

Public Policy, Training, and Civil Service Reform

ANJUM KHURSHID

CIVIL SERVICE REFORMS

There are very few countries of the world that are satisfied with their public bureaucracies and civil service systems. Civil service reform is being discussed in Africa, Latin America, Europe and North America [Ingraham (1996)].¹ There are some that are trying to develop a career civil service and others that are fixing the problems of having a career civil service. There are some that are dealing with legacies of past colonial civil service systems while others that are struggling with identifying the role of civil service in a changing political environment. Whatever the case may be, civil service reforms are a topic of interest around the world. Each nation of the world is faced with the challenge of adjusting its domestic and international policies rather rapidly in response to forces of globalisation and technological change [Skogstad (2000) and Farazmand (1999)].^{2,3} The role of the civil service in economic development, governance, and public service is vital irrespective of the institutional and structural differences across countries. It is not surprising to see in the table below the number of civil service reform programmes funded by the World Bank in different parts of the world. The number of such programmes has significantly increased from 1980 to 2001.

Table

New Civil Service Reform Projects by Region and Year 1980–2001

Region	1980-86	1999-2001
East Asia and the Pacific	0	8%
Europe and Central Asia	18%	15%
Latin America and the Caribbean	27%	16%
Middle East and North Africa	5%	11%
South Asia	0	13%
Sub-Saharan Africa	50%	37%
Number of Projects	22	62

Source: Mukherjee (2001).⁴

Anjum Khurshed <anjum@mail.utexas.edu> is affiliated with LBJ School of Public Affairs, The University of Texas at Austin, Austin, Texas.

¹Ingraham, P. W. (1996) *The Reform Agenda For National Civil Service Systems: External Stress And Internal Strains*. In HAGM Bekke, J. L. Perry and TAJ Toonen *Civil Service Systems in Comparative Perspective*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press. 247–267.

²Skogstad, G. (2000) *Globalisation And Public Policy: Situating Canadian Analyses*. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 33:4,805–828.

³Farazmand, A. (1999) *Globalisation and Public Administration*. *Public Administration Review* 59:6, 509-522.

⁴Mukherjee, R. (2001) *Recent Trends in Lending for Civil Service Reform*. The World Bank. PREM Note No. 71. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

This paper will look at the role of civil servants in the policy process and training needs to perform that function effectively. The first part of the paper discusses the need for civil service reforms and why it is such a ubiquitous phenomenon. The second part briefly discusses civil service reforms from an international perspective and then gives a brief history of civil service reforms in Pakistan. The third part discusses the issue of civil service and governance and presents a framework for studying civil service systems. The next part of the paper traces the development of the field of public policy in the United States and links these developments to the training of civil servants in public policy. Finally, new developments in public policy that may lead to making of evidence-based policies and to good governance are discussed with special emphasis on the use of information technologies. The paper ends with a brief conclusion.

IMPERATIVES FOR REFORM

The need for civil service reform in a country varies among other factors due to its history, geography, culture, political system, and civil society. Ingraham (1996) broadly divides the imperatives of civil service reform into economic, political and social conditions. In 1989 the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) passed a resolution that linked “public sector performance and the overall performance of the national economy” and recommended that “[s]tructural adjustments must, therefore, include reform of the public management system among their targets”. [OECD (1990)]⁵ With increasing globalisation and competition for services, capital, and other resources, each nation of the world needs to develop government systems that can respond to the fast changing economic environment internationally. An OECD document declared back in 1990, “The need to cope with the rapid globalisation of the economy and to maintain international competitiveness has added a powerful new incentive for undertaking public sector institutional reform. All government ministries, even regional and local ones, must develop a capacity to follow, understand and deal with issues of international origin.” [OECD (1990)]⁶ The economic imperative for reform is one that has led to changes based on incentives, performance, and efficiency in civil service structures in most developed countries including Australia, United States, and others.

The other reform imperative is political. Link between civil service and governance is well established [World Bank (2000)].⁷ Civil service is part of the state and its political institutions. The relationship between civil service structure and the political system is bidirectional—as much as civil service is influenced by the political system, it also helps shape the political system. Pakistan is a good example where the civil service helped shape the political system for a long time [Sayeed (1958)].⁸ Simultaneously, the civil service itself has been significantly affected by changes in political culture and political thinking [Shafqat (1999)].⁹ In most cases these links are not apparent to a casual

⁵Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (1990) *Flexible Personnel Management in the Public Service*. Paris: OECD.

