

**LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN ISLAMABAD: AN
INVESTIGATION OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE
STRUCTURE OF ISLAMABAD**



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Dedication

“Indeed, Allah will not change the condition of a people until they change what is in themselves. And when Allah intends for a people ill, there is no repelling it. And there is not for them besides Him any patron.” (Quran, 13:11)

Reminding us that at the end of the day we are in charge of changing ourselves for the better, this verse stands as a beautiful example of the power and strength we all hold within ourselves. We can only find and connect with Allah from ourselves, and we can only continue a path of righteousness and belief within ourselves as well – and to find this strength requires both our own dedication and commitment as well as faith in Allah’s power and mercy as well.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Praise to almighty in Surah Al-Ala Ayat 7 it says, “Except what Allah should will. Indeed, He knows what is declared and what is hidden. And We will ease you toward ease”. This dissertation would never have been possible without the help of my friends, colleagues, my supervisor Miss Lubna Hassan who helped me in every aspect of this research.

ABSTRACT

Soon after the Islamabad Capital Territory Local Government Act (LGA) 2015 was promulgated, local government elections were held in Islamabad. As an outcome of the elections, the Municipal Corporation of Islamabad was formed. The then ruling party, PLMN, won most of the seats, and a mayor was selected on the technocrat's seat. CDA was to transfer human resources and much of its department to the newly elected MCI. During the entire process of transfer of resources, workforce, funds, and authority, bureaucratic hurdles were created by the CDA administration, local MNA's, and the ministry of the interior itself. The situation got worse when PTI came into power in 2018. After that, it was a tug of war between MCI, CDA, and ICT institutions. The CDA and ICT are under direct PTI's control, and MCI is headed by Mayor belonging to PMLN.

The five-year tenure of the local government was a mess as no development work could be initiated in Islamabad. MCI was not given financial autonomy; power was kept in the hands of MNA's and Commissioner Islamabad. As soon as MCI's tenure was over, the development work kick-started in Islamabad. The LG system was not able to deliver due to many flaws. These are categorized as constitutional loopholes, financial issues, lack of Devolution of power, lack of legislation for Islamabad, and above all, due to the political hurdles created by the MNA's during PMLN's tenure and PTI's tenure. On paper, the system is excellent and suitable for Islamabad, but it needs more autonomy. Preferably a separate legislative assembly for Islamabad with Mayor being its chief executive.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AC: Assistant Commissioner

AD: Anno Domini

BCE: Before The Common Era

CDA: Capital Development Authority

DC: District Commissioner

EIC: East India Company

ICT: Islamabad Capital Territory

KP: Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

LGA 2015: LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT 2015

MCI: Metro Politician Corporation Islamabad

MNA: Member National Assembly

SAW: Peace Be Upon Him

UC: Union Council

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO ISLAMABAD

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Islamabad, located on the northeastern fringe of the Potohar plateau of the province of Punjab, is the Islamic Republic of Pakistan's Capital. It was developed in the 1960s during Ayub Khan's Era. Islamabad is the ninth-largest city in Pakistan. It is known for high living standards, safety, and carefully planned construction

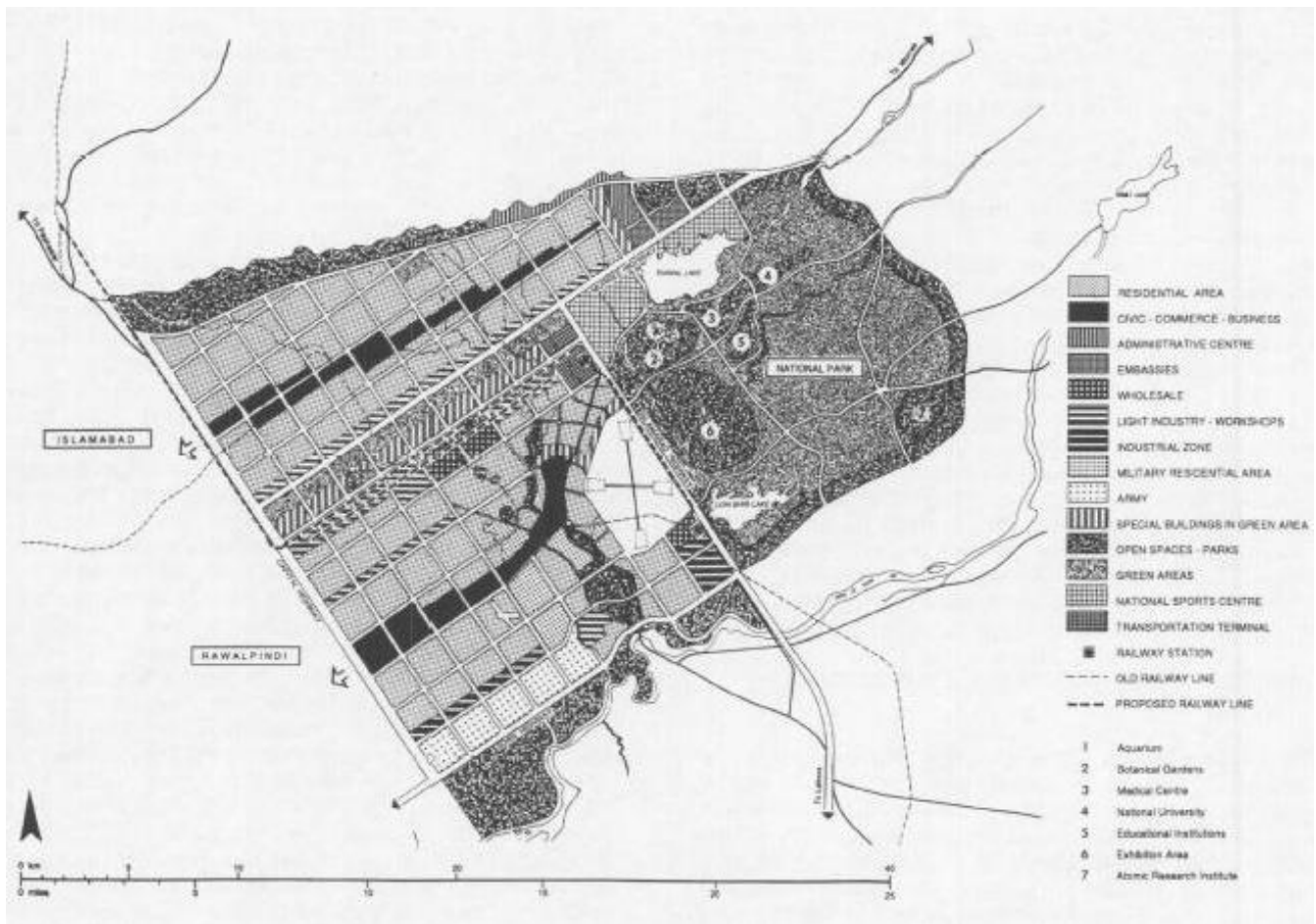


Figure 1.1-1.1 Original Master Plan of Islamabad

Islamabad is Pakistan's first modern planned city. It was designed to become Pakistan's Capital. In 1958, a commission was formed to determine a suitable location for the new Capital, with a particular emphasis on location, climate, logistics, defense needs, aesthetics, and scenic and natural beauty, away from the economic and commercial activities of Karachi – the first Capital of Pakistan. The Federal Cabinet approved the current capital site, which was recommended by the commission and is located at the foothills of Margalla. The Master Plan of Islamabad was created by a Greek planner/architect Constantino's Apostolou Doxiadis from Doxiadis Associates and was approved by the Federal Cabinet on October 26, 1960. Islamabad is considered one of the well-planned cities of the world. The new Capital was established in Islamabad on February 24, 1960. A Capital Development Authority (CDA) was established for the orderly development of Islamabad through the promulgation of the Capital Development Authority Ordinance (1960).

The Metropolitan Area of Islamabad was divided into three major parts, (1) Islamabad, (2) National Park (Islamabad Park), and (3) Rawalpindi and the Cantonment. The Master Plan of Islamabad was given legal coverage by the CDA Ordinance 1960 and the Pakistan Capital Ordinance 1960. The responsibility of developing Pakistan's future Capital was assigned to the CDA.

Civil administration and responsibilities for law and order were vested in the Administrator (later re-designated as Chief Commissioner) of Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT) through a Presidential Order (No. 18 of 1980) on January 1, 1980.

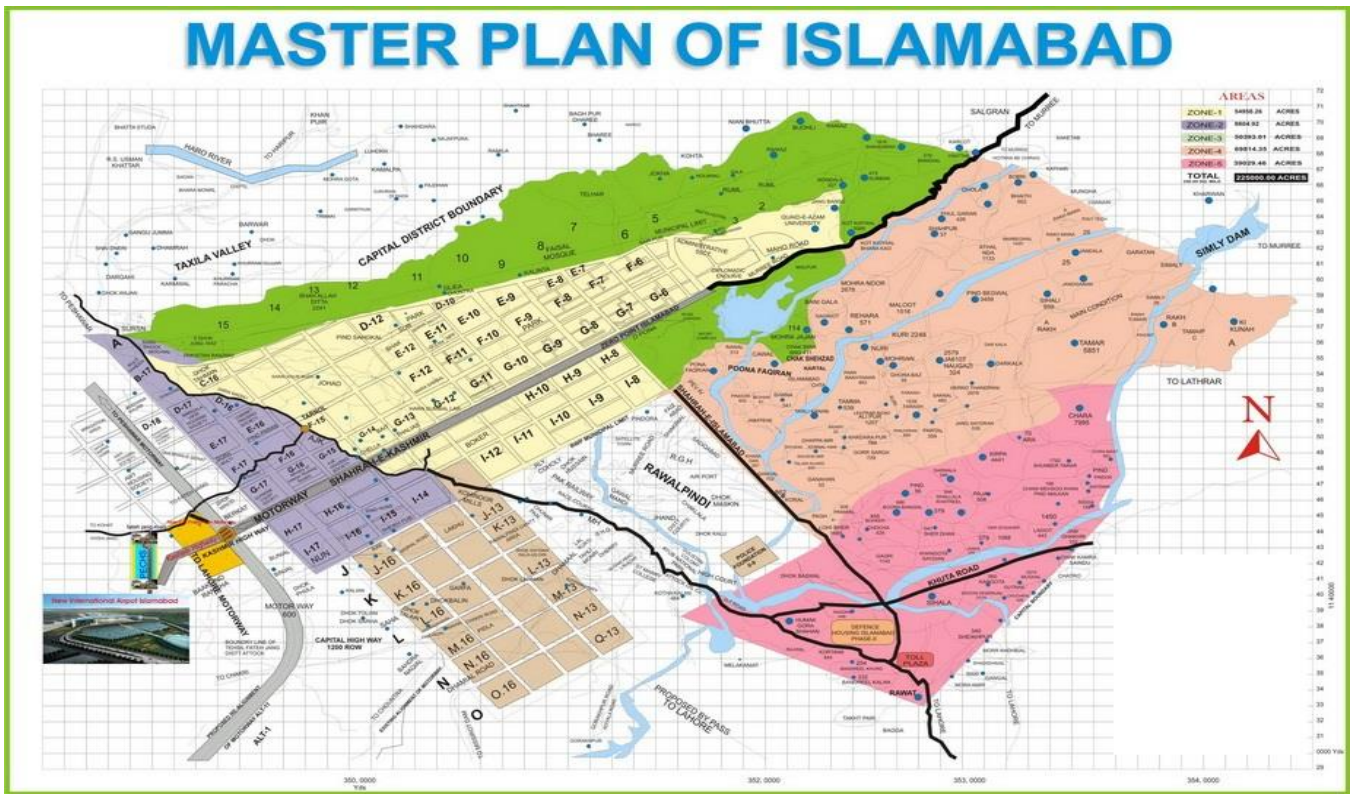


Figure 1.1.1–2 Present Master Plan of Islamabad (CDA WEBSITE)

1.2 Geography

Islamabad is situated in the Northeast of Province Punjab, adjoining Rawalpindi. To the North of the City starts the Margalla Hills. It resides on the edge of Punjab, KP, and the northern areas of Pakistan. The Capital is the busiest route for people traveling to the northern areas. It serves as the base camp for travelers visiting the Kashmir Valley, Gilgit-Baltistan, and other beautiful regions in the North. Islamabad is also the hub for most of the trade in the Northern Areas of the country.

It covers an area of 906 square kilometers, of which 220.15 square kilometers are urban and 466.20 square kilometers are rural. The city comprises eight different sections, including administrative, diplomatic, educational, residential, industrial, commercial, and greenbelts.

1.3 Demography

According to the Population census of 2017, Islamabad has a population of 2003368 people (Population Census, 2017). It has a population density of 2,207 people per square kilometer. It has a mixed ethnic base where 68% of the population are Punjabi, whereas Pashto speaking, at 15%, makes the second largest ethnic group. It is also a city with the highest literacy rate (88%). 59% of its population falls within the age group 15-64, while 38% of the population belongs to the age groups below 15. Islam is the largest religion in the Capital (95.5% Muslims), Christians form the 2nd most prominent religious group (4.07% population).

1.4 History



Taxila, Dharmarajika

*Figure 1.1.4–1 Taxila Dharmarajika: ruins of an ancient university in present-day Pakistan
(<https://www.britannica.com/place/Taxila>)*

Throughout the history of mankind made cities and people traveled between them either it was in search of resources or to discover new lands for agriculture or for finding new routes to wage wars against neighboring countries people traveled, and it wasn't as easy as it is today there were no maps there weren't any satellite, GPS or even basic information about the routes or places, but still people were driven by mere curiosity and the senses of fearlessness that enabled them to challenge all odds and undertake long journeys that took them not only months, or years but instead lifetimes.

The earliest book record of a traveler came from the Quran in surah al kahf of Dhul-Qarnayn of how he traveled to east and west although one cannot put this story in a time frame as Allah knows best according to mainstream historians this incident dates back to almost 4000 years.



Figure 1.1.4–2 Description of Dhu al-Qarnayn having the wall built

(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gates_of_Alexander#cite_note-thompson-canby-1)

This certainly shows that even in ancient times, people have well-governed cities, and they traveled, although it was a few of them still did. Same if we take the example of pilgrimage like in Arabia and India

special the practice of traveling for religious purpose goes back to old times. In medieval times we saw a surge of explorers in the world one of the pioneers was Ibn e Battuta, the man who left his house at the age of 21 and didn't return home to Morocco for the next 24 years. During his travels, he married covered 1/3 of the earth on foot from Africa to the farthest reaches of China.

