

**CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL
GOVERNANCE: A CASE STUDY OF HEALTH
AND SANITATION SECTORS IN
GUJRANWALA, PAKISTAN**

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GOVERNANCE: A CASE STUDY OF HEALTH
AND SANITATION SECTORS IN
GUJRANWALA, PAKISTAN**

by

ZAIN RAFIQUE

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for the degree of
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DEDICATION

To my father, Haji Muhammad Rafique, who
always advised me to study and observe.

Also to my daughter, Maroosh Zain,
the greatest joy I could ever know,
and the reason of sunshine,
laughter and happiness
in my world today.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
ADP	Annual Development Programs
CAC	Citizen Action Committees
CGDs	Cross Group Discussions
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
CBO	Community-based organizations
CP	Citizen Participation
DFID	Department for International Development
DOPP	Devolution of Power Plan
EFA	Education for All
FGDs	Focused Group Discussions
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GG	Good Governance
GO	Government Organization
GOP	Government of Pakistan
HDI	Human Development Index
IDA	International Development Agencies
IAPP	International Associations for Public Participation
ICMA	International City Management Authority
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KPK	Khyber Pakhtunkhawa
LGI	Local Government Institutions
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NPM	New Public Management
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PVT	Public Value Theory
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program

UC	Union Council
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programs
UNESCAP	UN Economic & Social Commission for Asia & Pacific
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WB	World Bank

**PENYERTAAN RAKYAT DALAM TADBIR URUS TEMPATAN: KAJIAN
KES DARI SEKTOR KESIHATAN DAN SANITASI DI
GUJRANWALA, PAKISTAN**

ABSTRAK

Wacana pembangunan kontemporari memberikan peranan yang menonjol bagi Penyertaan Rakyat (*Citizen Participation*). Untuk memenuhi permintaan terhadap pembangunan tersebut, kerajaan Pakistan memperkenalkan Penyertaan Rakyat (CP) dalam bentuk yang baru dan langkah agihan kuasa dalam sistem tadbir urus tempatan sebagai asas untuk melaksanakan pembangunan tempatan dan melibatkan masyarakat tempatan. Tesis ini bertujuan untuk mengenalpasti Penyertaan Rakyat (CP) dalam sistem tadbir urus tempatan Pakistan. Kajian ini menerokai kedua-dua faktor subjektif dan objektif. Faktor subjektif meliputi peranan pihak berkepentingan (pentadbir pihak berkuasa tempatan, wakil politik tempatan, organisasi masyarakat sivil (CSO) dan masyarakat manakala faktor objektif mengkaji perundangan dan asas pentadbiran bagi penyertaan masyarakat (CP). Kajian ini mempamerkan bukti dan dapatan kajian dengan mengambil sektor kesihatan dan sanitasi di Gujranwala Pakistan sebagai kajian kes dengan menggunakan kaedah penyelidikan gabungan. Kaedah ini merangkumi kajian literatur dan analisis arkib, kaji selidik dijalankan terhadap pemegang taruh di Gujranwala serta temu bual mendalam, perbincangan secara kumpulan berfokus (FGD) dan perbincangan secara bersilang (CGD) iaitu melibatkan kumpulan lain. Hasil kajian mendapati terdapat beberapa masalah yang telah menyumbang kepada ketidaktepatan dalam bidang penyertaan rakyat dalam pembangunan semasa. Pertama, kegagalan corak organisasi masyarakat sivil (CSO) pada peringkat pihak berkuasa tempatan Gujranwala mendapati bahawa Pakistan memerlukan kematangan politik untuk dapat menyediakan ruang kerja bagi organisasi

masyarakat sivil (CSO) bagi menyokong usaha penyertaan rakyat (CP). Kedua, kesilapan mekanisme penyertaan rakyat secara langsung. Rangka kerja perundangan bagi membolehkan penyertaan rakyat (CP) mempunyai margin yang tinggi untuk dimanipulasi. Dokumen dasar dan juga perundangan dengan mudah boleh ditafsirkan dan diguna pakai dalam wacana pembangunan yang berbeza. Di samping itu, pentadbiran kerajaan tempatan, kerajaan wilayah dan golongan elit politik tidak bersedia untuk meluaskan kuasa mereka. Ketiga, birokrat tempatan lebih berkuasa daripada mana-mana pemegang taruh lain yang menyebabkan penyertaan rakyat (CP) adalah satu realiti yang semakin jauh. Sistem politik tempatan sepenuhnya tidak berkesan, kapasiti Majlis Tempatan, serta organisasi masyarakat sivil (CSO) untuk melibatkan masyarakat adalah sangat terhad, serta sistem antara pihak berkuasa gagal menyokong pihak berkuasa tempatan dan mekanismenya daripada penyertaan rakyat (CP). Keempat, penguatkuasaan akauntabiliti dan mekanisme ketelusan dalam sektor kesihatan dan sanitasi di Gujranwala tidak berfungsi dengan baik dan kerana itu keberkesanan dan tahap penyertaan rakyat (CP) sekadar untuk memaklumkan atau memperkenalkan sahaja. Secara keseluruhan, penemuan kajian mencadangkan bahawa terdapat kesulitan mengaplikasikan penyertaan dalam tadbir urus yang berkesan di Gujranwala kerana darjah penyertaan yang rendah daripada keberkesanan organisasi masyarakat sivil (CSO), kurangnya pendidikan mengenai penyertaan rakyat (CP), kelompongan dalam rangka kerja perundangan dan ketiadaan mekanisme bagi akauntabiliti, keterbukaan dan penguatkuasaan. Berdasarkan penemuan ini, kajian ini telah mencadangkan satu model baru bagi keberkesanan penyertaan rakyat (CP). Walau bagaimanapun, kesimpulan yang dapat diambil adalah bahawa mekanisme penyertaan rakyat (CP) yang berkesan boleh membuat sistem tadbir urus tempatan

