

## **Managing District Administration Through Elected Leadership: Assessment of Local Govt. Ordinance 2001 in Punjab.**

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### **Abstract**

This paper has attempted to briefly analyze the local government ordinance 2001 in Punjab. The paper explained the comparison between bureaucratic administration and elected leadership governance. The explanatory approach has been used for descriptive method. International organization finding provided evidence that is helpful to reach conclusion. Why this system lost its bindings after end of the term? Local government systems did not exist permanently in Pakistan, Local government systems came with Military rulers.

**Keywords:** Administration, Elected Leadership, Local government.

### **Background:**

Local government system is used to mobilize people and carry out development at the grass-root level. In this system, powers are transferred to communities. Community-level problems are solved at district level. British legacy considers shifting of paradigm in sub-continent history. British upgraded political system of sub-continent. The beginning of democracy brings many new concepts of governance and service delivery in sub-continent. The democratic practices, Pakistan has been exercising since 1947 were inherited from colonial legacy. Pakistan did not alter inherited system of democracy. Local government is a basic element of democracy. Local government empowers the society and its wide circle enables citizen participation in decision making process. This system is exercised by political leadership because it is consider third tier of government. Pakistan has exercised two types of local government systems, one was exercised under bureaucratic and other under the elected leadership. All over the world, the local government systems work under elected leadership but in Pakistan two local governments systems were made to work under the dominance of bureaucracy. This style of governance was also inherited from British colonial system. Punjab is an important province of Pakistan, Punjab political processes affect the processes of all other provinces.

## **Introduction:**

After independence, Pakistan has experienced a few local government systems. In the local government system, people directly elect their representatives at the district level. Three local government systems are introduced in Military era's, but mostly local government system is dysfunctional in Pakistan due to different reasons. Local government usually came with the military regimes in Pakistan. Military rulers had wanted to deliver services at the grass-root level for their self-interest. Local governments have helped military systems to legitimize themselves and fortify their command over the state (Ali, Adnan & Roger, 2014.). The self-interest was connected with pro-longing of their tenures without agitation by people. There have been three major Military interferences in the devolution process in Pakistan through different administrative structures of local government since 1947. The three efforts at local government changed as devolution have been attempted by the three military governments which have taken control through use of power (Ahmad, Khalid and Muzaffar 2015), that's why most studies focus on three major local government structures. Military rulers' connections with local government structures started with Ayub Khan. Firstly Ayub Khan introduced the Basic Democracy system in 1960. These system was linked between people and government. In this system bureaucracy was dominant. The local government system of Zia era was slightly changed from the previous system. He implemented this system on rural areas and also started urbanization in Pakistan. But after both systems, the next Military ruler Pervaiz Musharraf installed a different system in Pakistan. The Paradigm has shifted in the Musharaf era. Musharaf introduced a new kind of local government system in which politicians got more powers and bureaucracy decentralized. This system has left different effects on politics and also on bureaucracy. This system was implemented in all Pakistan. Pakistan has a diverse ethnicity. Every province has its own norms and conditions. In this traditional society, Musharraf tried to exercise a new kind of local

government system without any pilot project. In this system, mostly powers were in the hand of elected Nazims. Nazims were the head of district administration and Deputy Commissioner Designation was converted to District Co-Ordination officer. Mostly powers were transferred to Nazims. All local level departments were under district Nazims. The role of bureaucracy at the district level had been reduced. This decentralization was done in the Musharraf regime. The change in district administration had started another debate because district departments were directly controlled by elected representatives. This system was also implemented in Punjab province. Punjab has a traditional society with a strong influence of caste and Baradari. This system changed the local political administration trend and nature in Punjab. These elections were held on non-party based strategy but in Punjab, the strong culture of caste and Bradri could not skip from this. The political parties in Pakistan are mostly base on ethnicity manifestos. This system did not eliminate the role of political parties from these elections. Punjab is a major province of Pakistan. How governance performed under this system in Punjab. Punjab political structure strongly bases on cast system. Politicians give importance to their voters. This paper will examine the difference between non-elected representatives (bureaucracy) and the elected representative's governance style in Punjab. The different aspects of this system are necessary to highlight. This paper is to explain the governance structure in Punjab under the bureaucracy before the 2001 local government ordinance. It will also highlight, how traditional politics of Punjab influenced this system and rational model of governance was made controversial and it ended after the completion of its time. Some aspects are always included in every system which correct with the passage of time, but it did not happen with the 2001 local government system in Punjab. The system impacts on society and how the society of Punjab has behaved under this system is analyzed in this paper.

### **Statement of the problem**

The local government system designed through local government ordinance 2001 in Punjab was a different system than all the LG systems in Punjab and Pakistan. The basic and major difference was that the whole of district administration was placed under an elected leader or head/ Nazim of the district. All district-level provincial offices and administrative structure were placed under district government with an elected Nazims as its head. This system was implemented in Punjab from 2002 to 2007 despite many representations of experienced critics and bureaucracy. It was said this would politicize district administration and supervision of elected heads (Nazims) will weaken the effectiveness and neutrality of district administration. It was also said that the negative aspects of this new experiment will outweigh any positive benefits which the people and governance may achieve from it. With the change of Govt. at provincial level through election of 2008, the new local government of 2002 system was discontinued. Since then it is felt that the provincial Govt. is no more interested in an effective LG system with elected leader as the head of district government. After the election of 2018 in Punjab a new Govt. has come into being which appears to be interested in reviving some form of effective local Govt. in Punjab. It is, therefore, the right time to make an assessment of the LG system which worked from 2002 to 2007. It is important to focus research on the experience of putting district

administration legally under elected LG leadership and see the positive and negative of the experiments which may become useful for those who will be working on designing the LG setup after 2018 election.

