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**Master's Thesis of Public Administration**

**TOWARDS MUTUAL  
COORDINATION**  
IMPROVING THE EFFICIENCY OF SOCIAL  
PROTECTION PROGRAMS IN PAKISTAN

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**Graduate School of Public Administration  
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**Improving the Efficiency of Social Protection Programs in**  
**Pakistan**

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# **Abstract**

## **TOWARDS MUTUAL COORDINATION IMPROVING THE EFFICIENCY OF SOCIAL PROTECTION PROGRAMS IN PAKISTAN**

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Pakistan being a developing country, is struggling to ensure the minimum living standards for its significant portion of the population. The government is extending considerable fiscal support to the social protection initiatives targeting the marginalized segments of the society. However, given the limited fiscal space, the efficient utilization and maximum gain from the social protection initiatives deserve paramount importance. Despite multiple interventions to improve the marginalized segments of the population's socioeconomic conditions, overall poverty indicators in Pakistan still don't exhibit any encouraging trends. Numerous factors are responsible for this state of affairs, but this study focused on exploring the role of mutual coordination in this context. Horizontal coordination at the federal level has been analyzed in Pakistan. It has been observed that mutual coordination among the public sector organizations implementing social protection initiatives is not adequate and needs to be improved for better outcome of social protection interventions. The study further suggests specific policy recommendations to improve the horizontal coordination among the said federal initiatives.

**Keywords: Social Protection, Public Sector Coordination, Pakistan, Efficiency, Poverty, Developing Countries**  
**Student ID: 2019-20851**

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## **Glossaries**

ADB	Asian Development Bank
BISP	Benazir Income Support Program
CCT	Conditional Cash Transfer
DFID	Department for International Development
FSP	Food Support Program
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFL	Interest Free Loan
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NPGP	National Poverty Graduation Program
NPM	New Public Management
NSER	National Socio-Economic Registry
NSPS	National Social Protection Strategy
PBM	Pakistan Bait-ul-Mal
PPAF	Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund
UCT	Unconditional Cash Transfer
UN	The United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WFP	World Food Program
WHO	World Health Organization

# **Chapter 1. Introduction**

## **1.1 Background of the Study**

After the 18<sup>th</sup> Constitutional amendment in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, the concurrent legislative list was abolished, and the subjects transferred to the federation were mentioned. In contrast, the residual subjects were declared as the provincial subjects. A few ambiguities were created in the wake of this amendment, which still need to be addressed adequately. Consequent to the said amendment, the subject of Social Protection was devolved to the provinces; however, the federal government continued its ongoing social protection programs, i.e., Benazir Income Support Program (BISP), Pakistan Bait ul Mal, etc. The Provincial governments took over the task of social protection and welfare with little expertise and skills. Resultantly, despite countless efforts and substantial financial input, the desired outcomes remain a far cry. One of the primary reasons behind this dismal situation seems to be inadequate coordination both at horizontal and vertical levels. The Social Protection initiatives at the federal level run parallel to each other, and apparently, they seem quite disconnected and fragmented. Similarly, the initiatives taken up by the provincial governments also lack any formal connection or coordination, not at least apparently. This study shall look into the state of coordination among the social protection initiatives being implemented at the federal level. If this study finds the horizontal coordination at national level programs as inadequate or poor, then It would further traverse to examine the factors responsible for adversely affecting the coordination among federally administered social protection programs in Pakistan.

Welfare states follow certain public policies which include social policies targeting the welfare of their subjects (Gough et al., 2004). In the recent age of social protection, more focus is being put on the advanced and innovative ways to implement such initiatives for achieving the desired results. Social protection is vital for the inclusive economic growth and reduction of poverty in any country



(World Bank 2018). It plays fundamental role in uplifting the socio-economic status of the marginalized segments in any society across the world. It is being gradually agreed that vulnerability and poverty within the developing countries can be effectively responded through social protection and the same is a vital building block of social and economic development strategies. (Barrientos & Hulme, 2009a). For the developing or middle income countries social protection is vital for inclusive growth as the marginalized segments cannot be left behind. As summed up by Norton, Conway, & Foster, social protection is imperative to; i). ensure the efficacy of economic reform programs by assisting through social support , ii). ensure efficient and sustainable growth; iii). Promote equity and social justice, iv). provide the public with a minimum livelihood and protection against vulnerability; v). strengthening social fabric, stability and unity.(Norton, Conway, & Foster, 2001).

Government of Pakistan is also mindful of the significance of social protection. However, being a developing country, Pakistan is already facing a multitude of development and economic challenges. Its more than 200 millions of population, the 29% of whom live below the poverty line (World Bank Report, 2013), further creates hurdles in its path to development and social protection. Despite enormous limitations and challenges, Government in Pakistan has launched various social protection programs i.e. Benazir Income Support Program (BISP), Pakistan Bait-ul-Mal (PBM), Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund (PPAF) etc.

The national flagship initiative, the BISP, was launched in 2008 in the wake of global financial crisis which hit the middle income countries harder. Its fundamental objective was to support the poor class of the country by ensuring food and financial security in the post 2008 financial crisis scenario. The BISP was allocated Rs. 34 billion as a seed capital to provide a cash transfer of Rs.1000 per month to around 3.4 million households during the first year. The budget allocation for the BISP in current financial year is Rs. 180 billion. From its performance perspective, BISP's is ranked among top five social safety programs across the globe. Beneficiaries of this program are around 5.8 million. BISP till

date has disbursed around Rs 691.5 billion in the form of cash transfers (PES 2019-20). BISP now includes Conditional and Unconditional Cash transfers to support the marginalized population by helping them for health, education and food security (PES 2019-20).

Moreover, the provincial governments have also launched various initiatives to mitigate the poverty and for the socio-economic uplift of the marginalized segments. By virtue of the 18<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment in Pakistan in 2010, the subject of Social welfare was devolved to the provinces. Therefore, the provincial governments are more responsible for the socio-economic uplift of their underprivileged population. As a consequence of the said amendment, a gap was created in relation to the implementation of certain devolved subjects. Social welfare and protection is one of such subjects. However, the federal government is still keeping the federal initiatives i.e. BISP intact and operational. This scenario further creates certain ambiguity as well as overlapping of domains after the devolution. But the major concern here develops regarding the efficient implementation of the social protection programs in such a situation. This study takes into account this echelon to analyze the history of coordination among the fragmented social protection initiatives/programs being administered by the federal government.

It is widely accepted that the local governments are in a better position to take informed decisions regarding their respective subjects as the federal government lacks such familiarity about the masses. Therefore, it might be helpful to devolve the subjects like social protection at grass root level. But then comes the question of financial and administrative capacity. The local or provincial governments must possess such capacities to independently implement such welfare programs. In a developing country like Pakistan, federation is more financially independent and stronger as compared to its federating units. Thus such an intricate interplay of intergovernmental relations can have adverse impact on the overall efficiency of Social Protection programs. An effective and doable institutional as well as administrative plan must be adopted to attain the anticipated results.

Pakistan's socio-economic conditions warrant a more effective and efficient social protection regime which could yield the desired outcomes within available limited fiscal space. Apart from making traditional arrangements, or injecting more and more finances into such programs, it is imperative to find out more resource efficient ways and means to augment the efficiency thereof. In Pakistan's case, the overall performance has been stunted due to fragmented and isolated social protection initiatives which could have been more result-oriented had they been clubbed under a central policy and monitoring mechanism.

World Bank in its Policy Note regarding Pakistan has iterated that there is a need to avoid program overlap and promote synergies between (such social protection) interventions (Pakistan Policy Note-Social Protection). Considering the limited space available for the federal government after the 18<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment, the provincial governments may be taken onboard to avoid overlapping as well as duplicity of the social protection programs between the center and the federating units. This would ensue a new avenue of coordination within different levels of government for implementing the corresponding social protection initiatives. However, this study only aims at analyzing the coordination among different federally administered/managed social protection ventures to ascertain the true picture of coordination vis a vis implementation of such social protection programs. It will further determine the possible ways and means to improve the current state of affairs as well.

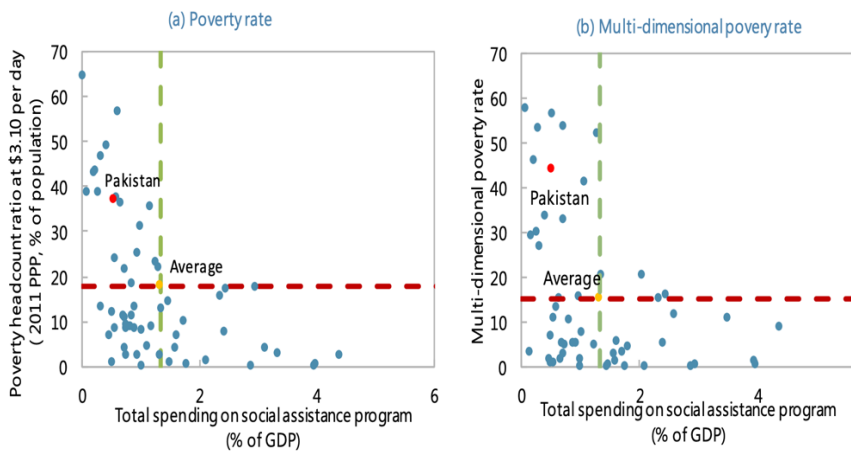
## **1.2 Scope of the Study**

Considering Pakistan's socio-economic dynamics and the little fiscal space available to sustainably implement the social protection initiatives, there is a dire need to enhance the efficiency and outcome of all such endeavors. Accordingly, the scope of this study is confined to analyze the coordination among federal level initiatives responsible for social protection. This study shall take into account the Benazir Income Support Program (BISP), Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund (PPAF), and Pakistan Bait ul Mal (PBM) to analyze the status of mutual coordination and efficiency thereof.

### 1.3 Research Rationale

Social protection initiatives have been launched at federal and provincial levels but despite a reasonable lapse of time and injecting huge sums of money, the overall national poverty outlook does not exhibit the corresponding improvement. Moreover, the IMF Country Report No. 17/213 further elaborates Pakistan's efficiency of spending in Social Safety Nets as follows:

**Figure 1: Efficiency of Spending in Social Safety Nets**



Source: (IMF, 2017).

Fragmented and disharmonized endeavors at federal and local levels are potential barriers in the way of getting desired outcomes and impacts. Many studies have suggested different options to improve the efficiency and outcome of the social protection programs but there is a significant gap in the literature regarding analyzing the coordination between such initiatives at horizontal and vertical levels. The coordination among similar initiatives, if inadequate, may be detrimental to the pursuit of national goals pertaining to social protection especially in developing countries. Rammohan, Pritchard, and Choithani contend that little administrative capacity and weak institutions have adversely affected the Indian social safety nets programs (Prichard, Rammohan, Sekhar, Parasuraman, & Choithani, 2013). After the devolution (18th Amendment) the

situation worsened as the coordination became further difficult after the transfer of the subject to the provinces. Iftikhar Malik and Lucian Pop highlight this issue in the World Bank's Pakistan Policy Note 11 by contending that the jurisdictions and responsibilities regarding the subject of social protection are overlapping and diffusing in relation to the federal and provincial governments which need to be clearly demarcated, clarifying the fiscal and institutional boundaries in post 18th Amendment scenario (Pakistan Policy Note-Social Protection). This study shall focus only the horizontal aspect of coordination while analyzing the same in context of federal social protection initiatives.

## **1.4 Research Questions**

The main research question is:

- i. Is there any need to improve the coordination among social protection programs in Pakistan?***

If the answer to the above question is discovered positive, then this study will further try to find out the answer of following associated sub-question:

- ii. How this coordination can be improved?***

Multiple social protection initiatives are in place at federal and provincial levels in Pakistan. As the literature suggests that coordination within public sector improves the efficiency thereof, hence, this study tries to analyze the coordination among such initiatives being implemented at federal level. Additionally, if the coordination in such case is found poor, this study would explore the possible avenues to improve it. The basic motive is to assess the level of horizontal coordination among federally administered social protection initiatives wherein multiple similar and apparently overlapping initiatives are being implemented under different political and administrative spheres. If the coordination is diagnosed unsatisfactory, then possible interventions would be suggested to uproot the factors holding back the adequate coordination thereto. This might help to improve the outcome of the state interventions and efforts to improve the socio-economic conditions of the target population without adding any further financial devor on the national exchequer.

