



## What political parties say and what they do: Manifestos and Performance

Researched by Hassan Nabi Dar

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*The goal of this study is to objectively inform how each political party performed during the last five years. The study aims merely to capture performance of each political party that formed the federal or provincial government in Pakistan during 2013-2108. We have tried to do so accurately without endorsing or favouring any party or position. In doing so, we rely solely on data available, usually from government sources. There is no attempt here to judge a party. As an independent and non-partisan institution IPR does not take sides.*

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# VOTERS BEWARE

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Political parties release their manifestos with much fanfare and hoopla. Looking at their performance though, it is right to question if the celebration is justified. IPR has conducted a study to assess how much each party has delivered on the promises made in their manifestos 2013.

Our research shows that the manifestos mostly seem forgotten once elections are over. If the parties were serious, manifesto ideas must translate to policies, programmes, and projects soon after assumption of power. But as the Charts and Tables on the following pages show, we see little evidence of that. They achieved a small part of what the manifestos set out to do.

It is not clear also if parties are realistic in announcing their promises. There is no evidence to suggest that they relate manifesto ideals to available financial and institutional resources. Nor did we find them to budget for their agendas or dwell on the capacity of organizations expected to deliver the targets. Consequently, once in power, the parties make scant effort to monitor progress.

This document studies manifestos of the three political parties that formed federal and provincial governments, PML N, PPP, and PTI. Their manifesto promises are tabulated and juxtaposed with actual performance. To facilitate comparison, IPR researchers have quantified manifesto statements to the extent possible. Each party's performance is distributed into three categories: progress, mixed performance, and underperformance. The set of first pie charts below shows how the three parties did overall when we count all their promises against what they got done:

*Underperformance:* 

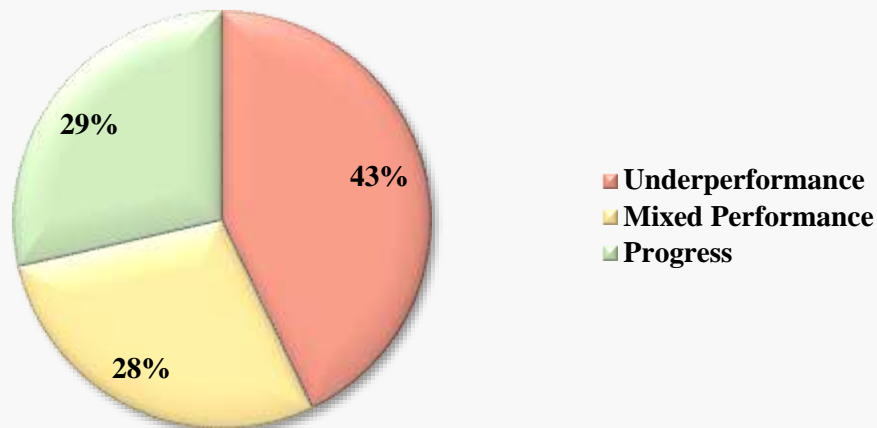
*Mixed performance:* 

*Progress:* 

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## PML N Overall Performance

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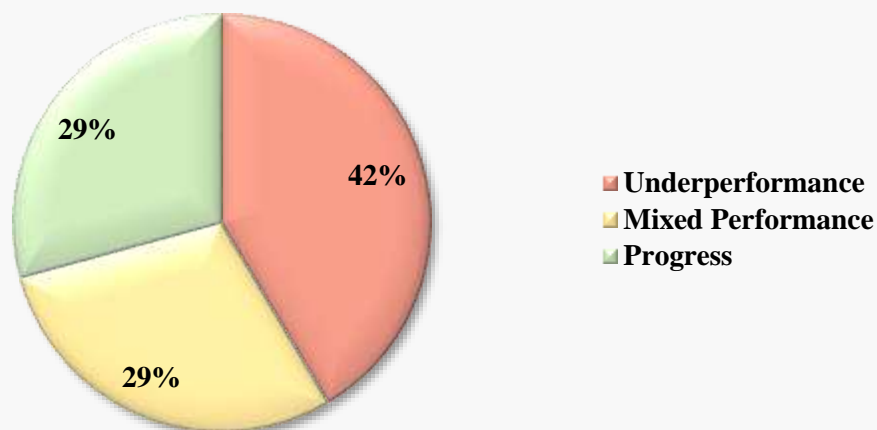
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Overall PML N, with governments at the Centre and the Punjab province, achieved 29 % of the total promises made in the manifesto. PPP and PTI achieved 29% and 23%, respectively. No party even delivered one-third of the total manifesto targets. We may remember that some of the activities were part of government's day to day function. So, delivery in such cases was not because of implementation of promises but in normal course of execution. This modest performance should surprise no one. It shows that once elected, political parties seldom refer back to what should be their lodestone.

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## PPP Overall Performance

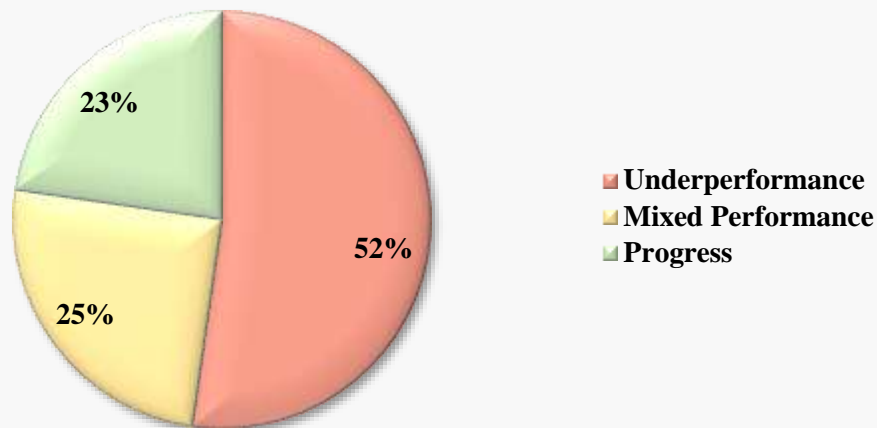
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## PTI Overall Performance

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In itself, each manifesto comes out as a thoughtful and comprehensive document. It is hard to argue with much of what they propose. Yet there are a couple of quibbles. For example, there is no information in any manifesto about the way they identify the country's needs. Resultantly, they read as prescriptive musings of wise party officials who know best what is good for the people.

We also do not see a strategy in the manifestos nor an effort to prioritize. Given resource constraints, it is improbable that any government can deliver on the whole menu of proposals that each manifesto contains. A governance strategy helps decision makers prioritize and sequence. It also manages citizen expectations. At present, manifestos offer a cafeteria of choices with something to suit each taste.

In some cases, one part of the manifesto does not tie with another. For example, one manifesto headlines sustainable and inclusive economic growth, yet its human development section does not sufficiently deal with skills training and literacy of the large reserve of young Pakistanis outside the school system. All manifestos promised major new services for the people and yet proposed reduction in current expenditure.

Most manifestos have sections on job creation. Yet government data on labour is often questioned for reliability. Nor do governments announce how many jobs were created each year. Recall the economic and social implications of an estimated two million young Pakistanis entering the job market each year. The manifestos also profess many kinds of governance reforms such as civil service, police, and land reforms, without reference to political appetite or capacity for them. All commit also to a devolved local government. It is no secret that very little was done in these areas and in the case of local government, some parties did the opposite of what their manifestos said.

Also, none of the parties tried to make their manifesto a peoples' document. There was no effort for example to engage with communities and NGOs to design plans to meet the social deficit or for urban development.

The following pages contain topics with Tables and Charts showing performance of the three parties along several dimensions.

# MACRO-ECONOMY

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Macro-economic policy is mostly the preserve of the federal government. However, through their revenue collection effort, development programmes, other initiatives, and institutional effectiveness, provinces too have more than a minimal role. For example, in the last two fiscal years, provinces contributed to overall fiscal deficit by running up their own deficits. Provinces also pledged to increase revenue. Below is the performance on macro-economic policy by each Party. Their macro and micro-decisions affect GDP growth.

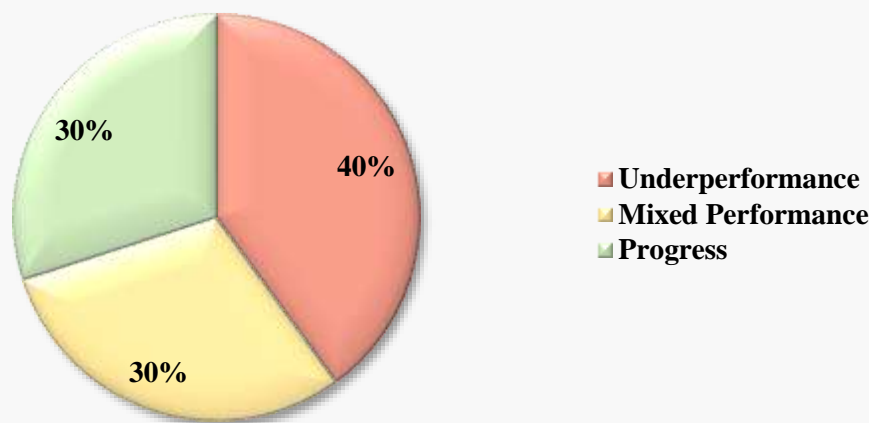
## Pakistan Muslim League N

PML N's well written manifesto is a credible economic revival plan. Yet, once in government the Party gave scant attention to translate the manifesto ideals into policies and programmes. Reading it in retrospect makes it seem as a wish list because so little was done. In fact, it was possible to achieve many of its stated objectives. In pursuing economic revival, the document rightly states that Pakistan must "create several mutually reinforcing engines of growth". Among them, are the country's physical and human resources, technological potential, sound macro-economic policy to reduce the twin deficits and increase investment, and economically stimulating infrastructure. As the Chart shows, the Party achieved 30% of its goals and none that was transformational to put the economy on a path of sustained growth. In fact, in some areas such as fiscal deficit and government debt, government achieved the opposite of what it had intended to do.

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## PML N Performance in Macro-Economy

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# PML N Macro-economy

Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in base year 2013	Position in 2018
1. Double GDP growth rate from 3% to 6% in the next 5 years	National GDP grew by 3.6% <sup>1</sup> .	GDP growth rate reached 5.8% <sup>2</sup> .
2. Increase investment (% of GDP) to at least 20%	Investment (% of GDP) FY 13 at 14.9 <sup>3</sup> .	Marginal growth, despite CPEC. Investment (% of GDP) FY 18 16.9 <sup>4</sup> .
3. Bring inflation rate under 7 - 8%.	Average inflation rate at 7.3% <sup>5</sup>	Average inflation during last five years recorded at 5.5% <sup>6</sup> .
4. Limit government borrowing.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. Public debt/GDP, 63.3%</li> <li>ii. of which, Ext debt, 18.8%</li> <li>iii. Government debt, 60.4%</li> <li>iv. Interest paid June 2013: Rs.990 Bill<sup>7</sup>.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. Public debt, 71.3% of which, Ext debt, 21.1%</li> <li>ii. Government debt 67.9%<sup>8</sup>.</li> <li>iii. Interest paid June 2017, Rs. 1,350 Billion</li> </ul>

<sup>1</sup> Finance.Gov.Pk, Last modified 2013, [http://finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters\\_13/hghlights%202013.pdf](http://finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters_13/hghlights%202013.pdf).

<http://pc.gov.pk/uploads/annualplan2018/Annual.pdf>.

<sup>3</sup> "Pakistan Investment (% Of GDP) Data, Investment (% Of GDP) Pakistan". Economywatch.Com. Accessed 10 June 2018. [http://www.economywatch.com/economic-statistics/Pakistan/Investment\\_Percentage\\_of\\_GDP/](http://www.economywatch.com/economic-statistics/Pakistan/Investment_Percentage_of_GDP/).

<sup>4</sup> Ibid

<sup>5</sup> "Pakistan: Inflation Rate From 2012 To 2022 (Compared To The Previous Year)". Statista, Last modified 2018. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/383760/inflation-rate-in-pakistan/>.

<sup>6</sup> "Pakistan Economic Survey 2017 - 18". Finance.Gov.Pk, Last modified 2017. [http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters\\_18/07-Inflation.pdf](http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters_18/07-Inflation.pdf).

<sup>7</sup> SBP Annual State of the Economy Report FY 13, Chapter 6, Page 84, Table 6.1. Interest paid June 2017, MoF data

<sup>8</sup> "Pakistan's Debt And Liabilities Profile". SBP, Last modified 2018. <http://www.sbp.org.pk/ecodata/Profile.pdf>.



5. Decrease tax rates.	Tax slabs were reduced to 5% but income that exceeded the basic exemption limit ( <b>Rs. 400,000</b> ) was charged at a higher rate <sup>9</sup> .	Four income tax slabs with rates ranging from 5% to 15% were created for salaried filers. The basic exemption limit was increased to <b>Rs. 1,200,000</b> <sup>10</sup> . Furthermore, in these five years, greater reliance was placed on indirect taxes, which became a source of burden for the poor <sup>11</sup> .
6. Budget deficit will be lowered to 4%.	Budget deficit was at 6.3% <sup>12</sup> .	Budget deficit may exceed 6.5% <sup>13</sup>
7. One-third reduction in current expenditure.	Current expenditure for FY 13 was 2,625 Billion	No reduction. Despite drop in inflation, federal current expenditure grew each year. For FY 17, it was Rs. 3,494 Billion, 33% higher in four years.
8. Increase Tax-to-GDP ratio to 15%.	Tax to GDP ratio stood at 8.5%. <sup>14</sup>	Tax-to-GDP ratio improves to 12.5%. <sup>15</sup>
9. Prevent money laundering.	Money laundering rampant.	Financial Action Task Force (FATF) raised concerns regarding money laundering <sup>16</sup> . Ongoing efforts to meet FATF standards. News reports about investment in real estate by Pak citizens (in the West and the Gulf) continued.

<sup>9</sup> Finance.gov.pk. (2013). [online] Available at: [http://www.finance.gov.pk/budget/budget\\_Speech\\_12\\_13.pdf](http://www.finance.gov.pk/budget/budget_Speech_12_13.pdf) [Accessed 13 Jun. 2018].

<sup>10</sup> Rana, Shahbaz. "Pakistan's Salaried Class Wins Huge Tax Exemptions - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2018. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1678386/2-pakistans-salaried-class-wins-huge-tax-exemptions/>.

<sup>11</sup> Kiani, Khaleeq. "BUDGET 2018-19: Indirect Taxes Will Be A Burden On The Masses". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2018. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1404638>.

<sup>12</sup> Dr Hafiz A Pasha, "The Large Budget Deficit - The Express Tribune", The Express Tribune, Last modified 2013, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/628053/the-large-budget-deficit/>.

<sup>13</sup> THE EXPRESS TRIBUNE > BUSINESS, Budget deficit widens to Rs2.1tr, far exceeding FY18 target, June 14, 2018

<sup>14</sup> *Fiscal Policy Statement 2013-14*. Ebook. Reprint, Ministry of Finance, 2013.

[http://www.finance.gov.pk/publications/FPS\\_2013\\_14.pdf](http://www.finance.gov.pk/publications/FPS_2013_14.pdf).

<sup>15</sup> *Annual Plan 2018-19*, ebook repr., Government of Pakistan, Planning Commission, 2018,

<http://pc.gov.pk/uploads/annualplan2018/Annual.pdf>

<sup>16</sup> "What Is FATF And What Does Pakistan's Inclusion In Its Grey-List List Mean?". Propakistani.Pk, Last modified 2018.

<https://propakistani.pk/2018/02/26/fatf-pakistans-inclusion-grey-list-list-mean/>.

10. Introduce tax reforms.

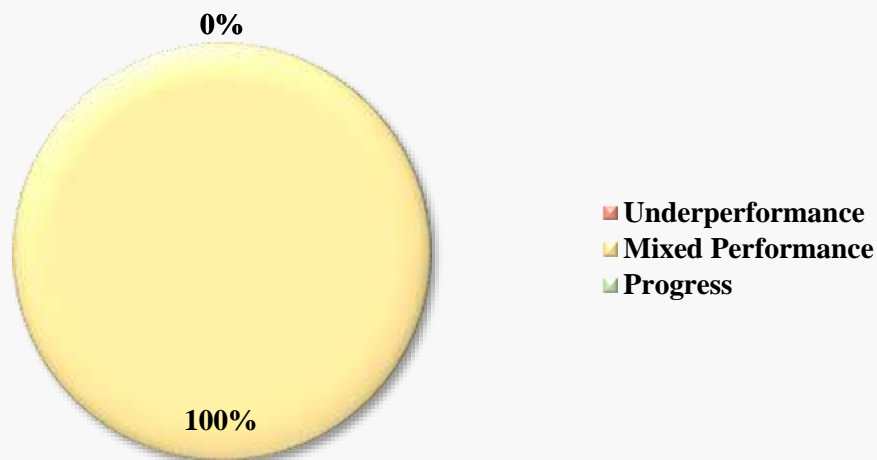
No plans to introduce any major tax reform.

- i. Tax Amnesty Scheme launched by Federal Government.
- ii. Substantial efficiency improvement in collection<sup>17</sup>.

## PPP Macro-economy

In line with the party's traditional ideals, the PPP manifesto 2013 focuses on reducing social deficit and empowering all Pakistanis. The Manifesto is big on the right buzzwords. In the area of economic policy, it prioritizes inclusive and equitable growth, with high emphasis on jobs, poverty alleviation, and growth in agriculture productivity. It secondarily targets industrial growth, prioritizing SMEs and operation of SEZs. Although, the PPP did not form the federal government, the manifesto's target growth rate of 8% by 2018 is an important benchmark for the PPP government to achieve in Sindh. If most of the stated goals, especially with regard to agriculture and industry, were achieved, Sindh's economic growth rate of 4.2% would have been closer to the target of 8%. As the chart below shows, PPP did not achieve a single measure it set out to achieve.

## PPP Performance in Macro-Economy



<sup>17</sup> "PM Announces Simplified Income Tax Package, Amnesty Scheme For Foreign Assets". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2018. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1399769>.

## PPP Macro-economy

Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in 2013	Position in 2018
<p style="text-align: center;">Aim to raise</p> <p>1. average growth rate 8% by 2018</p>	Annual growth rate 1.9% <sup>18</sup>	Annual growth rate 4.2 <sup>19</sup>
<p>2. Ensure that inflation is kept at 6-8%. (Though inflation is a Function of monetary policy and fiscal deficit)</p>	Major cities in Sindh endured higher rate of inflation as compared to cities in other provinces <sup>20</sup>	Sindh's capital city has low rate of inflation as compared to other cities in the province but at 2.1% as of 2016 <sup>21</sup> Mostly because of monetary policy and low spending.