lebih bertanggungjawab, responsif dan telus. Akan tetapi ia memerlukan masa yang panjang dan pelbagai sumber untuk melaksanakannya.

**CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE: A CASE STUDY
OF HEALTH AND SANITATION SECTORS IN GUJRANWALA,
PAKISTAN**

ABSTRACT

Contemporary development discourse confers a protuberant role to Citizen Participation (CP). To comply with this developmental demand, the Government of Pakistan introduced CP reforms and decentralization measures to use local governance system as a platform for localizing development and engaging local citizens. This thesis was designed to explore the level of Citizen Participation in the local governance system of Pakistan. The study explored both the subjective factors that include the role of stakeholders (local administrators, local political representatives, Civil Society Organizations and Citizens) and objective factors such as legal and administrative basis of CP. The thesis presented evidence from a case study of the Health and Sanitation sectors in Gujranwala, Pakistan by employing mixed research methods. The techniques involved a literature review and documentary analysis, a survey conducted with stakeholders in Gujranwala as well as in-depth interviews, Focus Group Discussions and Cross Group Discussions. The findings divulged manifold problems that contributed to the ineptitude of CP in current development lexicon. Firstly, the failure of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Gujranwala local government settings ascertained that Pakistan needs a certain level of political maturity to provide a working space for CSOs to foster CP. Secondly, mechanisms of direct CP is faulty. The legal framework on CP has a very high margin of manipulation. The main policy documents and laws can be easily interpreted and accommodated to different development discourses. In addition, local government administration, the provincial government and political elites are not ready to disseminate their powers. Thirdly,

local bureaucrats are more empowered than any other stakeholder which is making CP a distant reality. The local political system is totally inefficient, capacity of union council and CSOs to engage citizens is very limited and intergovernmental system has largely failed to support local government and mechanism of CP adequately. Fourthly, empowerment, accountability and transparency mechanisms in Health and Sanitation sectors of Gujranwala are not functioning properly and hence the efficacy and level of CP are merely at the informing stage. Overall, the findings suggested that it will be difficult to implement participatory governance effectively in Gujranwala due to the low degree of CSOs' effectiveness, the truncated level of education regarding CP, loopholes in the legal framework and no mechanism for accountability, transparency and empowerment. Based on these findings, this study has proposed a new model for the effectiveness of CP. However, the conclusion drawn is that effective CP mechanism can make local governance system more accountable, responsive and transparent but it will require much time and resources to implement them.

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

The mainstream developmental strategies of 1950s and 1960s that focused on top-down approaches and economic growth failed both on practical and theoretical grounds due to their dereliction to involve citizens in formulation and evaluation (Griffin & Newman, 2005; Rahnema, 1992; Stein & Harper, 2000, p. 68). Resultantly, as a remedy, decentralization and participatory reforms swept across the world as every country went through measures to fortify autonomy and authority of local government (Geissel & Newton, 2012; John et al., 2013; Zittel & Fuchs, 2006) and Pakistan was no exception. In recent decades, almost 80% of developing countries have gone through the process of participatory development and hence this notion has been called as the fashion of current times, the quiet revolution, the latest fashion (Campbell, 2001; Crawford & Hartmann, 2008, pp. 7-8; Manor, 1999) and the researcher deems it as the global zeitgeist. Currently, these two words, participation and decentralization, form the part of today's development thinking as there is globally increasing agenda on the part of donors to promote the concept of 'good governance' (participation, transparency, accountability & rule of law) and developing countries are following these democratization trends.

Thus, in development jargon, the trends like endogenous development, bottom-up approaches, territorial development and development from below are now being proposed as the remedies of earlier development failures (Apostol, Antoniadis, & Banerjee, 2013). However, the implementation of these agendas is still the moot point. Among these bottom-up approaches, Citizen Participation mechanism in local

development involves ordinary citizens assessing their own needs and participating in local project planning and budget monitoring (Fung, 2015).

