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TRAINING FOR DEVELOPMENT  
ADMINISTRATION IN PAKISTAN

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NAYYAR

## PREFACE

Interest in administration as an instrument for effecting desirable changes in the socio-economic structure of a country has always prompted students of this discipline to lay heavy emphasis on the role of administrators as depositories of power in particularly developing countries. Administrators as the incarnate representatives of government's policies both in the form of government instructions they carry and their behavioral pattern that determines the shape of such government actions have been a point of attention for students of administration in developing countries.

Developing countries have till lately launched on schemes of national development, economic or otherwise without realizing that while doing so, a new line of thought a novel concept of dynamic procedures and a different process of goal-oriented administrative techniques was being developed that could effectively be used for most of the government functions beyond the domain of law and order.

In Pakistan the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation, Village AID (Agricultural and Industrial Development) Program, Water and Power Development Authority, That Development Authority were the harbingers of development drive that now seems to be soul and blood of most of government functions,

from Export Promotion Bureau to Family Planning units.

Cautiously apprehensive of drawing an all-rosy picture of the country as the ideal of developing nations, I could say with sufficient evidence that the last decade in the history of Pakistan has been significant in determining the pattern of things to come and that through consistent and conscious efforts of the leadership in command. The Pakistani experience in the field of national development does offer a sufficiently comprehensive testing laboratory for students of dynamics of a developing society to testify the theories that public administration geared to development is significantly different from administration in developed countries.

My primary concern with the concept of development administration has been both a result of observations in Pakistani context and later readings of contemporary literature that has lately brought the concept of development administration in the fore-front. My personal discussions with Professor Keith Henderson of the American University of Beirut in early 1963 helped briefly in clarifying my belief that a separate offshoot of Public Administration discipline, more related to the needs of developing countries would soon come to the fore-front.

For reasons of business engagements the pursuit of my interest in the field was dormant for a certain period till some new literature, figuratively descriptive of administrative



experience in developing countries in various public administration periodicals and journals started to appear. The term Development Administration was already being used without a tinge of doubt about its legitimacy as a sub-discipline in the field.

The second most important strand of thought that resulted in may limiting the topic to only the training aspects of development administration was the conviction that cultivation of proper attitudes and behaviour in administrators would remain the most significant single element for the success or failure of any development efforts, particularly in absence of institutionalised determinant forces in the developing countries.

Training of administrators, both for inculcation of right attitudes and for technical know-how of effective administration would therefore be an important field of research and reform; hence the topic of the thesis: Training for Development Administration in Pakistan.

I owe a lot in my efforts to produce a comprehensive work in this field to Dr. Adnan Iskandar Chairman of the Department of Political Studies and Public Administration, for his continuous guidance and helpful encouragement in tackling this new field of research in Public Administration.

Lots of friendly advice and scholastic help in clarifying thoughts and bringing out conclusive details has been offered by my friend and colleague Mr. Sarfaraz H. Ansari, also a graduate of A.U.B., to whom my gratitudes are due. Mr. M. A. Basith general manager, West Pakistan Industrial and Development Corporation, has been an enlightening source of information on the actual working details of the most important single government agency engaged in development work in Pakistan. I also acknowledge my indebtedness to Miss Huda Assaf and Miss Samia Assaf for their painstaking effort to collect my scrap-notes, detached references and off-hand dictations into a properly framed presentation of this study in typed form.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Public administration is generally viewed as the rational tool for implementation of public policy. Entry and advancement in bureaucracy being based on proper qualifications for a certain type of work, and working within a framework of law, bureaucratic organization makes for predictability, standardisation and certainty. In theory, at least, the bureaucrat is taken as the objective instrument of popular will. His position involves an "office" with a precise enumeration of power the exercise of which is to be distinguished from his authority as a person. He exchanges his professional expertise and competence for security and salary (1).

The present study posits that public administration is profoundly influenced by beliefs and cultural norms of the society in which it operates. Certain behavioral traits, such as, objectivity, discretion, precision and consistency, "are advantageous for the efficient and hence successful performance of action on behalf of the government" (2).

Thus the administrator may be expected to conform to

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1. John M. Pfiffner and Robert V. Presthus, Public Administration Fourth edition (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1960) pp. 44-46
  2. Carl Joachim Friedrich. Man and His Government. (New York: McGraw-Hill Company, Inc; 1963) p. 470

a conduct reflecting desired traits. However, one should bear in mind that

What kind of conduct will be enforced is partly a question of the general beliefs prevailing in a particular political community...it cannot be detached from cultural context, and such a yardstick as "rationality" is likely itself to be culturally determined, as it expresses a particular religious and convictional background which shapes the notion of what reason and rationality demand... Western students of bureaucracy have been inclined to overlook their own culture-bound notions of what is rational. The rationality of an administrative service cannot be wholly detached from the human context within which occurs the reasoning to which such rationality refers (3).

Moreover, public administration in developing countries performs roles which are substantially different from those it performs in developed countries. As the educated and influential people in the former countries are concentrated in government bureaucracies, "social reform movements will be largely conceived within such bureaucracies" (4). Statutory origins are only one and, perhaps, less effective source of socio-political demands in developing states. A most important source is the internal resources of the bureaucratic system, including what it conceives its role in the political order and its capability of fulfilling that role (5).

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3. Ibid., p. 472.

4. Jack D. Mezirow, Dynamics of Community Development (New York Scaecrow press, 1963), p. 3

5. Ralph Braibante et al-Asian Bureaucratic systems emergent of British Imperial Tradition (Durham: Duke University press, 1966), p. 5.

The administrative process in these countries is thus a particular kind of public administration, namely, development administration.

In order to appreciate the tasks of development administration, the second chapter of this study is devoted to a discussion of development and development administration in general. Attempt has been made to show that development, although a complex process of socio-psychological and politico-economic change, is generally associated by ruling elite with economic development and planning for it is done as such. It is the complex tasks of development which assigns a different significance to the administrative process in the developing areas. Development administration, it is suggested, is a useful concept when dealing with areas where planned change under the direction of government is preeminent. We corroborate with the new trend-development administration.(6) The present study is a case study in development administration relating to training in that field in Pakistan. Cultural and socio-political conditions having major influence on administrative process, the third chapter is devoted to that topic. It is shown that recent past, namely, the British rule has

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6. Edward W. Weidner, "Development Administration: A new Focus for Research", in Heady, Ferrel and Stokes, Sybil L; eds; Papers in Comparative Public Administration (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute of Public Administration, University of Michigan, 1962), pp. 97-115.

greatly influenced the administrative structure and behaviour.