### **Questions**

How this system was different from the previous systems of local governments?

Why decentralization affected the administration processes?

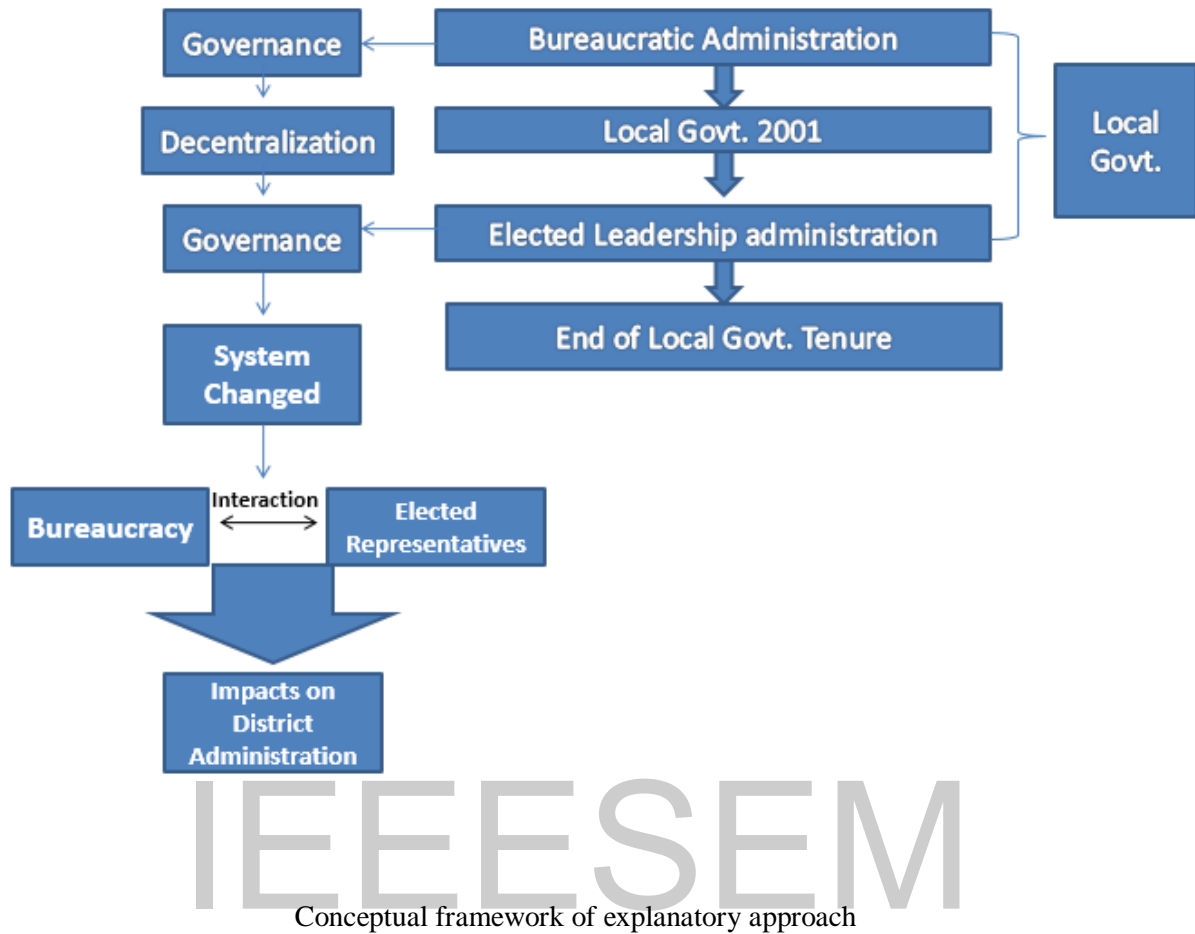
How the Local government 2001 system lost its efficiency due to political leadership?

### **Methodology and Scope of research**

This paper is purely qualitative research. The design of this paper is a case study. In this paper explanatory approach was used for description, this approach explained in the below Table 1. The methodology that applied to paper is descriptive. Through analytical reasoning various aspects of local government 2001 system and its impacts on province processes and governance structure have been explained. The positivist approach is also used in the literature review for reasoning. Secondary sources are used that were published on the Local government ordinance 2001 in the form of journal articles, books, newspapers and international organizations reports that describe its various dimensions on that contemporary period was used for collecting data. Many scholars have worked on the local government systems. The paper has concluded in the light of the evidence available in relevant literature review.

