

RESEARCH NOTES

TRANSFORMING THE EDUCATION SYSTEM AND SOCIAL SAFETY NETS: A Theoretical Discussion in the light of Naya (New) Pakistan Manifesto for Change and Road to Prosperity

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Abstract

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI), which emerged as one of the largest parties at the Federal level as well as in Punjab (due to which it formed coalition Governments) and the majority party in K.P.K., where it formed its Government, placed before the people of Pakistan. It's a vision in the form of the manifesto to establish a welfare state on the model of the first welfare state established by Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) in Madinah which will be based on the rule of law, economic justice, transparency and equal opportunity for all citizens of Pakistan. It promised that in all fields of life where health, education and social safety nets will be available to all, particularly to the marginalised, the elderly, women, minorities, the dispossessed and the disadvantaged by eliminating discrimination by the powerful against any. This study analyses the actual performance of the PTI government in transforming the education system and social safety nets so that it can lead to Pakistan's prosperity to make it a Welfare State in the light of its Manifesto 2018. The education system and the social safety nets as those existed at the time when the PTI government took over have been briefly mentioned to assess as to the extent to which the incumbent Government has succeeded in realising its vision of Naya Pakistan particularly in the aforementioned sectors, and, if not, policy recommendations have been given for achieving the desired goal.

I. Introduction

PTI's vision as given in its Manifesto (2018) was of "A Pakistan where all are equal before the law and where all have equal access to health, education and opportunity in every field. A Naya Pakistan that will place the life and dignity of all its citizens above all else." The PTI in its Manifesto (2018) recapitulated its achievements in K.P.K (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) during its Government in the province from 2013-2018 and presented the same with data to substantiate its claim of delivering according

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¹ All the data and information mentioned in the study have been taken from official documents published by Government of Pakistan and the Provincial Governments and not from any research paper, being the most current issue. The views presented in conclusion and recommendation section solely belong to Author.

to the commitments given in the Manifesto if it is voted to power in the Federal Government and Provinces as a result of General Elections held in Pakistan in July 2018. It referred to 168 Laws legislated by the PTI Government in K.P.K which included K.P.K Police Act 2017, K.P.K Medical Teaching Institutional Reforms Act 2015, K.P.K Right to Public Service Act 2014, K.P.K Right to Information Act 2013 and K.P.K Local Government ACT 2013. About education it claimed to have maintained at least 20 per cent budget spending, i.e., from Rs 33 billion in 2013 to Rs 55 billion in 2017, recruitment of 57000 qualified teachers on merit, provision of furniture for 14 million students, playgrounds in 8000 schools and labs in 1170 schools, the establishment of 1000 public schools and up-gradation of 1300 public schools, 47 colleges, ten universities and provided home-based access to 10,000 students to digital libraries. It claimed to have budgetary spending by 200 per cent; from Rs 9.9 billion to Rs 30.2 billion, by recruiting 5000 doctors, 650 specialists, 1600 paramedics, 1600 lady health workers, added 5000 beds to hospitals across districts and provided equipment worth Rs 13 billion to primary health care centres along-with providing of 'Sehat-Insaaf' cards to 1.5 million people to avail high-quality medical services. It also claimed to have established first-ever Burn and Trauma centre in the Province. It further claimed to have established five new institutions for the rehabilitation of special children, up-gradation of 8 schools to facilitate more and older children, construction of 3 social welfare complexes, the establishment of 7 welfare homes, 4 DarulAmaans and 4 treatment and rehabilitation centres for drug addicts. It claimed to have established 55 Tehsil level playgrounds and 20 other sports facilities and complexes. It also claimed to have provided Rs 500 million as initial capital to 300 entrepreneurs to establish a tourism-related business. It claimed to have achieved "Billion Tree Tsunami" by a combination of protected natural regeneration (60 per cent) and planned afforestation 40 per cent. Besides this, it claimed to have improved law and order situation through the reformation of the police force and enforcement of amended code of civil procedure and by devolution of powers at the village level under the new Local Government Act 2013.

Since PTI completed its tenure of 5 years with success in K.P.K., it presented its Manifesto 2018 before the voters after doing a lot of homework, with the promise that if voted to power, it would result in "Naya Pakistan", a Welfare State on the model of Madina's first Welfare State. Some of the important commitments, particularly for transforming education and social safety nets, as made to the voters in the form of Manifesto 2018 are mentioned in the Section II. Section III briefly mentions the prevalent situation in the education sector and social safety nets at the time when the PTI government took over. Section IV encompasses the policies so far formulated and implemented in transforming the education system and social safety nets in accordance with its vision as incorporated in the Manifesto 2018 and analyses as to what extent PTI government has succeeded in realising its own objectives as per its Manifesto 2018. Section V gives conclusion and policy recommendations in this regard.