However, it was cities that attracted most of the people and the ways they were governed. Governance was always practiced in some form, even in ancient times

Situated near the ancient City of Taxila, the area which is home to Islamabad has a history dating back to thousands of years. The ruins found by archaeologists date back to 5000 BCE. The caves of Shah Allah Ditta are reminiscent of the ancient Buddhist community. Historical evidence suggests a city of local tribesmen, "Gakhars," situated in this area was destroyed during the campaign of Mahmud of Ghazni and then by Mongols (Rashid Salam, 2005). In 1765, after the defeat of Ghakars, the ruling status went into the hands of the Sikhs. Under the Sikh's rule, the population and the economic situation of the area rose significantly. In 1849, the British army defeated the Sikhs and went on to build the largest cantonment in 1851. The area saw immense infrastructure development such as Telegraph offices, markets, churches, roads, Railway Lines, and many other significant developments. This infrastructural development raised the status of the city (known as Rawalpindi by that time). Rawalpindi has been the main supply line of trade in Kashmir. It served as the most important base for trade purposes in the Subcontinent's Northern Areas throughout history. During the British period in United India, 21% of the Kashmir trade passed through Rawalpindi.

1.5 The Birth of Islamabad

When Pakistan came into existence in 1947, Karachi was its Capital. As time passed, it was felt that the Capital needed to be shifted away from Karachi. The reasons provided for this relocation were that Karachi being far away from many areas of Pakistan, the logistic and administrative issues due to an already crowded city, the external threat from the Arabian Sea, and the business community influence. A committee was formed in 1958 to decide a suitable location for the new Capital. It selected an area near Rawalpindi for the future Capital of Pakistan. Greek architect C.A. Doxiadis was chosen for planning and designing a modern, well-planned, and state-of-the-art city.



Figure 1.1.5–1 Ayub Khan at the site to foresee the development work of Islamabad

(https://www.cda.gov.pk/about_islamabad)

Through Capital Development Authority Ordinance (1960), Capital Development Authority (CDA) was established on June 14, 1960, entrusted with the authority and responsibility to implement the plan. During the construction period, Rawalpindi was used as the interim Capital of Pakistan. On August 14, 1967, at the 20th birth anniversary of Pakistan, Islamabad was officially declared its new Capital.

1.6 Islamabad Zones

Islamabad has 906 sq. km of area (including Urban, Rural, and underdeveloped) demarcated into five different zones as per the Zoning Regulation 1992, promulgated by the Capital Development Authority (CDA). The largest developed residential area is Zone 1, which Covers most of the part. In Zone 1, only CDA could acquire land and develop it. Zone 2, as compared to Zone 1, entails primarily underdeveloped built-up sectors. Zone 3 is the Reserved area, as it homes the Margalla Hills, the frivolous areas like (Daman-e-Koh, Monal), and most of all villages like Saidpur. Zone 4, in terms of size the largest zone, and Zone 5 consists of the majority of Islamabad's impromptu rural areas (CDA, Facts and Statistics, n.d.)

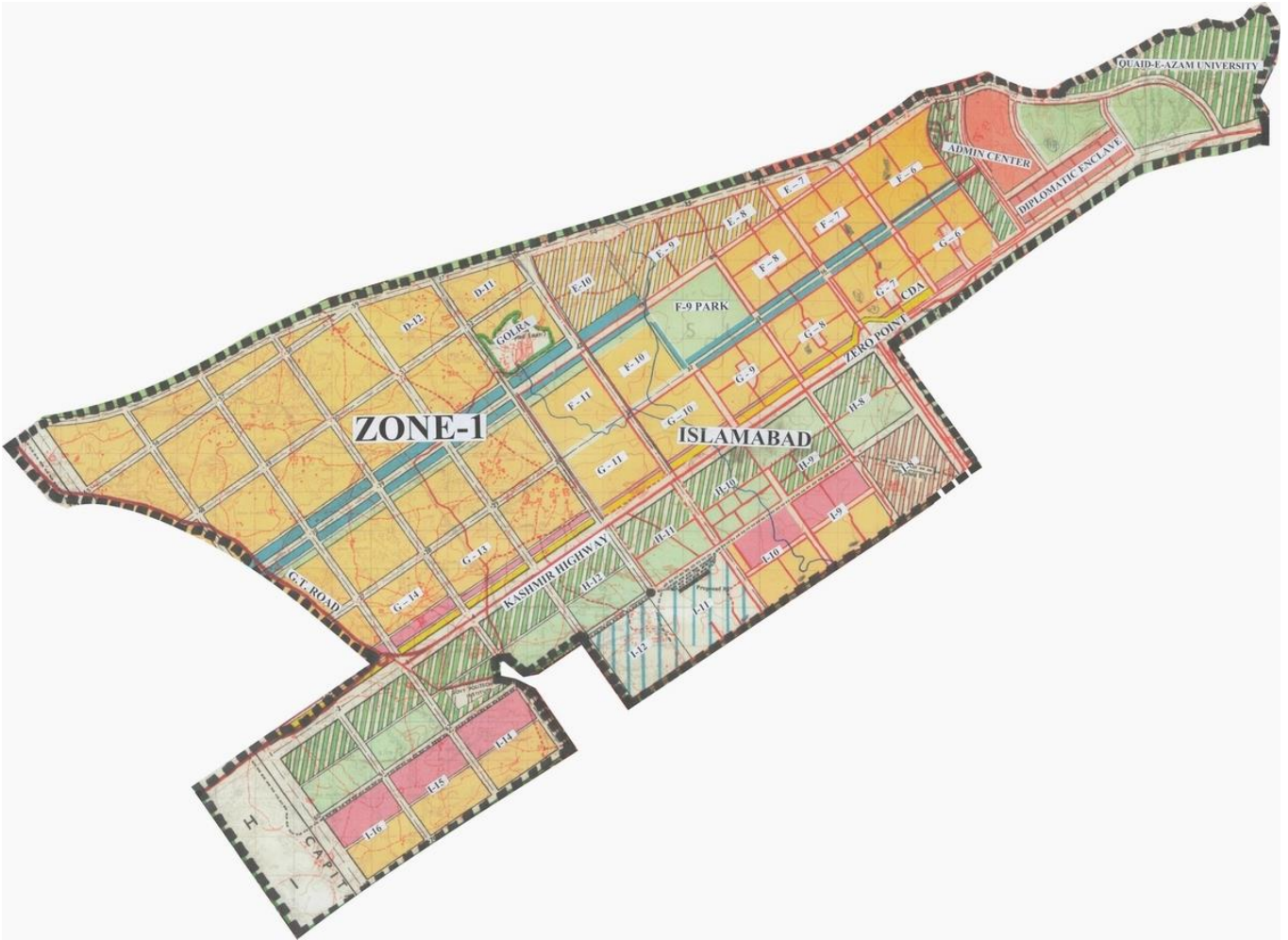


Figure 1.1.6–1 Zone 1 of Islamabad (CDA website)



Figure 1.1.6–2 Zone 2 of Islamabad (CDA website)

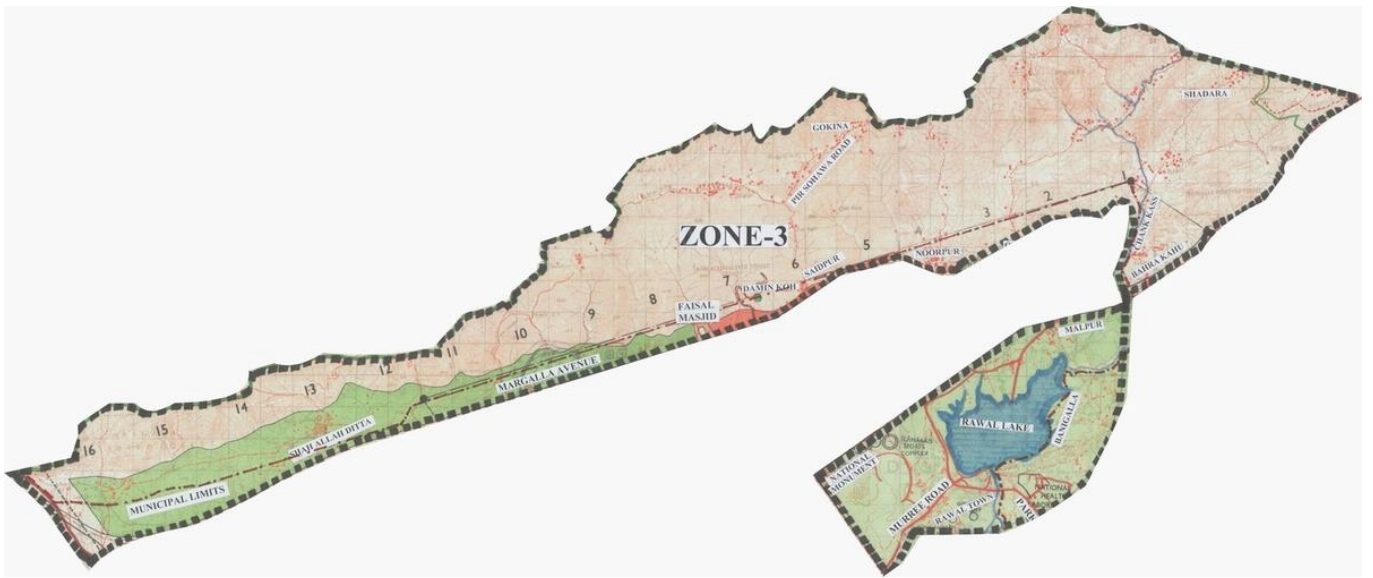


Figure 1.1.6–3 Zone 3 of Islamabad (CDA website)

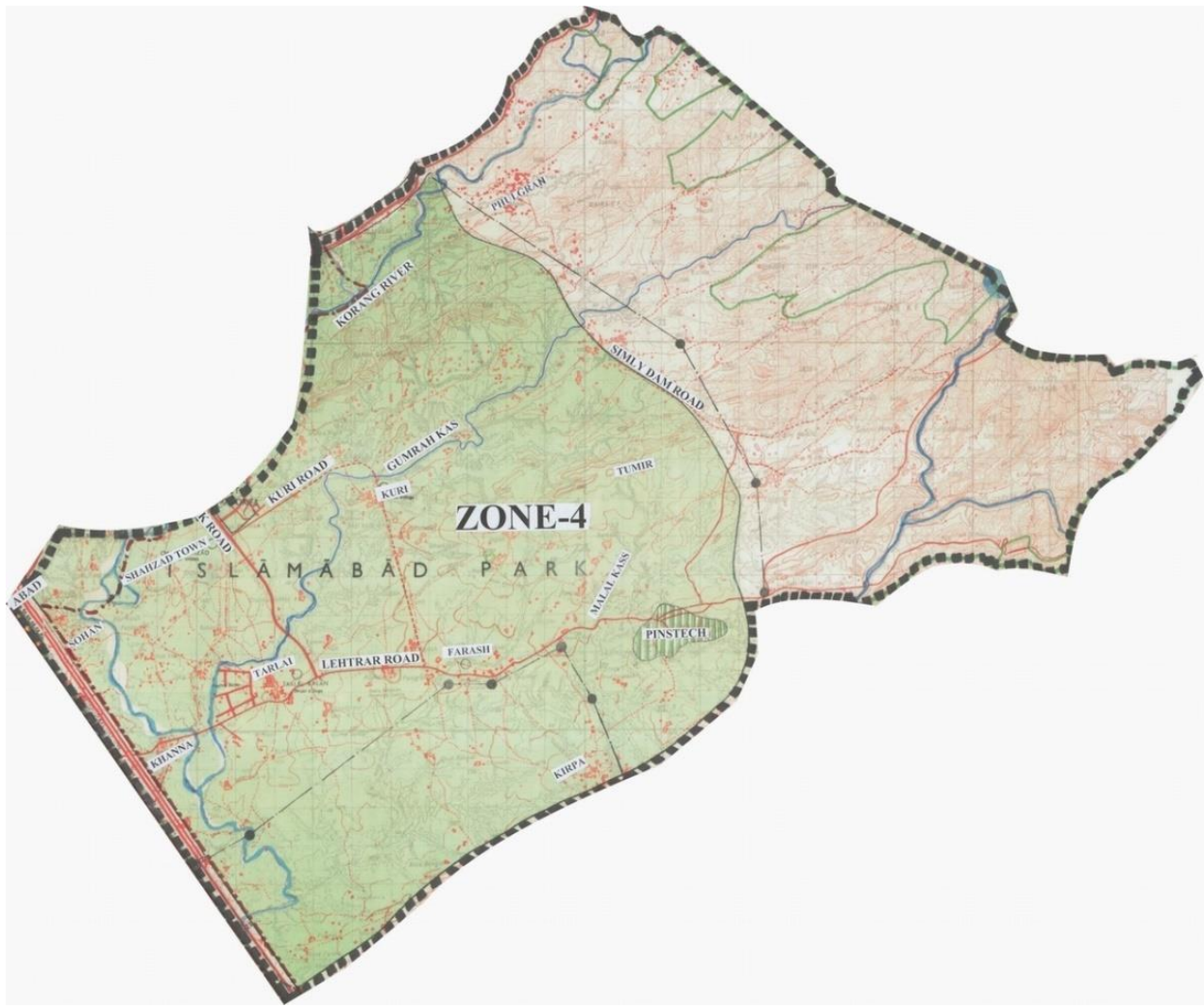


Figure 1.1.6–4 Zone 4 of Islamabad (CDA website)

