



RESEARCH PAPER

Historical Background of Local Government in Pakistan: An Exploratory Study

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ABSTRACT

This research paper investigates the Pakistan's local government structure in historical context. To acquire a deeper understanding of the possible reason for the decentralization, the paper examines its history within a historical perspective and is to take a look at the local government system in terms of their involvement and contribution to the country and an overview of decentralization reforms from the pre-independence era to the 1985–1999 local government revolution. This research is descriptive and analytical in nature. Examining how the local government system has changed over time is fascinating because an important development was made to create this experiment. The majority of research on decentralization in developing countries shows that the reasons behind the failure of power delegation are either systemic shortcomings in local government, ineffective entrenched party capture of local authority, or a combination of these factors. The failure to strengthen the grassroots democratic system and the inadequate local administration conveyance were the drawbacks.

KEYWORDS Administration, Decentralization, Democracy, Historical Perspective Governance Local Government

Introduction:

Over the years, Pakistan's local government has continued to strive for reforms, with different governments improving the system to create a democratic framework for developing new policies and framing political and economic operations. However, over time, the entire nation has experienced a growing dissatisfaction with democratic organizations on both a local and national level, and no meaningful government programs have been implemented to decentralize political power. Instead, successive governments have attempted to establish and enhance the local government system in the hopes of increasing public participation at the grass root level. Without taking into account the historical context, this study identifies local government and management;

Therefore, the causes and effects of local changes cannot be fully recognized. This research paper's primary goal is to provide a thorough analysis of Pakistan's local government implementation, focusing on a number of issues related to the administration of citizens' contributions, the fundamentals of politics, and the people's understanding.

Literature Review

The military of Pakistan has long been seen as the sole government agency in the country capable of carrying out foreign policy objectives. That's why many countries, including the United States, favour it as a trade partner. Reading about Pakistan's history,

however, reveals that the country has been plunged into crisis by a series of military administrations at the expense of its allies, and that the military has done nothing to ensure the country's unity and stability. This essay evaluates the military administration of General Pervez Musharraf, suggesting that the enormous assistance the United States has provided Musharraf, both in terms of material aid and political space, has once again driven Pakistan to the verge of collapse. It's obvious that the West, led by the United States, ought to give more weight to promoting democracy and justice in Pakistan than it does to maintaining the status quo or supporting the Pakistani military (Rizvi, 1991).

The political history of Pakistan from its establishment in 1947 to 1999 is examined in depth and with great insight in "Pakistan: Political Roots and Development, 1947-1999" by Safdar Mahmood. He is a well-respected historian and political commentator in Pakistan. He has written extensively on the country's political and social concerns. The book is broken up into sections that each focus on a distinct time period in Pakistan's political history. The author gives a thorough history of the major political parties, individuals, and movements that have influenced the country's politics. He delves into how regional and global variables have affected Pakistan's political trajectory, as well as the role of the military in that growth. Military coups, corruption, and authoritarianism are only some of the darker aspects of Pakistan's political history that the author does not avoid discussing. While he does criticize certain political personalities and groups, he also praises those who have worked to improve democracy, human rights, and social fairness. To present this comprehensive and nuanced picture of Pakistan's political history, he consults a broad variety of sources, including government papers, newspaper articles, and interviews with significant political personalities. To grasp the current political climate in Pakistan and the difficulties the country faces, this work is a masterpiece. The book makes a significant contribution to the continuing discussion about Pakistani politics and society, and it is well-written and researched to boot (Mahmood, 2000).

Khan's book presents a narrative history of the year's political events. This book examines and analyzes a variety of aspects of Pakistan's last general election, including who ran against whom and what the true obstacles were for the country's Election Commission. After General Zia-ul-Haq died in 1988, the PPP gained power again, and the government of Pakistan was forced to hand over election management to the Election Commission of Pakistan. In these elections in Pakistan, the People's Party faced opposition from a wide range of party coalitions and independent candidates. This pivotal volume explores why elections are vital in Pakistan and how the ones held in 1988 contributed to the restoration of democracy there (Khan, 2008).

The Historical Evolution of Local Government in Pakistan

Pakistan has been populated by British authorities before it came into existence. In 1947, Pakistan has emerged as a centralized state in which local government had no more than a minor role to play. After its independence, decentralization plans were implemented to build up the governance of the country. Both the governments (military and civilian) have failed in the measures to improve the local government (Mahmood, 2003).