### PTI Macro-economy

PTI's economic policy emphasizes self-reliance in public finance and investment. A major goal for PTI was to reduce rural poverty. Consistent with this goal, its manifesto prioritizes growth in agriculture productivity. It pledged therefore to spend 65% of ADP on agriculture and rural development. It secondarily prioritized industry, especially SMEs. PTI too targeted a GDP growth rate of 7% by the end of five years. PTI planned also to cut non-development expenditure. If PTI had achieved the targets it set in the manifesto for agriculture, industrial, and institutional reforms, the provincial GDP could have grown by the targeted 7% growth.

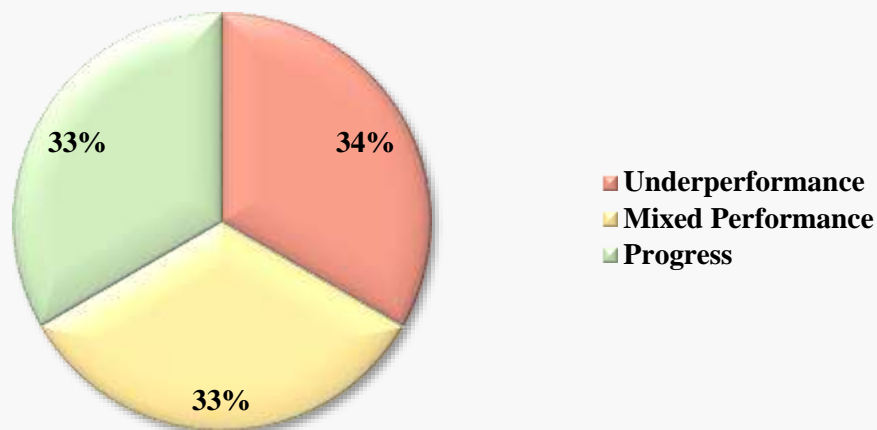
<sup>18</sup> Pasha, Dr Hafiz A. *GROWTH OF PROVINCIAL ECONOMIES*. Ebook. Reprint, Institute for Policy Reforms, 2016. <http://ipr.org.pk/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/GROWTH-OF-PROVINCIAL-ECONOMICS-.pdf>.

<sup>19</sup> Pasha, Dr Hafiz A. "K-P Has Fastest Growing Economy In Pakistan, Says Dr Pasha In New Book - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2018. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1633178/1-k-p-fastest-growing-economy-pakistan-says-dr-pasha-new-book/>.

<sup>20</sup> Iqbal, Shahid. "Sindh Cities Face High Inflation". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2013. <https://www.dawn.com/news/803503>.

<sup>21</sup>

## PTI Performance in Macro-Economy



## PTI Macro-economy

Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in 2013	Position in 2018
1. Achieve 7% growth rate.	Annual growth rate of 4.9% <sup>22</sup>	Annual growth rate of >5.1% <sup>23</sup>
2. Substantially increase total revenue.	Total revenue receipts: Rs. 245,925.6 million. <sup>24</sup>	Total revenue receipts: Rs. 470,854.4 million. <sup>25</sup>
3. Reduce non-developmental government expenditures.	Total Current Revenue Expenditure for 2012-13 was Rs. 195 Billion <sup>26</sup> .	Total Current Revenue Expenditure for 2016-2017 was Rs. 339 Billion <sup>27</sup> .

<sup>22</sup> Pasha, DR. Hafiz A. 2018. *GROWTH OF THE PROVINCIAL ECONOMIES*. Ebook. INSTITUTE FOR POLICY REFORMS. <http://ipr.org.pk/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/GROWTH-OF-PROVINCIAL-ECONOMICS-.pdf>.

<sup>23</sup> "K-P Has Fastest Growing Economy In Pakistan, Says Dr Pasha In New Book - The Express Tribune". 2018. *The Express Tribune*. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1633178/1-k-p-fastest-growing-economy-pakistan-says-dr-pasha-new-book/>.

<sup>24</sup> *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa In Figures*. 2013. Ebook. Bureau of Statistics. [http://kp.gov.pk/uploads/2016/03/Khyber\\_Pakhtunkhwa\\_in\\_Figures\\_2013.pdf](http://kp.gov.pk/uploads/2016/03/Khyber_Pakhtunkhwa_in_Figures_2013.pdf).

<sup>25</sup> *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa In Figures*. 2018. Ebook. Bureau of Statistics. <http://kpbos.gov.pk/files/1510130378.pdf>.

<sup>26</sup> *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa In Figures*. 2013. Ebook. Bureau of Statistics. [http://kp.gov.pk/uploads/2016/03/Khyber\\_Pakhtunkhwa\\_in\\_Figures\\_2013.pdf](http://kp.gov.pk/uploads/2016/03/Khyber_Pakhtunkhwa_in_Figures_2013.pdf)

<sup>27</sup> *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa In Figures*. 2018. Ebook. Bureau of Statistics. <http://kpbos.gov.pk/files/1510130378.pdf>.

# DEVELOPMENT

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Under development, this document aggregates all economic growth drivers such as infrastructure development, industrial and agricultural revival, credit for private sector, institutional reforms that lower cost of doing business, technology upgrade, trade agreements, and logistics improvement.

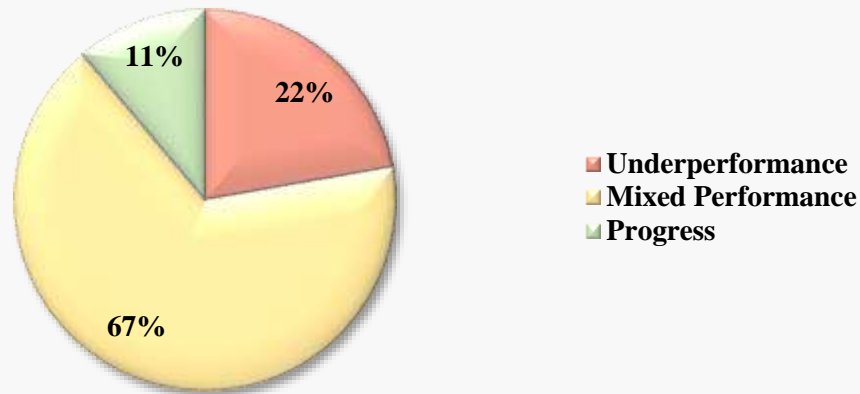
## PML N

That political parties do not take their own manifestos seriously is confirmed by PML N government's approach to development. Curiously, for example, soon after the PML N government was in place in 2013, the Planning Commission began work on a new long-term plan, Vision 2025. Few gave thought to operationalizing the economic plan in the manifesto. Nor were many important activities listed in the manifesto considered for implementation. The manifesto recommends public-private partnerships for infrastructure development. It proposes to establish a Bureau of Infrastructure Development to oversee private participation. It vowed to begin a Fund for subscription by overseas Pakistanis to ensure that foreign remittances translated into investment capital. None of these goals were met. Its plans for restructuring of PSEs or eliminating off-budget circular debt also never saw the light of day. One argument in the Party's favour is that throughout the five years it had to battle hard with Black Swan events.

The manifesto is big on governance reforms. This document includes it in the Development chapter as it is an effective way to reduce cost of doing business and stimulate economic activity. For governance reforms, the manifesto highlights an active parliament guiding policy and providing oversight. The manifesto also commits strongly to local government with devolved political, administrative, and fiscal authority. Action on ground show, that clearly, these were not the leadership's priority. The manifesto also recommends an ambitious policy for Science and Technology. During the five years, this area did not even receive lip service.

The Chart below shows that PML N performed 11% of the promised activities.

## PML N Development



## PML N Development

Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in 2013	Position in 2018
<p>1. Reform state owned enterprises to reduce loses</p>	<p>Many state-owned enterprises performing under loss<sup>28</sup>.</p>	<p>PSEs continued to underperform without any effort to restructure or reform them. According to IMF, no change in conditions, as the combined accumulated loss of public sector enterprises have exceeded Rs 1.2 trillion, 4% of GDP<sup>29</sup>.</p>

<sup>28</sup> Newspaper, From. "Loss-Making State-Owned Entities Pose Economic Challenge To New Govt". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2018. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1017240>.

<sup>29</sup> Mehtab Haider, "Public Sector Companies' Loss Swells To Rs1.2Tr: IMF", Thenews.Com.Pk, Last modified 2018, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/294641-public-sector-companies-loss-swells-to-rs1-2tr-imf>.

<p>2. Increase growth rate in industrial sector to 7-8%.</p>	<p>According to National Accounts following were growth rates:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. Industrial sector 4.3%.</li> <li>ii. Manufacturing 3.5%.</li> <li>iii. LSM 4.26%</li> <li>iv. SMEs 8.2%<sup>30</sup></li> </ul>	<p>According to National Accounts following were growth rates:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. Industrial sector 5.8%.</li> <li>ii. Manufacturing 6.24%</li> <li>iii. LSM 6.13<sup>31</sup></li> <li>iv. SMEs 8.2%</li> </ul> <p>No serious effort to diversify and upgrade manufacturing.</p>
<p>3. Industrial parks will be developed, especially in under developed areas.</p>	<p>Provinces being encouraged by Federal Government to establish industrial zones in collaboration with Small Industries Development Boards and Corporations to promote SMEs.</p>	<p>Industrial Estates/Special Economic Zones and investment opportunities are part of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). It is still work-in-progress.<sup>32</sup></p>
<p>4. Initiate large-scale infrastructure projects.</p>	<p>Projects were initiated to repair roads, construction of small dams and an underpass railway crossing at Gujar Khan, but not large-scale in nature<sup>33</sup>.</p>	<p>Several large-scale projects initiated including under CPEC which involves the construction of motorways and rail sector projects<sup>34</sup>.</p>
<p>5. Technology Up-gradation Fund will be established to support new investments.</p>	<p>Technology up-gradation fund announced by each government every year but not implemented.</p>	<p>As done before, Technology up-gradation fund was again established in 2016 to facilitate textile sector and exports. Allocated Rs. 6 billion.<sup>35</sup> However, no details or evidence available to show whether this fund has been utilized.</p>

<sup>30</sup> *Highlights Of The Pakistan Economic Survey 2012-13*. 2013. Ebook. Ministry of Finance. [http://finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters\\_13/hghlights%202013.pdf](http://finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters_13/hghlights%202013.pdf).

<sup>31</sup> *Annual Plan 2018-19*, ebook repr., Government of Pakistan, Planning Commission, 2018, <http://pc.gov.pk/uploads/annualplan2018/Annual.pdf>

<sup>32</sup> Javed, Hassnain. "Special Economic Zones Under CPEC". The Nation, Last modified 2018. <https://nation.com.pk/19-Feb-2018/special-economic-zones-under-cpec>.

<sup>33</sup> "Allocations For PSDP In Budget 2012-13". The Nation, Last modified 2012. <https://nation.com.pk/02-Jun-2012/allocations-for-psdp-in-budget-2012-13>.

<sup>34</sup> Ministry of Planning, Pakistan. "Infrastructure| China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) Official Website". Cpec.Gov.Pk, Last modified 2018. <http://cpec.gov.pk/infrastructure>.

<sup>35</sup> "Technology Upgradation Fund Scheme Introduced". Thenews.Com.Pk, Last modified 2016. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/149331-Technology-Upgradation-Fund-Scheme-introduced>.

6.	Establish an Equity Fund to bring together public and private sector organizations.	None existed	No steps taken to establish an equity fund.
7.	Create economic clusters for industries.	Few industrial clusters in place but were underperforming <sup>36</sup> .	Routine progress. SMEDA implemented some projects for common facilities <sup>37</sup>
8.	An Export-Import bank (EXIM) will be set up.	Export-Import bank considered but never established.	Export-Import bank incorporated in 2015, but still is not functional <sup>38</sup> .
9.	Multinational Corporations (MNC's) in Pakistan will be encouraged to expand their production facilities.	MNC's were encouraged to invest and expand in Pakistan <sup>39</sup>	Some MNC's set up production facilities in Pakistan <sup>40</sup>

## Pakistan Peoples Party: Development

The PPP manifesto 2013 promises infrastructure for the future. In keeping with the manifesto's preference for high sounding phrases, it says that "The future of this country lies in modern technology for growth and social justice". Yet Sindh saw no progress in this regard. The government did very little to deliver on the manifesto's promise for "software parks" and "bridging the digital divide". Sindh announced several urban planning projects. While Sindh government claims substantial progress, newspapers report a number of challenges, Sindh government has clarified. "Sindh has not been a leader when it comes to development spending", says one newspaper<sup>41</sup>, though there is evidence that this has changed in FY 18.

<sup>36</sup> "Pakistan Must Improve Infrastructure To Unlock Growth: World Bank - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2013. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/605673/pakistan-must-improve-infrastructure-to-unlock-growth-world-bank/>.

<sup>37</sup> "SMEDA". Smeda.Org, Last modified 2018. [https://smeda.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=7:state-of-smes-in-pakistan&catid=15](https://smeda.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=7:state-of-smes-in-pakistan&catid=15).

<sup>38</sup> "EXIM Bank Of Pakistan". Eximbank.Gov.Pk, Last modified 2018. <http://eximbank.gov.pk/bdirect.html>.

<sup>39</sup> Hussain, Dilawar. "Multinationals' Share In Rising Corp Earnings". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2013. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1055613>.

<sup>40</sup> "Three Companies Get Approval To Set Up Car Assembly Plants In Pakistan - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2017. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1441350/three-companies-get-approval-set-car-assembly-plants-pakistan/>.

<sup>41</sup> Business Recorder, Sindh: big on infrastructure, 9 June 2017



Regardless, the infrastructure deficit will take time to fill whether in urban development, ‘harnessing modern technology’, or meeting SDGs. With PPP’s traditional focus on poverty alleviation, especially in the rural areas, delivery on irrigation and water storage projects have been better, yet behind the extensive promises in the manifesto. Political polarization too has hobbled progress in Sindh, especially in urban areas. Here, even some of the municipal functions have been centralized leaving dysfunctional delivery.

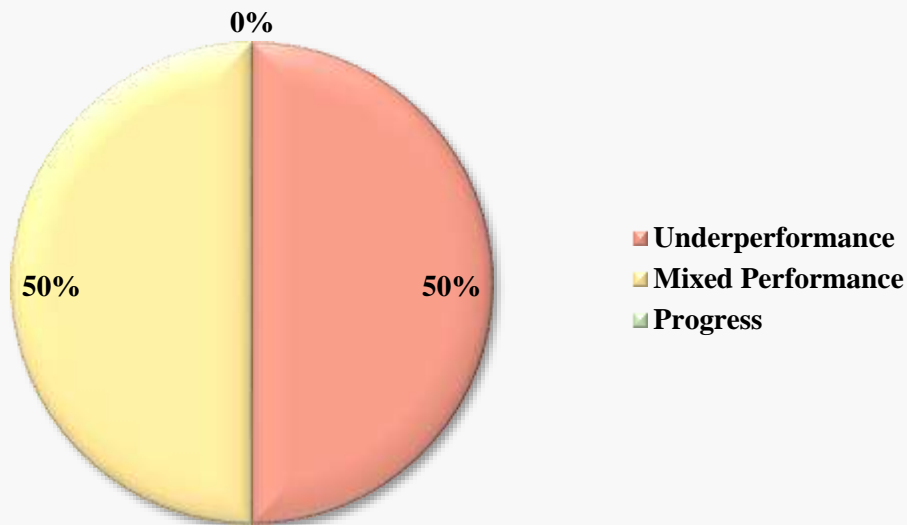
Sindh government’s publications show that delivery fell short of promise<sup>42</sup>. Agriculture production has grown moderately, while industrial production has declined. Data published by Sindh government is available up to 2016. Unless there is a major turnaround since, there has not been any major progress in providing Sindh residents ‘infrastructure of the future’.

To reduce cost of doing business and stimulate economic activity, the manifesto pledges to improve support for businesses, especially SMEs. It also focuses on specific sectors such as textiles, banking, and trade. According to World Bank’s (sub-national) Doing Business Report, Sindh cities lag among thirteen selected Pakistan cities. Karachi ranks 9, Sukkur 7, and Hyderabad 13. We clarify that there are questions about the frequency with which WB collects data, which often lag by some years.

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## PPP Development

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<sup>42</sup> GoS, Sindh Bureau of Statistics Planning and Development, Sindh at a Glance 2017, Pages 5 and 6.

# PPP Development

Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in base year 2013	Position in 2018
1. Establish Software/IT parks	No efforts taken to establish industrial parks within the province.	MoU signed with China in 2016 for IT/Software park in Sindh <sup>43</sup> No progress.
2. Focus more on infrastructure programmes.	Infrastructure in Sindh facing decay; dilapidated roads and poor sanitation and education infrastructure <sup>44</sup> .	Minimal effort. Some road projects in Karachi city. Green line project started by fed gov behind schedule. Rest of Sindh minimal progress on infrastructure projects despite announcement of many large schemes <sup>45</sup> .
3. Create special economic zones (SEZs) to facilitate FDI.	Full implementation of Special Economic Zone Act, proposals to establish three industrial zones.	Setting up of economic zones announced. No progress including those under CPEC project. <sup>46</sup>
4. Reduce the cost of doing business in the province.	Reforms under consideration to make Sindh more business friendly.	Sindh cities have low ranking in World Bank's Doing Business Report. Of 13 Pakistan cities, Karachi ranked 9 <sup>th</sup> . Hyderabad 13 <sup>th</sup> . and Sukkur 7 <sup>th</sup> .

<sup>43</sup> "Pakistan And China To Establish An IT Industrial Park In Sindh". Techjuice, Last modified 2016.

<https://www.techjuice.pk/pakistan-and-china-to-establish-an-it-industrial-park-in-sindh/>.

<sup>44</sup> InpaperMagazine, From. "Sindh'S Infrastructure In A Shambles". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2012.

<https://www.dawn.com/news/775046>.