⁶Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (1990) *Public Management Development Survey-1990*. Paris: OECD

⁷World Bank (2000) *Reforming Public Institutions and Strengthening Governance*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

⁸Sayeed, K. (1958) The Political Role Of Pakistani’s Civil Service. *Pacific Affairs* 31:2, 131–146.

⁹Shafqat, S. (1999) Pakistani Bureaucracy: Crisis of Governance and Prospects of Reform. *The Pakistan Development Review* 38:4, Part II. 995–1017.

observer but in Pakistan's tumultuous history, many civil servants have played the role of king makers, others have worked as key political advisers to politicians, and some have even risen to the highest level in the overt political system. Politics has also attempted to shape the character and structure of the civil service in Pakistan. Whether it was the military regime of Ayub Khan in the sixties, the political activism of Bhutto era in the seventies, the islamisation and non-party based environment of Zia's reign in the eighties, the instability and adversarial politics of Benazir and Sharif governments in the nineties, or the devolution and economic revival efforts of the Musharraf regime in the 21st century, these political changes have influenced the thinking, performance, and character of the civil service in Pakistan. Each new political or military regime finds it most convenient and fairly popular to start on a programme to reform the civil service. In most cases, these reforms are focused on the higher civil services, which in Pakistan are known in the aggregate as civil superior services.

Finally, civil service reform is also a direct result of deteriorating social conditions. As implementers of many of the state policies, civil service is seen as the face of the government by the public and in this role it acts as an intermediary between those that govern and those who are governed. The public demand for civil service reform arises out of the frustration of the citizens with consistent failure of the government to deliver social services. Not only is there domestic pressure for such reform but time and again multilateral donor agencies have lamented poor governance as an impediment to provision of social services [World Bank (2000)].¹⁰ A case is often made by the civil servants that they merely implement policies and it is actually the political government which fails to develop a clear vision and sound policies for alleviating the suffering of the poor. While this argument may be acceptable for those in lower civil service cadres with limited role in policy formulation, the role of higher civil service in policy making cannot be denied so easily. Also, few members of the general public will disagree with the fact that "public service" is not very high on the agenda of most civil servants in Pakistan. The public is considered as a recipient of favours and concessions rather than as a customer [Jones (1997)].¹¹ This general discontent with the government services on behalf of the public, translates into a more focused displeasure with the performance of the civil service, hence the public support for civil service reform.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORMS IN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Civil service reform is not just a Pakistani phenomenon. This discussion is going on around the world, particularly related to the development and governance role of the civil service [Frant (1993)].¹² The failure of civil service structures and training to produce a civil service that may perform this role adequately has been widely noted by researchers and commentators [World Bank (1999)].¹³ Dwivedi and Henderson (1990)¹⁴

¹⁰World Bank (2000) *Pakistan: A Framework for Civil Service Reform in Pakistan*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

¹¹Jones, G. N. (1997) Pakistan: A Civil Service in Obsolescing Imperial Tradition. *Asian Journal of Public Administrations* 19:2, 321–364.

¹² Frant, H. (1993) Rules and Governance in the Public Sector: The Case of Civil Service. *American Journal of Political Science* 37: 4, 990–1007

¹³Barabara Nunberg (1999) Rethinking Reforms. The World Bank. PREM Note 31. .

¹⁴Dwivedi, O. P., and K .Henderson (1990) State of Art: Comparative Public Administration and Development Administration. In. O. P. Dwivedi and K. Henderson Ames (ed.) *Public Administration in World Perspective*. Iowa State University Press.

observe that “The role of bureaucracy in national development cannot be overemphasised....All development programmes require considerable direct involvement and participation by the bureaucracy at all stages of their formulation and implementation. . . It will not be inappropriate to suggest that officials brought up in the colonial administrative culture and wedded to the Weberian model of bureaucracy are totally unfit for the responsibilities of development administration”.

Unfortunately, there is little evidence of systematic analysis of civil service reform before it is copied from one national setting to another. The common belief that bureaucratic problems are amenable to common solutions underlies such policies. Halligan (1996)¹⁵ has documented the growing literature about diffusion of civil service reform policies. Eyestone (1977),¹⁶ Painter (1991)¹⁷ and Hill (1976)¹⁸ identify various modes of such diffusion of policies. The table below shows how various Australian policies followed introduction of similar policy initiatives in UK and US. Whether these policies were the result of careful deliberative policy making or merely the result of diffusion may need further evaluation. However, even the similarity of names between overseas policies and those adopted by Australia are striking.