Citizen Participation is the sine qua non for development. Citizen Participation is the behavior or activity of citizen as groups and individuals in the process of decision-making to impact the issues that are challenging to the disadvantaged communities (Ohmer, 2010). Citizens may participate in the development and policies of local government through a number of behaviors and activities which include meeting with the legislator of the locality to convey disagreement or support for a specific policy position (Cohen & Dawson, 1993), attending some public meetings to communicate their opinion on local or district problems (Maier, 2001; Weber, Loumakis, & Bergman, 2003), partaking in the political campaign through voluntary or financial means (Brady, Verba, & Schlozman, 1995), and choosing their preferred candidates through voting for the local government (Casciano, 2007; Lelieveldt, 2004; Weber et al., 2003). The three-fold argument for the Citizen Participation in local government suggests that it would increase the efficacy and efficiency of public services. Moreover, it will make local government more accountable and finally, it will deepen the participatory development and democratic approach (Gaventa, 2004a; Gaventa & Valderrama, 1999). On the contrary, literature also suggests that Citizen Participation is empowering the political elite instead of leading towards inclusive development (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Johnson & Wilson, 2000).

Nevertheless, to foster Citizen Participation, Pakistan has undergone through four major local government reforms. The first three reforms passed in 1960, 1974 and 1979 achieved very little in terms of Citizen Participation, citizen empowerment, effective service delivery, accountability and local development (Alam, 2013).

However, the local government system of 2001, premeditated by the federal government and disseminated by the Punjab government in the name of ‘Punjab Local Government Ordinance’ made local governments the powerful and potent instruments of local development and service delivery. Since Pakistan’s inception, this is the first time when the fully responsible and empowered local government institutions were installed (Alam, 2013; Zaidi, 2005). But till today, Citizen Participation has neither been effective nor the local governing and development authorities has been rated as the ‘good one’ by the stakeholders (Ahmad & Abutalib, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2015).

In developing countries, citizens usually mistrust their bureaucracy and local politicians (Yang & Callahan, 2007). The prevalence of anti-bureaucratic culture and low turnout in local elections is disassociating the local politics, local administration and everyday lives of the common people (Blond, 2010; Glasman, 2010). Therefore, Citizen Participation is being recommended by most development scholars as the remedy to these grave issues (Geissel & Newton, 2012; John et al., 2013; Zittel & Fuchs, 2006). If the local government is triumphant in ensuring Citizen Participation, it will make certain the accountability of the local governing authority (Grindle, 2007). Thus, this accountability mechanism and control of local people over their resources would lead towards better provision of services and local development (Sirker & Cosic, 2007c). Likewise, this mechanism would increase the level of satisfaction among the people as they would be claiming the ownership of development themselves (Manowong & Ogunlana, 2006; Sobhan, 2003). But, the question arises pertaining to how will the mechanism of transparency, legitimacy and accountability be ensured through local governance system?

Generally, scholars have two competing views. Some scholars emphasize the need to establish good governance and then promote Citizen Participation (Hope Sr, 2009; Hye, 2000; Sobhan, 2003). To them, if the local governance system is established at its best then people would automatically be involved in the local affairs. By contrast, a number of researchers favor the insurance of Citizen Participation to achieve the desired level of good governance (Brett, 2003; Gibson, Lacy, & Dougherty, 2005). For them, empowering local people in the local affairs is the main catalyst to improve the level of governance in a society (Arko-cobbah, 2006; Stivers, 2008b). This study supports the later view by arguing that Citizen Participation is essential to improve governance as it makes the local authority accountable and transparent. Observing this nexus between Citizen Participation and local governance system, international agencies such as World Bank, United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Asian Development Bank (ADB) have envisaged that local good governance must include four (4) elements, i) participation, ii) accountability, iii) predictability and iv) transparency (Blair, 2000; Deolalikar, Castro-Guevara, Lim, & Quising, 2002; Manowong & Ogunlana, 2006).

At this juncture, the question that arises is concerned with the level of Citizen Participation that is considered acceptable and sufficient to ensure local governance system. Some researchers argue that people may participate in different stages depending on the distinctiveness of the development program. They prefer different forms of participation for different levels of development programs (Bishop & Davis, 2002; Parker & Berthet, 2000) while other scholars believes in participation from start till end arguing that continuous participation can only bring positive changes (Arnstein, 1969; Brett, 2003; Momen, Hossain, & Begum, 2005; Wilcox, 1994).

Anyhow, Citizen Participation is considered as the key element of local good governance (Azmat, Alam, & Coghill, 2009; Siroros, 2002).

In this wake, this study seeks to examine the effectiveness of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), fissures between local government acts and actual practices regarding Citizen Participation, as well efficacy of Citizen Participation in local governance system with special reference to the health and sanitation sectors of Gujranwala District, Punjab, Pakistan. The study, in the context of local government system of Pakistan, will help to perk up our understanding about how and under what conditions Citizen Participation can contribute to more inclusive development. This chapter, in particular, discusses the back-ground, problem statement, significance and rationale of the study, research questions, research objectives, research scope and thesis structure.