II. PTI's promises to the voters in the form of "The Road to Naya Pakistan" – PTI Manifesto 2018 (some important points)

While glancing through the PTI Manifesto 2018, it is observed that during the General Elections in July 2018, the PTI engaged the voters mainly on the following commitments which are based on making Pakistan a Welfare State with a strong education sector and better social safety nets:-

- i. Will transform Pakistan by devolving powers and decision making to the people through an empowered local government.
- ii. Will enforce police depoliticisation by building upon K.P.K.'s successful police reform model, which will be replicated nationally.
- iii. Will launch a judicial reforms program that will provide speedy and quality justice for all citizens.
- iv. Will transform the civil service into a merit-based, depoliticised cadre of professionals.
- v. Will transform public administration with E-Governance initiatives to facilitate citizens' access to justice, rights and other public services.
- vi. Will abolish the culture of secrecy and will ensure that all government actions, records and information are open to public scrutiny. PTI will support transparency and accountability in standards practiced internationally.
- vii. Will ensure full autonomy for, and build the capacity of, N.A.B. (National Accountability Bureau) and other accountability institutions and pursue all major corruption scandals regardless of political affiliations.
- viii. Will reform public processes such as procurement to generate more value for money and transparency.
- ix. Commitment to maintain a vigorous free media which will evolve its own rules to ensure responsible journalism both in the electronic and print media.
- x. We will establish a special mechanism to supplement existing poverty alleviation efforts in the poorest districts across Sindh, Punjab, K.P.K., and Baluchistan.
- xi. Will protect the civil, social and religious rights of minorities; their places of worship, property and institutions as laid down in the constitution.
- xii. Will effectively implement initiatives to increase women's access to education, health care, economic opportunity and legal protection.
- xiii. PTI values the patriotic spirits of overseas Pakistanis and will ensure access to citizen rights and an improved set of infrastructure and services offered by the Pakistani embassies.
- xiv. PTI will strengthen the labour market and create 10 million jobs over five years in key sectors: S.M.E., housing, I.C.T., health, education, green economy and tourism.
- xv. PTI will play the role of an enabler and facilitator, but not developer, to build 5 million low-cost housing units. We will ensure the development of 1.5 to 2 million

- urban and 3235 million rural housing units.
- xvi. PTI will put Pakistan in the top 100 economies of the world according to the World Bank's ease of doing business ranking in 5 years.
 - xvii. We will create solid two way linkages with China and promote an indigenous resource focus growth strategy to leverage trade infrastructure of C.P.E.C. and O.B.O.R. (one belt one road).
 - xviii. PTI will turn around the tourism industry to improve Pakistan's international image and increase its direct contribution to G.D.P.
 - xix. PTI will establish knowledge economy authority and launch a digital transformation initiative program for digital infrastructure and citizen services by creating and implementing national digital policy.
 - xx. To improve the balance of payments position, PTI would implement structural changes to the existing outdated system, particularly by making the textile industry more competitive in the international market.
 - xxi. PTI will increase agriculture production and also revamp the livestock sector. For this purpose, the PTI government will take immediate steps to conserve water storage.

1. Health and Education

- i. PTI will ensure universal health coverage and enhance the focus on primary care while upgrading secondary and tertiary facilities.
- ii. PTI will put in place the most ambitious education agenda in Pakistan's history, spanning reform of primary, secondary, tertiary, vocational and special education. PTI will establish a national ministry/commission for human capital development and create a national commission for education standards that will issue a revised "minimum standards" within six months of its constitution.
- iii. Will build the largest public-private partnership for education access through vouchers for low fee private schools and access to credit for educated youth to teach students in their communities.
- iv. Will create an Education Fund for youth entrepreneurs to develop technology and communication-enabled solutions to provide access to education in remote areas.
- v. We will launch a nationwide literacy program to engage 50,000 youth volunteers to teach literacy in exchange for university credits.
- vi. We will launch a Teach for Pakistan effort to bring high-quality talent into the public system as teachers or coaches.
- vii. We will launch a large scale teacher certification program.
- viii. We will increase schools at the secondary level for girls by upgrading schools every year in high enrollment areas and launch nationwide radio, television and online self-learning programs for secondary students.
- ix. We will provide stipends to secondary school-going girls to reduce barriers to access.

- x. We will establish a national steering committee to enact examination board overhaul and move towards instituting a standardised central examination scheme.
- xi. We will establish at-least ten technical universities in Pakistan to provide skills to our youth.
- xii. We will provide public scholarships and set up a National Endowment Fund for international universities and provide international distance learning opportunities for tertiary education.
- xiii. We will attract foreign university graduates from Pakistan to teach and supervise local universities.
- xiv. We will create partnerships with international universities to improve teaching and research quality.
- xv. We will remove political influence and create an independent, transparent mechanism to select Vice-Chancellors and senior administrators.
- xvi. We will regulate the university curriculum to include compulsory courses on communication, reasoning, I.T. literacy, and instruction in social sciences.
- xvii. We will transform the National Vocational and Technical Training Council to a best-in-class organisation to plan, monitor and support provincial bodies in implementation.
- xviii. We will streamline the role of provincial institutions such as T.E.V.T.A., skills development funds, boards of technical education.
- xix. We will register all seminaries across Pakistan, including information on finances, and introduce literacy and mathematics teaching as formal subjects within the Madrassa curriculum.
- xx. PTI will provide three Es to youth: Education, Employment and Engagement. We will ensure to create a group of educated, skilled young people invested in making Pakistan a great nation.
- xxi. We will double the size of existing skill development and vocational training programs.

