

INTERPRETING THE CHANGE

Perceptions versus Reality

A Research Study on Performance of the KP Government

October 2013 – April 2014

(May 2014)



INTERPRETING 'THE CHANGE'

Perceptions versus Reality

A Research Study On Performance of the KP Government

October 2013 – April 2014

(May 2014)

“Governance consists of the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. This includes the process by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced; the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies; and the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them.” (World Bank, 2013)

**DEDICATED TO THE PEOPLE OF
KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA**

Table of Contents

1.1	Acknowledgement.....	1
	About us	2
1.2	Preface	3
1.3	Executive Summary	4
1.4	Introduction & Background	6
1.5	Methodology and rationale.....	8
1.6	Financial Performance.....	10
1.7	Policy Performance.....	12
1.7.1	Interpreting Change at the Policy Level.....	12
1.7.2	The Incremental Decision Approach.....	12
1.7.3	The Garbage can Decision Model	12
1.7.4	Politics---Administration Dichotomy	13
1.7.5	Ex-Ante evaluation.....	13
1.7.6	Policy Evaluation.....	14
1.7.7	Local Govt/ Devolution Dynamic.....	14
1.7.8	Economic Policy.....	14
1.7.9	Labor Market	17
1.7.10	Budgetary Policy	19
1.7.11	Tax Policy	19
1.7.12	Social Policies	20
1.7.13	Education Policy	21
1.7.15	Health.....	24
1.7.16	Safe living conditions	25
1.8	Governance	29
1.9	Parties & Interest Association	38
1.10	Major Findings.....	39
1.11	Recommendations.....	40
1.12	Annex	42
1.13	References.....	45

1.1 Acknowledgement

All praises be to Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful.

We acknowledge efforts of the field researchers of FATA Research Center (FRC) and Zalan Communications (Zcomms) whose months' long hard work and dedication helped make this study a reality. We highly appreciate those political activists, government functionaries, intellectuals, journalists, former bureaucrats, parliamentarians, academicians, legal experts, economists, political analysts and members of civil society who presented their indigenous views and expert opinion to contribute to this study on performance evaluation of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa government.

We owe a particular debt of gratitude to Mr. Iftikhar Durrani and Ms. Fajer Rabia for extending their all out support in organization and compilation of the study.

Our sincere thanks are due to various departments of the provincial secretariat for their generous assistance in providing the required data and facilitating the staff in a number of ways.

We are thankful to the Peshawar and Islamabad based civil society organizations for providing their assistance whenever required.

Contributors

Media Monitoring team:	Zahir Yousafzai, Muhammad Imran Khan
Data Tabulation:	Salman Rohaila, Pir Fahad Ali Shah
IT Support:	Taimur Ali Khan
Research Assistants:	Irfanuddin, Asad Kamal, Fazlullah Mohmand
Research Associates:	Rahmanullah, Sobia Abbasi, Rubab Zahra
Research Coordinator:	Muhammad Ali Johar
Editors:	Sharafat Ali Chaudhry, Dr Raza Rahman Qazi
Consulting Editor:	Dr. Ashraf Ali
Project Manager:	Mehran Ali Khan Wazir

About US

FATA Research Center (FRC)

FRC is a non-partisan, non-political and non-governmental research organization based in Islamabad. It is the first ever think-tank of its kind that focuses solely on the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) in its entirety. FRC's main aim is to help concerned stake holders better understand this war ravaged area of Pakistan with independent, impartial and objective research and analysis. People at FRC think, write and speak to encourage all segments of Pakistani society and the government to join their strengths for a peaceful, tolerant, progressive and integrated FATA.

FRC key work areas include:

- **Research Studies-** Previous research studies included “An Overview of Social, Political, Cultural and Economic Landscape of FATA”, “The State of Governance in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas”, “Post NATO Withdrawal Scenario in Afghanistan: Impact on Peace and Development in FATA”, “Electoral Violence: Nature, Sources, Forces and Implications” and “Crisis of IDPs in FATA: Issues, Challenges and Way Forward”.
- **Research Journal-** TIGAH is FRC biannual research journal that publishes up to 10 research papers on different issues related to FATA.
- **Security Reports-** Quarterly security reports on FATA reviews recent trends in conflict such as the number of terrorist attacks, type of attacks, tactics used for militancy and the resulting casualties. The objective is to outline and categorize the forms of violent extremism taking place, the role of militant groups and the scale of terrorist activities.
- **Internship Programme-** FRC invites young applicants from FATA to join its summer internship programme run through July-September every year.
- **Seminar Series-** FRC arranges seminars on contemporary issues related to FATA and thus provides a platform for different stakeholders and key informants to share, discuss and nurture ideas.
- **Guest Lectures-** Regular guest lectures are delivered by experts who not only share valuable information but enrich participants with latest updates on political, social, economic, cultural and other aspects of the issue in question.
- **FRC Website-** FRC website (www.frc.com.pk) is a rich source of information for visitors. Daily and weekly security updates, articles, commentaries and all FRC publications are available for download.

Zalan Communications (Zcomms)

Zalan Communications (Zcomms) is a non-profit, non-political and non-governmental research organization based in Peshawar. The main objective of the organization is to develop and empower local communities through improved access to information, build capacity of communities through enhanced communication and educate the people through awareness campaigns to generate informed debates so as to make the process of governance publicly accountable, accessible and democratic in real sense.

1.2 Preface

After successive failures on the part of two mainstream political parties – the PPP and the PML-N - to come true on their pledges made with the nation, the people experienced a lengthy spell under a military dictator in the hope of a better tomorrow but the all powerful government under General ® Parvez Musharraf too failed to deliver. This made the people in KP to go for religious forces-the MMA, but they too could not bring a visible change in the life of a common man. The nationalist forces were an available alternative but the government under the ANP was not a different experience than its rival force. This left the war-stricken people of KP with no option whom to follow?

After having exhausted all options, the people were waiting for someone to come from unexpected quarters and steer their ship in the right direction. This time Imran Khan's Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) filled the gap.

Banking on the political vacuum and people's frustrations, Imran Khan was able to mobilize community and specially youngsters to say yes to his call. Known for his honesty, dedication and commitment, Imran Khan with his charismatic leadership made the people come on the streets for “change”. Though he could not make a big difference on the political stage of Islamabad, however; this change was more visible in the KP where he made it to power.

Is it only a change of face or a real change? Putting an end to corruption and VIP culture, making justice available to the people at their doorstep and introducing a new political culture based on mutual respect and understanding were some of the pledges made with people during the election campaigns? To what extent have she attained these goals?

The report aims at assessing the performance of the government to get a real picture of the change the people have been experiencing under PTI. It is a sincere effort to highlight gaps in governance mechanism and suggest recommendations if there is a room for improvement. One of the main objectives of the report is to educate the people and make the process of governance publicly accountable, accessible and democratic in real sense.

This report is collective effort of the FRC and Zalan Communications teams whose months long hard work helped make this ambitious study a reality. I would also like to personally thank those political leaders, intellectuals, parliamentarians, academicians, media men, bureaucrats, legal experts, economic and political managers who shared their insights and contributed to the development of this study.

Dr. Ashraf Ali

President,

FATA Research Centre (FRC)

Islamabad, Pakistan

May 2014

1.3 Executive Summary

Located in the North of Pakistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province is blessed with natural resources such as Granite, marble, gems, gold, oil & gas & other minerals, fresh water, and natural beauty in the form of fresh streams running down green lush mountains, fresh greenery and beautiful rivers. The rich hospitality of people, its food, language and rich culture makes it an amazing place to live and visit.

Like other provinces of the country, the political history of KP also spells out poor governance practices. On the other hand the threat of terrorism and rising tide of militancy added more to the miseries of a common man during the recent times. Sick with traditional politicians, the people wanted change. In the given scenario, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf made its appearance with the slogan of change and made it to the corridors of power in KP.

In the general election of May 2013, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) emerged as one of the largest political party in KP with strong support from youth, women and the educated professional community. The party formed a coalition government in the province to serve the suffering community and translate the slogan of change into action.

Demonstration of this spirit was seen on a number of occasions. PTI, after coming into power introduced key bills & government acts and took some bold steps, which never in the history of Pakistan have been put in place before. The people hailed some of these bold decisions taken by the PTI leadership.

It will be important to assess their persistence in maintaining the reforms they introduced. Some of the key achievements of PTI include; independent police – separation of police from political workers, electronic voting system using biometric technology, implementation of Right to Information bill in KP, online FIR System, mobile courts, initiatives to help women lodge complaints with police through SMS service, rehabilitation of drug addicts and up-gradation of KP electricity distribution system.

This indicates their good intentions to eradicate corruption and create a more transparent and accountable governance system, however; their lack of capacity in master planning for the province, decision making model, the politics-administration dichotomy; implementation of funds and monitoring of performance is clearly visible.

The assessment carried out through this report highlights the gaps in governance mechanism. While digging out strengths and weaknesses of the government, the report also makes some thought provoking recommendations to address the issues and challenges the government is faced with.

PTI, being relatively newer to manage government affairs, consequently lacked experience in state management/ craft ship, as envisioned the provincial government was unable to present integrated strategic vision and plan, hence remained deficient of innovation in budgeting and economic policies that led to meager performance results. The political manger did not administer the public manager /bureaucracy adeptly; therefore government budgets for the year 2013-14 are still unspent by over 50%. Even though there is an independent monitoring department, it is not functioning optimally. The department is not even publishing quarterly monitoring reports as defined in the mandate.

The websites of most of the departments are not updated with requisite information despite the introduction of Right to information bill in December 2013. Same way, mines/minerals and tourism, the

INTERPRETING THE CHANGE

nascent high growth sectors, are not optimally contributing to the economic growth of the province. The policy for mines and minerals was not endorsed by the local stakeholders whereas tourism policy is still awaited.

Though the provincial government claims to have an ambitious local government plan to implement, however; there is no planning process observed/anticipation planning for the capacity building of the newly elected local government representatives in the upcoming local government elections.

Similarly the government has yet to plan a comprehensive program for engaging youth, the most vulnerable class of the society to save them from being spoiled. The government has yet to come out with a well-defined and well-designed labor policy and bring a visible change in the life of a common man.

PTI government needs to recognize the gaps in its leadership and take urgent steps to improve the governance mechanism across the board. PTI government should be presenting a comprehensive 5-year plan to deal with economic issues, terrorism, youth unemployment, justice, industrial development, education and health. Short-term plans that can bring in immediate relief should also remain part of the long-term plan. PTI has to shift from “Incremental alternatives” of policy making to “fundamental alternatives” that translate “the Change”.

1.4 Introduction & Background

Since its independence, Pakistan has been going through a fragile democratic process. Since 1947, the country has not seen much stability in the governments and its leadership. Out of the 67 years, Pakistan has been ruled by military for almost half of its political age and the rest by, mostly, inept political leaders (Misra, 2012). This, unfortunately, has badly affected the governance system in Pakistan. The poor literacy rate and poverty across the country has benefited the ones in power as they had managed to avoid setting up rigorous accountability systems for ministries and departments meant to be working for the people of Pakistan (Nadim, 2002).

At most times, Pakistan has been governed by two major political parties, namely Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and Pakistan Muslim League. (Talbot, 2009). However, in the last general elections on the 11th of May, 2013, the nation experienced a change in its attitude while electing a political party in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) that claims to be the only non – family lead political party of Pakistan founded on democratic principles (The Express Tribune, 2013). The credit has to be given to the party for raising awareness and encouraging the educated community to use their voting right on the election day. Nearly 60 % of the Pakistani people used their democratic right to vote and elected PML (N) at the federal level, PPP in the province of Sindh, PML (N) in Punjab, PML (N) in Baluchistan (led by Nationalist Party supported by PML (N) and PKMAP (Pakhtunkhwa Mili Awami Party) and PTI in KP.

Pakistan had seen political participation from the nation at this level only in the first ever general elections of Pakistan in 1970, since then political engagement of people had only declined until now when change was felt again.

Pakistan is currently lacking a local government system. Since the Independence of Pakistan in 1974, only 3 times local governments were established as vehicle to deliver its mandates on local level, however; every time the local government was brought in by military dictatorship (FRC, 2014). Therefore, it will be fair to say that local organs have been missing in all political governments. A local government system is key to good governance especially after introduction of 18th amendment where a larger mandate has been handed over to provincial governments. Without the local government system policy making and its implementation is difficult and defragmented.

The province of KP presents a great case study for setting and evaluating the current governance standards. Looking back at the history of KP and previous elections held, it is clear that the people of KP have never elected a political party more than once. For example from 2003 – 2008 MMA ruled over the province, from 2008 – 2013, MMA's traditional rival, ANP won the elections (PILDAT, 2013) and in the 2014 General Elections PTI has been given the power to improve the lives of people. This clearly shows that the way of thinking of people of KP is different to other provinces; they are much more empowered and bold enough to remove people if performance is not satisfactory.

Like all other provinces of the country, KP too experiences bad governance at the government and bureaucratic level. In fact, it would not be out of place to say that in the past little or no work has been done on setting up and monitoring of governance standards. Lack of strategic planning by the governments, policy making without consultations, serious gaps in implementations and lack of accountability of political leaders, ministries and departments resulted in a performance chaos at the top leadership level right down to local government offices. The persistent failures of the elected civilian governments to deliver on their

INTERPRETING THE CHANGE

promises not only multiplied the woes and agonies of the people but also infused large-scale disenchantment and disillusionment among residents of the KP regarding the democratic processes and institutions (Sonn, 2010).

The mandate on which PTI won the elections in KP was based on transparency, clear accountability and improving life standards of a common man in a province that not only experiences one of the poorest literacy rate but has also been suffering from terrorist activities for period long enough to damage whatever little progress the province has achieved in the past. After setting up the government in KP, regardless of challenges that KP faces, PTI had promised to bring change and end corruption within 90 days of it being in power.

The main purpose of this report is to assess the performance of PTI government in KP, highlight the gaps in governance mechanisms and make key recommendations to support the government in better decision-making and achieve better results for the people of this war-ravaged province. One of the objectives of the report is to make the process of governance in the province publicly accountable, democratic in real sense and ultimately improve its quality. The report also aims at educating the people so that they are better informed of the performance of the government and the intelligentsia gets the food for thought for carrying out an informed debate.