The scope of this research is to explore different aspects of this system based on evidence explaining the negative and positive aspects of local government ordinance 2001. It may be helpful for the government to make an efficient local government system in light of this paper. Mostly researchers have researched on the necessity of the local government system. This topic is chosen based on its structure. This structure has increased the political influences in society and process, and what are the impacts of this system on society after the ending of the system. This paper will be helpful for the other researchers conducted on this topic. This paper briefly explained the maximum outputs of this system because of its different structure

**Table: 1**



**Significance:**

Pakistan has been facing the absence of local government system since 1947. This paper is focused on the most efficient local government system implemented by Military ruler in 2001, but this has failed to maintain its credibility and presence in Pakistan. This has explained the positive and negative aspects of this system. It will be beneficial for students of administration and governance to learn more about this system through this paper. This paper has attempted to fulfill the gaps of existing literature and gives recommendations for an efficient local government system of the future.

**Literature Review**

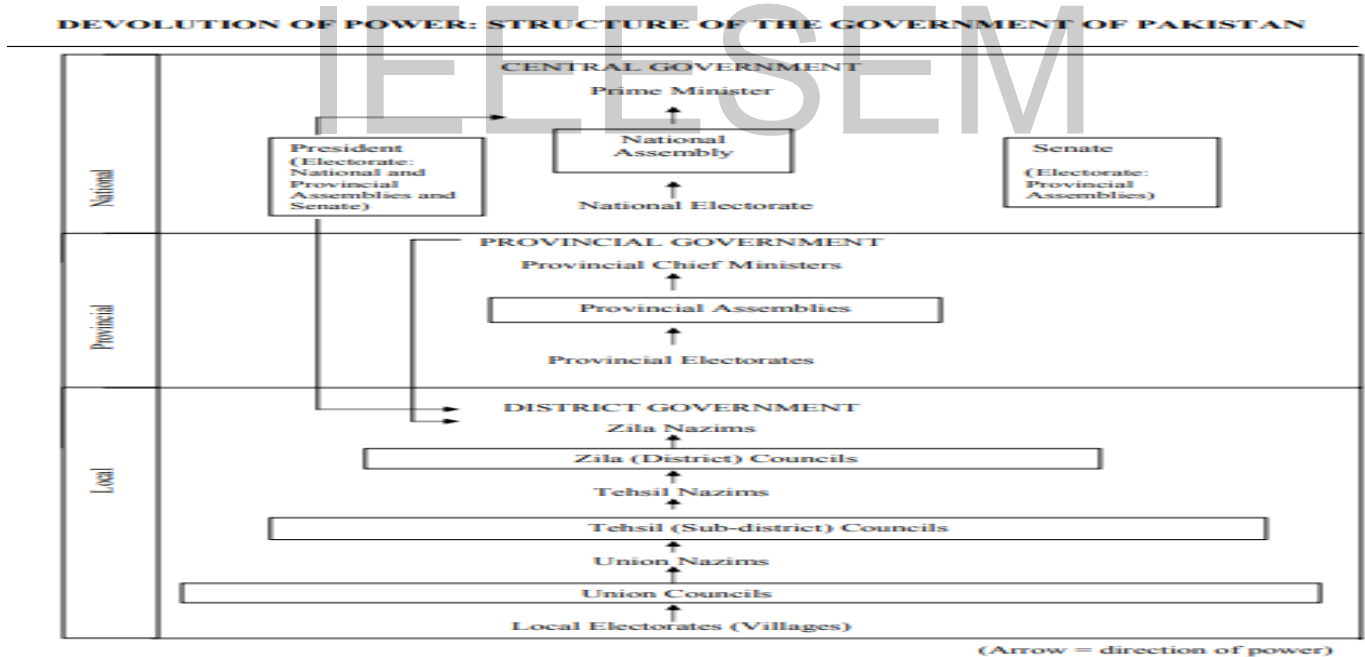
**Salient features of 2001 Local Government**

The LGO changed the political and social setting by taking around 150,000 people into the political ground and making around 6,000 councils (UNDP 2014). Punjab Local Government 2001 considers a slightly different system from the previous systems due to its features. The process of decentralization also started in

Punjab after the implementation of local government 2001 ordinance. According to (PLGO 2001) purpose of this system is to decentralize administrative and financial authority and effective governance through citizen participation in decision making.

“Decentralization of political power, delegation of administrative authority, deconstruction of management facilities, dispersion of power authority nexus and sharing of resources” (Saadia, 2012 cited in, Bakhsh 2018) This section will only explain such features of this system as different from the previous systems respectively the most common and significant change in roles related to service delivery that was controlling by provincial tier transferred to local governments in 2001 local government system (Cheema, Khwaja and Qadir 2005). The purpose of transfer of such powers from province to the district had to mobilize the district governance in Punjab. The transfer of powers from top to bottom is an important feature of any local government system, but in local government 2001, this feature is also important because of the changing of power institution. The top-down approach of this system was entirely differentiated from previous two systems and this point placed an important place in literature. From province to district transfer of powers was one aspect of this system as shown in Table 2. It shows the new political structure in Pakistan that was also implemented in Punjab.