Reform	Overseas			Australia	
	Name	Country	Date Introduced	Name	Date Introduced
Financial Management Central Personnel	FMI	UK	1982	FMIP	1983
Management Senior Executive Service	CSRA	US	1978	PSRA	1984
Efficiency Scrutiny	SES	US	1978	SES	1984
	Efficiency Scrutiny	UK	1979	Efficiency Scrutiny Unit	1986

Source: Halligan (1996).¹⁹

But as Ingraham (1996) points out “the popularity of policy diffusion in the area of civil service reform has contributed to a general tendency to choose a solution before a problem is clearly specified and to base expectations for reforms on political symbols and demands, rather than on careful analysis of civil service structures.” As a result there are budgetary, financial, structural, procedural, and relational reforms that are just copied from other systems without evaluating any evidence of their success. The adoption-without-deliberation of national reform policies from another system may help fix one problem but can also create several new problems. Policies that are adopted as a result of diffusion from another system do not remain the same when being implemented under

¹⁵Halligan, J. (1990) Development of the Senior Executive Service. Submission to Senate Standing Committee on Finance and Public Administration.

¹⁶Eyestone, R. (1977) Confusion, Diffusion, and Innovation. *American Political Science Review* 71:2, 441–47.

¹⁷Painter, M. (1988) Australian Federalism and the Policy Process: Politics with Extra Vitamins. *Politics* 23:2, 57–66.

¹⁸Hill, L. B. (1976) *The Model Ombudsman: Institutionalising New Zealand's Democratic Experiment*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

¹⁹Halligan, J. (1996) Diffusion of Civil Service Reforms. In Hans Bekke, James Perry, and Theo Toonen (eds.) *Civil Service Systems in Comparative Perspective*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press. 227–246.

different political, cultural, and social conditions [Roger and Kim (1980)].²⁰ It is therefore important that reform policies are instituted after careful examination and after adjusting for the indigenous social, cultural, political, and bureaucratic variations.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM IN PAKISTAN

Administrative or civil service reform is not a new concept in the history of Pakistan. Even as a young nation, it was very much on the agenda of the government. Burki (1969)²¹ describes three efforts conducted between 1948 and 1958 to reform and reorganise the administrative structure in Pakistan. One of these was the First Pakistan Pay and Services Commission in 1948, another study by Rowland Egger in 1953 and finally a study by Bernard Galdieux in 1955. The latter two studies were commissioned by the Pakistan Planning Board. Some of the other significant reform efforts of the past are shown in the table below. Shafiqat (1999) points to the fact that most of these reforms were accompanied by large scale purges in the civil service, thus shaking the confidence of civil servants and leading to increased politicisation of the services. It is worth clarifying that in most cases these reforms were focused on significant changes in the higher civil services with some cosmetic changes in the nomenclature and pay scales of lower strata of the civil services.

Table

Major Reports on Administrative Reform in Pakistan

Date Reported	Title of Report	Chairman/Author
1949	Pay & Services Commission	M. Munir
1953	The Improvement of Public Administration of Pakistan	R. Egger
1955	Reorganisation of Pakistan Government for Development	B. Galdieux
1961	Administrative Reorganisation of Pakistan	G. Ahmad
1962	Pay and Services Commission Report, 1959-62	A. R. Cornelius
1973	Administrative Reform Committee Report	K. H. Meer
1981	The Civil Services Commission Report	Anwar-ul-Haq

Source: Adapted from Jones (1997).

In his book *Bangladesh Civil Service*, Ali (2004)²² laments a similar reform philosophy in Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan). In describing civil service reforms in Bangladesh after 1971, he states “recommendations of reorganisation and reform of civil service were dominated by obsession with the concept of elitism, which had to be broken . . . the overemphasis on egalitarian approach to recruitment to and promotion in civil service may well lead to compromise in efficiency.” It is safe to assume that Ali’s analysis refers to the higher civil service, which pre-1971 was known as the Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP) in both East and West Pakistan. It may be argued that the policy response to the inordinate influence and control of the elite CSP on the political and administrative set-up of post-1971 Pakistan was not very different from what is described by Ali in Bangladesh. If the objective of civil service reforms was to fragment and disrupt

²⁰Roger, E. M., and J. Kim (1985) Diffusion of Innovations in Public Organisations. In RL Merritt and AJ Merritt (eds) *Innovations in the Public Sector*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

²¹Burki, S. J. (1969) Twenty years of the Civil Service of Pakistan: An Evaluation. *Asian Survey* 9:4, 239–254.