## Chapter 2. Literature Review

### 2.1 Defining Coordination and Social Protection

Before moving further, it is imperative to understand the terms coordination and social protection. Coordination can sometimes be confused with cooperation, collaboration etc. similarly social protection is often confused with social insurance or social welfare. Firstly we shall explore the true understanding of the term coordination. The Cambridge Dictionary defines coordination as “the act of making all the people involved in a plan or activity work together in an organized way.” The Oxford Learner’s Dictionary defines it as “the act of making parts of something, groups of people, etc. work together in an efficient and organized way”. While talking about coordination in a governmental perspective, it mostly refers to policy coordination. As defined by Charles Lindblom “*A set of decisions is coordinated if adjustments have been made in it such that the adverse consequences of any one decision for other decisions in the set are to a degree and in some frequency avoided, reduced, counterbalanced, or outweighed*” (Lindblom, 1965). In this study the coordination is considered as the readjustment of different governmental departments and organizations in the field of social protection by sharing information, capacity, skill, and knowledge.

Social protection, on the other hand, also needs to be clearly understood so as to avoid any misconceptions and misunderstandings thereof. Holzmann and Jørgensen define it as “public interventions to (i) assist individuals, households, and communities better manage risk, and (ii) provide support to the critically poor” (Holzmann & Jørgensen, 2001). According to another perspective, social protection is “public actions taken in response to levels of vulnerability, risk and deprivation which are deemed socially unacceptable within a given polity or society” (Norton et al., 2001). The UN defines social protection as “a set of public and private policies and programmes undertaken by societies in response to various contingencies to offset the absence or substantial reduction of income

from work; to provide assistance to families with children as well as provide people with basic health care and housing” (United Nations, 2000, p. 4). ILO has defined social protection as “a set of public measures that a society provides for its members to protect them against economic and social distress that would be caused by the absence or a substantial reduction of income from work as a result of various contingencies (sickness, maternity, employment injury, unemployment, invalidity, old age, and death of the breadwinner); the provision of health care; and, the provision of benefits for families with children”<sup>1</sup> (International Labour Office, 2000). This study shall take into consideration this broader definition of social protection as coined by ILO.

## **2.2 Theoretical overview**

Internationally, social protection dynamics have moved from short term initiatives to a broader and extensive policies and programmes that include interventions pertaining to protection of basic consumption for the poor and most vulnerable households, encouraging investment in productive assets such as human capital which help the poor to graduate out of chronic poverty on sustainable basis (Barrientos & Hulme, 2008). With the passage of time, the importance of social protection surfaced as an important tool to pull the poorest of the poor out of the poverty trap by reducing their vulnerability to the economic shocks. Social protection as a policy framework has been basically understood as such a policy framework that describes “public actions taken in response to levels of vulnerability, risk, and deprivation which are deemed socially unacceptable within a given polity or society” (Conway et al., 2000). Global economic downturns and ever increasing cost of living posed serious threats to the poor strata of the low and middle income countries. The challenge for such countries was not just to provide a cushion for their most affected masses, rather the major

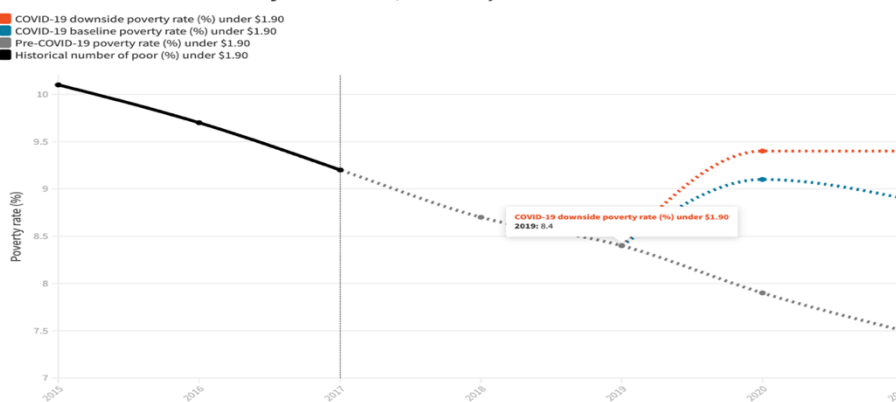
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<sup>1</sup> ILO: World Labor Report: Income security and social protection in a changing world (Geneva, 2000) p. 29; ILO: Principles of Social Security (Geneva, 1998) p. 8.

concern was to ensure sustainable recovery.

Global poverty outlook worsened in the wake of financial crunch that was witnessed in the first decade of the second millennium. The adverse economic impacts of COVID-19 have further aggravated the situation. This can be witnessed in the following graph in an easy and understandable manner.

**Figure 2: Poverty Rate at the \$1.9 Line, 2015-21**



(World Bank, 2020).

This situation makes it more challenging for the world especially the global South to graduate its marginalized population out of poverty successfully. Poverty has multiple dimensions and dynamics attached to it. Duration is considered to be one of the important dimensions of poverty, unfortunately despite its role in departure from the shackles of poverty, it has not been successful in gaining due attention for adequate analysis within developing countries (Hulme and Shepherd 2003). In developing countries, the little availability of longitudinal datasets may be a major reason for this state of affairs. Baulch and Hoddinott (2000) examined the available confirmable information pertaining to the continuance of poverty within developing countries. Moreover, the Chronic Poverty Research Centre also contributed to initiate research in this connection (CPRC 2005). An important



outcome of this analysis revealed that almost 40 per cent of the poor in developing countries are either in obstinate or chronic poverty, validating the assumption that the continuance of poverty is an important and major issue. It further highlights that the timely and effective social protection initiatives for the developing countries are warranted the most. This state of affairs further renders the poor as most vulnerable. As a consequence vulnerability emerges as a by-product of this poverty phenomenon. Vulnerability clearly explains the applicability of this phenomenon in developing countries. The imminent danger of further impending poverty may compel the already poor households to opt such remedial strategies which are inadequate and in turn can push them into more and even long-term poverty as a consequence (Barrientos & Hulme, 2009b).

Adverse economic shocks must be responded in a way that is more poverty sensitive. Fiscal policy in such a response should be devised as more counter-cyclical. In order to protect the poor, the social expenditures must be directed towards safety nets as well as primary health and education. These institutional arrangements must be made on permanent basis. Such interventions aimed at protecting the poor from the sharp decline in the income would not only support the poor but shall also accelerate the economic growth. Corresponding macroeconomic crises negatively affect the already scarce human capital and physical assets belonging to the poor, making it more difficult for them to graduate out of the chronic poverty. Resultantly, this reduction in the stock of the human capital, whether from malnutrition or degrading job skills, will ultimately lead to lower economic growth (Regalia et al.) The political leadership in most South Asian countries have resorted to promote social welfare as a part of the public policy. However, the degree of success among these countries varies. Compared to Pakistan and Bangladesh, Sri Lanka achieved more targets in pursuance of social protection policies (Barrientos & Hulme, 2009b).

Such difference in accomplishment of social protection related tasks corresponds to the limitations attached to the capacity to deliver. Much of this owes to the lack of adequate understanding of the poverty dynamics, poor formulation and design

of warranted policies, and the capacity constraints. Practically, achievement of the social protection goals requires horizontal integration of policy and poverty researchers, adequate analysis, and careful implementation at all related levels (Barrientos & Hulme, 2009b).

Apart from the national governments, international organizations are also now mindful of the consequences attached to poor social protection across the globe. This sensitivity has brought a considerable transformation in their operations and strategies. A visible positive change can be observed in the behaviors of such organizations and institutions especially the ones financing the development projects in developing countries. Though indirectly, but formally International Monetary Fund (IMF) has joined the goal of fighting poverty. It is initially supporting the member states to stabilize financially. It is also taking care that the social protection spending and the assistance from the donor do not disturb the macroeconomic ambiance of the recipients (Deacon, 2007). Moreover, United Nations (UN) is also contributing globally through its different organizations to improve the global social protection outlook. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), World Health Organization (WHO), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Food Programme (WFP) have already adopted the social protection policies as part of their mandate (United Nations, 2000).

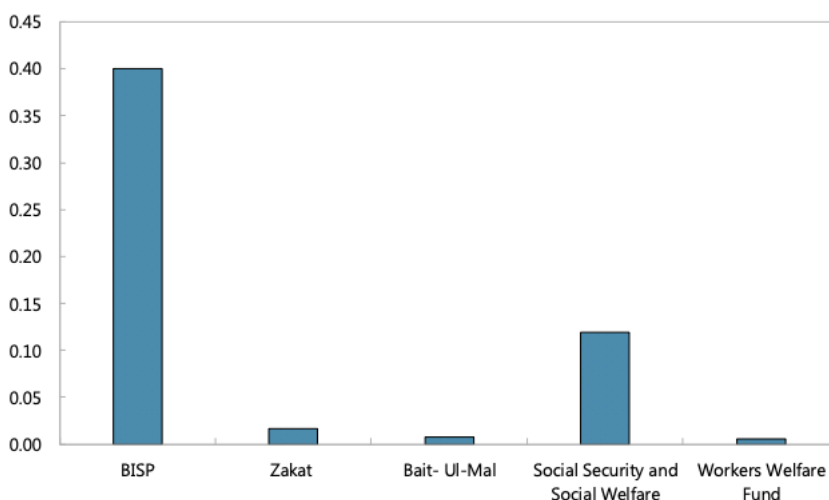
All of these are contributing within the domain of their mandate such as WHO in the field of health issues, UNICEF in the field of child welfare, and WFP in the fight against hunger. Also, certain bilateral and multilateral organizations are too including the social welfare in their agenda. Among them the Department for International Development (DFID) is gaining prominence in funding the initiatives pertaining to the social protection (DFID, 2005).

Additionally, other international institutions have also been exhibiting the trends supporting social development especially in the fields of social protection. Social development can be witnessed as an emerging focus in the operations strategy of the World Bank. Its Board has even approved the strategy, 'Empowering People

by Transforming Institutions’ (World Bank, 2005).

World Bank in its Pakistan’s Policy Note 11 (June 2013) emphasized that there is a need to establish a framework for social protection based upon a system which is technically and financially feasible for sustainable, satisfactory and serviceable benefits of the target population. Pakistan, being a developing country, needs to focus more on efficiency and productivity of its all interventions for socio-economic uplift of the nation’s marginalized segments. To this end, all out efforts are required for not only effective implementation of the policies and programs thereof, but careful analysis is also of the utmost importance to avoid the waste of resources. At present the comparatively effective initiative, for social protection, being driven at the federal level is Benazir Income Support Program (BISP). However, other interventions such as Pakistan Bait ul Mal and Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund are also in place at the federal level but the quantum of input and impact of these endeavors is much smaller as compared to that of BISP.

**Figure 3: Comparison of Social protection Expenditure in % GDP**



Source: (Pakistan-selected issues: IMF June 1, 2017)

Being the main social assistance program in Pakistan, BISP’s outreach extends to as many as more than 5 million beneficiaries. This program is contributing to social protection, both through conditional and unconditional cash transfer

programs. Khan and Qutub examined the political economy of gender in the social protection sector of Pakistan. Using BISP and Zakat programs as case studies they analyzed the integration of gender in program design and implementation (Khan & Qutub, 2010). The findings of this study were limited to the analysis of two social assistance programs BISP and Zakat from the gender perspective only. Gazdar argued that the establishment of BISP will lead to an irreversible paradigm shift regarding social protection (Gazdar, 2011). While identifying key future concerns he stated that the sustainability of this change is highly dependent on the continuity of political commitment (budgetary allocation) and organizational performance (targeting & payment mechanisms).

Barrientos observed a significant variety of social assistance programs in South Asia. He further contends that social protection has remained limited to poorly implemented social programs owing to chronic reasons (Barrientos, 2010). This seems to be the consequence of poor policy making wherein the lack of coordination among various similar initiatives of the government (federal and provincial) results in weak implementation and overlapping of programs. Poor and ineffective institutions have proved to be the basic but significant hurdle in efficiently providing social protection to the poorest of the poor in various developing countries. Without building such institutional infrastructure, social protection for the poor remains provisional, and social protection programs start each time from scratch (Kwon & Kim, 2015).