1.5 Methodology and Rationale

In Pakistan, political evaluations, in contrast to administrative evaluations, are typically carried out on an ad hoc basis by actors such as media, think tanks, political parties, interest groups, community leaders, and public relations or lobbying campaigns launched by non-governmental organizations. The motive for these evaluations is sometime to offer independent advice, at times, to support or oppose the government or bring some issue of concern to the government's attention. In democratic politics, various interested members of policy communities and the public at large are constantly engaged in their own assessment of issues concerning them in order to better achieve what they consider to be the appropriate solution to a problem they perceive. Such informal evaluations-informal in the sense that they do not rely upon any systematic means for evaluation of carefully collected data related to policy impacts-easily translate into and affect formal evaluations in government since public opinion is an important determinant of perceptions of policy success and failure in democratic states.

After the implementation of 18th amendment, it is essential that provincial governments be evaluated as they have a bigger mandate to deliver. Evaluation and monitoring criteria needs to be set up so that people are better informed when choosing whom to vote at future general elections. Currently, there is no system set up and popularity of government is assessed through vote in vote out system.

To highlight the complexities of effective governance and provide opportunity for improvement, evidence based analysis has been carried out. To assess the performance of the PTI led coalition government, a number of indicators have been used to understand the improvement in governance if any. However, lack of up to date data, statistics, financial and performance impact assessments across all ministries and departments created a barrier for the analyzing the performance of the government.

These indicators include:

a. Sustainable Governance Indicators

Good governance and sustainable development goes hand in hand. The European Union has defined sustainable governance indicators to measure performance of countries and provide us a platform to measure change and development in KP.

These indicators include:

- i. Policy Performance
- ii. Democracy
- iii. Governance

These are further detailed in the report below.

b. KP Strategic Development Partnership Framework 2013

The PTI government introduced their SDPF in 2013 after coming in to power. The framework sets out its commitment to development of KP in partnership with a number of stakeholders while building on the comparative advantages e.g. abundance of natural resources, the province offers. The plan acknowledges the growing economic challenges, rising geopolitical status and development challenges. The plan set out to achieve:

- i. Economic growth and job creation

INTERPRETING THE CHANGE

- ii. Peace building and rule of law
- iii. Progress in Health & Education
- iv. Improved participation by citizens
- v. Improved transparency and accountability
- vi. Enhanced fiscal space for economic and social development
- vii. Gender equity
- viii. Donor harmonization

These have been assessed through the following:

a. In depth Interviews and Panel Discussions

In depth interviews, focused group discussions (FGDs) and roundtable conferences with key informants like political figures, key government officials, academia, journalists, professionals and people on the ground were carried out to understand the situation on the ground and get a balanced view on the issue.

b. Media Reports

A detailed research of media reports since June 2013 on performance of PTI government has been analyzed. In total ten newspapers were selected including Dawn (English), The News (English), The Express Tribune (English), The Nation (English), The Frontier Post (English) Mashriq (Urdu), Express (Urdu), Nai Baat (Urdu), Aaj (Urdu) and Jang (Urdu). News reports regarding all the ministries and departments were observed, monitored, categorized, interpreted and analyzed.

c. Policy Performance Evaluation

Assessment of new policies introduced by the PTI government, their implementation and impact.

d. Department Reports where Possible

Data from a number of government departments such was collected where available and is used to provide evidence.

e. Call Center

A well-equipped call center at Peshawar entertains listener's complaints, grievances, comments and suggestions round the year. Listener's views on the performance evaluations of the PTI-led provincial government have been duly incorporated into the report

1.6 Financial Performance

An important element to assessing a government's capacity and its performance is to analyze their financial budgets and its spending capacity. The financial analysis can also determine the soft and hard outcomes achieved and a government's understanding of achieving financial targets and results.

Below is the general abstract of expenditures of KP Government for the financial year of 2013 – 2014. As we are now coming to an end of the financial year on 30th of June, 2014, this would be the right time to look at what percentage of funds have been spent and in what areas? This will give us a clear view of where the impact should be felt. The figures given below produced by the finance department of KP on the 8th of April 2014, clearly shows that budget is hugely under spent. As we can see that under the heading of current expenditure, that is mainly the salary and non-salary component, has been spent up to 61.88% hence there is an obvious chance of under spent by at least 30% by end of the financial year.

The development budget - the main fund to develop the local areas, communities and facilities, is massively under spent. Only 23.36% of the money allocated towards the development of the province has been spent. This clearly indicates that even though the government had committed a good amount towards development however, the commitment has not been delivered due to lack of capacity within the government machinery to plan, develop and achieve targets. This can prove to be a major failure, again pointing to unfulfilled promises by the PTI government. According to reports from the finance department 23 approved mega new projects are still pending and awaiting start – Annex attached. Most of the funds spent in the development expenditure are on ongoing projects.

Similarly, the capital expenditure is also under spent by just over 30%. The key element of this component is the PSDP fund (Public Sector Development Programme). According to a news report by Express Tribune published on 17/01/2014 the KP Government has failed to raise the official requisition from provincial government to federal government, due to which the funds have not been released. According to the report these funds were meant for “Capacity Building of Teachers Training Institutes and Training of Elementary School Teachers”. This could be seen as a major blunder on the part of the government, especially, given the fact that the KP very rightly imposed Education emergency in the province after it came into power. However, the government has been unsuccessful in prioritizing delivery of its commitment where it was essentially required.

Table 1

(Rupees in Billion)

General Abstract of Expenditures of KP as on 08 -04-2014						
S. no	Expenditure Head	Budget Estimates	Proportionate Expenditure for 9 months	Expenditure	Variation (Prop-Actual)	% age Exp. Of B-E
a	Current Expenditure	211	158.25	130.576	27.674	61.88
i	Salary	125.238	93.928	86.952	6.976	69.3
ii	Non-Salary Development	85.762	64.322	43.624	20.698	50.87
b	Expenditure	118	88.5	27.562	60.938	23.36
i	Provincial ADP	83	62.25	25.916	36.334	31.22
ii	FPA	35	26.25	1.647	24.603	4.7
c	Capital Expenditure	15	11.25	10.274	0.976	68.5
d		98	73.5	2-971	52.529	21.4
e	PSDP (Supplementary)	2.251	-	1.552	-	68.96

Sources: Department of Finance KP Govt.

INTERPRETING THE CHANGE

Similar to financial report cited above, we can also analyze a more detailed expenditure breakdown provided by the Finance department of KP Government. The Annual Development Plan 2013 – 2014 Expenditure report clearly highlights the percentage of spending by sector wise. According to the report, only 31.22% of the overall budget has been spent. However, it is somewhat reassuring to see that 71.08% of the funds were utilized in the Energy and Power sector which, to some extent, will help the provincial government reduce the current energy crisis in the province.

Table 1

(Rupees in Billion)

Annual Development Plan 2013 – 2014 Expenditure report as of 08/04/2014					
Sect Description	Original Budget	Proportionate Expenditure for 9 months	Total Expenditure	Variation (Prop: Actual)	% age Exp. Of B.E.
Agriculture	1,532,204,000	1,149,153,000	288,953,202	860,199,798	18.86
Auqaf, Hajj, Religious & Minority Affairs	106,000,000	79,500,000	3,187,346	76,312,654	3.01
Building	1,215,655,000	911,741,250	493,979,405	417,761,845	40.63
Districts ADP	1,672,330,000	1,254,247,500	692,301,653	561,945,847	41.40
Drinking Water & Sanitation	3,261,756,000	2,446,317,000	676,133,798	1,770,183,202	20.73
Elementary & Secondary education	8,107,140,000	6,080,355,000	2,663,246,345	3,417,108,655	32.85
Energy & Power	1,417,881,000	1,063,410,750	1,007,856,253	55,554,497	71.08
Environment	56,999,000	42,749,250	1,284,445	41,464,805	2.25
Finance	3,886,293,000	2,914,719,750	1,294,421,343	1,620,298,407	33.31
Food	500,233,000	375,174,750	228,391,699	146,783,051	45.66
Forestry	569,459,000	427,094,250	261,298,060	165,796,190	45.89
Health	7,998,077,000	5,998,557,750	2,244,194,844	3,754,362,906	28.06
Higher Education	5,722,546,000	4,291,909,500	3,129,739,372	1,162,170,128	54.69
Home	3,702,967,000	2,777,225,250	1,145,276,036	1,631,949,214	30.93
Housing	949,001,000	711,750,750	243,173,666	468,577,084	25.62
Industries	3,237,586,000	2,428,189,500	514,560,647	1,913,628,853	15.89
Information	210,538,000	157,094,029	15,094,029	142,809,471	7.17
Labour	22,500,000	16,875,000	-	16,875,000	-
Law & Justice	818,677,000	614,007,750	314,249,379	299,758,371	38.39
Mines & Mineral	586,499,000	439,874,250	129,521,553	310,352,697	22.08
Population welfare	224,801,000	168,600,750	33,427,600	135,173,150	14.87
Regional development	14,759,621,000	11,069,715,750	2,435,384,217	8,634,331,533	16.50
Relief & rehabilitation	1,447,435,000	1,085,576,250	16,049,099	1,069,527,151	1.11
Research & development	803,857,000	602,892,750	103,893,156	498,999,594	12.92
Roads	10,258,329,000	7,693,746,750	5,498,040,043	2,195,706,707	53.60
Social welfare	492,805,000	369,603,750	195,201,189	174,402,561	39.61
Sports tourism Archeology	871,000,000	653,250,000	300,087,418	353,162,582	34.45
ST&IT	571,150,000	428,362,500	203,174,162	225,188,338	35.57
Transport	166,276,000	124,707,000	6,825,603	117,881,397	4.10
Urban Development	4,692,092,000	3,519,069,000	407,477,584	3,111,591,416	8.68
Water	3,138,293,000	2,353,719,750	1,369,092,097	984,627,653	43.63
Total	83,000,000,000	62,250,000,000	25,915,515,243	36,334,484,757	31.22

Source: Department of Finance KP Govt.

1.7 Policy Performance

1.7.1 Interpreting Change at the Policy Level

PTI was voted in to power in general election 2103 with the Mantra of “Change” and that Political slogan had to be translated into policy and furthermore interpreted into management practice. However PTI resorted to “Incremental alternatives” as compared to “fundamental alternatives” that translate “the Change”. Incremental alternatives, as the name suggests, are only marginally different from the status quo, while fundamental alternatives represent a significant departure from the status quo in terms of the ideas they embody, the interests they serve, and the policy instruments they propose.

Since the later needs, fundamental overhauls and require multiple changes to existing policies and information, the likely impact of such changes is more difficult to obtain. As a result, such alternatives are set-aside on the ground that they are “unproven” or lack evidence of their efficacy.

Fundamental alternatives also involve a higher risk for many policy-makers because of their generally greater uncertainties and, as a result, the higher degree of risk they entail for budgets, society, political and administrative reputations and job prospects if something should go terribly wrong. Therefore PTI refrained risking their repute.

Whereas they resorted to Incremental alternatives that consume fewer resources because financial, personnel, and organizational arrangements are often already in place and only need to be marginally “tweaked” to implement proposed changes. Finally, the characteristics of large complex organizations-fragmentation, inertia, red tape and conflicting goals-tend to be strongly biased toward the preservation of the status quo.

1.7.2 The “Incremental” Decision Approach

PTI resorted to Incremental Decision approach since the status quo already represents an interest-based compromise; it is politically more feasible to continue the existing pattern of distribution of goods and services than to alter the system dramatically through a redistribution typically required of any radically new proposals.

The standard operating procedures (SOPs) and administrative practices of bureaucracies charged with implementing existing policies also tend to favor minor modifications of existing practices instead of their major overhaul.

1.7.3 The “Garbage Can” Decision Model

While analyzing the decision Making Model of PTI, it has opted for so-called “garbage can” model, which applies when there is a large number of decision-makers and a great deal of uncertainty about both the causes of problems and their solutions, as compared to rational decision models. It is argued that, in such situations, policy outcomes will lack even the modest semblance of rationality found in incrementalism and will instead reflect the temporary desires of those actually able to dominate, however transitorily, the decision-making process.

Since PTI decisions are mostly with short time horizon, lack of reliable information, lack of expertise in policy analysis and lack of performance measurement inside the bureaucracy therefore termed as “Grabage Can”.

INTERPRETING THE CHANGE

Improvement in this area can be achieved through better determination of decision criteria. Policy decisions are made to advance objectives that are of value to the society.

Criteria commonly used in assessing the consequences of policy options include: efficiency, effectiveness, equity, feasibility, and political acceptability as well as, ever more frequently, sustainability.

Because of the difficulties and resource implications of such analyses, governments has little incentives to develop such resources unless they are mandated, and imposing such requirements helps strengthen public managers, arguments for the need for capacity-building in their agency in order to properly assess impacts (which their organizations may not be accustomed to evaluate).

1.7.4 Politics-Administration Dichotomy

PTI government has not played considerable role in Public administration/Management Practices reform in the Province except a policy decision that advised public representatives to refrain from influencing the Public Manager in the day-to-day Management. This ultimately lead to a confrontation between the Chief Minister and the Chief Secretary KP Arbab Shahazad and the later was sacked by the Provincial government, who, while leaving the assignment, sent a letter of concern to the Prime Minister of Pakistan regarding government performance in the province (Dawn, 2014). The government while managing the Provincial bureaucracy did not realize the narrow self-perception of the policy role of public managers that is rooted in traditional public administration theories developed on the basis of western experiences which historically have advocated a strong separation between administration and politics.

Since the standard operating procedures in the departments is the forte of bureaucracy therefore their institutional hegemony and interests poses a major institutional barrier to integrated policy formation and decision-making. While set procedures are vital for upholding the principles of accountability and promoting predictability, they form a barrier to the search for integration and policy innovation as well. Right from the creation of Government the very fact was not catered for in the planning process by the PTI lead government that the political executives facing electoral and other shorter-term pressures. In comparison, policymakers at the top level, such as ministers, legislators and governors, face much shorter tenures in office and find it correspondingly more difficult to influence the direction and content of policy-making over the long term. Resultantly the government falls short of the optimal results.

