

Role of Citizen Community Boards in Promoting Participatory Development in Muzaffargarh District, Pakistan

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Abstract

Participatory development has been institutionalized in Pakistan with the view to achieve the benefits as accrued elsewhere in the world. Local Government Ordinance 2001 provides a framework for creation of Citizen Community Boards (CCBs) which may potentially promote development through active participation of communities at all tiers of the Local Government. This paper aims to highlight the functioning and performance of CCBs in Pakistan with particular reference to Muzaffargarh District. It analyzes the formation process of CCBs and examines their projects. It also presents the association between participation of community in projects and its level of satisfaction. This paper identifies the impediments that hamper the functioning of CCBs which in turn slow down the development process. It is recommended that the potential of CCBs in the development process can be materialized by removing the hindering factors.

Key Words: Citizen Community Boards; Devolution Plan; Community Participation; Elite Capture; Participatory Development.

1. Introduction

Active public participation is believed to be a critical component of interventions and it is considered directly proportional to the success of development projects. Different studies and reviews have highlighted that community participation improves the quality of outcome and it results in effective, efficient and sustainable development [1] [2] [3]. The effectiveness of community participation in development has further been explained as ‘Participation is expected to ensure that projects are better designed, benefits better targeted, project inputs delivered in more cost effective and timely manner, and that project benefits are distributed more equitably and with smaller leakages due to corruption and other rent seeking activity’ [4].

Community participation in development has been practiced through creation of different participatory spaces in many countries. It can be illustrated through various examples such as in India, Panchayati Raj institutions (PRIs) created as a result of constitutional amendment has power and authority

to function as institutions of self governance. People Planning Campaign initiated in 1997 in Kerala state presents a successful model of evolving a system of participatory development wherein 40 per cent of the development budget was allocated for this purpose. The campaign empowered local panchayats to achieve enhanced village based participatory planning and development [5]. In Bolivia, the Law of Popular Participation 1994 allows the Municipal Governments to keep local people involved in planning and management of various projects financed by Central Government [6]. Moreover, service user groups in Philippines and some other developing countries have legally constituted for planning, implementing and monitoring of service delivery of different services such as education, irrigation, waste collection and water management.

The cost effective dimension of participation is illustrated in various studies. For instance, [7] point out that participatory approach in National Water Supply Program in Cote d Ivoire had reduced its maintenance cost by 50 per cent. Likewise, [8] and [9] also reveal in their analytical studies that

participation ensures the reduction in investment cost by using local resources. A study of water supply projects in rural areas of 49 developing countries shows that participation played a critical role in making intervention effective, ensuring equal accessibility to development, increasing number of beneficiaries, improving quality of water supply and resulting in economic and environmental benefits [10]. Similarly, [11] while analyzing the water system performance in various countries maintain that performance of the system was better in communities where the households were given informed choices to select the type and level of service they required. Moreover, the community members showed their willingness to share the cost of construction provided they had been given control over funds. But if the control remained in hands of the government or contractors, people were not willing to contribute assuming it as a tax.

The evidence from literature also shows that participation ensures increased sustainability of development as compared to the projects without participation [11,12,13] and [14]. However, many scholars in their studies, for instance, [11,15, 16] and [17] concluded that long-term sustainability of participatory development depends upon the institutional support from external agencies in providing trainings and support to communities to maintain their projects.

The paper particularly emphasizes on exploring the link of participation with the progress of Citizen Community Boards as participatory institutions implemented in different ways. It presents a comparative analysis by taking into account projects of different boards from Muzaffargarh district. It aims to disclose the factors and issues that influence the performance of CCBs which in turn have affected the overall concept of participatory development.

2. Methodology

The data used in the paper has been totally drawn from the survey conducted during the ongoing research in four districts of Punjab province. District Muzaffargarh, one of the research areas, was selected as case study. Under this survey, out of a sample of 93 CCBs of four districts, twenty six (26) CCBs are randomly selected from Muzaffargarh District. This

sample is proportion of the total CCBs of Muzaffargarh in the total CCBs in the region. Profiling of selected CCBs based on secondary data has revealed that ten (10) CCBs are functional and the rest sixteen (16) are non functional. Since, ten CCBs were involved in development; therefore one project of each functional CCB was evaluated. In depth study has been conducted covering various aspects such as projects undertaken by functional CCBs, their institutional regimes and feed back of beneficiaries of development. For this purpose, besides the key officials, respondents from the project areas of each selected CCB were also interviewed. However, because of non-availability of total number of beneficiaries of the projects, the sample size was determined by using formula Eq. 1 of random sampling [18]:

$$n = \frac{Z^2 V^2}{e^2} \tag{1}$$

where

- n = Sample size of project beneficiaries
- Z = Normal variate at 95.0 per cent precision level
- V = Gussed variability among sampling units i.e., 50 per cent
- E = Acceptable error i.e. ±10 per cent
- N = $(1.96)^2 \times (50)^2 / (10)^2 = 96$ say 100

From derived sample consisting of 100 beneficiaries, ten (10) respondents from each project were randomly interviewed. Chi square (X^2) test was used to investigate whether satisfaction of people about projects is associated with their participation in project activities. The test was used to find out that how does participation improve service delivery through projects and to which extent does it satisfy the public about development initiatives.

Formal interviews of respective local government officials and political representatives of the areas were also conducted. Secondary data has been used where it deemed desirable. The SWOT (Strength, weaknesses, opportunities and threats) analysis has also been performed to assess the capabilities and activities of “CCBs” in terms of promoting participatory development.

3. Participatory Development in Pakistan

Since Pakistan's independence, communities have been involved in very few development initiatives [19]. In late 1980's, however communities were involved in development by donors and local non-government organizations (NGOs), and the government has also taken steps to provide an institutional platform to empower the people. In this context, Local Government Ordinance (LGO), 2001 offers an enabling environment for citizen participation through the creation of CCBs. The CCBs are community based project formulating and implementing bodies that carry out development at all tiers (District, Tehsil and Union Council) of Local Government(LG) under their specified functions. The process of CCBs' formation effectively started in 2003 after the publishing of final official guidelines by National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB) [20].