1.1.1 Pakistan's Context

In Pakistan, Citizen Participation is not the privilege but the rights of people given by the constitution. Following globalization trends, Pakistan since the 1960s has undergone many constitutional reforms to ensure Citizen Participation. From 1980s, a wide range of governance reforms have been introduced in the country to achieve improved public-sector effectiveness, economic growth, poverty reduction, citizen participation, greater accountability and transparency. After the devolution plan of 2001, the local government in Pakistan is not just playing its role in service delivery but also as an actor in development. Vision 2025 announced by Pakistan's government is based on the slogan 'People First' (Planning Commission, 2014) while preamble of amended Punjab local government bill passed in 2013 by provincial assembly focuses on institutionalized Citizen Participation at the local government

level (Punjab Local Government Act, 2013) . The local government in Pakistan after 2001 is an authoritative apparatus of local development and service delivery (Zaidi, 2005). The local government in Pakistan is divided into three tiers as follows: i) Union level, ii) Tehsil level (Sub-district level) and iii) district level (the highest tier) which have separated houses and heads. Since 2010, the provincial government has failed to conduct local election but eventually, it will have to ensue under Article 140-A of the constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan (Khan, 1986) . The functions of these three tiers of local government are shown in Table 1.1 below.

Table 1.1
Functions of local government

Responsibility	District/Zila	Tehsil/Taluka	Union Council
Education	Primary & Secondary Education, Literacy	X	X
Health	Dispensaries & Local Hospitals	X	X
Roads	District Roads	Local Roads & streets	Local Streets
Water	X	Water Supply System	Wells & Ponds
Sewers & Sanitation	X	Yes	Yes
Fire Services	X	Yes	X
Parks & Play grounds	X	Yes	Yes
Animals	X	Slaughterhouses, Fairs	Cattle Ponds & Grazing Areas
Cultural & Sports Services	X	Fairs, Cultural Events	Libraries
Street Services	X	Street Lighting, Signals	Street Lighting

Key: “X” indicates no direct spending responsibilities,; “Yes” indicates spending responsibility in City Districts, the Districts share some urban responsibilities normally exercised by Tehsil/Taluka with the Towns.

Source: The Author, 2015

Nevertheless, the local government is the grass-root institution in Pakistan that integrates the common people into the process of development. All the local developmental projects are being handled by the local government institutions. On the local government documents, the level of Citizen Participation is very high but

ironically, its outcome is not visible given that Pakistan's Human Development Index (HDI) is ranked 147 out of 187 countries and territories. The HDI is an average measure of basic human development achievements in a country. The rank of Pakistan is shared with Bangladesh and is just ahead of Angola and Myanmar. Additionally, 52 per cent of Pakistanis live in poverty. The HDI's Multidimensional Poverty Index — an alternative to income-based poverty estimates — shows that the proportion of population living under the multidimensional poverty in Pakistan has increased by almost three per cent in one year. Moreover, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) have included Pakistan in the countries with extensive learning crisis (UNICEF, 2013). Thus, the concerns arises if the Citizen Participation is just a distant reality in Pakistan or otherwise.

In view of the aforementioned background, this study has reviewed this impasse of theory and practice of Citizen Participation by assessing its level in local government by taking the health and sanitation sectors of local government as a case study. It is expected that this study will assist the identified district (Gujranwala) specifically and other districts in general to understand the challenges that local governments encounter with regard to Citizen Participation.

1.2 Problem Statement

The aforementioned concern instigated the interest to find out the actual happenings on the ground and to identify whether Citizen Participation is promising or not in Pakistan. Further, there is dire need to explore the level of Citizen Participation and examine the effectiveness of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). These are some fundamental concerns that necessitate a study on Citizen Participation in Pakistan.

In this time of globalization, development agencies like the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (hereafter, IMF) and Asian Development Bank (hereafter, ADB) are helping developing economies like Pakistan to alleviate poverty through effectual development. In this milieu, they started adjustment programs in the 70s and 80s but the growth model of development has failed due to a lack of Citizen Participation. Hence, devolution reforms were initiated in all developing countries including Pakistan (Azmat et al., 2009; Azmat & Samaratunga, 2007; Channa & Faguet, 2016; Cheema, Khwaja, & Qadir, 2006b; Ovaska, 2003; Rajan & Subramanian, 2007).

Despite advocacy for Citizen Participation in developing countries, available studies showed a lack of Citizen Participation and existence of knowledge gap among experts, local government officials and citizen. Previous studies have discussed designs and the emergence of new mechanisms for Citizen Participation in local governments (Flavin & Griffin, 2009; Joshi & Houtzager, 2012; Kamlage & Nanz, 2017; Kauzya, 2007; Matovu, 2011; Nations, 2008; Vetter, Klimovský, Denters, & Kersting, 2016), how decentralization and Citizen Participation are interlinked and impacted on each other (Ahmed, Devarajan, Khemani, & Shah, 2005; Brinkerhoff & Brinkerhoff, 2011; Brinkerhoff, 2007; Jütting et al., 2005; Kauzya, 2007; Kroll, Neshkova, & Pandey, 2017; Pandeya, Horie, & Wescott, 2016; Von Braun & Grote, 2000) and the different factors that influence the Citizen Participation in local governance system (Bay, 2011; Bovaird, Stoker, Jones, Loeffler, & Pinilla Roncancio, 2016; Esonu & Kavanamur, 2011; Michels, 2012; Yang & Pandey, 2011). To date, although there are studies that examined the level of Citizen Participation in local governance system (Azfar, Kähkönen, Lanyi, Meagher, & Rutheford, 2004; Azfar, Kähkönen, & Meagher, 2001; Devas & Grant, 2003; Fiszbein, 1997; Putnam, 2000),

effectiveness of CSOs in promoting Citizen Participation in developing countries (Cornwall & Coelho, 2007; Gaventa, 2004a, 2004c; Turnhout, Van Bommel, & Aarts, 2010; Turnhout & Van der Zouwen, 2010; Vari, 1995; Zittel & Fuchs, 2006) and gaps between Citizen Participation acts by governments and actual practices (Alex-Assensoh, 2005; Aron, 1979; Bingham, Nabatchi, & O'Leary, 2005) but these studies are not based on concrete evidence.