**Table #2**



Source: Table Reproduced from International Crisis Group (2004 p35)

The main feature of this system was the transfer of powers at the local level in Punjab under the recent reforms, a freshly elected representative government that made at the district level was heading by Nazims and bureaucracy head DCO directly reports to Nazims (Cheema, Khwaja and Qadir 2005). Reforms also changed the powers from one group (bureaucracy) to another group (politicians). The change of powers in local governance Punjab was seen as a better replacement of the previous system. The main purpose of this system was highlighted in the opening of ordinance, decentralization and other initiatives that had taken in this system

were for good governance. Chapter III clause 14 on the commencement of this Ordinance, the administrative and financial authority for the management of the offices of the Government specified in Part-A of the First Schedule set up in a district shall stand decentralized to the District Government of that district (PLGO 2001). Many services were the responsibility of district government in Punjab after the installation of this system according to (PLGO 2001), primary, basic education, and health care or welfare services were the responsibility of local government in Punjab. Water and sanitation services also delivered to districts from provinces. The basic services were in the hand of local government, the purpose of restructuring the structure was to facilitate people at their levels. In the absence of local government people were bound for their MPA's and MNA's to resolve their issues. There was another issue that of spending of funds solely based on the parliamentarian's desires. The transparency level was low before the 2001 local government ordinance. The purpose of this system was the society. The element of community participation was missing from the process, which was non-transparent and discriminatory. Government officials, delegates of the two houses were picked up assets and they had an expert to spend according to their requirements (Alam, Wajidi 2013). The empowerment of society was a key feature of this ordinance. This ordinance had the objective to increase the participation of citizens in decision-making processes. The role of the citizens in decision making creates transparency in decisions and resources spend on the right point. Same objectives were carried in this system. Elected representatives at Councillor and Nazim level directly connect with people. Like MNA and MPA they are easily access able to people. The role of MPA and MNA at micro-level was diminished after the promulgation of this ordinance. This system was considered the different system from the earlier systems because it had reduced the role of bureaucracy and enhanced the powers of politicians at the district level. As discussed earlier before 2001 local government ordinance, other two local government structures of Ayub Khan and Zia Ul Haq was slightly different but one aspect was the same in both systems and it was the superiority of bureaucracy in administration. Gen Zia ul Haq's local self-government (LSF) 1979 was the second BD system under the military rule. Previously two local government setups by military rulers were not the same but the similarity point also indicates toward in Ayub and Zia models of local governments. The similarity key point is role of bureaucracy in local governments (Batool 2014), but one can say that it was another feature of this system that breaks the monopoly of bureaucracy in local governance. Musharraf had tried to deliver the quality of services through this system. The literature review identified various dimensions of this system, which differentiated it from other local government structures. International donors were also supporting this decentralization program of Pakistan. Another important feature of this system was the non-party base system. This section explained the key points of differentiation in the light of available literature. The features of this system were implemented on ground reality or not are explained in further discussion in the light of literature. According to Musharraf (Musharraf, 2006 cited in, Bakhsh 2018) this law inherited from colonial era in which bureaucracy was running district administration like aristocrats but with the one sign, they were both under the elected leadership, this feature shows this attempt to abolish the control of bureaucracy on resources. Musharraf did the same thing as previous Military rulers to control bureaucracy.

## Local governance through non-representatives

This chapter focused on two variables one is non-elected representatives (Civil service) and other is local governance. For a better understanding of research, it is important to explain the situation of local governance through civil service. This discussion is necessary for understanding the next discussion of this article. It explains the certain aspects of local governance before the 2001 local government system in Punjab. The literature identified some important points concerning these two variables. Bureaucratic administration is an important aspect of Pakistan administration at local or at a higher level. District Management Group was a major actor who controlled this system. District Management Group had started governance at local government in British Raj. In the start, the British used bureaucracy to establish their writ and established law in non-regulating areas of sub-continent. British had established the seat of Deputy Commissioner (DC). The Deputy Commissioner had performed different functions in one time at the district level for managing administration, he collected taxes, performed magistrate functions and some legislative powers also in the hand of the Deputy Commissioner. The purpose of DC system was to control district through the hierarchical structure which is head by DC the quasi-judicial and quasi-legislative (QJ and QL) functions of the district level bureaucracy assist in building networks of trust with local people, strengthening protracted grass-roots consultation and effective instrumentation (Rishi 2007). The DC's had performed both functions of judicial and legislative, which strengthen the district level issue with the consultation. British had ruled on sub-continent through this rational-legal system. In this system, we cannot see the proper separation of powers. One officer was entitled with many powers in hand. Dominance of bureaucracy on local government has resulted in an imbalance of power (Bakhsh 2018). This argument is valid in the context of separation of powers, and it was the root cause of dominance of bureaucracy in Punjab. The bureaucracy before devaluation was also responsible to maintain law and order in districts; police was subordinate of DMG in this regard, under the Police Act of 1861, the district superintendent of police was subject to the operational control of the deputy commissioner in addition to the provincial police hierarchy (ICG 2004). As stated in the report of (HRCP, 2011, p3) because of 1861 police act, at the district level, it increased the powers of bureaucracy group of District administration and police was working under this group and the upon in the direction of the District Magistrate, a bureaucrat belonging to the District Management Group of Civil Services. The civil servants were exercising maximum powers at the district level before the 2001 local government ordinance. Most service deliveries were therefore under bureaucratic control without any contribution from elected politicians at the local level. This meant that first two tiers of government did only work for policy-making and district Authorities acted as the implementation agency with little say in decision-making - a system of de-concentrated (Alam, Wajidi 2013). Bureaucrats are made for delivering efficient services, not for the ruling. What is the difference between elected representatives and civil service in the context of traditional Punjab? Some important features of bureaucracy that create the distinction between politicians and civil service are, bureaucrats, get proper training of administration, on the other hand, no formal institutions is available for



