

IMPACTS OF DEVOLUTION PLAN ON THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF PAKISTAN (2001-2008)

Iffat Tahira

ABSTRACT

General Pervez Musharraf's Government re-established the administrative structure and started to use the language for improving the tasks of the local government in Pakistan. He started the program of decentralization to devolve the powers and authorities with the name of 'Devolution of Powers'. Local people and their representatives at the grassroots level were empowered because of the set up local governments. The purpose of the research is to investigate local government system and its functions introduced in Musharraf's period. This will enable us to understand the participation of people in the scheme of devolution of powers. An important aim of the article is to highlight the problems and issues faced at the local level and to assess the effectiveness of local government system and their influences on the administrative system of Pakistan.

Keywords: Devolution, District Government, Authority, Participation, Effectiveness.

INTRODUCTION

The representatives who are elected by the residents of a town are called a local government. The purpose of the local government is to increase the effectiveness of services at local level. Local bodies are considered as instruments of progress and effectiveness. They are increasing in powers and responsibilities. There was a lot of pressure on the local bodies to organize and perform new responsibilities (Steyler, Nico, 2005:2). Laski elaborates the local government as: we cannot comprehend the full advantages of democratic government except we start to analyze the problems that all problems are not connected to centre and consequences of these do not belong to centre, in their occurrence there is need to decide at the place and by the people where and by whom this is extremely experienced by majority (Malik, Muhammad Asif, 2006:16).

Pakistan is a country where the local government system is passing through trial phases. The country has experienced the three constitutions (1956, 1962, 1973), but the state did not reach any decision on the system of government. According to the constitution 1973 all provinces are

bound to set up local government set up and transfer financial, political and administrative powers to the local authorities. General Muhammad Ayub Khan's '*Basic Democracies*' System and General Zia-ul-Haq's '*Local Bodies*' system, since the election of the individuals at the lower levels was left at the mercy of the feudal lords and the bureaucrats. Only those were elected who served the interest of these power groups. As a result, only the mendacious and dishonest ones held these offices due to which corruption seeped down to grassroots level. The factionalized lower leadership shackled by the bureaucrats and the feudal resulted into disharmony and animosity at the local levels (Haroon, Asif, 2004:429). Nawaz Sharif's government was toppled by Pakistan army on October 12, 1999 by General Musharraf (Khan, Hamid, 2009:653) who was the fourth military dictator. 'Largely treading in the footsteps of the Ayub and Zia governments, the Musharraf government condemned the preceding civilian governments. It stated the same ills of the ousted government along with the same rhetoric about devolving democracy to the local level and empowering the downtrodden masses of the country (Waseem, Muhammad, 2006:68-69). The first important work of Musharraf's government was the establishment of National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB) to devolve power to the people. On 14th August 2000, a seven point agenda was released to the public. All four provinces promulgated ordinances (Farwell, J.P., 2012:142) in 2001 to transfer power at the grassroots level.

On 13 October 1999, General Pervez Musharraf delivered speech and announced the subsequent seven point agenda:

- i) To reconstruct the national confidence and morale.
- ii) To become or make stronger the federation by eliminating the inter-provinces dissonance and to reinstate the national consistency.
- iii) To stimulate the economy and to re-establish the investors' morale.
- iv) To make sure law and order and the provision of prompt justice.
- v) To depoliticize the state institutions.
- vi) To decentralize the powers at lower level.
- vii) To guarantee the speedy and thoroughly board responsible (Khan, Rafi Shahrukh, 2004).

General Musharraf introduced the Local Government System which was named '*Devolution of Powers*'. The first aim of local government system was to give powers to the citizens, transfer the authorities form

higher to grassroots level. The proposed plan initiated with the intention that people could get benefits and constitutional rights and they are protected. The plan presented a three tier system at District (Zila), Sub-District (Tehsil), Union level (Abbasi, Mohammad Zakir & Musarrat, Razia, 2015:893). In the light of Local Government Ordinance (LGO) 2001, three tiers system; Union Council, Tehsil Council and the upper tier was City District Governments, was devised in order to establish decentralization.