Though Pakistan has a very long history of local government but since 2001, Pakistan has undergone major local reforms which espouse the expanding and strengthening of Citizen Participation at local level. However, human development indicators of Pakistan show that economic progress did not translate into the people's well-being. In 15 years, Pakistan's GDP growth rate even increased up to 8% but 60.19% people of Pakistan are still living below the poverty line (Kakakhel, 2014). More than 5.5 million children are out of school (UNICEF, 2013) and health facilities are obsolete. Transparency International (TI) has ranked Pakistan 34th most corrupt nation in the world. Hitherto, despite the long practice of Citizen Participation, local government has failed to achieve local good governance and pro-citizen development.

To address this problem, studies have investigated the presence of barriers to effectual Citizen Participation. The findings indicated that most barriers are created by local politicians and bureaucracy (Ahmad & Abutalib, 2013, 2014; Chaudhry, 2009). But these studies were not able to reveal how these politicians and bureaucrats created the barriers to Citizen Participation. These studies also did not explore whether the people are ready to participate in local government and how Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) are playing their role to bring government and citizen together. At the same instance, many studies have suggested the need to increase the autonomy

of local government institutions and efficiently organize the local people around social and economic enterprises based on a ‘realistic program’ (Ahmad & Abutalib, 2013; Khan & Anjum, 2013; Latif, 2006; Nalla & Mamayek, 2013; Paracha, 2003; Wahid et al., 2016) but these studies did not explain how the people must participate in these realistic programs or indicate what is the actual level of Citizen Participation that is required. Therefore, it is evident that in spite of grave concerns about Citizen Participation in local government system of Pakistan, very diminutive in-depth studies have been done to investigate the level of Citizen Participation and effectiveness of CSOs in local government. Hence, this is the intellectual puzzle of the study and thus necessitates answers.

1.3 Research Questions

Based on the concerns raised in the aforementioned problem statement, the following research questions would attempt to address these enquiries:

RQ1. How have the Citizen Action Committees, Development Agencies and NGOs (collectively known as CSOs) in Gujranwala, Pakistan been successful in influencing the decisions of local government towards the needs and priorities of the public?

RQ2. What are the fissure between constitutional provisions of Citizen Participation in local government acts and actual practices in Gujranwala, Pakistan?

RQ3. How can the gap between constitutional provisions of Citizen Participation in local government acts and actual practices in Gujranwala, Pakistan be met through appropriate measures?

RQ4. How much is the efficacy of Citizen Participation in health and sanitation sectors under local government system in Gujranwala, Pakistan?

1.4 Research Objectives

This study has the following research objectives to address the above research questions.

RO1. To evaluate the extent to which the Citizen Action Committees, Development Agencies and NGOs (collectively known as CSOs) in Gujranwala, Pakistan have influenced the decision making of the local government towards the needs and priorities of the public and draw recommendations to promote Citizen Participation in decision-making.

RO2. To find out the fissures between constitutional provisions of Citizen Participation in Local Government Acts and actual practices in Gujranwala, Pakistan.

RO3. To suggest the measures to bridge the gap between constitutional provisions of Citizen Participation in local government acts and actual practices.

RO4. To measure the efficacy of Citizen Participation in health and sanitation sectors under local government system in Gujranwala, Pakistan.

1.5 Significance of the Study

International development agencies such as World Bank, USAID, ADB and IMF, NGOs and governments usually claim to promote the participation philosophy that advocate the right of people to control and define their own development, therefore, it can be established that participation is now an international agenda to make sure the representation of local public in planning, decision making, monetary and evaluation on the matter pertaining to development. In spite of this claim, along with the prevalent adoption and acceptance of participatory approaches to development in Pakistan, the actual level and efficacy of Citizen Participation is still unknown. Local beneficiaries are expected to contribute and intervene in development

intervention by allocating their own resources. They are also expected to take control of all activities after external aid is withdrawn. This is based on the development belief that participation of local people increases sustainability and effectiveness (Cleaver, 2001), but in the case of Pakistan, there is very little evidence to support this developmental assumption. Many participatory developmental theorists (McGee, 2002; Rudqvist & Woodford-Berger, 1996) argue that the concept of Citizen Participation in policy making, developmental planning and decision-making remains as rhetoric rather than practice.