The CCBs are voluntary, non-profit associations comprising minimum 25 non-elected members who are motivated and proactive citizens. These are registered with the District Officer (DO) Social Welfare. These bodies are meant for the promotion of community participation in local planning, development, service delivery and monitoring through self-initiatives. The CCBs are envisaged to energize stakeholders to participate in development and non-development activities.

The study reveals that 37,057 CCBs have been registered all over the country till March 2007 (see Fig.1). Out of these about 50 per cent CCBs (18,128) are formed in Punjab whereas 10,759, 6,099, 2,071

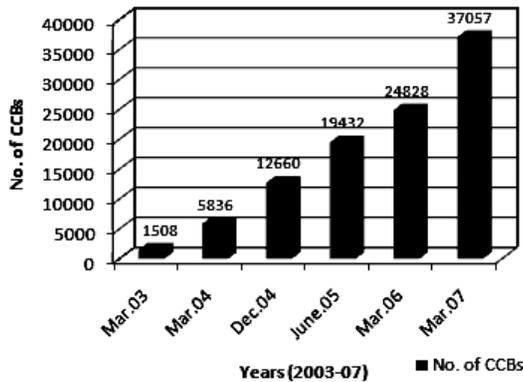


Fig. 1 Progress in CCB formation in Pakistan (2003-2007) [20].

CCBs in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (previously known as North West Frontier Province; NWFP), Sindh and Balochistan respectively [20].

The CCBs can select the development schemes at all tiers of the Local Government as per the functions specified for them in LGO, 2001. As far as the funding of development activities under this participatory mechanism is concerned, CCBs have to generate 20 per cent of the total costs of project through community sharing whereas 80 per cent is to be contributed by the concern Local Government.

The NRB's data reveals that till March 2007, CCBs got approval of 7,652 projects out of 12,849 submitted schemes at both district and tehsil level. Out of the total approved schemes, 3,516 were completed and the rest are in progress (see Table 1).

Table 1 Status of CCB Projects in Pakistan (2003-2007)

Name of Provinces	Project				
	Submitted	Under Approval	Approved	Completed	On-Going
Punjab	6592	244	3724	1632	1521
NWFP	3142	105	2019	919	809
Sindh	2716	211	1689	954	418
Balochistan	399	60	220	11	1
Total	12849	620	7652	3516	2740

Source: Adopted from [20].

4. Institutionalized Participatory Development in Muzaffargarh District

4.1 Introduction to the district

Muzaffargarh district is located in southern Punjab as a belt between the River Chenab and Indus (figure 2).

The estimated population of the district in 2008 was 3.67 million [21]. The district spreads over an area of 8,249 square kilometers. It is administratively divided into four tehsils (Muzaffargarh, Alipur, Kot Adu and Jatoi) having 93 (81 rural and 12 urban) union councils (UCs). The district is governed by its District Government headed by elected Nazim and District Coordination Officer (DCO) is the administrative head.



Fig. 2 Showing location of Muzaffargarh in Pakistan

Each tehsil is governed by Tehsil Municipal Administration (TMA) with the Nazim as its elected head (See Figure 3). According to multiple indicator cluster survey of Punjab, Muzaffargarh district has 51.75 per cent poverty head count ratio¹ in the year 2007-08 [22]. The vast part of the district consists of remote villages with insignificant development activities.

4.2 Formation of CCBs

The research presents that the pace of CCBs formation in Muzaffargarh district was very slow during the period 2003-2006. This is evident through the fact that 186 CCBs were registered in 2003 and only 157 more CCBs were added till December, 2006. The number of registered CCBs reached 805, showing a significant increase in 2007-2008.