2. Expanding Social Safety Nets

- i. PTI will expand the Sehat Insaaf card to the poorest families across Pakistan and launch a special assistance program for differently-abled persons. We will retain and strengthen the Benazir Income Support Program (B.I.S.P.).
- ii. We will increase the supply of safe drinking water to urban slums and rural communities by providing point-of-views solutions and water treatment plants at the local level through public-private partnership.
- iii. Recognising the increased environmental pollution and the threat it is causing to our future, PTI will take action to manage climate change and make Pakistan greener under Green Growth Agenda, addressing the root causes of environmental pollution, planting ten billion trees in 5 years and by improving disaster relief man-

agement and risk reduction. Environmental conservation will be at the core of PTI's governance.

- iv. We will take a rights-based approach to provide the necessary resources and infrastructure to diagnose, facilitate/assist and integrate differently-abled persons into mainstream society.
- v. We will deploy efforts to reduce the population growth rate for the health of mothers, children and families and the prosperity of Pakistan by reducing the impending burden on its resources.
- vi. We will ensure Pakistan's national security, both external (territorial integrity and sovereignty, socio-economic development, resolution of Kashmir dispute and protection of our citizens wherever they may happen to be), and internal security (a National Security Organization where all the stake holders will be together to strategies and oversee operationalisation of a national security policy, in a structured and organisational manner).

The manifesto seems extremely impressive and covers all basic policy actions for making Pakistan a Welfare State having a transformed education system and social safety nets, which can lead Pakistan to prosperity.

III. A quick glance at the prevalent situation of Education and Social Safety Nets when PTI government took over

Education is the key sector of any economy for achieving the goal of development. In the case of Pakistan, not much attention has been given to this sector both at the Federal and Provincial level. According to Economic Surveys of Pakistan (2017-18 and 2018-19), total expenditure on education during 2016-17 was Rs 699.222 million (2.2 per cent of G.D.P.), and during 2017-18, it was Rs 829,152 million (2.4 per cent of G.D.P.). As per figures given by the Economic Survey, Punjab has been making the highest expenditure in the education sector. The original figures from the Economic Survey (2018-19) are given in Table-1 and Figure-1. Both show that all provinces increased their expenditure on education with the time, especially K.P.K., showed an impressive performance. Regarding other important figures, the total number of enrolments in all educational institutes in the country was estimated at 50.6 million during 2017-18 compared to 48.06 million during 2016-17 with 1.753 million total number of teachers during 2017-18 as compared to 1.726 million during 2016-17, showing an increase of 1.6 per cent. The total number of educational institutes was 260.6 thousand during 2017-18 compared to 260.1 thousand during 2016-17. In addition, male-female disparity got reduced with the passage of time. According to literacy rate figures, literacy rate in Pakistan was 62.3 per cent in 2017-18 as compared to 60.7 per cent in 2014-15. Literacy rate increased in all Pakistan provinces in 2017-18 except in Sindh, where it decreased marginally from 63 per cent to 62.2 per cent. Some literacy figures are presented as follows:

	2014-15	2017-18
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	54.10%	55.30%
Punjab	61.90%	64.70%
Baluchistan	54.30%	55.50%
Sindh	63.00%	62.20%

TABLE 1

Total Expenditure on Education (Rs million)

Years		Current Expenditure	Development Expenditure	Total Expenditure	As % of GDP
2013-14	Federal	65,497	21,554	87,051	2.1
	Punjab	187,556	30,485	218,038	
	Sindh	99,756	6,157	106,093	
	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	70,948	18,756	89,704	
	Balochistan	29,978	6,911	36,889	
	Pakistan	453,735	83,863	537,598	
2014-15	Federal	73,729	28,293	102,022	2.2
	Punjab	201,882	25,208	227,090	
	Sindh	109,275	7,847	117,122	
	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	83,205	28,506	111,711	
	Balochistan	32,299	8,803	41,102	
	Pakistan	500,390	98,657	599,847	
2015-16	Federal	84,496	34,665	119,161	2.3
	Punjab	224,608	26,863	251,471	
	Sindh	123,855	11,153	135,008	
	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	92,306	19,925	112,231	
	Balochistan	36,121	9,364	45,485	
	Pakistan	561,386	101,970	663,356	
2016-17	Federal	91,139	16,890	108,029	2.2
	Punjab	221,049	39,593	260,642	
	Sindh	134,650	12,082	146,732	
	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	109,482	26,639	136,121	
	Balochistan	40,571	7,127	47,698	
	Pakistan	596,891	102,331	699,222	
2017-18 (P)	Federal	100,428	26,495	126,923	2.4
	Punjab	295,893	44,910	340,803	
	Sindh	152,298	13,705	166,003	
	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	126,149	16,494	142,643	
	Balochistan	47,107	5,673	52,780	
	Pakistan	721,875	101,277	829,152	