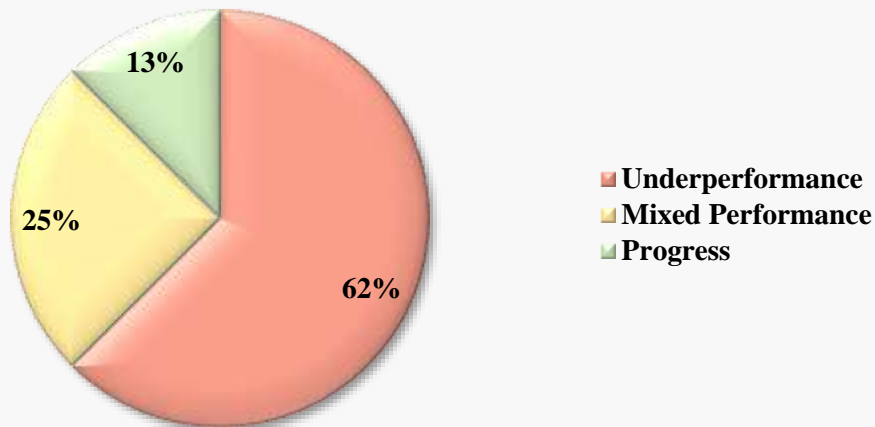
<sup>45</sup> "Sindh Govt Has Included 14 Mega Projects For Karachi This Year, Says Official - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2017. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1448732/sindh-govt-included-14-mega-projects-karachi-year-says-official/>.

<sup>46</sup> Planning Commission, GoP, CPEC Secretariat, Status as of July 2018 <http://cpec.gov.pk/progress-update>

## Pakistan Tehreek i Insaaf Development

PTI’s manifesto highlights institutional and constitutional reforms including police and civil service as well as land reforms. It was a strong advocate of local governments. For economic revival, its focus is on sustainable public finance with low fiscal deficit and reduction in government debt. The manifesto also targets industrial and agriculture growth. Within manufacturing it prioritizes SMEs. The manifesto is also big on rural development and alleviation of rural poverty. The manifesto planned to facilitate credit for SMEs and to ensure that government provide services to support businesses. As with other parties, its performance was mixed.

### PTI Development



### PTI Development

Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in base year 2013	Position in 2018
1. Bring forth rapid industrial growth.	(2011-12) 2,299 Industrial units, out of which 1,821 were functional and 478 were closed. <sup>47</sup>	2,584 Industrial units, out of which 2,222 were functional and 362 were closed. <sup>48</sup>

<sup>47</sup> *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa In Figures*. 2013. Ebook. Bureau of Statistics. [http://kp.gov.pk/uploads/2016/03/Khyber\\_Pakhtunkhwa\\_in\\_Figures\\_2013.pdf](http://kp.gov.pk/uploads/2016/03/Khyber_Pakhtunkhwa_in_Figures_2013.pdf).

<sup>48</sup> *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa In Figures*. 2018. Ebook. Bureau of Statistics. <http://kpbos.gov.pk/files/1510130378.pdf>.

2.	Allocate 65% of ADP funds for agriculture and rural development.	Rs. 1,060 million allocated for Agriculture, 1.2% share of ADP <sup>49</sup> .	Rs. 3,039.4 million allocated for Agriculture, 2.32% share of ADP <sup>50</sup> . Allocation of ADP for rural development not mentioned in ADP 2017- 2018 <sup>51</sup>
3.	Special focus will be given to industrial estates.	10 small industrial estates (SIE) were functional <sup>52</sup> .	Number of SIEs remain the same <sup>53</sup> .
4.	Encourage the setting up of Business Support Services (BSS) Providers in the private sector.	No major step taken to encourage setting up BSS providers in the private sector.	KP Industrial Policy formulated in 2016 that stressed the importance of BSS providers <sup>54</sup> , but still no known progress made.
5.	Encourage creation of linkages between SMEs and large businesses to ensure markets for their goods.	Routine progress made by SMEDA.	No progress in province.
6.	Launch campaign that promotes forestation	No serious efforts taken to promote forestation.	A project to plant 'Billion' trees successfully launched throughout KPK <sup>55</sup> .
7.	Eliminate Timber Mafia and ensure transfer of economic benefits to the local inhabitants from legal logging.	Timber Mafia was active and routinely involved in illegal logging.	Though some steps have been taken to reduce illegal logging, it is still very common and timber mafia is still active in the region. <sup>56</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Khyber Pakhtunkhwa In Figures. 2013. Ebook. Bureau of Statistics.

[http://kp.gov.pk/uploads/2016/03/Khyber\\_Pakhtunkhwa\\_in\\_Figures\\_2013.pdf](http://kp.gov.pk/uploads/2016/03/Khyber_Pakhtunkhwa_in_Figures_2013.pdf).

<sup>50</sup> Khyber Pakhtunkhwa In Figures. 2018. Ebook. Bureau of Statistics. <http://kpbos.gov.pk/files/1510130378.pdf>.

<sup>51</sup> "ADP 2017-18". Pndkp.Gov.Pk, Last modified 2018. <http://www.pndkp.gov.pk/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/ADP-2017-18-Finale.pdf>.

<sup>52</sup> Ali, Manzoor. "KP Development Authority Abolished". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2016. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1273297>.

<sup>53</sup> "List Of Industrial Estate, Centres And Projects". Small\_Industries\_De.Kp.Gov.Pk, Last modified 2018.

[http://small\\_industries\\_de.kp.gov.pk/page/list\\_of\\_industrial\\_estate\\_centres\\_and\\_projects](http://small_industries_de.kp.gov.pk/page/list_of_industrial_estate_centres_and_projects).

<sup>54</sup> "KP Formally Launches Industrial Policy 2016". Boi.Gov.Pk, Last modified 2016.

<http://boi.gov.pk/ViewNews.aspx?NID=+866>.

<sup>55</sup> World Economic Forum, Pakistan has just planted over a billion trees, <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2018/07/pakistan-s-billion-tree-tsunami-is-astonishing/>

<sup>56</sup> "Timber Mafia Removes 6,000 Trees In Peshawar". Thenews.Com.Pk, Last modified 2018.

<https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/296045-timber-mafia-removes-6-000-trees-in-peshawar>.

8. 'National' Public parks will be set up across the province.

No plans to create large scale parks.

Creation of four 'National' level parks was announced in 2016, to provide provide eco-tourism, green jobs and preserve natural beauty under the Asia Protected Area Partnership (APAP) partnership<sup>57</sup>. Progress uncertain.

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<sup>57</sup> Ahmed, Baseer. "KPK Govt Plans Four New National Parks: Imran Khan". Aaj News, Last modified 2016. <http://aaj.tv/2016/01/kpk-govt-plans-four-new-national-parks-imran-khan/>.

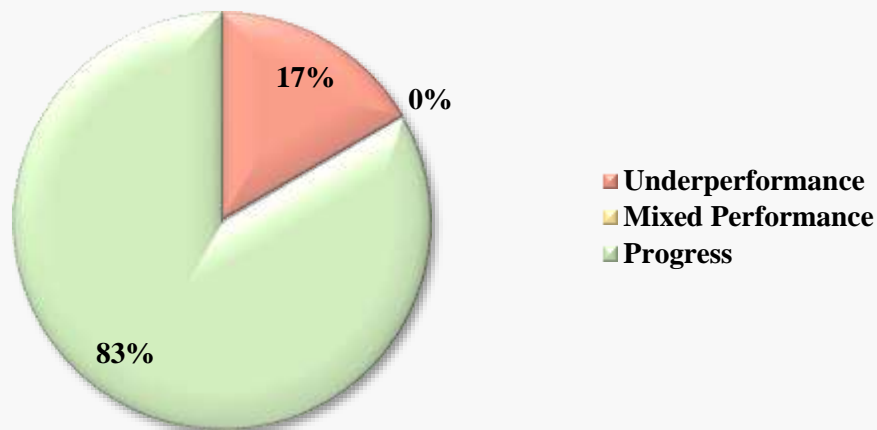
# TAX REFORMS

One area where each government performed well was increase in tax collection. The federal government of PML N also introduced an open tax culture, by issuing yearly tax directories. Yet, tax policy largely stayed untouched, until the end of the PML N government’s term when it announced the Tax Amnesty Scheme. The scheme can be considered a reform only if it achieves its stated goal of increased documentation.

Two areas were of concern. To control fiscal deficit, federal government frequently banked on indirect taxes: higher GST and regulatory duty. Apart from being iniquitous, they dampen demand. Also, the provinces stayed especially delinquent in not tapping into agriculture tax or recovery of assessed levies on agriculture. Agriculture contributes 20% to GDP, yet tax collection from it is 0.0003% or close to nothing.

The Chart and Table below give the federal government’s performance under PML N. Provinces too increased collection. These are shown in the Tables under macro-economic indicators.

## PML N Tax Reforms



# PML N Tax Reforms

Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in 2013	Position in 2018
1. To achieve greater equity in the tax system by increasing dependence on direct taxes.	Very low direct tax collection, which resulted in greater reliance on indirect taxes <sup>58</sup> .	Tax system still not progressive, contribution of direct shows no change. There was some reduction in federal revenue from indirect taxes from 64% in FY 13 to 60% in FY 17. The difference is because of administrative efficiency not from change in policy.
2. Broad base the tax system through greater use of an IT data base.	IT data base was under consideration.	Considerable administrative efficiencies created <sup>59</sup> . Also, successful implementation of tax amnesty scheme will help broad base the tax system.
3. Make reforms to reduce tax evasion	Tax amnesty schemes under consideration but never fully implemented.	Tax Amnesty scheme to bring more people into tax net, especially through rationalized tax rates. Administration efficiency also cubed evasion. <sup>60</sup> .
4. An annual tax directory will be published indicating the taxes paid and assessed in the last 3 years.	Annual tax directory was being formulated.	Annual tax directory issued <sup>61</sup> .

<sup>58</sup> Warris, Abdul. "The Indirect Tax Regime - Daily Times". Daily Times, Last modified 2014. <https://dailytimes.com.pk/102599/the-indirect-tax-regime/>.

<sup>59</sup> "Electronic Filing Of Income Tax , Sales Tax Returns And Statements". Fbr.Gov.Pk, Last modified 2018. <http://www.fbr.gov.pk/fileOnline>.

<sup>60</sup> "PM Abbasi Unveils Five-Point Tax Amnesty Scheme". Thenews.Com.Pk, Last modified 2018. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/301050-pm-unveils-five-point-tax-amnesty>.

<sup>61</sup> Jaswal, Ali, and Ali Jaswal. "Annual Tax Directory | Pakistan Today". Pakistantoday.Com.Pk, Last modified 2016. <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/tag/annual-tax-directory/>.

5.	Provincial governments will be asked to increase their own tax revenues to increase their contribution in overall taxation.	Provincial taxes amounted to Rs. 150, 723 million during FY June-July 2012-2013. <sup>62</sup>	Provincial taxes amounted to Rs. 279,971 million during FY July – March 2017- 2018 <sup>63</sup> , though collection of tax on agriculture still negligible.
6.	Simplify the administration of taxes and compliance especially for small businesses.	Under consideration but no major steps taken.	Significant efforts made <sup>64</sup> .

<sup>62</sup> Pakistan: Provincial Government Fiscal Operations, 2012-13. Ebook, 2013.

<sup>63</sup> "Pakistan: Provincial Government Fiscal Operations, 2017-18", Last modified 2018. [http://www.finance.gov.pk/fiscal/July\\_Mar\\_2018.pdf](http://www.finance.gov.pk/fiscal/July_Mar_2018.pdf).

<sup>64</sup> Electronic Filing Of Income Tax , Sales Tax Returns And Statements". Fbr.Gov.Pk, Last modified 2018. <http://www.fbr.gov.pk/fileOnline>.



# ENERGY

Energy was a subject that concerned all Pakistanis in 2013 and beyond and all manifestos cover the subject with considerable weight. Yet, what hobbles the energy sector are issues of policy and governance. These need holistic policy making, governance reforms, and administrative efficiency. The other issue affecting sustainable energy supply was cost and reliability of fuel supply. Generation capacity is one of many issues.

## Energy PML N

The Party delivered on its promise to increase power generation in Pakistan. Installed capacity in 2013 was 22,812 MW. It increased to 29,573 MW by June 2017. Likewise, generation increased from 96,500 GWh in FY 13 to 117,300 GWh in FY 17<sup>65</sup>.

The party's goal was to 'modernize existing thermal units', reform GENCOs, and attract FDI in power generation. For this, the manifesto planned to improve regulatory standards by reforming NEPRA. It planned also to upgrade distribution reliability and to improve governance to reduce line losses as well as ensure 100% collection of bills. A clear goal was elimination of circular debt. The PML N manifesto also dwells on reliable and lower cost fuel supply.

FDI in the power sector came from China, but in environmentally unfriendly coal fired plants. There was no effort to reform or modernize GENCOs. In fact, rehabilitation of Nandipur ended up in very high escalation in cost and technical challenges that hampered production<sup>66</sup>. As the Table below shows, weak DISCO performance continued to retard the power supply chain. Circular debt continued to grow. Rather than reform regulation and ensure its independence, government increased its functional supervision of NEPRA.

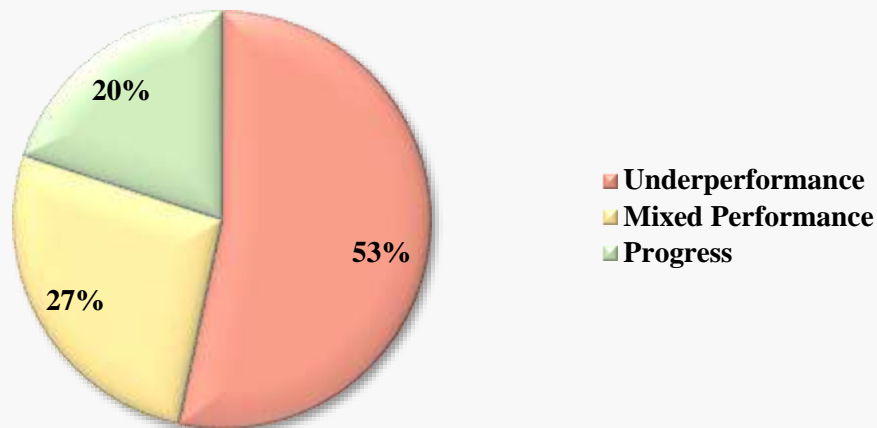
The manifesto's target for reducing cost of energy and increasing reliability needed institutional and incentive support for higher domestic production. Overall, gas production fell in the country between FY 16 and FY 17<sup>67</sup>. The new power plants are based mostly on imported coal. LNG import was government's other major initiative for reliable supply. It added to external dependence and as fuel its full cost impact is yet to be known. Consequently, it is not surprising that the party achieved only 20% of its total planned activities in the energy sector.

<sup>65</sup> MoF, Pakistan Economic Survey 2017-18, Appendices Table 14.2, Page 168

<sup>66</sup> NEPRA State of the Industry Report says "747 MW Guddu Power Plant and 425 MW Nandipur Power Plant are also glaring examples of poor governance by the public sector." Page 7 2016

<sup>67</sup> OGRA Petroleum Industry Report 2016-17, Pages 47 to 50.

## PML N Energy



## PML N Energy

Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in 2013	Position in 2018
1. Creation of a Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources through the merger of Ministries of Water and Power and Petroleum and Natural Resources.	Ministry of Water and Power, Petroleum and Natural Resources were working as independent ministries.	New Federal Ministry of Energy, with two constituent divisions — Power Division and Petroleum Division.
2. Initiate reforms in National Electric Power Regulatory Authority (NEPRA)	No major efforts or initiatives taken to reform or revamp the system.	NEPRA's autonomy as independent institution compromised after Council of Common Interests (CCI) approved drastic amendments that would force NEPRA to follow government directives while determining electricity tariff <sup>68</sup> .

<sup>68</sup> Kiani, K. (2017). Nepra stripped of its autonomy. [online] DAWN.COM. Available at: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1330628> [Accessed 15 Jun. 2018].

3.	Reforms will be made in Distribution Companies (DISCOs)	Distribution companies were underperforming.	No efforts made as DISCOs are still underperforming <sup>69</sup> .with minimal improvement in line losses and under-recovery of bills
4.	Transmission and Distribution losses will be brought under 10%.	Total line and distribution Losses GWh/% in PEPCO system was 18.59% and 28.37% for K-Electric <sup>70</sup> .	No improvement. Total Line Losses GWh/% in PEPCO system at 18.53% and 25.66% for K-Electric till 2016 <sup>71</sup> .
5.	Collection of electricity bills will be brought as close to 100%.	Collection of electricity bills at a loss 10.5% <sup>72</sup>	Some improvement. Collection of electricity bills at a loss of 5.52% <sup>73</sup>
6.	Introduction of prepaid billing system to improve bill collection and reducing bad debts.	No prepaid billing system in place.	Routine continuation of Project to initiate ‘smart meter’ systems throughout Pakistan, but suffered many delays <sup>74</sup> . Need to change
7.	Permanent elimination of circular debt.	Circular debt stood at Rs. 503 billion on May 31 <sup>75</sup> .	Circular debt has increased to Rs. 977 billion <sup>76</sup> .
8.	Reforms of Oil and Gas Regulatory Authority (OGRA)	No major reforms proposed for OGRA.	Government ministers assured reforms yet again in 2016 <sup>77</sup> , but no progress visible.

<sup>69</sup> NEPRA State of Industry Report 2016. (2018). [ebook] NEPRA, p.205. Available at: <http://www.nepa.org.pk/Publications/State%20of%20Industry%20Reports/NEPRA%20State%20of%20Industry%20Report%202016.pdf> [Accessed 14 Jun. 2018].

<sup>70</sup> ibid

<sup>71</sup> Ibid

<sup>72</sup> Ipr.org.pk. (2014). Finding an Exit from the Energy Crisis. [online] Available at: <http://ipr.org.pk/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Exit-from-the-Energy-Crisis.pdf> [Accessed 14 Jun. 2018].

<sup>73</sup> NEPRA State of Industry Report 2016. (2018). [ebook] NEPRA, p.205. Available at: <http://www.nepa.org.pk/Publications/State%20of%20Industry%20Reports/NEPRA%20State%20of%20Industry%20Report%202016.pdf> [Accessed 14 Jun. 2018].

<sup>74</sup> "Project To Implement Smart Meters In Pakistan Delayed Yet Again". Propakistani.Pk, Last modified 2017. <https://propakistani.pk/2017/08/30/project-implement-smart-meters-pakistan-delayed-yet/>.

<sup>75</sup> Kiani, Khaleeq. "Govt Clears 480Bn Circular Debt". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2013. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1031180>.

<sup>76</sup> "Rs977 Billion Circular Debt Makes Power Sector Unsustainable". Thenews.Com.Pk, Last modified 2018. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/292960-rs977-billion-circular-debt-makes-power-sector-unsustainable>.

<sup>77</sup> "Ogra, Nepa Also To Be ‘Reformed’ Along With NAB". The Nation, Last modified 2016. <https://nation.com.pk/22-Feb-2016/ogra-nepa-also-to-be-reformed-along-with-nab>.

