social Audit 2011/12 ensuring the international standards are fully complied with. We are grateful to each member of the Peer Review Group for devoting his/her precious time for this important national cause.

The eight public sector universities from the four provinces performed exceptionally well to complete data collection and data entry in a highly professional manner. Special appreciation goes to the Institute of Management Sciences, Peshawar for completing flawless data entry. Independent Monitors worked untiringly to undertake spot checking of data collection and data entry.

Seemingly impossible task of gathering qualitative data (through focus group discussions, in-depth interviews, key informant interviews, case studies) was splendidly accomplished by the Social Audit Team with the help of Provincial Coordinators. Once the data was collected and entered, the Social Audit Team jointly devoted many a tireless days and sleepless nights to produce such a magnificently written comprehensive Social Audit 2011/12 Report.

All of the above would not have been possible without the financial as well as technical support of the United Kingdom Department for International Development to whom we express our sincere gratitude.

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Executive Summary

Introduction

In Pakistan, the social audit process was started in 2001 and the first baseline survey was conducted in 2001-2002. Follow up audits were undertaken in 2004-2005 and 2009-2010. The 2001-2002 baseline survey was the yardstick against which progress of newly instituted local government system was measured in subsequent years.

The current iteration of Social Audit has been enriched with qualitative investigation and analysis, including a chapter on the history and context of local government, its evolution, current scenarios in each province, and case studies of budgetary allocations in 8 districts. This audit also examines at the differences between local government models with elected councils at each tier and the now emerging models in different provinces which seem to be based much more on administrators (bureaucrats) appointed by the provincial governments.

The objectives of the Social Audit 2011-12 are:

- Obtaining citizen feedback on the adequacy and quality of public services
- Understanding and comparing previous and existing Local Government structures and processes in the provinces
- Determining the trends of public service delivery under different local government systems
- Developing basis for informed choices by communities and service providers in improving the delivery of public services

The universe for 2011-2012 Social Audit iteration covers all urban and rural populations of the four provinces of Pakistan. It does not include FATA, AJK and ICT where no local government system was implemented. A nationally and provincially representative stratified random sample of 10,740 households, covering 179 union councils and 79 districts, has been drawn for the study within 5 percent error margin and 95 percent confidence level.

The province wise sample has been distributed into provinces in proportion to their population size. However, given the small sample allocation for Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan, their percentage in sample distribution have been increased to generate provincially representative results. This has been adjusted when calculating nationally representative results by applying weights on data at the time of quantitative analysis.

The qualitative part of the Social Audit has been carried out in 8 districts of Pakistan, one urban and one rural in each of the four provinces of Pakistan. The selected districts are as follows; Quetta, Sibi, Karachi, Tharparkar, Lahore, Bahawalnagar, Peshawar and Abbottabad

The qualitative aspect of the study sought answers through multiple instruments so as to analyze both the supply and demand side of public service delivery.

The following qualitative instruments were used:

- Focused Group Discussions (FGD)
- In-depth Interviews
- Key Informant Interviews

- Case Studies
- Analyzing budgetary allocation trends during the tenure of elected local government and the present administrative (bureaucratic) local government system

FGD were conducted in each of the eight selected districts, with the following community members:

- Former and Current Members of Community Citizen Boards
- Marginalized Community Members (religious/ethnic/linguistic/caste)
- Local Non-Government Organizations
- Interest Groups (Traders, Transporters, Mandi Association members etc.)

During analysis, learning from quantitative and qualitative data has been juxtaposed where useful to draw informed conclusions.

Capitalizing on the learning of the 2009-2010 Social Audit, the current study leveraged the capacities of public universities, community outreach, geographical coverage and network of community activists in union councils. Accordingly, UNDP entered into agreements with eight public universities for data collection in current iteration of the Social Audit.

A Peer Review Group composed of eminent academics, policy makers, representatives of provincial local government departments and development practitioners was formed by UNDP to review the Social Audit 2011-12 at various stages of project implementation.

The core research team consisted of 7 research specialists in qualitative and quantitative research and analysis. Field operations team had a five tiered management structure, including independent monitors.

Given the environment of uncertainty prevalent in the provinces about changes in local government system, possible repercussions of 18th Amendment in the provinces (few of which are clearly understood at the moment) and impending elections, some respondents were not willing to share information on budget allocations and spending during case studies.

Changes in the Local Government System

Given the objectives and iterations of the Social Audit, and the fact that for 8 years public services were delivered through an elected local government system, it is not possible to separate and analyze satisfaction among citizens of these services in isolation. Discussions on the current state of local government being managed by administrators (bureaucrats), therefore, forms part of this study.

Globally, grassroots administration and service delivery is effected through elected local government; where budgets are made, allocated and spent for citizens, usually with extensive citizen participation. There are few examples of members of parliament having control over development or other funds to be dispersed or utilized as per their directives. Typically members of parliament make laws, the executive makes policies and strategies based on these laws and allocates funds to administrative or other units, down to local governments. These local governments then carry out the actual development work, usually in close coordination with local citizens. Service delivery by the public sector is, therefore, largely the job of local government.

In Pakistan there has been a history of military governments setting up elected local government to legitimize their rule and to counter and control provincial aspirations for power. While elected governments seek provincial autonomy and the right to control flow of funds,

either directly or through the bureaucracy, rendering elected local government less relevant or abandoned. The political use of local government by military government, the distrust of local governments by political parties and propensity of parliamentarians to have direct control over public spending for development activities (especially close to election times), makes it difficult for local governments to deliver services in a planned, consistent, transparent and regular manner.

Given the 18th Amendment under which the 1973 Constitution stands restored, Article 140-A on Local Government stipulates clearly that 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 government.

The Supreme Court of Pakistan has regularly called upon provincial governments to hold elections for and activate local governments in provinces. Currently there are full-fledged local government departments in the provinces (with administrative staff), with different kinds of decisions taken by the four provinces to manage local government. We can see that **some kind of local government or local processes are in place, but it cannot be said that there are fully functioning local governments on the ground delivering regular services to the public.** The satisfaction of citizens with government services needs to be seen in this context.

Demographics

Social Audit 2011-12 sampled 10,200 households across Pakistan. Of the respondents 57.8 percent were men while 42.2 percent respondents were women.

When all the members of the 10,200 households are taken together, it can be seen that 37,648 are women, and 39,158 men – this means 49 percent women and 51 percent men. **The sex ratio, therefore, is 104 men to every 100 women.** The average age of respondents was 38 years with a standard deviation of 14 years. Approximately 50 percent of respondents fall between 27 - 45 years, representing an age group of respondents that are likely to be part of the labor force.

Only 9 percent of respondents had attained higher education whereas a sizable proportion of 29 percent respondents had completed their matriculation. A stark gender gap emerged when analyzing respondent's education by gender. Almost 51 percent women respondents were illiterate compared to 28 percent male respondents.

When analyzing education of respondents across vulnerability, data showed that more than half of the respondents in the vulnerable category were illiterate and the differences in level of education enhanced as the respondents moved towards higher categories of education.

Average household size calculated for Social Audit 2011-12 data was 7.02 members per household across Pakistan. Provincially, the highest household size was demonstrated in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa where, on average, one household had 7.81 members. The lowest average household size was witnessed in Punjab where 6.87 members lived in a household.

Only 2.5 percent households reported having women heads of household, and just over 37 percent household heads were illiterate.

Analysis of household members most contributing to financial expenses of the household demonstrated that the highest proportion was unskilled labor at 26 percent, followed by business/trade at 16.7 percent and employment in agricultural sector at 15.5 percent.

The structure of houses, particularly roof, is a key variable for measuring vulnerability of household dwellings. Approximately 39 percent of households were found to be living in

vulnerable dwellings with mud, tent or wood roofs. Of these, 18.4 percent households were living in extremely high vulnerability dwellings with roofs made of mud or tents which can be destroyed by storms, winds and other natural disasters.

A majority of households (80.5 percent) had a latrine inside the house, whether flush, pit or some other type. A provincial analysis of type of latrine being used by households demonstrates that sanitation was worst in Balochistan.

Distribution of sampled households across vulnerability shows that almost 53 percent sampled households were categorized as vulnerable. Looking at households across provinces it was evident that the highest percentage of vulnerable households was in Balochistan (68 percent) followed by Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (56 percent). In Sindh, which increasingly has higher proportions of the population living in urban areas, almost equal number of households were reported to be vulnerable and not vulnerable. Punjab was the only province where more households were reported to be not vulnerable (51 percent) than vulnerable (49 percent).

Satisfaction of Citizens with Public Sector Services

A major part of the Social Audit focused on measuring access to and satisfaction with, ten public services being provided by the government.

Primacy of Economic Issues

Respondents were asked the most problematic issue for their household. A majority of households (53 percent) indicated that cost of living was their main problem, followed by almost a third (32 percent) of respondents who indicated that unemployment was their main problem. A significant 9 percent said that load-shedding was their main problem. This reflects clearly that for a vast majority of households in Pakistan the main problems are economic in nature and, therefore, any development policy, strategy or intervention must address economic and social problems together and in an integrated manner.

Basic Service Delivery

Unemployment was listed as the most problematic issue less frequently in Punjab compared to the other three provinces. On the other hand, cost of living was reported as the most problematic issue most frequently in Punjab (58 percent), which was only slightly more frequent than Sindh, where 54 percent of respondents listed cost of living as their main problem.

Households were then specifically asked about what they thought the most important problem for their area was. The most frequent response was gas supply, which was indicated by a fifth of all respondents. This is followed by 13 percent of respondents who said that sewerage is the main problem and 9 percent who said that electricity supply is the main problem. In addition to the above, it is important to note that only less than 1 percent of all respondents indicated that terrorism was the main problem faced by their area.

It can also be concluded very clearly from the data that after economic wellbeing, citizens are most concerned about basic service delivery, and only then about problems of terrorism and law and order.

When asked to note which three public services improved the most during the past three years, **very few households reported improvements in any services.** This leads to the conclusion that the often repeated observation and overall perception that services are going downhill is generally borne out by data of this social audit.

Conversely, when asked to identify three public services that had worsened during the past two years, approximately 39 percent households reported that electricity supply had worsened

during the past two years while 22 percent noted that sewerage and sanitation had worsened during the past two years. Almost 20 percent households also noted a decline in roads during the period under review.

Provincial analysis of the trends in worsening public services demonstrates marked differences in citizens' perceptions about which services deteriorated during the past two years. Education was noted as the public service that worsened the most during the past two years in Balochistan (36 percent), while in Punjab only 5 percent households reported that education had worsened. This demonstrates a huge education gap between Balochistan and the rest of the three provinces. Sewerage was noted as a worsening service by almost 24 percent households in Punjab. Electricity came out as the major public service that has deteriorated the most during the past two years across all provinces. Similar concerns have also been raised by households concerning roads, with 20 – 22 percent households across all provinces noting that the road network had deteriorated during the past two years. This is considerably important in light of the fact the previous three social audit iterations demonstrated that roads were one of the public services that had been improving across the country.

The results of qualitative research substantiate these findings. According to the views of groups addressed through FGDs in Sindh, roads are non-existent in rural areas, though in urban areas some repair and maintenance work is being done. Similarly, the situation of water and sanitation is reported as worse in urban areas where prevalence of water borne diseases was reported to have increased in last two years. Urban marginalized communities were quite vocal about the lack of basic facilities like public toilets, transport facilities, parking areas and health and education.

Views of all the four groups in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa were almost the same regarding the condition of basic facilities. There was a consensus that little or no improvement has been made in the delivery of health and education services. Participants from Balochistan, with the exception of rural interest groups, were of the view that no improvement has been made in the provision of basic services since last two years.

According to rural and urban NGOs in Punjab no improvement has occurred with the change of local government system in the province; rather urban NGOs were pretty intense in their insistence that no development work of any kind has been done since the reintroduction of administrative local government system.

Divergence of Perceptions between Citizens and Service Providers

When juxtaposed against results from qualitative in-depth interviews of UC secretaries it can be noted that only electricity was identified as a major problem for the area in conjunction with citizens' views. For UC secretaries the three most important problems for their areas were garbage disposal, water supply and electricity.

UC secretaries noted that roads, street and street lighting, along with water supply and education were the major services that improved during the past two years in their areas. When asked which three services worsened, almost one third UC secretaries noted that law and order had deteriorated in their communities. This is contrary to the perceptions of citizens where law and order was highlighted by only five percent households as one of the three public services that had deteriorated during the past two years.

It can be seen that there is a **mismatch between citizens' perceptions and those of government functionaries about which services are deteriorating**. It can therefore, also be concluded that this mismatch must be resulting in allocation of funding and administrative effort in sectors which are less important for consumers of public services, namely citizens, but more important in the opinion of decision-makers. This divergence and the thinking behind what is

‘good for the public’ by people who see themselves as separate from this same public, has also emerged in other parts of this study.

Education

In Pakistan, primary and secondary education has received attention from various successive provincial governments through specialized education campaigns over the past decade.

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab show very similar results a large majority of the respondents (94-95 percent respectively) reporting availability of education, followed by 89 percent of household in Sindh. Balochistan stands out from the rest of the provinces in the sense that it has the highest percentage of respondents (16 percent) who said that education was not available to them. Access to education and levels of satisfaction with education services has not changed much between 2009-2010 and 2011-2012.

So it can be said that government provided education is more or less available to the citizens of Pakistan, but satisfaction with this service is another matter.

In the FGDs conducted with groups in Sindh, there were persistent complaints about the absence or lack of teaching staff in schools. Marginalized community in Sindh especially in urban areas, voiced their concerns regarding lack of educational facilities for their children, reporting derogatory behavior towards children belonging to religious minorities in government schools - to an extent that many people had to remove their children from government schools and put them in Church schools where standard of education was not very satisfactory.

Households in Punjab were more likely to be overall satisfied by government provided education (66 percent) than in the other three provinces. These results show that education service provision differs greatly at the provincial level with Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa demonstrating that they were ahead in the quality of service compared to the other two provinces.

Of children aged 5 to 17 in the households of the country, 74 percent girls go to school, as compared to 79 percent boys. In Punjab and Sindh, the difference between boys and girls enrolment is small (3 percent and 5 percent respectively), even though enrolment in Sindh is lower for both boys and girls compared to Punjab.

The results for the other provinces, however, show that 87 percent of boys in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are enrolled in school compared to only 74 percent girls while 81 percent boys are enrolled in Balochistan compared to only 54 percent of girls.

It was found that more than a third (35 percent) of the households do not send girls to school due to financial issues. Other common reasons were lack of a school nearby (15 percent) and the need for girls to help at home (12 percent).

Similar to the situation of girls, affordability seemed to be the primary reason why boys remain out of school, since 34 percent of respondents cited this as the main reason. Child labor (which wasn't significant in the analysis of girls) is another major reason households prefer to retain a child from school.

A majority of girls currently enrolled are studying in government girls' schools (54 percent). This figure is followed by private mixed gender schools (20 percent) and private girls schools (18 percent). Almost 84 percent households, whose girls went to government girls schools, were satisfied with the schooling they receive. The type of schools where boys are enrolled is very similar to that of girls with 54 percent boys, a majority, currently going to government boys' schools, 21 percent going to private mixed gender schools and 18 percent going to private boys schools.

Similar to the trends witnessed in the percentage of households satisfied with the schools their girls are attending, households whose boys were attending private boys or coeducational schools were much more likely to be satisfied by the level of their schooling than households whose boys were studying in government schools.

It can be concluded that there is more satisfaction with education boys get in private schools than in government schools, indicating less faith the ability of government schools to deliver their mandate. The trend in household satisfaction with government provided education over past decade has been around 55 to 58 percent, showing very little improvement in this essential public service since 2001.

Boys have to go to work to earn money, girls have to stay at home to help in the house - there are thus gender differentials in education sector to be considered for developing better strategies for keeping children in schools.

However, little gender difference was seen in the case of madrassas - very few girls or boys in madrassas, so the common perceptions that families are sending their children to madrassas in droves is not borne out by the data. Approximately 60 percent girls and boys in Pakistan attend government schools.

Health Services

About a quarter of respondents indicated that health services provided by the government were not available to them. This proportion of respondents who indicated no access to government health care is slightly less than that in 2009-2010, when it was 29 percent, but no discernible trend can be seen over the years, as the proportion fell from 32 percent in 2001-2002 to 23 percent in 2004-2005 but rose again to 29 percent in 2009-2010 only to fall back again to 24 percent in the present iteration. Change in the level of access to government health care over time has varied from year to year making it difficult to draw conclusions about trends.

Findings show that a slightly larger proportion of the households categorized as vulnerable indicated that government health care services were not available to them. This relationship between vulnerability and access to health, however, is not very strong. Of the respondents that indicated government health care was available to them, there is no difference in the level of satisfaction expressed among households categorized as vulnerable or not vulnerable.

Of the respondents that indicated government health care was available to them, only 15 percent of the respondents in Balochistan were satisfied with government health care which is about half the proportion in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (30 percent), Sindh (28 percent), and about third of the proportion in Punjab (46 percent).

Data shows that less than half of those (36 percent out of 76 percent) who have government health care available to them actually choose to use this health care. In conclusion, majority of the household's members use private clinics (61 percent), followed by government health facilities (36 percent).

A larger proportion of vulnerable households (44 percent) visited government medical facilities at their last visit to a medical center, compared to not vulnerable (31 percent) households.

A significantly higher proportion of respondents, approximately 36 percent, arrive at health/medical centers on foot than through any other means. A vast majority (80 percent) of respondents arrive at the health/medical center they use in less than an hour. A significantly higher proportion of the vulnerable took more than one hour to reach the health facility last visited by them (25 percent compared to 13 percent).

Data shows that men from Balochistan were more likely to visit health facilities while women from Punjab and Sindh were slightly more likely. Interestingly, a doctor was present at the

health facility last visited by a member of the respondent's household in 95 percent of the cases. This dispels the common notion that there is a high rate of absenteeism among doctors and other medical personnel, but it must also be remembered that respondents may be unable to distinguish between doctors and other paramedical staff.

In terms of the 'demand side' of health services, almost 97 percent households reported satisfaction with immunization services for vaccination of children less than 5 years of age.

Therefore, we can conclude that, largely, government immunization has been one of the most successful public services provided to communities across Pakistan.

Since approximately 38 percent households reported visiting government run health facilities, it can certainly be concluded that these facilities are utilized. For respondents that had government health care available to them, half were dissatisfied with the services provided while 29 percent were satisfied. We can conclude from these findings that there is more a problem of quality than of access or availability of government run health facilities.

There was higher satisfaction with private clinics (87 percent) in last visit to health facility, than government smaller health units (77 percent) and especially government hospitals (72 percent). So it can be concluded that the differences in satisfaction from services availed at private and government health facilities is not as huge as is generally believed.

In terms of the 'supply side' of health services, the opinions of service providers on provision of government provided health facilities to communities ranged from improved (38 percent) to no change (60 percent) in terms of level and quality. This leads to the conclusion that at best the health services are moribund under the current system of delivery.

When service providers were asked as to how local governments had helped in the improvement of health facilities, the most cited reason was the interest shown by women councilors in health services and their efforts in improving basic facilities through local government funding.

Road Rage!

Between 2001 and 2010, with heavy investments in roads, satisfaction of users was increasing steadily. But satisfaction of households with roads decreased in 2011-2012 to 36 percent.

An important finding is that percentage of household dissatisfied with the quality of roads is highest in Punjab. This is interesting considering the fact that provincial government in Punjab is known to have a strong predilection towards construction of roads and infrastructure! The instance of Punjab government being excessively interested in construction of roads was also substantiated by the case study of the budgetary trends in the district of Lahore where allocation for roads was raised to Rs.984.689 million in FY 2010-11 from Rs.408.64 million in FY 2006-7. Yet 60 percent households were dissatisfied with roads in Punjab. Even higher proportions were dissatisfied in other provinces.

This is yet another instance of disconnect between the aspirations of the public and the opinions of decision makers about what is good for the public.

Improve Water Services

The social audit iteration of 2009-2010 saw a dramatic rise in access to government drinking water supply across Pakistan as 32 percent households reported having no access to the service compared to 52 percent households in 2004-2005. However, no improvement or deterioration in access to this service has been witnessed since then, with 32 percent households in 2011-2012 again reporting that they had no access to the service.

More than one-third (37 percent) of vulnerable households indicated that they do not have access to government drinking water supply compared to only one-fourth of not-vulnerable households. A higher proportion of respondents in Punjab (39 percent) indicated that they do not have access to government drinking water compared to any other province (11 percent - 30 percent). The better situation in Sindh may be due to high urbanization in the province with a large population residing in Hyderabad and Karachi. However, the rural marginalized community of Sindh reported clean drinking water as a major problem for their area during FGDs. The high percentage of households in Balochistan that are dissatisfied with government water services is corroborated by the findings of FGDs conducted with different groups in Balochistan.

The two most common sources of water are piped water (38 percent) and hand pump in the house (31 percent). The overall results show that more than three-fourths of households get drinking water in their house through a variety of means (pipes, hand pump, tube well, mineral water) while less than a quarter have to turn to the community or other sources for their drinking water.

For respondents that did not get drinking water from source located within their own house, the water supply is within 250 m for half of them. For another third, the water supply is between 250m to 1 km. One sixth of all respondents (17 percent) travel more than a kilometer for their water supply with 7 percent households having to cover distances greater than 3 kilometers.

Data shows that vulnerable households have significantly less access to government drinking water supply. This fact is substantiated by the results of FGDs conducted with the marginalized communities in all the four provinces, where lack of clean drinking water was mentioned as a major problem. FGDs with marginalized communities in rural Sindh reported that when tube wells were installed under the previous local government and children did not have to walk longer distances to fetch water, attendance in schools improved.

While drinking water is more or less available (supplied either by government or private sources), its quality cannot be ascertained from the data.

Sewerage and Sanitation

The percentage of households having access to sewerage and sanitation has improved dramatically over the past decade. Indeed, increasing access to this public service can be quoted as an achievement of successive governments over the years. In 2011-2012 households reporting no access to government provided sewerage and sanitation decreased from 28 percent in 2009 – 2010 to about 22 percent households in 2011-2012. Since 2004-2005 iteration of the social audit, the percentage of households having access to sewerage and sanitation have been increasing steadily by six percentage points.

Of the households that did have access to this service, 51 percent reported that they were dissatisfied with sewerage and sanitation services available in their communities.

Almost one-third of the vulnerable households (32 percent) indicated that they do not have access to sanitation while only a tenth of the not-vulnerable households indicated the same. It is therefore evident that the government has failed in providing adequate sanitation services to vulnerable communities.

Households in Sindh and Punjab are more likely to be satisfied with sanitation compared to those in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan. There was a consensus among the FGD participants of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa that no improvement has been made in the delivery of these basic services. Besides these, water supply and drainage issues are still present in most of the rural as well as urban areas. Most of the participants were of the view that service delivery has further deteriorated under the present system.

It can be concluded that **the percentage of households having access to sewerage and sanitation has improved dramatically over the past decade. Indeed, increasing access to this public service can be quoted as an achievement over the last decade.** However regional differences persist, with Sindh and Punjab are more likely to be satisfied with sanitation compared to those in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan.

While the government has helped improve access to sanitation similar attention is now required in improving quality of service provision.

Garbage Disposal

As demonstrated in earlier social audits, citizen access to garbage disposal services by the government has been negligible over the past decade showing only 12 percent satisfaction in this Social Audit. While the percentage of households reporting no access to the service declined slightly in 2011-2012 to 66 percent households compared with 69 percent households in 2009-2010, **it can be concluded that this service remains abysmal.**

There is a very clear difference in access between the vulnerable and the not-vulnerable, with more than three-fourths (78 percent) of the vulnerable indicating they do not have access to garbage disposal services compared to only a little more than half (52 percent) of the not-vulnerable.

Public Transport

The percentage of households reporting no access to government provided public transport increased from 73 percent households in 2009-2010 to 85 percent in 2011-2012.

When comparing citizen satisfaction with government provided public transport one important caveat that must be understood when examining the results of the four iterations of social audits: the term 'public transport' in Pakistan, is used to refer to all forms of transport that are used by citizens irrespective of whether they are provided by private operators or the government. In the first two iterations, the questionnaire used the term 'public transport' without explaining that it meant transport provided by the government. This was corrected in the following two iterations where respondents were told that satisfaction and access were being measured for government provided public transport only.

The results show that the vulnerable are much more likely to not have any transport service provided by the government, with more than nine-tenths of vulnerable households indicating so.

Province wise results show a clear division in access to transport services between two groups of provinces: Sindh and Balochistan have significantly higher levels of access to government transport services compared to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab.

These results are surprising, considering that Balochistan is typically considered to be facing serious problems with regard to transport considering its scattered settlements and lack of government penetration. While it is hard to explain these results with more pertinent data, one reason may be that the private sector is doing a decent job of providing transport services in Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. However, it can only be concluded that this service is one of the worst in Pakistan.

Agriculture Extension Services

Agricultural extension services are provided by the government in rural areas of Pakistan as support services for the agricultural economy which includes providing education to farmers on the quality of their soil, which crops to grow, how to grow them, sowing patterns and other information necessary for gaining maximum yields.

Since the percentage of households reporting no access to agricultural extension services increased from 70 percent in 2009-2010 to 86 percent in 2011-2012. Of households that had access to agricultural extension services only 16 percent reported satisfaction, **leading to the conclusion that Pakistan is not paying sufficient attention to its economic base in its agricultural assets.**

Electricity

The percentage of households with access to electricity has been increasing steadily since 2001. Indeed, from around 84 percent households reporting they had access to electricity in 2001-2002, today 97 percent households report that they have access, leading to the conclusion that almost all of Pakistan's citizens have electricity connections.

This remarkable achievement of reaching out to 97 percent households in Pakistan with connections should be recognized, but is marred by the mismanagement in supplies that heavily reduces the level of satisfaction reported by households.

What is critical here is that while a majority of households were satisfied with electricity supply during the first half of the decade, this has been reversed to a majority of households now being dissatisfied with this public service. Between 2009-2010 and 2011-2012, the percentage of households reporting satisfaction with the service declined by 2 percentage points to 33 percent while the proportion of households dissatisfied with the service increased by 5 percentage points to 55 percent in 2011-2012.

The energy crisis is beyond the ambit or control of local governments and requires drastic national actions, which cannot be addressed in this report.

Gas

It can be seen that there is a clear and visible improvement in the percentage of households reporting that they had access to gas supply. From just under a quarter households in 2001-2002 (21 percent) to almost half (46 percent) households in 2011-2012, the government increased access to gas supply across Pakistan. However, dissatisfaction has also increased, as in the case of electricity, and similar national actions are required.

The main conclusion from findings and data analysis on public sector services is that, except in a very few instances, **there has been a general deterioration in citizens' satisfaction with public services,** especially in the vulnerable groups, who rely much more on these services, and across Pakistan in both urban and rural areas.

Citizen Based Activities

Since this chapter deals with relationship of the public with local government institutions at the grassroots level, yet local government itself is in confusion all over Pakistan, conclusions are difficult to draw, and must be seen in the context of a virtual or real vacuum of the institutions being looked at.

The most important conclusion of this topic relates to the preferences of the general public in favor of return of some kind of local government system, with 80 percent saying that they would vote incase local elections were held.

However, provincial breakup of the choices demonstrates that while a majority of households from Punjab and Sindh favor the elected local government system, support for the return of elected local government was less than 50 percent in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan.

Union Councils

On average, more households were dissatisfied with the performance of Union Council in the last two years, with 45.5 percent reporting dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction with overall performance of Union Councils increased in 2012.

Though generally all the participants belonging to marginalized community, CCBs, NGOs and Interest Groups of Punjab were in favor of elected local government system, yet urban marginalized community was, understandably, more cynical and apathetic in their view of the world and said that 'for us all the systems are same as we will always remain poor and marginalized no matter which system is in place'.

According to FGDs the ratio of respondents favoring the present system over the previous system was highest in Balochistan. Moreover, who so ever supported the previous system did not support it unconditionally. It is important to remember that the recent increase in the Finance Commission award to Balochistan is far greater than any sums available under local government, and this factor may be a reason why there is less interest in local government as a conduit of development funds.

Not vulnerable households were more likely to contact a union council employee as compared to vulnerable households. 31.9 percent not vulnerable households reported that they contacted an employee of Union Council (against 22.9 percent vulnerable households).

Almost all of the employees or administrators who were contacted by household members were men. This result demonstrates the lack of gender balance prevalent in local government employment and is reflective of the general gender disparity in Pakistani society.

However, it is also important to note that in 2010 households reported contacting Union Council members/employees for resolution of developmental issues such as electricity, water, sewerage and roads in vastly greater numbers whereas in 2012 they mostly contacted Union Council employees for registration or documentation such as births.

While an obvious conclusion is that on average, more households were dissatisfied with the performance of Union Council in the last two years than before when compared with social audit 2009-2010. It needs to be mentioned that the system is in disarray in all provinces, and the dissatisfaction cannot be related to the full range of public services – instead it is an issue of what is considered as the function of Union Councils under the various systems (or procedures) in effect now.

The trend of a more limited role for Union Councils may be understood by people who may have readjusted their expectations from the system, and Union Councils, and yet the overall decrease in satisfaction with the performance of Union Council remains. The lowest percentage of households satisfied were in Balochistan where only 14.1 percent households, leading to the further conclusion that the law and order situation in that province has rendered the last vestiges of local government almost completely ineffective.

Status of CCBs

Citizen Community Boards were formed under the LGO 2001 as community based local organizations formed on a voluntary basis by citizens to apply for and undertake development projects in their respective local areas by accessing the allocated 25 percent funding for projects under local government system.

A large majority of respondents (92 percent) had never heard about CCBs, and the proportion of those that had heard of them is static when compared with the last Social Audit of 2009-0.

Both marginalized community and interest groups in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa did not have any information or interaction with the CCBs during the elected representative local government system. Similarly, still they were unaware of the existence of the CCBs in their areas.

During FGDs it was found that in Punjab, marginalized community/interest groups had no idea of or knowledge about the existence of CCBs both during the previous and present system. But it was surprising to note that even urban NGOs had no interaction with CCBs in the prior 2010 period. It was also found that NGOs neither received any assistance from the present Local Governments nor had any interaction with CCBs. Interest groups from Punjab never came across any CCB during last two years.

General awareness about the existence and functioning of CCBs in Sindh was slightly better in rural areas as compared to urban community as reported in FGDs. Though urban interest groups had never come into contact with the CCBs, rural interest groups and marginalized community generally had a positive experience of working with the CCBs during the previous elected local government system.

No significant difference in the membership of CCBs across vulnerable and not-vulnerable households was seen. There is no evidence, therefore, that vulnerable households are being excluded from CCB membership. Or we can also say that CCB membership cuts across vulnerable and not vulnerable communities. It can be seen that CCBs provided a platform for vulnerable people to be part of a group where opportunities in leadership and local action were present. CCB male household membership was reported as higher than male household membership in local voluntary organizations.

Very few households (7 percent) had a male CCB member, and even fewer (1.4 percent) had a female CCB member. Almost a third of interviewed CCB members said that their CCBs were formed between the last three years which corresponds to the period when local governments were not operational.

The vast majority of projects were conducted in streets, sewerage and sanitation and drinking water. CCB said that funding for these projects was received through various sources including NGO's, Government line departments such as EDO, and donor organizations like UNICEF and PPAF.

An important conclusion is the persistent lack of awareness in general public about the Citizen Community Boards, which is as prevalent as it was two years ago.

Given that funds earmarked for CCBs are reportedly still available somewhere in the system (though frozen or inaccessible), and that many of these CCBs are seeking and obtaining funds from donors, it can be concluded that at least some of them are transforming themselves to work outside the local government system.

NGOs and Volunteerism

Given that only a small minority of the households had membership in any voluntary organization, it can be concluded that there is very low propensity in households for voluntary actions. It was also noted that any members of households in Punjab and Sindh are less likely to be members of voluntary organizations than in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan.

Entrenchment of Client-Patron System

In the representative household survey respondents were asked for their opinion about whom they would approach if they had to get any development work undertaken for their local community.

Data shows that vulnerable population or vulnerable households are more likely to contact family/area/biradari elders, while not vulnerable households are more likely to contact union council employees. 48 percent of respondents in Sindh would contact biradari/elders for getting development work done in their areas followed by 43 percent in KPK about 35 percent in Punjab and Balochistan. This shows the importance of local or village level institutions or patronage based service delivery especially with respect to vulnerable population of Pakistan.

As found elsewhere in this study, it can be concluded that the client-patron relationship in Pakistani society seems to have affected service delivery paradigm as well

Protection, Law Enforcement and Justice

Police services are the main law enforcement agency in the country and, therefore, one of the critical public services in Pakistan, both for government and for citizens. Police services have received considerable criticism in the past due to their perceived lack of quality services to ordinary citizens.

Relations with Police compared to Informal Protection Mechanisms

Data shows that more than half of the respondents (52 percent) would prefer to ask for help from family / area / biradari elders in case of threat to personal security. This was followed by seeking help from the police (29 percent). One key area of change from the 2009-2010 Social Audit iteration has been the decrease in the percentage of people who would approach Union Council for help in case of a security problem.

Data demonstrates that the vulnerable households (57 percent) are significantly more likely to turn to family/biradari/area elders for help in case of a personal security problem, as compared to non-vulnerable households (45 percent). The percentage of respondents who said they would prefer to go to the police is higher for the not vulnerable category (35 percent), than the vulnerable group (24 percent).

The findings reinforce societal trends where people place higher reliance on local support networks for security than on the agents of the state. The implication is that in the minds of at least a majority of the people of Pakistan, the state is less to be relied on for guaranteeing personal security. This has emerged more clearly in Balochistan and Sindh compared to Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

The fact that biradari is more likely to be helpful to the vulnerable also indicates the client patron relationships, where those who are more vulnerable may face unpleasant consequences if they venture outside the informal power structures and try to approach the formal systems, such as the police and courts.

A large majority of respondents, 85 percent, claimed that no member of their household had ever contacted the police. This was similar to 2009-2010 when 86 percent households reported never having contact with police.

It was found that while **contacts between the citizenry and the police are very low and infrequent**, but in cases where citizens contact the police, the police do take action (registration of FIR) in more than half of the instance. In the case of the few people who actually contacted the police, 41 percent were satisfied with police services. This means that if the writ of the state can be better established and the power of the informal system curtailed, more people will go to the police and get services.

However, according to in-depth interviews with police officials almost 71 percent of the police officials interviewed were of the view that coordination between the public and police has increased while 15 percent said that it has remained the same.

While the public displayed a general lack of trust in police's ability to provide them security, the higher officials of police had different perception about the performance of police - officials from Punjab considered last two years performance of police as 'excellent' and officials from Sindh termed it as 'moderate'. Similarly, higher official of Quetta Police judged the last two years performance of police as 'good'. **This disconnect, between demand side and supply side of protection and law enforcement, is one of the biggest challenges faced by Pakistan.** This disconnect illustrates a lack of communication between the police and the general public, hides the growing power of informal systems (that can sometimes have police at their beck and call), and shows a false sense of satisfaction among the higher police officials about their performance, when they are in a quagmire, where providing 'protocol' to politicians and fighting terrorism may detract from providing protection to citizens.

Relationship with Courts, Public Safety Commissions and Musalihati Anjumans

In Pakistan, 2008 saw a turning point in the involvement of citizens in the way courts work. Subsequent to the movement for the restoration of Judiciary, citizens had high expectations from judicial system for providing quick and just decisions. While 66 percent trust the court system in Pakistan, 86 percent had never contacted the courts. Yet of the very small number of people who actually accessed court services, 59 percent were satisfied with them.

Compared to 2002 and 2004, the percentage of households reporting contact with courts has increased in 2009-2010 and 2011-2012 to about 13 to 14 percent respectively. This means that over the last decade more households are reporting having contact with the judicial system.

Very clearly men are by far more likely (93 percent) to visit or contact courts than women. This trend is not surprising and is in tune with the way Pakistani society treats women and how they are perceived and treated by public services.

Public Safety Commissions were put in as mechanisms in the LGO 2001 whereby approved annual local policing plan and monitored the performance of the police department accordingly. Additionally, it was a mechanism for enhancing police-public trust and cooperation on matters of law and order while also providing a conduit for citizens to register complaints. A large majority of respondents, 94 percent, did not know about any such commission.

Of the very few households (1.7 percent) who had contact with District Public Safety Commission, the majority, 52 percent, were satisfied by their action and code of conduct. However, 60 percent of the chairmen of District Public Safety Commission during their in-depth interviews, termed DPSC's overall performance as well as its performance in raising awareness among the masses as 'good' and remaining 40 percent viewed the DPSC's performance as moderate or 'neither good nor bad'.

It was expected that, like in the case of seeking protection, people may go to a less formal mechanism, like the Musalihati Anjumans, but only 11 percent had even heard of these Anjumans. It can be concluded that, while the Social Audit did not explore this area, people must be approaching illegal Jirga's and groups, as has been widely reported in the press and explored in other studies.

In terms of the trends on Musalihati Anjumans, it can be concluded that donor funding was large factor in their establishment. We can see that their number dropped drastically to 11 percent in 2011-2012, when donor-supported projects concluded their work. Contact with Musalihati Anjumans had gone down drastically and 93 percent have never heard of DPSCs. This leads to

the conclusion that the level of success for these institutions outside a fully functional local government system is questionable.

It can also be concluded that while people don't approach the courts much, they still have a sense of satisfaction with the actions and conduct of the court – indicating that people would like to see the formal court system flourish and provide the public with justice.

Conclusions on Case Studies to Elicit Supply Side Situation

As the 'demand side' of service provision (from the citizen's viewpoint) has been ascertained through quantitative analysis during the previous as well as the current Social Audit, the budgetary analysis in this iteration was designed for understanding and substantiating the 'supply side' of service delivery.

These case studies were designed to compare district budgets for the year 2006-07, when elected local governments were fully functional, and 2010-11, when elected local governments had ceased to exist and had been replaced by local governments led by administrators (bureaucrats). In each districts the annual development plans were analyzed for their substantive content and budgets. Efforts were made to trace the budget for one selected Town/Tehsil/ Taluka to see how much it got, what kind of projects the money was allocated for and how the projects and budget amounts were arrived at and approved. Further efforts were made to trace the budget down to one identified UC in the Town /Tehsil/Taluka, to see what projects and budget it got, on what basis the allocations were made and how much was actually spent. At the time of designing these case studies it was envisaged that such information would be available and shared, being public documents.

Attitudes about sharing Public Documents

At the time of designing these case studies it was envisaged that the required information would be available and shared, being public documents. The difficult task this became for the research team (although some individuals of local government were very helpful) and the reasons they provided for not sharing data, leads to the conclusion that this is just not the right time to access the 'supply side', when politics and local elections are round the corner.

Secondly, the differences in the way public servants responded to requests for interviews and data in the last iteration and current iteration of Social Audit is in itself an indicator of the very different attitudes of local government led by elected representatives and local government led by bureaucrats and administrators.

Salaries versus Development Expenditure

It can be concluded from these case studies that the proportion of allocations for salaries of current local government officials is much higher as compared to the allocations for development work. It has been noted that ratio of allocation for salaries to the allocation for development works is sometime 98 percent to 2 percent. It does not need much imagination to conclude the low quality of development work that could be done with such meager allocations.

However, it can be argued that higher allocation for salaries is not a problem per se, if it is concomitant with better service delivery, but when we juxtapose the higher salaries allocation with the quality of service delivery in these districts, we have to conclude that this higher allocation for salaries has not translated into better service delivery in these districts.

Higher Budgets but Low Quality of Services

Another important result of qualitative analysis of budgetary figures from the 8 districts relates to the disconnect between the budget allocation and quality of service delivery. It is sufficiently

evident from the data (and by cross checking with the quantitative household data) that even where there are big increases in budget allocation for basic services like education and health, it does not always translate into improvement in the service delivery of these basic services.

Perceptions versus Facts

It can be argued that service delivery improves with higher allocation in budget but the expectations of general public increases at a pace much faster than the rate of improvement of service delivery. **This argument could be substantiated by taking the example of roads in Lahore; where allocations in FY 2010-11 were almost 200 percent higher than the allocations of FY 2006-7 but the general public has recorded roads as the second most dissatisfied service in Lahore after sanitation.** It's a common observation that condition of roads in Lahore is comparatively much improved than five years ago, but the expectations of general public have increased much more than the improvements and, therefore they are still dissatisfied with the quality of roads in Lahore. Or it could also be inferred from the dissatisfaction of the respondents that quality of service delivery varies drastically across different parts of the district.

Allocations versus Actual Expenditure

It can also be concluded that mere allocation of funds for any specific head or service does not necessarily mean that the same amount has been spent on that service. This was specifically true regarding Citizen Community Boards (CCBs), where in different districts like Karachi and Bahawalnagar certain allocations were made for the CCBs during FY 2010-11 but funds were not transferred to CCBs, as was widely reported by the CCB members in almost all the FGDs conducted in all the four provinces.

Misplaced Priorities leading to Poor Basic Service Delivery

From the interviews with people currently running local government (administrators and bureaucrats) , it can be concluded that assigning priorities based on perceived development priorities without considering the demand side preferences is a common phenomenon in the decision making milieu of Pakistani public sector. Results from these case studies when juxtaposed with the public perceptions ascertained through household survey, leads to the conclusion that in many instances huge allocations are made for services or infrastructures at the expense of the more basic services that people actually want.

Wither Local Government Systems?

It can be concluded that the elected local government system is high on accessibility, responsiveness, sense of ownership by citizens and addressing needs, but also high on corruption. In terms of service delivery and consultation it is moderate, while it is low on checks and balance and capacity. Local government led by administrators (bureaucrats) is high on capacity, provides some modicum of check and balance, is moderate in corruption, but low on everything else.

The option of combining the good points of LGO 1979 and LG 2001, such that there is check and balance between elected Nazims and the administrators is worth a thought.

Regarding prevalent variations of the current administrative local government systems, there were many criticisms by respondent belonging to diverse geographical locations. These included the pain and suffering of the common man, the superior image and attitude of the functionaries, and its indifference to the real needs of the people. It can be concluded that the major reason which makes administrative local government system less desirable in comparison of elected local government system is the inherent philosophy of administrative

system according to which the administrator is wholly and solely responsible for provision of public services to the lesser mortals.

The inevitable conclusion here is that the administrative local governance model or process, with its colonial legacy, works on the assumption of the inability or incapacity of local people to rule themselves, making it necessary for the administrator to rule his 'subjects' in whatever way he feels appropriate. In an authoritative patriarchal society like Pakistan, public administrators think it their job to decipher the needs of the multitudes and decide what is good for them. Their refusal to share data and give interviews during this study is an illustration of this behavior. This was not the case during the last iteration of the Social Audit.

In the final analysis it can be concluded that elected local government system, no matter with what design, is a better system of local governance as it gives the general public a sense of belonging and the sense that they are being served and not ruled. However, its weaknesses can be countered by putting in administrative check and balance.

It can be concluded that there is a thread of criticism for the administrative system and definite positive opinions about elected local government system running through both quantitative and qualitative discourses in this study, as enunciated by respondents. Where ever elected local government system was criticized it was based on the lack of capacity of the local representatives to deal with the complex quagmire of governance. The second criticism on the elected model of local government was the susceptibility of the system to excessive corruption due to inherent lack of sufficient check and balance in the system.

It can also be concluded, therefore, that idea behind the concept of elected local government system was nowhere challenged - even the critics of the previous system of local government (LG 2001) acquiesced that despite all its flaws and lacunae the elected local government system is the good choice in terms of accessibility, responsiveness, and demand driven public service delivery.

Summary of Recommendations

The key recommendations are laid out below:

Service Delivery

1. Provincial governments should take early action in putting grassroots development and services back on track.
2. Local government delivering public service should work in tandem with economic systems to sufficiently 'satisfy' citizens of Pakistan - this may means provision of services, such as employment exchanges, small business loans and facilitation of development of local businesses, and development of local resources (including leisure and tourism) where local people may obtain jobs.
3. Local governments should raise local taxes that can be used for funding local economic activities.
4. The mismatch in citizens' perceptions and those of government functionaries should be addresses in a timely and effective manner.
5. Provincial governments and donors must work on improving government schools, rather than propagate and allocate scarce funds for madrassa reforms.
6. Provincial governments work hard on improving their performance on health indicators.

7. The very dynamic role of women in local government in improving health grassroots level should be recognized and promoted.
8. Emerging local governments set their priorities right and not go for heavy infrastructure projects (such as roads) that benefit a few.
9. Government, donors and NGOs should pay much more attention to the quality of water to make it clean and safe, and citizens should follow safe health and hygiene practices related to the storage and use of water.
10. More attention should be paid to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan and concentrate on ensuring that sewerage and sanitation services are of required quality.
11. Provincial governments should take on garbage control on as an immediate challenge
12. While it may be difficult, to at least the older public transport systems, especially railways for mass transit, should be rehabilitated.
13. An integrated approach with universities and provincial agricultural departments should be developed to produce the skills and increase reach through a strong local government system.

Public Services and MDGs

1. The government should put in more effort into improving existing water sources, the quality of water, and promote safe sanitation practices

Citizen Activities Vis-a-Vie Local Government

2. The provinces must take the necessary decisions to put elected local government back on track, in whatever form is deemed suitable.
3. Local government should be the primary tier of government.
4. Union Councils should be strengthened as the grassroots level of local government
5. Provincial governments must release funds earmarked for CCBs
6. A further study on CCBs and their potential role must be carried out
7. Elected local government must be reintroduced sooner rather than later and its institutions strengthened to counter the tendency to seek informal advisory and dispute resolution mechanisms that are known to be feudal and non-egalitarian in nature.

Protection, Law Enforcement and Justice

1. The huge gender gap in access to key public institutions, including accessing police, must be reduced and efforts made in this direction by government, donors and the NGO sectors
2. The writ of the state should be better established and the power of the informal system curtailed, so that more people can go to the police and get services
3. The strengthening of the formal court system down to the lowest levels must be carried out, rather than building parallel systems
4. Donors and support programmes should exercise caution when calling for alternate dispute resolution mechanisms
5. Care should be exercised to not end up endorsing informal parallel systems at the cost of regular state mechanisms and institutions.

Balancing Demand Side with Supply Side

1. Allocations at district, Tehsil/Taluka and UC level should be rationalized to address expressed needs of local people
2. Emerging local government systems should make room for institutional mechanisms for the 'supply side' (elected and/or government functionaries) to respond to the 'demand side' (citizens) in a systematic manner.

Form of Local Government

1. The best points from the LG 1979 and LG 2001 should be considered and a balance be created between elected representatives at local level and the government machinery at local and provincial levels.

Way Forward

The best way forward in terms of better service delivery would be to **enhance the coordination between the elected representatives of local government and the machinery of local government, because local representatives have the cognizance of the problems of the area but local government machinery has the technical abilities to solve actual problems.**

A good elected Local Government System should have the following important ingredients:

- An overall democratic dispensation in the country
- Local government must be recognized as primary tier of government
- Independent judiciary down to grassroots level
- Coordination between provincial elected representatives and local elected representatives with adequate stake for provincial oversight
- Autonomy and authority with elected local representatives as enshrined in the constitution of Pakistan under article 149A
- Financial and developmental powers devolved to grassroots level, with full accountability of elected local representatives
- Policy and development initiatives, as approved by elected councils, must be implemented through local government officials who operate the local government machinery
- Acknowledgement that enlightened local leadership (both men and women) can deliver much better than the present systems in the provinces
- Capacity building of local government staff at all levels

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Acronyms

UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UC	Union Council
TMO	Tehsil Municipal Officer
TMA	Tehsil Municipal Administration
THQ Hosp	Tehsil Headquarter Hospital
SWO	Social Welfare Office
SMC	School Management Committee
RHC	Rural Health Center
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
PFC	Provincial Finance Commission
NRB	National Reconstruction Bureau
NGO	Non-Government Organization
MPA	Member Provincial Assembly
MNA	Member National Assembly
MCH	Mother and Child Health Center
LHW	Lady Health Worker
LGS	Local Government System
LGO	Local Governments Ordinance
HH	Household
Govt	Government
FWC	Family Welfare Center
FIR	First Information Report
EDO	Executive District Officer
DTCE	Devolution Trust for Community Empowerment
DPSCC	District Public Safety Commission Chairman
DPSC	District Public Safety Commission
DPO	District Police Officer
DHQ Hosp	District Headquarter Hospital
DFID	Department for International Development
DCO	District Coordination Officer
DC	Deputy Commissioner
CCB	Citizen's Community Board
BHU	Basic Health Unit
BDO	Basic Democracies Order 1959

Glossary

Biradari	Community, usually used to refer to immediate community members in ethnic or religious
Jirga	Local community council usually made up of elders, notables and other distinguished members of a village. The term is more frequently used in Balochistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Sindh.
Karez	System of tunnel irrigation
Mandi	Wholesale market
Musalihati Anjuman	Reconciliation council
Naib Nazim	Deputy head of local government at respective tiers under LGO 2001
Nazim	Head of local government at respective tiers under LGO 2001
Panchayat	Local community council usually made up of elders, notables and other distinguished members of a village. The term is more frequently used in Punjab
Parchee	Ticket which must be bought to access government service facilities such as health centers
Pullian	Small bridges
Purdah	Veil
Taluka	Tehsil is referred to as Taluka in Sindh province.
Tehsil	Local term for second tier of administration below the district
Thaykadari	Contractor, usually associated with construction or agriculture
Zilla Mohtasib	District ombudsman
Zilla	Local term for district, which is the first tier of administration

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Context and Background

Social Audits measure the status of relations between the state and citizens, by focusing on the status of social services delivery by the public sector. This fourth iteration of the social audit builds on the learning of the previous three social audits and attempts to capture the voice of citizens on public service delivery. Given that the local government system in Pakistan has undergone drastic changes in the last two years, the social contract between the state and the citizens appears to be changing somewhat. Under the 18th amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan, more powers have been devolved from the federal government to the provincial governments, changing the relationships under which local governments can operate. This social audit tries to capture emerging realities on the ground.