The prevalence of the English language in the higher bureaucracy creates problems of delegation of authority and communication, and relations with the people. The socio-economic structure exerts pressures on the administrator and modifies whatever rationality he is expected to pursue. The weak political process tends to concentrate power in the hands of the bureaucracy.

The fourth chapter discusses general administrative reform measures taken, and planning units and their relation with the web of institutions responsible for implementation. While a tolerably efficient planning machinery and, to some extent, administrative system have come into being, several deficiencies still exist. A most important one is that of attitude of the administrator. One of the methods of remedying it is seen in the improvement role of training.

Training policy and training institutions in Pakistan are described in the fifth chapter. The Sixth chapter appraises the various training programs in terms of quality of training staff, library facilities, training methods and materials, and motives of trainees. It is suggested that training alone is not enough. It may impart knowledge about administrative skills but that does not ensure appropriate behaviour. Training should compliment general administrative reform, particularly, reform in the service structure so that



effects of tight bureaucratic status system are minimised.

There is a great tendency in literature on Pakistani administration to concentrate on the higher bureaucracy and even among it, on the Civil Service of Pakistan consisting of some four hundred officers. There is virtually no information on other central services, nor provincial services and other lower strata of bureaucracy. Even those incharge of training in Pakistan tend to neglect the non-central services. While there is elaborate program for training the CSP officer, virtually no mention is made of the other services.

No evaluation or descriptive work on training activities of several other institutions has appeared. Their own version of what they are doing is not only scant and fragmentary but also, and mainly, public-relations type. A concerted effort by University of Pittsburg and Syracuse, Indiana and Michigan State Universities is being made to explore effectiveness of institution-building in developing countries, and Pakistan Administrative Staff College is one of the primary institutions to be studied under this project.

CHAPTER TWODEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATIONSection one: Concept of Development

Social science disciplines have not as yet been able to find precise terms for describing social phenomena. Terms are used "inconsistently and incoherently"(1). The lack of precision in terminology leads to misunderstanding among communications in the same discipline, and hinders communication and cooperation among the disciplines with common concerns and/or common referents. The same term may be used in different ways and a term taken from daily use and given specialised meaning in a discipline may be understood in its everyday sense (2). Certain terms like democracy, carry emotional overtones and have contradictory meanings in different situations. The confusion in terminology has been compounded in fields "much concerned with possible reform or with establishing guidelines for important decisions and are usually termed as policy sciences.

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1. Rollo Handy and Paul Kurtz: A current Appraisal of the Behavioral Sciences "Behavioral Research Council Bulletin" (Great Barrington, Mass: Behavioral Research Council, 1964), p.11. The book contains chapters on such disciplines as anthropology, sociology, history, economics and political science. A section is devoted in every chapter to "problems of terminology".
  2. Ibid; passim.

They are thought as directly relevant to the problems of, say, national policy"(3). Political science and economics are taken as typical policy sciences. They are also identified as policy sciences of development (4). They have gained importance due to international diplomatic concern about newly emerging and often poor countries of the world on the one hand, and interest of scholars associated with diplomatic concern, or engaged in testing, varifying and building social theories, on the other. The new nations generally described as "Underdeveloped" are receiving great attention, nationally and internationally, to develop them. Hower, development as such has been given no precise definition as yet.

The socalled developed countries are described in terms of economic achievement and material well-being. The single most measure is per capita income insofar as it reflects stand-ard of living. Thus they are distinguished from underdeveloped countries on economic criterion. Per capita income, however, is profoundly affected by the volume of available resources provided by nature, foreign corporations and donors of external aid, and relative density and size of population. Thus it may not be a valid basis to distinguish between two countries as to which is developed and which is not.

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3. Rollo Handy, Methodology of the Behavioral Sciences (Springfield, Illi nois; 1964) pp - 98 - 99.
  4. Lasswell, Harold D. "The Policy Sciences of Development" World Politics, Vol. 17, No. 2 (January 1965), 286-309.

Per capita income in Kuwait may be higher than Denmark, yet intuitively, one feels that Denmark is more developed than Kuwait. (5)

The single economic criterion gives rise to underdiagnosis of the problems of underdeveloped countries. It misidentifies "development" with "economic development". Most people come to mean economic development when they think of a developed status of a country. Development is misidentified with more goods and services, better housing, more employment and more efficient and comfortable production methods (6). The underdiagnosis of the problem involved in the post-World War II efforts and programs as simply economic in character also led to faulty approaches to rectify the situation (7).

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5. Fred W. Riggs, "Administrative Development: An Elusive Concept" in John D. Montgomery and William J. Siffin, eds; Approaches to Development: Politics, Administration and Change (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966), p.231.
  6. Irving Swerdlow, "Economics as Part of Development Administration" in Irving Swerdlow, ed. Development Administration: Concepts and Problems (Syracuse; Syracuse University Press, 1963), p.104.
  7. Even for such educated people as USAID administrators. "The real meaning of development is economic development. For them, the two terms are interchangeable; AID is, in effect, Agency for International Economic Development". Robert A. Pakenham "Political Development Doctrines in the American Foreign AID Program", World Politics Vol. 28, No. 2 (January 1966) p. 214. True, interest beyond economic affairs may be taken as against national sovereignty of the recipient country but that should not deter educated people engaged in international development programs to conceive of development as something more than simple economic criterion.

As development was identified with economic development, the latter was thought of depending solely on economic factors, thus making development activity as the legitimate field for economists who conceptualised growth as a sequence of levels or stages. This made it possible to think of development as progress toward self-sustaining process of accumulation of economic value. The underdeveloped countries could be developed if such missing elements as technical knowledge or know-how, capital, specially trained manpower and a sound plan for using capital, manpower and technical knowledge were provided(8). The standard prescription for economic development, therefore, was to obtain assistance from abroad, take steps to increase the supply of domestic savings and of capital from both domestic and foreign sources, training of men abroad and at home, and formulation of plans (9). However, it was soon realized that "entrepreneurship, capital formation, labor transfers, technological innovation or rationalisation of production and distribution depend upon and interact with a complex social matrix"(10).

Religious doctrines regarding money and interest may affect economic growth. Family obligations may not permit to choose efficient personnel, or to buy and sell in the most

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8. John Kenneth Galbraith, Economic Development in Perspective (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp.6-7.
  9. Ibid.
  10. Wilbert Moore "Social Framework of Economic Development" in Ralph Brainbanti and I J. Spengler, eds; Tradition, Values and Socio-Economic Development (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1961), p.51.

advantageous markets. Social customs may hinder an able person from taking up business careers. "Whatever the values at stake whether religion and morals, affection and loyalty, skill and taste, enlightenment and Well-being, respect or power, they are sure to effect economic growth (11). This, however, does not mean that all those factors are invariably adverse. This is only to indicate that economists had to be explicit about the interplay of production with all factors of the social process. In fact, the role of theory, ideology and non-economic values was recognised and rate and direction of development were to be seen as depending upon emotional and intellectual pre-despositions of the elites as well as the masses (12).