²²Ali, AMMS (2004) *Bangladesh Civil Service*. Dhaka: University Press Limited.

the institution of higher civil service without any substantial improvement in the quality or professionalism of its members, then such policies were destined to adversely affect the morale and working of the higher civil service. It can be argued that the Administrative Reforms of 1973 initiated a trend in civil service reform policy that aimed at diminishing the elite nature of the CSP by lowering standards and subverting meritocracy. Unfortunately, that trend has continued ever since. It also set the stage for strengthening the trend towards increased politicisation of the bureaucracy and establishment of patron-client relationship between politicians and civil servants. This disruption of the principle of meritocracy and of internal controls within the civil service led to an overt politicisation of the civil service that manifested itself openly in the nineties [Jan (1999)].²³ Surely there were aspects of the higher civil service that needed to be reformed and there still are, but a reform that instead of challenging the system to provide better professionalism and enhanced competence, promotes the opposite cannot be the optimal policy choice.

CIVIL SERVICE AND GOVERNANCE

The word civil service when used in common parlance in Pakistan usually refers to the civil superior services comprising such service groups as district management, customs and excise, police service, and income tax. In the literature on governance, civil service has also been referred to as “a political institution that promotes joint action among the many actors and stakeholders whose efforts must be bent toward the goals of public policy . . . an institution of governance” [McGregor (1996)].²⁴ Considering the variety of skills and knowledge required to perform the multifarious tasks of the civil service in its broader definition, it is not possible to discuss the specific role of the civil service system in good governance within the scope of this paper. We will, therefore, only focus on the role of the higher civil service in good governance through its contributions to public policy formulation in Pakistan.

There is broad agreement among policy makers throughout the world that an efficient and professional civil service is a necessary, though not sufficient, requirement for good governance in any country [World Bank (2000)].²⁵ It would be accurate to state that the world has moved beyond the old idea that civil service is for people with mediocre intellect while business and industry or science and technology is where talent is needed. Unfortunately this idea seems to still appeal to many intellectuals and politicians in Pakistan. Others also point to the declining intellectual standards in the civil service as a reason to expect little contribution from civil servants in any policy change in the country. Just to get a sense of how old this idea is, here is a quote from the First Pay and Services Commission report of 1948 regarding much higher salaries of the civil servants at that time:²⁶

²³Jan, A. (1999) Pakistan on a Precipice. *Asian Survey* 39:5, 699–719.

²⁴McGregor Jr. EB, and P. Solano (1996) Data Requirements and Availability. In *Civil Service Systems in Comparative Perspective*. 42–66.

²⁵World Bank (2000) *Reforming Public Institutions and Strengthening Governance*. Washington, DC: The World Bank

²⁶Pakistan, Government of (1949) *Report of the Pakistan Pay Commission*. Karachi: Governor General's Press, 28.

We do not think it is a right policy for the State to offer such salaries to its servants as to attract the best available material. The correct place for our men of genius is in private enterprise and not in the humdrum career of public service where character and desire to serve honestly for a living is more essential than outstanding intellect.

In an era where innovations in policy and business drive the global markets, any framework for reforms that promotes mediocrity in the civil service can only guarantee poor governance. Good governance involves solving problems with innovative policy solutions. Innovations like Grameen Bank's system of micro finance and Orangi Pilot Project that address some of the fundamental social problems of our times are not the product of mediocrity. Innovative policies require a professionally trained and talented group of individuals that analyse and study problems and come up with innovative policy responses under given circumstances. Good governance is difficult to achieve without having some of our brightest minds involved in the process.

The recent structural changes in the Pakistani civil service provide an opportunity to introduce reforms sagaciously. Pakistan has a well-developed and unique system of civil service [Kennedy (1987)]. It has been argued by some that the civil service failed to improve or evolve in its professionalism with the changing times and changing demands of public service [Kardar (2003)].²⁷ It still has the capacity and institutional presence to become a major partner in economic development and good governance in this country. As an elite service it needs to earn that status through superior training and better performance. Elitism *per se* is not an undesirable characteristic, as long as it is earned through merit and competition [Drucker (1998)].²⁸ The United States, which developed its government almost in stark contrast to the British system of governance [Morone (1990)]²⁹ is one of the few large economies that does not have a career civil service in the British, Japanese, or French traditions. Yet, in 1978 President Jimmy Carter signed a Civil Service Reform bill that created a Senior Executive Service, which can be termed similar to the elite civil service in Pakistan. Almost half of the US federal senior executive service positions are reserved for career civil servants and of the rest majority are filled competitively [Helco (1984)]. If placed in the historical perspective this shows that even a system which was clearly supposed to be a "spoils system" where the party that wins the elections can recruit its "own" civil servants, the need for attracting competent and talented individuals through a system of merit and open competition has been adopted. Similar Senior Executive Services (SES) exist in other civil service systems [Ali (2004)]. The table below compares SES systems in US, Australia and New Zealand and shows some of their salient features.

