

# Quarterly

Research  
& News

## Centre for Public Policy & Governance

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### From the Director's Desk

The Centre for Public Policy and Governance (CPPG) is very pleased to launch its Research and News Quarterly. The CPPG plans to report its activities and share ideas on shaping research, teaching and training programs through regular publication of the Quarterly. We urge our readers to have a critical look at the form and content of the Quarterly. The first issue is before you, any comments to improve the quality and content of the Quarterly will be deeply appreciated. The CPPG acknowledges the professional assistance of Omer Jilani and Gwendolyn Kulick in designing the Quarterly.

### Content

CPPG Concept & Philosophy	02
Faculty Seminar Series	07
> Thinking outside the Ballot Box: Democracy's True Meaning	07
> Media and Propaganda: Manufacturing Consent and Alternative Media	08
> Thirdworldism: Colonialism from the standpoint of its victims	09
Review Article	
> Improving Governance and Reforming Bureaucracy	11
Note on the Environment	14
Visitors & Activities	15
Contact Us	16

### Editorial Board

Dr. Saeed Shafqat  
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CENTRE FOR PUBLIC POLICY  
AND GOVERNANCE

# Centre for Public Policy and Governance (CPPG)

## > Concept & Philosophy

### Mission Statement

*Centre for Public Policy and Governance (CPPG) aspires to promote and disseminate teaching and research on public policy that center stage citizen welfare, distributive justice and participative development, humane governance and consultative and transparent policy process in Pakistan. CPPG plans to nurture a new generation of scholars, policy analysts and public officials. It will also serve as a forum to facilitate dialogue among academic, business, policy making and research communities.*

### Rationale

CPPG would be the first institution and degree-awarding program of its kind in Pakistan. The Centre is designed to combine the functions of a think tank and a Public Policy Master's / doctoral degree program – the two would be interwoven and complement each other. Simultaneously, it would actively engage in organizing seminars, trainings and workshops to bring policy makers, academia, professionals and other stakeholders together on issues affecting the processes and formulation of public policy. In the last three decades, there has been mushrooming of Business Management Programs – both in the Private and Public Sector Universities of the country. Punjab University, Gomal University and Karachi University offer Master's in Public Administration; however, none offers any Graduate program in Public Policy. There is growing concern among civil society activists, concerned parents and citizens that public policy and governance issues have not received the attention they deserve from the politicians, elites and policy makers in Pakistan. For example, in electronic and print media there is considerable debate on how to manage growing religious extremism, protect environmental degradation, reform the education sector, improve the performance of legislatures, restore writ of the state, disengage military from politics, alleviate poverty and accelerate economic growth; yet there is a general dearth of understanding on how to adopt and pursue appropriate public policies. It is obvious that the study of Public Policy remains a neglected and undeveloped program in Pakistan's academic setting and policy framework. There is also a growing realization and demand from different circles that Pakistan is in dire need of an institution that offers education, training and research in Public Policy and Governance. The challenge though is how to convert this missed opportunity into a vision for developing a Centre of Excellence in Public Policy and Governance. The F.C. College (A chartered University) under the leadership of its Rector, Dr. Peter H. Armacost, is taking the lead in conceiving and establishing this program.



CPPG: E-017 & 018

## Goals and Objectives

The CPPG would be an autonomous entity which would strive to achieve two broad goals; first, to develop and produce knowledge and research on public policy issues, second, to build Masters Programs leading to doctoral degree in Public Policy. CPPG would put public policy at center stage by setting a research agenda and design degree programs to attract scholars, experts, professionals and potential participants from the states of Greater South Asia (Central Asia, Gulf region and South Asia).

The Centre aims to nurture a new generation of Pakistani scholars and policy analysts and envisions contributing towards training and skill development of public officials and business managers. Through its multi-disciplinary research agenda, collaborative research initiatives, seminars, conferences, training workshops, publications and outreach, the Centre would provide in depth analysis of the most pressing policy and governance issues facing Pakistan and Greater South Asia.

### Master's in Public Policy and Governance: Methodology and Philosophy

The Centre plans to offer an inter-disciplinary and analytical degree with a problem solving focus in studying public policy in the age of globalization. The primary thrust of the program would be to develop a credible and competitive Master's program in Public Policy which would be innovative and futuristic in promoting leadership qualities, managerial skills and a professional level of analysis among the participants. The program would be grounded in the ethical and philosophical dimensions of public policy. Appropriate Information Technology and Management (ITM) skills would be integrated into the program to bring about attitudinal change and develop professional expertise in promoting methods for efficient, judicious and transparent policy execution through Electronic Governance.

The CPPG academic program would have the following distinguishing features:

First, it would offer Two Curriculum Tracks for degree completion – a two year track that consists of two

academic years and a one year track (12 months) available to entrants with relevant work experience.

Second, it would offer Skills based curriculum recognizing that job and perhaps career change is unavoidable in today's world including Pakistan. Therefore, graduating students will have the necessary skills to help them adopt flexible careers throughout their working life.

Third, the curriculum program would be driven by the logic of technological change, implying that the future of any Organization – Public, Private or Non-Profit would be affected by technology. The students will learn about the current trends in information technology (I.T.) and how to use I.T. to further public policy objectives through a dynamic organization. Finally, the program would require Master's thesis on applied and actionable public policy research topics.

