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Social audit of governance and delivery of public services

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Pakistan 2004/05

National report

Islamabad, September 2005
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Acronyms

CBO	Community Based Organisation
CCB	Citizen Community Board
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CIET	Community Information Empowerment & Training
CPLC	Citizen Police Liaison Committee
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DCO	District Coordination Officer
DPO	District Police Officer
DPS&PCC	District Public Safety and Police Complaints Commission
DTCE	Devolution Trust for Community Empowerment
EDO	Executive District Officer
FIR	First Information Report
GoP	Government of Pakistan
LG&RD	Local Government and Rural Development
NCHD	National Commission for Human Development
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NRB	National Reconstruction Bureau
PARAGON	Regional Governance Programme for Asia
PER	Performance Evaluation Report
PIHS	Pakistan Integrated Household Survey
PSLM	Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey
PTA	Parent Teachers Association
RSPN	Rural Support Programme Network
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
SHO	Station House Officer
SMC	School Management Committee
SPO	Strengthening Participatory Organisation
TMA	Tehsil Municipal Administration
TMO	Tehsil Municipal Officer
UC	Union Council
UNECSCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

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Summary

The 2004/5 social audit follows the baseline social audit of 2001/2 and allows comparisons over time in citizens' views, use and experience of public services under devolved local government. It allows assessment of the level of engagement of the public with local government and their participation in local development in their communities. The views of local elected representatives and government officials, who have been implementing the new local government arrangements, are also included.

Methods

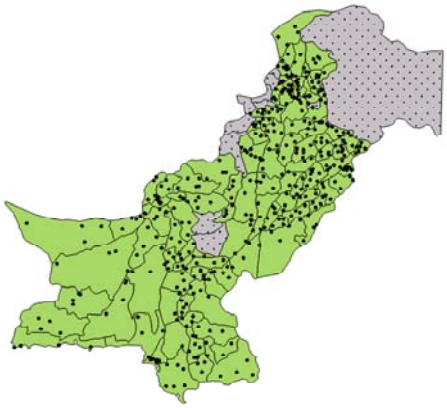


Figure i. Sample sites for the national social audit 2004/5

Box i. Instruments in the 2004/5 social audit:

- Household questionnaire
- Community profile
- Institutional review of health facilities
- Institutional review of schools
- Key informant interview schedules for:
  - Zila nazims
  - District Coordinating Officers
  - District Police Officers
  - Chairmen of District Public Safety and Police Complaints Commissions
  - Tehsil nazims
  - Tehsil Municipal Officers
  - Union nazims
  - Female union councillors
  - Chairmen of CCBs in the community
- Guides for male and female focus group discussions

The *sample* for the 2004 survey was based on that of the baseline social audit in 2001/02, with re-selection of a random 25% of communities within the sample union councils (Figure i). The design is a stratified random sample of at least four union councils within every district, with the proportion of urban and rural sites allocated according to the urban/rural proportions in the census. Within each selected union council one community (site) is randomly selected. There is no sub-sampling within the selected sites. The sample gives representation nationally, as well as within each province and each district. The 2004 sample included all districts, except Kohlu and Dera Bugti, which could not be surveyed for security reasons, and Islamabad, which is not yet included in the new local government system.

To take into account the disproportion in the sample population distribution, we calculated a weight for each district. All the indicator percentages mentioned in this report at provincial or national level are the weighted values.

We deliberately kept the *instruments* mostly the same as those developed for the baseline social audit in 2001/2, to allow direct comparisons over time (Box i). We added some questions and instruments to elaborate on certain issues.

We recruited and *trained field teams* regionally in each province, to conduct the household interviews, institutional reviews, and focus group discussions. The teams carried out household *data collection* from August to October 2004 and feedback focus group

discussions in early 2005. Senior CIET members conducted the government key informant interviews.

Coding and *data entry* took place in the data management unit in Karachi. Data were entered twice and validated to reduce key stroke errors. In the *analysis* we calculated weighted values of indicators and examined factors related to changes over time and to the level of the indicator in 2004. We defined household vulnerability on the basis of roof construction, overcrowding and job of the main breadwinner. We produced *maps* showing the change in key indicators over time across the country.

The information base

Box ii. Household information base

- 53,960 households
- 424,841 people
- 224,053 males
- 30,105 boys aged 5-9 years
- 200,622 females
- 25,821 girls aged 5-9 years

The national survey covered some 53,960 households (representing information on 424,841 people) in 430 representative communities (Box ii).

The respondent answering on behalf of the household was a woman in more than half the households (54%). Most (93%) household heads were male. Around half of them (53%) had any formal education.

Nationally, nearly half the households (48%) were in the 'vulnerable' category and 13% were in the 'very vulnerable' category.

Local government and citizen participation

Contact with union councillors

In 2004, a quarter of households contacted a union councillor in the last twelve months.

A quarter of households (25%) had contact with a union councillor in the last 12 months (as reported by male respondents). There was an increase in councillor contacts compared with 2002, especially in Balochistan and Punjab (Figure ii). Nearly all contacts (98%) were with male councillors.

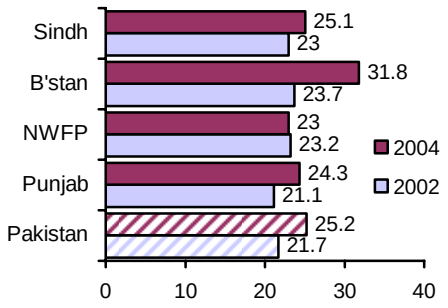


Figure ii. % households with contact with a union councillor in last 12 months (male respondents)

Households in 2004 were more likely to report a union councillor contact if they were more engaged with their community, judged by several indicators, and if the union council had formed a *musalihat anjuman.* Households with a head who had some education and that were less vulnerable were also more likely to contact a councillor.

People who thought the new council was better than the previous system were as satisfied with councillor

contacts in 2004 as in 2002. However, overall people were less likely to be satisfied with their union councillor contact in 2004 (48%) than in 2002 (54%). Satisfaction with councillor contacts in 2004 was higher among people more engaged with their communities, if the councillor was a woman and if the union *nazim* rated the council positively.

Intention to use union *nazim* or councillor

In response to an open-ended question, by far the most common source of help for a community need people said they would turn to was the union *nazim* or a councillor (47%) (Figure iii). Some 16% said they would ask other community members and 7% said they would go to an MNA or MPA.

Men, people from educated and less vulnerable households, and urban dwellers were more likely to say they would use a councillor to solve a problem, as were people from communities with a councillor in residence and from unions where the *nazim* rated the council as good.

Views about new union councils

In 2004, nearly a third (31%) of household respondents thought the new councils were better than the previous system, 25% thought they were the same as before, 18% thought they were worse than before, and 27% were still unsure. These perceptions are close to the expectations voiced by respondents in 2001/2 (Table i). Men, those with some education, the less vulnerable and rural dwellers were more positive in their rating of the councils.

Views of elected representatives and government officials

The elected representatives (*zila*, *tehsil* and union *nazims*) were positive about the system and cited many achievements. At district level, 82/84 *zila nazims* and 68/86 DCOs rated their government performance as good; at *tehsil* level, 83% of *nazims* and 85% of TMOs rated the TMA performance as good; and at union level, 67% of union *nazims* rated the UC performance as good. Most of the interviewees pointed to achievements in delivery of services as well as in increasing access of the public and transparency. They identified some hindrances to good performance,

In 2004, 47% of people would contact the union nazim or a councillor if they needed something for their community; while 16% would ask a community member and 7% would ask an MNA or MPA.

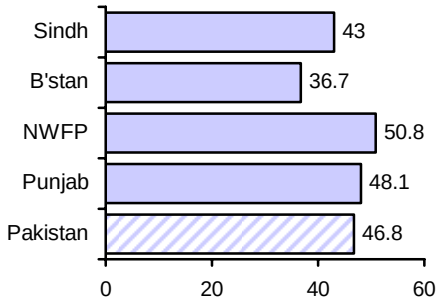


Figure iii. % respondents who would contact nazim/councillor for a community need (2004)

In 2004, 31% of people thought the new union council was better than the previous one.

Table i. Public expectations (2001/2) and perceptions (2004) of the union councils compared with previous system

Rating	Expectation 2001/2 Weighted % (n)	Perception 2004 Weighted % (n)
Better	33.8 (20055)	30.5 (16110)
The same	)	24.8 (13944)
Worse	) 36.4 (18324)	17.7 (9647)
Don't know	29.8 (18673)	26.9 (13942)

"The positive response and moral support of the public has encouraged us a lot in our work."
A zila nazim from Sindh
"Now decisions for everything are made at district level, making provision of public services easy. It is now possible to consult the general public at the lower level."
A DCO from Punjab
"We have spread a network of development works all over the tehsil which is a record."
A TMO from Punjab
"We have established a setup that our followers will be able to use smoothly for the people's benefit. We are proud to be the pioneers."
A union nazim from Sindh

especially lack of timely funding and bureaucratic and political interference, especially in transfers and postings.

Social capital

In 2004, 12% of men and 6% of women had taken part in a development project during the last year.

In 2004, 87% of men and 78% of women thought people in their community were willing to help each other.

In 2004 3.3% of households had a male member in a **voluntary group** and 0.9% of households had a female member in a group. This is a small increase from 2001/2, when 2.1% of households had a male in a voluntary group and 0.6% had a female in a group. In 2004, 12% of male respondents and 6% of female respondents had taken part in a **development project** during the last 12 months. Some 87% of men and 78% of women thought that people in their community were **willing to help each other**. Over half the respondents (58%) would report to someone if they came to know about a case of **corruption**: 22% would report to the *nazim* or councillor, 15% to the police, and 12% to a community member.

Awareness and participation in CCBs

Awareness of CCBs increased between 2001/2 and 2004:
- In men by 71%, from 3.4% to 5.8%
- In women by 47%, from 1.5% to 2.2%

Willingness to join a CCB increased between 2001/2 and 2004:
- In men by 14%, from 50% to 57%
- In women by 27%, from 30% to 38%

Between 2001/2 and 2004, **awareness of CCBs** among men increased by 71% from 3.4% to 5.8%, while awareness among women increased by 47% from 1.5% to 2.2%. Awareness increased in all provinces except Sindh. In 2004, people rating the union council positively were more likely to have heard of CCBs, as were those from communities where the union nazim (or representative) had heard of CCBs. About a quarter of the union nazims (or councillors) interviewed had not heard of CCBs themselves. Men were more likely to have heard of CCBs, as were those who were less vulnerable, those who came from more educated households, and urban dwellers (in Sindh).

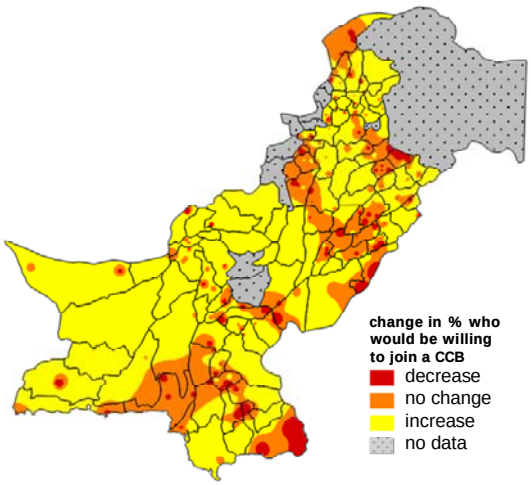


Figure iv. Change in % of men willing to join a CCB: 2001/2 to 2004

Interviewers gave the respondents a brief description about CCBs and asked if they would be **interested to join a CCB.** Between 2001/2 and 2004, the interest among men increased from 50% to 57% (Figure iv) and the interest among women from 30% to 38%. Men and the more educated were more willing to join a CCB, but the vulnerable were as likely as the non-vulnerable to be willing to join.

The CCB chairmen interviewed generally indicated that registration was easy but they described some difficulties getting proposals funded and implemented.

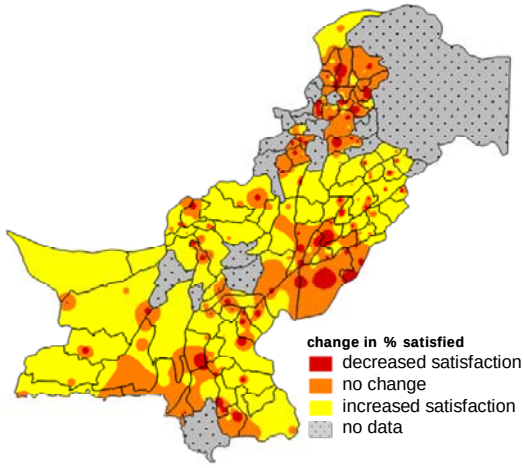


Figure v. Change in % satisfied with the roads: 2002-2004

Public satisfaction with roads increased from 31% in 2002 to 38% in 2004.

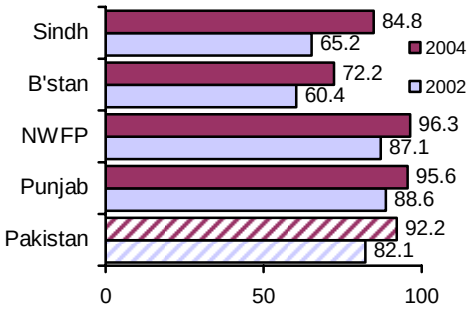


Figure vi. % of households with perceived access to roads in 2002 and 2004

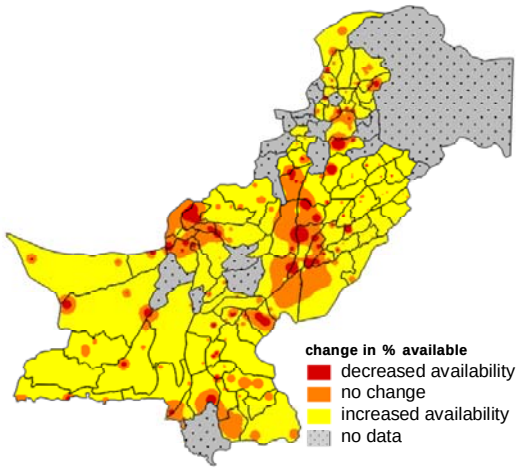


Figure vii. Change in % with perceived access to government sewerage service: 2002-2004

Between 2002 and 2004, public satisfaction with sewerage services increased from 13% to 20% and perceived access increased from 51% to 66%.

Public satisfaction with basic services

In both 2002 and 2004, we asked households about their satisfaction with a range of basic public services provided by tehsil, district and federal levels. Since these are isolated satisfaction ratings, caution is needed in their interpretation, but there was an increase in public satisfaction and perceived access for many services.

Roads

Across the country, more people were satisfied with roads in 2004 (38%) than in 2002 (31%), except in NWFP, where there was no change (Figure v). In 2004, more people reported access to roads (92%) than in 2002 (82%) (Figure vi).

Community focus groups and service providers both cited roads as a priority area and one in which improvements had taken place.

Public transport

Satisfaction with public transport increased in Balochistan and Sindh between 2002 and 2004, while it decreased in NWFP and Punjab. Overall, there was no change and 59% were satisfied with public transport in 2002 and 2004.

Garbage disposal

Only 8% of households were satisfied with garbage disposal services in 2004, unchanged from the proportion in 2002. In Punjab, households were slightly more likely to be satisfied with government garbage disposal in 2004 than in 2002, mainly among less vulnerable households. Households in Sindh, Balochistan, and NWFP were no more likely to be satisfied in 2004 than in 2002 and nationally, there was no change in satisfaction with garbage removal services.

Sewerage services

More households were satisfied with sewerage services in 2004 (20%) than in 2002 (13%). There was a bigger increase in perceived access: from 51% to 66% (Figure vii). Service providers cited sewerage services as an area they had been able to improve. Some 52% of the communities in the sample in 2004 had a government sewerage service and this was associated with household satisfaction.

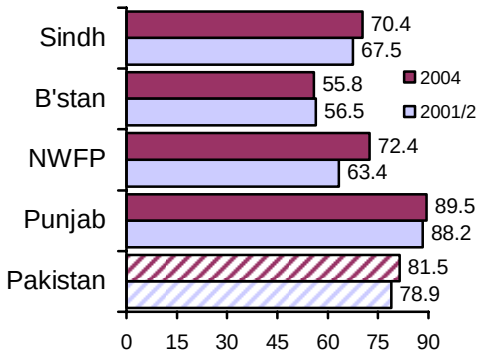


Figure viii. % of households with a water supply within the household

Nearly a quarter (23%) of communities in the 2004 sample had a water supply project within the last two years, and this was associated with increased satisfaction with the government water supply in these communities.

Government water supply
In all provinces except Balochistan, households were more likely to have a water supply within the homestead in 2004 (82%) than in 2001/2 (79%) (Figure viii). More households paid for their water supply in 2004 (48%) than in 2001/2 (39%).

Some 23% of the communities in the sample in 2004 had a water supply development project within the last two years. People in communities where there was a water supply project were more satisfied with the government water supply in 2004. Overall, the proportion of households satisfied with the government water supply in their area remained static at 19% between 2002 and 2004.

Agriculture services
The question was added in 2004, and 15% of respondents were satisfied with agriculture services, while 52% considered they have no service available to them.

Gas supply
More households were satisfied with the gas supply in 2004 (26%) than in 2002 (23%), with an increase in all provinces except Balochistan.

Electricity supply
More households reported access to an electricity supply in 2004 (93%) than in 2002 (86%). But fewer households were satisfied with their electricity supply in 2004 (63%) than in 2002 (66%).

Health services

Household satisfaction with government health services

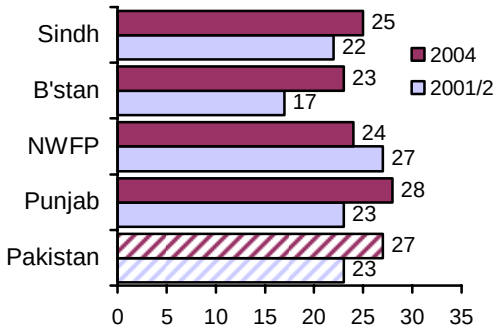


Figure ix. % of households satisfied with government health services in 2001/2 and 2004

There was an increased report of household satisfaction with health services in all provinces except NWFP, from 23% in 2002 to 27% in 2004 (Figure ix). In 2004, vulnerable households and those who paid to travel to the facilities were less likely to be satisfied with available government health services, while urban residents, the more educated, and women were more likely to be satisfied.

Use of government health services

The proportion of households who usually use government health facilities decreased between 2001/2 and 2004 (from 29% to 24%). There was an increased use of unqualified practitioners, particularly marked in NWFP (from 13% in 2001/2 to 22% in 2004), while the use of private qualified practitioners remained static at 45%. Focus groups explained that people avoided government facilities mainly because of lack of medicines, as well as the bad attitude of doctors there. They explained that unqualified practitioners were accessible, provided cheap medicines and treatment on credit, and people had faith in them.

Experience of health care contacts

Costs

Almost all users of government facilities in 2004 paid something for the visit (including for investigations and medicines not provided by the facility). The overall costs of government and private care for cases of fever were quite similar. About half the government service users who paid for a ticket paid more than the official rate. About 7% paid for medicines in government facilities, 5% paid health workers, and 9% incurred other costs (for investigations etc).

Complaints

Among those that usually used government health facilities, more people knew how to complain about services in 2004 (12% in 2001/2 and 16% in 2004).

Medicines availability

Less than a third of users of government health facilities in the last three months reported that they received all the prescribed medicines from the facility. This ranged from 38% in Punjab down to 9% in NWFP (Figure x).

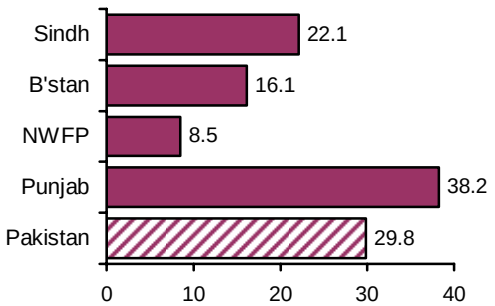


Figure x. % of service users who got all the prescribed medicines in the facility in 2004

Satisfaction of government service users

In 2004, 69% of government service users in the last three months were satisfied compared with 65% in 2001/2 (Figure xi). People were more likely to be satisfied if the medicines were all available and if they received a full explanation of their condition from the health worker. Vulnerable people and those who paid the health workers directly were less satisfied.

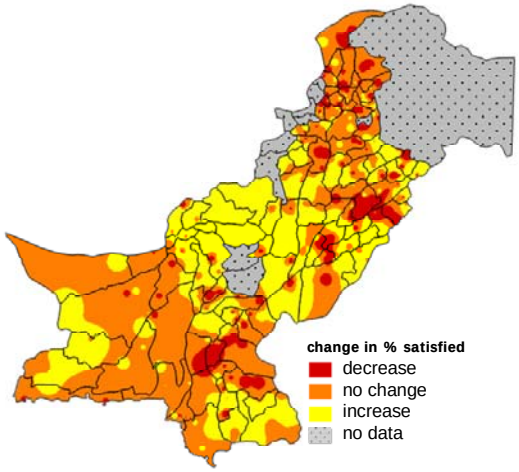


Figure xi. Change in % government health services users satisfied with treatment : 2001/2-2004

Education

Household satisfaction with government education

There was little change in household satisfaction with government education services between 2002 (54%) and 2004 (53%) in any part of the country. In 2004, satisfaction was higher if there was a government girls' school within 1.5Km.

School enrolment

Net school enrolment (in any school or grade) among children aged 5-9 years increased from 70% in 2002 to 77% in 2004 (Figure xii).

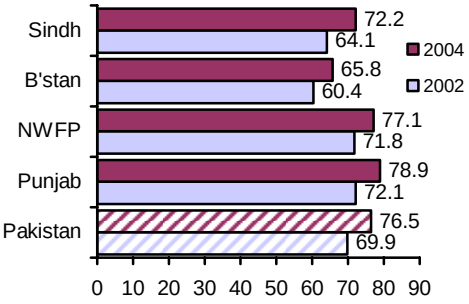


Figure xii. % school enrolment in children aged 5-9 years

Out of all 5-9 year old children in 2004, 43% were enrolled in government schools, 30% in private schools, 3% in madaris and 1% in non-formal schools. Between 2002 and 2004, there was a 2% increase in enrolment into government schools and a 3% increase in enrolment into private schools (Figure xiii). The increase in enrolment into government schools between 2002 and 2004 was particularly among girls, children from vulnerable households, and children from rural households. Because of the slightly greater increase in enrolment into private schools, the share of enrolled children in government schools fell, while the proportion in private schools rose.

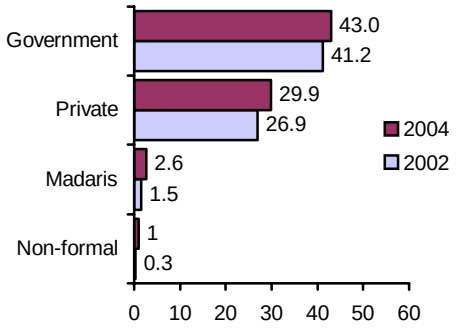


Figure xiii. % enrolment in different types of schools among children aged 5-9 years in 2002 and 2004

The gender gap in school enrolment still persisted in 2004, for children enrolled into any type of school, and children from vulnerable households and uneducated households were still less likely to be enrolled in 2004.

Choice of school

The top two reasons parents gave for sending a child to a government school were ease of access and the low cost (or even incentives). For private schools quality of teaching came well ahead of ease of access and good facilities were a close third reason. Community focus groups elaborated these same reasons.

Satisfaction with the school

In 2004, 73% of parents of children in a government school were satisfied with the school, compared with 91% for children in a private school, 86% for children in a non-formal school, and 93% for children in a *madarsah* (Figure xiv). There was no change in parental

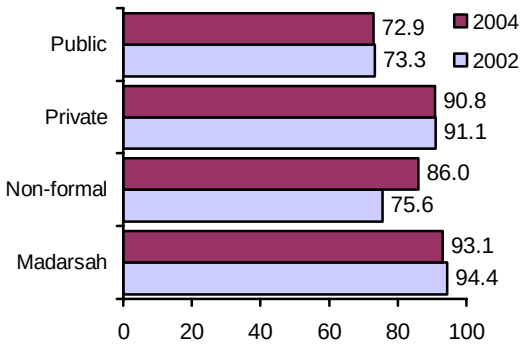


Figure xiv. % of parents satisfied for children in different types of school in 2002 and 2004

satisfaction with government schools between 2002 and 2004.

Parents of children in a government school were more likely to be satisfied if the school required children to wear a uniform and if the school had a formal complaints procedure. Parents of boys were more satisfied if the school had furniture for students.

Police and courts

Perceptions about the police

In 2004, in response to an open question about who they would contact for a problem of personal safety, 25% of household respondents mentioned the police. In 2002, the proportion who said they would contact the police was 22%. The change across the country is shown in Figure xv. Analysis revealed the increase to be largely confined to less vulnerable households in urban communities in Punjab. In 2004, those who said they would contact the police for a problem of personal safety were more likely to be men, to have some formal education, to be from less vulnerable households and from urban sites.

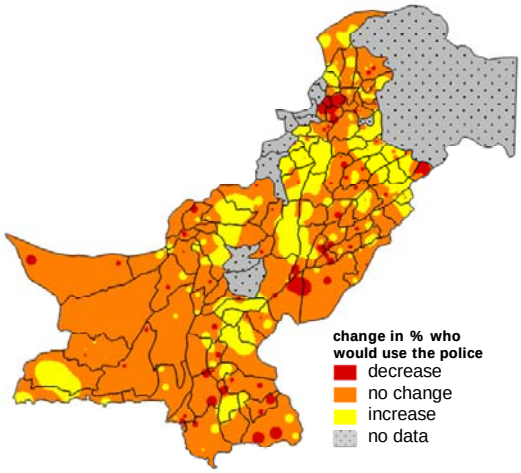


Figure xv. Change in % who would contact the police for a problem of personal safety from 2001/2 to 2004

Just over half of respondents (59%) said they would go somewhere if they needed to complain about the police, mostly to a senior officer (25%) or to the nazim or a councillor (16%). Just 5% had heard of the District Public Safety and Police Complaints Commission (DPS&PCC).

Community focus groups discussed the scheme for paying performance incentives to the police. Most of the group participants were not previously aware of the scheme. After some discussion, nearly all the groups came to the consensus view that this scheme was a good idea, provided it indeed led to an improvement in police performance.

Contacts with the police

In both 2002 and 2004, 9% of respondents reported a household contact with the police in the last 2 years (Figure xvi). In Sindh and Balochistan, respondents were more likely to report a household contact with the police in 2004 than in 2001/2. But in NWFP, respondents were less likely to report a police contact and in Punjab the difference could have been due to

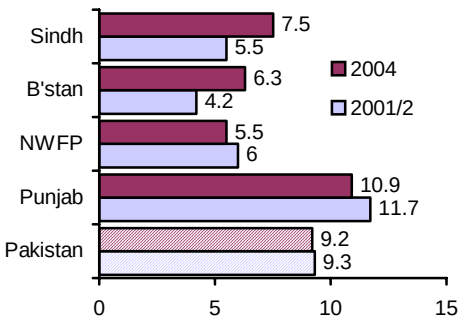


Figure xvi. % of households reporting contact with the police in the previous 2 years, in 2001/2 and 2004

chance. In 2004, respondents reported household police contacts more frequently if they were men, from educated, less vulnerable households in urban areas.

In 2004, just over half (53%) of the reported police contacts were initiated by the household, slightly less than in 2001/2, when 55% of the contacts were initiated by the household. There is no evidence of households being more likely to seek out police contact in 2004 than in 2001/2.

In 2004, an FIR was registered in 51% of the reported police contacts, compared with 45% in 2001/2.

In 2004, 44% of those in contact with the police in the last two years were satisfied with the way they were treated, compared with 33% in 2001/2. In 2004, households were more likely to be satisfied with contacts if the household initiated the contact. Registration of an FIR did not make a difference to satisfaction.

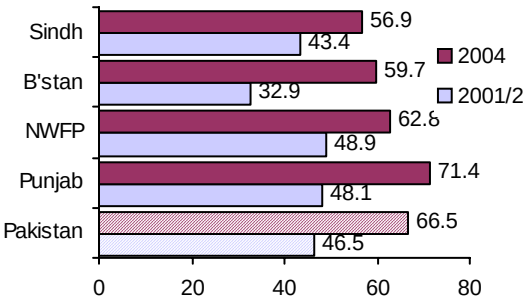


Figure xvii. % of households that felt the courts were there to help them in 2001/02 and 2004

Perceptions about the courts

In 2004, 67% of households thought the **c**ourts were there to help them, 23% thought they were not there to help, and 11% did not know one way or the other. In 2001/2, 47% thought the courts were there to help them, 24% thought they were not, and as many as 30% did not know one way or the other (Figure xvii). The main shift between 2001/2 and 2004 is from "don't know" to "yes", with the proportion thinking the courts were not there to help staying about the same. This shift could represent increased expectations of the public about the judicial system. In 2004, people with positive views about the police were more likely to think the courts were there to help, as were more educated, less vulnerable households.

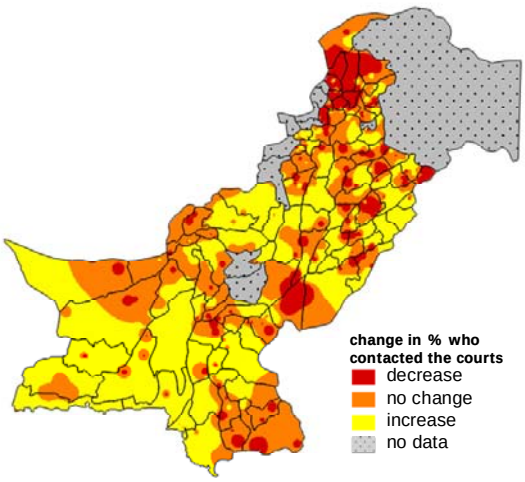


Figure xviii. Change in % households with a court contact in the last two years between 2001/2 to 2004

Contacts with the courts

In 2004, 6% of households reported a court contact within the last two years, compared with 5% in 2001/2. The increase was mainly in Punjab and Sindh and there was a decrease in NWFP (Figure xviii). In 2004, respondents reported more household contacts with the courts if they were men, from more educated, less vulnerable households.

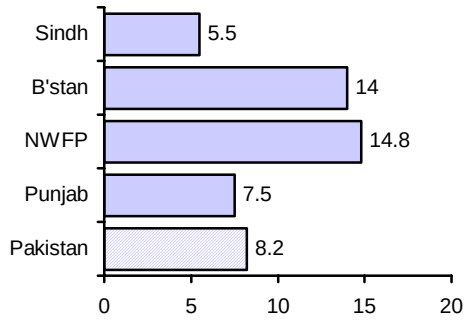


Figure xix. % of households who used the union council to solve a legal matter (2004)

Overall, court users were more likely to be satisfied in 2004 (56%) than in 2001/2 (49%). But the difference between 2001/2 and 2004 was significant only in Punjab.

Alternative mechanisms

In 2004, 8% of households said they had used union council mechanisms to solve a legal matter. The figure was higher in Balochistan and NWFP than in Punjab and Sindh (Figure xix). Except in Punjab, the proportions of households using the UC for a legal matter were higher than the proportions of households who had a court contact within the last two years.

Commentary

The high level of engagement of the public with the new local governments, especially the union councils, is encouraging. The councils have not done badly in coming up to expectations but frustration could set in if they are not able to solve the problems brought to them by the public. So far the councils are being used more by people who were already more active in their communities and efforts are necessary to make sure they reach the most disadvantaged. Similarly, while it is encouraging to see evidence of an increasing citizen participation in communities, it will be important to try to find mechanisms to draw in those more disadvantaged people presently less likely to be involved.

The picture for delivery of public services is generally positive. There is no evidence of services getting worse and for some, like roads and sewerage services in particular, there is evidence from several sources of improvement. Services from tehsils in particular seem to be doing well.

There is increased public satisfaction (users and non-users) with government health services, and increased satisfaction of service users. But the continuing lower levels of satisfaction with government services compared with private and unqualified practitioners are apparently driving people away from government services towards unqualified practitioners. The means to reverse this trend could include mechanisms to reduce system leakage and ensure more medicines are

available in government facilities, as well as efforts to train health providers to be more “customer-oriented”.

There is a continuing increase in net school enrolment among 5-9 year old children. While the increase since 2002 is more into private schools, government schools are apparently catering more for girls and children from vulnerable households. Some of this is likely to be related to the various incentives in place.

There is little evidence of increased public willingness to contact the police; the increase in those who said they would use the police for a problem of personal safety was confined to non-vulnerable households in Punjab and there was no increase in actual police contacts, especially not those initiated by households. The police continue to have a bad reputation among the public and this will be hard to change, even as the service from the police improves. It is encouraging that the public are in favour of the police incentives scheme, provided it actually delivers a better performance from the police. A more realistic evaluation of the effects of devolution on police services will be possible once the Police Order 2002, with its amendments, is fully implemented.

While there is evidence that people believe the courts ought to help them, the use of the courts remains low. It seems that people are choosing to use alternative dispute resolution mechanisms provided through the union councils rather than going through the conventional legal system. This demonstrates the potential of full implementation of the alternative dispute resolution mechanisms contemplated in the Local Government Ordinance 2001, especially the *musalihati anjuman*.