A social audit normally provides an opportunity for:

- Collecting citizen feedback on the quality and adequacy of public services
- Enabling social monitoring and auditing in rigorous manner
- Developing agenda for communities and service providers to engage in post- audit dialogue for improving the delivery of public services

In Pakistan, the social audit process was started in 2001 and the first baseline survey was conducted in 2001-2002. Follow up audits were undertaken in 2004-2005 and 2009-2010. The 2001-2002 baseline survey was the yardstick against which the progress of the newly instituted local government system was to be measured. These social audits were designed to measure:

- The quality of state-citizen relationship by use of proxy variables, i.e. access to justice, interface with police and involvement in local governance arrangements, including Citizens Community Boards (CCBs)
- The quality of service delivery specifically in health, education, and water and sanitation sectors

The current iteration of Social Audit has been enriched with qualitative analysis including a chapter on the history and context of local government, its evolution, current scenarios in the provinces as well as case studies in 8 districts, focused group discussions and interviews with the key decision makers in the new system. From being part of a national initiative with direct links to the federal government, local governments are now to function under provincial governments.

It is important to note that the word 'devolution' no longer means grassroots decision-making and a three-tier local government – it now means more power and funds to provincial governments. The confusion about what now constitutes 'local government' is discussed in the four very different scenarios now present in the provinces. Currently new local government laws are under discussion in two provinces and there are some local government related administrative processes in place in all four provinces, though they are not uniform.

This study also looks at the differences between the local government model with elected councils and Nazims at each tier and the now emerging local government models in different

provinces which seem to be based much more on administrators (bureaucrats) appointed by the provincial governments. These administrators/bureaucrats are found to be Deputy Commissioners or Commissioners heading districts in many instances. The increasing primacy and power of this group of bureaucrats in the existing local government systems in provinces has prompted many to conclude that a reversal is taking place from a participative elected local government system to the old-style 'commissionerate' system based on administrators.

This study, therefore, attempts to present a picture of what is happening in each province and tries to assess the kinds of differences, if any, are likely to accrue in terms of service delivery to citizens, as a result of these structural changes.

Given that new elections are due, it is vital to rigorously analyze the impact (or otherwise) of the absence of elected officials at local tiers of government, so that the right steps forward may be advocated in a timely manner.

1.2 Study Scope and Design

The objectives of the Social Audit 2011-12 are as follows:

- Obtaining citizen feedback on the adequacy and quality of public services
- Understanding and comparing previous and existing Local Government structures and processes in the provinces
- Determining the trends of public service delivery under different local government systems
- Developing basis for informed choices by communities and service providers in improving the delivery of public services

In order to fill the crucial gap of qualitative analytical links, this current Social Audit has adopted a multipronged approach to provide greater analytical depth in understanding the dynamics of public service delivery to communities under the 'elected' and 'administrative' local government systems.

The quantitative household survey has measured levels of satisfaction of people with government services. The qualitative part of the study has sought answers through multiple instruments:

- Focused Group Discussions
- In-depth Interviews
- Key Informant Interviews
- Case Studies analyzing budgetary allocation trends during the tenure of elected local government and the present administrative (bureaucratic) local government system.

The qualitative part of the Social Audit has been carried out in 8 districts of Pakistan, one urban and one rural in each of the four provinces of Pakistan.

During analysis the Social Audit Core Team has juxtaposed learning from quantitative and qualitative data where useful.

Social Audit 2011-2012 uses a multi-level approach combining quantitative and qualitative research methods. This time there are **six types of instruments** compared to three in the previous iteration. These six types of instruments are:

Literature Review

The literature review focuses on examining laws and policies that have a bearing on local government, as well as relevant studies and research papers to place this Social Audit into context.

Household Questionnaire

This instrument quantitatively measures the knowledge, attitudes and practices (KAP) of citizens on local government and public service delivery (demand side).

Focused Group Discussions (FGDs)

These discussions qualitatively explore a number of defined areas of interest relating to service delivery and local government with select homogenous groups (demand side).

In-depth Interviews

These interviews qualitatively explore the knowledge attitudes and practices (KAP) of key former and current local government actors and decision makers at district, tehsil and union council levels regarding functioning of local government system(s) and public service delivery (supply side).

Key Informant Interviews

This set of interviews conducted with senior political, policy, academic and government actors explores their opinions on evolving local government situation.

Case Studies of Districts

These case studies highlight information with respect to budget allocations, spending and prioritization of development projects (supply side).

In summary it can be said that the design of the Social Audit 2011-2012 is:

- **Multi-perspective:** It reflects the views of different groups involved in and affected by the LG system including public representatives, citizens and other key stakeholders.
- **Comprehensive:** It aims to embrace various aspects of Local Government system and the recent devolution plan, while offering a basis for future policy reform.
- **Comparative:** It offers a means whereby service delivery to citizens under Local Government system before the recent changes can be compared with service delivery at present.
- **Regular:** The tools developed and used for the series of Social Audits (and the qualitative tools used in this last iteration) can be used in future iterations
- **Verifiable:** It is transparent and applies methodical instruments and procedures that can be independently verified.
- **Capacitating:** The public sector universities are now sufficiently trained to carry out large scale social audits and other related research studies on their own.

1.3 Sample Size and Spread

1.3.1 Study Universe

The universe for 2011-2012 Social Audit iteration covers all urban and rural populations of the four provinces of Pakistan. This does not include FATA, AJK and ICT where no local government system was implemented.

1.3.2 Sampling Frame

Lists of UCs, within each province, have been used as Sampling Frame for selection of sample UCs.

1.3.3 Stratification Plan

Stratification is the process used to distribute the sample in such a way that all heterogeneous groups in the population have their due representation. The stratification scheme adopted for each province is as under:

Punjab

- **Southern Region:** All districts in the southern part of the province have been grouped together. This group is composed of 12 districts with 33 percent share of the province population.
- **Central Region:** All districts in the central part of the province have been grouped together. This group is composed of 16 districts with 45 percent share of the province population.
- **Northern Region:** All districts in the northern part of the province have been grouped together. This group is composed of 7 districts with 13 percent share of the province population
- **Lahore Region:** Lahore, being the provincial capital, the City District Lahore has been treated as a separate stratum with 9 percent of provincial population

Sindh

- **Western Sindh:** All districts on the west of river Indus have been grouped to form a stratum. This group has 6 districts, with 18 percent of the population of the province
- **Eastern Sindh:** All districts on the east of river Indus have been grouped to form a stratum. This group has 16 districts (presently there are 12 districts) with 50 percent population of the province
- **Karachi Region:** All five districts of Karachi have been grouped to form a stratum with 32 percent population of the province.

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

- **Northern Region:** This stratum consists of 10 districts with 35 percent population of the province
- **Central Region:** This stratum consists of 6 districts with 34 percent population of the province
- **Southern Region:** This stratum consists of 7 districts with 20 percent population of the province
- **Peshawar Region:** Like all provincial capital City Districts Peshawar is treated as a separate stratum and its share of provincial population is 11 percent

Balochistan

- **Northern Region:** All districts in northern part of the province are placed in one group with 7 districts and 25 percent share of the province
- **Southern Region:** All districts in southern part of the province are placed in this group with 21 districts and 63 percent share of the province
- **Quetta Region:** Quetta City District is treated as a separate stratum and its share in the provincial population is 12 percent

1.3.4 Sample Size

In the last three rounds, the primary objective was to develop estimates at national/provincial level. The fourth round also aims to provide estimates at the national/provincial level so that all four rounds could be compared. In addition to provincial estimates it was also decided to make separate estimates for the provincial capital districts. Since this survey is in continuation of the previous three rounds, it is essential to have consistency in methodology. Therefore, based on experience of previous iterations instead of adopting cluster size of 120 households the methodology has been refined to have a cluster size which does not deviate from the original technique followed in the previous rounds but also increases the spread of our sample by including a larger number of UCs to have positive impact on variance reduction. Hence, 60 households per cluster have been covered from each sample UC in the 2011-2012 iteration.

1.3.5 Sample Calculation

The existing national/provincial level surveys conducted by the Federal Bureau of Statistics like PLSMS demonstrate that a sample size of 16000 households (include FATA, AJK and GB) provides reliable provincial and national estimates for social as well as economic indicators within the 5% margin of error and 95% confidence level. To achieve the desired reliability of 5% margin of error with 95% confidence level an analytical exercise was carried out to determine the sample size. The exercise carried out for estimating sample size is as follows:

For simple random sample the sample size is estimated using the following formula:

$$n_s = \frac{t^2(p(1-p))}{\delta^2}$$

Where n_s = simple random sample size

t = confidence interval = 95%

p = probability of response = 0.5

δ = margin of error = 5%

The estimated sample comes to 384. However, for complex sample design with cluster sample, the sample size for simple random sample needs to be adjusted and therefore has been estimated using the following formula:

$$n_c = n_s(1 + (\beta - 1)\rho)$$

Where n_c = sample size for complex sample

β = cluster size = 60

ρ = Intra class correlation

Taking $n_s = 384$ and cluster size 60 as defined above we calculate sample size for estimated ρ values of 0.4 and 0.5 which give the following results:

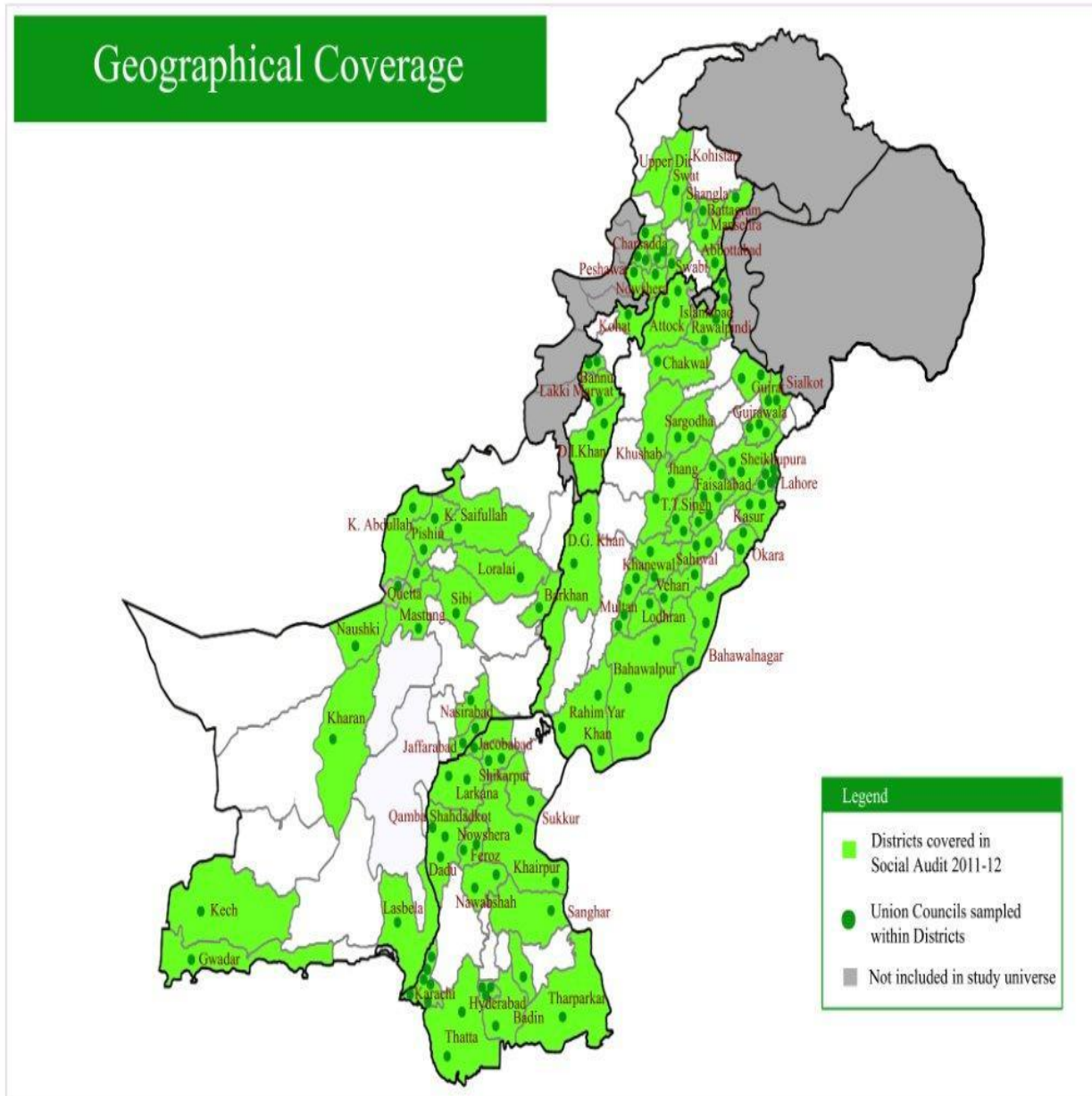
For $\rho = 0.4$ $n_c = 9,447$

for $\rho = 0.5$ $n_c = 11,712$

Intra class correlation 0.5 is obviously significantly high because we do not expect such high homogeneity in our clusters and while we may choose a ρ value of 0.3, yet in order to give more reliability and to increase spread of clusters across strata as well as encapsulate as much heterogeneity as possible in the universe we have chosen ρ value of 0.4. However, due to sample size of 60 and after adjusting for selected four city districts (Karachi, Lahore, Quetta and Peshawar) we finally reached a sample size of 10,200 households.

Table 1.3.5A: Province wise distribution of sample

Province	Sampled UCs	Sampled Households	% of sample Households
Punjab	82	4820	45.8(57)
Sindh	44	2640	24.6(24)
KPK	31	1860	17.3(14)
Balochistan	22	1320	12.3(05)
Total	179	10740	100



The province wise sample has been distributed into provinces in proportion to their population size. The percentage in brackets is the actual population distribution for each province. However, given the small sample allocation for Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan, it was

essential to increase their percentage in our sample distribution to generate provincially representative results. This has been adjusted when calculating nationally representative results by applying weights on data at the time of quantitative analysis. As a result, a sample of 10,700 households has been drawn from approximately 179 sampled UCs compared to 100 during the 2009-10 iteration thereby capturing far greater heterogeneity existing in Pakistan than in the previous survey.

The following table provides a glimpse of the district, Tehsil and Union Council spread of the selected sample:

Table 1.3.5B: Province wise Number of Districts and Tehsils/Talukas to be covered				
Province	Districts		Tehsils/Talukas	
	Total	Selected	Total	Selected
Punjab	36	25	106	60
Sindh	27	21	103	44
KPK	24	18	75	23
Balochistan	28	15	50	16
Total	115	79	334	143

1.3.6 Sample Design

A two stage sample design has been adopted for the survey. At first stage UCs are sampled from the each stratum by probability proportionate to size random/systematic method of selection. At the second stage a cluster of 60 households is formed randomly and all households falling contiguously in the cluster are enumerated. This design is different from the 2009-2010 sample design as it removes the selection of districts as a stage. Thus ensuring greater spread of PSUs across strata and therefore resulting in decreased sampling error.

1.4 Management Structure

Capitalizing on the learning of the 2009-2010 Social Audit, the current study leverages the capacities of public universities, community outreach, geographical coverage and the network of community activists in union councils. Accordingly, UNDP has entered into agreements with eight public universities in Punjab, Balochistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Sindh for data collection in this Social Audit of 2011-2012.

1.4.1 Peer Review Group

A Peer Review Group composed of eminent academics, policy makers, representatives of provincial local government departments and development practitioners was formed by UNDP to review the Social Audit 2011-12 at various stages of project implementation. The Social Audit research team took formal guidance from the Peer Review Group at design and draft report stages.

This Peer Review Group, working on a voluntary basis, provided significant feedback during methodology design, finalizing sample size and range of tools to be employed for the fourth iteration. Additionally, results from the draft report were also shared with Peer Review Group and recommendations for improvements incorporated by Core Research Team.

A list of Peer Review Group members is provided at the end of this report.

1.4.2 Core Research Team

Team Leader

The Team Leader had the overall responsibility of coordinating research activities across the country, managing the research team, managing partner public universities, coordinating Peer Review Group meetings, managing liaison with UNDP and ensuring timely completion of deliverables.

Technical Advisor and Report Writing Specialist

The technical advisor and report writing specialist provided strategic input into the design of the study, overseeing qualitative component of the study, design of research instruments, development of report outline, documentation and report writing as well as analysis, conclusions and recommendations.

Sampling Expert

The sampling expert was responsible for development of study design on rigorous statistical methods, calculation of sample strength, drawing random sample from universe, designing sampling weights and providing guidelines on enumeration methodology

Qualitative Research Analyst

The qualitative research analyst was responsible for designing qualitative instruments, training provincial coordinators, conducting key informant interviews and supervising focused group discussions, compiling qualitative data, initial analysis of qualitative data, development of district case studies and report writing.

Quantitative Research Analyst

The quantitative research analyst provided input in sample design, conducted training of enumerators, oversaw data entry and ensured adequate cleaning procedure, applied weights to data, carried out data tabulation and initial quantitative analysis.

National Coordinator

Supervised field data collection, managed provincial coordinators, ensured quality and timely collection of data, conducted trainings of partner Public University teams and liaison with Public Universities to mitigate any issues resulting in delays during field collection. Additionally, the national coordinator carried out literature review and undertook report writing as required.

Software and Data Management Specialist

The software and data management specialist designed the data entry software and supervised data entry and cleaning through various data entry operators.

1.4.3 Partner Universities

The Social Audit 2011-12 capitalized on the success of partnering with Public Universities during the 2009-10 iteration for undertaking field data collection. Partner Universities were expanded to eight during this iteration, which are as follows:

- Institute of Management Sciences Peshawar
- Islamic International University Islamabad
- Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai University Khairpur
- Sindh University Jamshoro
- The Islamia University Bahawalpur

- University of Balochistan Quetta
- University of Karachi
- University of Sargodha

The Universities were required to assign Principal Investigators, Regional Logistic Coordinators, Supervisors and Enumerators. Each university was assigned a group of sampled districts for data collection. Data collection was undertaken in record time and this reflected the increased capacity for conducting social audit research. Additionally, as repository for Social Audit data (at Social Audit Centers at each university), training of university staff was undertaken in maintaining and using data for research.

1.4.4 Field Operations Team

The Social Audit 2011-12 undertook rigorous methods for ensuring the quality of data emanating from the field. In this respect a management structure for data collection was developed and used for field work, comprehensive trainings at national and regional levels were conducted for field teams.

The following five tiered management structure was put in place, as a Field Operations Team, to ensure quality and timely collection of data.

Provincial Coordinators

Collected budget case study data, carried out provincial key informant interviews, arranged, managed and facilitated focus group discussions and provided provincial technical backstopping to partner Public Universities.

Principal Investigators

Assigned by partner Public Universities were trained by Core Team as Master Trainers for their respective Universities. Additionally, they were responsible for arranging required number of qualified supervisors and enumerators for each region. They acted as internal monitors conducting spot checks and assisted Provincial Coordinators in arranging key stakeholder interviews.

Regional Logistic Coordinators

Reporting to Principal Investigators, were assigned by Universities to each logistic region being covered by them. They were directly responsible for monitoring field teams, ensuring timely and quality data collection by field teams, ensuring that field collection work plans were adhered to and making logistic arrangements for the travel and boarding of field teams.

Supervisors

Assigned to each field team of enumerators to continuously monitor the enumerators during field data collection, the supervisor was responsible for correctly locating sampled PSU (Union Council) and following the prescribed methodology to ensure that field teams completed the full household cluster enumeration in a contiguous manner.

Independent Monitors

Contracted by UNDP directly and were independent of core research team and partner public universities. Each province was assigned an independent monitor to conduct spot checks of field collection and report to UNDP on the veracity and quality of data collection. To enhance objectivity and quality, this social audit employed data monitors in each province to check on the quality of data collection and recording. They were trained to help Supervisors take immediate corrective actions if needed.

1.5 Quantitative Data Collection, Processing and Analysis

1.5.1 Quantitative tools

The tool for quantitative data collection was the Household Survey Questionnaire. To maintain comparability with the previous Social Audits, the questions remained the same, except in places where the new realities had to be reflected, for example local government administrators or employees instead of Nazims or elected counselors.

1.5.2 Training of Field Teams

Given the spread of the sample and the involvement of eight partner universities, the Core Team was well aware of the need to ensure standardization and quality training of field teams to generate reliable data across Pakistan. In this regard the following training scheme was adopted:

National Training

The core research team, led by Team Leader and supported by technical specialists, conducted comprehensive two day training of Principal Investigators from each partner university. The training detailed the conceptual design of the study, its objectives, research tools, enumeration methods, field data collection work plans and also described reporting mechanisms to be implemented both within university teams and for core research team. The training holistically raised questions which may be asked by enumerators and provided answers for master trainers.

Training of University Field Teams

Principal Investigators supported by at least one participating member from core research team conducted comprehensive two day trainings of supervisors and enumerators on data collection and research tools. These trainings were conducted in three parts. Firstly classroom learning on research tool, location of sampled PSU, method for enumerating a contiguous cluster of 60 households and possible challenges in field data collection was undertaken. Secondly, a mock exercise was conducted whereby enumerators were asked to fill out the household survey by interviewing each other. Lastly, one day of field training was conducted by asking teams, led by respective supervisors, to conduct a mock enumeration of households in one rural and one urban locality following the prescribed methodology for locating sample area.

1.5.3 Quantitative Data Collection

Quantitative data was collected using a precise methodology to ensure comparability with earlier Social Audits. Following steps were followed by field teams when enumerating a cluster.

Locating Sample Area

Supervisors located Primary Sampling Units (PSU), which were randomly selected union councils, defining their respective boundaries using maps available with local government or administrative officials. Once boundaries were identified, the supervisor entered the union council from a North, South East or West direction, as randomly assigned in the sample list. Once the field team had completed the randomly assigned distance to be covered after entering union council boundaries, the supervisor located the closest village or neighborhood as the sampling area for cluster formation.

Forming a Cluster

Upon entering the village or neighborhood, the supervisor identified a visible landmark, such as a mosque, school or prominent building, and started listing 60 households in a continuous serpentine manner from the first residential unit onwards without changing directions. Once a household listing was complete. Moving in enumeration area in a continuous way in a serpentine manner ensures that a compact cluster of 60 households is formed.

Enumeration

Once the supervisor had developed household listings for the cluster enumerators were assigned by team supervisor to each household for conducting interviews. If in a cluster a household was locked or empty for a longer period of time then it was not be part of the cluster. However, if a household refused to give information or a household was not traceable after repeated visits then such households were treated as part of the cluster. In each of such cases Supervisors certified that all out efforts were undertaken at their level to enumerate the said household.

1.5.4 Data Entry and Cleaning

In order to minimize data entry errors and to ensure quality, quantitative data was entered at a central location namely; Institute of Management Sciences (IMS) Peshawar, where a state of the art data center was equipped with customized data entry software for the Social Audit 2011-12. Considerable human and technical effort was put in to minimize non-sampling error by ensuring the quality of data processing. Once questionnaires were received from the field, they were arranged according to region and allocated to data entry operators. While data entry was occurring, supervisors were able to monitor operator entries in real time and inform respective operators if any errors were being committed. Additionally, validation checks were performed in entered data to ensure adequate and timely cleaning of entered data. This exercise was undertaken by a team of independent professionals at IMS Peshawar.

1.5.5 Data Analysis

The comprehensive report on social audit included frequencies, depicting frequency proportions and other univariate analysis; descriptive statistics (mean, median, mode) whenever applicable for continuous variables, along with comments and explanation. While using frequencies and the percentages for various categorical variables and descriptive statistics for various continuous variables, we inferred or generalized to the larger population under study using complex sampling errors calculated through Taylor's series algorithm. Since our sample was multistage sample instead of a simple random sample we used more sophisticated formulas to calculate sampling errors and design effects using STATA. In addition, cross tabulation or other bivariate analysis; analysis of variance (ANOVA), wherever applicable, was used for data analysis. The main analytical software used for data analysis was SPSS, complemented with other specialized packages like STATA.

Sampling Weights

Results from the quantitative household survey are provincially and nationally representative. As described earlier, due to the small percentage allocation of sample in Balochistan using a purely Proportional Probability Sampling methodology, the sample design adjusted the sample in Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa by increasing their proportion in our sample. The overall sample was distributed disproportionately between provinces. However, within provinces the sampling distributions were more or less proportional. In order to calculate nationally representative results which reflected accurately the proportional value of each response all

data points were weighted. These weights were developed for each PSU based on its population proportion in the stratum and sample households covered. In all 10702 households were covered as against 10740 households while 38 households could not be covered due to non-response and non-contact. The national level estimates have been worked out with due application of weights so that national estimates be rationalized according to actual population distribution but provincial cross tabulation results are worked out based on sample data as it was following proportional distribution in all strata.

Vulnerability

In order to maintain comparability with earlier social audits, the 2011-2012 study also reports national results across an assessment of the vulnerability of households. Therefore, a vulnerability index was developed to classify each household as “Vulnerable” or “Not Vulnerable”. The following indicators were used to define household level of vulnerability whereby vulnerable households were defined as under:

- Whose head of the household was either unemployed or unskilled laborer, or
- Whose household roof was constructed using mud, or had a tent roof or roof was made of wood, or
- Those households who did not have latrines inside the house

1.6 Qualitative Data Collection, Processing and Analysis

1.6.1 Qualitative Design

In this iteration of the Social Audit qualitative analysis has been enhanced using additional tools and adopting a holistic research design. This approach supplements information from quantitative household data, comparing the performance of elected local government systems verses bureaucracy/administration led systems, where possible and feasible. Qualitative research design attempted to juxtapose learning from FGDs, In-depth Interviews, Key Informant Interviews and Case Studies to gain insight into the workings of local governments and public service delivery in select districts. To obtain range and depth, the qualitative research undertaken in Social Audit 2011-2012, covers eight districts from the quantitative sample. All four provincial capital cities were selected to represent urban dynamics while four rural districts were selected to capture public service delivery in rural communities. The districts, tehsils and union councils where qualitative research was undertaken are as follows:

Table 1.6.1A: Selected districts for qualitative research				
Province	Category	City/District	Town/Tehsil	UC
Balochistan	Urban	Quetta	Zarghoon Town	ChamanPhatak
	Rural	Sibi	Sibi	Marghazani
KPK	Urban	Peshawar	Town 1	Wazirbagh
	Rural	Abbottabad	Abbottabad	Chamhad
Sindh	Urban	Karachi	Saddar Town	Garden
	Rural	Tharparkar	Mithi	Joruo

Punjab	Urban	Lahore	Shalimar Town	UC 34
	Rural	Bahawalnagar	Chishtian	Fatyani

1.6.2 Qualitative Instruments and Coverage

Multiple qualitative instruments were used to collect qualitative data focusing on the objectives of the present Social Audit. The following qualitative instruments were developed and used:

Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) Guidelines

Effects of change in the local government systems have been investigated with the help of Focused Group Discussions (FGDs), with emphasis on inclusion of women and other vulnerable groups in public sector services. The FGD tools included guidelines for facilitator, note-taker, observers and organizers.

FGD were conducted in each of the eight selected districts, with the following community members:

- Former and Current Members of CCBs
- Marginalized Community Members (religious/ethnic/linguistic/caste)
- Local Non-Government Organizations
- Interest Groups (Traders, Transporters, Mandi Association members etc.)

In total, 30 FGDs were conducted in the eight districts in which 275 participants took part and their views were audio recorded as well as noted by the Note Takers. FGDs were conducted in a proper controlled environment through trained Facilitators and Note Takers with a limited number of observers. However, in keeping with practices in the social development sector, one-way mirrors or cameras (relaying to people in another room or another place), were not used. The following table gives a complete picture of number of FGDs conducted in each district, each province and across the four provinces:

Table No 1.6.2A: Focused Group Discussions Conducted									
	Sindh		Punjab		Balochistan		KPK		Total
	Mithi	Karachi	Lahore	Bahawalnagar	Quetta	Sibi	Peshawar	Abbottabad	
CCBs	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	7
MCMs	2	1	1	1		1	1	1	8
IGs	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	7
NGOs	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
	5	4	4	3	3	3	4	4	30

*MCM (Marginalized Community Members); IG (Interest Groups)

Apart from Mithi, where two separate FGDs were conducted with the males and females of the marginalized community members, one FGD with each group was conducted in Karachi, Peshawar, Lahore and Abbottabad. In Quetta and Sibi FGDs were conducted with all the groups with the exception of Marginalized Community in the former and CCBs in the latter. In Bahawalnagar all FGDs were done with the exception of Interest Group FGD.

In-depth Interviews

Another important qualitative tool was in-depth interviews. These interviews were designed to bring forth the perceptions of public service providers (supply side) and CCBs regarding service delivery under the present local government system and to ascertain the reasons for variations (if any) in the service delivery during the times of elected local government representatives and now. These in-depth interviews were conducted with the following categories in each of the eight selected districts:

- DCO/District Administrator
- Tehsil Municipal Administrator
- CCB Chairperson/member
- DPSC Chairperson/member
- DPO
- Health key informant
- Education key informant
- UC Secretary
- Ex Female UC Councilors

The following table gives a detailed picture of the number of in-depth interviews carried out in total:

Table 1.6.2B: Number of In-depth Interviews conducted		
	Total number of interviews planned	Total number of interviews conducted
DCO	8	3
TMA/TMO	8	7
DPSC	8	5
DPO	8	7
CCB Chairperson/member	70	50
Health key informant	70	64
Education key informant	70	69
UC secretary	70	65
Ex Female Councilors	70	54

In-depth interviews were conducted in all Union Councils of the selected districts. These included CCB Chairperson/member, health key informant, education key informant, UC secretary and ex-female UC council members. District and tehsil level interviews were conducted with respective officials in eight selected districts and tehsils.

Key Informant Interviews

Apart from above there are some other stakeholders who are rich sources of information on the local government system. These stakeholders include provincial legislators, Local Government Department officials, social activists and others that have been a part of the old and new systems. In total nine such interviews were conducted in Sindh, Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa covering the following categories:

- Local government secretary

- Male member of Provincial Assembly
- Female member of Provincial Assembly
- Assistant Commissioner
- Duty Officer of Police

Case Studies

Case studies were used for the first time in this iteration of Social Audit under which budgetary analysis of district, Tehsil and Union Council for two different years was carried out. Each of the 8 case studies compared district budgets for the year 2006-07, when elected local governments were in full swing, and 2010-11, when elected local governments were being replaced by some version of local government led by administrators (bureaucrats). In each district the Annual Development Plan projects and budgets, especially the development budgets, were analyzed for their substantive content and allocations. The budget for one selected district, and one Tehsil/Taluka of that district was traced to see how much the Tehsil/Taluka received, what kind of projects the money was allocated for and on what was spent. The budget was further traced for one identified UC in each of the Tehsil/Taluka, to observe what projects and budget it got and how much was actually spent. This analysis helped to ascertain the difference of budget allocation trends during the period of elected local government and the presently prevalent local government. This difference in trend signifies the prioritization of two different kinds of local governments.

Efforts were made to obtain as much data as was possible regarding budget allocation and spending during the years 2006-7 and 2010-11 in respect of each district, town/tehsil and union council mentioned in the above table.

1.8 Constraints

Given the environment of uncertainty prevalent in the provinces about changes in the local government system, the possible repercussions of the 18th Amendment in the provinces (few of which are clearly understood at the moment) and the impending elections, some respondents were not willing to share information on budget allocations and spending when they had it, while others did not have the required information. This was found while searching for information at various tiers of local government in the districts during the case studies. The non-availability of information is in itself an indicator of the different styles of working in local governments headed by elected representatives and local government headed administrators (bureaucrats).

Many respondents were unwilling to express opinions, and in several instances asked not to be quoted.

Other constraints faced during the course of the Social Audit were as follows:

- District administrators (DCOs) were very reluctant to give any interviews, in spite of repeated efforts and requests; either they procrastinated or flatly refused to entertain questions. That is the reason why only 3 interviews with DCOs were possible.
- While DPOs were not as reluctant in giving interviews (Social Audit team managed to obtain interviews with 7 out of 8 DPOs in selected districts), they did not always have access to the required data for the case studies.
- It was also difficult to obtain time with the legislators for interviews – they changed times on numerous occasions and did not show up at appointed times. Thus interviews were possible with only five provincial legislators during the course of the fieldwork.

- Given that Local Government employees were either reluctant or unable to share required data, it was not possible to obtain full detailed budget data for analysis.

The FGDs fell short by two, as not all designed FGDs could be carried out everywhere. For example no CCBs were found in one district, and no MCMs in another.

Chapter 2

Changes in the Local Government System

This chapter seeks to provide readers with a brief history of Local Governments in Pakistan. It also outlines constitutional mechanisms related to Local Governments and provides readers with salient features of current legislation in each province. The following sections are based on review of recent legislation on Local Governments and previous studies by academia and policy makers on the subject.

2.1 Local Government under the British

The British introduced local governments in India not by building on the traditional structures such as the village panchayats, but by establishing top-down district-based government in urban and rural areas. They had extremely circumscribed functions. Their members were not locally elected, but nominated by the British bureaucracy. This system relied on the Deputy Commissioner (DC), appointed by the central government, as the principle agent at the district level¹. This system was inherited by Pakistan at its birth.

2.2 History of Local Government in Pakistan

2.2.1 First Local Government System 1959

Pakistan's first experiment with devolution of government to local tiers was initiated during the military regime of President Ayub Khan through the Basic Democracies Ordinance (BDO) of 1959. The Basic Democracies evolved as local governments with limited power. The political sway of civil service's administrative cadre (that had been flourishing since the British colonial era) remained.

The BDO 1959, constituted for rural areas and subsequently supplemented by Municipal Administrative Ordinance (MAO) of 1960 for urban areas, delineated a five tiered local government system by establishing approximately 80,000 basic democracy units in the country. The lowest and most relevant administrative unit was the Union Council which comprised of 10 directly elected members and 5 appointed members. Union Councils supervised community small scale development including public streets, lighting, sanitation, social activities, parks, agriculture, law and order while collecting revenue through imposition of local taxes. The second tier established at the sub-district (tehsil) level acted as a coordinating unit between the union council and the third level namely district (zilla) council. The District Council, comprised of chairpersons of respective Union Councils falling in the jurisdiction of the district, was responsible for education, water, hospitals, libraries, public roads and social welfare among others². However, the DC, as the vestige of the past chaired the District Council and exercised 'controlling authority'³ to abrogate, amend, disapprove or direct the actions and decisions of

¹Cheema, A.; Khwaja, A. I; and Qadir, A. (2006)

²Hayat, S. A. (2008)

³Cheema, A.; Khwaja, A. I; and Qadir, A. (2006)

elected councils. Above the District Council was the Divisional Advisory Council, headed by a Provincial Development Advisory Council.

However, when the new democratic government was formed in 1971 a new process of defining a unanimous constitution of Pakistan was initiated. During the intermediate phase the BDO of 1959 was abrogated and basic democracies abolished. It took the newly elected President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, only a few days in power to say “I am abandoning the system of Basic Democracy that has bred nothing but nepotism and corruption; and reduced democracy to a farce”⁴.

The local government laws enacted in 1972, however, could not be administered as elections under these laws were not held. A new Constitution was passed by the National Assembly in 1973⁵. Provincial governments did not hold elections under the 1975 local government laws either as political turmoil resulted in parties preparing for national and provincial elections in 1977.

Thus administrators continued to govern local institutions from 1971 to 1979.

2.2.2 Second Local Government System 1979

Imposition of Martial Law in 1977 held the 1973 Constitution in abeyance. General Zia-ul-Haq's Martial Law government promulgated the Local Government Ordinance (LGO) of 1979 under which elections were held in 1979 and 1983. These local governments, revived as a means of 'developing an alternate political constituency' for the military regime replicated many of the features of the Basic Democracies. Based at the Union Council, Tehsil and district levels, the local governments of the Zia regime again remained constrained by substantial administrative control (which now consisted of both the DC and a martial law administrator). However, local body chairpersons were now directly elected.

Even under the 1979 Ordinance, the District Commissioner continued to be the holder of three important functions: coordination, magistracy and revenue collection. Coordination meant that the DC office, rather than the District Council, exercised control over government line departments through respective line department District Officers (DO). Additionally, the magistracy allowed the DC to hold court and exercise control over district Police. Similarly, district revenue collection remained under the DC's administrative control allowing District Council to approve taxation but play a minimal role in implementation⁶. Additionally, as in the Local Bodies of 1959, the DC had the authority to disallow, stop or amend any decision of the District Council.

While many aspects of the LGO of 1979 reflected the limited local government system under the Ayub era, enhancement in the roles and responsibilities of local government bodies did occur. Union Councils were now made responsible for provision and maintenance of roads and streets, public buildings, schools, health facilities, lighting of public ways, water supply, and maintenance of parks and plantation of trees⁷. This was a substantial increase in empowerment of local communities.

One of the key shortcomings of LGO 1979 was the lack of substantive devolution of financial autonomy to local bodies. Successful provisioning of public services to local communities is intrinsically tied to the ability to raise revenues from local resources, availability of funds from the center and the capacity to efficiently utilize that funding. In this respect, the schedule for

⁴Sherdil, AKZ; Rana, M. A. (2008)

⁵National Reconstruction Bureau Book (2006)

⁶ Ibid.

⁷Hayat, S. A. (2008)

taxation was enhanced in LGO 1979 to include tax on annual value of land and buildings, transfer of immovable property, animals, births, marriages, advertisements, events, toll on import and export of goods, vehicles, toll on bridges and roads, and drainage etc⁸. However, financial revenues remained restricted for local bodies particularly for rural district councils⁹.

Until 1985 local government worked directly with the central government. However, with the return of provincial governments the tension between local tiers of government and provincial members of parliament increased as elected members sought to 'give back' to their constituencies. This tension between expenditure at the local tiers and political parties seeking to undertake development activities in the respective constituencies of provincial and national legislators increased after the return of full democracy in 1988. During this period, the majority of development expenditures undertaken by the government flowed directly to local constituencies through specialized development programs under each government, thereby bypassing the local government tiers. These special programs included the Five Point Program (1986-88), Peoples Work Program (1988-1990) and Tameer-e-Watan Program (1990-93).

With increasing direct control of federal government, the commitment of provincial governments towards local governments decreased and administrative officials were used as the quickest means for directing official patronage ahead of the next elections.

This process was changed in 2001 after General Musharraf's government implemented a drastically different local government system in Pakistan.

2.2.3 Third Local Government System 2001

General Pervez Musharraf introduced the Devolution of Power Plan in January 2000 and implemented it after a series of local government elections that ended by August 2001.

In order to strengthen the local government system, the Provincial Local Government Ordinances, 2001, were included in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution for a period of six years. These ordinances could only be amended with the sanction of the President after consultation with the Prime Minister in accordance with the provisions of Article 268 (2) of the Constitution.

It is interesting to note that the large scale historical Local Government elections of 2001 were held under the Local Government Election Order 2000 (Order No-8 of 2000) and not under the Local Government Ordinance 2001. However, under Section 181 and 196 (3) of the LGO 2001, the Local governments established were validated with effect from 14th August 2001.

In addition to validating the LG elections held in February 2001, Section 196 of the LGO 2001 repealed the following:

- Local Government Ordinance of 1979 and
- Local Government Election Order 2000

Local governments in Pakistan functioned within the framework provided by the Provincial Local Government Ordinances, 2001. Each Provincial Government promulgated the legislation. The main local government legislation is the Local Government Ordinance (LGO) enacted by each province in August 2001:

- Sindh Local Government Ordinance, 2001
- Balochistan Local Government Ordinance, 2001

⁸The Sindh Local Government Ordinance 1979. Schedule V "Tax, Rates, Tolls and Fees which may be Levied by the Karachi Metropolitan Corporation, Municipalities and District Councils".

⁹Cheema, A., A. I. Khwaja, and A. Qadir. (2006)

- North West Frontier Province Local Government Ordinance, 2001
- Punjab Local Government Ordinance, 2001.

The local governments in Pakistan became part of the legal system of the country. Two elections were held under the new system introduced in 2001. Appreciation of the system was reflected through enhanced participation in two elections.

The Local Government Ordinance of 2001, implemented on the principles outlined in the Local Government Plan 2000 prepared by the National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB) revisited the entire concept of community driven executive and financial devolution of government to the lowest administrative divisions of the country. For the first time in Pakistan, an entirely elected, although non-party, system of local bodies was devised with wide ranging control over almost all government functions at the district level and below.

The new system was a three tiered local government. The lowest tier, namely Union Council had an elected council made of 21 members who included twelve Muslim members elected on general seats including four reserved for women. Six members elected on seats reserved for peasants and workers including two reserved for women. One elected member was on a seat reserved for minority community. Union Council was headed by Nazim and Naib Nazim who were directly elected and they supervised Union Council secretaries. Tehsil/Taluka Councils and District Councils were composed of Union Council Naib Nazims and Nazims respectively as general members. However, Tehsil/Taluka and District Nazims were elected through indirect election with all members of Union Councils in respective electoral wards forming the Electoral College. Reserved seats for women, minorities, peasants and workers were also filled through indirect election from respective electoral colleges. At the district level, the Nazim supervised district administration through DC office and respective EDOs of line departments¹⁰.

Additionally, the four provincial capitals were initially declared City District Council governments. This was expanded in 2005 to include cities such as Faisalabad and Multan.

The District Nazim now not only supervised but also appraised the DCO and DPO and exercised complete autonomy over district administration. With the suspension of divisional cadre (i.e. commissionerate) divisional powers were also devolved to districts. This administrative and financial devolution under LGO 2001 transformed Pakistani politics at the community level by resulting in a new wave of political participation from communities, particularly women, minorities and marginalized groups.

Another aspect of the LGO 2001 was the creation of community based organizations for development purposes such as Citizen's Community Boards (CCBs) and Village and Neighborhoods Councils (VNCs) which could access the development budgets of Union Councils and undertake independent development schemes in their respective areas.

The main features of LGO 2001 were as follows:

- Electoral representation of local communities in the management and running of Union, Tehsil/Taluka and District councils.
- Two third members of Union Councils were directly elected while the remaining one third were elected through indirect elections by directly elected members.
- For the first time administrative government officials, including DC, DPO, EDO, hitherto unaccountable to elected officials at the district level, were made to report to the elected District Nazim.

¹⁰Local Government Ordinance 2001. Section 87. "Composition of Union Council".

- With 33 percent allocation of seats for women and similar representative quotas for peasants and minorities, a large number of vulnerable community members were made a part of decision making at all tiers of local government.
- Through the constitution of Provincial Finance Commission (PFC) sizable development funds were allocated from the provincial pool for districts down to Union Councils, which (coupled with an enhanced schedule of taxable items) increased the financial sustainability of local bodies.
- The decision of where to allocate council expenditures and which public service sectors to prioritize rested with elected officials.
- Accountability mechanisms, including the office of District Ombudsman (Zilla Mohtasib) and the District Internal Audit office put in place a mechanism for oversight.
- District governments attained considerable autonomy from the provincial governments by restricting provincial oversight to the Chief Minister's office and provincial Local Government Commission.

In 2005, after the restoration of the democratic process, key constraints of LGO 2001 emerged which hampered the efficacy of the system. While many powers were devolved from the province to the district, a vast vacuum was created without associated devolution from the federal government to the provincial government. Thus, with provincial governments now in place on party basis, considerable resentment towards local bodies emerged. Provincial legislators sought to affect decision making on development spending in the districts.

In the ensuing review of the system the following amendments were made in 2005 to LGO 2001¹¹:

- The powers of the Chief Minister of the province were increased to suspend/remove district Nazim, suspend/set aside an order or decision of district Nazim and suspend/set aside resolution of District Council if the Chief Minister thought that the order or decision was not in conformity with the law or the Nazim was deliberately avoiding or abstaining willfully to comply with directives of the Chief Minister.
- A district service was created in every province which comprised posts under local government.
- The Annual Confidential Report (ACR) of the District Police Officer (DPO) would no longer be undertaken by district Nazim, thus curtailing the control of elected representatives on the Police.
- Provincial Governments were given the power to review and recommend changes to already approved local government budgets.
- Union Council membership was decreased from twenty one to thirteen members.

2.3 Legal Recognition for Local Government System in the Constitution of Pakistan

The local governments in Pakistan are embodied in the Constitution. Articles 32 and 140-A of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973 provide as under:-

¹¹Mujahid, R. A. (2005)

- **32. Promotion of local Government institutions** - 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.
- **140-A. Local Government** - 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 government.
- *Article 32 is general and outlines principles of policy that are not binding on the government. However, Article 140 A of the constitution is a binding clause and the government is held accountable for its non-compliance.*

2.4 18th Constitutional Amendment

The 18th Amendment of 2011 restored the Constitution of 1973 to its original form and initiated the process of devolution. In total, 102 clauses of the Constitution have been amended. The amendment has reversed the centralization of state institutions and recognized the struggle of the provinces to be partners in policy making processes, have control over their natural resources and have joint management with the federation. This has led to the increased legislative and administrative responsibilities of the provinces in Pakistan, representing a historical consensus with far reaching impact on the way relations between federation and the provinces are conducted.

The Amendment marked a political milestone. Both houses, the National Assembly and the senate, approved the 18th Constitutional Amendment with 292 and 90- votes respectively. The 26 member committee formed for the task included representatives from all political parties.

2.5 18th Amendment and Local Government

Local Government is about the devolution of powers to provinces and further down to the district, Tehsil/Taluka and Union council levels for achieving decentralization and provincial autonomy.

The 18th Constitutional Amendment¹² at serial number 48 retains the local governments by: *Insertion of new article in the constitution: In the Constitution after article 140 A amended as Aforesaid , the following new article shall be inserted namely:*

1. *"140/A. Local Government: 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."*
2. *"Elections to the Local governments shall be held by the Election Commission of Pakistan"*

Article 140/A in the 1973 Constitution relating to devolution of power to elected local government, has been retained in the 18th Constitutional Amendment.

¹² For details of the 18th Amendment : <http://www.na.gov.pk/en/bills>

Local Government system can be seen as an implementing mechanism for the decentralization process supported by 18th Amendment. In other words, decentralization, devolution of powers and provincial autonomy cannot be achieved in the absence of local government system, and 18th Amendment is clear about elected mode of local government.

Although there is recognition that 'all politics is local' and hence local governments are inevitable, they are in disarray at the moment, in all provinces.

2.6 Present Status of Local Government System

With local governments being a provincial subject, the constitutional protection to LGO 2001 was time barred. This meant that till December 2009, provinces could not amend or change LGO without seeking approval of the president, and would have to have elected local governments. However, subsequent to that provinces were free to legislate on the form of local governments they sought to retain. Thus, with the change of national and provincial governments after the elections of 2008, Local government elections were stalled across the country, after 2009, as provinces decided on which form of the system they wanted to implement.

Since 2009, local governments in the country have remained in limbo. New elections were deferred while provincial legislators talked about various options such as; restoring the LGO of 1979, amending the LGO of 2001 and passing a new provincial LGO etc. By 2010-2011 all four provinces had set up interim mechanisms for restoring the functionality of local governments, but had not held elections.

The most recent Supreme Court order issued on April 12, 2012¹³ questioned the provincial governments regarding holding of local body elections. The SC asked the province to honor the command of the Constitution as enshrined in the 18th Constitutional Amendment and immediately announce schedules for these elections. According to the suggestion by the Chief Justice, local body elections should be held under the existing ordinance if new laws were not ready.

The following sections present the salient features of specific local government systems presently operating in each of the four provinces of Pakistan.