politicians tanning in Punjab. Another difference between selections of both. Bureaucrats are selected thorough competitive examination system while politicians are selected through the electoral system. The historical perspective explains the ruling of bureaucracy in all local government eras except 2001 local government system in the historical perspective, it is found that there has been a change in the inclination of non-representative centers to use the bureaucracy to control local governments. British and Ayub's era was the prime example of administrative control on the local government structure. The Zia regime limited direct bureaucratic representation in local governments, which resulted in greater autonomy for the elected tier at the local level (Cheema, Khawaja and Qadir, 2005). All these eras do not show the balance of powers between government tiers including local government 2001 system. Balance of powers is necessary to control the misuse of powers in society. Bureaucracy rule can be divided into two tenures before pre-2001 and post 2001. Both eras were different in governance perspective. Scholars critique on the role of bureaucracy and their powers. The bureaucracy had faced many pressure eras but at that, it was a different experience for bureaucracy from previous experiences. District level bureaucracy performance report was also written by the elected leadership of the District. Before this system bureaucracy was only answerable to their higher tier of bureaucracy. Bureaucracy came out from this problem by another strategy in back door channels. The Chief Secretary of Punjab had countersigned their performance reports. These had more value as compared to District Nazim assessment. From this strategy bureaucracy secured themselves.

### **Decentralization offices and impact on department processes**

The old governance system of local governance was inherited from British Raj. Civil service governance system at the district level was deeply rooted in society. Punjab is a hub of Pakistan's politics, this system was also exercised in Punjab. Different scholars hold different narratives about this system, the qualities of this system has been explored through many types of research like decentralization of powers, transfer of resources at grass root level, local government system most efficient system of governance in democracy and non-party based election of this system (Anjum 2001: Ahmad and Abu Talib 2013: Batool 2014), but the question is did effective system properly exercised in Punjab, Seeing the diverse outcomes developing from nine years of implementation of the LGO, despite of the original objective to attain "good governance, active delivery of services and apparent decision making through better participation of the people at grass root level (Mezzera, Aftab and Yusuf 2010). Objectives of this system did achieve or not still is the main question of this research or old governance system at the district level was suitable for the society like Punjab. This system did not continue in Punjab after completion of the term. The effective system could continue in Punjab without any hesitation. The most important feature of local government 2001 ordinance was the conversion of the Deputy Commissioner Seat to the District Co-ordination Officer. The Deputy Commissioner was an important seat of British Raj. The Deputy Commissioner had enjoyed quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial powers at a time, but in this system paradigm shifted because of change in center of power. Politicians at district level gained more powers in this system and limited ground for bureaucracy. The new head of district was Nazim's and decreased

bureaucracy role in local governance through the light of LGO 2001, a newly elected government had been brought into being at the district level headed by an elected leadership and the District Coordination Officer (DCO) who had to give an account directly to the elect leader of the district government, was appointed as the head of district administration (Tahira 2016). It is clearly observed in this system more powers were in the hand of politicians in Punjab and it was a first time when politicians at district level were enjoying such powers in Punjab, it was newly featured ordinance that introduced in Punjab first time In previous local government systems bureaucracy dominated politicians at district level. District elected representatives look to be change of the district committees. In fact, they could be became tools of bureaucracy to control the local administration councils of the districts (Choudhry1996). The accountability in this system was new for the civil service at district level, in decentralization of offices new accountability system created dominance of politicians over bureaucracy first time at district level. But earlier to decentralization, the local bureaucracy at the district level was answerable to their provincial secretariat, under the current system they are accountable and answerable to the elected leadership of District and Tehsil elected governments (Cheema, Khawaja and Qadir 2005). This post was replaced with the District Coordination Officer (DCO), who reported to the district Nazim. This was a significant exit from the earlier systems of government that placed in Pakistan, not only favoring an elected leadership over a member of the bureaucracy as the head of the district government, but also changed the Deputy Commissioner's roles as district magistrate and district collectors from the new post of the District Co-Ordination Officer (Mezzera, Aftab and Yusuf 2010). These steps on one hand brake old colonial-era system of governance but on the other hand new structure still had loopholes which could not fill the gaps in governance. Another main feature of this system was the transfer postings of district officers, two important departments' education and health were directly under the control of Nazim's in Punjab that created another way of interferences in department processes not surprisingly, all of this has had a detrimental impact on service delivery. Postings, appointments, and transfers of government employee's especially educational and medical employees are now subject to control by elected head of districts under the new ordinance (Arif et al 2010). These kinds of powers were exercising in Punjab. Transfer posting powers are an easy way to increase influence on any officer the political inference in the appointment and posting of officers has badly affected the performance of the public organizations in the country (Haq, Akbar 2015). The purpose of decentralization was to increase participation of people in decision making but the powers of Nazim's are giving us a perception that one specific class gained powers and dominating on other class. Bureaucracy is a tool of governance which should be forever neutral from political influences but following powers arisen complications at district level bureaucracy works for community services the key objective of the bureaucrats is to deliver services without political favoritism, preferences, or interventions (Fennell, Tanvir 2010), but political leadership has two objectives first for self and second for voter. In a traditional society like Punjab, the discrimination system had increased due to political influences. The efficient system did not continue after the end of term this system. Many reasons contributed in this, according to (Nazeer 2013) modern in outlook and institute, even this relatively better system could not work for due to absence of seriousness, the

