

# Citizens' Perceptions of Urban Public Services

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# **Citizens' Perceptions of Urban Public Services**

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## **Citizens' Perceptions on Urban Public Services**

### **ABSTRACT**

Urban citizens' perception survey on public service delivery was conducted by the Social Policy and Development Centre (SPDC) in 2015. The purpose of the survey was to get opinion of public service users regarding access, quality and reliability of service provision; problems encountered and responsiveness of service providers in addressing these problems. About 4000 households across Pakistan participated in this opinion survey. Households were randomly selected from three tiers of local government: Municipal or Metropolitan Corporations, Municipal Committees and Town Committees.

This research report is taken verbatim from chapter 5 of SPDC annual review "The State of Social Development in Urban Pakistan", 2014-15 and summarizes citizens' rating and opinion on six public services which were included in the SPDC opinion survey.



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## 1. INTRODUCTION

People's participation of development issues is crucial for effective and efficient planning and policy formulation. Whereas, citizens' feedback on the performance of public services can be helpful in improving the quality of public service delivery. This chapter is based on the information provided by the citizens on the basis of their experience which may be useful for the service providers; the urban planners; sectoral policy makers; regulatory bodies; and for civil society.

About 4000 households across Pakistan participated in an opinion survey, conducted by the Social Policy and Development Centre (SPDC) in 2015. The purpose was to collect perceptions of public service users, about access, quality and reliability of service provision; problems encountered by users; and responsiveness of service providers in addressing these problems. Two public services, water and sewerage were thoroughly explored while solid waste management, public hospitals, public transport and law and order sectors were investigated only in terms of access and quality of services. The participants were randomly selected from three tiers of local government: Municipal or Metropolitan Corporations, Municipal Committees and Town Committees.

At the time of the household survey unelected local authorities were providing public services in all the provinces. New ordinances for local governments had been formulated by all provincial governments and local bodies polls were held in Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2013 and in May 2015 respectively under the new ordinances. However, elected councillors of Balochistan were still struggling for their financial powers despite one-and-a-half years having elapsed since they won the elections. Similarly, elected local bodies were not functional in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa at the time of the SPDC household survey. In two other provinces, the electoral process had been initiated and polls were scheduled by the end of 2015. Thus, fortunately due to the timing of the SPDC survey, benchmark information of the performance of essential public services will be available to the new elected local bodies.

While opinion surveys are effective social accountability tools, it is important to be aware of their methodological limitations. These surveys typically focus on capturing the 'demand' perspectives of users rather than the 'supply' characteristics or perspectives of non-users. Further, although these surveys provide insights about what respondents think about service delivery performance, they do not identify causal relationships; in other words, they do not explain the reasons for people's opinions.

This chapter summarizes citizens' perceptions related to six public services included in the SPDC opinion survey. A brief review of the sampling framework and methodology for selecting

households is presented first to inform readers about the scientific approach adopted for this study. Detail sectoral reviews follow after a section on general perceptions regarding local development, priorities for public services and experience with the elected local government. Methodology of the survey is described in Box 1.

## GENERAL PERCEPTIONS OF URBAN CITIZENS

The sample of urban citizens selected for the survey is well represented in terms of socio-economic characteristics. Among the total of 4,282 respondents which were enumerated across four provinces of Pakistan to obtain perceptions and opinions on various dimensions of essential public services, around 19 percent were female. About 35 percent of the respondents reported studying up to secondary level (middle or matric). The number of illiterate constituted around 18 percent, primary level 11 percent, intermediate 12 percent and graduate and post graduate 17 percent. Around 24 percent of the respondents were working as employees, 36 percent were self-employed, 21 percent were skilled own-account workers, and 12 percent unskilled labourers. About 32 percent of the households in the sample reported expenditure below the poverty line (Rs 3,100 per capita per month)<sup>2</sup>.

Before presenting the opinions on the specific public services included in the household survey, it would be useful to briefly discuss the understanding of the urban residents on and about national and local development; their priorities about the provision of public services; and how they would like to see the governance of public service delivery.

The responses to an open-ended question: “what is the most serious problem related to development and progress facing Pakistan today?” are collated in Table 1. Not surprisingly, across all provinces, corruption is viewed as the biggest challenge for development by the urban residents. However, the phenomenon is more evident in Balochistan where about 39 percent respondents highlighted this concern.

**Table 1**  
**Most serious problem to Pakistan’s development**  
*Percentage of households*

	Punjab	Sindh	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Balochistan	Overall
Corruption	25	21	25	39	25
Law and order	13	31	19	34	20
Poverty	13	16	12	4	13
Unemployment	13	9	10	4	11
Shortage of utilities	14	5	8	3	10
Inflation	8	5	6	1	7
Bad governance	6	7	8	8	6
Illiteracy	4	4	7	3	5

Source: SPDC Household Survey (2015).

<sup>2</sup> This is the inflation adjusted poverty line for the year 2015. SPDC Research Report number 84 provides the urban poverty line for 2011. (<http://www.spdc.org.pk/Data/Publication/PDF/RR84.pdf>)

### Box 1 Selection process of sample households

A representative survey of urban households was carried out to obtain experience, perceptions and views of citizens regarding public services. Due to financial and time constraints, it was decided to survey 4000 households across four provinces for this study. This sample gives a tolerated sampling error of 1.5 percent<sup>1</sup> with 95 percent confidence level according to the formulae of statistically desirable and optimal sample size. Moreover, 120 households of slums (katchi abadis) were also enumerated in the municipal areas of Karachi and Lahore.

The sample was allocated among provinces on the basis of provincial urban population proportions. A schematic view of the realized sample distribution across provinces and tiers of local government is presented in the table below, while district-wise sample is presented in the chart. Overall two metropolitan corporations, seven municipal corporations, sixteen municipal committees and thirteen town committees were covered across the provinces of Pakistan.

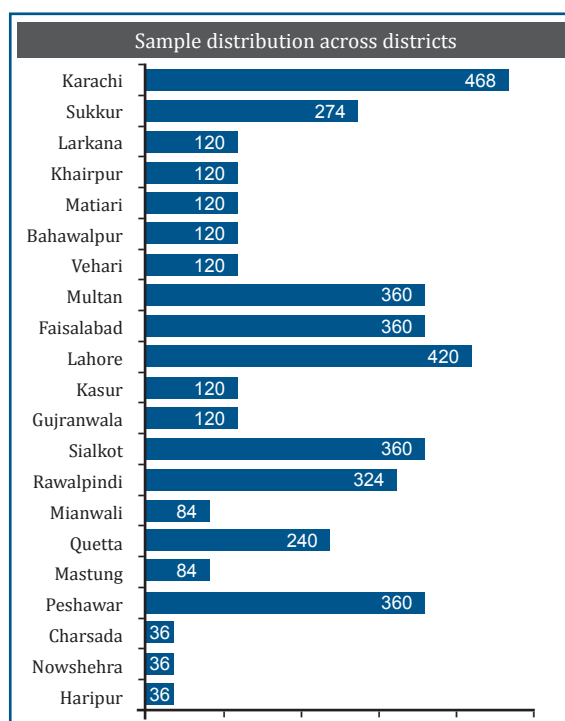
Sample distribution across provinces	Punjab	Sindh	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Balochistan	Overall
Metropolitan/Municipal corporations	1320	598	324	240	2482
Municipal committee	756	252	108	84	1200
Town committee	252	192	36	-	480
Slums	60	60	-	-	120
<b>Total</b>	<b>2388</b>	<b>1102</b>	<b>468</b>	<b>324</b>	<b>4282</b>

Three-stage stratified random sample selection process is adopted to enumerate households. Sample districts were selected with the consideration of geographical coverage in Punjab and Sindh. However this method was not feasible in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan due to security issues. Thus, the capital cities and logistically feasible districts were considered for the survey in these provinces. Altogether 21 districts were earmarked for the urban citizen's perception survey; ten from Punjab, five from Sindh, four from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and two from Balochistan.