### Prospective Participants

At the program level, the Centre would devise a two-pronged strategy; first, it would market the public policy degree to fresh college graduates for pursuit of professional career in both public and private sectors. Second, it would attract junior and mid career officials in the public and private sector through multidisciplinary skills enhancing and in depth topical study curriculum for their career advancement.

The Centre would create its own niche of potential entrants to the program. Its one year track Master's degree program would be tailored: First to serve the special needs of junior / mid career officials. Second, it would also make a special effort to persuade ex-cadre public officials and corporate/private sector managers to join its program of study. Third, given the Local Government devolution plan, the curriculum and degree program would be devised in a manner that the provincial/local governments also find it attractive to send their officials for capacity building and professional development. Fourth, the Centre would take the lead in setting research agenda in consultation with various policy making officials and institutions at federal, provincial and local levels. It is worth mentioning that there is hardly any institution or program in the country that serves as forum of private-public partnership – the CPPG would lead in that direc-

tion by bringing together policy makers and private sector leaders under one roof.

The courses and curriculum of the Centre would be designed to provide technical and conceptual skills for understanding and conducting policy formulation and policy evaluation in a broad spectrum of following Public Policy and Governance areas:

- Policy challenges in Education, Health and Population
- Policy and Institutional Analysis
- Policy Evaluation and Implementation
- Leadership, Strategic Thinking and Change
- Conflict resolution and management
- Defense (Security) and Foreign Policy
- State, Society and Governance Challenges
- Legal system, Criminal justice and Policing
- Terrorism, Democratic pluralism, Human rights
- Energy and Transportation
- Migration and Urbanization
- Rural Development and Agriculture Policy
- Environment and Global Warming
- Globalization and Corporate Governance
- Institutional Analysis and Capacity Building
- Economics and Public Policy

### Research Agenda Setting, Trainings / Workshops and Seminars

Actionable policy research is a preferred objective of the CPPG. In pursuit of developing dialogue, debate and evolving possible consensus on policy issues the CPPG would not only produce quality research and position papers but through workshops and seminars ensure their dissemination and take lead in publishing materials. The CPPG would encourage and promote multi-disciplinary approach and make public policy its focal point. On specific policy issues it will develop shared vision with its partners/colleagues, adopt joint research agendas and produce both academic and position papers.

In continuation of its dialogue with Punjab P & D, the CPPG will continue to explore other partners both domestic and international to develop a shared vision for the research agenda. To initiate its research and future plans,

the CPPG will initially focus on the following two areas:

- Governance, Democracy and Institution Building
- Environment, Demography and Urban Change

In its formative phase the CPPG will focus, concentrate and promote policy relevant research and dialogue in the above listed areas and build a critical mass of experts.

#### > Governance, Democracy, Institution Building

Improving governance, constructing representative, transparent and accountable government, enhancing civil society and reviving and revitalizing institutions remain critical public policy issues in Pakistan, like many developing countries. In this policy arena the CPPG could choose specific topics; from civil services reform to local bodies; autonomy and independence of judiciary to interface between bureaucracy and political parties in a democratic setup; issues pertaining to productive functioning of provincial & national assemblies to training of legislators; skill development of bureaucrats and the role of Election Commission of Pakistan. Analysis would involve both theoretical aspects as well as an understanding of ground realities:

- Do legislators see that they have a role in public policy making?
- What is public good from the perspective of politician, bureaucrat, businessman and civil society activist?
- What are the required mechanisms to assess the performance of institutions and the staff?

In this cluster the CPPG plans to currently focus on research in the following four areas

- Analyzing and evaluating Civil Service Reform
- Prospects and impact of District Civil Service on Province – District relations
- Electoral reforms and the role of political parties
- Changing forms of urban governance

#### > Environment Policy, Demography, and Urban Change

Environmental decay, rising population and accelerated urbanization is visible in Pakistan. Demographic change is phenomenal. The country has a population of 160 million and growing at a rate of 2% per annum. Forecasts of

demographic transition in Pakistan raise concerns about citizen security, environmental decay, challenges of urban governance, energy self sufficiency, water conservation, employment generation, peace, security, governance and the list is unending. Population is a human resource that demands investment in improving its quality, productivity and skills.

The CPPG will focus on devising a population strategy that helps in managing demographic transition, draws attention to center staging Youth policy and encourages dialogue and consultation on population not simply as a Family planning/Reproductive health issue but as a core national issue which has implications for the very survival and efficient functioning of the Pakistani nation-state. The CPPG plans to initiate a research agenda that could lead to paradigm shift in Demographic studies in Pakistan. For these areas, the CPPG will explore institutional partners both in the Public and Private sector.

### Exchange and Collaboration

The Centre would develop exchange and collaboration with reputable institutions regionally and globally. It would encourage and seek support for inviting/hosting foreign scholars/experts for short term and year long duration. The CPPG is exploring possibilities of collaboration and exchange with select local, regional and international institutions of repute.

### Faculty Seminar Series

The Centre for Public Policy and Governance has launched its Monthly Seminar Series in which distinguished scholars, policy analysts, professional & practitioners of public policy are invited. As a first step, the F.C faculty has been encouraged to share/present their current research work in the Seminar Series. It would be inter-disciplinary, spreading across broad policy themes and topics in Natural and Social Sciences and Humanities. The seminar series is expected to provide a forum for academic and policy dialogue on issues that especially confront Pakistan, South Asia and also have a global relevance. We plan to devise latest technology mechanisms to allow for great-

est participation of stakeholders irrespective of location constraints.

