

Rethinking the Local State in Pakistan for Effective Social Protection

Ali Cheema

Haris Gazdar

Introduction and outline

- Concept of universal effective citizenship
- Existing local state machinery
- Historical institutional legacy
- From land and kinship to citizenship

1.1 Concept of effective citizenship

- Negative and positive freedoms
- Citizenship-based entitlements
- Universalism and community construction

1.2 Citizen accounting

- Registration and counting – NADRA, census, births, deaths, marriages
- Political voice – voter registration
- Surveillance and entitlements – police reporting, domicile

1.3 Social policy interventions

- Local public goods – schools and schooling, immunization, LHW coverage
- Targeting of cash transfers - BISP
- Access to land – land reforms, homestead land

2.1 Dimensions of “local”

- Urban and rural
- Local government as district
- Political constituencies
- Villages and communities
- Land administration system
- Location of essential services

2.2 Post-devolution state at the local level

- Union council and its functions
- Representation and capacity

2.3 Incomplete catchments

- Schools
- Health centres
- Population welfare and Lady Health Workers
- Failure of immunization campaigns
- Zakat and Bait-ul-Maal

2.4 The earthquake experience

- Disaster and relief
- Where the *patwari* lived

3.1 Mauza in Punjab

- History of land settlement – notion of village
- Canal colony settlement
- *Nambardar* and *patwari*
- Cultivators, non-cultivators, *kammis* and *chuhra/mussalis*
- Some field observations

3.2 Deh and Goth in Sindh

- History of land settlement – *deh*
- Irrigation and migration – settlement patterns
- Multiple ways of accounting for settlements
- *Tapaydar, zamindar, hari* and *wadero*
- Some field observations

3.3 Tribes and castes

- Dominant organizational form in NWFP, FATA, Balochistan
- Tribes and castes in Punjab – past and now, more on now
- Tribes and castes in Sindh – past and now, more on now
- Accounting for people through kinship groups

3.5 Land administration

- Presence of state in its land revenue role
- Declining relevance of land revenue and effectiveness
- Selected field observations

3.6 The police *thana*

- Record of population through tribes and castes
- Linkage with *lambardar* and *wadero*
- Surveillance and extortion

4.1 Administrative requirements of social policy administration

- Design issues in targeted and untargeted programmes
- Local, integrated and timely data and record-keeping
- Economic feasibility of a National Social Policy Platform

4.2 Institutionalizing effective citizenship

- Integrating accountability of citizenship entitlements locally
- Scope for political, social and legal activism
- Adding substance to local democracy

4.3 Rebuilding the state through conflict and beyond

- State weakness and fragility
- Dimensions of threats to state
- New identities beyond local patriarchy