Urban localities were randomly selected at the second stage from three tiers of local government; Municipal or Metropolitan Corporations, Municipal Committees and Town Committees. An appropriate numbers of urban circles [primary sampling units (PSU)] listed under each tier in the District Population Census Report, 1998 were chosen randomly with the help of statistical software. Following the criteria of Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, sample PSUs were selected with a probability-proportional-to-size (PPS) method of sampling technique. The population of enumeration block according to the 1998 census was treated as a measure of size for selection of sample PSUs.

At the third stage, twelve households (secondary sampling units) were targeted from each urban circle. Households were selected by systematic sampling procedure with a random start. For the selection of starting points, a list of important landmarks (schools, mosque etc.) was developed for the selected urban circle (PSU). Depending on the locality, three or four starting points were preferred for each randomly selected location. After one successful interview ten to fifteen households were skipped for selection of the next household for interview. It was preferred to contact the head or spouse of the household for obtaining perceptions and views regarding public services. However, in case of non-availability of the head

of household, an adult older than 25 years was chosen as the respondent. Female enumerators were also included in the survey teams wherever possible. The survey was conducted in the months of February to September 2015.

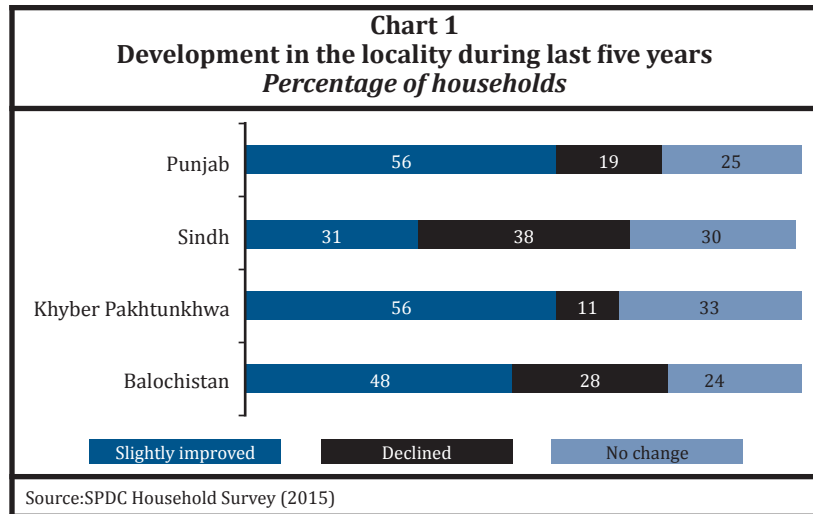


<sup>1</sup>The sampling error however varies across province due to provincial sample allocation. The estimated errors are 2, 2.95, 4.53 and 5.44 for Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan provinces respectively. It is worth mentioning that 5 percent sampling error is generally accepted for this type of household survey.

The situation of law and order is also a significant impediment, especially in Karachi (Sindh) and Quetta (Balochistan). It is surprising that less than 10 percent households narrated shortage of utilities as a major problem, except in Punjab. This is despite the enumerator's introduction at the start of the survey, where it was categorically stated that "this survey is being conducted to find out how people feel and think about several important issues related to drinking water, sanitation, health facilities, public transport etc." Illiteracy is also ranked at the bottom of the list; only 5 percent respondents believe this to be a major hurdle in the development of Pakistan.

For recording the perceptions about the current local or municipal conditions, a specific question was framed as: "do you think that the level of development where you live has over the past five years somewhat improved, declined, or has not changed?" Chart 1 is developed to summarize the responses to this question.

Around half of the respondents in Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan



believed that the local or municipal services have improved to a certain extent, during the last five years. However, the corresponding percentage is only 31 in urban Sindh. Further, the percentage of respondents who indicated a deteriorating situation is the highest in Sindh followed by Balochistan.

Priorities for the provision of public services were determined by applying the probe, "what would be your highest priority for public service for the government to address?" Excluding Balochistan, garbage collection and disposal was identified by a majority of urban citizens, while improvement in quality and quantity of drinking water ranked second. The responses of urban citizens of Balochistan are quite dissimilar from other provinces where improvement in education and law and order are prioritized by 60 percent of the citizens (30 percent each). Due to insignificant or lack of provision of private education in the province, the demand for schools by the majority is quite obvious (Table 2).

The responses regarding the voting behaviour of respondents are summarized in Table 3. An increasing trend is observed for the last three (local government 2005, general elections of 2008 and 2013) elections, especially in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Apart from Balochistan, more than 80

**Table 2**  
**First priority for the provision of public services**  
*Percentage of households*

	Provinces			
	Punjab	Sindh	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Balochistan
Improving garbage collection and disposal	25	25	30	5
Increasing the amount and quality of drinking water	22	24	15	8
Improving street roads	12	12	10	14
Improving public transport	5	4	6	2
Improving education	10	13	12	29
Improving health care	4	3	6	10
Improving sewerage lines	12	9	13	2
Improving law and order situation	6	8	4	30

Source: SPDC Household Survey (2015).

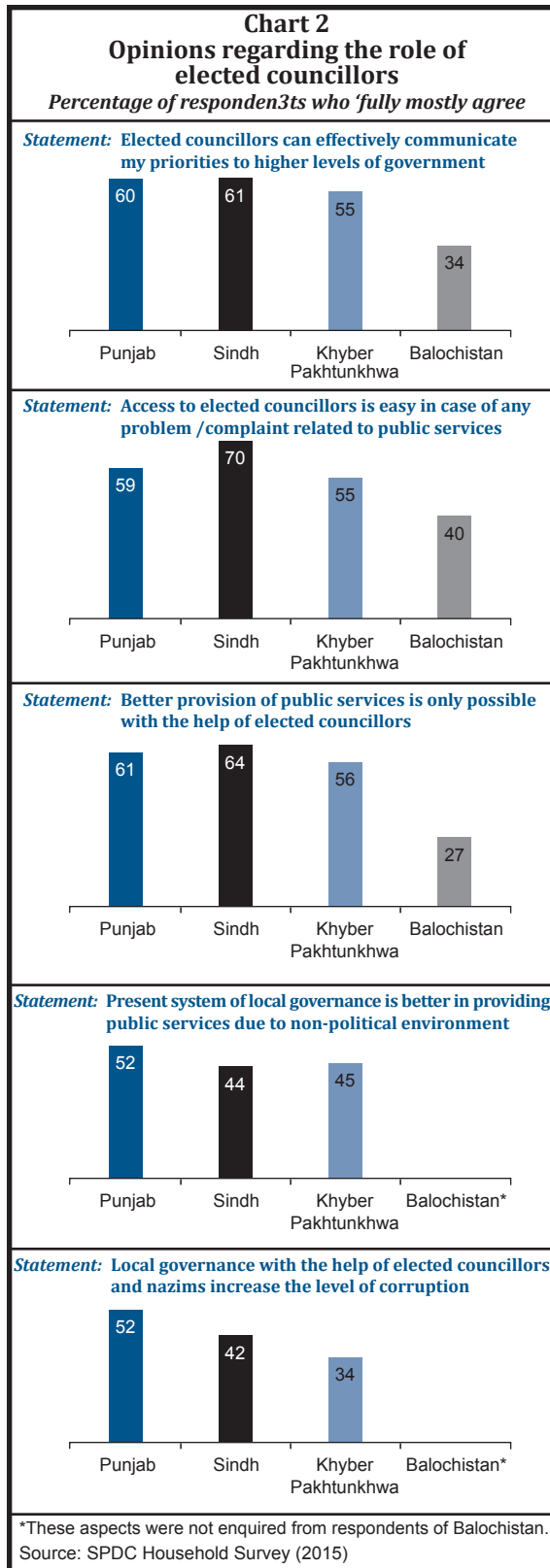
percent respondents confirmed participation in the 2013 election; the turnout was even higher in metropolitan/municipal corporations. However, the phenomena does not reflect the behaviour of urban citizens in general as the survey reports voting practice of respondents only (mostly head of household) and thus excludes the behaviour of his/her adult family members.