The Local Government Pattern from the British Legacies to Independence

The "Decentralization Commission," established by the British government in 1907, established democratic local institutions under stringent official supervision. With the passage of the Government of India Act of 1919, local government was given provincial status, ushering in a new era. Following that, in 1935, the government of this act gave the provinces independence and gave them the authority to create new local government reforms. The local government in the British colonial era was largely reliant on the numerous issues beset the local government, including no taxes set aside, inadequate funding, control over bureaucracy, and legal helplessness. Boundaries between the administration and the ruling community were necessary. The District Officer (DO) continued to have actual authority. The responsibility for rural development was never delegated to local authorities unless there were discrete conflicts arising from rural growth that were associated with specific British officers. In 1947, Pakistan inherited a local government structure that was extremely basic Amjad, (1984). After gaining independence, Pakistan failed to fortify the local government, but overall conditions did not improve. The primary goal of local government was to investigate and put rural landlords under administrative control in order to offset the educated middle class's desire for democracy in the urban areas.

The Development of Local Government in Pakistan in 1947 to 1948

On August 14, 1947, Pakistan was officially established. Pakistan's central government adopted a version of the Indian Act of 1935, with certain amendments, as its constitution when the country gained independence. The Act of 1935 established provincial jurisdiction over municipal governments. Despite the fact that the federal government ultimately opted to exert its authority over the cantonment boards. During the times of the liberation struggle, all authority below the state level was disregarded. Professor Rushbrook Williams claims that the local government's ineffectiveness is due to tensions between Hindus and Muslims. Without a leader to oversee local affairs, the community often focused its efforts on stoking tensions and erecting roadblocks. (Chaudhary, 2011).

Basic local body posts were taken over by the province of Sindh in 1947 thanks to the Act of Sindh Local Authorities. The following are the local government laws that were in effect in Bengal and Punjab at the time of independence.

1. Punjab Municipal Act 1885
2. Bengal Village Self Government Act 1919
3. Punjab District Board Act 1883
4. Punjab Village Panchait Act 1921
5. Punjab Small Towns Act 1922

The following organizations governed East Bengal and West Punjab before to Pakistan's independence on the basis of the aforementioned principles.

After the establishment of Pakistan, some amendments were made regarding the laws of local bodies in order to fill the vacant seats left by the Non-Muslims. The first "Town Improvement.

Post-Independence Period

Pakistan was declared as an independent state in 1947 under the act of independence 1947. The act was made by the existing constituent assemblies of that time, the dominion legislatures. After the mid of 1947 when Pakistan got independence from Britisher and appeared as an independent state on the world map adopted the interim constitution in the amending of 1935 act. According to this act local government has the responsibilities which given by the provinces, in cantt areas the cantonment government responsibilities have preserve the central government. Pakistan follows the same government just little amending in the act of 1935, and also retain the same government upto 1958 when the first martial law was imposed in Pakistan.

Pakistan's municipal government has been around for a while because of persistent efforts to modernize it. Pakistan's successive governments have bolstered the country's decentralized structure in the name of democracy, allowing for the formulation of novel policies and the re-framing of political and economic frameworks.

Many nations, both developing and developed, have begun testing out local organizations as a means of dealing with the enormous difficulties they face. These issues have a societal and economic foundation. The economy and society as a whole have hit a wall as a result of how pervasive these issues are. According to Andrew (2004) number of issues facing the world today, including extreme poverty, pervasive corruption, an ineffective system of government, rising unemployment, inefficient use of resources, and gender inequality. Various conceptual foundations have been scrutinized in this regard. Such a change occurs when a powerful central government with centralized tendencies shifts management, the overall decision-making authority, and financial power to local government through constitutionally-guaranteed statutory provisions (Andrew, 2004).