DISTRICT GOVERNMENT

District Nazim and District Administration were the major components of District Administration. It had the authority to get hold, to transfer any property, unfixed and unchanging for signing any formal agreement and to be responsible for lawful act or proceedings by using its powers over extent of District Coordination Officer (DCO). District Nazim as head of district government performed particular kind of duties and assumed such powers under that ordinance which empowered to him and by getting the help of DCO (Zaidi, Syed Haider Ali, 2005:11). Appointing authority of coordinator; head of the district administration and the DCO was Provincial Government. The accountability of District Nazim was established through the members of District Council. Under the supervision of Naib District Nazim, District council had a secretariat that granted finances. Appropriate measures were taken for check and balance over the whole system. Under the LGO (2001), the District Nazim was performed the following functions: He provided the guidance for advancement of the district. By using powers, he had held to power policies for gaining enhanced quality of life and future improvement of a district for existing and potential development. District Nazim had associated with Tehsil Nazims, with their help he shaped a development vision by holding the government, the private sector, civil society organizations and other institutions exemplified at the district level. All the developmental plans and budgets were approved by district assembly that forwarded by the district nazim. Many amendments were made to improve the services of District government system in the light of Local Government Ordinance 2001. Many notable functions which were previously performed by provincial government delegated to the District government.

DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION

The district administration was included district office; sub-offices for shifting the responsibilities to the district government from the high

level and these were factions with the new designation Executive District Officers (EDO) and worked together with DCO. Planning and budgeting were the duties of district administration and the process was done not only by the consent of District Nazim but with the approval of District assembly. According to the devised system, district assembly approved the rules for each district together with management (GoP, NRB, 2000:39). Information passed to the District Administration and it had to implement the recommendations and proposals of District Assembly, Tehsil and Union Monitoring Committees and Citizen Community Boards (CCB). It was the duty of District Nazim to write the Annual Confidential Report (ACR) of the district administrative officers and of the DCO on the basis of information collected through assessment monitoring system (*Ibid*). Chief Secretary's office was the reporting authority of the DCO in each province.

ZILA COUNCIL

District Council was consisted of all union nazims and members elected on the reserved seats. 33% seats reserved for women, 5% seats for peasants and workers (minimum one seat), 5% seats for minorities (minimum one seat) in a union of a district (Zaidi, Syed Haider Ali, 2005:23).

Following were the fundamental functions carried by the District Council: Legislative functions were restricted to the jurisdiction of the district legislative list, like devising rules to manage existing taxes and to increase their rates. It approved and controlled the monetary and budgetary roles. It had Authoritative role in appointing and remove of the departmental heads of the district administration and police. It had monitoring role for the district management.

TEHSIL GOVERNMENT

The Tehsil Government was run by the Tehsil Nazim including the office of Tehsil Naib Nazim, the Tehsil Administration and the Tehsil Council. Two key functions were carried by the Tehsil Council: Under the control of Nazim, delivering the municipal services with the help of local government functionaries to the whole tehsil and exercising and observing the functionaries of district government at the tehsil level (Qalb-i-Abid, 2004:355).

One of the major functions of the Tehsil government was to conduct developmental plans which could overturn ruralization in urban regions and urbanize the rural areas so that Tehsil could be transformed into City District through a logical manner. It also delivered and monitored the

municipal services in both the Urban and Rural regions of a tehsil. The Tehsil Government could impose new taxes if it had to increase tehsil income (*Ibid*).

TEHSIL MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

A Tehsil Municipal Administration was established in each tehsil. It comprised of a body corporate tehsil nazim, Tehsil Municipal Officer (TMO), tehsil officers, chief officers and other officials of the Local Council Service and officials of the offices handed over to the Tehsil Municipal Administration (Zaidi, S. Akbar, 2005:30).

TEHSIL COUNCIL

According to the LGO 2001, one tehsil council in a tehsil and a Town council in a town under the City District were working including Naib Nazims of all union councils in the tehsil or town (Zaidi, Syed Haider Ali, 2005:44).

Following are some notable functions performed by Tehsil Council: The provision of municipal services was the primary function of the Tehsil council. First time, it was observed that an influential elected body was formed to address the issues of rural and urban areas. Tehsil Council was given freedom to monitor the rule of fees, rents and other charges of municipal services and this all done to ensure not only the set up of proper institutional structure but for intermediating the rural urban division. It was Tehsil Council's liability to propose Tehsil budget, make development strategies, evaluate and audit the accounts. Another important function of Tehsil Council was to collect the information regarding its services, keep the check on the infrastructure and maintenance of it. Tehsil council also established some significant committees to observe its functions at the lowest level (GoP, NRB, 2000:53-54). Civic related activities like roads and streets provision, water supply, sewerage and spatial planning were directly controlled and monitored by the Tehsil Nazim.