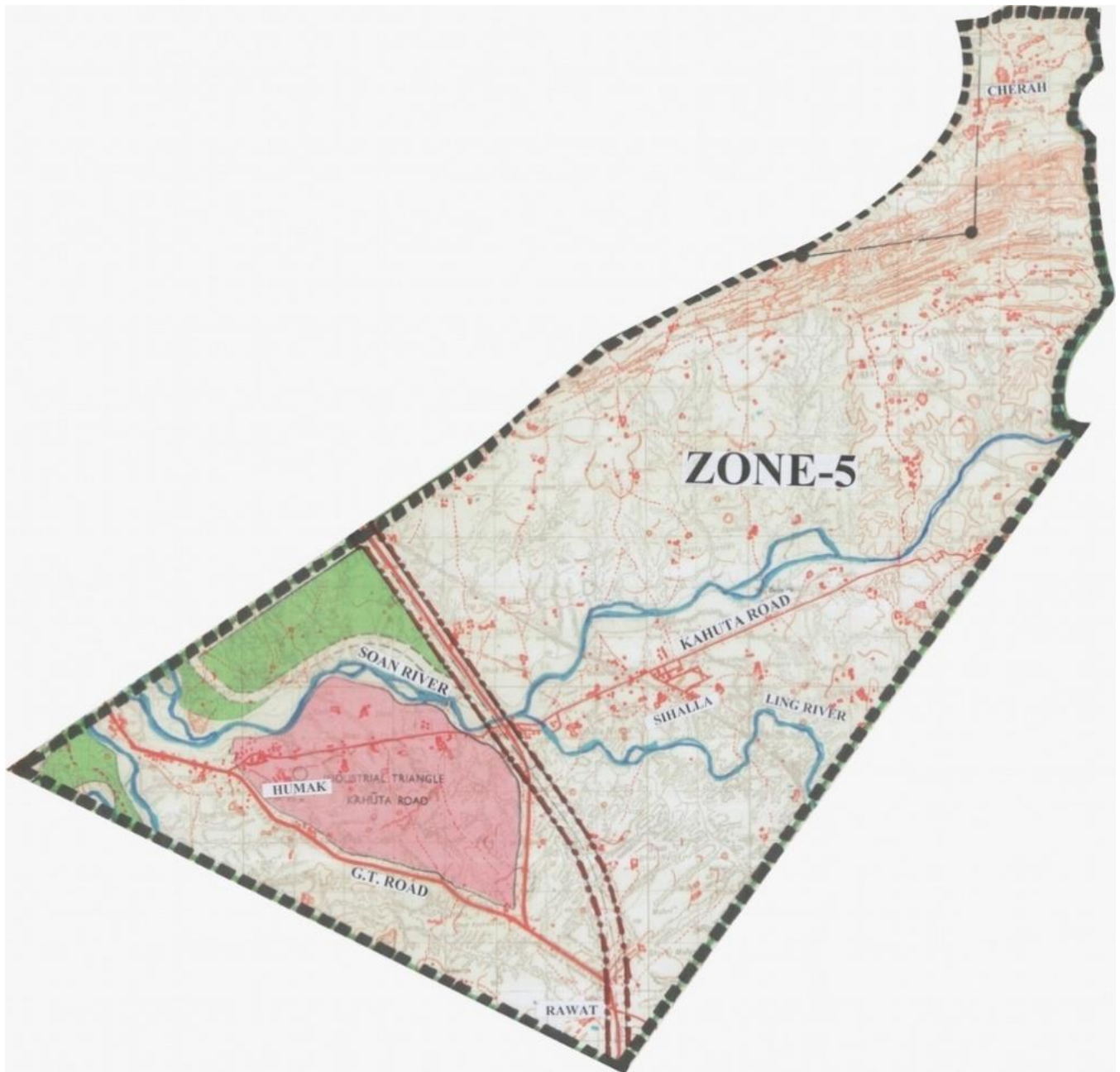


Figure 1.1.6–5 Zone 5 of Islamabad (CDA website)

1.7 Unplanned Areas of Islamabad

Contrary to the general perception regarding the Capital as the country's best urban center, a large area of Islamabad is unplanned, lacking basic Infrastructure. Islamabad's unplanned rural area is more than double (466 sq. km) the developed urban area (220 sq. km). Populations in urban areas are primarily upper-middle and elite class, whereas the lower-class population lives in Islamabad's rural areas. In 2006 the government launched a quadrilateral plan to upgrade and up scope the less developed areas of the Capital. For this purpose, 4.4 billion Rupees got allocated. Unfortunately, only 1 billion rupees were released by July 2010 (Chaudhry, Malik, & Ashraf, 2006).

A massive chasm between Islamabad's intended urban and spontaneous rural areas regarding essential services provision: unlike urban areas, where cemented roads, playgrounds, parks, and round-the-clock water supply makes life very pleasant, the rural areas are lagging the proper dumping and sewerage. People unwillingly leave their waste in vacant plots or on the streets. Lack of schools, health facilities, and adequate water supply further amplify the misery in rural Islamabad.

1.8 Administrative Framework

The administrative structure of Islamabad encompasses the federal government, the ICT (which has the powers of provincial government), and the local government, which were instituted after the passing of the ICT Local Government Act 2015. Strict jurisdiction and a highly centralized structure were adopted when transferring power to the Local Government in Islamabad as a result of the Act. The federal government kept all the authorities, and just for show case, gave a few authorities and departments to the newly established MCI. Similarly, MCI can transfer a few operations towards UCs. MCI and UCs operate with limited authority, and their practice must fall in line with the interests of the Federal.

1.9 Statement of Problem

Islamabad has too many actors involved in Governance, which is the cause of power politics. These power politics leads to inefficiencies in the system of Governance. This study would determine who is responsible for the inefficiencies and who is working within their domain. These inefficiencies, such as delayed work, hurdles in the working of one government department, misuse of authority for personal gains, affect the working of the entire system. While the developed world's cities have a local government system that runs the Governance of a city, with the Mayor being its head and has the executive authority, the Local system in Islamabad seems a far cry from such a system. We would also compare the governance system of Islamabad with the capitals of other world countries. Delhi and Singapore, to gain insight into the working governance system of these capital cities and compare it with that of Islamabad.

1.10 Research Objectives

The idea of the study is to find out how many governmental institutions are involved in the governance process of the Federal Capital of Pakistan.

The research question here is to determine which institution is solely responsible for managing the federal Capital? Are there any inefficiencies in the system, and who is accountable for them? If more than one institution is involved, how is the power nexus working and creating inefficiencies in the system?

The study would also compare two other capital cities globally and analyze the differences between them and Islamabad. A comparison of the governance structure of the Delhi and Singapore cities to pinpoint the loopholes present in Islamabad governance. The study is qualitative, and interviews of top office-bearers of the administration, politicians of the constituency, and the general public. It would find the areas that need improvement and would try to propose a system that could work better for the federal Capital

1.11 Rationale for Research

Based on the statement of the problem in the preceding text, the following research questions would be examined:

1.11.1 Research Questions

- What are the dynamics of the Governance structure of Islamabad?
- Is the ICT local government system of 2015 a self-regulating and sustainable local government system?
- How are different players of the governance structure interfering with the administering of Islamabad?

1.12 Conceptual Framework

Decentralization can promote a sense of autonomy in citizens, enhance social order by promoting the legitimacy of the State, and limit pressures for separatism by diverse regions or ethnic groups. In terms of applicable normative economic standards, local public goods should be given based on inhabitants' choices, with disputes between residents' desires being resolved using welfare weights that correspond to their demographic weights and relative requirements. Discrepancies in the political process related to variations in values inherent in actual government policies from conventional social assistance. Alternatively, it can be said as when some groups receive preferential treatment, that is not proportional to their demographic importance or urgency of need. It usually manifests itself as anti-poverty prejudice and, on rare occasions, discrimination against certain areas, ethnic groupings, or religious groups in favor of special-interest organizations. Scholars of politics and political economy have paid close attention to the origins of these distortions (Bardhan & Mookherjee, 2006).

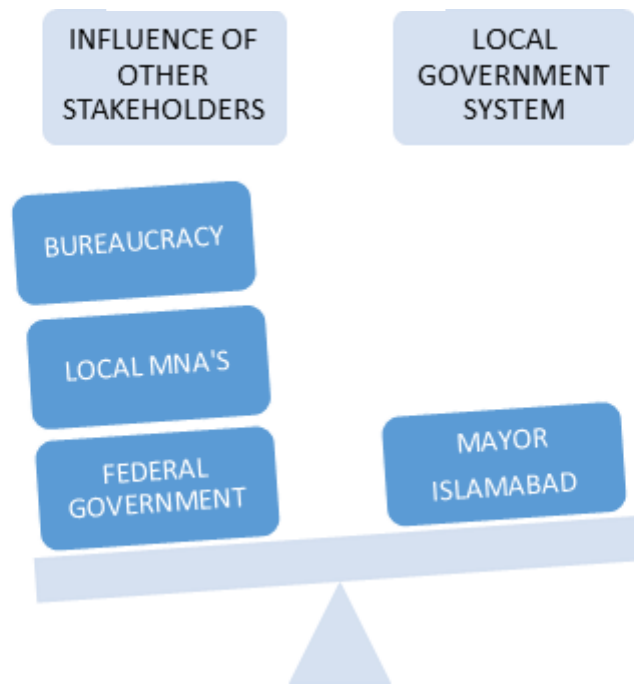


Figure 1.1.12-1: Conceptual Framework

1.13 Theoretical Framework

The idea of the study is to find out how many governmental institutions are involved in the governance process of the Federal Capital of Pakistan. The research objective here is to determine: who is in charge, or, in general terms, which institution is responsible for managing the federal Capital? Are there any inefficiencies in the system, and who is responsible for them? If more than one institution is involved, how is the power nexus working, and how is that power nexus creating inefficiencies in the system. The study would also compare two other world capital cities and analyze the differences between their local body governing system and Islamabad's local bodies governance. The governance structure of the cities would be compared, and we would try to pinpoint the loopholes present between them. The study comprises a qualitative survey that includes interviews with the top office-bearers of the administration, politicians of the constituency, and the public. The data collection will be diverse in nature to get the

maximum reality of the problems faced in Islamabad. Eventually, this study would seek to find the areas that need improvement and propose a system that could work better for the federal Capital, hence can improve the living standards for the people of Islamabad

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Definition of Local Governance and Administrative system

Local governments are state-run entities that provide essential government services to a limited, sub-provincial geographic region (Shah, Thompson, & Shah, 2004). Local Governments (LGs) are the lowest level of Governance in modern government frameworks.

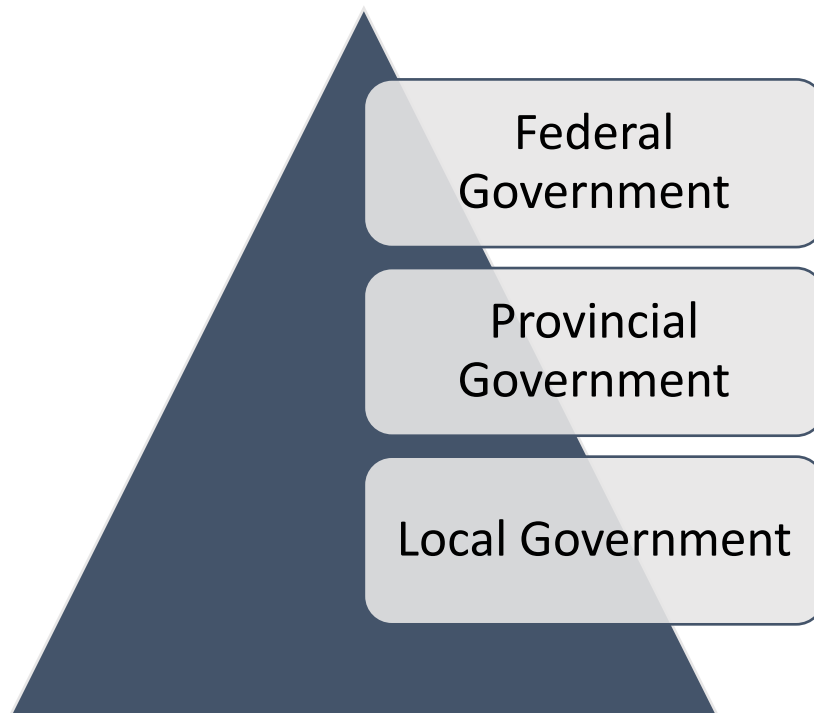


Figure 2.1–1.1 Structure of Governance in Pakistan

They are nearest to the people at the public stage, Due to the reason David Dimbleby coined the terms 'grassroots democracy' (Murtaza & Rid, 2016). Zaidi (2005) described that LGs give more possibilities to shatter the elites' grip on power and restructure the State in the people's favor. Some definitions are in order here. Government is an element of the State. State bequeaths on to the government its workings with three central departments - Judiciary, Executive, and Legislature. Governance is norms, values, and rules of the game that deal with human interaction. Citizens and stakeholders interact among themselves and

participate in public affairs within the institutional framework defined by these rules and norms (North, 1990).

Governance is the process in a given geopolitical locality designed to ensure accountability, transparency, responsiveness, the rule of law, stability, equity, inclusiveness, empowerment, and broad-based participation. All the processes of governing - whether undertaken by a government, market, network, tribe, or family - through formal or informal institutions (power, laws, norms, or language) are called Governance. It is the system of decision-making among stakeholders that ensures the corroboration of society's institutions and socio-cultural norms (Ansell & Torfing, 2016). Both the federal government and local governments benefit from Decentralization. According to Dr. John O'Mara, the central government's accountability, power, and financial Capital must be transferred to local governments. The question would be whether current local accountability has sufficient operational capability. (Hayashi, 2002).

2.2 Origins of Society and Birth of Governance

The first phase of civilization emerged with the small bands of hunters and gatherers. These bands were nomadic, hunted for food, and traveled frequently. These small bands used minimal languages, but a semblance of the social institution was still in place. They hunted together, migrated together, and lived together. Even at this stage, a group leader who was responsible for the entire tribe was there. The leader would be the strongest among them, responsible for safety, security, and food availability (Fukuyama, 2012).

The post-colonial world mainly depended upon massive trade to fulfill the requirements of megalithic industries, so trade grew as trade grew. Cities grew by exponential value people started seeking work in cities workers were exported to other countries to get better-waged jobs, people from underdeveloped countries moved to developed ones for better living standards another thing that happened was people started exploring nature as means of communication enhanced better roads, railroads, airways, etc., and

with the high income and ease of access people started to travel for luxury to seek nature or to visit sites of historical importance or to attend an important event the masses started moving and with this massive movement generated many problems such as accommodation transportation, food, security, etc. now we today see that countries with a better image in international media about their culture and most important of all level of law in order in their countries. The countries which provide a better overall environment for visitors witness a massive surge of foreign nationals arriving at their countries to experience their lifestyle, customs, food, heritage, and the overall experience of living in a new environment. Nature lovers or adventure tourists are another breeds of traveler who travels to even the most remote and highly insecure places to catch a glimpse of the wonder of nature; these kinds of people are not a bit concerned about the security situation of any other they always find a way to travel. Now in modern times, Cities have become an industry; there are examples of countries where their primary source of income is by Cities, and with the ever-growing competition, it requires planning and massive investments both in infrastructure and on human capital.

Glenn Kraig said,” For a Cities-based economy to sustain itself in local communities, the residents must be willing partners in the process. Their attitudes toward Cities and perceptions of their impact on community life must be continually assessed.”

One of the most important problems in underdeveloped countries is that literacy rates are very low. The majority of the population is living in rural areas where there are low employment options the not much education, both formal and informal. Here people tend to keep to themselves, and there’s no interaction with the outside world. These kinds of masses residing near the tourist sites are illiterate and lack the will to accept other people who are different from them. Plus, the belief culture is strong, and the followers of religion or sect are hostile towards the other. Along with that, these people lack the ethical and social values of how to treat other people; on many occasions, we see cases of robbery, overpricing, and misbehavior from locals with the visitors. Another major issue is that of accommodation the owners charge extra in the peak seasons with low quality of service and food. Now, this kind of behavior, in the long run,

sets a certain opinion in the minds of tourists about the particular place, and the industry suffers collectively.