2.6.1 Balochistan

On 10th May 2010, the Balochistan Assembly passed The Balochistan Local Government Act, 2010 which was endorsed by the Governor on 11th May 2010 and amended in 2011 to be referred to as "The Balochistan Local Government (Amendment) Act 2011". This Act adopted a two tiered local government system rather than the earlier three tiered system of LGO 2001. At the first tier Union Councils were established for rural areas whereas Municipal or Metropolitan Corporations were established for urban areas. At the second tier District Councils were established with membership from associated Union Councils. The key features in the new act include:

- The tehsil tier of government has been abolished.
- Schedule for taxes is more or less the same as LGO 2001, allowing local bodies a modicum of financial viability.

¹³ This was published in The Dawn , Friday, April 13, 2012. page one, reported by Nasir Iqbal.

- Union Council membership is now between 7-15 members depending on population. However, 33 percent representation of women has been maintained and similarly reserved seats for peasants, workers and minorities.
- Divisional Coordination Committee has been established which consists of elected members of district councils, metropolitan or municipal corporations, heads of line departments and collectors for districts. The Divisional Coordination Committee is chaired by Commissioner and is responsible for approving all budgets of local bodies.

Therefore, under this mechanism the administrative apparatus has again superseded elected local government officials.

2.6.2 Sindh

The Sindh local government debate was marked by the most lengthy and hard fought battles in the country with coalition partners disagreeing on the key features of the local government system in the province. As a result, a series of in-depth discussions and dialogues were held between PPP led provincial government and MQM members on what the resulting local government system should look like. After months of negotiations, where separate systems for urban and rural areas were also considered, the PPP led government abrogated the LGO 2001 and restored the 1979 local governments in the province through 'The Sindh (Repeal of the Sindh Local Government Ordinance 2001 and Revival of The Sindh Local Government Ordinance, 1979) Act 2011'. As a result Sindh, unlike other provinces, returned wholesale to the 1979 LGO, though without reconstituting divisions. Hence, the DC office was again conferred 'controlling authority' over District Council.

According to the qualitative analysis of the key informants' interviews there prevails a general atmosphere of ambiguity, obscurity and uncertainty about the prevalent system of local government in the province. Not only the common man but also most of the government functionaries, despite being part of the present system, are not very clear about the nature, scope, procedures and details of the present LG system. An important finding was that even the police officials in Sindh were ignorant of the present system.

Notwithstanding the general lack of awareness, it was considerably clear to the key informants that presently Administrator enjoys the powers of Nazim as well as of the Council and he is supported by the Government machinery. Secondly, the administrator (Deputy Commissioner) is almost inaccessible to the common man, making life of ordinary citizens very difficult as they have hardly any recourse available for solution of day to day problems.

2.6.3 Punjab

In Punjab there was considerable opposition to LGO 2001. As a result the Punjab government initiated a process of developing a new Local Government draft bill which was submitted to the Law Department. However, with continuous delays in passing of the draft bill, the provincial government restored the commissionerate system through amendment in associated Acts related to the running of local governments in the province. On 31st March 2011 the Provincial Assembly passed 'The Punjab Land Revenue (Amendment) Act 2011'. This amendment in the Land Revenue Act re-established divisions in Punjab. Substitution in section 5 of Act XVII of 1967 states that the Province is to be divided into divisions and districts and that the government may notify the creation of new divisions containing one or more districts. All revenue officers, namely the collector and assistant collectors earlier reporting to District Nazim and Tehsil Nazims, were now made subservient to the Commissioner and Assistant Commissioners which were revived as "Revenue Officers". In the Act EDO (Revenue) was substituted with Commissioner.

Similarly, on 31st March 2011 'The Punjab Laws (Amendment) Act 2011' was passed by the provincial legislator which restored the Commissioner by amending the following Acts; The Land Improvement Loans Act 1883, The Punjab Tenancy Act 1887, The Land Acquisition Act 1894, The Stamp Act 1899, The Punjab Alienation of Land Act 1900, The Punjab Court of Wards Act 1903, The colonization of Government Lands (Punjab) Act 1912 among others. Thus the Commissioner at the divisional level became the prime agent of the Provincial Government, overseeing the functions of line departments while the LG elections were not being held.

Qualitative interview with the Provincial elected representative of Punjab reveals that legislator was aware of the existing local government system in the province but was not very appreciative of the prevalent system. His major objection on the present system was lack of public representation, which renders the true identification of the peoples' problem and developmental schemes very difficult.

2.6.4 Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

The situation in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was also one of equal confusion till the recent passing of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Local Government Act 2012 on 8th of May. The Provincial Assembly in 2010 had passed 'The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Local Government (Amendment) Act 2010' further amending the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa LGO 2001 by inserting a new section namely 179-B. Though this Act the government dissolved local governments and shifted the responsibilities to appointed administrators. The Chief Minister and Information Minister for the province have indicated the LG elections could soon be held in the province, any future prospects of this occurring before scheduling of National and Provincial elections seems unlikely.

Following are the salient points of new local government legislation:

- UC will have 7 members (excluding women and minorities) and UC Chairman will be selected amongst and by the UC members
- Tehsil level has been abolished
- The division between urban and rural has been re-introduced with institution of municipal committees and municipal corporation in urban areas
- Each town will generate and spend its own funds
- District Chairman would be selected by the District council members comprising of union council and municipal committee chairpersons
- District Coordination Committee will be headed by District Council Chairman
- District Council will allocate ADP funding amongst associated union councils
- Representation of women has decreased from 33 percent to 18 percent in union councils
- Musalihat Anjuman/Jirga has been formally adopted as local government mechanisms to be constituted at each local tier

The new legislation is a mix of LGO 1979 and LGO 2001 and retains administrative powers amongst elected council chairpersons.

In view of a key informant, Alternate Dispute Resolution (ADR) is a very vital component of any successful local government system in Pakistan where people have to spend lot of money and time in getting their small disputes resolved. Considering this, proposed legislation also contains the functions of ADR though there are no DSCs proposed in the new legislation.

According to two members of provincial assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa administrative system was comparatively better due to its relative security against corruption and favoritism. Both had an opinion that service delivery has improved in past two years in their respective constituencies; as they cannot afford to neglect the public, which has chosen them to this position. They claimed to have completed numerous developmental projects in their constituencies; but did not divulge into the details of these developmental projects.

Chapter 3

Demographics

The following chapter presents demographic characteristics of sampled households to provide a reference for the reader on the substantive data. Additionally, key findings emanating from sampled households are compared to recent Pakistan Living Standards Measurement Survey (PLSMS) and Household Integrated Economic Survey (HIES) to check validity of data.

3.1 Characteristics of Respondents

Social Audit 2011-12 sampled 10,200 households across Pakistan. Of the respondents 57.8 percent were men of the household while 42.2 percent respondents were women of the household.

Table 3.1A: Gender of the respondent	
	Percentage of Respondents
Men	57.8
Women	42.2

When all the members of the 10,200 households are taken together, it can be seen that 37648 are women, and 39158 men – this means 49 percent women and 51 percent men. **The sex ratio, therefore, is 104 men to 100 women.**

This reflects roughly the distribution of male and female population in Pakistan where percentage of female population has been increasing steadily over the years. According to the latest available Pakistan Demographic Survey 2007, the sex ratio in the country is 105 males to every 100 females¹⁴.

Table 3.1B: Relationship to the head of household	
	Percentage of Respondents
Self	44.0
Wife	28.1
Mother	1.6
Daughter	4.4
Son	12.8
Brother	2.8
Others	6.3

Almost 44 percent of our sampled respondents were themselves head of the household. This high percentage of sampled head of the households demonstrates that household level questions about access and contact with public service providers results in informed data.

¹⁴ Pakistan Demographic Survey (2007)

Similarly, 28 percent respondents reported that they were the spouse of head of the household while 17.2 percent respondents were children of head of the household.

Table 3.1C: Age of Respondent	
Mean	37.81
Median	35.00
Mode	40
Std. Deviation	14.0
25 th Percentile	27.00
50 th Percentile	35.00
75 th Percentile	45.00

Average age of Social Audit 2011-2012 respondents was 38 years with a standard deviation of 14 years. Approximately 50 percent respondents fell between 27 years and 45 years representing a middle aged group of respondents that were likely to be part of the labor force. Provincial data analysis demonstrates that apart from Balochistan; where the average age was lower at 35 years, in all other provinces the average age of respondents was between 37 and 38 years.

Table 3.1D: Education Level of Respondent	
	Percentage of Respondents
Illiterate	37.6
Primary	14.8
Matric	29.0
Intermediate	8.2
Graduate	6.4
Post Graduate	2.7
Others	1.3

Table 3.1D above shows that approximately 38 percent of the respondents sampled were illiterate. Compared to PLSMS 2010-2011, 42 percent of the population was illiterate¹⁵. The difference in our results and PLSMS is not statistically significant due to margins of error which can account for the 4 percentage point difference. Only, 9.1 percent of respondents had attained higher education whereas a sizable proportion of 29 percent respondents had completed their matriculation.

¹⁵ Pakistan Living Standards Measurement Survey (2010-2011)

Table 3.1E: Respondents education by Gender		
	Percentage of Respondents	
	Male	Female
Illiterate	27.8	50.9
Primary	14.8	14.8
Middle	13.6	7.7
Matric	21.8	12.6
Intermediate	10.1	5.6
Graduate and Post Graduate	11.1	7.0
Others	0.7	1.4

A stark gender gap emerged when analyzing respondent's education by gender. Almost 51 percent female respondents were illiterate compared to just 28 percent male respondents. However, primary education data showed that both male and female respondents with primary education were equal in proportion. Nevertheless, gender differences grew as the level of education increased with almost double proportion of male respondents reporting higher level of education compared to female respondents. This data mapped well against PLSMS 2010-2011 data where, nationally, illiteracy rate was reported at 54 percent among women compared to almost 30 percent among men.

Table 3.1F: Education level by vulnerability		
	Percentage of Respondents	
	Not vulnerable	Vulnerable
Illiterate	20.0	52.4
Primary	12.7	16.6
Matric	36.3	23.0
Intermediate	13.8	3.5
Graduate	11.3	2.3
Post Graduate	4.8	0.8
Others	1.2	1.5

When analyzing education of respondents across vulnerability, data showed that more than half, (52.4 percent) respondents in the vulnerable category were illiterate and the stark differences in level of education enhanced as the respondents moved towards higher categories of education. Another key finding was that approximately 3.1 percent respondents that had attained higher education were nevertheless living in vulnerable conditions.

3.2 Household Characteristics

A key variable to measure accuracy of data is average household size. The following analysis compares average household sizes calculated for Social Audit 2011-2012 with HIES 2010-2011 data.

Table 3.2A: Average household size					
	95% CI for Mean				
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Maximum
Balochistan	7.44	4.248	6.95	7.94	40
KPK	7.81	4.258	7.58	8.04	49
Punjab	6.87	3.089	6.79	6.95	30
Sindh	6.93	3.553	6.80	7.06	35
Total	7.02	3.428	6.95	7.08	49

Average household size calculated for Social Audit 2011-12 data was 7.02 members per household across Pakistan. Provincially, the highest household size was demonstrated in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa where, on average, one household had 7.81 members. The lowest average household size was witnessed in Punjab where 6.87 members lived in a household. Data reported in the 2010-2011 HIES survey¹⁶ demonstrated that in consonance with Social Audit 2011-2012 data the highest average household size was witnessed in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 7.17 members per household, and the lowest was witnessed in Punjab, 6.16 members per household. Thus, while reporting for the Social Audit 2011-2012 was, at best, marginally higher, the trends were concurrent with existing national surveys across Pakistan. These results demonstrate the accuracy of data collected under Social Audit.

Table 3.2B: Gender of head of Household	
	Percentage of HHs
Male	97.5
Female	2.5

Table 3.2B shows the gender differences in head of household. According to the 2011-2012 Social Audit only 2.5 percent households reported having a female head of household. These stark gender differences are not unexpected as most households consider the breadwinner, in the vast majority of cases male, as the head of the household even though women, particularly mothers or grandmothers may be performing many of the decision making functions associated with head of household.

Table 3.2C: Level of education of head of household	
	Percentage of HHs
Illiterate	37.2
Primary	13.1
Matric	32.7
Intermediate	7.3
Graduate	5.6
Post Graduate	2.9
Others	1.4

¹⁶ Household Integrated Economic Survey (2010-2011)

Similar to the results generated from measuring the level of education of respondents, 37.2 percent household heads were illiterate. However, more households reported heads of households that were matriculates, at approximately 33 percent. When measuring the level of education of head of household a slight decrease in the vulnerability gap was witnessed as the difference between illiterate not vulnerable and vulnerable head of household decreased slightly. A statistically significant difference was witnessed in education amongst not vulnerable and vulnerable households in matriculation and intermediate categories.

Table 3.2D: Level of education of head of household by Vulnerability		
	Percentage of HHs	
	Not vulnerable	Vulnerable
Illiterate	23.3	50.6
Primary	10.7	15.3
Matric	38.6	27.0
Intermediate	10.9	3.7
Graduate	9.5	1.7
Post Graduate	5.0	0.9
Others	2.0	0.8

While 38.6 percent head of households in not vulnerable category were matriculated and 10.9 percent had completed their education, corresponding number for vulnerable households was only 27 percent and 3.7 percent respectively.

Table 3.2E: Profession of person of household who is mostly responsible for the financial expenses of household	
	Percentage of HHs
Un Employed	4.5
Unskilled Labor	26.1
Skilled Labor	11.1
Clerk/Office Work	6.7
Professional	8.8
Agriculture	15.5
Abroad	2.3
Business/Trade	16.7
Student	0.1
Retired	3.2
Others	5.0

Occupational analysis of household member most contributing to financial expenses of the household demonstrated that the highest proportion was unskilled labor, approximately 26 percent. 16.7 percent households reported that their contributing member was in business/trade while 15.5 percent households reported they were employed in the agricultural sector. Only 4.5 percent households had unemployed members running household expenses.

Table 3.2F: Material used for roof of house	
	Percentage of HHs
Lantered/Cemented	28.2
T-Iron	29.0
Iron/Metallic Sheet	3.1
Mud	16.5
Sheet	0.2
Tent	1.9
Wood	21.1

Structure of households, particularly roof, is a key variable for measuring vulnerability of household dwellings. 60.2 percent of the households in our sample lived in not vulnerable dwellings while a sizable number, approximately 39 percent, were living in vulnerable dwellings with mud, tent or wood roofs. Of these, 18.4 percent households were living in extremely high vulnerability dwellings with roofs made of mud or tents which are can be destroyed by heavy storms, winds and other natural disasters.

Table 3.2G: Nature of latrine being used by the household	
	Percentage of HHs
Inside Home	80.5
Outside Home	4.1
Open Field	15.5

A majority of households (80.5 percent) had a latrine inside the house, whether flush, pit or any other. However, almost 15 percent households also used open fields as latrines. This demonstrates that for these 15 percent households' sanitation was a major problem. This corresponds to findings from PLSMS 2010-2011 where 18 percent households across Pakistan reported no latrine facility.

Table 3.2H: Nature of latrine being used by the household by Province				
	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Inside Home	59.5	87.3	86.2	78.0
Outside Home	19.2	2.5	1.7	6.7
Open Field	21.3	10.2	12.1	15.3

A provincial analysis of type of latrine being used by households demonstrates that sanitation was worst in Balochistan where a large number of households, almost 21 percent, reported using open fields for latrines. Our data corresponds with provincial data from PLSMS 2010-2011 whereby Balochistan was reported to have a vastly lower percentage of households using latrine facilities. Use of open fields was reported lowest in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa followed by Punjab and Sindh.

Table 3.2I: Average number of rooms per household					
	95% CI for Mean				
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Maximum
Balochistan	3.02	2.056	2.78	3.27	25
KPK	2.77	1.680	2.68	2.86	14
Punjab	2.69	1.696	2.65	2.73	23
Sindh	2.06	1.479	2.00	2.11	14
Total	2.54	1.676	2.51	2.57	25

According to the PLSMS 2010-2011, almost 70 percent households in Pakistan had between 2 to 4 rooms in their home. Our data shows that the average number of rooms per house was 2.54 in sampled households. The highest number of rooms per house was in Balochistan at 3.02.

Distribution of sampled households across vulnerability (as defined in the methodology section) shows that almost 53 percent sampled households were categorized as vulnerable. Similarly, 47 percent households were categorized as not vulnerable. According to Social Audit 2011-2012 methodology of vulnerability categorization, more households in Pakistan were vulnerable than not vulnerable.

Table 3.2J: Sampled Households by Vulnerability		
	Count	Percentage of Households
Not vulnerable	5062	47.4
Vulnerable	5626	52.6

Looking at vulnerability distribution of households across Provinces it was evident that the highest percentage of vulnerable households was in Balochistan (68 percent) followed by Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (56 percent). In Sindh, which increasingly has higher proportions of the population living in urban areas, almost equal number of households were reported to be vulnerable and not vulnerable. Punjab was the only province where more households were reported to be not vulnerable (51 percent) than vulnerable (49 percent).

Table 3.2K: Sampled Households by Province and Vulnerability				
	Percentage of Households			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Not vulnerable	32.1	44.5	51.3	49.6
Vulnerable	67.9	55.5	48.7	50.4

3.3 Conclusions

The demographic data of the Social Audit 2011-2012 shows prevalent trends very clearly. It is in consonance with PLSMS survey 2010-2011 and HIES Survey 2010-2011, establishing its larger authenticity.

Chapter 4

Public Services

4.1 Overall Situation of Public Service Provision

The following section examines perceptions among citizens on what constitutes the major problem in their area and which public services improved or worsened during the past two years. Results from the household data are then juxtaposed against views of service providers, such as secretary Union Councils to see in which areas the greatest amount of change occurred.

Respondents were asked the most problematic issue for their household. Table 4.1A shows the responses. A majority of households (53 percent) indicated that cost of living was their main problem, followed by almost a third (32 percent) of respondents who indicated that unemployment was their main problem. A significant 9 percent said that load-shedding was their main problem. **This reflects clearly that for a vast majority of households in Pakistan the main problems are economic in nature.**

Table 4.1A: The most problematic issue for household

	Percentage of HHs
Cost of Living	52.8
Unemployment	32.4
Load Shedding	8.9
Others	5.8

Table 4.1B shows the most important issue for the household for both vulnerable and not-vulnerable households. The results show that while cost of living is a significant number for both vulnerable and not vulnerable households, it is listed more frequently by the not-vulnerable as the most problematic issue. Almost three-fifth (58 percent) of not-vulnerable households indicated so, compared to less than half (49 percent) of vulnerable households. Interestingly, thus not vulnerable households are more likely to cite cost of living as the most important problem for their household as compared to vulnerable households.

Table 4.1B: Most Problematic Issue for Household by Vulnerability

	Percentage of HHs	
	Not vulnerable	Vulnerable
Cost of Living	58.2	48.7
Unemployment	21.3	42.0
Load Shedding	14.1	4.7
Others	6.4	4.5

The third problem listed most frequently is load-shedding which was reported as the most important problem by 14 percent of not-vulnerable and 5 percent of vulnerable households. This difference may again be attributed to the fact that more direct economic factors (unemployment

and cost of living) may take precedence over load-shedding for a larger proportion of the vulnerable.

Table 4.1C: Most Problematic Issue for Household by Province				
	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Cost of Living	49.2	44.1	57.7	53.8
Unemployment	34.6	39.2	25.5	36.8
Load Shedding	7.0	9.7	11.9	2.9
Others	9.1	6.9	4.9	6.6

Table 4.1C shows the province wise cross tabulation of issues faced by households. Unemployment was listed as the most problematic issue less frequently in Punjab compared to the other three provinces. On the other hand, cost of living was reported as the most problematic issue most frequently in Punjab (58 percent), which was only slightly more frequent than Sindh, where 54 percent of respondents listed cost of living as their main problem. Compared to Punjab and Sindh, a smaller proportion of the population in Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa listed cost of living as the main problem. A larger proportion of the households in Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa listed load-shedding as their main problem compared to households in Sindh where only 3 percent thought it was their main problem.

Compared to the previous iteration of the social audit, an emerging trend is visible. Like the previous round, cost of living (inflation), unemployment and load shedding were the three most problematic issues for households in 2009-2010 as well. Similar to the current iteration, 49 percent households in 2009-2010 said cost of living was their most problematic issue followed by unemployment for 33 percent households.

4.1.1 Citizens Perceptions about Public Services

Households were then specifically asked about what they thought the most important problem for their area was. Table 4.1.1A shows the level of importance attached to the problems faced in different areas. The most frequent response was that the most important problem is gas supply, which was indicated by a fifth of all respondents. This is followed by 13 percent of respondents who said that sewerage is the main problem and 9 percent who said that electricity supply is the main problem. Other major reported problems were roads (8 percent), education (7 percent), health (7 percent), water supply (7 percent), law & order (5 percent) and garbage disposal (5 percent). In addition to the above, it is important to note that only less than 1 percent of all respondents indicated that terrorism was the main problem faced by their area.

Table 4.1.1A: Most Important Problem in Area	
	Percentage of HHs
No Problem Exists	4.2
Health	7.2
Education	6.8
Streets/Street Lights	2.7
Roads	7.7
Transport	0.7
Garbage Disposal	4.5

Sewerage	13.1
Drinking Water Quality	4.3
Water Supply	7.1
Gas Supply	19.6
Electricity Supply	9.3
Law & Order	5.0
Terrorism	0.9
Provision of Justice	1.0
Housing Facilities	1.3
Others	4.7

This reflects clearly that after economic wellbeing, citizens are most concerned about basic service delivery, and only then about problems of terrorism and law and order.

When asked to note which three public services improved the most during the past three years, very few households reported improvements in any services. 11.6 percent households noted that roads had improved while 8 percent households said that education had improved.

Table 4.1.1B: Which three services improved during the past two years

	Percentage of HHs
Health	2.6
Education	8.6
Streets/Street Lights	5.0
Roads	11.6
Transport	0.7
Garbage Disposal	1.3
Sewerage	3.2
Drinking Water Quality	1.3
Water Supply	3.4
Gas Supply	4.5
Electricity Supply	3.8
Police / Law & Order	2.0
Courts/Provision of Justice	0.3
Housing Facilities	1.2
Others	3.1

*Multiple Responses

Conversely, when asked to identify three public services that had worsened during the past two years, vastly greater number of households responded. Approximately 39 percent households reported that electricity supply had worsened during the past two years while 22 percent noted that sewerage and sanitation had worsened during the past two years. Additionally almost 20 percent households also noted a decline in roads during the period under review.

Table 4.1.1C: Three services that worsened the most during the past two years	
	Percentage of HHs
Health	10.5
Education	9.3
Streets/Street Lights	5.7
Roads	19.4
Transport	1.3
Garbage Disposal	10.7
Sewerage	21.6
Drinking Water Quality	6.3
Water Supply	9.3
Gas Supply	11.6
Electricity Supply	38.9
Police / Law & Order	9.4
Courts/Provision of Justice	1.2
Housing Facilities	5.3
Others	5.3

*Multiple Responses

Provincial analysis of the trends in worsening public services demonstrates marked differences in citizens perceptions about which services deteriorated during the past two years. Education was noted as the public service that worsened the most during the past two years in Balochistan (36 percent), while in Punjab only 5 percent households reported that education had worsened. This demonstrates a huge education gap between Balochistan and the rest of the three provinces. Conversely, sewerage was noted as a worsening service by almost 24 percent households in Punjab while the rest of the provinces did not demonstrate an equal proportion of concern for deteriorating sewerage and sanitation service. **Electricity, nevertheless, came out as the major public service that has deteriorated the most during the past two years across all provinces. Additionally, similar concerns have also been raised by households concerning roads, with 20 – 22 percent households across all provinces noting that the road network had deteriorated during the past two years. This is considerably important in light of the fact the previous three social audit iterations demonstrated that roads were one of the public services that had been improving across the country.**

Table 4.1.1D: Three services worsened the most during the past two years by Province				
	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Education	36.0	11.4	4.9	15.2
Streets/Street Lights	3.0	5.6	7.3	2.5
Roads	22.6	19.9	19.2	19.2
Transport	3.0	1.6	1.2	1.4
Garbage Disposal	4.3	10.1	13.1	6.2
Sewerage	7.4	17.1	24.5	18.4

Drinking Water Quality	7.5	9.1	5.9	5.8
Water Supply	15.8	18.3	6.5	11.0
Gas Supply	4.9	13.1	14.0	6.4
Electricity Supply	33.3	42.6	46.9	21.1
Police / Law & Order	18.7	8.6	6.8	14.6
Courts/Provision of Justice	3.9	2.7	1.0	0.7
Housing Facilities	3.1	1.8	1.2	15.6
Others	2.0	5.1	3.6	9.4

*Multiple Responses

Results of qualitative research substantiate the findings listed in the above table. According to the views of marginalized community in Sindh, collected through FGDs with various groups, since January 2010 no major project has been done in their areas; roads are non-existent in rural areas, however, in urban areas some repair and maintenance work is being done. Similarly, the situation of water and sanitation is equally worse in urban areas where prevalence of water borne diseases was reported to have increased in last two years. However, in rural areas water supply system was established where LG just installed tube wells and community bear the cost of bringing pipelines to their houses as well as generated the running and maintenance cost of those tube wells by collecting 300 rupees from each household. Urban marginalized community was quiet vocal about the lack of basic facilities like public toilets, transport facilities, parking areas and health and education.

Views of all the four groups in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa were almost same regarding the condition of basic facilities. There was a consensus that vital issue of health and education is still there and no improvement has been made in the delivery of these basic services. Besides these, water supply and drainage issues are still present in most of the rural as well as urban areas. Most of the participants were of the view that service delivery has further deteriorated under the present system.

Mostly participants from Balochistan, with the exception of rural interest groups, were of the view that no improvement has been made in the provision of basic services since last two years. Rather most of the participants were of the view that already done projects are not properly maintained during the present system. According to some participants at least 50 % of developmental work is still being done.

Similarly according to rural and urban NGOs in Punjab no improvement in system has occurred with the change of local government system in the province; rather urban NGOs were pretty intense in their expression when they said that no development work of any kind has been done since the reintroduction of administrative local government system. Some of the urban interest groups mentioned that some streets were constructed and street lights were installed since December 2009; and these services were somewhat functional till the present time.

4.1.2 Service Providers' Perceptions about Public Services

As demonstrated above, highest percentage of citizens thought that gas supply was the most important problem in their area followed by sewerage and electricity. When juxtaposed against results from qualitative in-depth interviews of UC secretaries we note that only electricity was identified as a major problem for the area in conjunction with citizens' views. For UC secretaries the three most important problems for their areas were garbage disposal, water supply and electricity.

Table 4.1.2A: The single most important problem in area	
	Percentage of UC Secretaries
Health	9.7
Education	3.2
Streets/Street Lights	6.5
Roads	9.7
Transport	6.5
Garbage Disposal	12.9
Sewerage	6.5
Drinking Water Quality	6.5
Water Supply	12.9
Gas Supply	6.5
Electricity Supply	12.9
Police / Law & Order	3.2
Courts/Provision of Justice	3.2

UC secretaries noted that roads, street and street lighting, along with water supply and education were the major services that improved during the past two years in their areas. However, when citizens were asked the same they identified roads as one of the main public services that had deteriorated during the past two years.

Table 4.1.2B: Three services showing most improvement during the past two years	
	Percentage of UC Secretaries
Health	28.6
Education	7.1
Streets/Street Lights	35.7
Roads	42.9
Transport	14.3
Garbage Disposal	14.3
Sewerage	14.3
Drinking Water Quality	7.1
Water Supply	28.6
Gas Supply	14.3
Electricity Supply	7.1
Police / Law & Order	3.2
Terrorism	7.1
Courts/Provision of Justice	3.2

*Multiple Responses

When asked which three services worsened, almost one third UC secretaries noted that law and order had deteriorated in their communities. This is contrary to citizen's perceptions where law and order was highlighted by only five percent households as one of the three public services

that had deteriorated during the past two years. Additionally, garbage disposal was again identified as one of the services that had worsened.

Table 4.1.2C: Three services that worsened most during the past two years	
	Percentage of UC Secretaries
No Problem	13.3
Health	6.7
Education	16.7
Streets/Street Lights	6.7
Roads	6.7
Transport	3.3
Garbage Disposal	26.7
Sewerage	3.3
Drinking Water Quality	16.7
Water Supply	16.7
Gas Supply	20.0
Electricity Supply	16.7
Police / Law & Order	33.3
Housing	13.3

*Multiple Responses

One key result is the mismatch between citizens' perceptions about which services are deteriorating and local government functionaries' views on which public services are deteriorating. One possible result of this mismatch is allocation of funding and administrative effort in sectors which are least important for consumers of public services, namely citizens.

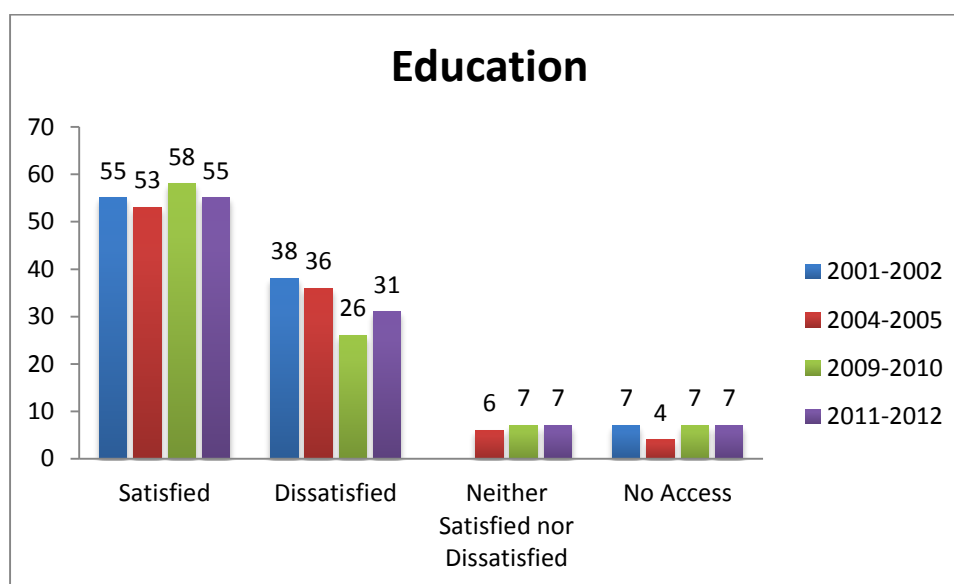
4.2 Education

Education, as a critical public service, is essential for the development and economic prosperity of a nation. In Pakistan, primary and secondary education has received attention from various successive provincial governments through specialized education campaigns over the past decade. The following section seeks to examine trends in primary and secondary education for girls and boys across Pakistan.

4.2.1 Comparative Analysis

Since education is a key public service, the findings are compared with results across four social audits.

Graph 4.2.1: Education: Comparison from 2001 to 2012



The graphical illustration and associated table demonstrate that access to education did not change between 2009-2010 and 2011-2012. However, a marginal decline in satisfaction from education services was witnessed between 2009-2010, when 58 percent households reported satisfaction with education services, and 2011-2012, when 55 percent households reported satisfaction with education services. Nevertheless, the trend in education over past decade has been around 55 to 58 percent, showing little improvement in this essential public service since 2001.

Table 4.2.1A: Satisfaction with Government provided Education

	Percentage of HHs			
	2001-2002	2004-2005	2009-2010	2011-2012
Satisfied	55	53	58	55
Dissatisfied	38	36	26	31
Neither Satisfied nor Dissatisfied	NA	6	7	7
No Access	7	4	7	7

NA: Not Available

Comparing our national results to PLSMS 2010-2011 we note that household satisfaction with education was reported to be 60 percent with schools. Social Audit 2011-2012 provides similar results albeit the satisfaction percentage has decreased nominally to 55 percent from 58 percent in 2010. However, a key statistical note here which is relevant is that due to comparability satisfaction is calculated including "no access". However, if the PLSMS methodology is adopted, calculating satisfaction from only those households that accessed education (i.e. by removing "no access") the satisfaction from education comes to 59 percent, similar to PLSMS 2010-2011.

4.2.2 Provincial and Vulnerability Analysis

The following section analyzes access to and satisfaction with government provided education services by vulnerability of households and province.

Table 4.2.2A: Access to Government Education Service by Vulnerability		
	Percentage of HHs	
	Not Vulnerable	Vulnerable
Service not available	5.9	8.3
Service available	94.1	91.7

There may be a slight difference in the level of access to government education services among the vulnerable and the not-vulnerable. Relationship is however quite weak here though. Perhaps, not vulnerable households may be slightly more likely to state that service they had access to government education as compared to vulnerable households.

Table 4.2.2B: Access to Government Education Services by Province				
	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Service not available	16.3	5.7	5.5	10.4
Service available	83.7	94.3	94.5	89.6

Table 4.2.2B represents the availability of education to households in each province. Balochistan stands out from the rest of the provinces in the sense that it has the highest percentage of respondents (16 percent) who said that education was not available to them. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab show very similar results with the education obtainable to a large majority of the respondents (94-95 percent respectively).

Though more than 89 percent of household in Sindh were of the view that education services were available yet rural community in Sindh, in the FGDs conducted with them, persistently complained about the absence or lack of teaching staff in schools. They also informed that despite reporting of this trend to the EDO education, no improvement has happened yet. They even went to Karachi with this complaint but of no avail. It is also important to note that education system was reported to be performing better under the previous local government system according to the FGD conducted with marginalized community in Sindh.

Table 4.2.2C: Satisfaction with Government Education Services by Vulnerability		
	Percentage of HHs	
	Not vulnerable	Vulnerable
Satisfied	60.2	58.1
Dissatisfied	32.8	33.5
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	7.0	8.4

The table depicts that majority of the respondents for both the categories, vulnerable and not vulnerable, were satisfied with the service of education being provided to them. Nevertheless,

we cannot discern any pattern and relationship between vulnerability and level of satisfaction with government education services.

However, marginalized community in Sindh especially in urban areas voiced their concerns regarding lack of educational facilities for their children; they reported abusive and derogatory behavior, towards the children belonging to religious minorities, in government schools to an extent that they were forced to remove their children from government schools and put them in Church schools where standard of education was not very satisfactory. Their second concern pertaining to education was the absence of syllabus specifically dealing with the religious education of minorities.

Similarly, in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa views of all the four groups, with whom FGDs were conducted, were almost the same regarding the condition of basic facilities. There was a consensus that vital issue of health and education is still there and no improvement has been made in the delivery of these basic services.

Same was the case with Balochistan where participants of FGDs were of the view since last two years no improvement has been made in the provision of basic services.

Table 4.2.2D: Satisfaction with Government Education by Province				
	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Satisfied	23.3	56.6	65.9	40.4
Dissatisfied	50.9	27.9	27.7	52.1
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	25.8	15.5	6.4	7.5

Table 4.2.2D shows that households in Punjab were more likely to be overall satisfied by government provided education (66 percent) than in the other three provinces. Households in Balochistan were least likely to be satisfied with education services provided by the government with only 23 percent households reporting satisfaction. Interestingly, while the majority of households in Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa were satisfied, the majority of households in Sindh and Balochistan were dissatisfied. These results show that education service provision differs greatly at the provincial level where Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa demonstrating that they were ahead in the quality of service provided compared to the other two provinces.

In 2009-2010 Social Audit Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa reported lowest satisfaction with 30 and 42 percent households reporting satisfaction, whereas in 2011-2012 percentage of households in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa reported a significant increase in satisfaction to 57 percent. It is evident that households in Sindh reported a significant decrease between 2009-2010 (52 percent) and 2011-2012 (40 percent) from education services being provided by the government.

4.2.3 School Enrollment

The following section examines school enrollment amongst children in Pakistan. Out of the total children age 5 to 17 in the households, who are eligible for going to school, the actual percentage of boys and girls attending school in all of Pakistan and in each province are shown in Table 4.2.3A. Overall enrolment for girls in Pakistan is 74 percent out of total children age 5 to 17 in the households of the country. The percentage of boys going to school is 79 percent out of total eligible children for school age 5 to 17 years.

Table 4.2.3A: Percentage of children age 5 -17 going to school in a household

	Percentage of children in school going age		
	Girls	Boys	Difference
Balochistan	54	81	27
KPK	74	87	13
Punjab	82	85	3
Sindh	59	64	5
Pakistan	74	79	5

This illustrates that the enrolment rates are slightly lower for girls (74 percent) than for boys (79 percent) implying that boys aged 5-17 in Pakistan are a little more likely to attend school. In Punjab and Sindh province, the difference between boys and girls enrolment is small (3 percent and 5 percent respectively).

The results for Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan, however, show that 87 percent of boys in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are enrolled in school compared to only 74 percent girls while 81 percent boys are enrolled in Balochistan compared to only 54 percent of girls. This gender differential of 27 percent between enrolment of boys and girls in Balochistan is highly worrisome. Although the causes of this differential are not conclusively known on the basis of these results, we may speculate on the possible causes. One possible reason is that due to the scattered population of Balochistan, children have to travel longer distances to school which is culturally more acceptable for boys than for girls. Secondly, it may be the case that even for easily accessible schools; parents are more likely to send their boys to school than their girls because of cultural prejudices against educating females.

Table 4.2.3B: Reasons for girls not going to school

	Percent of HHs
Cannot Afford	34.7
No nearby School	15.4
Teacher not available	2.7
Child is ill	3.9
Child is not interested	10.5
Education has no importance	2.2
Female teacher not available	1.8
No Arrangements of Parda	4.9
No Free books	1.8
Negative behavior of Teacher	0.5
Child Earns	1.3
Help at home	12.3
Other	8.2

Table 4.2.3B lists the reasons for girls not going to school along with the percentage of each response. According to the table more than a third (35 percent) of the households do not send girls to school due to financial issues. Other common reasons were lack of a school nearby (15 percent) and the need for girls to help at home (12 percent). Almost 11 percent of the respondents claimed that the girls themselves are not interested in being educated. Compared

to the 2009-2010 social audit there is no significant change in the main reasons for girls not attending schools. Hence most reason for girls no going to school was that the households cannot afford to send their girls age 5 to 17 to school.

Table 4.2.3C: Reasons for girls not going to school by Province				
	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Cannot Afford	34.0	32.3	43.3	35.8
No nearby School	17.2	15.0	12.8	17.2
Teacher not available	14.7	2.9	1.0	7.3
Child is ill	2.1	2.2	7.5	2.0
Child is not interested	4.0	10.7	15.5	10.6
Education has no importance	1.9	5.3	3.4	0.9
No Arrangements of Purdah	6.7	9.1	2.0	7.1
No Free books	3.5	2.2	3.1	0.5
Negative behavior of Teacher	3.0	0.9	0.3	0.4
Child Earns	5.1	0.0	1.5	0.9
Help at home	7.9	19.4	9.5	17.2

Table 4.2.3C compares the reasons for girls not going to school province wise and we find that affordability is the main reason for all the provinces, especially Punjab. In Punjab, a higher proportion (43 percent) of girls, do not go to school because of cost while the proportion is between 32-36 percent for the other three provinces. Non-availability of teacher is most common in Balochistan by far (15 percent) compared to only 1 percent in Punjab, 3 percent in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and 7 percent in Sindh. This proves the common notion in education circles that a larger segment of the population in Balochistan does not have access to teachers because of scattered populations compared to any other province. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Sindh, a female child working at home is more common than the other two provinces.

Up till now, we have been examining the education situation of girls in Pakistan. The following few tables and paragraphs will shed some light on the institution of education for boys in Pakistan. Table 4.2.3D lists the reasons for boys not enrolling in schools along with the percentage of respondents citing a particular reason. Similar to the situation of girls, affordability issues seem to be the primary reason why boys remain out of schools since 34 percent of respondents cited this as the main reason boys in their households don't attend school.

Table 4.2.3D: Reasons for boys not going to school	
	Percentage of HHs
Cannot Afford	33.7
No nearby School	7.8
Teacher not available	3.5
Child is ill	4.6
Child is not interested	15.1
Education has no importance	1.7
Reason of co education	0.2
No Free books	1.6
Negative behavior of Teacher	0.4

Child Earns	20.2
Help at home	4.7
Other	6.6

Child labor (which wasn't significantly prevalent in the analysis of girls) is another major reason households prefer to retain a child from school. The lack of interest of the child is again significant here, with 15 percent households citing this as the main reason, raising questions about education from the demand side. No school nearby, which was a critical reason for girls not enrolling in school, is apparently not as big a problem for boys.

Table 4.2.3E: Reasons for boys not going to school by Province				
	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Cannot Afford	24.5	26.9	34.0	35.7
No nearby School	8.6	6.3	3.5	12.8
Teacher not available	26.2	4.1	0.5	4.1
Child is ill	4.2	5.2	7.3	1.4
Child is not interested	3.8	21.4	17.3	12.8
Education has no importance	2.0	2.4	2.7	0.4
Reason of co education	1.6	0.0	0.2	0.0
No Free books	3.9	0.4	2.8	0.2
Negative behavior of Teacher	1.0	0.7	0.3	0.3
Child Earns	15.2	10.0	18.8	24.3
Help at home	4.5	2.4	5.0	4.9
Others	4.5	20.2	7.5	3.1

A cross tabulation of the reasons for boys remaining out of school with provinces, confirms the hypothesis that affordability issue is perhaps the biggest main factor behind in all the provinces. Similar to the situation in girls' education, teacher availability is an area of concern for Balochistan as 26 percent of households keep their children out of school for this reason compared to 6-13 percent in the other three provinces. Conversely, the lack of interest of the boy is least likely in Balochistan and significantly higher in the other provinces especially Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab. A child working at home is a common factor in all the four provinces since significant percentages are associated with it. Respondents from Sindh are most likely than other provinces to cite child labor as the reason for boys not attending school while respondents from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are least likely to cite child labor as the reason for their household boys not attending the school.

4.2.4 Education Facilities Analysis

A majority of girls currently enrolled are studying in government girls' schools (54 percent). This figure is followed by private mixed gender schools (20 percent) and private girls school (18 percent). The percentage of girls studying in government mixed gender schools is lower, around 6 percent, reflecting the government's policy of having separate boys and girls schools even in small villages. Very small percentages of girls are studying in informal schools and madrasas,

confirming the Learning and Educational Achievements in Punjab Schools (LEAPS) findings that the prevalence of madrassah education is a myth¹⁷.

Table 4.2.4A: Types of schools where girls are studying

	Percentage of HHs
Govt. Girls School	53.8
Govt. Mix School	5.6
Private Girls School	17.5
Private Mix School	20.3
Informal School	0.2
Formal Madrassa	0.5
Religious Madrassa	1.5
Others	0.7

Table 4.2.4B shows that almost 84 percent households whose girls went to government girls schools were satisfied with the schooling they receive. This was an increase of 10 percentage points from 2009-10 when 74 percent households whose girls went to government girl schools reported satisfaction with their schooling. No discernible difference was witnessed in the percentage of households satisfied whose girls attended government mix schools as percentage of households satisfied remained at 62 percent in 2009-2010 and 2011-2012. A key result was evident from the data. Household whose girls attended private schools, whether coeducation or not, were much more likely to be satisfied with the level of schooling their girls received than households whose girls attended government schools.

Table 4.2.4B: Satisfaction with schools where girls are studying

	Percentage of HHs		
	Satisfied	Unsatisfied	Neither Satisfied Nor Unsatisfied
Govt. Girls School	83.9	11.4	4.7
Govt. Mix School	62.7	29.9	7.3
Private Girls School	93.2	4.9	1.9
Private Mix School	92.2	4.7	1.9

Social Audit 2011-2012 data shows that vulnerable households are slightly less likely to be satisfied with the schools where their girls study (83 percent compared to 88 percent satisfaction in not vulnerable households). On the other hand, not vulnerable households are less likely to be dissatisfied with their household girls schools compared to vulnerable households (8 percent compared to 12 percent).

Table 4.2.4C illustrates that respondent's' satisfaction with their current household girls schools is very low (47 percent) in Balochistan compared to other three provinces where 83-89 percent of households are satisfied with their girls schools. In other words, households from Balochistan

¹⁷Andrabi, Tahir; Jishnudas; Khawaja, Asim; Vishwanath, Tara et al. (2008) "Learning and Educational Achievements in Punjab Schools: Insights to Inform Education Policy Debate". World Bank.

are also much more likely to be dissatisfied with schooling of their household girls than respondents from other provinces. This indicates that Balochistan is lagging behind the other three provinces in terms of providing satisfactory education to girls. While the push for more and better education for girls is strong in all four provinces, it needs to be emphasized to a greater degree in Balochistan.

Table 4.2.4C: Satisfaction with girls schools by Province

	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Satisfied	47.4	83.0	88.6	84.2
Dissatisfied	30.2	11.0	8.7	11.2
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	22.4	6.1	2.7	4.5

Table 4.2.4D illustrates that the type of schools where boys are enrolled is very similar to that of girls with 54 percent boys, a majority, currently going to government boy schools, 21 percent going to private coeducational schools and 18 percent going to private boys schools. The percentage of boys going to government mix schools is higher than other non-formal and madrasa schools, it is still comparatively much lesser to boys being enrolled in private mix schools. This fact (which was also found in the girls' schools) hints towards lower prevalence of government mixed gender schools as a policy of the government.

Table 4.2.4D: Type of schools where boys are studying

	Percentage of HHs
Govt. Boys School	54.1
Govt. Mix School	5.2
Private Boys School	17.6
Private Mix School	20.6
Informal School	0.1
Formal Madrasa	0.4
Religious Madrasa	1.5
Others	0.5

Similar to the trends witnessed in the percentage of households satisfied with the schools their girls are attending, households whose boys were attending private boys or coeducational schools were much more likely to be satisfied by the level of their schooling than households whose boys were studying in government schools. In 2011-2012, 82 percent households whose boys were studying in government boys schools were satisfied by their schooling compared to 73 percent in 2009-2010. Similar to 2009-2010, 58 percent households whose boys were studying in coeducational government schools were satisfied by their schooling. However, the percentage of households satisfied with the level of schooling of their boys who attended private boys schools increased to 91 percent in 2011-2012 compared to 85 percent in 2009-2010. The increase in satisfaction of households whose boys attended private mix schools was even greater as in 2011-2012 the reported satisfaction was 92 percent compared to 82 percent in 2009-2010.

Table 4.2.4E: Satisfaction with schools where boys are studying

	Percentage of HHs		
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Neither Satisfied Nor Unsatisfied
Govt. Boys School	82.1	12.4	5.5
Govt. Mix School	57.8	31.5	10.8
Private Boys School	91.2	5.9	2.9
Private Mix School	91.8	5.5	2.6

Social Audit results show that vulnerable households are less likely to be satisfied with their household boys schooling compared to not-vulnerable households (80 percent compared to 88 percent respectively).

Table 4.2.4F: Satisfaction with boys schools by Province

	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Satisfied	50.5	83.0	88.0	80.4
Dissatisfied	25.1	11.0	9.0	14.0
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	24.5	6.1	3.0	5.6

Table 4.2.2F indicates that household heads or respondents from Balochistan are much less likely to be satisfied with their household boys' schools as compared to respondents from other three provinces. Alternatively the data also reveals that household heads or respondents from Balochistan are much more likely to be dissatisfied with their household boys' schools as compared to respondents from other three provinces. Thus satisfaction with the household boys schooling is very low in Balochistan compared to the other three provinces. This result mirrors satisfaction levels of households with girl schools in Balochistan.

In addition to the household survey, which captures satisfaction with, access to and patterns of education in households across Pakistan, In-depth interviews with heads of government run schools were conducted in almost all Union Councils of selected districts to examine the supply side of education service provision by the government. Data reveals that the vast majority of school facilities interviewed were within 1 to 2 kilometers distance from main village or settlement demonstrating high level of access, this result corroborates the findings from the household survey where only 7 percent households noted that they did not have access to education.

Table 4.2.4G: Student to Teacher Ratio across Interviewed Education Facilities

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Student to Teacher Ratio	1.50	125.00	41.0441	26.72306

Average student to teacher ratio across interviewed schools was 41 students to every teacher. This is a reasonable ratio. However, whether teachers actually take classes regularly has been a point for debate across Pakistan for many decades with studies citing “ghost schools” as a key problem in delivering adequate educational services. The upper bound of the standard deviation also demonstrates that a good number of schools had 70-80 children per teacher, which is a cause for concern. Almost two thirds of the schools interviewed provided free books for students, however only one in every ten schools provided free uniforms, stipends or free food for students.