1.7.5 Ex-Ante Evaluation

As change was the principal slogan of PTI, some investments on the policy side was expected to refrain the government from the “Garbage can decision” making process such as Ex Ante evaluation that is vital for supporting the program preparation, where it provides the feedback for the groundwork of proposals for new/renewed development proceedings.

The main idea is to assemble raw data and perform investigation that help to describe objectives, to guarantee that the very objectives can be achieved, that the instruments used are cost-effective and that reliable later evaluation are possible.

Since the government is using money from the national exchequer the good quality ex ante evaluation is necessary because it allows a proper appreciation of whether the proposed level of demands and resources are in accordance with the expected results and impact, and reliable ex post evaluation, and hence accountability for results and impacts, is largely dependent on the quality of the preparation of the

intervention at its outset.

Whereas no such evidence instituted of any such evaluations by the government for the proposed interventions that resulted in underperformance of the provincial government.

1.7.6 Policy Evaluation

Numerous governments around the world regularly block access to information, depriving evaluators of the ability to conduct high quality evaluations and themselves of opportunities for policy learning and improvement whereas PTI government efforts are lauded for introducing Right to information bill 2013 (The Express Tribune, 2013). And this probably made this report possible.

Despite its importance, no budget head account for it therefore; policy evaluation will rarely be used for most policy decision, and thus fails to contribute to continuous policy learning.

1.7.7 Local Government / Devolution Dynamic

With the New local Body act introduced by the PTI that will decentralize essential social services such as health and education that might lead in some lower-capacity localities to a noticeable deterioration in service quality (Dawn, 2014).

Therefore such an expended policy role can prove overwhelming for ill-prepared public managers who lack either the experience and/or training in implementing public policy-making to be able to anticipate both the threats and opportunities such circumstances might bring.

Given the opportunity and the threat no anticipated plan is prepared by the government of KP for Proper training for unleashing public managers, tremendous potential in tackling public problems.

1.7.8 Economic Policy

The government has not introduced any economic policy as yet but introduced a number of financial reforms to increase provinces own revenue and Tax to GDP ratio. The reforms are still far from the reality and have not been translated into an action.

These reforms include:

- a. Revision of rates for various taxes
- b. Revision of fee under electricity, timber duty rates, water charges, contractor registration and tender fee
- c. A number of agricultural reforms, Such as taxation, monitoring crop inspections and assessment of agricultural income.
- d. The capacity building of revenue staff scrutinizing Agricultural Income Tax Return

The government of KP presented its White Paper outlining its budget and economic development plan.

The budget presented was not much different to what has been presented in the last financial year with focus on three areas including:

INTERPRETING THE CHANGE

Table 2

(Rupees in Billion)

Comparison of Budget Estimates 2012-2013 and 2013-2014					
S. No	Description	Budget Estimates 2012 - 2013	%	Budget Estimates	%
1	Welfare Budget	151,469.418	50	162,969.040	47
2	Administrative Budget	54,072.582	18	63,030.960	18
3	Development Budget	97,458.000	32	118,000.000	34
	Total	303,000.000	100	344,000.000	100

Source: KP Finance Department

47 % of the budget (Rs.162, 969.040) was allocated to Welfare which included, with primary focus on health from Rs.10, 330.374 million to Rs. 22,807.005 (an increase of 121%), Secondary & Elementary Education from estimated budget of Rs. 681.068 million to Rs. 60,552.937 million and other areas such as social welfare & special education (Rs. 928.324), Sports, tourism & museums (Rs. 303.224).

A sum of Rs. 63,030.960 million was allocated to administrative budget including key headings such as Policing (Rs. 23,781.398) and Pensions (Rs. 24,000.000).

Throughout the history of Pakistan, the distribution of financial resources across all provinces has been highly criticized. Punjab in the past has been favored with additional resources whereas Balochistan being deprived of its fair shares of funds. However, for the first time in the history of Pakistan, through the award of 7th National Finance Commission (NFC) the share of provinces in vertical distribution increased from 49% to 56% in 2010 – 2011 and 57.5% during the remaining of the year. The traditional population based criteria for horizontal distribution of resources amongst the Provinces has been changed to Multiple-Criteria Formula. According to this criterion 82% distribution was made on population, 10.3% on poverty and backwardness, 5% revenue collection/generation and 2.7% on inverse population density (IPD).

Realizing the role of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in the war on terror 1% of the net divisible pool was assigned to this Province.

Comparative position of the total transfers to Provinces under NFC Award for the financial year 2013-14 is as follows:-

Table 2

(Rupees in Billion)

Province % share	Budget Estimate 2013-14	Divisible Pool for War on Terror grant (1.8% of the provincial pool)	Total
Punjab (51.74%)	701,672.852	-----	701,672.852
Sindh (24.55%)	332,935.225	-----	332,935.225
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (14.62%)	198,269.368	23,823.481	222,092.849
Baluchistan (9.09%)	123,274.183	-----	123,274.183
Total	1,356,151.628	23,823.481	1,379,975.109

Source: White Paper KP 2013 – 2014

A number of initiatives in partnership with DFID, UK and EU to improve the governance and implementation of budget were also agreed.

A Community Driven Local Development – Governance Framework was continued giving power to local communities to identify and organize their priorities including initiatives such as Conditional Grants for Health & Elementary and Secondary Education (UNESCO, 2014). The framework emphasized on greater outreach throughout the districts and at the union council level through community organizations. The overall Goal of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Community Driven Local Development Policy is to achieve a sustainable improvement in the coverage and quality of frontline public service delivery through the active involvement of local communities. However the framework is not followed in true spirits.

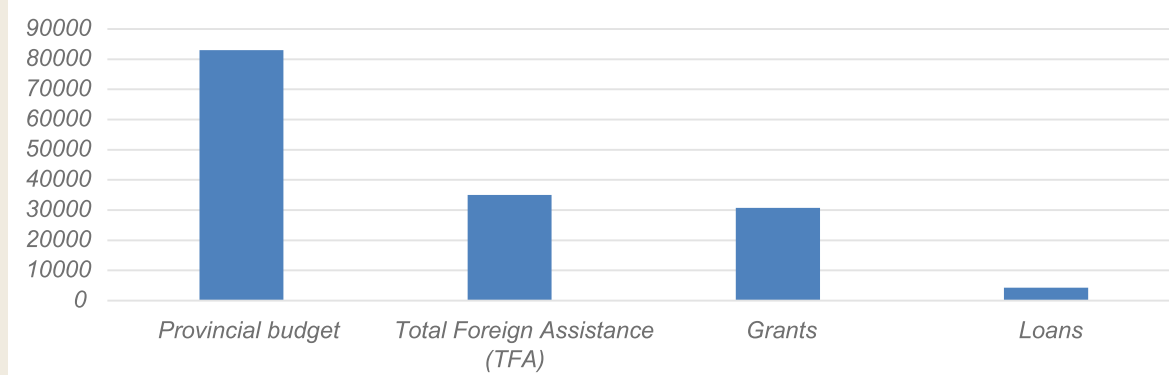
1.7.8.1 Challenges

The white paper clearly outlined and highlighted the challenges faced by the departments in implementation of the budget including:

- i. Policy Formulation and Strategy Development
- ii. Lack of Organizational Capacity to implement the assigned Business
- iii. Lack of Internal Control and Performance Assessment Mechanisms
- iv. Community Participation and Responsiveness; No formal institutional Mechanism of Community Involvement
- v. Centralized System at Provincial Level
- vi. Information/Assessment Capacity
- vii. Regulatory Framework

The budget produced is carbon copy of budget presented by the previous government with just increase in the spending (The Express Tribune, 2013). There was no innovation in the budget as promised by PTI government that could have helped their mandate of change and improve the life standard of the people. Through the financial performance analysis of KP, it is obvious that the government visibly lack capacity to produce long-term plans and create implementation model that will effectively utilize and further create resources. Therefore we can assume that no action /or improvement has been brought in to meet the challenges identified in the white paper.

Sources of Funding of ADP 2013-14 in Rupees



Source: FMIU, KP

1.7.8.2 Economic Reforms

The industrial sector in the KP since long has been struck by many problems due to which gradually industries have had kept on closing down. Resultantly at present more than half of the province's industries have ceased operations (GoP of KP, 2010). The closure in turn has rendered hundreds of thousands of people unemployed. The biggest task therefore, in the area of industries for the new government has been to revive existing closed industries and set up others. These are the two yardsticks of good governance in the industrial sector. Against this backdrop the government took the following steps.

1.7.8.3 Simplification of Investment Procedure

The government announced to simplify the procedure of investment in the province. In this connection it was decided that the extant cumbersome procedures for investors would be put an end to and in its place one window facility would be provided to the investors. (The Nation, 2013). On its part the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Chamber of Commerce and Industries (KPCCI) called for consistency and cohesive approach in official policies for promoting trade and business in the KP, which the government announced to respond to.

1.7.8.4 Reviving the Board of Investment

Although the KP Board of Investment (BOI) was formed by the previous government but it remained dormant and ineffective in bringing any investment to the province. The KP decided to revive the board and appointed a non-political, professional businessman (a chartered accountant) as its head. The gentleman soon disclosed that more than \$10 billion pledges have been made with the provincial government by foreign companies and countries for investment (Mills, 2013). Hardly any pledge has materialized by the end of the year. However, due to opposition from the business community an industrialist replaced the BOI head. This was apparently a very wrong decision because a person who was engaged in negotiations with foreign companies was suddenly replaced by another. The government must have sustainability in its approach to attract foreign investment.

1.7.8.5 Special Package

In order to make the closed industries restart operations the government decided to provide a special package to their owners as an incentive (Business Recorder, 2014). However, by the end of the year the package could not be announced and implemented. Although realization regarding closure of so many industries has been monitored at the top echelons of the PTI government but nothing concrete has been done so far to address the issue.

1.7.9 Labor Market

1.7.9.1 Labor Market Policy

The on-going insurgency has almost dismantled the economic activities of the province. Moreover, the huge influx of the Afghan refugees during 80s and 90s coupled with the migration of FATA residents into the province, due to the worsening law and order situation, have crowded the labor force of the province (ICG, 2013). The current government has not yet managed to produce a fresh Labor policy to meet the challenges the province is facing however, an older policy produced by previous government is overlooked by the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Directorate of Chamber, Commerce and Labor. The department looks after different affairs related to the protection of labor force and is responsible for implementing certain provincial, national and international laws and conventions related to child labor, minimum

wage rate, and conciliation and workers compensation in case of injury or death. However, implementation of the policy is minimal on the ground level with no follow up or monitoring system in place.

1.7.9.2 Youth Unemployment

The on-going insurgency and huge influx of Afghan refugees for the last 30 years have reduced economic activities in the province on one hand while on the other, it has enhanced problems of the labor force. The KP government has started providing unemployment allowance to graduates who have completed 16 years of education worth Rs. 2000 per month till the time they can secure a job (Pakistant Observer, 2013). Moreover, Bank of Khyber has started a loan scheme named "Khudkifalat Scheme" for youth aged 18 - 50 years in an effort to eradicate massive poverty from the province. Despite Government of KP's efforts to improve labor standards and status, the situation of labor force is not up to the mark in the province. Out of 3.73 million unemployed youth workforce aged between 15 and 24 years in Pakistan, 580,000 potential labor force was contributed by KP in FY 2012-13 (Dawn, 2013). The situation in the preceding year was 530,000 unemployed young people in the province. This increase in unemployment can prove devastating for the country as the unemployed youth can go into the hands of the fundamentalists who can use them for their interests hence increasing the chances of terrorism.

1.7.9.3 Unemployment

The Pakistan Labor Force Surveys show that KP has consistently experienced far higher rates of unemployment than the rest of Pakistan (PCNA, 2010). FATA is not included in the surveys, but the issue is likely to be even more pronounced there. Moreover, unemployment is particularly high amongst young men aged 15-29, the main resource pool for militant recruitment.

According to Pakistan Poverty Assessment by World Bank, forthcoming in the second half of 2010 (World Bank, 2011), the "unemployed" comprise all persons ten years of age and above who during the reference period were: i) "Without work" (were not in paid-employment or self-employment); ii) "Currently available for work" (were available for paid employment or self-employment); iii) Not currently available for the following reasons: illness, will take a job within a month, is temporarily laid off, is an apprentice and is not willing to work; or iv) Seeking work during last week.

The unemployment rate is the unemployed population expressed as a percentage of the currently active. The ranks of the unemployed are likely to have risen with the intensification of the crisis in 2009/10, and accelerated growth will be needed to re-absorb workers into productive employment. Even under favorable assumptions about employment growth, the ranks of the unemployed are likely to rise in the coming years. Jobs need to be generated urgently for the 500,000 workers that were unemployed before the crisis, and additionally for those who have become unemployed as a result of the conflict.

1.7.9.4 Employment Rate

On the other hand, the number of people aged 15- 64 years of age employed in KP was around 6.14 million in 2012-13 that increased from 6.05 million in 2011-12 (Dawn, 2013). No up to date data is available from the KP government to show if there has been an increase in the rate of employment as a result of any new policies or reforms introduced.

1.7.9.5 Low Pay Incidence

The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's rapidly growing workforce is largely illiterate and unskilled. This translates into lower productivity of labor and discourages businesses from locating in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and creating jobs in the province. The flip side is that poorly skilled Khyber Pakhtunkhwa migrant workers are unable to secure more skilled, better paying jobs in Pakistani metropolises and the Gulf. The minimum wage rate of unskilled workers as fixed by the new government of KP soon after taking office is Rs. 10,000 / month W.E.F July 1, 2013. The amount was increased from Rs. 8,000. The same rate was adopted by the Punjab government afterwards through a notice issued on September 4, 2013 (The Express Tribune, 2014).

1.7.10 Budgetary Policy

The budget policy of the KP government does not seem to be changed from the previous government. Despite the fact that the revenue and expenditures have been increased, the ratios of revenues and expenditures remain the same. The development expenditure, which was 32.5% of the total expenditure in 2011-12, has been kept almost unchanged at 32% in 2012-13 while the current expenditures that were estimated to be 60% in 2011-12 have been increased to around 63% in 2012-13 (The Express Tribune, 2013).