### Facilities

The CPPG has two excellent Seminar Rooms, which can accommodate 30 participants each, while the Academy of Professionals Lounge can accommodate 60 participants in a formal setting. For a wider audience of over 200 participants, the E-Block Auditorium is also available to the CPPG. One of the seminar rooms is equipped with multimedia and recording facility allowing for creating a digital library of lectures delivered at the Centre and available through the Centre's website. The Centre also has a small but growing library for researchers with select journals, national surveys and latest books in Centre's focused research areas. Plans are also underway to have a Computer Lab for economic and statistical research equipped with both statistical packages as well as primary research data of various economic and social surveys conducted in Pakistan. The lab will be open to researchers and Master's students alike.

### Board of Advisors

CPPG Board of Advisors comprises of distinguished academics, policy analysts, public servants and professionals who have extensive research and policy making experience in the Centre's areas of focus.

: **Javed Masud**, Managing Director and Chief Executive The Pakistan Credit Rating Agency Limited has a Masters' degree in Finance & Economics from Boston University, USA.

: **Dr. Akmal Hussain** is an economist specializing in development action research. He runs a private manufacturing firm, Sayyed Engineers (Private) Limited and has a B.A. Honours Degree in Economics and Politics from Cambridge University and a PhD in Economics from Sussex University.

: **Dr. Saba Gul Khattak** was until recently the Executive Director of SDPI and holds a PhD in political science. She specializes in comparative politics and her research is

informed by political economy approach to development, feminist and political theory with a focus on state theory.

: **Dr. Shafqat Shehzad** is a Research Fellow at SDPI and a pioneering health economist of Pakistan. She did her M.Sc. and M. Phil in Economics from Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad and earned her PhD in economics from the University of Sussex, United Kingdom.

: **Jean-Luc Racine** is Senior CNRS Fellow at the Center for South Asian Studies, School for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences, Paris. His research is focused on India's dynamics of change, on Pakistan-Indian relations and on the regional and global geopolitics of South Asia.

: **Dr. Ayesha Siddiqua** is security studies expert and a former civil servant. She earned her doctorate from King's College, London and has worked on issues varying from military technology, defense decision-making, nuclear deterrence, arms procurement, and arms production to civil-military relations in South Asia.

: **Dr. Naushin Mahmood** has been the acting Vice-Chancellor and a Senior Researcher at Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE), Islamabad. She is a Sociologist specializing in Demography and has done extensive research on population and development issues.

: **Dr. Anjum Khurshid** (MBBS, MPAFF) has served in the District Management Group of the Pakistani Civil Service and played a key role in the establishment and early success of the Punjab Information Technology Board. He is currently Assistant Professor and Director of the Health and Behaviour Risk Research Centre, University of Missouri.

: **Khushnood Akhtar Lashari** is an officer of the District Management Group and has an MSc. in Development Economics from University of York, U.K. He has held various high level government positions and is currently serving as the Federal Secretary of Health.

: **Kamran Rasool** has held the position of Chief Secretary Punjab. He has been the Federal Defense Secretary and until recently was Chairman of the Pakistan International Airlines.

: **Babar Sattar** completed his Jurisprudence (LLB) from Oxford and LLM from Harvard Law School. He is a Rhode Scholar and writes in various Pakistani newspapers on social, political and legal issues. He practices law and has his own law firm AJURIS.

: **Dr. Salman Humayun** has a PhD in Political Sociology from Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. He is Deputy Chief of Party, Education Sector Reform Assistance Program (ESRA). He also works with the US Tri-State Consortium of Universities.

: **Dr. William B. Eimcke** is the founding director of the Picker Center for Executive Education of Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs. Dr. Eimcke served as the director of fiscal studies for the New York State Senate and has also been the assistant budget director of the City of New York.

: **Dr. Jack Nagel** is a Professor of Political Science, Business and Public Policy at Wharton, University of Pennsylvania. His areas of research include Democratic Theory, Elections, Political Participation, Political Power, Voting Theory and Decision making. He did his PhD from Yale University.

: **Dr. Rukhsana Zia** has a PhD in Education from University of Wales UK. She does research and is well conversant with training, teaching, curriculum and management issues in the field of education in Pakistan. She is currently the Director, Directorate of Staff Development (DSD), Punjab.

: **Barrister Shahid Hamid** is a former Governor of Punjab and worked in the Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP). He currently manages his own Law Firm.

## Faculty Seminar Series

: Dr. Robert A. Johnson

presented his paper *Thinking outside the Ballot Box: Democracy's True Meaning* on the 18th of March, 2008 at the Faculty Seminar Series, Centre for Public Policy and Governance (CPPG).



Dr. Johnson  
presenting his paper

As suggested by its title Dr. Johnson argued for a substantive meaning of democracy 'an environment which is oriented to fostering the flourishing of its citizens'. It thus critiques the procedural meaning of democracy – electoral democracy as misplaced and lacking essence. The speaker substantiates his argument by referring to the case of Hitler who came to power through elections. Similarly the Srilankan electoral process was an important factor in starting the civil war between the minority Tamils and majority Sinhalese. He thus argues that organizations who concentrate on elections (even free & fair) while discussing democracy miss the point because human flourishing rather than being a by-product of electoral democracy is actually its basis.