In summary, there are encouraging signs from the social audit enquiry after two years or more of devolved local government. This is despite the problems with full implementation described by elected representatives and government officials. It will be important to continue to track progress as full implementation is achieved. Meanwhile, the social audit of 2004/5 provides some pointers for issues requiring attention to increase the chances of achieving the goals of devolution.

Introduction

The National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB) promulgated the Local Government Plan in 2000, and the provincial governments the Local Government Ordinance of 2001. The aims are to extend democracy to the local level, to create a proactive citizenry that directly solves problems through community organisation and projects, to strengthen local legislative bodies, to improve respect for citizen's rights and improve service delivery, and to reduce high levels of corruption.

These aims have measurable endpoints. Their achievement will depend on the level of GoP and civil society effort, the measurement of any progress and, based on reliable local evidence, midstream adjustments to reinforce changes through positive feedback. A single implementation formula will not work equally well everywhere, so empirical community-based evidence must identify the specific conditions under which the measures do work.

The devolution process and efforts to improve governance are too important and too costly to rely only on *post hoc* evaluation that can ascertain success once the process is completed. It requires an ongoing operational accounting of service delivery that can show improvement as well as deficiencies in performance, and what lies behind them, to inform and to fine tune GoP efforts. The social audit provides an ends oriented evaluation of devolution, to allow policy adaptation over time and policy differentiation across the territory.

The first national social audit took place in 2001 (as a pilot in 10 districts) and in 2002 in all remaining districts. It provides a baseline, a benchmark for measuring change under devolution. The second national social audit took place in 2004 (household data collection) and 2005 (focus groups and key informant interviews) and provides the first national estimates of changes in perceptions, use and experience of public services under devolution. It provides empirical evidence to answer questions about whether and in what circumstances devolution is working and offers pointers for issues which need attention in order to achieve the maximum benefits.

Chapter 1

Methods

Chapter 1. Methods

Overview

The CIET social audit methodology has been developed over two decades, working in over 40 countries world-wide. An overview of the methods and analysis approach is included in Annex 1 and Annex 2.

Social audits aim to increase the informed interaction between communities and public services. A combination of quantitative (survey) and qualitative (key informant and focus groups) evidence focuses on the impact, coverage and costs of public services. Civil society, drawn into interpretation of these data in an ordered manner, plays the pivotal role in building local solutions. This democratises the decision-making processes and includes the voice of the people in planning. At the national level, these representative data and human interactions around the data provide a step-ladder to increased accountability in public services.

The originality and contribution of CIET methods lie in (i) the incorporation of modern epidemiology to evaluate evidence for planning and (ii) the fact that the community voice plays a central role in that evidence, its analysis and resulting action. Accuracy of decisions that result from the use of epidemiological method gives meaning and volume to the community voice, increasing the confidence of civil society in its participation in governance and thus service reform.

A social audit cycle

- Clarify the strategic focus
- Design sample and instruments, pilot test
- Collect information from households on use and perceptions of public services
- Link this with information from the public services
- Analyse the findings in a way that points to action
- Take findings back to the communities for their views about how to improve the situation
- Bring evidence and community voice into discussions between service providers, planners and community representatives to plan and implement changes

The concept of the social audit is simple: collect information about public services from people supposed to be served, and from service providers, and use this as a basis for involving the public and service providers in making changes to improve the services. The key steps include: collect information from households in representative communities about their use, experience and perceptions of public services; link this with information from the services themselves; analyse the findings in a way that points to what actions might improve matters; take the findings back to the communities for their views about what could improve the situation; bring the findings and suggestions to discussions between service providers, planners and community representatives to plan and implement changes. The loop is closed when a repeat fact-finding exercise assesses the changes and their effects.

Methods in the Pakistan social audit

Sample and sampling

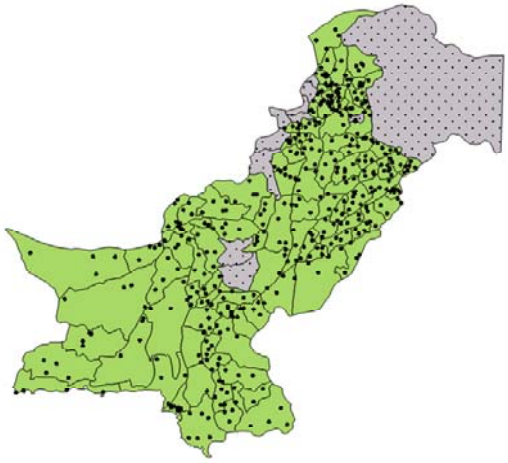


Figure 1. Sample sites for the national social audit 2004/5

The sample for the second national social audit cycle (Figure 1) was based on the sample for the baseline social audit in 2001/02, with random re-selection of 25% of communities within the sample union councils. A stratified random sample of union councils in every district has urban and rural sites in proportion with the census. Within each selected union council one community (site) was randomly selected. There was no sub-sampling within selected sites. The sample offers district, provincial and national representation.

Each district sample included a minimum of four union councils. For more densely populated districts, more union councils were selected. For example, up to eight union councils represented some districts in Punjab. In Karachi, the sample included one union council in every town of Karachi City District, a total of 18 union councils.

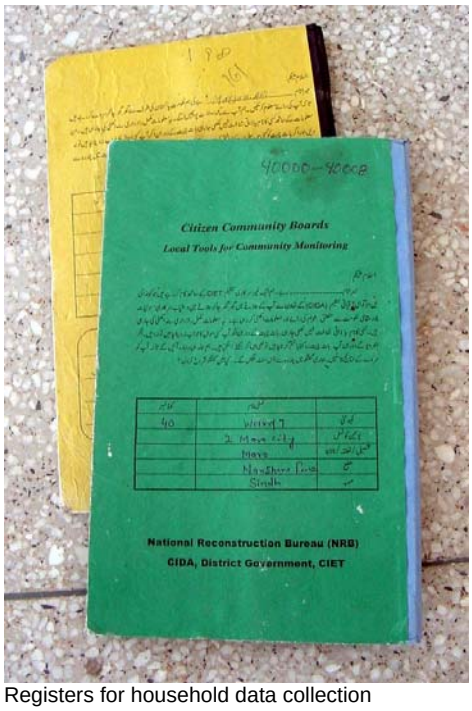
In the original sample, for each randomly selected union council we selected one community randomly from the list. In each selected community or site, interviewers contacted all contiguous households up to 120, radiating from a randomly allocated fixed point in the community. There was no sampling within this site: all households were included.

We included at least four union councils per district, even for sparsely populated districts, in order to collect enough information from every district to be able to analyse and present the information of every district separately. This is important for discussing and using information at district level. Because of the wide disparity in district populations across the country, this inclusion of at least four sites per district results in over-sampling of most districts in Balochistan and NWFP and under-sampling of most districts in Punjab, relative to their proportions in the actual population of the country. To take into account this disproportion in the sample population distribution, we calculated a weight for each district according to its relative over or under representation in the sample. All the indicator percentages mentioned in this report at provincial or national level are the weighted values, unless stated

otherwise. Annex 3 shows the weights for each district and Annex 4 gives the weighted and unweighted values of the main indicators at national and provincial level.

Data collection instruments

The 2004/5 social audit included a number of different instruments. We deliberately kept the instruments from the baseline social audit in 2001/2, to allow direct comparisons over time. We removed some questions not needed in the follow up survey and added some questions and instruments to expand the enquiry. The adjusted and new instruments and data entry formats were piloted as part of the design process.



Registers for household data collection

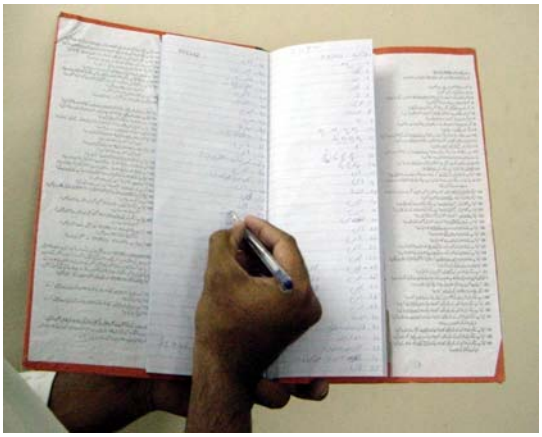
The data collection instruments were translated into Urdu, with back-translation to check meanings had been retained, and subsequently translated into Sindhi, Balochi, Brahvi, Pashtoo and Punjabi for their administration in different areas of the country. In some communities the interviewers carried the instruments with them in more than one language.

The household questionnaire

The questionnaire comprised several sections:

The general section covered house construction and demographics of the household members, including education and occupation of the main breadwinner.

The sections on public services enquired about perceptions, use and experience of water supply, health services, education, police and courts. One section comprised single questions about overall satisfaction with a range of other public services not covered in detail in the questionnaire.


Inside of a household data collection register

The section about local government asked about contacts with union councillors and requested a rating of the new union council in comparison with the previous system, for comparison with the question about expectations of the new council included in the baseline social audit. In the follow up survey we added some new questions about who people would contact if they needed something for their community or if they became aware of a case of corruption

The section about community participation asked again about membership of voluntary groups and knowledge

about citizen community boards, then gave brief information about CCBs and asked about willingness to participate as a CCB member. In the follow up survey it also included some additional questions about source of information on CCBs, actual participation in CCBs and more questions to reflect social capital and participation in community life.

In the follow up social audit the household questionnaire was again administered using a standard CIET method whereby the two halves of the questionnaire are attached to the inside cover of a register and the responses to each household are recorded on a separate, numbered page of the register. Each interviewer uses one register to record the responses for all the households she or he interviews in a given site.

The community profile questionnaire

This instrument collected information about features of the community that could be relevant to the use and experience of public services, such as the types and locations of health and education facilities, garbage arrangements and the availability of radio and newspaper services and community based organisations. The instrument was completed in discussion with a community leader, contacted in any case as the field team entered the community to conduct the household survey.

Key informant interview schedules with service providers and institutional reviews

Interview in a health facility

These instruments were used to collect information from school principals and heads of health facilities about their facilities. In addition, some sections were completed based on observations the interviewers made in the facilities. The information included issues likely to be relevant to the level of use and to the experience of service users. For schools, the information included class size, staff/pupil ratios, and facilities such as electricity and water supply, classroom furniture and equipment, toilets, and boundary walls. For health facilities the information included staffing, official charges, complaint systems, health education arrangements, and observation of facilities.

The teams allocated codes to the health facilities and schools. This code was also recorded in the household

survey records of those people who used specific health facilities or those children who attended specific schools, allowing linkage of the facilities data to the household and individual user data in the analysis.

Key informant interview schedules with elected representatives and government officials

In the 2004/5 social audit it was important to seek the views of those who had been implementing the new local government system at district level and below. We therefore developed interview schedules for the following key informants:

- *Zila nazims* (from as many districts as possible)
- DCOs (from as many districts as possible)
- DPOs (from as many districts as possible)
- Chairpersons of the DPS&PCCs, where these existed
- *Tehsil nazims* (from two tehsils per district if possible)
- TMOs (from two tehsils per district if possible)
- Union *nazims* (from each union council in the sample if possible)
- Female councillors (one in each sample union council if possible)
- Chairmen of CCBs that were present in the sample communities

Focus group guides

In the CIET social audit methodology, focus group discussions serve several purposes: to collect qualitative information to complement the quantitative information collected through the household survey and key informant interviews with service providers; to begin the process of feeding back the information from the survey to the participating communities; and to seek their views about how important information from the survey findings could be effectively communicated to people such as themselves.

We developed the guides for the feedback focus groups once the basic analysis of the household survey had been undertaken. For the focus groups in each district the relevant findings *from that district* were included in the guide. The topics discussed in the 2004/5 focus groups included: views about which services had improved or not improved and in what ways; discussion of the findings about use of different types of health facilities and reasons for choice of health care providers; discussion of the findings about enrolment in

different types of schools and reasons for parental choice; and discussion of the findings about views of the police, including the incentive fund for the police.

Field teams

Participants in a training session

We recruited and trained field teams regionally in each province. They included government employees (for example, teachers, bureau of statistics staff), members of NGOs and other Community Based Organisations (CBOs), and senior students and recent graduates from collaborating universities. Some had worked with CIET on earlier projects, including the 2001/2 national social audit.

Teams for the household survey

Classroom training

Training for the household survey and key informant interviews took place usually over four days, depending on progress. Rather more people joined the training than were required for the field teams, and only those who reached an acceptable standard in the training were selected for the teams. The training included classroom sessions covering the purpose of the social audit and basic information about CIET methods. The trainers went through the household questionnaire in detail. The team members responsible for interviewing key informants in the schools and health facilities and recording the community profile information received additional training for these parts of the survey. The trainees practised administering the questionnaire to each other in the classroom, including role-playing the introductions and potential difficult scenarios. One half day of training was spent on a field practice in a nearby non-sample community, with close monitoring and feedback about any errors and misunderstandings. The final day of the training was a full mock data collection in the field. If the trainers were not satisfied with the work on the mock data collection day, the training was extended with further feedback and further field practice until the trainers were satisfied.

Training: the CIET cycle

Each field team comprised three female interviewers, two male interviewers, one male logistic control associate and one female quality control associate.

The four CIET provincial coordinators led the training, supported by regional coordinators and quality control coordinators. We scheduled the programme to allow the

national coordinator or deputy national coordinator to assist the other coordinators, to avoid any provincial differences of implementation. Three training sessions took place in Sindh, four in Balochistan, four in NWFP and four in Punjab. In all, we trained some 500 people for the 2004 household data collection teams.

Teams for the focus group discussions and key informant interviews

Each field team to conduct the focus group discussions comprised two men and two women. In nearly all cases, at least one of the people returning to a community to conduct focus groups had been a member of the team doing the household survey in the site, so was already familiar with the layout and had contacts in the community. More than half of the teams to conduct the focus group discussions had participated in the household data collection.

Focus group classroom practice

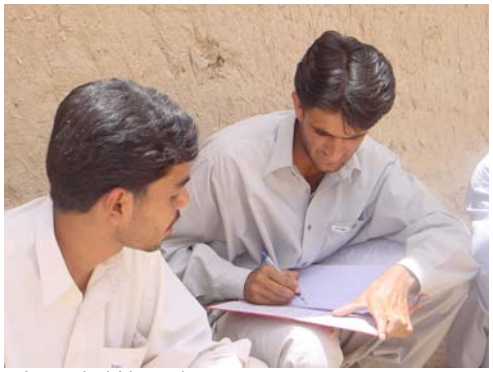
The training for the focus group teams took two or three days, depending on previous experience and progress. The CIET provincial coordinators led the training, supported by regional and quality control coordinators in each province. On the first day the trainers explained general principles about facilitating and recording focus group discussions and went through the guide for the focus groups. The trainees conducted focus groups among themselves in the classroom, monitored by the trainers. The next day the trainees conducted focus group discussions in a nearby field site, again closely monitored. The trainers included a further day's practice if they considered it necessary. The focus group teams were also trained to conduct the remaining key informant interviews in schools and health facilities and the key informant interviews with union nazims and union councillors.

CIET regional and provincial coordinators conducted the key informant interviews at *tehsil* and district levels. In special training sessions they became familiar with the instruments and reviewed the background about the system of devolved local government.

Data collection

Household data collection

The training of field teams and household data collection for the 2004/5 social audit took place by


A household interview

A household interview

Discussion with a group of councillors

regions within each province, between August and October 2004 (with a few districts in Punjab covered in May 2004), being completed just before the start of Ramadan in October 2004. Each CIET provincial coordinator had responsibility for the data collection implementation and quality control in that province.

In general, each field team could complete the household survey in a community in one day and move to another community the following day. In some cases this was not possible due to terrain or difficult weather conditions and additional time was allowed for travel or to complete data collection from a site.

The field teams took with them official letters from the NRB and from the provincial departments of Local Government and Rural Development. They contacted district government officials as they entered each district, to brief them about the aims of the social audit and to seek their support for the field work as necessary. In some districts in particular where the security situation was difficult, the district officials were very helpful to the teams, giving them advice and sometimes logistic support to reach difficult communities.

In 2004, the field teams managed to collect data from households in all districts, except Kohlu and Dera Bugti in Balochistan, where security problems precluded field work. In Chitral, bad weather in October 2004 meant the household data collection was completed only in the spring of 2005. On entering each community, the logistic control associate contacted community leaders to explain the purpose of the survey and seek their support to work in the community. In nearly every case the community leaders agreed to the survey. In the two or three communities where the leaders refused to allow the survey to take place, the field team undertook the survey in the next neighbouring community instead.

Focus group and key informant data collection

The focus group discussions of the 2004/5 social audit took place in the spring of 2005. The focus group guides included, for each district, some key findings from that district based on the basic analysis of the data from the household survey. The field teams managed to conduct focus group discussions in all districts included in the household survey, even some with serious security problems, because of good local involvement in the field teams and good local knowledge and

A focus group of women

contacts. In most communities, the teams conducting the focus groups were warmly welcomed back, as they had "kept their promise" to return to the community to share and discuss some findings.

The CIET provincial and regional coordinators in each province interviewed key informants at district and tehsil levels during the spring of 2005, tying this in with their overall supervision of the community focus group discussions across the provinces.

Quality control of data collection

Quality control during fieldwork is a crucial concern. In the 2004/5 follow up social audit it was ensured in several ways:

- Careful training emphasized the importance of proper conduct of the household and other interviews, according to strict guidelines, leaving no room for individual interpretation by interviewers.
- Only those trainees who showed themselves capable of good, careful work were selected for the field teams.
- All team members were told that if they did not work properly while in the field, they would be asked to leave the team immediately. On rare occasions in the course of the data collection of the social audit it was necessary to dismiss field team members and replace them with reserves.
- In each team, the quality control associate checked the registers completed by the interviewers. She pointed out any incorrect recording of information and instructed interviewers to return to households to collect missing information if necessary. The quality control associate randomly visited some households to check they had actually been interviewed.
- Regional and provincial coordinators visited the teams in the field to check how they were working, to deal with any identified problems and to make a further check on the work of the quality control associates within the teams.

Quality control checking

Data management

All coding, data entry and cleaning for the 2004/5 social audit took place in the CIET data management unit (DMU) in Karachi. Provincial coordinators sent in batches of household data registers to the DMU once they had completed data collection from a group of districts and checked the registers. CIET trained all the

data entry operators working in the DMU and most of them had worked with CIET on the data entry of the baseline social audit.

Data entry operators at work

Data entry was programmed using the public domain epidemiological and statistical software package Epi Info, version 6. We based data entry programmes and coding schemes on those of the baseline social audit. Different operators entered all data twice and validated the two files using the Epi Info Validate facility. Double data entry and validation greatly reduces key stroke errors in the dataset. After validation, we further cleaned the dataset, looking for logical errors, out of range responses and duplications, checking back to the original data registers as necessary.

Senior members of the CIET team reviewed and developed codes for the responses from the government key informants. We extracted and translated quotes that succinctly reflected the views of the respondents. Data entry operators entered the response codes into a database.

We identified themes arising in the focus group discussions after checking a number of the reports. A small group of people coded the reports according to the presence of these themes. We entered these codes into a database. We reviewed the focus group reports to extract quotations and translate them into English.

Analysis

Analytical approach

Annex 2 describes CIET analysis, which goes beyond the calculation of frequencies of indicators. While levels of indicators describe the present situation – and it can be of interest to look at their variation across the country, for example – this is of limited help to planners and policy makers who need to develop strategies to change the situation. Further analysis looks at the actionable factors that are related to the important indicators. The potential affects on the outcomes of changing these factors can be calculated. The effects of other factors that might be the real cause of apparent associations (confounders) are examined. The analysis examines the relationships in different sub-groups of the population, geographic or social, to identify if associations with the outcomes are different between sub-groups (effect modification). This can identify

groups where certain interventions might be more important than in other groups.

The CIET analysis complements quantitative data analysis with semi-quantitative and qualitative elements from key informants and focus groups, using *meso-analysis*. For example, sites can be coded to reflect the distance of the government health facility from the community, or the views of the union *nazim* about the formation of CCBs. Information in focus group reports is coded to reflect certain views (for example, views about the police) that may be present in some communities but not others. This coded information can then be linked to the records of individuals from the communities, using the community code as the link. Meso-analysis essentially deals with factors operating in the community or peer group by linking them to the experience of the individuals in that community.

In the follow up national social audit we applied this analytical approach to examine changes in outcomes between 2001/2 and 2004 and to examine variables related to important outcomes in 2004.

Mapping

The CIET mapping approach is described in more detail in Annex 2. The maps produced are usually raster maps, with interpolation of levels of indicators between the sample sites. The weights for the sites in relation to their population contribution are taken into account in constructing the maps, so that the area of the map in a particular colour represents the proportion of the population with that level of the indicator, and not just the geographical distribution. The maps should be interpreted essentially as weather maps, with the focus on the overall picture rather than on individual positions on the map.

For the follow up social audit we produced maps showing the change in outcomes between 2001/2 and 2004. For most outcomes, we defined “no change” as being within +/- 5%. For relatively rare outcomes, such as contacts with the police, we used +/- 1% as the definition of “no change”. These maps give an at-a-glance view of the way the situation for an outcome has changed, not only whether it has improved overall but also in which areas the change has been more or less marked. For some outcomes, we did not ask about that outcome in the ten districts initially covered in 2001

(because the question was added after the pilot). For these outcomes the ten districts appear in grey, meaning "no data". In the maps of change, Kohlu and Dera Bugti appear in grey because we were not able to collect data from these two districts in 2004.

Analysis of the follow up social audit

Weighting
As mentioned above, the deliberate inclusion of an adequate sample from every district resulted in over-sampling of sparsely populated districts of Balochistan and NWFP and under-sampling of densely populated districts of Punjab. This was taken into account by calculating weights for each district (the ratio of their fraction in the sample population to their fraction in the actual population). Annex 3 shows the district sample populations and the district census populations and the weights calculated for each district. All the indicator percentages quoted in this report for provinces or at federal level are quoted as weighted values. Annex 4 gives the weighted and unweighted percentages for all the main indicators and the numbers on which these are based, by province and nationally.

Epidemiological analysis
The analysis of the findings from the 2004/5 national social audit, including the comparison with the 2001/2 baseline social audit, relied on the CIETmap software package [1]. For analysis of multiple response questions, we used SPSS. In the analysis of each sector, we first analysed the change in each important outcome between 2001/2 and 2004 (except for outcomes for which we did not have findings from 2001/2) to see if it could be explained by changes in factors such as sex of the respondents, education of the household head, vulnerability of the households, and to see if was different in different areas or certain sub-groups of the population. We further analysed findings from the 2004 survey, examining promising associations between actionable factors and outcomes of interest using epidemiological techniques to identify potential effect modification or confounding by factors like socio-economic status, gender etc. We examined the effects of these factors using stratification and the Mantel-Haenszel procedure, including producing multivariate models of the simultaneous effects of variables on the outcomes of interest.

We describe contrasts and associations mainly in terms of the Odds Ratio (OR). For example, in 2004, compared with the average female respondent, the average male respondent was twice as likely to be willing to become a member of a CCB, (the OR is approximately 2.0). The confidence intervals around the Odds Ratio indicate the accuracy of the estimation and the likelihood that it could be explained by chance alone. If the 99% confidence interval (CI) of the OR does not include 1.0, then the likelihood that the association is due to chance alone is less than 1%. To take account of the testing of multiple associations, we used the 99% CI of the OR (Cornfield calculation) as our test of statistical significance, and tested for heterogeneity between strata in stratified analyses, indicating effects in certain subgroups and not others, using the Woolf procedure. In this version of the report for general dissemination, we have not included the figures for the Odds Ratios and 99% CI on which statements of associations are based, so as not to overload the report for general readers. The full statistical information, including the values of the OR and 99% CI for each association, is available on request in a technical report.

It is theoretically possible that some of the associations with important outcomes reported from this survey are actually due to unknown and unmeasured factors. However, by excluding most of the important likely explanations, as we were able to do in the multivariate analysis, the findings do offer a starting point for action.

Vulnerability analysis

A key intention of the devolution process is to improve the lot of the most disadvantaged members of society, enabling them to have a say in decisions affecting their lives and ensuring they are better served by public services. As part of the analysis of the follow up social audit we identified, as in the baseline social audit, certain vulnerable groups and looked at their situation compared with that of the less vulnerable.

We looked at two vulnerable groups in particular: women; and the most vulnerable households in a socio-economic sense. We defined household vulnerability in terms of three factors: roof construction, room occupancy and occupation of the main breadwinner. A category of 'very vulnerable' according to all three factors was defined that included some 13.4% of the sample households nationally, with considerable

variation between areas of the country. A category of 'vulnerable' included households with two of the three vulnerability factors (47.5% of households nationally). We used these vulnerability categories to examine the situation of the more disadvantaged among the population compared with the rest. In the analyses we first used the composite vulnerability index as our indicator of vulnerability. In some cases we went on to examine the component elements of vulnerability.

Note about satisfaction ratings

In the social audit we asked households about their satisfaction with services, whether or not they actually made use of the services in question, and we asked service-users about their satisfaction with the actual service they received, for example from the police, from a union councillor, or from a health facility or school. Satisfaction ratings and satisfaction surveys are commonplace in the private sector, as businesses compete for customers and need to understand what will make their customers more satisfied. More recently they have been extended to the public services sector. However, the experience is mostly limited to developed and industrialised nations, where, for example, availability of services can be assumed. The use of satisfaction ratings in developing countries is relatively new. There is a body of published research about satisfaction ratings and their theoretical underpinning, but mostly from North America or Europe, and mostly in the marketing literature. The theories and models developed in this setting have mostly not been tested in the public sector, and certainly not in developing countries. Nevertheless, we can draw some lessons from the published material about the interpretation of satisfaction ratings.

Isolated satisfaction ratings
A single satisfaction rating, in the absence of any other information, is hard to interpret. One author suggests that "Responses to vague satisfaction and evaluation questions probably reflect at best some unknown mixture of different aspects of service provision." [2]. In the social audit, for the services of health, education, police and local government we collected information about actual experience of services, as well as in some cases information from providers about the way the services are provided, that allows us to put the satisfaction ratings in context. For other services,

constraints of time for the interview meant we could only ask a single question about satisfaction with the service. These satisfaction ratings must therefore be interpreted with caution. In some cases it was possible to cross-check the satisfaction ratings with objective evidence of service provision, for example for sewerage services. We were also able to get some validation of individual satisfaction ratings from focus group discussions about public services and the perceived improvements and problems of service delivery.

Satisfaction with different aspects of service
Authors have suggested that satisfaction ratings for service quality are more meaningful when they are specific and tied to personal experience [3]. In the social audit, for health, police and courts services we asked about specific service contacts within a limited time frame and for education we asked about the school experience for each child in school.

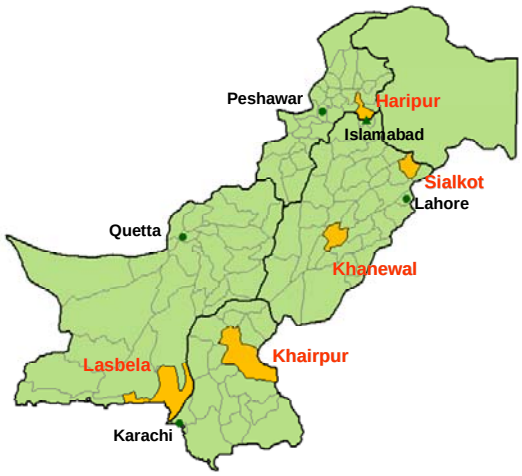
Satisfaction ratings from the general public
Many service satisfaction surveys limit the respondents to those who have had direct personal experience of the services, but there is an argument that this loses valuable information about expectations of the services from those who have not used them [4]. It is even more important to consider the views of service non-users in developing countries, as they may include the most disadvantaged members of the society. In the social audit we have found this to be the case for many of the services. Therefore we consider it is important to retain the satisfaction ratings from service non-users in the social audit.

Interaction between expectations and experience
Most authors agree that people's satisfaction with a service is affected not only by their experience of the service but also by their expectations of the service. There are several different models proposed to describe the interaction between expectations and experience [5]. A popular model suggests that the difference between expectations and actual experience determines satisfaction, but others have demonstrated that low expectations can actually reduce satisfaction even if the experience is better than expected, while high expectations can be reflected in higher satisfaction even if the experience is not favourable. It is likely that expectations of services vary across Pakistan and between sectors of society and this may influence satisfaction ratings. Differences in satisfaction ratings

with services across the country should therefore be interpreted with care.

Using the findings of the social audit

This report is intended as part of the material to support the process of generating discussions about the findings of the national social audit and what they indicate about the impact of devolution and suggest for future policy fine tuning. We have prepared district summary reports of the findings from the follow up social audit, compared with the baseline findings, in each district and we will circulate these to all districts. Further summary materials will also be available as sets of fact sheets covering different aspects of the findings. Once the new district governments are installed we will hold a series of regional meetings with district nazims to share and discuss the findings with them. For the baseline social audit, the findings were the starting point for the district governments; the findings from this follow up social audit offer them a concrete feedback from citizens on how the district governments have performed during their first tenure.



The focus districts

Over and above their inclusion in the national social audit, five districts are now undertaking a more detailed social audit at local level, as social audit **focus districts**. The first focus district was Lasbela in Balochistan, and this has now been joined by Khairpur in Sindh, Haripur in NWFP, and Sialkot and Khanewal in Punjab. In each of these districts the district government at all levels and representatives of civil society identify priorities issues for the local social audit and participate in the data collection, interpretation, and reporting. Each district team, with technical support from CIET, uses the findings to develop evidence-based action plans in the district. These are subsequently considered for inclusion in the district Annual Development Plan. The *nazims* and DCOs of the five focus districts, together with representatives from the provincial departments of Local Government and Rural Development and from NRB meet together as the district social audit national core group to review progress and share experiences. The collective experience of the five initial focus districts provides guidance for other districts wishing to undertake a more detailed social audit process to support local evidence-based planning.

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The information base

Household population

Household information base
- 53,960 households
- 424,841 people
- 224,053 males
- 30,105 boys aged 5-9 years
- 200,622 females
- 25,821 girls aged 5-9 years

The national survey covered some 53,960 households (representing information on 424,841 people) in 430 representative communities.

As well as the household survey, information was also collected from other sources: community profiles, schools, health facilities, union *nazims* and councillors, and male and female focus groups. Details of the information from these other instruments are given in Annexes 5-9.

Table 1. The household sample by province

Province	No. households	Total people
Sindh	10,049	76,842
Balochistan	12,752	112,894
NWFP	11,925	99,631
Punjab	19,234	135,474

The number of households in the sample in each province and the total population covered in the households are shown in Table 1.

The respondent answering on behalf of the household was a woman in more than half the households (54.3%). Most (93.3%) household heads were male. Around half of them (53.0%) had any formal education.

Nationally, nearly half the households (47.5%) were in the 'vulnerable' category and 13.4% were in the 'very vulnerable' category (see Methods).

Table 2. Household features by province (weighted %)

Feature	Sindh	Bal'stan	NWFP	Punjab
Female respond.	52.5	55.2	42.6	57.4
Male head	94.3	97.4	94.2	92.4
Educated head	56.2	36.6	48.8	53.8
Vulnerable	46.4	60.0	48.4	46.8
Very vulnerable	17.5	14.7	12.9	11.3

Table 2 shows household features by province. Further information about the households by province is given in Annex 4.

Chapter 2

Local government and citizen participation

Chapter 2. Local government and citizen participation

Opinions and use of local government

Contacts with union council members

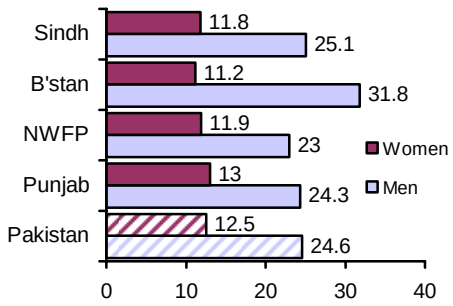

Figure 2. % male and female respondents reporting households contact with a union councillor (2004)

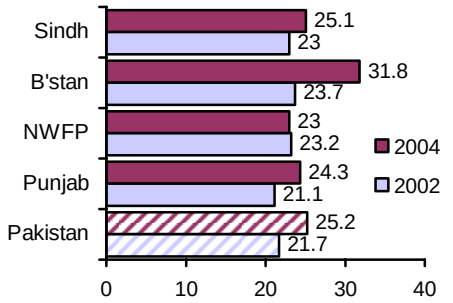

Figure 3. % households with contact with a union councillor in last 12 months (male respondents)

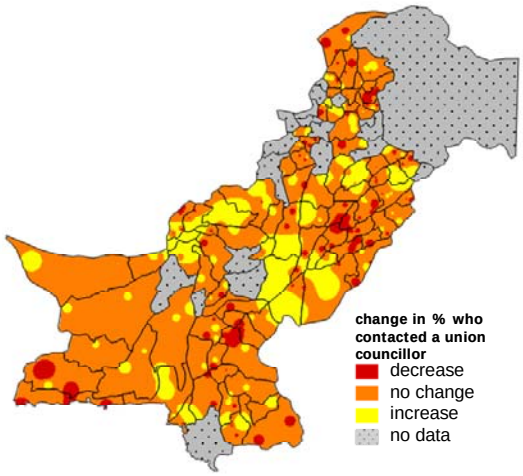

Figure 4. Change (2002-2004) in proportion of households who reported a union councillor contact in the last 12 months (male respondents only)

In 2002, we found a striking difference between male and female household respondents in reporting whether someone in the household had contacted a member of the union council. This was still present in 2004 (Figure 2) when 24.6% of male respondents and 12.5% of female respondents reported a household contact with a union council member in the last 12 months. The actual level of household contacts with union councillors is probably close to that reported by male household respondents; the under-reporting by women reflects their lack of involvement in interactions between the household and the local councillors.