1.7.10.1 Primary Balance

Like the previous budget of FY 2011-12, the budget surplus of 2012-13 has been estimated to around Rs. 2,675 Million (The Express Tribune, 2013). But this should be noted that the trend analysis of the last 5 to 6 years shows that the estimated surplus always changed to budget deficit in revised budget.

1.7.11 Tax Policy

In its white paper the PTI government introduced a number of new reforms to increase revenue of the province. However, no comprehensive new Tax policy has been introduced as yet. As far the previous tax policy of the Government of KP is concerned, the provincial government can collect income tax, property tax, motor registration tax and sales tax on services. All other taxes collected by the province are transferred to the Federal governments that are then distributed among the provinces in the form of the divisible pool of the NFC awards.

1.7.11.1 KP Revenue Authority

The most important step in the excise and taxation department by the provincial government was to establish the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Revenue Authority. The aim was to increase the revenue base of the provincial government. The revenue authority has been tasked to take Khyber Pakhtunkhwa general sales tax (GST) revenue receipts from Rs. 4.3 billion in the last fiscal year to over Rs 10 billion in next couple of years. It is an extremely important step because without raising local sources and volume of revenue, proper allocation to development, efficient administration and social services cannot be done. This is another important indicator of good governance, which, in fact, has already showing results. According to Director General Exercise and Taxation (E&T) Mohammad Javed Marwat, the authority collected Rs 2.2 billion GST on services within the first four months of its establishment. However, bureaucracy has started hatching conspiracies to wind up the authority. (DAWN, December 04, 2013)

1.7.11.2 Redistribution Effect

Since new NFC award in 2010 after eighteen years, KP has received a windfall gain of its share in the divisible pool. The increase in the share from federal pool considerably enhanced the financial resources at the disposal of the provincial economy. Increase in resources has not been without the

additional responsibilities though. Passage of 18th Amendment in 2011 has transferred many subjects to the province hitherto the sole responsibility of the Federal Government. During the proceedings of the 7th NFC award, a long drawn issue of payment of the net profits on account of Hydel Power Generation to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was resolved. The federal government accepted the arrears payment of Rs. 110 billion as per decision of the Arbitration Tribunal. So far Rs. 85 billion has been paid to the province and remaining Rs. 25 billion would be paid during the financial year 2013-14

Table 3

Multiple Indicator and NFC Award		
S. No	Indicator	% Weight
1	Population	82.00
2.	Poverty / B ackwardness	10.30
3.	Revenue Collection/ Generation	5.00
4	Inverse population density	2.70
Total	Total	100 %

Source: White Paper 17/06/2013

1.7.12 Social Policies

1.7.12.1 Education

Education is another very important sector to assess the quality of governance and performance of a government. In the KP public education since long has been one of the most neglected areas of governance. Over the years various issues have been emerging in the education sector. The PTI-led provincial government has also faced many issues in this regard. Some of the issues associated with the education system of KP are as follows:

- i Absence of teaching staff
- ii Lack of efficient teachers
- iii Substandard quality of education at public institutions
- iv Insufficient infrastructure
- v Ghost schools
- vi Low enrollment
- v Lack of regulation of private schools
- vi Improper utilization of donor funds
- vii Improper service structure in public schools

The following table offers details on the news stories that came out through various media outlets during the period under review:

INTERPRETING THE CHANGE

Table 4

S. No	Events	Frequency
1	Lack of facilities	66
2	Staff shortage	80
3	Corruption	29
4	Rules/Merit Violation	8
5	Schools Closed	11
6	Ghost Schools	7
7	Harassment	2
8	Protests recorded	354
9	Govt. Response	210
10	Terminations	8
11	Transfers/Postings	5
12	Schools Upgraded	1
13	Promotions	3
14	Schools Reopened	1
15	Appointments	6
16	Others	275
17	Dismissals	3
18	Lack of Govt. response	157
	Total	1226

Source: Media Monitoring

Against the backdrop of the above-cited issues the performance of the government could be evaluated by the following actions, which it took during the last six months.

1.7.13 Education Policy

The most important step of the PTI-led KP government in the field of education so far has been the approval of uniform curricular for all the public and private schools in the province. The decision would be implemented from the next academic year (April 1, 2014) wherein English subject would be taught compulsorily at all schools from Grade-1 (The News, 2013) for which 23,000 teachers will have to be trained (The Nation, 2013). This is a very critically needed step as it would put an end to a kind of an educational apartheid in the province where poor, middle class and wealthy families' children have been receiving completely different education while living in the same society and competing for the same jobs. Resultantly, schisms and chasms created in the entire society. In order to overcome the shortage of the teachers the KP Education Department recruited 1000 teachers. In addition the government decided recruitment of 5000 teachers of different cadres on contract basis in the KP (Dawn, 2013). Moreover, in a major decision the government decided to recruit and promote 4545 Senior School Teachers (SSTs) in the province (Mashriq, December, 24, 2013). Subsequently, directives were issued for the promotion of 3315 teachers (The Nation, 2013). These decisions of the government are an indicator of good governance and if properly implemented can reduce consternation within the teaching community and also overcome the shortage of teachers in the public schools.

In order to increase the children enrolment at schools the government started a massive enrolment campaign to put those out of the schools in the educational institutions. The drive was successful as 250,000 children were admitted to schools across the province (The Express Tribune, 2014). It is one of the aspects of

the PTI education policy that instead of constructing new schools and colleges it is better to revive and rejuvenate the existing malfunctioning or abandoned schools. In this regard a girls' school was reopened after 16 years in Charsadda to facilitate hundreds of students from far flung areas (Dawn, 2013). The change in the medium of instruction and contents of the textbooks also remained an important issue during the six months. The teachers demanded Urdu to be the medium whereas government wanted to introduce English language as a medium of instruction. This is a very important and development-oriented move from the government because only through English language the teachers and students and thus the entire society of the KP could be linked up with the wider world and the trends and fashions across the developed world. Following directives of the PTI-led government, Text Book Board has started printing of books in English from Class 1 to Class 4th. As one of the key factors of extremism and terrorism and general large-scale underdevelopment in Pakistan particularly the KP, has been their closed societies, introduction of English language as a medium of instruction could be instrumental in their opening up to physical and intellectual development.

The government in order to improve the qualification and thus quality and capacity of the education institutions announced to provide 150 scholarships for teachers of Education Department, who were enrolled in M. Phil and PhD programmes at various universities. These efforts were aimed at improving the efficiency of the department, which was commendable keeping in view the lack of capacity of the department. In a major decision the government decided to build one new school in each of the 99 provincial assembly constituencies (Jang, December 25, 2013). This is an even-handed approach, which had never been seen in the past as schools would be built in those constituencies wherefrom opposition parties got public representation. In an unprecedented decision the government decided to establish the first university of technical education in the province. This is an indicator of good governance in the education sector as there is a huge shortage of skilled human resource in the province whereas its demand is huge. This decision, if implemented, could immensely reduce unemployment among the young male population of the province. (Mahriq, December 24, 2013). In order to modernize the public education sector the government started maximum use of technology. In this regard online video training for teachers was conducted in Mardan (NaiBaat, December 03, 2013).

During the six months the government took some stringent measures to enforce discipline in the education sector. In this regard 41 absent female teachers were suspended in Batagram District. (Nai Baat, December 13, 2013). The government also took a number of decisions to improve the quality of education. In this regard the most important measure taken by the government was the decision to install close circuit TV (CCTV) cameras in examination halls across the province (Express January 24, 2014) to centrally monitor cheating and use of unfair means in the exams. If properly implemented this measure could go a long way in improving the standard of education in the province. In order to improve education services at government schools and improve the quality of education the government put into place a system of independent monitoring whereby experts would oversee school affairs in the province. In this regard the Elementary and Secondary Education Department finalized a project worth Rs 1.3 billion to be funded by UK's Development Agency, DFID (The Gaurdian, 2014).

1.7.13.1 Education Expenditure

The PTI-led Government has focused more on the education sector. The 2013-14 budgets indicated that Rs. 66 Billion had been kept for education that was 20% of the total KP budget. This has been increased from 6.7 Billion in 2012. There has been a 10 times increase in KP budget in one year. However, as per the ADP expenditure report only 32.85 % has been spent in this financial year.

1.7.13.2 Tertiary Attainment

According to the Annual Development Plan 2014, the KP government has allocated Rs. 5742 million for higher education attainment (The Express Tribune, 2013). As per reports by the finance department, 54.69% of the budget allocated has actually been spent.

1.7.13.3 Pre-Primary Expenditure

A total of Rs. 8,132 Million have been allocated for Primary and Secondary education in KP in the Annual Development Plan. In the Peshawar district, the PTI-led government increased primary and secondary budget by 85% with much emphasis on the secondary education at 53% of the total (GoP, 2014). This shows that the government has been determined to reduce literacy rate of the province.

1.7.14 Social Inclusion Policy

Minorities in Pakistan have suffered inequality at local and government level. Even though no comprehensive social inclusion policy has yet been introduced by the government of KP but in an effort to improve the situation, the CM KP announced that the job quota in government offices for minorities has been increased from 1% to 3% (The Nation, 2014). The government also announced a special package of Rs 20 Million to start up various development projects for the Kalash community including rehabilitation of irrigation channels and up gradation of Government middle school in Rumbur to the high level. Similar incentives are being taken for Sikh community residing in various parts of KP as well.

1.7.14.1 Poverty Rate

The poverty rate of KP has increased from 41.06% in 2011 to 41.71 in 2013 with KP scoring highest in poverty rate just after Baluchistan. The PTI government, in its Annual Development Plan (ADP) 2013-14 has allocated PKR. 2 Billion for starting new poverty alleviation plans contributing a total of 16% of the total allocation of the ADP with the objective of reducing poverty to half within the next three years (GoP, 2014). As part of this initiative, the PTI government decided to pay Rs. 2000 per month to all unemployed graduates who have completed Master's Degree (16 years of education) till the time they get employed.

1.7.14.2 Gender Equality

a) In the Parliament

The government of KP has 22 out of 124 seats reserved specifically for women. In the General elections of May 2013, the PTI grabbed a majority of 10 women seats while PML-N and JUI were second with 3 seats each (UNESCO, 2014). As far as active participation is concerned, the PTI-led KP government has not allocated any ministry to any female MPA.

The Provincial Commission on the Status of Woman KP was formed under Act 2009 (GoP, 2009). The very objective of the commission is to review legislation for women, assess government programmes and projects for women development, monitor and review institutional processes for social care and justice for women. The commission follows the same law as introduced by the National Commission on Status of Woman, with no changes to adapt to provincial requirements. The new board set up by the KP government has failed to introduce any new policy for development and to counter issues faced by women.

b) In the Society

Keeping in view the general pathetic condition and status of women in the ultraconservative society of the KP and extremely low literacy rate among the female population of the province, policy and planning to improve the living standard of women become all the more important. However, in the first six months of the PTI-led provincial government no concrete policy and plans regarding women development could be observed. Nevertheless, the government was proactive when there were instances of Swara in Swat and a slapping of a girl student by a professor at the Khyber Medical University for observing veil.

In this regard the PTI government has so far been unable to come up with viable projects and schemes to contribute to the social welfare of the womenfolk in the province.

Table 5

Woman Affairs			
S.No	Nature	Stories in Number	Fact & Figures
1	Honor Killing	43	Killed 63, Injured 11
2	violence	6	
3	Lack of Govt.Response	34	
4	Rape Cases	10	15 Rapped
5	Swara Cases	4	07 Swaras
6	Protest	17	
7	Harassment	2	
10	Govt Response	9	
11	Others	20	
	Total	145	

Source: Media Monitoring

1.7.15 Health

1.7.15.1 Health Policy

Delivery of basic health facilities to the common man is a top agenda item of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, as the party chief Imran Khan himself is the architect of the great success story in the health sector of Pakistan—Shaukat Khanam Memorial Trust Cancer Hospital. During the last six months, a number of new issues emerged in the health sector of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. Other persisted from the previous months while certain positive measures were also recorded in improving health service delivery in the province.

1.7.15.2 Allocation on Health Programs

The ADP 2013-14 shows that a total of Rs. 10.1 Billion have been allocated for health-related projects in the province. The present government has increased health budget from Rs. 7.5 Billion to 19.1 Billion in the Budget 2013-14 (GoP, 2014). This makes more than 200% increase in health expenditure by the PTI led government. This drastic increase in health budget shows PTI's concern for the deteriorating health situation of the province. Further bifurcation of health expenditures is as follows:

- i Health Insurance Scheme for 20% poor against fatal diseases in selected districts: Rs 500 million
- ii Insulin For Life' initiative for poor patients of Diabetes: Rs 25 million
- iii Special initiative on Prenatal healthcare for poor women in 10 deserving districts: Rs 300 million

INTERPRETING THE CHANGE

- iv Financial incentives for immunization course to poor in 10 deserving districts: Rs 200 million
- v Up scaling of Emergency Wards in all District Head Quarters hospitals: Rs 1 billion
- vi Professional Administrative Units in all tertiary hospitals in the province
- vii Establishment of a comprehensive Referral System in the province
- viii Cancer and Hepatitis treatment for poor: Rs 675 million
- ix Integrated Vertical Program for consolidation of health institutions: Rs 7.99 billion

According to financial reports 45.89% of the allocated budget on health has been spent in this financial year. To gauge the government performance on health front, a thorough monitoring of media outlets was carried out. A total of 1256 stories related to various health issues were reported during the period under review. The details are given under different heads in the table given below:

News Stories Monitored on Different Issues of Health		
S. No	Events	Frequency
1	Lack of Facilities	64
2	Staff Shortage	64
3	Dengue fever	38
4	Cango Virus	6
5	Polio	8
6	7Measles	5
7	Swine Flu	3
8	Threats	2
9	Ghost Health Centers	2
10	Merit Violation	1
11	Rules Violation	4
12	Corruption	17
13	Protests	244
14	Govt. Actions	297
15	Appointments	7
16	Termination	5
17	Transfers/Postings	2
18	Promotions	2
19	Dismissals	1
20	Others	272
21	Lack of Govt. Response	212
	Total	1256

Source: Media Monitoring

1.7.16 Safe Living Conditions

KP has seen the most terrorist attacks in the country since the war on terror started. Around 12000 people have been killed in different incidents including blasts; suicide attacks; firing incidents etc. This casualty rate is the highest as compared to other areas of the country with 2013 being the deadliest. This shows that the security situation of KP is not up to mark and the province is not a safe place to live in. The following table is reflective of the grim security situation in the province.