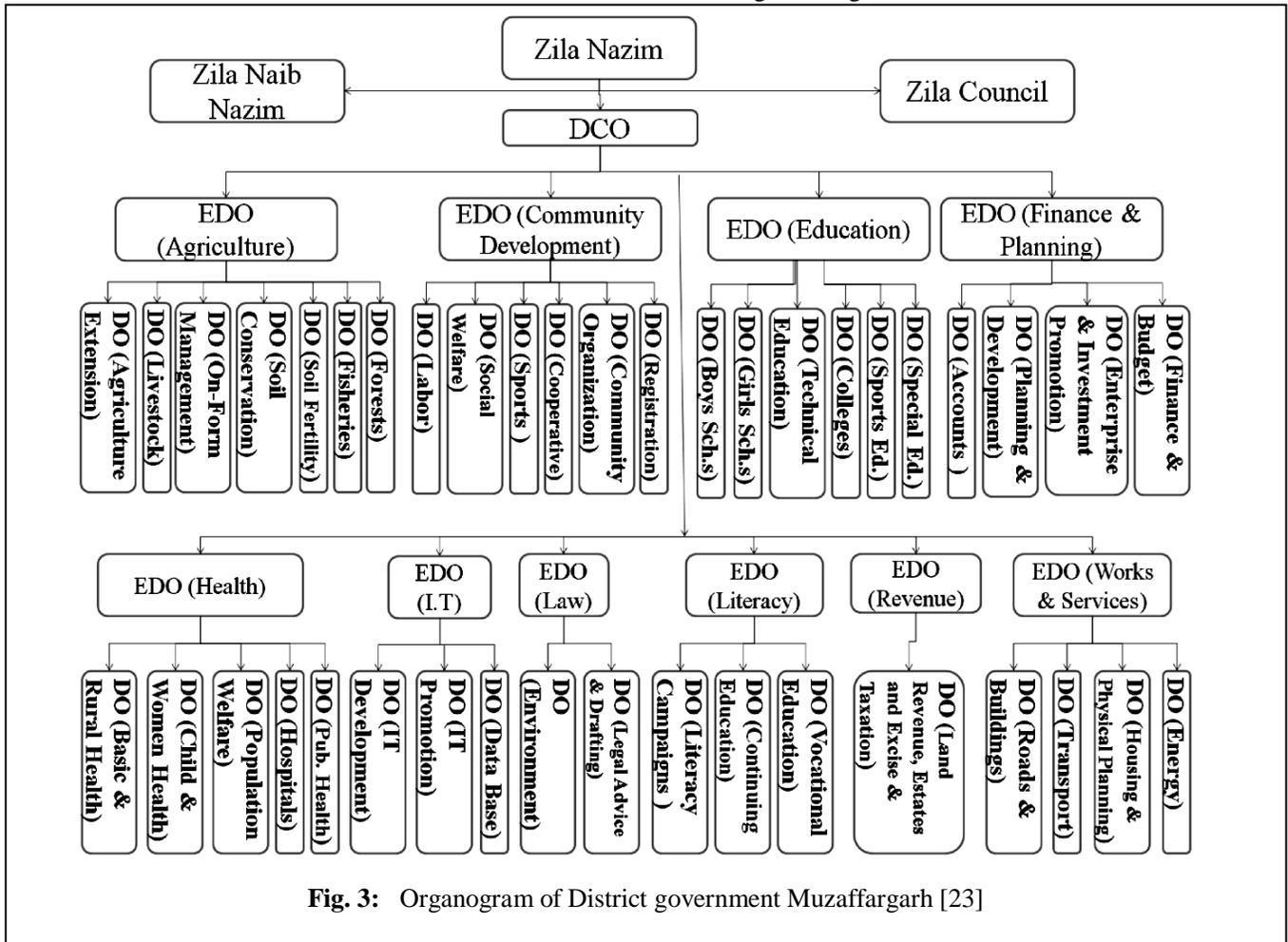


Fig. 3: Organogram of District government Muzaffargarh [23]

¹ Proportion of people living below poverty line.

However, the rate of registration again slowed down in 2008-2010 when only 55 CCBs were registered (Table 2). Number of CCBs registered in Muzaffargarh and Kot Adu tehsils was found higher (412 and 270 respectively) as compare to the number in other two tehsils Ali Pur and Jatoi i.e. 98 and 80 respectively. Findings shows (discussed in later sections) that the number of factors are responsible for the slow formation including ; lack of awareness, lengthy procedures, inaccessibility to authorities, etc The study also reveals that the Devolution Trust for Community Empowerment (DTCE) played a vital role in the formation of CCBs in the district during period 2007-2008 (illustrated in subsection-5.4.9).

4.3 Functional status of Citizen Community Boards

The data of CCBs and their projects indicates that only 111 CCBs are functional and 749 are non-functional that constitutes about 86 per cent of total CCBs. Out of the functional CCBs, 29 and 82 CCBs have initiated projects at district and at tehsil level respectively. Functional CCBs mean those which have undertaken development initiatives whereas non-functional are the CCBs which have been registered but never submitted or could not get approval of projects at any level. An overwhelming majority of non-functional CCBs includes those CCBs which have been either formed with the assistance of DTCE or as a result of residents own initiatives.

The development through CCBs has been stuck at district level since 2005 (table-2); therefore huge number of CCBs from rural areas could not work in major sectors such as health, education and agriculture. As a result, only four projects have been completed in agriculture sector and the remaining includes construction of soling, street paving, tuff tiles in streets, drainage and sewerage, street lights and construction of graveyard boundary wall. This situation depicts the destitute involvement of CCBs in development practices.

CCBs carry out development activities on the matching grant concept with 20:80 contributions from community and respective local government funding. For CCBs 25 per cent of the annual development budget is allocated solely for the 80 per cent contribution required by the local government. In case of Muzaffargarh district, total allocation for CCBs at both district and tehsil level is Rs. 961.5 million for the years 2003 to 2009. Though under the devolution system more financial resources are available for local governments to spend on development initiatives, the utilization rate of funds has been very low indicating slow progress of CCBs in Muzaffargarh district. Table 3 shows that out of Rs. 961.5 million funds allocated during a six year period, only Rs. 280.08 million have been utilized at both tiers, district and tehsil level, that makes 29.1 per cent of total funds.

Table 2: Status of Citizen Community Boards in Muzaffargarh District (2003–December, 2009)

Year	CCBs Registered		Number of Projects undertaken by CCBs			
	Number	Percentage	At District Level	At Tehsils level	Total Number	Percentage
2000-03 ¹	0	0	0	0	0	0
2003-06	186	21.6	48	-	48	19.5
2006-07	157	18.3	-	19	19	7.0
2007-08	462	53.7	-	69	69	32.1
2008-09	50	5.8	-	28	28	13.0
2009-10	5	0.6	9	52	61	28.4
Total	860	100	57	168	225	100

Source: Data collected under PhD research, 2010*

* Data is totally extracted from the researcher’s field work for ongoing PhD research titled, “Institutionalizing participatory Development in Pakistan: The Performance Evaluation of Citizen Community Boards in Multan Region”.

Table 3: Allocation and Utilization of Funds for CCBs in Muzaffargarh (2003-2009)

2003 to 2006 2007	District		TMA	
	Allocation (Million Rs.)	Utilization (Million Rs.)	Allocation (Million Rs.)	Utilization (Million Rs.)
2008	352	6.7	30	5.98
2009	-	32.3	92.98	25.22
Total	-	-	-	29.3
	338	25.67	148.52	154.91
	690	64.67	271.5	215.41

Source: Data collected under PhD research², 2010

It is pertinent to mention that till 2006, slow utilization was because of stoppage of CCBs projects at the district level when Director General (DG) Anti-corruption took action on misappropriation of funds in CCBs schemes. On investigation, it was found that some CCBs were got approval of those projects and getting funds which were already developed by Public Health Engineering department. No budget was allocated and nor development work undertaken because of political unrest in the district from 2006 to 2008. However, in 2009, 61 projects were approved out of which only nine have been implemented with utilization of a small proportion of budget. From 2003 to 2006, utilization of funds at the tehsil level had not been significant. The main reason found during study for this was non awareness of people about CCBs projects as revealed in sub-section-a. Nevertheless, utilization of funds was encouraging from 2007 to 2009 (Table 3) due to the DTCE campaign as illustrated in subsection-5.4.9.