To see economic development as depending upon and interacting with a complex of forces is to recognise that development is more than economic growth as such and that it is a process in which socio-psychological, politico-ideological and economic factors are interrelated and have impact on one another. The development is a seamless web of interacting forces, a resultant of individual effort and collective planning, of harnessing the physical and human resources to the desired goals as well as the capacity to harness such resources.

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11. Lasswell, op.cit., 288.

12. Spengler, "Theory, Ideology, Non-economic Values, and Political-economic Development" in Braibanti and Spengler, op.cit., pp. 3-56.

Indicators of development usually are in obvious forms of industrial growth, higher literacy rate, better and faster means of communication, better health, lesser epidemics and diseases, lesser unemployment, shorter working hours, more recreation centres, higher degree of specialisation, a political life emphasising individual rights, social justice and tolerance, and well-developed media of public opinion. Various fields of human endeavour are institutionalised which in their dynamic interrelationship constitute qualitative transformations making for efficiency in society's capacity to resolve ever-arising new problems.

Development as National Goal:

For underdeveloped (or developing) countries, the indicators of development have come to be as goals for achievements. However, their efforts in plans indicate that a strong emphasis is placed on economic factors such as higher per capita income, higher rates of savings and investments, et cetera. A look at a typical plan of a country, say, Pakistan would reveal that there is strong bias toward economic growth, and to develop the agricultural and industrial potential of the country (13). Expenditures in such fields as health and education are viewed as investment to produce trained manpower suitable for economic development tasks.

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13. In Pakistan, planners of the third five years plan allocated 13,050 million rupees to industry as compared to 1,220 rupees to health programs. See government of Pakistan, Outline of the Third Five-Year Plan, 1965-70 (August 1964) pp. 40-41.



Comprehensive planning taking socio-psychological and cultural aspects into account has yet to emerge. Rather one may find heavy expenditures on such things as give a country "the aspect and not necessarily that substance of development", and which Galbraith calls programs of symbolic modernisation (14). A glittering airport, a prestige steel-mill, a 500 K.W. broadcasting transmitter, or building of beautiful parks, does not necessarily mean that a country has become developed. On the contrary, they could very well be the result of mis-allocation of scarce resources and, perhaps, deficit of payment balance. That national plans for development are narrowly conceived in economic terms, may be, due to the fact that planners do not firmly perceive the complexity of development process as a whole. However, a more important reason may be that economic matters are relatively easier to control. When economic obstacles such as, lack of capital, technical know-how and manpower deficiencies are removed, a great step toward promotion of development may have been taken. Moreover, planners usually are to give advice and however cognizant they may be of the importance of socio-psychological change conducive for development, they are not expected to talk about them, still less to advocate them (15).

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14. John Kenneth Galbraith, Economic Development (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), p.4.
  15. Irving Swerdlow, "Economics as Part of Development Administration", in Irving Swerdlow, ed; Development Administration: Concepts and Problems (Syracuse; Syracuse University Press, 1963), pp.104-107.



They may recommend to change institutional defects such as fragmentation of landholdings or land-tenure system but, again, they cannot authoritatively order to abolish them. They pin their hope on economic growth to bring about desired changes. "In any cases so little is known of the causes, results and relationships of these noneconomic changes that not much could be planned"(16).

#### Development and Change

Development denotes a major societal transformation and such transformation has always been in process. Social change continues imperceptibly until after a long time it seems to constitute a major difference from preceding time which becomes a matter of history. But contemporary process of societal change or development in the less industrialised (and developing) areas of the world derives its significance from the sense of urgency; people of these area, it is advocated, cannot wait for long. Thus the change is desired to be revolutionary (fast) and not evolutionary. It is also marked by the fact of optimism that it can be planned and thus guided. Change is no longer left to take its own course. The assumption here is that dynamics of human society can be understood and, perhaps, directed into desired channels.

The price of development is high. It will be illuminating to quote at length from a writer who has had a long experience in problems of contemporary planned change.

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16. Ibid; p.105.

"The people of a country which wishes to develop must at least be willing to replace the generosity of ceremony and festival by skimping thrift, to exchange the pleasure of lying on a cot in the shade for back-breaking work, to buy saving bonds and share certificates instead of adorning their wives. Most difficult of all for many societies, contract must replace status, a measure of planning, laissez-Faire. The rich, the educated, the well-born must accept equality with the poor, the illiterate and those without grandfathers. All must reconcile themselves to the disappearance of the easy freedom of the law-and-order State. One cannot have a welfare state without the pettifogging interference of minor officials (17).

Development thus involves a complete change in social customs, individual behaviour attitudes toward work and perhaps to life and how to live it. The magnitude of the task to effect transformation is tremendous. The only institutions willing to effect profound changes are represented by government which commands power to impose change, can try to mobilise resources through international assistance programs, if not through internal measures at all, to build infrastructure, and initiate other programs of socio-economic development. Government has to do many things simply because none other is willing or capable to do them. Also, if government is willing: it does not necessarily mean that it is fully prepared for the task. In several cases its zeal may be only matched by its incapability.

Section Two: Administrative Conditions in New States

Some newly independent states have had little political

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17. Maurice Zinkin, Development for Free Asia (London: Chatto and Winds, 1963), p.4.

and administrative experience and face acute shortage of qualified personnel simply to keep their governments a going concern. The capacity to support the burden of independence, in many cases, might not have been commensurate to aspiration that lead to independence. This is obvious from the fact that many have to retain the non-nationals previously serving the colonial administration. Organs of public administration as well as persons to man them are necessary before any smallest activity for development can be undertaken. Even the economists have declared that development process "undoubtedly involves the building of organs of public administration and the provision of an educated minority, a nucleus of people who can build the system of public administration and, for that matter, everything else", (18) (Emphasis is added).

Poorly developed public administration and the shortage of competent officials in several countries imposing great handicap to socio-economic development is well-recognized. Proposals were made in the early fifties that United Nations assist such countries to obtain services of experienced administrators to be appointed on temporary basis as integral members of civil services of such countries. Secretary-General of the United Nations advocated the creation of an "International Administrative Service" whose members will serve in the underdeveloped countries. Such proposals did mature in the forms of program for assisting governments at their request, to procure services of qualified persons to perform duties of an executive or operational character, it being understood that they would endeavour to train nationals to assume as early as possible the

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18. Galbraith, Economic Development, op.cit; p. 46.

responsibilities temporarily assigned to these internationally recruited administrators (19). Several governments have drawn on this program for assistance. Even the United Kingdom concluded agreement in respect of its dependent territories (20).