Perceptions regarding the role of elected councillors in providing public services were investigated with the help of a statement and four choices or options; fully agree, mostly agree,

**Table 3**  
**Voting behaviour of survey respondents**  
*Percentage of respondents who voted in local government or general elections*

Metropolitan/municipal corporation	Voted in			Provinces			
	Local government elections 2005	General elections 2008	General elections 2013	Punjab	Sindh	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Balochistan
Karachi	61	74	81	68	65	49	75
Sukkur	64	77	82	80	76	66	77
Multan	69	85	93	89	82	84	71
Faisalabad	63	75	89				
Lahore	65	72	83				
Sialkot	63	82	90				
Rawalpindi	65	83	88				
Quetta	79	73	93				
Peshawar	44	62	80				

Source: SPDC Household Survey (2015).



to some extent agree and fully disagree. The following five statements (3 positive and 2 negative) were put to vote<sup>3</sup>:

1. Elected councillors can effectively communicate my priorities to higher levels of government.
2. Access to elected councillors is easy in case of any problem/complaint related to public services.
3. Better provision of public services is only possible with the help of elected councillors.
4. Present system of local governance is better in providing public services due to non-political environment.
5. Local governance with the help of elected councillors, *nazims* increases the level of corruption.

Respondents were requested to rate these statements from the given four options. However, for the purpose of summarizing opinions, two categories ('fully agree' and 'mostly agree') are merged and the corresponding perceptions are given in Chart 2.

There exists a general perception, that an overwhelming majority of citizens are in favour of elected councillors for the provision of essential public services across Pakistan; however the Chart 2 does not substantiate this perception. Around 40 percent of the urban citizens of Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa do not agree with the role of elected councillors, in terms of effective communication to higher authorities, access, and better provision of services. In Sindh, the percentage of dissenting citizens varies from 27 to 34. Interestingly a

<sup>3</sup> Enumerators were directed to show option card as well as to read each option after reading the statement or asking question.

significant majority of citizens of Balochistan (Quetta and Mastung) who are currently experiencing elected local governance do not endorse the role of *nazims*/councillors in communicating their priorities, ensuring free access and in providing better public services. Around 66 percent respondents of Balochistan disagree with the statement that the elected councillors can effectively communicate citizens' priorities to higher levels of government, while around 60 percent were not convinced regarding the access to elected councillors in case of any problem related to public services.

The negative aspects of elected governance were further investigated in terms of political partiality and corruption in three provinces where an unelected governance system was operational. Around half of the urban citizens believe that unelected governance is better in providing public services mainly due to a non-political environment. However, slight variations in opinion across provinces do exist. In terms of corruption about 48, 58 and 66 percent urban citizens of Punjab, Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa respectively do not agree with the perception that 'councillors/*nazims* increase the level of corruption'.

It is clear that about half the urban citizens do not support the elected governance system by disagreeing with positive characteristics and agreeing with negative features. However, their perceptions are based on the Pervez Musharraf's Devolution Plan of 2000, while unelected local authorities were providing public services at the time of the household survey.

## WATER SERVICES

Information regarding access to drinking water was obtained by asking "what is your main source of drinking water"? Responses in terms of access to piped (own dwelling, neighbour's dwelling and public tap) water by provinces and tiers of local governments are arranged in Table 4. As expected, significant variations in terms of access to piped water are observed across provinces as well as across the tiers of local government. Low incidences of households which are getting water from the public system in Multan, Faisalabad and Sukkur Municipal Corporations are quite similar with the estimates of district representative Pakistan Social and Living-Standard Measurement (PSLM) Survey. According to PSLM (2012-13), 25, 29 and 50

**Table 4**  
**Access to piped water**  
(Percentage of households)

Provinces/tiers of local government	Metropolitan/municipal corporation			
	Metropolitan/municipal corporations	Municipal committees	Town committees	Overall
Punjab	62	59	45	60
Sindh	58	39	43	53
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	39	53	22	40
Balochistan	72	79		74

Metropolitan/municipal corporation	
Karachi	76
Sukkur	36
Multan	29
Faisalabad	37
Lahore	91
Sialkot	62
Rawalpindi	92
Quetta	96
Peshawar	86

Source: Estimated from PSLM (2011-12).

percent urban households in Multan, Faisalabad and Sukkur districts respectively were getting water from the public system in 2013, while corresponding estimates of respective municipal corporations<sup>4</sup> are 29, 37 and 36. Similarly, high incidences of Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are also in line with PSLM estimates.

Besides the coverage in terms of connection with a public water system, an important aspect of water service is the quantity or period of water availability in a public tap. Unfortunately, this aspect was not covered in the SPDC household survey; however information

regarding the duration of water availability is accessible from the PSLM dataset and is displayed in the Table 5. It is not surprising that in urban Balochistan (Quetta and Mastung) where more than 90 percent households are connected with a public piped system, water is available for only one hour a day. The highest (8 hours) duration of water availability is observed in urban Punjab, while according to PSLM data water is available on average 3 to 4 hours a day in urban Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Usually the performance of government regarding drinking water availability is evaluated with the access to piped water statistics. However, access should be linked with the sufficiency, therefore the incidence of purchasing or getting water from private sources was investigated

**Table 5**  
Water availability by public tap

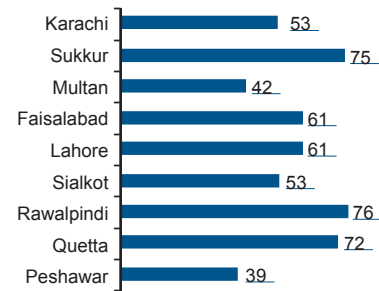
	Percentage of households			Average daily hours
	Less than 3 hours	4 to 6 hours	More than 6 hours	
Pakistan	50	23	27	5.4
Punjab	29	21	50	7.8
Sindh	67	24	9	3.5
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	56	33	93	3.9
Balochistan	93	6	1	1.2

Source: Estimated from PSLM (2011-12).

**Table 6**  
Purchasing water from private sources  
Percentage of households having access to tap water

Provinces/tiers of local government	Metropolitan/municipal corporation			
	Metropolitan/municipal corporations	Municipal committees	Town committees	Overall
Punjab	62	59	45	60
Sindh	58	39	43	53
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	39	53	22	40
Balochistan	72	79		74

Source: SPDC Household Survey (2015).



