

18th Amendment and the Problem of Cohabitation between Bureaucracy and Elected Representatives in Local Government of Pakistan

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Local government in Pakistan is classified as the third tier of government where since 1947, politicians and bureaucracy of every hue, had has redirected all channel of power and physical resources from citizenry, gradually but manifestly. Over the years, a series of amenities at empowerment and control of third tier of government has created a tug of conflicts between local and central/provincial government. After 18th amendment, the new experiments in local government in each province have created conflicts with divided powers, where the uneasy relationship between civil servants and local elected representatives is assuming complexity. This research aims at examining and evaluating the conflicting turfs between provincial bureaucracy and elected public representatives in local government resulting from politics of devolution of powers (decentralization) from provincial to local governments. For this purpose, this study empirically analyses the views of provincial bureaucracy and the local representatives in four cities (capital of each province) of Pakistan at local government level. The results of the empirical investigation are analyzed qualitatively which demonstrate almost the opposite picture of both civil servants and the political local government. The problem of sharing is knotted in complication between political representatives and provincial bureaucracy and is predisposed by many components like in decentralization process and transfer of functions; responsibilities to local bodies which ultimately affect local governance. The findings are helpful for the concerned authorities to ensure smooth implementation at local level and owing to conflicts between bureaucracy and local representatives; there is dire need for establishing formal arrangement between provincial and local government.

Keywords: local government, bureaucracy, civil servants, decentralization, local representatives

The polarized environment within the ideological divide, thrust in devolution (decentralization) of powers has been adopted worldwide to guarantee against discretionary use of powers by central or regional elites. Pakistan inherited the British Indian system of governance and the constitution in the post-independence eraⁱ, Pakistan established a centralized system of governance on the lines of the Westminster model comprising of four provinces (Punjab, Sindh, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa & Baluchistan). The 1973 constitution of Pakistan is recognized as the supreme law of Pakistan and various amendments are incorporated in it up to now. Thus the remarkable amendment in the constitution is Eighteenth Amendmentⁱⁱ that resolves the issues pertaining to a strong center and weak provinces. Recognizing the Article 140(A)ⁱⁱⁱ of the 1973 Constitution which clearly directs the provinces to establish and devolve the powers at grass root level in shape of local government system (UNDP, Local government Acts, 2013). The eighteenth amendment empowers provincial government to authorize local government and further the provinces have to dissolve financial, political and administrative powers.

The historical annals show that local government in Pakistan since independence has been a topsy-turvy affair. Local Government is always thought of, as an obstacle to the centralizing ethos of Pakistan's political dispensation whether civilian or military; local representation at grass roots is always a belly ache for the government in power, as it is always thought of, as an obstacle to oblige and pamper the pocket constituencies.

The empowerment of local government is suffered in reluctance attitude by the provincial democratic governments after 18th amendment. Local governments have not been entrusted with maintenance of law & order, infrastructure development, revenue generation, promotion of health, education and some other basic services. The local government acts^{iv} legislated by the four provincial assemblies of Pakistan are different in terms of local government system and devolution of powers at local level. Local government acts were passed in 2013^v however in each province practices are fragmented, and seem to be based on improper way of imbalance powers for local government.

It is a more or less accepted fact that democratic governments in Pakistan have remain always reluctant to devolve the powers to local government and are posing controlling authorities on resources. The truth of the matter is that, the current democratic dispensation in provinces are creating hurdles in one form or the other and local governments in all four provinces appear, in one way or other, subordinated to the dictates of provincial governments. The reluctance in handing over powers to the grassroots is incomprehensible and the absence of true democratization is absent on part of provincial government. In fact, any change to the status quo stands as threat to provincial governments is creating hurdles to devolve powers to local government.

The present local governments have created the problem of cohabitation with divided powers among elected representatives, bureaucracy and the public. The objective of this study is to see the insights of existing local governments to point out the main issues surrounding the relationship between bureaucracy and local representatives due to limited operational space and current democratic dispensation of limited powers given in local government after 18th amendment.