Dr. Johnson provided a historical overview and traced the roots of democracy in the European Enlightenment and subsequent appearance of the individual in history. *It is Enlightenment's role in propogating the equal-*

*ity of man and instituting reason to evaluate claims of privilege that rejects oligarchic, monarchic, theocratic and dictatorial power* as these systems fail to defend and promote human dignity. He sees this very defense of individual human dignity in the American constitution through 'the pursuit of happiness' as the differentiating factor in the sustenance of American democracy for two hundred years as compared to the French and other European democracies. Thus he argues against the Welfare State because of its interference with and patronizing policy towards the individual leading to provision of privileges rather than the promotion of rights to flourish. This makes the welfare state more susceptible to corruption and despotism by creating a passive citizenry.

While summing up his argument Dr. Johnson critiques the discourse of the main defenders of democracy including Human Rights Watch and Freedom House, who in the author's analysis separate the concepts of human rights from democracy by concentrating more on procedural aspects of electoral democracy. Dr. Johnson argues for bringing the idea and the essence of democracy to the fore rather than equating it with elections. He puts this responsibility on the Academy and Media because of their role in educating society and forming public opinion stating that it is *'the basic building blocks of information with which they (human beings) construct their world and with which democracy is built'*. He encourages the academy to keep an oppositional relationship (sometimes loyal and sometimes confrontational) with the legislative chamber to keep the real idea of democracy 'fostering the flourishing of the citizens' alive by always presenting independent thought from the perspective of the people.

Mr. Khalid Ahmad  
discussing the paper



Qalandar Memon  
and Dr. Ranjha listen  
to audience questions

As a discussant, Mr Khalid Ahmed agreed with Dr. Johnson's thesis on the needed building blocks of democracy and nurturing of the individual as its objective. Analyzing contemporary Pakistan, he argued that the 'ideological' nature of the Pakistani state was the biggest hindrance to democracy. He argued that while Europe had scrutinized the city state of Athens even as it borrowed from it, the same had not happened in Muslim societies who extrapolated from the direct democracy of the Medinan State without critiquing or contextualizing it based on time, size and culture. Thus an entire corpus of Islamic laws was enforced without any scrutiny of reason even though there was nothing in Islam that disallowed scrutiny of reason. This had also led to the ouster of culture by religion as the means of association within society. Thus restricting ones identity and making it harder for individual citizens to relate with other religious and cultural groups. He highlighted two processes in which both civil society and the state were complicit. One was to focus on the identity of an unwanted community and deny them their citizen rights, the other was to define oneself so strictly that diverse groups around one fell off. Thus a central identity based on 'state ideology' led to further lack of tolerance in a democracy.

He argued that to remove division in society, an individual should be able to cultivate multiple identities as flourishing of citizens was only possible if citizens had the freedom to acquire knowledge autonomously without any restrictions. The successful states had managed it by adopting economics and primarily the free market model pushing ideology back as their basis for policy making.

A couple of participants highlighted the importance of procedural democracy (free & fair elections) given that the fostering atmosphere argued by Dr. Johnson would not be created on its own and required a collaborative exercise in highlighting the collective wisdom of the people.



Audience at  
David Barsamian's Talk

: [David Barsamian](#),

an American radio journalist known for his collaborative writings with foremost intellectuals including Eqbal Ahmad was invited as a Distinguished Guest Speaker on April 3, 2008 to deliver a talk on *Media and Propaganda: Manufacturing Consent* at the Center for Public Policy and Governance (CPPG).

David started his talk with a quote from Voltaire: *Those who can make you believe absurdities can make you commit atrocities*. He highlighted one such absurdity of the current corporate media in the West to present Muslims as a monolithic block thus ignoring the vast diversity of opinion in Muslim communities. Not just absurdities but the power to highlight or undermine certain discourses greatly influences mainstream thought. He gave the example of Martin Luther King who in the last five years of his life had moved beyond race based analysis to articulate linkages between racism, militarism and capitalism. But the King who broke the silence on Vietnam War and criticized his own state for purveying violence is not the man who is commemorated every year through a state holiday and associated programs. David specifically differentiated between tactical and strategic analysis in the media. He argued that although media critiqued the tactics of American involvement in Iraq such as mismanagement and the lack of ground forces to keep peace after the fall of Baghdad, still it did not raise strategic issues such as the control of oil resources and international dominance. He described these as *'the principles of pre-suppositions of the doctrinal system which are removed from scrutiny and which become the framework for thinkable thought but not objects for rational consideration'*.

By elaborating above examples, David made a case for alternative media which concentrates on facts and news either omitted or partially included in the mainstream press. A media that presents a people's perspective rather than of the elite that controls mainstream media outlets, a media that serves as a vehicle for taking the voice of community oriented groups including environmental, human rights and others to the wider public. He differentiated alternative media by simply stating that *one has to keep a distance from power to be able to speak truth to power*. Thus a journalist who plays tennis and have dinners with ministers simply can not do critical journal-





David Barsamian  
delivering his talk

ism. More importantly he argued that to counter the framework of official thinking, a simple contradiction is not enough as the message needs to be repeated to reach critical mass and inject alternative thinking in the mainstream. The alternative also needs to include solutions to empower the listener to participate in something positive.