Table 7

Security Situation				
S. No	Events	Killed	Injured	Casualties/Destruction/ Actions
2005	2	0	2	4
2006	60	13	27	100
2007	393	221	372	986
2008	868	255	1078	2201
2009	1229	471	3797	5497
2010	607	96	509	1212
2011	511	331	364	1206
2012	363	98	195	656
2013	603	172	161	936
2014	103	42	12	157
Total	4739	1699	6517	12955

Source: SATP, *Data till February 16, 2014

1.7.16.1 Homicides

KP being a front-line province in the war against terrorism has performed poor in terms of law and order situation. Since 2005, there have been more than 12000 people killed in the province of which 4,739 were civilians, 1699 security forces personnel while a total of 6,517 militants have also been killed in different operations. The year 2008 was the deadliest with a total of 2201 casualties, mostly civilians. The situation bettered off in 2012 when the casualties declined to 656. The next year the fatalities again rose to 936 with more than 600 civilians (The Express Tribune, 2013). In 2014, 103 civilians have been killed in different incidents of violence till the first half of February (FRC, 2014). The figures show that the situation that was improving during the last government again started deteriorating after the PTI government assumed charge of the province.

1.7.16.2 Confidence in Police

PTI came into power with the promise of bringing change in government administration. Keeping in view that promise, the IGP of KP, soon after assuming the charge, brought many changes in his department. Some of his major reforms include merit-based appointments of SHOs, removal of corrupt police officials and establishment of public-police complaint cells (The Express Tribune, 2014). Moreover, accountability commission has been setup at central level and disciplinary committees at regional level to check corruption in the department and remove corrupt and incompetent officers. These steps have a profound effect on the overall performance of the police in KP. It also greatly restored public confidence in the police. Credit also goes to the PTI government for minimum political interference in police reforms.

1.7.16.3 Environmental Policy

The environmental degradation during the past few decades have posed serious threats to the economy of Pakistan in general and KP in particular. The PTI led KP government has initiated the "Green Growth Initiative" to cater the deteriorating environmental challenges (The Nation, 2014). The provincial government has set up an Inter-Ministerial Committee and a Task Force on Green Growth, with the chief minister as its chair, to run the initiative. The Green Growth Initiative (GGI) aims to boost the province's socio-economic development by efficiently using natural resources without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. The exact costs of the initiative have not yet been worked

out but the provincial government estimated it to be at 40 billion to 60 billion Pakistani rupees (about \$390 million – \$590 million) over five years. The financing would come through reallocation of existing funds to increase budgets for forestry and clean energy, as well as attracting private-sector investment in waste management and carbon sequestration, leveraging market funding for commercial projects such as hydroelectricity and solar energy, and seeking funding from donors. The environmental policy of the incumbent government is no doubt a positive initiation to cater the exacerbating environmental issue but it lack of an action plan, budgets and timelines to ensure effective and timely implementation. Moreover, environmentalists and policy experts are raising questions about how the funds to implement the policy would be generated and also whether KP has the capacity and expertise to put it to practice.

Green Growth Initiative, a major campaign, aims at increasing the proportion of the province's land under forest from 20 percent to 22 percent by 2018 (Dawn, 2014). This will entail converting at least 30,000 hectares (74,000 acres) of additional land into forest every year and planting a total of 2 billion trees. In this regard recently, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa wildlife department has set up 200 'school nature clubs' in the province to engage teachers and students in conservation and the promotion of wildlife and the environment.

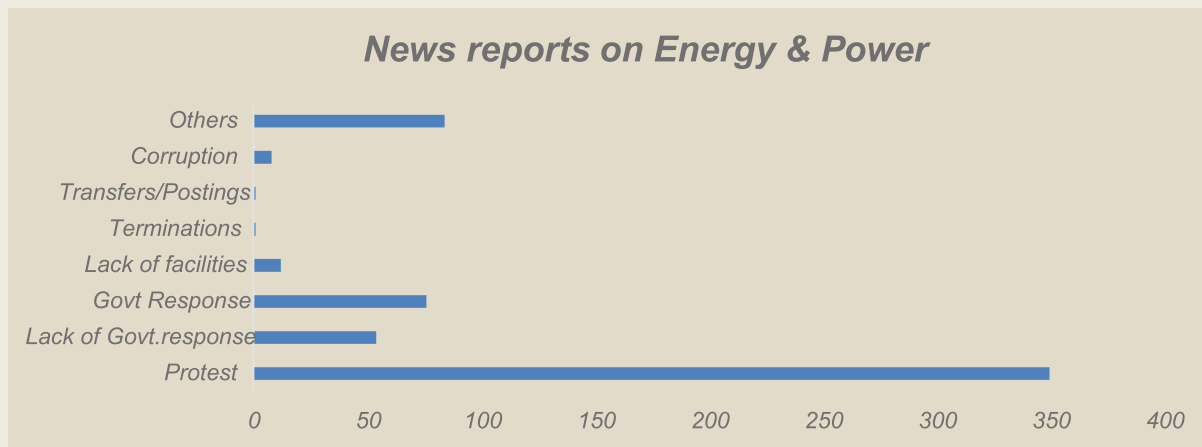
This is only possible if the incumbent government will devised an effective strategy to contain the timber mafia, which has cleansed decades-old forests over thousands of hectares. This would require exemplary punishments for the timber mafia and corrupt forest officials otherwise the dream of green Pakistan will go in drain. The PTI, the government in northwest Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province banned logging, prohibited saw machines and stopped issuing transport permits in an effort to protect forests in Hazara. But illegal tree felling continued unchecked in the region as the powerful timber mafia - with the support of local government and police officials - openly defied the rules (HRCP, 2013). This clearly portrays the inefficiency of PTI led KP government in pursuing the Green Growth Initiative in the province.

1.7.16.4 Energy Productivity

To explore and develop the hydropower potential in the province, the then Government of Khyber Pukhtunkhawa created the Small Hydel Development Organization in 1986-87 which was later on converted to Pakhtunkhwa Hydel Development Organization (PHYDO), an autonomous body under the PHYDO Act 1993 amended in 2013. A thirteen member Board of Directors under the chairmanship of the Chief Minister Khyber Pukhtunkhawa governs PHYDO.

The KP has an abundant potential of energy and power. Already it has been producing hydroelectric power and natural gas far more than its consumption. The known potential of hydroelectric power in the province is more than 50,000 megawatts at least, which is more than double the existing consumption of the entire country. Whereas, the success rate of oil and gas wells and exploration is one of the best in the region. Against this backdrop the indicators of good governance of the PTI government in this area are quite quantitative and concrete that is how many watts of electricity and cubic feet of gas it adds to the system. So far there are no figures in this regard. However, the provincial organization dealing with hydroelectric power that is KP Hydro Power Development Organization could be seen quite active. But on the other hand this government could not form the provincial oil and gas regulatory authority, which was extremely important, long overdue and on which significant amount of work has already been done. A key issue in developing the hydroelectric sector for the provincial government is

lack of finances while the PTI government has assumed a very rational stance. It argues that as the province is already producing power more than its requirement and while it does not have resources to develop projects for tapping the potential, it needs not to do what is not advantageous and at the same time require finances, which the province does not have. Therefore, the PTI government has been asking the federal government to provide funds or itself develop hydroelectric power producing projects in the KP to overcome the acute shortage of energy in the country. Moreover, it has also asked the federal government to increase its share of the profit of hydroelectric power projects already producing power but is under the operational control of the federal government. All these legitimate and just demands of the PTI government have fallen on deaf ears in Islamabad. (The Nation, 2014)



Source: Media Monitoring

1.7.16.5 Energy Plan

As discussed above, the main focus of the PTI-led KP government has been on using hydel sources for electricity generation in the province.

The KP government approved an extensive energy plan. The key feature of the plan was that Rs. 10 billion would be given to oil and gas companies for exploration of oil and gas and to set up small hydroelectric power stations (The Express Tribune, 2013). Despite of the above-mentioned reservations regarding establishing new hydroelectric power stations, the KP government still decided to construct 370 small hydropower units (Dawn, 2014) so that to earn profits. Micro hydroelectric power projects worth Rs. 50 billion in KP are in progress, which will generate 50 megawatts of electricity. It is important to understand that the previous governments were not interested in developing the hydro sector in the province because such projects take many years to complete by which time the party in power is no more in the saddle while the rival party forming the next government takes undue credit by inaugurating these projects. However, the PTI government eyes hefty profits of around Rs 30 billion from the small projects it is establishing by 2018 (Dawn, 2013) by which time the party would no more be in power.

The provincial government took two important steps of reorganizing KP Hydro Power Development Organization and restructuring of provincial oil company. If these decisions are implemented they could go a long way in increasing the production of cheap hydroelectric power and oil in the provinces and would be significant in increasing the revenues of the province.

1.8 Governance

1.8.1 Strategic Capacity

1.8.1.1 Provincial Strategic Planning

As far as the strategic planning is concerned, The Planning & Development Department is the major policy decision-making stakeholder especially in the field of development in the Province. It is responsible for the implementation and monitoring of the overall development plans of the government.

It plays the most important role in policy making (provincial and sectoral policies, priorities for projects according to the required resources), in appraisal and processing of development projects/schemes, in implementation (monitoring releases and inter-sectoral re-appropriation and in evaluation). The approval of ADP compilation, allocation of funds, and recommendation for approval are some of the important activities of the Department.

However, the department has not done well in producing a holistic vision for the province. The department mainly focused on conventional bureaucratic tools, tackling the challenges through the piece meal engineering approach. The department has introduced selective reforms in different departments as compared to a vision that could translate change led by the PTI government. Despite having numerous studies and tools adapted by the previous government P & D could not optimally perform to produce the desired results. And one of the evidence for the under-performance can be accessed through the under spending of the ADP.

Furthermore, the outcome objectives defined by the government in the Strategic Development Partnership document, the department could only make progress in two objectives i.e. (3) & (5). Whereas, the remaining six (1), (2), (4), (6), (7) & (8) are still far from reality (Refer to methodology section 1.5)

1.8.1.2 Scholarly Advice

As per the rules of the game, Planning and development Department plans the policies relating to development and the policies are thus formed and amended only after consultation with the CM and the provincial cabinet.

The existing KP government formed strategic planning working groups by taking Civil Society members on board. But such working groups have just concentrated on the planning stage while they lack the capacity to implement processes.

1.8.2 Inter-ministerial Coordination

1.8.2.1 Line Ministries

After 18th amendment in the constitution of 1973, a total of 17 more departments devolved to the provinces and the number of provincial subjects increased. Many important departments are now working under the supervision of provincial government. These ministries include health, education, exercise and taxation, population welfare and others. Each department is headed by a secretary and the employees are public servants of KP government.

1.8.2.2 Departmental Coordination

In order to maintain smooth working of the government, the KP government has an Administration department that is headed by the Chief secretary of the province. The administration department is responsible for coordination between different departments of the province, defining scope and duties of each department, interpretation of rules and regulations relating to departmental working as well as postings and transfers of civil servants in the province.

1.8.2.3 Cabinet Committees

As such the KP government does not have any cabinet committees but standing committees. Standing committees constitute an integral part of the legislative process and the number of committees equals the number of government departments. There were about 36 standing committees in the previous KP Assembly. The present PTI-led government announced that it will constitute standing committees during the first session of the assembly but till December 2013, the coalition as well as the opposition in KP Assembly failed to nominate members of leaders of any of the standing committees (The Express Tribune, 2013). This delay has also affected the business of the house, which routinely refers matters to the concerned committees. The queries then remain pending subject to notification of these committees. Though the government has appointed a number of parliamentary secretaries and advisors but so far the speaker and Chief Minister have not fulfilled their constitutional responsibility to form committees and nominate its chairmen.

These committee include standing committee on agriculture, commerce and investment, communications & works, culture and youth affairs, education, environmental protection, excise & taxation, finance, food, forestry and fisheries, health, home affairs, housing, urban development and public health engineering, industries, information, information technology, irrigation and power, labor and human resource, law & parliamentary affairs, literacy primary education, livestock and dairy development, local government and rural development, mines and minerals, planning & development, population welfare, religious affairs and Auqaf, Revenue, Social Welfare, Women Development & Bait-ul-Maal, special education, sports, tourism, transport and wildlife.

1.8.2.4 Ministerial Bureaucracy

The Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf may pride itself on achieving the seemingly unthinkable objective of bringing in good governance to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and putting an end to political interference but a letter addressed to Chief Minister Mr Pervez Khattak by his now former chief secretary presents what an officer described as a damning indictment and charge-sheet of his rule.

In his letter, the ex-chief secretary recalled his appointment by the federal government on the recommendation of the PTI leadership “with a clear understanding that a reform agenda of its government focusing on transparency was to be implemented”. He further added that “My endeavors to implement the proclaimed reform agenda was publically appreciated by the PTI chairman, but the strenuous efforts of my team soon fell casualty to political expediency” (Dawn, 2014). Ultimately Mr. Arbab Shehzad had clashes with the Chief Minister and had to step down from his post.

1.8.3 Implementation

1.8.3.1 Government Efficiency

As discussed earlier, the government of KP has spent time and efforts in making working groups and committees but they have not been able to implement the programmes planned during the planning process. The implementation inefficiency can be attributed to the fact that the PTI-led government had not been able to form standing committees for six months after taking power.

Moreover, due to capacity constraint of the public servants and of the government, there is difficulty in making and implementing policies. As a result the government is unable to achieve its strategic and operational goals and objectives.