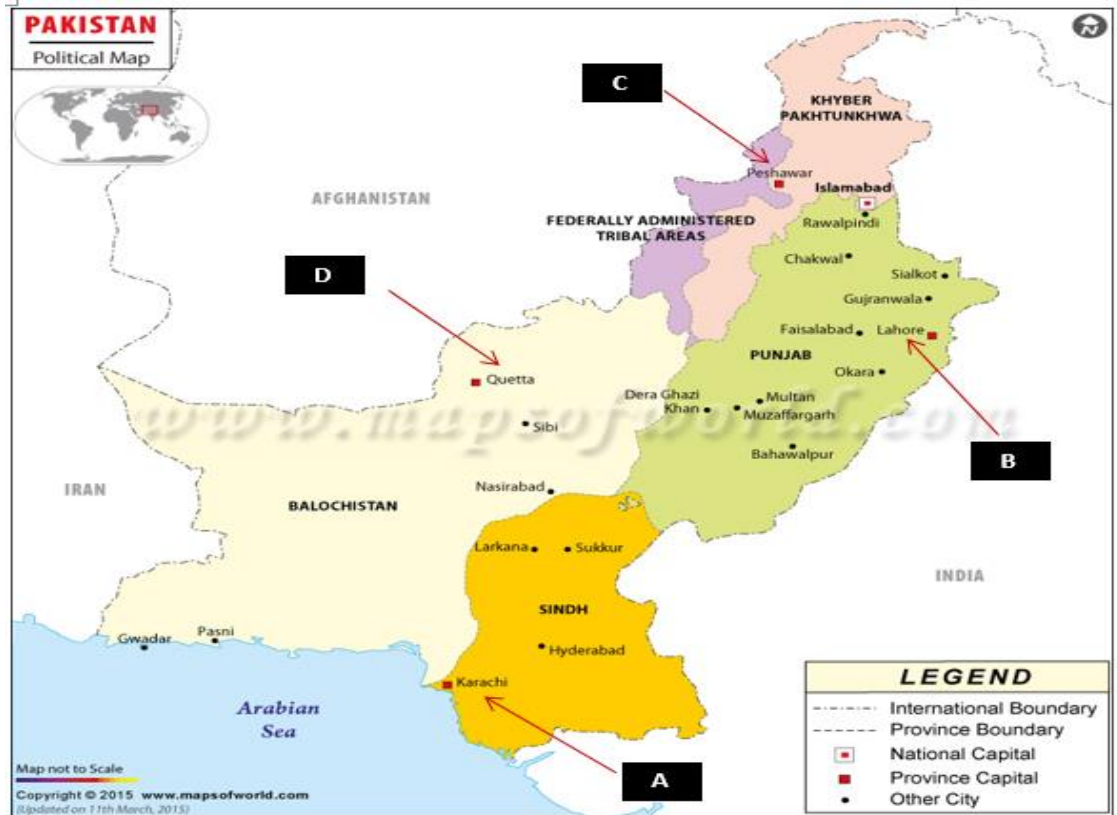
The paper presents in the following part the context of local government leading to overall background in each province. Section III presents theoretical perspectives for explaining bureaucracy-local political representatives' interface.^{vi} Section IV presents the survey details and section V reviews some concrete findings from the respondents^{vii} and section VI pulls together the main problems of the new system seems to be in the overlapping and ambiguous powers of local representatives and district administration especially in the situation of cohabitation and incomplete devolution of powers at local level.

Context of the Study

Local democracy and decentralization at grassroots level is still in the process to be matured in various civilian governments in Pakistan. Devolution plan of provincial governments in Pakistan gives the impression of unwillingness in delegation of powers to local government, leading to a patchy way. This is utmost important for the political parties and civilian governments that always raise voice for democracy but are reluctant to decentralize powers at local level because they want to centralize powers in their own hands through bureaucratic administrators at provincial level. The bureaucratic official is answerable to the provincial government rather than to the people so the real devolution of powers are not transferred under civilian government to people as a participatory democracy.

All four provincial capitals (Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar, and Quetta)^{viii} are the largest cities of their respective provinces. Karachi is a metropolitan city being the largest city of the country and second largest city is Lahore. Peshawar is the eighth and Quetta is the tenth most populous metropolitan cities of the country. The diagram below outlines the four provinces and capitals of each province.

The current local government system in Pakistan is different from Musharaf era in several ways and various problems are standing in enacting powers to local bodies. The metropolitan cities are having different models of governance forming contradictory powers in capital cities.



Source: Maps of World 2015

A: Karachi, capital of Sindh.

B: Lahore, capital of Punjab.

C: Peshawar, capital of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

D: Quetta, capital of Baluchistan.