2.3 Seven views that affect Cities as a whole

2.3.1 Monetary

With the growth of Cities, the local residence benefits the most as more jobs are created, and employment opportunities increase; here a point should be noted that most of the local workers are unskilled, and the local economy is labor-intensive, so it is the duty of government to protect the local workforce and work on their capacity building to make them more skillful. This ultimately leads to the efficiency in the marginal productivity. As the income increases, the average lifestyle, living standards, education level of the people of that community increases, and they are more well-off than before.

2.3.2 Ecological

Now, most of the City's design is attributed to the natural beauty of that place; masses go there in search of a better quality of life and higher incomes. Now with the huge influx of tourists, there is a negative impact on the environment. The natural beauty of the place is always at risk of destruction. The government and the locals should put forward efforts to protect the environment and moreover to sustain, as garbage should be disposed of properly. The people coming there should be educated on how to properly visit the place and how to behave to avoid any kind of damage to the environment. Now one thing by the environment we don't only mean the natural landscape but also the buildings of historical importance there plus the availability of open spaces there should be maintained.

2.3.3 Communal issues

Cities could have both negative and positive impacts. If we talk about positive impacts

- It boosts economy
- Promotion of regional heritage and customs to the world
- Enforces cultural exchange
- Strengthen the values
- Elevates the basic structure of society

Negative impacts

- Mistreatment of locals
- Introduction of drugs and crime
- Risks of foreign domination as if the land rights of locals are not protected
- Exclusion of locals from resources

2.3.4 Congregating

Most of the Cities are actually places of significance importance, i.e., Economic hubs, a center of growth, landscape, the building of history of religious value, etc. most of the industry relating to the Cities is situated around it and in most of the cases mainly in the underdeveloped countries, this then results in overcrowding, land disputes, traffic problems, mismanagement so for a Cities industry to develop the government should focus on the development of possible tourist sites and enforce the law on the basis of merit.

These are some of the major areas which affect Cities, but not only one's Cities could help create and boost the service sector of a specific area the government's revenue increases, and as said earlier, the entire community raises. Though a very nascent and fragile form of Governance, but historians believe

the civilization began when homo-sapiens started caring for people around them. Advanced forms of government emerged when humans transitioned from hunter-gatherers to a sedentary agrarian society. Institutions of Governance developed in the tiny city-state, mainly in Mesopotamia, Indus valley, and Egypt, around 8000 BCE. Warlord, or chieftain, ruled over a city-state. Although it is not clear what were the set of rules or norms for the general public, evidence suggests they were mainly religiously motivated (Holslag, 2018).

2.4 Origin of local Governance and administrative system

2.4.1 Models of Governance throughout history in different civilizations

Ancient Greece established a democratic governance model around the 5th century BCE. The democratic system came as a result of prolonged clashes amongst the nobles for dominance. Athens is the first city-state to practice this model. Citizens selected randomly from masses to be part of the public gathering or



Figure 2.4–1 Greek Democracy

(istockphoto.com)

general assembly. Members of the general assembly had the right to pass laws and hold legislation; however, the people who worked at the public offices were chosen randomly from the selected. More specialized posts, the "Aristocratic Model," were in place. (Holslag, 2018). Rome reached its height around the 3rd century BCE. For most of its existence, it was a republic governed by a senate. The senate

selected the public officers, drafted a constitution. The governance system consisted of bureaucratic office holders for terms by voting. The system flourished till 27 BCE, when Augustus became the emperor of Rome.

Arab dominance in the Middle East started in the 7th century AD when Prophet Muhammad (SAW) started preaching Islam. Soon afterward, the entire peninsula was a single dominant state called the khilafat. After the Prophet Muhammad's (SAW) death, the system was carried forward by the Khulfa e Rashideen.

The selection method of a leader or "Khalifa" on a popular vote of majlis e shura or the famous leaders. The Khalifa was the supreme commander of the State and was answerable to the people. The entire workings of the State were according to the principles of the Holy Quran. This system worked till the death of the 4th caliph Ali ibn Abi Talib after which the new Khalifa Ameer Muawiya changed the system into a monarchy by making his son the new caliph. (Hazleton, 2005).

2.5 Philosophy and evolution of modern governance theory

Social contract theory states that people entrust their energies to the rulers as long as they protect their rights. Hobbs strongly advocated in favor of nonviolence and believed in the submission to authority only



Figure 2.5–1 Illustration of Social hierarchy

(<https://www.penguin.co.uk/books/263/263235/leviathan/9780141395098.html>)

if society could function smoothly. According to Hobbs's view, as long as rulers are not threatening to kill

their subjects, people must not rise against them (Hobbes, 1987). John Locke builds his argument on Hobb's theory that the government's ultimate aim was to ensure the smooth functioning of society (Locke, 2013).

In medieval times, it was believed that God bestows that authority to men. Locke dismisses the idea entirely and states that without government, there would have been a state of nature, although he has not mentioned what this State of nature would have been. According to Locke, society does not submit to authority based on fear alone, and people are willing to forfeit some of their freedom for better preservation of their rights.

Thus, the concept of authority is justified. "Natural authority, slavery, and right of the strongest" methods of organizing society existed in the early 18th century. In the seminal work - The social contract - published in 1762, Jean-Jacques Rousseau elaborates these concepts of authority. Rousseau argues that society could only function when citizens elect a ruler that they believe will protect their rights and liberty. Individuals give up their self-right to equals in the community to perform the tasks they need to earn a livelihood.

Rousseau termed it as "THE GENERAL WILL" the society protects your rights and liberty when everyone is equal; the individual acts morally by the general will of the community. The process of decision-making



Figure 2.5–2 Plaque by Jean-Jacques Rousseau

(<https://world.edu/learning-from-experience-when-schools-take-up-rousseau-lesson/>)

on the available choice must be by voting and debating involving each citizen of the community leading to a homogenous society (Jean-Jacques, 1762).

After the French revolution, Benjamin Constant gave the idea of ancient and modern liberty. The old idea being that of the ancient world, such as in ancient Greece or Rome, where freedom or liberty is embedded in the social power of the State. Citizens are only accessible if citizens have a position or stake in the political system of the State. In short, an individual is in total subordination to the State, while the modern idea is to be free of citizen's own will, the State will protect citizens even if citizens choose a path of their own free choice. The modern concept of liberty gives equal rights to all that do not concede to the will of a singular person in power. Freedom of speech, freedom of contract, freedom of association, freedom of

religion, property rights, freedom of work are the fundamental right of the citizens. These short, the individual is free to make his own choices, and the State has no interference in them as long as they are not harming anyone or the State (Benjamin & Biancamaria, 1819).

Mill (1975), a staunch advocate of liberty, wrote about the importance of freedom of speech, citing it as crucial to progress, in his famous work "On Liberty" (1859). He argued that eliciting the majority does not have the power to silence the minority based on a difference of opinion. Rather, inference should only be permissible if an individual's actions are harmful to society. Mill gave three basic principles of liberty:

- Freedom of thought/speech
- Freedom to pursue tastes,
- Freedom to unite.

The western idea of democracy has evolved through centuries of struggle and thought processes responsible for their high standards of the democratic process, freedom of speech, and accountability. (John Stuart, 1859).

Decentralization refers to the transfer of power and jurisdiction from the central government to local and subnational government bodies. Various scholars have characterized Decentralization as the transfer of authority from a higher level of government to a lower level of decision-making delegation (Mollah, 2007). Many nations, particularly third-world countries, pursue Decentralization based on political objectives; however, Decentralization can also be pursued primarily for economic reasons (Moges, 1994). The Conceptual Framework for Fiscal Decentralization. Economic development in developing nations must be decentralized. More authority shifted from the federal government to the state and local governments (Hampton, 1991; Lewis, 1966; D. S. Wilson, 1998). At one extreme, the role of subnational levels of government is nominal, while the role of the central government is nominal. At the opposite end of the spectrum, Decentralization goes too far, limiting the function of the national government to the point of endangering the national cause (Moges, 1994).

2.6 Common types of governments systems

These systems are rated based on how much control does a government has on the people

1. Monarchy: is a system in which one individual rules. Not practiced in recent times; however, this system flourished in medieval periods.
2. Oligarchy: Rule by a few people who control all the power. A group of people in the family, institution or political party rule over a country and manage its resources. The citizens have no say in the policy matter.
3. Democracy: Rule by the majority of voters. Decision-making power goes to the majority. They decide all political and social matters on a majority basis. Being the mainstay of most governments around the world¹, this type of system initially flourished in ancient Greek city-states.

Republic: Ruled by law unanimously accepted by the people. The constitution is supreme, and no political party or institution could decide the fate of the people, even on a majority basis—instead, the right of each individual.

4. Anarchy: Ruled by no one, a crisis where all factions are fighting for power. Civil war could best describe this type of situation. Every person or group is responsible for his safety and rights (Eckstein, 2021, July 21).

¹ Though governments vary hugely in terms of how democratic they are.

2.7 The governance system in India throughout history

2.7.1 The local Governance and administrative system of Subcontinent

Local Governance in India dates back to centuries as "Panchayats," a village-level system of jurisprudence that regulated community-based issues. At the time of Mughals, urban centers consisted of "Kotwal," a public office responsible for taxation, record management, and infrastructure management. British introduced their local governance system, the first local municipal corporation established in 1688 by the East India Company in presidency town of Madras (Awan, 2014), followed by Establishment of Mayor courts in the towns of Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta in 1720. Calcutta and Bombay were given municipal

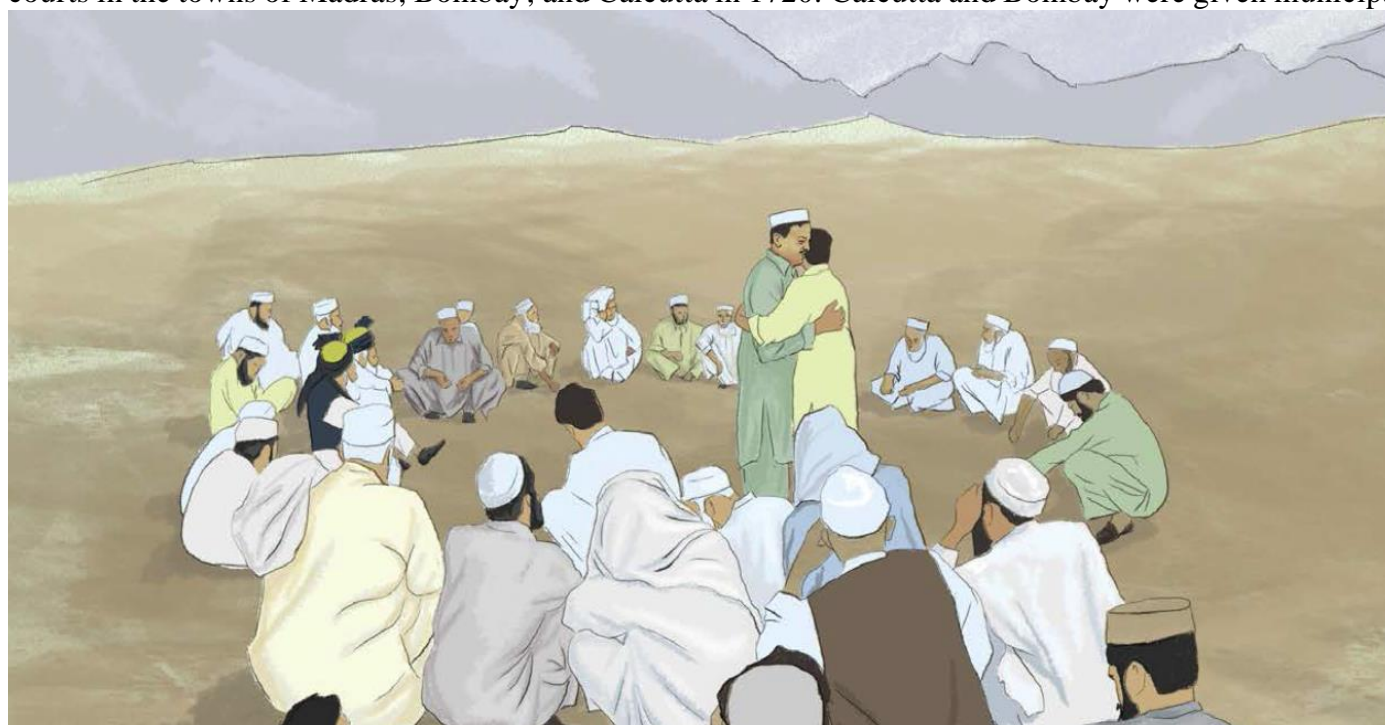


Figure 2.7–1 Illustration of jirgah practiced widely in northern areas

(<https://www.sdpi.org/sdc/presentation-sdc/ehteshamanwar.pdf>)

bodies under the Second Municipal Charter in 1726. To administer municipal affairs correctly, the system of election was adopted to a limited degree in 1840. The civic obligations were delegated to a 'Board of Conservancy' of seven members, five of whom were elected, three Indians, and two Englishmen. A significant development came with the enforcement of the "Chaukidari act of 1856", appointed by the

district magistrate to collect taxes in rural areas. After the resolution of Lord Mayo in 1870, financial Decentralization also paved the way for self-local Governance in India. Lord Ripon, in his resolution in 1882, developed the municipal institutions. It was not until the Government of India Act of 1935 that local government gained their importance, and due to the Devolution of power, provinces had greater autonomy in this Act (Awan, 2014).



Figure 2.7–2 Mehrgarh Ruins civilization present-day Baluchistan Pakistan

(<https://patrickwyman.substack.com/p/ancient-south-asia>)

India is the region where the earliest civilizations emerged in Mehrgarh, Baluchistan, now in Pakistan. It is considered one of the first settlements of the world, dating back to 7000 BCE: laid city plan, copper accessories, and pottery point to an advanced culture. However, what type of socio-political system it was is not known.

All the ancient civilizations of time had chieftains, kings as rulers who made all the legislations and were in charge of the territory they occupied. (Jarrige, 1993). India has been under kingship mostly monarchs

throughout history, starting from Mehrgarh (7000 BCE – 3300 BCE), Indus valley civilization (3300 BCE -1800 BCE), the Vedic periods (1500 BCE-200 BCE), classical period (200 BCE-1200 CE), medieval period(1200CE-1526CE) to the last Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar (Devonshire-Ellis, 2012).