<p>9. Rationalization of energy tariffs in line with international prices across all fuels.</p>	<p>Electricity tariffs higher as compared to rates assigned to neighboring countries<sup>78</sup></p>	<p>Despite reduction in FAC, Pakistan tariff highest in region<sup>79</sup>.</p>
<p>10. Aggressive wellhead pricing for Oil and Gas exploration companies in order to substantially increase production of oil and gas.</p>	<p>Routine exploration and prices in place.</p>	<p>No change in policy. In fact, greater reliance on imported energy. Some progress made in Sindh<sup>80</sup>.</p>
<p>11. Develop a consensus between Federal and Provincial Governments to initiate more hydropower projects.</p>	<p>No consensus achieved on major hydropower projects such as Kalabagh dam.</p>	<p>Yet no consensus developed. Consequently, no progress on major projects and no major initiative begun. Several projects under construction and feasibility studies being carried out for more projects. However, progress is still slow.</p>
<p>12. Increase reliance on renewable energy, such as solar, wind and etc.</p>	<p>Minimal reliance on renewable energy.</p>	<p>Pakistan's energy mix features 64% thermal, 30% hydel, 3% nuclear and the remaining 3% for renewable energy<sup>81</sup></p>
<p>13. Import of gas through pipelines will be given top priority.</p>	<p>Import of gas was facilitated mainly through sea-route. In order to relieve reliance on ships, gas pipeline project with Iran was finalized.</p>	<p>Although import of gas supply has increased, but is being transported primarily through ships. Furthermore, gas pipeline projects with Iran at standstill</p>

<sup>78</sup> Ghumman, Khawar. "Electricity Tariff Higher In Pakistan, Minister Admits". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2014. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1106647>.

<sup>79</sup> Express Tribune, Pakistan's cost of trading across border highest in region, Bilal Hussain, 27 May 2018, quoting WB Cost of Doing Business Report.

<sup>80</sup> "Sindh Goes On Well In Aggressive Exploration Of Oil And Gas | The Financial Daily". The Financial Daily, Last modified 2018. <https://thefinancialdaily.com/sindh-goes-well-aggressive-exploration-oil-gas/>.

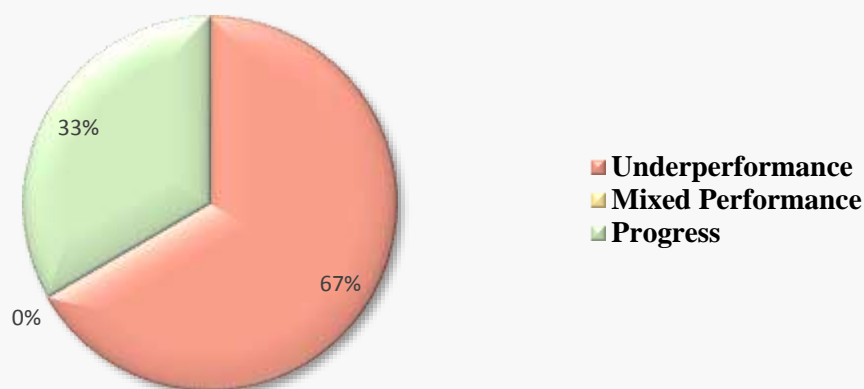
<sup>81</sup> Janjua, Raashid Wali. "Death Of Renewable Energy In Pakistan - Daily Times". Daily Times, Last modified 2018. <https://dailytimes.com.pk/190644/death-renewable-energy-pakistan/>.

14.	Expeditious setting up LNG import terminals.	LNG projects were not implemented despite foreign companies showing interest <sup>82</sup>	Two LNG terminals successfully established <sup>83</sup> and one more approved for initiation in 2018 <sup>84</sup> .
15.	Development of Thar coal fields	Projects for coal fields in Thar were finalized, but never fully implemented.	Thar coal field projects initiated through CPEC, mining work in progress <sup>85</sup> .

## PPP Energy

Manifesto 2013 promised massive increase in generation capacity, nationally. It highlights that during 2008-13, the PPP government “enabled provincial governments to set up power plants in the private sector”. But we see limited, if any, progress, in provincial government’s generation. Increase in capacity has come from federal government’s framework. The manifesto further goes on to target ‘run of the river’ hydro generation. There is no evidence that such a project was launched in Sindh province. Similarly, no initiative began in Sindh for energy conservation. There are news reports of wind power projects in Sindh initiated by the provincial government.

## PPP Energy



<sup>82</sup> Gomes, Ieda. Natural Gas In Pakistan And Bangladesh: Current Issues And Trends. Ebook. Reprint, Oxford: The Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, 2013. <https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/NG-77.pdf>.

<sup>83</sup> "Project Comes On Line: PM Sees Gas Surplus In Pakistan With Start Of Second LNG Terminal - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2017. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1563655/1-pm-says-first-lng-cargo-new-import-terminal-due-nov-24/>.

<sup>84</sup> "Engro Poised To Set Up First Pak Merchant LNG Terminal - Profit By Pakistan Today". Profit By Pakistan Today, Last modified 2018. <https://profit.pakistantoday.com.pk/2018/04/30/engro-poised-to-set-up-first-pak-merchant-lng-terminal/>.

<sup>85</sup> Ministry of Planning, Pakistan. "Surface Mine In Block II Of Thar Coal Field, 3.8 Million Tons/Year| China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) Official Website". Cpec.Gov.Pk. Accessed 15 June 2018. <http://cpec.gov.pk/project-details/4>.

# PPP Energy

Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in 2013	Position in 2018
1. Give more priority to renewable energy	Shifting towards renewable energy was under consideration but never acted upon by provincial government.	WAPDA with Sindh Energy Department. \$200 million loan from World Bank for renewable energy project <sup>86</sup> . Two wind power plants were to start producing electricity in Sindh by end 2017 <sup>87</sup> . Wind Turbine in Jhimpir has started to produce energy since May, 2018 <sup>88</sup> .
2. Initiate power projects that will generate up to 12000 MW of electricity.	Several small power projects under consideration <sup>89</sup> .	Most new projects under federal framework. Projects initiated under CPEC and IPPs <sup>90</sup> .
3. Build run-of river projects	Not under consideration at provincial level	No run of river project begun in Sindh

## PTI Energy

The PTI manifesto prioritizes sustainable power generation. In the context of provincial responsibility, it focuses on renewables, especially, wind and solar energy for increase in power generation. There has been some movement on relatively small renewables.

<sup>86</sup> Ahmed, Amin. "\$200M World Bank Loan For Renewable Energy Project". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2017. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1320735>.

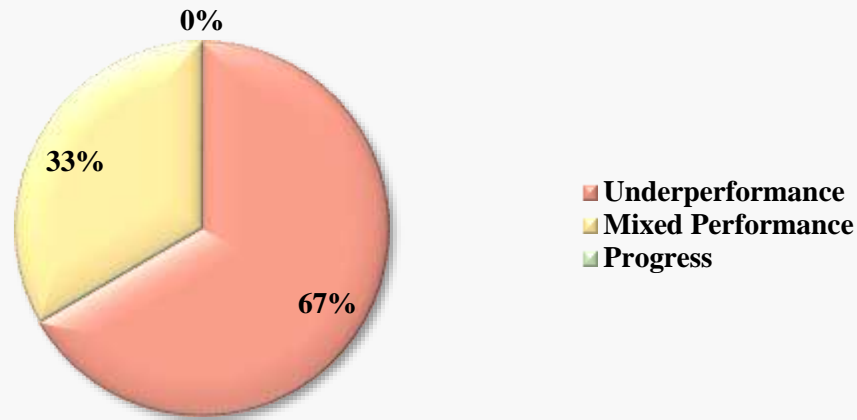
<sup>87</sup> "Two Wind Power Plants To Start Producing Electricity In Sindh By 2017 End - Daily Pakistan Observer -". Daily Pakistan Observer -, Last modified 2017. <https://pakobserver.net/two-wind-power-plants-to-start-producing-electricity-in-sindh-by-2017-end/>.

<sup>88</sup> "Jhimpir Project Starts Producing Wind Energy | The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2018. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1701048/2-jhimpir-project-starts-producing-wind-energy/>.

<sup>89</sup> "List Of Power Stations In Pakistan". En.Wikipedia.Org, Last modified 2018. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_power\\_stations\\_in\\_Pakistan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_power_stations_in_Pakistan).

<sup>90</sup> Ministry of Planning, Pakistan. "Energy | China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) Official Website". Cpec.Gov.Pk, Last modified 2018. <http://cpec.gov.pk/energy>.

## PTI Energy



## PTI Energy

Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in 2013	Position in 2018
1. Bring load shedding to manageable proportions urgently.	Load shedding exceeded more than 8 hours on a daily basis.	No realistic change as load shedding still persists. <sup>91</sup>
2. Electricity & Gas shortages to be eliminated within PTI's first term of government	Electricity shortages witnessed during summers and gas shortages during winters.	Gas and electricity shortages still a major issue within the province. <sup>92</sup>
3. Divert all resources to maximizing energy production	Energy production was not up to the mark.	Various projects were launched in power sector to produce 1200 MW of electricity by June 2018 <sup>93</sup> .

<sup>91</sup> Report, Bureau. "Pesco Announces Loadshedding Policy". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2017. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1326261>.

<sup>92</sup> "Gas Shortage". TheNews.Com.Pk, Last modified 2017. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/255720-gas-shortage>.

<sup>93</sup> "KPK To Launch Hydropower Projects To Generate 1200MW Electricity". Samaa TV, Last modified 2018. <https://www.samaa.tv/news/2017/01/kpk-to-launch-hydropower-projects-to-generate-1200mw-electricity/>.

## SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION

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All manifestos gave high importance to meeting the social deficit gap and to poverty alleviation. PML N proposed a new social contract with human resource development as an engine of growth. It considered knowledge as the main input for creating a modern growth economy and to build international competitiveness of our products in the world market place.

Equity and poverty alleviation is a traditional PPP declared priority. Its manifesto is oriented to meet these goals. According to the manifesto, economic growth too is the means for equitable distribution and inclusion of all segments of the country. In addition to education and health, PPP also focuses on Labour Reforms.

For PTI also, exit from poverty is a priority. Within this, it focuses on rural poverty, though its manifesto includes the urban poor. The means of meeting these goals are through higher public spending on agriculture and rural development, increasing allocations for education and health.

The three parties each prioritized education in their programmes. Education is a provincial subject. With importance given by each manifesto, there was expectation of robust performance.

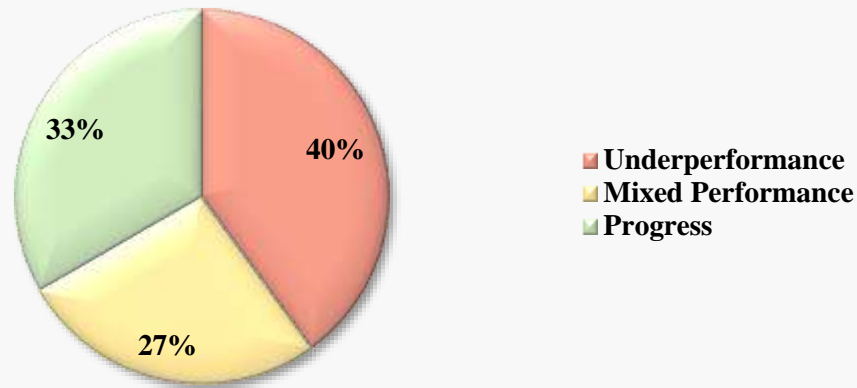
This chapter will focus on promises made by each party for education and health. There are individual party commitment to labour and land reforms, also shown below.

### PML N Education

The PML N manifesto professes that education should “become number one national priority” and must reflect in “financial allocations, institutional reforms, effective implementation”. The manifesto refers to education as a key driver of socio-economic development to meet the demands of a modern economy. It lists several measures and initiatives in pursuit of these goals (discussed in the Table below).



## PML N Education



## PML N Education

Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in 2013	Position in 2018
1. Commit 4% of GDP to education.	2.14 % of GDP was allocated for education <sup>94</sup> .	2.5% of GDP was allocated for education <sup>95</sup> .
2. Bring adult literacy rate to 80%	Adult literacy rate at 60%. <sup>96</sup>	Adult literacy dropped to 57%.
3. Increase Gross Enrollment Rate (GER) at primary level.	GER at primary level stood at 86% <sup>97</sup> .	GER at primary level stood at 97% <sup>98</sup> .
4. National Education Emergency will be declared.	National education Emergency was not in place.	National Education Emergency still not declared.

<sup>94</sup> With Only 2.1Pc Of The GDP, Pakistan Spends Lowest On Education In South Asia - Data Stories", Data Stories, Last modified 2016, <https://www.datastories.pk/with-only-2-1pc-of-the-gdp-pakistan-spends-lowest-on-education-in-south-asia/>.

<sup>95</sup> Dr Pervez Tahir, "Education Spending In Pakistan - The Express Tribune", The Express Tribune, Last modified 2018, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1490941/education-spending-pakistan/>.

<sup>96</sup> *Highlights Of The Pakistan Economic Survey 2012-13*. Ebook. Reprint, Ministry of Finance, 2013. [http://finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters\\_13/hghlights%202013.pdf](http://finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters_13/hghlights%202013.pdf).

<sup>97</sup> "Pakistan Education Statistics", Last modified 2017.

<http://library.aepam.edu.pk/Books/Pakistan%20Education%20Statistics%202016-17.pdf>.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

5.	National literacy movement will be launched.	No national literacy movement launched.	Still no plans to launch a nationwide literacy programme.
6.	A vision 2025 for Pakistan's education system shall be formulated.	No long-term vision or Plan in place.	Vision 2025 for Pakistan was launched, but it is not education specific. No evidence of effort to operationalize the Vision.
7.	Introduce a uniform system of education.	Establishment of "National Curriculum Council" under consideration.	The National Curriculum Council established (NCC) and approved its first ever National Curriculum Framework, but no serious action to bring a uniform system of education. <sup>99</sup>
8.	Laptops will be distributed amongst students in universities on the basis of merit.	Laptop Scheme was already in place in Punjab.	PM's National Laptop Scheme Introduced by Federal Government with initial 100,000 Laptops distributed. Plans to distribute 500,000 laptops by 2020 <sup>100</sup> .
9.	HEC will be given greater financial resources.	In 2012-13, Federal PSDP allocated Rs. 15.590 billion for HEC. Used amount was Rs. 10.278 billion <sup>101</sup> .	In 2017-18, Rs. 35.662 billion allocated for HEC out of which Rs.19 billion was used <sup>102</sup> .
10.	Develop a national strategy for skill-based uniform curriculum in order to meet the changing requirements of the economy.	No serious effort in place.	No progress made for skill-based uniform curriculum.

<sup>99</sup> "NCC Approves Maiden National Curriculum Framework". The Nation, Last modified 2017. <https://nation.com.pk/26-Jul-2017/ncc-approves-maiden-national-curriculum-framework>.

<sup>100</sup> "500,000 Laptops To Be Distributed Among Deserving Students By 2020 - Daily Times". Daily Times, Last modified 2018. <https://dailytimes.com.pk/207535/500000-laptops-distributed-among-deserving-students-2020/>.

<sup>101</sup> *Highlights Of The Pakistan Economic Survey 2012-13*. Ebook. Reprint, Ministry of Finance, 2013. [http://finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters\\_13/hghlights%202013.pdf](http://finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters_13/hghlights%202013.pdf).

<sup>102</sup> *Annual Plan 2018-19*, ebook repr., Government of Pakistan, Planning Commission, 2018, <http://pc.gov.pk/uploads/annualplan2018/Annual.pdf>

<p>11. Promote a ‘reading culture’, by developing libraries at national, provincial and district level.</p>	<p>No serious efforts taken to develop libraries or promote reading at national level.</p>	<p>Rs.60.188 million allocated for the Department of Libraries. Establishment of Digital Information Division to promote ‘reading culture’ through e-learning. E-libraries established in 20 districts in Punjab<sup>103</sup>.</p>
<p>12. Danish schools will be set up in all provinces.</p>	<p>Establishment of Danish schools started since 2010.</p>	<p>Danish schools only exist in Punjab.</p>
<p>13. Education Endowment funds will be set up in all provinces to award merit scholarships to poor and needy students for higher education.</p>	<p>Education endowment fund existed in Punjab since 2009.</p>	<p>150,000 students provided scholarships on basis of merit<sup>104</sup>.</p>
<p>14. The standards in universities shall be raised to transform them into world class universities.</p>	<p>Three Pakistani universities among Asia’s top 200<sup>105</sup>.</p>	<p>Pakistan highest ranking university, Quaid-i-Azam University ranks #79 in Times Higher Education Asia rankings, but overall standards remain the same as once again only three Pakistani universities among Asia’s top 200<sup>106</sup>.</p>
<p>15. Special education institutions shall be expanded to enable special children to attend schools.</p>	<p>No especial incentives, though some institutions existed for many years.</p>	<p>135 special education institutions set up throughout Punjab in 2017</p>

<sup>103</sup> "PITB Establishes E-Libraries In 20 Districts - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2018. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1650505/1-pitb-establishes-e-libraries-20-districts/>.

<sup>104</sup> "Success Stories - PEEF". Peef.Org.Pk, Last modified 2018. <http://www.peef.org.pk/SuccessStories.Html>.

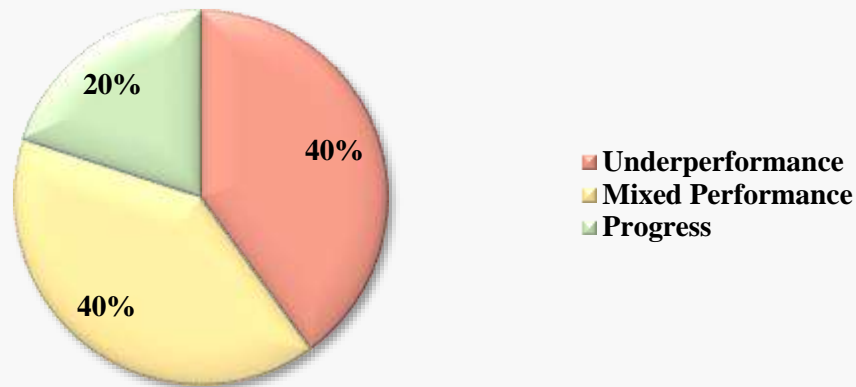
<sup>105</sup> "2013 Rank: Three Pakistani Universities Among World’S Top 200 - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2013. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/564260/2013-rankings-three-pakistani-universities-among-worlds-top-200/>.