A: KARACHI

Karachi is a Metropolitan Corporation and its local government is divided into six District Municipal Corporations (DMCs) named on geographical directions, central, West, South, East, Malir and Korangi. Union committees are the sub parts of districts. In local government system, districts are monitored by Chairman and Deputy Chairman and unions councils are (UCs) headed by Chairmen and vice chairmen. The provincial government locks the powers of water board, building control authority and Solid Waste Management etc. Karachi administratively is headed by Commissioner and deputy commissioners of each district along with various public offices.

B: LAHORE

Lahore is Metropolitan Corporation and its local government is divided into nine zones and each zone is headed by Deputy Mayor. Overall Mayor is the head of Lahore local government and Lahore Zone itself is divided into nine Tehsil Municipal Administrations (TMAs) named as towns with titles Iqbal, Samanabad, Ravi, Aziz Bhatti, Data Ganj Bakhsh, Wagah, Shalimar, Gulberg, Lahore Cantonment. Lahore same like Karachi is headed by Commissioner and deputy commissioners of each zone along with various public offices.

C: PESHAWAR

District Peshawar is divided into four Towns naming I-IV headed by Nazim of each town. Overall District Nazim is the head of Peshawar local government and each town is further divided into union councils.

C: QUETTA

Quetta is Metropolitan Corporation and its local government is divided into two Tehsils, naming Chilton and Zarghoon. Overall Mayor is the head of Quetta local government and further Tehsils are divided into union councils. The rural area of Quetta is having separate setup called district council.

Administrators and Politicians at Local Level

The civil servants in Pakistan were depicted as part of a so called “babu culture^{ix}”, having wide discretionary powers in at the district level, a power that they continue to hold in contemporary times. The ‘Babu’ attitude’ was inherited from British, and in case of district government the position of the district officer was authoritarian. Historically civilian governments always put local administration in the hands of the district bureaucracy and the bureaucracy held vast powers in districts. On the whole, it is generally agreed that district bureaucracy were remarkably competent^x. The performance of district government bureaucracy was strong and their knowledge about the districts was quite outstanding (Hamid, 2002).

In terms of relationship between political and the administrative, the present scenario is inefficient and locally elected governments powers are locked by provincial governments. In true sense, the powers are not devolved to local government and main entities of public services that are the work of local government are under the provincial administration. The city administration and political representatives are not capable enough to cater to true good governance nexuses.

Theoretical Perspectives

Relationship between public representatives and civil servants in devolution of powers is a divisive issue and so far is remained an unresolved matter in field of political science, although many political writers were not able to solve this conflicting phenomena including Max Weber and Wilson^{xi}. Usually the overlapping

between politics and administration is the contradiction in cohabitation that sounds for conflicts and cooperation and the tone of relations between the two is always footed by the central/regional/provincial governments. Over the last few decades, the notions indicating interlinked purposes^{xii} with administrative decentralization and political representatives are developed to resolve the issues between provincial bureaucracy and representatives (Meier, 1975; Kingsley, 1944; Cope, 1997; Vigoda, 2002).

Decentralization is a complex issue as concept and in practice, the four perspectives of decentralization^{xiii}; doctrine, political process, administrative issue and administrative process regulating the functions of appointed and elected officials. The conflicts between bureaucrats and elected representatives at local level emanating from the implementation process of decentralization in political, administrative, financial and developmental spheres.

Bureaucracy is always considered as effective administration for public programs and political representatives are accountable to the public (Du Gay, 2000; Goodsell, 2004). The conflicts between bureaucracy and local representatives create the discretionary in services delivery at their own actions (Caplan, 2007). The local public administration is supposed to develop creative way to shape local government system and these developments can entangle the politicians and bureaucrats in different institutional contexts.

Extensive studies are done at central and provincial level on relationship between elected politicians and civil servants (Peters, 2010; Pierre, 2009; Eichbaum & Shaw, 2008) but in the local context the politicians and bureaucrats relationship is studied seldom within Pakistan context. There is another angle on relationship between bureaucracy and local political representatives which is particularly relevant in the context of decentralization (devolution) reshaping power relations. Limited devolution of powers or less decentralization leads to inefficient and conflicted government (Wangari, 2014; Olatona & Olomola, 2015).

Theory and Practice of Administration in Pakistan

With context of Pakistan, the public administration system is inherited by British and was based on blocking the powers with top administration^{xiv}. Pakistan inherited from British strong bureaucratic elite and weak political base (Maleeha, 2011). The provincial bureaucracy administers the districts, cities and municipalities. Some of the metropolitan cities are not having their own system of local government.