Some emergent nations have had long political experience (not necessarily of full democratic character) and sound administrative traditions. Their administrative systems have been overburdened with new functions along with, and different from, their traditional functions of maintaining law and order, and collecting taxes.

New activities of planning and implementing development programs and projects constitute, in several cases, "truly onerous array of functions...(which) would tax the administrative capacities of even the most highly developed countries".(21) While new functions understandably pose acute administrative problems, underdeveloped countries either lack experienced administrators or if available, they may not have

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19. Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Public Administration Branch, United Nations Programme in Public Administration (New York: United Nations (1967), PP.170-171.
  20. Ibid; p.176.
  21. Merle Fainsed, "The Structure of Development Administration" in Swerdlow, ed; op.cit; p.3.

suitable background and experience to perform the complex duties imposed by developmental tasks. Ample evidence is available to show that waste in governmental provisions of such services as communication and transport education and health, ill-enforcement of regulator policies, ineffective central planning, corruption and nepotism having serious consequences on administrative performance, and overcentralisation and poor coordination, in short, administration deficiencies, greatly hinder the development activity (23). Administrative reform oriented to national development thus becomes essential. Assistance for reform of public administration in developing nations has come from established states with financial support from United Nations, individual governments especially United States, organizations like Colombo plan, and philanthropic agencies such as Ford Foundation and Asia Foundation.

Experience of the developed countries and whatever body of knowledge concerning public administration has been gathered, have been drawn upon to improve administrative systems of the new nations.

Response to administrative reform proposals has been mixed: India accepted and implemented Paul Appleby's recommendations, while in Pakistan, reports of two administration experts were

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23. Riggs, "Public Administration: A Neglected Factor in Economic Development" in Annals Vol. 305 (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1956), pp.70-80.

not even made public. However, they indirectly affected later indigenous reform efforts (24).

There is a basic issue involved in such administrative reform efforts. The issue is whether a body of principles and skills of administration, detached from the surrounding tissue of culture, can be effectively applied without regard to spatial or temporal elements. To deal with the question, Braibanti divides the sphere of administrative action into two categories, namely, clerical and executive. In the first, the component of rationality is larger and it may be said that a body of principles embodied in management analysis activities does exist and that knowledge of skills about doing a routine job can be imparted.

However it should be emphasised that mere knowledge of the universal of a process has no operative significance because the mechanical efficiency of the process is affected by a series of attitudinal factors. Decision-making (The executive level) is far less autonomous as a mode of behaviour than is procedure. It is so enmeshed in cultural context that as a mode of behaviour it can hardly be transplanted. Empiricism in decision-making may not be fully applied in countries where a great value is attached to scientific processes; it is to be least expected in the emerging states (25).

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24. Ralph Braibante "Transnational Inducement of Administrative Reform" in John Montgomery and William J. Siffin, eds; Approches to Development: Politices, Administration and Change (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966), p.133.
25. Ibid; pp. 163-166.



Not only has there been less and less reliance on Western bureaucratic models to study the administration of the non-Western nations, but also there has been increasing recognition of the role of socio-cultural factors for possible transplantation of bureaucratic practices. The most vocal of the advocates of public administration as a strategic factor in development activity recognised that cultures manifest a totality of interactions and that "attempts to assist and advise persons in non-Western culture, whether in the public administration or in the substantive fields of economic development will undoubtedly be more fruitful the more participants become aware of the complex interrelationships between cultural values and administrative and economic problems. No single factor may properly be considered a basic cause of these problems. Rather, all factors are interdependently related to each other" (26).

### Section Three: Concept of Development Administration

Whether administrative reform efforts are producing desired results or not, the fact is that some "planned" change, hopefully for the better (the situation may worsen in some cases)(27), is underway. All problems of change both at macro level affecting the development goals in general, and at micro level affecting implementation of particular programs, including adminis-

26. Riggs, op.cit; p.80.

27. S.N. Eisensladt, "Breakdowns of Modernisation", Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 12 (1964), 345-367.

trative reforms should be seen in historico-cultural context. A common phenomenon in developing societies is the division of people into elites and masses, representing two different cultures within the same society (28). The causes of the phenomenon may differ from society to society but in several situations.

"The colonial or Western impact has undermined most of the old integrative principles and organisations both at the local and the national level. While partial solutions could sometimes be found for economic and technical problems, their very partiality only tended to emphasize the alien political framework and the malintegration in the solidarity sphere".(29)

Nationalist movement usually gathered Westernised professional and intellectual groups attracting active elements from villages, thus rendering countryside deplete of potential leaders. With the attainment of independence, the leaders usually became the ruling elites in the new countries and viewed the symbols and essence of independence in achieving such aims as economic development, independent place in the international arena, establishment of homogeneous political entity, et-cetra. The implementation of the new collective goals required the effective mobilisation of various types of resources including political resources of support for the

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28. Myron Weiner "India: Two Political Cultures" in Luncian W. Pye and Sidney Verba, eds. Political Culture and Political Development (Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press, (1965) pp. 199-244.
29. S.N. Eisenstadt, Essays on Sociological Aspects of Political and Economic Development (The Hague: Mouton Co., 1961),p.17.



various policies of the new ruling elites (30).

Conceiveably, entities such as political parties or movements, administrative system, associational interests and mass media could be used (31) as instruments of action and communication. Approaches may differ from country to country depending upon the calculations (and whims) of the ruling elites but public administration is an important recognised instrument of action and "many of the elites seem to rely exclusively on this single instrument" (32).

Public administration in the emerging states (and usually striving for development) influencing and, in many ways being influenced by socio-political and economic institutions and belief obtaining in new states is recognisably different from its counterpart in more established states. It is a particular type of administration because of the fact that certain characteristics of the cultural context in which it operates materially affect the nature of public administration. Moreover, the role of government attempting to reconstruct social systems, particularly economic development, is substantially different from the role of government in high income countries. And specific roles performed by public officials in underdeveloped and developed countries also

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30. Ibid; pp. 19-25.

31. Milton J. Esman "The Politics of Development Administration" in Montgomery and Siffin, eds; op.cit.pp.78-87.

32. Ibid; p.81

differ widely. The officials in poor countries have to make enough different decisions, adopt enough different policies, and engage in such different activities as to warrant a distinctive name for this kind of public administration (33), namely development administration. Recognising that administrative problems of "planning and control of plan implementation, as well as administration of public enterprises and other economic development activities" are tremendous, the public Administration Branch in the United Nations has established a new section for development administration (34).