It makes it quite evident that devolution, in its proper context, is a tool used to increase citizens' participation in governance. It gives people a voice in shaping their future by giving them a say in formulating policies, allocating funds, and, most importantly, making the big calls that affect their lives. The local form of governance appears to be the only practical approach for ensuring participatory government in which the people themselves are stakeholders (Joseph, 2004). The devolution of power and authority is seen in the decentralization process, as demonstrated by the experiment in Pakistan. The phenomena of Pakistan's local system of government can only be observed firsthand through analytical research. Because all three sets of trials were initiated out of a desire to cement authority so as to maintain the status quo. (Andrew, 2004)

It was implemented using a top-down strategy, and the authoritarian role reaped the benefits; the regime manipulated it for political ends. Therefore, these were intended to achieve certain ends. These measures were ostensibly implemented to give local communities more say in policy decisions, but they really serve to strengthen the influence of the unaccountable few at the top. As events unfolded, it became clear that the claim that this was an attempt for legitimacy was correct. Such undertakings were driven by political opportunities rather than political intent, as evidenced by Pakistan's history. So, it is clear that the devolution plans implemented by military governments were nothing more than military doctrine dressed up as politics.

Devolution in Pakistan 1958

Pakistan's political history isn't short on examples of municipal governments. As seen by the past, it has been a political strategy to maintain the dominance of an unrepresentative central authority; comparable colonial techniques were employed by the British (Tinker, 1968). Attempting to regain power after the devastation of World War I, the British government created a new mechanism that gave citizens a say in governing while yet allowing established parties to compete. This was quite unusual under the dictatorial colonial regime. They correctly noticed that rising centralization weakens local governments, which in turn allows the military and bureaucracy to expand their roles (Jalal, 1995). It was often assumed that once colonial exploitation ended, the remnant of the past would be forgotten. However, the past was repeated: in 1958, Pakistan's first daring experiment under Martial Law saw the dissolution of the national and provincial parliament. Thus, President Ayub Khan implemented colonial apparatus, viewing local bodies as the sole viable, lawful, and appropriate instrument of representation. He had *carte blanche* to eliminate the whole command staff.

In the views of president Ayub, only local organizations were capable of providing adequate representation. The Municipal Administration Ordinance of 1960 and the Basic Democracy Ordinance of 1959 laid the groundwork for the new local government structure that exists today. It arranged everything in a hierarchical structure. These top-tier, directly elected officials choose very few of the lower-level, indirectly elected officials. The government also appointed a number of people, who were then voted on to serve as chairmen. Because of their authoritative representational nature, union councils played a significant role. It was given the lowest possible ranking among municipal governments. Union council would lend credibility to those at the top. Members of union councils were elected by workers above the age of 18 and rotated the role of chairman among themselves (Rizvi, 1976).

The government's administrative structure was a carryover from imperial traditions; the bureaucracy had a crucial and essential role, and it always followed the administrative principles established during the colonial era. The bureaucracy's domineering power was plain to see. They would uphold the law and show unwavering support for the current, dictatorial and unrepresentative regime. In this sense, the supreme leader played a crucial role in enforcing the settlement in the event of a political upheaval. In addition to this, it would use coercive measures and severe action against the local levels if the situation calls for it. It would nullify the effectiveness of any action taken. The local governance was so bad that it was essentially totalitarian although wearing the mask of democracy. While the created system may have delegated some regulatory measures and downstream activities to the councils, particularly at the lower cadre; and at the district plane, only a subset of these duties could be carried out due to extremely limited financial resources (Siddiqui, 1990)

The local government system that President Ayub established—or rather, manipulated—to legitimize his basically unitary Presidential Constitution (1962) was the source of the most controversy throughout his time in office. It would provide the President's office the authority to enforce the law through the use of force on behalf of the military forces. As a result, the Presidential election process was given a boost by the Constitution of 1962. The plan calls for the newly formed elected bodies and the separate national and provincial assemblies to legitimize President Ayub Khan's political authority with an announcement of 80,000 BDs as the Electoral College. This resulted in the complete destruction of the devolutionary theory. This system was put in place, at least in part, to further the personal and political goals of a dictator. It would appear that

President Ayub's idea of "controlled democracy" was an effort to further the colonial legacy of paternalistic notion of "guardianship," wherein the colonial bureaucracy was assumed to aid the politicians while withstanding their gloomy and strict effects. To gain legitimacy for President Ayub Khan's distribution and allocation of resources and political patronage, he needed to split his influence between his political position and the workings of the bureaucracy (Gauhar, 1996).