In the 6th century, Islam came to the sub-continent. Its advent is attributed to Arab merchants who entered through Sindh. However, it's spread across the sub-continent, especially in Punjab is attributed to Sufis. This Sufism is rooted in the traditions of Islamic mysticism (influenced by Arab and Persian culture) during the 9th and 11th century. Many great Sufi orders came into being in the 12th century which then spread throughout the subcontinent. These Sufis flourished through the 12th century and are revered in the history of South Asia. People from all over came to visit the very popular Sufis and over years this turned into the tradition of yearly pilgrimage. People payed their respects through offerings and gifts. There were certain shrines in Ajmer (India) which were approached by both Hindus and Muslims (hence the influence of Hindu traditions). Due to their past affiliations newly turned Muslims also came to these shrines (Chaudhry). People came with psychological, social and spiritual problems (as they still do today) and returned with peace and fulfilled faith.

These Sufis played the most significant role in the cultural integration of different religious communities in the Sub-continent. However there still were all forms of resistances. They were opposed by the rich and the powerful. But certain kings, like Akbar, and Jahangir themselves visited Sufis and their shrines regularly. In their era it was a custom that majority of people (Hindus and Muslims alike) visited shrines and like this, in the 14th century, it became an obligatory custom for people to visit these shrines (Hatcher, 2007). Overtime these traditions modified, different social structures came into existence and so did numerous rituals.

In the South Asian context, a Sufi shrine is called by terms such as dargah (literally, a royal court), mazar, ziyarat gah (places of visit or pilgrimage), or khanqah (a hospice) etc. Sufi dargahs are built around the tombs of the saints who though long deceased are remembered and revered by the supplicants and devotees

and asked for intercession. Dargahs are also described as sacred places marked by intense devotional activity (Malik, 2014). These include praying, making dua, performing rituals and reciting the Holy Quran etc.

2.7.2 Evaluation of local governance system under British rule in India

1857 marked the end of the great Mughal empire in India. British, the new masters, now had a different political system. British East India Company controlled a vast region of this area while the centuries-old monarchs, While the Mughals, were only a shadow of their past glory. After the revolt/war of independence of 1857, India went under the direct control of the British Crown. East India company operated under the "Regulating Act of 1773." The company had the authority to appoint a governor and established the supreme court of India in Calcutta. Regulating the Act of 1773 is seen by many as the first step towards India's centralized Governance; before that, India did not have a centralized governance model (Editors, 2010).

Later, the "Pitts Act of 1784", the "Cornwallis Act of 1793" and the "Charter Act of 1853" further empowered the control of East India Company. The Charter Act of 1853 separated the legislative and executive functions of the governor-general's council and introduced a system of open competition for civil services recruitment. Before the Charter Act of 1853, the company appointed its officers to collect revenue from the landlords. The land was distributed to the people through the Cornwallis Act of 1793; this was done to create an elite class that remained loyal to the British (N. H. Wilson, 2011).

British Administration of India: East India Company maintained a separate clerical staff since their arrival in India in 1675. The term civil servants came into the company's records after the fall of the Bengal. Lord hasting laid the foundation of the civil servants in 1765. After the Cornwallis Act of 1793, the system strengthened created two categories: covenanted or higher civil services and uncovenanted or lower civil services. Cornwallis reserved covenanted civil services for Europeans only, while Indians were allowed

in the lower civil services. Macauley committee in 1854 suggested opening civil services for all through competitive examination, first exam held in 1855 in London by British civil service commission.

After the dissolution of the East India Company, the British government initiated a new model of Governance for India. British felt the Representation of Indian nationals necessary. Indian Councils Act of 1861 brought Indian representation in the law-making process as the viceroy's legislative council now comprised of three members of Indian origin. This Act also brought Decentralization to the government. Satyendranath Tagore is the first Indian nation to have entered covenanted civil services in 1864; in 1886, Aitchison's commission recommends Indians to have a higher part in the Indian national services; in 1892 statutory civil services system got abolished. British introduced the power of discussion on budget, addressing questions to the executive and more representation in the legislative council of both centers and the provinces introduced in The Indian Council's Act Of 1892 (Wilson, 2011).

Further increase of council members in Indian council act of 1909, Association of Indians in Viceroy's executive council and separate electorates on a religious basis and more powers invested to the member to move supplementary questions regarding



Figure 2.7–3 The Supreme Indian Council, Simla, 1864

(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Council_of_India)

budgets were all parts of this Act. Government Of India Act 1919 gave more power to the provinces as the subjects were divided between the center and the provinces. The bicameralism system got in place as the people's representation split into two houses, upper house and lower house, created a public service commission to recruit civil servants. However, a system of dyarchy was still there; this form of Governance gave more power to the people.

Government of India Act 1935 stated India as all India federation consisting of provinces and princely states; dyarchy abolished, provinces made autonomous units, separate electorates for communal representation, reserve bank of India created. The only backdrop of this Act the all-India Federation never came into being as the princely states never joined.

2.8 Local Governance in Pakistan

According to Article 7 of Pakistan's 1973 constitution, the affairs of the Federation of Pakistan are divided into three levels of government: federal, provincial, and local (Pakistan & Assembly, 1973). Governance is the critical element in the proper functioning of a city. Pakistan is the 6th most populous country in the world. Like many Asian countries, Pakistan is rapidly urbanizing at 3% per annum with massive urbanization (Bari, 2020). The issues related to the management of the city would also increase substantially. Many past governments introduced politically motivated local government systems that have left a mixed and juggled power structure at the local level. Many actors try to exercise their power. This tussle by different actors causes hindrance in the projects that need to be completed and cause delays and increase the cost of projects.

In today's world, most of the local government structure is independent, politically potent, and has the constitutional freedom it needs. In one of the annual meetings in 2016, Habitat III has briefly given policy responses to develop and maintain urban cities with particular emphasis on the underdeveloped countries. The central theme of the conference was urban Governance, with the central focus being on the cities and their institutional capacity for effective administration (Assembly, 2017).

Pakistan is also experiencing a significant rural to urban migration but lacks a well-functioning local government system. The massive increase in urban population causes inequalities within local groups and various segments of society, as well as environmental damage. The purpose of travelling is usually one's own choice or engaging in religious knowledge and discussions leading to a divine increase in beliefs. Pakistan is not only a hub of Islamic religion but also shoulders many other religions such Sikhism,

Hinduism, Judaism, etc. the Sikh community has its deep roots in the land of their Guru Nanak and visit his shrine from all over the world, giving a huge boost to the tourism industry. However, the Islamic heritage takes the lead with masses travelling to their Peers and Murshids to seek relief. (Muhammad Irshad Arshad, 2018)

In underdeveloped countries, the political structure does not allow the local governments to develop fully and uses it to control the administrative structure in time of need. Decentralization is the most crucial step that needs to be adapted, with minimal involvement of central governments in local levels issues (Assembly, 2017).

A holistic and systematic planning approach is needed as cities are the mass consumer and mass producers of goods and services. For this purpose, the UN has enlisted vital points that need to be adapted to implement the Decentralization. Vertical and horizontal integration within different public offices responsible for the city's working is not only imperative but effective and efficient as well. All decisions that are to be implemented must represent popular choice and be backed by concrete research. The policies should be long-termed and focused on a collaborative national goal to eradicate inequality and poverty.

Thus, if we talk about urban Governance in a modern context, it is no longer the traditional top-to-bottom structure but rather a bottom-up approach. Due to vast geographical, political, and cultural variations within different cities in the same country, it is no longer feasible to have a unilateral policy for all urban units. Instead, small local governments with adequate planning and innovative governance structure build and maintain future cities (Badach & Dymnicka, 2017).

To support this point, we refer to another study by Mangi, Yue, Kalwar, and Ali Lashari (2020). They compared Beijing and Karachi and found, as expected, that Karachi lagged far behind Beijing in economic growth, environmental development, and urban development. The most fundamental cause of Pakistan's cities lagging far behind is the non-devolution of power. Although in the 18th amendment, the federal has

transferred many of its powers to the provinces. The local government is still mainly dependent on the provincial government for funds and the initiation of projects.

The authority given to the local governments is minimal. They are still dependent on provincial governments for funds. Local governments in Pakistan are subjected to OSR (own-source revenue) as the government does not allow the local governments to generate their revenues. The funds allocated to local governments are so small that they are not enough for their financial sustainability. For that to happen, the federal government of Pakistan must allow the local governments to collect their taxes as control tools by various governments, mainly by military regimes (Ahson, 2015). The political engineering led to a weak, incompetent, and corrupt system that was doomed to fail at some point. As soon as the respective governments were out of power, these local government systems either ended or were replaced. The underlying issue is the lack of political awareness in the citizen about their democratic rights and the part they play in the electoral process. Most local governments are inefficient due to a tussle between local groups, and the projects are left pending. Corruption and unsystematic distribution of resources are big reasons why local governments are ineffective. Most of the projects initiated are self-interest-based or politically motivated (Haider & Badami, 2010).

Historically, it also argued that the British introduced the local government system to strengthen their rule in the Subcontinent and made it complicated to keep power. After independence, different governments followed their path and did not let this system develop. The result is that our cities are overcrowded, urban management is not visible, and even the most basic structures within a city are nonfunctioning (Jabeen, Farwa, & Jadoon, 2017).

Our study focuses on the City of Islamabad and how the current governance structure manages to work. Islamabad is the Capital and first planned city. It is considered to be one of the world's most beautiful capitals. Islamabad has all the features that one could imagine (S. Malik & Wahid, 2014)

The 2015 local governance act is the first effort to initiate a separate local governance system in Islamabad. Before that, Islamabad too followed the local government system practiced in the rest of the country. For the first time, both rural areas and urban areas of Islamabad were made part of the local government. The tenure of the government was five years, and it was to be a party-based system. However, it still lacked autonomy as article 99 states that the national regime can prematurely disband the local government in general polls. local government resulting from the 2015 act is not constitutionalized by the parliament as the Act is not part of the constitution

2.8.1 Local Governance in Pakistan Under different regimes

Indian Independence Act 1947 divided British India into two dominion states: Pakistan and India; Pakistan became a federation with three government levels: federal, provincial, and local government. Muslim league, at that time the most prominent political party in Pakistan, wanted an autonomous local governance system in Pakistan on the model of the united kingdom. Contrary to it, we see no significant progress on local Governance till 1959.

2.8.2 Post Partition (1947-1958) period

The period saw no local governance system. All local matters were dealt with by the magistrate system. Although Muslim League, the then ruling party, wanted an autonomous, constitutionally backed local system, no considerable progress was made till the introduction of the Basic Democracies system

2.8.3 Ayub's regime 1958-1969

Ayub khan gave the model of Basic Democracies. Ayub was of the view that each country should have its unique model of Governance that represents the thoughts and norms of its inhabitants. The basic Democracies system consisted of four-tier levels - Union Councils, Tehsil/Thana Council, District council, Divisional Council.

Union council: 1000-1500 people elected their representatives. Ten elected and five nominated members constituted a union council. Chairman was from the elected members. Union Council committee could initiate infrastructure projects, settle local disputes, enforce local taxes, and prepare its budget.

Tehsil council: Chairmen of Union councils were members of the tehsil council. Post of a nominated member official or unofficial was appointed after the approval of the deputy commissioner. Sub-Divisional Officer was the Chairman of the tehsil council and would work on the instructions of the District council. This tehsil council was for rural areas alone; for urban areas, Municipal Councils were appointed in their place.

District councils: Members of district councils are of two categories

- Official: official members were from the Chairmen of tehsil council or municipal council.
- Unofficial: member selected from the electoral college of the tehsil councils.

District commissioner made the Chairman of district council for five years. These Basic Democracies also chose members of the National assembly, Provincial assembly, and the President.

2.8.4 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's regime (1971-1979)

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party emerged victorious in the First General Elections of Pakistan. Bhutto introduced a local government system of its own. This system had full political autonomy, and bureaucracy was to serve as a facilitator alone. In essence, the system gave power to the people at lower levels; however, the local government elections were never held.

2.8.5 Zia ul Haq regime

Zia centralization: Quasi-presidential government reinforced through direct military control. Zia Implemented Bhutto's LGOs with slight modifications

- No constitutional protection given to elected bodies
- Provision of municipal services as a primary objective
- Local Governments given little financial power

Zia conducted non-party-based elections to curtail the power of political parties and to prolonged customs politics and elite capture. In 1979 New local government laws for each province, Federal Area, Northern Areas, and Azad Kashmir were implemented(Sajid M Awan, 2014)

2.8.6 The Era Between1988-1999

Zia ul Haq's government ended when he was killed in a plane crash in 1988. Following his death, fresh elections were conducted, and Pakistan Peoples Party came into power. An entire decade from 1988-1999 saw political unrest in Pakistan. Four democratic governments were dislodged prematurely. Throughout this decade, there was no coherent local governance system in Pakistan.

2.8.7 Musharraf's Devolution Plan (2001-2008)

In 1999 General Pervaiz Musharraf took charge of the country through a military coup and declared martial law. Soon after, he conducted elections and became the President. In 2001, a new local government system was introduced. In this new system, the elections were held for the Union Councils, Union Nazims, Naib Nazims Union

Major policy initiatives under the new devolution plan were:

- Devolution of Political Power
- Decentralization of Administrative authority
- De-concentration of management functions
- Diffusion of the power - authority nexus and
- Distribution of resources

For the first time, several essential features concerning checks and balances and administrative control have been included in the arrangement. Women officially hold 33% of the seats in local government. As a result, over 40,000 women have been elected to the municipal government. This has created a once-in-a-lifetime chance for women to participate in the political process. The structure, on the other hand, provides numerous chances in the form of expectations for people's empowering and the management of local issues at the community level (Islam, 2002; Paracha, 2003).

2.8.8 Local Government system 2013

Now, if we take the case of Pakistan, Cities suffered in the last three decades mainly due to war on terror and the overall law and order situation in the country and the widespread hatred against westerners due to war on terror, Islamization low check and balance on religious clerics who openly used to spread hatred against foreign national especially non-Muslims another reason was suicide attacks. Starting at the end of 2007 up to 2014, there were hundreds of attacks in Pakistan that killed and injured thousands of people, plus the media and the politicians were incapable of handling the situation; moreover, the mishandled of the entire issue portrayed Pakistan as a terrorist state in western media and to the world. If we look at the statistics after 2007, the foreign tourists coming to Pakistan declined, and in 2008 it reached an ever low of 823,000 people.