This has been an admitted fact that fragmented and haphazard initiatives are never efficient and a well-coordinated institutional and administrative set up is mandatory to yield the expected outcomes. There have been multiple programs initiated in Pakistan for socio-economic uplift of the poor. However, as a matter of fact poverty is still persisting as ever. Various reasons can be mentioned for this state of affairs. It can be observed that multiple similar initiatives are being implemented by different organizations/agencies having little coordination. As a consequence the duplicity of interventions and beneficiaries affected the overall efficacy negatively. (Shirazi & Obaidullah, 2014). Lack of capacity is a major

issue in most of developing countries which is more manageable problem as compared to the financial constraints. Social protection programs will require continuous innovation even if they are designed in a way that could combine poverty reduction and redistribution purposes. Barrientos further maintains that converting the time bound interventions into adequately reinforced and resourceful bodies would still remain a big challenge. Social protection has bright but yet insecure prospects in developing countries (Barrientos, 2010). Resource constraint is a key challenge within the developing world. This hampers the means to sustainable social protection programs as such countries lack the sufficient resources to continue such initiatives on their own. Pakistan is no different in such perspective. Therefore, it further strengthens the need for more efficient and effective policy making to retrieve the maximum benefits out of the available resources in socially protecting the poor strata of the society. Much literature is available on the planning and effective implementation of similar programs. However, little can be found in context of Pakistan's social protection measures wherein the question of coordination could be answered.

There may be several factors contributing to the current state of affairs including the divergence of priorities among public sector organizations having diffused operational domains. Peters & Savoie point out that two elements of administrative change in the modern democracies which are at conflict with each other. On the one hand, the "new public management" claims that agencies should decentralize and authorize lower tier employees. Further, in order to improve the service delivery the governments feel compelled to resort to decentralization for having more autonomous and semiautonomous units. Whereas the ever increasing financial burdens and the pressing needs posed by the global economic trends justify the requirement to have better coordination in policies as well as programs which cut across repeatedly (Peters & Savoie, 1996). It has been observed that in order to grant more autonomy to the public sector agencies/organizations, fragmentation and disaggregation also simultaneously increases resulting in making the coordination more difficult. Wildavsky is of the view that the choice

s about priorities are almost inevitably political and administrative, choices which require imposition of centralized controls, through central agencies or direct interventions by political leaders and their appointed agent (Wildavsky, 1978).

Before unfolding the issues pertaining to coordination in public sector organizations, it is important to clearly understand what New Public Management (NPM) actually means. This term emerged in the mid 80s in United Kingdom and does refer to a set of management tools which are often copied from the private sector, and replicated in the public sector, to improve public service efficiency (Hood, 1991, 1995). While referring to the major components of the NPM, Hood contended as follows:

- i. Public sector to be managed more professionally;
- ii. Performance measures;
- iii. Move to a more decentralized public sector;
- iv. Focus on output controls;
- v. Adoption of private sector management practice;
- vi. Focus on greater discipline and economic measures in utilizing the resource;
- vii. Creating a competitive atmosphere in the public sector.

These traits of the NPM were the departure point of public sector from networking, collaboration and coordination to fragmentation, disaggregation, and disintegration. A major recommendation of the NPM was to decompose large, multifunctional public organizations and exchange them with single-purpose units. The objective was the deliberate fragmentation to distribute functions and establish clear boundaries of control to avoid diffusion of jurisdiction and encourage intra-entities competition. Furthermore, for effective accountability, specific and clear performance measuring indicators were set (van Thiel and Leeuw 2002). Increased emphasis on the narrow objectives coupled with disaggregation and enhanced accountability within public sector have contracted the scope of work thereby undermining coordination (Norman, 2003). Initially, fragmentation was attributed as the unintended outcome of the NPM related reforms. However, very soon coordination emerged as the main problem in employing NPM (Webb, 1991). This scenario placed the governments in a challenging situation wherein rather than being effective and efficient, the public sectors impacted through NPM were

more prone to fragmentation (Christensen and Laegreid 2004), leaving governments with bigger future challenge regarding strategic alignment in the public sector.

Various studies have been carried out from multiple perspectives to evaluate the pros and cons associated with the decentralization strategies (Talbot and Johnson 2007). Yet little efforts have been made to carry out comprehensive assessment of NPM's impact on coordination and fragmentation within public sector. Boyne's evaluation of the impact of NPM-inspired institutional fragmentation and disaggregation on the performance of institutions in the local authorities in Britain highlighted that the NPM's assumptions, that more disaggregation yields better performance and the large organizations exhibit modest performance, is not true (Boyne, 1996). No doubt, subsequent studies have suggested that bigger entities tend to benefit from inferior administrative overheads (Andrews and Boyne, 2009). Norman and Gregory contend that the administrative doctrine observes pendulum swings wherein the ideas move to-and-fro. The style of fragmentation and small organizations introduced by NPM is now being confronted by the tendency towards networks and synthesis of organizations (Norman and Gregory, 2003). The reversal of agencification and introduction of more coordinating frameworks is a very convincing and relevant illustration in the UK (Talbot and Johnson, 2007). The advent of New Public Management (NPM) gradually proved to be counterproductive as it highlighted the need for more coordination among the public sector organizations. This need was equally observed in horizontal as well as vertical dimension. The disintegration brought about by NPM embraced a lot of criticism as it isolated the public sector organizations whereas the ever changing global public sector dynamics warranted more integrated and coordinated efforts. The idea of operating through administrative boundaries has gained more importance in public management and administration, realizing the enhanced intricacy and fragmentation that was introduced through the reforms led by NPM (Christensen and Laegreid 2010, Halligan 2010). The impression that working across organizational jurisdictions can allow more

effective implementation of policy, runs actually opposite to the claim of NPM that more efficiency can be acquired through more disintegrated arrangements (Christensen, 2012). The demand for more coordination within public sector organizations grew stronger with the advent of New Public Management (NPM). NPM emphasized more on individual program management. Additionally, the establishment of autonomous and semi-autonomous bodies within the government further aggravated the issue of little coordination among the said organizations. As the global administrative dynamics keep on changing, therefore, it becomes increasingly difficult to resolve certain complex problems single handedly by any government organization. In order to resolve such intricate issues, it is much needed for the relevant organizations/departments to join hands and implement coordinated efforts.

The literature refers to multiple dimensions of coordination. Generally, it is classified as vertical or horizontal (Christensen & Laegreid, 2007). Vertical coordination relates to coordination between lower and higher units in a hierarchy. Whereas horizontal coordination is the coordination among different units at the same hierarchal level. Additionally, on account of its characteristics, coordination is also referred to as intraorganizational or interorganizational (Alexander, 1995). Based upon the nature of set-up it operates in, coordination can also be defined as formal or informal. Moreover, there are instances wherein coordination has been referred to as positive or negative. Negative coordination is employed to reduce conflict whereas positive coordination aims to enhance coherence (Reff Pedersen et al., 2011).

It is imperative to understand that why coordination is important in respect of social protection policies/programs? This question has been very effectively and comprehensively answered by Challis (Challis et al., 1988). He contends that coordination in social planning may refer to one or more of the following:

- a) *“Ensuring consistency and coherence between various objectives and elements of a single policy or project;*



- b) *Ensuring consistency and coherence within set of interacting policies or projects owned by one or more departments or organizations;*
- c) *Ensuring that policy is translated into a consistent and coherent set of appropriate actions within one or more departments or organizations;*
- d) *Ensuring that service delivery practices at the field level are such that a consistent, coherent and comprehensive package of help is available to people with specified needs;*
- e) *Ensuring that the services actually consumed by the public in contact comprise a consistent, coherent and comprehensive package appropriate to expressed wants”.*

With all these objectives, coordination within the social protection framework needs to be increased and the barriers thereof be removed for attainment of the underlying motives.

Apart from the horizontal coordination, a very complicated picture emerged after the federal government moved a step further towards decentralization in Pakistan. There are certain pros and cons associated with this mechanism. It renders the devolved subjects, sometimes, more inefficient owing to various reasons. As Porter and Olsen maintained that politically decentralized systems are likely to have problems related to the vertical integration of governmental activities. These problems are often manifested in parochialism and an inability to formulate and act on national goals (Porter & Olsen, 1976). This scheme of decentralization has further increased the vacuum in coordination between the Federation and its units (provinces) resulting in negatively affecting the national goal of social protection as the problem of ownership apart from other issues in this regard remains yet unanswered. This highlights the need for effective and adequate coordination at both levels i.e. horizontal and vertical. However, due to paucity of time, resources and scarcity of relevant information, this study aims only at analyzing the horizontal coordination among social protection initiatives at the federal level.

Coordination in public sector depends upon various factors which need to be taken into account before even exploring further horizons in this perspective. If not addressed, such factors can render the efforts for coordination as futile. These factors merit mentioning here to understand the issues pertaining to coordination more vividly.

### **2.3. Factors Affecting Coordination in Public Sector**

A few but important factors which influence the coordination, either positively or negatively, are mentioned and explained as follows:

i. **Legal Compatibility**

Coordination, both at horizontal and vertical levels, is greatly affected by the laws and regulations governing the organizations. For example, if the laws governing a federal and corresponding provincial level public sector organization are incompatible, the coordination between them is quite a herculean task as the governing laws are not compatible and will not allow for any consensus or change for the purpose of coordination. Moreover, the laws regarding access to information and restrictions thereof, are also directly related to the conduciveness for coordination.

ii. **Political Environment**

This factor greatly affects the issues pertaining to coordination. At horizontal level, if the Ministries, Organizations etc. are working in a politically unfavorable circumstances, there are little options left for coordination among them. Moreover, if the political relations between the Center and the State are estranged, the coordination cannot be expected to be any better therein. For example, if the subnational government is run by the political party which is sitting on opposition benches in the Central Government, there are ample chances for the vertical coordination to be at its lowest ebb.

iii. **Bureaucratic Hurdles**

Though, Bureaucracies across the globe account for the better public

service delivery, certain inherent flaws within it are detrimental to adequate and required coordination. Taking into account the vertical coordination between the Center and the subnational governments, the bureaucrats try to preserve their domain and superiority over the others. Similarly, this leads to little coordination and lack of knowledge/information sharing. This hampers the overall outcome of the governmental initiatives which strictly require greater coordination.

iv. Performance Management

This is another feather in the cap of New Public Management that adversely affects the coordination. Each organization focuses to pursue and achieve the targets set for itself. This behavior overlooks the common or collective goals and the organizations run individually to pursue their individual objectives.

v. Specialization

Organizations established to pursue specific goals and achieve certain tasks tend to confine themselves to their own responsibilities only and exclusively, staying indifferent towards what other organizations are doing or require. This approach is further detrimental to inter-organizational coordination. Whereas the modern interconnected and intricate challenges warrant concerted efforts to deal with appropriately.

There are so many other factors which are discussed in detail in this study to draw a better and clearer picture of the level and issues of coordination in Pakistan regarding social protection initiatives at federal level. This study analyzes the coordination among the Federal government's efforts to ensure social protection . Since, there is a considerable vacuum in the literature so far as the matter of fragmentation of the social protection programs in Pakistan is considered, this study aims at analyzing horizontal coordination within different government initiatives at federal level in pursuing the national goal of social protection.

## **Chapter 3. Research Method and Analytical Framework**

### **3.1 Research Method**

This qualitative study will look into the contemporary structure of social protection at federal level in Pakistan by analyzing the status of coordination among multiple social protection initiatives. It draws on current policy, implementation framework, academic literature and critical data from secondary sources. The data shall be retrieved from governmental documents i.e. national surveys, research articles, annual reports, census reports. The reports by the UN agencies, International Development Agencies, World Bank, Asian Development Bank, and certain official websites of the government departments and ministries. It would further benefit from the scholarly writings of famous experts of the relevant fields (i.e. social sciences, public policy etc.). Since the study orbits around analyzing the level of coordination among ongoing social safety programs in Pakistan, therefore, the qualitative approach shall be adopted. This approach best serves the purpose to understand the current level of social protection and the impact of coordination thereof. It will help to analyze not only the coordination but also the problems, if any, associated with coordination among various social safety programs/initiatives of the government.