²⁷ Kardar, S. (2003) The Need For Civil Service Reform. In *Continuity and Change: Socio-political and Institutional Dynamics in Pakistan*. S. A. Zaidi. Karachi: City Press. 163–174.

²⁸ Drucker, P. (1998). In Defence of Japan's bureaucracy. *Foreign Affairs* 77:5, 250-253.

²⁹ Morone, J. (1990) *Democratic Wish: Popular Participation and the Limits of American Government*. New York: Yale University Press.

Table
Features of Senior Civil Service

Features	United States	Australia	New Zealand
Date Established	1979	1984	1988
Open Recruitment	Yes	Yes	Yes
Main Employment Basis	Career	Career	Contract
Executive Development	Yes	Yes	Yes
Performance Appraisal	Yes	Yes	Yes
Performance Pay	Yes	No	Yes
Service Identity	Yes	Yes	Yes

Source: Adapted from Halligan (1996).³⁰

Thus having an elite civil service is not the problem since most of these countries have a good governance system. The importance of this issue in the perspective of good governance is that such a civil service earns its elite status through a merit-based system. In the cases mentioned above and in other instances of good governance, it is the adherence to merit and the emphasis on professionalism that earns the senior civil service its elite status.

A FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING CIVIL SERVICE SYSTEMS

While a great deal of literature exists regarding the pros and cons of civil service systems, very few have attempted to explain civil service systems in a theoretical framework. Such a theoretical framework is very helpful in understanding and identifying what characterises a civil service system. It also facilitates comparative analysis of civil service systems and helps in the evaluation and adoption of innovative policies from other countries in a local perspective. Such comparisons allow us to identify training needs and required skills for an efficient and successful elite civil service. Morgan (1996)³¹ has come up with a useful framework to capture the varieties in various civil service systems. The framework uses two characteristics of any civil service system—(1) its professionalism versus its politicisation, and (2) its emphasis on process versus on outcomes or results. The following diagram shows a matrix to understand this model:

		Process	
Professionalism	I. United States	II. Nigeria	Politicisation
	Hong Kong	China	
	South Korea		
	Japan		
	France	IV	
	III		
		Outcomes	

Adapted from Morgan (1996).

³⁰Halligan (1996) *Civil Service Systems in Comparative Perspective*. HAGM Bekke and J. L. Perry TAJ. Toonen. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

³¹Morgan, E. P. Analysing Fields of Change in Civil Service Systems in Developing Countries. In *Civil Service Systems in Comparative Perspective*. HAGM Bekke, J.L. Perry and T. A. J. Toonen. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 227–247.

In the matrix a system like that of the United States, considered by most Europeans as a very process-oriented civil service, is placed in quadrant I. Most African countries and many developing countries according to Morgan would also be more towards those that value process more than outcomes. The Japanese, French and South Korean civil service systems, which follow a strict merit-based recruitment, will be those that value results. Hence they are placed lower on the vertical axis. On the horizontal axis the spectrum goes from a professional civil service system to one that is politicised, meaning it responds to the desires of the politicians more than to the public. French and Japanese bureaucracies are considered highly professional and insulated from political interference while that of the United States is more influenced by the Congress, hence its position farther on the right in the matrix. In presenting this framework, Morgan does not identify what should be the ideal position for a civil service system since that would depend on the historical, cultural and political environment of a country. Civil service systems, according to Morgan, are not static at a position. Over a period of time they can move within a quadrant or from one quadrant to another. The framework can be used during formulation of reform policies after developing a consensus on where we are and where would we like to be on this matrix. Once the desired placement is identified, the next step would be to work out such details as recruitment policies, training gaps, and performance criteria needed to move in that direction.

CIVIL SERVICE AND PUBLIC POLICY TRAINING

It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the various aspects of civil service training or even present training needs assessment in the absence of good data on past and current trends and their evaluation. What follows is a discussion of the role of formal public policy training in the civil service system and its potential contribution in moving towards the objective of good governance.