After the 18th amendment in 2010, local Government functions were transferred to the provinces; in this regard, all four provinces passed their respective local government acts. Balochistan Local Government acts in 2010 while Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa passed their separate bill in 2013. All these acts lacked devolution power compared to 2001 (M. Malik & Rana, 2019). This was for the first time a political

government has introduced an LGS. All three prior local government systems in their seven decades of existence, all of which were implemented by military governments in 1958, 1977, and 2001, respectively. Article 140 A of the 1973 constitution enables the Provincial governments to establish a local body system to devolve political, administrative, and financial responsibilities to the basic level of government. For that purpose Election, Commission of Pakistan was allowed to hold elections on the recommendations of the Provincial governments in their respective provinces. This system was unique in the sense that the Federation has allowed each unit to have its type of local body system.

2.9 Local Governance in Islamabad

Before Islamabad's creation in 1960, Islamabad came under Punjab's territory. There was a considerable local population in small villages residing in the areas which are now Islamabad. Punjab had a traditional system of Jirga, practiced for centuries. After the fall of Sikhs in Punjab, the British replaced the system with the Patwaar system and magistrates and a bureaucratic system of deputy commissioners. The local government was given limited power and kept in check by the bureaucratic system. Islamabad, while still a part of Punjab, saw its first local government election in 1954. In 1960 under Ayub Khan's regime, a basic democrat system was introduced, which later was replaced by a non-party-based local government system in Zia's regime. It continued till the 1990s, after which the entire decade saw a power struggle between two major political parties and the establishment. In early 2000 Pervez Musharraf again introduced a local government system of his liking. We also saw another local government system in 2013 under PMLN tenure and one in 2015. The first local governmental system of its kind was the only system that included the entire Islamabad.

2.10 History of this Islamabad region



Figure 2.10–1 Potwar region before the establishment of Islamabad

(https://www.cda.gov.pk/about_islamabad/photo_gallery)

Islamabad is the federal Capital of Pakistan, established in the 1960s by then-president Ayub Khan. Greek architect Constantinos Apostolou Doxiadis prepared the master plan of the city, and it is the only planned city in Pakistan. Islamabad is situated along the crossroads of Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province and at the foot of the Margalla hills.

2.11 History of Local Governance Systems in Islamabad

Federal Capital saw its first local governance (LG) system during the Zia era. The LG system in Islamabad included more than hundred villages in Zones 4 and 5 comprising up of in the Twelve rural Union Councils (UCs). Zone 1 and Zone 2 were excluded from this plan. Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT) took management of these rural areas, and CDA was restricted to urban division only. Unlike CDA, which received the bulk of funds for urban areas, ICT hardly received a suitable amount for putting some areas under control. From 1983 to 1992, three LG elections were held in these areas. The exact number of UC seats was also not specified (Rafique, Rosilawati, & Habib, 2020).

Responsibilities entrusted with the UCs were to carry out most developmental and municipal actions in their areas. With no autonomous authority given to the UCs, they could not exercise their activities without the approval of the Federal Government. For instance, the UCs were so restricted in their operations that they even cannot employ a PA until permitted by the National Regime. The Federal Government frequently monitored the working of the UCs and could quash any bill passed by the UCs. UCs were not given a free hand in terms of taxes either. Therefore the LG system was highly centralized and ineffective in practice (ibid).

After the dissolution of LGs by the Federal in the 1990s, no LG elections were held in Islamabad until 2015. President Musharraf introduced Islamabad Capital Territory Local Government Ordinance, 2002, but it was never implemented in its true sense, and no election ever held under this ordinance Hence, most local bodies remained non-operational since the inauguration of the Capital in the '60s. The units that had administered Islamabad for most of the time stayed under Federal Capital's strict authority(ibid).

The CDA was formed in 1960 to look after Islamabad's development and function as a 'municipal committee' for the new city. According to Musharraf's LG system, all city development authorities like the Lahore Development Authority (LDA) merged with the city governments. City governments got the apparatus and staff from respective city development authorities; Musharraf's Local Government Plan did

not include Islamabad. According to the 1960 ordinance that is still in operation, the CDA works under the federal government. The CDA higher management is appointed and dismissed by the federal government that include chairman, members and other officials are appointed and dismissed by the federal government(N. Malik & Rana, 2019).

According to the 1960 CDA ordinance, the federal government can entrust power to the local government. CDA ordinance 1960 article 12(5) restricts the administration of the national regime in this respect as it evidently states, "No planning or development scheme shall be prepared by any person or by any local body or agency except with the concurrence of the Authority (CDA)." Contrary to it, the federal government has the authority to dissolve CDA anytime under article 52(1). To fulfill the city's administrative, developmental, and municipal functions, a "Capital Development Authority Fund" was created. The main sources to fund the CDA was from development budget from the federal government, excise taxes, sale of the property, foreign aid and loans, and other international donors with the federal government's sanction and approval (Sajid M Awan, 2014).

Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT) Administration is yet another body covering civic affairs like farming, manufacturing, labor, healthiness, food, local administration, rustic development, zakat, usher, auqafe, public defense, cooperative societies, excise, and Police. In 2010 Capital Administration and Development Division (CADD) was established with the vision to execute the previous works of eliminated Federal Ministries/Divisions reporting to Islamabad. The tasks That CADD now controls consist of social welfare, education, health, and population, which are domains of LG systems that are not under the LG system. CADD can check 422 public educational institutes in Islamabad and do policing for them using PEIRA. In 2011, the Ministry of Education and Professional Training (EPT) and the Ministry of National Health Services (NHS) generated additional overlap of powers and rivalries among CADD, CDA, ICTA, and the two new ministries. Authority of universities, airports, and metro bus services, were taken away from the city government(Rafique et al., n.d.).

2.12 Need of a New city?

Islamabad serves as the administrative Capital of the Federation. Aside from that, many of the government and private sector firms have their headquarters based in Islamabad. The federation capital is also occasionally visited by public office holders, both domestic and foreign.

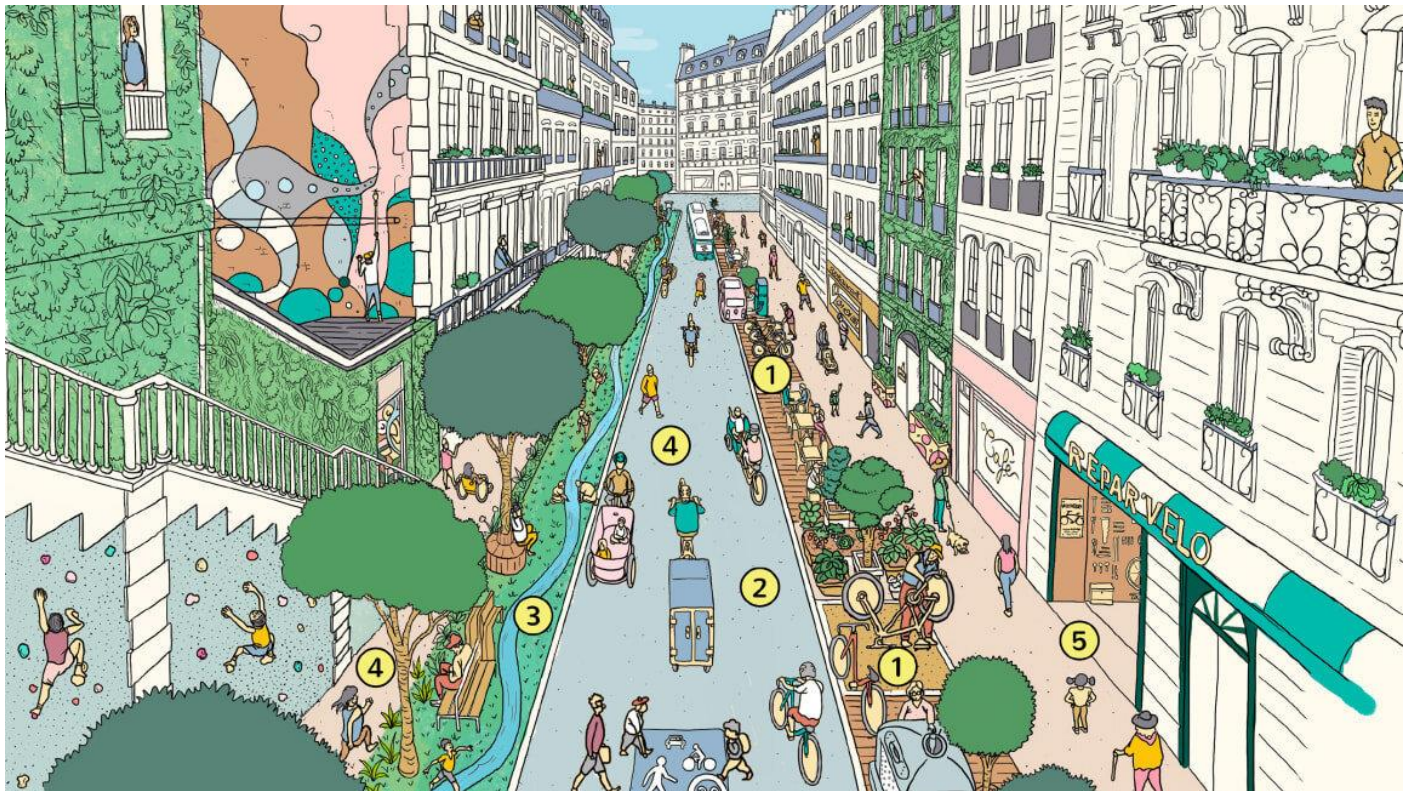


Figure 2.12–1 Conceptualization of Sustainable cities

(<https://www.archdaily.com/954928/creating-a-pedestrian-friendly-utopia-through-the-design-of-15-minute-cities/5ffe8b5363c0174cf80000f1-creating-a-pedestrian-friendly-utopia-through-the-design-of-15-minute-cities-image>)

According to the 2017 census, the city's population is now 2,001,579, with an annual change of 3.37%. Islamabad has a total area of 906.5 square kilometers and a population density of about 2,089 people residing per square kilometer. There are five zones in Islamabad: zone 1, zone 2, zone 3, zone 4, and zone 5. Zones 1 and 2 were planned for urban development, while zones 3,4,5 were for rural development.

Nevertheless, with the passage due to government neglect, zones 3,4,5 have turned into ill-planned urban sprawls. The total population living in the Urban area is 1,014,825, and that living in the rural areas is 991,747. Zones 1 and 2 make sectors laid down into a grid from the third avenue to the new Islamabad international airport.

There is a sub-division within the sectors; a pre-planned land reserved for specific purposes such as residential areas, industrial areas, embassies, business centers, military, residential areas, administrative centers, green areas with notable buildings, national sports centers, parks, terminal highways, green spaces. Most of the planned City has been developed by CDA as it is the only government body responsible for the city's development, and the rest is under development phase in zone 1 and 2. At the same time, private societies got established in zones 4 and 5, some within the CDA regulations.

Development is prohibited in zone 3, protected by the government for wildlife preservation; any settlements are not allowed. The ninth-largest city in Pakistan is Islamabad. However, it still has a considerable proportion of industries to support its population; the biggest is the real estate industry. Due to the massive population explosion, many new housing societies are being built in Islamabad, mainly in zones 4 and 5, providing livelihood to people associated with it. Sector I-10 in Islamabad is for industrial development, and many factories are working there. Islamabad's economy is a service sector-based industry as being the federal Capital. Most people here are associated with the service sector serving in government and private sectors with critical governmental offices here. In the private sector, many multinational and national corporations have their offices in Islamabad, mainly in the blue area, which is the business center of Islamabad.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the research techniques, details of data collection units, sampling strategy, and problems encountered.

3.1 Research Strategy

This research follows an inductive, qualitative research strategy. Key Informant Interviews would be conducted with stakeholders who are part of the governance structure of ICT. The interviews will aim to extract as much information from the stakeholders as possible. The insight gained from these people from different departments will be used to understand the ground realities of local Governance in Islamabad. In Pakistan, most civil departments follow the blame game rather than solving issues.

3.2 Methods of Data Collection

The study will use both primary and secondary data. Primary data collection will be in the form of informal interviews with public office holders in the Islamabad administration. Government reports, newspaper reports, and articles Will be used as secondary data sources.

3.3 Units of Data Collection

1. Interviews: Semi-formal interviews with all the officer bearers included in the studies.
2. Published Journal Articles: The use of published journal articles for literature review and comparison with other cities.
3. Case studies: Particular case studies would be taken of capitals of other countries and used for comparison.
4. Newspaper articles: The use of Domestic newspaper articles to analyze the situation of the governance structure.

5. Government Reports: following Published government reports are in use for this research.

- Census
- FBR Reports
- City plans

3.4 Sampling Method

The study would use the purposive sampling method. Interviews will be conducted with the most relevant officials from each department. Interviews will be conducted to the point of exhaustion where no new information can be extracted. The list below mentions the officeholder interviewed. For this study, 20 respondents were interviewed.

3.5 Interview Sample

Interviews would be conducted with individuals working in the institutions that deal with urban Governance in Islamabad and other stakeholders. These include:

1. Mayor of Islamabad
2. Deputy Commissioner
3. MNA's of Islamabad
4. Directors of different departments of CDA
5. UC chairmen
6. Representative of Islamabad police
7. Academia with expertise in this field

3.6 Study Area

The area of study is Islamabad. The total area of Islamabad is 906.50 square kilometers; it has three national constituencies and 50 union councils.

3.7 Problems Encountered During DATA Collection

The MNA's of ICT are essential stakeholders for our study. However, we could not interview them despite repeated attempts. Office bearers of different departments of institutions working for ICT were more forthcoming and talked freely about the issues they faced. UC chairs of the ruling party PTI were also less supportive during the interviews.

3.7.1 Ethical Considerations

Ethical research is key to any sound research. A researcher must elaborate its study to its respondents. For this study, all respondents knew the details of the study, and their willingness was taken into consideration. The study does not include any detail that respondents shared off the record.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 ICT Local Government Act 2015 Overview

ICT Local Government Act 2015 provided Islamabad with its much-awaited and constitutionally sound local government system, ending the decades-old rural-urban divide. Since Islamabad is the seat of the Federal Capital, institutions such as parliament, supreme court, and secretariat do not come under the purview of local government. Local Government Act 2015 did not mention the number of union councils in Islamabad. The government, however, distributed Islamabad into 50 union councils.

The election commission of Pakistan shall conduct elections for the local government. Criteria for voter stand as a Pakistani national; the minimum age limit is 18 years, along with other rules of ECP.

Criteria for candidates; should be Pakistani nationals and registered voters with a minimum age of 25 years. The local government bodies are to operate for a tenure of five years.

Two central governing bodies:

1. Metropolitan Corporation Islamabad. Mayor will head the MCI. All executive authority will be at the disposal of the Mayor.
2. Union Councils for ICT: Chairman will head the UC. Union council will operate as an independent corporate body under the CDA ordinance 1960 and Local Government Act Islamabad 2015.