### **3.2 Analytical Framework**

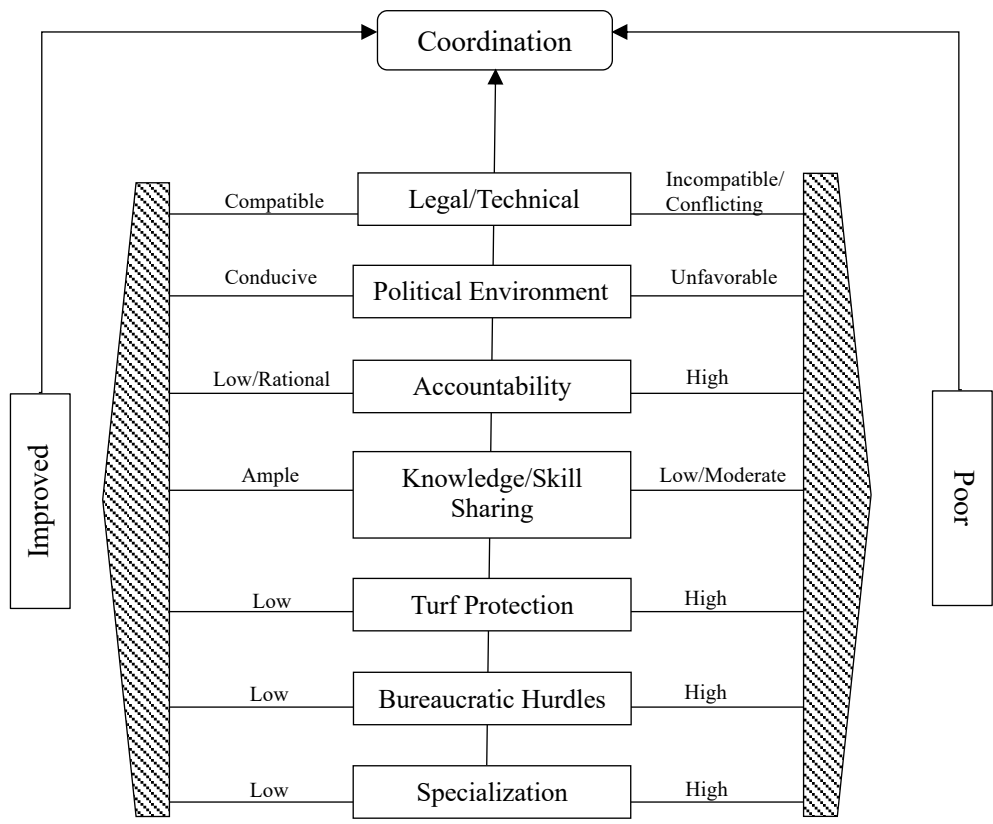
This study focusses on assessing and analyzing the level of mutual coordination among federal government's social protection efforts and will eventually try to find out its impact on the efficiency of social protection initiatives in Pakistan. Since, decentralization is followed by less monitoring and more coordination, therefore, across the globe, the governments are adapting to the tool of coordination among its various constituent units and administrative spheres. Coordination is much needed in such circumstances to pursue the mutually shared goals and targets. However, if not taken into consideration, its absence can result into little progress and waste of time and other resources. It is, therefore, imperative to develop and improve coordination among the different levels of

governments and departments to pursue the mutually shared goals and objectives at the minimal cost with maximum outcomes. Before further going into details, it is necessary to understand the kinds and constituents of coordination.

Coordination can be categorized into different forms i.e. Inter-Agency, Inter-Governmental, Center-State, Horizontal, Vertical etc. However, in all its forms it involves certain basic parameters which determine the level of coordination. Factors such as politics, specialization, bureaucratic hurdles, accountability, turf protection etc. perform significant role in holding back the desired levels of coordination (Peters, 2018, Wilson, 2019).

If these parameters are missing or in poor condition, the coordination consequently tends to be poor or little. The following diagram explains a few but important such factors and their relation with coordination:

**Figure 4: Analytical Framework**



Accordingly, this study would assess the degree of above mentioned constituents in the context of Federal and Punjab Government case to ascertain the actual level of coordination in relation to their social protection programs. Coordination between Federal and Provincial (Punjab) Governments in respect of social protection programs shall be analyzed in the light of above mentioned constituents separately.

It would also discover the possible ways to improve it. In this connection this study will dissect the factors responsible for creating barriers to adequate level of coordination in Pakistan. While discovering these fundamental hurdles affecting coordination, this study will take into account the state of coordination at vertical level i.e. state of coordination between Federal and Provincial government (Punjab Province only) in respect of social protection programs. In order to ascertain a clear estimate of what went wrong with coordination in the discussed scenario, the constitutional arrangement and the impact of different forms of government shall also be taken into consideration. Eventually, this study shall evaluate the impact and consequences of poor coordination on social protection framework in Pakistan.

Additionally, this study also includes a comparative analysis between the state of coordination in Pakistan and the Republic of Korea in public sector to further find the possible ways and measures to adopt in Pakistan through policy transfer. The proposed analytical framework makes an estimate of the coordination mechanism, its impact on social protection, its effectiveness at different levels, impact of forms of government on it, and finally end up in recommending more effective ways to set up the desired level and mechanism of coordination to improve the efficiency of ongoing social protection programs in Pakistan within available financial and administrative resources.

## Chapter 4. Social Protection in Pakistan

It was not until 2008 that social protection gained the attention of national government in Pakistan. Prior to that, there were smaller interventions and little budget allocations for this purpose. However, a task force on social protection was assigned the responsibility to chalk out the National Social Protection Strategy (NSPS) in collaboration with the Planning Commission which published the task force's report in 2007. However, despite being formally adopted by the government, it took a while to start implementation on the recommendations enumerated in the said report. The NSPS defined social protection as,

*“a set of policies and programme interventions that address poverty and vulnerability by contributing to raising the incomes of the poor households, controlling the variance of income of all households, and ensuring equitable access to basic services. Social safety nets, social insurance (including pensions) community programmes (social funds) and labor market interventions form part of social protection.”* (Government of Pakistan, 2007).

NSPS recommended its implementation in a phased manner extending over a period of five years. It suggested for a three-fold gradual increase in the expenditure on social protection focusing more on the conditional cash transfers. In short, it was the NSPS which sensitized the government about the importance of social protection and according due attention to this subject at national level. It would not be unjust to contend that NSPS culminated into the more adequate and comprehensive social protection initiatives in Pakistan. The newly elected political government in post 2007 scenario remained much mindful of the economic shocks trickling down to the poorest of the poor of the country. In accordance with the recommendations of the NSPS, the newly elected federal government immediately after assuming the office launched the BISP with an allocation of Rs 34 billion in the year 2009-10 (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2010-11).

Close to 2010, Government of Pakistan decided to allocate sufficient resources to

socially uplift the marginalized segments of its population. The newly elected government back then decided to go for large scale cash transfer programs supported by huge fiscal allocations both at federal as well as provincial levels. This was the beginning of the new era of social protection in Pakistan. The difference was made through the establishment of Benazir Income Support Programme (BISP). Considering the anticipated adverse impacts of the economic downturn, as witnessed at global level, the government of Pakistan took a very pragmatic decision of establishing such a comprehensive and large scale initiative. It initially focused on the poor women of the society. Simultaneously, the provincial governments also joined the league by introducing multiple social protection initiatives. Government of the Punjab launched the Food Support Programme (FSP).

The importance attributed to social protection in a developing country like Pakistan can be witnessed through the constitutional guarantee extended vide Article 38(d) of the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973 which is mentioned under the umbrella of Principles of Policy. The Article reads as follows:

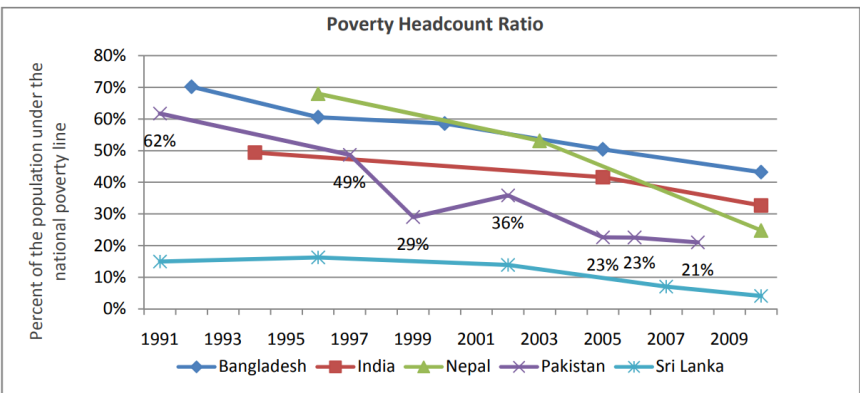
*“The State shall provide for all persons employed in the service of Pakistan or otherwise, social security by compulsory social insurance or other means; provide basic necessities of life such as food, clothing, housing, education and medical relief, for all such citizens, irrespective of sex, creed, caste, or race, as are permanently or temporarily unable to earn their livelihood on account of infirmity, sickness or unemployment; reduce disparity in the income and earnings of individuals.”*

Back in fiscal year 2008-09, the overall economic outlook of the country was not much encouraging. The report furnished by the UN Inter Agency Assessment Mission during Jun-July 2008 maintained that hike in food price had worsened the food security condition in Pakistan (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2008-09). There were almost 7 million households or 45 million people placed in this category. This posed a serious threat for Pakistan’s efforts of graduating its marginalized population out of poverty. Poverty head count ratio following the



downward slope till 2006 in Pakistan, slowed down and followed almost horizontal trend till 2011 due to multiple factors including the main reason of global economic slowdown in 2008. World Bank in its Policy Paper Series on Pakistan, published in June 2014, depicted this trend as follows:

**Figure 5:Regional Poverty Headcount Ratio**



Source: (Lopez-Calix, Meija, Newhouse, & Sobrado, 2014)

Pakistan is still facing almost the same challenges pertaining to poverty alleviation and extending corresponding social protection to its destitute segments of the society. Yet, the priorities of the contemporary government are to alleviate poverty at a high pace while focusing on the human development. As per the Human Development Report furnished by the UNDP in 2019, Pakistan’s ranking in the international Human Development Index (HDI) slipped down to 152 in 2018 from its previous position of 150 in 2017 out of 189 countries based on Gross National Income (GNI), Education and Health. Compared to global average HDI of 0.731 and South Asia’s average HDI of 0.642, Pakistan’s average HDI is 0.560. Progress made by Pakistan to improve its average HDI is not much significant as can be observed from the following table:

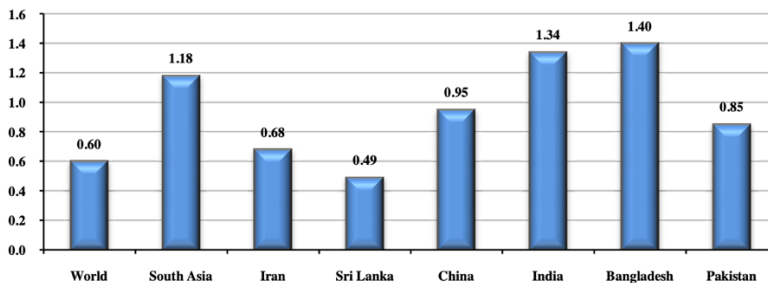
**Table 1: HDI comparison**

Country/ Region	HDI Rank	Human Development Index (HDI) Value (2018)	Average Annual HDI Growth (%) [2010-2018]	Life Expectancy at Birth	Expected Years of Schooling	Mean Years of Schooling	Gross National Income (GNI) per capita (2011 PPP \$)	Multidimensional Poverty Index
				SDG-3	SDG-4.3	SDG-4.6	SDG-8.5	Headcount (%)
<b>World</b>	-	<b>0.731</b>	<b>0.60</b>	<b>72.6</b>	<b>12.7</b>	<b>8.4</b>	<b>15,745</b>	<b>23.1</b>
<b>South Asia</b>	-	<b>0.642</b>	<b>1.18</b>	<b>69.7</b>	<b>11.8</b>	<b>6.5</b>	<b>6,794</b>	<b>31.0</b>
Iran	65	0.797	0.68	76.5	14.7	10.0	18,166	-
Sri Lanka	71	0.780	0.49	76.8	14.0	11.1	11,611	-
China	85	0.758	0.95	76.7	13.9	7.9	16,127	4.5
India	129	0.647	1.34	69.4	12.3	6.5	6,829	27.9
Bangladesh	135	0.614	1.40	72.3	11.2	6.1	4,057	41.7
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>152</b>	<b>0.560</b>	<b>0.85</b>	<b>67.1</b>	<b>8.5</b>	<b>5.2</b>	<b>5,190</b>	<b>38.3</b>

Source: (Conceição, 2019)

This exhibits that despite the state's priority of improving the national HDI, certain socio-economic challenges are making the achievement of such targets much harder. Following graph presents a comparative snapshot of the average annual HDI growth rate during 2010-2018;

*Figure 6: Average Annual HDI growth rate during 2010-2018 (percent)*



Source: (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2019-20).

As per the latest Poverty Head Count data furnished by the World Bank, 3.9 percent population in Pakistan is living under the poverty line if per adult income is set at \$ 1.90 per day according to the population estimates of 2015. However, much grim picture emerges if the per adult income is set as per the standards of middle income countries. Following regional poverty comparison describes this fact in much elaborative manner;

**Table 2: Regional Poverty Comparison**

Countries	Population below National Poverty lines (%)	Population below \$ 1.90 a day (%)	Population below \$ 3.20 a day (%)	Population below \$ 5.50 a day (%)
Pakistan (2015)	24.3*	3.9	34.7	75.4
China (2016)	1.7**	0.5	5.4	23.9
Bangladesh (2016)	24.3	14.8	52.9	84.5
India (2011)	21.9	21.2	60.4	86.8
Sri Lanka (2016)	4.1	0.8	10.1	40.4
Iran (2017)	-	0.3	2.3	10.9

\*: For FY2016, \*\*: For FY2018

Source: (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2019-20).