Almost two-thirds of the education facilities interviewed noted that no admission fee was required for admission to the schools. This largely reflected the fact that where possible, the majority of citizens can gain admission to schools for their children and similarly, two-thirds schools again did not require a monthly admission fee. In fact, the one third schools where monthly fee was required, it was reported to be Rs. 20 per month, which is a nominal amount. However, a quick glance at the household survey reveals that a sizable proportion of households reported that they could not afford schooling, which is why girls and boys were not going to school. This raises key questions about education as a priority in household expenditure whereby almost one fourth households report that they cannot even afford the nominal monthly fees. In fact, other key expenditures associated with education are uniforms and books etc. and while a sizable majority of schools provide free books, the low number of schools providing free uniforms and stipends may be a reason for households reporting costs as a major reason for children not attending schools.

A quarter of the Interviewed education facilities noted that they did not have adequate drinking water facilities for students. Of the three fourths that did have drinking water available for students, 60 percent reported that they were satisfied with the quality of water available. This corresponds with 60 percent education facilities interviewed reporting that drinking water was available piped through taps within the facility.

Almost 30 percent education facilities reported not having adequate latrine facilities for students; this is a significant number of facilities where students were using inadequate sanitation. Additionally, another 34 percent education facilities interviewed reported that they did not have cleaning and garbage disposal at their facilities. These raise important questions about lack of hygienic conditions available to students at community level education facilities.

Table 4.2.4H: Grievance redressal mechanism in school	
	Percentage of Education Facilities
Yes	58.5
No	41.5

Table 4.2.4H shows that only a small majority of schools had a grievance redressal mechanism in place for parents to lodge complaints. This showed a lack of accountability mechanisms in place in government schools.

A little less than two thirds of the education facilities interviewed had a school management committee (SMT) or Parent Teacher Association (PTA). Of the schools where SMT or PTA existed a further 70 percent educational facilities had functional SMTs or PTAs, showing that in almost 30 percent education facilities interviewed, while the system existed it was not functional.

However, when asked about the frequency of meetings of these committees, in only about half of the schools they held meetings regularly once in two months.

Table 4.2.4I: School Management Committees and Parent Teacher Associations		
		Percentage of Education Facilities
Does a SMT or PTA exist in your school?	Yes	69.1
	No	29.4
If Yes, are they functional?	Yes	71.7
	No	11.7
	Don't know	16.7
With what frequency are their meetings held?	Once in a month	35.6
	Once in two months	10.2
	Once in three months	28.8
	Once in more than three months	6.8
	Don't know	18.6

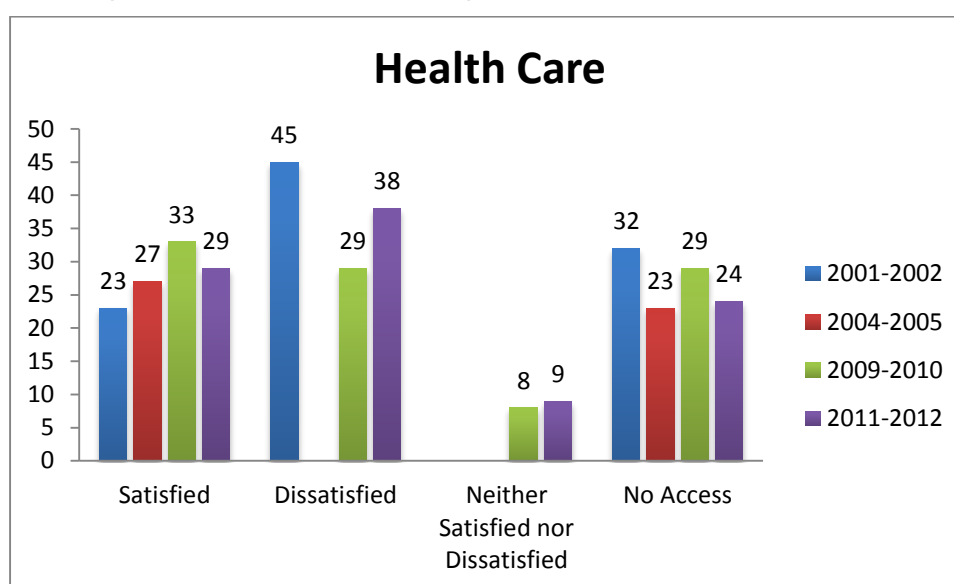
4.3 Health

Health has been recognized as central to the global development agenda in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for reducing poverty, enhancing living standards and ensuring a better life for citizens of our world. Strengthening government provided health systems, ensuring improved disease prevention mechanisms through adequate immunization and development of sound health strategies are key functions of any government. This chapter seeks to examine the condition of health services in Pakistan, examining access of citizens to government provided health services and their level of satisfaction. Furthermore, a detailed examination of immunization and illness is also presented.

4.3.1 Comparative Analysis

The following section provides a comparison of government provided health care between 2001 and 2012, allowing the reader a snapshot of the trends prevalent in health access and satisfaction over the past decade.

Graph 4.3.1: Health Care: Comparison from 2001 to 2012



About a quarter of respondents indicated that health services provided by the government were not available to them. This proportion of respondents who indicated no access to government health care is slightly less than that in 2009-2010, when it was 29 percent, but no discernible trend can be seen over the years, as the proportion fell from 32 percent in 2001-2002 to 23 percent in 2004-2005 but rose again to 29 percent in 2009-2010 only to fall back again to 24 percent in the present iteration. Change in the level of access to government health care over time has varied from year to year making it difficult to draw conclusions about trends.

For respondents that had government health care available to them, half were dissatisfied with the services provided while 29 percent were satisfied, with 9 percent indicating that they were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied. Data indicates (i) that government health care is only available to three-fourths of the population, and (ii) that for those who do have government health care available to them, less than two-fifths are satisfied with it. This proportion is not significantly different from that found in previous social audits when it was 33 percent (2009-2010) and 27 percent (2004-2005).

Table 4.3.1A: Satisfaction or Dissatisfaction with Govt. Health Care

	Percentage of HHs			
	2001-2002	2004-2005	2009-2010	2011-2012
Satisfied	23	27	33	29
Dissatisfied	45		29	38
Neither Satisfied nor Dissatisfied			8	9
No Access	32	23	29	24

When compared to the PLSMS 2010-2011 household perception we can note that satisfaction with Basic Health Care provided by the government was 30 percent across Pakistan. Similarly,

Social Audit data demonstrates that satisfaction with government provided health care was 29 percent across Pakistan corroborating the authenticity of the results. According to the FGD conducted with rural community of Sindh, sanitation and health systems were reported to be not existent in their areas.

Most of the participants of FGDs conducted in rural Balochistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab reported no or very nominal infrastructure for health in their area. Secondly, it was also a consensus among most of the participants that no addition or improvement has been made whatsoever in existing infrastructure, resulting in slower and weaker delivery of basic services.

4.3.2 Provincial and Vulnerability Analysis

Of the households categorized as vulnerable, 27 percent indicated that government health care was not available to them, while 21 percent of those categorized as not vulnerable stated the same. This implies that a slightly larger proportion of the households categorized as vulnerable indicated that government health care services were not available to them. Not vulnerable households were slightly more likely to have access to government health care as compared to vulnerable households.

Table 4.3.2A: Availability of Government Health Care by Vulnerability		
	Percentage of HHs	
	Not Vulnerable	Vulnerable
Service not available	21.2	26.8
Service available	78.8	73.2

Of the respondents that indicated government health care was available to them, there is no difference in the level of satisfaction expressed among households categorized as vulnerable or not vulnerable. In other words, we cannot conclude that vulnerability has any relationship with satisfaction with government health care. A higher proportion of respondents in Punjab (26 percent) and Balochistan (28 percent) indicated that they don't have access to government health care compared to Sindh (16 percent) and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (19 percent). In Balochistans' case, this seems to prove the theory that the government finds it hard to provide health care to residents because of low population density and scattered settlements.

Table 4.3.2B: Availability of Government Health Care by Province				
	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Service not available	27.7	15.6	25.7	18.8
Service available	72.3	84.4	74.3	81.3

Of the respondents that indicated government health care was available to them, only 15 percent of the respondents in Balochistan were satisfied with government health care which is about half the proportion in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (30 percent) and Sindh (28 percent), and about third of the proportion in Punjab (46 percent). The conclusion to be drawn here is that among those households that have access to government health care,

- A large proportion of households in Punjab is satisfied with the government health care compared to the other three provinces,

- A smaller proportion of households in Balochistan is satisfied with the government health care compared to the other three provinces while
- The proportion of households in Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa satisfied with government health care lies between that in Punjab and Balochistan with no difference among Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Table 4.3.2C: Satisfaction from Government health care by Province				
	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Satisfied	14.9	30.2	45.7	27.9
Dissatisfied	54.2	50.2	44.5	63.1
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	30.8	19.6	9.8	9.0

According to the FGD conducted with marginalized communities of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab, new system has neither brought any drastic improvement in their condition nor have any concrete steps been taken for solution of the specific problems of the marginalized community. In their views the major problems of health and education are still staring in their face like in the previous system.

Similarly, participants of FGDs in rural areas Sindh and Balochistan expressed unhappiness with the provision of health services in their areas.

4.3.3 Health Facilities Analysis

The following section analyzes health facilities and user satisfaction with facilities across Pakistan.

Immunization

Immunization is an important government provided public service which provides the basic preventive health care in the country. In this respect, Social Audit 2011-2012 data shows that 93 percent of all children below the age of 5 years are immunized. However, provincial breakups further show a worrying picture for Balochistan where almost a quarter of the children below 5 years of age have not been immunized.

Table 4.3.3A: Percentage of children under 5 years of age immunized in a household	
	Percentage of HHs
Balochistan	74
KPK	90
Punjab	97
Sindh	92
All Pakistan	93

With respect to vaccination of children less than five years of age in a household, majority (63 percent) of the households got their children vaccinated through immunization campaigns. This

was followed by government BHU and dispensaries where almost 19 percent of the household got their children vaccinated. This proves that immunization campaign has been quite effective for vaccination of children less than 5 years of age.

Table 4.3.3B: From where do you get your children vaccinated

	Percentage of HHs
Self	2.1
Govt. BHU	10.2
Govt. RHC	1.9
Govt. MCH	0.2
Govt. Dispensary	8.7
Govt. FWC	1.4
Tehsil HQ Hospital	3.8
District HQ Hospital	3.5
Military Hospital	0.2
Private Clinic	4.5
Immunization Campaign	62.8
Others	0.7

Indeed, immunization drives coupled with government Basic Health Units (BHUs) and dispensaries contribute the vast majority of facilities through which citizens avail immunization services.

Table 4.3.3C: Satisfaction with vaccination service

	Percentage of HHs
Satisfied	97.1
Dissatisfied	1.9
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	1.0

Interestingly, almost everyone was satisfied with the vaccination service which was provided to their households with 97 percent households reporting satisfaction with immunization services. Therefore, we can conclude that, largely, government immunization has been one of the most successful public services provided to communities across Pakistan.

When analyzing which types of health care facilities are frequently visited by households when faced with illness, data reveals that three-fifths of the respondents consult private clinics, while 36 percent consult a range of government health facilities from Basic Health Unit (BHU) to district HQ Hospital. This proportion has not shown any change from that in 2009-2010. Table

4.3.1A shows that 76 percent of respondents had government health care available to them. Table 4.3.3D here shows that less than half of those (36 percent out of 76 percent) who have government health care available to them actually choose to use this health care. In conclusion, majority of the household's members use private clinics (61 percent), followed by government health facilities (36 percent). This may be due to a lack of trust in the quality of services provided by government facilities compared to private health facilities

Table 4.3.3D: Types of Health Care Facility Visited/Consulted frequently by Households	
	Percentage of HHs
Nowhere	0.8
Govt. BHU	10.1
Govt. RHC	3.0
Govt. MCH	0.4
Govt. Dispensary	6.7
Govt. FWC	0.2
Tehsil HQ Hospital	6.4
District HQ Hospital	9.1
Military Hospital	0.6
Private Clinic	60.7
Hakim	1.0
Others	1.0

Among the government health facilities, Basic Health Units and district HQ hospitals are consulted by more respondents (10 percent and 9 percent respectively) while Tehsil HQ hospitals and government dispensaries are also consulted by a significant proportion of respondents (6 percent each).

Table 4.3.3E: Type of Health Facility Last visited by Vulnerability		
	Percentage of HHs	
	Not vulnerable	Vulnerable
Government Hospitals/medical facilities	30.5	43.5
Private clinics	69.5	56.5

Table 4.3.3E, shows that a larger proportion of vulnerable households (44 percent) visited government medical facilities at their last visit to a medical center, compared to not vulnerable (31 percent) households. Thus vulnerable households are more likely to visit government

hospitals or health facilities while not vulnerable households are much more likely to visit private clinics.

Analyzing satisfaction of households with government health facilities by vulnerability it was demonstrated that 39 percent of not vulnerable households were satisfied. Similarly, 38 percent vulnerable households reported satisfaction with government health facilities. Given that there is no difference in satisfaction among the vulnerable and not vulnerable and that fewer of the vulnerable actually have access to government health facilities, this result shows that a larger proportion of the vulnerable visit government health facilities for reasons other than access or satisfaction. While there could be any number of reasons for this, one possible reason may be the cost of visiting private clinics.

Table 4.3.3F: Type of Health Facility last visited by Province

	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Government Hospitals/medical facilities	50.1	62.6	33.8	28.5
Private clinics	49.9	37.4	66.2	71.5

Table 4.3.3F, shows that a much larger proportion of households in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (63 percent), visit government health facilities compared to any other province. This proportion for Punjab and Sindh is somewhat similar (34 percent and 29 percent), which is lower than that in Balochistan (50 percent). This data shows the propensity of household members from Balochistan and KP to visit government health facilities or hospitals while household members from Punjab and Sindh are much more likely to visit private clinics.

Table 4.3.3G: Households by Mode of Travel to Health Facility Last Visited

	Percentage of HHs
By Foot	35.6
Bus/Van	14.8
Rickshaw	24.5
Taxi	5.8
Vehicle	6.2
Motor Cycle	9.8
Different Means (cycle, tractor, animal cart etc.)	3.1

A significantly higher proportion of respondents, approximately 36 percent, arrive at health/medical centers on foot than through any other means. A quarter of respondents arrive at these centers on a rickshaw, 15 percent use a bus/van while 10 percent use a motorcycle.

Other means of traveling to health centers include taxis and own vehicles (6 percent each). Thus by foot is the main mode being used by households to reach a health facility.

There are slight differences among the vulnerable and the not vulnerable in the mode of travel used to reach the health facility last visited by a member of their household. Vulnerable households are slightly more like to travel by foot than not-vulnerable households (38 percent compared to 33 percent). In other modes of travel, the small magnitudes of the differences do not allow us to arrive at a sound conclusion.

Table 4.3.3H: Mode of Travel to Health Facility Last Visited by Province

	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
By foot	20.3	30.3	41.8	34.2
Bus/wagon	18.8	19.7	12.1	13.5
Rickshaw	19.6	16.5	22.6	29.6
Others	41.3	33.5	23.5	22.7

A higher proportion of households in Punjab (42 percent) reached the health facility last visited on foot compared to Sindh (34 percent), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (30 percent) and Balochistan (20 percent). The fact that a significantly smaller proportion of respondents in Balochistan walked to the last visited health facility is explained by the large distances one would expect in the province due to scattered population. These large distances are only partly reflected in the results on time taken to reach health facility since the time taken does not control for mode of travel.

Table 4.3.3I: Households by Travel Time Required to Reach Health Facility

	Percentage of HHs
Less than 1 hour	80.8
1-2 hours	16.4
2-3 hours	2.2
3-12 hours	0.6

A vast majority (80 percent) of respondents arrive at the health/medical center they use in less than an hour, while only 3 percent take more than 2 hours to arrive at the health/medical center. While table 4.3.3H shows that more than a third of respondents travel to medical centers on foot, table 4.3.3I suggests that only a small proportion (19 percent) of respondents take more than an hour to get to these medical centers. These proportions are similar to those in 2009-2010 when 83 percent indicated that it takes them less than 1 hour to reach the medical center and 3 percent said it takes them more than 2 hours.

Table 4.3.3J: Time Taken to Reach Health Facility Last Visited by Vulnerability

Percentage of HHs		
	Not vulnerable	Vulnerable
Less than one hour	87.5	75.1
More than one hour	12.5	24.9

A significantly higher proportion of the vulnerable took more than one hour to reach the health facility last visited by them (25 percent compared to 13 percent). Similarly, not vulnerable households took much less time to reach or are more likely to less than one hour to reach health facility last visited as compared to vulnerable households. This demonstrates that vulnerable communities are more likely to be settled in areas farther away from public services, because the earlier table demonstrated that there is only a marginal difference in the mode of travel employed by not vulnerable and vulnerable communities. Thus, access to timely health care is a greater problem for the vulnerable than not vulnerable households. The difference in time taken to reach health facility last visited is stark between Punjab and Balochistan. Only 14 percent of respondents in Punjab took more than one hour to reach health facility, compared to 32 percent in Balochistan.

Table 4.3.3K: Households by Last Visit to Health Facility

Percentage of HHs	
Less than 1 week	32.5
Between 1 week to 1 month	34.3
1-3 months	15.1
3-6 months	5.1
6-12 months	5.7
More than 1 Year	6.9
Not Specified	0.4

Two thirds of respondents indicated that a member of their household had visited a medical center in the last month, with similar proportions indicating that it had been less than 1 week (33 percent) or between 1 week and 1 month (34 percent). Only 7 percent of the respondents said that no member of their households had visited a medical center in more than a year with another 6 percent indicating that it had been between 6-12 months. There are no significant differences in the time taken to reach health facility last visited among the households categorized as vulnerable or not vulnerable.

Table 4.3.3L: Length of time since any member of the household visited health center by Province				
	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Less than 1 week	23.4	28.7	33.2	39.6
Between 1 week to 1 month	32.7	38.3	33.3	32.8
1-3 months	17.3	16.9	14.5	13.1
More than three months	26.6	16.1	19.0	14.5

Province wise households from Sindh are more likely to visit health facility in less than a week as compared to other provinces; specially Balochistan where household members are more likely than households from any other provinces to visit a health facility or center in more than three months.

Table 4.3.3M: Gender of Last Person that visited health Facility	
	Percentage of HHs
Male	45.6
Female	54.4

Table 4.3.3M indicates that a slightly higher proportion of households (54 percent compared to 46 percent) indicated that the last person in their household to visit a health facility was a female. The gender of the person in the households who last visited a health facility has a very weak relationship with whether the household is characterized as vulnerable or not.

Table 4.3.3N: Gender of Last Person that visited health facility by Province				
	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Male	55.6	49.4	45.9	45.6
Female	44.4	50.6	54.1	54.4

Table 4.3.3N illustrates that male members from Balochistan were more likely to health facilities while females from Punjab and Sindh were slightly more likely to visit a health facility. This trend could be attributed to conservative society in Balochistan demonstrating a lack of access for women to health facilities in these provinces.

Table 4.3.3O: Diseases/Medical Problems for which last person that visited health facility made their visit	
	Percentage of HHs
Fever/Malaria	37.4
Belly/Stomach Pain	9.5
Lungs Problem	6.6
Muscle Pain	4.4
Weakness/Blood Deficiency	3.4
Cardiac Problem/Heart Diseases	5.0
Pregnancy	4.5
Hepatitis	3.0
Cancer	0.7
Operation	2.4
Dental Problem	1.2
ENT	4.7
Kidneys Problem	3.3
Immunization	0.3
Others	13.5

Table 4.3.3O lists the medical problem which led to a visit to a health center by the last person in the household who visited a health center. By far the most common medical problem for which these visits happened was fever/malaria (37 percent). The other 63 percent visits were made due to a wide range of medical issues ranging from muscle pain to cancer. The most common problems among these were stomach pain (10 percent) and lungs problem (7 percent).

Table 4.3.3P: Presence of Doctor at Last Medical Visit by Member of Household	
	Percentage of HHs
Yes	98
No	2.0

A doctor was present at the health facility last visited by a member of the respondent's household in 95 percent of the cases. This dispels the common notion that there is a high rate of absenteeism among doctors and other medical personnel. While this dispels the notion that a lot of facilities are being run by personnel who are not doctors, it may be noted that households are often unable to distinguish between doctors and other paramedical staff. Nevertheless, this may be due to reason that most household members go to private clinics and absenteeism of doctors may be very low amongst private clinics.

Table 4.3.3Q: Availability of doctor at last visit		
	Percentage of HHs	
	Government Health Facilities	Private Health Facilities
Yes	96.6	98.8
No	3.4	1.2

In the vast majority of cases a doctor was present when household member last visited a medical facility. However, a doctor was less likely to be absent from a private clinic (1.2 percent) than a government health facility (3.4 percent).

Table 4.3.3R: Satisfaction with Treatment of Doctor at Last Visit to Medical Center by Member of Household	
	Percentage of HHs
Satisfied	82.8
Dissatisfied	12.6
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	4.6

More than four-fifths (83 percent) of the respondents indicated that they were satisfied with the treatment of the doctor when a member of their household last visited a medical center. Only 13 percent indicated that they were dissatisfied while 5 percent indicated they were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied. It must be noted that these results are not the same as those shown in Table 4.3.1A which shows the level of satisfaction with government health facilities. Table 4.3.3R shows the satisfaction with the treatment of the doctor at the health facility which was last visited by a member of the household, which was a private health facility in a majority of the cases.

Table 4.3.3S: Satisfaction with Treatment by Doctor at Last Visit to Medical Center by Type of Health Facility			
	Percentage of HHs by Type of Health Facility Visited		
	Government smaller health units	Government hospitals	Private clinics
Satisfied	76.7	72.0	87.1
Dissatisfied	16.8	19.4	9.1
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	6.5	8.6	3.9

Table 4.3.3S, shows that level of satisfaction varies with respect to type of health facility visited last by a member of the household. Accordingly, household members were much more satisfied with private clinics (87 percent) in their last visit to any health facility than government smaller health units (77 percent) and especially government hospitals (72 percent). Since majority of vulnerable households use government facilities, it is important for government to improve health facilities at government hospitals and health units.

Table 4.3.3T: Satisfaction with Treatment by Doctor at Last Visit by Vulnerability		
	Percentage of HHs	
	Not vulnerable	Vulnerable
Satisfied	86.8	79.4
Dissatisfied	9.5	15.3
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	3.7	5.3

Table 4.3.3T shows that compared to households categorized as not vulnerable (87 percent), a slightly lower proportion of households categorized as vulnerable were satisfied (79 percent) with treatment of doctor at their household's last visit to a medical center. There is a relationship between vulnerability and satisfaction with doctor's treatment. Thus not vulnerable households were somewhat more likely to be satisfied with doctor's treatment whereas vulnerable households were slightly more likely to be dissatisfied with the treatment of doctor at their last visit. This may be attributed to the fact that vulnerable households were less likely to visit private health facilities for which satisfaction levels were higher compared to government health facilities.

Table 4.3.3U: Satisfaction with Treatment of Doctor by Province				
	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Satisfied	76.0	77.4	82.9	86.7
Dissatisfied	14.1	14.2	13.2	9.7
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	9.9	8.4	3.9	3.6

Household members from Punjab and Sindh were slightly more likely to be satisfied (83 and 87 percent respectively) with the treatment of doctor while household members from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan were slightly less likely to be satisfied (76 and 77 percent) with the treatment of doctors during their last visit.

Table 4.3.3V: Medicine received by household member at last visit

	Percentage of HHs
Got All Medicines	22.8
Got Some Medicines	32.6
Got No Medicine	44.6
Total	100.0

Table 4.3.3V shows that a large proportion of respondents (or their household members) did not get any medicine at their last visit to a medical facility. Only 23 percent households got all medicines from the health facility while a third (33 percent) got some of the recommended medicine from the facility. This table in itself seems to indicate a dismal state of affairs with respect to medicine availability and issuance of medicine to patients, but in light of the high levels of satisfaction displayed with these same visits, it would be prudent to consider alternate explanations.

There is no significant difference among the vulnerable and not vulnerable households whether they got all recommended medicines, some recommended medicines or no medicines at all on their last visit to a medical center.

A significantly larger proportion of respondents (or their household members) got all the recommended medicines in Punjab than in all three other provinces (29 percent as compared to 18 percent, 14 percent and 11 percent in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Balochistan and Sindh respectively). Similarly, the proportion of patients that got no medicine is the least in Punjab (34 percent) compared to the other three provinces in which the proportion ranges from 53 percent to 68 percent.

Table 4.3.3W: Knowledge of Complaint Registration at Medical Centers

	Percentage of HHs
Yes	10.7
No	89.3

Only 11 percent of the respondents claimed to have any knowledge of a complaint registration mechanism at the medical center last visited by a member of their household. For the other 89 percent of respondents, this could mean one of two things: either there is no complaint registration mechanism in these medical centers or there is a complaint registration system but the respondent does not have knowledge of it. In either case, this result confirms the notion that medical service provision in Pakistan is not geared towards receiving feedback from users of the service.

A much smaller proportion (7 percent) of households categorized as vulnerable claimed to have knowledge of a complaint registration system at a medical center last visited by their household compared to those categorized as not vulnerable (16 percent). This could either mean that the medical centers frequented by the vulnerable tend to not have complaint registration mechanisms or that there is no difference in the existence of complaint registration systems at medical centers visited by the vulnerable and not vulnerable, but that the vulnerable may be

less informed of these mechanisms because of higher illiteracy. In either case, compared to the not vulnerable, the vulnerable are deprived of a mechanism to make their concerns and complaints about medical centers known to the management of these centers.

The average expense for households in Pakistan to reach the medical facility that was visited last by a household member is Rs. 163. Nevertheless, the most common expense is only Rs. 60.

The mean or average expense of cost of ticket is only 10 rupees. Similarly the cost of medicine from government health center and from the market is rupees 48 and 580 respectively. The data shows much higher cost of medicine from market than the health facility. The most common value for ticket (parchee) cost is only rupees 2. This shows few cases with very high cost for these services. The average cost of the doctor is 179 rupees while the median is 100 rupees. Cost of medicine is quite high in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa comparatively; both with respect to center and especially with respect to cost of medicines from the market.

In addition to the household results shown above, detailed interviews were conducted in almost all Union Councils of selected districts for a qualitative input into the supply side of health service provisions. When asked how, in their opinion, local governments have impacted provision of government provided health facilities to communities, 38 percent health facility officers reported that it had improved their service provision while 60 percent noted that no change had occurred in their level and quality of service provision. When asked as to how local governments had helped in the improvement of health facilities being provided to communities the most cited reason was the interest shown by women councilors in health services and their efforts in improving basic facilities through local government funding.

Table 4.3.3X: Impact of local government on provision of health services to communities	
	Percentage of Health Facilities
Improved	37.9
No difference	60.3
Worsened	1.7

When asked whether a grievance redressal mechanism was in place at their health facility for patients that would like to register a complaint, only half of the interviewed officers noted that their facility had such a mechanism. The most frequently quoted mechanism in place in hospitals was a complaint box or register while the second most common complaint mechanism was that patients could register complaints directly with doctor or EDO health.

When asked as to whether any mechanism existed for health department to monitor and check provision of health services by government hospitals, a sizable majority (almost three fourths) noted that a mechanism was in place. When asked as to what this mechanism was, the majority noted that it they maintained stock register and records which were checked by EDO health and auditors. Additionally, many health facility officers also mentioned random spot checks by district health department officials and EDO.

Table 4.3.3Y: Condition of Government Health Facilities Interviewed			
Building		Cleanliness	
Percentage of Health Facilities		Percentage of Health Facilities	
Very Good	10	Very Clean	14
Good	70	Clean	84
Dilapidated	20	Dirty	2

When asked as to the conditions of health facilities, it was noted by enumerators that one fifth of the health facilities were in dilapidated condition while only a few were found to be dirty. These results demonstrate that the vast majority of health facilities being run by the government were in average to good condition.

Table 4.3.3Z: Percentage of Government Health Facilities where the following are Available						
Waiting Room for women	Waiting Room for Men	Female Washroom in OPD	Male Washroom in OPD	OPD Consulting Room	Presence of other people during consultation	Separation during Medical checkup
82	62	58	42	72	42	80

When asked as to what facilities were available in health centers being run by the government, a sizable majority said that a separate waiting room for women was available at the health facility while a smaller majority said that a similar separate room was available for men. In all likelihood, men used the open waiting area which had general seating, while women used a separate waiting area in government run health facilities. Additionally, almost half of the responses noted that separate washrooms were available for women in Out Patient Departments (OPD) while almost one third noted that OPD consulting room was available. However, an alarming trend was witnessed, which showed that in fewer than half the cases, other people were present during doctors examination of patients. Overall, the gender gap in health facilities is much lower than in other public service facilities as separate arrangements for women have been made. However, while a majority noted that separate washrooms for women were available, the numbers are still much lower than expected, as this facility is extremely important for women to continue accessing a health facility.

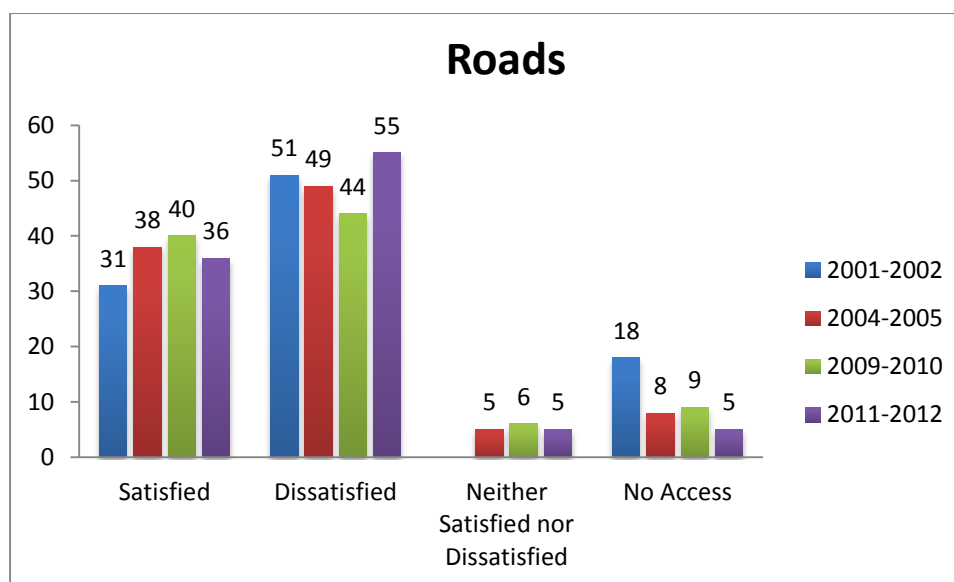
4.4 Roads

Roads have been one of the main public services where consecutive governments have put in heavy investments across the country. Indeed, a wide, quality road network is an essential element in the economic prosperity of a country. In Pakistan, the situation of the road network has received attention from the highest government circles in the past decade, irrespective of which regime we analyze. In this respect, this section outlines citizen's satisfaction with and perceptions of the road network in the country.

4.4.1 Comparative Analysis

This section compares the satisfaction and access to road service reported by households across Pakistan, between 2001-2002 and 2011-2012.

Graph 4.4.1: Roads: Comparison from 2001 to 2012



Access to roads increased considerably between 2001-2002 and 2011-2012 as the percentage of households reporting that they had access to the service increased from 82 percent to 95 percent. Therefore, a considerable trend towards increased access was evident from social audit data. However, 2011-2012 saw a turnaround in the trend towards satisfaction of citizens from the road network in the country. Indeed, from 2001 onwards, with heavy investments in roads, satisfaction of users was increasing steadily from 31 percent in 2001-2002 to 40 percent in 2009-2010, nevertheless satisfaction of households from roads decreased in 2011-2012 to 36 percent households reporting that they were satisfied from the service. Correspondingly, percentage of households reporting that they were dissatisfied with the service increased almost 11 percentage points with 55 percent households in 2011-2012 reporting that they were dissatisfied with the service.

Table 4.4.1A : Satisfaction or Dissatisfaction with Roads

	Percentage of HHs			
	2001-2002	2004-2005	2009-2010	2011-2012
Satisfied	31	38	40	36
Dissatisfied	51	49	44	55
Neither Satisfied nor Dissatisfied		5	6	5
No Access	18	8	9	5

As a public service which had been improving steadily over the past decade, its decline is of key concern amid the importance of adequate road networks in providing the means of access to many other services such as education and health, along with the importance of roads in spurring economic growth by providing market access in a country where a sizable proportion of households is engaged in agriculture.

4.4.2 Provincial and Vulnerability Analysis

Table 4.4.2A shows the service availability/ non availability of roads and its relationship between Not Vulnerable and Vulnerable households. Not vulnerable households were very slightly less likely than vulnerable to report that road service was not available in their area.

Table 4.4.2A: Availability of Road Service By Vulnerability		
	Percentage of HHs	
	Not Vulnerable	Vulnerable
Service not available	3.1	6.0
Service available	96.9	94.0

Table 4.4.2B reflects Province wise distribution of Roads. Although the satisfaction level with roads has risen to 40% in 2009-2010 as compared to earlier surveys according to the Social Audit Report 2010, the proportion of households who feel that the service is not available remains relatively higher in Balochistan province as compared to Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab as almost 16 percent households reported that they did not have access to road services in the province.

Table 4.4.2B: Availability of Road Service By Province				
	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Service not available	16.1	5.0	4.5	2.3
Service available	83.9	95.0	95.5	97.7

One key reason for this finding may be correlated with the long distances in Balochistan and the corresponding difficulties in maintaining road networks in the Province. The Province that reported the most access to roads was Sindh with almost 98 percent households reporting that the service was available to them.

Table 4.4.2C: Satisfaction with Road Service by Vulnerability		
	Percentage of HHs	
	Not vulnerable	vulnerable
Satisfied	38.8	35.9

Dissatisfied	55.2	59.1
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	6.0	5.0

Not vulnerable households were very slightly more satisfied with road services than vulnerable households; however, no discernable difference was evident in the satisfaction levels between vulnerable and not vulnerable households. Nevertheless, provincial differences in the level of satisfaction in households were large as reflected in Table 4.4.2D below.

Table 4.4.2D: Satisfaction with Road Service by Province

	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Satisfied	27.1	40.1	35.4	39.9
Dissatisfied	58.7	51.8	60.1	54.3
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	14.2	8.0	4.4	5.8

Households in Balochistan are significantly less satisfied with roads compared to the other three provinces, with only a little more than a quarter (27 percent) of respondents indicating that they were satisfied with roads. This is expected given the fact that the road network in Balochistan is not nearly as dense and well maintained as the other three provinces. In the other three provinces, the satisfaction level is fairly similar with households in Punjab being very slightly less likely to be satisfied with roads compared to those in Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

One important finding of the above table is that percentage of household dissatisfied with the quality of roads is highest in Punjab; this is interesting considering the fact that provincial government in Punjab is known to have a strong predilection towards construction of roads and infrastructure. This statement of Punjab government being excessively interested in construction of roads was also substantiated by the case study of the budgetary trends in the district of Lahore where allocation for roads was raised to Rs.984.689 million in FY 2010-11 from Rs.408.64 million in FY 2006-7. Similarly, the result of 60 percent household being dissatisfied with roads in Punjab was also substantiated by our case study analysis where we had seen that 55 percent of the respondents from district Lahore were dissatisfied with roads to an extent that roads were recorded as the second most dissatisfied service in Lahore after sanitation.

4.5 Drinking Water Supply

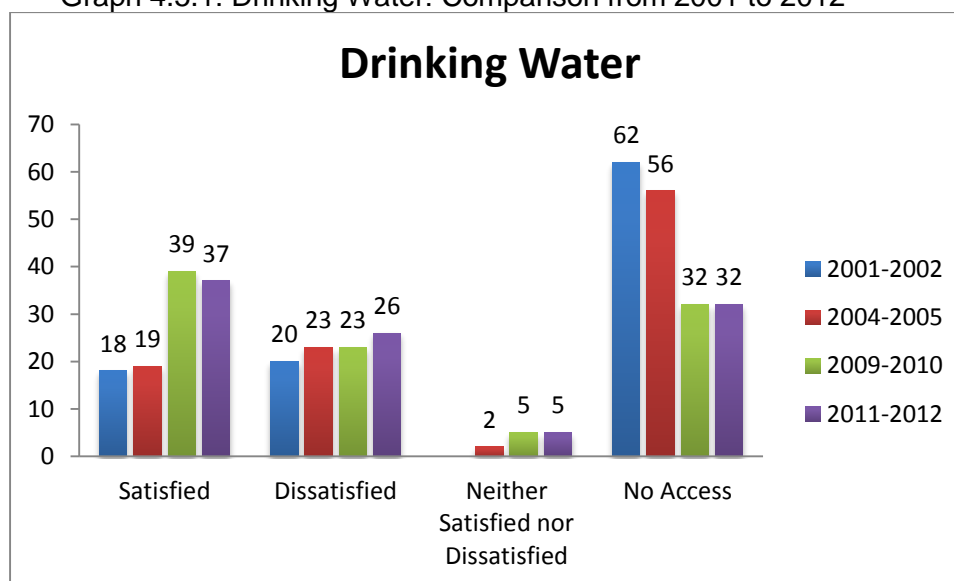
Access to clean drinking water is an essential right of every citizen. Indeed, lack of access to clean drinking water results in numerous illnesses, many of which result in high mortality rates amongst the population, especially amongst women and children. One of the government's priorities should be access to clean drinking water so as to increase health indicators amongst the population of the country. This section examines access to and satisfaction with clean drinking water in Pakistan. The results are eye opening for health professionals and

demonstrate the continued commitment and effort required by the government to improve this important public service.

4.5.1 Comparative Analysis

The following section outlines trends emerging in household access and satisfaction with drinking water provision across Pakistan, between 2001 and 2012.

Graph 4.5.1: Drinking Water: Comparison from 2001 to 2012



The social audit iteration of 2009-2010 saw a dramatic rise in access to government drinking water supply across Pakistan as 32 percent households reported having no access to the service compared to 52 percent households in 2004-2005. However, no improvement or deterioration in access to this service has been witnessed since then with 32 percent households in 2011-2012 again reporting that they had no access to the service.

Table 4.5.1A: Satisfaction with Government Drinking Water Supply

	Percentage of HHs			
	2001-2002	2004-2005	2009-2010	2011-2012
Satisfied	18	19	39	37
Dissatisfied	20	23	23	26
Neither Satisfied nor Dissatisfied		2	5	5
No Access	62	56	32	32

Correspondingly, a similar increase in the proportion of households satisfied with drinking water service also saw an increase in 2009-2010. Nevertheless, with access levels remaining the

same, a slight decrease in satisfaction of households has been witnessed in 2011-2012 from 39 percent households satisfied in 2009-2010 to around 37 percent households satisfied in 2011-2012. This demonstrates that quality of public service provision has decline marginally across Pakistan.

4.5.2 Provincial and Vulnerability Analysis

Table 4.5.2A shows that vulnerable households are significantly more likely to report that they do not have access to government drinking water supply. More than one-third (37 percent) of vulnerable households indicated that they do not have access to government drinking water supply compared to only one-fourth of not-vulnerable households.

This fact is substantiated by the results of FGDs conducted with the marginalized communities in all the four provinces, where lack of clean drinking water was mentioned as a problem faced by the marginalized community especially in the province of Sindh.

Table 4.5.2A: Access to Government Water Supply by Vulnerability		
	Percentage of HHs	
	Not Vulnerable	Vulnerable
Service not available	25.7	36.6
Service available	74.3	63.4

Table 4.5.2B shows access to government water services by province. Surprisingly, considering the high population density and higher overall development of Punjab, a higher proportion of respondents in Punjab (39 percent) indicated that they do not have access to government drinking water compared to any other province (11 percent - 30 percent). Punjab is followed, predictably, by Balochistan, where 30 percent of households do not have access to government water services. The situation is far better in Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, where 89 percent and 85 percent of respondents respectively indicated that they do have access to government water services. The better situation in Sindh may be due to high urbanization in the province with a large population of the province residing in Hyderabad and Karachi. However, the rural marginalized community of Sindh reported clean drinking water as a major problem of their area during the FGD. Considering the severity of the issue community had taken the initiative and water supply system was established where LG just installed tube wells and community bear the cost of bringing pipelines to their houses as well as generated the running and maintenance cost of those tube wells by collecting 300 rupees from each household. Similarly according to marginalized community of urban Sindh situation of water and sanitation is equally worse in urban areas where prevalence of water borne diseases was reported to have increased in last two years.

Table 4.5.2B: Access to Government Drinking Water Supply by Province				
	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Service not	29.8	15.0	38.7	11.1

available				
Service available	70.2	85.0	61.3	88.9

There is a small but significant difference, with the vulnerable slightly less likely to report satisfaction (53 percent) with government water services compared to the not-vulnerable households (almost 57 percent). Not vulnerable are very slightly more likely to be satisfied with government water services as compared to vulnerable households.

Table 4.5.2C: Satisfaction with Government Drinking Water Supply by Vulnerability

	Percentage of HHs	
	Not vulnerable	vulnerable
Satisfied	56.5	52.6
Dissatisfied	37.2	40.0
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	6.2	7.4

Table 4.5.2D shows the level of satisfaction with service provision of water by province. Residents in Sindh are most satisfied with government water services, with three-fifths of respondents indicating that they are satisfied. This is only slightly higher than the satisfaction in Punjab, which is in turn significantly higher than the satisfaction in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa where only 45 percent of respondents indicated they were satisfied with water supply. The situation in Balochistan with respect to this question is by far the worst, with less than one-third (32 percent) of respondents indicating they were satisfied with government water supply. There is, therefore, a clear ranking in the satisfaction with water among provinces, with Sindh displaying the highest satisfaction followed by Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan. The high percentage of dissatisfied households in Balochistan, with government water services, is corroborated by the findings of FGDs conducted with different groups in Balochistan. According to the rural marginalized community of Balochistan there has not been any change for the better in the present system rather situation has grown from bad to worst. Drinking water is the biggest issue of our area but nothing has been done in this regard

Table 4.5.2D: Satisfaction with Government Water Services by Province

	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Satisfied	31.6	44.8	55.2	60.4
Dissatisfied	49.1	42.3	38.5	35.6
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	19.4	13.0	6.3	3.9

4.5.3 Source and Distance of Drinking Water Supply

The following section examines, nationally, two important factors associated with drinking water namely; source of drinking water and distance required to fetch drinking water.

Table 4.5.3A: Household's Source of Drinking Water	
	Percentage of HHs
Piped Water In House	37.5
Piped Water in Community	5.5
Hand Pump In House	30.8
Community Hand Pump	6.3
Community Well	1.6
Tube well In house	7.5
Supply through water tanker	1.4
Tube Well in Community	3.3
Canal/Pond	4.7
Mineral Water	1.3

Table 4.5.3A shows the sources through which households obtain drinking water. The two most common sources are piped water (38 percent) and hand pump in the house (31 percent). A significant 8 percent get water through a tube well in the house, 6 percent get water from a community hand pump while 5 percent use a canal/pond for drinking water. The overall results show that more than three-fourths of households get drinking water in their house through a variety of means (pipes, hand pump, tube well, mineral water) while less than a quarter have to turn to the community or other sources for their drinking water with 4.7 percent households drinking the most vulnerable sourced water, from canal/pond, which is most likely to be contaminated. Additionally, many underground sources of water in communities residing close to industrial areas are highly likely to be drinking contaminated water as industrial waste is dumped underground or in streams nearby.

Table 4.5.3B: Distance of Water Supply from House	
	Percentage of HHs
Less than 250 meter	49.2
250-500 meter	17.8
250 meter to 1 Km	16.0
1-3 Km	9.9
More than 3 Km	7.2

For respondents that did not get drinking water from source located within their own house, table 4.5.3B lists how far their water supply is from their house. For half of these respondents, the water supply is within 250 m. For another third, the water supply is between 250m to 1 km. One sixth of all respondents (17 percent) travel more than a kilometer for their water supply with 7 percent households having to cover distances greater than 3 kilometers.

If we analyze it further we realize that these 17 percent would normally be women and children, especially young girls, who would have to travel more than 1 km every day to fetch clean drinking water for their households. FGDs with marginalized communities in rural Sindh reported that when tube wells were installed under the previous local government and children did not have to walk longer distances to fetch water, attendance in schools improved.

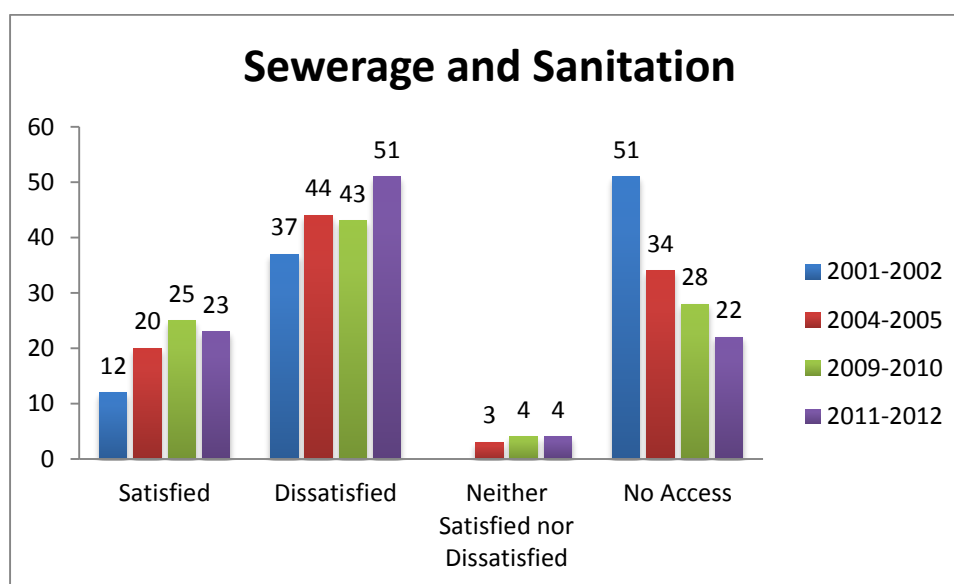
4.6 Sewerage and Sanitation

Availability of adequate sewerage and sanitation in the country, particularly in urban and peri-urban areas, is a key indicator of development and affects living standards of citizens. In Pakistan, sewerage and sanitation has been on the agenda of local governments since 1960's with this service being implemented at the tehsil and/or union council levels through various local government systems. Indeed, its importance in maintaining hygiene standards of settlements, preventing outbreaks of epidemics and its impact in the health of communities make this public service an essential element of measuring the state-citizen relationship. In this regard, the following sections examines the governments delivery of sewerage and sanitation across Pakistan, particularly analyzing the trends in satisfaction amongst households with this public service over the past decade,

4.6.1 Comparative Analysis

The following section provides a comparative analysis of government provisioning of sewerage and sanitation over the past decade.

Graph: Sewerage and Sanitation: Comparison from 2001 to 2012



The percentage of households having access to sewerage and sanitation has improved dramatically over the past decade. Indeed, increasing access to this public service can be quoted as an achievement of successive governments over the years. In 2011-2012 households reporting no access to government provided sewerage and sanitation decreased from 28 percent in 2009 – 2010 to about 22 percent households in 2011-2012. Since 2004-2005 iteration of the social audit, the percentage of households having access to sewerage and sanitation have been increasing steady by six percentage points.

Table 4.6.1A: Satisfaction or Dissatisfaction with Sewerage and Sanitation

	Percentage of HHs			
	2001-2002	2004-2005	2009-2010	2011-2012
Satisfied	12	20	25	23
Dissatisfied	37	44	43	51
Neither Satisfied nor Dissatisfied		3	4	4
No Access	51	34	28	22

While the government has been successful in increasing the level of access of sewerage and sanitation across Pakistan to communities, a key question on the quality of this public service is raised by analyzing data available. Of the households that did have access to this service, an astounding 51 percent households, reported that they were dissatisfied with sewerage and sanitation services available in their communities. Between 2009-2010 and 2011-2012, the percentage of households reporting that they were dissatisfied with sewerage and sanitation increased by almost 8 percentage points from 43 percent.

While the government has helped improve access to sanitation similar attention is now required in improving quality of service provision.

4.6.2 Provincial and Vulnerability Analysis

Table 4.6.2A shows that there is a considerable difference in access to sanitation among the vulnerable and the not-vulnerable population. Almost one-third of the vulnerable households (32 percent) indicated that they do not have access to sanitation while only a tenth of the not-vulnerable households indicated the same. It is therefore evident that the government has failed in providing adequate sanitation services to vulnerable communities.

Table 4.6.2A: Access to Sewerage and Sanitation by Vulnerability

	Percentage of HHs	
	Not Vulnerable	Vulnerable
Service not available	10.4	31.6
Service available	89.6	68.4

Table 4.6.2B shows the sanitation service availability with respect to the provinces. Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa have similarly high levels of sanitation service availability at 86 percent and 82 percent. Sindh has lower access to sanitation than Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab, at 74 percent. Access in Sindh is still higher than Balochistan, however, which lags behind all the other three provinces with only 54 percent of respondents indicating that they have access to sanitation services.