The concept of development administration is a useful concept specially so far as it draws attention to the fact that programs of "reconstructive" nature do call for innovative capability to meet human situations.

Administering an urban renewal program and operating a water department in an American city, for example, may reveal substantial differences. In both situations functions performed, such as, establishing budgets, hiring and training employees, establishing lines of authority, and preparing progress evaluation, may be similar. But degree of difficulty encountered in executing these functions may be different.

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33. This is based on Swerdlow; op.cit; IX - XIV.

34. Department of Economic and Social Affairs, op.cit, p.71.

Amount of "pioneering" required, finding adequate procedures to move people who may be unwilling to move, to reconcile conflicting interests in redesigning a section of the city, and to establish new relationships involving major changes in how people and governmental agencies customarily do business are some of the factors which account for differences (35).

A case is being made for development administration as an academic area of enquiry. As an aspect of public administration, it is centrally concerned with development as a value being sought but which varies in strength and kind of allegiance it commands from country to country, and group to group and person to person in the same country. As a part of policy sciences, an object of research in this field may be to relate different administrative roles, practices and organizational arrangements, and procedures to the maximising of development objectives, (36).

Development administration in government refers to the process of guiding an organisation toward the achievement of development goals in socio-political and economic spheres authoratively determined in one manner or another (37).

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35. Swerdlow, op.cit; x.

36. Edward Weidner "Development Administration" in Ferrel Heady and Sybil F. Stokes, eds; Papers on Comparative Administration (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963), pp. 99-103.

37. Ibid; p. 98.

In some cases administration itself may happen to be the chief definer of and choose between values (38). Its activities, in any case, derive their significance from concrete contexts of development situations with several implications of socio-economic and political components. Our concern is with situation in Pakistan.

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38. Robert E. Ward and Roy C. Macridis, eds. Modern Political system, Asia (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc; 1963), p. 282.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Environment of Administration in Pakistan

#### Section One: Structure of Administration

Administratively Pakistan is organised along federal lines; functions of the State being distributed between the Central government and the Provincial government of East and West Pakistan.<sup>1</sup> The Central government is of Presidential type and head of the State is also the executive head assisted by a council of ministers. Members of the council are individually responsible to the president. Each of the two provincial governments is headed by a governor appointed by the president and discharges his functions by the help of a cabinet of ministers approved by the president. The provinces have their own legislatures.

Each province is divided into divisions (territorially) which in turn are divided into districts. Territorial district is the basic unit of administration and its head is called Deputy Commissioner.

The district performs the following functions:

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1. Faqir Muhammad Chaudhri, "public Administration in Pakistan" in S.S. Hsueh, ed; Public Administration in South and South East Asia (Brussels: International Institute of Administrative Sciences, 1962), pp.120-121.

- 1) to maintain law and order;
- 2) to collect land revenue;
- 3) to coordinate economic and social activities;
- 4) to develop local government, and
- 5) to foster private initiative in local affairs.

The district is well geared to discharge its traditional functions of maintenance of law and order and revenue collection but is ill-adapted to handle the other developmental functions.

### Section two: Structure of Services

The Civil Services are usually career services organised into four classes: Class 1, Class 11, Class 111 and Class 1V. The Class 1 services may be divided into four categories: first, the all-Pakistan Services include Civil Service of Pakistan and Police Service of Pakistan and their members can be appointed any where in Pakistan (2). Second, Central Services including Pakistan Foreign Service and audit and accounts, customs, income tax, central excise, post and telegraph and military accounts services. Third, Provincial Services are maintained by the provincial governments. Their members sometimes hold positions as important as those of CSP but in the province which they come from. Fourth, specialist services

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2. Muzaffar A. Chaudhuri, "The Organisation and Composition of the Central Civil Services of Pakistan", International Review of Administrative Sciences, Vol. 26, No. 3 (1960), pp. 279-292.

organised on a departmental basis. They are generally not eligible for appointment to high positions in the Secretariat. The only exception so far is health department in West Pakistan.

Class 11 includes most of the supervisory personnel and junior managers. Class 111 consists of clerical staff and other officials with routine duties. Class 1V employees do manual work and petty jobs.

### Section Three: Historical Influences

Pakistan is an old, predominantly Muslim, society which raised a successful demand for a separate territory carved out of the Indian subcontinent in the wake of the end of British Empire. Its culture has been fabricated in the course of a varied history composed of several strands including Hindu, Arab, Afghan and British (3).

If one could weigh the components of today's culture, however, Islam would rank as the single most influential element. The environment of administration is rich with Muslim heritage of the subcontinent. Islam was first introduced in Sind in A.D. 712 but its political control over India was completed by conquests of the thirteenth century. Several dynasties changed hands until Mughals

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3; Walter Wallbank, A Short History of India and Pakistan "A Mentor Book" (New York: The New American Library, 1963).

came to India and established a Muslim Empire whose systems of land tenure, revenue collection and of local government are still extant in substantially unmodified form. The <sup>a</sup> Pakistani is proud of his historical roots.

The last Mughul Emperor was dethroned by the British in 1857. The Muslims of India considered the latter a foreign body and, therefore, their first reaction was to keep aloof: The British, however, slowly but surely built administrative traditions and institutions very well adapted to ruling a great colonial empire. Several of them are continuing.

The influence of the British administrative tradition can be seen in the use of the English language attended with several administrative problems, in organization of administration, and in the behaviour of administrators, particularly those in higher echelons. English remains the tongue used in government offices and for higher education in both the provinces. Reform reports, Legislative debates, and budgets are recorded in that language. Even staff memoranda, drafts, notes and minutes are written in English except at the lowest levels of administration ie. village and tehsil (4), where records are kept in one of the two national languages. Above tehsil that is, at district level (5), records are kept in English

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4. Tehsil is a collection of several villages.
  5. District is constituted of several tehsils.



as well as in one of the two languages.

The problems connected with linguistic duality and the predominance of the English language are tremendous (6). To begin with, administrative communication from the district level to lower levels is in English but when the origin of communication is a level below the district it is usually in one of the indigenous languages. Action upon such a communication starts with a note by an assistant or superintendent in the office of district officer, and decision is normally communicated in the English language. So, levels below the district send their communication in one language and receive in another. One can only imagine the range of problems likely to be created. The officials who cannot write in a language, how, it will be asked, they can understand the meaning of a communication received in that language.