Such a challenging scenario makes it more important for the government to devise more pro-poor strategies and mechanisms for socio-economic uplift of the poorest of the poor to improve its overall poverty related indicators. Hence, the need for more effective and well-orchestrated social protection policies and programmes can be felt more than ever. Though, the government, due to its limited and ever shrinking fiscal space coupled with other limitations, has not been much successful in fulfillment of this responsibility. Yet, it merits mentioning here that the efforts have been made to achieve the targets set for social protection of the deserving poor households of the country. These efforts took a sharp increase right after the global economic meltdown in 2008. Gazdar observed a multifold surge in fiscal allocations in Pakistan for the purpose of social protection in 2008. This concurred with the regime change and increased public apprehensions regarding the negative impact of the worsening economic situation on poverty. Federal and provincial governments exhibited an unparalleled level of dedication for initiation and continuation of cash transfers and other related interventions focusing at the poor (Gazdar, 2011).

### **Social Protection Initiatives/Programs at Federal Level**

Federal Government, after the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment, is implementing certain social protection/welfare initiatives at federal level. Though, the subject has been transferred to the provincial governments, yet the already in place federal initiatives in this context have been preserved. A few but important of such initiatives are mentioned as follows:

#### **4.1 Benazir Income Support Program (BISP)**

In the wake of the global economic slowdown, Government of Pakistan in 2008 launched the BISP as the flagship social safety institution in order to smooth the consumption and to mitigate the negative impacts of slow economic growth. The program, initially aimed at cash transfers to the poorest vulnerable families irrespective of any discrimination. The establishment of BISP was materialized through an Act of the Parliament, namely Benazir Income Support Programme Act 2010. The Act enumerates the following objectives and purposes of the Programme:

- a. *“Enhance financial capacity of poor people and their dependent family members;*
- b. *Formulate and implement comprehensive policies and targeted programs for the uplift of underprivileged and vulnerable people; and*
- c. *Reduce poverty and promote equitable distribution of wealth especially for the low income groups”.*

BISP has its outreach almost across the whole of the country. As per the Pakistan Economic Survey 2019-2020, Federal Government has allocated a huge sum of PKR 180 billion for this program in Fiscal Year (FY) 2020 as against PKR 102 billion in FY 2016. The number of BISP beneficiaries has now reached 4.5 million families. BISP took off as Unconditional Cash Transfers (UCTs) Program in the beginning, however, it gradually started Conditional Cash Transfers (CCTs) as well such as Waseela-e-Taleem Program (education support) etc. This program provides financial assistance to help the primary education of children up to 12 years of age of families benefitting from BISP to guarantee their retention in schools. Though, social welfare has been transferred to the provinces, BISP is still intact at the federal level under the patronage and the chief patronage of the Prime Minister and the President of Pakistan respectively.

National Socio-Economic Registry (NSER)

It was established at the BISP in consequence of the poverty score card (PSC)

survey conducted across Pakistan. Data regarding socio-economic and welfare status of around 27 million families was collected through this survey. It provided an effective and reliable database to determine the eligibility of the truly deserving families to be benefitted from the unconditional cash transfers through BISP. So far, this is the largest data resource of its kind in Pakistan. It was further utilized for the conditional cash transfer programs and certain other poverty-exit initiatives as well by the BISP. Most recently, it helped the Government to accurately identify and financially assist the most deserving families in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic.

**Table 3: BISP Financial Achievements (Rs in billions)**

Financial Year	Released	Funds Transfer to Cash Grants			Number of Beneficiaries (million)
		Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT)	Unconditional Cash Transfer (UCT)	Total (UCT+CCT)	
2008-09	15.32	0.04	15.81	15.85	1.76
2009-10	39.94	2.89	31.94	34.83	2.58
2010-11	34.42	5.30	29.66	34.96	3.10
2011-12	49.53	4.28	41.60	45.88	3.68
2012-13	50.10	3.17	43.30	46.47	3.75
2013-14	69.62	1.20	65.11	66.31	4.64
2014-15	91.78	0.45	88.59	89.04	5.05
2015-16	102.00	1.88	96.65	98.53	5.21
2016-17	111.50	2.27	102.10	104.37	5.46
2017-18	107.00	3.20	99.00	102.20	5.63
2018-19	116.50	4.01	104.60	108.60	5.78
2019-20*	214.10	2.70	195.00	197.70	9.10
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,001.81</b>	<b>31.39</b>	<b>913.36</b>	<b>944.74</b>	<b>-</b>
*Till 31 <sup>st</sup> May, 2020					

Source: (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2019-20).

## Beneficiaries Payment System

BISP currently employs following five payment mechanisms for disbursement.

1. Pakistan Post Money Orders
2. Smart Card payment dispersal System
3. Mobile Banking System
4. Debit Card System
5. Bio-Metric Verification System (BVS)

## Overall Impact

There are multiple kind of impacts expected from the social cash transfer programs such as BISP. The quantum of inputs and the mechanisms attached to the implementation of initiatives pertaining to the BISP, it is expected to bring a considerable positive change with respect to the main objective of the program i.e., reduction in poverty. The latest impact evaluation report of BISP furnished by the Oxford Policy Management (OPM) sums the impact observed in 2019 evaluation as follows:

**Table 4: BISP Evaluation by Oxford Policy Management**

	Unconditional Cash Transfer (UCT)	Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT)	Comments
Poverty	-	-	<p>“In 2019 we do not find evidence that the BISP is reducing the poverty of its beneficiaries, despite previous rounds of evaluation showing impressive poverty reduction. This is primarily driven by two factors:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. The BISP has already produced impressive poverty reduction results over the period 2011-2019, which has produced real improvements in welfare. The transfer is designed to support the</li></ol>

			<p>needs of the poorest 20%, which means at this point, following welfare gains over a period of 8 years, the power of transfer to produce further poverty reduction for current beneficiaries has diminished.</p> <p>2. Despite considerable efforts by BISP to periodically increase the nominal value of the transfer, the real value of the transfer has decreased by 9% since 2011 in the face of high inflation.</p> <p>Nonetheless, the BISP, by design, is a considerable force to support poverty reduction in Pakistan which could be enhanced through on-going re-targeting efforts to identify the poorest 20% of households in Pakistan, as well as by continued efforts to maintain the real value of the transfer.</p>
Child Nutrition	-	-	<p>In 2019, for the first time, we find no evidence of improvements in child nutrition. This should be of concern given that child malnutrition remains at rates that would be indicative of an emergency in child nutrition.</p>
Women's Empowerment	↑	↑	<p>The BISP continues to have a strong impact on women's empowerment in a wide range of dimensions including greater mobility, increased autonomy in decision making, increased personal savings, increased political participation, and a reduction in some forms of gender-based violence.</p>
Education	-	↑	<p>The CCT for education continues to have impressive positive</p>

			impacts on education, including increasing enrolment rates and reducing grade repetition.
Productive Investments	-	-	This evaluation does not find evidence that the BISP is leading to productive investments. Whilst it is positive that the BISP does not reduce labour supply that would be indicative of a ‘dependency syndrome’, the BISP does not lead to an increase in savings or an increase in households who set up household business”.

Source: Adapted from (OPM 2019)

Considering the above stated financial and social achievements, it seems quite convincing that BISP is making great progress towards attainment of its goals. However, the OPM evaluation report speaks otherwise. No advancement can be observed towards reduction in poverty of the targeted beneficiaries of the program. Apart from the reasons mentioned against this problem in the report, it can also be observed that such programs at federal level are not working in mutual coordination which could have helped in improving the efficiency thereof. This issue shall be discussed in detail separately in the study.

## 4.2 Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund (PPAF)

PPAF was established as a non-profit company limited by guarantee, on February 06, 1997, under Section 42 of the Companies Ordinance 1984. As per its Memorandum of Association, its objective is “helping the poor, land-less and asset-less in order to enable them to gain access to resources for their productive self-employment, to encourage them to undertake activities of income generation and poverty alleviation and for enhancing their quality of life” (PPAF 2020).

It has its operations across the country in 130 districts. Its main focus is to eliminate poverty in Pakistan. It supports the most vulnerable and deserving peoples to have better infrastructure, finance, health, education, energy, livelihoods, and developing strength to face and cope with disasters (PPAF 2020).



PPAF has distributed approximately Rs 224.64 billion to Partner Organizations (POs) across the country since its establishment. Around 8.4 million microcredit loans have been distributed wherein women have been accorded 60 percent of the loans. Moreover, 80 percent of the financing has been directed to support the rural areas (PES 2019-20).

### **Key Achievements of PPAF**

Following are a few of the key achievements of PPAF:

124,700 assets have been handed over to the poor households (49 percent women);

- i. “By virtue of Interest-Free Loan (IFL) Programme Over 1,168,000 interest-free loans (55 percent women beneficiaries) disbursed;
  - ii. 38,300 health, education, water, and infrastructure projects completed;
  - iii. 440,000 credit groups and 134,500 community organizations formed;
  - iv. 26,000 individuals including women and youth trained;
  - v. Over 1,168,000 interest-free loans (55 percent women beneficiaries) disbursed through Interest-Free Loan (IFL) Programme;
  - vi. Enterprise development under Waseela-e-Haq National & Waseela-e-Haq Sindh programme of the BISP facilitated in establishing their successful ventures;
  - vii. 30,800 persons with disabilities rehabilitated”<sup>2</sup>.
- (PES 2019-20).

### **The PPAF under Ehsaas Programme**

Current government initiated the National Poverty Graduation Initiative (NPGI) through the Poverty Alleviation Programme 'Ehsaas' managed by the PPAF. By the virtue of this program, PPAF is implementing following significant initiatives.:

#### **a. National Poverty Graduation Programme (NPGP):**

This program is partly funded by the Government of Pakistan and IFAD amounting to US\$ 150 million. It shall be executed over 6 years to help

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<sup>2</sup> [http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapter\\_20/15\\_Social\\_Protection.pdf](http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapter_20/15_Social_Protection.pdf)

the poorest strata graduating out of poverty in 23 districts of the country.

**b. Interest Free Loan Program (IFL):**

A total of 636,292 loans (46 percent loans to women) were disbursed to borrowers under the initiative, while Ehsaas' gross disbursement amounted to Rs 21,196.62 million. Overall, 1,100 loan centers/branches have been developed by 24 implementing partners across the country in around 100 districts. In the last 6 months, the PPAF has accomplished more than 100 percent of its goals against the 80,000 IFL per month target. The progress of this program from July-March, FY2020 is given below:

**Table 5: Interest Free Loans disbursement**

S.No.	Particulars	Cumulative (July-March FY2020)		
		Men	Women	Total
1	Number of Loans Disbursed to borrowers	343,397	292,895	636,292
2	Amount disbursed to borrowers (Rs million)	12,103.17	9,039.45	21,196.62
3	Number of Loan Centres	1,100		

Source: (PES 2019-20).

**Financial Progress of the PPAF**

During the time July-March, FY2020, the PPAF was able to disburse Rs 2.469 million to its member organizations (POs) under its key initiatives administered under the different programs funded by the PPAF, as shown in table 15.4 below:

**Table 6: PPAF Disbursement by Operating Units/Special Initiatives.**

**(Rs in million)**

<b>Sr. #</b>	<b>Programmes Components</b>	<b>Amount Disbursed</b>
1	Institutional Development/Social Mobilization (ID/SM)	75
2	Livelihood Enhancement and Protection (LEP)	2,043
3	Water and Infrastructure (W & I)	285
4	Education, Health and Nutrition (EHN)	66
<b>Total</b>		<b>2,469</b>

Source: (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2019-20).

PPAF is contributing in very diverse areas such as social mobilization, water infrastructure and green energy, livelihood change and market growth, health education, disaster relief and recovery, and last but not least, microfinance and other financial services. It can, however, be observed that little coordination can be found among these kinds of interventions at federal level. This is a point of concern and may be a hurdle in improving the efficiency of similar initiatives at federal level which this study will explore subsequently.