Table 4.6.2B: Access to Sewerage and Sanitation by Province				
	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Service not available	45.5	17.9	14.5	26.5
Service available	54.5	82.1	85.5	73.5

Table 4.6.2B shows that the vulnerable households are less likely to report satisfaction with sanitation services and more likely to report dissatisfaction with sanitation services as compared to the not-vulnerable households. Similar to the analysis above on access to sanitation, it seems that the government is not prioritizing sanitation in areas where the vulnerable households mostly reside.

Table 4.6.2C: Satisfaction with Sewerage and Sanitation by Vulnerability		
	Percentage of HHs	
	Not vulnerable	vulnerable
Satisfied	33.0	25.7
Dissatisfied	61.9	69.1
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	5.2	5.2

Table 4.6.2D shows satisfaction with sanitation services with respect to the provinces. Households in Sindh and Punjab are more likely to be satisfied with sanitation compared to those in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan. Among Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan, there is also a significant difference in satisfaction with only 11 percent of households in Balochistan expressing satisfaction with sanitation compared to 22 percent in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. This reflects that the government is failing to satisfy citizen's demand for sanitation in all four provinces, but more so in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan, and especially so in Balochistan where only 1 out of 9 households are satisfied with sanitation compared to 2 out of 9 for Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and almost 3 out of 9 for Sindh and Punjab.

However, there was a consensus among the FGD participants of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa that no improvement has been made in the delivery of these basic services. Besides these, water supply and drainage issues are still present in most of the rural as well as urban areas. Most of the participants were of the view that service delivery has further deteriorated under the present system.

Table 4.6.2D: Satisfaction with Sewerage and Sanitation by Province				
	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Satisfied	11.4	21.6	30.6	31.3
Dissatisfied	71.4	68.2	65.4	62.7
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	17.2	10.2	4.0	6.0

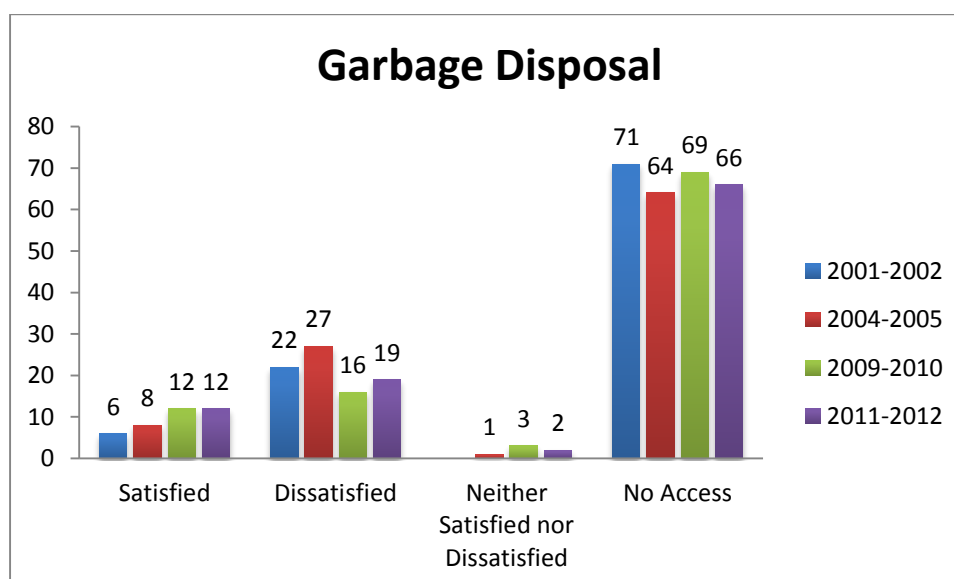
4.7 Garbage Disposal

Garbage disposal has been one publicly provided government service which has been lacking across Pakistan during the past decade. Previous rounds of social audit had demonstrated that most households across Pakistan reported that they did not have access to this service. This section seeks to examine if any noteworthy improvements in public service delivery of garbage disposal has occurred during the past two years.

4.7.1 Comparative Analysis

Comparing 2011-2012 results from the current iteration of social audit with its previous iterations, this section seeks to examine satisfaction and access, with respect to, garbage disposal in Pakistan.

Graph 4.7.1: Garbage Disposal: Comparison from 2001 to 2012



As demonstrated in earlier social audits, citizen access to garbage disposal service by the government has been negligible over the past decade. While the percentage of households report no access to the service declined slightly in 2011-2012 to 66 percent households compared with 69 percent households in 2009-2010, there is no discernable trend in

improvement in access and even so the vast majority of households do not have access to this service.

Table 4.7.1A: Satisfaction or Dissatisfaction with Garbage Disposal

	Percentage of HHs			
	2001-2002	2004-2005	2009-2010	2011-2012
Satisfied	6	8	12	12
Dissatisfied	22	27	16	19
Neither Satisfied nor Dissatisfied		1	3	2
No Access	71	64	69	66

Of those households that reported access to government provided garbage disposal, the percentage of households satisfied with the service remained the same between 2011-2012 and 2009-2010. However, the percentage of households reporting dissatisfaction with garbage disposal increased to 19 percent in 2011-2012 from 16 percent in 2009-2010.

4.7.2 Provincial and Vulnerability Analysis

Table 4.7.2A shows access to garbage disposal services by vulnerability. There is a very clear difference in access between the vulnerable and the not-vulnerable, with more than three-fourths (78 percent) of the vulnerable indicating they do not have access to garbage disposal services compared to only a little more than half (52 percent) of the not-vulnerable.

Table 4.7.2A: Access to Garbage Disposal Services by Vulnerability

	Percentage of HHs	
	Not Vulnerable	Vulnerable
Service not available	52.2	77.5
Service available	47.8	22.5

Table 4.7.2B shows access to garbage disposal services based on provinces. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab have similarly low levels of access to garbage disposal services, with one-third or less (31 percent – 33 percent) of respondents indicating that they do not have access. Surprisingly, Balochistan has higher levels of access to garbage disposal services with 44 of respondents indicating so. Sindh has higher access compared to all three other provinces, with a majority (61 percent) of respondents indicating that they have access to garbage disposal services. Hence the garbage disposal service is much more likely to be available in Sindh than other provinces.

Table 4.7.2B: Access to Garbage Disposal Services by Province

	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh

Service not available	55.6	69.3	66.9	38.7
Service available	44.4	30.7	33.1	61.3

Table 4.7.2C shows satisfaction with garbage disposal services by vulnerability. There is a clear difference among the vulnerable and the not-vulnerable population, with only about a quarter of the vulnerable population (26 percent) being satisfied with garbage disposal compared to 42 percent for the not-vulnerable. The trend clearly depicts that not vulnerable households are much more likely to be satisfied with garbage disposal services by the government than vulnerable households.

Table 4.7.2C: Satisfaction with Garbage Disposal Services by Vulnerability

	Percentage of HHs	
	Not vulnerable	vulnerable
Satisfied	42.4	26.0
Dissatisfied	51.0	66.4
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	6.5	7.5

Again this may be due to segregated areas occupied by vulnerable and not vulnerable households whereby government service delivery to vulnerable community areas is lacking compared to service provision of garbage disposal in not vulnerable communities.

Table 4.7.2D: Satisfaction with Garbage Disposal Services by Province

	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Satisfied	13.0	21.1	40.1	37.0
Dissatisfied	63.3	68.3	52.3	58.4
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	23.7	10.6	7.6	4.6

Table 4.7.2D shows the level of satisfaction with garbage disposal across the provinces. Residents in Balochistan are least satisfied with garbage disposal with only 13 percent of respondents who have access to garbage disposal indicating they were satisfied. Satisfaction levels were also low, but higher than Balochistan, in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa where a little more than a fifth of respondents indicated they were satisfied. The situation is comparatively better in Punjab and Sindh compared with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan.

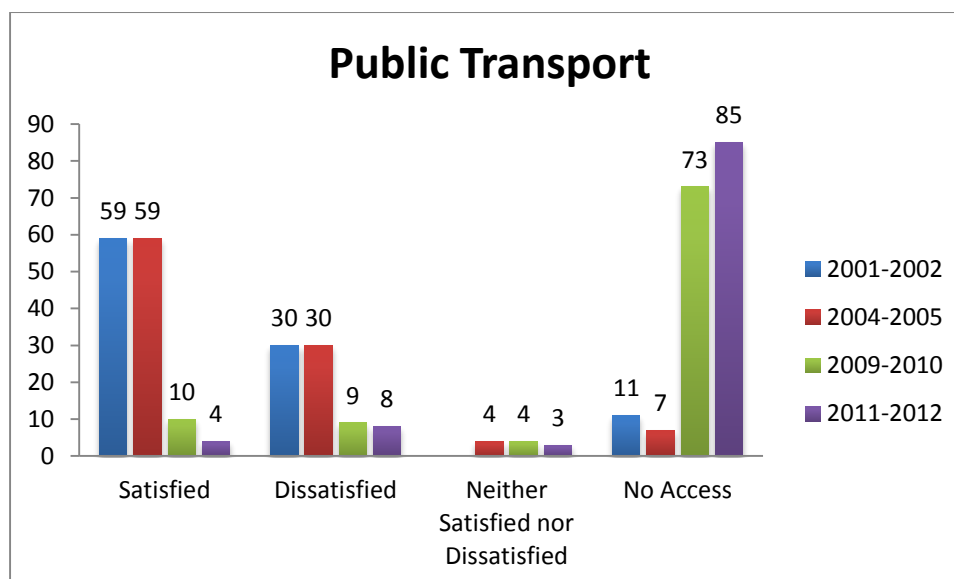
4.8 Public Transport

Public transport, for the purpose of social audit, is used to refer to government provided transport services being availed by the general public including buses, railways and airlines. Government provided public transport plays a crucial role in the mobility of citizens across the country. The following section of the current chapter examines trends in access and satisfaction with public transport.

4.8.1 Comparative Analysis

When comparing citizen satisfaction with government provided public transport one important caveat that must be understood when examining the results of the four iterations of social audits is that the term “public transport” colloquially, in Pakistan, is used to refer to all forms of transport that are used by citizens irrespective of whether they are provided by private operators or the government. The difference in results between the first two iterations and last two iterations of the social audit is due to this difference. In the first two iterations, the questionnaire used the term “public transport” without explaining that it meant transport provided by the government. This was corrected in the following two iterations where respondents were told that satisfaction and access were being measured for government provided public transport only.

Graph 4.8.1: Public Transport: Comparison from 2001 to 2012



Given the understanding above, we can note that the difference in access and satisfaction between 2004-2005 and 2009-2010 is explained by respondents understanding of the term “public transport”. Therefore, of relevance to our analysis is the change that occurred between 2009-2010 and 2011-2012. In this respect we can note that the percentage of households reporting no access to government provided public transport increased from 73 percent households in 2009-2010 to 85 percent in 2011-2012 demonstrating a decreased in public service delivery.

Table 4.8.1A: Satisfaction with Public Transport				
	Percentage of HHs			
	2001-2002	2004-2005	2009-2010	2011-2012
Satisfied	59	59	10	4
Dissatisfied	30	30	9	8
Neither Satisfied nor Dissatisfied		4	4	3
No Access	11	7	73	85

Table 4.8.1A shows that, as stated above, the majority of households did not have access to the service, the percentage of households that were satisfied with public transport decreased from 10 percent in 2009-2010 to only 4 percent households in 2011-2012.

Importantly, across Pakistan, government provided public transport presents a dismal picture in terms of both access and satisfaction.

4.8.2 Provincial and Vulnerability Analysis

Table 4.8.2A shows transport service delivery in vulnerable and not-vulnerable households. As usual, the results show that the vulnerable are much more likely to indicate that they do not have any transport service provided by the government, with more than nine-tenths of vulnerable households indicating so. In the not-vulnerable households, while 77 percent do not have access to education, this level of access is still much higher than those who belong to vulnerable households.

Table 4.8.2A: Access to Public Transport by Vulnerability		
	Percentage of HHs	
	Not Vulnerable	Vulnerable
Service not available	76.9	91.1
Service available	23.1	8.9

Province wise results show a clear division in access to transport to service between two groups of provinces: Sindh and Balochistan have significantly higher levels of access to government transport services compared to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab.

Table 4.8.3B: Access to Public Transport by Province	
	Province

	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Service not available	65.1	85.0	84.0	63.2
Service available	34.9	15.0	16.0	36.8

These results are surprising, considering that Balochistan is typically considered to be facing serious problems with regard to transport considering its scattered settlements and lack of government penetration. While it is hard to explain these results with more pertinent data, one reason may be that the private sector is doing a decent job of providing transport services in Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Table 4.8.2C: Satisfaction with Public Transport by Vulnerability

	Percentage of HHs	
	Not vulnerable	vulnerable
Satisfied	23.4	24.1
Dissatisfied	56.7	49.1
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	19.9	26.8

Table 4.8.2C shows satisfaction with transport services by vulnerability. The results show that there is no clear difference among the vulnerable and the not-vulnerable with respect to satisfaction with public transport. However, interestingly not vulnerable households are more dissatisfied than vulnerable households with the service of public transport.

Table 4.8.2D: Satisfaction with Public Transport by Province

	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Satisfied	11.0	32.5	23.2	21.8
Dissatisfied	58.7	36.6	51.6	61.1
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	30.3	31.0	25.2	17.1

Table 4.8.2D shows satisfaction with public transport by province. The satisfaction is lowest in Balochistan (11 percent), a little higher in Sindh and Punjab (22 percent – 23 percent) and highest in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (33 percent). Compared to the results with respect to access to public transport, it seems that while the government is providing public transport to a higher proportion of the population of Balochistan, it is failing to satisfy them with respect to public transport. On the other hand, while Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has very low access to government provided public transport, there is relative satisfaction although in absolute terms only 1 in 3 users of government provided public transport are satisfied even in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Some of the transporters, included in the FGD conducted with rural interest groups in Balochistan, seemed reasonably satisfied with the existing system as according to them in

pervious system problems of transporters were never looked into while under the present system their issues were resolved by the local administration and bus stands of the area were reconstructed as per the demands of the transporters.

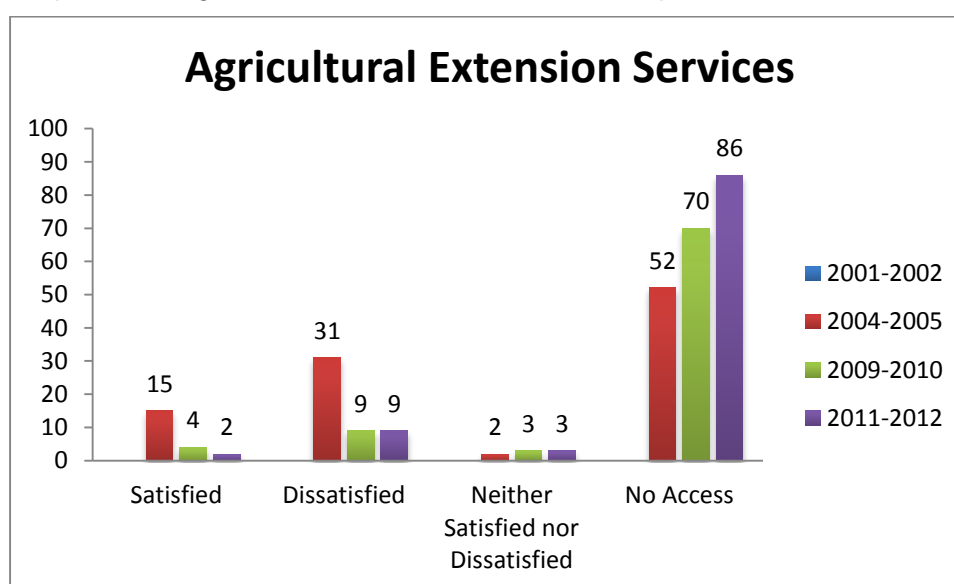
4.9 Agricultural Extension Services

Agricultural extension services are provided by the government in rural areas of Pakistan as support services for the agricultural economy which includes providing education to farmers on the quality of their soil, which crops to grow, how to grow them, sowing patterns and other information necessary for gaining maximum yields. Additionally, the government agricultural extension services also provide access to and information on high yield seeds and fertilizers. This section examines government delivery of this public service to communities across Pakistan.

4.9.1 Comparative Analysis

A comparative analysis of government provided agricultural extension services shows an alarming trend of increasing lack of access amongst communities of this service.

Graph 4.9.1: Agricultural Extension Services: Comparison from 2001 to 2012



Percentage of households reporting no access to agricultural extension services increased from 70 percent in 2009-2010 to 86 percent in 2011-2012. A steady increase in the number of households who do not have access to agricultural extension services was witnessed from 2004 onwards. This demonstrated an alarming trend, particularly in an agricultural based economy.

Table 4.9.1A: Satisfaction or Dissatisfaction with Agriculture Extension

Percentage of HHs

	2004-2005	2009-2010	2011-2012
Satisfied	15	4	2
Dissatisfied	31	9	9
Neither Satisfied nor Dissatisfied	2	3	3
No Access	52	70	86

Table 4.9.1A shows that while the percentage of households that were dissatisfied or indifferent towards agricultural extension remained the same between 2009-2010 and 2011-2012, the percentage of households satisfied decreased to only 2 percent. This is again alarming in light of the fact that in 2004-2005 15 percent households had reported satisfaction with government provided agricultural extension services.

Satisfaction for agricultural services was calculated by including 'no access' in the table above. However, if we calculate satisfaction amongst only those households that had access to agricultural extension services, Social Audit results demonstrate that 16 percent households reported satisfaction. This result is comparable to PLSMS 2010-2011 result where 14 percent households that had access to the service reported satisfaction.

4.9.2 Provincial and Vulnerability Analysis

Table 4.9.2A shows availability of government agricultural services across vulnerable and not-vulnerable households. Vulnerable households are more likely to report that they have access. While this result is unintuitive, this may be reflective of the fact that a higher proportion of the vulnerable population is engaged in agriculture compared to the not-vulnerable population.

Table 4.9.2A: Access to Agricultural Services by Vulnerability		
	Percentage of HHs	
	Not Vulnerable	Vulnerable
Service not available	88.6	83.0
Service available	11.4	17.0

Table 4.9.2B shows the availability of government agricultural services by province. The only clear distinction here is between Balochistan and the other three provinces. Access to agricultural services is higher in Balochistan compared to the other three provinces. More than a quarter (27 percent) of households in Balochistan indicated that they have access to government agricultural services compared to a mere 12 percent to 16 percent for the other three provinces.

Table 4.9.2B: Access to Agricultural Services by Province				
	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh

Service not available	72.7	86.3	87.6	83.6
Service available	27.3	13.7	12.4	16.4

Table 4.9.2C shows satisfaction with agricultural services by province. Given the small number of responses to this question, the only conclusive statement that may be made here is that households in Balochistan are significantly less likely to be satisfied with government agricultural services compared to households in Punjab

Table 4.9.2C: Satisfaction with Agricultural Services by Province				
	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Satisfied	5.7	9.2	19.7	12.9
Dissatisfied	63.0	57.1	57.5	73.0
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	31.3	33.6	22.8	14.1

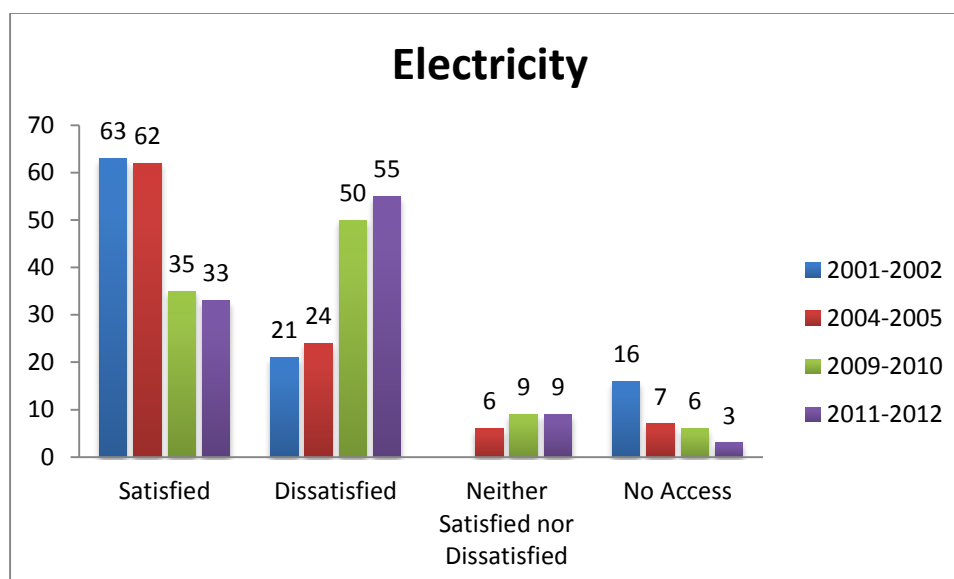
4.10 Electricity

Electricity, though a federal subject, is a basic service that affects every household in the country. Electricity supply in Pakistan saw a significant increase in the 1990's when successive governments launched campaigns to increase access of electricity to cover even the remotest areas of the country. Since mid-2000's, electricity supply has gained national headlines, in so far as citizens perceptions on electricity supply have resulted in demonstrations and debates on ways to improve this crucial public service in the country. The following section examines household perceptions about this public service.

4.10.1 Comparative analysis

A comparative analysis of electricity supply between 2001 and 2012 provides the reader with a trend on the deteriorating situation of this public service which affects both households and industrial production in Pakistan.

Graph 4.10.1: Electricity: Comparison from 2001 to 2012



The percentage of households with access to electricity has been increasing steadily since 2001. Indeed, from around 84 percent households reporting they had access to electricity in 2001-2002, today 97 percent households report that they have access to electricity, implying that almost all of Pakistan's citizens have an electricity connection. Nevertheless, this remarkable achievement of reaching out to 97 percent households in Pakistan with connections is marred heavily by the level of satisfaction reported by households on electricity supply.

Between 2004-2005 and 2009-2010, there has been a dramatic decrease in the percentage of households reporting satisfaction with electricity supply from 62 percent to almost half (35 percent) in 2009-2010. What is critical here is that while a majority of households were satisfied with electricity supply during the first half of the decade, this has been reversed to a majority of households now being dissatisfied with this public service. Between 2009-2010 and 2011-2012, the percentage of households reporting satisfaction with the service declined by 2 percentage points to 33 percent while the proportion of households dissatisfied with the service increased by 5 percentage points to 55 percent in 2011-2012.

Table 4.10.1A: Satisfaction with Electricity

	Percentage of HHs			
	2001-2002	2004-2005	2009-2010	2011-2012
Satisfied	63	62	35	33
Dissatisfied	21	24	50	55
Neither Satisfied nor Dissatisfied		6	9	9
No Access	16	7	6	3

The deplorable condition of electricity supply and the lack of satisfaction of users requires urgent attention by the government at the local levels.

4.10.2 Provincial and vulnerability analysis

Table 4.10.2A shows that there is a small, but significant difference in access to electricity between the vulnerable and the not-vulnerable. The vulnerable are slightly more likely to report that they do not have access to electricity.

4.10.2A: Access to Electricity by Vulnerability		
	Percentage of HHs	
	Not Vulnerable	Vulnerable
Service not available	1.3	4.7
Service available	98.7	95.3

However, a key finding is that even amongst vulnerable households the vast majority have access to electricity connections with 95.3 percent vulnerable households reporting that they had electricity service available. Table 4.10.2B shows access to electricity across provinces. Access to electricity is lowest in Balochistan, where a tenth of respondents indicated that they do not have electricity. Access to electricity is highest in Punjab as compared to other provinces.

4.10.2B: Access to Electricity by Province				
	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Service not available	9.8	4.1	1.2	4.2
Service available	90.2	95.9	98.8	95.8

In Balochistan, the highest number of households, almost 10 percent households, noted that they did not have electricity. Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, with 4.2 and 4.2 have the same penetration of electricity.

Interestingly, not vulnerable households were slightly more likely than vulnerable households to be dissatisfied with provision of electricity. One explanation for this result may be that not vulnerable households are more likely to have higher expectations of uninterrupted electricity supply and hence are more likely to be dissatisfied. Another reason could be that since not vulnerable have slightly more access to electricity as compared to vulnerable, they are likely to be more dissatisfied with the provision of electricity too.

Table 4.10.2C: Satisfaction with Electricity by Vulnerability		
	Percentage of HHs	
	Not vulnerable	Vulnerable
Satisfied	30.6	37.1

Dissatisfied	60.6	52.9
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	8.8	10.0

Table 4.10.2D shows that there is considerable variation among the provinces in terms of satisfaction with electricity services. A similar proportion of respondents in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan indicated that they were satisfied with electricity, but significantly more respondents in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa compared to Balochistan said that they were dissatisfied (the difference being accounted for by those who said they were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied). Residents in Punjab (26.5 percent) are significantly more likely to be satisfied compared to those in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan but significantly less likely than those in Sindh with almost half (51 percent) households in Sindh reporting they were satisfied by electricity supply in their communities.

Table 4.10.2D: Satisfaction with Electricity by Province

	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Satisfied	17.7	13.7	26.5	51.2
Dissatisfied	61.0	72.4	65.0	41.2
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	21.4	13.9	8.5	7.6

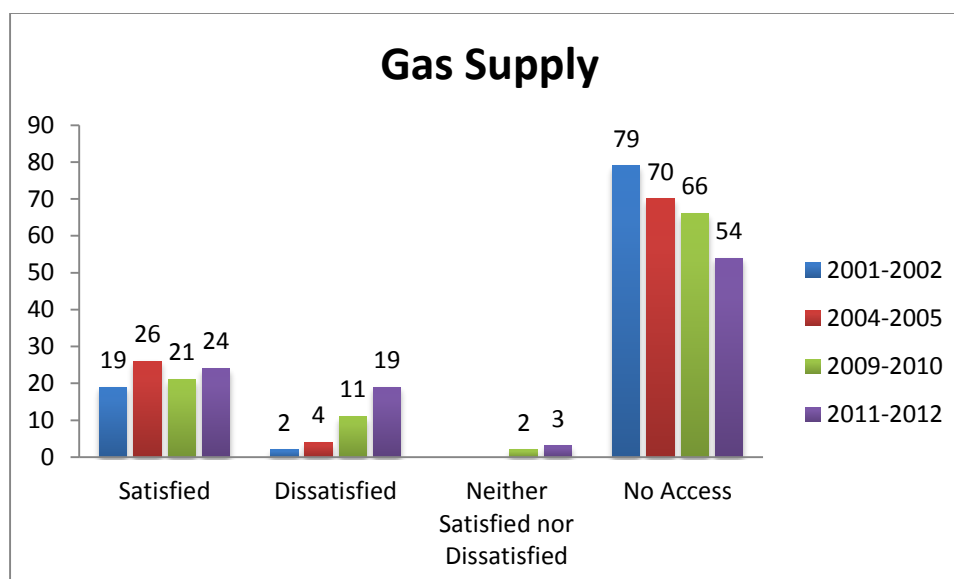
4.11 Gas

Along with electricity, gas is the other federal subject public service, which though not linked with local governments, yet is such an essential service that it affects each community. The following section examines access to gas supply and satisfaction with this important public service across Pakistan. It is significant to note, that previous social audits have demonstrated that unlike electricity, the majority of communities in Pakistan do not have access to gas supply.

4.11.1 Comparative Analysis

Comparative analysis of gas supply by government between 2001 and 2012 provides interesting trends in access. However, no discernable trend is evident in satisfaction levels amongst households concerning gas supply by the government.

Graph 4.11.1: Gas Supply: Comparison from 2001 to 2011



A clear and visible improvement is evident in the percentage of households reporting that they had access to gas supply. From just under a quarter households in 2001-2002 (21 percent) to almost half (46 percent) households in 2011-2012, the government increased access to gas supply across Pakistan. This trend towards increased gas supply is visible and encouraging. In the past two years alone, access to gas supply has increased by 12 percentage points.

However, as the proportion of households with access to gas has increased, the percentage of households dissatisfied has also increased. In 2011-2012, 24 percent households reported they were satisfied with government supply of gas, which was an increase of 3 percentage points from 21 percent in 2009-2010. Nevertheless, the increase in the percentage of households dissatisfied was more, with 19 percent households reporting they were dissatisfied with the service compared with 11 percent households in 2009-2010.

Table 4.11.1A: Satisfaction or Dissatisfaction with Gas Supply

	Percentage of HHs			
	2001-2002	2004-2005	2009-2010	2011-2012
Satisfied	19	26	21	24
Dissatisfied	2	4	11	19
Neither Satisfied nor Dissatisfied			2	3
No Access	79	70	66	54

4.11.2 Provincial and Vulnerability Analysis

Table 4.11.2A shows the level of service availability by vulnerability. There is a clear difference among the two groups, with less than a third of the vulnerable population (32 percent) having

access to gas compared to more than three-fifths (62 percent) of the not-vulnerable who have access to gas. This is clearly indicative of preferential provision of the gas for the not-vulnerable.

Table 4.11.2A: Access to Gas by Vulnerability

	Percentage of HHs	
	Not Vulnerable	Vulnerable
Service not available	37.6	67.6
Service available	62.4	32.4

Table 4.11.2B shows availability of gas by province. Sindh has by far the highest access to gas, with more than two-thirds of respondents indicating they have access to gas. Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan have lower access to gas than Sindh, but there is not much to distinguish between the three provinces. There is an important conclusion to be drawn here, which is that the historical complaint of the people of Pakistan that they are being marginalized in access to gas has been addressed by the government since there is no difference in access to gas between Balochistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab. Households from Balochistan are no less likely than Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab households to have access to provision of gas by the government.

Table 4.11.2B: Access to Gas by Province

	Province			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Service not available	54.4	56.6	52.3	32.6
Service available	45.6	43.4	47.7	67.4

Table 4.11.2C shows satisfaction with gas supply by vulnerability. The vulnerable are slightly less likely to be satisfied with gas supply compared to the not-vulnerable, and this effect is likely to persist in the entire population.

Table 4.11.2C: Satisfaction with Gas by Vulnerability

	Percentage of HHs	
	Not vulnerable	vulnerable
Satisfied	54.9	47.7
Dissatisfied	40.2	44.6
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	4.9	7.7

Table 4.11.2D shows satisfaction with gas supply by province. There are stark differences in some cases. Households in Balochistan that do have gas supply are significantly less likely to be satisfied with the supply compared to all three other provinces, especially Sindh where households are significantly more likely to be satisfied with provision of gas compared to the three other provinces. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab lie between Balochistan and Sindh in terms of satisfaction with gas, and there is nothing to distinguish Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab in terms of satisfaction with gas supply.

Table 4.11.2D: Satisfaction with Gas by Province				
	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Satisfied	25.6	40.2	40.4	66.9
Dissatisfied	57.8	51.2	53.5	29.3
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	16.6	8.7	6.1	3.9

4.12 Conclusions on Sectors of Public Service

The main conclusion from the data analysis on public sector services is that, except in a very few instances, **there has been a general deterioration in citizens' satisfaction with public services**, especially in the vulnerable groups, who rely much more on these services, and across Pakistan in both urban and rural areas.

Primacy of Economic Issues

It is crucial to understand the conclusion that for a majority of households the cost of living is their main problem, followed by unemployment. **This reflects clearly that for the citizens of Pakistan the main problems are economic in nature and, therefore, any development policy, strategy or intervention must address economic and social problems together and in an integrated manner.**

A further and related conclusion is that **any kind of local government delivering public service will need to work in tandem with economic systems to sufficiently 'satisfy' citizens of Pakistan.** This may mean provision of services that local governments have not provided to date, such as employment exchanges, small business loans and facilitation of development of local businesses, and development of local resources (including leisure and tourism) where local people may obtain jobs. Development in this direction requires the ability of local governments to raise local taxes that can be used for funding local economic activities.

It can also be concluded very clearly from the data that after economic wellbeing, citizens are most concerned about basic service delivery, and only then about problems of terrorism and law and order.

When asked to note which three public services improved the most during the past three years, **very few households reported improvements in any services**, leading to the conclusion that **the often repeated observation and overall perception that services are going downhill is generally borne out by data of this social audit.**

Divergence of Perceptions between Citizens and Service Providers

Another key conclusion is the **mismatch between citizens' perceptions and those of government functionaries about which services are deteriorating**. It can therefore, also be concluded that this mismatch must be resulting in allocation of funding and administrative effort in sectors which are less important for consumers of public services, namely citizens, but more important in the opinion of decision-makers. This divergence and the thinking behind what is 'good for the public' by people who see themselves as separate from this same public, has also emerged in other parts of this study.

Education

It can be concluded that there is more satisfaction with education boys get in private schools than in government schools, indicating **less faith the ability of government schools to deliver their mandate**. The trend in household satisfaction with government provided education over past decade has been around 55 to 58 percent, showing very little improvement in this essential public service since 2001.

Boys have to go to work, hence they drop out of schools conversely for girls the main issue is affordability, so they don't go to schools in 35 percent of the households, leading to the conclusions that there are gender differentials in education sector to be considered for developing better strategies for keeping children in schools.

However, little gender difference was seen in the case of madrassas - **very few girls or boys in madrassas, so the common perceptions that families are sending their children to madrassas in droves is not borne out by the data. Approximately 60 percent girls and boys in Pakistan attend government schools. This means that we can reach out to substantial numbers of Pakistani children by improving government schools (rather than trying to 'reform' madrassas).**

Health Services

In terms of the 'demand side' of health services, almost 97 percent households reported satisfaction with immunization services for vaccination of children less than 5 years of age. **Therefore, we can conclude that, largely, government immunization has been one of the most successful public services provided to communities across Pakistan, except in Balochistan.**

Since approximately 38 percent households reported visiting government run health facilities, it can certainly be concluded that these facilities are utilized. For respondents that had government health care available to them, half were dissatisfied with the services provided while 29 percent were satisfied. **We can conclude from these findings that there is more a problem of quality than of access or availability of government run health facilities.**

Since women visited health facilities more than men in Punjab and Sindh, while men are more likely to visit health facilities in Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, we can see the gender differences that corroborate other instances of gender trends in these provinces.

There was higher satisfaction with private clinics (87 percent) in last visit to health facility, than government smaller health units (77 percent) and especially government hospitals (72 percent). **So it can be concluded that the differences in satisfaction from services availed at private and government health facilities is not as huge as is generally believed.**

In terms of the 'supply side' of health services, the opinions of service providers on provision of government provided health facilities to communities ranged from improved (38 percent) to no change (60 percent) in terms of level and quality. This leads to the conclusion that at best the health services are moribund under the current system of delivery.

When service providers were asked as to how local governments had helped in the improvement of health facilities, the most cited reason was the interest shown by women councilors in health services and their efforts in improving basic facilities through local government funding. **From this it can be concluded that women in elected local government have been, and can be, a very dynamic force in improving health services.**

Road Rage!

Indeed, between 2001 and 2010, with heavy investments in roads, satisfaction of users was increasing steadily. Nevertheless satisfaction of households with roads decreased in 2011-2012 to 36 percent households.

An important finding, in the context above, is that percentage of household dissatisfied with the quality of roads is highest in Punjab; this is interesting considering the fact that provincial government in Punjab is known to have a strong predilection towards construction of roads and infrastructure! The instance of Punjab government being excessively interested in construction of roads was also substantiated by the case study of the budgetary trends in the district of Lahore where allocation for roads was raised to Rs.984.689 million in FY 2010-11 from Rs.408.64 million in FY 2006-7. Similarly, the result of 60 percent household being dissatisfied with roads in Punjab was also substantiated by our case study analysis where we had seen that 55 percent of the respondents from district Lahore were dissatisfied with roads to an extent that roads were recorded as the second most dissatisfied service in Lahore after sanitation.

We can conclude that poor maintenance of roads is indicated by the decreasing satisfaction with roads across Pakistan. We can also conclude that this is yet another instance of disconnect between the aspirations of the public and the opinions of decision makers about what is good for the public; governments continue to make huge investments in new roads yet users are dissatisfied with the overall condition of road network.

Water, Water Everywhere

Since almost three quarters of the households have either piped water, hand pumps or tube wells in the house, while the remaining quarter get water from a community hand pump or a canal/pump, **it can be concluded that drinking water is more or less available (supplied either by government or private sources), though its quality cannot be ascertained.** 68 percent households, across Pakistan, have access to water sources made available by the government. 17 percent of all households reported that they had to cover distances of one or more kilometers to gain access to drinking water. Data shows that vulnerable households have significantly less access to government drinking water supply. This fact is substantiated by the results of FGDs conducted with the marginalized communities in all the four provinces, where lack of clean drinking water was mentioned as a major problem.

Sewerage and Sanitation

It can be concluded that **the percentage of households having access to sewerage and sanitation has improved dramatically over the past decade. Indeed, increasing access to this public service can be quoted as an achievement over the last decade.** However regional differences persist, with Sindh and Punjab are more likely to be satisfied with sanitation compared to those in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan.

Garbage Disposal

As demonstrated in earlier social audits, citizen access to garbage disposal services by the government has been negligible over the past decade showing only 12 percent satisfaction in this Social Audit. While the percentage of households reporting no access to the service declined slightly in 2011-2012 to 66 percent households compared with 69 percent households in 2009-2010, **it can be concluded that this service remains abysmal.**

Public Transport

Given that the percentage of households reporting no access to government provided public transport increased from 73 percent households in 2009-2010 to 85 percent in 2011-2012, **it can only be concluded that this service is one of the worst in Pakistan.**

Agriculture Extension Services

Since the percentage of households reporting no access to agricultural extension services increased from 70 percent in 2009-2010 to 86 percent in 2011-2012. Of households that had access to agricultural extension services only 16 percent reported satisfaction, **leading to the conclusion that Pakistan is not paying sufficient attention to its economic base in its agricultural assets.**

Electricity

The percentage of households with access to electricity has been increasing steadily since 2001. Indeed, from around 84 percent households reporting they had access to electricity in 2001-2002, today 97 percent households report that they have access, **leading to the conclusion that almost all of Pakistan's citizens have electricity connections. This remarkable achievement of reaching out to 97 percent households in Pakistan with connections should be recognized,** but is marred by the mismanagement in supplies that heavily reduces the level of satisfaction reported by households.

What is critical here is that while a majority of households were satisfied with electricity supply during the first half of the decade, this has been reversed to a majority of households now being dissatisfied with this public service. Between 2009-2010 and 2011-2012, the percentage of households reporting satisfaction with the service declined by 2 percentage points to 33 percent while the proportion of households dissatisfied with the service increased by 5 percentage points to 55 percent in 2011-2012.

The energy crisis is beyond the ambit or control of local governments and requires drastic national actions, which cannot be addressed in this report.

Gas

It can be concluded that there is a clear and visible improvement in the percentage of households reporting that they had access to gas supply. From just under a quarter households in 2001-2002 (21 percent) to almost half (46 percent) households in 2011-2012, the government increased access to gas supply across Pakistan. However, dissatisfaction has also increased, as in the case of electricity, and similar national actions are required.

Public Services and MDGs

If we compare the targets set by the government of Pakistan in respect of different indicators of various Goals identified by the Millennium Development Goals of United Nations, with the achievements made so far as revealed by the data analysis of social audit 2011-12, **we can conclude that Pakistan may be able to achieve at least three of the targets that are relevant to public services taken up in the Social Audit.**

MDG No	Indicator	Target for 2009-10	Target for 2015	Social Audit 2011-12 Findings
Goal 7 - Ensure Environment Sustainability	Sustainable access to improve water source	76 percent of population	93 percent of population	68 percent of households
	Population with access to sanitation	70 percent of population	90 percent of population	78 percent of households
Goal 5 – Reduce Child Mortality	Proportion of fully immunized children (12-23 months)	90 percent children	> 90 percent of children	93 percent of households

The first conclusion is that target set for provision of sustainable access to improve water source (that 76 percent and 93 percent of population would have access to improved water sources by the year 2009-10 and 2015 respectively) is still to be attained. Social Audit 2011-12 data reveals that 68 percent of the households have access to improved water source, indicating that Pakistan still lags behind the targets set for the year 2009-10.

The second conclusion is target for provision of population (with access to sanitation was to provide sanitation facilities to 70 percent and 90 percent of the population by the year 2009-10 and 2015 respectively) will probably be met. Social audit 2011-12 data indicates that Pakistan is right on track at least in terms of attaining the objective of providing sanitation facilities to its population by the year 2015 as according to social audit results 78 percent of the households have access to sanitation.

The third conclusion is that target for full immunization of children between the age of 12 to 23 months (set as 90 percent and more than 90 percent for the year 2009-10 and 2015 respectively) will probably be met. The social audit data indicates that 93 percent of the households have immunized their children below the age of 5 years. Though two stats are not based on exactly similar parameters, yet it could be inferred from the available information that Pakistan is on track in this respect.

Chapter 5

Citizen Based Activities

The LGO of 2001 attempted to involve citizens in local governments through developing community mechanisms that went beyond community members voting for elected officials. This included setting up Citizen Community Boards (CCBs) among others. This chapter explores findings from the household survey and juxtaposes these with findings from FGDs.

5.1 Experiences with Union Councils

The lowest tier of local government is the Union Council. In this respect, citizens at the grassroots level have direct interaction with employees of Union Councils for resolution of their problems. Measuring the perceptions and attitudes of citizens towards union councils provides insight into the level of state-citizen relationship.

When asked how cooperative and helpful the respondents thought their community members were, 77 percent households responded in the affirmative. Not vulnerable households thought that their communities were more cooperative than vulnerable households. However, no significant provincial variations were observed in the level of community cohesion across Pakistan.

5.1.1 Overall Performance of Union Councils

On average, more households were dissatisfied with the performance of Union Council in the last two years than satisfied with only 29.5 percent reporting satisfaction compared to 45.5 percent reporting dissatisfaction. Compared to 2010 when 33.8 percent households reported satisfaction with overall performance of Union Councils the percentage of satisfied decreased in 2012.

Table 5.1.1A: Satisfaction with the performance of Union Council in last two years

	Percentage of HHs
Satisfied	29.5
Dissatisfied	45.5
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	15.9
Don't Know/Refused	9.2

Table 5.1.1B below shows that vulnerable households were more likely to be dissatisfied than not vulnerable households with the performance of Union Council in the last two years. In other words, vulnerability a significant relationship with performance of Union Councils in the last two years as 34 percent not vulnerable households reported satisfaction compared to 26 percent vulnerable households.

Table 5.1.1B: Satisfaction with the performance of Union Council in the last two years by vulnerability

	Percentage of HHs	
	Not Vulnerable	Vulnerable
Satisfied	34.2	25.5
Dissatisfied	42.2	48.2
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	15.6	16.2
Don't Know/Refused	7.9	10.1

Province wise, respondents from Punjab were more likely to be satisfied with the performance of union councils in the last two years than other provinces. However, the marginalized community in Punjab expressed their concern regarding functioning of Union Councils, during the FGDs, by complaining that though they had access to the Union Council secretaries, yet they are hardly consulted in the decision making of Union Councils.

Households from Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa reported very high levels of dissatisfaction with the performance of Union Councils during the past two years. Almost 64 percent households in Balochistan and 62 percent households in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa reported dissatisfaction.

Table 5.1.1C: Satisfaction with the performance of Union Council in the last two years by Province

	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Satisfied	14.1	22.1	36.6	27.0
Dissatisfied	63.8	61.6	44.1	56.0
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	22.1	16.3	19.2	17.0

The lowest percentage of households satisfied were in Balochistan where only 14.1 percent households reported overall satisfaction with Union Councils in the past two years. Probably this was the reason that respondents of FGDs conducted in Balochistan strongly suggested that sufficient funds be provided to elected representative for solving the problems of their area especially to the Union Council level. It may be noted that under the Balochistan package announced by the federal government in 2010, each member of the Balochistan Provincial Assembly has received Rs. 200 million each as development funds to be spent for the welfare of their constituencies.

Table 5.1.1D: Return of elected local government system

	Percentage of HHs
Yes	60.1
No	39.9

When asked if they would like to see the return of elected local government system, majority (60 percent) replied in affirmative.

This result was very well corroborated by the results of qualitative data as well. In all the four provinces in total 30 FGDs were conducted where 275 respondents were questioned about their preference for the type of local government system and majority of them displayed an unequivocal preference for an elected local government system compared to a bureaucracy/administratively controlled local government system.

Table 5.1.1E: Return of elected local government system by Province

	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Yes	40.0	45.9	63.9	52.8
No	60.0	54.1	36.1	47.2

Province wise, nearly 64 percent of the respondents from Punjab called for the return of local government system followed by 53 percent in Sindh. However, fewer people wanted a return in Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

This provincial break up is somehow different than the opinions shared during the FGDs. As in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa there was a unanimous consensus amongst all the participants of 8 FGDs conducted with various groups in the urban as well as rural areas of the province that previous elected local government system was better than the present local government system being led by bureaucracy/administration. However, as demonstrated in the table above, a majority of households did not respond in the affirmative when asked if they would like to see the return of a local government system managed by elected representatives. Household results for Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are corroborated with satisfaction with performance of Union Councils where a majority of households in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa reported dissatisfaction. However, one important caveat to understand the difference in opinion between results from FGDs and household survey is that participants in FGDs had a greater interaction/stake in local government systems and hence their opinions reflected their experience and knowledge with earlier local governments.

Though generally all the participants belonging to marginalized community, CCBs, NGOs and Interest Groups of Punjab were in favor of elected local government system, yet urban marginalized community was, understandably, more cynical and apathetic in their view of the world and said that 'for us all the systems are same as we will always remain poor and marginalized no matter which system is in place'.

In case of Sindh, NGOs both from the urban and rural Sindh also vehemently supported the elected local government system. Marginalized community in rural Sindh favored the Basic

Democracies (BD) model and the LGO 1979 over the LGO 2001; while the community in urban areas termed the LGO 2001 as the best system. Similarly, the NGOs both from the urban and rural areas of Sindh favored the LGO 2001 and termed it as the best system. Rural interest groups refrained from voicing their preference. However, they emphasized on the timely availability of funds for the proper functioning of local government system. Urban interest groups supported representative local government system, which will address the social, economic and developmental needs of the community. Similarly, members of CCBs in urban areas termed the elected local government system of pre 2009 as the better system because of its connectivity with the common people

Most of the participants of the FGDs conducted in the urban and rural areas of Balochistan had a clear preference for the elected local government system. However, the household survey result of the above table indicating highest proportion of households choosing not to support the return of previous local government system is corroborated by the results of FGDs conducted in Balochistan; as according to these FGDs the ratio of respondents favoring the present system over the previous system was highest in Balochistan. Moreover, who so ever supported the previous system did not support it unconditionally.

It is important to remember that the recent increase in the Finance Commission award to Balochistan is far greater than any sums available under local government, and this factor may be a reason why there is less interest in local government as a conduit of development funds.

People were asked that if local government elections were held, would they vote. A vast majority (80 percent) respondent replied in affirmative.

Table 5.1.1F: Voting in local government elections

	Percentage of HHs
Yes	80.8
No	19.2

The data varied however, when provinces were taken into consideration. There was higher proportion of respondents belonging to Punjab and Sindh who believed that they would vote if local government elections are held.

Table 5.1.1G: Voting in local government elections by Province

	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Yes	66.8	68.2	83.7	79.0
No	33.2	31.8	16.3	21.0

5.1.2 Contact with Union Council

Respondents were asked if they or any member of their household had contacted any employee of the Union Council

Table 5.1.2A: Contact with any employee of the Union Council in last two years

	Percentage of HHs
Yes	27.0
No	73.0

In 2011-12, 27 percent households reported having contacted any employee of the Union Council. This was an increase from 24.5 percent in 2009-2010. Looking at other data, this is because in the past local people contacted elected representatives, rather than the employees for development issues such as sanitation etc. In 2011-2012, however, citizens contacted Union Council employees only for basic documentation such as birth certificates.

Table 5.1.2B: Contact with any employee of the Union Council by Vulnerability

	Percentage of HHs	
	Not Vulnerable	Vulnerable
Yes	31.9	22.9
No	68.1	77.1

Not vulnerable households were more likely to contact a union council employee as compared to vulnerable households with 31.9 percent not vulnerable households reporting that they contacted an employee of Union Council (against 22.9 percent vulnerable households). This result is also in consonance with the opinions of the marginalized groups shared during the various FGDs conducted with them in all the four provinces. Almost all respondents considered accessibility of the local representatives a major plus of the elected local government system.

Compared with 2009-2010, we can note that no discernable difference occurred between not vulnerable households contacting an employee of Union Council as a similar percentage of not vulnerable households (31 percent) reported contacting Union Council employee.