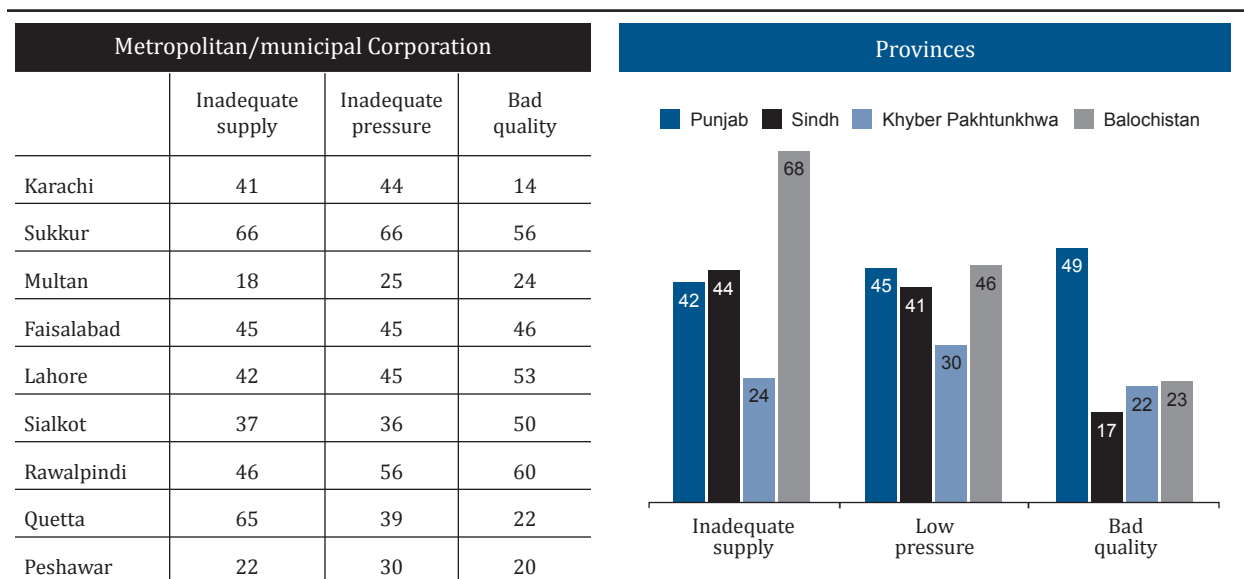
<sup>4</sup> It is worth mentioning here that the urban area of a district also includes municipal and town committees and thus the survey estimates of metropolitan/municipal corporations are not strictly comparable with the PSLM urban data.



in the household survey. The Table 6. disseminates this information by provinces and tiers of local governments. High incidences of purchasing water by households which have access to tap water are evident in the table. Overall, about 60, 53, 40 and 74 percent households asserted the purchase of water in Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan respectively. Variations in the incidences however exist among different tiers of local government. More than 70 percent households which have access to tap water in Sukkur, Rawalpindi and Quetta Municipal Corporations and about 53 and 61 percent households of Karachi and Lahore Metropolitan Corporations respectively confirmed purchasing water from private sources.

Reasons for purchasing or getting water from private sources were evaluated in terms of three parameters; inadequate supply (duration of water availability in tap), low pressure and bad quality of water. Table 7 presents the relevant percentages of households for each reason. This was a multiple response question and respondents could provide more than one reason. Surprisingly, the concern about water quality is more apparent in urban Punjab where about 50 percent households purchase water due to bad quality, whereas a majority of urban households in Balochistan purchase water due to inadequate supply and low pressure. In terms of metropolitan and municipal corporations, a majority of households of Rawalpindi, Sialkot and Sukkur municipal corporations and Lahore Metropolitan Corporation reported bad quality as a major reason for purchasing water. Whereas, excluding Multan and Peshawar municipal corporations, around 40 percent households purchase water due to inadequate supply.

**Table 7**  
**Reasons for purchasing or getting water from private sources**  
*Households having piped water connection*



Source: SPDC Household Survey (2015).

**Table 8**  
**Percentage of households which described quality as 'bad' or 'very bad'**

*Question: "How would you rate the quality of water provided by public system?"*

	Quality parameters of publicly provided water					
	Clarity	Colour	Smell	Taste	Healthiness	Stability of service
Provinces						
Punjab	34	35	39	39	44	39
Sindh	16	17	21	18	22	46
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	14	10	15	16	24	16
Balochistan	14	5	13	15	32	59
Metropolitan/municipal corporations						
Karachi	12	11	18	12	18	44
Sukkur	61	68	70	69	69	70
Multan	22	22	27	24	30	28
Faisalabad	16	13	49	42	42	51
Lahore	35	38	38	35	46	36
Sialkot	56	61	54	54	61	39
Rawalpindi	31	24	33	47	44	36
Quetta	16	3	11	18	32	57
Peshawar	16	11	14	16	25	16

Source: SPDC Household Survey (2015).

The quality of the public water supply system was evaluated with respect to the following parameters; clarity, colour, smell, taste, "healthiness"<sup>5</sup> and stability of services. Respondents were requested to rate these statements from the given four options (very good, good, bad and very bad). The question was: 'how would you rate the quality of the drinking water coming from the public water supply system?' For the purpose of summarizing opinions, responses against 'bad' and 'very bad' categories combined are shown in Table 8. It appears that major concern, especially in Sindh and Balochistan regarding public water supply is the stability of services. In contrast, majority of the residents from Punjab were not satisfied with the quality of water. For instance, about 54 to 61 percent respondents of Sialkot Municipal Committee categorized water services as bad or very bad regarding its clarity, colour, smell, taste and healthiness, whereas the percentage for the stability of services is only 39. Similar trends are observed in case of other corporations of Punjab. Relatively, higher percentage of residents of Sukkur Municipal Corporation rated water service as bad or very bad. As evident in Table 8 some 61 to 70 percent of respondents from Sukkur were critical about the quality of water provided.

<sup>5</sup> Healthiness refers to the perception of respondents about the general effect of water on health.

Besides asking the perceptions of public water users in terms of various parameters separately, an exercise for overall rating was also carried out. Table 9 presents the percentages of users who rated the service as bad or very bad. With slight variations among tiers of local government about 40

**Table 9**  
**Percentage of households which described overall quality as 'bad' or 'very bad'**  
*Question: "Overall how would you rate the quality of the publicly provided water?"*

Provinces/tiers of local government	Metropolitan/municipal corporation			
	Metropolitan/municipal corporations	Municipal committees	Town committees	Overall
Punjab	40	40	25	40
Sindh	28	-	15	23
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	22	33	4	22
Balochistan	25	62	-	32

Source: SPDC Household Survey (2015).

percent of respondents of Punjab rated the service as bad or very bad, while the relevant percentage for Sindh is 23. Substantially high percentages of unsatisfied users in municipal corporations of Sukkur, Sialkot and Rawalpindi can also be observed.

An important component of the household survey was to enquire about users' behaviour in case of problems encountered in the services and the responsiveness of service providers. For the public water supply the specific question was framed as: "within the past 6 months have you made a specific complaint to the government regarding drinking water problems?" Table 10 summarizes responses of users of water from public sources. Surprisingly

**Table 10**  
**Users' behaviour in case of problems encountered regarding water services**  
*Percentage of households having access to piped water*

	Made a Complaint	No need was felt	Useless, they do not care	Difficult process to make a complaint	Not aware to whom complaints should be made
Provinces					
Punjab	12	55	23	7	3
Sindh	14	53	27	3	2
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	12	47	28	7	4
Balochistan	16	31	43	8	1
Metropolitan/municipal corporation					
Karachi	16	58	22	2	2
Sukkur	17	21	52	7	
Multan	10	60	22	7	
Faisalabad	13	62	18	4	1
Lahore	9	58	20	7	6
Sialkot	3	56	22	17	1
Rawalpindi	22	36	31	3	6
Quetta	17	33	39	8	1
Peshawar	11	46	30	7	4

Source: SPDC Household Survey (2015).

irrespective of provinces, a very low percentage of users made a complaint in case of problems, while except Balochistan about 50 percent users of water services declared “no need was felt”. Nonetheless, a significant percentage (about 30 percent) of users do not believe in making complaints due to the ‘uselessness’ i.e. there is no point in making a complaint. More local users (who described ‘uselessness’) reside in the areas of municipal corporations of Sukkur, Rawalpindi, Quetta and Peshawar. Concerns about the process and awareness were also mentioned by few users of public water services.

Table 11 summarizes the experience of users regarding the responses of water authorities in case of complaints. The overwhelming majority irrespective of province categorically stated that their complaints were ignored completely. This is despite the very low incidence of making complaints by users. An interesting finding is that the city size (or number of users) does not affect the quality of governance. For instance, about 72 percent of users who made complaints in Karachi Metropolitan Corporation said their complaints were completely ignored, while the corresponding percentage for Sukkur Municipal Committee is 67.