4.5 Development projects initiated by CCBs

A CCB can initiate a project at any level of local government but it must be approved from the respective local council. At the district level, Executive District Officer (EDO) ‘Community

Development (CD)’ is responsible to deal with the affairs of CCBs.

The project falling under district jurisdiction is submitted to the EDO (CD) whereas projects at the tehsil level are dealt with by the Town Officer Planning and Coordination (TOP&C). Each project is routed through its respective sectoral head. For instance, project formulated by a CCB related to education is routed through District Officer Education. It is also anticipated that CCBs would initiate and execute project themselves. As a result, the cost (profit of contractor) of executing and managing the project will be saved.

A total of 93 projects have been completed in various sectors at both tiers of the district during the period 2003 to 2009, which reflects that the speed of development has been slow. At the district level where only 16 projects were completed, the main reasons attributed to this end as discussed earlier are: the projects were brought to a halt in 2005 on intervention of DG Anti-corruption; political conflicts between the District Nazim and the Provincial Government after 2005 prolonged till November 2007. Therefore, only sixteen projects were completed by CCBs at this tier till the date of the survey (table 4).

It is important to note that not a single project was undertaken from 2003 to 2005 at the tehsil level in the whole district and significant increase in projects is observed after 2007(table 2). The main reasons include: first, the lack of awareness as people viewed that projects could only be taken at the district level because they registered their CCBs at that level; second, most of the CCBs from rural UCs initially registered were interested to undertake projects in the agriculture sector (a function of the district government); and thirdly, the post of TOP&C was vacant in all TMAs and Town Officer Infrastructure & Services (TOI & S) or TO Finance took up the additional duty to look after this post.

Table 4 shows that out of 225 executed projects 93 were completed and 100 were found in progress in the entire district, whereas the rest 32 were stopped due to fraud in funds by respective CCBs. Progress is observed in the period when DTCE initiated its awareness and training program in the district.

². Data was collected from district Muzaffargarh and its three Tehsils (Muzaffargarh, Kot Addu & Ali Pur) whereas updated data was not available for Tehsil Jatoi as all the record of TMA was burnt in 2007 by TMA officials to hide corruption from Audit team, so data about allocation and utilization of funds was not available.

Table 4: Status of Projects in Muzaffargarh District (2003–December 2009)

Status	District Level	TMA Level			
		Muzaffargarh	Kot Addu	Alipur	Jatoi
Number of Projects					
Completed	16	34	6	37	
In Progress	9	45	13	17	16
Total	25	79	19	54	16

Source: Data collected under PhD research, 2010

5. Survey Results and Analysis

The results of the interview surveys conducted from the CCBs, project beneficiaries and LG officials are presented in the preceding sections.

5.1 Types of Citizen Community Boards

According to the LGO, 2001, a CCB is a board established for community welfare by the community itself. Therefore, theoretically, all the CCBs should have similar characteristics but due to different motives behind their formation, they have varying attributes. In this context, [24] has mentioned four types of CCBs which include; a) Philanthropist initiative, b) Rural Support Program's community organizations (COs), c) Contractor led, and d) Political affiliated. In Muzaffargarh district though the contractor led and the political affiliated CCBs do exist, however two new types of CCBs were also observed; CCBs led by the community itself and the NGOs. Among the sample functional CCBs (eleven CCBs) in the district Muzaffargarh, it was found that contractor led CCBs were dominating with five (5)

CCBs followed by political affiliated four (4) CCBs and each one (1) belongs to the NGOs and Community driven type CCBs. A brief description of these CCBs is given below:

5.1.1 Contractor led CCBs

The basic objective to form these CCBs is to earn more profit. In order to accomplish this, an individual (contractor) collects 25 National identity cards of his relatives and/or other people close to him to show community involvement. He then gets a CCB registered and deposits 20 per cent of the cost of the proposed project from his own financial sources (see box 1). He recovers his initial investment and makes a profit from the purchase of material, etc. In this type of CCB, the leading individual dealing with all matters of CCBs is the contractor and the chairman and general secretary play only a limited role. To apparently fulfill the procedural requirements, the contractor consults them for project identification and for the use of funds as they are CCB account holders.

5.1.2 Political Affiliated CCBs

These CCBs are operated by the political leaders of the area. The motive behind the formation of these CCBs is to strengthen their political influence within their constituencies and to earn profits. Elected Nazims, Naib Nazim, and Councilor (district, tehsil, union) form CCBs involving their family members or relatives just on paper but keep all the matters in their own hands. The chairman of the board contributes the 20 per cent community share through his own resources and it is a very small investment for the sake of their larger interest (as described in box 2).

Box 1: Contractor led CCB - Gulab Citizen Community Board

Gulab CCB came in existence on 16 July 2007 by the efforts of Haji Saif (a contractor) handling different development projects in tehsil Muzaffargarh. He has also facilitated the establishment of another CCB named Al-Madina by managing to collect identity cards of 25 members for each CCB to get registered with District Government. He is also associated with the execution of projects through both CCBs in village Rohillanwali. After getting registered, he solely identified the project covering construction of open sewer drain and patch work with tough tiles in the streets of the local market. The estimate of the proposed project was made by the sectoral officer of TMA and it was approved by Tehsil Council with a total cost of Rs.7,83,600. Of the total cost, 20 per cent share from the community i.e., Rs.1,56,720 was arranged by the contractor from his own financial resources without taking any contribution from community. The project was implemented without involving local members at any stage. Despite the fact that the project was the need of area but under the umbrella of participation, zero participation was noticed. It was reported that the project monitoring committee has paid visits to the project only before disbursement of installment. However, residents, shopkeepers and customers of market were found content with the improvement of the area. During the researcher's visit to the area, it was found that few tough tiles had disappeared from the street and were being used by shop keepers and residents as illustrated in figure 4.