The gender gap in reporting household contacts with union councillors was similar in 2002, when 21.7% of male respondents and 10.3% of female respondents reported a household contact with a union council member.

In view of the under-reporting of contacts by female respondents, the following analysis - of the change in contacts with a union councillor between 2002 and 2004 and the factors related to such contacts in 2004 - is based on reported contacts by male household respondents only. Note that the analysis also excludes those ten initial districts surveyed in 2001, since the new union councils were only formed in 2001. We only counted contacts with union councillors for professional purposes; we did not include social contacts with councillors reported by a few households.

Comparing only male respondents, households in 2004 were 22% more likely to have contacted a union councillor in the last 12 months compared with households in 2002. The increase was not uniform across the four provinces (Figures 3 and 4). In Balochistan and Punjab households were more likely to contact a union councillor in 2004 than in 2002, but the small increase in Sindh could have been due to chance and there was no difference in NWFP.

We examined the increase in contacts with a councillor to see if it could be explained by changes in other

variables and found that the change was not affected when we took into account education of the household head, vulnerability of the household and urban or rural location.

Analysis of union councillor contacts in 2004

Box 1. Variables taken into account in analysis of contacts with a union councillor in 2004

- education of the household head
- vulnerability of the household
- urban or rural location
- household membership of a local voluntary group
- approaching nazim if needed something for the community
- participation in a development project in the last 12 months
- Knowledge of CCBs
- willingness to be a member of a CCB
- male union council member from the community

The pattern of variables related to union councillor contact varied between provinces so we carried out a separate analysis for each province. In the multivariate analysis we took into account variables individually related to reported contact with a union councillor, shown in Box 1.

Membership of a local voluntary organization: Households who had any member belonging to a local voluntary organization of some kind were more likely to report a contact with a union councillor, perhaps reflecting their higher level of engagement with their community. The relationship was more marked in Sindh and Balochistan than in NWFP and Punjab.

Choice of the union nazim for community issues: It was not surprising to find that households that would contact the union nazim or a councillor if they needed something done for their community were also much more likely to contact a union councillor in the last 12 months. This was apparent in all provinces.

Participation in a development project: Again reflecting community engagement, respondents who had participated in a local development project in the last 12 months were also more likely to report a household contact with a councillor in the same period. This was apparent in all provinces.

Knowledge about CCBs and interest to join a CCB: Respondents who had heard of CCBs were more likely to report a household contact with a union councillor, perhaps because they have more involvement in their community life. The association was apparent in all the provinces, but was less strong in Punjab.

Respondents who said they would be willing to join a CCB (after a brief description about CCBs) were more likely to report a household contact with a union councillor, again perhaps reflecting more interest in civic life of the community. This association was similar in all provinces.

Table 3. Reasons for contacting union councillor among contacts in last 12 months in 2004 and 2002

Reason for contact	Contacts reported in 2004		Contacts reported in 2002	
	% (weighted)	Number	% (weighted)	Number
Problem with local service (water, sewerage, health etc)	49.2	5038	51.5	3544
For documentation (NIC cards etc)	24.6	2068	18.4	1064
For financial support or employment help	13.8	1446	11.5	1159
About a community dispute	4.3	335	7.0	397
Property and land issues	2.9	245	4.1	233
Family and marital disputes	1.9	116	2.9	140
Law and order, police, personal safety	1.8	143	4.7	271
Legal and workplace issues	1.4	97	-	-
Total		*9490*		*6808*

Union councillor from the community: It would make sense that easier access to a councillor might increase councillor contacts. But it was only in Sindh that a household in a community with a male union councillor from that community was more likely to have contacted a union councillor in the last 12 months.

Musalihat anjuman in the union council: In Balochistan and Punjab, in those communities in unions with a *musalihat anjuman* (as reported in the interview with the union nazim), household respondents were more likely to have contacted a union councillor. These contacts were not necessarily related to the *musalihat anjuman*, but the presence of this committee reflects a union council making efforts to reach out to the population.

Household and individual characteristics:
Households were more likely to have contacted a union councillor within the last 12 months if:

- The household head had some formal education (in Sindh and Balochistan only)
- The household was in the less vulnerable category (in Balochistan only)

Once other variables were taken into account, in all four provinces households in urban and rural locations were equally likely to report contact with a union councillor.

Sex of the union councillor

In 2004, almost all the reported contacts (97.7%) were with male union councillors, whether the contact was reported by a male or a female respondent.

Reasons for contacting the union councillor

The pattern of reasons for reported contacts with a union councillor was similar in 2002 and 2004 (Table 3). The most common reason was for a problem with local services such as water, sewerage, garbage, health,

education, gas, electricity and telephone. This was followed by contacts for documentation, such as NIC etc. The third reason for contacts was for financial support or help with findings employment. Other reasons were less common but still followed much the same pattern in 2002 and 2004.

Satisfaction with union councillor contacts

In 2004, about half (48.3%) of households who reported a contact with a union council member in the last 12 months were satisfied with the service they received. This was lower than the satisfaction with contacts reported in 2002 (54.2%).

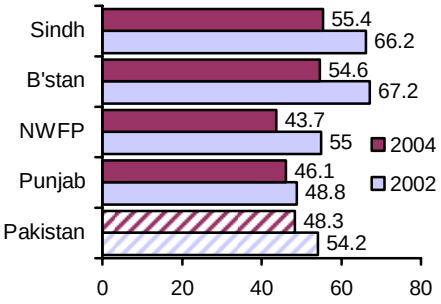

Figure 5. % households satisfied with contact with union councillor in 2002 and 2004

Change in satisfaction between 2002 and 2004

Both the level of satisfaction with union councillor contacts in 2004 and the change in satisfaction between 2002 and 2004 varied between provinces (Figures 5 and 6). The reduction in satisfaction with union councillor contacts between 2002 and 2004 was most marked in Sindh and Balochistan, where those with councillor contact in 2004 were only half as likely to be satisfied as those with contact in 2002. In NWFP the change was less marked and it was least marked of all in Punjab.

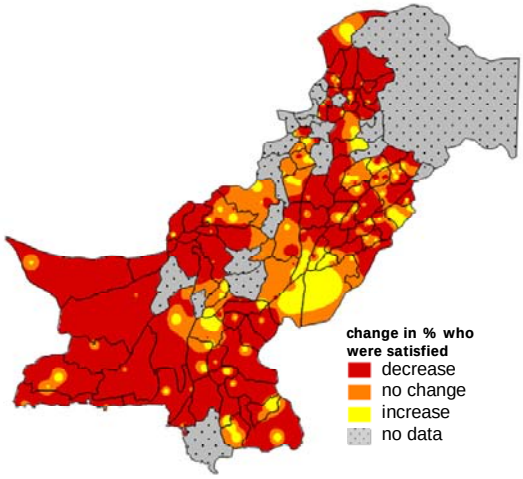

Figure 6. Change in % of households who were satisfied with the union councillor contact (2002-2004)

Among those respondents who considered the new union council would be better (2002) than the previous system or was indeed better (2004), there was no reduction in satisfaction with contacts between 2002 and 2004. This interaction between expectations and satisfaction was only found in Balochistan and NWFP.

The change in satisfaction with councillor contacts between 2002 and 2004 was not related to other variables examined at household or community level.

The decreased satisfaction in 2004 in the face of increased councillor contacts could reflect resource constraints at the union level, so that councillors are not able to solve the problems brought to them by their constituents. Expectations affect the satisfaction of service users, and there are various models proposed for the interaction between expectations and experience [1]. In this case, those who had higher expectations of the local government system apparently remained more satisfied with their contacts with the system.

Box 2. Variables taken into account in analysis of satisfaction with union councillor contacts in 2004

- sex of the respondent
- education of the household head
- vulnerability of the household
- urban or rural location
- province
- household membership of a local voluntary group
- rating of the union council (if better or not)
- approaching *nazim* for a need for the community
- participation in development project in last 12 months
- Whether think people in community help one another
- Willingness to report a case of corruption
- Knowledge of CCBs
- willingness to be a member of a CCB
- union *nazim's* view of UC performance

Analysis of satisfaction with union councillor contacts in 2004

We examined the effects of a number of personal, household and community variables on the reported satisfaction with union councillor contacts during the last 12 months. The variables considered in the multivariate analysis are listed in Box 2.

Overall rating of the union council: By far the strongest relationship with satisfaction with the union councillor contact was with the respondent's rating of the union council as being "better", "the same" or "worse" than the previous system. Among those who contacted a councillor in the last 12 months, those who rated the union council as better than the previous system were 13 times more likely to say they were satisfied with their councillor contact. This could reflect that people's views of the council are influenced by their actual experiences, in this case positively influenced.

Engagement with the community: Respondents who said they would ask the union *nazim* or a councillor if they wanted something done for the community were more likely to report satisfaction with their councillor contact. If people have a positive experience with a councillor they may be encouraged to ask for help with a future problem. Respondents who said they would report to someone if they came to know about a case of corruption were more likely to be satisfied with their councillor contact. And respondents who believed that people in the community were willing to help each other were more likely to be satisfied with their councillor contact.

Sex of the councillor: Although only a few reported contacts were with women councillors, respondents (both male and female) reported more satisfaction with contacts with female councillors.

Union nazim's rating of council performance: People in communities where the union *nazim* rated the council's performance as 'good' were more likely to report satisfaction with their councillor contact. This is encouraging and suggests some union *nazims* are sensitive to the views of the public about their services.

Household and individual characteristics:
Households were more likely to be satisfied with their councillor contacts if:

- The household head had some formal education
- The household was in the less vulnerable category

Urban and rural households were equally likely to be satisfied with their union councillor contacts.

Intention to use union *nazim* or councillors for community needs

In 2004 we asked households who they would contact if they needed something done for their community. Among the variety of answers to this open question Table 4), by far the biggest single response was "the *nazim* or a councillor". Some 46.8% of households gave this response. The next most frequent response (naming an actual source of help) was "community members" (15.5%), followed by MNAs, MPAs or other political actors (7.3%).

There was variation between provinces in the proportion of households respondents who said they would contact the union nazim or a councillor if they needed something for the community, with more people saying they would turn to the nazim or a councillor in NWFP and Punjab than in Sindh and Balochistan (Figure 7.)

Box 3 shows the variables included in the multivariate analysis of intention to use the *nazim* or a councillor.

Rating of the union council: In all four provinces, those household respondents who considered the new union council to be better than the previous system were more than twice as likely to say they would approach the *nazim* or a councillor if they needed something for the community. It follows that people who think the system is better are more likely to trust it to be able to solve their problems.

Knowledge of CCBs: People who knew about CCBs were more likely to say they would approach the *nazim* or a councillor if they needed something for the community. They know how to get things done.

Access to councillors: People who lived in a community with a male union councillor from that community were

Table 4. Who households would contact if they needed something done for their community

Contact	Number	Weighted %
Union nazim or councillor	23641	46.8
Community members	9413	15.5
MPA/MNA/PM/President/political party	3362	7.3
Family, friends, neighbours	2086	3.1
Govt officials (unspecified)	450	0.7
NGO / donors	265	0.5
Police/army/court/DPSC/CPLC	158	0.3
Local govt officials	73	0.04
Media	5	0.01
No need, never thought of it	8532	15.9
Don't know where to go	5349	9.7
No use, no one listens	186	0.4
Total	*53520*	

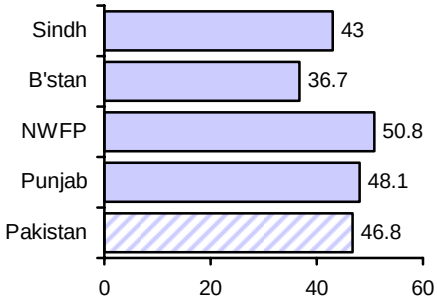

Figure 7. % respondents who would contact *nazim* or councillor if they needed something for the community (2004)

Box 3. Variables in analysis of intention to contact nazim or councillor for a community issue in 2004

- sex of the respondent
- education of the household head
- vulnerability of the household
- urban or rural location
- province
- rating of the union council (if better or not)
- participation in development project in last 12 months
- Knowledge of CCBs
- Union councillor in the community
- union *nazim's* view of UC performance

more likely to say they would approach the *nazim* or a union councillor if they needed something done for the community. This relationship was apparent in all four provinces.

Union nazim's rating of council performance: In Balochistan and Punjab people in communities where the local union nazim rated the council performance as good were more likely to say they would use the *nazim* or a councillor to solve a community problem. In Sindh and NWFP this association was not found.

Household and individual characteristics:
Household respondents were more likely to say they would contact the union nazim or a councillor if they needed something for the community if:

- They were men. This fits with the finding that many women were not aware of councillor contacts by members of their households (see above). A higher proportion of women than men said they had never thought of contacting someone about something needed for their community or did not know where to go with such a request (Table 5).
- They were from a household with a head who had some formal education
- They were from a less vulnerable household. This difference was especially marked in Sindh.
- They were urban dwellers, especially in Sindh

Table 5. Who households would contact if they needed something done for their community (males and females)

Contact	Males		Females	
	N	Wt %	N	Wt %
Union *nazim* or councillor	14514	58.5	9125	36.5
Community members	4104	13.8	5305	16.9
MPA/MNA/PM etc	1592	6.4	1770	8.0
Family, friends, neighbours	692	2.1	1393	4.0
Govt officials (unspecified)	279	0.9	171	0.6
NGO / donors	175	0.5	89	0.4
Police/army/court etc	90	0.3	68	0.2
Local govt officials	29	0.04	44	0.05
Media	3	0.00	2	0.01
Never thought of it	2997	12.5	5532	19.2
Don't know where	1561	4.7	3788	13.9
No use	102	0.4	84	0.3
Total	*26138*		*27371*	

Views about new union councils

In 2004, nearly a third (30.5%) of household respondents thought the new councils were better than the previous system, 24.8% thought they were the same as before, 17.7% thought they were worse than before, and 26.9% were still unsure (Table 6).

Table 6. Public expectations (2001/2) and perceptions (2004) of the union councils compared with previous system

Rating	Expectation 2001/2	Perception 2004
	Wt % (n)	Wt % (n)
Better	33.8 (20055)	30.5 (16110)
The same	)	24.8 (13944)
Worse	) 36.4 (18324)	17.7 (9647)
Don't know	29.8 (18673)	26.9 (13942)

In 2001/2, at the start of the new local government system, we posed the question in terms of whether people *expected* the new system to be better than the previous one or not. At this time, 33.8% expected the new union councils to be better, 36.4% did not expect them to be better, and 29.8% did not know if they would be better or not (Table 6).

We cannot compare the 2001/2 and 2004 figures directly, since the first reflects expectation only and the second reflects a combination of expectations and experience, direct or indirect, as well as being affected

by other factors such as media coverage. Nevertheless, it is encouraging that the 2004 public rating of the new union councils is not far behind their hopes in 2001/2, despite the resource constraints and other limitations on the performance of the union councils and other tiers of district government.

Household respondents gave their main reason for their view about whether the union council was better than before or not. Among those who thought the new union councils were better than before, 83.6% said they believed the council was working well and helping people and 12.4% simply said they thought the council was doing a good job. Among those who thought the new council was worse than before, 89.0% gave as their reason that the council was not doing any good, and 9.3% accused the new councils of being corrupt.

Analysis of rating of new union councils

Box 4. Variables taken into account in analysis of public rating of new union council in 2004

- sex of the respondent
- education of the household head
- vulnerability of the household
- urban or rural location
- province
- participation in development project in last 12 months
- would use *nazim* or councillor for community needs
- contact with a councillor in last 12 months
- belief that people in the community help each other
- union *nazim's* view of UC performance

We analysed the effects of variables potentially related to public rating of the new union councils in 2004. Box 4 shows the variables examined in the multivariate analysis.

Social engagement: Respondents who reported people in their community helped each other were more likely than others to think the new UC was better than before. Similarly, the few households who had male and or female members in voluntary groups in the community were more positive about the new union councils. This suggests people more engaged with their community held a more positive view of the new system.

Intention to contact nazim for a community issue: In all provinces, households who said they would contact the *nazim* or a councillor for a community need were more than twice as likely to rate the new union councils as better compared with people who would not contact the nazim.

Contacts with union council: Households with a member who had contacted a councillor in the last 12 months were more likely to say they thought the new UC was better compared with households who had not contacted a councillor. This is despite the fact that only half those who contacted a councillor were satisfied with the service they received.

Union nazim's rating of council performance: People in communities where the union *nazim* rated the performance of the UC as good were more likely to think the new UC was better than the previous system, compared with those in communities where the union *nazim* was less positive. This relationship was not found in NWFP.

Household and individual characteristics: Household respondents were more likely to think the new union council was better than the previous system if:

- They were men
- The household head had some formal education
- The household was in the less vulnerable category
- They were rural dwellers, especially in Balochistan

Views of elected representatives and government officials

Table 7. Elected representatives and government officials interviewed

Persons interviewed	Number
Districts	
Zila nazim	57
Zila naib nazim	21
District councillor	6
Total zila nazim or representative	*84*
DCO	68
Representative of DCO (eg EDO F&P)	18
Total DCO or representative	*86*
Tehsils	
Tehsil nazim	160
Tehsil naib nazim	13
Tehsil councillor	14
Total tehsil nazim or representative	*187*
TMO	156
Representative	24
Total TMO or representative	*180*
Unions	
Union *nazim*	137
Union *naib nazim*	63
Union councillor	162
Total union nazim or representative	*362*
Female union councillor	310

During the 2004/5 national social audit we interviewed elected representatives and government officials at district, tehsil and union levels. Table 7 shows the numbers of people interviewed at each level and Annex 8 gives details of their responses. These key informant interviews, carried out in the spring of 2005, provide insight into the experience and perceptions of the people implementing devolved local government on the ground. We interviewed the *zila nazim* or someone on his/her behalf in 84 districts and the DCO or someone on his behalf (eg EDO Finance and Planning) in 86 districts. We also aimed to cover two *tehsils* (or *talukas*) in each district (other than in single *tehsil* districts) and to cover each of the 433 union councils with sites in the sample. Table 7 shows how many of these interviews we undertook.

Views of *zila nazims* or *naib nazims*

Service provision and achievements

Nearly all the *zila nazims* mentioned one or more of the basic public services as their single biggest problem or challenge in the district, especially the sectors of drinking water, education, roads and health. A few cited lack of funding or resources as their biggest problem, or pointed to problems of governance and corruption. About two thirds (56/84) said they had made an

improvement in their biggest problem during their tenure.

"There has been a revolution in the education sector. Numerous developmental activities were carried out to improve education."
A *naib zila nazim* from Punjab

Most of the *nazims* felt they had achieved something during their tenure. Some of them said they had achieved more development in their four years' tenure than had been managed during the previous 53 years. As their biggest achievement they mostly cited improvements in a specific public sector, especially education, roads and streets. Some also mentioned governance and administrative achievements, or increased public trust in government.

Nearly all the *zila nazims* (82/84) rated the overall performance of the district government during its tenure as good or very good. Education was the most common sector among all public services that they felt they had been able to improve, followed by roads, health services, and water supply. They considered better funding, cooperation or support within the district, and public support including support from CCBs and NGOs as the main reasons why they had been able to improve services.

"The positive response and moral support of the public has encouraged us a lot in our work."
A *zila nazim* from Sindh

On the other hand, the *nazims* also identified services they had not been able to improve. These included particularly areas where they had, or felt they had, no control over service provision, such as electricity supply, law and order, or employment opportunities.

The *nazims* considered their main hindrance in improving services was lack of funds and physical resources, but also mentioned lack of coordination and cooperation within the district as a factor, as well as lack of well qualified human resources, lack of authority and control over services, and lack of proper planning and monitoring.

Many of the *nazims* complained their allocation from the Provincial Finance Commission was not enough while 51/77 said it was enough to cover at least their non-development expenditures in the district.

Relationship with provincial government

Only a third (29/83) of the *zila nazims* said the provincial government had helped service delivery in the district. More than half (43/83) complained of hindrance and interference from the provincial government. Many (67/84) complained about problems

in relation to postings and transfers. They complained the provincial government created obstacles and delays in funding and sometimes blocked funding even for approved projects. They protested about postings of poorly trained staff or un-cooperative officers in their district.

Relationships within the district

Relationship with the TMAs

"For everyday business between the district and the TMAs we have a very good working relationship particularly as we have mutually agreed policies."
A *zila nazim* from Sindh

Many of the *nazims* (52/83) reported a good relationship with the *tehsil* municipal administrations (TMAs) in their district, mostly because of good coordination (47/78). They said they usually reached agreement with the TMAs for all major policy decisions. Some *nazims* (25/78) said their relationship with the TMAs was based on a policy of 'no-interference' in each other's business.

According to the *nazims*, coordination, either good or bad, was the main factor in the relationship between the district and *tehsil* governments. Unclear roles and responsibilities and political differences could also cause problems between the district and tehsils.

Relationship with the DCO

As an indicator of the working relationship with the DCO, most of the *zila nazims* reported that the DCO always or nearly always came personally to a meeting if invited by the *zila nazim*. Two thirds of the *nazims* also said the DCO always or nearly always informed the *zila nazim* when leaving the district.

A third of the *nazims* (27/82) reported that the provincial chief secretary contacted them (alone or with the DCO) when communicating with the district, and about the same number (24/80) said they got copies of all correspondence from the provincial chief secretary to the DCO.

Improving the system

"We can improve district government performance only if the bureaucracy and provincial government accept and implement the new local government system in its true spirit."
A *naib zila nazim* from NWFP
"Posting and transfers should be entirely under the control of district government.
A *zila nazim* from Punjab

The *nazims'* most common suggestion for improvement (25/80) was that instead of interfering, the provincial governments should cooperate with the districts. Other requests were for more authority for the *nazim* and district government (23/80), or more funds and resources (21/80).

Views of the DCOs

Service provision and achievements

The DCOs or respondents on their behalf (eg EDO F&P) identified essentially the same problems and challenges in their districts as those identified by the *zila nazims*: mostly problems with basic services but some issues of funding and resources, and governance problems. Unlike the *zila nazims*, who mostly thought they had been able to improve the priority problems, more than half the DCOs (48/84) said there had not been any improvement in problems they identified since the district government came into being.

"Now decisions for everything are made at district level, making provision of public services easy. It is now possible to consult the general public at the lower level."
A DCO from Punjab
"Things which were not done in a year's time are now done in weeks."
A DCO from Sindh

Nevertheless, most (68/86) of the DCOs rated the overall performance of the district government during its tenure as good or very good. As with the *zila nazims*, they mainly mentioned improvements in education, roads, health, and water services. They cited better funding or income, better planning and monitoring with reduced corruption, government cooperation within the district, and public support as the main factors for success.

In cases where they had not been able to improve services, the DCOs mainly blamed inadequate funding and resources, as well as lack of planning and monitoring, interference from outside the district, and lack of power and authority.

In 48 of the 79 districts, the DCO said the funding from the PFC was enough to cover at least their non-development expenditures, and 48 said they received it always or nearly always on time.

Relationship with the provincial government

In 61 of the 86 districts the DCOs said their provincial government had helped in effective service delivery in the last two years. This was more positive than the report from the *zila nazims*. However, many of the DCOs did complain of interference from the provincial government in postings and transfers.

Relationships within the district

Relationships with TMAs
In 43 of the 86 districts the DCO reported a good relationship with the *tehsil* municipal administrations

(TMAs), with good coordination and non-interference in each other's business as the main reasons. Where the relationship with TMAs was not good, bad coordination was given as the main reason.

Relationship with the zila nazim
Most of the DCOs reported their *zila nazims* always or nearly always came personally to a meeting if requested, or at least sent a representative. But only half the DCOs reported that the *zila nazim* received copies of all correspondence from the provincial chief secretary to the DCO.

Improving the system

The DCOs made similar suggestions to those of the *zila nazims* for improving the local government system. They called for more funding, more accountability, more trained human resources, more power to the district government, and an end to political interference.

Views of the *tehsil, taluka*, town *nazims*

Service provision and achievements

Nearly all the tehsil nazims or respondents on their behalf mentioned one or more of the basic public services as their biggest problem or challenge, while a few also mentioned funding problems or problems of governance or corruption. Two thirds (64%) said that during their tenure they had been able to make some improvement in their biggest problem. As their biggest achievement they most commonly mentioned improvement in the roads and streets, water supply, and sewerage and sanitation. Some also considered building the trust of the public and increasing public access as their biggest achievement, as well as increasing their own revenue.

"People consider us as their own and feel us to be very close to them."
A *tehsil nazim* from Balochistan

Most of the *tehsil nazims* (83%) rated the overall performance of the TMA as good or very good. They felt they had been able to improve especially water supply, sewerage, roads and streets. They credited their success to cooperation and support within the district (58%), better funding or local income (40%), public support, including from CCBs and NGOs (18%) and better planning and monitoring (12%). In cases where they had not been able to improve services, they blamed especially lack of funds and resources, lack of authority

and control over services, lack of trained human resources, and political or bureaucratic interference.

Some 60% of *tehsil nazims* considered the funding they received from the PFC as enough to cover at least their non-development expenditures. And 58% reported that they received the funds always or nearly always in good time.

Relationship with the district government

More than half (58%) of the *tehsil nazims* or their representatives reported their TMA had a good relationship with the district government. They cited effective coordination as the main reason, as well as a non-interference policy in each other's affairs, and affiliation with the same political groups. When the relationship with the district government was not working well, the *tehsil nazims* mostly blamed poor coordination and unclear roles and responsibilities.

Improving the system

Half (49%) the tehsil nazims said they needed more powers if they were to do a better job, and 21% said they needed more funding. Some said the system would only improve when the provinces stopped interfering and started supporting the local governments. Some noted the need for full implementation of LGO 2001. They also requested more trained staff and stronger accountability.

Views of the TMOs

Service provision and achievements

We have spread a network of development works all over the tehsil which is a record."
A TMO from Punjab
"The biggest success of our tehsil is the correct identification of problems as we worked at grass root level and the TMA proved to be a platform for local people to get their problems solved easily."
A TMO from NWFP

Most TMOs identified one of the basic public services as their biggest problem or challenge and 61% thought they had been able to make an improvement in this area during their tenure. Among their most important achievements, they most commonly cited improvements in the roads and streets, water supply, or sewerage and sanitation.

More than a quarter considered their most important achievement was to increase the trust of public in the new setup and provide better public access to local government representatives. A few cited the increase in their own revenue generation as a key success.

Most of the TMOs (85%) rated the overall performance of the TMA during its tenure as good or very good. They highlighted water supply, roads and streets, and sewerage and sanitation as the services that improved during their tenure. Nearly half (45%) said cooperation and support within the district had been important for their success, while 40% credited better funding or local income, and some mentioned public support, including from CCBs and NGOs, or better planning and monitoring.

Most (75%) of the TMOs blamed lack of funds and physical resources as the main hindrance to improving services. Only 57% said the funding they received from the PFC was enough even to cover their non-development expenditure, and just 57% said the funding from the PFC was always or nearly always timely. They complained they had not received adequate funds for most of the last three years and only in the last 6-12 months had they started getting better funding, allowing them some budget for development. They also mentioned lack of authority and control over services, poor coordination and cooperation in the district, and lack of trained human resources.

Relationship with the district government

Two thirds of the TMOs reported a good relationship with the district government, giving as reasons effective coordination and similar political interests.

Over half the TMOs considered “good coordination” as the main thing working well between the TMA and the district government, while 22% cited poor coordination or unclear roles and responsibilities as the difficulties between the TMA and the district government.

Improving the system

In order to improve performance of the TMA, the TMOs requested better funding, more powers to the TMA, more trained human resources, and an end to political interference from outside the district. Some of the TMOs called for full implementation of the LGO, but a few called for a reversal of devolution and restoration of the previous system.

Views of the union *nazims* / councillors

Service provision and achievements

Nearly all the union *nazims* or councillors responding on their behalf cited one or more of the basic public services as the biggest problem or challenge in their union. A few also mentioned lack of funding or resources, and problems of governance and corruption.

Across the country, union *nazims* reported a similar pattern of achievements, including roads and streets, water supply, sewerage and sanitation, and education. A few declared the setting up of the system itself was pioneering work or stressed how they had gained people's trust and increased their access to government.

"What could be a bigger achievement? We have established a setup that our followers will be able to use smoothly for the people's benefit. We are proud to be the pioneers."
A union *nazim* from Sindh

Only a few of the union *nazims* or councillors (16%) felt they had not been able to achieve anything during their tenure. According to the union *nazims*, the important factors contributing to success or failure included the degree of coordination and cooperation among different tiers of the district government and their line departments, degree of support and interference from outside the district, and the availability of funds. About a quarter mentioned public and NGO sector support as a key element in their success.

Two thirds of the union *nazims* or councillors said their allocated award from the PFC was enough at least to meet their routine non-development expenditures; only half those in Balochistan said the amount was enough to cover their non-development expenditures. Less than half the *nazims* said they received the funds on time; but in Punjab 75% received funds on time.

The union *nazims* made a number of suggestions for how to improve the performance of union councils. There were common themes to these suggestions, including: more funding (especially in Sindh), more power for union *nazims* and councils (especially in Balochistan and Punjab) and more mechanisms to ensure accountability (especially in Punjab).

Despite difficulties faced, two thirds of the union *nazims* or councillors (67%) rated the overall performance of their union council as very good or good. This positive rating was even more common in Punjab (75%).

Union council committees

Monitoring committees in the union council
An important function of the union councils is monitoring services and development work area. They are supposed to form a number of monitoring committees for this purpose. Health and education monitoring committees were the most frequently formed and functional union council committees in all provinces. Monitoring committees were more common in Sindh and Punjab and least common in Balochistan. Even when formed and meeting regularly, union *nazims* had concerns about the effectiveness of monitoring committees, due to lack of power and authority.

Insaaf committees and musalihati anjuman
Some 60% of union *nazims* or councillors said they had an *insaaf* committee in the UC and 50% had *musalihati anjuman*. These committees were more common in Sindh and Punjab. Most (78%) of the *musalihati anjuman* had dealt with some cases.

Views of women councillors

The field teams interviewed 308 women councillors encountered in the 430 communities of the social audit sample.

Experience as councillors

Many of the women councillors said people in their community were happy about their election (38%) or that it had not affected their good relations with their community (20%), especially in Balochistan. Some said people supported them in their role and respected them (25%). However, others (21%) said that people were not happy with them as they had not been able to fulfil expectations.

Some 59%of the women councillors said they had a good working relationship with the union *nazim*. Most of them received timely information about council meetings but only a third had attended all or nearly all council meetings during the last 12 months. In Balochistan only a third received timely notification of council meetings and only 13% attended all or nearly all meetings. Only 18% of the women councillors reported receiving any travel or daily allowance when they participated in official meetings (49% in NWFP and

24% in Balochistan). Half those who received allowances said they had some difficulty getting them.

Most (79%) of the women councillors said they were allowed to speak in the UC meetings like their male colleagues and that other councillors paid attention to them and respected their views (73%). But some complained of problems with the attitude of male councillors. Only 40% had access to any development budget, and only 20% in Sindh. Some 77% had submitted at least one project proposal to the council, although more than half of these proposals were turned down for funding (59%). Only a third felt their proposals had a fair hearing.

Women councillors rated the performance of their union councils less positively than did the male union *nazims* or councillors. Only 43% rated the performance of their UC as good or very good, compared with 67% of the male union *nazims* or councillors. To improve performance of the council, they said more funds were needed but these had to be used effectively. They requested more powers for councillors, especially women councillors, to help them respond to people's needs. To improve their own role as councillors they requested more access to funds and more authority. Some requested salary or incentives.

"Female councillors should also have access to funds besides respect. This is a practical problem that needs to be addressed if one wants to see us work effectively."
A female councillor from Punjab

Training

Many of the women councillors mentioned their need for training. Almost two thirds of them (62%) had attended training through the Women Political Participation Programme (WP3). Most of them (69%) found this training useful. Nearly a third (29%) had attended training by the Aurat Foundation and 77% found it useful. Nearly a third had received some other training from government or from the Devolution Trust for Community Empowerment (DTCE) through NGOs such as the National Commission for Human Development (NCHD), Strengthening Participatory Organization (SPO) or the Rural Support Programme Network (RSPN). Again, most (69%) found this training useful.

Citizen participation

Greater participation and empowerment of citizens is one of the intentions of devolution. This includes their participation in the life of their communities and in structures and mechanisms that can give them a say in the way priorities are set, services are provided, and services and service providers are monitored. In the second national social audit we re-measured some elements of citizen participation to see if there was evidence of any change yet under devolution. We also added some additional questions about social capital that can be followed in the future.

Membership of voluntary groups

In 2004 3.3% of households had a male participating in a voluntary group and 0.9% of households had a female participating in such a group. This is an increase from 2001/2, when 2.1% of households had a male participating in a voluntary group and 0.6% had a female participating in a voluntary group. There was an increase in all provinces in both male and female participation (Figures 8 and 9). Female participation clearly continues to lag behind male participation in all provinces.