Source: Pakistan Economic Survey (2018-19); P: Provisional

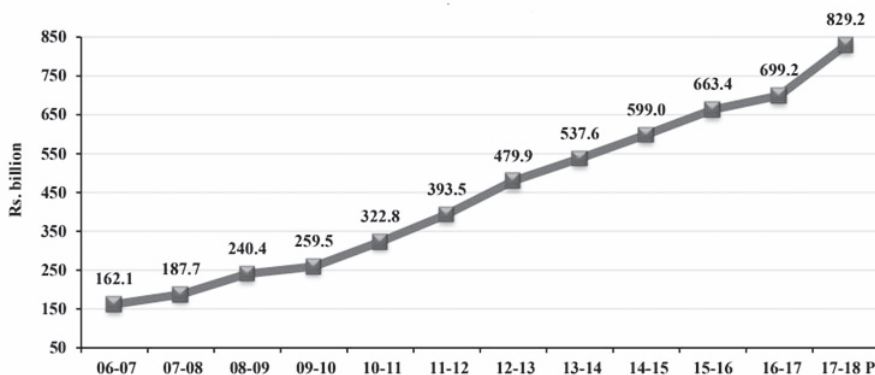


FIGURE 1

Total Expenditure on Education (Rs billion)

Source: Pakistan Economic Survey (2018-19); P: Provisional

The above-mentioned situation of education sector existed when PTI came into power in July 2018.

Social Safety Nets: Article 38(d) of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973, requires the State "to provide basic necessities of life such as food, clothing, housing, education and medical relief to the needy irrespective of sex, caste, creed or race". Social safety nets (SSNs) are the most important components of social protection which has emerged as an important policy option for reducing poverty. In Pakistan, Cost of Basic Needs (CBN) approach is being used as the official measure of poverty and on this basis percentage of people living below the poverty line has declined from 50.4 per cent in 2005-2006 to 24.3 per cent in 2015-2016. According to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) 's Human Development Report, 2018, Pakistan ranks at 150th position out of 189 countries under the Human Development Index (HDI). Pakistan's HDI value is 0.562 out of 1 as against South Asia's average HDI value of 0.638 and World's HDI value of 0.728. Though Pakistan has shown some progress in Human Development, the progress is very slow compared to other countries in South Asia like Sri Lanka, China, India, and Bangladesh.

Pro-poor expenditure in different sectors is scrutinised through the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (M.T.E.F.) under PRSP-II (Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper). Expenditure on these sectors is increasing every year in absolute terms and percentage of G.D.P., which is evident from the Table 2.

1. Social Safety Programs

Following social safety nets were in place for reduction of poverty before the PTI government took over after July 2018 Elections.

TABLE 2
P.R.S.P. Budgetary Expenditures by Sector

Sectors	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18
Roads, Highways & Bridges	96,504	190,984	397,506	526,356	452,463
Environment/Water Supply & Sanitation	32,000	54,093	63,554	72,031	77,932
Education	537,598	599,047	663,356	699,222	829,152
Health	201,986	231,172	267,953	328,962	416,467
Population Planning	12,609	13,943	10,894	20,338	20,451
Social Security & Welfare**	93,481	155,725	173,532	259,455	257,534
Natural Calamities & Other Disasters	18,404	40,525	59,204	27,461	19,062
Agriculture	157,894	199,903	239,019	258,396	277,867
Land Reclamation	4,796	5,184	4,601	2,558	2,73
Rural Development	14,727	29,122	37,419	30,934	42,127
Subsidies	502,098	459,325	437,087	403,139	327,767
Low Cost Housing	676	581	460	422	349
Justice Administration	24,378	26,041	33,255	41,926	53,461
Law and Order	237,027	268,983	306,738	356,217	390,556
Total	1,934,178	2,274,628	2,694,578	3,027,417	3,167,918
Total as % age of GDP (2005-06 base)	7.7	8.3	9.3	9.5	9.2

**Social Security & Welfare includes the expenditure of BISP, SDGs and PBM.

Source: Pakistan Economic Survey 2018-19.

a) Benazir Income Support Program (B.I.S.P.)