Box 2: Political affiliated CCB - Chandia Citizen Community Board

Mr. Tariq Nawaz Chandia belongs to an influential family whose father is the Nazim of the union council. He managed to get a CCB registered, named Chandia, on 28 July 2007. The main objective of the formation of this CCB was to maximize their vote bank in their local constituency through development projects. The members of the CCB were from his family including himself as the chairman but the other members had no role in the board affairs. Due to his political network, the CCB easily got approval of a project of construction of street lights in a colony of Bhutapur village. Meanwhile, he got registered another CCB (Almadina) to get another project of drain earth filling and tough tiles in the same street. The need for a second CCB was realized as TMA does not permit the same CCB to undertake more than one project at a time. He started both projects simultaneously after getting approval from the Tehsil Council. It is worthwhile to mention that he identified and executed the projects himself without seeking consultation from people of the area. For a political person, it was not a big deal to deposit the community share (20%) which was Rs. 5,00,000 for both projects with total estimated cost of Rs. 25,00,000. Being a single force behind the whole development process, very few people in the area knew about existence of any CCB rather they were obliged to Mr. Tariq's father for the improvement in their area. As far the identification of project is concerned, the residents were satisfied with the development initiatives, however, they showed their concern that it would have been better if clean drinking water was provided instead of street lights. It was reported by the key official that respective LG do not monitor their CCB's routine activities. Implementation of the projects improved the appearance of the street, but the street lights were not in working condition even after four months of completion. The reason reported was that there is no electric connection as the TMA has not applied for it (see figure 5)

Box 3: Community led CCB -Tahaffuz-e-Aama Citizen Community Board

Some active residents of Basti Balochan in Bhuttapur, who used to gather, share and participate in resolving their different communal problems through collective efforts, founded CCBs as the right platform for their activities. They elected one person among them as the chairman of the board, and got their CCB registered on 18 December 2006. Through mutual consensus of all the members, they identified that their foremost problem was the very low level of a street as compared to its adjoining street, and this could be solved by earth filling and construction of drain. Their lives had become miserable especially in rainy season when water would flow downward and enter their homes and converted the whole street into a pond. Therefore their CCB applied for the project in TMA with estimated cost of Rs. 13,50,000. The estimates and the proposal were made by relevant sectoral official as the CCB members lacked technical knowledge. They raised the 20 per cent share amounting to Rs. 2,70,000 from the community members who paid varying amounts depending upon their income level and also through funds from some wealthy people living in the area. Few people who could not pay in cash contributed to the project by working as labor during the implementation stage. The important aspect is that the community members were involved in identification, formulation and implementation of the project. In this way they considered that the project as their own and were satisfied with the improved living condition and better environment that can be viewed in figure 6. It also enhanced the keenness among community members to participate for their own well being.

As they belong to that area, the chairman and other members of these boards know about the problems of the area and they try to undertake those initiatives which are most desirable for the community.

5.1.3 Community Led CCBs

These CCBs depict the real spirit behind the CCBs concept portrayed in LGO (2001). Unfortunately, such types of CCBs that are formed by the community through real participation were few in number in the district. In this type of CCBs, majority of the members of the board participate at every stage of the project from identification to raising the 20 per cent community share for the project.

however, this contribution varies according to income level. Moreover, people even contribute in the form of labor, or providing any construction material, land or other facilities in the form of "in kind" contribution.

3.1.4 NGO Led CCBs

These CCBs are formed by the NGOs as they are not eligible to participate in development by using provisions of the LGO 2001 unless they get registered as a CCB. Only one (1) CCB of this type was found among the sample in the entire district. The functioning of this type of CCB is almost like that of a community led CCBs except it has a far more professional approach since its founder NGO is

already involved in participatory development processes and so it follows the project cycle management (see box 4).

5.2 Association of community satisfaction with participation

The data was collected through beneficiaries' interviews about their participation in CCB project activities, their awareness level, and their satisfaction about service delivery through project. To assess the role of participation in improving service delivery and satisfying community needs, Chi square test of 2x2 contingency table was applied. The test provides whether satisfaction is associated with participation or both are independent. It also helps in determining the role of CCBs in promoting participation. To apply the test, the data was organized in the following manner:

- H_0 = Satisfaction of community about service delivery is independent of their participation
 H_a = Satisfaction of community about service delivery is associated with their participation
 α = 0.05

The Chi square for 2x2 contingency table of level of participation and level of satisfaction (table-5) is calculated with the following formula:

$$X^2 = \frac{(ad - bc)^2 (a + b + c + d)}{(a + b)(c + d)(b + d)(a + c)}$$

$$X^2 = \frac{(1120 - 128)^2 (100)}{(28)(72)(64)(36)}$$

$$X^2_{\text{Calculated}} = 21.18$$

$$X^2(0.05,1) = 3.84$$

Table 5 Association between participation in project and satisfaction with service delivery

Satisfaction with service delivery	Participation In Projects		Total
	Yes	NI	
Satisfied	20	8	28
Dissatisfied	16	56	72
Total	36	64	100

Since the calculated value of Chi Square (X^2) = 21.18 at one (1) degree of freedom that is greater than critical value at 5% level of significance i.e., $X^2_{\text{Calculated}} = 21.18 > X^2(0.05,1) = 3.84$, so it is concluded that the null hypothesis (H_0) is rejected and the alternate hypotheses (H_a) is accepted. In other words, the people who have been involved in projects of CCBs, were satisfied with its service delivery and vice versa. Moreover, the number of respondents involved in development and satisfied with it was very nominal as compare to those who were not satisfied with the development. This is because of insignificant number of such CCBs in the district which have involved community effectively in their projects.

5.3 SWOT analysis

Keeping in view the research findings, situation is evaluated by using SWOT analysis to assess the role of Govt. as well as the CCB itself (see Table-6).

All the positives (Strengths & opportunities) and negatives (weaknesses & threats) are listed to reveal positive forces that can work together for good results and problems that need to be adhered or just to be recognized.