Table 8

News reports on Government Efficiency		
S. No	Events	Frequency
1	Lack of Facilities	33
2	Staff shortage	3
3	Corruption	16
4	Merit Violation	1
5	Protest	138
6	Govt. Actions	71
7	Terminations	11
8	Others	213
9	Dismissals	2
10	Lack of Govt. Response	204
	Total	692

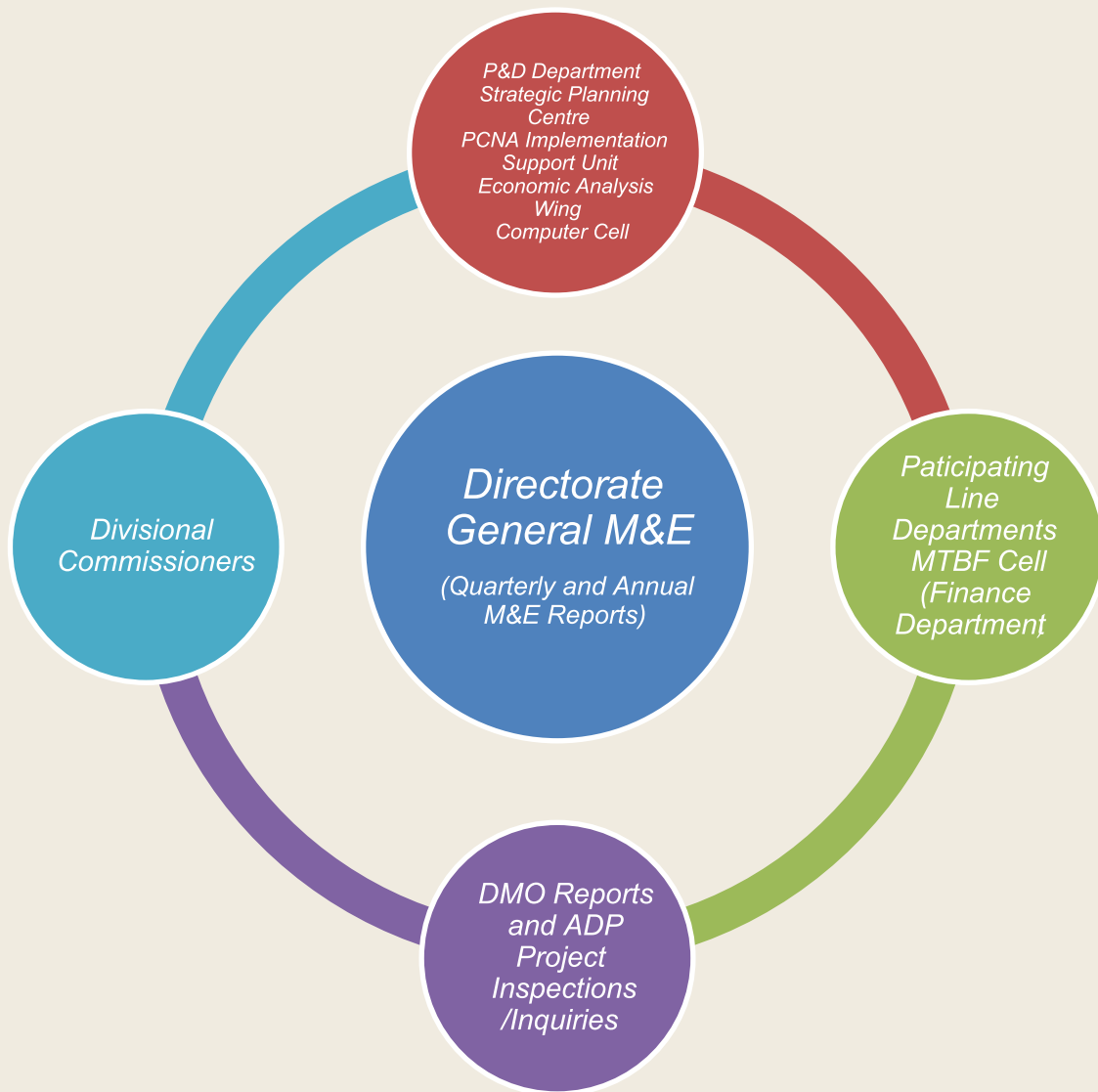
Source: Media Monitoring

1.8.3.2 Monitoring Ministries

There is a special inspection team in the CM secretariat that is responsible for monitoring of ministries. Practically the ministries work on the basis of self-monitoring and the present PTI-led government has brought no apparent change in the existing culture.

There is also a Directorate General of Monitoring & Evaluation set up under the Planning & Development Department of KP. According to DG M&E “the objective of the department is to establish a rigorous and responsive Monitoring and Evaluation system in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa for the development projects funded under the Provincial ADP/PSDP.” In January 2012, the department produced comprehensive guidelines for the operationalization of the M & E Framework of the Government of KP. The document outlines the responsibilities of the department and a monitoring framework that includes stages of monitoring reports and planning cycle clearly indicting the necessity of producing quarterly and annual reports.

1.8.4 Directorate General Linkages for M&E



The document also identifies the monitoring tools, the quarterly report structure, and the annual report structure, its responsibility to report against CDS, OBB, Gender and ADP.

As per diagram below, taken from the M & E Guideline document, the department is also responsible for collecting and presenting data right from Tehsil level.

INTERPRETING THE CHANGE

1.8.4.1 The Data Flow to the Directorate General M&E



A number of other well-written documents have been produced by this department, however; the sad part is that no monitoring reports have been produced after 2011. According to their website 93 projects have been visited during 2013 – 2014 however, details of those projects or the monitoring reports of the projects are missing.

Also, the department monitor and evaluate based on financial spending but no impact assessment of the projects is being carried out by M & E Department or any other governmental department.

1.8.4.2 Monitoring Agencies, Bureaucracies

The National Accountability Bureau is an anti-corruption organization. It is charged with the responsibility of elimination of corruption through a holistic approach of awareness, prevention and enforcement. It operates under the National Accountability Ordinance -1999. With its headquarter at Islamabad, it has four regional offices in the provincial capitals and one at Rawalpindi.

1.8.4.3 National and Provincial Standards

There are no national standards that are being pursued especially in terms of social policies. However, the PTI-led government has been determined to improve literacy and health situation in the province.

According to the Annual Development Plan 2014, the KP government plans to reduce poverty to half by 2015 while increasing literate and healthy workforce in the province.

1.8.5 Organizational Reforms

1.8.5.1 Institutional Reforms

The PTI-led government has not worked much for institutional reforms in the province. Working groups that include civil society members have been made but a reform agenda has not still been developed. The working groups established have just been confined to the planning process.

1.8.5.2 Corruption Prevention

After the elections of 2008, ANP and PPP formed a coalition government in the center as well as in the KP government. The ANP-PPP coalition government attracted criticism from opposition members because they were complaining of the use of development funds only in the ANP and PPP constituencies (PILDAT, 2013); however, as a whole it succeeded in maintaining a good working relationship with the opposition parties and one can easily see its fruit in the nomination of Justice (retired) Tariq Pervaiz as a consensus candidate for the caretaker CM slot through consultation between the CM Amir Haider Khan Hoti and opposition leader Akram Khan Durrani.

The tales of corruption were so common that even a simple man knew that jobs were openly on sale during the ex-coalition government's five-year rule and allegedly every minister, MPA and even the district and tehsil level office bearers of both the parties remained busy lining their pockets. Some influential persons, not part of government or members of parliament, became famous for their corruption.

Imran Khan came up with the Jargon of eliminating corruption within 90 days. Soon after assuming office, the PTI led coalition government took necessary measures to eradicate corruption from the province. These measures were based on "Zero Tolerance against corruption" and included police reforms, Access to Information Act 2013 and reprimanding bureaucrats and politicians for corruption. In November 2013, the KP government decided to list 20 most corrupt officers in KP administration and sacks them while PTI ended collation with Quomi Watan Party (QWP) after sacking two of their ministers on charges of corruption.

Despite efforts by the KP government, cases of corruption remained and there have been complaints of corruption in administration one of which included a PTI supporter writing a letter to KP Governor indicating corruption in Passport office Mardan where officials demanded fuel for office generator from an applicant of passport. Media has been leaking reports of corruption within various government departments.

1.8.6 Media

1.8.6.1 Media Freedom

There has never been an issue of freedom of media in KP as well as the entire country especially after Musharraf era. Even before that print media was free but Musharraf granted complete freedom to electronic media as well. Since then media is playing a vibrant role in the country. In KP media is free and there are no censorships on the direction of government. All newspapers are distributed in all the

districts of the province and cable operators are free to air all news channels. The freedom of media has been further strengthened in PTI-led government indirectly after the Right to Information Bill 2013 has been passed in the Province.

1.8.6.2 Media Pluralism

Quite a few Newspapers including The Statesman, The Frontier Post and Daily Mashriq originate from Peshawar while many national newspapers are also published and circulated in KP. Khyber TV is a Pashto language channel from KP while other national news channels are also aired through cable operators in the province. Moreover, many FM Radio channels are also aired in KP.

1.8.6.3 Access to Government Information

Article 19A of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan provides that every citizen shall have the right to access to information in all matters of public importance, subject to regulation and reasonable restrictions imposed by law (CPDI-CWP , 2013). To ensure transparency of information which is vital to the functioning of democracy and also to improve governance, reduce corruption, and to hold Government, autonomous and statutory organizations and other organizations and institutions run on Government or foreign funding, more accountable to its citizens, the RTI bill was unanimously passed by the K-P Assembly on October 31 2013 (GoP, 2013). The ordinance says that notwithstanding anything contained in any other law for the time being in force, and subject to this Ordinance, no applicant shall be denied access to any information. To ensure the access of information to the masses, each public body shall maintain its own official website, containing complete details about its organizational structure, functions, budget, names, designations, telephones and e-mails addresses of its key officers particularly the designated Public Information Officer. The KP government should constitute an information commission known as KP information commission to perform the functions assigned to it under the ordinance. However, information related to defense and security, personal information which has no relation to public information, risk to life, obstruct or impede the prevention or detection of criminal offence, indictment for criminal, offence, pre-trial proceedings, trial execution of sentence enforcement of punishment, any other legal proceedings, unbiased treatment or a fair trial and risk the life, health, safety or another vital interests of a person will not be made public.

1.8.6.4 Media Reporting

Effective Media reporting is very much there in all the districts of KP. Media reporters of different newspapers and news channels have access to all areas of the province and due to efficient communication techniques; live reporting is also carried out. Press clubs are there at district levels that provide reporters of different newspapers and news channel a chance to share their reporting.

1.8.6.5 Newspaper Circulation

Almost all newspapers published in Pakistan and specially those of national level are available and circulated in all the districts of KP and there is no issue or ban in any of these newspapers.

1.8.6.6 Quality Newspapers

Due to tough competition and vibrant media structure of Pakistan, the quality of newspapers published in KP are of good quality and present independent views and news that are accessible to the residents of KP.

1.8.7 Civil Rights

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Right to Public Services Ordinance, 2013 is an ordinance to provide for delivery of public services to the people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa within the stipulated time limit, including liabilities of Government servants in case of default, administrative efficiency and for the matters connected therewith and incidental thereto (GoP, 2014). It will improve service delivery and restore confidence of common man in public offices and make government functionaries responsive to the needs and aspiration of public. According to its draft, the ordinance would empower every citizen in the province to lodge complaint against the failure of the officials with the appellate authority, which would include the administrative secretary or such person or authority specified by the government. Moreover, it will also entitle the people to claim compensation from the concerned officers for their failure to provide or delay in providing public service. It may also impose Rs1000 for each day of delay or Rs. 25000, whichever is less in case of delay or continuous failure, in providing public and Rs. 25, 000 for deficiency in public service provided (GoP, 2014). The law will also provide for the establishment of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Grievance Redressal Commission comprising of a chief commissioner and not less than two grievance redressal commissioners appointed by the government after consultations with the leader of the opposition in the provincial assembly.

The commission will receive complaints directly against the public servants functioning within the province. It will also hear appeals against the orders of the Appellate Authority; ensure speedy remedy of grievance and payment of compensation for the delayed delivery of service by any public authority.

1.8.7.1 Political Liberties

Political liberty has been effectively there in KP and any resident has the right to vote his / her own choice candidate on the basis of adult franchise system of voting. All parties respect the rights of citizens and even minorities are protected in KP. Any terrorist attack or other violence against any sect of minority is condemned by all political parties and they support the victims (The News, 2013).

1.8.7.2 Non-Discrimination

KP is home not only to different sub-casts of Pakhtuns but people belonging to other ethnic groups like Hazarawals, Punjabis and even Sikhs and Hindus also live here with mutual understanding. Peshawar is home to many Sikhs and Hindus who are even actively participating in the economic activities (The Express Tribune, 2013). Most bazaars of Peshawar have many shops owned by Sikhs.

1.8.8 Legislation

During the last few months, most important developments have been monitored in the Law department. A number of important legislations like the Local Government Law, Right to Information (RTI) laws were promulgated whereas some other laws were being formulated. The most important are the Right to Public Service Ordinance (The Express Tribune, 2013) and Conflict of Interest Law. Moreover, some very important departments were either established or approval given for their formation. The KP government passed eight law bills in six months. (Express, December 08, 2013), which is a significant achievement. However in some of the departments such as Irrigation, Forests and Labour ministers no such bigger activities of special mention could be monitored during the period under review. (Nai Baat, February, 01, 2014)

1.8.8.1 KP Accountability Commission

The government announced to set up an independent accountability commission in the province. In this regard much of the homework has been done while the draft was also advertised so as to accommodate suggestions from the public and legal brains. If the commission is set up, it would bring a lot of

improvement in governance by subjecting the public servants and departments to constant accountability. In this context it is a very tangible indicator of good governance in the province. During this period the government took steps for the approval of Ehtisab (Accountability) Commission law from the legislature (Daily Mashriq, 2013).

1.8.8.2 Special Anti-Terror Force

Keeping in view the profoundly sensitive problem of terrorism the KP sets up 2400-strong special anti-terror force (The News, 2014).

1.8.8.3 Anti-Corruption Commission

During the period the government also decided to soon set-up an anti-corruption commission. (The Nation, 2013). In addition to the commission, the government, in order to fight corruption decided to set up Ehtisab (accountability) courts. The courts would be empowered to disqualify anyone convicted under the Accountability Commission Act 2013 (The Express Tribune, 2013). This may be more effective as the existing anti-corruption department performance for decades has left a lot to be desired.

1.8.8.4 Provincial Anti-Narcotics Force

The government decided to form its own anti-narcotics force, as the existing one is a federal entity and could not be that effective as it should have been. This is an extremely important development keeping in view the large-scale production of poppy and heroin in the contiguous largely lawless FATA region which mostly enter the KP from there (Dawn, 2013).