Under the LGO 2001, many functions previously performed by provincial governments passed to district and tehsil governments and municipal administrations. For management control and functional liability, 31 decentralized departments like livestock, agriculture, forestry, water and sanitation, health, primary and secondary education were reassigned from provincial level to district level (Sherdil, A.Z.K., 2008:10).

UNION COUNCIL

Union Nazim was working as the head of the Union Council along with Union Naib Nazim and they both contested election as joint candidates. Union Nazim managed the Union Administration with the assistance of three secretaries. In each union council thirteen members were directly elected that included six Muslim members, two reserved seats for women, two for peasants and workers, one seat for minority (Zaidi, Syed Haider Ali, 2005:58).

There were certain duties performed by the Union Council through the monitoring committees and union government. These monitoring committees were formed to ensure the better performance of the departments and representatives. These committees not only observed the provision of municipal services but also looked after the issues like finance, health, public safety, literacy, education, works and justice (Qalb-i-Abid, 2004:353). The Union Council had a power to pacify the disputes in civil, criminal and family matters. Local security system in a union council was prepared and controlled by the Union Council through the Public Safety Committee (*Ibid*). Certain responsibilities were performed by the Union Nazim like to keep the record of birth and death of the people, to provide municipal services and maintain civic facilities and to send the proposals formulated for developmental plans to Tehsil Nazim.

CITY DISTRICT

A modern industrialized city was made of habitats urbanized around its center and they had ability to employ its marginal and rural population on the basis of their production units, economy, manufacturing services and product distribution services (GoP, NRB, 2000:56).

VILLAGE COUNCIL

Under the LGO 2001, the elected members who presented given villages of a Union Council, they formed a village council in order to increase the performance of their representational level. To resolve the local matters and to put forward micro developmental schemes, the village council had to work with other committees like Citizen Community Boards and the Monitoring Committees, this resulted easing burden from Government.

CITIZEN COMMUNITY BOARDS (CCB)

Groups of non-elected citizens could establish charitable and self-help plans in each local area as CCB. The main objective of these boards was to stimulate the citizens for improvement and advancement in service delivery (Zaidi, Syed Haider Ali, 2005:66).

MONITORING COMMITTEES (MC) AND PUBLIC SAFETY COMMITTEES (PSC)

District council elected the MCs and these were accountable for their functions to it (Zaidi, S.Akbar, 2005:101). Public Safety Committees were comprised of union councilors of a union council to observe the security concerns at Thana level; same committees were set up by the tehsil council and by the district assembly at their respective levels, and these committees were authorized to supervise the police performance. These committees prepared the reports about police performance periodically and presented to the concerned authority which was district Nazim at district level, Tehsil Nazim at tehsil level, and Union Council Nazims for activating encouragement (GoP, NRB, 2000:51).

DISTRICT POLICE

District Police performed its functions by aligning with citizen monitoring of police at the various levels within the district. All provinces granted a police force to districts to cope the law enforcement requirements. It was district police's responsibility of upholding law and order in a district although the trial functions and investigation were not part of the district police.

MUSALIHAT ANJUMAN

Musalihat Anjuman had a board of three members; while Insaaf Committee of the union chose the convener of it. Other conciliators were selected from inhabitants who were publicly well known by their honesty and integrity in union (Zaidi, Syed Haider Ali, 2005:56).

DISTRICT JUDICIARY

District Judiciary system was amended and procedural modifications were made in District Judiciary system under the LGO 2001. The purpose of these recommendations was to meet following objectives: it would remove 90% complaints of 90% appellant in the district. It would make effective and speedy delivery of justice. It would do fast and uninterrupted processing of cases and prove be proactive in legal matters (Qalb-i-Abid, 2004:358).

PROVINCIAL FINANCE COMMISSION (PFC)

In every province, a Provincial Finance Commission (PFC) was established by the Governor. Monetary transfers had been granted to local governments from provincial sources (GoP, NRB, 2006). Many authorities that the provincial governments held, these were performed at the lower level. The function of principle formula was to transfer the resources from provincial to district level for producing their own funds at lower levels.

District Government's Finance System consisted of the factors like sources of Income, procedures and staff of tax collection, incentive structure and promotion of ownership rights and Budget of the local bodies including development and current expenditure.