Talking about community radio and community access television in the US, he stated that they are owned and run by the community through a voluntary membership fee and citizen donations.

David's talk led to a stimulating question answer session; an issue of the viability of community media (radio & television) was raised. Members of the audience argued that Pakistani State had only allowed radio & television licenses for commercial purposes rather than for citizen empowerment and the only examples of community radio were the illegal radio channels used by militant elements in Swat & FATA. Interestingly, although the government had clamped down on mainstream media, these illegal stations were allowed to run for a number of years.

On the question of quality of media in India & Pakistan, David mentioned that most electronic media outlets in India were of an 'escapist entertainment' nature. Though there was concentration on news in Pakistan, the complete lack of investigative journalism in news programs was driven by monetary aspects as an investigation took a lot of time and resources while opinion oriented news programming involved little preparation.

In response to a question on the affects of community media on public policy, David mentioned that it had helped raise consciousness among the people to think critically. It was alternative media which had educated the American population on the affects of the Iraq war. Additionally community radio had helped raise local environmental concerns among communities. David suggested that community radio was a cost effective way to raise awareness among the rural communities of Pakistan.

: Qalandar Memon,

founding Editor of *Naked Punch* and a Political Science lecturer at Foreman Christian College presented his paper *ThirdWorldism: Colonialism and Resistance from the stand point of its victims* at the Faculty Seminar Series of CPPG on April 15, 2008.



Qalandar Memon  
discussing Thirdworldism

Qalandar Memon started with a quote from Franz Fanon who argued that a few of the newly independent countries are taking a position of non-dependence, non-commitment, of the third force to improve man's lot by taking their destiny into their own hands. Memon sees this as the basis of ThirdWorldism where the colonized begin to articulate the colonial relationship from their own perspective. Genealogically he divides it into the periods of 1940s, a time of nationalist struggles by figures like Nehru, Ho Chi Minh, Sukarno and the 1960s with a Tricontinental character led by Fanon, Castro, Lumumba and Cabral. Thus drawing on the resistance strategies of anti-colonial internationalism (pan-Africanism, pan-Arabism & others), civil rights movements including industrial strikes, peasant revolts and Marxist internationalism with associated armed liberation movements, *Thirdworldism focuses on the articulation of one's own history, starts a discussion of own reality among the colonized and works to create solidarity among them.*

Memon draws a distinction between Thirdworldism and Post-Modernism arguing that writers including Foucault while articulating power relationships in heterogeneous phenomena did not respond directly to imperialism. Something akin to Che Guevara's current image as an anti-establishment pop icon without a nuanced understanding of his anti-imperialist writings and struggle.

The discourse of Thirdworldism takes a different position by taking imperialism head on. Sartre agrees with Lenin arguing that Imperialism / Colonialism started with capitalist nations' need to export their goods to new markets leading to a need for political predominance. Sartre

Dr Saeed Shafqat  
presenting introductory  
remarks



Participants at  
the seminar

defines the first stage of colonialism as 'first of all overcome resistance, smash the framework, subdue, terrorize. Only then will the economic system be put in place'. In this new system, the colonist acts as both the supplier of raw material as well as the consumer of goods imported from the metropolitan. Thus the colonized is systematically pauperized as he only acts as the provider of cheap labour and not even that after mechanization of economy. A similar situation also occurs on the social front as colonialism comes with the ideology of racial and civilizational hierarchy which is eventually internalized by the colonized. Memmi argues that 'colonization distorts relationships, destroys or petrifies institutions, and corrupts men, both colonizers and colonized'. Thus Tricontinental thinkers as opposed to Gandhi and the negritude movement argue that it is not possible to move back to native organizational structures after the colonial experience. Instead a new humanism is needed to surpass both the closed past and the de-humanizing present.

Thus culmination of *ThirdWorldism is the creation of a 'new man' by moving away from imperial and colonial exploitation to political sovereignty and an egalitarian economic structure*. Memon sees the current 'Latin American Alternative' of Castro-Chavez-Morales as an extension of ThirdWorldism with Castro being a veteran figure, Morales highlighting the colonized own history and Chavez building solidarity among the third world.

The discussant Dr. Wajid Ranjha in his comments raised several interesting questions. He noted that the term ThirdWorldism itself was a contested concept among both the writers of the South as well as the Western Academy and had partly evolved out of the left's disillusionment of the Soviet communist experience. Most importantly he argued that the *current academic discourse of dissent still*

*held the intellectual, cultural and political hegemony of the West* as most Thirdworldist writers including Fanon, Guevara and even Iqbal Ahmed were bunched into 'subaltern' status, considered too crude to be debated academically or depoliticized through esthetic and academic dissolutions of their ideas. He said that the main question remains of 'how can we learn from our postcolonial experience so that the nominally independent postcolonial subject can come into his own?'

Answering a question, if the concept of Thirdworldism could be challenged because contemporary reality directly linked the national capitalist with the metropolis, Memon responded that he sided with the Tricontinental Thirdworldist. A Thirdworldist who according to him, wanted to change the global and domestic economic relationship among people through resistance. This resistance still needed to be articulated at the national level to achieve political sovereignty as the first step towards formation of the 'new man', but it depended on the reorganization of the economy along egalitarian lines after political sovereignty was achieved.