**Table 11**  
**Question: “How would you describe the response to your complaint?”**

*Percentage of those households which made complaints regarding piped water*

	Completely Resolved the Issue	Resolved some of the issues	Did not Address the issue	Completely ignored my complaint
<b>Provinces</b>				
Punjab	2	11	10	77
Sindh	3	13	10	74
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	7	23		70
Balochistan	2	7	11	80
<b>Metropolitan/municipal corporation</b>				
Karachi	5	15	8	72
Sukkur		17	17	67
Multan		29		71
Faisalabad		20	10	70
Lahore		4	4	93
Sialkot				100
Rawalpindi	7	20	22	52
Quetta	3	8	10	79
Peshawar	11	18		71

Source: SPDC Household Survey (2015).

## **PUBLIC SERVICES FOR GARBAGE COLLECTION AND DISPOSAL**

An open ended question: “how often is your street cleaned?” was put to respondents to get an idea about the cleanliness of a locality. Responses in terms of two extreme scenarios (every day and never/no fixed period) are given in Table 12. There is clearly an edge of Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa over Sindh and Balochistan urban residents. Overall, about 30 and 24

**Table 12**  
**Respondents' experience regarding cleanliness of street**

(Percentage)

Every day				
Provinces/ Tiers of Local Government				Metropolitan/municipal corporation
	Metropolitan/ municipal corporations	Municipal committees	Town committees	Overall
Punjab	37	21	22	30
Sindh	13	15	2	11
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	33	2	11	24
Balochistan	1	0	-	1

Never   No fixed period				
Provinces/ Tiers of Local Government				Metropolitan/municipal corporation
	Metropolitan/ municipal corporations	Municipal committees	Town committees	Overall
Punjab	15	31	23	21
Sindh	40	49	54	46
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	22	88	31	38
Balochistan	13	48	-	22

Every day	
Metropolitan/municipal corporation	Percentage
Karachi	17
Sukkur	8
Multan	51
Faisalabad	27
Lahore	45
Sialkot	20
Rawalpindi	38
Quetta	1
Peshawar	33

Never   No fixed period	
Metropolitan/municipal corporation	Percentage
Karachi	42
Sukkur	37
Multan	2
Faisalabad	14
Lahore	10
Sialkot	38
Rawalpindi	14
Quetta	13
Peshawar	22

Source: SPDC Household Survey (2015).

percent of respondents in Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa respectively confirmed that their streets are cleaned daily; whereas the corresponding percentages are only 11 and one in Sindh and Balochistan respectively. Significant variations however exist among metropolitan/municipal corporations in terms of daily sweeping of streets. For instance, about 20 and 27 percent households in Sialkot and Faisalabad municipal corporations indicated daily sweeping against 45 and 51 percent residence of Lahore and Multan. At the other extreme, about 42 percent residence of Karachi Metropolitan Corporation asserted that their streets are never cleaned. Further, the metropolitan/municipal corporations where incidences of 'never cleaned' are significantly higher include; Sukkur (37 percent), Sialkot (38 percent) and Peshawar (22 percent).

Respondents' experiences regarding the services of disposal of household garbage are summarized in terms of disposal to fixed places for garbage (metal dustbin/bordered area) and with respect to private garbage collectors (Table 5.13). About 40 to 50 percent urban residence of Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan dispose garbage to fixed places; whereas the relevant percentage in urban Sindh is 32. With regard to metropolitan/municipal corporations, a significantly low (15 to 20) percent of households in Karachi and Faisalabad

**Table 13**  
**Disposal of household garbage [percentage of households]**

*Question: Where do you dispose of your household garbage?*

Fixed place for garbage (Metal dustbin/bordered area)				
Provinces/ Tiers of Local Government				
	Metropolitan/ municipal corporations	Municipal committees	Town committees	Overall
Punjab	40	37	43	39
Sindh	32	52	12	32
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	49	49	81	51
Balochistan	48	52	-	49

Metropolitan/municipal corporation	
Karachi	15
Sukkur	57
Multan	58
Faisalabad	20
Lahore	44
Sialkot	36
Rawalpindi	41
Quetta	48
Peshawar	49

Private garbage collectors				
Provinces/ Tiers of Local Government				
	Metropolitan/ municipal corporations	Municipal committees	Town committees	Overall
Punjab	41	22	14	32
Sindh	43	2	23	30
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	13	1	-	9
Balochistan	38	0	-	28

Metropolitan/municipal corporation	
Karachi	69
Sukkur	5
Multan	6
Faisalabad	67
Lahore	46
Sialkot	39
Rawalpindi	44
Quetta	38
Peshawar	13

Source: SPDC Household Survey (2015).

use public facilities of disposing garbage and prefer the private facility of garbage collection. About 70 percent households of these cities prefer garbage disposal through a private system (mostly informal sector) of garbage collection. This incidence is even higher as compared to Lahore Metropolitan Corporation where a formal system of garbage collection exists in the private sector. In the provinces, about 30 percent households use a private facility of garbage collection except Khyber Pakhtunkhwa where the relevant percentage is only 9.

The evidence of garbage collection from the designated collection area by civic authorities was explored through an open ended question: "how often is garbage collected from the collection area?" Responses in terms of two extreme scenarios (every day and never/no fixed period) are presented in Table 14. Again, a pathetic situation is evident with respect to Sindh and Balochistan. Only 3 to 6 percent households confirmed daily collection of household garbage in these provinces; whereas the corresponding percentage is about 25 in Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In terms of metropolitan/municipal corporations, significantly low (4 to 5) percent residence of Karachi, Sukkur and Quetta confirmed a daily collection of garbage. In contrast, Multan and Lahore are on the higher side where daily collection of garbage is reported by about 45 to 47 percent households. A similar trend is evident with respect to the

**Table 14**  
**Garbage collection from the collection area by local authorities**  
*Percentage of households which dispose garbage to fixed place for garbage*

Every day				
Provinces/ Tiers of Local Government				
	Metropolitan/ municipal corporations	Municipal committees	Town committees	Overall
Punjab	33	19	16	27
Sindh	5	12	2	6
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	31	11	11	25
Balochistan	5	0	-	3

Metropolitan/municipal corporation	
Karachi	4
Sukkur	5
Multan	47
Faisalabad	22
Lahore	45
Sialkot	20
Rawalpindi	28
Quetta	5
Peshawar	31

No fixed period   never				
Provinces/ Tiers of Local Government				
	Metropolitan/ municipal corporations	Municipal committees	Town committees	Overall
Punjab	17	30	32	23
Sindh	38	49	52	44
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	25	57	28	32
Balochistan	11	48	-	21

Metropolitan/municipal corporation	
Karachi	37
Sukkur	40
Multan	3
Faisalabad	12
Lahore	11
Sialkot	40
Rawalpindi	22
Quetta	7
Peshawar	24

Source: SPDC Household Survey (2015).

other end; 'Never/No Fix period' response. About 40 percent residents of Karachi, Sukkur and Sialkot metropolitan/municipal corporations are experiencing the situation where garbage is either never collected or collected at irregular periods; whereas the comparative percentages are just 3 to 12 in Multan, Faisalabad and Lahore.

The comparison of metropolitan/municipal corporations to the public services of garbage disposal and collection clearly places Multan Municipal Corporation at the top followed by Lahore Metropolitan.

The quality of neighbourhood cleanliness was evaluated in terms of four options; very good, good, bad or very bad. The question was asked: "overall how would you rate the quality of the cleanliness of your neighbourhood?" The Table 15 gives percentages of those respondents who declared the quality of cleanliness of their neighbourhood as bad or very bad. The provincial scenario clearly indicates that about 68 and 77 percent of urban residents of Sindh and Balochistan respectively are not satisfied with the quality of cleanliness of streets and neighbourhoods, while interestingly the corresponding percentage is 47 to 49 in Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In terms of metropolitan/municipal corporations, more than 50

**Table 15**  
**Percentage of households which described quality of neighbourhood cleanliness as 'bad' or 'very bad'**

Provinces/ Tiers of Local Government					Metropolitan/municipal corporation	
	Metropolitan/ municipal corporations	Municipal committees	Town committees	Overall		
Punjab	39	59	56	47	Karachi	57
Sindh	65	67	83	68	Sukkur	76
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	42	71	47	49	Multan	16
Balochistan	71	95	-	77	Faisalabad	32
					Lahore	35
					Sialkot	69
					Rawalpindi	43
					Quetta	71
					Peshawar	42

Source: SPDC Household Survey (2015).

percent households of Sukkur, Quetta, Sialkot, and Karachi were critical about the public services for garbage collection and disposal and rate the services as bad or very bad.