The above mentioned factors were designed to make district government autonomous in terms of economic empowerment and sustainability. Major objectives of the District Finance system were included like financial support for the political organizations at the local level. It would provide funds to the schemes supporting new managerial groups. It would ensure the financial autonomy and continuity of the local government. It would provide funding for development projects in the districts and support progress thought incentive structure for the public involvement (GoP, NRB, 2000:59-60).

Devolution plan had some important characteristics like, on the principle of subsidiary, LGO consisted of locally well organized City District Governments, Union Administration, and Tehsil Municipal administration. A combined rural urban structure was established at the Tehsil Level. City governments were formed in the provincial capitals that allowed others to adhere shortly (Paracha, Sad Abdullah, 2003:35). Empowerment of the local government and a vision of urban centers as great civic entities were ensured. District Nazim had the authority for appointment and removal of the DCO, with the consent of District assembly (Khan, Asif, 2004:35). The functions of health, education and agriculture were performed by the district government, Municipal services by TMA, birth and death records by Union Administration. Women had 33% representation. Voting age was reduced to 18 years to involve young generation in the national political process. Districts managed planning, improvement and finances; provincial secretariat was the reporting line of the district governments. The local government was empowered to see taxation ensuring the devolution of powers. All the intergovernmental fiscal subjects were referred to the Provincial Finance Commission (PFC) regarding the distribution of

provincial resources (Paracha, Saad Abdullah, 2003:15). A procedure of open community investigation in CCB was adopted to empower the local communities and NRB. CCB was a mode on involving the masses participation into District affairs to ensure people's security, citizen rights and due services offered by the City District board. Usually Deputy Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner had controlled executive, judicial and tax collecting authorities at district level. The posts of DC and AC were eliminated by recognizing a new organizational structure directed by the DCO. District and Session Judges had magisterial and legal authorities (Khan, Asif, 2004:35). Police supervision powers were granted to the District Nazim. A commission in each province was set up and named The Provincial Local Government Commission (PLGC) to address intergovernmental issues, administer particular audit, observe annual assessments, deal inquires and end of the infringement of the LGO. Public was given right to file objections against local government officials through mechanism of Zila Mohtasib. Big cities could administer the policies regarding their municipal needs as the above mentioned principle allowed them. The LGO 2001 was to be functional in Punjab, Sindh, North Western Frontier Province (now Khyber Pakhtoon Khwa) and Balochistan provinces but it was not applied to 41 largely civilian inhabited cantonments (military garrisons) whether these were in towns or cities as they were lingered under the control of military station cantonments (*Ibid*).

Rural urban division was eliminated to increase the rural urban integration according to the new local government system. The purpose behind was to improve the conditions at the grassroots level. Directly elected Nazim and Naib Nazim headed District and District Councils was granted power to keep check on them. The district Nazim was given the superseding powers in terms of the management of a district and the attempt was made to adapt the colonial administrative pattern that gave enormous authoritative power to the office of the DC (Qalb-i-Abid, 2004:362). The Nazims were the executive head of local administration. The elected representatives had the power to influence the bureaucracy to ensure better service delivery and to utilize the funds according to requirements and importance at local level (GoP, NRB, 2006). The system also provided a proper channel to topple elected representatives in order to maintain accountability. A notable change was observed under the LGO 2001; local elections were confined through introducing joint electorate system. Provincial framework was provided for the functioning of local governments and ample protection ensured by ending the

excessive interference from the provincial governments. According to the new system, the bureaucracy and the provincial politicians were weak and the newly elected Nazims were strong in the district administration. Nazims had full power to spend the fund allocated to their districts and the bureaucrats and the provincial legislator had little say in it. Nazims proved unable to provide fortification for the Musharaf Government in the long run. Some Nazims used this opportunity to become provincial politicians. Issue based politics disappeared and patronage was in fashion (Talbot, Ian, 2015:181). Women received 33% representation and it was striking feature of the devolution plan.

Councils had powers to take decisions on their assigned functions. Proposals for outlining a budget were discussed in council and the initiative of drafting a budget was strengthened. The approval of schemes was given after a healthy discussion in the Council. The right of preparing budget was given to Local Governments to address their concerns. The masses participation was ensured through bottom up planning process and 25% expenditure were reserved for the development budget through committees (GoP, NRB, 2006). The abuse of power was restrained though a proper check and balance system while elected representatives were dominant on bureaucracy. The system succeeded in establishing the disintegrated stage among the representatives of different governments through the Provincial Local Government Ordinance which was drafted according the local government system. This platform was presented to address the concerns and issues of the Nazims, Senators, Members of National Assembly (MNA), and Members of Provincial Assemblies (MPA). The separation of Judiciary and Executive achieved through doing away with the institution Executive Magistracy. It resulted in empowerment of Judiciary as all trial powers previously used by Executive Magistrates transferred to Judiciary. One of the important changes made under the LGO 2001 was the set up of Monitoring Committees whose responsibilities were to ensure disbursement of funds successfully.