Albert Memmi on the colonized: '*Being kept away from power, he ends up by losing both interest and feeling for control (...) among the colonized few men are suitable for government (...) how could such a long absence from autonomous government give rise to skill?*'

## Review Article

### Improving Governance and Reforming Bureaucracy

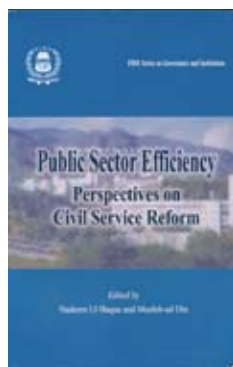
Raheem ul Haque & Saeed Shafqat

Bureaucracy in India and Pakistan continues to symbolize power, patronage, modernity and corruption. In recent years allegations of corruption and politicization of bureaucracy have evoked strong criticism from the citizens and raised demands of bureaucratic reform. What are the causes of public outcry and politicization of bureaucracy? In both India and Pakistan the demand for civil service reform continues to persist; while in Pakistan several reform commissions have been set up and some reforms experimented, in India too Mandal Commission's (1994) recommendations were implemented and yet governance fails to improve. The demand for civil service reform continues

to reappear, why? We explore this question by providing short reviews of two books; one on Pakistan, the other on India. Despite difference in style, composition and narration the nature of issues raised and discussed in the two studies are similar. The primary focus of the two studies is the higher bureaucracy- Nadeem ul Haque and Musleh-ud Din (edited by) work **Public Sector Efficiency – Perspectives on Civil Service Reform** (Islamabad: PIDE, 2007) is more diffused on this point, while S. K. Das' **Public Office, Private Interest: Bureaucracy and Corruption in India**. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001) is explicit.

Nadeem ul Haque and Musleh-ud Din study is an outcome of a Round Table Discussion on civil services held at the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE) on 27 May 2006 in Lahore. It consists of a wide variety of primarily short papers by economists, retired civil servants, former ministers and academics. The book is organized according to the proceedings of the conference and includes an Executive Summary of the issues highlighted at the conference followed by keynote addresses, short presentations and a summary of findings while the Appendix includes detailed papers on Governance, Public Private Sector Pay Gap and the Pension System.

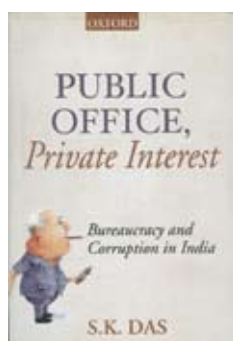
Shahid Kardar in his paper *Reforming the Civil Servants' Pension System* broadens the discussion on civil services reform by arguing that we first need a consensus on the role of the government by differentiating among the goods and services that the governments needs to 'pay for and provide', 'neither pay for nor provide' and 'pay for but not provide'. He argues that Education is a public good that the government needs to pay for but not necessarily provide by quoting research results that the private sector can provide better education at a lesser cost than the government. Further elaborating he argues that the government rather than an efficient provider of public goods and services has instead become an employment bureau. Continuing on the broader perspective, a few authors



Nadeem ul Haque & Musleh-ud Din

**Public Sector Efficiency – Perspectives on Civil Service Reform**

PIDE, Islamabad, 2007



S. K. Das

**Public Office, Private Interest: Bureaucracy and Corruption in India**

Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001

analyze the relationship of Civil Servants and the political leadership. They critique the 1973 civil services reforms of Z.A. Bhutto arguing that the withdrawal of protection affected the impartiality and intellectual integrity of civil services by creating a patron client relationship between the executive and the bureaucracy. Thus civil servants, who are meant to be a check and guide on populist inclination of politicians by strictly following the rules of the state, instead became political partisans and tools in their hands. Still the discussion regarding the level of insulation of bureaucracy with the two extremes 'frequent transfers by political governments' or 'complete unaccountability' continues. The other debate of whether the civil servant should strictly be a policy executor or also a policy maker is touched upon but never discussed in detail.

The functioning of Civil Services is yet another aspect discussed. Instead of discussions on minute details this study provides frameworks for analyzing the broad subject. The authors choose five broad areas, first; *Incentives, Evaluation, Training and Norms Et Values* and second, *Decentralize, Professionalize and Autonomize*. An analysis of Pay Structures include long versus short and overlapping pay scales while monetizing of perks seems to enjoy a broad consensus among all participants. Nadeem ul Haque drills the point home by arguing that perks insulate public servants from the realities of life experienced by ordinary citizens such as renting houses, paying bills and paying for cars while the lack of cash (owing to low cash salary) leads to outright corruption or purchasing of subsidized land in various government housing schemes.

The other three areas highlighted but not discussed in detail include the (1) Generalist versus the Specialist, (2) the lack of accountability – among the 865,000 public sector employees in the Punjab Government, only 102 were charged for irregularities from 1985 to 2000 with a conviction rate of 20% and (3) Efficiency – during the 98 year rule of the British in Punjab, each district produced three gazetteers a year while not one has been produced in the last sixty years despite the allocation of funds. For quality and training, the deterioration of the general university system which feeds the civil services and the role of Human Resources Development Department which only concentrates on the procedural dimension of personnel management are mentioned.