## PUBLIC SEWERAGE SERVICES

Information regarding access to the public sewerage system is collated in Table 16 which reports the percentage of households which are connected<sup>6</sup> to an underground drainage channel. There is significant variation among the provinces in term of access, especially among the tiers of local government. About 66-67 percent households in urban Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are connected with the public drainage, however the percentage of connected households is relatively low in Sindh and Balochistan. Further, very low percentages of households are connected in municipal and town committees of Sindh; whereas the incidence

**Table 16**  
**Percentage of households which are connected to underground public sewerage system**

Provinces/ Tiers of Local Government					Metropolitan/municipal corporation	
	Metropolitan/ municipal corporations	Municipal committees	Town committees	Overall		
Punjab	77	53	40	67	Karachi	98
Sindh	78	11	31	54	Sukkur	47
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	62	65	60	66	Multan	88
Balochistan	58	52	-	56	Faisalabad	50
					Lahore	98
					Sialkot	68
					Rawalpindi	71
					Quetta	58
					Peshawar	42

Source: SPDC Household Survey (2015).

<sup>5</sup> Almost all household (98 percent) in urban area use a flush system in toilets. The flush system may be connected to an underground public drainage, privately constructed open (covered or uncovered) drains and pits.



is quite high in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab. In terms of metropolitan/municipal corporations, low incidences of household access to public drains are observed in Sukkur, Faisalabad and Quetta.

The survey data reveals that a flush is connected to a pit in significant percentages of households of Sukkur and Faisalabad cities, whereas a flush is connected to an open drain in about 34 percent households of Quetta Municipal Corporation.

Overflows from and blockage in public sewerage is the most serious problem facing households in cities. Table 17 summarizes the experience of households which highlighted this concern in terms of percentages. Here also relatively more urban households of Sindh and Balochistan complained about the overflow and blockages as compared to Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provinces. About 72 percent residents of Karachi Metropolitan Corporation drew attention towards this issue, whereas the corresponding percentages are 29, 39 and 36 in Multan, Lahore and Peshawar respectively. Further, more than 50 percent households in Sukkur, Faisalabad and Quetta were also dismayed about the overflow from public sewerage system.

**Table 17**  
**Percentage of households facing overflow from and blockage in public sewerage system**

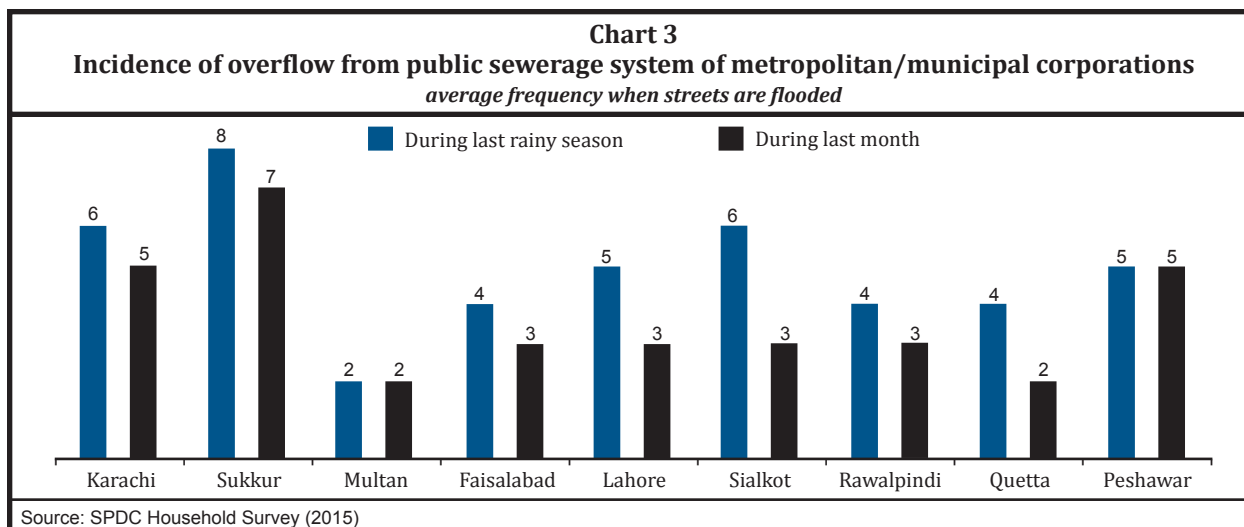
Provinces/ Tiers of Local Government	Metropolitan/municipal corporation			
	Metropolitan/municipal corporations	Municipal committees	Town committees	Overall
Punjab	40	39	44	40
Sindh	64	35	66	58
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	39	58	42	43
Balochistan	55	65	-	57

Metropolitan/municipal corporation	
Karachi	72
Sukkur	53
Multan	29
Faisalabad	50
Lahore	36
Sialkot	43
Rawalpindi	42
Quetta	55
Peshawar	39

Source: SPDC Household Survey (2015).

To capture the intensity of overflow of public drainage channels, an attempt was also made to determine the frequency of street and neighbourhood flooding with sewerage water in a normal month as well as in a rainy season. Chart 3 presents these statistics for metropolitan/municipal corporations. According to residents, during regular times, the streets are flooded on average 2 to 7 times with sewerage water every month. The frequency is relatively high in Karachi, Sukkur and Peshawar whereas, during a rainy season more incidences of street flooding are reported by households except residents of Multan Municipal Corporation.



The satisfaction of households with the quality of maintenance of drains was evaluated with the help of four options; very good, good, bad or very bad. The question was asked: “overall how would you rate the maintenance and cleanliness of drains in your locality?” Table 18 is developed to show percentages of those respondents who indicated the quality as bad or very bad. The provincial scenario highlights that more than 70 percent of urban residents of Sindh and Balochistan are highly dissatisfied with the quality of maintenance of drains by selecting bad or very bad options. In contrast, the corresponding percentage ranges between 49 and 51 in Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Metropolitan/municipal corporations which are more apparent in terms of high percentages of bad and very bad options include; Karachi (67 percent), Sukkur (81 percent) and Quetta (75 percent).

**Table 18**  
**Percentage of households which described quality of maintenance of drains as ‘bad’ or ‘very bad’**

Provinces/ Tiers of Local Government	Metropolitan/municipal corporation			
	Metropolitan/municipal corporations	Municipal committees	Town committees	Overall
Punjab	42	56	60	49
Sindh	73	62	89	73
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	47	65	42	51
Balochistan	75	95	-	80

Metropolitan/municipal corporation	
Karachi	67
Sukkur	81
Multan	23
Faisalabad	36
Lahore	43
Sialkot	57
Rawalpindi	53
Quetta	75
Peshawar	47

Source: SPDC Household Survey (2015).