Clearly, there is a dire need to explore Citizen Participation in Pakistan's local government system and investigate if Citizen Participation is rhetoric or reality. Therefore, this research is the first detailed study to explore the Citizen Participation in local governance system and identify barriers to effective Citizen Participation. Furthermore, this study fills a huge research gap by investigating the role of all stakeholders in local government. Besides, role of CSOs in promoting Citizen Participation and constitutional provisions for CP with actual practices on ground are investigated. Till date, there is no single study available in the context of Pakistan which has explored these much-needed issues. The study is expected to empirically and theoretically contribute to the available literature on Citizen Participation in local governance system with specific focus on district government planning process. In addition, the study has very significant policy dimension. It can help to bring new information to light by examining the current participatory practices to facilitate design of effective and realistic policies. In addition, the research findings will be very useful for local development partners, district governments, local authorities and civil society groups who need to explore suitable ways to improve Citizen Participation in local government.

1.6 Research scope

This section has established the research scope for this study. Since the local government system of Pakistan covers ten sectors, it is not possible for the researcher to cover all these sectors. As a result, the scope of the research is limited to only two sectors, namely health and sanitation. Due to time constraints and limited resources, it was not possible for the researcher to study the Citizen Participation in all local governments of Punjab Province of Pakistan. Therefore, the scope of the study is limited only to one district of Punjab which is Gujranwala. Further, the justification of selecting health and sanitation sectors is explained in-depth in the methodology chapter.

1.7 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. It begins with the introductory chapter that spells out the problem statement, research questions, research objectives and research significance. The introduction was followed by a chapter on the conceptual framework and literature review. The background chapter on local government in Pakistan has formed chapter three. Chapter four has outlined the research methodology. The chapter has also identified the philosophical underpinnings (i.e. epistemological, ontological and interpretivist perspectives) that underscored the research design. The next three chapters have presented the research findings and discussed the results. The chapters have presented findings and discussed the findings as per the objectives of the study to ascertain how the achievement those objectives would help in the formulation of new policies regarding Citizen Participation in development practice. The final chapter has revisited and concludes the key findings and reflects on how the study has contributed to the body of knowledge through recommendations and implications for future practice. Finally,

limitations and new areas for future research were suggested. The next chapter presents the conceptual framework and discuss the available literature. It also explores the theories that were applied for the study.

CHAPTER 2 – CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to conceptualize Citizen Participation in local governance system. More particularly, this chapter intends to review key concepts, theories and imperatives that underpin Citizen Participation to foster effectiveness of local government, and consequently bring better outcomes for local development. In an overview, this chapter is arranged in three parts. The first part presents a summary of local participatory development and Citizen Participation concepts. It also links these concepts with the research objectives of the study. In addition, it also conceptualizes the instruments of Citizen Participation used in this study. The second part focuses on the key stake-holders of the local government. This part presents the literature that links governance with Citizen Participation and also illustrates the current system of local governance system in Pakistan. The discussion includes different stages of Citizen Participation, and the use of different tools for the participation process in different societies. The underlying aim of this section is not only to conceptualize the study, but also to provide a critical foundation for the interpretation of the study's findings later on. The last part introduces the reader to the key theories and approach used for the study under the neo-liberal agenda.

2.2 Conceptualizing development

‘Development’ has no specific definition (Vincent, 2004). It is not an all-encompassing that can gratify the needs and demands of disciplines, governments, policy-makers, planners and academicians (Griffiths, O’Callaghan, & Roach, 2014). Scholars with diverse disciplines defined ‘development’ differently. For example, Boyce (2002) perceived development in relation to power and has defined it as

turning around entrenched power structures which are not conducive to development. Likewise, Wiens (2001) sees development in the frame of community and explain it as constructing the ability, knowledge, capacity and experience at the community and individual level. From an economic viewpoint, development is understood as economic growth that is measured in terms of per capita income (Cairncross, 2013). Whereas scholars like Ferguson (1990) and Escobar (2011) understands development as the specific culture with its own beliefs, values, procedures, rituals and language.

From the multiplicity of the definitions, it is evident that development holds several explanations and meanings and is being treated differently in differing perspectives and contexts. The rationale behind this difference is because of multiple goals, dimensions and ends. Speer (2012) and Ali (2005) while analyzing the hundreds of definitions focused on different goals and dimensions see the concept of development as the continuous change from economic growth to sustainable level of living and then equity based development. Sen and Grown (2013) presented the ideal concept of development as a world where inequality and disparity based on race, gender and class is absent from all countries and constructive relationships are built among the countries. They further suggest development as a world where poverty and violence in all forms are abolished and basic needs are considered as 'basic rights'.

Consequently, it can be established that development has never been the same. The concept of development has changed continuously with rising demands and needs. For instance, when development theories first emerged, they were tied to economic growth (Cairncross, 2013) but after its failure, they were re-conceptualized in terms of basic need approaches (Opello & Rosow, 2004), grass-root approaches

(Milani, 2003), sustainable development (Hopwood, Mellor, & O'Brien, 2005) and participatory development (Cleaver, 1999).