Table 5.1.2C: Contact with any employee of the Union Council by Province

	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Yes	15.3	15.3	34.7	14.2
No	84.7	84.7	65.3	85.8

Furthermore, households from Punjab province were more likely to contact union council employees during the past two years, as compared to household members from other provinces. A key result, when comparing data from 2009-2010, is that the percentage of households contacting a Union Council employee decreased in Balochistan (from 33 percent to 15 percent, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (from 28 percent to 15 percent) and Sindh (from 24 percent to 14 percent) whereas it increased considerably in Punjab (from 23 percent to 35 percent).

Table 5.1.2D: Gender of the administrator or the employee of the Union Council who was contacted

	Percentage of HHs
Male	96.6
Female	3.4

Table 5.1.2D illustrates that almost all of the employees or administrators who were contacted by household members were male except a very small proportion were female. This result demonstrates the lack of gender balance prevalent in local government employment and is reflective of the general gender disparity in Pakistani society.

Table 5.1.2E: Reasons for which Union Council employee was contacted

	Percentage of HHs
Relative/Friend	5.3
Water Problem	6.0
Sewerage Problem	6.8
Garbage Disposal Problem	2.7
Electricity Problem	3.3
Roads Problem	4.2
Personal Safety	0.7
Birth Certificate	58.6
Health Problem	2.1
Child Education Problem	2.7
Police Problem	1.4
Family Dispute	1.8
Divorce	1.3
Area Problem	2.1
Others	12.7

*Multiple Response Set.

The reason for which majority of household members contacted a union council employee was obtaining a birth certificate as approximately 58.6 percent of households claimed contacting a union council employee for the reason. Other less significant problems were water problem and sewerage problem. Like the 2009-10 Social Audit, birth certificates were followed by sewerage and water problem as the second and third most important reasons for contacting employees of Union Council. However, one significant finding emanating from the 2011-12 data is that the **number of households contacting union council employees for development issues such**

as water and sewerage fell by more than half (6 percent from 15.6 percent in 2009-10 for water and 6.5 percent from 16.2 percent in 2009-10 for sewerage) as more and more household only contacted Union Councils for documentation such as birth certificates.

Table 5.1.2F: Satisfaction level with UC employee after contact

	Percent of HHs
Satisfied	64.1
Dissatisfied	36.8
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	5.2

In 2002 almost 54 percent of the households reported satisfaction with union council members after contact. In 2004 satisfaction level was 48 percent who reported satisfaction with the union council contact. Of the 27 percent households that contacted a member of Union Council during the last two years more households were satisfied (64.1 percent) than dissatisfied (36.8 percent) from their efforts in 2012.

This was a sizable increase from satisfaction levels in 2010 when almost 43 percent of the households reported satisfaction. However, it is also important to note that in 2010 households reported contacting Union Council members/employees for resolution of developmental issues such as electricity, water, sewerage and roads in vastly greater numbers whereas in 2012 they mostly contacted Union Council employees for registration or documentation such as births. This could imply that communities have understood the decreased role of administrative mode of Union Councils and have adjusted their expectations to more routine functions (registration of births and deaths).

Table 5.1.2G: Satisfaction level with UC employee by vulnerability

	Percentage of HHs	
	Not Vulnerable	Vulnerable
Satisfied	67.5	60.1
Dissatisfied	33.9	40.2
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	5.0	5.4

Not vulnerable households may be slightly more likely to be satisfied with union council employees after contact than vulnerable households. On the other hand, vulnerable households may be slightly more likely to be dissatisfied with union council employees than not vulnerable households.

Table 5.1.2H: Satisfaction level with UC employee by Province				
	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Satisfied	25.9	35.3	64.1	53.6
Dissatisfied	50.2	55.5	31.5	41.1
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	23.9	9.2	4.4	5.3

Interestingly, households from Punjab were much more likely to be satisfied with the union council contact than Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan households. This result is supported by the views of marginalized community of Sibi, expressed during the FGD, that Nazims of unions, Tehsils and districts did not perform their jobs assigned to them. Had they been doing their job honestly and sincerely a lot could have been done but contrary to that powers were concentrated in the hands of Zilla Nazims, resultantly output of the system was very low.

5.2 Citizen Community Boards (CCBs)

Citizen Community Boards were formed under the LGO 2001 as community based local organizations formed on a voluntary basis by citizens to apply for and undertake development projects in their respective local areas by accessing the allocated 25 percent funding for projects under local government system. These CCBs worked on pooling in community funding or in kind help and developing a project proposal to be submitted to local government council. Once the proposal was approved government funds were pooled in with community funds for undertaking the projects.

5.2.1 Citizens Views about CCBs

Table 5.2.1A shows that a large majority of respondents (92 percent) had never heard about CCBs. However, it is surprising the awareness about CCBs is static when compared with the last Social Audit of 2009-10, as during last social audit exactly 7.8 percent household had heard about CCB.

Table 5.2.1A: Knowledge of Citizen Community Boards	
	Percentage of HHs
Yes	7.8
No	92.2

These figures regarding a general lack of awareness about CCBs among the masses are well supported by the FGDs conducted with various groups in all the four provinces. Both marginalized community and interest groups in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa did not have any information or interaction with the CCBs during the elected representative local government system. Similarly, still they were unaware of the existence of the CCBs in their areas.

During FGDs it was found that in Punjab, marginalized community, interest groups had no idea of or knowledge about the existence of CCBs both during the previous and present system. But it was surprising to note that even urban NGOs had no interaction with CCBs in the prior 2010 period. It was also found that NGOs neither received any assistance from the present Local Governments nor had any interaction with CCBs. Interest groups from Punjab never came across any CCB during last two years.

General awareness about the existence and functioning of CCBs in Sindh was slightly better in rural areas as compared to urban community as reported in FGDs. Though urban interest groups had never come into contact with the CCBs, rural interest groups and marginalized community generally had a positive experience of working with the CCBs during the previous local government system. This difference could be attributed to the different dynamics of the urban and rural politics in Pakistan in general and Sindh in particular. Marginalized community in both urban and rural areas had no contact with the CCB since last two years, although in rural areas NGOs have contact with the members of CCBs and some of the members of rural NGOs are the ones who were also the members of CCBs.

Table 5.2.1B: Male Membership of CCB from Household

	Percentage of HHs
Yes	7.3
No	92.7

Similar to the above table 5.2.1A which shows knowledge of CCB's, approximately 7 percent of households claimed a male member of the household being part of CCB.

Table 5.2.1C: Male Membership of CCB from Household by Vulnerability

	Percentage of HHs	
	Not vulnerable	Vulnerable
Yes	6.9	8.0
No	93.1	92.0

Table 5.2.1C shows that there is no significant difference in the membership of CCBs across vulnerable and not-vulnerable households. There is no evidence, therefore, that vulnerable households are being excluded from CCB membership. Or we can also say that CCB membership cuts across vulnerable and not vulnerable communities, something which we rarely saw in other socio-political trends where in most of the cases vulnerable communities had comparatively lower participation or were excluded from participation in various endeavors.

Table 5.2.1D: Female Membership of CCB from Household

	Percentage of HHs
Yes	1.4

No	98.6
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Table 5.2.1D shows that out of a total of 1070 households who responded to this question, very few households (1.4 percent) had a female household member who was a member of a CCB.

Table 5.2.1E: Willingness to be CCB member	
	Percentage of HHs
Yes	39.4
No	60.6

Respondents were asked whether they would like to be a member of a CCB, 39.4 percent responded that they would indeed like to be a member while 60.6 percent answered in the negative. Compared to actual membership of CCBs, the willingness towards membership is quite high.

Table 5.2.1F: Willingness to be CCB member by Vulnerability		
	Percentage of HHs	
	Not vulnerable	Vulnerable
Yes	37.1	41.4
No	62.9	58.6

Between the vulnerable and not vulnerable groups, a very small difference is observed in terms of willingness to be CCB members as illustrated in table 5.2.1F. A slightly higher proportion of the vulnerable population indicated that they would like to be members of a CCB.

It can be seen that CCBs provided a platform for vulnerable people to be part of a group where opportunities in leadership and local action were present. CCB male household membership was reported as higher than male household membership in local voluntary organizations (Table 5.3.1C).

5.2.2 Performance of CCBs

CCB members, mostly chairpersons, were asked questions about the performance of CCBs during the past two years. These interviews were conducted in Union Councils of the selected eight districts, which formed a part of the qualitative study. Responses reflect findings from these eight districts.

Table 5.2.2A: Time of CCB formation	
	Percentage of CCB members

Less than 1 year	2.1
1 to 3 years	29.2
3 to 4 years	29.2
4 to 7 years	25
More than 7 years	12.5

CCB members were asked as to when their CCBs were formed, almost a third of interviewed CCB members said that their CCBs were formed between the last three years which corresponds to the period when local governments were not operational. Understandably, when compared with the last social audit it reveals that the 6.6 percent of the CCBs were formed or registered since less than one year.

This fact was also reported during the FGD with the CCB members in Lahore that still new CCBs are being registered in Punjab. According to the CCB members of Quetta they were still working with voluntary help of the community.

Table 5.2.2B: Development projects of CCBs in last two years

	Percentage of CCB members	
	Yes	No
Health	14.0	86.0
Education	14.0	86.0
Drinking Water	26.0	74.0
Sewerage and Sanitation	26.0	74.0
Streets	26.0	74.0
Social and cultural activities	18.4	81.6
Small and Medium Enterprise	8.0	92.0

Table 5.2.2B shows that CCB's undertook projects in health, education, drinking water, sewerage and sanitation, streets, social and cultural activities and small medium enterprises. The vast majority of projects were conducted in streets, sewerage and sanitation and drinking water. CCB members replied that funding for these projects was received through various sources including NGO's, Government line departments such as EDO, and donor organizations like UNICEF and PPAF.

According to the FGDs conducted with CCB members in Sindh, most of the CCBs were established during 2004 to 2008 with an average size of 25 members but all of them are nonfunctional now in both urban and rural Sindh. Similarly in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, it was quoted by CCBs members that they still have volunteers and they are willing to work but they do not have any funds.

It was surprising that a number of CCBs were still working in the urban areas of Balochistan; these CCBs were working through voluntary help of the community and had done some sanitation projects since 2010.

In Punjab most of the CCBs were established between 2001 and 2006. Many CCBs were closed down after the abolishment of the local government system in 2010; according to the participants of FGD with CCB members of Lahore out of almost 500 CCBs only around 50 CCBs were still working or active in Lahore. These still active CCBs were working on their own through funds raised through their own resources or with community involvement.

Rural CCBs members in Punjab were of the view that they had to stop working because of absence of funds which have been stopped since the end of 2009. According to most of the participants there hasn't been any major infrastructure project since the inception of new system in 2010. According to urban CCB members of Punjab presently no funds are available for any public service delivery; whatever funds are coming they are coming through MPAs who are not very keen of spending these funds on provision of basic services to the common man. One of the female representatives of the urban CCB narrated her experience in these words: "We are poor people; we 10 women have formed a committee; we collect certain funds per member per month and then we give all the collected funds to one most deserving woman of the area, who returns the amount in installments of Rs. 1000 per month. In total we have a group of 1000 members"

It was interesting to note that in urban areas of Punjab even now new CCBs were being registered as three of the present CCBs were registered in 2010 and 2011, i.e., after the abolishment of the previous elected local government system. That is probably because of the fact that DTCE was operational in Lahore and was working in collaboration with CCBs; secondly, being the provincial center public is more aware and donors are also more active in Lahore, so people realized that registering a CCB could enhance their chances of accessing the donors, and once they got funds from donors, instead of local government, they might be able to do some projects in their respective areas. Many CCBs reported to have done projects like installation of sewerage systems and water supply schemes but these projects have been done through NGOs funds; as already mentioned many NGOs are using CCBs platform to attract donors funding. Many CCBs still have more than fifty members and all of them are volunteers who also donate small amount of money every month to keep the CCB alive and active.

Table 5.2.2C: Proportion of the allocated 25 percent funding used by CCBs during past two years

	Percentage of CCB members
0 percent	26.5
1 to 5 percent	6.1
6 to 10 percent	16.3
11 to 20 percent	4.1
21 to 50 percent	6.1
51 to 79 percent	10.2
76 to 100 percent	20.4

Opinions about utilization of allocated funding under local governments were mixed with 26.5 percent CCB members noting that no funding was utilized during the past two years. When compared with social audit 2009-10 we notice surprising trends; 32.6 percent of CCB members thought that up to 50 percent of funds allocated for CCBs were utilized as compared to 26.2 percent of CCB members in the last social audit; similarly 30.6 percent of members interviewed during current social audit thought that from 51 to 100 percent allocated funds were utilized by CCBs as compared to 26.2 percent members of last social audit.

Table 5.2.2D: How can the rules and functioning of CCBs be improved

	Percentage of CCB members
Involving CCB member/chairperson in development planning	34.7
Training of CCB members	30.6
Halting administrative and political interference	40.8
Increasing awareness about CCBs	30.6
Making CCB registration easier	22.4
Institutionalizing formal meetings of CCB members	22.4

*Multiple Responses

CCB members were asked to identify areas for improving the functionality and running of CCBs. Table 5.2.2D highlights some of the main responses received which included recommendations for increasing inclusiveness in planning, reducing administrative and political interference, increasing CCB capacities and awareness amongst citizens. Major recommendations recorded during the last social audit of 2009-10 were: reduced political and bureaucratic interference; increased awareness about CCBs among public; training of CCB members; involvement of CCB members and Chairman; and easy access to EDO and Nazim's office.

5.2.3 Views of CCBs on Local Government

When asked about whether they would like to see a return of elected local governments, an overwhelming majority of CCB members interviewed in selected districts said that they would like to see elected local government system. It was not surprising to note that percentage of CCB members wishing the return of elected local government system (87.5 percent) was much higher than the percentage of household (almost 60 percent) willing to usher back the previous local government system.

As far as CCB members are concerned a very similar trend was reported during the FGDs conducted with the members of former and current CCB members. Almost all the participants very strongly supported the return of elected local government system.

Table 5.2.3A: Return of elected local governments

	Percentage of CCB members
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Yes	87.5
No	6.2

According to the FGD conducted with CCBs members of both urban and rural areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, previous elected local government system had done a very good job as compared to the present system. CCBs claimed to have done many projects during that period; like water supply schemes, irrigation schemes, installation of water pumps, and construction of small roads. Both urban and rural CCBs confirmed that they received regular funds from their respective Tehsil and district governments for the execution of these projects; however, some delays in payments were reported by the urban CCBs. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa these CCBs used to deal mainly with Social Welfare Department and C&W for the award and execution of their developmental projects; and both these departments used to provide them sufficient assistance. CCB had no employees and all their members were working on voluntary basis.

As per the FGDs conducted with both urban and rural CCB members of Sindh they were unanimously supportive and in favor of elected local government system considering the utility, efficacy and desirability of the elected local government system.

In view of the former and current members of the CCBs in Quetta people had more facilities during the previous elected local government system. They said that the current local government system led by bureaucrats and administrators has confused them. Under the previous system CCBs had only two major designations and this helped people in working more efficiently and effectively. According to rural CCB members it took them quite some time to understand the elected local government system, and when finally they understood the system it was abolished. Due to absence of any viable proposal they were unable to execute any project. CCBs did not get much support from the DCO or EDOs but they had more regular interactions with Social Welfare Department and the EDO Community Development, which supported them in the times of emergency. All the CCB staff was working on voluntary basis and they did not have any employee. CCBs of Quetta listed a number of developmental projects which were done through them during the previous system, which include; establishment of a computer center and vocational training center; water supply projects, Karez development, sanitation projects and hiring to staff for keeping their areas clean.

Similarly, CCBs in Punjab expressed a clear preference in favor of the elected local government system. According to the members of rural CCB in Punjab, they constructed roads, installed tube wells and electricity connections, repaired the walls of a school and grave yard of the area. Rural CCBS at an average received almost seven hundred thousand rupees from the district government in shape of funding share of the government. They were in regular contact with the DO, TMA, EDO and CD who supported them well in the execution of their projects.

Urban CCBs of Punjab reported to have done many projects like sewerage and roads, provision of clean water facility, teachers training and technical training etc. One of the CCB in Lahore installed 4 water purification plants with the funding of Spanish government; but these plants are no more functional due to absence of proper maintenance. But at the same time some problems in the dealings of CCBs were also reported during the FGDs in Punjab; according to urban CCBs members of Punjab there were few CCBs which got huge funding (Rs 50 to 60 million) from the local government but these were the CCBs with right political connections and linkages with the higher local government officials. A dominant view was that "thaykadari" system was prevalent in CCBs in Punjab - many contractors had got CCBS registered and they used to get huge funds in lieu of 20 percent community funding. This way they enhanced their business with CCB funds.

5.3 Voluntary Organizations and Development Projects

A key aspect of measuring the state-citizen relationship is the involvement of communities in volunteer works aimed at developing local communities, increasing social cohesion and undertaking similar projects of a civic nature. The following sections aim to measure this aspect of inclusion of local communities in nation building.

5.3.1 Citizen Involvement in Volunteer Work

Table 5.3.1A: Membership of male household member in any volunteer local organization?

	Percentage of HHs
Yes	4.4
No	95.6

Only a small minority of the households have any male household member who is a member of any voluntary organization. A significant majority, 95 percent, of male household members were not member of any voluntary organization.

Table 5.3.1B: Male membership of household in any volunteer local organization by Vulnerability

	Percentage of HHs	
	Not vulnerable	Vulnerable
Yes	6.0	3.0
No	94.0	97.0

A higher proportion of male members from not vulnerable households reported being members of any voluntary local organization than male members from vulnerable households.

Table 5.3.1B: Male membership of household in any volunteer local organization by Province

	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Yes	9.4	8.1	3.4	4.7
No	90.6	91.9	96.6	95.3

Male members of households in Punjab and Sindh are less likely to be members of voluntary organizations than in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan.

Table 5.3.1B: Female membership of a household member in any volunteer local organization

	Percentage of HHs
Yes	0.8
No	99.2

In a very insignificant proportion of households, any female member of the household is also a member of any volunteer local organization. Only 0.8 percent of households replied that there was a female member of the household who is a member of some local volunteer organization.

Table 5.3.1C: Any member of household working on any development project or plan from the platform of any development organization

	Percent
Yes	15.9
No	84.1

Out of those households, who had a male or female member of the household as member of any volunteer local organization, only 16 percent reported having worked on any development project or plan from the platform of the volunteer organization. Thus participation of local community in local volunteer organization is very low and is quite insignificant.

Table 5.3.1D: Any member of household working on any development project or plan from the platform of any organization by vulnerability

	Vulnerability	
	Not vulnerable	vulnerable
Yes	22.9	9.3
No	77.1	90.7

The participation in terms of working on development projects from the platform of any local volunteer organization is even lower amongst vulnerable households as compared to not vulnerable households.

5.3.2 Development Work

In the representative household survey respondents were asked for their opinion on whom they would approach if they had to get any development work undertaken for their local community.

Table 5.3.2A Contact for development work in area	
	Percentage of HHs
Union Council Employees	14.0
Tehsil Council Employees	2.0
District Council Employees / Administrator	2.1
Relevant Govt. Department	4.7
Provincial Assembly Members	10.2
National Assembly Members	3.2
Senator of Area	1.0
Family/Area/Biradari Elders	40.9
Members/Representatives of Political Party	8.7
NGOs	0.9
CCB of Area	0.1
VNC	1.5
Others	3.4
Former councilor of the area	7.5

Table 5.3.2A depicts the pattern or trends in a scenario where a head of the household or a member of a household would contact a person or members of various institutions in case, if they want to do something in their respective areas. A major proportion or almost 41 percent of respondents believed that they would contact a family/area/biradari elder or leader if they want something done for their area. This is followed by union council members (14 percent) and provincial assembly members (10 percent). A significant percentage of households or respondents also showed significant interest in contacting Provincial Assembly members and former councilor of the area (10 and 8 percent respectively) if they wanted any development work undertaken.

The trends in the table elucidate the important role of patron-client relationship or patronage in Pakistani politics and service delivery paradigm as a large proportion of household respondents for Social Audit 2012 would contact family/area/biradari elders in case of any problem related to their area. Similarly the trends also depict an important role of local government institutions or devolution of power as a significant proportion of respondents would also contact union council employees or village/family elders who also are mostly part of some elected local government institution.

Table 5.3.2B: Contact for getting work done for area by vulnerability	
	Percentage of HHs

	Not vulnerable	Vulnerable
Union Council Employees	18.9	9.8
Provincial Assembly Members	10.3	10.1
Family/Area/Biradari Elders	30.5	49.7
Former councilor of the area	9.2	6.0
Others	31.1	24.3

Table 5.3.2B illustrates that vulnerable population or vulnerable households are more likely to contact family/area/biradari elders, as compared to not vulnerable households. Not vulnerable households are more likely to contact union council employees as compared to vulnerable households. This shows the importance of local or village level institutions or patronage based service delivery especially with respect to vulnerable population of Pakistan.

Table 5.3.2C: Contact for getting work done for area by Province

	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Union Council Employees	5.1	11.1	13.0	25.0
Provincial Assembly Members	19.2	10.3	10.9	5.2
Family/Area/Biradari Elders	34.6	43.4	35.2	48.0
Former councilor of the area	1.6	2.0	12.0	1.7
Others	39.6	33.0	28.9	20.0

Accordingly, households from Sindh were more likely to contact union council employees while respondents from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and also Sindh were more likely to contact family / area elders in case of any work for their area.

5.4 Conclusions on Citizen Activities related to Local Government

Since this chapter deals with the relations of the public with local government institutions at the grassroots level, but local government itself is in confusion all over Pakistan, conclusions are difficult to draw, and must be seen in the context of a virtual or real vacuum of the institutions being looked at.

The most important conclusion of this topic relates to the preferences of the general public in favor of return of some kind of local government system, with 80 percent saying that they would vote in case local elections were held.

However, provincial breakup of the choices shows that a majority of households from Punjab and Sindh favor the elected local government system, while number of households supporting the return of elected local government was less than 50 percent in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan.

Interaction with Local Councils

While an obvious conclusion is that on average, more households were dissatisfied with the performance of Union Council in the last two years than before when compared with social audit 2009-2010, it needs to be mentioned that the system is in disarray in all provinces, and **the dissatisfaction cannot be related to the full range of public services – instead it is an issue of what is considered as the function of Union Councils under the various systems (or procedures) in effect now.**

For example it appears that the major reason for which majority of household members contacted a union council employee was for obtaining a birth certificate, which was not a main reason in previous Social Audits. **This and other instances lead to the conclusion that under the more ‘administrative’ local government processes underway in varying degrees across Pakistan, Union Councils have reverted to an older set of functions and the ‘development services’ are being taken up by legislators or bureaucrats.**

The trend of a more limited role for Union Councils may be understood by people who may have readjusted their expectations from the system, and the Union Council, and yet the overall decrease in the satisfaction with the performance of Union Council remains. The lowest percentage of households satisfied were in Balochistan where only 14.1 percent households reported overall satisfaction with Union Councils in the past two years, leading to the further conclusion that the law and order situation in that province has rendered the last vestiges of local government almost completely ineffective.

Status of CCBs

Another important conclusion is the persistent lack of awareness in general public about the Citizen Community Boards, which is as prevalent as it was two years ago.

Yet from interviews of CCB members and Chairs and FGDs with them, it appears that many CCBs were formed in the last 2-3 years when the elected local government system, of which they were a part, had become non-functional, and that they continue to be formed to date. **Given that funds earmarked for CCBs are reportedly still available somewhere in the system (though frozen or inaccessible), and that many of these CCBs are seeking and obtaining funds from donors, it can be concluded that at least some of them are transforming themselves to work outside the local government system.** It can be seen that CCBs provided a platform for vulnerable people to be part of a group where opportunities in leadership and local action were present. CCB male household membership was reported as higher than male household membership in local voluntary organizations.

NGOs and Volunteerism

Given that only a small minority of the households had membership in any voluntary organization, it can be concluded that there is very low propensity in households for voluntary actions. It was also noted that any members of households in Punjab and Sindh are less likely to be members of voluntary organizations than in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan.

Entrenchment of Client-Patron System

As found elsewhere in this study, it can be concluded that the client-patron relationship in Pakistani society seems to have affected service delivery paradigm as well - a large proportion of household respondents for Social Audit 2012 would contact family/area/biradari elders in case of any problem related to their area, more than the Union Council officials.

Chapter 6

Protection, Law Enforcement and Justice

Providing citizens with protection of life and property, the enforcement of law and facilitating justice are key functions of government. This chapter explores citizens' perceptions and practices in terms of the formal and informal groups, places and people that they seek out when they face threats or insecurity.

6.1 Citizens Preferred Sources of Protection

Where citizens seek help, when faced with a problem or threat to personal life or property, gives key insights into the trust and reliance they place (or do not place) on formal and legal mechanisms of law enforcement and justice.

6.1.1 Seeking Help in Case of Threat to Personal Security

Respondents of the household survey were asked who they would seek help from if they felt there was a threat to their personal security.

Table 6.1.1A shows that more than half of the respondents (52 percent) said that in case of any problem regarding personal security they would prefer to ask for help from family / area / biradari elders. This was followed by seeking help from the police (29 percent). This difference highlights a high reliance on local support networks for security with a relatively low reliance on the agents of the state for guaranteeing personal security.

Table 6.1.1A: Seeking help in case of threat to personal security	
	Percentage of HHs
Union Council Employees	2.8
Tehsil Council Members	0.8
District Council Members / Administrator	0.5
Police Department	28.6
Provincial Assembly Members	2.8
National Assembly Members	0.7
Senator of Area	0.5
Family/Area /Biradari Elders	51.5
Members/Representatives of Political Party	3.5
NGOs	0.1
CCB of Area	0.0

Court	2.0
Musalihati Committee	0.1
Musalihati Anjuman	0.3
Public Safety Commission	0.0
Jirga/Panchayat	2.0
Others	2.0
Formal councilor of the area	1.8

One key area of change from the 2009-2010 Social Audit iteration has been the decrease in the percentage of people who would approach Union Council for help in case of a security problem. In 2009-2010, 16 percent households reported that they would approach Union Council member for help. However, in 2011-2012 this number decreased to only 2.8 percent who would approach Union Council employees. **Given that the local government system, of which Union Councils are the primary units, is in disarray, this finding is not surprising.**

Table 6.1.1B demonstrates that the vulnerable households are significantly more likely to turn to family/biradari/area elders for help in case of a personal security problem, as compared to non-vulnerable households. The percentage of respondents who said they would prefer to go to the police is higher for the not vulnerable category (35 percent), than the vulnerable group (24 percent).

Table 6.1.1B: Seeking help in case of threat to personal security by vulnerability

	Percentage of HHs	
	Not vulnerable	Vulnerable
Police	34.6	23.6
Family/Biradari/Area Elders	45.2	56.8
Members of provincial/national assemblies	3.4	4.7

Province wise analysis shows that the percentage of respondents who would prefer to go to the police is higher in the provinces of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab, 36 percent and 34 percent respectively, as compared to Balochistan and Sindh, 22 percent and 19 percent. **This implies that police is considered as a protector of personal security to a lesser degree in Balochistan and Sindh compared to Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.**

Table 6.1.1C: Seeking help in case of threat to personal security by province				
	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Police	22.3	36.1	34.3	18.7
Family/Biradari/Area Elders	47.1	45.6	46.2	61.4
Members of provincial/national assemblies	5.3	2.4	4.2	3.7
Others	25.4	15.9	15.3	16.2

The percentage of respondents opting for family/biradari/area elders is very similar for Balochistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab (between 45 and 47 percent), **but significantly higher for Sindh (61 percent). This indicates the lack of confidence that people in Sindh repose in the formal system.**

Table 6.1.1D: Seeking help in case of threat to personal security by Gender		
	Percentage of Respondents	
	Male	Female
Police	31.0	25.3
Family/Biradari/Area Elders	48.5	55.6

Table 6.1.1D shows that female respondents are more likely to seek help from family/biradari/area elders than from the police compared to male respondents (25 percent compared to 31 percent for police and 56 percent compared to 49 percent households).

6.1.2 Seeking Help in Case of Threat to Property

Respondents were asked who they would seek help from in case of a threat to their personal property. Again, the vast majority of responses were similar to subsection 6.1.1 as respondents felt they would approach a family/biradari/area elder for help and support.

Table 6.1.2A illustrates the responses of households describing their preference as to whom they would ask for help in case of threat to their property/assets. Similar to the previous few sections, a greater proportion of individuals (46 percent), said they would opt to go to their own family and community members/elders rather than involving any third party. This data is a reflection of the strength of informal systems rather than formal protection and justice systems, where local feudalism 'controls' the formal institutions.

Table 6.1.2A: Seeking help in case of threat to property	
	Percentage of HHs
Union Council Employees	2.5
Tehsil Council Members	0.8
District Council Members / Administrator	0.4
Police Department	25.0
Provincial Assembly Members	2.4
National Assembly Members	0.7
Senator of Area	0.4
Family/Biradari/Area Elder	45.6
Members/Representatives of Political Party	3.2
NGOs	0.1
CCB of Area	0.1
Court	12.8
Musalihati Committee	0.1
Musalihati Anjuman	0.3
Public Safety Commission	0.0
Jirga/Panchayat	2.5
Others	1.8
Formal councilor of the area	1.5

Police was the second most frequent response, selected by a quarter of the respondents. In 2011-2012, 13 percent said they would go to courts compared to 21.6 percent in 2009-2010. This clearly shows the decreasing trust reposed by people in public protection and justice institutions.

As a continuation of the previous question, a cross tabulation between the non-vulnerable and vulnerable households is displayed in table 6.1.2D. The proportion of respondents preferring to go to family members/biradari/area elders is higher for the vulnerable group (51 percent) as compared to respondents of the not vulnerable group (40 percent), indicating that similar to the case of personal security problems, the biradari is more likely to be the primary help for the vulnerable.

Table 6.1.2D: Seeking help in case of threat to property by vulnerability		
	Percentage of HHs	
	Not vulnerable	Vulnerable
Police	27.2	23.1
Family/Biradari/Area Elders	39.7	50.7
Courts	16.4	9.7
Members of provincial/national assemblies	6.1	7.2
Others	10.6	9.4

The percentages of respondents going for the police are slightly lower for the vulnerable households compared to the not vulnerable households. The proportion choosing for the courts is a little higher in the not vulnerable group (16 percent) as compared to the vulnerable group (10 percent).

Table 6.1.2E shows that the provinces can be divided into two groups for those choosing police as their primary source of help. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab, a higher proportion of individuals (30 percent and 28 percent respectively) prefer to go to police as compared to Balochistan and Sindh, 22 percent and 18 percent respectively.

Table 6.1.2E: Seeking help in case of threat to property by province				
	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Police	22.0	30.4	28.1	18.4
Family/Biradari/Area Elders	42.9	39.9	38.5	60.1
Courts	19.0	16.7	16.0	5.9
Members of provincial/national assemblies	4.1	1.7	7.2	7.3
Others	11.9	11.3	10.1	8.2

Choosing to go to families and/or biradari, (which is still the dominant practice in all the provinces) is particularly high in Sindh (60 percent). This is also very similar to the case in personal security problems. Similarly, those preferring to go to courts to resolve disputes are lowest in Sindh (6 percent), whereas the percentages in other provinces follow similar trends (16-19 percent). In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, taking matters up to the members of provincial/national assemblies is exceptionally low (less than 2 percent).

6.2 Interaction of Citizens with Police

Police services are the main law enforcement agency in the country and, therefore, one of the critical public services in Pakistan, both for government and for citizens. In Pakistan, police services have received considerable criticism in the past due to their perceived lack of quality services to ordinary citizens. Indeed, common discourse around improvement of policing in the country has often targeted the service based on perceptions about attitudes, efficiency and corruption. Social Audit 2011-2012 seeks to measure, the level of service provision by Police and user satisfaction of those citizens who have been in contact with the police, as well as the perceptions of police about their own services.

6.2.1 Citizens' Perceptions about Police

Table 6.2.1A below depicts the perceptions of the respondents on whether the police gave a sense of protection to them. We can see that a higher proportion of respondents (over 50 percent) believed that police did not give them a sense of protection in their area. This means that even more people than the 47.7 percent in 2009-2010 iteration of the Social Audit have a low opinion of the capacity of the police to provide them protection.

Table 6.2.1A: Sense of protection provided by Police in area	
	Percentage of HHs
Yes	45.8
No	50.6
Don't Know	3.6

When we further do an analysis between the vulnerable and not vulnerable groups pertaining to sense of protection given by police, we find there is no difference between the two groups.

Table 6.2.1B: Sense of protection provided by Police in area by vulnerability		
	Percentage of HHs	
	Not vulnerable	vulnerable
Yes	47.6	47.5
No	52.4	52.5

Table 6.2.1C shows that the police security situation is the gravest in Balochistan where two thirds of respondents (69 percent) said that the police did not give them a sense of protection. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is the only province where a higher proportion of individuals (59 percent) stated that police does in fact instill a feeling of security in the population. In Punjab and Sindh, a higher percentage of people answered in the negative.

Table 6.2.1C: Sense of protection provided by Police in area by Province				
	Percentage of HHs			
	Balochistan	KPK	Punjab	Sindh
Yes	31.4	59.0	47.9	40.6
No	68.6	40.9	52.1	59.4

6.2.2 Actual Contact with Police

A large majority of respondents, 85 percent, claimed that no member of their household had ever contacted the police. This was similar to 2009-2010 when 86 percent households reported never having contact with police. Among the remaining sample, almost 9 percent had a contact with the police during the last year while 7 percent had a contact with the police more than a year ago. The results show that **contact between the citizenry and the police is very low and infrequent.**

Table 6.2.2A: Households' last contact with police	
	Percentage of HHs
Never Contacted	84.6
Less than 1 week	2.3
1-4 weeks	1.7
1 Month - 1 Year	4.8
More than 1 Year	6.6

Table 6.2.2B shows that of 14 percent or so people who actually contacted the police, the last time a household member did so, it was usually a man. Less than 4 percent of the last encounters were made by women. This data confirms the well-known practice that both social and traditional customs, as well as the environment of police stations prevent women from contacting state institutions such as the Police. **This data illustrates the huge gender gap in access to key public institutions.**

Table 6.2.2B: Households' last contact with police by gender	
	Percentage of HHs
Male	96.3
Female	3.7

Table 6.2.2C shows that of the households that have stated contact with the police, almost three-fourths indicated that they had initiated the contact themselves. A little more than a quarter of respondents said that the police had come to them.

Table 6.2.2C: Who Initiated Last Contact with Police	
	Percentage of HHs
From our Side	73.3
From Police	26.7

Table 6.2.2D shows the answers received when the households were asked whether a First Information Report (FIR) was registered during the household's last interaction with the police. The results suggest that almost three-fifths of the time, an FIR was indeed registered. This was similar to 2009-2010 when 58.4 percent households noted that an FIR had been registered at the time of last contact with police. **This demonstrates that in cases where citizens contact the police, the police do take action (registration of FIR) in more than half of the instance.**

Table 6.2.2D: FIR registration at Last Contact with Police	
	Percentage of HHs
Yes	59.2
No	40.8

Table 6.2.2E below shows that of households that had interaction with police, 54 percent indicated that they had been dissatisfied during their last encounter. Compared to 2009-10, when 41 percent households reported satisfaction with Police, no change was witnessed in 2011-2012, suggesting that **improvement in delivery of service has not occurred.**

Additionally, the results of 2009-2010, as well as 2011-2012, demonstrate that contrary to public "perceptions" about Police (PLSMS 2010-2011 data shows that only 10 percent households reported satisfaction with police) on average one out of every two households is satisfied with the performance of Police based on experience.

Table 6.2.2E: Satisfaction with Action/Conduct of Police	
	Percentage of HHs
Satisfied	41.9
Dissatisfied	54.0
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	4.1

6.2.3 Self- Assessment of Police on its own Performance

However, according to in-depth interviews with police officials almost 71 percent of the police officials interviewed were of the view that coordination between the public and police has increased while 15 percent said that it has remained the same.

In terms of performance of police to deal with emergencies, police officials from six out of seven districts (almost 85 percent) were of the view that response of police in emergency situation has improved.

Interestingly, 57 percent of the police officials, during the in-depth interviews, were of the view that corruption in police has decreased in last two years while rest of 43 percent were of the view that corruption in police has neither increased nor decreased in last two years.

It's also worth mentioning here that all the Chairmen of District Public Safety Commissions interviewed during the qualitative data collection were of the view that performance of police in their respective districts has remained 'good' during last two years.

Table 6.2.3A below provides a brief overview of the high level police officials' perception regarding performance of police:

Table 6.2.3A: Self-assessment regarding performance by High Level Police Officials

District	Crime Rate in Past 2 Years	Sense of Security in Public	Co-ordination Between Police and Public	Efficiency in Emergency	Law & Order in past 2 Years	Corruption in Police in Past 2 Years	Overall Performance of Police	Should Elected LGS Reinstated
Mithi	Decreased	Increased	Increased	Increased	Increased	Same	Moderate	Don't Know
Karachi	Decreased	Same	Don't Know	Same	Don't Know	Decreased	Moderate	Refused
Abbottabad	Same	Decreased	Increased	Increased	Same	Same	Good	Yes
Peshawar	Decreased	Increased	Increased	Increased	Increased	Same	Bad	Don't Know
Lahore	Decreased	Increased	Same	Increased	Decreased	Decreased	Excellent	Yes
Bahawalnagar	Same	Same	Increased	Increased	Same	Decreased	Excellent	Refused
Quetta	Decreased	Increased	Increased	Increased	Decreased	Decreased	Good	Refused

6.2.4 The Perceptions of Police about Providing Security to Public

During the course of qualitative data collection, in-depth interviews with higher officials of police were conducted in seven out of eight districts selected for qualitative analysis and all the higher officials of police, with the exception of official from Abbottabad, were of the view that overall sense of security among the public of their district has either remained the same or has increased.

Furthermore, all police officials from these districts with the exception of Peshawar rated overall performance of police during last two years from moderate to excellent. The interesting factor about this analysis is that Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was the only province where majority of the households (almost 60 percent) said that police gives them a sense of protection; while at the same time higher officials of Peshawar Police was the only one who said that overall performance of police has deteriorated during last two years.

Reasons for this divergence in perceptions are hard to establish through available data; one plausible explanation could be that higher-ups in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa set higher standards for their police, while the other reason could be that overall law & order situation in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is so precarious that public feels secure in the presence of police, no matter how efficient or inefficient it may be.

Almost 52 percent and 59 percent households from Punjab and Sindh, respectively, displayed a general lack of trust in police's ability to provide them security but higher official of police from these provinces had an altogether different perception about the performance of police as officials from Punjab considered last two years performance of police as 'excellent' and officials from Sindh termed it as 'moderate'. Similarly, households from Balochistan indicated least trust (only 31 percent) in police's abilities but higher official of Quetta Police judged the last two years performance of police as 'good'. This indicates two things: one, a lack of communication between the police and the general public and two, a false sense of satisfaction among the higher police officials about performance of their corp.

6.3 Interaction of Citizens with Courts

Providing justice to citizens is one of the salient features of the state-citizen relationship. Indeed, the conceptual nature of the social contract on which modern nation states are built, emphasizes the role of the state in maintaining and providing justice to all citizens for the protection of their rights. In this respect, the functioning of courts, and hence, the judicial system is a key measure of the health of state citizen relationship. In Pakistan, 2008 saw a turning point in the involvement of citizens in the way courts work. Subsequent to the movement for the restoration of Judiciary, citizens had high expectations from judicial system for providing quick and just decisions. The following sections measure changes in citizen perceptions about judiciary. Table 6.3.1A shows that a majority of households, 66.1 percent, trust the courts.

Table 6.3.1A: The faith of citizens in Courts	
	Percentage of HHs
Yes	66.1
No	27.3
Don't Know	6.6

However, when asked when any member of the household had last contacted the courts, 86 percent had actually never made contact. See Table 6.3.1B below. Of those who had contacted them, more than 7 percent had visited them more than a year ago, while less than 7 percent had had a contact with courts in the last year.

Table 6.3.1B: Household's last contact with Courts	
	Percentage of HHs
Never Contacted	86.4
Less than 1 week	1.7
1-4 weeks	1.4
1 Month - 1 Year	3.2
More than 1 Year	7.3

Compared to 2002 and 2004, the percentage of households reporting contact with courts has increased in 2009-2010 and 2011-2012 to about 13 to 14 percent respectively. This means that over the last decade more households are reporting having contact with the judicial system.

Table 6.3.1D shows that **males are by far more likely to visit or contact courts with 93 percent households reporting that a male member contacted the court.** This trend is not surprising and is in tune with the way Pakistani society treats women and how they are perceived and treated by public services.

Table 6.3.1D: Household's last contact with Courts by gender	
	Percentage of HHs
Male	92.8
Female	7.2

Table 6.3.1C shows that civil issues seem to be the main reason why a majority of households contact courts. A third of households go to courts to resolve criminal cases, and apart from these two main reasons, a tenth of respondents go to courts to resolve other issues.

Table 6.3.1C: Reason for contact with Courts	
	Percentage of HHs
Civil Case	57.1
Criminal Case	33.3
Others	9.6

A greater majority of households, almost 60 percent, seem to be satisfied with the actions and conduct of the court as compared to those who were dissatisfied, almost 35 percent. There was no significant increase in the percentage of households reporting satisfaction with the action/conduct of court as a result of contact as, similar to 2011-2012, approximately 59 percent households reported satisfaction in 2009-2010.

Table 6.3.1E: Satisfaction with the action/conduct of Court as a result of contact	
	Percentage of HHs
Satisfied	59.6
Dissatisfied	34.7
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	5.7

6.4 Public Safety Commissions

Public Safety Commissions were put in as mechanisms in the LGO 2001 whereby approved annual local policing plan and monitored the performance of the police department accordingly. Additionally, it was a mechanism for enhancing police-public trust and cooperation on matters of law and order while also providing a conduit for citizens to register complaints.

6.4.1 Citizens' Perceptions about Public Safety Commissions

Households were asked if they knew of District Public Safety Commissions. Table 6.4.1A displays the proportion of respondents who either knew about the District Public Safety Commission (DPSC) or not. A large majority of respondents, 94 percent, did not know about any such commission.

Table 6.4.1A: Knowledge about District Public Safety Commissions	
	Percentage of HHs
Yes	6.1
No	93.9

Table 6.4.1B illustrates that of the 6.1 percent households that had knowledge of DPSC 98.3 percent had never contacted them.

Table 6.4.1B: Households last contact with District Public Safety Commission	
	Percentage of HHs
Never Contacted	98.3
Less than 1 week	0.2
1-4 weeks	0.8
1 Month - 1 Year	0.2
More than 1 Year	0.5

Of the very few households (1.7 percent) who had contact with District Public Safety Commission, the majority, 52 percent, were satisfied by their action and code of conduct. 39 percent were dissatisfied and 9 percent had no opinion one way or another. Given the very small number of households who responded to this question, however, no conclusive statement can be made here.

Table 6.4.1C: Satisfaction with the action/conduct of District Public Safety Commission	
	Percentage of HHs
Satisfied	52.0

Dissatisfied	39.0
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	9.0

6.4.2 Self-assessment of Public Safety Commissions on their own Performance

It is worth mentioning here that out of eight districts selected for qualitative data collection, DPSC were present in five districts. In Karachi, Tharparkar, and Bahawalnagar DPSC were either non-existent or were inactive.

However, 60 percent of the chairmen of District Public Safety Commission during their in-depth interviews, termed DPSC's overall performance as well as its performance in raising awareness among the masses as 'good' and remaining 40 percent viewed the DPSC's performance as moderate or 'neither good nor bad'. In terms of resolving "problems" 80 percent of interviewed chairmen considered the performance of DPSC as 'good'. Following table 6.4.2 A summarizes the perceptions of the Chairmen DPSCs gathered through in-depth interviews:

Table 6.4.2A: In-depth Interviews with Chairman District Public Safety Commissions														
District	Most Important Problem	Most Improved Service			Most Deteriorated Service			Most Problematic Issue	DPSC Overall Performance	DPSC Performance in Resolving Problems	DPSC Performance in Coordination with Police	Rating of DPSC New System	Overall Performance of Police	
Abbottabad	Roads	Roads			None			Load shedding	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	
Lahore	Health	Sewerage & Sanitation	Transport	Law & Order	Electricity	Gas Supply	Housing	Corruption	Good	Good	Excellent	Excellent	Good	
Quetta	Law & Order	Street Lights	Drinking Water Quality	Gas Supply	Roads	Law & Order		Unemployment	Good	Good	Good	Don't Know	Good	
Sibi	Education	Education	Roads	Water Supply	Water Supply	Gas Supply	Law & Order	Don't Know	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	Good	
Peshawar	Sewerage & Sanitation	None			Roads	Sewerage & Sanitation	Others	Law & Order	Moderate	Good	Bad	Good	Good	

6.5 Musalihati Anjumans

Musalihati Anjumans or Reconciliation Councils were formed under LGO 2001 as formal structures at the Union Council level which provided an avenue of dispute resolution and out of court settlement amongst communities. It was expected that such formal networks would gradually replace traditional and often oppressive traditional Jirga's where mostly local power structures dispensed judgments, often illegal in nature.

6.5.1 Citizens Perceptions about Musalihati Anjumans

Table 6.5.1A depicts that majority of respondents, 89 percent, had no knowledge about Musalihati Anjuman while only 11 percent had heard of Musalihati Anjuman.

Table 6.5.1A: Knowledge about Musalihati Anjumans	
	Percentage of HHs
Yes	11.4
No	88.6

In 2002, only 7 percent households had heard about Musalihati Anjumans. However, in 2009-2010 the percentage of households reporting knowledge of Musalihati Anjumans increased to 32.5 percent. However, in 2011-2012 this number dropped drastically to 11 percent, reflecting the fact that majority Musalihati Anjumans stopped working after 2010 as the donor supported project finished.

Table 6.5.1B shows that out of the households answering this question, only 7 percent had ever contacted the Musalihati Anjuman. A vast majority, 93 percent, had never done so.

Table 6.5.1B: Household contact with Musalihati Anjuman	
	Percentage of HHs
Yes	6.9
No	93.1

Of the very few people that had contacted Musalihati Anjuman, three-fourths were satisfied with respect to the committee's conduct or actions. Only 15 percent were dissatisfied while 9 percent remained indifferent. This demonstrated a decrease in satisfaction of households who had any contact with Musalihati Anjuman from 88.7 percent in 2009-2010 to 76 percent in 2011-2012.

Table 6.5.1C: Satisfaction with the action/conduct of Musalihati Anjuman	
	Percentage of HHs
Satisfied	76.0
Dissatisfied	15.2

Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied

8.8

However, In view of one of the key informants from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Musalihati Anjuman or Alternate Dispute Resolution (ADR) is a vital component of any successful local government system in Pakistan, where people have to spend considerable amount of time and money in resolution of their minor disputes. Considering this, according to him, the proposed legislation on local government system in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa also contains the functions of ADR though there are no District Safety Commissions (DSCs) proposed in the new legislation.

6.6 Conclusions on Protection, Law Enforcement and Justice

It can be concluded that on the whole citizens place greater trust and reliance on traditional support networks, rather than the formal mechanisms for law enforcement provided by the government.

Relations with Police compared to Informal Protection Mechanisms

The findings reinforce societal trends where people place higher reliance on local support networks for security than on the agents of the state. **The implication is that in the minds of at least a majority of the people of Pakistan, the state is less to be relied on for guaranteeing personal security. This has emerged more clearly in Balochistan and Sindh compared to Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.**

This trend indicates a strong pattern of patron-client relationship or patronage based society where biradari or area elders are still important source for personal protection and patronage.

The fact that biradari is more likely to be helpful to the vulnerable also indicates the client patron relationships present in both urban and rural contexts, where those who are more vulnerable may face unpleasant consequences if they venture outside the informal power structures and try to approach the formal systems, such as the police and courts.

Also the vulnerable are even less likely to turn to the police, because they have few avenues of accessing police in a society that works on contacts. The not vulnerable household may have at least the social contacts to approach police. It may be concluded that local institutions with active participation of area or biradari elders can at least be an effective channel or mechanism for helping the vulnerable to access the formal protection and safety offered by police.

It can also be concluded that **contact between the citizenry and the police is very low and infrequent**, but in cases where citizens contact the police, the police do take action (registration of FIR) in more than half of the instance. It can be also be concluded that in the case of the few people who actually contacted the police, 41 percent were satisfied with police services. This means that if the writ of the state can be better established and the power of the informal system curtailed, more people will go to the police and get services.