illegitimacy of the regime and piecemeal pattern of implementation. Some specific groups gained powers in local government system, they were not interested to perform deliver services. The bureaucracy was also not happy from LG 2001 system they opened backdoor channels and decided to retaliate against this system. LGO 2001 was considered as a Damocles" sword hanging over the heads of the top bureaucrats at the district and tehsil levels. Naturally, this institutional progress triggered resentment among the bureaucracy. In return, the bureaucracy opened its front against this local government structure to make it a failure and to refit it according to its own wishes (Khan, 2014). Elected representatives were showing a lack of sincerity towards services and bureaucracy was trying to defeat this system. The conflict between these two institutions decreased the efficiency of service delivery. The purpose of local government 2001 system had been failed due to the war of power. Punjab is a hub of Pakistan. Its governance problems affect other parts of Pakistan. The decentralization increased chaos in service delivery mechanism, suddenly change in district administration structure created a conflict situation between departments and local government heads. The bureaucracy could not remain under the pressure of newly entered politicians, bureaucracy showed resistance against the system. Suddenly abolishing the powers of DC's and increase in the powers of elected representatives was poor design regarding administration of the major change in the line of accountability and started strong conflict from within the bureaucracy, while the eliminations of two of three roles of DC created a large vacuum at the local level (Marco, Safiya, and Sairah, 2010).

### **Administration through elected representatives**

As discussed in the previous discussion that this system had introduced a new concept of administration for the first time in the history of Pakistan. Elected representative's administration style was quite different as compared to bureaucracy. Elected leadership does representative of their community and supporters but this aspect is not occurred in bureaucracy. Elected representatives were the head of district administration. All government resources were under the District Nazims, the bureaucracy just remained a facilitator in this system. The question is, were District Nazims more capable to run district administration efficiently as compared to bureaucracy? The scholars did not give reasons in favor of this. The reason behind the practices of Punjab, caste, tribe and other aspects deeply influence politics. In a traditional society like Punjab, Baradri factor is more important for winning the vote. This is the main and important part of societal values of Punjab and it has very deep impacts on party-political activities of the citizens of Punjab (Ahmed 2007). The bureaucrats are also under the influence of Baradri system but elected representatives are more under the influence of this pressure group. Elected representatives need votes for next election, so they are bound to facilitate their voters. The favoritism and nepotism aspect has arisen in that era because of more political influences on government machinery. District administration was a charming seat at that time. One person was ruling on all the resources of the district with financial and other powers. Above discussion has explored the various powers of District Nazims in local government 2001 system The 2001 LG design abolished the old system controlled by bureaucrats, especially the Deputy Commissioner system, which was the key feature

in the system created during Zia ul Haq's rule in 1979. In the 2001 system, the posts of commissioners and deputy commissioners were abolished and were changed by district coordination officers, who worked under district elected Nazims (Mansoor, 2015). This highlighted again the structure of local government in 2001 and highlighted the differentiation between bureaucracy and elected representatives in this system. One major problem of this system was accountability system for elected representatives. The bureaucracy was accountable to district Nazims but district Nazims were less accountable as compared to bureaucracy. Main problem with the system of representation that was spread with the 2001 decentralization plan, this system was the lack of accountability for elected government members. The accountability of district Nazims was almost absent (Mezzera, Aftab and Yusuf 2010). It was discrimination between elected representatives and non-elected representatives (bureaucracy) for accountability. The accountability structure for elected representatives was made for only paperwork. Elected representatives had faced different problems in this system regarding administration. The elected officials tasked with coordinating the different agencies at different levels of governance generally lacked managerial skills and the legal authority necessary for the assigned tasks (Taj, Baker, 2018). The lack in experience about governance created another loop in this system by elected representatives. Mostly representatives were newly elected, they had no much capability to perform efficiently at district level management without the co-ordination of bureaucracy. On the other hand, the bureaucracy was resisting against the dominance of elected representatives in this system. The critique was on the selection of district Nazims candidates. Some arguments indicate that they were selected on favoritism, not through elections. The selection of candidate had neglected the capability of candidates, only favorable candidates were selected on the wish of PML-Q, senior leaders of the PML-Q were reportedly call for to the Presidency to support categorize suitable Zila Nazim nominees for main Punjab districts. Instructions were then delivered to corps commanders and heads of military and civil intelligence agencies to confirm their successes (Zaidi and Hassan, 2001 quoted in ICG 2004), these claims on this system raise questions on the credibility of this system. The objectives and ground reality was different, that's why most efficient local government system always seems too controversial due to different influences from different agencies. Local government administration was not neutral in this system as politics of Pakistan revolved around the concept of favoritism and nepotism in society and this concept arose at district level due to sudden changes of structures. It also led to an increase in corruption in different processes in society as most useful way of making money is tender for different projects. The tender powers was also in the hand of Nazim and it was seen that in many projects the tenders were given on the basis of personal relations because of the influences (Hassan,2011) stated in his article and differentiated two eras, under the 2001 system, the Nazim made all decisions. According to him he has worked in that there was absence of transparency in awarding government contracts as compared to past. The excess of powers in traditional societies is a tool to oblige others by overriding rules and procedures and the same had happened in that system. Managing administration through elected representatives was a first experience in the history of Pakistan, but this step was taken without any prior planning. The elected members mostly focus on the projects that are beneficial to increase their voters