Before delineating participatory development, which is the focus of this study, it is important to conceptualize the term “local development”. Essentially, the focus of participatory development is to base its actions and activities on available local knowledge (Fraser & Lepofsky, 2004) and empower the local people to take their decisions themselves (Arce, 2003; Nuijten, 2004). Participatory development revolves around transforming the prevailing economic and power structure to a system that offers equal space to everyone. Participatory development is the process of shifting power to the voiceless and it further instigates the social mobilization (Brocklesby & Fisher, 2003).

Given that this study looks at the role of Citizen Participation (an indicator of participatory development) in local government institutions, therefore, the question arises if institutions really matter in participatory development. In participatory development, government institutions really matter as government has to work through proper institutions. For instance, UN consider institutions as the most effective instruments for development and social change and suggests for institution building to accelerate political, social and economic progress (Bank, 1999, pp. 89-90) Likewise, ADB argues that administrative and political institutions play the most important role in the execution of development plans and programs in developing countries and they are also building blocks to eradicate poverty (Deolalikar et al., 2002). The increasing involvement of citizens in local development has been an emerging trend.

2.2.1 Local development

In development literature, the term ‘local development’ is used to refer to positive changes such as local economy calculated by growth and productivity gains in terms of income levels, local employment, agriculture output, local business and local manufacturing (Nelson, 1993, p. 29); quality of life of citizens reflected in the level of poverty, access and availability of health-care facilities, educational opportunities to all the members of localities, levels of local literacy, access and availability of welfare, chances for cultural and intellectual growth and progress in local environment (Crocker, 2007; Mansuri & Rao, 2004); and management and availability of infrastructure such as health centers, roads, water and sanitation, and school that lead to improvements in the quality of life and local economy (Dongier et al., 2003). Crocker (2007) used the term of local development to mention micro development and grass root initiatives.

These bottom-up approaches and grass root initiatives mean that development projects and service delivery should be based on the demands and actual need of the citizens. In this context, participatory local development relates to direct citizen involvement at a policy and planning level rather than community groups delivering a range of services










2.2.2 Participatory local development

The debate of shifting development paradigm from top down to bottom up approaches is subjected to long theoretical setting but the growth and practice of participatory development started during 1970s and 1980s (Tandon, 2008). Renowned development scholars like Sen (1999), Escobar (2011) and Chambers (1994) criticized expert-led, top-down and big development perspectives as they led towards

dependency, ineffectiveness and disempowerment of the local people. They suggested small and local community driven approaches in the form of ‘participatory development’. According to them, participatory development will help in empowering people and structuring their capabilities to sustain and initiate socio-economic development (Mansuri & Rao, 2004). World Bank, IMF and ADB have incorporated these ideas as development agendas in developing countries. In this wake, developing countries including Pakistan, South Africa, Brazil, Venezuela, and Indonesia have introduced participatory reforms in local governance over the past two decades (Acharya, Lavalle, & Houtzager, 2004; Baiocchi, 2001; de Sousa Santos, 2005; Heller, 2000; Joshi & Houtzager, 2012; Leonardo, 2002; Ambert & Feldman, 2002; Hemson, 2007).

In an overview, Table 2.1 summarizes the different types of institutional local development, legal framework requirements, support providers and resource flow patterns required to sustain and initiate each of these types. Based on the research of (Ackerman, 2004; Dongier et al., 2003; McGee, 2002), resource flows are demonstrated by arrows.

Table 2.1
Institutional types of local development

Institutional type of local development	State-led development: Centrist model/ no partnership	State-led development: Central-local partnership	State-led development: Central government	Participatory development: Central Government-Community partnership	Participatory development: Private firms/NGOs-Community partnership	Participatory development: Local government-Community partnership
Resource flows	Donors/Central government/state government  Field offices/Agencies	Donors/Central government/state government  Elected local governments	Donors/Central government/state government  Community-based organizations	Donors/Central government/state government  Private firms/NGOs  Community-based organizations	Donors/Central government/state government  Elected local governments  Community-based organizations	Donors/Central government/state government  Elected local governments  Community-based organizations
Possible support providers at service provision level	Private firms/NGOs. Elected local governments, if present, may provide some support to field offices/agencies of higher governments	Private firms/NGOs. Informal support by community	Private firms/NGOs. Elected local governments, if present, may provide some support to organized local community (CSOs)	Elected local government, if present, may provide support to CSOs	Private firms/NGOs may provide support to CSOs	Private firms/NGOs may provide support to CSOs
Legal-institutional framework	Standing orders, government rule and regulations in-force for local administration and development. Contract enforcement law. NGOs registration and regulation laws	Constitutional provision and statutory law for elected local governments. Contract enforcement law. Government rules and regulations in-force NGOs registration and regulation laws	Constitutional provision or judicial review legitimating the democratic principle of citizen participation Statutory law outlining general structure, methods, level, etc, of incorporating peoples' participation Contract enforcement law. Government rules and regulations in-force NGOs registration and regulation laws	Constitutional provision or judicial review legitimating the democratic principle of citizen participation Statutory law outlining general structure, methods, level, etc, of incorporating peoples' participation Contract enforcement law. Government rules and regulations in-force NGOs registration and regulation laws	Constitutional provision or judicial review legitimating the democratic principle of citizen participation Statutory law outlining general structure, methods, level, etc, of incorporating peoples' participation Contract enforcement law. Government rules and regulations in-force NGOs registration and regulation laws	Constitutional provision and statutory law for elected local governments. Constitutional provision or judicial review legitimating the democratic principle of citizen participation Statutory law outlining general structure, methods, level, etc, of incorporating peoples' participation Contract enforcement law. Government rules and regulations in-force NGOs registration and regulation laws