This data confirms the well-known fact that both social and traditional customs, as well as the environment of police stations prevent women from contacting state institutions such as the Police. **This data illustrates the huge gender gap in access to key public institutions.**

While the public displayed a general lack of trust in police's ability to provide them security, the higher officials of police had different perception about the performance of police - officials from Punjab considered last two years performance of police as 'excellent' and officials from Sindh termed it as 'moderate'. Similarly, higher official of Quetta Police judged the last two years performance of police as 'good'. **This disconnect, between demand side and supply side of**

protection and law enforcement, is one of the biggest challenges faced by Pakistan. This disconnect illustrates a lack of communication between the police and the general public, hides the growing power of informal systems (that can sometimes have police at their beck and call), and shows a false sense of satisfaction among the higher police officials about their performance, when they are in a quagmire where providing 'protocol' to politicians and fighting terrorism may detract from providing protection to citizens.

It can also be concluded that while fewer proportions of people would go to police for seeking help in threats of life or property, higher proportions still expect this same police to provide some protection in their living areas – perhaps a desire for having more formal protection from the state, rather than the current de facto informal mechanisms

Relationship with Courts and Musalihati Anjumans

While 66 percent trust the court system in Pakistan, 86 percent had never contacted the courts. Yet of the very small number of people who actually accessed court services, 59 percent were satisfied with them. Very clearly men are by far more likely (93 percent) to visit or contact courts than women. This trend is not surprising and is in tune with the way Pakistani society treats women and how they are perceived and treated by public services.

It was then expected that, like in the case of seeking protection, people may go to a less formal mechanism, like the Musalihati Anjumans, but only 11 percent had even heard of these Anjumans. It can be concluded that, while the Social Audit did not explore this area, people must be approaching illegal Jirga's and groups, as has been widely reported in the press and explored in other studies.

In terms of the trends on Musalihati Anjumans, it can be concluded that donor funding was large factor in their establishment. We can see that their number dropped drastically to 11 percent in 2011-2012, when donor-supported projects concluded their work.

Contact with Musalihati Anjumans had gone down drastically and 93 percent have never heard of DPSCs. **This leads to the conclusion that the level of success for these institutions outside a fully functional local government system is questionable.**

It can also be concluded that while people don't approach the courts much, they still have a sense of satisfaction with the actions and conduct of the court – indicating that people would like to see the formal court system flourish and provide the public with justice.

Chapter 7

Case Studies with Budgetary Analysis

This chapter is primarily based on the qualitative data collected in eight districts, two from each province, during the course of Social Audit 2011-12. However, in order to strengthen and substantiate the qualitative analysis, findings of quantitative analysis of the data collected through household survey has also been used. This Chapter has been divided into four parts: each part covers one province's two case studies based on the budgetary analysis carried out at district, Tehsil and Union Council levels.

While the quantitative household survey measures levels of satisfaction of general public with local government functionaries as well as public service delivery, the qualitative part of the social audit was designed to seek answers to the following questions laid at the start of this report:

- Obtaining citizen's feedback on the adequacy and quality of public services
- Understanding and comparing previous and existing LG structures and processes in Provinces
- Determining nature and trends of public service delivery under different local government systems

In order to empirically determine the trends of public service delivery under different local government systems case studies were carried out in 8 districts, one urban and one rural, in each of the four provinces of Pakistan.

Every year the Government of each province allocates specific budget to each of its departments to perform designated tasks or execute responsibilities, the ultimate beneficiary of which should supposedly be the general public. It was, therefore, logical to study and analyze the budgetary allocation trends under different systems designed to provide services to the public. Budgetary analysis provided us the figures regarding the amounts allocated for different services and in some cases provided the details of how much of the allocated amount was actually passed on to service providers and how much was actually spent. However, it cannot give details in what manner that amount was spent. The question that whether budget was utilized in an efficient, effective and transparent manner could only be answered after analyzing the projects executed or the service provided with those budgets. Nevertheless, despite these limitations, budgetary analysis has provided us with a yardstick to measure the intent or priorities of the budgets of the years selected for this study. As the quality of services provided (from the citizen's viewpoint) has been ascertained through quantitative analysis during the previous as well as the current Social Audit, **the budgetary analysis in this iteration is very useful in understanding and substantiating the 'supply side' of service delivery.**

These case studies were designed to compare district budgets for the year 2006-07, when elected local governments were fully functional, and 2010-11, when elected local governments had ceased to exist and had been replaced by different non-elected arrangements that, for the purposes of this study, are being referred to as 'the administrative model'.

In each districts the annual development plans were analyzed for their substantive content and budgets. Efforts were made to trace the budget for one selected Town/Tehsil/ Taluka to see how much it got, what kind of projects the money was allocated for and how the projects and budget amounts were arrived at and approved. Further efforts were made to trace the budget

down to one identified UC in the Town /Tehsil/Taluka, to see what projects and budget it got, on what basis the allocations were made and how much was actually spent. **At the time of designing these case studies it was envisaged that such information would be available and shared, being public documents.** This information was expected to help in identifying the path of projects and budgets, and their implementation at each level, enabling us to see if the elected and administrative models differ in nature, quality and quantum of public services and if yes, in what way.

However, due to multiple reasons recorded below, **the research team faced enormous difficulties in digging out the data from the existing district and Tehsil administrations and Union Council functionaries**, resultantly in some cases data was available only for 2010-11 or the format of the data provided for both the years was too different to compare, which rendered comparative budgetary analysis rather difficult. Following are the major constraints faced by the researchers during data collection for case studies:

- Local Government officials in certain places were not very forthcoming in sharing information with the Social Audit team; rather **in some places local government officials refused point blank to share any information, and instructed their junior officials to do the same.**
- It was very difficult to obtain authentic budgetary data from government officials at the Provincial and district levels, who cited various reasons - they were newly appointed and did not know their way around, they could not share official files, they did not know where the data was, they needed permission from higher officials etc.
- One reason for Sindh was that data was not available because in many places the old record was burnt in the riots following the murder of Benazir Bhutto
- In some places, where data was known to be available, the local government officials were directed by their superiors not to share any data with the Social Audit teams.
- Where data was present it was not necessarily available for all the three tiers i.e. district level, Tehsil level and UC level, rendering it very difficult to analyze the trends of budgetary flow from district to Tehsil and from Tehsil to UC level.

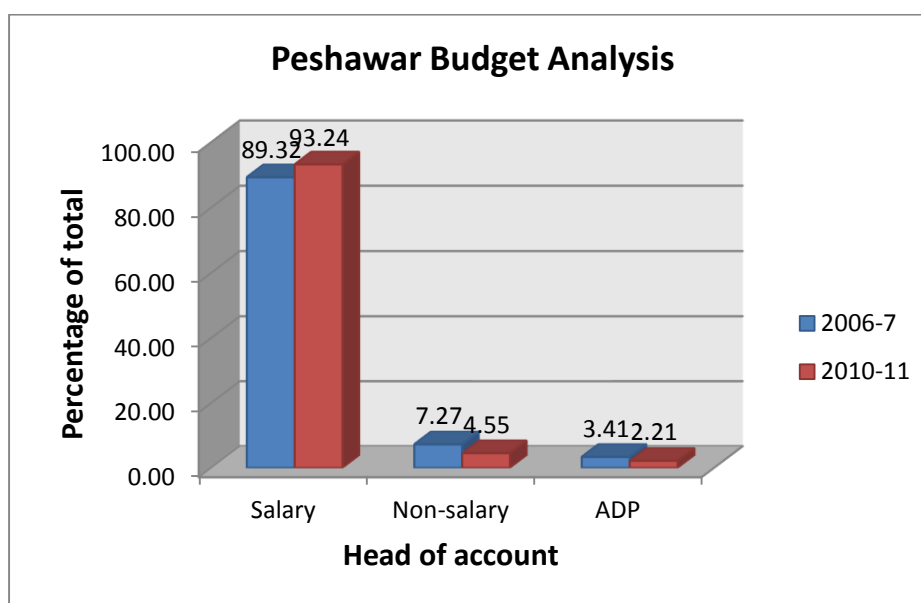
Following analysis is based on the available data and has been divided in four parts each representing one province of Pakistan.

7.1 Cases Studies from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa two districts selected for qualitative analysis were Peshawar and Abbottabad. Budgetary data regarding district governments of both Peshawar and Abbottabad was available for both the years, i.e. 2006-7 and 2010-11; but at Tehsil level data only for TMA Abbottabad was available, and at UC level no data was available for either of the districts.

7.1.1 District Peshawar

Budgetary analysis of district Peshawar indicates that percentages of amount allocated for Annual Development Plan (ADP) in the year 2006-7 was 3.41 percent which was better than the 2.21 percent allocated for ADP during the year 2010-11; similarly, non-salary allocation of 7.27 percent for 2006-7 was also higher than the allocation of 4.55 percent during the year 2010-11; at the same time proportion of budget allocated for salaries 93.24 percent in 2010-11 was higher than the 89.32 percent of the 2006-7.



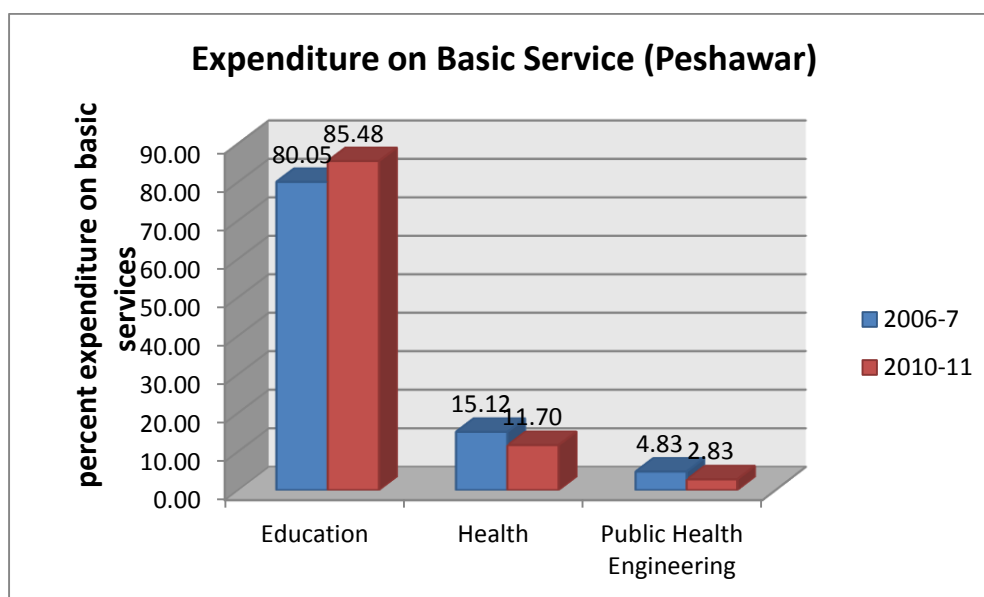
Even a cursory glance through these budgetary allocations of district Peshawar reveals that priorities of the budget makers in 2006-7 were slightly more development oriented as compared to the priorities of budget makers of 2010-11. Though the total budgetary allocations for the district Peshawar have recorded an increase of 85 percent, in four years, from Rs. 2087.26 million to Rs. 3869.05 yet the development and non-salary budget allocation has recorded a proportionate decrease in 2010-11 when compared with the budget of 2006-7.

7.1.1A: District Peshawar Budget				
	2006-7		2010-11	
	Million Rs	percent	Million Rs	percent
Salary	1864.34	89.3	3607.47	93.2
Non-salary	151.82	7.2	176.05	4.5
ADP	71.10	3.4	85.54	2.2
Total	2087.26		3869.05	

In terms of district Peshawar budget Rs.3607.47 million, i.e. 93.24 percent of entire budget allocation, were allocated for the salary head of account. This huge allocation for salaries is justified if service delivery is up to the satisfaction of general public, otherwise it would amount to misdirected expenditure or wastage of public resources. **Another trend which could be deduced from this budgetary data is that, besides increase in the salaries of government officials, number of government employees in district Peshawar has increased considerably during last four years, which should have translated into enhanced efficiency, quality and speed of public service delivery, but unfortunately this is not corroborated by the findings of other quantitative and qualitative instruments like Household survey, in-depth interviews, key informant interviews and FGDs.**

7.1.1B District Peshawar Basic Services				
	2006-7		2010-11	
	Million Rs	percent	Million Rs	percent
Education	808.53	80.0	2893.53	85.5
Health	152.68	15.1	395.94	11.7
Public Health Engineering	48.78	4.8	95.74	2.8
Total	1009.99		3385.21	

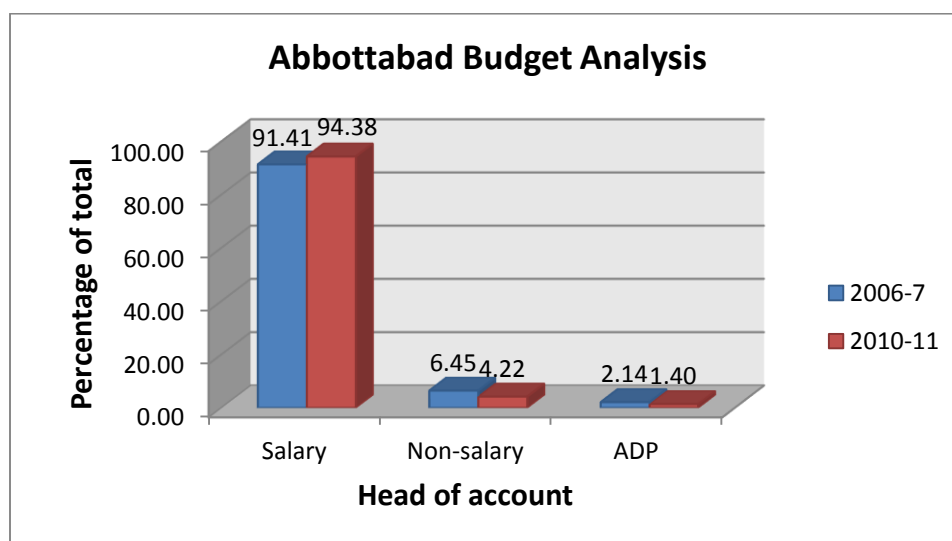
If we go into a slightly deeper analysis of budgetary allocations of district Peshawar and look at the total expenditure on basic services we will notice that there is a considerable increase in total allocation for basic services, which has risen from Rs. 1009.99 million in 2006-7 to Rs. 3385.21 million in 2010-11 (these figures represent total allocation inclusive of salary and non-salary allocation). But despite having a more than 200 percent increase in the total allocation for basic services like health and education no proportionate improvement in the service delivery of these basic services was reported by the respondents from Peshawar during the house hold survey; rather, education and health were reported by the respondents of Peshawar as the third and fifth biggest problems of their areas respectively. Similarly, only 6.6 and 3.1 percent of respondents considered that service delivery in education and health, respectively, has improved during last two years; education and health were rated as the 6th and 8th most deteriorated service respectively in Peshawar during last two years.



This shows that such a huge increase in budget allocation for the basic services like education and health has not translated into improvement in the service delivery of these basic services, as more than 80 percent of the respondents from Peshawar have said that there is no improvement in public service delivery.

7.1.2 District Abbottabad

In district Abbottabad situation is similar to Peshawar in terms of total allocation to the heads of salary, non-salary and annual development plan (ADP); in 2010-11 both non-salary and ADP the percentage allocation has decreased from 6.45 and 2.14 percent to 4.22 and 1.40 percent respectively, and for salary it has increased from 91.41 to 94.38 percent when compared with the allocations made under similar heads in 2006-7.



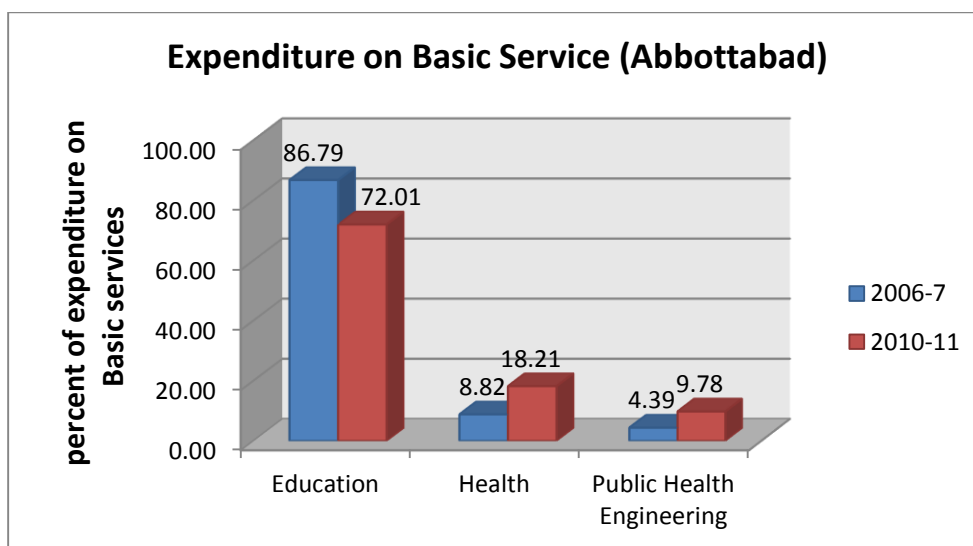
Total budget allocated for these three heads has recorded an increase of more than 100 percent from Rs. 1406.70 million in 2006-7 to Rs.2852.25 million in 2010-11; but it is interesting to note that out of these Rs.2852.25 million an amount of Rs.2691.84 million was allocated just for salaries of the government officials working in district Abbottabad and remaining Rs 160.41 million (5.62 percent of total allocation) only were allocated for both non-salary and ADP during the year 2010-11.

7.1.2A: District Abbottabad Budget				
Head of Account	2006-7		2010-11	
	Million Rs	percent	Million Rs	percent
Salary	1285.97	91.41	2691.84	94.38
Non-salary	90.73	6.45	120.50	4.22
ADP	30.09	2.14	39.91	1.40
Total	1406.79		2852.25	

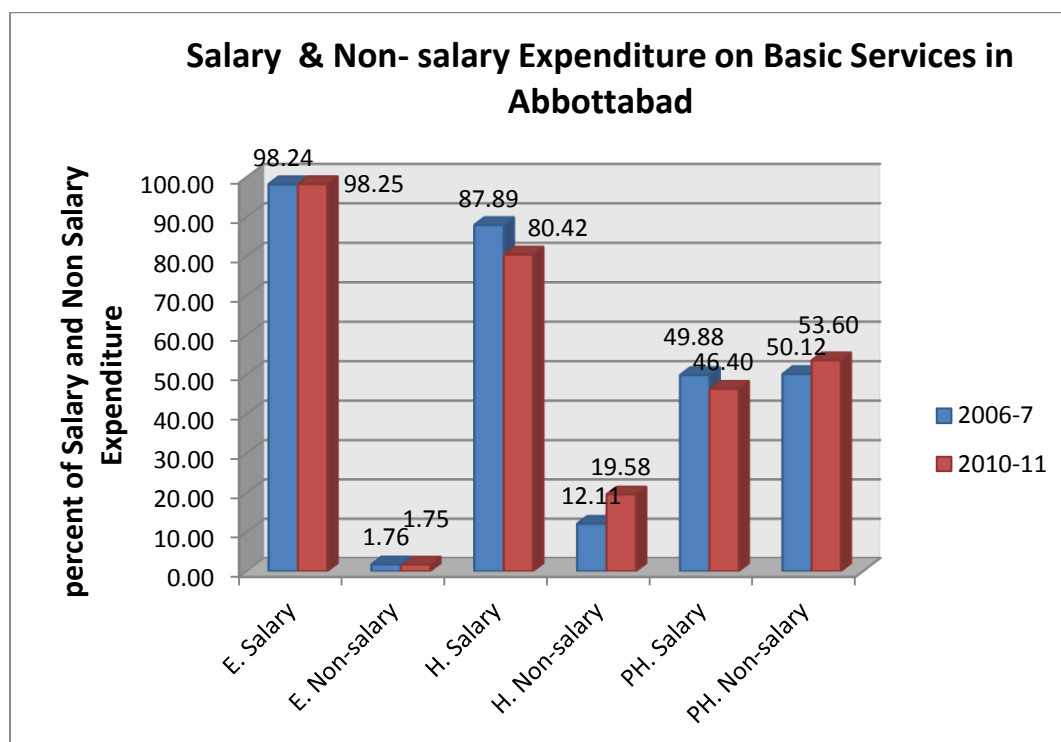
This huge increase in total allocation should have translated into better service delivery in last two years but if we look at the satisfaction ratio of the respondents from Abbottabad with the basic services, measured through household survey, we will see that apart from education people were generally dissatisfied with the provision of basic services like health, sanitation, water supply and roads (ratio of respondents dissatisfied with these services was 58 percent, 74 percent, 50 percent, and 60 percent respectively).

7.1.2B Basic Services District Abbottabad				
	2006-7		2010-11	
	Million Rs	percent	Million Rs	percent
Education				
Salary	938.96	98.24	799.89	98.25
Non-salary	16.86	1.76	14.21	1.75
Total	955.82		814.10	
Health				
Salary	85.33	87.89	165.52	80.42
Non-salary	11.76	12.11	40.30	19.58
Total	97.09		205.82	
Public Health Engineering				
Salary	24.13	49.88	51.32	46.40
Non-salary	24.25	50.12	59.29	53.60
Total	48.38		110.61	

In terms of basic services it was interesting to note that allocation for education has in fact recorded a decrease of almost 14 percent from Rs.955.82 million in 2006-7 to Rs.814.10 million in 2010-11; while allocations for health and public health engineering have increased more than 100 percent when compared with the allocations under the same head during 2006-7. But when we look at views of the general public from Abbottabad we realized that though allocation on education had considerably decreased in FY 2010-11, as compared to the allocation of 2006-7, yet level of satisfaction of the general public was much higher, i.e., almost 62 percent, with education. This shows that allocation on education was spent more efficiently during and after the FY 2010-11. **However, for health and public health engineering, despite an increase of more than 100 percent in the allocation, services delivery has not improved.**



When data regarding salaried and non-salaried expenditure under each of the three basic services was analyzed it was noted that during both the years i.e., 2006-7 and 2010-11 almost 98 percent of expenditure in education was made on salaries; while this percentage for health was almost 87 and 80 percent respectively for the years 2006-7 and 2010-11; however in public health engineering more than 50 percent was allocated for non-salary expenditure during both the years. This might be because of the nature of work of public health engineering, as there might be less number of employees working for the public health engineering department of district Abbottabad.

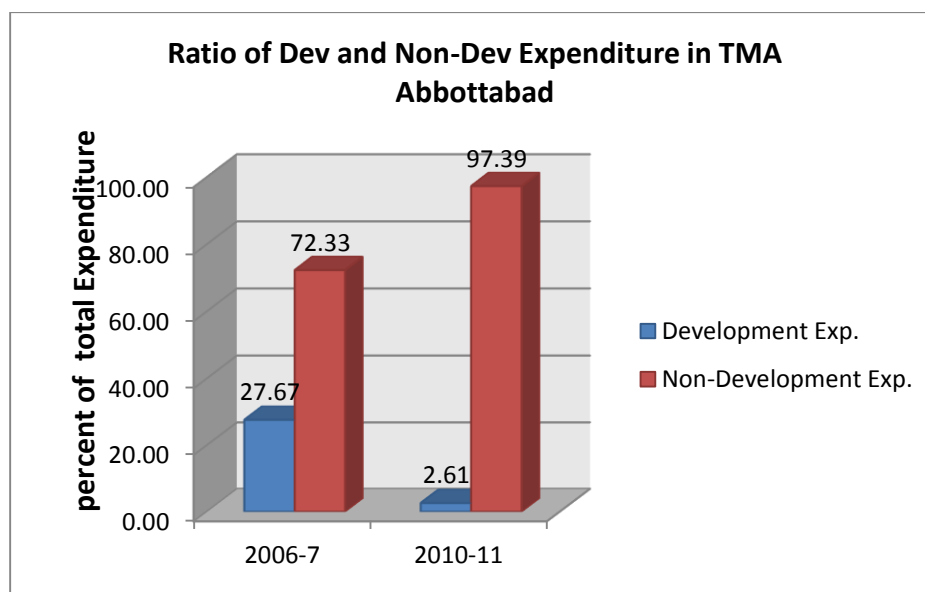


7.1.3 Tehsil Abbottabad

When we look at the available figures of development and non-development expenditure in TMA Abbottabad we will notice that the percentage share of development expenditure in 2006-7 was much higher (27.66 percent of total expenditure) than the expenditure under the same head in 2010-11 (2.62 percent of total expenditure).

7.1.3A: TMA Abbottabad Budget				
Head of Account	2006-7		2010-11	
	Rs. In M	percent	Rs. In M	percent
Development Exp.	22.96	27.66	3.04	2.61
Non-Development Exp.	60.03	72.33	113.27	97.38
Total Exp.	82.99		116.31	

Even in terms of real numbers development expenditure has recorded a sharp decrease from Rs. 22.96 million in 2006-7 to only Rs.3.04 million in 2010-11. During the same period non-development expenditure of TMA Abbottabad has increased from Rs. 60.03 million (72 percent of total expenditure) in 2006-7 to Rs.113.27 million (97.38 percent of total expenditure) in 2010-11.



7.2 Case Studies from Punjab

This sub section covers case studies done in Punjab. Two districts selected for qualitative data collection in Punjab were Lahore and Bahawalnagar. In case of Lahore budgetary figures were available for both the years i.e., FY 2006-7 and FY 2010-11 and for all the three levels, i.e., district, Tehsil and Union Council level. However in case of Bahawalnagar budgetary details were available only for Tehsil and Union Council level; district level details were not provided by the district administration Bahawalnagar. Though at the Union Council level data was available for both the years yet the heads under which allocations were made were considerably different during FY 2006-7 and FY 2010 -11.

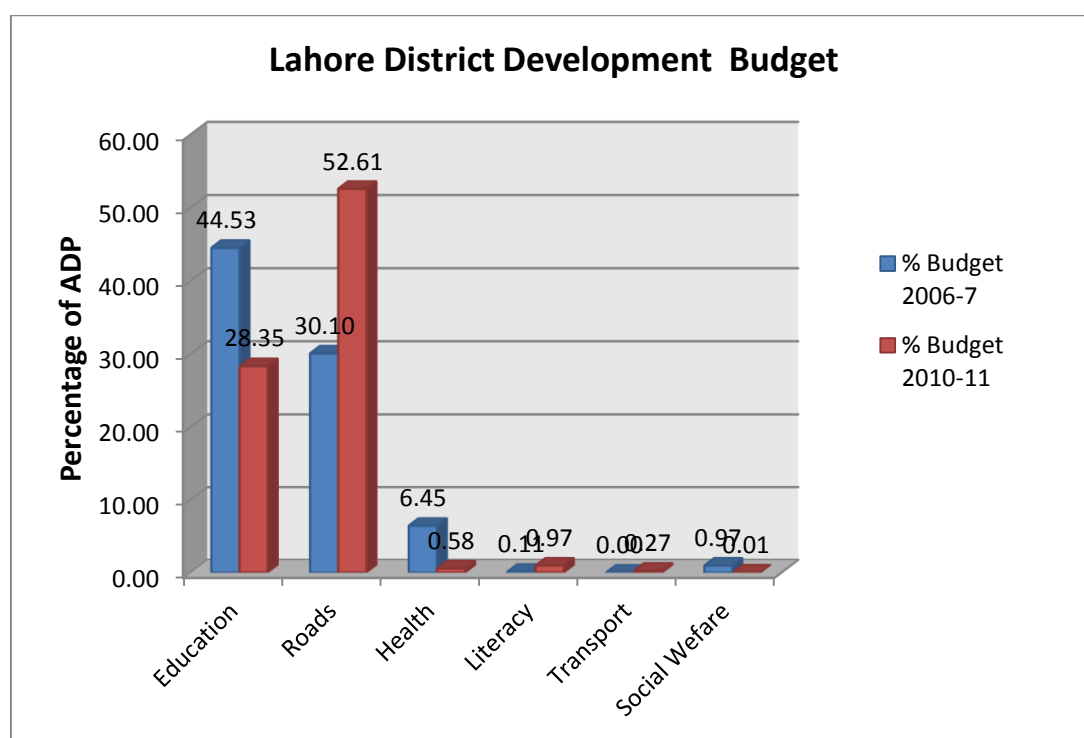
7.2.1 District Lahore

The following table shows that total ADP allocation saw an increase of more than 37 percent from Rs.1357.792 million in 2006-7 to Rs.1871.789 million in 2010-11.

7.2.1A: Lahore District Budget				
Sector	2006-7		2010-11	
	Rs in M	percent	Rs in M	percent
Education	604.662	44.53	530.654	28.35

Roads	408.64	30.10	984.689	52.61
Health	87.59	6.45	10.91	0.58
Literacy	1.472	0.11	18.2	0.97
Transport	0	0.00	5	0.27
Social Welfare	13.164	0.97	0.235	0.01
Total ADP	1357.792		1871.789	

But an interesting trend in the division of resources among various sectors was noted. **It is clear from the table above that share of education in 2010-11 has reduced to almost 28 percent from more than 44 percent in 2006-7.** Even in terms of real numbers this trend persists as allocation for education was Rs 604 million in 2006-7, which was reduced to Rs.530 million in 2010-11. On the other hand share of roads in ADP of Lahore has recorded a sharp increase from 30 percent in 2006-7 to 52 percent in 2010-11; in terms of numbers allocation for roads has seen more than 100 percent increase as allocation in 2006-7 was Rs.408 million which has risen to Rs. 984 million in 2010-11. Allocation for health has reduced drastically from Rs. 87 million in 2006-7 (more than 6 percent of total ADP) to a meager amount of Rs.10 million (0.58 percent of total ADP allocation) in 2010-11. Same is the case with social welfare, allocation for which reduced from Rs 13 million in 2006-7 to only Rs.0.235 million in 2010-11.



These trends are indicative of the priorities of the district government of Lahore under which building roads, even at the expense of very basic services like education and health is among the top most priorities. This trend is corroborated by the present ruling party's well known penchant for building roads and infrastructure. However, **in the face of such huge spending on roads the level of satisfaction of general public with the roads should have been**

much improved but when we look at the public perception of Lahore district, we see that 55 percent of the respondents from Lahore were dissatisfied with roads to an extent that roads were recorded as the second most dissatisfied service in Lahore after sanitation, with which 63 percent of the respondents were dissatisfied. Similarly, more than 47 percent of respondents were dissatisfied with the public service delivery in health sector.

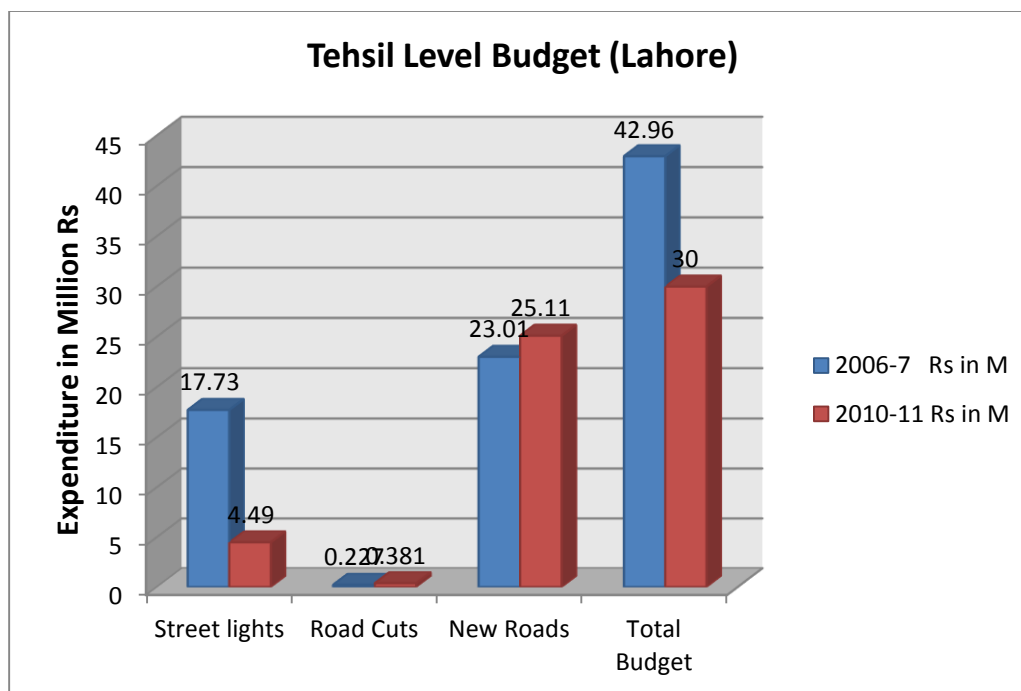
After electricity and gas supply which is the common problem of entire country, basic services like garbage disposal, street/street lights, and sewerage were reported as the three most important problems of their district by the respondents of Lahore district during the household survey. This fact is important to note as a considerably huge amount (Rs.1871 million) was allocated for Annual Development Plan of the FY 2010-11.

7.2.2 Shalimar Town

As expected, budgetary allocation for TMA Shalimar Town of Lahore has seen a considerable decrease from Rs. 42 million in 2006-7 to Rs. 30 million in 2010-11. Again the most conspicuous allocation during 2010-11 was for construction of new roads, which was almost 83 percent of the entire allocation for TMA Lahore in 2010-11; further substantiating our earlier assertion regarding the government in Lahore having a proclivity for construction of roads and infrastructure.

7.2.2A: TMA Shalimar Town Lahore Budget		
Sector	2006-7 Rs in M	2010-11 Rs in M
Street lights	17.73	4.49
Road Cuts	0.227	0.381
New Roads	23.01	25.11
Total Budget	42.96	30

However, allocation for street lights had reduced enormously from Rs 17.7 million in 2006-7 to Rs 4.4 million in 2010-11. This might be indicative of previous government's fixation with street lights as compared to the present government's preference for roads.

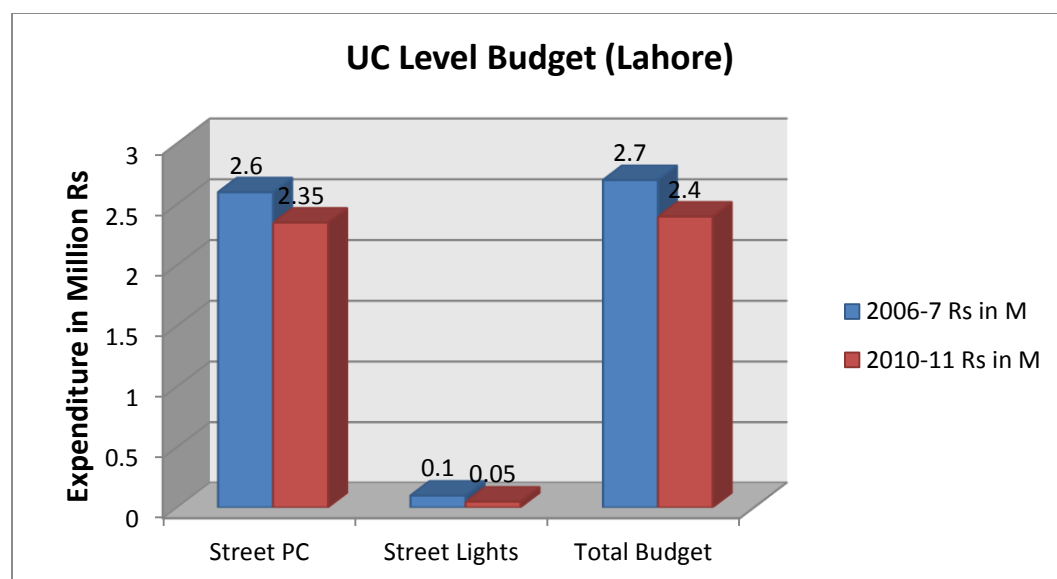


7.2.3 Union Council Madu Lal

Comparison of Union Council level budget indicates not much difference in terms of total allocation in 2006-7 and 2010-11. It is noteworthy that total allocation for Madu Lal UC in Lahore instead of increasing from Rs. 2.7 million in 2006-7, has decreased to Rs. 2.4 million in 2010-11.

7.2.3A: Madu Lal UC Lahore		
Sector	2006-7 Rs in M	2010-11 Rs in M
Street PC	2.6	2.35
Street Lights	0.1	0.05
Total Budget	2.7	2.4

There is also not much difference in terms of priorities for allocation as during both the years major chunk of total budget was allocated to Street Pavement Construction (PC).



7.2.4 District Bahawalnagar

Second district of Punjab chosen for budgetary analysis was Bahawalnagar but unfortunately no district level data was available in case of Bahawalnagar; resultantly analysis has been done at the Tehsil and Union Council level for which data was available.

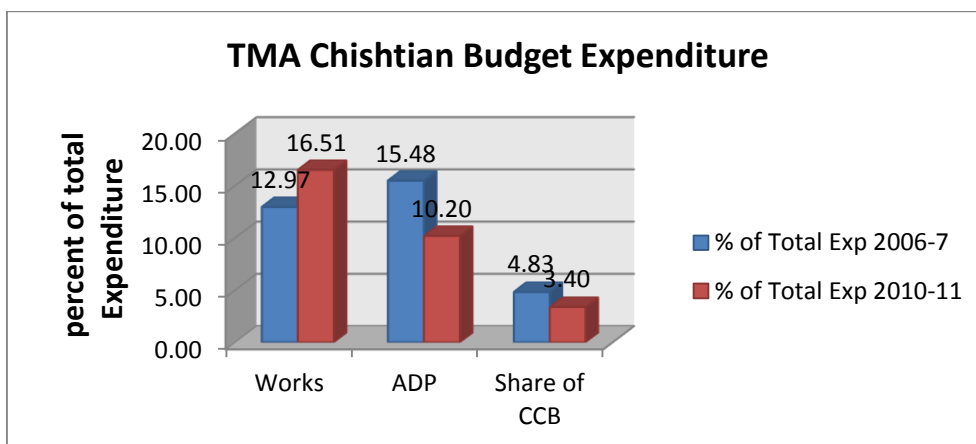
7.2.5 Tehsil Chishtian

In Chishtian Tehsil of Bahawalnagar district total expenditure for FY 2010-11 was Rs. 255 million, almost 82 percent higher than the expenditure of Rs. 140 million during FY 2006-7. Major expenditure was done under the heads of Works, ADP and share of CCBs. In each category expenditure was higher both in number and percentages for the financial year 2010-11; expenditure on works, and ADP was Rs.42 and Rs.26 million respectively during the FY 2010-11 as compared to respective expenditures of Rs.12 million and Rs 15 million during the FY 2006-7.

7.2.5A: TMA Chishtian Budget				
Sector	2006-7		2010-11	
	Rs in M	percent	Rs in M	Percent
Works	18.18	12.97	42.23	16.51
ADP	21.71	15.48	26.09	10.20
Share of CCB	6.77	4.83	8.69	3.40
Total Expenditure	140.21		255.75	

However, it was interesting to note that share of CCB was also increased from Rs.6.77 million in FY 2006-7 to Rs.8.69 million during FY 2010-11, despite the fact that LGO 2001, which created CCBs, has been held in abeyance since January 2010. It was even more interesting to note that CCBs members from Bahawalnagar informed the research team, during the FGD conducted

with them, that they had stopped working because of absence of funds, which were stopped since the end of 2009. Also, according to those members, there has not been any major infrastructure project since January 2010. **This fact substantiate the accusation of many CCB members in other areas as well that funds for CCB are available with the local governments but are not been given to the CCBs.**



7.2.6 Union Council UC 53

Expenditure at the union council level in Bahawalnagar was made under different sectors during FY 2006-7 and FY 2010-11; during the former expenditure was done mostly on street lights, building small bridges, sewerage and construction of soling while in latter period most expenditure was incurred on drainage, RCC pipes, Street Lights, development and CCBs. Total expenditure during FY 2010-11 has increased to Rs. 922,896 in comparison of Rs.755, 000 during the FY 2006-7.

7.2.6A: UC 53 Tehsil Chishtian (2006-7)	
Sector	Expenditure in Rs
Street Lights	50,000
Small Bridges (Pullian)	240,000
Sewerage	180,000
Soling	285,000
Total Budget	755,000

It was interesting to note that no expenditure was incurred on CCBs in FY 2006-7 when LGO 2001 was fully operational but Rs.147, 896 were spent on CCBs during FY 2010-11 when LGO 2001 was held in abeyance.

7.2.6B: UC 53 Tehsil Chishtian (2010-11)	
Sector	Expenditure in Rs
Drainage System	115,000
RCC Pipe	150,000
Street Lights	160,000
Development expenditure	350,000
CCB	147,896
Total Budget	922,896

7.3 Case Studies from Balochistan

In case of Balochistan two districts selected for qualitative data analysis were Quetta and Sibi. For Quetta budgetary figures were available only for the FY 2006-7 and only for the district level; neither any budgetary details at Tehsil or Union Council level were available nor budgetary figures for the FY 2010-11 were provided by the local government administration. In case of Sibi district level figure for the FY 2005-6 were provided instead of FY 2006-7 and details for the FY 2010-11 were not provided altogether; similarly like Quetta in Sibi as well budgetary details were available only for district level.

7.3.1 District Quetta

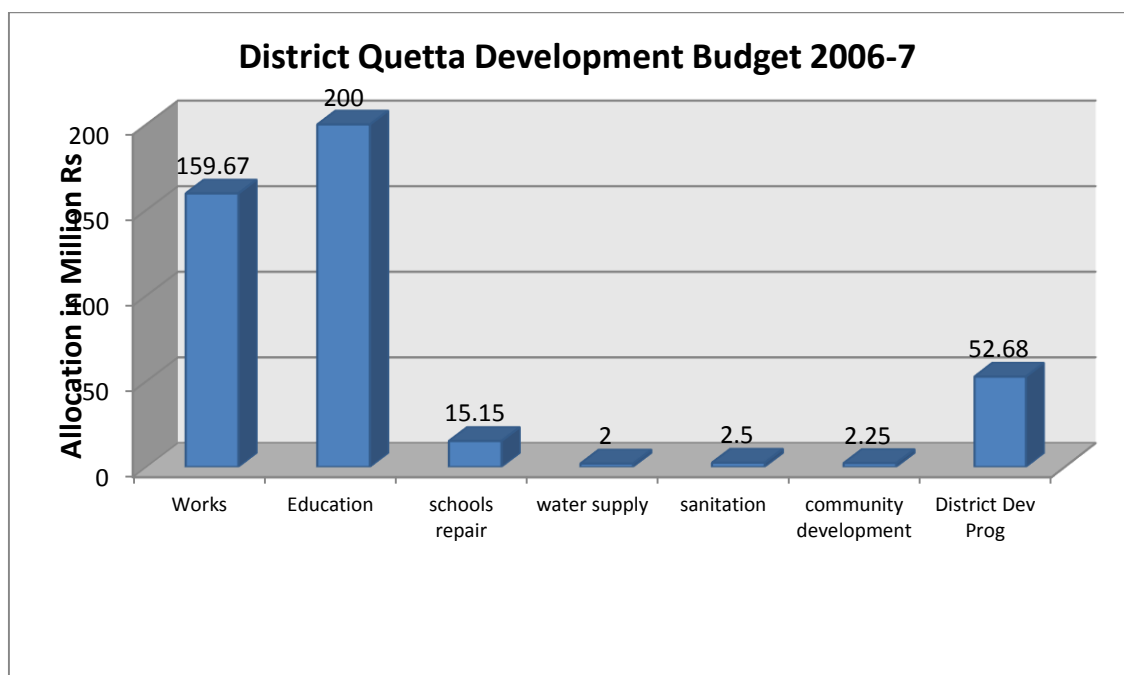
In case of district Quetta, data was available only at the district level and for the FY 2006-7; district government Quetta did not provide data for the FY 2010-11. Allocations related with provision of basic services were mostly made in education, works, schools' repair, water supply, sanitation, community development and district development program; out of these, maximum allocation of Rs. 200 million was made for education, followed by Rs 159 million for works and then Rs.15 million for schools' repair.

7.3.1A: Quetta Development Budget 2006-7	
Sector	Allocation in Million Rs
Education	200
Works	159.67
Schools repair	15.15
Water supply	2
Sanitation	2.5
Community development	2.25
District Development Program	52.68

It is pertinent to mention here that out of Rs.52.68 million allocated under the head of District Development Programme, Rs.39.51 million were allocated for district development fund and Rs.13.17 million were allocated for CCBs. Moreover total expected expenditure of City District

Government Quetta for the FY 2006-7 was Rs.1603.151 million out of which Rs.434.25 million (almost 27 percent of total expected expenditure) was allocated for different development heads given in the above table.

Though the budgetary data for FY 2010-11 was not available, yet when we look at the responses of the residents of Quetta, collected through household survey, we realize that dissatisfaction level of general public with basic services like health, education, sanitation, water supply and roads was respectively 55 percent, 35 percent, 80 percent, 51 percent and 59 percent. Besides this general dissatisfaction with basic services, respondents from Quetta identified water supply, garbage disposal, and sewerage as the most important problems.



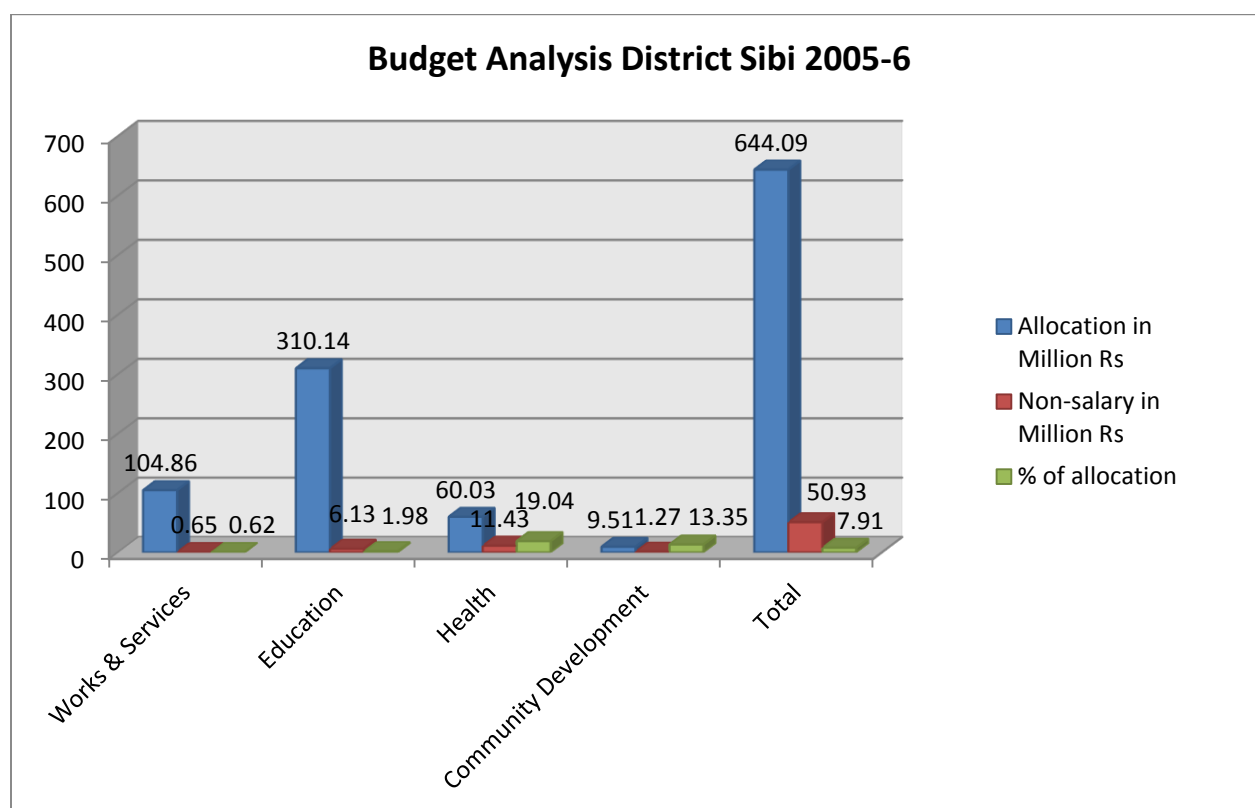
7.3.2 District Sibi

Similarly in case of Quetta, budgetary data in Sibi was available only for the FY 2005-6, and district government Sibi was not really forthcoming in sharing the data of FY 2010-11. According to table below, major allocations in district Sibi were made on Education; Works & Services; Health; and Community Development.

7.3.2A: District Sibi Budget 2005-6			
Sector	Allocation in Million Rs	Non-salary in Million Rs	percent of allocation
Works & Services	104.86	0.65	0.62
Education	310.14	6.13	1.98
Health	60.03	11.43	19.04

Community Development	9.51	1.27	13.35
Total	644.09	50.93	7.91

Total budget for FY 2005-6 in district Sibi was Rs.644 million out of which only Rs.50 million were related to non-salary expenditure. It was interesting to note that share of non-salary expenditure was maximum in Health i.e., 19 percent while the share for Education was a partly sum of less than 2 percent.