Assistants and superintendents at the district level while communicating upward have to reproduce in the English language contents of several communications received from lower levels. The fact is that most of them are not skilled in rapid use of English, and this creates confusion, delays and errors in completing forms and writing notes.

The phenomenon of linguistic duality also affects citizen-government relations. The citizen is deeply involved at the

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6. This discussion is based on Ralph Braibanti, Research on the Bureaucracy of Pakistan (Durham, N.C.: Duke University press, 1966), pp. 7-14.

district level. In the district courts, oral testimony is invariably in some dialect and magistrate has to translate, almost simultaneously, in English and dictate it to be recorded in that language. Decisions about all cases, civil and criminal are written in English. There is great possibility of a serious error; the very use of English language in the courts may create suspicion in the mind of illiterate citizens.

The ignorance of the English language even on the part of the literate exposes the citizen to commercial exploitation by unofficial brokers. A related consequence of this is of social nature; those who can use English fluently come to enjoy status with the ignorant people.

There is slow but discernable movement toward the use of the vernaculars in government business at lower levels. The trend has been set in motion by union, tehsil and district councils resolutions to conduct their deliberations and record their proceedings in the vernaculars. This has important consequences as it facilitates communication between citizens and important officials specially at tehsil and district levels. It is interesting to note that some top government officials and judges have espoused the cause of the vernacular languages. Also, opposition politicians now and then criticise administrators for their use of English language to keep themselves aloof from the common man, and this gives temporary upsurge to the cause of the vernacular languages, at least when the assemblies are in session. (adapted, Braibanti)

pp. 8-10

Formal organisation for administration in the central government as well as in the two provincial governments remains substantially similar to the one in the British period.

Division between secretariat and "attached" of operating departments still continues. More important is the continuation of field administration for traditional functions of law and order and collection of revenues (7). Smallest areas of administration are tehsil in West Pakistan and thana in East Pakistan. They are responsible to district which is the primary unit of field administration headed by collector, deputy commissioner or district magistrate as he is variously called. The collector in colonial period held all government power in the district. To Indian simple folks, he was the sole source of power, mercy and justice. He was assisted in the discharge of his responsibilities of law and order and revenue collection by a police superintendent and a corps of magistrates under him. Today, he retains almost all of these functions though there is a move for separating judicial functions from executive ones at the district level. His authority has been enhanced by the government's newly assumed functions and, consequently, creation of "nation-building" departments which ordinarily use districts as their field areas. He is to coordinate the work of departmental representatives in the district, and also evaluates it for higher authorities.

The most indelible mark of the British is that made upon the attitudes of administrators, especially at the

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7. A.H.Aslam, The Deputy Commissioner "Problems of Pakistan"1, (Lahore: Department of Political Science, University of the Punjab, 1957), pp.7-27.

upper level. The principal source of this influence was the famous Indian Civil Service a carefully selected and trained corps of top administrators instituted to rule over the Indians with platonic sense of guardianship (8). Mostly graduates of fashionable public schools, their pre-entry training was carried out during "most impressionable years of his life at Oxford and Cambridge, with their oligarchic traditions" (9). Also, in their social life, it was natural for the British to isolate themselves from the Indians. Their control over India facilitated recreation of such conditions as would provide for the fulfillment of more desirable British customs: horse riding, rose-garden cultivation and clubs. They could get comfortable residences and plenty of servants. They were thus successful in developing an institution which served their need well (10). When the ICS began to be indianised, the Indian element was thoroughly Anglicised in the manner suggested by Macaulay:

"We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indians in blood and colour, but English in taste and opinions, in morals and in intellect" (11).

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8. Ralph Braibanti, "The Civil Service of Pakistan: A Theoretical Analysis", South Atlantic Quarterly Vol. 58(1959), 258-304.
  9. Bernard Houghton, Bureaucratic Government (London: P.S. Kings and Sons, 1913), p.28.
  10. Henry Frank Goodnow, The Civil Service of Pakistan (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1964), pp.35-36
  11. Quoted in Braibanti, "The Civil Service of Pakistan", p.265.

The British influence is obvious from the fact that certain services, namely, Central Superior Services of Pakistan are considered "superior for the obvious reason that there are many Services inferior to them. Every post in the Superior Civil Services is a post of authority and responsibility, upon the filling of which in a satisfactory way depends the future of the State and the well-being of its inhabitants" (12). It is interesting to note that this profession comes from the Services themselves who claim an even higher role for Civil Service of Pakistan, the lineal descendent of the Indian Civil Service. The Civil Service of Pakistan is described by a government memorandum as consisting of men who "exercise many of the most important functions of government and on whom...lies the prime responsibility for securing the tranquility, well-being and good government of their country" (13). (Emphasis is added)

The Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP) is perhaps unique among the systems which have inherited the ICS imperial tradition; uniqueness lies in the fact that its sense of exclusiveness and imperiousness have been only slightly affected since independence. It diffuses pre-independence British values throughout the bureaucratic system while

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12. Goodnow, op.cit; p. 38.

13. Ibid.

controlling the arena in which reform is taking place. The British values were transmitted to the CSP through the ICS British and Muslim officers who came over to Pakistan: Civil Service Academy at Lahore - the baronial descendent of Hailesbury College. This pre-entry training institution for CSP probationers, was headed by a British officer from 1951 to 1960. There the probationers came in direct, daily classroom contact with the best in the ICS tradition (14).

The former ICS officers, although they are socially aloof from the newer members of the CSP, are placed in positions from where they can mold the behaviour, attitudes and bureaucratic style of entire ministry in their charge. Their social distance from the other members of the CSP does not preclude them from exerting strong influence on them. On the contrary, there is strong pull to the values and behaviour of ICS officers from all those below. "The social chasm merely enhances the glamor of the scene on the upper side" (15).

A big assumption of the training at the Academy continues to be that the probationers must be detached from the trauma of social and political activity about them in preparation for their assignments as district officers. In the field such detachment is considered essential in the

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14. This discussion is based on Ralph Braibanti, "The Higher Bureaucracy of Pakistan", in Ralph Braibanti, ed; Asian Bureaucratic Systems Emergent from the British Imperial Tradition "Duke University Commonwealth Studies Center" (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1966), pp.244-57.

15. Ibid; p. 251.



interest of both effective control and probity and is a direct consequence of the British administrative tradition in India (16).