Registered poor people are helped in the form of cash, and it's the Federal Government's program. It has nationwide presence with headquarters at Islamabad, six regional offices at provincial capitals including Azad Jammu and Kashmir (A.J. and k), Gilgit Baltistan, 34 divisional and 385 Tehsil offices across the country. Its long term objective is to meet the targets of Sustainable Development Goals (S.D.G.s) to eradicate extreme and chronic poverty and empowerment of women. Main objectives of the program are:

- To enhance the financial capacity of poor people and their families.
- To formulate and implement policies and targeted programs for the uplift of underprivileged and vulnerable people.
- To reduce poverty and promote equitable distribution of wealth for the low-income groups.

B.I.S.P. has the largest database of the poorest of poor in Pakistan on the basis of the first-ever door to door poverty survey. This data is used for the planning of pro-poor development policies, and through different protocols, it has been shared with different international and national organisations for research purposes.

Since its inception in 2008-09, B.I.S.P. has grown as the single largest cash dispenser in Pakistan's history. The number of beneficiaries has been continuously increasing since 2008-09; 1.7 million in 2008-09 to 5.63 million by December 17, 2017. Simultaneously per family quarterly cash grant has also increased from Rs 16 million annually in 2008-09 to Rs 121 billion in 2017-18. Payment to the extent of 98.6 per cent is being made through automation and beneficiaries are being paid through Biometric Verification System (B.V.S.).

- **Waseela-e-Taleem** program was started in October 2012 under conditional cash transfer within the ambit of B.I.S.P. This program encourages beneficiary families to have children in age group of 4-12 years to send their out of school children to schools for primary education and higher education. An amount of Rs 250 per month was paid quarterly (Rs 750 per child) in return for their compliance of school admissions and a minimum of 70 per cent quarterly attendance.
- **B.I.S.P. Graduation Program (B.G.M.)**
It enables its beneficiaries to earn income through self-employment, wage employment and public works programs. This program enables its recipients to eventually transform them into income-earning individuals through self-employment and wage employment with skills development and hand-holding.
- Different programs to help the poor set up their business like **Business Incubation for Self-Employment (BISE)** in specific five districts (Bahawalpur, Charsadda, Jacobabad, Nasirabad and Ketch) have been started.
- B.I.S.P. has also engaged itself in different programs with the World Bank, Department for International Development (D.F.I.D.) and Asian Development Bank.

b) Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Program (P.P.A.F.)

It facilitates public-private partnerships that have a mutual goal to achieve social and economic change by addressing poverty's multi-dimensional issues. It started its operations in April 2000 and upto March 2019 it has disbursed an amount of Rs 222.037 billion in 137 districts across the country. 8.4 million Micro credit loans have been disbursed with 60 per cent loans to women and 80 per cent financing extended to rural areas. Over 38200 health, education, water and infrastructure projects have been completed; 440000 credit groups and 133000 community organisations formed, 43500 individuals received skills/entrepreneurial training, 112900 productive assets transferred to ultra and vulnerable poor households (46 per cent women), over 500800 interest-free loans (67 per cent women beneficiaries) disbursed through Interest-Free Loan Scheme (ISF), 26000 individuals including women and youth

trained on enterprise development Waseela-e-Haq National and Waseela-e-e-Haq Sindh program of B.I.S.P. and facilitated in establishing their successful ventures and 30800 persons with disabilities rehabilitated.

c) Micro-finance Initiatives

Pakistan Micro Finance Network (P.M.N.) is the national association of retail players in the microfinance industry with a membership of 46 microfinance providers including microfinance banks, regulated by State Bank of Pakistan (S.B.P.) and non-bank microfinance companies, regulated by Security Exchange Commission of Pakistan (S.E.C.P). P.M.N works in three principal areas.. (a) Serves as an information hub for the industry. It provides information, data and analysis on microfinance. (b) It strives to work with different stakeholders to create and promote a healthy and vibrant environment for microfinance in Pakistan; and (c) capacity building by continuing to play an active and significant role in creating training, exposure and human resource development opportunities for the sector through international and local training, exposure visits and building linkages with academic institutions.

d) Zakat

In Pakistan, Zakat started getting collected officially at government level through an Ordinance of 1980 during the era of General Zia-ul-Haq. However, privately Muslims have been paying zakat since centuries. It plays an important role in poverty alleviation and redistribution of wealth from the rich to the poor and needy. It is one of the fundamental pillars of Islamic faith and plays an important role in the Islamic Economic System. Quran specifies eight heads where zakat can be spent. The poor and needy, orphans, widows and handicapped get helped through zakat. Zakat funds are also provided to educational, vocational, social institutions and hospitals etc. zakat stands devolved through 18th Constitution Amendment to Provinces and Federal areas, and distribution takes place through the Ministry of Religious Affairs. A total of Rs 8009.770 million was distributed during 2017-18 to the Provinces and Federal areas.

e) Pakistan Bait-ul-Mal (PBM)