Source: McGee (2002), Ackerman (2004) and Dongier et al. (2003)

Government of Pakistan and international development agencies are incessantly striving hard to promote effective participatory local development in their countries. The citizens of Pakistan are participating in local development programs in diverse forms but the effectiveness of their participation is still low. Participatory development in Punjab, Pakistan embodied the ‘Community Partnership-Local Government’ type of local development.

2.3 Conceptualizing Participation

In development discourse, modernization and other related theories lost their credibility because of their solitary focus on technical issues, macro-economic growth and building physical infrastructure. Development was considered as a process in which local people and communities were recognized as the actors of development and agents of change rather than just recipients of Western ideas, enlightenment and goods. Anyhow, within development, the idea of participation appeared in different contexts and still can be regarded as the emerging but nebulous concept as most of the policy implementation and policy making institutions in public sector are embracing this concept of participation. Participation is being regarded as the catalyst for development. The concept of participation is subject to diverse and hazy interpretations. This polyvalence can cause many problems. As argued by Cornwall (2003), participation is a noticeably a malleable concept that can be used to signify and evoke anything that engrosses people, hence, making it mired in the morass of competing referents. A typology of participation, presented in Table 2.2, is adopted from Pretty (1995) who cited it from several sources.

Table 2.2

A Typology of Participation

Typology	Characteristics of each type
Manipulative participation	Representatives of public are the part of official boards but unelected with no power.
Passive participation	People are informed about the decision taken by the administration. The responses of people are not taken into consideration.
Participation by consultation	Public participate as they are consulted by external agents. Administrations get information about different problems but this consultation process doesn't affect decision making and professionals are not under any obligation to accept the public point of view
Participation for material incentives	Public participate by the contribution of their resources. For example as labor in return of cash. But people don't have power to influence the project and have no stake in extending technology or practice when the incentive is finished.
Functional participation	External agencies see participation as the pre-requisite to achieve goals. People participate as a group or groups to discuss predetermined objectives. This interactive involvement impacts on decision making but major decisions are made by external authorities.
Interactive participation	People participate as a noteworthy actor in strengthening and formation of local institutions and participation is considered as the right not just the mean. Local groups of people take the control of local decisions and themselves decide for the allocation of resources.
Self-mobilization	In such kind of participation, people take initiatives independently irrespective of the decisions of external agencies. Local people contract with external agencies themselves and keep the control of their resources.

Source: Adopted from Pretty (1995)

This typology of participation was further developed by White (1996) who raised the key questions of level of participation and actual participants. She developed a four-point scale to measure level of participation that includes nominal, instrumental, representative and ultimately leads towards transformative participation. Cornwall (2008) further developed White's schema as elaborated in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3

Cornwall's adaptation of White's typology

Form	What 'participation' means to the implementing agency	What 'participation' means for those on the receiving end	What 'participation' is for
Nominal	Legitimation – to show they are doing something	Inclusion – to retain some access to potential benefits	Display
Instrumental	Efficiency – to limit funders' input, draw on community contributions and make projects more cost effective	Cost – of time spent on project-related labour and other activities	As a means to achieving cost effectiveness and local facilities
Representative	Sustainability – to avoid creating dependency	Leverage – to influence the shape the project takes and its management	To give people a voice in determining their own development
Transformative	Empowerment – to enable people to make their own decisions, work out what to do and take action	Empowerment – to be able to decide and act for themselves	Both as a means and an end, a continuing dynamic

Source: Cornwall (2008)

The current study divides participation in two broad categories, namely, i) organic participation and ii) induced participation. Organic participation covers a large number of civic activities and historically it is seen as the norm of civic expression. Organic participation also includes social movements such as community activities for the rights of the deprived people, fights for freedom of expression and demand for larger democratic expression. Some notable examples of organic participation are movement of civil-rights in USA, anti-apartheid movement in South Africa and Anna Hazara's anti-corruption movement of India.

Apart from that, organic participation also comprises membership-based organizations and other related institutions working to improve living standards and

livelihood of people. Examples of these kinds of organic participation include Kashaf Bank of Pakistan, Self Employed Women's Association in India and Garmeen Bank in Bangladesh. Additionally, it also includes labor movements to safeguard the rights of workers.

On the other hand, induced participation is the kind of participation that is promoted through policy guidelines and actions of the government. The implementation of induced participation is done by the government bureaucrats or other external/multilateral agencies operational within the constitutional bindings of specific state. Induced participation leads the government towards participatory development and decentralization. The imperative difference between organic and induced participation is that powerful government institutions prop up induced participation while motivated local agents coerce organic participation. The complete picture of induced participation is shown in Figure 2.1.