<sup>106</sup> "Asia University Rankings". Times Higher Education (THE), Last modified 2018. [https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/2018/regional-ranking#!/page/0/length/25/locations/PK/sort\\_by/rank/sort\\_order/asc/cols/stats](https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/2018/regional-ranking#!/page/0/length/25/locations/PK/sort_by/rank/sort_order/asc/cols/stats).

## PPP Education

PPP too placed high importance on education from relating it to its goal of poverty alleviation and equal opportunity. The manifesto reminds the reader that education is part of the Party's basic principles and one of its central pillars. It also considers education important for tolerance and stability of society. PPP manifesto targets financial allocation for education at 4.5% of GDP. The Party's performance falls short of its lofty ideals. Several indicators validate the finding. They include indicators pertaining to access to education, literacy rate in the province, condition of schools and provision of basic facilities. The Party achieved 20% of the many measures listed in the manifesto.

### PPP Education



### PPP Education

Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in 2013	Position in 2018
1. Revise curriculum to reduce hate and bigotry.	According to National Commission for Justice and Peace, 12% of the content from the curriculum was discriminatory in nature. <sup>107</sup>	No effort made to revise the curriculum, despite several assurances from various government and party officials.

<sup>107</sup> "Study Reflects School Textbooks Need To Be Free Of Religious Discrimination - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2013. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/554318/study-reflects-school-textbooks-need-to-be-free-of-religious-discrimination/>.

2.	Provide education for all to eliminate class divides	Sindh Assembly passes free education bill <sup>108</sup> , but never fully implemented.	No progress as number of total children out of schools have increased <sup>109</sup>
3.	Initiate reforms in madrassas and shutdown those that preach extremism.	Process to register all Madrassas across the province under consideration.	Geo-tagging of 7,724 madrassas completed in Sindh <sup>110</sup> . Over 2000 unregistered madrassas shutdown <sup>111</sup> .
4.	Initiate a comprehensive curriculum reform.	No concrete steps taken to initiate reforms of curriculum.	Sindh School Education Standards and Curriculum (SSES&C) Bill-2014 passed; in an effort to reform the curriculum and content being taught to students <sup>112</sup> . However, despite the bill, five-member committee was constituted by CM Sindh in 2018 to further improve education standards as the state of education in Sindh was not improving <sup>113</sup> .
5.	Allocate 20% of budget for education.	Allocated 19.27% of total budget. <sup>114</sup>	Allocated 20% of budget <sup>115</sup> .

<sup>108</sup> "Sindh Assembly Passes Free Education Bill". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2013. <https://www.dawn.com/news/785820>.

<sup>109</sup> "New Report: 49% Of Nation'S Girls Not Attending Schools - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2017. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1350176/new-report-49-nations-girls-not-attending-schools/>.

<sup>110</sup> "Geotagging Of 7,724 Madrassas Completed In Sindh - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2018. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1176154/geotagging-7724-madrassas-completed-sindh/>.

<sup>111</sup> "Over 2000 Unregistered Seminaries Shut Down In Sindh - Pakistan - Dunya News". Dunya News, Last modified 2017. <http://dunyanews.tv/en/Pakistan/416565-Seminaries-geotagging-gets-completed-in-Sindh-More-than-2000-unregistered>.

<sup>112</sup> Sindh Educational Standards And Curriculum Act, 2014. Ebook. Reprint, Sindh Government Gazette, 2015.

<sup>113</sup> Ghori, Habib. "Committee Formed To Review Sindh'S School Curriculum Bill, Suggest Improvement". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2018. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1380196>.

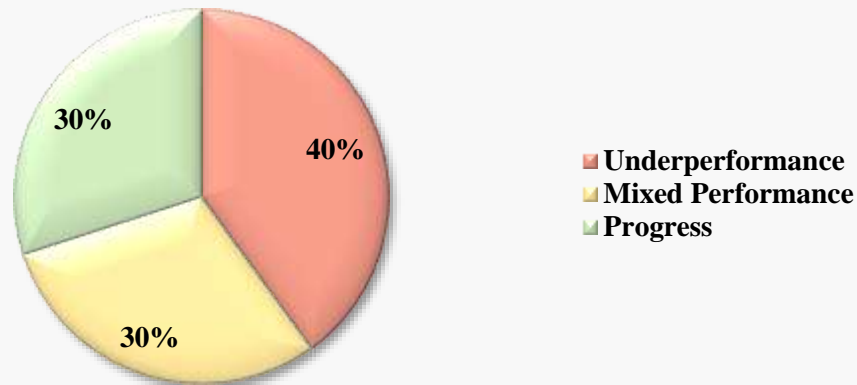
<sup>114</sup> Roy, Shehzad, and Zohair Zaidi. Elections.Alifailaan.Pk, Last modified 2018. <https://elections.alifailaan.pk/wp-includes/file/SindhEducationReport18.pdf>.

<sup>115</sup> ibid

## PTI education

In 2013, PTI's goal was to launch an "education revolution" to promote universal literacy. It also targeted to raise the standard of education. Its mission was also to reduce the gap in quality between private and public schooling. Education budget was to incrementally grow to 5% of GDP. PTI's performance too, was mixed.

### PTI Education



### PTI Education

Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in 2013	Position in 2018
1. Immediately repair and improve the conditions of government schools.	2687 schools taught their students under open sky. <sup>116</sup>	483 schools still teaching students under the open sky <sup>117</sup> .

<sup>116</sup> "KP Primary Education In Shambles; 5,205 Schools Without Buildings: Report". 2018. *Pakistantoday.Com.Pk*. <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2014/10/26/kp-primary-education-in-shambles-5205-schools-without-buildings-report/>. <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2014/10/26/kp-primary-education-in-shambles-5205-schools-without-buildings-report/>

<sup>117</sup> "Nearly 500 K-P Schools Operating Under Open Sky, Reveals Report - The Express Tribune". 2018. *The Express Tribune*. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1703787/1-nearly-500-k-p-schools-operating-open-sky-reveals-report/>.

<p>2. Increase spending on education.</p>	<p>Allocated Rs. 16,356.1 million, 18.5% share of ADP.</p> <p>Total spending on education sector was Rs. 11,225 Million, 5.7% of current spending.<sup>118</sup></p>	<p>Allocated Rs, 27,033.7 million, 15% of ADP.</p> <p>Total expenditure on education sector was Rs. 27,555 Million, 7.1% of current account spending.<sup>119</sup></p>
<p>3. Focus on adult literacy rate.</p>	<p>Adult literacy rate at 50%. Total number of Colleges/Universities: 278, with an enrollment of 216,352 students.<sup>120</sup></p>	<p>Adult literacy rate at 53%. Total number of Colleges/Universities: 299, with an enrollment of 267,822 students.<sup>121</sup></p>
<p>4. Increase number of Government Schools.</p>	<p>Total number of government schools in KPK: 27,456.<sup>122</sup></p>	<p>Total number of government schools in KPK: 27, 262.<sup>123</sup></p>
<p>5. Improve female literacy rate.</p>	<p>Female literacy rate 33%<sup>124</sup></p>	<p>Female literacy rate 35%<sup>125</sup></p>
<p>6. Provide free education to girls and boys up to Matric.</p>	<p>Initiatives taken in the past to provide free education in government schools, but never fully implemented.</p>	<p>Bill passed in 2017 on providing free and compulsory education to all children of the age of 16<sup>126</sup>. (Still under implementation)</p>

<sup>118</sup> *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa In Figures*. 2013. Ebook. Bureau of Statistics.

[http://kp.gov.pk/uploads/2016/03/Khyber\\_Pakhtunkhwa\\_in\\_Figures\\_2013.pdf](http://kp.gov.pk/uploads/2016/03/Khyber_Pakhtunkhwa_in_Figures_2013.pdf)

<sup>119</sup> *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa In Figures*. 2018. Ebook. Bureau of Statistics. <http://kpbos.gov.pk/files/1510130378.pdf>.

<sup>120</sup> *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa In Figures*. 2013. Ebook. Bureau of Statistics.

[http://kp.gov.pk/uploads/2016/03/Khyber\\_Pakhtunkhwa\\_in\\_Figures\\_2013.pdf](http://kp.gov.pk/uploads/2016/03/Khyber_Pakhtunkhwa_in_Figures_2013.pdf).

<sup>121</sup> *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa In Figures*. 2018. Ebook. Bureau of Statistics. <http://kpbos.gov.pk/files/1510130378.pdf>.

<sup>122</sup> *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa In Figures*. 2013. Ebook. Bureau of Statistics.

[http://kp.gov.pk/uploads/2016/03/Khyber\\_Pakhtunkhwa\\_in\\_Figures\\_2013.pdf](http://kp.gov.pk/uploads/2016/03/Khyber_Pakhtunkhwa_in_Figures_2013.pdf).

<sup>123</sup> *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa In Figures*. 2018. Ebook. Bureau of Statistics. <http://kpbos.gov.pk/files/1510130378.pdf>.

<sup>124</sup> *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa In Figures*. 2013. Ebook. Bureau of Statistics.

[http://kp.gov.pk/uploads/2016/03/Khyber\\_Pakhtunkhwa\\_in\\_Figures\\_2013.pdf](http://kp.gov.pk/uploads/2016/03/Khyber_Pakhtunkhwa_in_Figures_2013.pdf).

<sup>125</sup> *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa In Figures*. 2018. Ebook. Bureau of Statistics. <http://kpbos.gov.pk/files/1510130378.pdf>.

<sup>126</sup> Ashfaq, Mohammad. "KP Govt Finalises Bill On Free, Compulsory Education". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2017.

<https://www.dawn.com/news/1311605>.

7.	Establish a comprehensive monitoring system in the education sector.	Routine monitoring.	<p>Introduction of an Independent Monitoring Unit (IMU) to track the performance of all government schools. Rs. 600 million allocated.</p> <p>IMU overseeing and collection data from more than 27,000 government schools in KPK.<sup>127</sup></p>
8.	Place emphasis on teacher training by setting up standard facilities in all districts to ensure the availability of local teachers.	No specific programme to enhance teacher training.	<p>MoU signed with British Council to improve teaching standards at primary schools across KPK in 2016<sup>128</sup>.</p> <p>Reported effort made by provincial government standards<sup>129</sup>, though allegations of mismanagement and inefficiencies<sup>130</sup>.</p>
9.	Sports and extra-curricular activities will be encouraged.	Constructed 45 sports grounds and more than 100 schools were provided sports facilities. <sup>131</sup>	More than 5,000 schools provided with sports kits. 180 sports grounds created. <sup>132</sup>

<sup>127</sup> "Independent Monitoring Unit (IMU)". 2018. *Ese.Kp.Gov.Pk*.

[http://ese.kp.gov.pk/page/independentmonitoringunitimu/page\\_type/citizen](http://ese.kp.gov.pk/page/independentmonitoringunitimu/page_type/citizen).

<sup>128</sup> "Overhaul: Mou Signed To Raise Teaching Standards At Primary Schools - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2016. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1145106/overhaul-mou-signed-raise-teaching-standards-primary-schools/>.

<sup>129</sup> Zia, Asad. *Www.Tribune.Com.Pk*, Last modified 2017. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1171591/incentive-programme-k-p-govt-honour-best-teachers-schools/>.

<sup>130</sup> "K-P's Multi-Million Rupee Teacher Training Project Falling Short - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2017. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1391036/k-ps-multi-million-rupee-teacher-training-project-falling-short/>.

<sup>131</sup> REPORT, RECORDER. 2013. "ANP-Led KP Government Recounts Big Achievements In Education Sector". *Business Recorder*. <http://fp.brecorder.com/2012/12/201212261272744/>.

<sup>132</sup> Zaka, Fasi. 2018. *Five Years Of Education Reforms, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*. Ebook. Alif Alaan. <https://elections.alifailaan.pk/wp-includes/file/KpEducationReport18.pdf>.



10.

Take steps that will focus on vocational and skill-based training to create income generation.

Skills Development Plan 2012 had been formulated by previous government with help of European Union under TVET Reform Support Programme<sup>133</sup>, though never fully implemented.

Special amendment known as the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Technical Education and Vocational Training Authority Act was passed in 2015. 28 Vocational institutes are registered within KPK, but none set up after 2103<sup>134</sup>

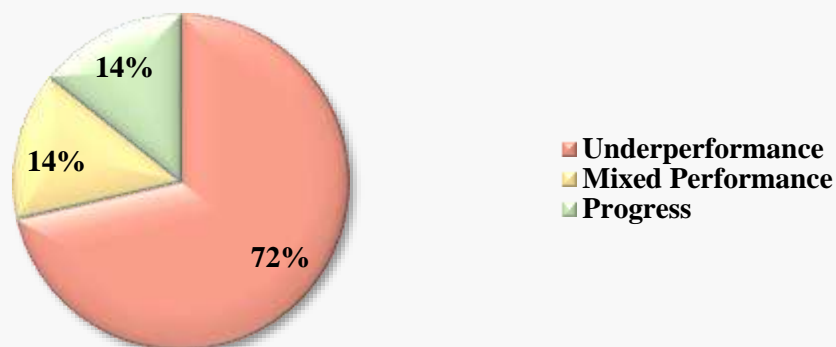
## Health

Despite commitment expressed by each party, health indicators did not see sizable improvement. The sector stayed neglected mostly.

### PML N

The PML N manifesto 2013 recognized that the sector's delivery system was "extremely inadequate". The manifesto targets public health spending of 2% of GDP by 2018. The manifesto rightly accords "high priority to preventive health strategy" to minimize costs. It promised also a national health service across Pakistan. An insurance scheme, initially targeting the most vulnerable, was to provide coverage of up to Rs. 150,000 per annum. The extensive measures that were to support these aims could not be achieved perhaps because the plan does not include a sustainable financial model. Also, across party lines, social sector has not been the leadership's priority. It is not surprising that PML N government achieved a small part of what it set out to do.

## PML N Health



<sup>133</sup> "Skills Development Plan 2012". Tvetreform.Org.Pk, Last modified 2012. <http://tvetreform.org.pk/wp-content/uploads/downloads/Reports%20and%20Publications/KP%20Plan%20.pdf>.

<sup>134</sup> "Vocational Institutes – Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Technical Education & Vocational Training Authority. <http://kptevta.gov.pk/kptevta/institutes/>

# PML N Health

Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in 2013	Position in 2018
1. Increase spending on health to at least 2% of GDP.	National public health expenditure 0.35% of GDP <sup>135</sup> .	National public health expenditure still less than 1% <sup>136</sup> .
2. Ensure 100% vaccination and immunization.	Pakistan still one of the three remaining countries that has yet to eliminate polio virus transmission.	Significant immunization deficit remains <sup>137</sup> . Polio near elimination <sup>138</sup> .
3. A new National Health Insurance Scheme will be introduced for the whole of Pakistan, which shall cover the most vulnerable poorest segment of the population. It will include a National Health Insurance card which will allow citizens to avail basic healthcare in a government hospital or by a general practitioner at concessional rates.	No National Health Insurance scheme in place.	No efforts to introduce a 'National Health Insurance Scheme' and other said initiatives.
4. Existing Basic Health Units (BHUs) will be strengthened.	No major efforts taken to upgrade BHUs.	As of 2017, 284 BHU's were not operational due to lack of doctors <sup>139</sup> .

<sup>135</sup> *Highlights Of The Pakistan Economic Survey 2012-13*. Ebook. Reprint, Ministry of Finance, 2013. [http://finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters\\_13/hghlights%202013.pdf](http://finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters_13/hghlights%202013.pdf).

<sup>136</sup> <https://nation.com.pk/26-May-2017/govt-spends-less-gdp-on-health-survey>

<sup>137</sup> "Shortage Of Vaccines Putting Kids' Lives At Risk". The Nation, Last modified 2017. <https://nation.com.pk/25-Oct-2017/shortage-of-vaccines-putting-kids-lives-at-risk>.

<sup>138</sup> Constable, Pamela. Washington Post, Last modified 2018.

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2018/01/21/pakistan-is-close-to-eradicating-polio-a-double-slaying-shows-the-grim-challenges-still-in-the-way/?utm\\_term=.22508dd852de](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2018/01/21/pakistan-is-close-to-eradicating-polio-a-double-slaying-shows-the-grim-challenges-still-in-the-way/?utm_term=.22508dd852de).

<sup>139</sup> "No Doctor In 284 Basic Health Units Of 13 Punjab Districts". TheNews.Com.Pk, Last modified 2017. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/134484-No-doctor-in-284-Basic-Health-Units-of-13-Punjab-districts>.

<p>5. At least 1,000 mobile health units (MHUs) will be launched to provide basic health facilities to remote areas and isolated localities.</p>	<p>Since 2010, only six MHUs were functional<sup>140</sup>.</p>	<p>Number of MHUs remain the same<sup>141</sup>.</p>
<p>6. Bring forth a 10% reduction in population growth.</p>	<p>In 2013, estimated population growth rate was 2.1%<sup>142</sup>.</p>	<p>Census 2017 found population growth rate at 2.4%<sup>143</sup>.</p>
<p>7. An independent Drug and Food Administration will be established to enforce strict standards.</p>	<p>Food Regulatory Authority existed in Punjab.</p>	<p>Punjab Food Authority actively enforced rules against unhygienic conditions and set standards and guidelines for observance.</p>

## Health PPP

PPP manifesto 2013 gives very high importance to health. Under the title of Health for All, it shared the party’s belief that “access to quality health services is the right of each individual”. Provincial governments were to achieve this goal. Underlying this emphasis, the manifesto sets a nationwide allocation target of 5% of GDP for health. Through “better governance and transparent” use of funds, PPP was to “bring about a revolution in health care”. The plan was to strengthen three flagship health programmes: LHWs, mother and child health, and immunization. IPR estimates that the provincial government achieved 25% of its targets.

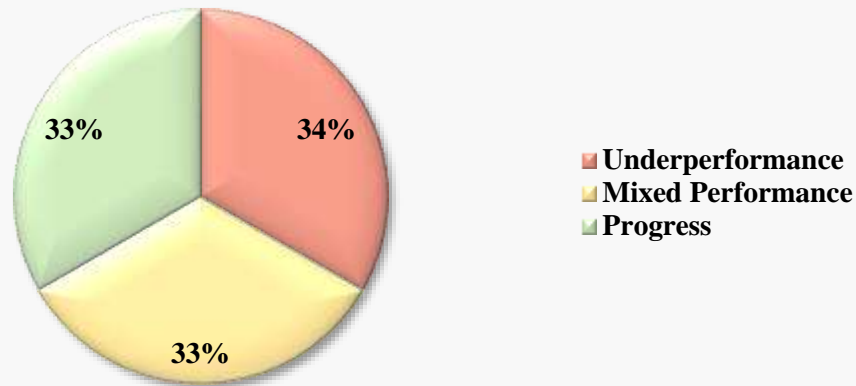
<sup>140</sup> Wazir, Hamid. "Punjab Govt Fails To Extend MHU Scheme In Last Seven Years". [Pakistantoday.Com.Pk](https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2018/01/05/punjab-govt-fails-to-extend-mhu-scheme-in-last-seven-years/), Last modified 2018.