Bait-ul-Mal was established in the country through Pakistan Bait-ul-Mal Act 1991. It is contributing in poverty alleviation through its various projects and schemes by providing assistance to orphans, widows, disabled and destitute irrespective of gender, cast and creed. It has disbursed Rs 2429 million during July 2017 to February 2018 through its different projects and schemes like (a) Individual Financial Assistance (I.F.A.) through which poor, widows, destitute women and orphans were supported for medical treatment, education, rehabilitation and general assistance by spending an amount of Rs 1453 million; (b) Special Friends of PBM wheelchairs are provided to disabled persons. Rs 25000 are being given to each fam-

ily annually having two or more disabled persons and Rs 10,000 are being given to a family annually for having one disabled person. An amount of Rs 64 billion have been disbursed during July 2017 to February 2018; (c) Child Support Program (C.S.P.), through this program cash subsidy is provided to children between the age of 5-16 to get primary education. This program is active in 13 districts, and payments are made through biometric verification. An amount of Rs 71 million has been spent during the period July 2017 to February; (d) Institutional Rehabilitation for N.G.O.s for the rehabilitation of the poor and deserving persons specially requiring cataract surgery. Rs 17 million have been disbursed on this account during July 2017 to February 2018; (e) School for the Rehabilitation of Child Labor (S.R.C.L.s) 159 SRCLs have been established for weaning away children (male and female) between the ages of 5-6 years from hazardous child labor for primary education in these centers. An amount of Rs 369 million has been spent during the period of July 2017 to February 2018; (f) Women Empowerment Centers (W.E.C.) are providing free vocational training to widows, orphan, and poor girls in cutting, sewing, knitting, computers and embroidery etc. an amount of Rs 87 million has been spent during July 2017 to February 2018; (g) Pakistan Sweet Homes (Orphanage) 35 sweet homes or orphanage have been established. An amount of Rs 245 million has been spent on this project during July 2017 to February 2018; (h) Pakistan Great Homes (old homes) two great homes (one each at Lahore and Karachi) have been established as pilot project, each accommodating 100 senior citizens of above 60 years age where they are provided free boarding/lodging, messing and medical care etc. Rs 9 million have been spent on this project during July 2017 to February 2018, and PBM Thalassemia Center PBM has established state of the art thalassemia centres in Islamabad and Chakwal where free of cost blood transfusion and medicines are provided to the needy and deserving patients. An amount of Rs. 14 million has been spent on the project during July 2017 and February 2018.

f) Employees Old-Age Benefits Institution (E.O.B.I.)

E.O.B.I. provides financial help to old age workers through different programs like old-age pension, invalidity pension, survivor's pension. Pensions are paid on a monthly basis, not less than Rs 5250 per month and not more than Rs 10400 per month. Insured persons retiring prior to 60 years of age (55 years for females) are provided reduced pension. During the period from July 17th to February 18th, a total amount of Rs 16519.26 million has been distributed amongst 380675 beneficiaries.

g) Worker's Welfare Fund (W.W.F.)

It finances the establishment of housing estates or construction of houses for the industrial workers along-with grants for the welfare of workers like free education/scholarships upto secondary level, marriage grants and death grants. During the period from July 17 to March 18, an amount of Rs 764.60 million has been

spent as scholarships to 8899 cases, Rs383.14 million as marriage grant to 3972 workers families @ Rs 1 lakh per family and Rs 410.35 million as death grant to 845 cases of mishaps of workers @ Rs 5 lakh per individual.

IV. PTI's Manifesto and actual performance for transforming education and social safety nets

Since the Imran Khan led PTI Government took over, the opposition parties and other critics have been constantly blaming the Government on having taken U-turns on most of the issues including its commitments in the Manifesto 2018. Critics alleged that the PTI leadership had not done any homework for making Pakistan on the pattern of the first Welfare State of the Madinah and so far neither such policies have been framed and nor implemented towards that direction. Rather people have been made to suffer extreme misery on account of high inflation rate which has thrown a large number of population below the poverty line. Pakistani rupee is continuously losing its value viz a viz U.S. Dollar which is causing price hike in items of daily use and Pakistan's debt liabilities is increasing. The opponents of PTI alleged that the Government was on the path of persecution of the political opponents in the name of the accountability. The PTI government strongly contradicts all the charges and claims to be working for the realisation of its commitments made in the Manifesto. Fairness demands that all the commitments in the Manifesto were for 5 years and currently only first year out of its 5 year term has passed. We have to adjudge whether the steps taken by the PTI government in its first year are in the same direction which would lead to realisation of goals on completion of 5 years term.