capacity in their constituency. Politicians careful about getting elected, and they will focus on policies and will also focus of the expenditure in areas that will increase their electoral benefits (Hasnain, 2008). The District Nazims were also focusing on the same objective for the selection of their next tenure. The relationship between elected representatives and voters had not eliminated in local government 2001, although this concept got more strength after 2001 system installation. One major problem that elected representatives faced during this system was the lack of communication with bureaucracy. Newly elected Nazims and councillors had not enough capacity to deal with this institution. Bureaucracy was under the elected leadership but they had not accepted mentally this decision. The consequences, reduced efficiency in governance as two institutions were working in opposite directions and both were in the race to dominate the other and service delivery and efficiency decreased day by day. Elected representatives depend on bureaucracy for the implementation of policies and bureaucracy helps in the continuity of policies but both principles were exercised at a minimal level in this system. Elected representatives had also got major responsibility. The rapid change in governance structure created problems for both actors of this system. No doubt in some sectors because of this system the service delivery ratio had increased as some District Nazims had delivered efficient services at grass root level, according to (Husain 2012) The Social Policy and Development Centre (SPDC)'s (2007) survey of 12 districts across the Pakistan found that the rate of improvement in literacy and access to services had increased noticeably during this system. However, there were no signs that decentralization had had any effect on health services. The government was also spending more on expenditure so there is little doubt that the improvement had been done because of decentralization or government expenditures Although there is indications of social sector upgrading, it cannot be determined for certain reasons if service delivery has better only due to decentralization or additional aspects like better government spending or other associated reasons (Salman 2009), there is no clear statement for the improvement of services. But this system gains credit because at that time the progress was done under this system. This section has explained the governance performance under elected leadership. It is important to discuss these two variables in detail for understanding the situation of governance under the bureaucracy in Punjab.

### **Reasons to discontinue of system**

There is a gap in the literature about the failure of local government in Pakistan, but the answer to failure related to local government 2001 is still missing. This setup has ended after the completion of the term, but its reflection can be observed on processes. The local government ordinance 2001 in Punjab did not maintain its continuity. In literature, different narratives exist regarding its failure. In the above it has been discussed that bureaucracy showed resistance against this system (Zaidi 2012) stated in his article the most important conflict in this power game at the local government level was the status of Chief Executive of district, but in past, this post was in the hand of bureaucracy but now elected representatives had gained this status under the new devolution plan of Musharraf. This is conflict between on both ends the actions of both sides, vibrant misperception relating to the separation of administrative controls (Saleem 2017). The tussle between

stakeholders had decreased the efficiency of processes, the efficient system that made for efficiency created power gaining game between bureaucracy and elected representatives. Bureaucracy and political conflict were not new in this system. The bureaucracy responsible to deliver services on the other hand elected leadership make legislation and make policies for the betterment of society, but in this system administration at district level was in the hand of newly entered politicians in fact this was a shift from the colonial legacy and each time top officials at Tehsil level was afraid away the Nazim who was the real head of local government. In this way, the bureaucracy created a front against this system with the preparation to make it fail as per their wishes (Shah, Syed and Husnain 2016). The tussle and its reason were damaging to the objectives of local government. The role of federal and provincial governments was minor, the lack of supervision by superior tiers created controversies about this system. Bureaucracy was already against this, so the next government started hesitating for the continuity of this system. Discontinuation in the policy process is the major reason of failure of most of systems and policies. Another important point that is necessary to discuss is the implementation of this system all over the world without any pilot project. Before the implementation of this system pilot project could highlight the loopholes of this system, but this system spread all over the country on one date and the flaws of this system had remained the same. The monitoring and evaluation were weak in this system. Like previous systems, this system was also implemented by the Military ruler and the same end happened with this system. After the Musharraf government, the next government did not show any interest in the local government system. Every single time the local government system was started in military governments yet, it won't be uncalled for to country that it was a noteworthy development which our elected government couldn't take (Tahira n.d.). Military took a deep interest in local government 2001, Military intervention in local politics made it more controversial and the devolution plan also received criticism for excessively military participation. Like other military rulers, Musharraf's "devolution plan had aggravated the Pakistani state's institutional emergency by establishing the military in nearby legislative issues" (Niaz, 2010 cited in, Bakhsh 2018). Military support of this program became the reason for winding up this system. Other politicians after gaining power try to wind up all the Military ruler projects and policies. Elected representatives responses are also important for the success of the local government system. The main purpose of devolution plan 2001 to deliver competent service delivery arrangement services through decentralization but it could not be accomplished without giving efficient accountable local government structure the questions by voters on the neutral election and if elected representatives have not the skills to provide consistent policy promises (Kamiljon et al 2008). Local government 2001 has failed to achieve its objective to deliver efficient service delivery at the grass-root level. The tussle of bureaucracy is also the reason for the failure of this system. This system was installed in the undemocratic regime. Local government is a purely democratic process, but it was another hurdle for this system that an efficient system was exercising in an undemocratic era. The opposite systems were exercising at the same time. In the situation of a non-democratic politics this failure opinions out the characteristic problems in starting elected local government, both nationally and in the provinces (Arif et al 2010). Another important feature of this system was the non-party based election