<sup>141</sup> "MHU Deployment Plans - PHFMC™". [Phfmc.Punjab.Gov.Pk](http://phfmc.punjab.gov.pk/programs/mhu-deployment-plans), Last modified 2018.

<sup>142</sup> "Population Growth (Annual %) | Data". [Data.Worldbank.Org](https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.GROW?locations=PK), Last modified 2018.

<sup>143</sup> "CENSUS-2017 | Pakistan Bureau Of Statistics". [Pbs.Gov.Pk](http://www.pbs.gov.pk/content/provisional-summary-results-6th-population-and-housing-census-2017-0), Last modified 2017.

## PPP Health



## PPP Health

Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in 2013	Position in 2018
1. Reduce population growth rate to 1.6%	Census 1998 showed Sindh had a population of 30.44 million, with an average annual growth rate of 2.8% <sup>144</sup> .	Census 2017 showed Sindh had a population of 47.8 million, with an annual growth rate of 2.41% <sup>145</sup> .
2. Implement an accelerated family planning programme to reduce population growth rate.	No major efforts taken to initiate family planning programme, and Contraceptive Prevalence Rate (CPR) in Sindh stood at 13.62% <sup>146</sup>	CPR increases to 25.0% in 2016 <sup>147</sup> , with the aim of increasing to 45% by 2020 <sup>148</sup> .

<sup>144</sup> PROVINCE WISE PROVISIONAL RESULTS OF CENSUS - 2017. Ebook. Reprint, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2017. [http://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files/PAKISTAN%20TEHSIL%20WISE%20FOR%20WEB%20CENSUS\\_2017.pdf](http://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files/PAKISTAN%20TEHSIL%20WISE%20FOR%20WEB%20CENSUS_2017.pdf).

<sup>145</sup> ibid

<sup>146</sup> Sindhbos.Gov.Pk, Last modified 2013.

[http://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files/population\\_statistics/publications/Annual%20Contraceptive%20Performance%20Report%202012-13.pdf](http://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files/population_statistics/publications/Annual%20Contraceptive%20Performance%20Report%202012-13.pdf).

<sup>147</sup> Ebook. Reprint, Sindh Bureau of Statistics, 2016.

<sup>148</sup> Mansoor, Hasan. "Sindh Launches Roadmap To Achieve Family Planning Goals". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2018. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1303912>.

3.	Increase number of health care facilities and doctors.	Total number of hospitals in Sindh were 485, with 27201 beds. Patients per doctor: 2986 <sup>149</sup> .	Total number of Hospitals in Sindh (2016) 648, with 30126 beds. Patients per doctor: 3159 <sup>150</sup>
4.	Create special departments or units to deal exclusively with preventive health care and medicine.	Creation of special departments was being considered.	The following special programmes of Sindh Health Department have achieved progress: Dengue Control and Prevention Program <sup>151</sup> Blindness Control Program <sup>152</sup> . Hepatitis Free Sindh Program <sup>153</sup> .
5.	Strengthen programmes that deliver on the ground, including LHW programme.	No major reforms or initiatives to upgrade the system.	Sindh government launches major upgrade to health worker curriculum a move aimed at enhancing the quality of door-to-door preventive healthcare services delivered by lady health workers (LHWs) <sup>154</sup> . But progress made through these initiatives is still uncertain.

<sup>149</sup> *Sindh At A Glance*. Ebook, 2015. <http://sindhbos.gov.pk/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/SAG-2015.pdf>.

<sup>150</sup> *HEALTH PROFILE OF SINDH*. Ebook, 2018. <http://sindhbos.gov.pk/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Health-Profile-of-Sindh-2017.pdf>.

<sup>151</sup> Sindh, Health. "Dengue Control And Prevention Program | Health Department Of Sindh". Sindhhealth.Gov.Pk, Last modified 2018. <https://www.sindhhealth.gov.pk/Dengue-Control-and-Prevention-Program>.

<sup>152</sup> Sindh, Health. "Blindness Control Program | Health Department Of Sindh". Sindhhealth.Gov.Pk, Last modified 2018. <https://www.sindhhealth.gov.pk/Blindness-Control-Program>.

<sup>153</sup> Sindh, Health. "Hepatitis Free Sindh Program | Health Department Of Sindh". Sindhhealth.Gov.Pk, Last modified 2018. <https://www.sindhhealth.gov.pk/Hepatitis-free-Sindh-Program>.

<sup>154</sup> "Sindh Government Launches Major Upgrade To Health Worker Curriculum". Aku.Edu, Last modified 2018. [https://www.aku.edu/news/Pages/News\\_Details.aspx?nid=NEWS-001532](https://www.aku.edu/news/Pages/News_Details.aspx?nid=NEWS-001532).

<p>6. Merge polio eradication, routine vaccination, LHWs, mother and child care, malaria and hepatitis control, and family planning to create a consolidated and coordinated public health programme.</p>	<p>Polio and other health care programmes working independently.</p>	<p>As of 2018, no merger has taken place to create a consolidated public health programme.</p>
<p>7. Eradicate polio from the province.</p>	<p>30 cases reported.</p>	<p>Only one polio case reported in 2017.</p>
<p>8. Reduce water scarcity and provide clean drinking water to all.</p>	<p>Water scarcity and contaminated water a major issue for residents in Sindh<sup>155</sup>.</p>	<p>No effort made to alleviate the issue of water scarcity and contaminated water. According to Sindh's Minister of Health, Sikandro Mandhro, the province is facing a water shortage of 60%<sup>156</sup></p>
<p>9. Deploy mobile health units.</p>	<p>Mobile health units existed but were not part of government initiatives<sup>157</sup>.</p>	<p>Rs. 1.6 billion allocated by Sindh government for mobile healthcare unit project<sup>158</sup>. Several mobile health units offering free medical care in rural Sindh<sup>159</sup>.</p>

<sup>155</sup> Siddiqui, Khalid M. *STATE OF URBAN WATER SUPPLY & SANITATION SECTOR IN SINDH*. Ebook, 2018.

<http://puf.urbanunit.gov.pk/Presentations/Marquee%201/Day%202/02Khalid%20Mehmood%20-%20sindh%20Watersanitation%20for%20DG.pdf>.

<sup>156</sup> "Sindh Witnessing Over 60Pc Water Shortage, SA Told". The Nation, Last modified 2018. <https://nation.com.pk/06-Mar-2018/sindh-witnessing-over-60pc-water-shortage-sa-told>.

<sup>157</sup> "Sindh Mobile Clinic Final Project Report - Real Medicine Foundation". Realmedicinefoundation.Org, Last modified 2011. <http://www.realmedicinefoundation.org/our-work/countries/pakistan/initiatives/sindh-mobile-clinic-initiative/reports/2011/sindh-mobile-clinic-final-project-report/>.

<sup>158</sup> Idrees, Mahmood. "FY 2018-19: Sindh Govt To Present Three-Month Budget Today". Daily Pakistan Global, Last modified 2018. <https://en.dailypakistan.com.pk/headline/fy-2018-19-sindh-govt-to-present-3-month-budget-today/>.

<sup>159</sup> Pakistan Peoples Party. Mobile Health Care Units In Sindh. Video, 2017. <https://www.facebook.com/PPPSindh1/videos/1544196875617658/?t=4>.

<p>10. Ensure that 100% of infants and children under 5 years are vaccinated.</p>	<p>Less than 30% of children immunized<sup>160</sup></p>	<p>As of 2018, less than 50% of children immunized coverage due to lack awareness and education<sup>161</sup>.</p>
<p>11. Establish specialist medical care facilities including trauma centres, cardiac and nephrology centers at local level.</p>	<p>Feasibility studies were being carried out.</p>	<p>Specialist medical care facilities such as trauma<sup>162</sup> and cardiac centers created<sup>163</sup>, but not on local/district level<sup>164</sup>.</p>
<p>12. Introduce accountability of health care providers through patient charters and complaint redress systems.</p>	<p>Complaint redress system was being formulated.</p>	<p>Complaint redress system in place for Health Department of Sindh<sup>165</sup>, but no information available regarding how effective this redress system is.</p>

## Health PTI

Under its slogan of “healthy people, healthy nation”, the PTI manifesto 2013 includes several important reforms. Important among them are to double the envelope for public spending on health, 100% immunization, universal access to drinking water, and improved sanitation, reduce infant and under-five mortality, and several more (see Table). PTI achieved 29% of its health targets.

<sup>160</sup> Demographic And Health Survey 2012-13. Ebook. Reprint, Islamabad: National Institute of Population Studies Islamabad, Pakistan, 2014. [http://www.nips.org.pk/abstract\\_files/PDHS%20Final%20Report%20as%20of%20Jan%2022-2014.pdf](http://www.nips.org.pk/abstract_files/PDHS%20Final%20Report%20as%20of%20Jan%2022-2014.pdf).

<sup>161</sup> Desk, News. "Less Than 50Pc Immunization Coverage In Sindh - Pakistan Observer". Pakistan Observer, Last modified 2018. <https://pakobserver.net/less-than-50pc-immunization-coverage-in-sindh/>.

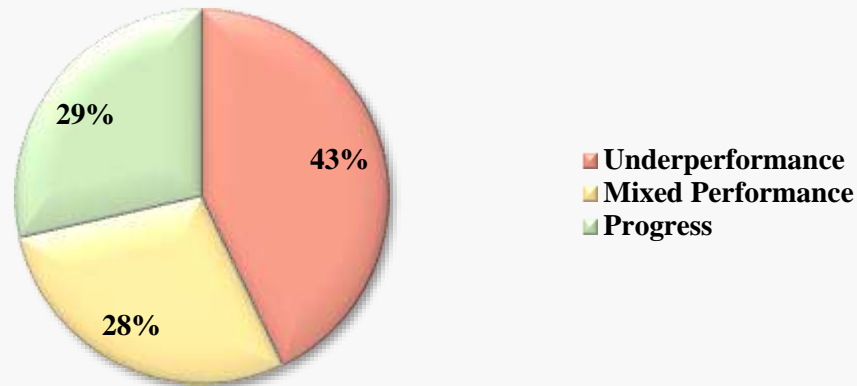
<sup>162</sup> "PPP Says No To District Trauma Centres - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2017. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1368023/ppp-says-no-district-trauma-centres/>.

<sup>163</sup> "Sukkur Welcomes 300-Bed NICVD Satellite Centre - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2018. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1643872/1-sukkur-welcomes-300-bed-nicvd-satellite-centre/>.

<sup>164</sup> "PPP Says No To District Trauma Centres - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2017. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1368023/ppp-says-no-district-trauma-centres/>.

<sup>165</sup> Sindh, H. (2018). Complaint | Health Department of Sindh. [online] Sindhhealth.gov.pk. Available at: <https://www.sindhhealth.gov.pk/contact/complaint> [Accessed 17 Jun. 2018].

## PTI Health



## PTI Health

Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in 2013	Position in 2018
1. Substantially increase spending on Health Sector.	Allocated Rs. 5,736.1 million, 6.51% of ADP. Total expenditure on health sector was Rs.7,646 million, 9.06% of total revenue expenditure. <sup>166</sup>	Allocated Rs. 16,474.7 million, 9.15% of ADP. Total expenditure on health sector was Rs. 26,897.9 million, 6.93% of total revenue expenditure. <sup>167</sup>
2. Launch public awareness campaigns on population welfare to reduce population growth rate to 1.6%.	Estimated population in KPK (last census was held in 1998: 26,792,000. Annual growth rate of 2.81%	Census 2017 showed that KPK had a population of 30,523,371. Annual growth rate of 2.89%. <sup>168</sup>

<sup>166</sup> *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa In Figures*. 2013. Ebook. Bureau of Statistics.

[http://kp.gov.pk/uploads/2016/03/Khyber\\_Pakhtunkhwa\\_in\\_Figures\\_2013.pdf](http://kp.gov.pk/uploads/2016/03/Khyber_Pakhtunkhwa_in_Figures_2013.pdf).

<sup>167</sup> *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa In Figures*. 2018. Ebook. Bureau of Statistics. <http://kpbos.gov.pk/files/1510130378.pdf>.

<sup>168</sup> *ibid*



<p>3. Ensure free primary health care for the poor.</p>	<p>Free treatment only limited to heart patients.<sup>169</sup></p>	<p>‘Sehat Sahulat Programme’ (SSP) formulated to provide free health care. SSP launched in January 2017 with the goal of providing free treatment to people holding ‘Sehat Insaf Cards’ in 110 hospitals. There is an annual limit of Rs. 540,000<sup>170</sup> per family for medical treatment and medicines. Despite allegations that several public sector hospitals in the province were initially unwilling to implement the program<sup>171</sup>, the SSP is a major step towards bringing equity in medical care system<sup>172</sup>.</p>
<p>4. Increase the number of Basic Health Units (B.H.U.s)</p>	<p>Total number of functional B.H.U.s was 785<sup>173</sup>.</p>	<p>Total number of functional B.H.U.s 765<sup>174</sup>.</p>
<p>5. Achieve 100% immunization of children against preventable diseases.</p>	<p>Less than 50% coverage of immunization.</p>	<p>54% of coverage for routine immunization throughout the Province<sup>175</sup>.</p>

<sup>169</sup> Yusufzai, Ashfaq. 2013. "KP Plans Free Treatment For Heart Patients". *DAWN.COM*. <https://www.dawn.com/news/768697>.

<sup>170</sup> Ahmad, Assad. "KP'S Healthcare Secret". *DAWN.COM*, Last modified 2018. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1414476>.

<sup>171</sup> Yusufzai, Ashfaq. 2018. "Govt Hospitals Not Implementing Sehat Sahulat Programme". *DAWN.COM*. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1404471>.

<sup>172</sup> Ahmad, Assad. "KP'S Healthcare Secret". *DAWN.COM*, Last modified 2018. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1414476>.

<sup>173</sup> Khyber Pakhtunkhwa In Figures. 2013. Ebook. Bureau of Statistics.

[http://kp.gov.pk/uploads/2016/03/Khyber\\_Pakhtunkhwa\\_in\\_Figures\\_2013.pdf](http://kp.gov.pk/uploads/2016/03/Khyber_Pakhtunkhwa_in_Figures_2013.pdf)

<sup>174</sup> Khyber Pakhtunkhwa In Figures. 2018. Ebook. Bureau of Statistics. <http://kpbos.gov.pk/files/1510130378.pdf>.

<sup>175</sup>

<p>6. Ensure access to clean drinking water.</p>	<p>Clean drinking water projects were launched, but mired by corruption scandals<sup>176</sup>.</p>	<p>Despite completing 140 projects to provide clean drinking water in 2016<sup>177</sup>, a report highlighted that 50% of diseases in KPK were caused because of consuming contaminated water<sup>178</sup>. In 2018, the Supreme Court (SC) was forced to intervene after a petitioner urged the SC to take action that would ensure clean drinking water<sup>179</sup>.</p>
<p>7. Improve access to sanitation and ensure better sewage and drainage schemes.</p>	<p>Lack of sanitation and drainage systems a major problem.</p>	<p>As of 2016 – 17, 80% of people in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa have access to sanitation services with 74% in rural and 98% coverage in urban areas.</p>

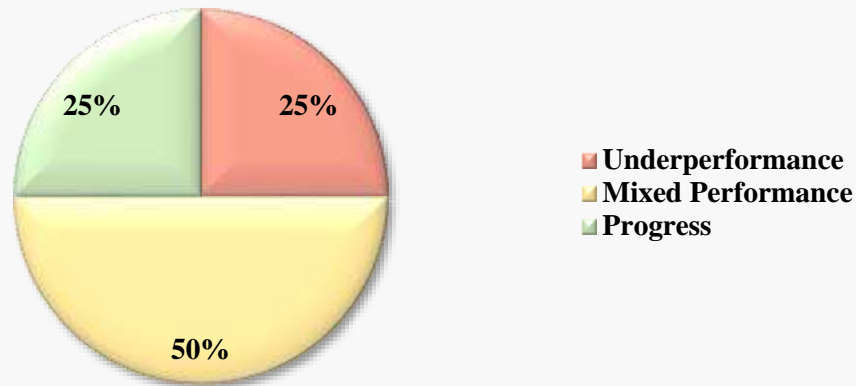
<sup>176</sup> Ali, Zulfiqar. "Clean Drinking Water Project Turns Sour For KP". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2014. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1117597>.

<sup>177</sup> "KPK:(KPK Govt Completes 140 Clean Drinking Water Schemes) | Pakistan Press International". Ppinewsagency.Com, Last modified 2016. <https://ppinewsagency.com/%EF%BB%BFkpkpk-govt-completes-140-clean-drinking-water-schemes/>.

<sup>178</sup> "Alarming Statistics: 50% Diseases In K-P Caused By Contaminated Water - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2016. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1180711/alarmed-statistics-50-diseases-k-p-caused-contaminated-water/>.

<sup>179</sup> "SC Moved To Ensure Supply Of Clean Drinking Water In KP". Thenews.Com.Pk, Last modified 2018. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/264590-sc-moved-to-ensure-supply-of-clean-drinking-water-in-kp>.

## PPP Labour Reform



## PPP Labour Reform

Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in 2013	Position in 2018
1. Minimum wage will be increased to Rs. <b>18,000</b> .	Minimum wage increased from Rs <b>8,000</b> to <b>10,000</b> . <sup>180</sup>	Minimum wage increased to Rs <b>14,000</b> . <sup>181</sup>
2. Bring forth much needed labour reforms.	Labour reform still under consideration.	First ever labour policy introduced in 2018 with the following salient features: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. Coherent policy guidelines</li> <li>ii. Contract labour system to be regulated</li> <li>iii. Minimum wage council established to determine minimum wages for skilled and unskilled workers<sup>182</sup></li> </ul>

<sup>180</sup> "Sindh Increases Minimum Wages, Starting September 1". Labourwatchpakistan.Com, Last modified 2013.

<http://labourwatchpakistan.com/sindh-increases-minimum-wages-starting-september-1/>.

<sup>181</sup> "Sindh Notifies Rs14,000 Per Month Minimum Wage". Thenews.Com.Pk, Last modified 2016.

<https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/157250-Sindh-notifies-Rs14000-per-month-minimum-wage>.