7.4 Case studies from Sindh

districts selected for qualitative analysis in Sindh were Karachi and Tharparkar. As already mentioned under the limitations of budgetary analysis, in Karachi data for the years prior to FY 2007 was not available, as most government departments claimed that their record was burnt in the riot, which followed the murder of Benazir Bhutto in 2007. Even for the FY 2010-11, data in case of Karachi was provided only for Tehsil level. In case of Tharparkar though data was available only for Tehsil level yet one improvement was that figures for both financial years 2006-7 and 2010-11 were available.

7.4.1 District Karachi

Though district level budgetary data was not available for Karachi yet we can identify the trend in public service delivery through having a careful look at the household responses collected through household survey. In case of Karachi level of dissatisfaction of the residents of the area,

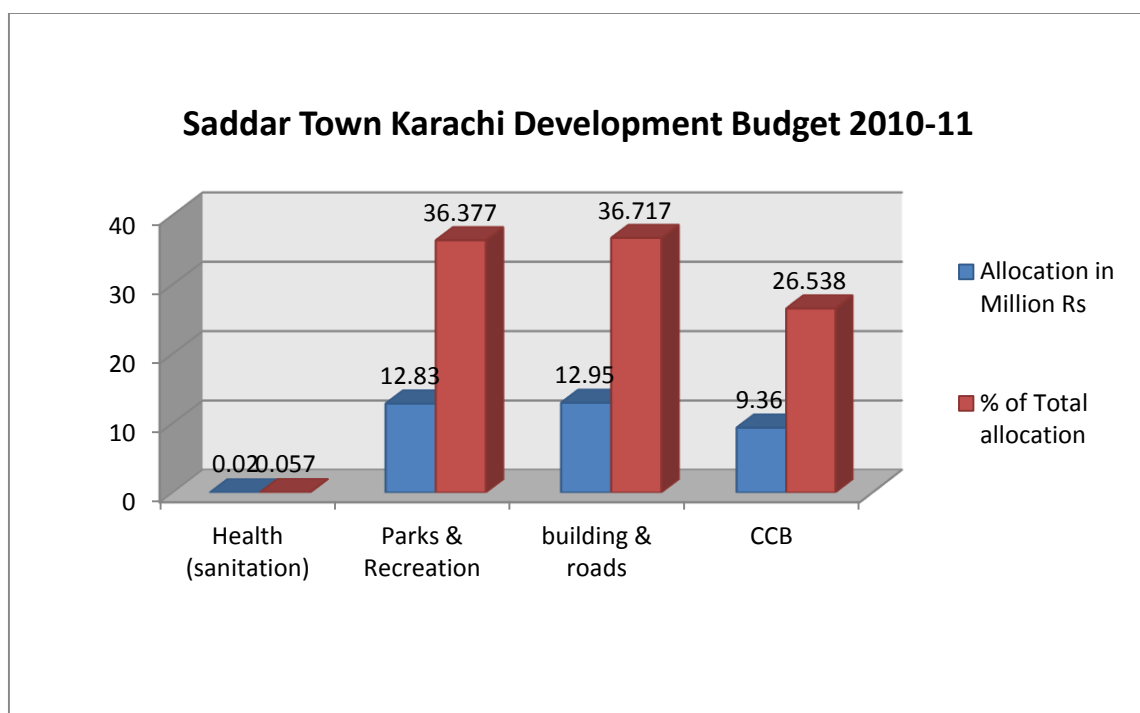
ascertained through household survey, with the basic services was considerably higher than the other provincial capitals as in case of education 70 percent people were dissatisfied with the public educational facilities; 69 percent were dissatisfied with health facilities; 60 percent were dissatisfied with sanitation services and 59 percent were not happy with the roads of Karachi. Furthermore, apart from electricity and law & order respondent from Karachi recorded sewerage, garbage disposal and water supply as the three most important problems of their district.

7.4.2 Saddar Town

Local government official in Karachi shared the data for Saddar Town of Karachi. Data in table below shows that total Rs.35 million was allocated for development budget of Saddar town out of which major allocations were made for roads (Rs.12.95 m); parks (Rs.12.83 m); and for CCBs (Rs.9.36 m); allocation for health and sanitation was a meager sum of Rs.0.02 million.

7.4.2A: Saddar Town Karachi Development Budget 2010-11		
Sector	Allocation in Million Rs	percent of Total allocation
Health (sanitation)	0.02	0.057
Parks & Recreation	12.83	36.377
building & roads	12.95	36.717
Mechanical & Electrical	9.36	26.538
CCB	0.1	0.28
Total	35.27	

It was interesting that even in the budget of FY 2010-11 though a meager sum, yet allocations were made for CCBs while according to the FGD conducted with the CCB members of Karachi, CCBs had ceased to exist since last two years and were not doing any developmental work since January 2010. This situation in Karachi seems similar to Bahawalnagar where funds are still allocated for CCBs but not being transferred to them.



7.4.3 District Tharparkar

Tharparkar is a rural district of Sindh selected for qualitative data collection. Unfortunately, district level data was not provided by the local government officials working in district headquarters.

7.4.4 Taluka Mithi

Some Taluka level data was obtained from Mithi, which is presented in the table below. This data shows that during FY2006-07 total allocation made for Taluka Mithi was Rs.2.4 million out of which only Rs.1.1 million was released and out of that only Rs.0.52 million was spent. This means that only 47 percent of the already meager allocation was actually spent. Though funds allocation during FY 2010-11 was exactly the same as in FY 2006-7, yet a major difference was that the 100 percent allocated amount was released to the TMA Mithi, however in terms of spending, situation was even worse than FY 2006-7 as only 20 percent of released funds, which amounted to Rs.0.49 million, were spent.

7.4.4A: TMA Mithi Budget Allocation				
	2006-7	percent of total allocation	2010-11	percent of total allocation
Allocation	2.4		2.4	
Released	1.1	45.83	2.4	100
Spent	0.52	47.27	0.49	20.42

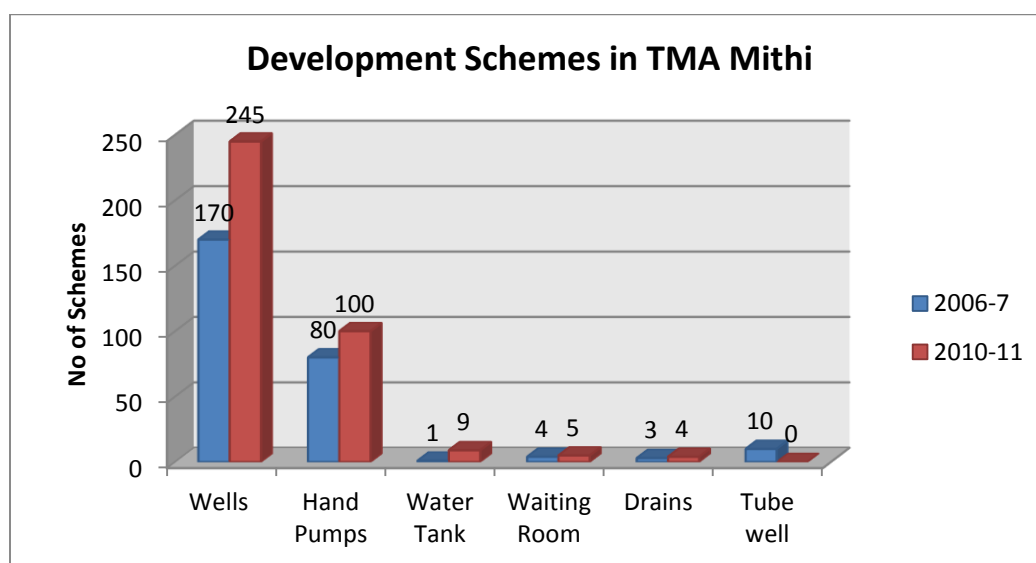
No wonder, **according to the FGDs conducted in Taluka Mithi, many people did not have any idea of what local government is, or what public service delivery is and what is the relationship between the two.** These figures substantiate the assertion of the marginalized

community of Mithi, leveled during a FGD with them, claiming that community development was neither happening in the previous system nor is happening now.

7.4.4B: Development Schemes in TMA Mithi

Scheme	2006-7	2010-11
Wells	170	245
Hand Pumps	80	100
Water Tank	1	9
Waiting Room	4	5
Drains	3	4
Tube well	10	0

However, if we compare the data pertaining to the developmental schemes done in FY 2006-7 and FY 2010-11 we would realize that 363 schemes were done during FY2010-11 in comparison of 268 schemes done during the FY2006-7. As scarcity of clean drinking water is the most vital issue of the area, so more than 90 percent of schemes during both the years, were related with the supply of clean drinking water.



7.5 Conclusions on Case Studies to Elicit Supply Side Situation

As the 'demand side' of service provision (from the citizen's viewpoint) has been ascertained through quantitative analysis during the previous as well as the current Social Audit, the budgetary analysis in this iteration was designed for understanding and substantiating the 'supply side' of service delivery.

Attitudes about sharing Public Documents

At the time of designing these case studies it was envisaged that the required information would be available and shared, being public documents. The difficult task this became for the research

team (although some individuals of local government were very helpful) and the reasons they provided for not sharing data, leads to the conclusion that this is just not the right time to access the 'supply side', when politics and local elections are round the corner.

Secondly, the differences in the way public servants responded to requests for interviews and data in the last iteration and current iteration of Social Audit is in itself an indicator of the very different attitudes of local government led by elected representatives and local government led by bureaucrats and administrators.

Salaries versus Development Expenditure

It can be concluded from these case studies that the proportion of allocations for salaries of current local government officials is much higher as compared to the allocations for development work. It has been noted that ratio of allocation for salaries to the allocation for development works is sometime 98 percent to 2 percent. **It does not need much imagination to conclude the low quality of development work that could be done with such meager allocations.**

However, it can be argued that higher allocation for salaries is not a problem per se, if it is concomitant with better service delivery, but when we juxtapose the higher salaries allocation with the quality of service delivery in these districts, **we have to conclude that this higher allocation for salaries has not translated into better service delivery in these districts.**

Higher Budgets but Low Quality of Services

Another important result of qualitative analysis of budgetary figures from the 8 districts relates to the disconnect between the budget allocation and quality of service delivery. **It is sufficiently evident from the data (and by cross checking with the quantitative household data) that even where there are big increases in budget allocation for basic services like education and health, it does not always translate into improvement in the service delivery of these basic services.**

Perceptions Versus facts

It can be argued that service delivery improves with higher allocation in budget but the expectations of general public increases at a pace much faster than the rate of improvement of service delivery. **This argument could be substantiated by taking the example of roads in Lahore; where allocations in FY 2010-11 were almost 200 percent higher than the allocations of FY 2006-7 but the general public had recorded roads as the second most dissatisfied service in Lahore after sanitation.** It's a common observation that condition of roads in Lahore is comparatively much improved than five years ago, but the expectations of general public have increased much more than the improvements and, therefore they are still dissatisfied with the quality of roads in Lahore. Or it could also be inferred from the dissatisfaction of the respondents that quality of service delivery varies drastically across different parts of the district.

Allocations versus actual expenditure

It can also be concluded that mere allocation of funds for any specific head or service does not necessarily mean that the same amount has been spent on that service. This was specifically true regarding Citizen Community Boards (CCBs), where in different districts like Karachi and Bahawalnagar certain allocations were made for the CCBs during FY 2010-11 but funds were not transferred to CCBs, as was widely reported by the CCB members in almost all the FGDs conducted in all the four provinces.

Misplaced Priorities leading to Poor Basic Service Delivery

From the interviews with people currently running local government (administrators and bureaucrats) , it can be concluded that assigning priorities based on perceived development priorities without considering the demand side preferences is a common phenomenon in the decision making milieu of Pakistani public sector. Results from these case studies when juxtaposed with the public perceptions ascertained through household survey, **leads to the conclusion that in many instances huge allocations are made for services or infrastructures at the expense of the more basic services that people actually want.**

Chapter 8

Qualitative Comparison of Local Government Systems

In the previous chapter we have qualitatively analyzed the trends in budgetary allocations during the elected and administrative forms of local government. This chapter substantiates the findings of social Audit 2011-12 with qualitative analysis of the views from various stakeholders. These have been obtained through key informant interviews, in-depth interviews and FGDs in all four provinces.

The first part of chapter states the opinions of key stakeholders on LGO 1979 and LGO 2001. The second part of the chapter presents range of views and opinions of the key informants regarding the efficiency and efficacy of the current administrative and previous elected local government systems. The third part of the chapter brings forth the quality of service delivery during the current local government systems with the help of views recorded during the 30 FGDs conducted in 8 selected districts with four different groups: marginalized communities, interest groups, former and current CCB members and non-government service providers. The fourth part of the chapter delineates the vital question of provincial 'stake' in the local government by analyzing the views of different stake holders on whether legislators should have a role in public service delivery or local level development. The fifth and last part of the chapter delineates public perceptions regarding the best form of local government.

8.1 Opinions on LGO 1979 and LGO 2001

Though the narrative given in Chapter 2 about LGO 1979 and LGO 2001 clearly outlines the salient points of both local government systems, yet to enhance the richness of this comparative analysis, views were obtained through various key informant interviews, FGDs, and in-depth interviews regarding the differences in both these local government models. A prevalent opinion of key informants is that both LGO 1979 and LGO 2001 had their shortcomings, which should be removed and a new LGO amalgamating the positives of both the systems should be evolved and put in place. According to one key informant, local government system prevalent in 2000 was much superior to the local government system introduced under the LGO 2001, because the system of 2000 was the evolved and updated form of LGO 1979.

The following major shortcomings of LGO 2001 were highlighted by Key Informants in Sindh:

- Funds were directly transferred from Federal Government to the district government bypassing provincial government
- Nazim had concentration of powers in his hands while he was not answerable to the District Council
- Though district, Tehsil and UC Nazims were elected through direct elections, they were not the members of their respective councils so they never felt answerable to the Councils
- TMAs were assigned major responsibilities in terms of local development and service delivery but they did not function properly in the entire province of Sindh

In terms of comparison of the LGO 1979 with the LGO 2001 both the parliamentarians from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa were of the view that they know something about LGO 2001, which was

relatively better in terms of accessibility of the public representatives, representation of women and minorities etc., but had little idea about the LGO 1979. However, another key informant from LGD of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa had some idea of LGO 1979; according to his experience and observation LGO 2001 was better than the 1979 provided some basic flaws were removed from the LGO 2001.

Two basic drawbacks of the LGO 2001 identified by the key informant were as following

- It gave administrative powers to the elected local representatives like UC Nazim, Tehsil Nazim and District Nazim
- It removed the divide between the urban and rural areas

According to this key informant, elected representatives were often unfamiliar with the rules of administration and giving administrative control of the local government machinery to the elected representative paved the way for politically motivated intervention in the workings of government machinery, causing serious damage to the system.

In his view, the act of removing the urban rural divide under LGO 2001 was a major contributor in the debilitated state of towns in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa today because the funds generated by the urban towns were spent on the rural areas resulting in a scarcity of funds for the upkeep and development of the urban areas. He was of the opinion that since last two years, service delivery is almost static and even the funds flow is the same as it was two years ago.

According to the key informant from Punjab the basic differences in the LGO 1979 and LGO 2001 was that under the former elected representatives did not have administrative and monitoring rights. Funds at the disposal of representatives were scarce and their scope of work was very much limited. While under the LGO 2001 elected representatives had the power and the authority to monitor the ongoing developmental work resulting in significant improvement in the quality of work done under LGO 2001. Another significant variation was the abundance of funds under the LGO 2001, which improved both the quality and quantum of service delivery.

8.2 Efficiency and Efficacy of Local Government Systems

Views from various key informants were also obtained regarding the efficiency of the current administrative and previous elected local government systems. These key informants included higher officials of the local government departments, legislators (men and women), administrators, police official and experts of local government in Pakistan.

The major themes recurring in the views of different stake holders regarding efficiency and efficacy of elected and administrative local government systems was that the former suffers from excessive corruption and incapacity despite having the advantage of being accessible to common man, while the latter is less corrupt and more efficient in terms of capacity, while being inaccessible and unresponsive to the needs of people.

8.2.1 Accessibility, Responsiveness and Corruption

In terms of efficiency and efficacy of the elected and administrative local government systems, key Informants from Sindh were generally of the view that though elected local government system ensures grass root level participation and interventions, yet its major handicap is that elected local government system is a source of corruption. They also felt that while the present administrative local government system has inherent check and balance, but the institutions

under its control are not empowered due to lack of financial control. They also spoke of the gap between the common man and the local administrator, which needs to be reduced to make the system more effective and responsive to the needs of the people.

Another view regarding the efficiency of both the systems of local government was that no matter what system in place - elected or administrative - and **no matter whether it is the Nazim or the Administrator who is at the helm of affairs, the most vital driving force for any local government system is the government machinery, i.e. public servants.** If government machinery is working as it should be, the system will be efficient and would be able to deliver the services.

Parliamentarian from Punjab was of the view that elected system of local government was much better than the present system. Under previous system leadership was elected, there were connection with people facilitating true identification of the problem areas. He was of the view that despite these positive attributes, there were shortcomings in the elected system, such as intervention of provincial government in the affairs of the local government, inexperience of the elected representatives, inefficiency of the bureaucracy, and political groupings within the local government.

Regarding the current administrative LG system, he was also of the opinion that administrative system of local government has the inherent flaw of being non-responsive to the needs and demands of the general public, and developmental planning is behind closed doors.

8.2.2 Capacity Issues

According to some informants lack of capacity at the UC level was a major source of inefficiency of the previous elected system.

Some key informants from various legislative assemblies had the common view that **in terms of responsiveness elected local government system was a better system because people personally knew their elected representatives and in case of any problem could have approached them.** Notwithstanding the responsiveness of the previous system, in view of the parliamentarians, **it was not the best system in terms of efficiency mainly because of the limited capacity of the representatives.** In terms of efficiency, legislators found the present administrative system better because people have fewer expectations with the system, and because chances of corruption were more limited. In their view, if previous system has to increase its efficiency, it would be imperative to enhance the capacity of the elected representatives especially at the grass root level.

Regarding ability of the elected representative or administrator to control the local government machinery in an effective manner, a woman parliamentarian was of the view that it works better under the elected representatives because people generally want their issues to be resolved at the very grass root level. The male MPA was of the opinion that local government performs better under the administrative system due to fewer people involved in any given transaction, which reduces the opportunity and scope of corruption. However, he was also of the view that administrative system reduces the chances of interaction between the community and administrators.

8.2.3 Continuity is Key to Success

Key informant from local government department of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was generally in favor of elected local government system as compared to administrative local government system. He was of the opinion that had local population been given sufficient chance to elect and re-elect their local representatives, the situation might have been much better now. **He was also of the view that independence of funds generation and spending is a prerequisite for the**

success of local government system. In his view lack of funds at UC level was, and still is, the major issue in local government system. However, he was of the view that elected representatives should not be given the administrative powers nor should they be entitled to interfere in the administrative affairs of the local government machinery, because political compulsions and obligations renders it very difficult for them to take administratively viable decisions.

8.3 Quality of Service Delivery under Present System

During the course of qualitative research efforts were made to gather qualitative data regarding the quality of basic services under the existing system of local government. This has been done with the help of questions asked during FGDs conducted with various groups in all the 8 districts selected for qualitative data collection as well as through key informant interviews conducted with various stake holders in these districts. Analysis presented below is based on the responses gathered through above mentioned exercise and has been presented province wise.

Sindh

Both urban and rural NGOs had somewhat similar experiences and views regarding the performance of present local government system in Sindh. Their **first impression regarding the present system is of confusion; as many people are not sure about the nature, functioning procedures and hierarchy of the current local government system.** In urban areas it was noted that present system is focusing only on the ongoing mega projects like widening of major roads or building overhead bridges but no new projects have been started.

In the views of these NGOs, **in rural areas most of the present work is being done through MNA's quota and that the favorite developmental project of rural Sindh is the construction of community center because of its visibility and utility in terms of its allocation to the political workers of the political party of MNA.**

While deliberating the efficiency of the present local government system members of interest groups in urban areas were of the view that only ongoing projects are still running but no new projects have been started, only roads are being repaired and that too in specific areas. According to rural interest groups only one new road was constructed and street light were installed since 2010 and the most disturbing fact is lack of maintenance of the previously done schemes. Members of marginalized community had almost same opinions in urban and rural areas regarding the lack of developmental as well as maintenance work during last two years.

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

In the view of NGOs operating in both urban and rural areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, no mentionable work was done in their respective areas since the introduction of current administrative local government system. Neither have these NGOs received any funding from this system. However, one NGO reported that obtaining NoCs for starting a project has become relatively easier under the current system.

Interest Groups in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa also expressed similar views regarding the current local government system. In their view, whatever little work which was done in the previous system is absent in the current system and the maintenance of the existing schemes

As far as the marginalized community is concerned new system has neither brought any drastic improvement in their condition nor have any concrete steps been taken for solution of their specific problems. **Marginalized community was neither consulted during the previous system nor did they know about the developmental plans during the present system.**

According to CCB members present system has failed to bring any significant improvement in service delivery - rather earlier people had someone to turn to for resolution of their problems now even that facility is missing as approaching the administrators is almost impossible for the common man.

Balochistan

Mostly participants were of the view that current system is unknown to them, and most of the participants shared that they do not even know the name of their administrator.

Rural NGOs were very critical of the current system as, according to them, under the present system the administrator is the 'king of the district' and common man cannot approach him without a lawyer. They were of the view that while people are the same, the service providers have changed, and the local administrators give contracts to their own contractors.

In view of the urban interest groups since the inception of current system even the maintenance and repair work of the schemes done during the previous system has been stopped, causing deterioration of infrastructure.

Contrary to above, views of the rural interest groups were very different. According to them developmental work is better both in quality and quantity during the current system. In their view during the previous elected local government system only specific people were gifted contracts without any consideration of merit and ability, but now contracts are given to the firms and individuals who deserve and have the ability. According to one rural interest group, meetings of transporters was held for the first time, they were consulted and bus stations were properly constructed, so they consider the current administrative local government system much better.

However, according to the rural marginalized community there has not been any change for the better in the present system rather situation has grown from bad to worst - drinking water being a case in point.

Punjab

According to marginalized community of both urban and rural Punjab the change in system has not brought any change in their fate or in the service delivery to their area. Urban marginalized community was more articulate as well as more pessimistic in their views regarding the local government system and public service delivery. According to them these things are for the rich, poor people neither had nor have any facilities and no one had ever consulted them with regard to problems of service delivery in their area.

8.4 Legislators' Involvement in Local Government

One peculiar feature of local government in Pakistan is the involvement of federal and provincial legislators in the local government of their respective constituencies – in fact many of the legislators and most of public consider it as the main function of legislators. Both federal and provincial legislators get specific funds from their respective governments for doing developmental work in their constituencies.

This is also one of the major reasons for involvement of provincial governments in the affairs of local governments, as a strong and efficient local government render the legislator superfluous as far as the service delivery to the general public is concerned, making it difficult for the legislators to exercise power, authority and to win the next election.

Most of the key informants, apart from legislators themselves, were not in favor of the prevalent practice of allocation of funds to the national or provincial legislators for the execution of various

local level development schemes in their constituencies. One opinion was that legislators should only be assigned the task of need assessment of the areas and should suggest the priorities in terms of developmental projects required in their constituency. Allocation and disbursal of funds and execution of the developmental projects should be beyond their sphere. They were of the opinion that execution, monitoring and completion of the developmental schemes should be the responsibility of administrators.

However on the other hand, legislators from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab were in favor of legislators' involvement in the local government system and supported the idea of legislators getting funds for development of their constituencies. They based their case on the argument that general population is illiterate and they do not understand the original function of legislators, and that people want and expect their elected MNAs and MPAs to take interest in the development of their constituencies. They further strengthened their case by arguing that due to their influence and position legislators can influence government officials of local governments to perform their job in an efficient and speedy manner, resulting in better service delivery to the general public.

However, local government department officials' view the legislators' job is to do legislation, which they should focus on, and should leave developmental work to the local government, be it administrative or elected.

8.5 Best Form of Local Government

During the course of qualitative research, key informants as well as various focus groups were asked to give their opinion as to what, in their view, should be the composition of the local government system, best suitable for their area.

8.5.1 Best Local Government According to Key Informants

According to most of the key informants a best local government system should be **a mix of LGO 1979 & LGO 2001 - having best of both the systems. According to one informant an efficient Local Government model would be based on accountability, check & balances, and linkages with the provincial government.**

Interestingly some legislators, who declined to give formal interviews or to be identified, said that they preferred the LGO 1979, even though it was brought in by the worst dictator in Pakistan's history, because it gave more control to those who led the local bodies.

In view of key informants from local government departments, a lot depends on the quality of leader, be it an elected representative or the administrator. They cited multiple examples of efficient and inefficient elected representative as well as administrators. According to some informants **local government system 2001 was the better system of local government**, because of the elected representation and coordination of Union Council, Tehsil and district administration, **but it could have been made even better with some adjustments and modifications.**

In this view, the best way forward in terms of better service delivery would be to enhance the coordination between the elected representatives and the machinery of local government because local representatives have the cognizance of the problems of the area but local government machinery has the technical abilities to solve those problems. If the capacity of these officials is increased through trainings this could enhance the performance of the local government system significantly.

Best Local Government System, according to various key informants, should have the following important ingredients:

- An overall democratic dispensation in the country;
- Independent judiciary
- Coordination between the provincial representatives and the local representatives with superiority residing with the provincial representative
- Local representatives should be elected
- Representatives should have full autonomy and authority
- Powers (both financial and developmental) should be devolved to the grass root level;
- Administrative powers should rest with the government officials
- Educated local leadership can deliver much better than the present system

In view of a male legislator from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa there is a need to change the present structure of local government and it should be under MPAs, all the projects should be finalized with the consultation of the local MPA so that at the implementation stage if there is an issue he could help its resolution at the higher level. The woman legislator of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa suggested following steps to improve the service delivery of the local government system:

- Full structure of the local government system needs to be implemented
- Capacity of the local government staff should be enhance through training
- Political intervention should be minimized in the local government system
- Timely provision of funds should be ensured
- Check& balance should be introduced in the system

8.5.2 Best Local Government According to Public

As different local government systems prevail in different provinces, the citizens also had different ideas and recommendations about the most suitable local government systems in their areas. Considering this, suggestions and recommendations of the respondents from various provinces have been presented separately.

Sindh

Main reason for favoring the elected local government system was the accessibility, responsiveness and grassroots connection of the elected representatives, while the major objection on the administrative local government system was the apathy, inaccessibility, indifference, and non-responsiveness of the administrative authorities. In view of the rural and urban CCB members a good local government system should have the following traits:

- Political will is vital
- LGO 1979 and LGO 2001 with some amendment should be the best system
- Educated people should be elected
- There should be inbuilt check & balance in the system
- Funds for local level projects should be made available and should not be under the control of provincial government
- Balance of power between the Nazims and government officers is absolutely imperative

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

There was a unanimous consensus, amongst all the participants of 8 FGDs conducted with various groups in the urban as well as rural areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, that previous elected local government system was better than the present administrative local government system. Major reasons for choosing the previous elected system were as follows:

- Accessibility of the elected representative
- Inaccessibility of the administrative representatives
- Ability of the system to identify and address the grass root level issues in a more effective manner
- Ability of the elected representative to understand the priorities of the area and its people

Tough generally participants favored elected local government system, yet certain recommendations were also reported for making the system more responsive and efficient to address the issues of the public. Major recommendations were as under:

- Elected representatives should be provided more funds to enhance their efficiency
- At the same time they should be bound to consult the people of the area prior to finalizing any developmental project for the area.
- Elected representatives should be given more powers and independence to perform their job more effectively
- No matter what system is in place, sincere people who are interested in serving the people are a prerequisite for effective service delivery

Balochistan

Most of the participants of the FGDs conducted in the urban and rural areas of Balochistan had a clear preference for the elected local government system. However, the ratio of respondents favoring the current system over the previous system was highest in Balochistan, but this support was not unconditional.

Major alterations recommended for improving elected local government system were as follows:

- Sufficient funds be provided to elected representative for solving the problems of their area; especially to the representatives at the union council level
- Local level representative should be given more independence to act enabling them to solve the grass root level problems
- Mechanism should be introduced for accountability of the Nazims, in order to keep their unbridled power in control and keeping them on right track
- Public should be given true and due representation at the grass root level; because accessibility of the local government officials is very vital for the success of any real local government system
- Whatever the system in place the thing which matter is that sincere people are in the seats of power
- Police should be kept at a distance from the elected representatives; which means that police should not be under the Nazim in order to reduce the chances of his abuse of power
- Zilla Nazim should be elected with the vote of public
- Minority representatives should be elected only through minority vote

Punjab

Though generally all the participants belonging to marginalized community, CCBs, NGOs and Interest Groups were in favor of elected local government system, yet urban marginalized community was more cynical and said that 'for us all the systems are same as we will always remain poor and marginalized no matter which system is in place'.

In view of different groups the major advantages of elected local government system are:

- It is accessible even for a poor man
- Elected representative are within the reach of population so they have to respond
- One doesn't have to take time to approach them
- They listen to your problems carefully and try to solve them
- Problems are better solved if elected representatives are in place
- Equitable distribution of resources is possible
- Service delivery without any discrimination can be ensured

In the view of the same groups the negative of the elected local government system are:

- Its prone to corruption and nepotism
- There are many lacunae in the system, which causes leakages in the utilization of funds
- CCBs could become a source of corruption if proper checks are not in place

Though all the participants voiced in favor of the elected local government system, many suggested following variations or changes in elected local government system:

- There should be more check & balances inbuilt in the system
- CCBs are an integral part of the elected local government system, which can only work efficiently if elected local government system is in place
- CCBs lack capacity and there is a need to build their capacity for effective implementation of the projects
- Local government system should be reintroduced but powers should be devolved to the grass root level and should not be concentrated only in the hands of Nazims
- Community involvement in the functioning of local government system should be ensured
- Bottom up approach should be used while deciding the priorities of the areas
- The opinion and priorities of local people should prevail at the time of developmental planning for the area

The following table sums up the qualitative analysis, **identifying strengths and weaknesses** of the previous and present systems of local government based on the views of the key informants and participants of 30 FGDs conducted in 8 selected districts:

Comparison of Local Government Systems						
	Elected LGS			Administrative LGS		
	High	Moderate	Low	High	Moderate	Low
Accessibility	✓					✓
Responsiveness	✓					✓
Service Delivery		✓				✓
Addressing Needs	✓					✓

Capacity	✓	✓	
Check & Balance	✓		✓
Corruption	✓		✓
Consultation		✓	✓
Sense of Ownership	✓		✓

8.6 Conclusions on Comparison of Local Government Systems

It can be concluded that there is a **thread of criticism for the administrative system and definite positive opinions about elected local government system running through both quantitative and qualitative discourses in this study.** Where ever elected local government system was criticized it was based on the lack of capacity of the local representatives to deal with the complex quagmire of governance. The second criticism on the elected model of local government was the susceptibility of the system to excessive corruption due to inherent lack of sufficient check and balance in the system.

It can also be concluded, therefore, that **idea behind the concept of elected local government system was nowhere challenged - even the critics of the previous system of local government (LG 2001) acquiesced that despite all its flaws and lacunae the elected local government system is the better choice in terms of accessibility, responsiveness, and demand driven public service delivery.**

It can be concluded that the elected local government system is high on accessibility, responsiveness, sense of ownership by citizens and addressing needs, but also high on corruption. In terms of service delivery and consultation it is moderate, while it is low on checks and balance and capacity.

Local government led by administrators (bureaucrats) is high on capacity, provides some modicum of check and balance, is moderate in corruption, but low on everything else.

The option of combining the good points of LGO 1979 and LG 2001, such that there is check and balance between elected Nazims and the administrators is worth a thought.

Regarding prevalent variations of the current administrative local government systems, there were many criticisms by respondent belonging to diverse geographical locations. These included the pain and suffering of the common man, the superior image and attitude of the functionaries, and its indifference to the real needs of the people. **It can be concluded that the major reason which makes administrative local government system less desirable in comparison of elected local government system is the inherent philosophy of administrative system according to which the administrator is wholly and solely responsible for provision of public services to the lesser mortals.**

The inevitable conclusion here is that the administrative local governance model or process, with its colonial legacy, works on the assumption of the inability or incapacity of local people to rule themselves, making it necessary for the administrator to rule his 'subjects' in whatever way he feels appropriate. In an authoritative patriarchal society like Pakistan, public administrators think it their job to decipher the needs of the multitudes and decide what is good for them. Their refusal to share data and give interviews during this study is an illustration of this behavior. This was not the case during the last iteration of the Social Audit.

In the final analysis it can be concluded that elected local government system, no matter with what design, is a better system of local governance as it gives the general public a sense of belonging and the sense that they are being served and not ruled. However, its weaknesses can be countered by putting in administrative check and balance.

Chapter 9

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations

This section puts together and summarizes the conclusions of previous chapters and recommends some actions, for government at different levels, donor institutions, civil society organizations and citizen groups.

Given the objectives and iterations of the Social Audit, and the fact that for 8 years public services were delivered through an elected local government system, it is not possible to separate and analyze the satisfaction among citizens of these services in isolation. Therefore, discussions on the current state of local government (being managed by bureaucrats and administrators) forms part and parcel of this study.

Globally grassroots administration and service delivery is effected through elected local government, where budgets are made, allocated and spent for citizens, usually with extensive citizen participation. There are few examples globally of members of parliament having control over development or other funds to be dispersed or utilized as per their directives. Typically members of parliament make laws, the executive makes policies and strategies based on these laws and allocates funds to administrative or other units, down to local governments, that carry out the actual development work, usually in close coordination with local citizens. Service delivery by the public sector is, therefore, largely the job of local government.

In Pakistan there has been a history of military governments setting up elected local government to legitimize their rule and to counter and control provincial aspirations for power, while elected governments seek provincial autonomy and the right to control the flow of funds, either directly or through the bureaucracy, rendering elected local government less relevant or abandoned. The political use of local government by military government, the distrust of local governments by political parties and propensity of parliamentarians to have direct control over public spending for development activities (especially close to election times) makes it difficult for local governments to deliver services in a planned, consistent, transparent and regular manner.

Given the 18th Amendment under which the 1973 Constitution stands restored, Article 140-A on Local Government stipulates clearly that 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 government.

The Supreme Court of Pakistan has regularly called upon the provincial governments to hold elections for and activate local governments in provinces. Currently there are full-fledged local government departments in the provinces (with administrative staff), with different kinds of decisions taken by the four provinces to manage local government. We can see that **some kind of local government or local processes are in place, but it cannot be said that there are fully functioning local governments on the ground delivering regular services to the public.** The delivery of services to the public through local government stands disrupted or curtailed, even where local government is partially operational under administrative control. The satisfaction of citizens with government services needs to be seen in this context.

9.1 Satisfaction of Citizens with Public Sector Services

A main conclusion from the data analysis on public sector services is that, except in a few notable instances, **there has been a general deterioration in citizens' satisfaction with public services**, especially in the vulnerable groups and across Pakistan in both urban and rural areas. **This Social Audit, therefore, calls upon provincial governments to take early action in putting grassroots development and services back on track.**

Linking Public Service Delivery with Economic Benefits

Since this study concludes **that for the citizens of Pakistan the main stated problems are economic in nature** (low income, joblessness), any social development policy, strategy or intervention must address economic and social problems together and in an integrated manner. **It is, therefore, recommended that any kind of local government delivering public service will need to work in tandem with economic systems to sufficiently 'satisfy' citizens of Pakistan.** Since these kinds of services have not been provided to date by local governments, it is further recommended that the abilities of local governments to raise local taxes that can be used for funding local economic activities be considered seriously. These economic activities could include employment exchanges, small business loans and facilitation of development of local businesses, and development of local resources (including leisure and tourism) where local people may obtain jobs.

Divergence of Perceptions between Citizens and Service Providers

Given the **mismatch in citizens' perceptions and those of government functionaries about which services are deteriorating**, and what is 'good for the public' there is allocation of funding and administrative effort in sectors which are less important for consumers of public services. **It is recommended that the new emerging provincial local government setups address this divergence in a timely and effective manner.**

Education

This Social Audit concludes that there is **less faith in the ability of government schools to deliver their mandate** and very little improvement in this essential public service since 2001 and that there are gender differentials in education sector to be considered for developing better strategies for keeping children in schools. Given also that the common perceptions that families are sending their children to Madrassas in droves is not borne out by the data, and that approximately 60 percent girls and boys in Pakistan attend government schools, **it is recommended that provincial governments and donors must work on improving government schools, rather than propagate and allocate scarce funds for madrasa reforms.**

Health Services

In terms of the 'demand side' of health services, **we can conclude that, largely, government immunization for under 5 children has been one of the most successful public services provided to communities across Pakistan**, except in Balochistan, and that there is more of a problem of quality than of access or availability of government run health facilities. Nor are differences in using private and government health facilities as huge as is generally assumed.

In terms of the 'supply side' of health services, the opinions of service providers lead to the conclusion that at best the health services are moribund under the current system of delivery. Given that satisfaction level with health services is less than 50 percent on so low on so many counts, **it is recommended that provincial governments work hard on improving their performance on health indicators.**

Given that health service providers cite the interest shown by women councilors in health services and their efforts in improving basic facilities through local government funding, **it is recommended that the very dynamic role of women in local government in improving health grassroots level be recognized and promoted.**

Road Building

It is concluded from both the quantitative and case study parts of this Social Audit that citizens are dissatisfied with roads (including those in Punjab!), in spite of the huge expenditure.

Given that this is yet another instance of disconnect between the aspirations of the public and the opinions of decision makers about what is good for the public, it is recommended that the emerging local governments **set their priorities right** and not go for heavy infrastructure projects that benefit a few.

Improved Water Services

Since this Audit concludes that 68 percent of household have access to drinking water supplied by the government (and all respondents have water from some source, public or private), **it is recommended to government, donors and NGOs that much more attention is paid by them to the quality of water to make it clean and safe, and to citizens to follow safe health and hygiene practices related to the storage and use of water.**

Sewerage and Sanitation

Given the conclusion that the percentage of households having access to sewerage and sanitation has improved dramatically, **and increasing access to this public service can be quoted as an achievement over the last decade**, the recommendation here is to pay more attention to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan and concentrate on ensuring that these services are of required quality.

Garbage Disposal

Since we conclude that garbage disposal is a joke at best (with only 12 percent satisfaction in this Social Audit), **it is recommended that provincial governments take garbage control on as an immediate challenge** and allocate funds for this. It is also recommended that donors take on funding programmes in this area, and that the recycling interest groups in cities, towns and villages be engaged in these programmes. Another recommendation is to contain plastic bag culture and encourage citizens to accept responsibilities of taking care of all biodegradable garbage themselves, in their homes or in community places.

Public Transport

Since access to public transport has fallen even further, **it can only be concluded that this service is one of the worst in Pakistan.** Given the powerful private transport operators and their interests across Pakistan, it may be difficult, but not impossible, to at least rehabilitate the older public transport systems, especially railways for mass transit.

Agriculture Extension Services

Given the conclusion that that **Pakistan is not paying sufficient attention to its economic base in its agricultural assets** and we see the alarming trend of steady increase in the number of households who do not have access to agricultural extension services witnessed from 2004 onwards, this Audit calls for **an integrated approach with universities and provincial agricultural departments to produce the skills and increase reach through a strong local government system.**

Electricity

The percentage of households with access to electricity has been increasing steadily since 2001. Indeed, from around 84 percent households reporting they had access to electricity in 2001-2002, today 97 percent households report that they have access, **leading to the conclusion that almost all of Pakistan's citizens have electricity connections.** This remarkable achievement of reaching out to 97 percent households in Pakistan with connections should be recognized, but it is marred by **the mismanagement in supplies that heavily reduces the level of satisfaction reported by households.**

The energy crisis is beyond the ambit or control of local governments and requires drastic national actions, which cannot be addressed in this report.

Gas

It can be concluded that there is a clear and visible improvement in the percentage of households reporting that they had access to gas supply but dissatisfaction has also increased, as in the case of electricity, and similar national actions are required.

Public Services and MDGs

On a positive note we can conclude that Pakistan may be able to achieve at least two or three of the targets that are relevant to public services taken up in the Social Audit.

It is recommended that the government put in more effort into improving existing water sources, the quality of water, and promote safe sanitation practices

MDG No	Indicator	Target for 2009-10	Target for 2015	Social Audit 2011-12 Findings
Goal 7 - Ensure Environment Sustainability	Sustainable access to improve water source	76 % of population	93 % of population	68 % of household
	Population with access to sanitation	70 % of population	90 % of population	78 % of household
Goal 5 – Reduce Child Mortality	Proportion of fully immunized children (12-23 months)	90 % children	> 90 % of children	93 % of households

9.2 Citizen Activities Vis-a-Vie Local Government

The most important conclusion of this topic relates to the preferences of the general public for return of some kind of local government system, with 80 percent saying that they would vote in case local elections were held.

However, provincial breakup of the choices shows that a majority of households from Punjab and Sindh favor the elected local government system, while number of households supporting the return of elected local government was less than 50 percent in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan.

This Social Audit recommends that Provinces take the necessary decisions to put elected local government back on track, in whatever form is deemed suitable.

Union Councils

An obvious conclusion is that on average, more households were dissatisfied with the performance of Union Councils in the last two years than before when compared with social audit 2009-2010. Given that the local government system is in disarray in all provinces, **the dissatisfaction cannot be related to the full range of public services – instead it is an issue of what is considered as the function of Union Councils under the various systems (or procedures) in effect now.** Under local government led by administrators (bureaucrats) and its processes underway in varying degrees across Pakistan, Union Councils have reverted to an older set of functions and the ‘development services’ are being taken up by legislators or bureaucrats.

Additionally the law and order situation in Balochistan has rendered the last vestiges of local government almost completely ineffective.

It is recommended that Union Councils be strengthened as the grassroots level of local government and that local government itself be considered the primary tier of government.

Status of CCBs

Another important conclusion is the persistent lack of awareness in the general public about Citizen Community Boards. Yet from interviews of CCB members and Chairs and FGDs with them, it appears that many CCBs were formed in the last 2-3 years when the elected local government system, of which they were a part, had become non-functional, and that they continue to be formed to date. **Given that funds earmarked for CCBs are reportedly still available somewhere in the system (though frozen or inaccessible), and that many CCBs are seeking and obtaining funds from donors, it can be concluded that at least some of them are transforming themselves to work outside the local government system.**

It is recommended that there is further study of this phenomenon, as CCBs continuing to be set up when the ‘mother institution’ of elected local government is moribund.

Entrenchment of Client-Patron System

It can be concluded that the client-patron relationship in Pakistani society seems to have affected service delivery paradigm as well - a large proportion of household respondents for Social Audit 2012 would contact family/area/biradari elders in case of any problem related to their area, more than the Union Council officials.

It is important that local notables be helped to learn to refer disputes to legal institutions, so that the primacy of regular and legal systems can be better established.

It is recommended that local government be reintroduced sooner rather than later and its institutions strengthened to counter the tendency to seek informal advisory and dispute resolution mechanisms that are known to be feudal and non-egalitarian in nature.

9.3 Protection, Law Enforcement and Justice

It can be concluded that on the whole citizens place greater trust and reliance on traditional support networks, rather than the formal mechanisms for law enforcement provided by the government.

Relations with Police compared to Informal Protection Mechanisms

This Social Audit confirms societal trends where people place higher reliance on local support networks for security than on the agents of the state. **The implication is that in the minds of at least a majority of the people of Pakistan, the state is less to be relied on for guaranteeing personal security.** This has emerged more clearly in Balochistan and Sindh compared to Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Since the **data illustrates the huge gender gap in access to key public institutions, including accessing police, it is recommended that much more action be undertaken by government, donors and the NGO sectors in this area.**

The data shows another divergence between demand side and supply side of protection and law enforcement (where police officers think their performance has been excellent or good, while public goes to informal mechanisms). This illustrates a lack of communication between the police and the general public and highlights the growing power of informal systems (that can sometimes have police at their beck and call).

Given that **contact between the citizenry and the police is very low and infrequent, the Audit still concludes that in the case of the few people who actually contacted the police, a substantial proportion were satisfied with police services.**

It is, therefore, recommended that the writ of the state be better established and the power of the informal system curtailed, so that more people can go to the police and get services.

Relationship with Courts and Musalihati Anjumans

In terms of the trends on Musalihati Anjumans, it can be concluded that donor funding was a large factor in their establishment - while in 2002, only 7 percent households had heard about Musalihati Anjumans, this had increased to 32.5 percent in 2009-2010. However, in 2011-2012 this number dropped drastically to 11 percent, concomitant with the phasing out of donor-supported projects.

Findings of this Social Audit shows that contact with Musalihati Anjumans had gone down drastically and 93 percent have never heard of DPSCs. **This leads to the conclusion that the level of success for these institutions outside a fully functional local government system is questionable.**

It can also be concluded that while people do not approach the courts much, they still have a sense of satisfaction with the actions and conduct of the court – **indicating that people would like to see the formal court system flourish and provide the public with justice.**

It is, therefore, recommended that the strengthening of the formal court system down to the lowest levels will be a better option for providing justice to people, than building parallel systems. It is also recommended to donors and support programmes that care should be taken when calling for alternate dispute resolution mechanisms, and care be exercised to not end up endorsing such systems at the cost of regular state mechanisms and institutions.

9.4 Conclusions on Case Studies to Elicit Supply Side Situation

As the 'demand side' of service provision (from the public's viewpoint) has been ascertained through quantitative analysis during the previous and current Social Audits, the budgetary analysis in this iteration was designed for understanding and substantiating the 'supply side' of service delivery.

An important result of qualitative analysis of budgetary figures from the 8 districts relates to the disconnect between budget allocation and quality of service delivery. **It is sufficiently evident from the data (and by cross checking with the quantitative household data) that even where there are big increases in budget allocation for basic services like education and health, it does not always translate into improvement in the service delivery of these services.**

An important conclusion is that when there is a case of perceptions versus facts, perceptions win hands down! It can be seen from the interviews with people currently running local government, that assigning priorities based on perceived needs of others, without considering the demand side preferences is a common phenomenon in the decision making milieu of Pakistani public sector. Results from these case studies, when juxtaposed with the public perceptions ascertained through household survey, **leads to the conclusion that in many instances huge allocations are made for services or infrastructures at the expense of the more basic services that people actually want.** As a result, the quality of these very basic services deteriorates.

It is, therefore, recommended that the emerging local government systems make room for institutional mechanisms for the 'supply side' (elected and/or government functionaries) to respond to the 'demand side' (citizens) in a systematic manner.

9.5 Wither Local Government Systems?

Though variegated opinions and perception were recorded in different provinces of Pakistan, an important conclusion is that **the idea behind the concept of elected local government system was nowhere challenged** - even the critics of the previous elected system of local government (LG 2001) acquiesced that despite all its flaws and lacunae the elected local government system is the better choice in terms of accessibility, responsiveness, and demand driven public service delivery. However, there are ways to manage possible misuse.

In an authoritative patriarchal society like Pakistan, public administrators think it their job to decipher the needs of the multitudes and decide what is good for them. Therefore, complete administrative (bureaucratic) control of local government is not likely to reflect aspirations of local people.

In the final analysis it can be concluded that elected local government system, is a better system of local governance as it gives the general public a sense of belonging and the sense that they are being served and not ruled. However, the weaknesses of elected local government need to be acknowledged and countered by putting in administrative check and balance.

We recommend strongly that the best points from the LG 1979 and LG 2001 be considered and a balance be created between elected representatives at local level and the government machinery at local and provincial levels.

9.6 Way Forward

The best way forward in terms of better service delivery would be to **enhance the coordination between the elected representatives of local government and the machinery of local government, because local representatives have the cognizance of the problems of the area but local government machinery has the technical abilities to solve actual problems.**

A good elected Local Government System should have the following important ingredients:

- An overall democratic dispensation in the country
- Local government must be recognized as primary tier of government
- Independent judiciary down to grassroots level
- Coordination between provincial elected representatives and local elected representatives with adequate stake for provincial oversight
- Autonomy and authority with elected local representatives as enshrined in the constitution of Pakistan under article 149A
- Financial and developmental powers devolved to grassroots level, with full accountability of elected local representatives
- Policy and development initiatives, as approved by elected councils, must be implemented through local government officials who operate the local government machinery
- Acknowledgement that enlightened local leadership (both men and women) can deliver much better than the present systems in the provinces
- Capacity building of local government staff at all levels

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