The classical theory in public administration is not interlinked with public representation and civil servants are only deputed for government policies. The bureaucracy is the administrative pillar of the government to execute the programs and plans of political representatives without constrained by internal administrative concerns and external political pressures. The other aspect of this theory is to lead bureaucracy under responsibility of political leaders and political elements should be ready to protect officials in the services. The modern democracies are deviating from traditional administrators and moving towards more openness in policies towards social change (Danilo Türk, 2007). The classical theory as compared to modern social thought is shallow and inclined to cover basic problems of administration.

Apparently the policy and administration applies to developed economies based on facts but in context to status bound society like Pakistan, bureaucracy was always considered powerful especially at local level. Under military governments, bureaucracy to some extent catered the services to the grassroots level. Later the interest based politics has dragged the public administration set up into poor condition^{xv}. Traditionally the powers were concentrated in the district administration and all functions were managed by district administrator. With the expansion of democratization and local bodies contestation increased the demands for devolution of authority.

Theoretically, the implication of 18th amendment is present over there but in true sense, the local government is not formed. The most perplexing situation comes at the point where the provinces have not enough revenue generation capacities to devolve it to local level. In current scenario, the functions of councilors and the district administration overlap at the local level. Several conflicts and execution problems of control are existing in administrative matters in local government to enact illegal encroachment, check of price control and

municipal laws. The bureaucracy at local and district level are always in demand of greater share and authority in recruitments, identification and implementation of developmental projects and tax collection (Ali, et al., 2005). This is leading to more intensified conflict of interest between the district administrators and local councilors and this conflict is affecting governance at the local level. The weak power-sharing mechanisms and failure to decentralization has resulted in problems of sharing powers between local public office holders and district administration.

To sum up so far, this paper focuses on the argument that the superiority and effectiveness of limited operational powers and incomplete devolution of authority is questioned in local government and is unable to meet the collective needs of public. One possible hypothesis is that complete devolution of powers to local government and strong regulations will leave little room for conflicts between local representative and bureaucracy. This study analyses empirical investigation through a survey conducted in four metropolitan cities. The representatives of the survey are local elected government and civil servants.

Research Design

The cohabitation problem between civil servants and political representatives is demonstrated listing a number of differences through five dimensions Political & Administrative authority, power imbalances, conflicts of management and stack resources. The powers of local government which in one way or other are subordinate to the dictates of provincial governments A semi structured questionnaire was prepared on the basis of present scenario of local government situation to look into the conflict issues between political representatives and civil servants.

Method

Pilot Study

First, the pilot study was done and on the basis of the findings of the pilot study, this study is extended further for semi structured interviews from provincial bureaucracy and local government. The data for analytical framework is obtained from provincial bureaucracy and local representatives and is relied on views of civil servants and local government. The final version of questionnaire was extracted from the findings of the pilot study and was later supported for semi-structured interviews.

In line with the local government departments' responsibilities and for the purpose to know the in-depth understanding of present local government phenomenon, the data is analyzed qualitatively and the main findings are traced from the meetings with bureaucracy and local representatives. The instrument used for data collection is interviews based on the discussion around Political & Administrative authority, power imbalances, conflict of management and stacked resources and power.

Sample and Data

Data sources used in this research are the discussions/ interviews and surveys in local bodies and district management offices. Semi structured interviews were used to collect data with local elected representatives and various bureaucratic persons working in district management. The interviews were a kind of semi structured with the respondents to get insights of the real facts and problems. The respondents were Mayors, Deputy Mayors, heads of district and tehsil councils and district coordination officer, commissioner, deputy commissioners and assistant commissioners from Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar and Quetta.

Sample was selected on quota and purposive basis. Sample size is 50 respondents from selected four metropolitan cities which are the capitals of respective provinces. The meetings with the respondents were arranged with their willingness and the purpose of study was elaborated. It took about four to five months to have meetings with the elected politicians and bureaucracy in four metropolitan cities which are the capitals of respective provinces. The interviews were anonymized for confidentiality; therefore specific names are not

disclosed. Although the confidentiality was assured but the political representatives were reluctant to openly share their views related to party flaws in devolving powers.

Results

The prominent information collected from interviewers were subcategorized to make it simplified into spheres around Political & Administrative authority, power imbalances, conflict of management, and stacked resources and power. The data is analyzed in descriptive and qualitative way to understand the present issues related to local bodies and district management. The findings of the study are not only relied on respondents' views on problem of cohabitation between bureaucracy and political representatives at local levels. Other possible thumps and contradictions are also considered included eg. generation of revenues, distribution of fiscal powers and interests of various stakeholders including elite supremacy at various levels of local government.