As a result, a middle ground was found and a separation of powers in the law was carefully preserved at the municipal level (Viqar, 1964). It was clear that the Basic Democracies Ordinance (1959) would further exacerbate the gap between rural and urban populations. The local council would be in charge of the more rural regions, while municipal committees would handle the city centers. President Ayub, like the colonial British, knew that he could count on support from the rural sections of the country to keep him in office, therefore he boosted the proportion of rural areas in federal and provincial allocations of resources. As a result, the glaring urban inequality in federal and provincial development funding that emerged in the 1950s was considerably reduced. For this reason, rural representatives (Viqar, 1964) were paired with various projects and certain development plans at the local level, both on the basis of program design and, of course, due to their decisive significance in the electoral system and the larger state apparatus. This is because the majority of the country was rural and associated with agrarian activities. (Rizvi, 1976)

The concept of "basic democracy" advocated by Ayub Khan is more based and far from real democracy. It further paves the way for voters to buy and beg evil activities at the Electoral College for political purposes. In return, the president has made huge political gains but his view is that the development of a political system is still largely unrealized. It further emphasizes colonial practices and bureaucratic authority. Of course, this experiment in a basic democracy is inconceivable. The result is regrettable as the power of ordinary Pakistani people weakened and the system of local governance in the ceremonies weakened. The political system during this period was not institutionalized and no major changes took place. Politicians have strongly criticized the election through Electoral College by deliberately depriving them to elect their President; such elections can be bribed and easily paid. Although, it is in fact an attempt to delegate authority but in reality it is to expand centralized control through arrangements of grassroots institutions.

Bhutto's Era

Basic democracies were eliminated the same year that President Ayub was removed from office (1969), and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his People's Party embraced the novel concept of local administration at that time. He came up with the phrase "Peoples Local Government System" in order to define this revolutionary new concept. Under the terms of this agreement, it was envisioned that both rural and urban communities would have their own councils. On the level of the local community, this plan called for the formation of village councils and district councils. On the level of the municipality, the county, and the state, it called for the formation of town committees, municipal committees, and municipal corporations. (Rizvi, S.A. 1968).

According to Rizvi the provincial administrations of Pakistan were the ones who were responsible for passing the Sindh Local Government Act 1972, the Sarhad Local Government Act 1972, the Baluchistan Local Government Act 1975, and the Punjab Local Government Act 1975. The planned people's local government system was meant to be implemented by the holding of local elections; however, such elections were not held

between the years 1971 and 1977. In the end, the central government initiated a "Peoples works programme" in order to enhance the general populace's access to better infrastructure. This includes the construction of new roads, improved sanitation, enhanced access to clean water, and dams, as well as other similar projects. The "Integrated Rural Development Programme" (IRDP) was initiated in 1972 with the purpose of assisting rural farmers and, in the long run, making a contribution to the expansion of the nation as a whole. (Rizvi, 1968)

Devolution in Zia's Regime:

Local governments were instituted by General Zia ul Haq following the democratic rupture of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto during 1972-1977. Once again, he exploited the apparatus of local government to strengthen his position. Zia opted for a unique approach of centralizing power. From 1979 through 1985, he put the 1973 constitution on hold to consolidate power for himself. The Constitution, in Zia's era, is just a paper. In 1973, he used the 8th Amendment to declare a state of martial law.

In a rather unusual constitutional system, Article 58 2 (b) gave the President the power to dismiss the administration and dissolve the legislatures. As Noman (1988) points out, this hybrid of President Ayub's presidential system with indirect military administration was unprecedented.

The proclamation of local governments and the formation of local organizations occurred in all four provinces in 1979 and the following years of the 1980s. Military dictators typically rule through dividing political parties under their control. Zia continued in the same vein. In doing so, he spawned a new kind of cooperative local leaders who competed (Jalal, 1995). The special discontinuity with the local government system was that the decentralization of administrative power has not been followed. If we compare the arrangements of Zia ul Haq and Ayub Khan, we can see the salient similarities between the Basic Democracies system of 1959 and local government system of 1979 regarding to the powers shifted to the local level. Therefore, neither regime is aware of the importance and efficiency of the of the local government system. This was just a deception. This was not anything else but the dominance of the two military regimes. The constraints that local governments faced are the lack of charter protection and the provincial government has given a fair amount of control over the delay of the delicate authority of local institutions.