#### **4.3 Pakistan Baitul Mal (PBM)**

This program was set up to help the poor, needy widows, handicapped, and orphans irrespective of their gender, cast, creed, and religious affiliation through its establishment at the district level. PBM was established under the Pakistan Bait-ul-Mal Act, 1991. According to Section 4 of the Act, “the Bait-ul-Mal shall be administered by the Board and the moneys in the Bait-ul-Mal shall be utilized for the following purposes namely: -

- a) to provide financial assistance to destitute and needy widows, orphans, invalid, infirm and other needy persons;
- b) for rendering help for rehabilitation of the persons specified in clause (a) in various professions or vocations;
- c) to provide assistance to children of the persons specified in clause (a) for educational pursuits;
- d) to provide residential accommodation and necessary facilities to the persons specified in clause (a);

- e) to provide for free medical treatment for indigent sick persons and to set up free hospitals, poor houses and rehabilitation centers and to give financial aid to charitable institutions, including industrial homes and other educational institutions established specially for poor and needy;
- f) to provide stipends to educated youth during their training before their employment in jobs;
- g) to provide stipends and financial assistance to brilliant but poor students who cannot afford to acquire higher technical or medical education abroad for lack of money;
- h) to sponsor and promote self-employment scheme; and
- i) any other purpose approved by the Board having regard to the aims and objects of the Bait-ul-Mal.”<sup>3</sup>

This program is funded through non lapsable grants from the Federal Budget. It further started two major programs i.e., Food Support Program (FSP), and Individual Financial Assistance (IFA). PBM has disbursed an amount of Rs 2.705 billion during first quarter of the FY2020, through its following main schemes (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2019-20).

**a) Individual Financial Assistance (IFA)**

This program supports the deserving individuals form medical treatment, education and general assistance. Annual financial assistance is also extended through this program to the deserving families.

**b) Child Support Programme (CSP)**

Through this conditional cash transfer program under PBM cash incentives are extended to the parents who send their children to schools. from Jul to March 2020, Rs 35 million have been distributed for financial assistance through this program

**c) Institutional Rehabilitation for NGOs**

It is a grant in aid provided to the registered NGOs holding good reputation for

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<sup>3</sup> <http://www.pbm.gov.pk/Act.pdf>

rehabilitation of the poor and deserving individuals of the society.

**d) Schools for Rehabilitation of Child Labor (SRCLs)**

159 such schools have been established by PBM across the country for primary education. These schools target the children involved in different labor activities are encouraged to join these schools. They are provided with free education, uniform, books and stationery

**e) Women Empowerment Centers (WEC)**

154 such centers have been established by PBM across country to provide widows, orphans and poor girls with multiple skills such as sewing, knitting, cutting, embroidery, and IT etc. PBM has spent an amount of Rs 354 million from July 2019 to March 2020.

**f) Dar-ul Ehsaas/Pakistan Sweet Homes**

These homes serve as orphanages for the orphan children. 35 such homes have been established by PBM across the country wherein free food, nutrition, boarding, medical treatment, and lodging, as well as free education through well-reputed educational institutes is supplied to the orphan children.

**g) Pakistan Great Homes (PGH)**

These homes are being established to provide shelter to the deserving senior citizens above 60 years of age. In the beginning only two such homes have been established which shall be increased gradually to multiple cities across Pakistan in a phased manner. The enrolled senior citizens are being provided free food, boarding and best medical care.

## **Chapter 5. Analyzing Coordination Among BISP, PBM and PPAF**

There is no denying the fact that poor or little coordination yields multiple uncalled for negative outcomes both for the government and the targeted population/clients. For example, an unwanted similar outcome from the taxes and social benefits is the poverty trap, wherein within certain economies earning an extra dollar results in a net loss of disposable income. Even in the absence of these traps, the programs from shifting the clients from reliance on welfare to graduation out of poverty through employment are inadequately coordinated (Commission on Social Justice 1994). Similarly, programs in the United States that compel the beneficiaries off the welfare incentives don't seem to be coordinated with the programs relating to training and child care (Peters, B. G. 1998).

Moreover, another negative impact of poor or inadequate coordination is that it comes with a cost for the government. As Considine has aptly remarked that the lack of adequate coordination may incur unwarranted costs on public organizations (Considine 1992). A well-coordinated policy framework followed by the equally coordinated implementation mechanism is the need of the hour and the governments across the globe are stepping towards this systematic approach. The growing international policy factor brings further pressure on each government to align its policies and provide the external world with a cohesive policy image (Savoie 1995). It is, therefore, imperative to assess and analyze the level of coordination in public sector organizations to plug the loopholes for retrieving more efficient and desired outcomes. Coordination among the federal level social protection initiatives has been analyzed by taking into account the factors that affect the coordination as mentioned in the analytical framework of this study in chapter 3.

### **5.1 Specialization**

As discussed earlier, with the advent of New Public Management (NPM), public sector internationally, adopted more fragmented approach towards public sector

organizations/agencies. However, it was until post-NPM era that the trend started to reverse as the need for more coordinated and joined-up government started to surface. In Pakistan NPM was adopted and implemented accordingly but here too it created the problem of coordination. Speaking of the social protection programs/initiatives at the federal level, this fragmentation can be very clearly witnessed. Increased horizontal specialization, according to the principle of “single purpose organizations,” has created challenges of capacity and coordination (Gregory 2003). All the three organizations under consideration in this study are characterized by specialization. BISP has its own domain and working space to the exclusion of any other agency or organization. This program is operating as an independent body established under an Act of the parliament. Similarly, Pakistan Baitul Mal was also established under a separate Act of Parliament having defined mandate. Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund was established as a not for profit company under the Companies Ordinance. All these initiatives have their special and dedicated tasks to perform, though these tasks sometimes look similar and overlap among each other. This arrangement results many a times in task duplicity.

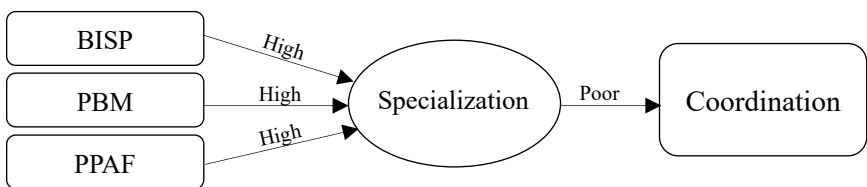
These organizations are assigned specialized tasks; therefore, it is much difficult for them to allow any space for mutual coordination. Christensen and Laegreid contend that the establishment of single purpose organizations is responsible for more differentiated and specialized central administration (Christensen and Laegreid 2004). Such interventions result in splitting up the integrated model of organizations with the development of autonomous bodies. This autonomization poses challenges for the coordination. The range of these challenges confronts both vertical as well as horizontal coordination across multiple state sectors. Since the organization established under the umbrella of autonomy and specialization are all located their own defined domain, jurisdiction, boundaries and goals. They are held accountable to the extent of these assignments. This closed system of organizations poses multiple challenges for the administrative system which is encountered with comprehensive inter-organizational and cross-sectoral problems

(Lægneid 2001).

Taking a look at the tasks assigned to all the three federal social protection initiatives as mentioned in the chapter 4, reveals that their assignments are not independent of each other and overlap at certain points. Yet these initiatives are fragmented and disjointed. There is no common strategy or policy understanding that shows their coordination in pursuance of similar and overlapping goals. This incoherence and lack of coordination can be conveniently explained by the specialized nature of the tasks and domains under which these initiatives have been initiated. Such independence and autonomy oriented development of the governmental organizations may produce increased negative cooperation (Mayntz and Scharpf 1975). BISP, PBM and PPAF are not placed under one federal ministry, nor are they interlinked through any administrative mechanism. This may also be attributed to the specialized nature of these initiatives. Hence, it may be simply maintained that the initiatives under consideration are more specialized in nature and in the absence of any integration oriented mechanism, there is poor coordination among these social protection initiatives at the federal level in Pakistan.

The discussion can be summed and easily comprehended as follows;

**Figure 7: Impact of High Specialization on Coordination**



## 5.2 Accountability

Though, accountability is a quality, like coordination in public sector, yet it has certain pros and cons attached to it. On one hand it is considered to be vital for the democratic government, whereas on the other hand it can pose considerable



resistance to the process of coordination among the public sector organizations. Administrative accountability warrants defined boundaries of jurisdiction and justified spending of the public funds. However, coordination involves certain processes wherein the clear boundaries required by accountability are diffused, leaving it difficult to trace the legal responsibility for the spending of public funds. Thompson argues that due to multiple actors in a more coordinated service delivery mechanism, it becomes difficult to identify who is responsible for the decisions that have been implemented (Thompson, 1980). The threat to coordination in public sector is not just the outcome of financial accountability. Certain performance management mechanisms hold the implementing managers accountable for the attainment of performance targets. Whereas in a coordinated set-up, certain targets and indicators are spread across the coordinating organizations which can hardly be owned by anyone of them exclusively. In such a scenario, it is much difficult to single out any organization alone for the outcomes. Central authority in the government might be desirous of achieving such goals but single organizations would prefer to pursue their own targets for which they are responsible instead for spending their energies in pursuance of such targets for which they cannot so easily claim the credit thereof. This tendency is inversely proportional to coordination among public sector organizations.

In Pakistan's case too, the public sector is confronted with excessive accountability mechanisms. Apart from the internal accountability and performance measuring systems within the organizations, there are multiple institutions in place to oversee the performance and hold the managers accountable. Therefore, the tendency to coordinate does not find much place in Pakistan's public sector. The institution of the Auditor General of Pakistan (AGP), the National Accountability Bureau (NAB), alongside the Anti-Corruption Establishments (ACEs) at provincial levels and above all the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) are in place to keep a constant check on the performance and financial accountability of the public sector. Recently there have been many cases

of accountability wherein NAB has taken cognizance and even arrested some top rank managers in public sector. This has further confined the organizational practices to keep focus on their own assigned tasks and goals. In view of this scenario, it is very difficult for BISP, PPAF, and PBM to take the risk of coordination which might in turn raise the eye-brows of the accountability ensuring organizations. Moreover, these organizations are governed under different laws and Board of Directors (BODs). They are answerable to the authorities which are not interconnected; therefore, formal coordination is difficult to be established among such organizations. Additionally, there is not common platform that could provide an opportunity to these organizations for coming closer and working together. It is also imperative to understand that coordination becomes trickier if the organizations under question are dealing directly with the programs and assignments which involve financial transactions. Even a small undesired outcome in the corresponding service delivery might invite a lot of questions and accountability related implications. Accountability is a mandatory ingredient of the democratic governance system but it needs to be applied in a customized fashion that could give way to the organizations for meaningful and effective coordination without unnecessary restrictions.

### **5.3 Turf Protection**

There is common trait among organizations especially operating in the public sector, that they always try to protect their turf. Turf in this context is but not limited to space, money, assets, jurisdiction, or the autonomy to operate and pursue their substantive goals and targets to the exclusion of any other organization. Seidman while referring to the Miles's Law (where you stand depends upon where you sit) highlights the motive behind organizational politics to defend their base to the maximum (Seidman, 1998). On the other hand, coordination involves sharing some of the turf with other organizations. This may include the sharing of resources, autonomy, clients or even goodwill at sometimes. Such a compromise and sacrifice are a hard pill to swallow for the organizations at the giving end of this equation. Moreover, the introduction of NPM has further

bent the organizations to defend their turf as they are given specific tasks along with the corresponding budget resource wherein, they feel insecure while cooperating with other organizations.

Turf protection plays an important role for the non-coordination behavior of the public sector organizations. Situation becomes more worrisome if the organizations required to coordinate have overlapping assignments. This instills a more sense of insecurity among such organizations as they find their turf threatened if coordination is allowed. Same is the case with the organizations under consideration at federal level in Pakistan. BISP, PBM and PPAF have many commonalities when it comes to their main goals and objectives. Therefore, it is difficult to find any tangible coordination among these organizations. Chapter 4 mentions the purposes of each of these organizations and it can be easily observed that the degree of similarity among objectives is a bit on the higher side. In such circumstances, it is very much understandable that sharing of turf for the sake of coordination may render any of them as irrelevant and might also result even in merger or loss of identity at all. Such apprehensions very much control the behavior of these organizations for not coordinating among them. BISP has been successful in establishing its goodwill in the social protection sector. This has even been acknowledged at the international fora as well. It is the show window of social protection programs in Pakistan. Therefore, the organizational cultures in Pakistan, it is quite difficult that BISP would extend any leverage to other organizations for sharing its goodwill in the name of coordination. Moreover, PPAF is also famous for specific service delivery in alleviating poverty in Pakistan. Though its contributions so far may not be above average as compared to the immediate need for improvement in poverty related indicators, yet it would not enter into coordination relation with other social protection organizations under the apprehension of losing its relevance. Same is the case with PBM. Both PPAF and PBM are smaller entities as compared to BISP. Therefore, the apprehension of possible merger and consequently losing their turf would never be an option for such organizations.