PROBLEMS AND ISSUES

The functional structure of local governments can be traced on two lines i.e., horizontal and vertical. Horizontally these are divided into development and general functions, financial, reconciliatory and electoral functions. Vertically, the functions are divided into district governments functions are divided into district government's functions, tehsil government functions and union council functions (Khan, Sultan, 2009:62).

The apparent purpose of Musharaf's devolution plan was to transfer the administrative, political and monetary powers at the lower level but the verity was extremely unpleasant. As the report of International Crisis Group evaluates that merely nominal autonomy carried out in regard of administrative and financial problems by the local governments in their respective jurisdictions (GoP, NRB, 2000). In reality, this was rebuttal to the principles and values of the local government system.

Deprecating the significance of union councils under LGO 2001, which granted the wholly executive powers to the Nazims who were directly elected by people, councilors did not have right to elect the nazim of a union council; it put an end to the precision at the union level. By use of ballot, Nazims and councilors were directly elected by local people for a union council. Nazim had dominant position in the union council, it seemed that the notion of local democratic leadership at the grassroots level was abolished.

Under the LGO 2001 system, subsequent to indirect election the district and tehsil Nazims' Electoral College comprised all members of the union councils in the district and tehsil. Though district nazim had a substantial electoral college but he also had equivalent duties to a union nazim's responsibilities of a smaller council. District Nazims and Tehsil Nazims presumed in a position that they were free from liability, it caused to do illicit exercises to their coalition partners and they embezzled their authority in inciting vote selling which was a black clot on government system.

After being elected at the District/Tehsil/Union and councilors were feeling superfluous, strain of public expectations. They felt ineffective authorities that resulted in dissatisfaction like motions of no confidence against nazims and naib nazims were being articulated (Khan, Sultan, 2009:75). A remarkable change under the LGO 2001, thirty three percent had been reserved for female. But women had to face stiff opposition in NWFP (Khyber Pakhtoon Khwa) and Balochistan provinces especially in traditional areas. Through direct election, only three women from 106 district governments held their duties as Nazims (Zaidi, Syed Haider Ali, 2005:34). Women members had to face problems during the election campaign by their community in their constituency. On the other hand, Nazims and Naib Nazims also showed discrimination between the male and female candidates. They complained that their suggestion or recommendations never acknowledged for welfare and funds allotment (Khan, Sultan, 2009). The NRB remained fail to conduct connection between the district governments and tehsil administration in a successful

way (Sherdil, A.Z.K., 2008). It was not only unsuccessful but also brought broad irregularities in infrastructure development.

The establishment of Provincial Finance Commission was delayed so it resulted in antipathy and ambiguity and also influenced the budget procedure. Government declared the funds for elected representatives of Provincial and Federal Governments without any consideration to the district governments. It was interference made by provincial government in the matters of local government and it led towards antipathy at the local level (Khan, Sultan, 2009:76). Fiscal decentralization is considered the most important problem of the plan. It described three sources of finance, namely revenue, tax and incentive framework. Revenue and tax accounted for most of the local finance for a country and half were supposed to combine to maintain 'financial autonomy'. On the other hand, financial autonomy could not be got unless revenue and taxation structures were thoroughly revamped in order to put the initiative for raising finance into the hands of district authority ((Waseem, Muhammad, 2006:76). Districts had to face a number of limits regarding their personnel expenses as they did not have power to take on of necessary funds. Local governments had meager funds so the economic development could not be achieved. Representatives could not govern their authorities in real sense due to lack of powers. The fiscal measures required a number of considerations from think tanks under the LGO 2001; the government was not able to represent several far-reaching and long lasting *modus operandi* for the allocation of funds. Foremost problem of local government system was the lack of ample and adequate funds which slowed down the unrelenting delivery of services. One more directive factor was the inaccessibility of skilled, trained and educated councilors who were not expert to do their duty as stated in order.