Civil servants play an active role in governance by being key participants in policy formulation and policy implementation in all sectors of the economy and in all parts of the society. The extent of the role of civil service in the policy process varies across countries depending on their historical, cultural, political and economic conditions. It is therefore essential that civil servants get properly trained in the field of public policy [Trendle and Siu (2005)].³² Good public policy is the backbone of good governance in any political system. Public policy training includes skills and analytical tools to perform policy analysis, recommend policy options, implement adopted policies, and evaluate the effectiveness of these policies. The traditional civil service training focuses on training officers to become effective administrators but can do more to impart public policy skills.

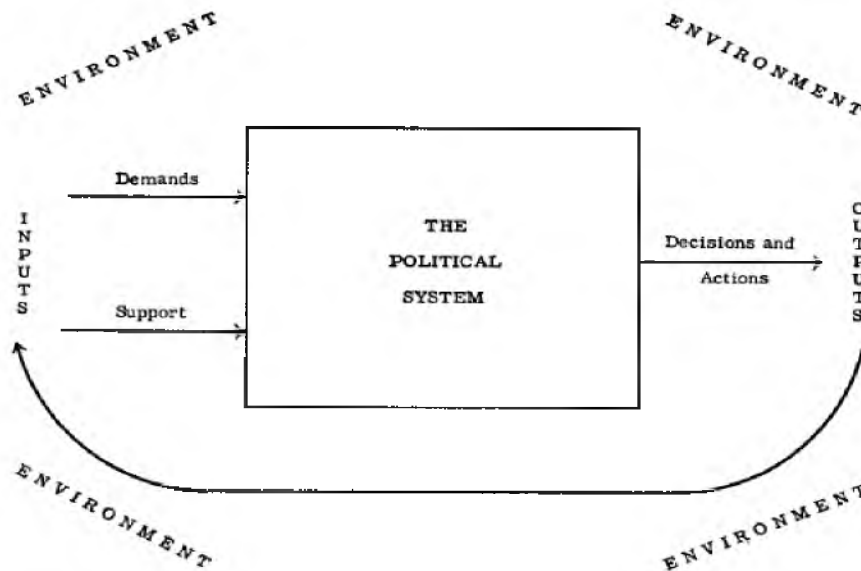
The field of public policy is now a well developed and well recognised professional and academic field in the institutions of higher learning in the United States. According to Sabatier (1991),³³ the origins of public policy in the academic discourse can be traced to the seminal work of Lerner and Lasswell (1951).³⁴ But public policy did not emerge as a significant field until the late 1960s with David Easton's *Systems Analysis of*

³²Trendle, B. and J. Siu (2005) Investment in Training and Public Policy—A Review. (Working Paper 35). Available at http://www.trainandemploy.qld.gov.au/resources/business_employers/pdf/wp35_investment_training_public_policy.pdf. Accessed December 3, 2006.

³³Sabatier, P. (1991) Political Science and Public Policy. *Political Science and Politics*. 24:2, 144–173.

³⁴Lerner, D. and H. Lasswell (eds.) (1951) *Policy Sciences*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Political Life (1965)³⁵ providing the first theoretical framework to understand the entire policy process. Easton uses a “black box” approach to explain the political system which gets inputs from the society and delivers outputs in the form of public policies. The inputs are demands from the public about problems in the society and outcomes are policy solutions to these problems. The table below is a schematic representation of Easton’s theory.



Adapted from Easton (1965).

In Easton’s theory, the civil service system will be an important part of the “black box” that converts public demands and support into policy decisions and actions.

The role of the civil service in the policy process can also be understood using some alternate models and theories of policy formulation. For instance, Kingdon’s theory of agenda-setting³⁶ describes various streams that combine at an opportune time (*policy window*) to set the agenda for policy change. It describes *policy networks* comprising of specialists that are interested in a certain policy problem. Civil servants form an important part of such policy networks. Lindblom’s theory of the “science of muddling through”³⁷ that appeared in 1959 described the policy formulation process of an administrator as a method of “successive limited comparisons.”³⁸ The role of the civil servant is key in making such incremental policies.

Concurrent with the development of theoretical frameworks for studying public policy in the United States, was the development of public policy degree programmes in academic institutions. Lyndon B. Johnson’s administration, with its Great Society

³⁵Easton, D. (1965) *Systems Analysis of Political Life*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

³⁶Kingdon, J. W. (1984) *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*. HarperCollins College Publishers. 205–215.

³⁷Lindblom, C. E. (1959) The Science of Muddling Through. *Public Administration Review* 19, 79–88.