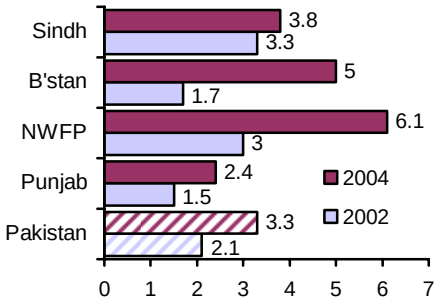

Figure 8. % households with a male member in a voluntary group in 2002 and 2004

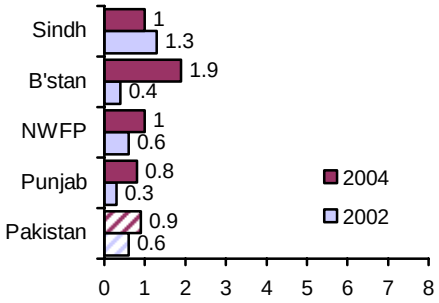

Figure 9. % households with a female member in a voluntary group in 2002 and 2004

A household in 2004 was 62% more likely to have a male or female member in a voluntary group compared with a household in 2001/2, taking into account education of the household head, sex of the respondent, household vulnerability, urban or rural location, presence of any NGO or CBO in the community, knowledge of CCBs and province.

Analysis of membership of voluntary groups in 2004

We examined variables related to household membership of voluntary groups in 2004. Box 5 shows the variables included in the multivariate analysis. The resulting picture was similar across the four provinces, although some associations were more marked in some provinces than others.

Box 5. Variables taken into account in analysis of household membership of voluntary groups in 2004

- sex of the respondent
- education of the household head
- vulnerability of the household
- urban or rural location
- province
- presence of any NGO or CBO in the community
- having heard of CCBs
- willingness to join a CCB

Knowledge and willingness to join CCBs: The relatively few households where the respondent had heard of CCBs were nearly four times as likely to have a member in a voluntary group, with some variation in

the strength of the association across the provinces. In some cases the voluntary group membership might even include CCB membership.

Households where the respondent (male or female) expressed willingness to join a CCB after an explanation of their function were more than twice as likely to have a member in a voluntary group, compared with those where the respondent was not willing to join a CCB. The association was equally strong in all provinces. CCBs are probably drawing particularly on those citizens who have already been active in their communities.

Presence of an NGO or CBO in the community: Households from communities where there was at least one NGO or CBO operating were more likely to have a member in a voluntary group. While in some ways this seems obvious, it also shows that encouraging the setting up of community groups can, taking other factors into account, encourage participation.

Sex of the respondent: Overall, male respondents were slightly more likely than females to report that any member of the household, whether male or female, was in a voluntary group. However, this was only the case in Sindh and Punjab and female respondents reported household voluntary group membership as frequently as male respondents in Balochistan and NWFP. The difference between male and female respondents probably reflects less awareness of women about such activities by household members.

Household and individual characteristics: Households were more likely to have a member in a voluntary group if:

- The household head had some formal education. This was less marked in NWFP
- The household was in the less vulnerable category. Members of vulnerable households may not be aware of voluntary groups or may not have the time or energy to participate in non-earning activities.
- The household was in an urban site, except in Punjab where there was no difference between urban and rural sites

Citizen participation and social capital

Participation in a development project

Among male respondents in 2004, 11.5% said they had taken part in some sort of development project during the last 12 months, while 5.6% of female respondents had taken part in a development project during this time. Participation in a development project was more common in NWFP and Punjab than in Sindh and Balochistan (Figure 10).

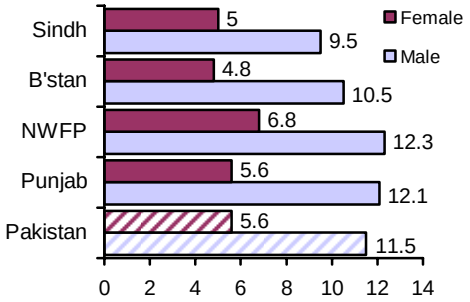

Figure 10. % male and female respondents who took part in a development project in last 12 months

We analysed variables related to participation in a development project (Box 6).

Box 6. Variables taken into account in analysis of participation in a development project in last 12 months in 2004

- sex of the respondent
- education of the household head
- vulnerability of the household
- urban or rural location
- province
- belief that people in the community help each other
- having heard of CCBs
- willingness to join a CCB
- presence of any NGO or CBO in the community

Community factors:
People were more likely to report they had taken part in a development project in the last 12 months if:

- They believed people in their community helped each other
- They had heard of CCBs
- They were willing to be a CCB member
- They lived in a community with any NGO or CBO

Household and individual characteristics:
Respondents were more likely to report they had taken part in a development project in the last 12 months if:

- They were men
- The household head had some formal education
- The households was in the less vulnerable category
- They were urban dwellers in Sindh; this association was not found in other provinces

Views about the community

Most respondents (82.2%) reported that people in their community were **ready to help each other**; this varied from 79.7% in Punjab to 90.1% in Balochistan. Men were more likely than women to say that people in the community would help each other (Figure 11).

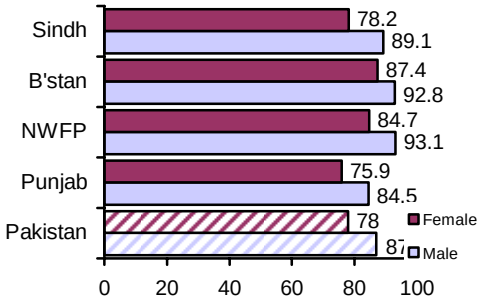

Figure 11. % male and female respondents who thought people in their community were willing to help each other

Taking into account the variables in Box 7, respondents were more likely to believe people in their community helped each other if:

Box 7. Variables taken into account in analysis of belief that people helped each other in 2004

- sex of the respondent
- education of the household head
- vulnerability of the household
- urban or rural location
- province

- They were men
- The household head had some formal education
- The household was in the less vulnerable category, except in Balochistan
- They were rural dwellers, in Balochistan or NWFP

Most (87.0%) respondents also reported that people in their community **got on well with one another**; this varied from 85.1% in Punjab to 91.7% in Balochistan and 91.3% in NWFP. The associations with this variable were similar to those with the belief that people in the community would help one another.

As mentioned above, people who believed that people in their community would help one another were more likely to be satisfied with their interaction with a union councillor, taking other variables into account.

Willingness to report corruption

Asked to whom they would report if they came to know about a case of corruption in the community, just over half (57.9%) of respondents said they would report at all. They most commonly (21.7%) mentioned reporting to the *nazim* or councillors (Table 8). Some 14.9% said they would report to the police, and 12.0 % would report to another community member.

There was little difference between provinces in willingness to report a case of corruption, but in all provinces men were more likely than women to say they would report corruption (Figure 12).

We asked respondents for their reasons for their response about reporting corruption. The reasons given by those who said they would report to the *nazim* or a councillor are shown in Table 9. The most common reason (42.2%) was a belief that the *nazim* or councillor would be able to help and solve the problem. Related to this, people chose the *nazim* or a councillor for their report because such people are influential in the community (24.3%).

Among those people who said they would not report a case of corruption, their most commonly cited reason was a feeling that it was no use, that no one would help (33.5%). Some 20.1% said it was because they did not know where to report, while 18.1% said it was "not our problem" (Table 10).

Table 8. Who households would contact if they came to know about a case of corruption in their community

Contact	Number	Weighted %
Union nazim or councillor	11559	21.7
Police	7230	14.9
Community members	7052	12.0
MPA/MNA/PM/President/political party	1480	3.3
Govt officials (unspecified)	1746	2.7
Family, friends, neighbours	942	1.6
Local govt officials	567	0.2
Courts	142	0.2
NGO / donors	79	0.1
Media	60	0.1
Army	44	0.07
DPS&PCC	9	0.01
No need, never thought of it	15929	30.1
Don't know where to go	5963	11.4
No use, no one listens	289	0.6
Total	*53575*	

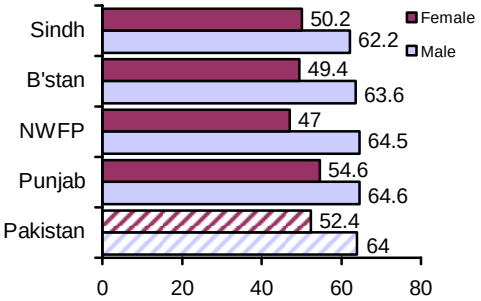

Figure 12. % male and female respondents who would report a case of corruption

Table 9. Main reasons given by people who would report a case of corruption to the nazim or a councillor

Contact	Number	Weighted %
Can help, solve problem	4153	42.2
Influential in the community	3107	24.3
It's their duty, responsibility	1789	15.6
They will punish the culprit	762	4.1
No other choice	407	4.1
Nearby, easy acess	361	3.4
Known to them	467	2.9
"It's our duty to report"	193	1.2

Table 10. Main reasons given by people who would not report a case of corruption

Contact	Number	Weighted %
It's no use, no one helps	6592	33.5
Don't know where to go to report	4506	20.1
"It's not our problem"	3197	18.1
May cause harm, afraid to report	2051	11.5
"Everyone is corrupt"	1538	7.9
"We don't go out"	1173	6.7
"We deal with it ourselves"	268	1.5

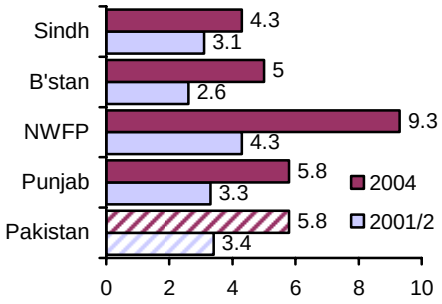

Figure 13. % males aware CCBs in 2001/2 and 2004

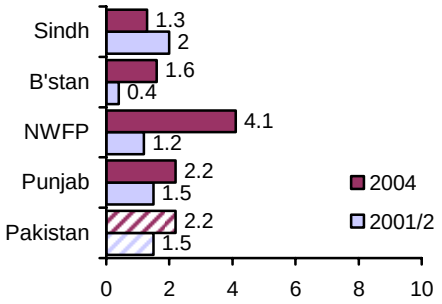

Figure 14. % females aware CCBs in 2001/2 and 2004

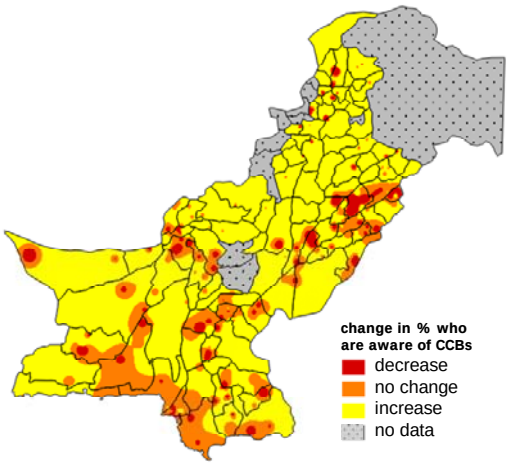

Figure 15. Change in % of men aware CCBs 2001/2 to 2004

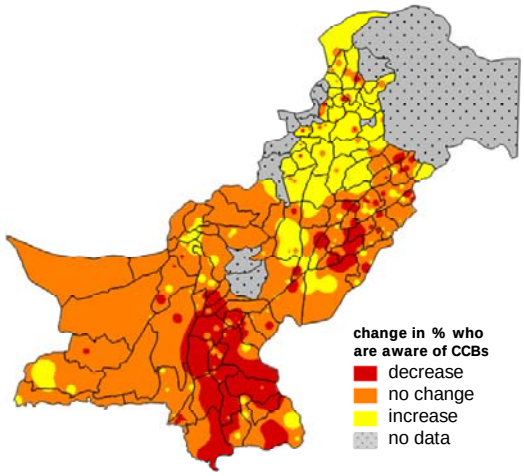

Figure 16. Change in % of women aware of CCBs 2001/2 to 2004

Awareness and participation in CCBs

In 2004, 5.8% of male household respondents and 2.2% of female household respondents had heard of CCBs. This is an increase compared with 2001/2, when 3.4% of male respondents and 1.5% of female respondents had heard of CCBs. Figures 13 and 14 show the variation in awareness about CCBs across provinces in 2004 and 2001/2 in men and women. The maps in Figures 15 and 16 show the change in awareness of CCBs in men and women between 2001/2 and 2004.

Increase in awareness of CCBs between 2001/2 and 2004

We analysed the change in awareness about CCBs between 2001/2 and 2004, taking into account education of the household head, sex of the respondent, vulnerability of the household, urban or rural location, rating of the new union council, participation in any voluntary group and the presence of any NGO or CBO in the community.

Across the country, respondents were twice as likely to have heard of CCBs in 2004 as in 2001/2. The increase in awareness was different between provinces. There was no increase in awareness in Sindh. In Balochistan and Punjab households were almost twice as likely to be aware of CCBs in 2004 as in 2001/2. In NWFP the likelihood of a respondent being aware of CCBs was three times higher in 2004 than in 2001/2.

Analysis of awareness of CCBs in 2004

The variables included in the multivariate analysis of associations with household respondents' awareness of CCBs are shown in Box 8.

Rating of the new union council: Those respondents who thought the new union council was better than the previous one were more likely to have heard of CCBs compared with those with a less positive view of the new council.

Membership of voluntary group: Respondents from households with any member in a voluntary group were much more likely to have heard of CCBs compared with households without any voluntary group member.

Box 8. Variables taken into account in analysis of knowledge of CCBs in 2004

- sex of the respondent
- education of the household head
- vulnerability of the household
- urban or rural location
- province
- rating of new union council
- any household member in a voluntary group
- local union *nazim* or councillor's awareness of CCBs

Table 11. Source of information about CCBs among men and women who had heard of CCBs in 2004

Contact	Males		Females	
	N	Wt %	N	Wt %
Friends and neighbours	475	33.6	139	28.5
Newspapers, TV, radio	325	23.9	136	30.0
Nazim or councillor	312	17.0	49	8.5
Local NGO	228	14.2	82	10.0
Own observation	65	4.7	19	1.6
Family members	40	2.4	92	17.8
Community leaders	30	2.1	7	1.6
Mosque, school	19	0.9	12	1.8
Local govt officials	19	1.1	1	0.3
Total	*1513*		*537*	

Table 12. Source of information about changes in the community

Contact	Males		Females	
	N	Wt %	N	Wt %
Friends and neighbours	19601	79.2	16199	65.1
Mosque, school	3510	7.8	1373	4.7
Own observation	1006	6.3	663	3.3
Family members	932	3.5	7881	23.3
Nowhere/do not get	251	1.3	470	2.2
Community leaders	274	0.7	140	0.6
Newspapers, TV, radio	155	0.6	98	0.4
Nazim or councillor	195	0.6	100	0.3
Local NGO	19	0.1	7	0.02
Loal govt officials	9	0.03	2	0.01
Total	*25952*		*26933*	

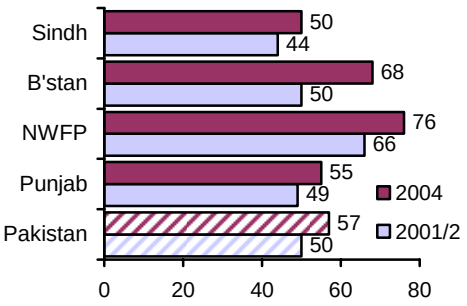

Figure 17. % males willing to join a CCB in 2001/2 and 2004

Union nazim or councillor knowledge of CCBs: In Punjab, respondents from communities where the union *nazim* (or representative) had heard of CCBs were more likely to have heard of CCBs. This effect was weaker in other provinces. Across the country, about three quarters of the union *nazims* (or responding on their behalf) had heard of CCBs, varying from 48% in Balochistan to 96% in NWFP. Clearly, union councils and councillors cannot promote CCBs when they themselves are not aware of them.

Household and individual characteristics: Household respondents were more likely to be aware of CCBs if:

- They were male (at least twice as likely)
- The household head had some formal education
- The household was in the less vulnerable category; this association was less marked in Balochistan
- They were urban dwellers, but this was only in Sindh

Source of information about CCBs in 2004

In 2004, we asked household respondents who had heard of CCBs where they got their information. The most common sources were friends and neighbours (32.1%), newspapers, radio or TV (26.5%), local NGOs (13.9%) and the *nazim* and councillors (13.4%). The source of information was generally quite similar for men and women (Table 11). Women were rather more likely to get their information about CCBs from a family member.

We also asked all respondents where they got their information about changes in their community (Table 12). By far the most common source of information was friends and neighbours (79.2% among men and 65.1% among women). The main difference between men and women was the higher proportion of women who aid they got their information from family members (23.3%).

Actual membership of a CCB in 2004

In 2004 we asked those household respondents who had heard of CCBs if there were any male or female members of the household in a CCB. Among these households, just 268 (7.9%) a male member in a CCB and only 44 (1.6%) had a female member in a CCB.

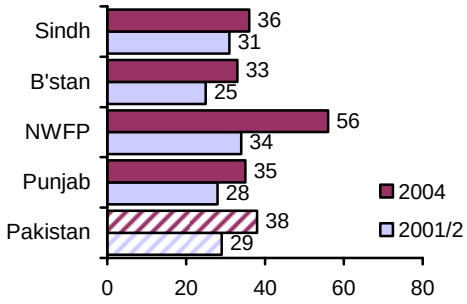

Figure 18. % females willing to join a CCB in 2001/2 and 2004

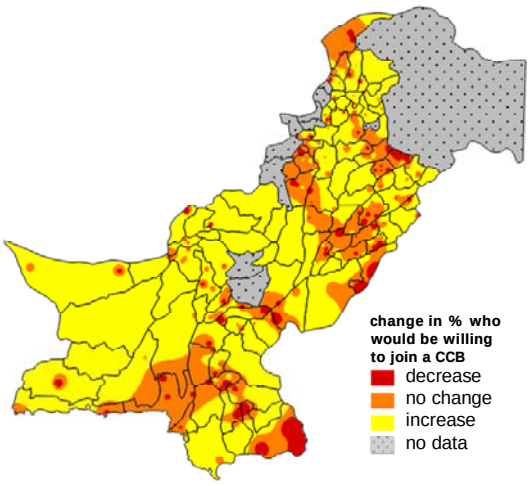

Figure 19. Change in % of men willing to join a CCB 2001/2 to 2004

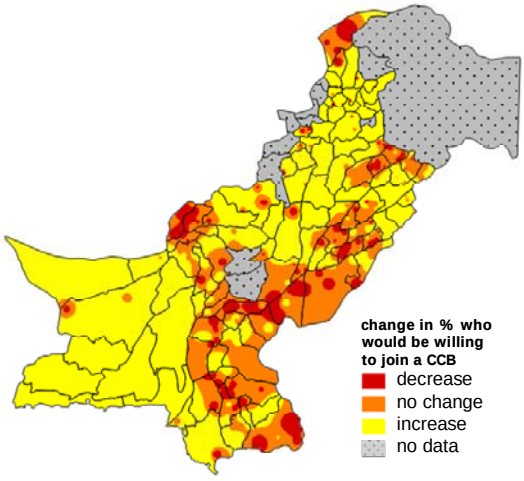

Figure 20. Change in % of women willing to join a CCB 2001/2 to 2004

Box 9. Variables taken into account in analysis of willingness to join a CCB in 2004

- sex of the respondent
- education of the household head
- vulnerability of the household
- urban or rural location
- province
- rating of new union council
- any household member in a voluntary group

Increase in willingness to participate in CCBs between 2001/2 and 2004

Interviewers gave the household respondents a brief description about CCBs. Following this, there was definite interest from households in joining a CCB. In 2001/2, half (49.7%) of men were interested to join a CCB, but less than a third (29.5%) of women were willing. In 2004, the interest among men had increased to 57.1% and the interest among women had increased to 37.5%. Figures 17 and 18 show the variation in willingness to join CCBs across provinces in 2001/2 and 2004, in men and women.

The maps in Figures 19 and 20 show the increase in willingness to join a CCB among men and women across the country.

We analysed the increase in willingness to join a CCB between 2001/2 and 2004, taking into account sex of the respondent, education of the household head, vulnerability of the household, urban or rural location, and province.

A household respondent in 2004 was 49% more likely to be willing to join a CCB compared with a respondent in 2001/2. The increased interest in joining a CCB was more marked in Balochistan and NWFP than in Sindh and Punjab.

Analysis of willingness to join a CCB in 2004

The variables included in the multivariate analysis of willingness to join a CCB are shown in Box 9.

Rating of the union council: Respondents who thought the new union council was better than the previous system were more likely to be willing to join a CCB.

Membership of a voluntary group: Not surprisingly, respondents from the few households with any member in a voluntary group were more likely to be willing to join a CCB.

Household and individual characteristics:
Household respondents were more willing to join a CCB if:

- They were male, especially in Balochistan
- The household head had some formal education

- The household was in a rural community, except in NWFP where there was no difference between urban and rural willingness to join a CCB.

There was no difference between vulnerable and less vulnerable households in willingness to join a CCB. This was true in all four provinces. This is despite the relative lack of awareness about CCBs among the more vulnerable households and in contrast to the evidence of lower social capital and participation in community life among vulnerable households, as described above.

District governments' views about CCBs

Information from *zila nazims*

Details of the responses from *zila nazims* are given in Annex 8. The *zila nazims* (or respondents on their behalf) in just eight districts out of 84 reported there were still no CCBs registered in their district. In a third of the districts the *nazim* reported registration of over 150 CCBs. The *nazims* from 25 districts reported they had not used any of the 25% of the development budget set aside for CCB projects, while a third said they had used more than half of this budget. Some districts had done much better, with many CCBs registered and all the allocated budget at district level spent on CCB projects.

To help them to use a greater proportion of the funds set aside for CCB projects the *nazims* suggested increasing public awareness about CCBs, simplifying the CCB formation process, reducing corruption and political interference, and increasing human resources to support CCBs.

Information from *tehsil nazims*

Some 77% of the *tehsil nazims* or their representatives reported registration of at least one CCB in their *tehsil*. Only 19% had used 50% or more of their 25% development budget allocated for CCB projects. They said increased awareness of the public about CCBs would help them to spend more of this budget. A few were clearly not in favour of the concept of CCBs, feeling that they were unnecessary when there were now so many elected representatives in the districts.

Information from union *nazims*

Details of the responses from union *nazims* are given in Annex 8. Some 72% of the 362 union *nazims* or councillors knew about CCBs, ranging from 96% in NWFP to just 48% in Balochistan. Over half the union councils included had at least one CCB registered, again ranging from 74% in NWFP down to 38% in Balochistan. NWFP and Punjab were most active in having functioning CCBs which had submitted project proposals to the UC and had them approved.

Most of the *nazims* or councillors among those who had CCBs registered still reported that their union councils had not used the 25% of their development budgets ear marked for CCB projects, even if this was only a small amount of money. Only a quarter of UCs with registered CCBs had used more than half of their funds allocated for CCB projects and in Sindh, none of them had done so.

Views of CCB chairmen

Where there was a CCB operating in a sample community, the field teams attempted to interview the chairman or some other member of the CCB. They interviewed 103 CCB chairmen or members in 96 communities spread across Pakistan. (See Annex 8)

More than two thirds of the CCBs had been registered during the last year. Some 79% of CCB respondents said their UC had done something to promote the registration of CCBs. The UC activities included meetings, one-to-one contact by members, hand bills, pamphlets, banners and posters. Very few respondents said their UC had given them specific help with registration or legal matters or provided any training. Nevertheless, just 20% of CCBs said they had experienced any difficulty in registration.

About half the CCB respondents (52%) said one or more of their members had received some training about CCB registration, while a third had some members trained in project preparation and management.

There are various training initiatives underway about and for CCBs. NCHD, contracted by DTCE, has held national meetings with *zila nazims*, DCOs and EDOs CD to orient them on facilitation of CCB registration

and projects, and has undertaken more intensive training in 32 districts. DTCE has signed MoUs with press clubs and bar associations to facilitate CCBs registration and, through partner organisations, provided direct training for CCBs in some districts. Many Community Development Departments have been proactive in educating the public about how to register CCBs.

Among the CCBs contacted, 68% had prepared and submitted a project proposal. The most common project area was roads and streets, followed by sanitation, water, health, other infrastructure, and education. These are all development needs felt by ordinary people, as cited in the community focus groups (see Annex 9). Some 47% of the CCBs had submitted their projects to the district government, while 36% had submitted them to the union council. Just 12% had submitted projects to the TMA. Most of the CCBs (79%) who had submitted a project said they did not face any problems in preparation or submission of the project. The most common difficulty was slow progress and lack of support from officials.

Of the 107 projects submitted by the interviewed CCBs, 59% were approved by the concerned authority. Some 70% of the CCBs interviewed who had submitted a project had at least one project approved. Most (82%) were approved within three months of submission, and 40% of the approved projects were already completed. About a third of respondents reported problems getting their projects approved, again mostly with speed of the process and lack of support or interference by government officials.

Union councils approved and funded 23 of the 39 projects submitted to them, and TMAs approved 7 of the 13 projects submitted to them. Of the 50 projects submitted to the districts, just 20 were approved and funded.

The most common suggestion from CCBs for improving the system was to abolish or reduce the amount of the 20% community contribution for projects. Some also suggested increasing the powers and scope of work of CCBs, making more funds available for CCBs, and making easier some procedures like banking arrangements.

Commentary

Devolution in Pakistan aims to improve the delivery of public services and to increase the engagement of citizens with government structures, so that those structures become accountable to the people they are intended to serve. It also intends to empower ordinary men and women to participate as partners with government in development, to involve themselves in local developments, and to increase their control over the way services are provided in their communities [2].

The 2004/5 social audit produced encouraging findings about citizens' engagement with local government structures, showing an increase in citizen participation, although there is still a long way to go.

Engagement with local governments

People are using the local governments. About a quarter of households contacted their union *nazim* or a councillor in the twelve months before the survey, an increase on the level of contacts in the 2002 survey. This level of contact is much greater, for example, than the level of contact with the police, even counting contacts initiated by the police rather than the household. People think first of the *nazim* or a councillor if they need something done for their community (47%); other choices are far behind. Their most common choice for reporting a case of corruption was the *nazim* or a councillor (22%), ahead of the police. Some people (16%) even said they would approach the *nazim* if they had a complaint about the police (see chapter 6).

The way local governments operate could help to encourage citizens to contact and use them. In some areas there was evidence that if a union councillor came from the community, households were more likely to contact a councillor. And citizens reported more contact with union councils that had set up *musalihati anjuman*, even when their contact was for quite different reasons. People are already using the union council to solve legal matters more often than they contact the courts (see chapter 6).

Not everyone is equally likely to use the local government mechanisms on offer. There is evidence that disadvantaged members of the society (including women, the vulnerable (poor), the uneducated, and those recognising lower levels of social capital) are not engaging with local governments as much as the less disadvantaged. While this is to be expected, it needs to be addressed to ensure that the new mechanisms for increased citizen engagement do not perpetuate or even exacerbate inequalities. The active promotion of CCBs amongst the most vulnerable citizens could help ensure that they do not miss the opportunity for citizen participation and community empowerment, elements now internationally recognised as crucial for poverty alleviation.

Citizen satisfaction with local government

There is a danger at the beginning of a new system that people will have high expectations and will become disappointed and disillusioned when these expectations are not met, or not met quickly enough. In the case of the new union councils, people were a bit guarded in their expectations of whether the system would be an improvement on the old one. About a third of people said they thought the new councils would be better than the previous ones, a third thought they would not be better, and nearly a third just could not say one way or the other. In 2004, having now experienced the new councils directly or indirectly, 30% of people thought they actually were better than the previous councils. The councils have managed to live up to expectations of the most active citizens, but more passive and vulnerable citizens must also be engaged. It is also encouraging that people who have had direct contact with the *nazim* or councillors are more likely to rate the new system positively.

About half the people who contacted a councillor were satisfied with the outcome. There is an interesting interaction with expectations: those with higher expectations rated their experience more positively. There are several proposed models of how expectations and experience together influence satisfaction and it may be useful to see how these apply in the case of local government and public services in Pakistan, bearing in mind they will need refinement for the South Asia context. More vulnerable and less educated people were less satisfied with the service they received from the councillors. It is not clear how much of this

difference is because the councillors treated them differently or because they brought problems that were more difficult to solve. This aspect needs monitoring to ensure that the most disadvantaged are well served by the system.

One encouraging note is that although nearly all the reported contacts in the survey were with male councillors, people were more satisfied with their contacts with female councillors. This is despite the difficulties in fulfilling their role mentioned by many of the female union councillors interviewed. Another positive finding is that people were more satisfied with their councillor contacts in unions where the *nazim* considered the performance of the council was good or very good. It suggests that some *nazims*, at least, make efforts to be in touch with the views of their constituents.

Views of local governments themselves

The social audit of 2004/5 provided an opportunity to collect systematically the views of the people charged with making the new system work on the ground: the local elected representatives and the local government officials. Their view was overwhelmingly positive. They mentioned problems with the working of the new system, but they nearly all pointed to improvements they had been able to make, despite the hindrances they had faced. They cited improvements to specific services provided at different levels and these in fact tallied quite well with the services the public also rated as improved. But over and above this, they spoke about a system which allowed the public better access and cited public support as a reason they had been able to achieve improvements.

It was not surprising to find some differences of opinion between the elected representatives and the bureaucrats. What was perhaps more surprising was to see the extent to which their views, given independently, agreed on most issues. There were clearly difficulties between the elected representatives and the bureaucrats in some districts, but in others they were working well together to make the system effective.

As expected, all tiers of the local government mentioned lack of funds and resources as a problem. However, their biggest complaint was of political and bureaucratic interference from the provincial

governments, especially in the matter of postings and transfers. While staff are in theory under the control of the district governments, so long as their postings and transfers are in the hands of the provincial governments they will continue to look to the needs and requests of the province rather than the district or *tehsil.* The formation of a district civil service cadre, fully under district control, is included in the 2005 amendments to the Local Government Ordinance 2001. The implementation of these provisions should help to address this priority problem identified by district governments.

Citizen participation

The 2004/5 social audit provides evidence that citizen participation is increasing, both generally, for example in increased membership of voluntary groups, and specifically in increased awareness and willingness to participate in CCBs. All the indicators point in the same direction, and there is synergy so that people who are interested in joining a CCB are also those more positive about their community and the way people work together in the community.

Again, it will be necessary to keep monitoring the situation for equity of participation. At present, the vulnerable (poor), women and the uneducated are less likely to participate than others. It will require additional efforts to draw in the more disadvantaged members of society. The willingness to participate is there: people from vulnerable households were as willing to join a CCB as people from less vulnerable households. But they face practical difficulties and special arrangements might be needed to ensure they can participate fully. CCB promotion could actively target these groups to ensure equitable presence of the most vulnerable in the CCB movement.

Women's participation remains a challenge and there is clear evidence of women's continuing exclusion from many aspects even of household functioning. For example, female respondents under-reported household contacts with councillors, with the police, and with courts. Women councillors described some of the difficulties they faced in their role. And women were less aware of, and expressed less willingness to join CCBs, undoubtedly because of the practical problems involved. On the other hand, women in the community focus group discussions showed their clear awareness of

what was going on in their communities and had ideas about what needed to be done to improve matters.

For the first time in the 2004/5 social audit we added some specific questions about social capital, which will serve as a baseline for following this important indicator over time. If devolution works as intended, social capital ought to increase.

References

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2. National Reconstruction Bureau. 2000. *Local government plan 2000*. Government of Pakistan: Islamabad

Chapter 3

Basic services

Chapter 3. Basic services

Introduction

The 2004/5 household survey included a section about citizen's views on public services provided by different levels of government, but not covered in more detail . This chapter compares satisfaction in 2004 with that expressed in the baseline social audit in 2001/2 and, to some extent, across the country.

The caution (see Methods) in interpreting satisfaction is particularly important in this section, where we have only satisfaction ratings and little other supporting information. Many factors influence a person's satisfaction with a service, apart from the quality of the service itself. These are even more important in relation to public ratings (users and non-users) than in ratings by service users. Expectations vary from place to place and between services. The impression non-users might have of a particular service includes hearsay evidence from users and ex-users. They may also be influenced by bad publicity, sometimes justified and sometimes malicious. Political interests may attempt to discredit services provided by their opponents. Those who oppose devolution, for example, may emphasize bad service delivery and this may sway public opinion. Public satisfaction ratings on the day after a critical media story might be different from the day before.

With these caveats, there is still some value in findings about citizen satisfaction and reported access to a range of public services, in comparison with satisfaction with these services at the beginning of devolution. Where possible we have compared the satisfaction ratings with other more objective information. And we have supplemented them where relevant with explanations about views of services emerging from focus group discussions.

Satisfaction and access to services provided from tehsils

Roads

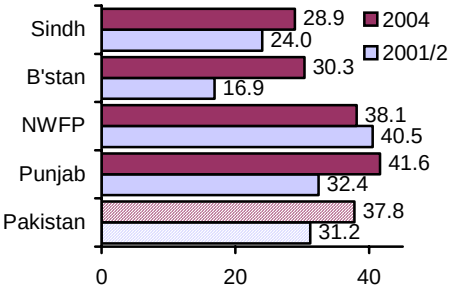

Figure 21. % of households satisfied with roads

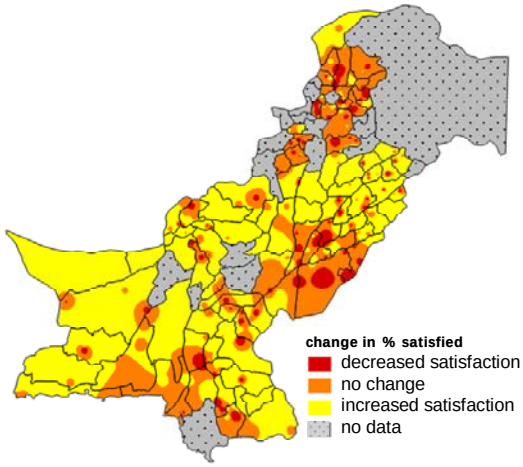

Figure 22. Change in % satisfied with the roads 2002-2004

"Earlier when we did not have paved streets, our children used to fall and hurt themselves. Now they are able to play outside the houses."
Female focus group, Sindh

"Travelling has become easier with the new roads. Now we are able to buy everything from the nearby market. Before, that market did not have many things available."
Female focus group, Balochistan

Roads are included in this section, but recognizing that road construction is partly a service from district government, or indeed from provincial or federal government in some cases. Local roads and streets are the responsibility of *tehsil* governments.