Rehman has expressed the Chief Minister's authorities on the subject of local government which had been bestowed to him by amending the LGO 2001. For instance, provincial chief ministers had authorized with further powers by granting them authorities to dismiss the Nazims elected by people, so in this way Nazim's powers shortened by making such modifications (Rehman, I.A., 2005:7). Local government personnel consisted of federal and provincial cadres and they remained their workers till retirement and also got pension from them. All civil servants' jobs are transferable and they moved geographically and functionally around their parent branches throughout their service time. Decisions were made by their higher authorities and often connected to

the promotions or to appointing to enviable areas (Khan, Sultan, 2009:77). Many issues occurred in result of such policies.

Deputy Commissioner as the chief executive of the district operated had been performed his role as being crucial and influential state agent at the local level and central government kept up its powers over local areas through his office. The DC has been essential role of central bureaucracy. He usually belonged to the elite Indian Civil Services (ICS) and CSP cadres during the British and post British periods respectively (Waseem, Muhammad, 2006:67). According to the new system, the bureaucracy and the provincial politicians were weak and the newly elected Nazims were strong in the district administration. Nazims had full power to spend the fund allocated to their districts and the bureaucrats and the provincial legislator had little say in it. Nazims proved unable to provide fortification for the Musharaf Government in the long run. Some Nazims used this opportunity to become provincial politician. Issue based politics disappeared and patronage was in fashion (Talbot, Ian, 2015:181). Provinces had qualms regarding the lucidity of their role, functions, accountability and resources at the local level. Nevertheless, central government did not transfer funds and powers to the provinces. Even though, solemn undertaking initially, this system shaped provinces in such a particular direction that weakened the monetary system and reduced the executive power. It resulted to bring an environment of political and administrative conflict between the center and provinces but it also created clashes within the province alongside the bureaucracy and dominant class at the district level. On the other hand, provincial governments had extreme control pertaining to the district governments and had adequate space for intercession (Zaidi, Syed Haider Ali, 2005:53). Duplication of tax authority was also found between the provinces and districts. Overlapping tax bases allocation among different levels of government increased taxpayers' problems and led to spatial variation in effective tax rates, with associated distortions. Many rural areas generated less revenue as compared to developed or urban areas. 'The prevailing set up was based on *bridarism* so non-cooperation also considered the main reason between the elected members of local government. 'Among the army councilors, 79% were illiterate, 10% of them were F.A and 16% were graduates. While, there is condition of matric only for Nazim and Naib Nazim. This resulted in disinterest of majority of councilors in the public service and welfare of the community (Khan, Sultan, 2009:75). Ishrat Hussain analysis the weaknesses of 2001 LG by pointing out the excessive strengthening of the office of district

Nazim as individually elected candidate. Law and order, perpetuation of revenue data and records, crisis and disaster management were the functions that needed impartial and equitable administrators (Ahmar, Moonis, 2014:158) but they were not performed adequately. Well-founded feudal and tribal system had also created hindrances for the achievement of real outputs (Qalib-i-Abid, 2004:365) of the devolution plan.

The devolution plan, introduced in Musharraf's era had central reform of the state, showed examples of the corruption at the district levels. There were hundreds of millions of rupees unchecked expenditure where Nazim and DCO were accountable. Coordination become worse, redundancies had multiplied (Niaz, Ilhan, 2010:264) and the level for providing services downed. The officials were not experienced at the local level as a number of them were taken from provincial or federal level. Nazim and Naib Nazim, having basically matriculated were not appropriate to direct them. Union Councilors did not show adequate interest regarding their duties. Third tier or lower level was deprived to levy taxes or to get amount for expenditure at union level. They were not provided the sufficient money for attending the meetings. Ian Talbot has regarded the Musharraf era as a period of 'sham democracy', because he maintained, marred by corruption, economic incompetence and disunity (Talbot, Ian, 2015:180).

The lack of subsequent check over the elected representatives' powers directed to the local government system towards deception and putrescent. Police department handed over to the Nazims instead of keeping it away from the interference of administrative authority. So such environment worsened the situation in the district. The relationship of the District Nazim with the District Police Order (DPO) persisted unclear. District Nazim had assumed the liability to monitor the performance assessment on distinctive parts of the working of DPO, but he did not perform his institutional role to manage police working in district. Police Order, 2002 had overseeing mechanism like District Criminal Justice Coordination Committees, and Citizen Police Liaison Committees were mainly remained non-functional (Sherdil, A.Z.K., 2008:10). Weak oversight mechanism of provincial government had directed to "corruption and mal-governance". Provincial government's main authorities had devolved so the PLGO stretched resources too far the administrative and fiscal abilities that resulted in poor service delivery (Kashif, Rana, 2009:7). The administrative structure felt left out as the police came directly under District Nazim and it was complained by DCO

when they made use of police because they frequently utilized it against his opponents. There was no increase in the administrative efficiency after the reforms. The quality of the governance declined because of the non implementation of the police reforms and weakening of the bureaucracy. The state could not maintain the rule of law and was inefficient in the delivery of services to the public (Talbot, Ian, 2015:182). On the other hand, Nazims complained having no powers over police.