### Section Three: Socio-Economic Environment

A majority of the people of Pakistan are illiterate, ill-clothed and inadequately-housed. Economy of the country is based chiefly on agriculture, industrial potential being limited by meagre power and raw material resources, especially minerals. Pattern of land utilization is not encouraging. In East Pakistan, about 75% of land is agriculturally productive. Annual increase of growth rate in agriculture which has been about 2% over the last years was more than offset by population growth rate which has been 2.5% percent annually (17). Thus self-sufficiency in food remains a big problem. Moreover, the slow rate of growth in agriculture not only limits the availability of exportable raw materials but also tends to dampen the demand for industrial products since purchasing power in the areas does not increase at a fast enough rate (18). Food Commission which submitted its report in 1960 acutely observed that in East Pakistan, population pressure, fragmented land holdings, declining bullock power, poor yields, low incomes, the lack of fair market system and communication facilities, were some of the important factors leading to mass poverty (19).

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16. Ibid; p. 291

17. Robert C. Campbell, Pakistan: Emerging Democracy (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1963), pp.19-21.

18. Government of Pakistan, The Third Five Year Plan. 1965-70 (Karachi: manager of publications, 1965), p.2.

19. Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Good and Agriculture, Report of the Food Agriculture Commission (Karachi: Manager of Publications, 1960), p.35.



A most important problem connected with land, especially in West Pakistan, is the problem of land reform. Tentative statistics show that 65% of the population own 15% of the land in holdings of less than 5 acres, while as much of land is owned by only 0.1% of the population (20). This pattern of land ownership has important economic consequences: it is uneconomical to use improved methods of tilling on a small holding of about five acres. Apart from this, however, land has come to be associated with special social status i.e. a man's possession of land and his right to the use of land also define his social status in the society. Concentration of economic power in the hands of the landlords widely dictates the pattern of village leadership: the ownership of land being the symbol of prestige, its management an instrument of power and its possession a security against want. These special attributes of land invest its owner with a privileged position in the village. The social position of the tenant is that of a humble servant of the landlord, whose influence over him is virtually unlimited. It has serious political consequences:

"The Right of franchise becomes an idle weapon in the hands of many and economic opportunities as well as political power continue to remain with the privileged few" (21).

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20. Report of the Land Reform Commission for West Pakistan, January 1959 (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1959), pp. 13-14.
21. Ibid; p. 20.

Serious consequences of the pattern of land distribution also occur in administrative realm. One factor why former ICS officers remain socially apart from the newer members of the CSP is the more prestigious nature of their social antecedents usually based on land (22). An off-heard comment by common people about some members of the Superior Services is that they belong to families of lower rank meaning thereby nonlandlord families. Officers coming from "higher" families may feel uncomfortable to work under officer of "lower" social background (23). Land reforms were instituted in early 1959 but their implementation has not only been slow but also has been tampered in favour of landlords, and "it cannot be said that they (reforms) achieved anything astronomical" (24).

There is general economic improvement but the impact of economic progress on the common man's material well-being may not have been marked. These are significant deficiencies: the average level of calories intake is below the nutritional standard coupled with unbalanced diet composition. People are ill-clad, ill-housed; provision of lighting, sewerage and drinking water is quite inadequate. Some 85 percent of population is illiterate, only 45 percent of primary

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22. Braibanti in Asian Bureaucratic systems...p. 249.
23. The word "Kameen" is used in this connection. It signifies "lower" rank. The "Kameen" class rendered and still continues to render, services to landlord families.
24. Herbert Feldman, Revolution in Pakistan (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p.59.

school-age children are going to school. There is only one doctor per 7,000 inhabitants. Maternal and infant mortality is very high (25).

The problem of unemployment is also a serious one. It is difficult to establish real magnitude of unemployment due to the inherent difficulties of measuring employment in a predominantly agricultural country. Nevertheless it is estimated that in the agricultural sector about 6 million manyears of labour were not utilised during the second plan. In addition there is unemployment and under-employment in the non-agriculture sector. For the terminal year (1965) of the Second Plan, it is estimated that about 7-6 million manyears were not used for any productive purpose. The Second Plan could not diminish the absolute level of unemployment (26).

The over supply of poorly trained, unsuitable manpower seeking employment has serious implications regarding administrative behaviour. Family ties, friendly relations and political connections are used as pressures upon the administrator to "fix up" someone who may or may not deserve the position. As government is the principal employer and affords a semblance of marginal security (27) to the government employee,

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25. Third Five Year Plan, p. 14.

26. Ibid., p. 217.

27. Braibanti, "Public Bureaucracy and Judiciary in Pakistan", in Joseph La Palombara, ed., Bureaucracy and Political Development (Princeton, N.J. Princeton University press, 1963), p. 384.

those in subordinate position make it a point not to disagree with the superiors even when the latter may be wrong. When livelihood is precarious, dispositions of aggression and self-survival, selfishness, and vindictiveness are likely to dominate and create situations where virtues of compassion and humaneness tend to be submerged (28).

The cultural fabric in which Pakistan's administration operates is complex. Pakistan is a traditional society of several sub-cultures. There are differences in habits, modes of living and dressing and more importantly of language among those living in East and those in West Pakistan. Inside West Pakistan there are differences among Punjabis, Pathans, Eluchis and Sindhis. A characteristic phenomenon is that of extended family with all its consequences.

An effect of extended family is that bradari group-group based on kinship - takes it as its right to exert pressure on administrators from among itself, often to seek undue advantage at the expense of the society as a whole. The result is obvious. Afraid of otherwise being alienated by his family, the administrator is prone to indulge in nepotism and corruption (29). He himself may nourish some tribal animosity and vengeance and may not distinguish bet-

28. Ibid; pp. 389-90

29. Ralph Braibanti, "Reflections on Bureaucratic Corruption" in M.R.Inayat, ed; Perspectives in public Administration (Lahore: Society for Public Administration, Civil Service Academy, 1962), p.66.

ween personal loyalty to his group and impersonal obligation to fixed bureaucratic norms. Not only that; reputation for partiality and actual partiality have consequences for the whole bureaucracy and, in fact, for the government which is brought in serious disrepute. It further reduces public confidence in government. A single act of undue favour takes on big dimensions when set against the view of the public ~~eye~~ regarding the government officials. To the farmers, extension officers appear as simply making their travelling allowances rather than helping them (30).

At regional levels, the various sub-cultures assume the form of extended family, thus giving rise to conflicts of interests on territorial basis. Such conflicts between West Pakistan taken as a whole and East Pakistan whose homogeneous culture gives the people a corporate sense and makes them usually cling together and support each other, have been as significant in public administration as in politics itself. (31)

30. Agha Abdul Hamid, "Socio-cultural Factors in Development" in Views Administration in Pakistan (Lahore: Pakistan Administrative Staff College, 1963), p.15. A research survey indicated that there was an apparent discrepancy between data gained through questionnaires and those through informal discussion with the people. "When replies were to be recorded in black and white... great restraints were exercised in answering the questions". Aquila Kiani "Public Image of Bureaucracy" in Inayatillah, Bureaucracy and Development in Pakistan (Peshawar: Pakistan Academy for Rural Development 1963), p. 391.
31. Feldman, op.cit; "East Pakistan - West Pakistan Relations", pp. 151-166.