In 2004, 37.8% of households were satisfied with the roads in their area, 5.0% were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, 49.4% were dissatisfied, and 7.8% reported they had no access to roads at all.

Change in satisfaction between 2002 and 2004

Nationally, more households were satisfied with the roads in 2004 than in 2002. There was some variation by province (Figures 21 and 22). In comparing satisfaction between 2002 and 2004 we took into account sex of the respondent, education of the household head, vulnerability of the household and urban or rural location.

Households in Punjab and Sindh were more likely to say they were satisfied with the roads in 2004 compared with 2002. The biggest increase in satisfaction with roads was in Balochistan, where it was especially apparent in rural areas and vulnerable households. The small decrease in satisfaction with the roads reported by households in NWFP could have been due to chance.

Roads and streets are important to people. In the community focus group discussions, roads were one of the issues frequently mentioned when the groups talked about the most important services or problems in their community (see Annex 9). The groups gave examples of the ways in which improved roads had helped them.

Views from service providers

Tehsil governments considered roads and streets were one of their important successes (see Annex 8). Nearly a third (31%) of *tehsil nazims* and a third (32%) of TMOs listed improved roads and streets among their most important achievements. Many *tehsil nazims* thought they had been able to improve streets (36%) and roads (40%) and this view was shared by the

TMOs, of whom 38% said they had improved streets and 37% said they had improved roads. Only 6% of *nazims* and 10% of TMOs said they had not been able to improve streets, while 21% of *nazims* and 17% of TMOs said they had not been able to improve roads.

"We have constructed roads in areas where no one would even think it possible."
A representative of *zila nazim* in NWFP

At the district level, 44/84 *zila nazims* noted they had been able to improve the roads in the district during their tenure, while 12/81 cited roads as among the services they had not been able to improve, or not improve enough. The DCOs were in agreement: 40/86 thought they had improved roads in the district and 16/86 said they had not been able to improve roads.

Analysis of satisfaction with roads in 2004

We analysed satisfaction taking into account community and household factors.

Road development projects: As part of the community profile, the field teams recorded development projects in the communities over the last two years. Some 40.2% of communities had a road development project during this time, and such projects were especially common in NWFP (Table 13). In all provinces, households in communities with a road development project were more satisfied with roads. Except in Sindh, this association was mostly in rural areas.

Table 13. Communities with road development projects in the past 2 years (including roads, streets and street lights)

Province	% (n)
Sindh	32.5% (26/80)
Balochistan	27.7% (28/101)
NWFP	57.3% (55/96)
Punjab	41.7% (65/156)
Pakistan	40.2% (174/433)

Household and individual characteristics:
Household respondents were more likely to report satisfaction with roads if:

- They were women (except in Punjab, where men were more likely to be satisfied)
- The household head had some formal education
- The household was in the vulnerable category, in Sindh and Balochistan
- They were urban dwellers in Balochistan and NWFP. In Sindh, however, rural dwellers were more satisfied with the roads and in Punjab urban and rural dwellers were equally satisfied.

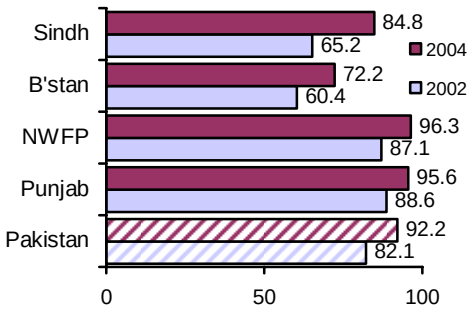

Figure 23. % of households with perceived access to roads in 2002 and 2004

Perceived access to roads

The proportion of households who considered they had access to roads increased in all provinces between 2002 and 2004, with the largest increase occurring in Sindh (Figures 23 and 24). The increase in perceived access to roads was more marked than the increase in reported

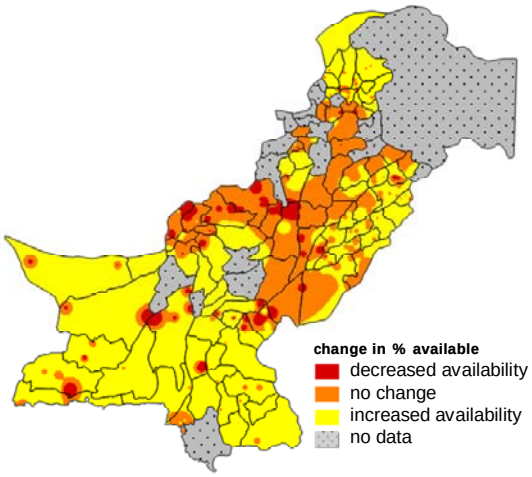

Figure 24. Change in % with perceived access to roads 2002-2004

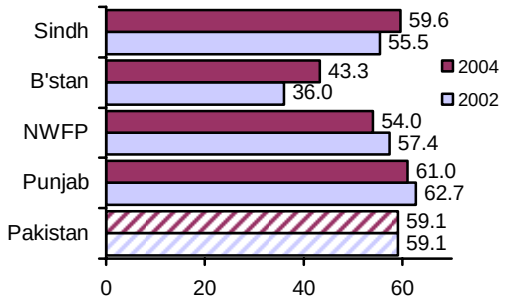

Figure 25. % of households satisfied with public transport system in 2002 and 2004

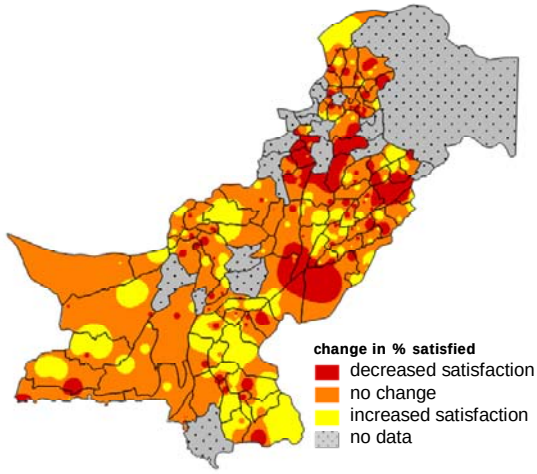

Figure 26. Change in % satisfied with public transport 2002-2004

satisfaction with roads. In analyzing the increase in perceived access between 2002 and 2004 we took into account sex of the respondent, education, household vulnerability and urban or rural location.

In all provinces the increase in perceived access to roads was significant and in Sindh, Balochistan and Punjab the increase was more marked in urban households. In Sindh and Punjab the increase was more marked in less vulnerable households.

Public transport

Public transport is included in this section, but recognizing that in many cases the public transport system is not directly provided by the local government but rather by private contractors. In 2004, 59.1% of households said they were satisfied with the public transport system in their area, 4.3% were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, 29.5% were dissatisfied, and 7.1% reported they had no access to a public transport system at all.

Change in satisfaction with public transport between 2002 and 2004

Nationally, there was no change in satisfaction with the public transport system. There was some variation in this across the country (Figures 25 and 26). In analyzing the change in satisfaction between 2002 and 2004 we took into account sex of the respondent, education, vulnerability of the household, and urban or rural location. There was an increase in satisfaction with public transport services in Balochistan and Sindh. However, there was a decrease in household satisfaction with public transport in both NWFP and Punjab.

Analysis of satisfaction with public transport in 2004

Road development projects: The existence of a road development project in the community within the past two years (as identified by the community profile) had a positive impact on household satisfaction with public transport in every province except Sindh.

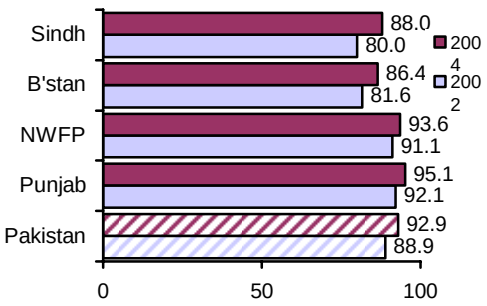

Figure 27. % of households with perceived access to public transport in 2002 and 2004

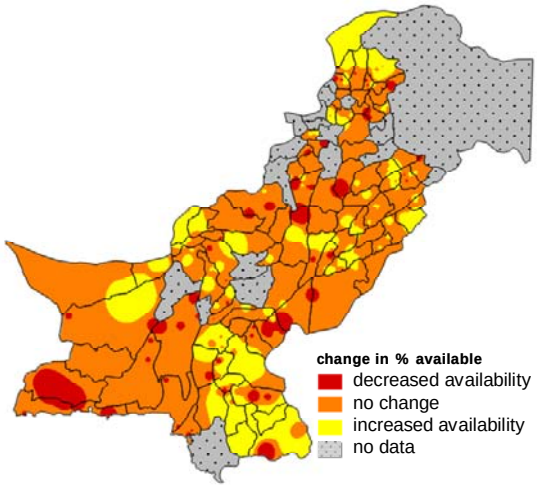

Figure 28. Change in % with perceived access to public transport 2002-2004

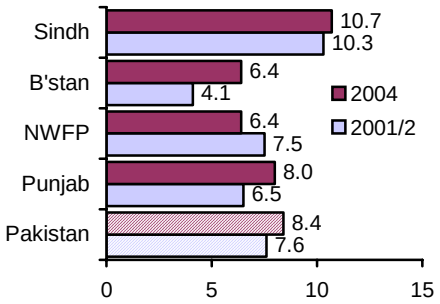

Figure 29. % of households satisfied with government garbage services in 2002 and 2004

Household and individual characteristics:
Household respondents were more likely to report satisfaction with public transport services if:

- They were women. This may reflect men's greater mobility and use of public transport
- The household head had some formal education, in Balochistan and NWFP
- The household was in the less vulnerable category, except in Punjab where this made no difference
- They were urban dwellers

Perceived access to public transport

In response to the question about satisfaction with public transport, some people said they had no access at all to public transport. However, most households considered they had access to some form of public transport, even if they were not satisfied with what was available.

The proportion of households that considered they had access to some form of public transport increased slightly in all provinces between 2002 and 2004, with the largest increase in Sindh (Figures 27 and 28). In Balochistan and NWFP the increase in perceived access to public transport was more marked in urban areas, while in Punjab it was more marked in rural areas.

Garbage disposal

In 2004, only 8.4% of households were satisfied with the government garbage removal service available to them, 1.2% were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, 26.7% were dissatisfied with the service and 63.7% said they had no such service available to them.

Change in satisfaction between 2002 and 2004

In analyzing the change in satisfaction between 2002 and 2004 we took into account sex of the respondent, education, vulnerability of the household, and urban or rural location. In Punjab, households were slightly more likely to be satisfied with government garbage disposal in 2004 than in 2002, mainly among less vulnerable households. Households in Sindh, Balochistan, and NWFP were no more likely to be satisfied in 2004 than in 2002 and nationally, there was no significant change in satisfaction with garbage removal services (Figure 29).

Views from service providers

Garbage disposal was not an area where many service providers thought they had been able to bring improvements. Neither TMOs nor *tehsil nazims* cited improved garbage disposal among the achievements of the *tehsil* government during its tenure. Just 7% of TMOs and 10% of *tehsil nazims* considered they had been able to improve garbage disposal. Some 5% of TMOs and 9% of *tehsil nazims* cited garbage disposal as one of the services they had not been able to improve.

Analysis of satisfaction with garbage services in 2004

We analysed household satisfaction with government garbage services in 2004, taking into account community and household factors.

Garbage removal system in the community: According to the community profiles, some 21.4% of the communities in the social audit sample had a government garbage removal service (Table 14). Not surprisingly, people living in communities with a government garbage removal system in place were much more likely to be satisfied with the government garbage disposal service.

Household and individual characteristics:
Household respondents were more likely to report satisfaction with garbage services if:

- They were women (except in Sindh)
- The household was in the less vulnerable category. Poorer households cannot necessarily take advantage of a garbage removal system, for which there may be a charge.
- They were urban dwellers

Perceived access to government garbage services

Between 2002 and 2004 there was an increase in the proportion of households who considered they had access to a government garbage removal service (Figures 30 and 31). In analyzing the change in perceived access between 2002 and 2004, we took into account sex of the respondent, education, household vulnerability and urban or rural location.

Table 14. Government garbage removal in 2004 - % (n) of communities

	Has a garbage removal service	Piles of garbage in street (observed)
Sindh	33.8 (27/80)	73.9 (51/69)
Balochistan	20.8 (21/101)	68.4 (65/95)
NWFP	12.5 (12/96)	78.2 (68/87)
Punjab	21.1 (32/152)	77.3 (102/132)
Pakistan	21.4 (92/429)	74.7 (286/383)

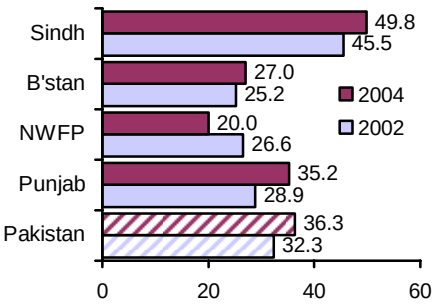

Figure 30. % of households with perceived access to government garbage disposal services in 2002 and 2004

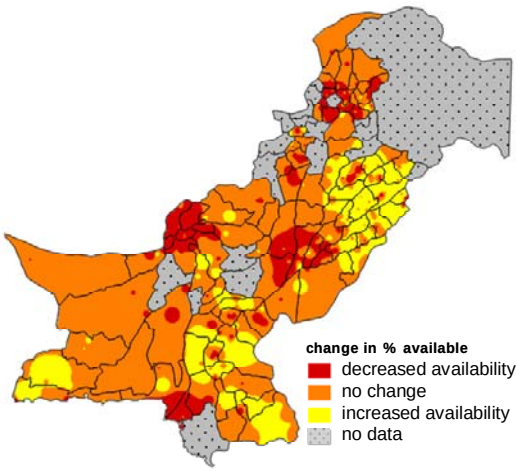

Figure 31. Change in % with perceived access to government garbage removal service 2002-2004

Table 15. Comparison of government community garbage removal services in 2002 and 2004: % (n)

	Available both years	Increased availability	Not available	No longer available
Sindh	22.2 (12/54)	13.0 (7/54)	59.3 (32/54)	5.6 (3/54)
Baloch.	5.5 (3/55)	14.5 (8/55)	72.7 (40/55)	7.3 (4/55)
NWFP	7.8 (5/64)	0.0 (0/64)	90.6 (58/64)	1.6 (1/64)
Punjab	11.1 (11/99)	8.1 (8/99)	74.7 (74/99)	6.1 (6/99)

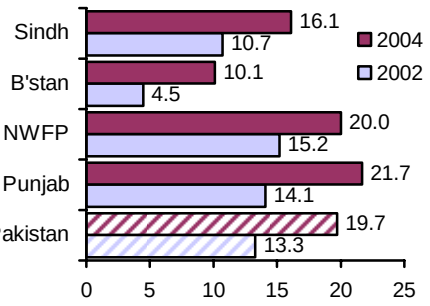

Figure 32. % of households satisfied with government sewerage & sanitation services in 2002 and 2004

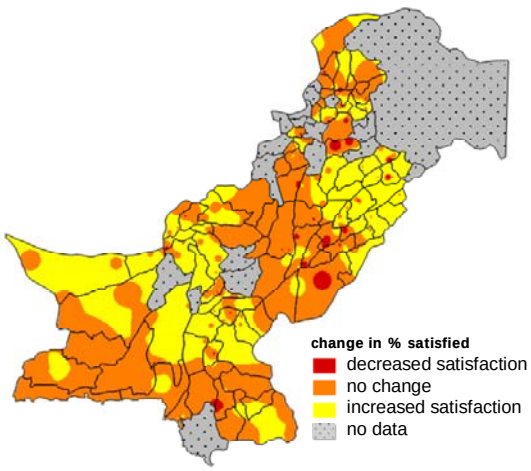

Figure 33. Change in % satisfied with government sewerage service 2002-2004

In Punjab households were more likely to consider they had access to garbage disposal in 2004; the increase was mainly in urban and less vulnerable households. In Sindh and Balochistan the change in perceived access to garbage disposal could have been due to chance. In NWFP there was a decrease in the proportion of respondents who considered they had access to a government garbage disposal service, mainly among rural and vulnerable households.

According to the community profiles (Table 15), some communities in the survey that had no garbage removal service in place in 2002 had a system in 2004 and a few had a service in 2002 but no longer had one in 2004.

Sewerage and sanitation

Nationally in 2004, some 19.7% of households said they were satisfied with the government sewage/sanitation service in their area, 2.7% were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, 44.0% were dissatisfied and 33.7% considered they had no government sewage/sanitation service at all.

Change in satisfaction between 2002 and 2004

Satisfaction with sewerage and sanitation services increased in every province between 2002 and 2004 (Figures 32 and 33). In analyzing the change in satisfaction between 2002 and 2004 we took into account sex of the respondent, education, vulnerability of the household, and urban or rural location.

In Sindh and Punjab the increase in satisfaction with government sewerage services was more marked in vulnerable households and in Sindh it was also more marked in rural areas.

Views from service providers

Tehsil governments considered sewerage and sanitation both a priority problem and an area where they had been able to make significant improvements (Annex 8). Some 14% of *tehsil nazims* and 15% of TMOs included improved sewerage systems among their most important achievements. Some 40% of *tehsil nazims* and 54% of TMOs felt they had been able to improve sewerage services, while only 26% of *tehsil nazims* and 34% of TMOs considered they had not been able to

improve sewerage services, or not improve them enough.

Analysis of satisfaction with sewerage services in 2004

We analysed satisfaction taking into account community and household variables.

Presence of a sewerage system in the community: According to the community profile records, 52.1% of communities in the survey had a government sewerage system in place in 2004 (Table 16).

Table 16. Government sewerage services in communities in 2004 - % (n)

	Has a sewerage service	Piles of excreta in street (observed)
Sindh	57.5 (46/80)	61.6 (45/73)
Balochistan	27.7 (28/101)	65.9 (58/88)
NWFP	56.3 (54/96)	78.4 (58/74)
Punjab	62.6 (97/155)	81.9 (113/138)
Pakistan	52.3 (226/432)	73.5 (274/373)

Not surprisingly, the presence of a government sewerage service had a strong effect on household satisfaction. In all provinces, households in communities with a government sewerage system in place were at least six times more likely to be satisfied with government sewerage services.

Household and individual characteristics: Household respondents were more likely to be satisfied with the government sewerage service if:

- They were women, except in Punjab where the sex of the respondent made no difference
- The household was in the less vulnerable category, except in Punjab, where this made no difference. Even when a system is present in the community, poor households might not be able to use it.
- They were urban dwellers

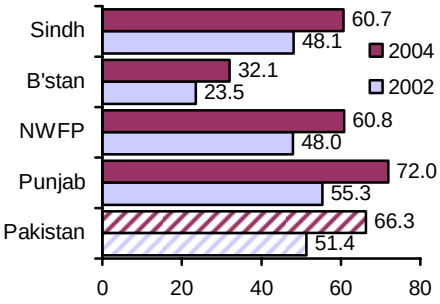

Figure 34. % of households with perceived access to government sewerage services in 2002 and 2004

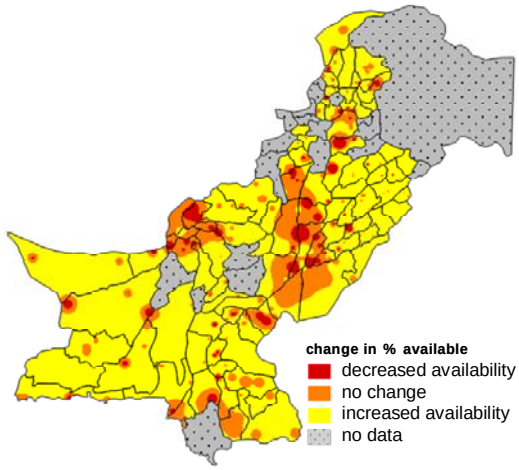

Figure 35. Change in % with perceived access to government sewerage service 2002-2004

Perceived access to sewerage services

Between 2002 and 2004 there was a marked increase in the proportion of households who considered they had access to some form of government sewerage service (Figures 34 and 35). In analyzing the change in perceived access between 2002 and 2004 we took into account sex of the respondent, education, vulnerability of the household, and urban or rural location.

The biggest increases in perceived access were in NWFP and Punjab. The increase in Balochistan could have been due to chance. It is not surprising that NWPF and Punjab showed the highest increases in perceived access to sewerage services, as they also had relatively more communities gaining sewerage systems between 2002 and 2004, according to the community

Table 17. Availability of government community sewerage services in 2002 and 2004: % (n)

	Available both years	Increased availability	Not available either year
Sindh	38.9 (21/54)	16.7 (9/54)	44.4 (24/54)
Balochistan	9.1 (5/55)	12.7 (7/55)	78.2 (43/55)
NWFP	20.3 (13/64)	31.3 (20/64)	48.4 (31/64)
Punjab	37.8 (37/98)	28.6 (28/98)	33.7 (33/98)

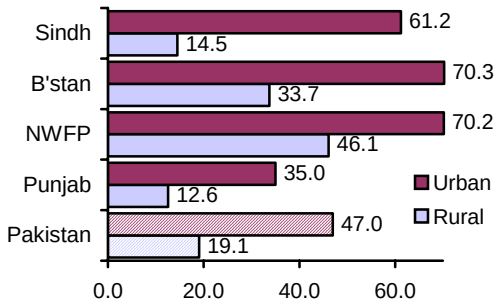

Figure 36. % of households with a government water supply in urban and rural areas (2004)

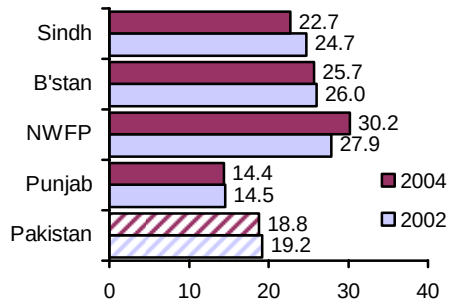

Figure 37. % households satisfied with government water supply in 2002 and 2004

Table 18. Communities with water development projects in the last two years

	% (n)
Sindh	18.8% (15/80)
Balochistan	33.7% (34/101)
NWFP	40.6% (39/96)
Punjab	7.7% (12/156)
Pakistan	23.1% (100/433)

profiles (considering only those communities included in both surveys) (Table 17).

Government water supply

In this section we include the findings from some further questions about water supply, in addition to the question on household satisfaction with the government water supply.

Households with government water supply

In 2004, only 29.0% of households received their water from a government supply. The proportion varied between provinces and was higher in urban areas (Figure 36). This makes it difficult to compare satisfaction with government water supply between provinces or between urban and rural locations, since the proportion of all households satisfied with a government water supply will inevitably be lower in those places with a lower proportion of households actually having a water supply from the government.

Change in satisfaction with government water supply between 2002 and 2004

In 2004, 18.8% of households across the country reported they were satisfied with the government water supply in their area, 2.1% were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, 23.4% were dissatisfied, and 55.7% said there was no access to a government water supply in the area. Taking household and community factors into account, nationally there was no increase in household satisfaction with the government water supply to communities between 2002 and 2004. There was also no difference in satisfaction between 2002 and 2004 in any province individually (Figure 37).

Analysis of satisfaction with government water supply in 2004

Water development project in the community:
According to the community profiles, 23.1% of the communities in the survey had a water development project in the last two years (Table 18). These were most common in NWFP and least common in Punjab.

Satisfaction with the government water supply was associated with the presence of a water supply

development project in the community in every province. In Sindh and Punjab, the association was mostly in rural areas, while in Balochistan it was more apparent in urban areas.

Household and individual characteristics:
Household respondents were more likely to be satisfied with the government water supply if:

- They were women
- The household was in the less vulnerable category
- They were urban dwellers in NWFP and Punjab. In Sindh, urban dwellers were *less* likely to be satisfied

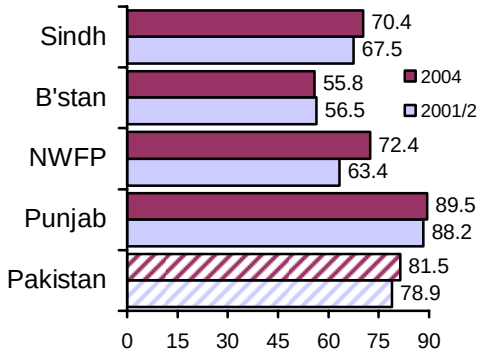

Figure 38. % of households with a water supply within the household

Water supply within the household: changes between 2001/2 and 2004

Overall in 2004, 81.5% of households reported having a water supply within their household, an increase over the figure of 78.9% in 2001/2 (Figure 38). We analysed the change in proportion of households with a water supply inside the homestead, taking account of urban or rural location, household vulnerability, education of the household head, source of water supply and payments for water supply.

In Sindh and NWFP households were more likely to have their water supply inside the homestead in 2004 than in 2001/2. In Punjab, the small increase could have been due to chance. In Balochistan households were slightly less likely to have their water supply within the homestead in 2004 than in 2001/2.

Type of water supply

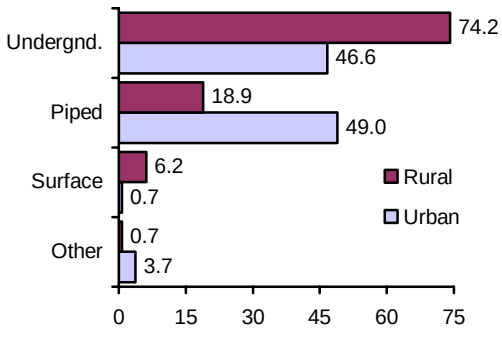

Figure 39. % households with different types of water supply in 2004

Nationally in 2004, 29.0% of households had a piped water supply, 65.6% used underground water, 3.3% surface water, and 2.1% had water from other sources. These proportions were the same as those in 2001/2.

Most rural households got their water from underground sources (Figure 39). In NWFP slightly more rural households used piped water (piped water 42.2%, underground water 40.6%). Most urban households used piped water, except in Punjab, where even in urban areas only 35.9% of households used piped water.

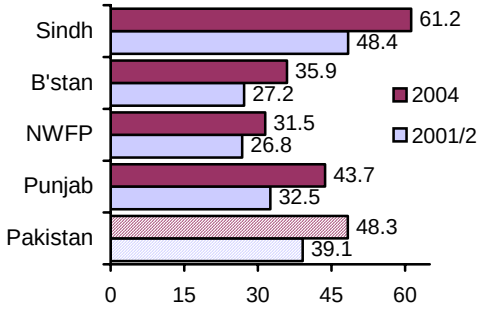

Figure 40. % of households who paid for water in 2001/2 and 2004

Table 19. Average monthly payment for water (Rs) among those who paid anything

	Year	Mean (wt)	Median	N
Sindh	2004	472.00	150.00	4,891
	2001	373.00	150.00	3,784
Baloch.	2004	572.00	125.00	4,201
	2001	377.00	100.00	2,534
NWFP	2004	713.00	60.00	4,133
	2001	591.00	60.00	3,477
Punjab	2004	436.00	200.00	11,518
	2001	422.00	180.00	9,989

"We now have taps in every house in this area. Previously we had to go very far to fetch water, or we would load water drums on donkeys and bring them home."
Female focus group, Balochistan

"Previously we had a steady supply of water but it was not being distributed fairly. Now that new pipelines have been laid, water is available in every house."
Female focus group, NWFP

Payments for water

Nationally, more households paid for their water supply in 2004 (48.3%) than in 2001/2 (39.1%). The increase was consistent across all four provinces (Figure 40).

Households with a piped water supply were more likely to pay for their water than those using underground water. But in Punjab the proportion of households paying for their water supply (including costs of fuel and maintenance for water pumps) was similar between those using piped and underground water.

Table 19 shows the average monthly payments for water among those who made a payment. The apparent increase in mean payments from 2001/2 to 2004 may be due to a few very high payments, since the increase in median payments is less marked and only apparent in Balochistan and Punjab.

Views from community focus groups

Many community focus groups cited water supply as a key issue for them. Participants explained the importance of the increased access to water supply enjoyed by some communities, especially following development projects, and described how this was an important aspect of life for many people. In many cases, they appreciated having a water supply inside their houses, which they had not enjoyed before.

Views of service providers

Tehsil governments frequently highlighted water supply as a priority problem or challenge. Some 29% of *tehsil nazims* and 22% of TMOs cited improved water supply as an important achievement (see Annex 8). Some 56% of *nazims* and 57% of TMOs felt they had been able to improve water supply, while 25% of *nazims* and 28% of TMOs felt they had not been able to improve water supply, or had not been able to improve it enough.

Services provided by the district government

Health and education services supplied by the district government are considered in detail in later chapters. In the 2004 social audit we added a question about satisfaction with agriculture services and the responses to this question are considered here.

Agriculture services

In 2004, 15.1% of households were satisfied with the government agriculture services available to them, 2.3% were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, 31.1% were dissatisfied, and 51.5% said they had no such service available to them.

Satisfaction varied by province, with the highest level of satisfaction in Punjab (Figure 41).

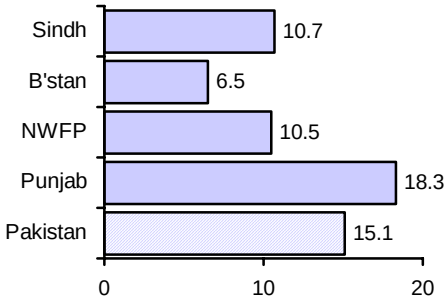

Figure 41. % households satisfied with government agriculture service - 2004

According to the community profiles, only 3.2% (14/433) communities (13 in Balochistan and 1 in NWFP) had an agricultural development project during the last two years.

Analysis of satisfaction with agriculture services in 2004

Household respondents were more likely to report satisfaction with agriculture services if:

- They were men
- The household head had some formal education
- They were from less vulnerable households, in Balochistan and NWFP
- They were rural dwellers, in Sindh. Most residents in large cities do not need these services. However, in Balochistan, urban dwellers were *more* likely to be satisfied with agriculture services. In Balochistan many urban dwellers still make their living through agriculture. Remote rural settings are harder for agriculture services to reach.

Perceived access to government agriculture service

Many people said they had no access to agriculture services. Access was lowest in Balochistan and highest in Punjab (Figure 42).

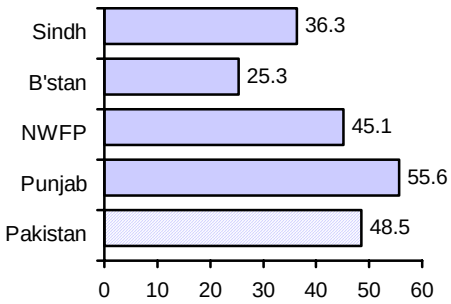

Figure 42. % households with perceived access to a government agriculture service in 2004

Services provided by the federal government

Gas supply

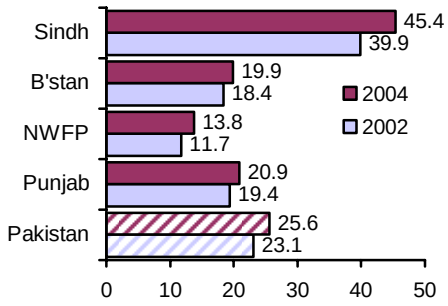

Figure 43. % of households satisfied with gas supply in 2002 and 2004

In 2004, 25.6% of households were satisfied with the government gas supply, 0.4% were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, 4.4% were dissatisfied with the service and 69.6% said they had no such service. It seems that if a household had a gas supply at all, they were satisfied with the service.

Change in satisfaction between 2002 and 2004

The variation in household satisfaction with gas supply by province in 2002 and 2004 is shown in Figure 43. In analyzing change in satisfaction between 2002 and 2004 we took into account sex of the respondent, education, household vulnerability and urban or rural location.

Sindh experienced the biggest increase in proportion of households satisfied with gas supply between 2002 and 2004. The increase was limited to urban areas. In Balochistan there was no change in satisfaction with gas supply overall and urban dwellers were actually less likely to be satisfied in 2004 than in 2002. In NWFP households were more likely to be satisfied with their gas supply in 2004 than in 2002 but the increase was small. In Punjab there was a small increase in satisfaction with gas supply, limited to rural areas.