<sup>182</sup> Mansoor, Hasan. "Govt Unveils First Sindh Labour Policy 2018". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2018.

<https://www.dawn.com/news/1388589>.

3. Provide two seats in provincial assembly to labour representatives.	No representation of labourers in Provincial Assembly.	Still no representation in Provincial Assembly, Though PPP parliamentarians proposed a bill in Parliament <sup>183</sup> .
4. Enact special laws that will allow the establishment of trade unions for domestic workers.	No trade union existed specifically for domestic workers.	Law for legal recognition of home-based workers with right for collective bargaining as well as other protection passed by Sindh Assembly. However, GoS has yet to formulate rules to implementation of the law. No trade union exists for domestic workers <sup>184</sup> .
5. Construct a labour housing complex in the provincial capital.	Construction of apartments for labourers was initiated, but the property was eventually occupied by land grabbers <sup>185</sup>	Project for a housing complex for labourers initiated, but still incomplete and mired by corruption allegations <sup>186</sup> .
6. Develop schemes through which 500,000 low-income houses will be constructed for the poor.	10,000 low income houses were created under the “Benazir Basti” programme.	Failure to construct 500,000 low-income houses for the poor, several projects initiated but could not be materialized due to irregularities and corruption <sup>187</sup> .

<sup>183</sup> "Sanjrani Calls For Labour Representation In Parliament". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2018. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1405063>.

<sup>184</sup> "Call For Providing Rights To Domestic Workers Under Labour Laws". Thenews.Com.Pk, Last modified 2016. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/128682-Call-for-providing-rights-to-domestic-workers-under-labour-laws>.

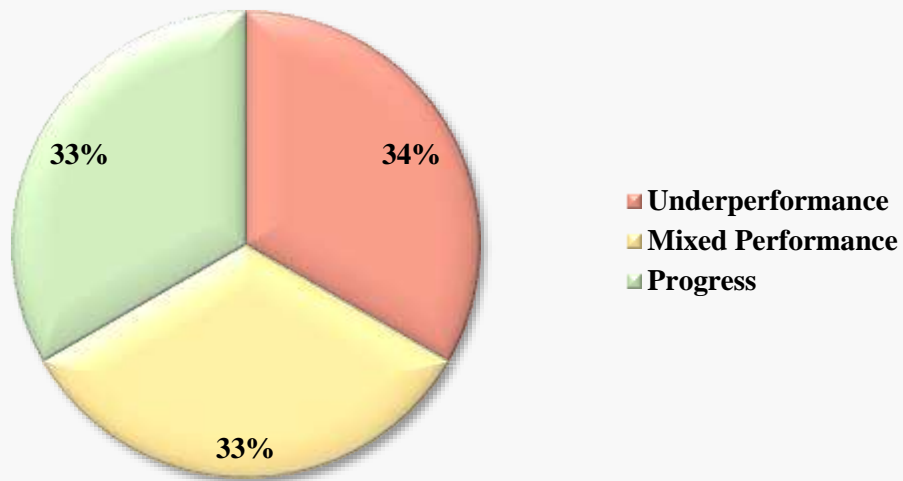
<sup>185</sup> "Workers' Rights: Labour Flats Yet To Receive Occupants They Were Built For | The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2013. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/624320/workers-rights-labour-flats-yet-to-receive-occupants-they-were-built-for/>.

<sup>186</sup> "Glaring Irregularities In Karachi Project Detected | The Express Tribune". The Tribune, Last modified 2017. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1490355/glaring-irregularities-karachi-project-detected/>.

<sup>187</sup> "PPP-Led Govt Fails To Initiate Low-Income Housing Schemes | The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2017. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1556650/1-ppp-led-govt-fails-initiate-low-income-housing-schemes/>.

7.	Increase the participation of women in the workplace and secure their rights by enforcing anti-discrimination and anti-harassment laws.	Protection Against Harassment of Women at the Workplace Bill passed in 2012.	No new bill passed.
8.	Prevent child labour and rehabilitate child labourers	Child labourers being used as part of the workforce.	Sindh's Labour Policy Act 2018 addresses the issue of bonded labour and the use of children as labourers. However, this policy still has not been fully implemented, especially in rural areas.

## PTI Performance in Housing and Land Reform



## PTI Housing and Land Reform

Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in 2013	Position in 2018
1. Develop a policy of leasing and mortgage of property.	Under consideration but never implemented.	Schemes under Bank of Khyber (BOK) offers leasing and mortgage of property.
2. Computerize land records	Land records were not computerized.	Decision to computerize land records was taken in 2014 <sup>188</sup> . Slow progress.
3. Expedite distribution of cultivable state land among landless farmers.	No efforts taken.	No steps taken my provincial government distribute state land amongst landless farmers; rural inequality still a major issue.

<sup>188</sup> Cmkp.Gov.Pk, Last modified 2018. [http://cmkp.gov.pk/revenue\\_details.php?nId=1](http://cmkp.gov.pk/revenue_details.php?nId=1).

# AGRICULTURE

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The provinces have a key role in agriculture growth. A key issue in agriculture is to raise productivity and provide water to all farmers through efficient management of water resources. Many other factors are important including seed quality, protection from virus, cost of input of both supplies and equipment, credit, and efficient markets. In effect, there has been limited progress. In FY 2015, agriculture production fell from previous years. Cotton production fell by 30%. Since then production has recovered though cotton has yet to reach the 2015 level.

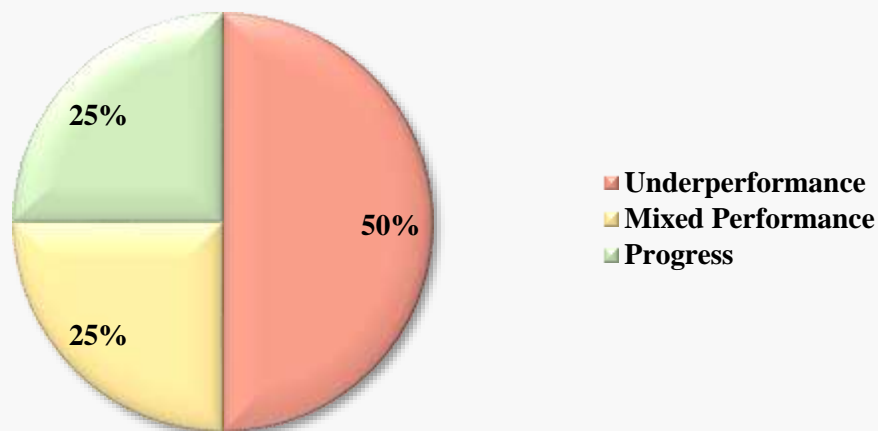
## PML N

The party's manifesto aims to make agriculture "a fully viable economic industry by changing the policy framework and terms of trade". Its target for incentives and facilities were small farmers. Its measures to achieve the goals are similar to those proposed by other parties, i.e. corporate agriculture, credit to farmers, production of high value crops for export, and efficient use of water. It also advocated land reforms to allot reclaimed land for landless farmers.

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## PML N Agriculture

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# PML N Agriculture

Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in 2013	Position in 2018
1. Reform the agriculture credit system to ensure that at least 50% of the total is provided to small farmers	Routine system in place.	Some progress made in Punjab, where the government has undertaken initiatives to provide interest free loans to small farmers <sup>189</sup>
2. Convert Pakistan into a large net exporter of food and high value crops.	Food Group's % share in total exports was 19.5 during July-May 2012-2013 <sup>190</sup> .	No shift to high value crops. Food Group's % share in total exports was 20.7% during July-April 2017-18 <sup>191</sup> .
3. Build consensus on the basis of the 1991 Water Accord to allow new water projects to be undertaken and extension of irrigation facilities to additional areas.	Failure to build national consensus that would allow new water projects; i.e Kalabagh Dam.	No new major water projects undertaken. Those that are under construction are in slow progress.
4. Undertake immediate updating of revenue and property records using modern Information Technology.	Digitization of revenue and property records not yet implemented.	Significant progress in digitization of land records, especially in Punjab <sup>192</sup> .

<sup>189</sup> "Rs432 Billion Disbursed In Agri-Credit Sector During First Half Of FY 2017-18 - Profit By Pakistan Today". Profit By Pakistan Today, Last modified 2018. <https://profit.pakistantoday.com.pk/2018/02/01/rs432-billion-disbursed-in-agri-credit-sector-during-first-half-of-fy-2017-18/>.

<sup>190</sup> Commerce.gov.pk. (2013). [online] Available at: [http://www.commerce.gov.pk/wp-content/uploads/importexport/Export\\_May\\_2012-13.pdf](http://www.commerce.gov.pk/wp-content/uploads/importexport/Export_May_2012-13.pdf) [Accessed 15 Jun. 2018].

<sup>191</sup> Commerce.gov.pk. (2018). [online] Available at: <http://www.commerce.gov.pk/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Comparative-Exports-July-April-2017-18.pdf> [Accessed 15 Jun. 2018].

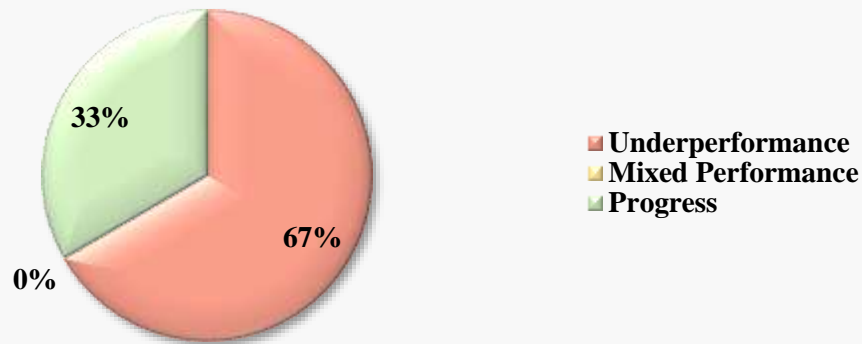
<sup>192</sup> <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2017/09/20/in-pakistan-and-beyond-land-records-get-a-digital-upgrade>



## PPP Agriculture

In 2013, the PPP manifesto claims to put agriculture as a main focus of economic policy. It recognized not just that the sector contributed 20% to GDP, but also that it sustained 60% of the population. It sets again the target for providing crop insurance, setting cooperatives, and extending credit. The Peoples' Agriculture Programme was to support especially farmers with less than 25 acres in holding. The means to achieve these goals is by modernizing and enhancing production and expansion of facilities. The party's progress was mixed.

### PPP Performance in Agriculture



## PPP Agriculture

Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in 2013	Position in 2018
1. Provide land to landless peasants and subsistence farmers with the eventual intent to create a network of small farm cooperatives.	55,000 acres of land was distributed in 17 districts to around 6,000 peasants – 4,800 women and 1,200 men. However, the land that was distributed was largely uncultivable. <sup>193</sup>	'Landless Harees Project' had been launched in which a total of 41,520 acres were distributed to 4,103 beneficiaries across 17 districts. Efforts were also made by social mobilization teams working to create Co-operatives and community organizations across the province. <sup>194</sup>

<sup>193</sup> "Results Yet To Be Seen: 'Some Of The Land Given To Peasants Was Largely Uncultivable' | The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2013. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/652069/results-yet-to-be-seen-some-of-the-land-given-to-peasants-was-largely-uncultivable/>.

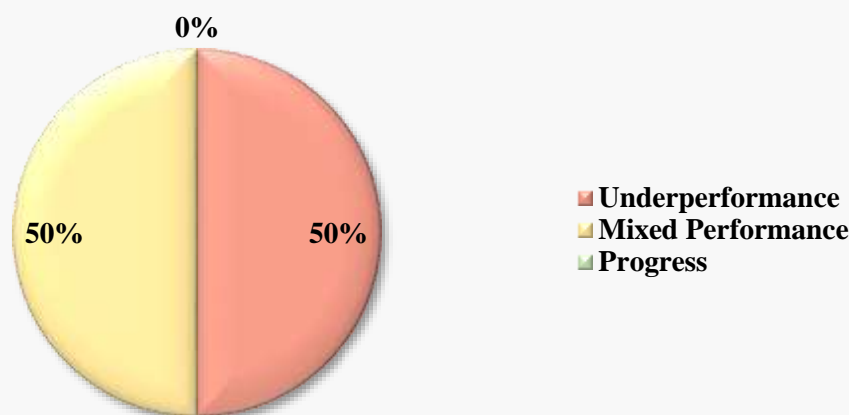
<sup>194</sup> "Landless Harees Project". Srsso.Org.Pk, Last modified 2018. [http://www.srsso.org.pk/reports/spcl\\_rpt/Landless%20Harees%20Report-%20Completion.pdf](http://www.srsso.org.pk/reports/spcl_rpt/Landless%20Harees%20Report-%20Completion.pdf).

2.	Introduce policy incentives to promote agro-industry in rural areas	No major policy incentives taken to promote agro-industry in rural areas.	Sindh government has announced that it will introduced a new agriculture policy to attract domestic and foreign investors in rural areas through policy incentives <sup>195</sup> .
3.	Provide agricultural subsidies at par with those in other countries in the region.	Routine progress was made.	No progress until 2018. In the provincial budget for 2018-19, GoS has provided for subsidy of Rs. 9.6 billion on tractors, tube wells, solar pumps and other agriculture implements <sup>196</sup> .

## PTI Agriculture

PTI’s manifesto refers to agriculture as the backbone of the economy. This importance aligns with the party’s aim to alleviate poverty as well as to generate a quick economic growth. Availability of water is an important growth input. The manifesto recommends storage dams as well as efficient use of water. From the long list of measures it planned to achieve these goals, the manifesto highlights major increase in ADP allocation, production of high value products for export, and computerized land records. PTI achieved 33% of its stated activities.

### PTI Agriculture



<sup>195</sup> "Sindh To Get A New And Improved Agriculture Policy | The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2018. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1687165/1-sindh-get-new-improved-agriculture-policy/>.

<sup>196</sup> "Agriculture Gets Hefty Subsidies In Sindh Budget For FY19 | The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2018. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1707367/2-agriculture-gets-hefty-subsidies-sindh-budget-fy19/>.

# PTI Agriculture

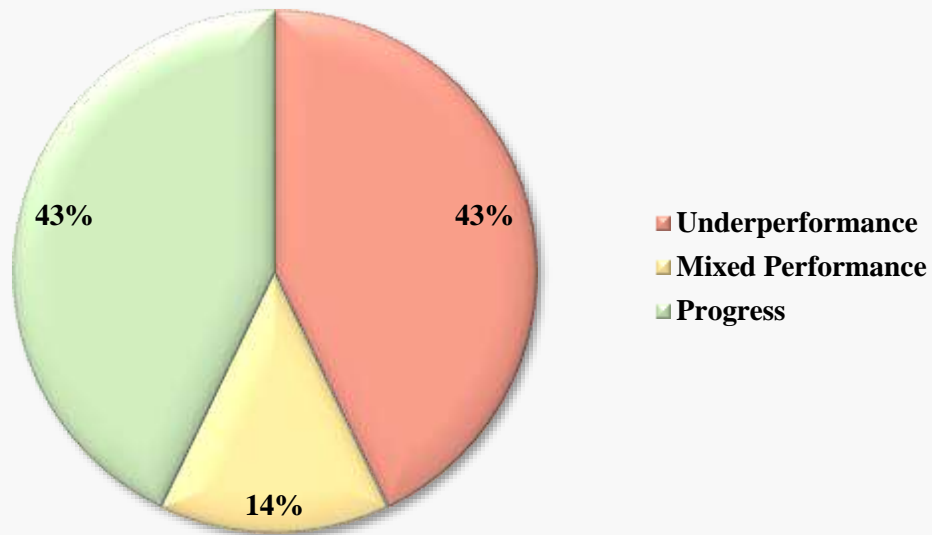
Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in 2013	Position in 2018
1. Revamp/ modernize Provincial Agriculture departments, connect them to Universities.	No major steps taken to reform the Provincial Agricultural departments.	KPK Agricultural Policy 2015 highlights the importance of revamping provincial agricultural departments; however, it does not mention any linkages with universities <sup>197</sup> . No information on its implementation
2. Storage facilities and infrastructure will be improved.	Routine maintenance, no efforts to enhance or improve conditions.	Despite claiming to improve storage facilities, farmers in KPK still have agricultural losses due to inadequate storage facilities <sup>198</sup> .

<sup>197</sup> "KP Agriculture Policy". Agriculture.Kp.Gov.Pk, Last modified 2015. [http://agriculture.kp.gov.pk/page/kp\\_agriculture\\_policy/page\\_type/citizen](http://agriculture.kp.gov.pk/page/kp_agriculture_policy/page_type/citizen).

<sup>198</sup> "Agricultural Losses: Pabbi Farmers Lose Potato Seeds, Demand Compensation | The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2016. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/605227/agricultural-losses-pabbi-farmers-lose-potato-seeds-demand-compensation/>.

# NATIONAL SECURITY, FOREIGN POLICY, AND LAW AND ORDER

## PML N National Security



# PML N National Security

Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in 2013	Position in 2018
1. A Cabinet Committee on Defence and National Security will be formed, it will be headed by PM, and will be responsible for maintaining democratic oversight over matters such as foreign affairs, defence and national security policies.	National Security Council had been abolished since 2008 <sup>199</sup> .	National Security Council (NSC) restored <sup>200</sup> . Headed by PM and is responsible for organizing policies on defence, national security, foreign affairs and improving coordination between civil and military institutions. As of 2018, a total of 23 NSC meetings have been held.
2. Highest priority to be given to strengthening the country's Armed Forces.	Allocated Rs 545 billion for defence. <sup>201</sup>	Defence budget set at Rs. 1.1 trillion <sup>202</sup> .
3. Ensure that all institutions, whether civil or military, act in accordance with the law, and under the supervision of the civilian government.	Civil-military relations relatively stable.	Reportedly, frequent civil-military friction <sup>203</sup> .
4. Integrating the Tribal Areas into country's political mainstream.	Integrating FATA with KPK not under consideration.	Decision to merge FATA with KPK approved by CCI, Senate, Provincial and National Assembly <sup>204</sup> .

<sup>199</sup> "NSC Abolished: PM". Thenews.Com.Pk, Last modified 2008. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/archive/print/661010-nsc-abolished-pm>.

<sup>200</sup> Khan, Sumaira. "Battling Militancy: Govt Revives National Security Council - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2013. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/594103/battling-militancy-govt-revives-national-security-council/>.

<sup>201</sup> <https://fp.brecorder.com/2012/06/201206291206845/>

<sup>202</sup> Syed, Baqir. "Budget 2018-19: Rs1.1 Trillion Proposed For Defence". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2018. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1404337/budget-2018-19-rs11-trillion-proposed-for-defence>.