Box 4: NGO based CCB –Khurram Development Citizen Community Board

Mr. Zafer Gurmani, running an NGO named Al-Khidmat in Muzaffargarh, has been involved in community work in different sectors like education, solid waste management, awareness campaigns, advocacy, etc. He along with his other colleagues, decided to use the CCB platform for community development. They registered Khurram CCB on 28 November 2006. Mr. Gurmani is the chairman of the NGO and the CCB as well. His CCB worked on the provision of 18 garbage containers in Lutkarran which was a single project of solid waste among all projects of TMA. They identified the need of this project as no attention to this sector has been given by any relevant government department or the private sector. The proposal and estimates were prepared in coordination with the relevant sectoral official and the CCB because some of the CCB members have technical experience, as they have been involved in such activities while working with the NGO. The community share of its cost was arranged as donation from the textile mill owners of the area. The project was completed in one and half year due to lengthy procedures. The functioning of the CCBs is significantly attributed by its style of working, by involving the community in each step of project development. On one hand, this project has improved the situation of the areas where containers were provided and on the other, developed the civic sense and sense of responsibility in improving the environment among citizens.

Table 6: The SWOT analysis for Citizen Community Boards.

Positive Strengths	Negative Weaknesses
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Project identification reflects community needs (voice to the choices) as in case of Community lead CCB • Mobilization of internal and external resources • Community financial contribution results in formulation of small scale projects easy to manage. • The community has chance to intervene in different facets of development for instance solid waste management, agriculture, infrastructure, etc • Effective monitoring by CCBs ensures quality cost effective service delivery • Participation and cost sharing lead to ownership of development • Ownership of projects results in sustainability like in Community lead CCB • Empowerment of communities due to participation • Equitable partnership with LG in development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Surrogate membership in the formation of CCBs can be used for vested interests for instance in case of Contractor and political affiliated CCBs • Dependency on LG and contractors due to lack of capacity to formulate project • Compromised spirit of community participation through CCBs for instance in political affiliated and contractor lead CCBs • Lack of effort in involving community in projects like in political and contractor lead CCBs • Lack of awareness in CCBs about their functioning such as in non functional CCBs • Difficulty in collecting community share due to trust deficit and economic situation of poor people
Opportunities	Threats
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legislation by the government to support participatory development • Matching grant from LG budget for the CCB's Projects • Creation of an opportunity by government support for the development with increased intensity from grass root level to broader scale at all tiers of LG • Provision of technical support by the government to CCBs in project proposal development • Successful example like community lead and NGO based CCBs will promote collective actions, resource sharing and community cohesiveness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incapability in creating awareness by the government at local to mass scale • Capacity lacking in LG officials for monitoring and evaluating the projects • Delays in project approval and completion due to lengthy procedures • Inefficiency in achieving targets due to delay in disbursements by the government • Non provision of enabling environment by the government for CCBs progress will collapse this initiative • Disbursements by the government is not linked with utilization of funds for the project • Lack of interest of LG officials in strengthening CCBs as in case of Kot Addu • Poor internal controls system by government leads to new avenues of corruption such as in Jatoi tehsil and Muzaffargarh district • Prone to elite capture as non elective CCB members might have hidden agenda for instance by contractors, political leaders • Political instability or change in policies may have adverse impact like freezing of budget, stoppage of projects, inflation, etc. • Sustainability of projects may be compromised due to non-ownership and funding from community and government

5.4 Factors Influencing the Functioning of CCBs

A study conducted by the ADB, DFID and World Bank in six Districts and 12 TMAs unveils various facts pertaining to devolved service delivery. The study pointed out that CCBs did not receive any development funds in two districts (i.e. Faisalabad and Khairpur) whereas in some TMAs CCBs had not been registered and where registered they were not functional. The main reasons attributed to the dismal situation has been the registration procedures, incapability of government officials related to CCBs, delay in funds allocation, lack of technical skill to develop proposals, etc. Most important aspect highlighted in the study was that CCBs had not been a priority for the local government and political leadership [25].

The research shows that several factors influence the progress of CCBs. The factors include; lack of awareness among public, lengthy and cumbersome procedures involved in approval of projects, difficulties in fund raising, political influences and interference, CCBs own governance, political conflicts between elected officials and the Provincial Government, lack of technical capacity to develop proposals, and a lack of enthusiasm of government officials. The above factors are briefly explained in the following sections.

5.4.1 Lack of Awareness

Lack of motivation and awareness among community members about CCBs has critically hampered the progress of CCBs in Muzaffargarh district. The study reveals that seventy eight (78) of the total respondents do not even know the concept of CCBs, fifteen (15) respondents have just heard about it but not involved. Only seven (7) respondents familiar with the concept and are involved to some extent in the working of CCBs. Several reports, articles and news have also highlighted this problem, for instance, the CIET³ social audit of governance and delivery of public services pointed out that awareness about CCBs among public is very low i.e., 3 per cent of men and 1 per cent of women had just

³ CIET is registered in New York as “Community Information & Epidemiological Technologies” and in South Africa and Europe it stands for “Community, Information, Empowerment and Transparency”.

heard of CCBs and once CCBs were explained briefly to them, 50 per cent men and only 29 per cent women showed willingness to join CCBs [26]. The lack of awareness of peoples has adversely affected the progress of development initiatives in the district.

5.4.2 Incapacitated Citizen Community Boards

CCBs are responsible for identification, preparation and processing of their projects. The concerned CCB has to prepare a proposal for a project and submit it on a specified form to the specified government official. The study shows that CCBs members are not equipped with technical skills required for the development of project proposal. Almost all of the CCBs among non functional as well as four CCBs from the sample of functional CCBs showed their concern that they couldn't develop proposal themselves which in turn constrained them to depend upon officials in respective local government. Moreover, key officials of CCBs were not qualified to handle the monitoring and implementation stage of the projects. Similar findings were reported by [27] in their paper that CCBs require capacity building to develop technical proposals for the projects as it has impact on the sustainability of development.