Musharaf was proved to some extent as a busted flush, having few chances to prolong his hegemony in 2008. The country's economy and governance were poor when he bequeathed rule to his successors. He used to announce himself as the sole savior of the country while he remained even unable to address the issues which had afflicted it since 1947. Political institutions could not be strengthened while the issue of provincial autonomy versus centralization remained unaddressed (Talbot, Ian, 2015:199). A significant flaw of the devolution plan was that the system introduced the regulations and laws that weakened the performance of the provinces. Accounting and audit structures and posting of finance office staff was established not long. The accounts manual was not completed and reported at all levels of local governments. On the other hand, no training was provided to deal with the accounting under the new system (Khan, Sultan, 2009:80). In some cases, there has not been a single coordination meeting between the province and District Nazims to discuss their difficulties since the system was launched. This is true in other places as well. For example, the Public Safety Commissions meant to provide protection to citizens, were not functioning, and no district ombudsmen had been appointed anywhere even till three years after the scheme had been launched. MNAs, MPAs and bureaucrats wanted the failure of devolution. Elected representatives were loath to part with power or shed the patronage they enjoyed. Bureaucrats wanted to hold the authority and support (Khan, M. Asghar, 2005:228) as they considered it as the part of their job. For building the collaboration among different tiers of government, this system comprised district government from union governments might be beneficial by implementing it in an adequate way. A simple matriculate Nazim was authorized to inscribe Annual Confidential Report (ACR) which was assimilated to mortification of a senior and skilful bureaucracy.

Although Musharraf started using the language which was internationally acceptable including the notable words 'good governance' agenda; stands as transparency, accountability and empowerment. It was done to establish his hegemony by making into practice of tried and

trusted approaches of the previous military dictators, namely the accountability was launched to control the opposing politicians rather than removing corruption from the system, this curtailed the political activity and gained him the direct links with the populace by means of local government with the ultimate purpose of decreasing the political opposition. Chances of thriving remained poor for them (opposition parties) which faced heavy criticism at home and abroad. The designed system to empower masses through political reforms was proved like a day dream. Pakistan was not a failed state under the presidency of Mushraf but it was immobilized. Yet there had never been a dire need of constitutional reforms (Talbot, Ian, 2015:199). Public administration was critically spoiled by the untrained and unqualified staff as well as lack of district revenues. Such repressive responsibility of multi level structure was not easy to administer by restricted manpower. Accessible administrative power and technical body of engaged staff tended towards the urban areas which resulted in the shortage of staff in the rural areas. A number of district governments had not decision making sense and executive potential for doing what they were assumed in their capacity and they were originated in devolution plan.

CONCLUSION

The roadmap of devolution of power could not be moved with undulations strength and powers to the masses of Pakistan. By making it a way of sharing power, those groups who were able to influence and politically powerful persons at the local level they took advantage. The military dictators used the local government as a tool going on for lengthy period instead of people's representation. The devolution plan was not capable of controlling executive authorities and managing financial matters. Moreover, it was issued by the military dictator to elongate his regime get him declared lawful under the shadow of local political and democratic support.

The Devolution Plan introduced by General Pervez Musharraf; could not attain its objectives. The system remained unsuccessful due to number of reasons on practical and structural basis. Although decentralization was done in terms of granting executive powers and authorities at the local level yet the real sense of decentralization remained unachieved. It was a matter of fact that military had central authority instead of constitutional institutions. Financial characteristics of the local government were overlooked in the devolution plan. Lacking this feature, decentralization remained dream for the masses when they had no power to utilize funds to change the conditions of their particular

constituency independently even being representatives of local governments which are as agents of political economic development. Financial sustainability was not ensured under this system. There was lack of checks and balance system. Authorities were not granted from top to bottom. Powers and duties of the representatives were not clear under the system. Women had 33% representation but they did not make any remarkable achievement in decision making. Local government election on party basis was discouraged by military rulers so election held on non-party basis. Therefore, whenever the civilian governments came into power, they went against it and it hampered the process of establishing the local bodies system in the country. They relied on the elected MNAs and MPAs to fulfill their agenda by giving incentives and they did away with the development preferences at the local level.