³⁸Some other common theories include Stages Heuristic by Jones (1970), Anderson (1975) and Peter (1986), Truman’s theory of interest groups, and elitist theory of public policy whose main proponents include Mosca (1939), Pareto (1966) and Putnam (1976).

programmes of the sixties and its coterie of intellectuals like Walt Rostow, Robert McNamara and Dean Rusk, re-emphasised the role of public sector programmes in addressing social and economic problems. A need was felt to study public policy as a science and train future leaders and policy makers separate from the traditional public administration programmes. Ford Foundation and Carnegie Foundation funded programmes to establish or upgrade policy institutes into full-fledged public affairs schools at institutions such as the University of Texas at Austin, Carnegie Mellon University, University of Minnesota, Harvard University, and Princeton University. These institutions started degree programmes and later PhD programmes in public affairs and public policy. These programmes put a strong emphasis on policy analysis, political economy and understanding of policy development.

The National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA) is the official accreditation body for all schools of public affairs, public management, and public administration in the United States. According to their recent statistics there are about 33 schools that are identified as schools of public affairs and public policy. The number of public administration or public management programmes are well over 200 [NASPAA (2006)].³⁹ Although there are major overlaps in the curricula between the two broad types of programmes, a major difference is their emphasis on different skills. While public affairs programmes develop policy analysis, policy formulation and policy evaluation skills, public administration programmes focus more on public management [de Soto 1999].⁴⁰ Professional public policy training is not well developed in Pakistan. Many developing countries are in the process of establishing schools of public policy.⁴¹ These schools focus on economic analysis, policy sciences, and interdisciplinary approaches to work with quantitative and qualitative information and data to develop, assess, and evaluate alternative approaches to current and emerging issues.

However, public policy training can only translate into good governance when concomitant changes occur in the support systems for good policy making. A variety of factors and processes need to be in place to ensure sound public policy that is based on careful examination and evaluation of past experiences and current conditions. One recent development in the field of public policy that has formalised such concepts in policy making is the development of evidence-based public policy. It advocates the use of systematically collected data, its analysis using standard techniques and scientific evaluation of various public policy interventions to inform decision-making for the future.

EVIDENCE-BASED PUBLIC POLICY

The movement for evidence-based public policy is gaining momentum in most of the developed world. The movement formally started in 1999 in the form of an

³⁹National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA). Available at <http://www.naspaa.org/>. Accessed December 10, 2006.

⁴⁰De Soto W., C. Opheim, and H. Tajalli (1999) Apples and Oranges? Comparing the Attitudes of Public Policy Versus Public Administration Students. *American Review of Public Administration* 29(1),77–91.

⁴¹Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin has in the past partnered with Mexico, Brazil and Poland to develop and strengthen public policy programmes. Based on personal interview with graduate adviser at LBJ School. December 2006.

international effort called Campbell Collaboration.⁴² It followed in the footsteps of a major revolution in the practice of medicine called the Cochrane Collaboration. In an influential book published in 1972, Archie Cochrane, a British epidemiologist, highlighted the fact that people who want to make informed decisions about health do not have access to all the available evidence. In 1992, The Cochrane Centre was opened in Oxford, and since then systematic reviews conducted by the Cochrane Collaboration are the gold standard for evidence on best medical practices in the developed world. It gave birth to what is now called evidence-based medicine [Guyatt (2002)].⁴³ Similarly, evidence-based public policy is destined to become a standard for policy-making in the future. A Centre for Evidence Based Policy and Practice has already been set up under the Economic and Social Research Council in UK and other literature advocating this approach has also appeared recently [Davies (2000)].^{44, 45}

Some of the key factors that can help in developing evidence-based public policies include public policy training of decision makers, easy availability and access to government data, establishing new or funding existing policy research entities or institutes, using international policy linkages, and effectively using information technologies in governance. The need for public policy skills and training for civil servants has already been discussed. The requirement of credible data and research that looks at evidence of successful policies and developing international policy linkages are directly related to the concept of evidence-based policy making.⁴⁶ The use of information technology to help in effective and efficient public policy needs some elaboration.

Public policy training of members of the higher civil service should make them astute users of information and research that helps them arrive at informed decisions about social and economic problems. The collection of such policy-relevant evidence and data requires institutional development of these functions. Beginning in 1998 from the Punjab Information Technology Board⁴⁷ to the establishment of the National Database and Registration Authority,⁴⁸ Pakistan has made tremendous improvement in its use of information technology for data collection. Easy access to these data and their systematic analysis can be of immense help to policy makers who are trained to use such research in policy decisions. Training civil servants to use information technologies strategically can go a long way in improving information flows within the government and in delivering services to the public more efficiently. Such information flows will not only facilitate the

⁴²Formed as a result of a meeting in July 1999 at the University College London, it is named after famous American psychologist and thinker, Donald Campbell. <http://www.campbellcollaboration.org/>

⁴³Guyatt G, and D. Rennie (eds.) (2002) *Users' Guides to the Medical Literature: A Manual of Evidence-Based Clinical Practice*. Chicago, IL: American Medical Association.