Das' study widens the scope and scale of the discussion on the functioning and the need of civil service reform. He argues that the legal 'steel frame' that the British created maintained politics and administration as separate compartments and after independence India failed to retain that fine distinction. The Indian Administrative Service (IAS), the Indian Foreign Service (IFS), the Indian Police Service (IPS), and the Central Services, Class 1 and II. He draws a comparison between the recruitment pattern and the worldview of Indian Civil Service (ICS) and the Indian Administrative Service (IAS). The ICS were elitist, aloof, well paid, rule abiding, and used public office for private gain in rare cases. The ICS is glorified. While the IAS, with the expansion of cadre, decline in substantive salary, political interference, deterioration in quality of manpower, were more vulnerable to bribe and graft.

Weaving a relationship between corruption and public bureaucracy the study revolves around three sets of arguments: first, weakening of recruitment procedures and violation of the principle of merit; second, poor vigilance by anti corruption institutions and third, lack of vision on the part of political leaders and political parties. Das, asserts, 'The public bureaucracy in India is rated as one of the most corrupt in the world' he finds it perturbing that corruption is, 'pervasive', 'organized', 'monopolistic' and has 'colonized the entire public bureaucracy'. He does not provide sufficient empirical or anecdotal evidence about the scale of corruption but he persuasively argues that the bureaucracy in India is corrupt because of procedural and institutional reasons: relaxation in age limit (from 21 to 28), increased number of chances (4 and the Reserved category could take up to 11) to take the examination, reservation of seats for the Backward Castes have compromised the competitive spirit and nature of the civil service examination, discouraging talented candidates to participate in the examination. In short, the best and the brightest are shying away from joining the civil services in India. Since 1994, the government is implementing Mandal Commission's recommendations; providing Reservation for the Backward classes. Resultantly, "a total of 50 percent reservation has now been made for candidates belonging to the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and other Backward Classes."(p.84) this, influx of lower castes into higher civil service is seen by Das as promoting patrimonial tendencies and corruption in the bureaucracy.

He, aptly observes that it is important to educate the citizens on the social evils of corruption; informed citizens not only act as watch dogs to monitor the performance of bureaucrats but also promote an environment that makes bribery, graft and nepotism socially unacceptable.

Das is persuasive in arguing that the political leadership and political parties are instrumental in establishing the foundation of an efficient bureaucracy. In Hong Kong, Singapore and Japan, the political leadership was shrewd and skilful in defining the parameters of an accountable and efficient bureaucracy. The politicians did not use transfer as an instrument of punishing the civil servant, and provided attractive salary package; allowed internal controls, thus public bureaucracy, thrived and contributed towards economic development, political order and efficient public service. On the contrary, Das portrays Indian politician obsessed with controlling the postings and transfers of the bureaucracy (does sound familiar!). With each change of government at least 3,000 officers are routinely posted and transferred – 'transfer industry' is a lucrative business. The number of officers transferred measures a new government's authority. Das' insights on the subject are insightful and provocative and as Pakistan makes a transition to democracy, the politicians and policy makers could learn a lesson or two. In fact we feel that the Charter of Democracy signed by Pakistani political parties in May 2006 is a very important document that spells out the principles of representative government and good governance. Besides making a case for free and independent media and independent judiciary, it also promises a 'neutral civil service, rule of law and merit'. If this promise was to be translated into policy, governance could improve considerably.

Das' comparative analysis of Japanese, Indian and Singapore's public bureaucracies is instructive, giving the readers an insight on why bureaucracy in Singapore, Hong Kong and Japan continues to be efficient and by and large corruption free. In Singapore, efficiency, merit and performance based promotions facilitate corruption free public bureaucracy. In case of Japan, competition, pay scales, strict merit and adherence to the principle of seniority produces conditions for an efficient and relatively corruption free bureaucracy. Das underscores that in Singapore and Japan the political parties and their leadership made a deliberate and conscious effort to distance themselves

from bureaucracy and develop it as an instrument of good governance, while in the Indian case the political leadership did not show the will or capacity to build bureaucracy as an autonomous and effective tool of governance. He laments the decline of civil service in India and invokes the success stories of Hong Kong, Singapore and Japan and draws the attention of politicians and policy makers to learn from the experience of these countries. Besides revamping anti-corruption institutions and laws the citizens need to be educated, informed and their level of awareness should be raised to the level that they show zero tolerance and social acceptance for corruption. The analysis is comparative and in depth, particularly in Das' work but neither work provides any concrete recommendations.

Pakistani policy makers, donor agencies outlets and scholars are working on issues of corruption, civil service reform, recruitment and training could benefit from the information and analysis provided by the two studies. The policy makers, academia, researchers and political leaders may find these books useful tools in framing the agenda for civil service reform and improving governance in Pakistan.

### The Charter of Democracy Pledges

"19. Governance will be improved to help the common citizen, by giving access to quality social services like education, health, job generation, curbing price hike, combating illegal redundancies and curbing lavish spending in civil and military establishments as ostentatiousness causes great resentment amongst the teeming millions. We pledge to promote and practice simplicity at all levels.