Table 19 and 20 illustrate the users’ behaviour in case of problems encountered in sewerage services and the responsiveness of service providers. The question for the public sewerage was framed as “within the past 6 months have you made any specific complaint to the

**Table 19**  
**Users' behaviour in case of problems encountered regarding sewerage services**  
*[Percentage of households]*

	Made a Complaint	No need was felt	Useless, they do not care	Difficult process to make a complaint	Not aware to whom complaints should be made
<b>Provinces</b>					
Punjabhd	12	49	25	8	5
Sindh	25	19	47	4	4
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	21	28	37	7	6
Balochistan	16	7	68	4	5
<b>Metropolitan/municipal corporation</b>					
Karachi	35	26	31	3	3
Sukkur	12	9	70	4	1
Multan	12	69	15	3	
Faisalabad	14	50	15	15	5
Lahore	12	56	20	7	5
Sialkot	11	39	31	13	6
Rawalpindi	16	36	34	3	8
Quetta	8	9	72	6	6
Peshawar	21	31	36	5	6

Source: SPDC Household Survey (2015).

**Table 20**  
**Percentage of those households which made complaints regarding sewerage services**  
*Question: "How would you describe the response to your complaint?"*

	Completely Resolved the Issue	Resolved some of the issues	Did not Address the issue	Completely ignored my complaint
<b>Provinces</b>				
Punjab	2	16	11	72
Sindh	4	14	7	74
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	1	8	1	90
Balochistan	0	27	4	69
<b>Metropolitan/municipal corporation</b>				
Karachi	9	20	6	65
Sukkur		17	14	69
Multan		61		39
Faisalabad	3	32	13	52
Lahore		10	24	66
Sialkot		14	19	67
Rawalpindi	3	9	12	76
Quetta			6	94
Peshawar	2	6		92

Source: SPDC Household Survey (2015).

government regarding drainage channels/sewerage lines problems?” As observed in the section of water services, very low percentages of households asserted that they have made a complaint during the last six months. A significant percentage of urban residents, especially in Sindh and Balochistan do not believe in making complaints due to its ‘uselessness’ i.e. there is no point in making a complaint; about 47 and 68 percent residents of Sindh and Balochistan respectively believe that making a complaint is futile. Similarly, more than 70 percent households in Sukkur and Quetta municipal corporations were not in favour of making complaints regarding the civic problems to authorities. Lack of awareness regarding the concerned authorities and complicated process were also mentioned as reasons for not making complaints.

In terms of the experience of households who have made complaints, a significant majority irrespective of province categorically stated that their complaints were ignored completely. However, the percentage is relatively low in Balochistan where about 27 percent of those who complained and claimed that some of their issues have been resolved. The percentage of satisfied individuals is also high in Multan Municipal Corporation where about 61 percent of those who complained confirmed action taken.

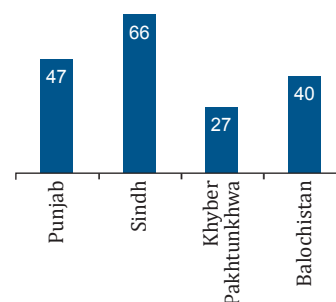
## PUBLIC HOSPITALS

Public hospitals were investigated regarding access and various quality aspects of services. Access was determined by asking the respondents: “during the last 6 months have you (yourself or with family member) visited government hospitals for treatment?” Table 21 provides information regarding non-users with reasons for not visiting public hospitals. Not surprisingly the highest percentage of non-users belongs to Sindh (mostly Karachi) where

**Table 21**  
**Incidence of not using service of public hospital**  
*Percentage of household*

Reasons for not visiting public hospital	Households not visited public hospital			
	Punjab	Sindh	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Balochistan
There was no need to go	50	40	38	21
Due to Crowd - Too many people	23	38	26	39
Usually the medical staff are not present	17	14	11	38
The facility is too far away from my home	9	27	22	6
Prefer private medical facilities	38	46	57	74
Prefer Home/Self Treatment	2	4	2	5
Not satisfied with the doctors' expertise	25	40	39	75

Source: SPDC Household Survey (2015).



private health facilities are abundant. In contrast, the highest (73 percent) incidence of using public health services is estimated for Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Reasons for not visiting government hospitals vary among provinces. However in general two important reasons which were mentioned are: “prefer private medical facilities” and “not satisfied with the doctors’ expertise”. Comparatively few households described distance to public hospitals as an obstacle for not preferring to use these services.

Perceptions regarding the quality of services of public hospitals were evaluated with the help of a few statements. The services were rated by those respondents who visited public hospitals during the last six months by asking “rate the following statements from fully agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree and fully disagree options based on your most recent visit to hospital”. The following nine statements (6 positive and 3 negative) were offered for rating:

- i) Satisfied with the length of waiting time;
- ii) Hospital was at a convenient distance;
- iii) Had all required medicines and supplies;
- iv) Medical staff was courteous and helpful;
- v) Building was well-maintained;
- vi) I received good medical attention by qualified staff;
- vii) I would get better service if I went to a private medical facility;
- viii) If I had the money I would go to a private medical facility; and
- ix) I would get better service if I paid an informal payment.

For the purpose of summarizing opinions, percentages of those respondents who do not fully agree with the statement are given in Table 22. The rating exercise was carried out separately for district and tehsil hospitals to cover three tiers of local governments. Results in general are in accordance with a priori expectation and perceptions of masses regarding public hospitals. However, provincial variations exist in evaluating statements by respondents. For instance, about 21 and 30 percent respondents of Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa respectively did not agree with the statement “if I had the money I would go to a private medical facility” for district hospitals, while the corresponding percentages are 9 and 2 in Sindh and Balochistan. A similar tendency is observed in rating the statement “I would get better service if I went to a private medical facility”.

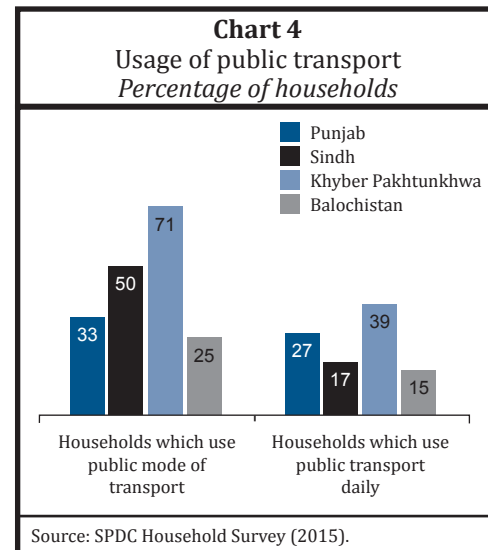
**Table 22**  
**Perceptions regarding the services of public hospital**  
*Percentage of households who visited hospital for treatment and 'not agree' with the statement*

	Khyber			
	Punjab	Sindh	Pakhtunkhwa	Balochistan
<b>District hospital</b>				
Satisfied with the length of waiting time	79	85	89	98
Hospital is at a convenient distance	78	73	79	92
Had all required medicines and supplies	83	87	89	100
Medical staff were courteous and helpful	80	89	83	100
Building is well-maintained	65	84	82	100
I received good medical attention by qualified staff	72	88	85	100
I would get better service if I went to a private medical facility	19	7	25	3
If I had the money I would go to a private medical facility	21	9	30	2
I would get better service if I paid an informal payment	35	28	52	33
<b>Tehsil hospital</b>				
Satisfied with the length of waiting time	75	76	91	97
Hospital is at a convenient distance	79	69	72	90
Had all required medicines and supplies	75	81	94	100
Medical staff were courteous and helpful	69	78	83	100
Building is well-maintained	62	64	90	100
I received good medical attention by qualified staff	68	81	85	100
I would get better service if I went to a private medical facility	13	12	6	0
If I had the money I would go to a private medical facility	16	10	6	0
I would get better service if I paid an informal payment	28	26	25	21

Source: SPDC Household Survey (2015).

## PUBLIC TRANSPORT

For the SPDC household survey, buses, the metro, taxis and rickshaws are considered as the mode of public transport. However, access is determined through an open ended question; “which methods of travel do you and your family use most often in the city?” the highest incidence of using public transport is observed in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as evident in Chart 4. About 71 percent urban households of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa use this mode for travelling in the city. The corresponding percentages for Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan are 33, 50 and 25 respectively. The exhibit also provides percentages of households who use public transport daily. Here also the highest (39 percent) and lowest (15 percent) incidence is observed in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan respectively.