Analysis of satisfaction with gas supply in 2004

Household respondents were more likely to be satisfied with gas supply if:

- The household head had some formal education
- The household was in the less vulnerable category
- They were urban dwellers (a very big difference)

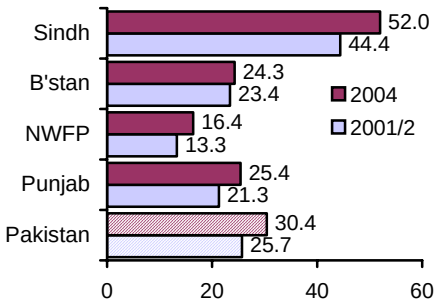

Figure 44. % households who reported they had a gas supply in 2002 and 2004

Reported access to gas supply

Figure 44 and the map in Figure 45 show the proportion of households in 2002 and 2004 who reported they had a gas supply, whether or not they were satisfied with the supply. In analyzing the change in reported access to a gas supply between 2002 and 2004 we took into account sex of the respondent, education, household vulnerability and urban or rural location.

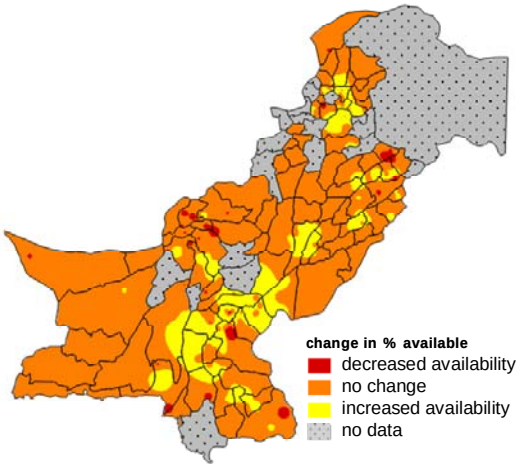

Figure 45. Change in % with reported access to government gas supply 2002-2004

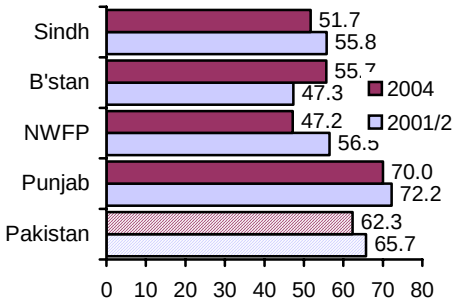

Figure 46. % households satisfied with electricity supply in 2002 and 2004

Table 20. Communities with electricity supply development projects in the past two years

	% (n)
Sindh	0.0% (0/80)
Balochistan	5.0% (5/101)
NWFP	12.5% (12/96)
Punjab	9.0% (14/156)
Pakistan	7.2% (31/433)

In Punjab, households were significantly more likely to report access to a gas supply in 2004 than in 2002, and the increase was more apparent in rural areas and in vulnerable households. In Sindh and NWFP households were more likely to report access to a gas supply in 2004 than in 2002, but the increase was limited to urban areas. In Balochistan, after taking account of other variables, households were actually slightly less likely to report access to a gas supply in 2004 than in 2002.

Electricity supply

In 2004, 62.3% of households were satisfied with the electricity supply, 6.2% were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, 24.1% were dissatisfied with their supply and 7.4% reported no supply.

Change in satisfaction between 2002 and 2004

Overall, there was a small decease in household satisfaction with electricity supply between 2002 and 2004 (Figure 46).

In Balochistan more households were satisfied with their electricity supply in 2004 than in 2002. However, while satisfaction increased in rural areas it actually decreased in urban areas, and although it increased among respondents from vulnerable households it decreased among less vulnerable households. In Sindh, NWFP and Punjab fewer households were satisfied with their electricity supply in 2004 than in 2002. In Sindh and Punjab, the decrease in satisfaction was mainly among urban dwellers and among less vulnerable households.

Analysis of satisfaction with electricity supply in 2004

Electricity supply development project: According to the community profile, 7.2% of the communities in the survey had an electricity supply development project in the last two years (Table 20).

In Balochistan and Punjab respondents from communities with an electricity supply development project in the last two years were more likely to be satisfied with the electricity supply than those from

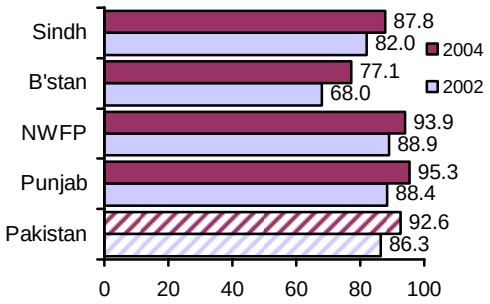

Figure 47. % of households reporting an electricity supply in 2002 and 2004

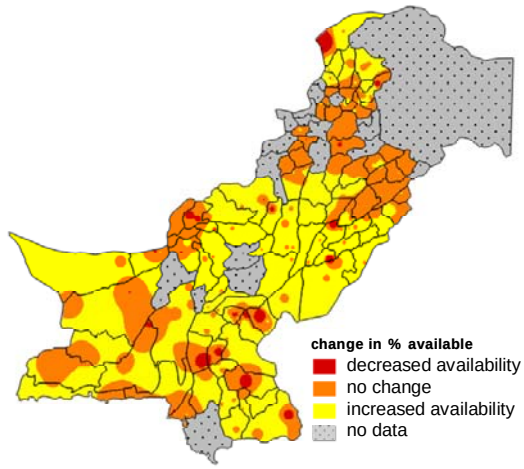

Figure 48. Change in % with reported access to electricity supply 2002-2004

communities without such a project. In Punjab this association was limited to rural areas.

Household and individual characteristics:
Household respondents were more likely to be satisfied with the electricity supply if:

- They were women
- The household head had some formal education, in Sindh and Balochistan
- The household was in the less vulnerable category
- They were urban dwellers, especially in Balochistan and NWFP.

Reported access to electricity supply

In all provinces households were more likely to report access to an electricity supply in 2004 than in 2002 (Figures 47 and 48). In Sindh and Punjab this increase was more apparent in urban areas.

Commentary

We need to be cautious about drawing conclusions from isolated household satisfaction ratings of public services. Yet put together with other information, these ratings do tell an important story. There is scarcely any evidence of any services deteriorating and, for several services, there is evidence of improvement in both public satisfaction and perceived access.

Services from *tehsil* governments

In 2004, the public was more satisfied with several of the services provided by *tehsil* governments than at the start of devolution. Household satisfaction ratings were confirmed by the discussions in community focus groups, by evidence from community profiles, and by the reports from the service providers, the *tehsil* governments.

Roads

Several levels of government share the responsibility for provision of roads, which have improved in recent years with the help of loans from international agencies. The Asian Development Bank (ADB) in 2001 provided a US$200 million loan for roads, especially in Sindh [1]. The ADB also provided $150 million for Punjab roads in 2002 [2], $187 million for Balochistan in 2003[3], and at the end of 2004 $310 million for roads in NWFP [4]. In 2002 Sindh received an additional loan of US$15 million for provincial road sector development from OPEC [5]. In 2003 the government initiated the National Highway Improvement Programme covering rehabilitation, resurfacing and improvement to 2700 km of the highway network [6]. The World Bank supported part of the programme with a US$150 million interest free credit and a $50million loan aimed specifically at improving the Peshawar-Islamabad-Lahore-Karachi corridor [7].

While these road programmes are important, most people in voicing their satisfaction about roads would probably be thinking about the farm to market roads, or the state of their local roads and residential streets. These roads are within the remit of the *tehsil* and district governments. The provision, repair, and maintenance of roads are a success story across the

country, in the view of the public and of the *tehsil* level service providers.

Public transport

Household satisfaction with public transport increased in Sindh and Balochistan between 2002 and 2004, but deceased in NWFP and Punjab over the same period. Public transport is not usually provided by government but it does require adequate roads for its operation. In 2004, households were more satisfied with public transport in communities which had road development projects.

Garbage disposal

In 1998 it was estimated that the urban areas of Pakistan generated about 20 million tons of solid waste per annum. It was said there was not a single city with a properly planned waste management system. The rate of collection was estimated at 51 to 69% [8]. According to the 2001-02 PIHS, 81% of all households in Pakistan had no garbage collection system, 56% in urban centres and 91% in rural areas. The situation was worst in Balochistan, followed by Punjab. Under devolution, the hope was that local communities would become active in planning and implementation of garbage disposal services, which can become self-supporting through cost recovery [6].

So far, the evidence is that TMAs have not been able to improve garbage services to any great extent. Few service providers claimed they had improved garbage disposal. Community profiles confirmed that few communities had a system in place. If they mentioned it at all, community focus groups complained about garbage disposal , and less than 10% of households were satisfied with a garbage disposal service (no change since 2002). Local governments will need to work on this issue in their next tenure.

Sewerage services

Based on figures from several surveys, the WHO/ UNICEF joint monitoring system reported access to improved sanitation in 2000 as 95% in urban and 44% in rural areas [10]. “Improved sanitation” meant the presence of any kind of toilet, and the figures did not take into account whether there is any system for removing human waste from where the toilet deposits it.

Sewers, where they exist, may often be clogged or otherwise not functioning [8].

The social audit shows that sewerage systems are a success for local governments. There is evidence of improvement in sewerage services, as judged by the satisfaction and reported access of households, the views expressed in community focus groups, the reports of service providers, and the evidence recorded in community profiles. There is also evidence, however, that the poorest communities and households are being reached last. Efforts to improve services need to be targeted to ensure they reach these groups more equitably.

Water supply

According to the National Water Sector Profile, Pakistan's overall water supply coverage in 2001 was 63% of the national population, 84% in the 12 major urban centres, 32% in intermediate urban centres, and 53% in rural areas. About 57% of people had piped supply to their homes; the remainder got water from hand pumps, wells, community taps or private water vendors. Over 50% of village water supply was through private hand pumps [11]. However, according to the WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme for Water and Sanitation, based on several study surveys, access to improved drinking water supply in urban areas remained at roughly 95% from 1990 through 2002, whereas urban access to household connections declined from 56% to 51% over the same period. In rural areas total access to improved drinking water rose from 82% in 1991 to 86% in 2002 while rural access to household connections declined from 11% to 9% [12].

Households, community focus groups, and local governments (especially TMAs) all prioritized water supply. However, although many *tehsil* governments felt they had been able to improve water supply, this was not reflected by an increase in household satisfaction with government water supply. This situation could be confused because many households get their water supply from a non-government source. More positively, between 2001/2 and 2004 there was an increase in the proportion of households with a water supply inside the household. Focus groups made it clear that this is much appreciated by the public. It seems that some households distinguish between quantity and

quality. Having a supply is the first step, but the quality also needs to be improved.

According to the PIHS, only 17% of Pakistanis paid for the water that they used in 2001; 43% in urban centres and 7% in rural areas. However, this probably excludes irregular payments for community-maintained water schemes [9]. Our figures for the proportion of households paying for water are considerably higher than those of the PIHS, but they include irregular payments for community schemes.

Services from federal government

Gas supply

There was some limited evidence of increased household satisfaction with gas supply, in certain parts of the country. Satisfaction mostly equated with having a supply at all.

Electricity supply

In contrast with gas supply, there was a decrease in satisfaction with electricity supply between 2002 and 2004, except in rural areas of Balochistan. This was in the face of an increased reported access to electricity. Community focus groups cited price increase as a reason for dissatisfaction.

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Chapter 4

Health services

Chapter 4. Health services

Satisfaction and perceived access to government health services

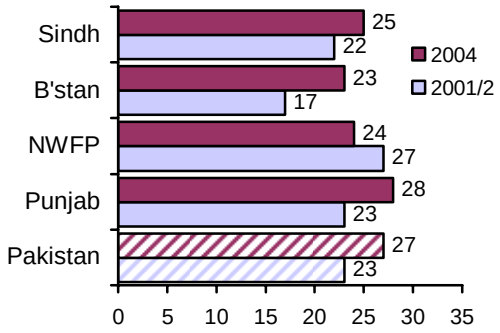

Figure 49. % of households satisfied with government health services in 2001/2 and 2004

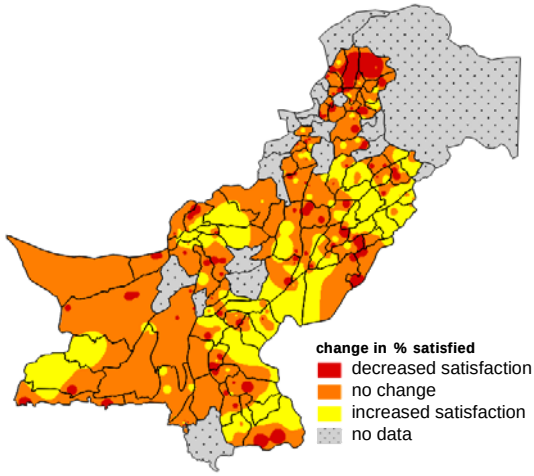

Figure 50. Change in % households satisfied with government health services 2001/2 to 2004

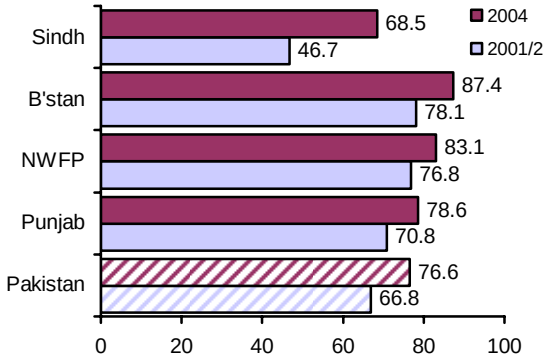

Figure 51. % households with perceived access to government health services 2001/2 and 2004

Household satisfaction with government health services

In response to a general question about satisfaction (users and non-users), there was an increased report of satisfaction with health services in all provinces except NWFP (Figure 49). Figure 50 (map) shows the change in household reported satisfaction between 2001/2 and 2004. In most parts of the country there was either no change or a reported increase in satisfaction values.

Analysis of satisfaction in 2004

Multivariate analysis cast some light on household satisfaction with health services. Vulnerable and very vulnerable households were significantly less likely to report satisfaction with available government health services. Urban residents, more educated and female respondents were more likely to express general satisfaction.

The cost of transport to their usual health providers was another influence. The average respondent in a household with health transport costs (to private or government facilities) was only half as likely to express general satisfaction with government health services.

Perceived access to government health services

More households considered they had access to a government health service in 2004 (76.6%) than in 2001/2 (66.8%). The increase was most marked in Sindh (Figure 51), mostly because perceived access in Sindh was much lower than elsewhere in 2001/2.

Use of government health services

The proportion of households who usually use government health facilities decreased between 2001/2 and 2004 (from 29.2% to 23.9%, Figure 52). This shift affected vulnerable groups too. In very vulnerable households, use of government facilities fell from 32% to 26% between 2001/2 and 2004.

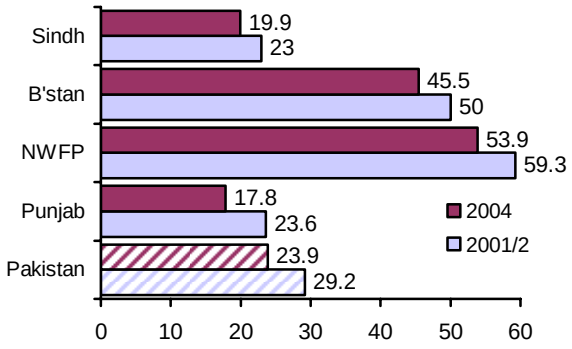

Figure 52. % households that usually used government health services, in 2001/2 and 2004

The reduced use of government health services between 2001/2 and 2004 was still apparent in a multivariate analysis that took into account sex of the respondent, household vulnerability, distance from the community of the government facility, working hours of the facility, and availability of private services nearby.

The decreased use of government services was mirrored by an increased use of unqualified practitioners, particularly marked in NWFP (13% in 2001/2 compared with 22% in 2004, Figure 53) although evident in all four provinces. In both 2001/2 and 2004, the use of unqualified practitioners was much higher in Punjab than elsewhere.

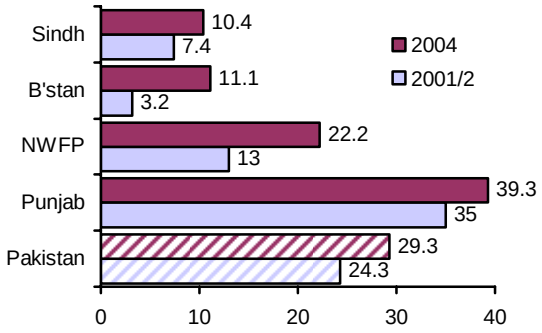

Figure 53. % of households that usually use unqualified practitioners, in 2001/2 and 2004

There was no change in the use of private qualified practitioners between 2001/2 and 2004.

The proportions of households usually using different health care providers in 2001/2 and 2004 are shown in Figure 54. The shift in use is from government services to unqualified practitioners, with the use of private qualified practitioners remaining unchanged.

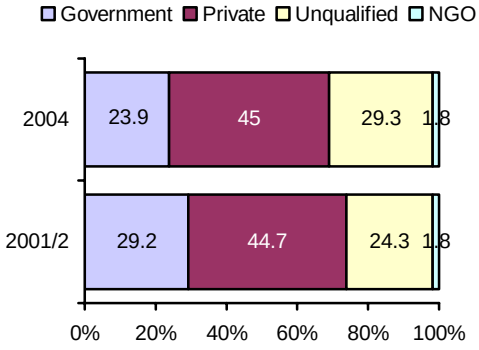

Figure 54. % households usually using different health care providers in 2001/2 and 2004

Reasons for the change in pattern of health service use between 2001/2 and 2004

We sought reasons for the declining use of government services and increasing use of unqualified practitioners in the data collected in the social audit. The reduction in use of government health services was more marked in communities where, according to the community profile, there was no government health facility within 5 kilometres.

The community focus groups discussed the findings about decreased use of government health services and

increased use of unqualified practitioners and gave their views about why this might be happening. And interviews with health service providers in government facilities serving the sample communities also gave some insights.

Most of the focus groups suggested that lack of medicines in government health facilities was a reason why people would not use these facilities. Some of the focus groups voiced the belief that medicines were not available in the facilities because they were diverted and sold on the market. Some 68% of the officers in charge of the government health facilities serving the communities said they did not have sufficient medicines for the patients they saw. However, this was not a new problem, and in 50% of the facilities, the situation had actually improved over the past two years, while in 18% it had got worse.

"Public doctors don't have gentle manners."
Male focus group, Punjab

Around two thirds of the community focus groups cited the bad attitude of doctors and other health staff in government health facilities as a reason why people would be reluctant to use these facilities.

"Sometimes we don't have money to go to qualified doctors. These practitioners examine us on credit."
Female focus group, NWFP
"They prescribe medicine according to our budgets."
Female focus group, Punjab

The focus groups explained the reasons why people, especially poor people, would be attracted towards unqualified practitioners. They explained that unqualified practitioners cost less; often they do not charge a fee and only take money for dispensing medicines. They also prescribe inexpensive medicines and examine on credit, increasing access of poorer families. Some groups also mentioned the ease of access to unqualified practitioners, since they are nearby and always available, even for home visits. And some focus group participants voiced the opinion that the treatment from unqualified practitioners was as good as that from qualified doctors.

Government health facilities reviewed in the social audit

Details of the information collected in the health facilities visited are given in Annex 6.

Of the 426 facilities visited in 2004, 321 were rural. Half were for primary care and a third (n136) were inside the community that used them; two out of three were open for 24 hours a day. Four out of every five were judged by the visiting team to be clean; 64% had

other patients in the room during consultation and 56% had functional latrines for patients.

More than a third of the facilities (38%) had at least one vacant post filled during the last year. Only 27% said they had sufficient medicines for their patient needs, but 49% reported an improvement in medicines over the last two years. Slightly more than half the facilities said the staff were consulted regarding the supply of medicine. Some 83% of facilities had received some training of staff in the last year.

Experience of health care contacts

Costs of government and private care

The notion of government health services being free is not valid in Pakistan. Almost all users of government facilities in 2004 paid something for the visit (including paying for investigations and medicines not provided by the facility). Table 21 shows quite striking similarities in costs of government and private health care for a case of fever in the last three months. The costs of most items are similar, although different proportions pay in each system. Provincial rates (Tables 22 and 23) show impressive similarity of costs in government and private sectors.

This raises a question about government unofficial "prices" being set in line with the private sector.

In NWFP, where medical care was the most expensive, government costs were higher than in the private sector. The cost of medicines obtained outside government facilities (where a prescription was supplied, to be filled privately) was also said to be higher than for those prescribed in the private sector.

A small proportion of government facility users reported paying the health worker (Table 24). Where this was the case, payments were usually of greater amounts than those made in the private sector.

The proportion of households that incurred travel costs to their usual government facilities did not change much between 2001/2 and 2004. And those who paid had to pay much the same amount (weighted averages Rs70.82 and Rs71.14 in 2001/2 and 2004 respectively). Perhaps

Table 21. Cost of a case of fever in government and private facilities in the three months before the survey

	Government	Private
% Paid anything for visit	94% (5880)	99% (7528)
Mean total cost of visit	229Rs (5300)	239Rs (7178)
% Paid for Ticket	77% (5796)	13% 7254)
Mean cost of ticket	5Rs (3543)	52Rs (764)
% Paid for medicines in facility	4.7% (5730)	43%(7128)
Mean cost of meds in facility	82Rs (258)	90Rs (2261)
% Paid for medicines outside	65% (5649)	60% (7041)
Mean cost of meds outside	252Rs (4188)	198Rs (5074)
% Paid service worker(s)	5% (5686)	44% (7073)
Mean paymt to service worker	95Rs 1(242)	72Rs (3963)
Made other payment	5%(5621)	5% (7105)

Table 22. Total cost at government and private facilities (2004)

Province	Government facilities Mean total cost (Rs)	Private facilities Mean total cost (Rs)
Sindh	182 Rs	257 Rs
Balochistan	363 Rs	499 Rs
NWFP	487 Rs	435 Rs
Punjab	105 Rs	190 Rs

Table 23. Medicine cost at government and private facilities

Province	Government: mean medicine cost (Rs)		Private: mean medicine cost (Rs)	
	Inside	Outside	Inside	Outside
Sindh	51	193	52	263
Balochistan	137	315	250	328
NWFP	189	375	232	271
Punjab	55	175	89	162

Table 24. Paying personnel at government and private facilities

Province	Government		Private	
	% paying	Amount	% paying	Amount
Sindh	9%	72Rs	57%	63Rs
Balochistan	5%	233 Rs	70%	87Rs
NWFP	7%	123 Rs	56%	95Rs
Punjab	3%	62 Rs	35%	80Rs

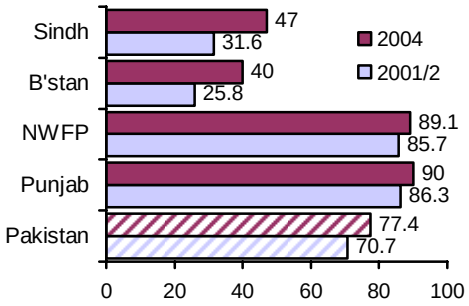

Figure 55. % Government health service users who paid for a ticket in 2001/2 and 2004

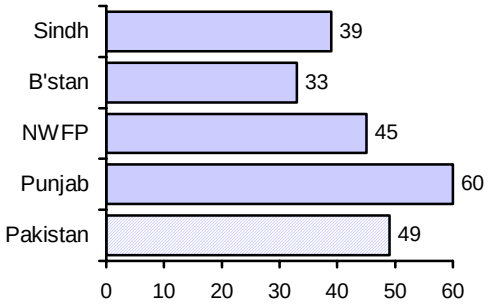

Figure 56. % government govt service users that paid more for a ticket than the official rate in the facility they used (2004)

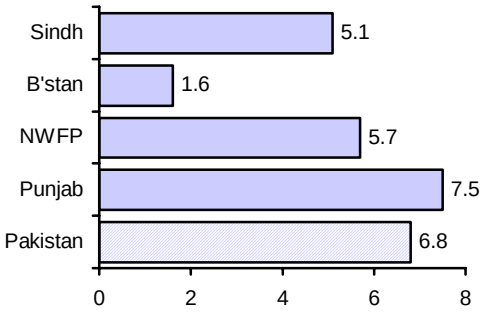

Figure 57. % government health service users that paid for medicines in the facility (2004)

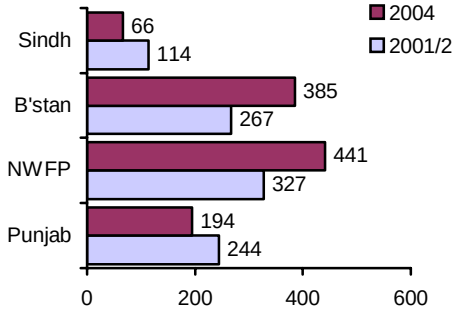

Figure 58. Amounts paid for medicines inside government facilities (Rs 2001/2 and 2004)

importantly, the cost of travel to attend private facilities dropped (Rs87 in 2001/2 to Rs39 in 2004).

Paying for the ticket

Two out of every three government health service users paid for a ticket. Figure 55 shows marked differences between provinces, with less people paying for the ticket in Sindh and Balochistan.

Nearly half of users reported paying more than the official slip fee in the facility they named (Figure 56). On average they paid about twice the official charge. Although a small amount for individual service users, aggregated over all visits to government facilities, this represents a sizeable amount in total.

Different types of facility charged at roughly the same levels. There was also no special pattern related to reason for the consultation.

In Sindh and Balochistan, users from more vulnerable households were *more* likely than those from less vulnerable households to pay above the official rate.

Paying for medicines in government facilities

Payments for medicines in government health facilities were rare but represent one form of corrupt practice. There was no increase in the proportion paying for medicines in government facilities between 2001/2 and 2004 except in Sindh. In 2004, around 7% of service users paid for medicines in government health facilities. This was uneven between provinces (Figures 57 and 58). Payments for medicines in government facilities covered the full range of reasons for consultation.

Across all provinces and types of facility, the average amount paid for medicines increased from 269 Rs (n=596) in 2001 to 306 Rs (n=700) in 2004. This was due mainly to increases in the amount paid in Balochistan and NWFP (Figure 58).

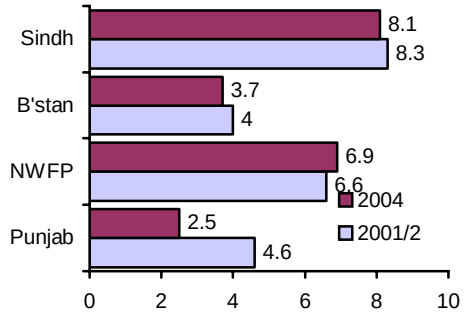

Figure 59. % users of government health facilities that paid health workers (2001/2-2004)

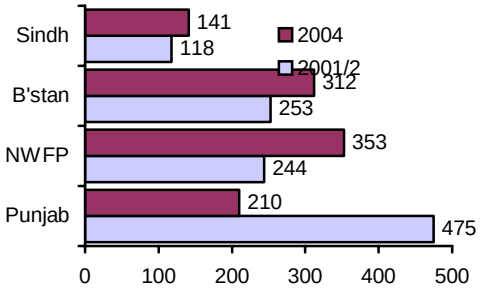

Figure 60. Amount (Rs) paid to government health workers in person (2001/2-2004)

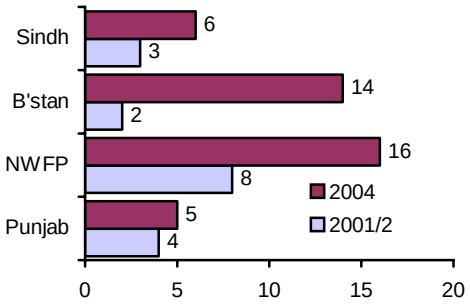

Figure 61. % users that reported other health care costs in government facilities (2001/2-2004)

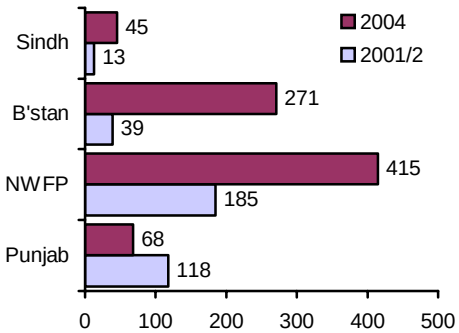

Figure 62. Total amount paid (x1000 Rs) for other expenses in each province (2001/2-2004)

Paying health care providers in government facilities

One in every twenty government health service users reported paying directly to health providers. These payments decreased slightly between 2001/2 and 2004. In Punjab, there was a significant decline in the proportion of users who paid personnel (Figure 59).

Overall, the average amount paid to health personnel also did not change much (330Rs in 2004 and 345Rs in 2001/2), although there was an increase in Sindh, Balochistan and NWFP, masked by the reduction in Punjab (Figure 60).

Other health expenses in government facilities

The proportion reporting other expenses for health care (for example for laboratory tests or other investigations) in a government health facility increased from 5.4% to 9% between 2001/2 and 2004. The population influence of Punjab, where there was no increase, masks larger increases in the other provinces (Figure 61).

The average amount of these other charges fell slightly between 2001/2 (576Rs) and 2004 (458Rs). Taking into account the increased proportion of users who bore these charges, however, absolute expenditure more than doubled. Users in this sample spent 360,000 Rs in 2001/2 compared with 796,8360Rs in 2004. Again, Punjab masks the importance of the increase in other provinces, especially in Sindh where the average amount paid in 2004 was more than double that in 2001/2 (Figure 62).

Countrywide, all types of health facility showed an increase on the proportion of users reporting other expenses. The increase in payments was spread across the full range of reasons for attending government health facilities.

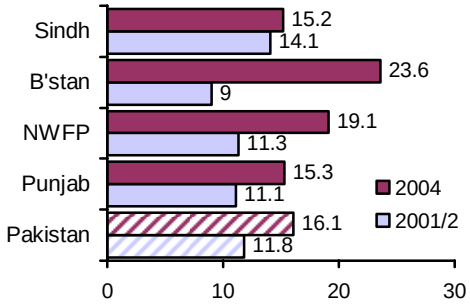

Figure 63. % of households who usually use government health services who knew how to complain

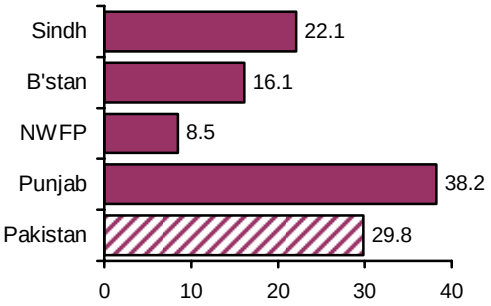

Figure 64. % of service users who got all the prescribed medicines in the facility in 2004

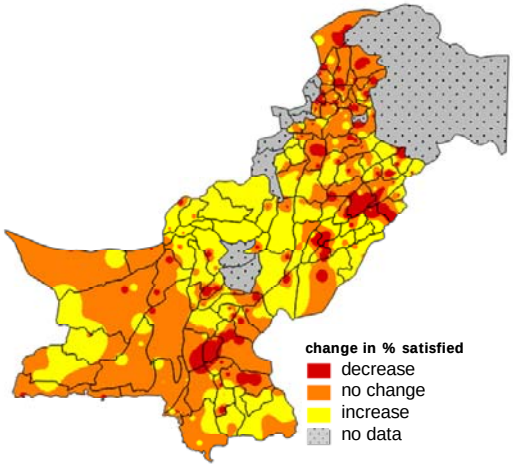

Figure 65. Change in % government health service users satisfied with service: 2001/2 to 2004

Complaints about health facilities

Among those that usually used government health facilities, an increasing proportion knew how to complain about health services (11.8% in 2001/2 and 16.1% in 2004). Figure 63 shows the increasing knowledge of how to complain in each province. Knowledge about complaining was higher among those who used NGOs (24%) and government facilities (21%) than private (14%) and unqualified (11%) practitioners.

There were provincially specific relationships between user satisfaction with services and knowledge of how to complain. In Sindh, the average user who was satisfied was more likely to know how to complain. In NWFP, the average government service user was significantly *less* likely to know how to complain compared with someone who used a different service.

Several questions in the institutional review also covered complaints and accountability. Half the facilities reviewed reported having a complaints system; physical evidence of the procedure was only visible in 17%. Asked how common complaints of corruption were, a few institutional respondents said “sometimes” or “common” – these facilities served 17% of the sample.

Availability of prescribed medicines

In 2004, we asked health service users if they had received the advised or prescribed medicines from the health facility. Less than a third (29.8%) of government service users in the last three months said they received all the medicines from the facility. This ranged from 38.2% with all medicines provided from the facility in Punjab down to 8.5% with all medicines provided in NWFP (Figure 64).

User satisfaction with health services

In 2001/2, 65% of government service users in the last three months said they were satisfied with their last contact. In 2004, 68.6% said they were satisfied (Figure 65). The increase in satisfaction over time was not accounted for by chance nor by any other household and individual factors that may have changed over the period (including vulnerability, education, housing, female headed household, reasons for attendance etc.)