## **5.4 Bureaucratic Hurdles**

This is another important factor that affects the mutual coordination among public sector organizations. First of all, the bureaucracies never accept the change and resist it as a reflex action. Max Weber observed that the incentives associated with the career motivate the civil servants to ensure the stability of their institutions on perpetual grounds (Nou, 2015). In addition to that, the civil servants enjoy certain salary and tenure related protections which are not intertwined with the performance (Johnson & Libecap, 2007). As a consequence, these prolonged benefit assurance gives rise to organizational norms and routines which cannot be easily amended (Rodriguez, 1993). Moreover, it has been observed that the civil servants are resistant to the top-down reforms. Consequently, any attempt at reforming, restructuring, or coordinating with other organizations result in considerable transaction costs. The bureaucratic inertia poses the hardest challenges to the theory of change. Bureaucratic response in Pakistan is also no different when it comes to innovation and change. The organizations responsible for social protection at federal level in Pakistan are also mostly headed by the powerful bureaucrats. They also exhibit the same bureaucratic qualities as can be witnessed in most parts of the developing world. They focus to protect their domain, jurisdiction while maximizing the incentives offered to them against their posting positions. Any innovation or change that might hamper this trend is met with the traditional resistance called bureaucratic hurdle. The absence of any effective inter-organizational coordination among BISP, PBM and PPAF after the passage of so many years of their establishment may be attributed to this bureaucratic behavior though not exclusively. These hurdles cannot always be attributed to the individual bureaucrats only. In Pakistan's perspective, the issue of red-tapism is another factor contributing to pose more bureaucratic hurdles in the way to achieve coordination between public sector organizations. Most simple official tasks are burdened with the compliance of formal rules, procedures, regulations, processed and guidelines pertaining to public sector. Stuck in the countless unwarranted formalities, the bureaucrats find any attempt of inter-

organizational coordination as maximization of the responsibilities and work burden. This naturally, motivates them to de-link them from any recommendations supporting coordination practices. Furthermore, machine bureaucracy is more focused on standard procedures and mechanisms being followed since longer period within organizations. They strongly adhere to such practices and try to resist any change in such procedures and trends. Bureaucracy in the developing countries like Pakistan are also less paid as compared to other entrepreneurs such as the private sector. This limitation discourages the civil servants from taking up additional responsibilities.

In addition to that, establishing coordination among public sector organizations can negatively affect the power and authority associated with the bureaucratic positions especially those at the top echelon. Therefore, coordination at the expense of authority is not welcomed by the bureaucracy. Across the globe, wherever these objectives of coordination have been achieved owe much of their success to the political power and will to establish coordination for maximizing efficacy and outputs. In Pakistan's context, bureaucracy is much stronger and the troubling political history makes it clear as to why most political elite establishes close personal connections with the superior bureaucracy in Pakistan. This phenomenon weakens the political will to enforce the decisions which are not in conformity with the whims and wishes of the bureaucracy.

This tendency in Pakistan's bureaucracy can be traced back to the pre-independence period. Bureaucracy in this part of the world was introduced by the Britishers while the Indo-Pak subcontinent was yet a colony under the British Rule. During that period, the local representatives had no active role in running the affairs of the state. All the state work starting from policy formulation, decision making, implementation to enforcement was carried out by the bureaucratic mechanism established by the British rulers. The civil officers were accordingly trained to meet the needs of that time. However, even after the departure of the Britishers, this trend penetrated into the indigenous civil servants as a basic instinct. Despite multiple civil service reforms introduced by successive

political and military governments, bureaucracy in Pakistan can still be diagnosed with the chronic ailments of superiority and elitist. Though, this attitude does not describe the overall bureaucratic attitudes in the civil service of Pakistan, yet the existence of the same cannot be denied as a whole. The combined effect of these bureaucratic hurdles poses a great challenge for creating coordination among the public sector organizations in Pakistan. Apart from formal coordination, the bureaucracy prefers the informal coordination with other public sector organizations as that is concerned with civil servant to civil servant personal interaction and that too without any compulsion. This form of coordination finds much place as compared to the formal coordination in public sector of Pakistan.

## **5.5 Knowledge and Skill Sharing**

One of the major purposes of coordination in public sector organizations is to mutually benefit from the knowledge base created by the participating organizations. It can be defined as “the process through which one unit is affected by the experience of another” (Argote et al. 2000, 3). More knowledge sharing among such organizations refers to better and strong coordination among them and vice-versa. Knowledge is considered to be a very important asset for any organization which requires to be managed carefully (Argote, McEvily, 2003; Teece 1998). Most of the public sector organizations directly or indirectly contribute to developing the knowledge as their main activity. On account of this characteristic, they can be termed as knowledge-intensive organizations (Alvesson 1993). This is more imperative to understand that knowledge sharing among organizations is indicative of the level of coordination they have among them. Knowledge, if confined within the boundaries of producing organizations, is not much beneficial for the overall public sector. Galbraith and Grandori contend that more coordination among organizations facilitates the exchange of knowledge (Galbraith 1973; Grandori 1997). Also, literature suggests that more coordination is also the consequence of free exchange of knowledge and skills. It is worth understanding that for the organizations to coordinate they need to be aware of the nature of work each of them is carrying out. Unfortunately, such

information is not abundantly available, neither easily accessible. Also, there is lack of interest among public sector organizations to even spend time and resources to seek any such information especially in the era of NPM whereby each organization restricts itself to achieve its own individual targets. This trend of little interest in information and knowledge sharing results in poor understanding of the other governmental organizations' programs and little benefit can be retrieved due to this lack of information sharing. Besides, organizations in public sector don't want to make themselves dependent on other organizations in order to attain their own organizational goals. They focus on keeping their autonomy intact.

There is no formal knowledge sharing mechanism among PBM, BISP, and PPAF. They operate within their personal domain to the exclusion of any other contemporary organization. Even they are targeting the poor strata of Pakistani society, yet they have their own standards and eligibility criteria for the beneficiaries. This may even result in the duplicity wherein a person at the same time can be the beneficiary of all of these organizations without even being noticed. This may hamper the outreach and efficacy of these organizations. BISP has done a remarkable job by establishing National Socioeconomic Registry (NSER) which is updated regularly wherein the data of all its beneficiaries is collected and maintained in a single database. However, there is little evidence that the PBM or PPAF are also utilizing this data source for targeting and selecting its beneficiaries. Even they have mentioned different criteria for applicants' qualification as beneficiary.

There is another reason as well which restricts the organizations operating within public sector from sharing knowledge and skills among them. This pertains to the organizational attitude of maintaining secrecy. Sometimes this attitude is based upon anticipation of considerable incentives. Information is one of the elements of power for organizations operative in both the public and the private sectors. This places the organizations in a better bargaining position with other organizations. Hence, many of them use it as a tool which actually negatively

affects the coordination mechanism. In addition to that the ongoing terrorism issues across the globe have helped increase of data and information sharing among the public sector organizations. But in order to avoid the violation of privacy related legal provisions, this has been more restricted in the field of social protection (Erkkila, 2011). Since Pakistan has remained the frontline state against the war on terror, this practice can be witnessed in abundance in Pakistan's perspective. This further hampered the effective coordination within public sector. The public sector organizations and most of the civil servants are reluctant in Pakistan's public sector to share the knowledge and skills held by them in order to maintain their relevance and importance in the official transactions.

Furthermore, it is imperative to mention that ICT is an important tool being employed globally for better communication and knowledge sharing. This is equally important in both the public and the private sectors. In public sector, ICT is utilized in the field of e-governance. Unfortunately, in Pakistan's public sector infrastructure, e-governance has not been employed up to even a satisfactory level. Ministries and departments are still, to the greater extent, following the manual and obsolete practices to run the official business. Information and official records are stored on paper files and the application of ICT is very limited and not much appreciated due to multiple reasons. Therefore, in order to retrieve some information, from any organization, the personal interactions among the concerning civil servants come into play. That is why the traces of informal information and knowledge sharing can be found among such organizations but formal or online accessible information/skill sharing is still a far cry in Pakistan. Therefore, the organizations under consideration (PBM, BISP, PPAF) don't exhibit any properties highlighting any kind of knowledge/skill sharing among them even though they are following almost similar and sometimes overlapping objectives in the field of social protection.

## **5.6 Political Environment**

Coordination among the public sector organizations involves a multitude of factors that either affect it positively or negatively. Political environment is also



one of such factors and has much deeper impacts on coordination in public sector. Political leaders along with the central government agencies develop multiple ways and means to influence their will on organizations operating in public sector. There are several reasons for this kind of behavior on the part of political leaders. From political view-point, the demand for more coordination has been increased due to the involvement and mobilization of client groups which include children, women, and the elderly. They require and expect multiple services from the government departments. Influence and dominance of the political masters over the public sectors organizations is a phenomenon which is not new for the developing countries. In order to serve their political and even personal interests and ensure their success in the future elections, they keep on twisting and turning these organizations continuously.

This practice happens more frequently in those public sector organizations that deal with the subjects like social protection and welfare. The reason is obvious, galvanizing the popular support through social welfare related interventions. But such interventions many a times divert the resources to fewer deserving people and the more deserving ones are left unattended if they are not within the constituency jurisdiction of the political leaders who call the shots.

This was just one aspect of the political factors involved in such transactions. Coordination among these organizations is also affected by the kind of government (single party or coalition). If there is a coalition government at the center, it is more difficult to establish effective coordination among public sector organizations as each minister would be following a different agenda in conformity with his corresponding political party. This interplay of political whims casts a negative impact on coordination. Moreover, lack of political will and misplaced political priorities are also detrimental to public sector coordination.

Pakistan's political history is full of twists and turns. There have been multiple episodes of political turmoil ranging between dictatorship to democracy. Instances of single party as well as coalition government in the Center can be

witnessed so frequently. Unstable political governments coupled with internal and external security challenges have not been able to pay much attention to resolve the issues pertaining to governance such as improving coordination within public sector organizations. However, in the recent past, political environment in Pakistan has gained much stability. Yet its impacts on improvement of coordination have not been much visible. The three organizations under consideration (i.e., PBM, BISP, PPAF), have been operating under different Ministries and patronage whereas given the nature of their tasks they must have had been clubbed under one umbrella. The government has very recently established the Poverty Alleviation and Social Safety Division (PASSD) which has been entrusted the subject of BISP while removing it from under the Ministry of Finance. Still there is little evidence of conducive political environment for enhancing coordination among these social protection initiatives.

Just like the bureaucratic hurdles, political hurdles also come into play when it comes to turf protection and securing political interests. There have been the cases in the recent past wherein the political bosses mis-utilized these initiatives to target their political supporters at the cost of truly deserving individuals. Though efforts have been made to ensure transparency but in the absence of strong political will, no intervention can yield desired outcomes. Additionally, political ownership to such initiatives is most important for sustainability of such policy interventions. The absence of a central coordination mechanism in relation to the public sector organizations handling the tasks of social protection in Pakistan, speaks volumes of the unhelpful political ambiance towards this subject. A conducive political environment supported by true political will can reduce the resistance and hurdles obstructing the way to establish adequate public sector coordination.

## **5.7 Legal Compatibility**

There is a strong nexus between legal compatibility and coordination in public sector. Any organization whose legal turf is hostile to the coordination or any coordination venture could yield legal consequences, therein coordination is out

of question. Moreover, laws governing certain organizations need appropriate amendments before letting such organizations coordinate and collaborate with other organizations. This issue highlights the importance of legal compatibility and its vitality for establishing coordination among public sector organizations. In this connection following major aspects need to be taken into consideration:

- i. Constitution
- ii. Administrative Law
- iii. Laws Governing Civil Services
- iv. Laws Regulating Freedom of Information
- v. Laws Establishing Coordinating Bodies

Constitution of the polity, wherein the interplay of coordination among public organizations takes place, is of fundamental importance. It provides the basic framework coupled with inherent support or flaws towards coordination. In Pakistan's case there are no such legal lacunas arising out of Constitutional interpretation that might hamper the process of public sector coordination. Same is true for the administrative law perspective as well. The Laws governing the Civil Service in Pakistan are also conducive for public sector coordination except for one aspect i.e., strict compliance along with efficiency with discipline. Sometimes allocating more importance to coordination related efforts especially at informal levels, results in poor organizational performance which might invite uncalled for accountability and consequences. Laws regarding freedom of information are also conducive for coordination in Pakistan. Even the 18<sup>th</sup> Constitutional amendment in Constitution of Pakistan 1973 inserted the Article 19A which reads as follows:

*“Every citizen shall have the right to have access to information in all matters of public importance subject to regulation and reasonable restrictions imposed by law”*

Hence, in the absence of certain legal restrictions, there is no bar to access the information. This sets the tone for the information sharing which is vital for the coordination to take place. Apart from that there are certain laws pertaining to the

establishment of coordinating bodies. In Pakistan's case there is a vacuum in this dimension. There can hardly be found any specific coordinating body established for the purpose of promoting and ensuring coordination among public sector organizations operative at federal level. So, there is no point of any such legal resistance by such bodies as well. Overall, it can be estimated that legal ambience in Pakistan is much conducive for mutual coordination among public sector organizations.