Key Findings

The key findings that are extracted from this research related to problem of cohabitation between local political representatives and bureaucracy are indicated.

Magnitude of Political Setting

Local government elections have taken place in all the four provinces and since these bodies are elected, it will be a good service for the democratic dispensation if powers are devolved to "elected" local government representatives. The setup of local government in capital cities of each province has created new power base of political setting which has created differences between bureaucracy and political representatives. Political-bureaucratic relationship in political setting is influenced by various reasons.

Limited Scope of local government

The local elites were of the views that the political presence and representation of party is greater in local government but the scope of elected government is limited. In Karachi, the local political representatives are elected to represent the party but the work and scope in elected local government is limited due to the conflict with provincial government on party basis. In Lahore the situation of the representation and scope is a win-win situation as the local elected government has to save the party at one side and same time on other side has to handle within restricted jurisdictions with limited powers. Same is the case in Quetta and the difference that was explained by political representatives in Peshawar was much better than other provinces as Peshawar local representatives were having more scope in elected government to work properly. If elected local representatives belong to the same party as the political elite entrenched at the provincial level, conflict then is less likely to take place as opposed to Karachi, for example, where this is not the case and hence the problems. In Lahore, Peshawar and Quetta, because elites at the provincial and local levels belong to the same party, conflict is less visible.

The bureaucracy of all four provinces feels that political interests are mixed with the administration of the city government. This is also creating a tug of conflicts in jurisdiction of political setting as the politicians have to save the party at their own interests.

Variations in Ruling Parties Interests

In Karachi, mayor and deputy mayor are elected but the elected representatives have not been given the chance to prove their worth because of variation in ruling party at provincial level. A key issue is that political-bureaucratic relations in ruling parties' interests are very complicated in Karachi and Lahore than in Peshawar and Quetta. In Karachi, the problem that elected local government has based on ethnic divide that leading to a hamper for administration of the city. The political interest of the provincial government is superseded through civil servants in Karachi.

Political Neutrality and Prioritization of Issues

It was found that the conflict of elected local government and provincial bureaucracy was also on prioritization of issues confined to a coterie around the ruling provincial party in each province. In this regard, political neutrality and prioritization is always debatable but is undeniable fact that political interest is always

present in issue of powers between politics and bureaucracy. The conflicts between local elected bodies and provincial bureaucracy are resulting into dichotomy. In Lahore the rapid shift in prioritization of issues and uncertainty creates a strong clash between bureaucracy and elected bodies such as in cases of census, price control, encroachment etc.

Lack of political will and capacity

Political parties do not have sound notion in decentralization/local democracy and same delinquency is seen in Karachi and Lahore and Quetta. In Peshawar the will of the political party in decentralization is more resolute than other provinces as that of new party in ruling first time in Pakistan and trying to get sound footing at local level. The problem of centralization of power has been the most crucial issue in Pakistan and bureaucracy prefer to run the districts by unelected administrators and commissioners. The political capacity also creates the conflicting relations between elected government and bureaucracy because overnight a young person having matriculation was entrusted with the powers including the share with powers of the Deputy Commissioner (Interviews with civil servants at district level). Therefore the conflicts also create tug of war in especially in Karachi and an inadequate coordination between bureaucracy and elected local government. The bureaucracy's desire to control gets strengthen on this hope the elected local government will have discontinuation in tenure.

Administration

The administrative decision making layers are cut down in presence of elected government and provincial government has reversed in Karachi and Lahore from decentralization to centralization and delimited the powers of bureaucracy. However the decentralized judicial system at local level is not functioning well taking over the duties of special magistrate from district administrator. This reverse system has created various administrative issues in executive magistracy as such wall chalking, civic issues, price control problems, crackdown on child labor, elimination of illiteracy, land revenue collection, Census, etc.

Capacity of Districts

Provincial government chooses not to provide greater resources to enhance the district capacities in Karachi leads to conflict in powers sharing between bureaucracy and elected local government. The overstaffing and other malicious contradiction in Karachi Municipal Corporation is also one of the hindrances in capacity building of districts and it is the local and provincial elites that are responsible for "overstaffing" in previous provincial ruling party tenure. Lahore depicts a slightly different situation as the Tehsil Municipal Administrations (TMAs) are boosted in capacity building but the expectation are more towards bureaucracy to coordinate overall in district without powers. In Peshawar the bureaucracy and elected government are simultaneously working for the capacity building of towns.