5.4.3 Lengthy and Cumbrous Procedures

The process related to the functioning of CCBs consists of eight steps which are given below:

- i. Checking the availability of name
- ii. Filing application for registration
- iii. Processing by the registration authority
- iv. Identification of projects
- v. Project preparation and processing
- vi. Approval of projects
- vii. Implementation
- viii. Monitoring and evaluation

The study discloses that the procedures involved in CCBs functioning from registration to project implementation are very cumbersome and lengthy. The respondents pointed out that though the registration process does not take much time but the process of project proposal, its approval and then implementation involves a time consuming and demanding exercise. Every procedure takes too much

time even up to months and the CCB's responsible person (chairman or general secretary) has to oscillate between different departments of the local government. For instance key official of Tahaffuz-e-Aama CCB indicated that they got approval of the project after four months and their project also faced delay of average 2 month for every installment disbursement. Only those people, who have no job other than to deal with CCB affairs, can accomplish these tasks. Owing to this many CCBs are no longer interested in undertaking projects. Among non functional CCBs, nine (9) were those who started procedures but due to above mentioned reasons they left the efforts of getting project approval. The remaining seven (7) CCBs were formed due to DTCE campaign but afterwards they found it difficult to undertake initiative themselves to apply for projects. Similar problems were also mentioned by functional CCBs which are involved in development activities.

5.4.4 Difficulty in Raising Financial Contribution

Another most important factor that has affected the functioning of CCBs is to raise their 20 per cent share from community. The research shows that the development is required in the poor village areas where people cannot afford to share in the development fund. Out of sixteen (16) non-functional CCBs, ten (10) reported fund collection from community as the main stumbling block in participating in development process. Moreover they also do not have access to any other resources to generate "in kind" contribution. Majority of the CCBs formed with the assistance of DTCE became non-functional due to their failure to collect the required fund from community members and a little improvement was noticed in development. Functional CCBs also reported that fund raising from community is very difficult due to lack of trust and very low income level of target population.

Moreover, (nine) 9 CCBs showed their concern about delayed disbursement of installments from respective local governments. They also indicated that this delay sometimes results in suspension of development work which in turn leads to increase in material cost due to inflation. This ultimately put burden on CCB's own budget and they usually try to cover it through compromising quality of material.

Similar finding has been indicated by [28] that politicians hinder the disbursement to utilize CCBs funds for their political interest.

5.4.5 Access to Authorities

The vast part of Muzaffargarh district comprises remote villages and a few settlements with urban character. People from villages located far away from the office of DO Social Welfare find it difficult to get their CCBs registered. Moreover, if they get their CCB registered, it is hard for them to approach the TMA or EDO offices to submit and follow up their projects which involve lengthy procedures. Findings from survey reveals that out of functional and non functional CCBs, six (6) and 11 CCBs respectively were belonging to the remote villages and they attributed this as an arduous factor responsible for their low interest in participating in development.

5.4.6 Political Influence

Political influence has also played critical role in discouraging and making some CCBs non-functional. The projects submitted by CCBs need to be approved by the House of respective Local Government (i.e. District or Tehsil Council) where the elected leader of the house (i.e. District or Tehsil Nazim) is the approving authority. During the field surveys it was noticed that the political elected leaders use their authority and favor projects of those CCBs which fall in their constituency and reject those proposals, which have been submitted by their opponents. Out of 16 non functional CCBs, 10 have pointed out political interference as one of the problems. Even five of the functional CCBs also informed that they had to face a lot of political opposition during the processing of their first project, and even after its completion, they could not get approval of second project from the authority due to undue political interference.

5.4.7 Political conflict between elected leaders and Provincial Government

This factor has also contributed critically in increasing the number of non functional CCBs. As it is discussed earlier, during the period from 2005-2007, the annual budget of the district was not approved due to conflicts between the elected Nazim of the district and the Provincial Government. This in turn halted the process of development. It is reported

by 11 non-functional CCBs that initially they were registered to get projects at district level as they belong to village areas. They were interested particularly in the development of health and agriculture sectors but due to the halt in development at district level, they became non-functional.

5.4.8 Lack of Capacity and Enthusiasm of Government Officials

Bringing diverse changes in organizational set up and procedures to facilitate participatory development through CCBs is very problematic and complex. The structure exists but there is still confusion regarding roles and responsibilities of functionaries under new devolution system. At Tehsil level, TO P&C is CCB official and he is responsible to deal with all affairs relevant to CCBs. Different issues related to this post were noticed in the field, consequently effecting CCBs progress. Important issue is that out of four TMAs, only one qualified planner was working on the post of TO P&C and in other TMAs duties were either being performed by other staff like Town Officer infrastructure (TOI) or the post was lying vacant. For instance, in TMA Muzaffargarh, the post of TO P&C was remained vacant till 2007, after that a qualified planner was posted on this seat. As a result, the process of development through CCBs was hampered before 2007 as no single project was forwarded for approval in this TMA. However, many initiatives were undertaken to improve the functioning of CCBs in the presence of TO P&C. On the other hand, the study shows that the situation in other Tehsils remained disappointing. The officials were not enthusiastic in promoting concept of CCB and they were not sensitized enough towards community development issues. Moreover, they considered it as a burden and they were afraid of being held accountable. This finding is somewhat similar to [29], who has cited non-cooperative behavior of LG officials and political representatives is one of the impediments for the CCB's functioning.

In addition, the monitoring mechanism adopted by respective tiers was found ineffective in the study area, for instance, the Haji Saif, a CCB's key officials responded that the monitoring committee visits the project after completion of each stage just for the sake of releasing the funds installments. Nevertheless

they don't have mechanism to monitor as well as adequate staff to monitor the entire activities of CCBs.

5.4.9 Role of Devolution Trust for Community Empowerment

Realizing the dire need to develop support mechanism for CCBs, DTCE was established in 2003. It was meant to create enabling environment for citizen participation in local development with the territorial mandate of covering all districts of Pakistan [30]. DTCE addressed the problems faced by CCBs pertaining to awareness, formation, registration, funds arrangement, project implementation and capacity development. It also facilitated devolution at local level by establishing linkages among community, Local Government and elected representatives. More specifically, it aimed to act as catalyst to promote community empowerment by mobilizing all segments of society to participate in development process.