President Ayub's BDO in 1959 and Zia's Local government system in 1979 are two distinct systems. Zia consciously ignored Bhutto's democratic concessions between 1972 and 1975. Zia purged civil servants from the local government and replaced them with elected chairman. They were chosen by local voters using a straight ballot system (LGO, 1979). In September 1979, Zia issued an ordinance establishing a new type of local government in Pakistan, as well as the following provisions.

- 1- Punjab Local Government Ordinance -1979
- 2- Sindh Local Government Ordinance -1979
- 3- Sarhad Local Government Ordinance -1979
- 4- Balochistan Local Government Ordinance -1979
- 5- Federal Local Government Ordinance -1979
- 6- Azad Jamu Kashmir Local Government Ordinance -1979

7- Northern Areas Local Government Ordinance -1979

8- FATA Local Government Ordinance -1979

9- Cantonment Act -1979.

It's a factor that led to localized devastation in the '60s and '70s. Zia ul Haq has only stated the genuine intent of retaining non-partisan municipal elections, but he still stands by the underlying premise. The non-party foundation elections of the Zia ul Haq era are regarded to have delivered significant damage to the mass-based parties, which a puzzle in local government politics is given that they were insisted upon prior to independence. Over time, major political parties formed to compete on the national stage. Zia, on the other hand, championed the concept of making politics more local and individual (Wilder, 1999).

These measures led to a split between urban and rural areas on the level of district or rural councils, corporations and committees, municipalities and towns and further deterioration of the legislation of Britain, Ayub Khan and Zia ul Haq. In addition, since urban-rural coordination is the duty of the district (rural) council, Zia ul Haq auxiliary denied this because the council was only accountable for the governance in rural areas. On the other hand, per capita income increased because of urbanization, population mobility, and commodity flows to cities and have changed the overall character.

The Zia ul Haq government also emphasizes the divide between urban and rural communities, which implies that the increase in urban councils' per capita income was not willingly shared with outlying regions. Zia ul Haq's early goal was to compel the urban middle class, therefore this plan was a departure from it. Since then, civilization has advanced thanks to the foundational anti-Bhutto struggle. It looks that at a time when the revenues of the city's local councils have increased, the decision to take such a disagreement will allow the state government to provide space for the political movement against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in the urban middle class, albeit limited, to consolidate the localized network. In contrast, rural councils lack the necessary funding to justify their limited ability to provide even a small portion of their content. The deteriorating income status of the rural local councils and the enactment of a legislative rule that transgresses urban incomes into rural areas show a depressing state. As a result, these areas are increasingly welcomed by the provincial authorities and are satisfactory.

The revival of the democratically elected government at the provincial and federal levels in 1985 was a step toward strengthening political localization. The election of local institutions in 1979 greatly increased political localization. This formidable manufacturing therefore helped to bring the local body of political culture to two levels; at the provincial and national levels.

This propensity was exacerbated by the non-party based administrations that were in place in 1985. During this time period, ministers attempted to employ development funding through personalized patronage in order to boost their individual prospects of reelection (Wilder, 1999). This political personalization, while re-establishing the party-based parliament and government in 1988, non-party based elected system deeper roots in the political system. Zia ul Haq and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto regimes because of adverse legal and de facto measures of national politics; this tendency affects political culture and leads to the weakening of the party organization. In addition, non-party base politics was the result of the lack of political ties between different levels

of government. As a result, tensions have developed between local and provincial authorities and local levels are seen as "sponsored" competitive structures.

General Pervez Musharraf's Devolution Plan

The Local Government Ordinance (LGO) 2001, instituted by General Musharraf, is a new form of local administration. His LGO is unique and deserves careful scrutiny since it significantly altered a system in which local governments had little powers and most were delegated to provincial line ministries (Batool, 2014).

In 2002, a presidential referendum reinstated the quasi-civilian government by electing Musharraf as head of state. However, the hold of the central government on local governments persisted even after the military-sponsored political alliance under the banner of Muslim League (Quaid-e-Azam group) won the elections and formed national and provincial assemblies.

It concluded that the main reason for the rural-urban split is the DC's excessive centralization of authority and power and that this is disastrous for local development. What's more, when power is so concentrated, it opens the door to abuse of authority and establishes a hierarchical structure reminiscent of colonial control. Crisis management "diffuses operational focus and leads to the expedient handling of routine functions" (LGO, 2000). An early attempt at reorganizing authority was the Devolution Plan of 2000, which led to the formation of local governments with the goals of "good governance," "transparent service delivery," and "institutionalized participation of the people at the grass roots."