Law & order

The limited administrative and zero judicial powers in hands of assistant commissioners are creating governance crisis and administrative chaos in Lahore because of the lack of unity of command^{xvi}. Comparatively Peshawar local government and bureaucracy are working at power for maintenance of law and peace together and Karachi situation is different as Rangers^{xvii} are handling the law & peace situation.

Exclusion or Self Exclusion

Local representatives are lacking in public management and administration, which is exclusive to bureaucrats. The politicians fail to assess the planning in their areas, constraining them from sorting out these local problems with understanding. As a result, meddling in the affairs of district management creates a tug of conflicts between the government system and local representatives.

Mismanagement with Division of Responsibilities

The traditional bureaucracy was well trained in preparation and execution of development projects and enmeshed for the masses. On the other hand elected representatives are not much competent except a few

and this also creates mounting problems for the local bodies in management of responsibilities. The limited devolution of powers enmeshed the conflictual directions for the bureaucracy and elected local representatives. This leads to bureaucrats delay in consent to development projects envisioned by the local bodies, thus MNAs and MPAs are also totally disinclined to transfer their burgeoning financial and administrative powers to the local bodies.

Conflict of Management

The local government is not equipped with proper mechanism to operate functions and provincial governments not willing to devolve powers fully to grassroots level as fear of loss for resources. To control the powers fully with the political interest, the conflict in management functions are having confrontation in smooth running of matters in local government.

Mistrust towards local governments

Departments like water and sanitation, building controls and solid waste management are not devolved in Karachi and Lahore to local bodies and major entities are with the provincial government. Services delivery has become a huge challenge for the local government due to limited capacity. This also is creating confusion in bureaucracy and elected representatives.

Limited capacity of Services Delivery

The hampering situation in services delivery in Karachi and Lahore is clearly low and sub standard in fulfilling basic services like sanitation. There are responsibilities on local institutions for services delivery are much more than the powers and capacity is donated to local government. These burdens are creating a conflict situation between bureaucrats and local elected bodies. Lack of trained staff on technical side and equipment to tackle with disastrous situation in the main cities is on alarming phase and which indicates the poor conditions of local government institutions responsive for services delivery.

Discontinuity in Experience of Local Government

There is discontinuation of local government policy and practices in real sense and reversed centralization in Karachi, Lahore and Quetta ditched local government in real sense. The local government is not fully performing and flourishing due to the controlled powers and delay in policies for local institutions facing the masses. The MPAs and MNAs are reluctant to disperse the sources for local government to employ lopsided authority at the local level.

Shrinking of power-sharing

The conflicting conditions of local bodies in Karachi are rising rapidly and creating unrest in public. The bureaucracy working on behalf of government is more sympathetic with provincial government policies. A contradictory situation in Lahore is found as the bureaucracy is having grieves against provincial government. Peshawar has shared powers with clear divided rules in bureaucracy and local bodies to make local government more strong.

Power Imbalances

Nexus of Power

The smooth local government system with bureaucracy if properly implemented would result in members of parliamentarians losing this clout. The powerful local government will control the bureaucracy and future political leadership. Similarly, the provincial bureaucracy historically controlled the powers in the cities and the development of local government would break the sharing of resources and authority to address the provision of services and the challenges of development at local level. The centralized mindset of bureaucracy is reluctant to the powers to be devolved to the local bodies and want the provincial government to retain the district management.

Underground Mafia System

The land mafia is increased in Lahore and Karachi; however Peshawar has refined some systematic changes. The encroachment and other underground mafia system is also the nexus of power for hidden players

and this is also the reason of conflicts between bureaucracy and local bodies. Bureaucracy is of the view that the commissioner system prevented the evils of land grabbing and the mafia flourished with the emergence of local government system (Interviews with civil servants). Some land mafias are referred to be backed up by influential people, so called politicians and this reason leads to the cohabitation problem between bureaucracy and local bodies. Local bodies system let the land grabbers and other mafias to be interconnected and flourished.

Segregation of Major Entities

The large units of public service are retained under provinces such as Sindh Building Control Authority, the Karachi Water and Sewerage Board, Solid Waste Management (SWM) and Lahore Development Authority (LDA), and etc. It is urging to confusion of coordination among local bodies, bureaucracy and these boards/authorities and lot of government machinery and human resource is deputed in these authorities.