criteria for Nazims, but in-ground reality mostly Nazims had belonged to political parties. They had protectors of their political interests. The fault of this system its features did not implement in reality. As discussed in the above discussion PML-Q leadership had wished to select Nazims on favoritism basis. The literature evidence raises questions on the fairness of elections. The selection of Nazims had been completed through election or selection. This question is answerable. It is important that all election of Pakistan, always controversial. In undemocratic regime, the unfair elections can be held without any difficulty. The unfair means in the selection of elected representatives increased favoritism and nepotism in society and the system has failed to achieve its objective and the reform has failed to meet these goals. While there has been devolution of political power, in numerous areas this has caught by strong families and reinforced supporter connections as opposed to advancing political cooperation (Arif et al 2010). The identified reasons show the impact of this system on society and in processes. Personal influences increased in politics. The main objective of this system was to strengthen the community by this system. The ultimate vision was replaced with the personal interests of elected leadership. The traditional society like Punjab cannot be modified to the rational system easily. This system was rational but in society like Punjab, it increased another way to gained maximum resources because of powers. The bureaucracy had a monopoly in administration in pre-2001 but in post-2001 this monopoly transferred to elected leadership. There is a problem with Pakistan system that political giants have existed in Punjab society that captured maximum seats in elections and the same has happened with local government and the story is no different for local government elections, the rural elite has again succeeded to capture 70% of the seats in local elections in December 2000 (Country Report for Pakistan, 2001-02 quoted by Keefer 2003 quoted by Salman 2009). Three authors identified another problem/ flaw of this system because of society response towards this system. Some elected representatives did not contest the provincial and federal election because of the local government system. They entered in this system because of its structure. It was more attractive as compared to MPA and MNA seat. At the local level, this kind of change was not monitored by the federal government of that time. Federal government role in this regard, unfortunately, was non-serious. The system had needed proper monitoring from higher tiers. Only than this system could maintain its efficiency in upcoming years. Next governments had objections on this system due to the flaws of this system. New Nazims and counsellors had no prior experience related to politics and administration, it created miscommunication in different tiers of government, be that as it may, this absence of correspondence had likewise existed among nearby government individuals. The councilors had weak learning, knowledge, and expertise to comprehend and work under the new framework (Paracha 2003). This finding is identified by many scholars in researches on the other hand bureaucracy is well organized to perform administrative responsibilities. They get knowledge, experience and skills through training. The incompetency in elected leadership damaged the core of democracy and because of this factor, the country institutions are weak (Haq, Akbar 2015). The same problem can be applied in the local government system 2001 or not, the answer to this question is explained in existing knowledge.

## Conclusion

Local government ordinance 2001 was installed in all Pakistan as well as in Punjab by Military ruler of that time. Like previous Military rulers Pervaiz Musharraf also took some political steps. For political stability and with the aim of efficient service delivery at grass root level Pervaiz Musharraf initiated a new type of local government system in Pakistan. But the main purpose of this system was to strengthen their political condition as well as prolong their tenure of rule through political support. In local government 2001, all powers shifted from bureaucracy to elected leadership and first time in the history of Pakistan these step had been taken by any ruler. Bureaucracy did not remain calm. They started a silent struggle against this system and overcame the problem, but this system faced many damages due to this tussle. There is a difference between the administration of bureaucracy and political leadership, especially in the case of local government 2001, mostly elected members were newly entered in this system. They were not capable to perform certain functions due to lack of experience and skills. All these problems gave birth to another problem of miscommunication between bureaucracy and elected representatives at the district level. The powers of District Nazims increased favouritism and nepotism in society and corruption level also increased due to the personal interests of elected representatives. The non-party based election objective failed in this system, as most elected representatives had belonged to political parties. The research also highlighted that improvement in services was due to increased government expenditures that the government was spending on infrastructure and services. This type of rational system cannot efficiently work for gaining personal objectives through this system. The reasons of failure of this were suddenly changing of administrative authorities that resulted in conflict between bureaucracy and elected representatives. Lack of expertise in political leadership and lack of interest towards service delivery. Democratic process was exercising in non-democratic regime because this system was implemented by Military ruler so next governments had no interest to carry on this system. This system had diminished in the tenure of Musharraf but objectives had been changed. During the local government in 2001, the crime rate in Punjab had increased because of political relations with gangsters. On the paper, the objectives and mechanism were attractive and efficient, but on ground reality all things were opposite.

## Recommendations

The new system must be based on a clear separation of powers. The new system should be implemented as a pilot project. The mistake of the power-sharing formula between bureaucracy and elected representatives should be re-examined and make a balanced power-sharing structure. The role of bureaucracy is necessary for continuity of policies and implementation of policies. At the district level the role of bureaucracy should be free from political interferences. Bureaucracy and elected representative's accountability system must be separate. The accountability of one group in the hand of another, will again become the reason of tussle between to stakeholders. For the non-party based election, the evaluation procedure must be stricter. At the district level, the transfer postings of government officers should be in the hand of Deputy Commissioner (DC). DC should have some quasi-judicial powers also for the betterment of law and order.



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