Objective:

General Pervez Musharraf's Devolution Plan in Pakistan has various goals, including decentralizing authority and improving local administration. The plan's primary goals were as follows:

1. The plan's primary focus was also on giving municipalities more power and control. To better serve their constituents, local officials are now more empowered to make decisions about development projects, social services, and public works at the district and city levels.
1. General Pervez Musharraf's Devolution Plan's main goal was to transfer fiscal and administrative authority from the federal and provincial governments to the states and municipalities. The plan's goal was to give individuals a bigger voice in topics that affected their communities by giving them more power over how those decisions were made.
2. The Devolution Plan intended to improve access to public necessities. The plan's goal was to improve access to essential services including education, healthcare, sanitation, and infrastructure through bolstering municipal governments.
3. The plan's stated goal was to hold local governments more accountable to their residents in an effort to increase accountability and transparency in governance. The strategy aimed to eradicate corruption and guarantee improved governance practices by making elected representatives directly accountable to the local populace.
4. The Devolution Plan advocated for more localized political power in order to increase citizen engagement and acceptance. The proposal aimed to get people

involved in the democratic process and decision-making by giving them a say in who represents them at the local level through elections.

5. The plan's primary focus was on stimulating local economies and improving social conditions. The plan's goal was to narrow the country's socio-economic divides by giving local governments more control over initiating and managing development initiatives for low-income neighborhoods.

To accomplish the above mentioned objectives, the five "D" Principles of Devolution were set which are as follows:

- i. Three levels of elected leadership at the district, tehsil/town, and union levels were created for the devolution of political authority.
- ii. The divisional row of administration was abolished, and departments were given more leeway to make decisions on their own at the district level, therefore decentralizing administrative authority.
- iii. Decentralizing management duties by encouraging individuals to take on greater responsibility in accordance with their abilities.
- iv. The authority to raise taxes in certain municipalities to redistribute funds at the district level.
- v. Widening participation of elected officials in development initiatives and spreading the power-authority nexus through public oversight.

The plan to decentralize the power and authority by Musharraf government promises enormous potential for local governments to become places of innovation and citizen engagement. The proposed decentralization plan was very important for opening a significant opportunity to propose a solution to the local or grass-root issues. Since both solutions and issues are basically associated to the political loyalty of the central government, the program requires a fair and important assessment. Although the Local Government Plan of 2000 claims to address fundamental issues such as transparency, provision of services to the people and empowerment of citizens, it was still carefully investigated that this delegation of authority remains in the hands of the few who are very far from ordinary people.

Different regimes in Pakistan's history have seen their local government institutions as the wellspring of local growth and a trained nursery for the country's political system. The local government system operates autonomously but with the backing of the central government. This structure helps to preserve peace and order, provides revenue from within, and creates prospects for development. It relieves the federal and provincial governments of some of their duties and obligations. A well-functioning system of local government is responsive to citizen concerns and recognizes each person's value to the whole. Power at the municipal level is decentralized rather than concentrated in the hands of any one party. Equal distribution of resources from the federal government to the state and municipal governments is ensured, as is the greatest engagement of the common people in political activity.

Conclusion

As we examine Pakistan's local government history, we see a country attempting to strike a balance between decentralization and centralization while struggling the

difficulties of governance. Every stage, from prehistoric societies to modern innovations, has permanently altered the administrative landscape of the country.

The difficulties and chances faced during this historical voyage highlight the necessity of a sophisticated strategy for local government. Although there have been instances of empowerment, Pakistan's governance structures are still developing as evidenced by the enduring obstacles like political meddling and resource shortages.

It is essential that the nation learn from its past as it progresses. Historical experiences, such as Musharraf's devolution plan or Ayub Khan's Basic Democracies, provide important insights into the advantages and disadvantages of different forms of government. Steps toward a more decentralized and participatory governance structure can be seen in the 2013 local government elections and the constitutional shift towards province autonomy brought about by the 18th Amendment.

Pakistan's history of local government is evidence of the country's adaptability and resiliency. It is a story of trial and error, education, and a never-ending search for a governance model that accurately captures the goals and requirements of the heterogeneous Pakistani public.

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