Stacked Resources

The main resources institutional, informational, and financial are allocated to political and bureaucracy for interaction. The party based political representatives do not cooperate with bureaucrats and there is tug of war in distribution of resources and powers.

Fund Allocation System

The provincial financial committees are not having meetings to decide on funds allocation for local bodies. The huge mess in institutional setup of local government is created and all financial resources are captured by provinces and are not dispersed properly at local level for developmental purposes.

Revenue Assignments and Local Revenue Administration

The low discretion of local governments creates fewer local revenue options and this makes the poorer coordination between bureaucracy and local bodies in Karachi. The minimum capacity of revenue generation for local government is very hard and tough to be incorporated into regular system and this is generating a low quality services delivery.

Insufficient resources

The low qualities of municipal services are the result of shortage of capacity and revenues. This creates bad impression of local government in Karachi and Lahore and same problem is faced by Peshawar and Quetta.

Lack of Fiscal Autonomy

The local bodies are very dependent on the provincial government in Karachi and same in Lahore but the Lahore situation is bit better because of the one party unity. In view of fiscal autonomy, local bodies are very dependent on the provincial government. Development funds to MNAs/MPAs and senators also undermine the role of local bodies and MNAs and MPAs mostly get the help of civil servants in preparation of developmental projects.

Discussion and Conclusion

In the analysis, elected representatives and civil servants are considered on the basis of two different units in same institutional set up. This study is administrated in metropolitan cities and it was found that a more conflict in politicians is present at union levels than in the politicians mainly engaged at district level. The best example is of Karachi. The analysis also showed that administrators have more conflicts with the councils dominating by ruling party at provincial level like Lahore.

Several speculations can be derived from the main findings. The important one is this problem of cohabitation between local elected bodies and bureaucracy/civil servants are based in more factual. Junior bureaucrats in all capitals of provinces are not much closer in contact with the ruling party as compare to senior bureaucrats. In

each capital of province, main findings are elaborated city wise to have summarized situation in the metropolitan cities.

Karachi bureaucracy is more inclined to the provincial government and has contradiction with the local bodies. The local bodies in Karachi are entangled with the debate between MQM and ruling party of province PPP and psychological issue of hatred between these two. The main contradictory issue in Karachi local bodies and administrators is to manage the water and sewerage issues of the city. The following main problems of cohabitation between local elected government and bureaucracy interlinked with ruling party at provincial level in Karachi are;

- Lack of Unity of Command
- Separate civic entities of Karachi Water and Sewerage Board, Sindh Building Control Authority, Solid Waste Management Board and lack of technical capacity
- Ineffective Government Institutes
- KMC a Black Box
- Vested Interest Groups

Lahore bureaucracy is more neutral due to uncontrolled situation of the city and lack of independence and autonomy. The local representatives in Lahore are knotted with the party ruling at provincial level and party mandate is more important for than the facts hindering local bodies working. The main contradictory issue in Lahore local bodies and administrators is to overcome civic issues and executive magistracy of the city. The following main problems of cohabitation between local elected government and bureaucracy in Lahore interlinked with the provincial government are;

- Lack of independence and autonomy
- Separate entities Lahore Development Authority (LDA) and Lahore Solid Waste Management Company, Education & Health
- Symbolic Local bodies system
- Limited capacity and sacked Resources
- Local bodies are confined

Peshawar local government is considered powerful and bureaucracy/civil servants work in coordination with local bodies. The management and further upcoming challenges are the possible contradictions between bureaucracy and local bodies as the civil servants have some apprehensions regarding forthcoming confrontations such as planning & capacity issues and confusion in development priorities. The main contradictory issue in Peshawar local bodies and administrators is political friction and coordination. The following main problems of cohabitation between local elected government and bureaucracy in Peshawar are interlinked with the provincial government;

- Political Friction
- Capacity Constraints
- Monitoring & Planning
- Grievances among all major stakeholders

Quetta local bodies and bureaucracy is having conflict that they are neither able to generate their own resources nor get sufficient grants from the provincial government. The civil servants are only playing and representing on behalf of provincial government and doing whatever responsibilities are assigned to them. The main contradictory issue in Quetta local bodies and administrators are zero powers that create a trivial situation. The following main problems of cohabitation between local elected government and bureaucracy in Quetta are interlinked with the provincial government;

- Insufficient Role of Local Bodies
- Fragmentation of Political Parties
- Pre-mature local government

The local councils are mostly maneuvered by planned political demise and oppositional flickers. The ambiguous situation of young district officers in Lahore is bit difficult to deal with uncertain issues with political mandate and dubious practices. In Peshawar the local government is more powerful and powers are devolved at very grassroots level but the cohabitation problem between bureaucracy and political bodies is the monitoring and this is leading to further roughness.