Another way of comparing and assessing the performance of PTI Government can be made by analysing the Provincial level budget before and after PTI came into power. Starting from Punjab, which is home to more than 110 million people and which provides more than 55 per cent country's annual production of goods and services, we find that it has launched "Punjab Growth Strategy 2023" (PGS). Main targets of PGS are – (a) to reduce regional disparity in development more funds to be diverted to Southern Punjab Districts; (b) to reduce multi-dimensional poverty in the Province by investing more in education, health, living conditions of citizens, improving water supply and sanitation facilities; (c) to assign highest priority to investment in human resources which provides the greatest return; (d) Annual Development Plan (A.D.P.) 2019-20 has been designed to implement PGS 2023 by allocating Rs 350 billion, 47 per cent higher than previous year. Highest priority has been given to investment in social sectors by allocating Rs 124.9 billion, which is more than 1/3rd of the total development resources of the Province, and (d) Progression of social sectors including education, health, water supply, sanitation and prioritisation of schemes aligned with Sustainable Development Goals (S.D.G.s) are the salient features of PGS. Budget allocation is as follows:

Sectors	BE (2018-19)	Revised BE (2018-19)	BE (2019-20)	<i>in Rs. billion</i>
1. Health	137.91	123.22	145.151	
2. Education Affairs and Services	70.916	69.052	71.311	
3. Social Protection	7.942	8.864	9.775	

During 5 years of PGS multi-dimensional poverty in Punjab is targeted to be reduced from 26.2 per cent in 2017-18 to 19.5 per cent by 2023.

Moving towards the figures of K.P.K. where PTI has its own party government, the allocations are like this:

Sectors	BE (2018-19)	Revised BE (2018-19)	BE (2019-20)	<i>in Rs. Million</i>
1. Health	35497.417	32504.83	44854.945	
2. Education Affairs and Services	33910.631	27404.274	38598.484	
3. Social Protection	8056.915	5214.118	26541.018	

The allocations in all these sectors like health, education affairs, services and social protection have been substantially higher as compared to the immediately preceding year.

Coming to Baluchistan, where PTI supported Government is in power. The position of budgetary allocations to the specified sectors under reference is like this:

Sectors	BE (2018-19)	Revised BE (2018-19)	BE (2019-20)	<i>in Rs. Million</i>
1. Health	19419.369	23607.624	22382.43	
2. Education Affairs and Services	56541.379	510.131	62430.87	
3. Social Protection	3972.153	1978.197	4282.198	

The Baluchistan government has substantially enhanced the allocation of funds for the year 2019-20 as compared to the revised estimates for 2018-19 except in the case of health where against the initial allocation of Rs 19419.369 million in the budget estimates of 2018-19, the revised estimate was Rs 23607.624 million against which Rs 22382.430 million have been allocated for 2019-20. In the remaining two sectors i.e., education services and social protection, the allocations for 2019-20 are substantially higher as compared to the revised estimate of 2018-19.

Looking at the case of Sindh, where PTI's opposition party's Pakistan People's Party is in power, the position of allocation to the specified sectors emerges as under:

	Sectors BE (2018-19)	Revised BE (2018-19)	BE (2019-20)	<i>in Rs. Million</i>
1. Health	99537.270	104577.184	116784.237	
2. Education Affairs and Services	205019.621	177999.133	215862.919	
3. Social Protection	9472.275	9828.134	9794.453	

There is a nominal increase in the health sector for 2019-20 as compared to revised allocation of 2018-19, although in the social protection sector, allocations during 2019-20 are lower than the revised estimate for 2018-19. However, in the case of education affairs and services, allocation for 2019-20 is higher as compared to revised estimate for 2018-19.

1. Some New Initiatives are taken by the PTI Government

On 27th March 2019, Prime Minister Imran Khan launched a comprehensive poverty alleviation program (which comes under social safety nets) under the title of "Ehsas Program", with an allocation of Rs 80 billion during 2019-20 billion which would be enhanced to Rs 120 billion in 2021. The program is for the extreme poor, orphans, widows, homeless, disabled, jobless, poor farmers, labourers, sick and undernourished; students from low-income backgrounds, and poor women and elderly citizens. The plan also covers lifting areas lagging where poverty is higher.

- i. The prime minister announced the establishment of a new Ministry of Social Protection and Poverty Alleviation. B.I.S.P., Pakistan Bait-ul-Mal, Zakat, Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund, Trust for Voluntary Organizations, the S.U.N. network, Centre for social entrepreneurship, Secretariat of the Poverty Alleviation coordination council and the labor expert group would work under this Ministry by developing one window operation for social protection of the poor.
- ii. A new Constitutional amendment is planned to be moved in Article 38(d) of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan (1973) for moving the said article from the "Principles of Policy" to Section 2 "Fundamental Rights" for provision of food, clothing, housing, education and medical relief for the citizens, who could not afford due to infirmity, sickness or unemployment, to be a State responsibility and this would be the first step towards the creation of a "Welfare State".
- iii. Creation of a Poverty Alleviation Coordination Council to synergise the efforts of various organisations working for poverty alleviation in public and private sector.
- iv. Establishment of poverty alleviation and social safety division.
- v. They are opening the doors of socio-economic uplift through C.P.E.C.
- vi. Reprioritizing PSDP allocations to focus more on pro-poor projects and projects for less developed areas.
- vii. Scaling up activities of B.I.S.P. and P.P.A.F., re-organising Pakistan Bait-ul-Mal