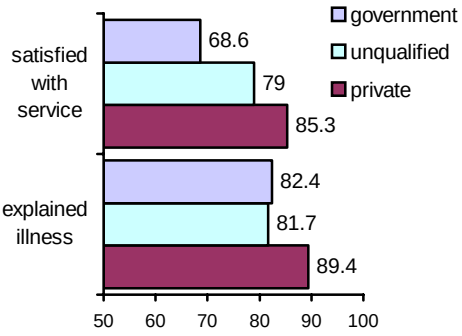

Figure 66. % services users satisfied and receiving an explanation of illness for government, private qualified and unqualified doctors (2004)

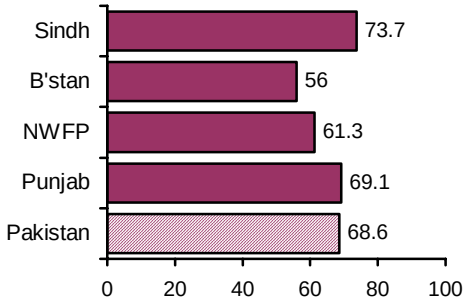

Figure 67. % government service users that were satisfied with care received (2004)

We analysed the actionable associations with satisfaction in 2004. For comparability, we used only cases whose last visit for health care was for fever in the three months prior to the survey. Figure 66 shows satisfaction in 2004 with government and other service providers. Satisfaction with government facilities was notably lower than satisfaction with the attention received from private qualified or unqualified practitioners. Figure 67 shows satisfaction with government treatment in 2004 in different provinces, with the lowest levels of satisfaction in Balochistan.

Vulnerable and very vulnerable people were significantly less likely to be satisfied with treatment in government health facilities. The sex of the patient was not a factor and satisfaction was more likely with users under the age of 15 years.

A multivariate analysis considered the effects of individual experience of the service on user satisfaction. The strongest factor by far was the user's report of availability of medicines in the facility. Also, people who reported paying the health provider directly were less likely to be satisfied, while those that received an explanation about their condition were more likely to be satisfied.

Another multivariate model considered the possible impact of institutional factors identified in the institutional review, based on the many potential institutional factors recorded. Users were more likely to be satisfied if:

- The facility was monitored by the union nazim or councillors
- The facility staff said they received complaints of corruption
- The facility was better organised and resourced

Commentary

The Health Division in the Ministry of Health is responsible for national planning and coordination, legislation, professional education standards and vital health statistics, including the health management information system (HMIS). Some vertical programmes remain federal responsibilities, like malaria control, tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS. With devolution, the provinces are responsible for planning and monitoring of health services but not for delivery of health services, now a district function [1].

The private health sector continues to grow and regulation of the private sector is one of ten areas of national health policy [2], intended to encourage private-public cooperation in the health sector by operationalizing under-utilized health facilities through NGOs, individual entrepreneurs or doctors' groups.

Positive findings from the social audit are the increases between 2001/2 and 2004 in household satisfaction with government health services, in household perceived access to government health services, and in satisfaction of users of government health services. The social audit 2004 figure of 27% of households satisfied with government health services is comparable with the PSLM survey figures of 36% satisfied with government basic health facilities and 11% satisfied with family planning services in 2004 [3].

However, there is also evidence of a decline in use of government facilities between 2001/2 and 2004. The movement away from government health services is not a new phenomenon. For example, data from the PIHS indicate that the proportion of women receiving antenatal care who received it from a government facility decreased from 43% in 1998/99 to 42% in 2001/02 [4]. PIHS data also show that in Punjab, the proportion of women having antenatal care who received it from a government facility fell from 52% in 1991/92 to 40% in 2001/02 [5].

The efforts of local governments to improve health services, including increasing availability of medicines to facilities (as reported by the facilities), are reflected in the increased satisfaction of both service users and households between 2001/2 and 2004. But the satisfaction of government health service users is still

lower than that of users of private and unqualified practitioners and household satisfaction, while increasing, is still only 27%. This is not yet enough to stop the movement of people away from government services. If the trend for increasing satisfaction of service users and households continues, there should be a halt or a reversal of the movement away from government services; it will be important to track this.

It is concerning that many people are apparently attracted towards unqualified practitioners by their low cost, willingness to treat on credit, ready accessibility, and user-friendly approach. Particularly in Punjab, unqualified practitioners provide a significant proportion of health care consultations.

The social audit provides some pointers for actions which could further increase satisfaction with government health services and draw people back from unqualified practitioners. The strongest individual factor in user satisfaction was the user report of receiving medicines in government facilities. The intervention to deal with this gap between the ideal and the perceived could include a combination of tightening up on system leakage of medicines and transparent accountability procedures, which allow the clients to know the exact situation about medicines in the facilities. Another potentially important action would be to improve the interaction between doctors and other health care providers and their patients, moving more towards a 'customer-oriented' model.

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Chapter 5

Education

Chapter 5. Education

Public perceptions of government education services

Household satisfaction with government education services

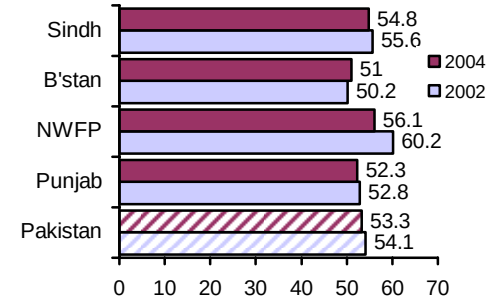

Figure 68. % households satisfied with government education services in 2002 and 2004

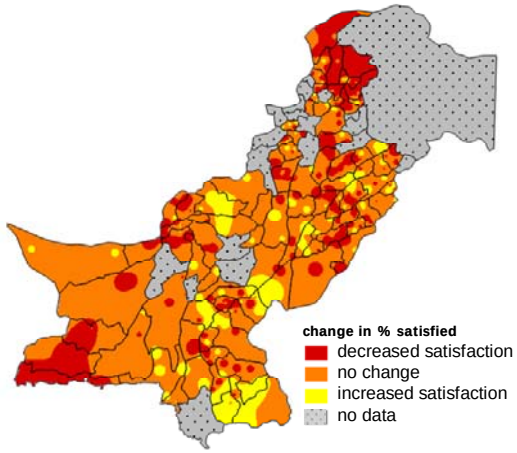

Figure 69. Change in household satisfaction with government education services

In 2004, 53.3% of households said they were satisfied with government education services in their area, 6.2% were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, 36.4% were dissatisfied, and 4.1% considered they had no government education services available in their area. This compares with 54.1% of households satisfied with government education services in 2002, 3.8% neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, 34.7% dissatisfied and 7.4% reporting no available service. Note that this satisfaction rating came from all households, whether or not they actually used government education services. And it included education beyond government primary education services. Across all four provinces, household satisfaction with government education services remained much the same between 2002 and 2004 (Figure 68).

Changes in satisfaction with education from 2002 to 2004

The map in Figure 69 shows that there was little change in household satisfaction with government education services between 2002 and 2004 in any part of the country.

We analysed change in household satisfaction with government education services, taking into account sex of the respondent, education of the household head, household vulnerability, and urban or rural location. In this multivariate analysis, in Sindh and Punjab, households were as likely to be satisfied with education services in 2004 as they were in 2002. In Balochistan and NWFP respondents were slightly less likely to be satisfied with education services in 2004 than they were in 2001/2. In both provinces this was limited to male respondents and in Balochistan it was also limited to urban areas.

Analysis of household satisfaction with government education services in 2004

In the multivariate analysis of satisfaction with education services we took into account proximity to government schools, urban or rural location, sex of the respondent, education of the household head, and household vulnerability.

Proximity to government schools: In all four provinces, households in communities that had a government girls' school within 1.5 Km were more likely to be satisfied with government education services than those in communities without a government girls' school. The presence of other types of government school near to the community was not consistently related to household satisfaction with government education services.

Household and individual characteristics:
Household respondents were more likely to report satisfaction with government education services if:

- They were women, except in Punjab where male respondents were more likely to be satisfied
- The household head had some formal education. This was only apparent in Balochistan
- The household was in the less vulnerable category. This was true in Balochistan only, while in Punjab it was vulnerable households who were more likely to be satisfied
- They were urban dwellers in NWFP and Punjab. In Sindh rural dwellers were more likely to be satisfied

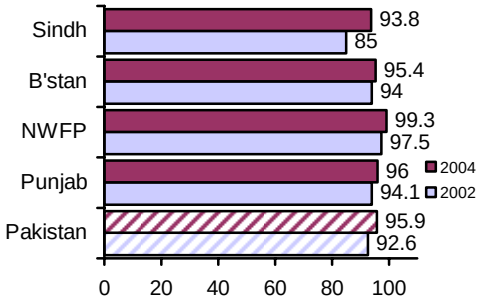

Figure 70. % households with perceived access to government education services in 2002 and 2004

Perceived access to government education services

Most households in both 2002 and 2004 considered they had access to a government education service, even if it was one they were not satisfied with. In all provinces the small proportion of households reporting no government education service in their area reduced between 2001/2 and 2004 (Figure 70). The map in Figure 71 illustrates the particular increase in perceived access to government schools in Sindh.

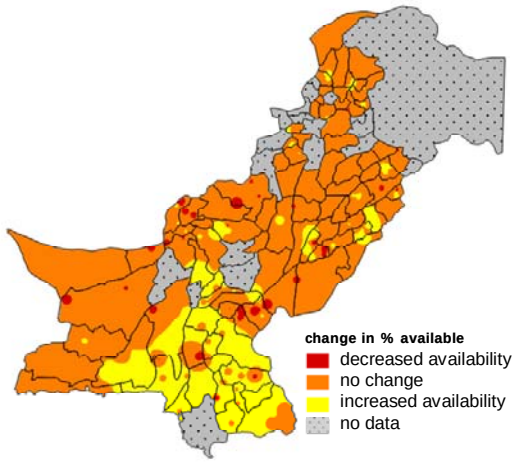

Figure 71. Change in household perceived access to government education services

Change in perceived access to education services

In Sindh, NWFP, and Punjab, households in 2004 were more likely to consider they had access to government education services than in 2001/2. In NWFP the

increase was marked among male respondents than among female respondents. In Balochistan there was no significant change in perceived access to education between 2001/2 and 2004.

Net school enrolment

In 2004, 76.5% of children aged 5-9 years were enrolled in school. Provincially the rate was highest in Punjab at 78.7% and lowest in Balochistan at 65.8%. The rate in Sindh was 72.2% and 77.1% in NWFP (Figure 71).

The national figure is 6.6% higher than the national enrolment rate among children aged 5-9 years in 2002 of 69.8% and there is an apparent increase in all provinces (Figure 72).

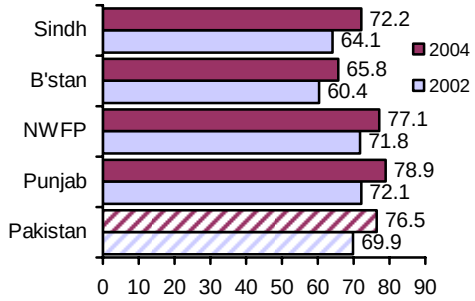

Figure 72. % school enrolment in children aged 5-9 years

Change in school enrolment 2002 - 2004

We examined the change in net enrolment of 5-9 year old children between 2002 and 2004, taking into account the effects of sex of the child, vulnerability of the household, sex of the respondent, education of the household head, urban or rural location, and province.

Taking into account the effects of these other variables, children in Sindh, NWFP and Punjab were more likely to be enrolled in 2004 than in 2002. In Sindh, the increase was found only among girls. In Punjab, the increase was more marked for children from vulnerable households. Children in Balochistan were no more likely to be enrolled in 2004 than in 2002.

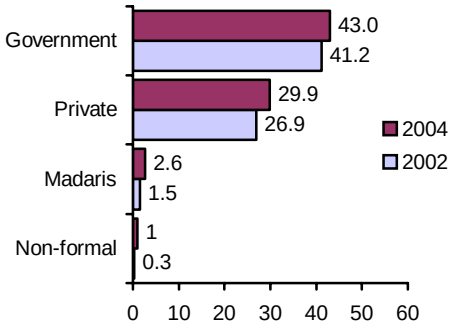

Figure 73. % enrolment in different types of schools among children aged 5-9 years in 2002 and 2004

Type of school attended

Out of all 5-9 year old children in 2004, 43.0% were enrolled in government schools in 2004, 29.9% in private schools, 2.6% in madaris and 1% in non-formal schools. Figure 73 shows the proportions of children age 5-9 enrolled in the different types of schools in 2004 and 2002. There was a 1.8% increase in enrolment into government schools and a 3.0% increase in enrolment into private schools between 2002 and 2004.

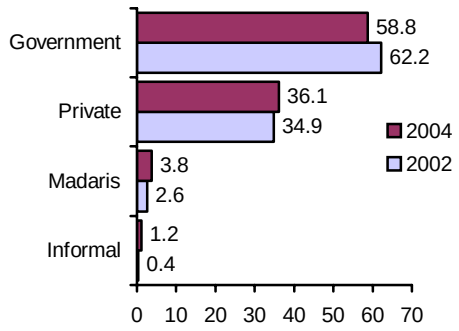

Figure 74. % enrolment in different types of schools among children aged 5-9 attending any school in 2002 and 2004

Among 5-9 year old children enrolled in any school, 58.8% were in government schools in 2004, 36.1% in private schools, 3.8% in *madaris*, and 1.2% in informal

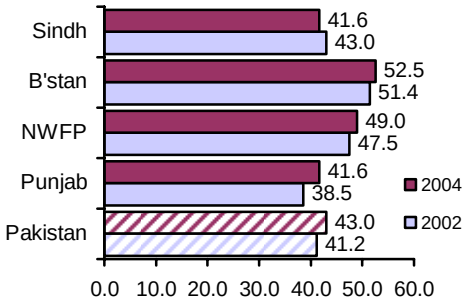

Figure 75. % children aged 5-9 years enrolled in a government school in 2002 and 2004

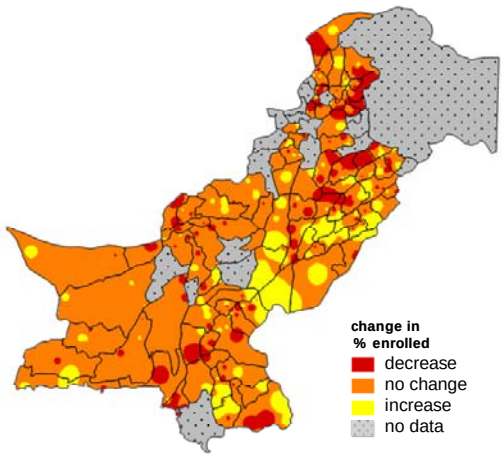

Figure 76. Change in enrolment of boys aged 5-9 years in government school 2002-2004

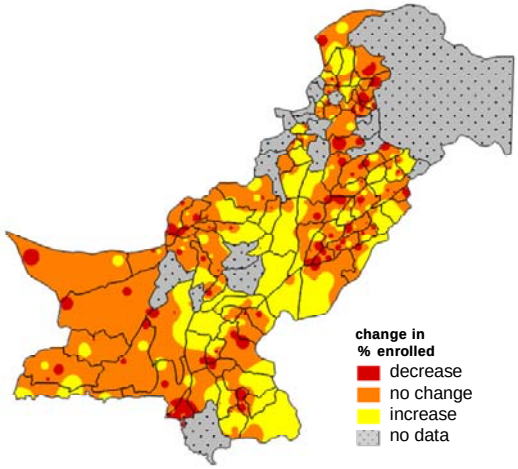

Figure 77. Change in enrolment of girls aged 5-9 years in government school 2002-2004

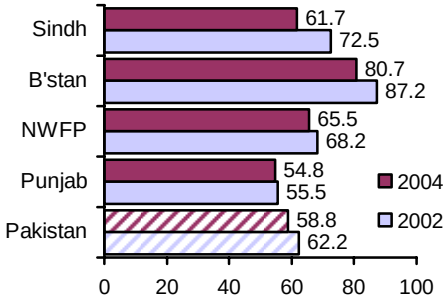

Figure 78. % school-going children attending a government school

schools (Figure 74). Because of the slightly greater increase in enrolment into private schools than into government schools, the proportion of enrolled children in government schools fell by 3.4%, while the proportion in private schools rose by 1.2%. The share in *madaris* increased by 1.2%

Change in enrolment in government schools 2002-2004

(a) among all children aged 5-9 years

Figure 75 shows the proportions of all children aged 5-9 years who were enrolled in government schools in 2004 and 2002 nationally and in each province. Figures 76 and 77 show the change in enrolment of boys and girls into government school between 2002 and 2004.

In examining the change in enrolment into government schools between 2002 and 2004, we took into account the effects of sex of the child, vulnerability of the household, sex of the respondent, education of the household head, urban or rural location, and province.

Girls, children from vulnerable households, and children from rural households were more likely to be enrolled in a government school in 2004 than in 2002, with some variation between provinces.

In Sindh, children from vulnerable households were more likely to be enrolled into government schools in 2004 than in 2002, while children from less vulnerable households were *less* likely to be enrolled into a government school in 2004 than in 2002. Girls in Sindh, but not boys, were more likely to be enrolled in government schools in 2004 than in 2002.

(b) among enrolled children aged 5-9 years (proportion in government school)

Figure 78 shows the proportion of school-going children who attended a government school in 2002 and 2004, nationally and in each province.

In examining the change in proportion of enrolled children in government schools between 2002 and 2004, we took into account the effects of sex of the child, vulnerability of the household, sex of the respondent, education of the household head, urban or rural location, and province.

Children enrolled in school were less likely to be in a government school in 2004 than in 2002. This was true in for all enrolled children in Sindh and NWFP and for enrolled children in rural areas in Balochistan. In Punjab an enrolled child was as likely to be in a government school in 2004 as in 2002.

Change in enrolment in private schools 2002-2004

(a) among all children aged 5-9 years

Figure 79 shows the enrolment of children aged 5-9 years in private schools in 2002 and 2004 for the country as a whole and for each province. In analysing the change in enrolment in private schools between 2002 and 2004, we took into account the effects of sex of the child, vulnerability of the household, sex of the respondent, education of the household head, urban or rural location, and province.

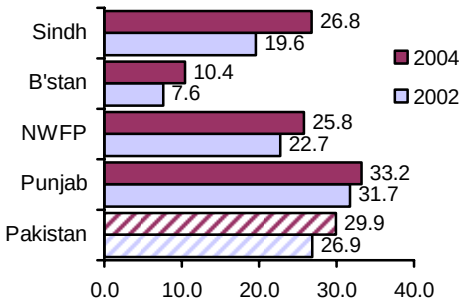

Figure 79. % children aged 5-9 years enrolled in a private school in 2002-2004

Across the country, more children were enrolled in a private school in 2004 than in 2002. In NWFP the increase in enrolment in private schools was limited to vulnerable households. In Punjab the increased enrolment in private schools was confined to urban areas. In Balochistan a child was no more likely to be enrolled in a private school in 2004 than in 2002.

(b) among enrolled children aged 5-9 years (proportion in private school)

Figure 80 shows the proportion of enrolled children who were in private schools in 2002 and 2004 for the country as a whole and for each province.

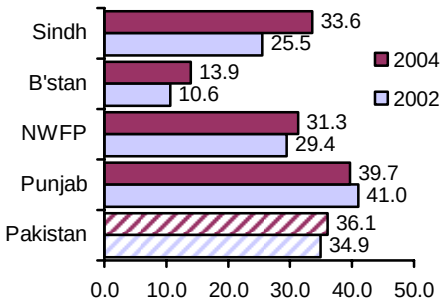

Figure 80. % school-going children attending a private school

Overall, enrolled children were slightly more likely to be in a private school in 2004 than in 2002. This was true in Sindh and NWFP, while in Balochistan and Punjab there was no change in the proportion of enrolled children in private schools between 2002 and 2004.

Enrolment in school in 2004

We examined school enrolment (into any type of school) among children aged 5-9 years in 2004, taking into account the affects of sex of the child, vulnerability of the household, education of the household head, urban or rural location, and proximity of a government or private school.

Proximity of schools: Nearly all communities in the survey had a government school (of some sort) within 1.5 Km. In all provinces, children from communities within 1.5 Km of a private school were more likely to be enrolled in school (of any kind).

Sex of the child: The gender gap in school enrolment nationally and in each province is shown in Figure 81. In all provinces, boys were more likely than girls to be enrolled in school. In Sindh, this difference was only found in rural areas and was more pronounced in vulnerable households. In NWFP, the difference was particularly in vulnerable households, and particularly in communities not within 1.5 Km of a private school. In Punjab, the association was stronger in communities not within 1.5 Km of a private school, in rural areas, and in households with an uneducated head.

Other household characteristics:
A child was more likely to be enrolled in school if:

- The household head had some formal education
- The household was in the less vulnerable category
- The household was in an urban community

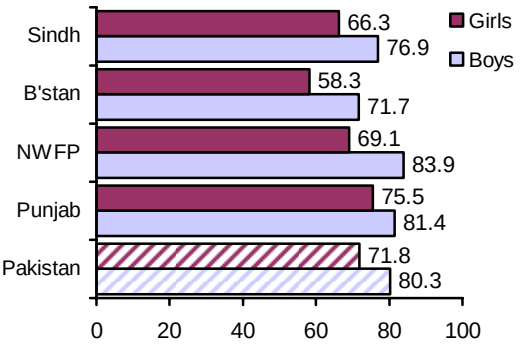

Figure 81. % of boys and girls aged 5-9 years enrolled in school (2004)

Parents' reasons for not sending children to school

Table 25 shows the reasons parents gave for their children not being in school. The two top reasons were that parents could not afford the expense of sending the child to school or that they considered the child too young for school (although all the children were at least five years old). The reasons were broadly similar for boys and girls, except that "no need or studying at home" and "no girls' school or female teachers" featured more as reasons for girls not being in school.

Table 25. Parents' reasons for children aged 5-9 years not being enrolled in school

Reason	Weighted % (number)	
	Boys	Girls
Cannot afford it	30.4 (1621)	31.7 (1791)
Child too young	32.4 (2141)	27.0 (1786)
Child handicapped/sick	13.3 (503)	8.3 (327)
No need/home study	2.3 (204)	11.3 (1611)
Child not interested	8.5 (680)	5.9 (540)
Poor access to school	3.2 (323)	4.3 (530)
Child working	3.2 (232)	1.7 (168)
No girls school/female teachers	0.03 (17)	3.7 (1332)
Studying religion	2.1 (71)	1.8 (126)
No school teachers	2.3 (872)	1.6 (615)
Poor teaching/teachers	1.3 (140)	1.4 (160)
Poor school facilities	0.7 (65)	1.0 (73)
Child expelled	0.2 (14)	0.3 (25)

Proportion of enrolled children in government and private schools in 2004

We examined the proportion of enrolled children aged 5-9 years in government schools in 2004, taking into account the affects of sex of the child, vulnerability of the household, education of the household head, urban or rural location, and proximity of a government or private school. Since enrolled children are nearly all in either a government school or a private school, if certain enrolled children are more likely to be in a government school, this means they are less likely to be in a private school and vice versa.

Proximity to schools: In all provinces, enrolled children from communities within 1.5 km of a private school were less likely to be in a government school.

Sex of the child: In Sindh, enrolled girls and boys were equally likely to be in a government school. In Balochistan, NWFP and Punjab, enrolled boys were less likely than enrolled girls to be in a government school.

Other household characteristics:
An enrolled child was more likely to be in a government school if:

- The household head had no formal education
- The household was in the vulnerable category
- The household was in a rural community

Parents' reasons for choice of school in 2004

Household information from parents

Table 26. Parents' reasons for choosing a government or private school for their child

Reason	Weighted % (number)	
	Government school	Private school
Nearby, easy access	43.6(14576)	26.6(2962)
Low or no fee / incentives	27.6 (3902)	2.5 (267)
Good teachers, teaching	13.6 (2907)	44.7(4106)
No other choice	10.9 (3975)	3.9 (265)
Good facilities, environment	4.4 (1103)	21.7(2085)
Islamic teaching	0.03 (18)	0.6 (91)

Parents of enrolled children gave their main reason for choosing the school their child was attending. Table 26 shows the reasons why parents selected government or private schools for their children. The pattern of reasons is quite different between government and private schools. The top two reasons for sending a child to a government school are ease of access and the low cost (or even incentives). For private schools quality of teaching comes well ahead of ease of access and good facilities are a close third reason.

Information from community focus groups

The male and female focus groups held in all the survey sites discussed in more detail the reasons why parents in the area would choose to send their children to government schools, to private schools, or to madaris (see Annex 9).

Government schools

Practically all the focus groups explained that parents choose to send their children to government schools because they are cost-effective since tuition is free. More than half of the groups also mentioned that government schools offer facilities and incentives. These include free books, free uniforms in some places, and scholarships for girl students.

"Tuition and books are provided free of cost."
Male focus group, Punjab

"The standard of education is not good. But the poor send their children over there because they cannot afford to send them elsewhere."
Female focus group, NWFP

However, many groups said that the standard of education was low in public schools, but they were too poor to send their children elsewhere.

"Public school children show a 100% result."
Male focus group, Punjab

"The quality of education is good. All today's doctors and high officers are a product of public schools."
Female focus group, NWFP

About a third of the groups said that the quality of education was adequate in public schools. Some groups emphasized that public school children do well in examinations and show good results. Others mentioned that some public schools have maintained high standards as well.

"We don't have any private schools in our area. That's why parents don't have a choice."
Female focus group, Balochistan

The absence of a private school in an area and people's access to a public one also sometimes played a role in the choice of a government school.

Private schools

"Private schools are English-medium. Since higher education is taught in English, it is important for the child to learn this language at an early stage."
Female focus group, NWFP

"Pick up and compare for yourself the syllabus being taught in public and private schools. You will see the difference."
Male focus group, Sindh

Many of the groups said that parents send their children to private schools because the quality of education is better there. An important consideration for determining quality was that English is taught there. Other factors that defined quality were that the syllabus is better, children are given homework everyday and that they are taught their lessons regularly.

"Since we are paying a fee, we are in a position to hold them accountable anytime we want."
Female focus group, NWFP

Another reason the groups explained for sending children to private schools was their good management and accountability. Nearly half the groups concluded that because these schools charge fees, this makes them more accountable. Parents feel they can go and question the schools about their child's performance.

Focus groups said parents often choose a private school because of the poor quality of government schools. They said that public teachers are not regular, not conscientious about their work, and not interested in teaching the children. The large class size was also an issue, not likely to improve if there is increased enrolment into government schools without a corresponding increase in teacher numbers.

"People have a lot of money to spare. They don't know what to do with it, so they send their children to private schools."
Female focus group, Balochistan

On the other hand, some focus groups concluded that parents who are rich send their children to private schools, not necessarily because the standard of education is better in private schools but because they want to show off their wealth to others.

Parents' satisfaction with schools

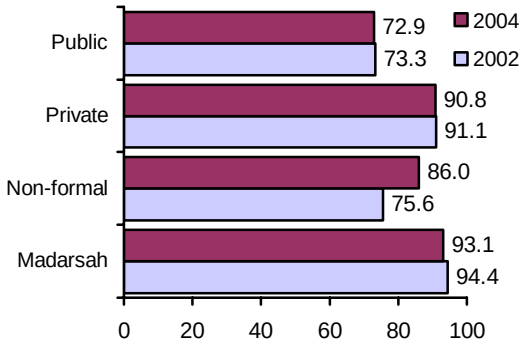

Figure 82. % of parents satisfied for children in different types of school in 2002 and 2004

Nationally in 2004, 72.9% of parents of children in a government school were satisfied with the school, compared with 90.8% for children in a private school, 86.0% for children in a non-formal school, and 93.1% for children in a *madarsah*. In 2002 the proportions of parents satisfied with schools of different types were similar (Figure 82).

There was little variation between provinces in parental satisfaction with government schools in either 2002 or 2004, and no change between 2002 and 2004 (Figure 83).

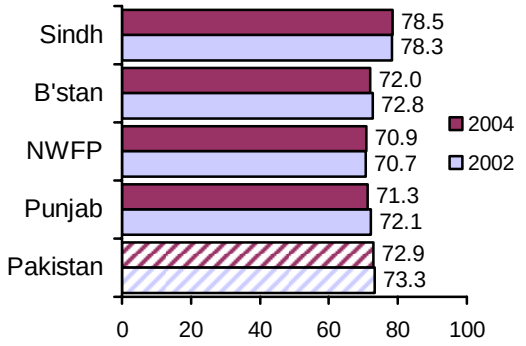

Figure 83. % parents of children in government schools satisfied with the school in 2002 and 2004

Analysis of satisfaction with government schools in 2004

We examined the factors related to parents' satisfaction with government schools, taking into account the sex of the child, education of the household head, vulnerability of the household, urban or rural location, and province, as well as variables related to the school itself (for children we could link to a school review).

Parents were more likely to be satisfied if the school required children to wear a uniform, and if the school had a formal complaints procedure, suggesting it was trying to be more responsive to parents. Both of these associations were found mainly in Balochistan. Parents of boys were more satisfied if the school had furniture for students, suggesting a more formal and better funded school. This association was mainly in Balochistan and NWFP.

Reasons for satisfaction or dissatisfaction

Table 27. Parents' reasons for satisfaction with government and private schools in 2004 (weighted %)

Reason	Government schools		Private schools	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Good teachers, teaching	83.5	83.1	88.3	86.6
Good facilities, environmnt	6.2	6.7	7.3	8.3
Nearby, easy access	4.9	4.6	2.4	2.3
Low or no fee / incentives	4.1	3.7	1.2	1.4
No other choice	1.2	0.1	0.2	0.4
Islamic teaching	0.1	0.1	0.6	1.1
Number	*11316*	*7950*	*5378*	*3395*

Table 27 shows the reasons why parents were satisfied with government and private schools in 2004. By far the main reason given by parents who were satisfied, with either government or private schools, was good teachers and good teaching.

The main reason for dissatisfaction was poor teachers and teaching, for both government (85.6%) and private schools (76.4%). The second most common reason for dissatisfaction with government schools was the poor facilities at the school (10.7%), while for private schools it was the cost of the school (11.6%).

Commentary

School enrolment

The goal of achieving universal primary education is official policy of the government of Pakistan [1]. During the 1990s surveys suggested that school enrolment declined in rural areas and barely maintained its own in urban centres. Girls' enrolment, though consistently lower than that of boys, remained steady whereas that of boys declined. This was attributed to increased poverty, obliging boys to start work at an earlier age [2].

There are various primary school enrolment figures in circulation for Pakistan. Net primary enrolment (NPE) for the year 2001/02 was reported by the Pakistan Integrated Household Survey (PIHS) at 42% [3]. UNICEF's NPE figure for Pakistan some time during the period 1996-2003 is 56% (62% male, 51% female) [4]. The government's action plan for education sector reforms set a goal of raising NPE from 66% in 2001 to 76% in 2004 [5]. The action plan's source for the figure of 66% NPE in 2001 is The Economic Survey of Pakistan 2000-2001[6]. The Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey (2004-05) (PSLM) has recently reported a NPE figure of 52% [7].

A summary of the enrolment figures from different sources and a more detailed comparison between the social audit and PIHS enrolment figures are shown in Annex 7b. Our enrolment figures from the social audit are consistently higher than those from the PIHS, and its successor, the PSLM. This is at least partly due to a difference in definitions. In the social audit a child aged 5-9 years is counted as enrolled in school, no matter what grade he or she is in. So it includes 5 year olds who might still be attending a 'nursery' class and it includes 9 year olds already attending secondary school. In the PIHS, children aged 5-9 years are only counted as enrolled if they are in grade 1-5 in primary school; those younger children in 'nursery' class are not counted as enrolled and neither are children aged 9 years enrolled in secondary school.

For the purposes of following changes in enrolment over time, the important thing is to have a consistent method. The definitions in the baseline social audit in 2002 were the same as those in the 2004 social audit.

There was a clear increase in enrolment over this period, in both boys and girls, except in Balochistan. The disadvantaged are catching up to some extent, in that the increased enrolment in Sindh was only in girls and in Punjab it was mainly among children from vulnerable households. Nevertheless, in 2004, girls, vulnerable children and rural children remain less likely to be enrolled in school.

Public (government) and private schools

The private sector is playing an increasing role in primary education. The increased enrolment between 2002 and 2004 was mainly into private schools, so that the proportion of enrolled children in government schools fell over the period, except in Punjab. However, there is evidence that government schools are catering for more disadvantaged children, since enrolment into government school of girls, children from vulnerable households and rural children increased between 2002 and 2004.

Parents chose government schools mainly because of access and low cost, while they chose private schools mainly because of the quality of the teaching. In community focus groups, many participants voiced the view that if they could afford to send their child to a private school, they would prefer to do so. It seems that the share of primary education provided by private schools will continue to increase, with government schools increasingly covering those parts of the population that cannot afford to send their children to private schools.

Satisfaction with government education services

Taking into account other household variables, public satisfaction with government education services increased in Sindh and Punjab, but decreased in Balochistan and NWFP. This overall public rating is not limited to primary schools and includes the views of households with no child of primary school age. It is influenced by expectations and by second-hand information. It may take some time for public satisfaction ratings to ‘catch up’ with service improvements. The social audit figure of 53% of households satisfied with government education services is comparable with the figure of 60% satisfaction with schools recently published in the PSLM survey [7].

Satisfaction of parents with their children's schools is a more direct measure and although 73% of parents were satisfied with government schools, more parents were satisfied with private schools. This satisfaction may be influenced by expectations of government and private schools. There was also evidence in some areas of greater parental satisfaction with more formal and better equipped government schools, especially for boys.

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Chapter 6

Police and courts

Chapter 6. Police and courts

Perceptions and experience of police

In this chapter we use the term 'police' to cover both the police and local *levies*.

Intention to contact the police for problem of personal safety

In 2004, in response to an open question about who they would contact for a problem of personal safety, 25.5% of household respondents said they would contact the police. In 2002, the proportion who said they would contact the police was 22.1%, with some variation between provinces.