It is difficult to envisage the functioning of the new system of local government and the relationship between the provincial bureaucracy and local bodies in subsequent years. Regarding the budget allocation for local bodies, the first local council budgets has not even started, and therefore it is impossible to analyze this particular process in local government with divided power. However, we are convinced that the bureaucracy persons in potential conflict with the local council are in trouble, chiefly because of its immense powers, which gives control over all municipalities.

Good governance begins with the establishment of quality relationship between the politicized system and bureaucracy. For favored reliance on local governments, exclusion of political influence in decision making apparatus, and alliance between bureaucracy and local government representatives is required in all provinces. The political influence in every walk of the local government is distorting the flow of service delivery to the needy. It is a fact that a well-functioning local government helps support a well-functioning community Empowerment of the local government is key to achieve Sustainable Development Goals, in run up to the elections hasty efforts by bureaucracy to get all control of finances can disturb smooth balance between office of deputy commissioners and local representatives, Mayors and District Chairmen should be declared the boss of his city or district for the provision of services delivery, budgeting and planning structures at local level. District Police officer & Deputy Commissioner and local political representatives should have the equal contribution in maintenance of law and order and police matters in districts to cooperate in actions against encroachment and land grabbing in Punjab, Baluchistan and Sindh.

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Endnotes

ⁱ Pakistan got the separation on 14 August 1947 from British.

ⁱⁱ The 18th amendment provides more autonomy to the provinces to devolve powers to local bodies at grass root level.

ⁱⁱⁱArticle 140A was inserted through the 18th Amendment, which introduces federalism – wherein sovereignty is constitutionally divided between federal, provincial and local governments. Hence, the said article has been introduced in the context of decentralization

^{iv}Local government Acts in 2013 and it is momentous point that provincial assemblies for the first time in Pakistan have gone through to build safeguards in local government system within their territorial jurisdiction

^vThe historic 18th Amendment provided constitutional cover to local bodies under Article 140A; this article was an opportunity to decide the fate of the third tier of 'the State'. Local government acts 2013 passed in each province of Pakistan after 18th amendment in 1973 constitution which gives authority to provinces to devolve powers to local bodies.

^{vi}Democracy in Pakistan cannot be effective until the local government system is made effective. The function of provincial political elites is not interested in transferring powers to local political elites and that the latter are in cahoots with the provincial bureaucracy.

^{vii}The local elected representatives and bureaucracy working in district administration.

^{viii}Karachi capital of Sindh, Lahore of Punjab, Peshawar of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Quetta of Baluchistan

^{ix}Babu culture and Babu Attitude depicts the supremacy. "babuji" the word in British rule was indicating the gentry and 'sir' for prominence of bureaucratic attitude than civil servants.

^xThe bureaucracy heading the districts was well equipped with knowledge of the areas and demography and was having full command on knowledge of the vicinity.

^{xi}The relationship of bureaucracy and political representatives remained important since classical time and it is depicted in the works of Max Weber 1946 in Europe, Gerth & Mills 1948 & Woodrow Wilson in the United States (Wilson 1887/1992).

^{xii}Herbert Simon, 1976; Mosher, 1982; Finer, 1941; Friedrich, 1940.

^{xiii}Fesler 1965; Rondinelli 1981, 1983; Conyers, 1987.

^{xiv}A strong bureaucracy was inherited in Pakistan from British colonialism and political elite.

^{xv}Under military regimes the bureaucracy is demoralized and in civil era the politicians did this. In return the bureaucracy turned into self-serving rather than professional civil servants.

^{xvi}DAWN 31 May 2009. Should executive magistracy be revived? "The local government system introduced by the Gen Musharraf regime in 2001 introduced some drastic changes in the administrative system. Prior to that, the commissioner and the deputy commissioner (DC) were the administrative head of a division and a district respectively. The DC was also vested with judicial powers and was called district magistrate (DM). The 2001 reforms abolished divisions as administrative units together with the office of the commissioner. The district nazim was made the head of the district government".

^{xvii}A special force in Pakistan working for law & order situation is Karachi on special request of provincial government.