In 2007, DTCE commenced its program in two tehsils of Muzaffargarh district (i.e. Muzaffargarh and Ali Pur) through different local NGOs by launching its awareness and project cycle management (PCM) training program for community. In addition to awareness campaign, training sessions were arranged for elected representatives, government officials and officials of CCBs. It also gave financial incentives to TOP&Cs and Nazims for helping CCBs in the project formulation process. The DTCE interventions have had a positive impact in the form of increased number of CCBs and their projects in respective areas during 2006-2008 (table-2).

5.4.10 CCBs own Governance

Organizational structure of any institution and its overall governance are the major contributors to the effective and efficient working of CCBs. In Muzaffargarh, these factors have had a significant impact on the development interventions, their quality and the participatory concept behind development. The governance of the CCBs that fall under the contractor led or politically affiliated types are primarily one man show bodies and lack the real concept of participatory development. On the other hand, the community based and NGO formed CCBs

are governed by the officials of CCBs and involve the participation of the community at every stage.

6. Discussion

A synthesis of the facts related to participatory development through CCBs, the progress in the development of communities, and the hindrances faced is as follows:

Initially the process of CCBs formation was quite slow in all parts of the country but it has gained pace with the passage of time and shown steady improvement. The number of registered CCBs has increased significantly from 2003 onwards. This is due to the DTCE intervention in 13 target districts across the country and the capacity development of CCBs officials by DTCE. This also stands valid in the case of Muzaffargarh District where a remarkable increase in the registration of CCBs have been observed in two of its tehsils.

If the concept is implemented in its real sense, CCBs as institutions are believed to lead grass root improvement. However, the existence of different types of CCBs, due to the people running them and their vested interests, and their role in operating these institutions, has had varying impacts on the performance of CCBs. In this context, [31] also pointed out that CCBs are vulnerable to elite capture and most of them are hijacked by contractors for their own benefit. Likewise, developmental goods and Self Help Groups (SHGs) were found prone to capture by elites 'Sarpanches' having political power under PRIs [32]. Though contractor led and politically affiliated CCBs have offered significant development in the shape of projects but they do not reflect the requirements of communities (see box 2 and sec. 5). Due to non-involvement of communities, the quality of projects has also been reported inferior (see box 1&2 and Figure (4&5)).

However, the working experience of NGO and Community led CCBs indicates that there is room for community participation in the development process. Since, the projects have been developed according to the requirements of people and they are very much satisfied with them. Moreover, their projects were also found in good condition at the time of field visit (see box 3&4 and figure 6).



Fig,4 Destitute condition of development carried out by Contractor led CCB



Fig,5 Development carried out by Political affiliated CCB



Fig,6 Improved condition of street after Community led CCB intervention

As per the provisions of the LGO, 2001, the CCBs have to undertake the projects falls under the functions specified for each tier of the local government (district, tehsil and union council) as described in previous sections. In case of

Muzaffargarh where majority of the union councils/settlements are rural and they need development in agriculture, health and education but no progress could be achieved due to non functional CCBs as well as the other factors stated in the previous sections. Therefore the rural community remained undeveloped.

Due to inaccessibility of the people to their respective local governments, most of the CCBs, formed through awareness campaigns, have become non functional. The increased number of inactive CCBs portrays a bleak picture to others instead of motivating them. It also shows that the resources and efforts involved in creating awareness have been in vain. Moreover, deficiencies in the administrative system have caused the development process, through CCBs, to slow down. The discouraging and unenthusiastic attitude of officials at TMAs (Kot Addu and Jatoi) has resulted in very low progress in respective tehsils as not a single project has been completed so far.

For the funding of their projects, 25 per cent of the total development budget is allocated for CCBs at both tiers and under no circumstances are these funds re-allocated to any other head of expenditures. Since in the areas where development is required, majority of the people in the district belong to poor rural areas therefore it is difficult for them to share 20 per cent for the project that leads to slow progress in development. This is a clear illustration why CCBs are non functional and the budget allocated for CCBs' projects is unutilized.

As CCBs have no fear of being checked or evaluated by any authority due to ineffective monitoring mechanism of LG officials, they do not perform their activities as envisaged in LGO (2001), compromising the real concept behind their formation.

7. Conclusion and Recommendations

In case of Muzaffargarh, participatory development envisaged through CCBs could not take place and the expected cost saving component could not be materialized. However, some success stories of CCB's interventions are also found in other parts of country [30]. The real concept of CCBs was compromised with the cropping up of varying types of CCBs such as politically affiliated and contractor

led CCBs. In Muzaffargarh District a huge amount (Rs. 681 million) meant for development remained unutilized due to a large number of non-functional CCBs. Moreover development that did occur was through CCBs by the politically affiliated and contractor led CCBs. Therefore this form of development lacked both the cost saving and community participation aspects. The development carried out in such manner is quite similar to that of conventional bureaucratic centralized approach. Although the share of development by community led and NGO formed CCBs is nominal, yet they present the real model of participatory development. Under this model, as there is a sense of ownership among the community, the projects are sustainable. Such partnership role of communities in decision-making and allocation and utilization of resources was identified by [33] in Faisalabad Area Up gradation Project (FAUP). Their partnership for public facilities and services has created sense of ownership among communities to ensure proper maintenance of the interventions.

The research shows that due to lack of regular monitoring and evaluation by the government officials, the efforts made by the DTCE in increasing the number of CCBs have been in vain.

Like Multipurpose Community Organizations (MPCOs) of FAUP and other successful participatory interventions in Pakistan, CCBs could potentially play a vital role in the development of Muzaffargarh and other similar districts provided that the factors inhibiting their development and performance are addressed effectively by initiating awareness campaign at UC level, providing one window facility and easing procedures to save time and resources, developing capacity of CCBs and LG officials, ensuring community participation instead of encouraging contractors and developing a mechanism to monitor CCBs activities.

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