Table 4.1: Local Government Structure

Metropolitan Corporation Islamabad power of Mayor MCI and UC chairman	Union Councils (ICT)
Mayor	Chairman
Deputy Mayor	Vice Chairman
Chairmen of UC Councils (50 in number)	General Members (6)
Women's seats (33%)	Women's seats (2)
Peasants/ Workers (5%)	Peasant/Worker (1)
Non-Muslims (2%)	Non-Muslims (1)
Youth Members (5%)	Youth Members (1)
Technocrats (2%)	

CDA is solely responsible for the development and planning of Islamabad. In the 2015 Local Government Act, some of the municipal functions were shifted to MCI. CDA kept most of the critical departments. The federal government kept the decision-making powers with itself. (Khawar Ghumman Kashif, 2015). Under ICT Local Government Act 2015 legislation, a two-fold system in the Capital was introduced, including rural and urban areas. ICT Local Government Act 2015 legislation did not mention the number of Union Councils. However, the federal government has the power to fix and change the number of UCs unilaterally. There are fifty UCs in Islamabad as the basic units of the new LG system in Islamabad currently. It comprises 32 rural and UCs 18 urban.

Table 4.2: CDA and MCI Functions

CDA Departments	MCI Departments
Planning and design	District health services
Urban planning	Emergency services
Building planning	District municipal administration
Regional planning	Sports and culture
Housing society	CDA model school
Works directorate	Coordination
Quantity survey	Public relations
Program and evaluation	Capital hospitals
Special projects	Maintenance and quality control

Sector development	Bulk water management
Parliament house/Aiwan e Sadr maintenance	Geological laboratory
Zoo and wildlife management	Water and sewerage
One window operation	Maintenance of road management
Estate management	Sewerage treatment plant
Land and rehabilitation	Machinery pool organization
	Environment
	Sanitation

Each UC has six wards. UCs are presided by the Chairpersons and Vice-Chairpersons (VC), directly elected as joint candidates. Reserved seats are kept for women, peasants, and minorities. Nevertheless in 2015 Local Body elections, quite a few affluent people took the seats reserved for peasants or laborers.

ISLAMABAD CAPITAL TERRITORY

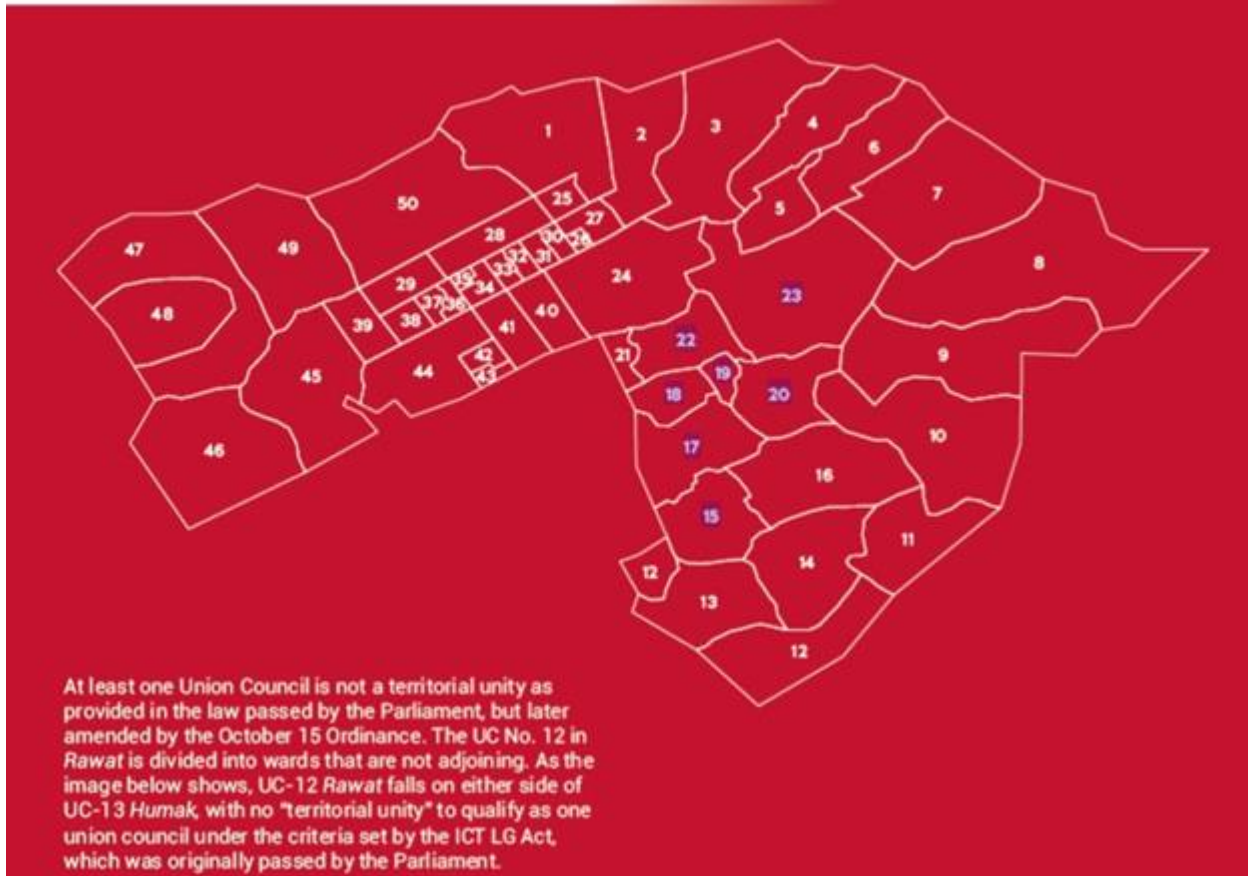


Figure 4.1–1 Map Showing Union Councils Boundaries in Islamabad

The Municipal Corporation of Islamabad (MCI) is the top level of the LG system, led by the Mayor of Islamabad, assisted by three deputy mayors. The structure of MCI and the electoral college for the Mayoral election is convoluted. A total of fifty chairpersons of UCs become essential representatives of MCI to elect reserved seats in MCI, decreasing the number of reserved seats. In the light of ICT Local Government Act 2015 article 12(2), the reserved seats for "women should be one-third, peasants/workers not less than 5 percent, non-Muslims not less than 5 percent, youth not less 5 percent each and technocrat not less than 2 percent". Just like the LG elections in the other four provinces, Islamabad also conducted the party-based LG elections. Moreover, the term of office for LGs got an extension of four to five years.

4.2 Local Government Elections in ICT

Total of 676,795 registered voters in 2015 elections in Islamabad. According to the ECP, 2,407 candidates are taking part in these elections. There are 972 independents, 506 PML-N, 479 of PTI, 164 of Jamaat-i-Islami, and 81 of the PPP. PML-N secured 20 seats for the Chairman, 20 for Vice Chairman, 99 general members, 34 women members, 22 worker seats, 21 youth seats, and 16 non-Muslim seats. PTI won 16 Chairman seats, 16 Vice Chairman, 107 General Members, 39 Women members, 21 Worker seats, 20 Youth seats, and 13 non-Muslim seats. Independent candidates secured the third position as they won 14 Chairman seats, 14 Vice Chairman seats, 77 general members, 23 women seats, six worker seats, and seven youth and non-Muslim seats each. PPP and Jamaat-i-Islami failed to grab any Chairman or Vice-Chairman seats. Both the political parties won 4 general member seats, each. JI secured three women seats, while PPP grabbed only won. There were 50 seats for Chairman, 50 for Vice-Chairman, while general member's seats were 299, and women seats were 100(*LB Polls: PTI, PML-N Tied with 232 Seats in Islamabad*, n.d.).

4.3 Devolution of power under ICT Local Government Act 2015

4.3.1 Political Devolution

ICT Local Government Act 2015 has a two-tier system of Governance. The number of UCs was not defined. The federal government established a total of 50 UCs in Islamabad. An elected chairperson will lead its UC, while a UC will have 13 elected members. UC consists of six wards. The main drawback is article 99, which states that the federal government can dissolve the local bodies. ICT Local Government Act 2015 operates on a top-down policy structure. The federal government could exercise its powers to MCI, and MCI then, by notification, can exercise its powers to the UC's. The chief officer, a post of a federal officer, has been created to foresee the workings of the local bodies.

ICT Local Government Act 2015 includes many clauses that give the federal government power to control its activities. Local bodies are bound to follow policy guidelines given by the federal government. The federal government has created a local government commission to keep check and balance on the local government. The council would have the power to conduct audits, inspections, and performance reports. so the power rests only with the federal government. (Rid, 2016)

4.3.2 Administrative Devolution

Although the allocation of the functions between MCI and UCs was not defined. However, the functions of the UCs are listed below.

- Develop and preserve community roads, streets, and open civic places
- Assemble the overall street structure and keep them well maintained.
- Assemble the neighborhood for conservation, beautify the environment and prevent encroachment
- Support rustic water allocation plans and community consumption of water
- Determine livestock sheds and handle pastures and new public properties.
- Organize carnivals and entertainment events.
- Deliver labor protection facilities in the union council
- Organize the listing of childbirths, mortalities, weddings, and annulments
- Support public sector agencies to establish public assistance centers in the Union Council
- Support relief measures in the event of natural disasters
- Promote and arrange sports activities
- Provide and establish library and reading room

- Take other measures to promote the well-being, health, safety, comfort, or convenience of the residents of the Union Council
- Identify deficiencies in service provision and make suggestions for improving the services of Metropolitan Corporation
- Carry out development work under established procedures also Maintain such statistics on public interest.
- Comply with the rules and procedures of the local government
- Approve improvement plans in urban areas
- Ensure compliance with all municipal laws, regulations, and rules related to its operations
- Develop integrated systems of reservoirs, water sources, treatment facilities, sewage treatment, liquid and solid waste treatment, sewage treatment, and other public services
- Assisting in the occurrence of wildfires, floods, rainstorms, earthquakes, epidemics, or further natural disasters, and assist relevant authorities in carrying out disaster relief activities
- Implementation and management of development plans
- Assist widows, orphans, the poor, the victims, and the disabled
- Promote science and technology parks, bungalows, and small and medium-sized enterprises
- Prevent and eliminate infringements
- Regulate the placement of signboards and advertisements, except for those implemented by the Capital Development Authority
- Provide and improve municipal infrastructure and services, including water supply, sewage treatment, sewage treatment, sewage treatment, roads and streets, street lighting, playgrounds, open spaces, cemeteries, gardening, and slaughterhouses

- Development and maintenance of museums, art galleries, libraries, communities, and cultural centers
- Preserve the historical and cultural value
- Engaged in landscape design, monuments, and urban decoration
- Support regional markets and shopping centers
- Maintain a wide range of databases and information systems
- Regulate dangerous and objectionable goods and transactions
- Collect approved taxes, fees, rates, rents, tolls, duties, fines, and penalties
- Organize sports, culture, entertainment activities, fairs and performances, cattle farms and cattle farms, and regulate animal sales
- Manage property, assets, and funds owned by local governments
- Development and management of circuits
- Authorize one or more officials to send notices to people who have committed any municipal crimes and initiate legal proceedings to continue committing the crimes or fail to comply with the instructions in the notice
- Prosecute, prosecute, and prosecute those who violate the city's laws in a court with appropriate jurisdiction in the Capital of Islamabad
- Keep municipal records and files
- Perform other functions that may be required

There was no explicit mention of the workings of the MCI, such as policing, education, transport, and economic development. This legislation failed to provide administrative structure to the UCs. The essential administrative staff of guards, sanitation staff, were also kept with the CDA. ICT Local

Government Act 2015 included clauses that caused overlap of authority between CDA, ICT, and MCI. The notification of implementation of the ICT Local Government Act 2015 got issues after six months. Twenty-six directorates of CDA got transferred to MCI along with 9000 of its staff. The labor union within CDA filed a case in court over the issue of entitlements and labor rights.

4.3.3 Financial Devolution

ICT Local Government Act 2015 gave local government power of revenue collection. Toll taxes, fines, plenty's, sales made by local government, and any types of investments are a few forms of revenue generations methods that local government can follow. MCI is also entitled to collect property tax from federal Capital. However, the budget of MCI has not been allocated yet by the government.

Table 4.3: UC's and MCI's Taxes List

UCs Taxes	MCI Taxes
Entertainment tax	Water charges
Fee on certificates, i.e., marriage, death	Drainage charges
A service fee of union council	Conservancy charges
Execution fee for services	Building plan charges

Community tax for development	Land use charges
Licensing fee	License permit fee
	Animal slaughter fee
	Business tax
	Market tax
	Cattle market tax
	Toll tax
	Exhibition fee
	Public utility tax
	Parking fee
	Water charges
	Any additional tax by the government

4.4 Governance models around the world

In this section, we will compare the governance system of Islamabad with Dehli and Singapore. The reason for choosing these two cities is that they all were British colonies. All are third-world countries share a similar regional and ethnocultural background. In comparison, the Governance system of Islamabad is still not very strong compared to these two cities. Globalization and World Cities Research Network is a global think tank that ranks cities. The ranking is on four broad areas accountancy, advertising, banking/finance, and law. In its latest 2020 ranking, Singapore is on **Alpha +** ranking being the second category while New Delhi is on **Alpha –** being the fourth category. Islamabad is on the **Gamma+** category as being the eighth category(GaWC, 2015). Smart city index by IMD ranks Singapore first in its ranking while New Delhi is on eighty-fourth Islamabad is not in their list of top 100 cities(IMD, 2020). This simple ranking test shows how far Islamabad is on a global level.

4.4.1 Delhi India

Delhi served as the Capital of Indian empires for ages. British kept it as a capital in united India. After independence, it now serves as the Capital of modern India. Delhi became part of the union territory. In 1991 a special status was given to Delhi. Now Delhi is governed by a legislative assembly and ministers councils elected directly(Centre for Policy Research, 2015).



Figure 4.4–1 Rashtrapati Bhavan Presidential Palace New Dehli India

(<https://rashtrapatisachivalaya.gov.in/rbtour/>)

National Capital Territory of Delhi (GNCTD), a governmental form established in 1992. GNCTD has the authority to oversee

- Transport
- Industrial development
- Revenue administration
- Power generation

- Food supplies
- Civil supplies
- Health and family welfare

The central government has jurisdiction under the following departments.