⁴⁴See Aos, S., M. Miller and E. Drake (2006) *Evidence Based Public Policy for Prison Construction, Criminal Justice Costs and Crime Rates*. Washington State Institute of Public Policy. <http://www.wsipp.wa.gov/pub.asp?docid=06-10-1201>.

⁴⁵Davies, H.T.O., and S. Nutley and P.C. Smith (eds.) (2000) *What Works?: Evidence-Based Policy and Practice in Public Services*. UK: Policy Press.

⁴⁶For relevant discussion related to information technology policy see Khurshid, A. (2003) "Technology Policy and Pakistan's Economic Revival" *New Perspectives on Pakistan: Contexts, Realities and Visions for the Future*. School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University, New York. April 11-13.

⁴⁷For details regarding early efforts in information technology policy in Pakistan see Khurshid, A. J. Ghani (2001) "Lahore: A public-private partnership to enter into the global IT market," Background Paper for *World Employment Report 2001*. Geneva: International Labour Organisation.

⁴⁸See NADRA. Available at <http://www.nadra.gov.pk/>. Accessed December 12, 2006.

process within the black box of Easton's systems approach to policy making but also the process of getting inputs or demands from the public.

The effort to apply information and computer technologies in public sector, with particular emphasis on their application for service delivery is often termed as e-Government [Flowers (2005)].⁴⁹ The introduction of e-Government in developing countries is widely supported as a means to improve efficiency, transparency, and accountability in government institutions [Cochiglia (2005)]⁵⁰ Despite such enthusiasm about e-Government initiatives, some researchers estimate that only a small fraction of these projects are successful [Heeks (2003)].⁵¹ One of the reasons for such failures is the lack of training and buy-in from those who are implementing and integrating these changes into their activities. Civil service training that emphasises use of information technology, data, and research for policy-making and policy implementation can greatly increase the chances of success of e-Government initiatives and facilitate evidence-based public policies [(HRC 2003)].⁵²

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This paper has presented an international perspective on civil service reform with respect to good governance. Civil service reform policy can be best understood using theoretical and conceptual frameworks that are then applied to the particular case of Pakistan's civil service. Morgan's theoretical framework of civil service systems, Easton's systems analysis approach to policy process, and Halligan's research on diffusion of civil service reform policies are used to analyse issues related to civil service reform and training. The international experience of civil service reform policies is presented with the caveat that the unique historical, economic, social, and political environment of Pakistan and its civil service system needs to guide adoption of such policies locally. The paper has also emphasised adherence to the principles of merit and increased investment in the training of civil servants to ensure that the civil service continues to attract talented individuals. A case has been made for incorporating formal public policy education in the training of higher civil service to improve professional competence of civil servants as key contributors to the policy process. The policy process in Pakistan is rarely based on any systematic analysis and is almost never followed by effective evaluation. This haphazard approach to public policy is likely to lead to a long list of failed or failing policies in almost all areas of governance. Evidence that is based on systematic analysis of public policies can help identify best practices and help develop benchmarking criteria for future policies. Access to data, evaluation of policies, establishment of policy research programmes, and use of information technologies combined with a higher civil service that has a quality public policy education can contribute greatly to improving professionalism in the policy making process and to better governance in the country.

⁴⁹Flowers S., P. Tang, J. Molas-Gallrt and A. Davies (2005) Contrasting Approaches to the Adoption of E-Government: The UK and the Netherlands. *Journal of E-Government* 2:3, 51–83.

⁵⁰Cocchiglia, M. and S. Veraschi (2005) E-Government for Development: Rhetoric and Reality. *Journal of E-Government* 2(2), 3-18.

⁵¹Heeks R. (2003) Most eGovernment-for-Development Projects Fail: How Can Risks Be Reduced? *iGovernment Working Paper Series*, Paper No. 14. Institute of Development, Policy and Management, University of Manchester, UK.

⁵²Health Research Council of New Zealand. Partnerships For Evidence-Based Public Policy. Auckland, NZ: HRC. Available at www.hrc.gov.nz. Accessed December 12, 2006.