- to focus on poverty alleviation and asset transfer to the rural poor to graduate them out of poverty.
- viii. Provision of US\$ 82.6 million funds from International ... (IFAD) funded a grant to P.P.A.F. for disbursement to 32000 beneficiaries of B.I.S.P. to help them graduate of poverty.
 - ix. Micro credits for low cost housing to provide shelter to the homeless and providing free of cost shelters for the poorest homeless.
 - x. Employment creation through housing construction and increased access to microfinance under Prime Minister's Naya Pakistan Housing Scheme.
 - xi. They are expanding coverage of Prime Minister's health insurance scheme through Sehat Insaaf Card Scheme to provide free medical treatment to approximately 80 million people.
 - xii. The Punjab Government has also started establishing "Shelter Homes" for the homeless poor and the destitute who used to sleep on footpaths under the open sky. Such shelter homes have been started in big cities like Lahore where homeless poor are provided boarding and lodging etc. the Government has announced to set up shelter homes in all the big cities of the Province.
 - xiii. Targets under the 12th five-year plan 2018-2023 regarding social safety nets have been drafted and the points which have been included consist of (a) approval of the national framework for developing social protection policies to guide provinces in policy formulation; (b) reducing the Cost of Basic Needs (CBN) based poverty from 24.3 per cent in the financial year 2016 to 19 per cent by 2023 while reducing the multi-dimensional poverty headcount from 38.8 per cent in the financial year 2015 to 30 per cent during the plan period.
 - xiv. Alignment of provincial protection policies according to the provision in the National framework.
 - xv. Creation of data base for vulnerable groups to ensure better targeting of poor.
 - xvi. We are enhancing Corporate Social Responsibility (C.S.R) initiative to reduce poverty in consultation with the corporate and private sector.
 - xvii. In order to meet the skills training needs of domestic and international markets, both in terms of quantity and quality, National Vocational and Technical Training Commission (N.A.V.T.T.C) and Ministry of Federal Education and Professional Training have developed a broader framework to uplift Technical and Vocational Education and Training (T.V.E.T).
 - xviii. N.A.V.T.T.C has launched Hunarmand Jawan Prime Minister's "skills for all" program to supply 150000 skilled workforces each year into the system. This will provide skill development training to 75000 youth in conventional trades/occupation belonging to far-flung/ underdeveloped areas of Gilgit Baltistan, Baluchistan, Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Southern Punjab and Interior Sindh. The program also includes providing skill development training to 75000 youth in hi-tech/high-end and cross-cutting technologies in Artificial intelligence, robotics, advanced electronics etc.

- xix. PTI's Government intends to meet Sustainable Development Goals (S.D.G.s), particularly goal four, which aims to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all citizens.

V. Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

When we compare the highlights of the PTI's Manifesto as listed in Section II with the policies followed by the PTI government in the last one year as listed in Section IV, it is evident that there have been marginal improvements in terms of expenditure on education and social safety nets as a percentage of the G.D.P. and as well as compared to the immediately preceding year. However, it is far behind what had been promised in the Manifesto, no doubt, certain new initiatives have been taken like Ehsas program, Hunarmand Jawan- Prime Minister's "skills for all" program, Sehat-Insaf cards, the establishment of a new Ministry of Social Protection and Poverty Alleviation, under which B.I.S.P. and Pakistan Bait-ul-Maal have been placed and the Government's plan to amend Article 38(d) of the Constitution and also to ensure 100 per cent primary and secondary education for boys and girls by 2030 under goal 4 of S.D.G. but still the Government's first year's performance and direction is far behind its commitments in the Manifesto 2018. Having said that, we have to give allowance to the Government on account of political instability, due to coalition governments at Federal level and in the Province of Punjab along-with 100 per cent opposition government in the Province of Sindh. Besides this the severe economic challenges, including depleting foreign exchange reserves, due to huge fiscal and current account deficits and high inflation, leading to unemployment kept the Government on its toes and initially after seeking help from friendly countries like Saudi Arabia, Qatar, U.A.E. and China, it had to seek a bailout package from I.M.F. which created a lot of controversy within Pakistan on account of contrary statements of Mr Imran Khan on the subject. Above all continuous tension at the borders with India and Afghanistan and now the latest situation in Kashmir. These factors certainly affected the Government's attention from pursuing the commitments it made with the voters in its Manifesto 2018 during the last General Elections. The most important policy recommendation is that in the light of the ground realities and its experience of one year in office, the Government should revisit its Manifesto and take the other political stakeholders along-with the voters into confidence and to chalk out an agenda which is, on the one hand, possible to achieve. On the other, it would transform Pakistan into a Welfare State on the Model of first Welfare State of Madinah. In order to achieve this objective, the most important pre-requisite is to rise from the personal level to the National level and shun all personal prejudices and personal interests viz-a-viz the national interest.

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