1.8.8.5 Provincial Civil Service Structure

The provincial civil service structure has been marred by many problems due to which the functionality of the government departments has greatly affected. In fact, there is no uniform civil service structure in the province. On this count no efforts have been initiated as yet by the PTI government, which was expected so as to prove that the change the PTI claimed it would bring in a few months, has arrived. The complex and strange structure of the civil service compelled the PHC to seek service structure policy for government employees in the KP (The Express Tribune, 2013).

1.9 Parties & Interest Associations

1.9.1 Intra – Party Democracy

Like the politics of rest of the country, political parties in KP had always been based on hereditary structure of leadership. But family politics is less strictly followed in KP unlike other provinces. KP is dominated by three main political parties namely JUI-F, JI and ANP. Of these only ANP adhered to strict hereditary politics while JI is completely opposite. The JUI-F has hereditary political structure but to a lesser extent. However, PTI has changed the political culture not only in KP but also in the country. PTI that has emerged as the third largest political party in the country after PPP and PML-N, has introduced a concept of intra-party democracy. The chairman of the party cannot hold office for more than two terms and intra-party elections decide the chairman. Moreover, PTI's initiative to induct young blood into its lines has also changed the tradition of elderly people playing in the political arena of the country.

1.9.2 Civil Society Strength

As discussed above, the PTI-led government has taken an initiative to strengthen the civil society by constituting working groups composed of members of civil society. But their role has just been confined to planning while implementation is still in the hands of the bureaucracy.

1.10 Major Findings

- a. Health and Education are visibly the priority areas of the provincial government
- b. It has been observed that corruption is on decline in the province
- c. PTI government is largely relying on the Incremental policy as compared to Fundamental policy change, which is contrary to the original slogan for which PTI was voted in
- d. Due to lack of experience in state Management/ craft ship, PTI government is not achieving the optimal results
- e. Provincial government is deficient of integrated strategic visioning and planning
- f. Provincial government is lacking in inter and intra departmental coordination
- g. The political mangers are not managing the public managers /bureaucracy proficiently, therefore government budgets for the year 2013-14 are still unspent by over 50%
- h. Even though there is an independent Monitoring department, it is not functioning optimally therefore quarterly monitoring reports are not published accordingly as defined in the mandate
- i. The websites of most of the departments are not updated with requisite information despite the introduction of Right to information bill 2013
- j. Government is seriously deficient of innovation in budgeting and economic policies
- k. Government has yet to plan on introducing a comprehensive youth engagement program (both economically and social socially) to avoid them from being spoiled at the hands of spoliars
- l. Mines/ minerals and tourism, the potential high growth sectors are not optimally contributing to the economic growth of the province. The policy for mines and minerals was not endorsed by the local stakeholders whereas tourism policy is still awaited.
- m. There is no planning process observed/anticipation planning for the capacity building of the newly elected Local government representative in the upcoming local government elections
- n. Law and order and Public safety has been a serious concern through the length of the government.

1.11 Recommendations

- a. Invest In People – Strengthening human development strategy and ensuring its reach through special efforts to the most disadvantaged segments of the society, which will contribute to economic development in the province
- b. Women Development – Introduce targeted programmes to improve access to services for women, employment, finance & business development opportunities, fair access to politics and equal access to opportunity to involve at policy / strategic and decision making level
- c. Improve decision Making Model
- d. Shift from “Incremental alternatives” as compared to “fundamental alternatives” that translate “the Change”
- e. Introducing a new Public Administration Model to improve the efficiency of Public Managers/Bureaucracy
- f. Local Government System be put in place as soon as possible
- g. Present a plan that addresses issues on long term basis rather than short term plan
- h. Define a clear monitoring and tracking system
- i. Prepare consolidated budget performance report
- j. Increase use of performance audits and programme reviews
- k. Conduct impact assessment of social impact
- l. Set up consequences of poor performance
- m. Introduce monetary and non–monetary incentives and invest in people to improve retention
- n. Introduce administrative evaluations, which combine different types of monitoring and impact assessment activities on the part of public managers
 - i. Effort evaluations are attempts to measure the quantity of program inputs-personnel, office space, communication and transportation
 - ii. Performance evaluations examine program outputs-such as the number of hospital beds or places in schools or numbers of patients seen or children taught
 - iii. Process evaluation examines the organizational methods including rules and operating procedures, used to deliver programs
 - iv. Efficiency evaluation attempt to assess the costs of a program and judge if the same amount and quality of outputs could be achieved more efficiently, that is, at a lower cost. Input and output evaluations are the building blocks of this form of evaluation.
 - v. Adequacy of performance evaluations (also known as effectiveness evaluations) compare the performance of a given program to its intended goals in order to determine whether the program is meeting its goals and/or whether the goals need to be adjusted in the light of the programs accomplishments.
- o. Overseas Pakistanis – an asset: More needs to be done on revenue generation within the province. This additional revenue can create more economic development opportunities for young people as well as focus on special project as per local communities' requirement. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf has somewhat failed to utilize its biggest asset i.e. overseas Pakistanis. The variety of skills on offer by overseas Pakistanis is probably the most beneficial for PTI and its government in KP.

INTERPRETING THE CHANGE

The overseas Pakistanis can also:

- i. Raise development funds as they have been doing so in the past
- ii. Offer their skills in establishing better governance system
- iii. Help in implementation of programmes
- iv. Provide mentoring and capacity building of politicians, bureaucracy and administration
- v. Invest in KP in high end sectors such as mines & minerals
- vi. Introduce foreign investment

p. Introduction to Right to Service Framework

A right to service framework needs to be introduced making public services accessible for people of KP. This should include:

- i. An accountability mechanism
- ii. Introduction of a time frame to ensure a timely service to service users
- iii. Impose penalty on service providers for non-compliance
- vi. Outline the provision for grievance redress and appeals
- v. Issue acknowledgement receipt

q. Develop effective managerial and accountability systems that are facilitative of “network capacity,” which is likely to be the critical capacity necessary in multi-stakeholder implementation challenge

1.12 Annexures

1.12.1 Annex I

1.12.1.1 KP GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE: OBSERVATIONS FROM ROUNDTABLES

Although the objective analysis based on the extensive monitoring of the newspapers over the six months, to a great extent, explains the performance of the PTI-led Khyber Pakhtunkhwa government, however, in order to give a more enlightened and comprehensive assessment of the performance we organized a series of round table conferences and panel discussions beside in depth interviews with key informants. These panel discussions were held with political parties activists, academia, legal, political and economic experts and journalists covering various ministries and departments of the government. Following are the consensus observations of one of the roundtable conference held with journalists in Peshawar which would further help people and the government itself to analyze its own performance during the last six months.

1.12.1.2 Radical Change in three Months Impossible

Anticipating radical change within 2-3 months in an area, where everything is in a mess and where there is a culture of lawlessness and militancy, was to cry for the moon. The government has to take some time to rectify things.

1.12.1.3 No Change but Improvement

The PTI and its coalition partners may not have succeeded in bringing change but the intentions are very good. At the same time short of change a lot of improvements have been observed in many sectors. For instance, attendance in school of teachers and in hospitals of doctors and paramedic staff has increased manifold because of government strict check. Now teachers and officers do care about the duty and time, which had not been the case in the past. Moreover, the scale of corruption had decreased, if one observed the graph of the last six months.

1.12.1.4 Stuck in Issues out of Its Domain

The PTI got the votes because its leaders pledged they would modify the cities and the streets and would improve the living standards, however, they got stuck in certain issues, which are not in their domain like foreign policy and this question is often asked of them to which there is no satisfactory answer.

1.12.1.5 Working Group Made Policymaking Cumbersome

In the field of policymaking, efforts have been made to streamline the process by bringing the concept of 'working groups' but it has rather made policymaking more cumbersome and complex, which should not have been the case.

1.12.1.6 Development Process Extremely Weak

Again the development side is very weak. In education, apart from improved attendance the standard of the education cannot be improved. Improvement of schools is a very key issue to focus upon as well that of the curricula. Infrastructure in schools is not according to the needs, as most concerned people prefer private schools because of facilities. Still people have hopes and there is a need of sincere efforts. The development process has been very slow during the six months as the government is waiting for the local governments to come and initiate developmental works. Nevertheless, some funds were released

due to pressure of the PTI's own MPA's.

1.12.1.7 Financial Issues Are Under Control

The lags on the development side and financial issues are under control up to a certain extent.

1.12.1.8 Lack of Planning in Health Department

Regarding health department there has been no planning. First the government vowed to introduce free treatment and medicine but still these measures are not properly implemented. There is a lack of coordination between patients and doctors. On many instances doctors and patients and their attendants have been seen fighting and quarrelling with each other, because patients demand free medicine and treatment as announced by the government. On the other hand doctors argue that government had only intimated that it would send a summary after making rules and criteria for free treatment and medicines. Imran Khan had announced that rupees one billion had been fixed for health sector with regard to free medicine and health. In early November the same amount was released and apportioned among different hospitals. However, these funds still were not being used for the said purpose. Administrators of hospitals do accept that the funds are there but they have no policy direction how to spend these funds. While many districts lack doctors and paramedics 92% of total health budget goes to four hospitals of the province that is Lady Reading Hospital, Peshawar; Hayatabad Medical Complex, Peshawar; Khyber Teaching Hospital, Peshawar and Ayub Teaching Hospital, Abbottabad. Moreover, majority of doctors' position are lying vacant in far-flung areas like Dir, Kohistan, Shangla etc. Ramadan packages contract was assigned illegally and often irregularities were observed.

1.12.1.9 Overall Policy Planning is Weak

Once the PTI government was there, they rapidly announced in conferences and public meetings that they had policy for each and every department but it turned out to be totally wrong. The format of departmental operations changes rapidly due to confusion and in the six months the confusion has got confounded. However, little bit of commitment is there because of pressure from public wanting change.

1.12.1.10 Check & Balance is There

Check and balance system has been observed up to some extent, even minister are checked and monitored. About recruitment of administrative secretaries etc. even chief minister decisions are closely observed. This is indeed very good development.

1.12.1.11 A Government of Presentations

PTI's government has turned out to be a party of 'presentations.' Every now and then we would see presentations on different departments on computers but nothing concrete was being done on the ground. In his first speech Pervez Khattak after getting elected as chief minister had said, "Log Tayari Kartain Hain Ham Ne Tayari Ki Hui Hay; Hamaray Pas Har Department Key Liye Palicy Mojud Hai." (People in other governments take steps to prepare policies for governance, the PTI government has come with full preparation and we have a policy for each sector). However, we saw that the private school regulatory authority bill was tabled but could not be passed.

1.12.1.12 Constant Intra-party Wrangling

There has been a constant wrangling between the two groups in the PTI - one is led by Speaker KP Assembly Asad Qaiser and the other by Chief Minister Pervez Khattak.

1.12.1.13 Marked Improvement in Police Department

Suspension of 120 -130 officers mostly from police service was carried out which was never seen before. The IGP Nasir Khan Durrani has turned out to be a good reformer of the police department.

1.12.1.14 Devolution of Powers to Local Government

Local government act has in letter devolved 24 departments to the districts while only 12 departments have left with the provincial government. The policy of no development funds to the member of provincial assembly is indeed very praiseworthy.

1.12.2 Annex II

1.12.2.1 Development Projects Approved Under the Chairmanship of Additional Chief Secretary

The Provincial Development Working Party (PDWP), in its meeting held under the chairmanship of Khalid Pervez, Additional Chief Secretary Khyber Pakhtunkhwa on Thursday, approved 14 development projects costing Rs. 6715.882 million. The meeting was attended by the Administrative Secretaries and senior staff of P&D, Finance, Environment, C&W, LG&RD, Relief and Rehabilitation and Resettlement, Agriculture, Elementary and Secondary Education and Health Departments. The PDWP while considering 18 development projects approved 14 projects with an estimated cost of Rs. 6715.882 million. Approval of four projects was deferred till next PDWP meeting for further improving the project document ensuring proper planning and estimation. The approved projects included DFID Support to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Education Sector Programme (2nd Tranche Budgetary Support). SH:- Continuous Capacity Development Programme for PTCs at a cost of Rs. 2106.05 million. Establishment of Civil Hospital Doaba, District Hangu (Revised) at a cost of Rs. 269.816 million, improvement and standardization of DHQ Hospital Mardan (Phase-II) revised at a cost of Rs. 397.300 million, up gradation of 10 Nos. RHCs to Category-D Hospital in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa on need basis at a cost of Rs. 1607.886 million, constn: of abutments and launching of Canadian steel bridges provided to Pak Army for Khyber Pakhtunkhwa at a cost of Rs. 316.21 million, provision of new block and staff quarters in Shahi Mehman Khana Peshawar at a cost of Rs. 207.070 million, development packages of Kaghan Development Authority, Kaghan District Mansehra at a cost of Rs. 240.000 million. "Construction of District Secretariat at District Haripur (triple story 3-blocks) balance work at a cost of Rs. 11.020 million, procurement of compactor multi loaders and mechanical sweepers at a cost of Rs. 500.20 million, municipal services delivery project. (USAID Assisted) SH:- rehabilitation of drainage system in union council No. 11, 12 & 26 of Municipal Corporation Peshawar at a cost of Rs. 207.744 million, procurement of water born search rescue equipment with chassis and fabrication at a cost of Rs. 38.000 million, provision for constructor's decreetal /accrued liabilities and un cashed cheques at a cost of Rs. 200.00 million, establishment of Carp Fish Hatchery at Swabi district for management of fisheries resources in Tarela and Khanpur Dams (Phase-I: for purchase of land) at a cost of Rs. 100.00 million and budget neutral revision of the project for capacity building of planning and development department (phase-II) at a cost of Rs. 514.586 million.