Policies were lacking continuity in terms of connection between previous and present local government system. Whenever the attempt was made to establish local government system in the country, it was not drafted in a way to develop proper linkage with the previously observed set up. This approach damaged its real value in the government structures. Being federal state, Pakistan has two governmental structures; Central and Provincial governments. Though local government system was protected through 1973 Constitution but it should have also been acknowledged and recognized as the third tier system of the government. Local government system strengthens the administrative structure of a country and it highlights its immense importance. It plays a significant role in nation building and decision making process in a country. One can evaluate Musharaf's rule by realizing much had been proclaimed against little achievements. Pakistan had to fix the problems which the country had lumped since independence, of its economy and political institutions.

REFERENCES

- Steyler, Nico (2005). 'The Place and Role of Local Government in Federal Systems', Adenauer Stiftung, Konard.
- Malik, Muhammad Asif (2006). 'Local Self Government in Pakistan', Emporium Publishers, Lahore.
- Haroon, Asif (2004). 'Muhammad Bin Qasim to General Pervez Musharraf: Triumphs, Tribulations, Scars of 1971 Tragedy and Current Challenges', Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore.
- Khan, Hamid (2009). 'Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan, (2nd ed.) Oxford University Press, Karachi.
- Waseem, Muhammad (2006). 'Democratization in Pakistan: A Study of the 2002 Elections', Oxford University Press, Karachi.

- Farwell, J. P. (2012). 'The Pakistan Cauldron: Conspiracy, Assassination & Stability', Pentagon Press, New Delhi, India.
- Khan, Rafi Shahruxh (2004). 'Pakistan Under Musharraf (1999-2002): Economic Reform and Political Change', Vanguard Books, Lahore.
- Abbasi, Mohammad Zakir and Musarrat, Razia (2015). Devolution of Powers to Local Governments in Pakistan, *Pakistan Journal of Social Science*, Vol35, No.2.
- Zaidi, Syed Haider Ali (2005). 'Punjab Local Government Ordinance 2005', Civil and Criminal Law Publication, Lahore.
- National Reconstruction Bureau (2000). 'Local Government Proposed Plan', Government of Pakistan, National Reconstruction Bureau, Islamabad.
- Qalib-i-Abid (2004). 'Development of Local Government in the Punjab: A Critical Assessment', Beacon Books, Lahore.
- Zaidi, S. Akbar (2005). The Political Economy of Decentralization in Pakistan', Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Islamabad.
- Sherdil, A. Z. K. (2008). 'Reforming the Devolution Plan', *The Nation*, July 28, 2008, Islamabad.
- National Reconstruction Bureau (2006). 'Local Government System in Pakistan and Aberdeen Agenda', National Reconstruction Bureau, Islamabad, July 24-25.
- Paracha, Saad Abdullah (2003). 'Devolution Plan in Pakistan, Context, Implementation and Issues', Open Society Institute Budapest, Hungary.
- Talbot, Ian (2015). Pakistan: A New History, (2nd ed.) Oxford University Press, Karachi.
- Khan, Sultan (2009). 'Local Government in Pakistan', Famous Books, Lahore.
- Waseem, Muhammad (2006). 'Democratization in Pakistan: A Study of the 2002 Elections', Oxford University Press, Karachi..
- Rehman, I. A. (2005). 'Local Bodies: Who's Fiefdom'? *The Dawn*, 1st August 2005, Karachi.
- Ahmar, Moonis (2014). 'Conflict Management & Vision for a Secular Pakistan', Oxford University Press, Karachi.
- Niaz, Ilhan (2010). 'The Culture of Power and Governance of Pakistan 1947-2008', Oxford University Press, Karachi.
- Kashif, Rana (2009). 'Punjab Government Seeking Public Opinion on Proposed PLGA', *Daily Times*, 13th December, 2009, Islamabad.
- Burki, Shahid Javed (1999). 'Pakistan: Fifty Years of Nationhood', West-View Press, Boulder.
- Khan, M. Asghar (2005). 'We have Learnt Nothing from History', Oxford University Press, Karachi.