- Police
- Public order
- Land and housing

Certain cantonment areas in Delhi lie under the jurisdiction of the Delhi cantonment board. The executive head of the board is appointed by the Ministry of defense India, while it has eight elected executive heads. The rest of Delhi is further divided into three Delhi Municipal corporations. They have elected municipal councilors. While the ministry of Home Affairs India appoints a commissioner to head and oversee the DMC

Since its division in 2011, Municipal Corporation Delhi now oversees the following services

- Sanitation
- Stormwater drainage
- Flood control
- Solid waste management
- Street lighting
- Planning
- Poverty alleviation programs
- Primary health
- Public conveniences
- Building plan approval

Other departments that need joint ownership are managed with the help of respective agencies like

- Roads and bridges with the collaboration of the public works department
- Education with the collaboration of GNCTD and the Government of India

Thus, like Islamabad, the MCD faces the challenge of overlapping mandates with several departments managed by other government levels. However, Delhi does have a specific agency dealing with slum issues, unlike Islamabad. (Bandyopadhyay, 2015). MCD can enforce taxes. It also receives transfers from higher governments which have contributed around one-third of its revenues in recent years. Overall, MCD has faced severe fiscal challenges in recent years and is dependent on federal transfers, like Islamabad.

4.4.2 Singapore

Singapore is a city-state. Its total population is around 5.7 million. Like India and Pakistan, Singapore was a British colony. Singapore gained independence in 1965 and adopted a parliamentary system of Governance. There is no local government legislation in its constitution. Community development programs are working in Singapore to provide local administration. Five Community Development Councils (CDC) are functional, each headed by a mayor and governed by a twelve to twenty-member board. CDCs are responsible for instigating, developing, and handling local-level programs and boosting civil society activity. The CDCs provide various community and social assistance services delegated from the ministries. Singapore also uses two concurrent sets of sub-divisions: electoral divisions consisting of 23 constituencies and 84 wards and administrative divisions known as urban planning. Of the constituencies, five have six wards, and nine have five wards, and nine consist of a single ward.

4.5 Islamabad

For the past six years, Islamabad is witnessing a battle for power between different tiers of government and institutions. This infighting has stifled city development. Why have Local governments, which are close to the public and are in a position to have better knowledge of local problems, formed for this purpose have failed to deliver? Why have local governments not performed despite the powers that were vested in them through the ordinance? In the process of smooth development, there lie many hurdles such as corruption, in-efficiency of institutions, lack of laws, complicated models, political intervention, self-interests and non-compliance of bureaucracy, and many more that are to be discussed in this paper.

4.5.1 Turf Wars over the Capital

Until 2015 CDA remained solely responsible for municipal matters. Establishment of Metropolitan Corporation of Islamabad (MCI) under the Local Government Act 2015. MCI was solely responsible for the administrative function of Islamabad. After the set-up of MCI, few municipal departments got shifted to MCI. An official from bureaucracy (deputy commissioner (DC)) was appointed to maintain law and oversee various departments, including Police, revenue, environment. Islamabad has three seats in the national assembly. MNA's elected from Islamabad are politically strong individuals. They have to show their strength in the federal capital and have a strong political influence over general public interests. The Capital became a site for power struggle and control.

4.5.2 Complicated Model of Governance

According to Article 1, the territory of Islamabad is declared a federating unit, not falling in any of the provinces. In 1980, the administration is known as "Islamabad Capital Territory Administration (ICTA)" was set up as a result of presidential order to look after the administrative matters of the capital. According to this order, ICTA was given the authority of the provincial government.

According to the law, the municipal government lies under the authority of the provincial government. Also, according to article 140, the municipal government should be under the authority of the provincial

government. However, in this case, the municipal government was only answerable to the federal. This creates a constitutional crisis and constitutional anomaly, as there exist two separate bodies working in the same territory.

There exists another administrative body in Islamabad known as “Capital Development Authority (CDA)”. CDA is an autonomous body, occupying more than 70000 acres of Islamabad and having its own rules and regulations. The revenue record controls are with ICT in un-acquired areas, but CDA has its jurisdiction in acquired areas. Also, the master plan of CDA allows them to control the buildings in the un-acquired areas. This gives much power to CDA, an autonomous body, and they can use it to their advantage.

4.5.3 Political Clientelism in Local Governance

Pakistan, unfortunately, has a family-based political structure. Major political parties are organized around families. These families have deep roots and permeate the administrative structure of the country as well. Political corporations are their tools for earning, and many of the businesses in our country are owned by them directly or indirectly.

MNA's in the national assembly has a higher degree of influence in their constituency and administrative structures. Legally MNA's are lawmakers in a country but here, due to the non-devolution of power to the lower levels. These MNA's keep a tight grip over their constituency. The tool for this grip is the allocation of "Development Funds" by the government. These funds are given directly to these MNA's as they can use them as per their wish. Authority over the use of this development fund keeps them in the center of the power structure as the residents then have to come to them for their issues and development work. Another source of maintaining this influence is the deep roots in the administrative structure. Government officers are posted in their locality upon their will. Any project that is to be started is directly given under their supervision.

MCI in Islamabad faced similar issues. Allocation of the tickets for the UC Chairman and Mayor was a total authoritarian process and done as per the Local MNA's wishes in all the parties. The PMLN won the majority seats in the 2015 local government elections in Islamabad. The PTI gave all the power to the District Administration. The Commissioner was given an additional charge of chairman CDA; this was solemnly done to affect the working of MCI by the PTI government. An MNA of PTI from Islamabad, Ali Nawaz Awan, was made Special Assistant to Prime Minister on affairs of Capital Development Authority to oversee the Development projects in Islamabad. After his appointment, the entire fund's allocation was done by Ali Nawaz Awan rather than the elected UC chairmen, and MCI was deprived of the development funds in all of its tenures.

4.5.4 Bureaucratic hurdles and Inefficiencies

In 2015, Member of PTI Asad Umar went to the high court for the right of local government. High Court verdict favored Asad Umar and Local governments and ordered the then sitting government to hold fresh elections in the Federal capital. For this purpose, a local government act 2015 was hastily passed by the parliament. Despite too many loopholes in the bill, it remained unopposed by the PTI mainly because they considered it in the welfare of the broader public interest.

Ideally, all the municipal functions should have been transferred to the newly elected government (MCI). Under this Act, 22 departments of CDA went under the control of MCI, having its Mayor of Islamabad. However, in reality, the transfer of power remained an issue. CDA was reluctant to transfer the powers to the local government, as they feared the possible accountability of their work and corruption by the local representatives. CDA took advantage of the loopholes in the original Act, and the transparent transfer of authority never came into being. Bureaucracy created many hurdles during transferring departments from CDA to MCI with too much political intervention from MNAs. On the other side, the then ruling government of PML-N wanted to control the federal capital with their own Mayor. Thus, this created a

tug of war b/w three institutes, CDA, MCI, and ICT, and the actual development never took place in the last five years.

4.5.5 PTI Government and Mayor Islamabad

When the PTI government got in power in 2018, PTI Member National Assembly Mr. Asad Umar tried to approach the Mayor of Islamabad to discuss all the problems regarding the transfer of power to MCI and the developmental hurdles. The mayor absconded to England for two months and came back to hand over his resignation and four departments to CDA. In these crises, special assistants on CDA MNA Mr. Ali Awan, and MNA Mr. Khurram Nawaz, and Asad Umar gave a plan for the city's development.

4.5.6 Financial Matters and Developmental Issues

CDA has its revenue sources such as property tax, water tax. At the same time, ICT earns from the excise department, hotel resignation, liquor permits. Ideally, the MCI should have all the control over the financial matters. The tragedy is that MCI has no authority over the financial matter. The DMA department was under MCI, but the authority over the financial matters was not.

All the tax collected goes directly to the government account federal divisible pool, which is not returned to MCI, CDA, or ICT for the city's development; instead, all the fund is given by the federal government upon their will through local MNA's as development fund. In the 5-year tenure, MCI did not receive any funds. All expenditures of MCI were done by taking a loan from CDA. Therefore, the lack of funds, authority, and staff of MCI is creating troubles in the developmental process of the city.

4.5.7 Problems of staff

There are some serious problems regarding the staff of MCI. First of all, just like all other power-related matters, the workforce was also not transferred to the MCI. This resulted in a severe crisis of staff in MCI. Thus, it took a while for all the local government to set up its offices and allocate staff.

There is also a lack of staff in many of the departments working in Islamabad. For instance, the food department has only three people to deal with the whole of Islamabad. The excise department functions

only with 80 people, while the civil defense is running with only three officers. The figures are telling the whole story of inefficiency in the system.

Secondly, the present staff is not adequately trained and performing their designated roles. The presence of labor unions and employee unions, which are more concerned about personal interests instead of public interests, further damages the system's effectiveness. Issues of posting and transfer of employees according to personal likes, non-compliance of staff, and the issues of ghost employees are creating hurdles in a developmental role.

4.5.8 Issues due to accountability

Another factor involved in reducing the efficiency of the local government system in Islamabad is too much accountability procedure. Too many institutes are involved and given the authority to check the local government, ICT, and CDA regarding corruption. These include Auditor general, FIA, Anti-corruption establishment, Aitesaab Commission, and NAB. Although, accountability is a good practice to maintain transparency and discourage corruption. However, too much accountability has its consequences, an example of which we are experiencing in Islamabad.

4.5.9 No Laws and Old Laws

The dilemma with the capital of Pakistan is that most of the laws are not available in the first place. There is no mechanism through which the people of Islamabad can make their law. Furthermore, even if they are available, most of them are outdated, non-compliant with modern-day problems. Despite many years of poor performance, no attention is given to the legislation or revision of the laws. For instance, the Rates of fees and taxes of DMA CDA has not been revised since 2002. Also, there are no rules available for food authority, beggary, price control, legislation.

4.5.10 Role of Police and Political Intervention

The Police are the main body in any administrative set up to ensure the law and order situation and help implement the designated area's policies. One of the best examples in this regard is the strict

implementation of Corona SOPs carried out by the Police during the lockdown period. So, the police department is an essential tool in the administrative setup. Especially in the case of Islamabad, the DCs and ACs have magistrate powers. So in any local level issue, the Police are the essential implementation force.

Throughout history, political intervention in every department has been involved, which has significantly damaged the system's efficiency. The police department is also of no exception in this regard, and the political intervention has damaged the reputation and efficiency of the department to a great extent. Police are the first institute in the criminal justice system. So, if they get biased or get pressurized, then the entire system becomes nonfunctional.

However, in the modern age of social media, Police and politicians are more careful about their actions because any evidence regarding their unlawful acts could harm their reputation, which they cannot afford. So some social media accounts help minimize the political intervention compared to the past. However, it does not completely eradicate it.

Sir Robert Peel, often regarded as the "Father of Modern Policing," has given a concept which says that "*Police are from community and Community is from Police*". His idea of raising a police force from within the community proved to be very effective throughout history. This *Peel Model* could also prove to be very effective in Pakistan, where the Police lack quantitatively. Therefore, to control the increasing numbers of street crimes, community involvement is necessary.

In this regard, the ASP and SHO from F6 Kohsar Thanna had taken the initiative for community involvement. They organize road walks, bicycle police, and other engaging activities to boost awareness and share the responsibility with the citizens.

Another common practice in Pakistan is *Jirga* or *Panchayat*, the parallel judicial systems working in Pakistan. These are not the law of the state but are the commonly agreed norms within a community. This practice is widespread in rural areas of Pakistan.

Islamabad also carries its own Public Reconciliatory committee in nearly all the police stations. Here the matters are resolved at their initial stages under police supervision, thus reducing the burdens of FIR and court proceedings.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Local Government Act 2015, in essence, was deemed to fail. Too many loopholes are present in the LGA 2015. It seems that no concrete study was made while doing this Act. The LGA 2015 Act was created after the orders of the Supreme court in haste. No concrete study or research was done prior to making this LGA 2015 show the lack of seriousness on the part of Political parties regarding the issue of Devolution of power. Further, even after the implementation of this Act, issues were created by the bureaucracy and other government departments like notification of rules of business and the allocation of Staff for MCI. Revenue Generation for the MCI was also a Big Issue for this Institute CDA did allocate DMA to MCI, but this was not enough. The distribution of authority between CDA, MCI, and ICT is a never-ending confusion that needs to be addressed. Elected MNA's are constantly meddling with the local government affairs from allocation of Funds to the distribution of Tickets on UC level. MNA's want to keep their status quo and do not want to distribute powers on lower levels. The overall observations regarding the UC's and its Chairman is good the people elected in Islamabad are well known, disciplined, and possess solid political knowledge. They have many ideas regarding the development of the city according to the choices of its people, but the irony is that almost all the decisions are made behind closed doors. This comparative review of the three capitals-Islamabad, Delhi and Singapore-shows clearly that local Governance in capitals is comparatively more complex than LG systems in other parts of the country. The presence of central governments and the embassies of the international community make it difficult to govern capitals in the same way as other cities. The central governments have genuine concerns regarding maintaining law and order and sanctity of essential buildings and offices, and embassies in the

Capital, but they must not deny the people of Islamabad their fundamental right to this pretext of self-governance.

As currently designed, the Islamabad LG system requires many changes to achieve both the technocratic goals of efficiency and effectiveness and the political economy goals of equity and egalitarianism. The local government system needs to continue for it to get mature. The first five years were disastrous for all the stakeholders. We need to learn from this model and work for it to continue in the future .

5.1 RECOMMENDATIONS

- The local government act of 2015 must be immediately revised, and all the loopholes available in the document should be eradicated in the first place. According to the revised Act, fresh elections should be held, and the elected local government must have its Mayor responsible for all the matters of the whole city without any political intervention and parallel system.
- Islamabad already has the status of a separate entity, according to article 1. Now with the advent of the local government, it has a functioning political setup. A separate legislative assembly must be created in Islamabad, with Mayor being its chief executive.
- All the due powers should be designated to MCI transparently, and the non-compliance of bureaucracy and staff should be dealt with. In addition, the workforce should be increased in the MCI, and the number of accountability institutes should be reduced so that the efficiency could be enhanced.
- Islamabad must have its financial account under the authority of the Mayor. Therefore, MCI should be entrusted with all finance-related matters from tax collection to the spending phase. Moreover, an equal amount of money should be designated for the rural and urban areas of the city.
- Laws should be made where compulsory and old laws should be revised, bringing them in line with the modern-day requirements.
- The role of CDA should be limited to work on maintenance-related issues only. CDA should not have the right to sell government land and earn money from it. Instead, it is also in greater interest if CDA is limited and put under the Authority of MCI.
- Ideally, Islamabad should have a separate financial share so that the money of Islamabad is invested in Islamabad. Revenue generation should be enhanced, and tax collection transparency must be ensured in the first place. The MCI must be given due authority in financial matters, and MCI should

ensure the equal allocation of funds for the rural and urban areas of Islamabad for the proper development of the city.

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