<sup>203</sup> Reporter, A. "All Is Not Well With Civil-Military Relations". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2018. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1350664>.

<sup>204</sup> "New Dawn For FATA As K-P Approves Merger - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2018. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1720162/1-jui-f-stages-protest-outside-k-p-assembly-ahead-vote-31st-amendment-bill/>.

<p>5. Offer negotiations and peace talks if terrorists are willing.</p>	<p>No negotiations or process of reconciliation. Terrorist attacks rampant within the country.</p>	<p>Peace talks unsuccessful with Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and other affiliated groups<sup>205</sup>. Full scale military operation launched in 2014. Major improvement in security in Pakistan<sup>206</sup>. Two successful operations have almost cleared the country of terrorism.</p>
<p>6. Create a robust counter narrative to defeat terrorism; use religious scholars to condemn terrorism and extremism.</p>	<p>Use of religious scholars to condemn suicide attacks and violence against innocent civilians.</p>	<p>More than 1800 Pakistani Clerics issue Islamic decree condemning terrorism and extremism<sup>207</sup>. However, extremist right-wing groups such as ‘Ahle Sunnat Wal Jamaat’, ‘Sipah-i-Sahaba’ and ‘Lashkar-e-Jhangvi’ still active and operate openly on social media<sup>208</sup>. Some of them have been cleared to participate in elections.</p>
<p>7. Ensure swift and speedy justice for the masses.</p>	<p>More than 3 million cases pending over all<sup>209</sup>.</p>	<p>Over 1.8 million cases pending in Pakistan’s courts<sup>210</sup>. No especial effort made by government made to reduce cost and time of litigation.</p>

<sup>205</sup> "Peace Talks Between Pakistan And Taliban Collapse After Killings". U.S., Last modified 2018. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-pakistan-taliban/peace-talks-between-pakistan-and-taliban-collapse-after-killings-idUSBREA1G0MP20140217>.

<sup>206</sup> "Operation Zarb-E-Azb: Two Years Of Success". The Nation, Last modified 2018. <https://nation.com.pk/06-Sep-2016/operation-zarb-e-azb-two-years-of-success>.

<sup>207</sup> "More Than 1,800 Pakistani Clerics Issue Islamic Decree Condemning Terrorism". VOA, Last modified 2018. <https://www.voanews.com/a/pakistan-clerics-islamic-decree-condemning-terrorism/4211204.html>.

<sup>208</sup> Bashir, Jahanzaib. "Banned Outfits In Pakistan Operate Openly On Facebook". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2018. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1335561>.

<sup>209</sup> "Over 3M Cases Pending Before Country’S Judiciary". Pakistantoday.Com.Pk, Last modified 2013. <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2013/02/08/over-3m-cases-pending-before-countrys-judiciary/>.

<sup>210</sup> Asad, Malik. "Over 1.8 Million Cases Pending In Pakistan’S Courts". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2018. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1384319>.

# PML N Foreign Policy

Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in 2013	Position in 2018
<p>1. The power to formulate and determine foreign policy will only be given to elected representatives.</p>	<p>Balanced formulation of foreign policy.</p>	<p>No Foreign Minister appointed for four years, Ministry of Foreign Affairs was under PM's portfolio and his two advisors. Foreign Minister finally appointed in 2018. Reportedly, military influence over foreign affairs increased<sup>211</sup>. Civil leadership did not create national consensus. Lack of direction and clarity especially regarding relations with India and Afghanistan<sup>212</sup>.</p>
<p>2. Further strengthen relations with proven and time-tested allies and normalize relations where there are differences.</p>	<p>Strengthened relations with China, UAE and Saudi Arabia, as well as USA. Effort to improve and normalize relations with Russia.</p>	<p>China-Pakistan relations solidified<sup>213</sup>. Cooperation enhanced with Russia<sup>214</sup>. Deteriorating relations with United States; US military aid to Pakistan suspended<sup>215</sup>. Tension increased with USA and continued friction with India and Afghanistan (though some late improvement with latter).</p>

<sup>211</sup> "Civil-Military Interaction And Foreign Policy - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2016. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1121394/civil-military-interaction-foreign-policy/>.

<sup>212</sup> Shahzeb Ali Rathore, The Diplomat. "Pakistan's Stunted Foreign Policy". The Diplomat, Last modified 2018. <https://thediplomat.com/2016/06/pakistans-stunted-foreign-policy/>.

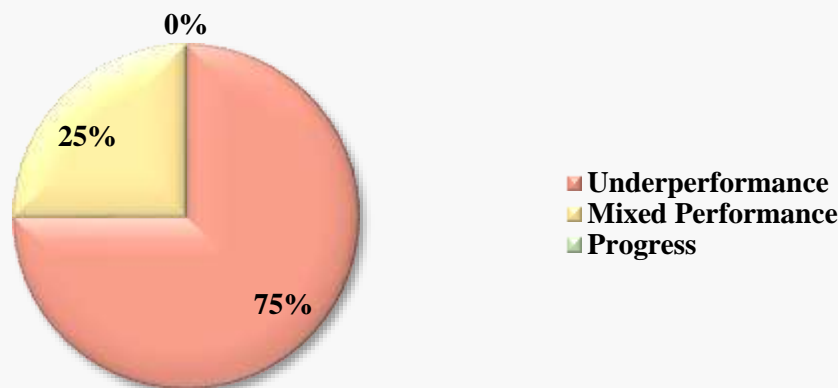
<sup>213</sup> Muhammad Akbar Notezai, The Diplomat. "Pakistan's Burgeoning Relationship With China". The Diplomat, Last modified 2018. <https://thediplomat.com/2018/01/pakistans-burgeoning-relationship-with-china/>.

<sup>214</sup> "Pakistan And Russia - Entering A New Era Of Cooperation". The Nation, Last modified 2018. <https://nation.com.pk/08-Apr-2018/pakistan-and-russia-entering-a-new-era-of-cooperation>.

<sup>215</sup> Iqbal, Anwar. "America Suspends Entire Security Aid To Pakistan". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2018. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1380876>.

<p>3. Increase economic ties with all countries in the world and powerful international economic blocks</p>	<p>EU grants duty-free market access to Pakistan. Observer status already granted to Pakistan in SCO and on the path to become full-member</p>	<p>Pakistan becomes full member of SCO<sup>216</sup>. FATF has put Pakistan on ‘grey-list’; economic cooperation with international community can be jeopardized<sup>217</sup>. FTA talks with Iran stall<sup>218</sup>. Revised Pak-China FTA halted<sup>219</sup>.</p>
<p>4. Special efforts to be made to resolve the issue of Kashmir, advocate for the self determination of the Kashmiri people in international forums.</p>	<p>PM reiterates Pakistan’s position on Kashmir in the United Nations General Assembly. Stresses that issue of Kashmir cannot be sidelined.</p>	<p>Pakistani diplomats at the UN raise the issue of Indian atrocities in Indian Occupied Kashmir, urges Security Council to end selectivity in resolutions on disputes like Kashmir<sup>220</sup>.</p>

## PPP Performance in Law and Order



<sup>216</sup> Dawn.com, APP. "It Is A Historic Day: Pakistan Becomes Full Member Of SCO At Astana Summit". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2018. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1338471>.

<sup>217</sup> "What Is FATF And What Does Pakistan's Inclusion In Its Grey-List List Mean?". Propakistani.Pk, Last modified 2018. <https://propakistani.pk/2018/02/26/fatf-pakistans-inclusion-grey-list-list-mean/>.

<sup>218</sup> "Iran Stalls Response To Pakistan’S FTA Proposal - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2018. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1246519/economic-connectivity-iran-stalls-response-pakistans-fta-proposal/>.

<sup>219</sup> "Next Government To Resume Halted FTA Negotiations With China - Profit By Pakistan Today". Profit By Pakistan Today, Last modified 2018. <https://profit.pakistantoday.com.pk/2018/04/21/next-government-to-resume-halted-fta-negotiations-with-china/>.

<sup>220</sup> "Pakistan Will Keep Kashmir Issue Alive At UN Until It Is Resolved, Pledges Lodhi - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2018. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1631433/1-pakistan-will-keep-kashmir-issue-alive-un-resolved-pledges-lodhi/>.



# PPP Law & Order

Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in 2013	Position in 2018
<p>1. Take action against any militant or terrorist organization that challenges the writ of state; use of targeted military operations to achieve these goals if necessary.</p>	<p>Targeted military operation led by Rangers approved in Liyari after consultation with Federal Government.</p>	<p>Despite a significant reduction in targeted killings and terrorist activity, both the Rangers and Law Enforcement Agencies (LEAs) were unable to completely eradicate criminal and terrorist organizations<sup>221</sup>.</p>
<p>2. Ensure protection and security to citizens from the threat of terrorism.</p>	<p>Total number of fatalities in Sindh: <b>1,285</b> civilians; 156 LEAs and <b>227</b> terrorists.</p> <p>Total number of terrorist attacks in Karachi: <b>1,619</b>.</p> <p>Total number of fatalities: <b>1,625</b><sup>222</sup>.</p>	<p>Total number of fatalities in Sindh since from 2014 to 2018: <b>1,275</b> civilians; <b>234</b> LEAs and <b>915</b> terrorists.</p> <p>Number terrorist attacks in Karachi since 2014 - 2018: <b>1,982</b>.</p> <p>Total number of casualties in Karachi since 2014 – 2018: <b>2,157</b> killed, <b>1,146</b> injured.<sup>223</sup></p>

<sup>221</sup> "Street Crime: Operation Failed To Curb Karachi'S Biggest Problem - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2018. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1599959/1-street-crime-operation-failed-curb-karachis-biggest-problem/>.

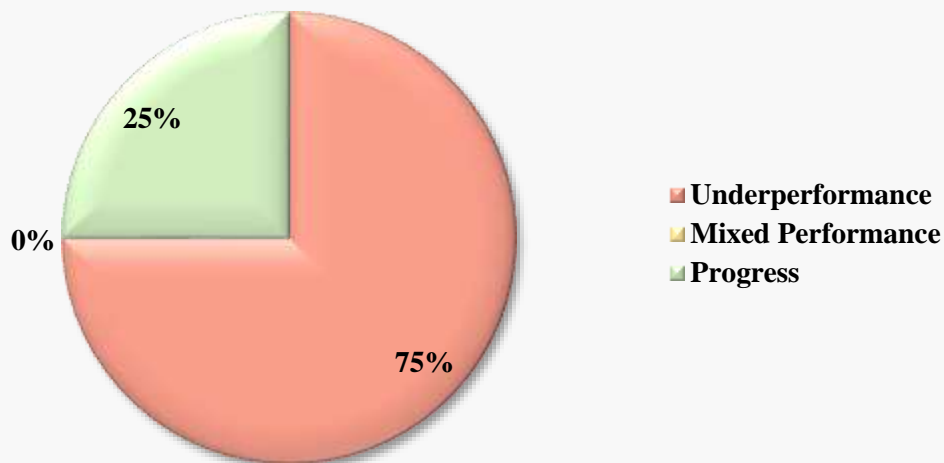
<sup>222</sup> "South Asia Terrorism Portal". Satp.Org, Last modified 2018.

<http://www.satp.org/Datasheets.aspx?countries=pakistan&states=sindh>.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid

3.	Drastically reduce street crimes in the provincial capital, Karachi.	More than 40,000 reported incidents of street crime and 2700 people killed <sup>224</sup> .	More than 20,000 reported incidents of street crime and 562 people killed <sup>225</sup> .
4.	Establish a witness protection programme for people who are providing information regarding militants.	Sindh Witness Protection Act, 2013 passed <sup>226</sup> .	Despite passing the Witness Protection Act in 2013, the provincial government was unable to provide adequate security to witness involved in high profile cases <sup>227</sup>

## PTI Law and Order



<sup>224</sup> The Express Tribune. (2013). *Karachi 2013: The deadliest year of all - The Express Tribune*. [online] Available at: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/653889/karachi-2013-the-deadliest-year-of-all/> [Accessed 29 May 2018].

<sup>225</sup> "Street Crime: Operation Failed To Curb Karachi's Biggest Problem - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2018. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1599959/1-street-crime-operation-failed-curb-karachis-biggest-problem/>.

<sup>226</sup> THE SINDH WITNESS PROTECTION ACT, 2013. (2013). PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY OF SINDH.

<sup>227</sup> Ahmad, G. (2017). *Where is the Sindh Witness Protection Act 2013? - Daily Times*. [online] Daily Times. Available at: <https://dailytimes.com.pk/23636/where-is-the-sindh-witness-protection-act-2013/> [Accessed 29 May 2018].

# PTI Law and Order

Major Manifesto Pledge 2013	Position in 2013	Position in 2018
<p>1. Bring an end to corruption by implementing the rule of law and ensuring that corrupt officials are held accountable.</p>	<p>Many concerns about corruption within the government<sup>228</sup>.</p>	<p>Provincial accountability court called ‘Ehtasab Commission’ formed in 2015 to curtail corruption and bring accountability across the board. However, due to various amendments approved by the provincial cabinet, the commission became highly ineffective<sup>229</sup>, which forced the Ehtasab Commission Chief to resign<sup>230</sup>.</p> <p>Suspended 3 federal ministers belonging to Quami Watan Party (QWP) due to allegations of corruption.<sup>231</sup> Coalition with QWP ended in 2017.</p> <p>144 forest officials held over corruption charges in ‘Billion Tree Tsunami’ project.<sup>232</sup></p> <p>Initiated disciplinary action against 20 lawmakers for selling their votes during the Senate elections<sup>233</sup>.</p> <p>Several allegations of corruption regarding CM Pervez Khattak<sup>234</sup></p>

<sup>228</sup> AMIN, TAHIR. "Poor Performance, Rampant Corruption: ANP, PPP Coalition Government In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa May Not Retain Previous Positions". Business Recorder, Last modified 2018. <http://fp.brecorder.com/2012/12/201212161268533/>.

<sup>229</sup> "KP Ehtesab Commission Breathing Its Last". Thenews.Com.Pk, Last modified 2018.

<https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/296664-kp-ehtesab-commission-breathing-its-last>.

<sup>230</sup> Shah, Waseem. "KP Accountability Chief Resigns In Protest". DAWN.COM, Last modified 2016.

<https://www.dawn.com/news/1238765>.

<sup>231</sup> "With 3 Ministers Suspended, Imran Advises K-P Govt To End Coalition With QWP - The Express Tribune". 2013. *The Express Tribune*. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/631467/corruption-scandal-cm-khattak-suspends-pti-qwp-ministers/>.

<sup>232</sup> Buner, Nader. 2017. "Billion Tree Tsunami: Action Taken Against 144 Forest Officials For Corruption". *The Nation*. <https://nation.com.pk/30-Aug-2017/action-taken-against-144-forest-officials-for-corruption>.

<sup>233</sup> "PTI Initiate Disciplinary Action Against Its 20 Lawmakers - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2018. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1688901/1-pti-expel-20-lawmakers-horse-trading-senate-polls/>.

<sup>234</sup> "JI Says Khattak Involved In Seven Mega Corruption Cases - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2018. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1705647/1-ji-says-khattak-involved-seven-mega-corruption-cases/>.

2.	NAB shall function under the administrative control of Judicial Commission	Provincial NAB in place.	No judicial commission in place. Provincial NAB chief was sacked by the provincial CM, who has several corruption allegations levelled against him.
3.	Introduce reforms in the Police Department; will be independent and impartial.	No major reforms in Police Department.	<p>KPK Police Act 2017 passed; provincial government claims that Police is now impartial and free from political interference. Under the new law, the IGP has been made an ex-officio secretary with total administrative, operational and financial autonomy. However, there is a clause that the provincial cabinet can initiate a case of premature transfer over unsatisfactory performance<sup>235</sup>.</p> <p>Furthermore, despite claims of being impartial and independent there have been instances where influential people involved in criminal activity were provided protection by the police; while denying justice to ordinary citizens<sup>236</sup>.</p>
4.	Support reforms that will allow a merger between FATA and KPK.	FATA merger with KPK was not under consideration.	Supported federal government in FATA- KPK merger and voted in favour of it in Provincial Assembly.

<sup>235</sup> "KPK POLICE ACT, 2017". Kpcode.Kp.Gov.Pk, Last modified 2017. <http://kpcode.kp.gov.pk/homepage/lawDetails/1322>.

<sup>236</sup> Khan, Shahzad. "How KP Police Failed Us Despite Reform Claims - Daily Times". Daily Times, Last modified 2017. <https://dailytimes.com.pk/115737/how-kp-police-reforms-failed-us-terribly/>.

<p>5. Provide security to ordinary citizens from the scourge of terrorism.</p>	<p>936 fatalities due to terrorist attacks in 2013 alone, out of which 603 were civilians, 172 law enforcement personnel and 161 terrorists.<sup>237</sup></p>	<p>From 2013 to 2017, a total of 1127 fatalities occurred due to terrorist attacks. Out of which 660 were civilians, 238 law enforcement personnel and 229 terrorists.<sup>238</sup></p>
<p>6. Take comprehensive steps towards abolishing Jihadi narrative by closing down financial channels that are funding militants and extremist ideology.</p>	<p>Financial channels for militant organizations active.</p>	<p>Allocated Rs. 300 million to Mulana Sami-Ul-Haq's Madrassah, who is known to have links with the Taliban and other extremist organizations<sup>239</sup>.</p>
<p>7. Introduce a Dispute Resolution Council to resolve disputes through arbitration and mediation.</p>	<p>Plans for alternate dispute resolution under consideration.</p>	<p>Dispute Resolution Council (DRCs) established. A total of 5,753 cases were resolved through the use of DRCs from August 2014 to March 2016, almost 6,000 cases were resolved through mediation and settlements, while only 313 were referred to the courts.<sup>240</sup></p>
<p>8. Initiate a process of de-weaponisation along with dissolution of militant wings in political parties.</p>	<p>De-weaponisation considered but never implemented.</p>	<p>No process of de-weaponisation has taken place.</p>

<sup>237</sup> "Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assessment - 2017". 2017. *Satp.Org*. <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/nwfp/>.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid

<sup>239</sup> "K-P Govt Clarifies Stance On Funding Samiul Haq's Madrassa Network | The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, Last modified 2018. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1645299/1-k-p-govt-clarifies-stance-funding-samiul-haqs-madrassa-network/>.

<sup>240</sup> Akbar, A. (2016). *KP's Dispute Resolution Councils settled nearly 6,000 cases over the last six months*. [online] DAWN.COM. Available at: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1248887> [Accessed 28 May 2018].

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