Change in the proportion who would contact the police for personal safety (2001/2-2004)

In the multivariate analysis of the change in proportion of households who would contact the police for a problem of personal safety between 2001/2 and 2004, we took into account sex of the respondent, education, vulnerability of the household, urban or rural location, distance from the nearest police station, and feeling safe because of the police. The picture across the country is shown in the map in Figure 84 and by province in Figure 85.

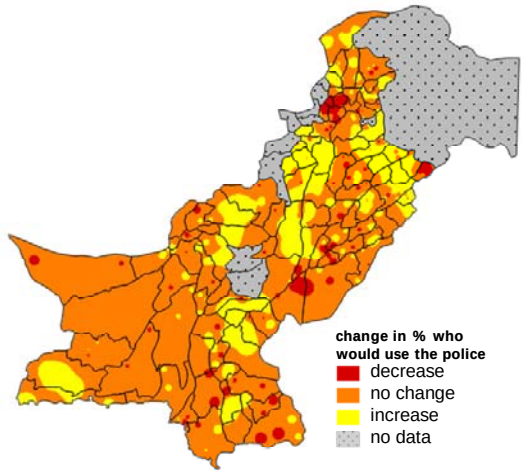

Figure 84. Change in % who would contact the police for a problem of personal safety from 2001/2 to 2004

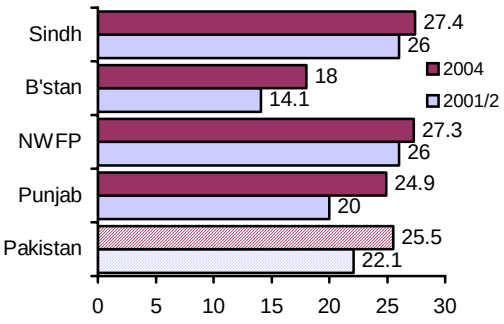

Figure 85. % of households who would contact the police for a problem of personal safety: 2001/2 and 2004

In Punjab, in urban communities only, households were more likely to say they would contact the police in 2004 than in 2001/2; and while less vulnerable households were more likely to say they would contact the police in 2004 than in 2001/2, vulnerable households were *less* likely to say they would contact the police in 2004 than in 2001/2. In Balochistan and NWFP respondents were equally likely to say they would contact the police for a personal safety problem in 2001/2 and 2004. In Sindh, respondents in 2004 were less likely than in 2001/2 to say they would contact the police for a problem of personal safety.

Analysis of choice of the police for a problem of personal safety in 2004

We carried out a multivariate analysis of the variables related to the intention to use the police for a problem of personal safety in 2004. The variables taken into

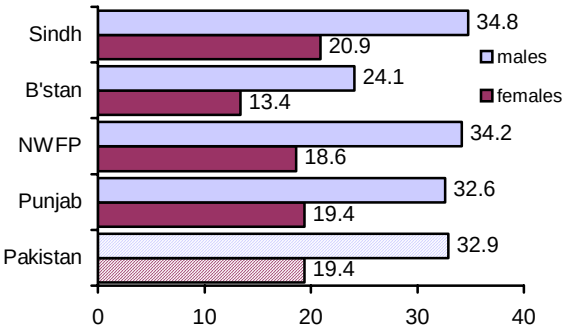

Figure 86. % of men and women who said they would go to the police for a problem of personal safety

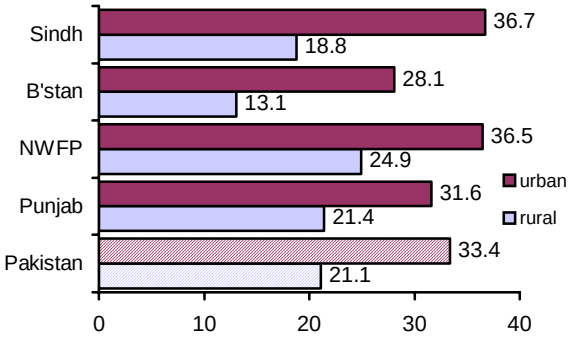

Figure 87 % of urban and rural respondents who said they would go to the police for a problem of personal safety

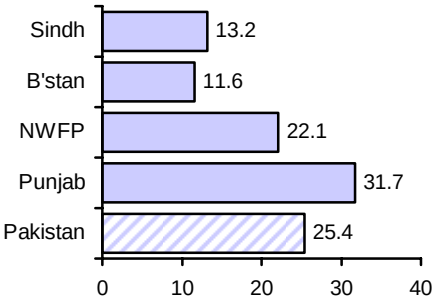

Figure 88. % households that knew of police touts operating in the area

Table 28. Where households would go to complain about the police

Contact	Number	Weighted %
Senior police officer	11611	22.5
Union nazim or councillor	8553	15.9
Community members	6129	11.2
MPA/MNA/PM/President/political party	1405	3.4
Govt officials (unspecified)	1065	1.6
Family, friends, neighbours	785	1.5
No use, no one listens	182	0.4
Local govt officials	1085	0.3
Media	53	0.1
NGO / donors	43	0.1
Courts	454	1.0
Police (unspecified)	292	0.6
Army	111	0.3
DPS&PCC	22	0.0
CPLC	1	0.0
No need, never thought of it	12207	23.5
Don't know where to go	9253	17.5
Total	*53229*	

account included urban or rural location, sex of the respondent, vulnerability of the household, and education of the respondent.

Household and individual characteristics:
Household respondents were more likely to say they would contact the police for a problem of personal safety if:

- They were men. This was a strong effect, seen in all provinces (Figure 86). It reflects the very low rate of contact between women and the police (see below).
- They had some formal education
- The household was in the less vulnerable category. In NWFP and Punjab this effect was more marked among male respondents.
- They were urban dwellers (Figure 87). The urban/rural difference was especially marked in Balochistan.

Police touts

In 2004, we asked households if they were aware of police touts operating in the area. A quarter (25.4%) of household respondents thought there were police touts in their area. However, nearly half the respondents (43.1%) did not know if there were touts operating in their area or not. Some 22.1% of respondents in urban communities and 27.2% in rural communities said they were aware of police touts in their area. The proportion of respondents who were aware of touts in their area was higher in Punjab and NWFP than in Sindh and Balochistan (Figure 88).

Complaints about the police

In 2004, we asked household respondents where they would go if they needed to complain about the police. Just over half (58.8%) said they would complain. Table 28 shows where people said they would go to complain. They would most commonly go to a senior police officer (22.5%) or to the *nazim* or a councillor (15.9%), followed by community members (11.2%)

District Public Safety and Police Complaints Commission

Just 5.2% of household respondents in 2004 had heard of the District Public Safety and Police Complaints Commission (DPS&PCC). Of this small group, 35.8% thought the DPS&PCC was "good".

We were able to interview the chairman, or a member to represent the chairman, of the DPS&PCC in 70 districts in the spring of 2005. Details of their responses are given in Annex 8. Seven of the 70 people interviewed were women.

Functioning of the DPSC&PCC
In 61 of the 70 districts, the new DPS&PCC had been notified, mostly within the last two years. In most districts (58/69) the commissions met monthly. In most of the districts the commissions had office space and a telephone and computer. But only 17/70 had a full-time secretary.

All but 5 of the 70 Commissions had handled complaints against the police during the last year. In 12 districts, the DPS&PCC handled no more than 25 complaints, while in 8 districts they handled more than 300 complaints (see Annex 8). The Commissions referred many of the complaints to the DPO; in 34 districts they referred more than half the complaints. In 7 districts the DPO did not act on any of the complaints referred to him, while in 27 districts he acted on more than 75% of them. In 23 districts the DPS&PCC conducted their own fact-finding enquiry for more than 75% of the complaints they received.

"With the commission in place now there is a check and balance over the police."
A chairman of DPS&PCC from NWFP

More than half (37/69) the DPS&PCC chairmen rated the performance of the Commission as good or very good, but in 11 districts they considered the Commission performance was bad or very bad. The main reasons given for a good performance rating were good results in solving people's problems and protecting their rights, and adequate authority to check the police. Respondents attributed poor performance to lack of support and cooperation from police, lack of logistic support, and lack of incentives for DPS&PCC members.

District policing plan
In 34 of the 70 districts, the DPS&PCC representative reported that a district policing plan had been prepared

for 2004-5. The main cited obstacles to preparing plans were lack of cooperation from the police and frequent transfers of the DPO. In 44 districts, the DPS&PCC representative said they had submitted an annual report to the provincial government.

Performance incentives to police stations
In 13 of the 70 districts, the DPS&PCC representative said the incentive scheme was working in their district. In four districts, some police stations had already received some funds under the scheme. DPS&PCC members were involved in deciding about the incentives in only one district where it was operating.

Opinion of police services in the district
The most common improvement the DPS&PCC representatives identified was better behaviour and performance of police officers. Some mentioned the new system had made the police more accessible to the ordinary public. However, some of the respondents mentioned continuing problems with police services, including misuse of power by the police, lack of control over the police, political interference, and corruption. In 38 of the 70 districts, the DPS&PCC representative did not think the new local government system, in its present level of implementation, had brought any improvements to the police services in their district.

"Now the police are more accessible to the common man. Local problems are solved at local level. This facility was not available in the previous system."
A chairman of DPS&PCC from Balochistan

In 23 of the 70 districts, the DPS&PCC representative rated the police services in their district as good or very good. To improve police performance they recommended more power and authority to the DPS&PCC, more salary and incentives for the police, reduced duty hours and better educated officers, a good system of checks and balances, and full implementation of Police Order 2002. To improve DPS&PCC performance they requested more powers and an increase the scope of the Commissions' work, to be carried out without political pressure or interference.

Views from the police

We interviewed the District Police Officer (DPO) (53) or an officer on his behalf (26) in 79 districts. Details are given in Annex 8.

Police performance
Most (59/79) of the DPOs or the officer on his behalf rated the performance of the police in their district as good or very good. They identified the main problems

for the police in the district as lack of staff and incentives, a deteriorating law and order situation, and lack of funds and logistic support. Some also mentioned problems of political interference. In 61 districts the DPO cited improvement in law and order as their main achievement, and some mentioned a better sense of security for citizens in the district.

In 28 districts the DPO said the benefit of the new system for the police was increased funding and resources. Other cited benefits included improved coordination with district stakeholders, and improved behaviour and performance of police officers. However, in 25 districts, the DPO said the new system had brought them no benefits.

In 31 districts the DPO thought the new system had led to increased political interference, while others blamed the new system for exacerbating lack of funds and resources.

District policing plan
In 49 of the 79 districts, the DPO said the district policing plan for 2004/5 had been prepared. In those 65 district where both the zila nazim and the DPO were interviewed, the DPO in 25 cases said the plan was prepared but the *zila nazim* was not aware of this. In districts without a policing plan, the DPO often gave as the reason an absent or non-functional DPS&PCC.

Preparation of the DPO Personal Evaluation Report (PER) by the zila nazim
Only 46 of the interviewed DPOs or representatives said they were aware that the *zila nazim* was responsible for writing the PER for the DPO. Just three DPOs said the *nazim* had written their PER.

Performance incentives scheme
In 20 of the 79 districts, the DPO reported an incentive scheme was operating, and 12 reported that police stations had already received some payments under the scheme. They also mentioned that senior police officers were involved in the decision-making about allocating the incentives.

Community views about performance incentives scheme

Male and female community focus groups discussed the scheme for paying performance incentives to the police (see Annex 9). Most of the group participants were not previously aware of the scheme. After some discussion, nearly all the groups came to the consensus view that this scheme was a good idea. However, they made it clear that they would only support the scheme if it indeed led to an improvement in police performance. Most people supported the scheme in the hope it would improve performance, while others said it was the right of the police to get recognition for good work, and others hoped it would reduce corruption.

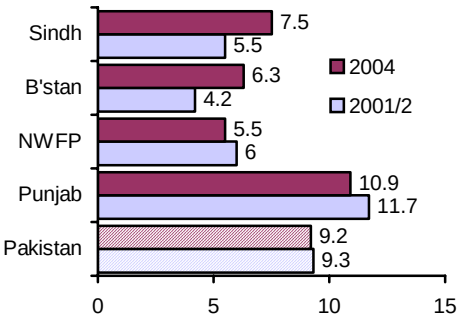

Figure 89. % of households reporting contact with the police in the previous 2 years, in 2001/2 and 2004

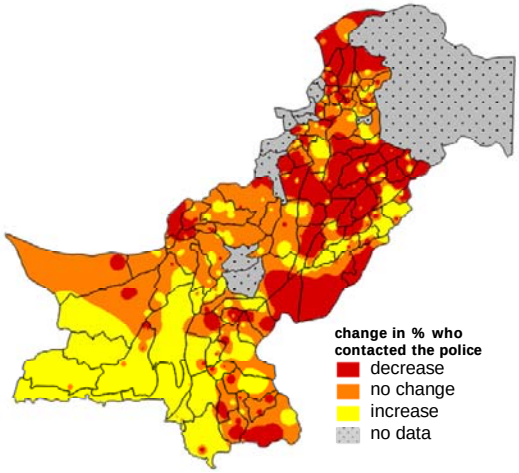

Figure 90. Change in % households with a police contact in the last two years between 2001/2 to 2004

Contacts with the police

In 2004, 9.2% of household respondents reported a contact with the police of any member of the household in the two years prior to the social audit. This is the same as the 9.3% who reported contact with the police in the two years prior to the 2001/2 social audit.

Figure 89 shows the proportion of households in each province reporting contact with the police in the two years prior to each social audit. A higher proportion of households had police contact in Punjab than in the other provinces in both 2001/2 and 2004, but in 2004 Sindh and Balochistan have overtaken NWFP for proportion of household contacts with the police (Figure 89). The change between 2001/2 and 2004 across the country is shown in the map in Figure 90.

Change in proportion of households contacting the police between 2001/2 and 2004

We analysed the change between 2001/2 and 2004 in each province, taking into account sex of the respondent, education of the household head, household vulnerability, and urban or rural location.

In Sindh and Balochistan, respondents were more likely to report a household contact with the police (within the last two years) in 2004 than in 2001/2. In NWFP, respondents were less likely to report a police contact in 2004 than in 2001/2. In Punjab the small decrease in

contacts between 2001/2 and 2004 could have been due to chance.

Male respondents were less likely to report a household police contact in 2004 compared with male respondents in 2001/2 while female respondents were more likely to report household police contact in 2004 than in 2001. It is possible that this reflects an increase in women's knowledge about household contacts with police.

Analysis of contacts with the police in 2004

We analysed the rate of household contacts with the police in the last two years, reported in 2004, taking into account the sex of the respondent, vulnerability of the household, education of the household head, urban or rural location, and province.

Household respondents in 2004 were more likely to report a household contact with the police in the last two years if:

- They were men. The gender difference in reporting police contacts was especially strong in Punjab (Figure 91)
- The household head had some formal education
- They were in the less vulnerable category, especially in Sindh and Balochistan
- They were urban dwellers. This association was mainly in Balochistan

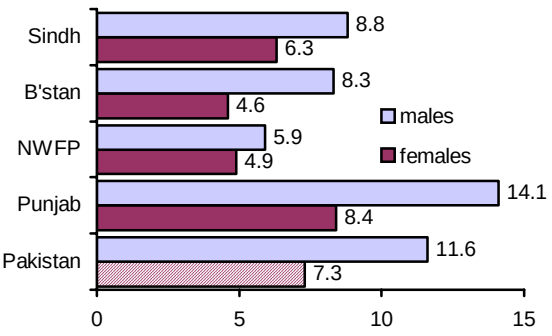

Figure 91. % households with police contact as reported by male and female respondents in 2004

Experience of contacts with the police

Sex of the person in the police contact

In 2004, nearly all (94.7%) the reported household contacts with the police in the last two years involved a male household member. This was much the same in 2001/2, when 96.0% of the reported police contacts were with a male household member. In both 2004 and 2001/2, the proportion of males in police contacts was about the same across all four provinces.

Reasons for the police contact

The reasons for the police contacts reported in 2004 and in 2001/2 are shown in Table 29. In both 2004 and 2001/2, the main reason for a police contact was a domestic issue, concerned with marital disputes, maintenance or child custody, followed by robbery and then property rights.

Table 29. Reasons for police contacts in 2004 and 2001/2

Reason for contact	Weighted % (number)	
	2004	2001/2
Domestic (marital, maintenance, child custody)	40.5 (1636)	27.4 (1256)
Robbery	16.4 (636)	20.2 (767)
Property rights	13.6 (583)	14.5 (633)
False custody, charges, search	6.7 (249)	9.0 (285)
Traffic issues	5.5 (200)	7.2 (262)
Murder	2.8 (125)	3.0 (150)
Other reasons	14.6 (592)	18.8 (773)

Note: These are the reasons given by the households

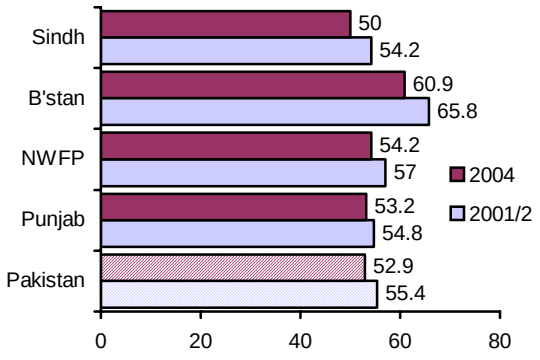

Figure 92. % of police contacts initiated by the household in 2001/02 and 2004

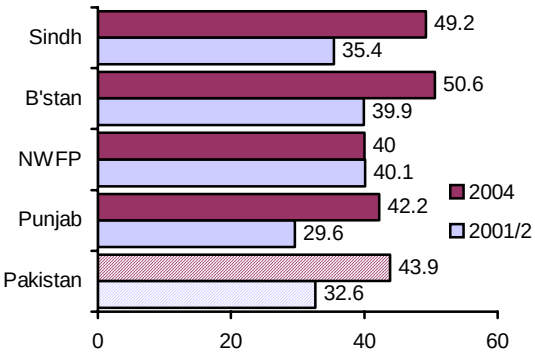

Figure 93. % of households satisfied with treatment in reported police contacts in 2001/2 and 2004

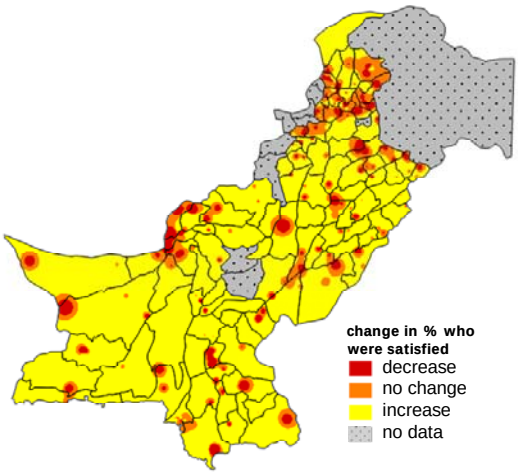

Figure 94. Change in % households satisfied with police contact in the last two years between 2001/2 to 2004

Initiation of the contact

In 2004, just over half (52.9%) of the reported police contacts were initiated by the household, slightly less than in 2001/2, when 55.4% of the contacts were initiated by the household. There was little variation by province (Figure 92), except that more of the contacts were said to be initiated by the household in Balochistan, where there was the lowest proportion of households having a police contact in the last two years (see Figure 89).

Police contacts were less likely to have been initiated by the household in 2004 than in 2001/2, taking other variables into account. This difference was found mainly in Balochistan. Thus there is no evidence of households being more likely to seek out police contact in 2004 than in 2001/2.

Registration of an FIR

In 2004, an FIR was registered in 51.4% of reported contacts with the police in the last two years. In 2001/2, the proportion of reported police contacts in the last two years with an FIR registered was 44.7%.

Satisfaction with the police contact

In 2004, 43.9% of household respondents said they were satisfied with the way the police had treated the household member who had contact with them during the last two years. In 2001/2, households were satisfied with the treatment in 32.6% of the reported police contacts. The increase in satisfaction with police contacts was apparent in all provinces except NWFP (Figure 93). The change across the country is shown in Figure 94.

Overall, taking into account the effects of sex of the respondent, household vulnerability, education of the household head, urban or rural location, and province, respondents in 2004 were more likely than in 2001/2 to report satisfaction with treatment by the police in household contacts within the last two years.

Analysis of satisfaction with police contacts (2004)

The multivariate analysis of satisfaction with police contacts reported in 2004 included the variables shown in Box 10.

Box 10. Variables included in the analysis of satisfaction with police contacts in 2004

- Who initiated the contact
- Registration of an FIR
- Sex of the person involved
- Household vulnerability
- Education of the household head
- Urban or rural location

Initiation of the contact: Households who initiated their police contact were more likely to be satisfied than if the police initiated the contact. This was mainly in Balochistan and NWFP.

Registration of an FIR: The registration of an FIR did not make any difference to reported household satisfaction with police contacts.

Other variables: There was no association between satisfaction with the police contact and sex of the person in the contact, household vulnerability, education of the household head, or urban or rural location.

Belief that the courts are there to help

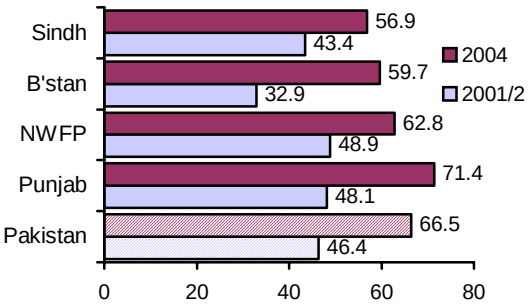

Figure 95. % of households that felt the courts were there to help them in 2001/02 and 2004

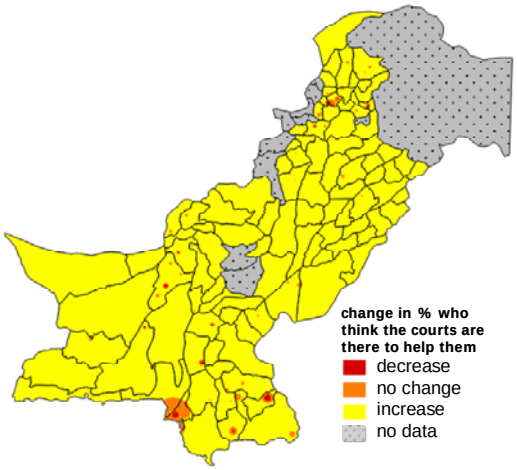

Figure 96. Change in % households who believe the courts are there to help them between 2001/2 to 2004

Box 11. Variables included in the analysis of belief that courts are there to help

- Distance of the court from the community
- Sex of respondent
- Vulnerability of household
- Education of the household head
- Urban or rural location

In 2004, 66.5% of household respondents thought the courts were there to help them, 22.6% thought the courts were not there to help them, and 10.9% did not know one way or the other. In 2001/2, 46.4% thought the courts were there to help them, 23.5% thought the courts were not there to help them, and 30.0% did not know one way or the other. The main shift between 2001/2 and 2004 is from "don't know" to "yes", with the proportion thinking the courts were not there to help staying about the same. This shift could represent increased expectations of the public about the judicial system.

The proportion of households thinking the courts were there to help them increased in all provinces, as shown in Figures 95 and 96.

Analysis of change in belief that courts are there to help between 2001/2 and 2004

We analysed the change in belief that the courts are there to help between 2001/2 and 2004 in a multivariate model, taking into account the variables shown in Box 11, and analyzing for each province.

In all provinces, respondents in 2004 were more likely than respondents in 2001/2 to think that the courts were there to help them. The change over time was not explained by any of the other variables.

Analysis of belief courts are there to help in 2004

We undertook a multivariate analysis, including the variables listed in Box 11.

Choice of police for personal safety problem: Those respondents who said they would use the police for a problem of personal safety were also more likely to believe the courts were them to help them, in all provinces. This suggests attitudes about the police and courts tend to go together.

Household and individual characteristics:
Household respondents were more likely to say the courts were there to help them if:

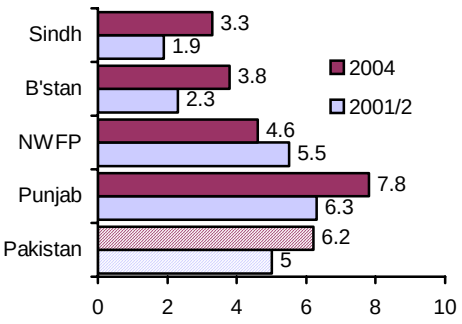

Figure 97. % of households reporting contact with the courts in the previous 2 years, in 2001/2 and 2004

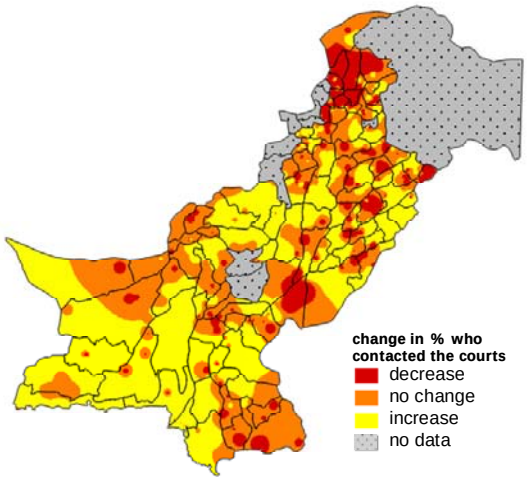

Figure 98. Change in % households with a court contact in the last two years between 2001/2 to 2004

- The household head had some formal education
- The household was in the less vulnerable category

Male and female respondents were equally likely to say that the courts were there to help them, except in Balochistan, where men were less likely to think the courts were there to help them.

Contacts with the courts

In 2004, 6.2% of households reported a court contact within the last two years, while in 2001/2, 5.0% of households reported a court contact within the last two years. The proportion of households reporting a court contact was higher in 2004 in all provinces except NWFP (Figures 97 and 98). Contacts were less frequent in Sindh and Balochistan in both years.

Taking account of sex of the respondent, vulnerability of the household, education of the household head, and urban or rural location, households in Punjab and Sindh were more likely to report a court contact in 2004 than in 2001/2. The increase in Balochistan could have been due to chance. Households in NWFP were less likely to report a court contact in 2004 than in 2001/2.

Analysis of court contacts in 2004

We examined contact with the courts in the last two years in a multivariate analysis.

Household respondents were more likely to report a household contact with the courts in the last two years if:

- They were men. This under-reporting by women reflects the lack of women's involvement in such matters.
- The household head had some formal education
- The household was in the less vulnerable category

Urban households were as likely to report court contact as rural households, except in Balochistan, where urban households were more likely than rural households to report court contact.

Table 30. Reasons for court contacts in 2004 and 2001/2

Reason for contact	Weighted % (number) 2004	2001/2
Property rights	39.7 (1096)	37.9 (1090)
Domestic (marital, maintenance, child custody)	27.2 (719)	22.1 (509)
Robbery	6.1 (158)	6.3 (135)
Murder	4.6 (135)	4.8 (141)
False custody, charges, search	4.0 (91)	4.3 (83)
Traffic issues	2.0 (40)	3.1 (60)
Other reasons	16.5 (430)	21.5 (446)

Note: These are the reasons given by the households

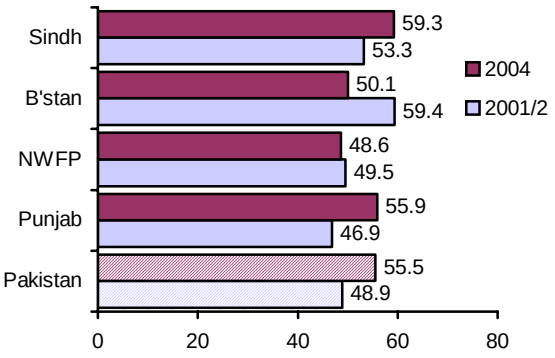

Figure 99. % of households who were satisfied with the way the courts treated them in 2004 and 2001

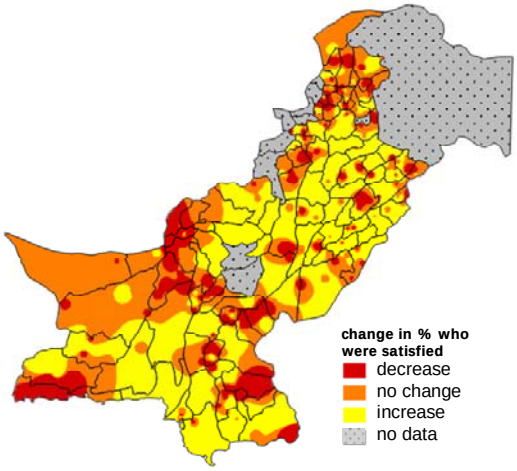

Figure 100. Change in % households satisfied with court contact in the last two years between 2001/2 to 2004

Experience of court contacts

Reason for court contact

The reasons for court contacts reported in 2004 and in 2001/2 are shown in Table 30. The pattern is very similar between the 2001/2 and 2004, with property rights being the most common reason for the contact, followed by domestic issues.

Sex of the person in the court contact

In 2004, 93.4% of the household members involved in reported court cases were male. In 2001/2 the proportion of males was similar at 91.6%.

Satisfaction with court contacts

In 2004, 55.5% of respondents reported they were satisfied with the way the courts treated them in contacts within the last two years, compared with 48.9% satisfied in 2001/2. In Sindh and Punjab, the proportion of court users satisfied was higher in 2004 than in 2001/2 but unchanged in NWFP and lower in Balochistan (Figures 99 and 100).

We analysed the change in satisfaction of the court users, taking into account distance of the community from a court, sex of the respondent, education of the household head, household vulnerability and urban or rural location. Overall, court users were more likely to be satisfied in 2004 than in 2001/2. But in individual provinces, the difference between 2001/2 and 2004 was significant only in Punjab.

Analysis of satisfaction with court contacts in 2004

In the multivariate analysis, we found no association between satisfaction with court contacts and sex of the respondent, vulnerability of the household, education of the household head, or urban or rural location.

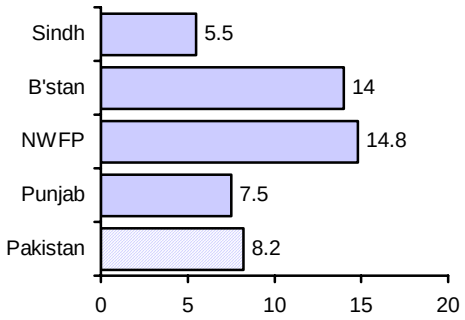

Figure 101. % of households reporting using the union council to solve a legal matter (2004)

Alternative mechanisms

In 2004, we asked household respondents if the family had ever resolved any legal matter through the union council or its related committees. Some 8.2% of households said they had used union council mechanisms in this way. The figure varied between provinces, being higher in Balochistan and NWFP than in Punjab and Sindh (Figure 101). Except in Punjab, the proportions of households using the UC for a legal matter are higher than the proportions of households who had a court contact within the last two years (see Figure 101). In Balochistan and NWFP, a notably higher proportion reported using a UC mechanism than reported a court contact.

According to the interviewed union *nazims*, over half (59.7%) the union councils in the sample nationally had formed a *musalihat anjuman*: 55.7% in Sindh, 40.0% in Balochistan, 33.8% in NWFP, and 61.3% in Punjab.

Analysis of use of the UC to solve a legal issue

We analysed the use of the union council to solve a legal issue, including the effects of sex of the respondent, education of the household head, vulnerability of the household, and urban or rural location.

Presence of a musalihat anjuman: In Balochistan only, households in communities where the UC had formed a *musalihat anjuman* were more likely to report solving a legal matter through the UC.

Household and individual characteristics:
Household respondents were more likely to report the household solving a legal matter through the union council if:

- They were men (except in Sindh). This again reflects women's lack of involvement in such matters.
- The household was in the less vulnerable category (in Sindh only)
- They were rural dwellers in Balochistan and NWFP. In Sindh, urban households were more likely to have used the union council for a legal matter and in Punjab there was no difference between urban and rural households.

Education of the household head was not related to the likelihood of the household using the UC for a legal matter.

Commentary

Police and judicial reform were considered to be amongst the most difficult of the governance reforms undertaken by the government of Pakistan. At least eight law reform commissions were constituted since 1958 to review the administration of justice in Pakistan but their success was limited [1].

The Police Order 2002, introduced as part of the devolution reforms, aims to change the accountability relations of the police [2] but there have been difficulties in full implementation, and two amendments, in 2004 and 2005, have been introduced. Among other things, the new arrangements include provision for incentive payments to the police for good performance, to be approved by representatives of the union councils served by a police station.

General public views about the police and courts

The police have a negative reputation and this will be hard to throw off, even in the face of improved service delivery. The Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey (2004-05) recently reported that, in response to a single question on satisfaction with the police, only 6.5% of households said they were satisfied with police services [3].

The introduction of a system of paying incentives to the police for good performance is intended to help reduce corruption. It is encouraging that, according to the focus groups, the public are in favour of the police incentives scheme, provided it actually delivers a better performance from the police.

In 2004, households were not only more likely to believe the courts were there to help them than in 2001/2, they also reported slightly more court contacts in the preceding 2 years.

Contacts with the police and courts

There is little evidence of increased public willingness to contact the police; the increase in those who said they would use the police for a problem of personal safety was confined to non-vulnerable households in Punjab and there was no increase in actual police contacts, especially not those initiated by households. The police

continue to have a bad reputation among the public and this will be hard to change, even as the service from the police improves.

Contacts with the courts remained rare and in 2004 more people reported using union council mechanisms to solve legal problems than using the courts.

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