Moreover, the public sector organizations are also governed under certain laws and regulations. The flexibility and compatibility of such laws governing the coordinating organizations affect the level of mutual coordination therein. BISP is governed under the BISP Act, 2010. The provisions of this Act are flexible and even allow for certain interventions wherein policy coordination can be supported. While enumerating the powers of the Chairperson of the Program, Section 7(6) of the Act provides that;

*“The Chairperson shall have the power to enter into any agreement, contract, understanding with any international organization or institution or donor agency or counter-part entity, on the advice of the Council and approval of the Board .”*

(BISP, 2010).

Though it seems quite cumbersome to convince the Council and the Board of Directors (BOD) of the programme yet there is a provision in the Act which empowers the Chairperson to explore coordination avenues with other organizations. PPAF, on the other hand is governed under Companies Ordinance, 1984 as it was established as a non-profit company. Its Articles of Association provide the PPAF with full authority to enter into contracts for the purpose of advancing the program's objectives. However, there is no such provision restricting it from entering into coordination relation with other organizations.

PBM is governed under the Pakistan Bait-ul-mal Act, 1991. The Act does not restrict any action to coordinate with other organizations. It does even provide for coordination with other organizations. While mentioning the functions of the

Board of Directors of PBM, Section 5A (f) of the Act provides that the Board shall coordinate with the poverty alleviation programs of the government in public and private sectors.

The above discussion rules out any legal barrier or incompatibility that could hamper any efforts among the three social protection organizations to coordinate. Rather the legal ambience is much conducive for that purpose. However, there are certain other factors as discussed in this chapter which are responsible, though not exclusively, for the lack of interorganizational coordination among these public sector organizations.

## **Chapter 6. Recommendations and Conclusion**

Governments now a days are encountering multiple challenges which are increasing pressures especially on the welfare states. These challenges emanate from multiple origins such as demographic changes owing to migration and ageing problems, ever increasing technological development, growing economic inequality, and fiscal crisis culminating into worsening economic conditions. It is further attached to ever increasing social change and does also threat the social cohesion at the same time. Such a scenario makes it more important for the governments to take prompt actions to not just. To diffuse the situation but also to put their corresponding states on the path to sustainable development. Developing countries need to adopt more proactive approach as they are expected to face the hardest part of the negative consequences if the situation gets worse. Pakistan being a developing country needs to realign its priorities with the modern challenges to effective governance. As this study has explored that there is a dire need to improve the public sector coordination in Pakistan, this need is more intensified when it comes to the social protection sector. Global economic crisis of 2008 followed by the recent pandemic is hitting hard the countries with as vulnerable economies as that of Pakistan. This situation warrants effective management of already limited resources they are left with. Hence, it is of utmost importance to utilize the available resources and infrastructure through

international best practices for achieving maximum outcomes. This study recommends certain policy interventions to improve the public sector coordination among the under consideration three federal organizations responsible for steering the social protection initiatives. These are mentioned as follows:

### **i. Leadership**

Leadership is the first and foremost factor that is instrumental for creating coordination in the public sector. It is not just political leadership that matters, the administrative leadership is equally important to achieve the desired ends. Political leadership in Pakistan seems insensitive of the amount of horizontal inter-organizational coordination required at federal level especially in the field of social protection. Just increasing fiscal allocations are not going to do the wonders alone. It is the right time to adopt the international best practices for creating a well-coordinated mechanism to improve the service delivery in the social protection sector. Moreover, it is also the responsibility of the administrative leadership to welcome any efforts focusing at more interorganizational coordination and play their part in establishing a much conducive environment within their organizational domain.

The role of administrative leadership is much more important in this connection as they are to implement the initiatives taken up by the political leadership. Without their consent and support, coordination cannot be created at such levels. The administrative leadership in Pakistan is also required to remove the friction among the lower tiers of the government as they are not much eager to coordinate with other organizations due to already overburdening assignments they are entrusted with. This issue can be resolved by introducing performance based incentives system. Government of Pakistan is already working on introducing certain structural changes within the indigenous bureaucratic structures aiming to enhance efficiency and performance. This incentive based performance mechanism can also be clubbed with the ongoing reforms initiatives. Coordination within public sector does not always follow top-down direction. It

needs to be encouraged in the other direction as well i.e., bottom-up. Ultimately, it is the street level bureaucrat who is responsible for implementation of the strategies and programs at local level. Therefore, their concerns and observations may also help achieve inter-organizational coordination.

## **ii. Accountability**

It can be said that the fundamental reason questioning the coordination's efficacy is accountability. As discussed in chapter 5 of the study, accountability is inversely proportional to coordination. When multiple organizations are working together, the more intricate system emerges wherein it is much more difficult to track and fix the responsibilities for use of public funds and underperformance. Multiple public programs are being implemented through establishment of formal or informal coordination linkage among various organizations and different tiers of such organizations are coordinating at different levels. It becomes far more difficult to evaluate if the things are going good or not in such policy area. Same is true in Pakistan's case. Therefore, in order to have effective coordination and that too not at the expense of accountability, the system needs to be updated to match the modern intricate and complex challenges.

Literature speaks volumes of the requirement of accountability as well as coordination in the public sector. However, there cannot be a one size fits all solution to this problem. Arrangements need to be incorporated according to the social, political, administrative, cultural and even demographic dynamics of each society. In Pakistan's perspective the recent accountability drive has rendered most of the civil servants as threatened and terrified. Any performance omission, how so bona-fide, is treated as a gross misconduct. This practice needs to stop if coordination has to be created among public sector organizations. Actions or omissions punishable under the accountability mechanism need to be adequately investigated thereby given due weightage to the bona-fide on the part of the accused. Pakistan has multiple accountability enforcement institutions in place and sometimes all of them activate at a single act or omission involving corruption, misconduct, embezzlement or criminal action on the part of any civil servant. This

sometimes ends into double-jeopardy. Given the global development and best practices, it is of paramount importance that the capable, dedicated and honest bureaucrats be given the advantage of positive intention unless proven guilty. He must not be subjected to humiliation at departmental or social levels during the trials of the case.

Accountability should be enforced in a rationalized fashion to afford sufficient breathing space to the bureaucrats for taking certain initiatives in good faith which in return helps promote coordination among the public sector organizations.

### **iii. Structural Reforms**

There is no denying the fact that the world is continuously changing and so are the challenges being faced by it. Nations across the globe keep on adapting to those changes sometimes mitigating the negative impacts and the other times by coping with such challenges completely and successfully. Governments need also need to adopt dynamic policy formulation in the face of ever changing and increasing governance challenges. Developing countries are home to such challenges as resource constraint and economic vulnerability is always playing the role of aggravating such difficult situations.

Governance and public administration in Pakistan are also confronting multiple challenges. As discussed earlier, coordination itself is a challenge which the government needs to resolve, the sooner the better. In addition to other recommendations, there is a dire need to revamp the structure of the organizations implementing social protection initiatives at federal level in Pakistan. There are several reasons for undertaking these reforms. The three organizations discussed in this paper are dealing with the subjects which are interconnected and sometimes even overlapping. In the absence of effective inter-organizational coordination, this arrangement results in waste of resources and time, ultimately hampering the efficiency and efficacy of the efforts put in.

It is time to restructure such initiatives by either establishing formal coordination within current arrangement of things or by clubbing these three and other similar initiatives together at one platform. This would reduce the duplicity of tasks,



increase financial and administrative efficiency, reduce the burden on national exchequer and help create more coordination by reducing the number of actors involved therein. By merging the BISP, PBM, and PPAF into one window that serves all the three purposes, the government may implement its social protection strategy and programs more smoothly which not only would save time and effort but shall also reduce the cost of service delivery thereby reducing the administrative costs of the initiatives.

#### **iv. Removing the Bureaucratic Barriers**

There has been a chronic stigma attached with the bureaucratic mindset which is the resistance to change. This psychological factor is not restricted to geographic or cultural boundaries, rather it has been observed across the globe in one form or the other. The hierarchical bureaucratic employed throughout the twentieth century is losing its relevance in the current era of modern problems warranting modern solutions. The traditional approach of looking at the things does not serve the purpose of resolving the challenges of the increasingly dynamic and changing age. The flinty bureaucratic set ups operating with strict and narrowly defined work restrictions are not well-suited to meet the governance challenges of the twenty-first century.

The world is now appreciating the networked governance model wherein the coordination and interplay of numerous public and private actors combines to resolve the modern challenges without having recourse to the bureaucratic formalities and red Tapism. The Political and administrative leadership in Pakistan is supposed to employ these modern concepts in the governance domain which would ultimately remove the friction and hurdles offered by the obsolete bureaucratic system of governance in Pakistan. Meanwhile the short term solution to the bureaucratic problem is to introduce performance audit at all levels of bureaucracy involved either directly or indirectly in dealing with the social protection initiatives. This would fix the responsibility and leave little space for the actors involved in service delivery to display any resistance to creation of coordination among the concerned organizations.

Another important tool in reducing this friction is the innovative use of technology. ICT has internationally improved the governance and service delivery. Unfortunately, it has not found strong foothold in Pakistan. Time has come when the government in Pakistan should introduce e-governance not just on paper but in practice. This tool would not only increase the performance accountability but shall concurrently provide a dashboard whereby the continuous update about the activities, performance and contribution of the civil servants would be displayed and monitored. Mostly the bureaucrats out of the fear of losing their relevance and importance, and increase in their responsibilities, resist the innovative governance models and discourage inter-organizational coordination. Adequate and justifies job description followed by ICT based working tools may help resolve these challenges. However, in the longer term , government should introduce the concept of networked governance at least in the field of social protection by taking onboard multiple informal and certain professional actors from outside the government.

### **Conclusion**

Pakistan as developing country needs to make the most efficient use of its resources to retrieve maximum outcomes from its interventions to uplift the socio-economic conditions of its marginalized segments of population. Resources are not infinite and there is dire need consume them in a manner that yields the best results. Globally, coordination is a tested and proven approach to improve the efficiency in public and private both sectors. This study finds out that public sector in Pakistan needs to create coordination among its social protection initiatives and programs to improve the impacts thereof without adding any further financial burden on the exchequer.

This study is not the final word about improving coordination among federally administered social protection programs in Pakistan. However, effort has been made to analyze the existing level of coordination which was found at its lowest ebb. It was observed that certain fundamental changes in the public sector organizations could help increase the coordination and consequently the

efficiency of the social protection programs in Pakistan.

This study remained limited to analyze the horizontal inter-organizational coordination among the public sector organizations engaged in social protection programs and activities at federal level. The resource, time and data constraints did not allow to expand this study up to vertical coordination which is recommended for further future qualitative studies on the subject.

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국문초록

## 상호 조정에 관한 연구

: 파키스탄의 사회 보장 프로그램의 효율성  
향상을 중심으로

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글로벌행정전공

개발도상국인 파키스탄은 자국 국민의 최저생활보장을 위하여 노력하고 있다. 정부는 사회 내 소외 계층을 대상으로 하는 사회보장 이니셔티브에 대한 재정의 투입을 확대하고 있다. 그러나 한정적인 재정 수준을 고려할 때, 사회보장 이니셔티브에서의 효율적인 자원 활용과 사회보장 정책의 편익 극대화를 고려할 필요성이 있다. 사회경제적으로 소외된 계층에 대한 여러 정책적 개입에도 불구하고, 파키스탄의 전반적인 빈곤 지표에서는 그 효과가 나타나지 않고 있다. 이러한 현상에 대하여 여러가지 원인이 존재할 수 있으나 본 연구는 상호 조정의 역할에 초점을 맞추었다. 파키스탄 연방 수준에서의 수평적 조정을 분석한 결과 사회보장 이니셔티브를 시행하는 공공부문 조직 간의 상호 조율이 적절하지 않았으며 보다 나은 성과를 위하여 개선이 필요하다는 점을 확인할 수 있었다. 본 연구는 연방 이니셔티브 간 수평적 조정을 개선하기 위한 구체적인 정책적 제언을 하며 마무리된다.

주제어: 사회보장, 공공부문 조정, 파키스탄, 효율성, 빈곤, 개발도상국

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