**Table 23**  
**Percentage of households which described quality of public transport as 'bad' or 'very bad'**

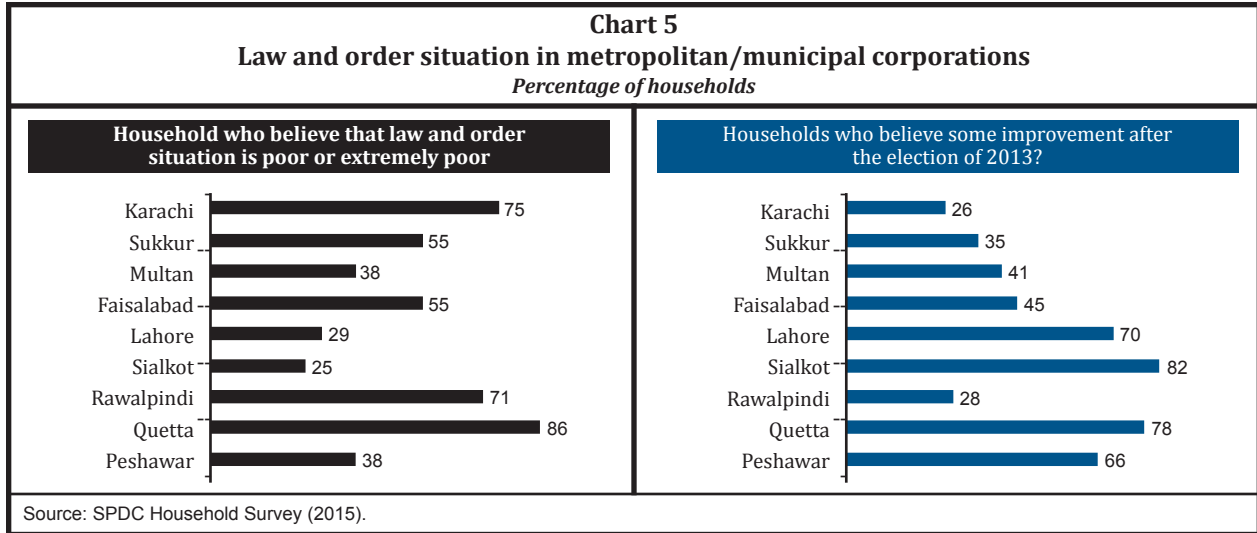
	Quality parameters of Public Transport					
	Vehicle Condition	Reliability (Time to destination)	Uncertainty (Arriving time)	Fare	Road Conditions	Operators' Behaviour
<b>Provinces</b>						
Punjab	30	38	38	39	28	38
Sindh	57	63	65	68	70	65
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	49	61	43	34	33	51
Balochistan	64	75	25	77	70	54
<b>Metropolitan/municipal corporation</b>						
Karachi	53	61	61	65	51	76
Sukkur	66	72	71	74	88	64
Multan	15	25	34	39	11	26
Faisalabad	36	45	47	40	22	37
Lahore	22	35	33	29	25	33
Sialkot	37	40	35	43	26	36
Rawalpindi	41	43	36	38	43	55
Quetta	67	74	28	71	77	62
Peshawar	46	59	44	30	32	48

Source: SPDC Household Survey (2015).

The quality of public transport was evaluated with respect to the following parameters; Vehicle condition, reliability in terms of time to destination, uncertainty in terms of arriving time, fare, road conditions and operators' behaviour. Respondents were requested to rate these statements from the given four options (very good, good, bad and very bad). Enumerators were directed to show option cards as well as to read these options after asking the question: "how would you rate public transport in terms of:" For the purpose of summarizing opinions however, responses against 'bad' and 'very bad' categories combined are provided in Table 23. Surprisingly, comparatively very low percentages in Multan and Lahore declared the services of public transport as bad or very bad. Another important finding is that percentages of disappointed citizens with respect to public transport are significantly higher in Karachi, Sukkur and Quetta.

## **LAW AND ORDER**

The perceptions regarding law and order situation were investigated by asking "how would you describe the law and order situation in your area/locality?" Percentages of citizens in metropolitan/municipal corporations who described the law and order condition as poor or extremely poor are given in Chart 5. It is not surprising that the majority of citizens of Karachi and Quetta indicated the deteriorating law and order due to obvious reasons. However it is shocking that about 71 percent citizens of Rawalpindi Municipal Corporation were also critical



regarding law and order. It is surprising to observe that the percentage of respondents in Peshawar who believe that the law and order situation is poor/extremely poor is relatively low as compared to some other cities like Faisalabad and Rawalpindi.

The exhibit also provides other important information by stating the responses to the question: “have you noticed any improvement in law and order after the election of May 2013?” Interestingly, a significant majority of respondents of Lahore, Sialkot, Peshawar, and Quetta were of the view that the situation has improved since the general election of 2013. This is an important finding with respect to Peshawar and Quetta where the new ruling parties have emerged.

Table 24 quantifies the perceptions regarding the incidences of ‘snatching’ i.e. robbed, ‘*bhatta*’ (extortion) and dacoity/ theft in metropolitan/municipal corporations. Respondents were asked “during the last six months have you, your family member or your relatives encountered any unfortunate event regarding?” Robbery (cash, jewellery, mobile, car, bike etc.) incidences

**Table 24**  
**Incidence of snatching, threat or dacoity/robbery during last six months**  
*Percentage of households*

	Karachi	Sukkur	Multan	Faisalabad	Lahore	Sialkot	Rawalpindi	Quetta	Peshawar
Snatching of cash, mobile, car or bike	34	11	13	39	13	9	40	37	13
Threat from political, religious party or other armed group for extortion (“Bhatta”)?	7	3	3	5	4	1	2	8	2
Dacoity at home or shop?	12	4	10	26	13	15	19	28	4

Source: SPDC Household Survey (2015).



are reported in Karachi, Faisalabad, Rawalpindi and Quetta by about 34, 39, 40 and 37 percent households. Karachi and Quetta cities are also significant for the 'bhatta' system, while incidences of theft are reported relatively more by the households of Faisalabad and Rawalpindi. In general, the worst condition of law and order in Karachi, Faisalabad, Rawalpindi and Quetta is reported as compared with other sample cities.

The role of the police is evaluated with the help of the following four statements: police fail to serve and respect the interests of all citizens; police serve the interests of selected pressure groups/influential groups; police serve the interests of political leaders; and police fail to protect the poor and common people.

Respondents' perceptions or opinion about the police behaviour in general were gathered after asking: "rate these statements from fully agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree and fully disagree options based on your experience or belief". However, for the purpose of summarizing opinions, percentages of those respondents who disagree with the statement are presented in Table 25. No wonder, results are according to a priori expectation and general perceptions about the police. Almost all citizens agree with these negative features about the police, however comparatively higher percentages (in double digits) in Peshawar, Sialkot and Lahore indicate relatively better governance with respect to the police.

**Table 25**  
**Perceptions regarding the role of police in metropolitan/municipal corporations**  
*Percentage of respondents who disagree with the statement*

	Karachi	Sukkur	Multan	Faisalabad	Lahore	Sialkot	Rawalpindi	Quetta	Peshawar
Police fail to serve and respect the interests of all citizens	2	8	4	2	15	7	4	2	11
Police serve the interests of selected pressure groups /Influential groups	1	7	5	2	7	15	0	1	5
Police serve the interests of political leaders	1	11	5	2	10	7	2	3	6
Police fail to protect the poor and common people	1	6	7	2	6	10	1	5	17

Source: SPDC Household Survey (2015).



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- SPDC-AR, Social Development in Pakistan: Annual Review 2014-15  
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- SPDC-AR, Social Development in Pakistan: Annual Review 2012-13  
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