20. Women, minorities, and the under privileged will be provided equal opportunities in all walks of life"

## Note on the Environment

### Watch Out! Water Shortages are Coming

Environment is considered the biggest challenge of the 21st century as nations of the world are slowly waking up to the fact that the developmental models of the last century are not sustainable and will have to be significantly modified to preserve livelihoods. The CPPG would like to draw the attention of our readers, opinion builders and policy makers on the distressing situation of **water availability, usage and environmental costs** in the country:

#### Availability

- Per capita water availability in Pakistan has decreased from 5,000 cubic meters per year in 1951, 2,961 cm/yr in 2000, and 1,420 cm/yr in 2005 and will be below scarcity level of 1,000 cm/yr by 2010. With population reaching 267 million by 2015, water availability will reach 659 cm/yr.
- Groundwater table is dropping drastically in urban areas. In Islamabad, it has dropped by 50 feet between 1986 and 2001 while in Lahore by 20 feet between 1993 and 2001. Estimates indicate that groundwater in the sub basin of Quetta will be exhausted by 2016.

#### Use

- The excessive use of water in agriculture has left 36% of ground water resources as highly saline.
- 70% of river water diverted to canals and construction of dams upstream has resulted in 25 km intrusion of sea water up the Indus delta leading to the disappearance of mangrove forests by 2% a year. The mangrove cover has decreased from 345,000 hectares to only 160,000 to 205,000 hectares.

#### Environmental Costs

- In Lahore 3 out of 100 industries treat their effluent and there is no sewerage treatment plant. Only 5 % of national industries and 91% of multinational conduct environmental assessment or treat their effluents. Biological Oxygen Demand (BOD) levels are as high as 800mg/l and Mercury levels are over 5 mg/l while maximum allowable as per NEQS for BOD is 80mg/l and for Mercury 0.01mg/l.
- 40% of the water supply to urban areas is unfiltered and 60% of the effluents are untreated. Only 1% of the waste water is treated before being discharged into drains or rivers. 2 million tons of urban excrement is produced every year and 50% of it ends up in water. According to the report submitted by Water and Sanitation Agency to Punjab Environmental Tribunal, **the Lahore Canal is being polluted at 40 different spots between Jallo and Mohlanwal. In Karachi 400 million gallons of raw sewage is dumped into the sea every day.**
- About 5.6 million tonnes of fertilizer and 70 thousand tonnes of pesticides are consumed in the agriculture sector ever year and growing at 6%. 6 (Multan, Bhawalpur, Shaikhupura, Kasur, Gujranwala, and Lahore) out of 11 cities tested show an excess of arsenic and fluoride concentrations in their water supply systems.



Earth Day Walk  
at F. C. College



## Visitors and Activities

August 27, 2007

CPPG organized its first seminar on *Role of Religion in American Democracy* with Walter Russell Mead, Senior Fellow Council on Foreign Relations, New York.

November 01 – 04, 2007

The Director, CPPG participated in the Fulbright Association 30th Annual Conference on *People and Planet*, and was a discussant in two panels:

1. *Global understanding through cultural understanding*
2. *Strategies for implementing conference ideas*

November 08, 2007

A Panel discussion by Asia Society, New York, titled *Pakistan Crisis* included CPPG Director, Daniel Markey, a Senior Fellow for South Asia Council on Foreign Relations and Robert Templer, Director of the Asia Program International Crisis Group as panelists and Kiran Khalid, freelance broadcast journalist as moderator.

December 17, 2007

CPPG Director participated as panel discussant and lead commentator at Population Association of Pakistan (PAP) Conference on *Population and Regional Development Nexus* at Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU), Islamabad.

Winter 2007 – 08

The magazine of Columbia University in the city of New York published an extended interview of the Director CPPG as the lead article and cover story *Inside Pakistan: Is the Door Open to Democracy*.

March 12 – 14, 2008

The Director, CPPG participated in a panel discussion titled *Population, Resource or Source of Depletion* at the 23rd Annual General Meeting and Conference of Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE) on *Environment and Natural Resource Management*.

March 19, 2008

**John Gowdy**, Prof. Humanities and Social Science, Rensselaer University & President of International Ecological Economics visited the Centre.

March 24 – 25, 2008

The Director, CPPG presented a paper *Nationalism, National Identity and the Problem of Exclusion: The Case of Pakistan* at the *Pluralism in South Asia* conference in Colombo organized by National Peace Council of Sri Lanka.

April 24, 2008

The Director & Research Fellow, CPPG participated in a seminar *Religion and Politics in South Asia* at Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS).

April 25, 2008

The Director & Research Fellow, CPPG attended a conference on *Ensuring Stable and Inclusive Growth* at Lahore School of Economics (LSE)

April 14, 2008

**C. Christine Fair** along with **Andrew Wilder** met the Director, CPPG to discuss USAID's Role in Democracy Building in Pakistan.

April 29, 2008

**Anjum Khurshid**, Assistant Professor & Director of the Health and Behavior Risk Research Center, University of Missouri and Member Board of Advisors, CPPG visited the Centre.

### Forthcoming Events

June 11, 2008

A seminar on *Modernity, Post Modernity & Crises in the Muslim World: Prospects for Renewal and Renaissance*. Distinguished guest speakers: Dr. Ashis Nandy & Professor Suleman Sayyid.

Dec 2 – 4, 2008

The Ninth Annual Population Research Conference organized by Population Association of Pakistan (PAP) in collaboration with CPPG will be held at F.C. College (A chartered University) on *Population Dynamics and Security: Public Policy Challenges*.

## Centre for Public Policy & Governance comprises of:

Professor & Director

**Dr. Saeed Shafqat**

> PhD University of Pennsylvania

Research Fellow

**Raheem ul Haque**

> Masters Intl. Public Policy, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University

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