1.1 References

- Business Recorder. (21-March 2014). Khyber Pakhtunkhwa government to establish four new industrial estates: Khattak. Retrieved 12-April 2014 from Business Recorder:
<http://www.brecorder.com/business-a-economy/189:pakistan/1164745:khyber-pakhtunkhwa-government-to-establish-four-new-industrial-estates-khattak/?date=2014-03-21>
- CPDI-CWP . (2013). CPDI-CWP Comments on Right to Information Ordinance 2013 . Peshawar: CPDI-CWP .
- Daily Mashriq. (04-November 2013). Ehtasab Commission. Retrieved 11-May 2014 from Daily Mashriq:
<http://www.dailymashriq.com.pk/index.php?edition=&date=2013-11-04&page=3&type=>
- Dawn. (15-Dec 2013). Anti-narcotics force to be set up in KP. Retrieved 13-May 2014 from Dawn:
http://epaper.dawn.com/DetaillImage.php?StoryImage=16_12_2013_005_002
- Dawn. (22-Oct 2013). Govt to recruit 10,000 teachers. Retrieved 09-May 2014 from Dawn:
<http://www.dawn.com/news/1050977>
- Dawn. (22-Dec 2013). KP decision-makers have poor grasp of labour market. Retrieved 14-April 2014 from Dawn: <http://www.dawn.com/news/1075690>
- Dawn. (21-Dec 2013). KP eyes fat hydel energy proceeds. Retrieved 5-May 2014 from Dawn:
<http://www.dawn.com/news/1075460>
- Dawn. (01-Nov 2013). School reopens after 16 years in Charsadda. Retrieved 04-May 2014 from Dawn:
<http://www.dawn.com/news/1053371/school-reopens-after-16-years-in-charsadda>
- Dawn. (21-April 2014). 350 small dams to be built in KP, says Imran. Retrieved 06-May 2014 from Dawn:
<http://www.dawn.com/news/1101298/350-small-dams-to-be-built-in-kp-says-imran>
- Dawn. (20-Feb 2014). Between Khan and Khattak. Retrieved 07-May 2014 from Dawn:
<http://www.dawn.com/news/1088218>
- Dawn. (07-Jan 2014). CM promises autonomy to local bodies. Retrieved 04-May 2014 from Dawn:
<http://www.dawn.com/news/1078901>
- Dawn. (11-April 2014). Former official speaks his mind against KP govt. Retrieved 6-May 2014 from Dawn: <http://www.dawn.com/news/1099082>
- Dawn. (10-Feb 2014). PTI unveils overambitious green growth plan. Retrieved 06-May 2014 from Dawn:
<http://www.dawn.com/news/1086059>
- FRC. (2014). Local Government System in FATA: Past Failures, Current Challenges and Future Prospects. Islamabad: Fata Research Center.

- FRC. (2014). Security Report. Islamabad: FRC.
- GoP . (2014). THE KHYBER PAKHUNKHWA RIGHTTO PUBLIC SERVICES ACT, 2014. Peshawar: GoP.
- GoP. (2009). Provincial Commission on the Status of Women. Peshawar: Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Government.
- GoP. (2013). The KhyberPakhtunkhwa Right to Information Act 2013. Peshawar: Provincial Assembly Secretariat Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.
- GoP. (2014). Annual Development Programme 2013-14. Peshawar: Planning and Development Department, Govt. of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.
- GoP of KP. (2010). Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Comprehensive Development Strategy 2010-2017. Peshawar: GoP of KP.
- HRCP. (2013). The State of Human Rights in 2013. Islamabad: HRCP.
- ICG. (2013). Pakistan: Countering Militancy in PATA. Islamabad: Internatioal Crisis Group.
- Mills, E. (2013). PAKISTAN'S ENERGY CRISIS. United State Inistitue for Peace.
- Misra, A. (2012). Pakistan's Stability Paradox: Domestic, Regional and International Dimensions. NewYork: Routledge.
- Nadim, S. A. (2002). Pakistan: The Political Economy of Lawlessness. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pakistant Observer. (26-June 2013). Govt set to establish seven youth centres, new policy for KP. Retrieved 13-April 2014 from Pakistant Observer:
<http://pakobserver.net/201306/26/detailnews.asp?id=210869>
- PCNA. (2010). Post Crisis Assesment Kyber Pakhtunkhuwa and FATA. Peshawar: PCNA.
- PILDAT. (2013). from 2003 – 2008 MMA was in government, from 2008 – 2013 ANP won the elections . Islamabad: PILDAT.
- Sonn, T. (2010). Islam: A Brief History. London: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Talbot, I. (2009). Pakistan: A Modern History. C Hurst & Company Publishers Limited.
- The Express Tribune. (18-June 2013). Analysis: In Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa budget, PTI lays out a strong start. Retrieved 08-May 2014 from The Express Tribune:
<http://tribune.com.pk/story/564564/analysis-in-khyber-pakhtunkhwa-budget-pti-lays-out-a-strong-start/>

INTERPRETING THE CHANGE

The Express Tribune. (13-Oct 2013). Assembly diary: Non-existent standing committees keep business at bay. Retrieved 6-May 2014 from The Express Tribune: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/617217/assembly-diary-non-existent-standing-committees-keep-business-at-bay/>

The Express Tribune. (06-Feb 2013). Caught in the act: K-P to fight corruption with Ehtesab courts. Retrieved 12-May 2014 from The Express Tribune: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/668032/caught-in-the-act-k-p-to-fight-corruption-with-ehesab-courts/>

The Express Tribune. (25-Jan 2013). extensive energy plan. The key feature of the plan was that Rs 10 billion will be given to oil and gas companies for exploration of oil and gas and to set up small hydroelectric power stations. Retrieved 6-May 2014 from The Express Tribune: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/663012/k-p-govt-approves-extensive-energy-plan/>

The Express Tribune. (16-Oct 2013). Give PTI a chance. Retrieved 2014 06-May from The Express Tribune: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/618743/give-pti-a-chance/>

The Express Tribune. (29-Nov 2013). Mr PTI Chairman, we have a problem. Retrieved 06-May 2014 from The Express Tribune: <http://blogs.tribune.com.pk/story/19779/mr-pti-chairman-we-have-a-problem/comment-page-2/>

The Express Tribune. (22-April 2013). Multi-tongued: Peshawar's happy Hindus and Sikhs. Retrieved 28-April 2014 from The Express Tribune: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/538810/multi-tongued-peshawars-happy-hindus-and-sikhs/>

The Express Tribune. (27-March 2013). Pakistani victims: War on terror toll put at 49,000. Retrieved 8-May 2014 from The Express Tribune: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/527016/pakistani-victims-war-on-terror-toll-put-at-49000/>

The Express Tribune. (07-December 2013). Right to information: K-P becomes first province to enact updated RTI. Retrieved 07-May 2014 from The Express Tribune: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/642174/right-to-information-k-p-becomes-first-province-to-enact-updated-rti/>

The Express Tribune. (22-May 2013). Voting positions: PTI won more popular votes than PPP. Retrieved 02-April 2014 from The Express Tribune: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/552650/voting-positions-pti-won-more-popular-votes-than-ppp/>

The Express Tribune. (14-April 2014). K-P police to have a special force similar to US Marines: Khattak. Retrieved 06-May 2014 from The Express Tribune: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/696212/k-p-police-to-have-a-special-force-similar-to-us-marines-khattak/>

The Express Tribune. (04-May 2014). Minimum wage legislation: A politician's magic wand for vote bank? Retrieved 07-May 2014 from The Express Tribune: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/704013/minimum-wage-legislation-a-politicians-magic-wand-for-vote-bank/>

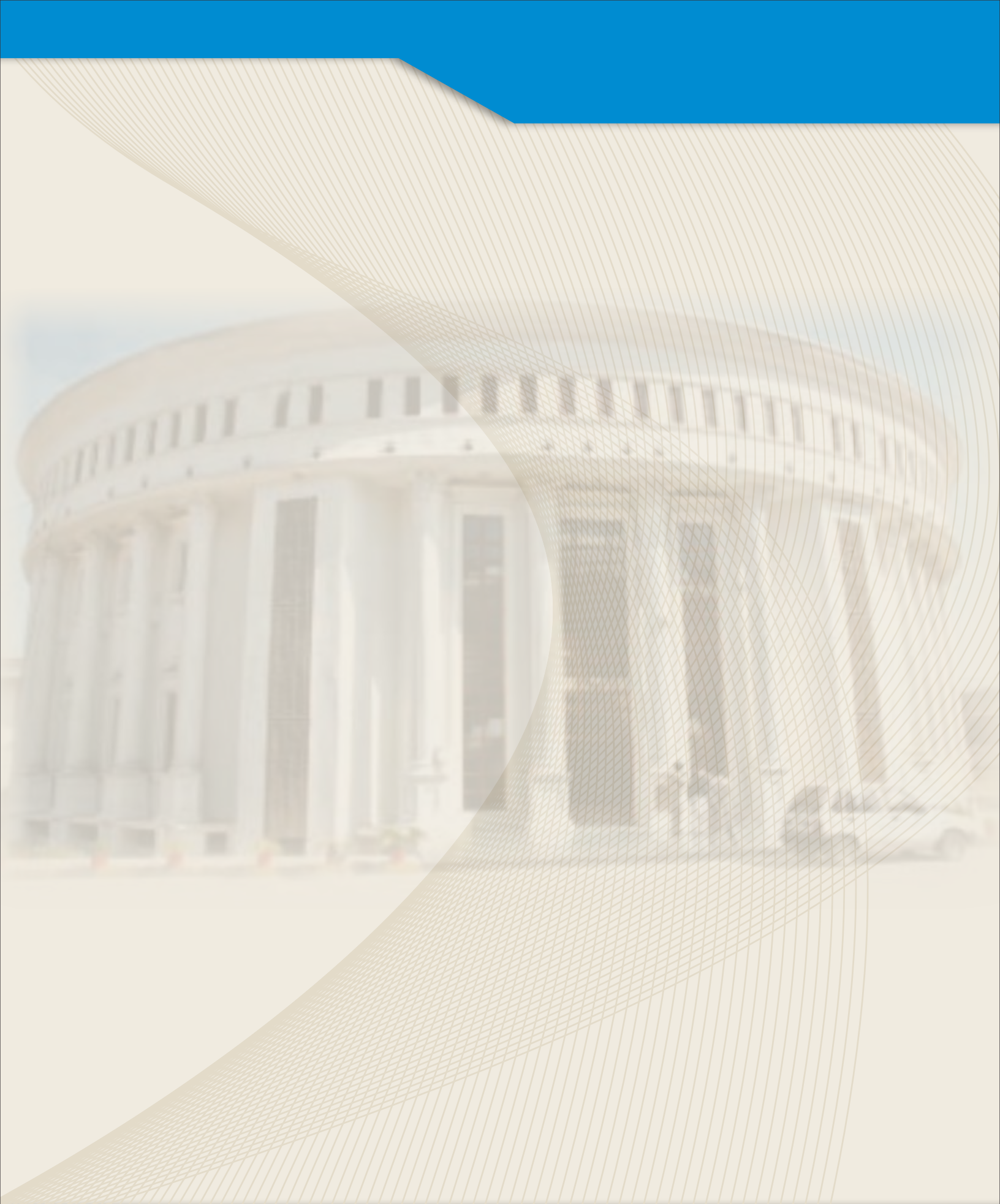
- The Express Tribune. (09-April 2014). Promoting education: CM launches enrolment drive across K-P. Retrieved 29-April 2014 from The Express Tribune: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/692985/promoting-education-cm-launches-enrolment-drive-across-k-p/>
- The Gaurdian. (30-April 2014). Transforming educational opportunities in Pakistan. Retrieved 6-May 2014 from The Guardian: <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/adam-smith-international-partner-zone/adam-smith-international-improving-education-pakistan>
- The Nation. (13-March 2013). Introducing uniform edu system in KP a feather in PTI's cap. Retrieved 9-May 2014 from The Nation: <http://www.nation.com.pk/national/13-Mar-2014/introducing-uniform-edu-system-in-kp-a-feather-in-pti-s-cap>
- The Nation. (21-Nov 2013). KP Accountability Commission set up. Retrieved 14-May 2014 from The Nation: <http://www.nation.com.pk/national/21-Aug-2013/KP-accountability-commission-set-up>
- The Nation. (02-Dec 2013). KP to boost donors coordination cell. Retrieved 04-May 2014 from The Nation: <http://www.nation.com.pk/national/02-Dec-2013/KP-to-boost-donors-coordination-cell>
- The Nation. (18-June 2013). PTI govt sets Rs66.6b for education. Retrieved 08-April 2014 from The Nation: <http://www.nation.com.pk/national/18-Jun-2013/pti-govt-sets-rs66-6b-for-education>
- The Nation. (02-Jan 2014). Centre accused of discriminating against KP. Retrieved 08-May 2014 from The Nation: <http://www.nation.com.pk/national/02-Jan-2014/centre-accused-of-discriminating-against-KP>
- The Nation. (14-Feb 2014). Green Growth Initiative – From vision to implementation. Retrieved 8-May 2014 from The Nation: <http://www.nation.com.pk/business/17-Feb-2014/green-growth-initiative-from-vision-to-implementation>
- The Nation. (02-January 2014). Khattak increases 100pc job quota for minorities. Retrieved 04-April 2014 from The Nation: <http://www.nation.com.pk/national/02-Jan-2014/khattak-increases-100pc-job-quota-for-minorities>
- The News. (20-Feb 2013). PTI unveils its much awaited education policy vision. Retrieved 8-May 2014 from The News: <http://www.thenews.com.pk/article-88911-PTI-unveils-its-much-awaited-education-policy-vision>
- The News. (01-Oct 2013). Terror attacks in Peshawar condemned. Retrieved 5-April 2014 from The News: <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-7-205387-Terror-attacks-in-Peshawar-condemned>
- The News. (07-May 2014). IGP says cops to be selected from Elite Force. Retrieved 10-May 2014 from The News: <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-7-248612-IGP-says-cops-to-be-selected-from-Elite-Force>

INTERPRETING THE CHANGE

UNESCO. (2014). Education Policy Analysis Report of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Islamabad: UNESCO.

World Bank. (2011). Estimating the Short-Run Poverty Impacts of the 2010–11 Surge in Food Prices. World Bank.

World Bank. (2013). World Wide governance Indicators. Retrieved May 02, 2014, from worldbank.org: <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.aspx#home>



FATA RESEARCH CENTER

House: 23 A, Street: 28, F-10/1, Islamabad
Telephone: 0092 51 2112853-4 Fax: 0092 51 2112857 Email: info@frc.com.pk

ZALAN COMMUNICATIONS

Third Floor office # 329, Deans Trade Center
Peshawar Cantt, Peshawar. 091-5603017