Perhaps the most sensitive issue in the relations between the two provinces has been East Pakistan's protest against inadequate representation in government services. The parity question affected administration in at least two ways: firstly, there was a need to secure greater representation of the province in the total administrative system (both central and provincial) and secondly, to provide Bengali administrators with high level positions of an ICS character in East Pakistan. However, post-partition administrative problems were formidable and the question of regional parity added another one. There were only 133 persons of ICS character available to Pakistan and among them only one happened to come from East Pakistan. To achieve parity, recruitment from West Pakistan could have been curtailed "but it is doubtful if so large a number of qualified candidates for the CSP cadre could have been found in any single year" (32).

The government had to follow a compromise-policy. Only 20 percent selections were to be made on merit basis. The other 80 percent were to be made on quota-basis. The necessity to adhere to the regional quotas forced government to "accept candidates who may be far down in the merit list. Sometimes indifferent candidates are taken into the services. As a result, the higher services tend to lose the intellectual superiority which alone can justify their existence" (33).

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32. Braibanti, Research on the Bureaucracy of Pakistan. p.49.

33. G. Mueen-ud-din, "Professionalisation of Public Administration", in Selected Papers on Public Administration Punjab Uni: p. 32.



A paramount fact in Pakistan is Islam as the religion of majority. It is the most vital force, a glaring example of which is the creation of Pakistan itself. Its principles have been upheld as the ideal for reconstructing the socio-economic and political life of the country. It has supplied "morale and integration that proved of prime significance not only in creating the nation but in sustaining it in hardship and in impelling it forward to energetic construction" (34).

As religion, Islam is simple: belief in the unity of God, in Muhammad as the last of the line of Prophets, and in the Quran as the book revealed by God, are essential articles of faith. The Quran and sayings of the Prophet provide detailed instructions for personal conduct. Social equality, respect for law (Shariat), charity, benevolence and hospitality are given religious sanction. During the course of history, it developed into a comprehensive morality, "an outlook upon life that embraced social, political, and cultural aspects of human behaviour. Islam has guidance to offer in the production and distribution of wealth, in the maintenance of social services, in international relations, and in the structure of family life, in public finance and proper position of the hands during prayer... Islam therefore speaks as plainly to the statesman or the businessman in his professional capacity

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34. Wilfred Cantwell Smith Islam in Modern History "A Mentor Book" (New York: The New American Library 1957), p. 214.



as it does to the individual conscience or to the man of religious learning" (35).

Perhaps in its comprehensiveness with regard to regulating man's life, lies the weakness of Islam---the weakness which exhibited itself during the course of Islamic history. Historical manifestation is not uniform (36). There are so many conflicting interpretations: Sunni, Shia and Ahmadi, etc. There are further subdivisions of important sects. In Pakistan, A group called Jamaat-i-Islami has come up with its own interpretation. The Jamaat lays emphasis on the Quran as the first source, and next guidance from Hadith and does not subscribe very much to opinions of the past jurists. Many educated modernists attempt to interpret the religion so that it is congruent with their desire for democracy and national development. Rural as well as Urban population profoundly influenced by Islam are led in prayer by mullah (a man with knowledge of religious injunctions who have usually learnt the Quran by heart). He is, however, seen by the educated Pakistanis as the reinforcer of traditional modes by the half-baked sermons which,

"contrary to the real spirit of Islam,

35. Keith Callard, Pakistan, A political Study (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.; 1957), p.197.

36. Modern interpretations are competently studied by Leonard Binder Religion and Politics in Pakistan (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963).

induce in the minds of their listener a mentality of other worldliness... and kill all desire for improving their lot in this world" (37).

In due course of time, there may emerge a synthesis of the conflicting opinions and conflict may eventually prove to be a strength but now it presents tremendous difficulties for the administrator. He may himself belong to one or the other group or, he may not take Islam very seriously as is the case with some of the elite of Pakistan which usually comes from the higher bureaucratic ranks. Whatever the differences among the various sects, they have one thing in common - the religious conception of state. This conception has been advocated by Iqbal in the following words:

"The nature of the Prophet's religious experience ... is individual experience creative of a social order. Its immediate outcome is the fundamentals of a polity with implicit legal concepts whose civic significance cannot be belittled merely because their origin is revelational. The religious ideal of Islam, therefore, is organically related to the social order which it has created" (38).

However, no consensus on the definite place of Islamic law in the polity has yet emerged. Several Islamic provisions have been incorporated in the 1962 Constitution,

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37. A high-ranking civil servant Mr. H. Sufi quoted in Jack D. Mezirow, op. cit.; p. 44.
38. Mohammad Iqbal, Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam (London: Oxford University Press, 1934).

as were in the 1956 one. It requires that the president be a Muslim, it seeks to establish an Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology and Islamic Research Institute.

While administrator has no definite guide for his relation to the citizen it is still more difficult to determine the ties between administrator's religious tenets and his behaviour. Chief justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, Justice Cornelius, who is a Christian by faith, has persuasively advocated for introduction in Pakistan of Islamic laws which, he considers, will be more effective and will reduce criminal activities(39). Implicit in this approach is the fact that laws of the state carry no weight, they are not considered as morally binding and their breach does not entail violation of conscience. One may be tempted to think that the administrators also "develop the same sort of attitude.

This is illustrated by an observation (with sarcastic intention) by Smith, but which describes the situation so graphically: "These people may not take interest but they can certainly take bribe..."(40)

Seen from this view-point, Islamic tenets may not be a safe guide to study the administrative behaviour.

#### Section Four: The Political Environment

Development administration in any country is profoundly affected by political conditions of a country. Perhaps the

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39. Nazir Ahmad, "The judicial system of Pakistan", Pakistan Times (Independence Day Supplement), August 14, 1964, P. 3.

40. Smith, op.cit; p. 221.

most direct effect is upon development programs and planning machinery (41).

Political instability, for example, may either give rise to a situation in which bureaucracy as agent of executive branch comes to virtually control all government power or it may be dubbed and misused for survival of regimes in control of political power. Training programs for bureaucracy may be likewise affected.

A discernible trend in most developing countries is the predominance of executive over others branches of government. Administrative action has advantage of being speedy, and urgency of development activities perhaps dictates the pattern (42). An important factor however seems to be lack of strong, cohesive leadership which can aggregate the interests of various groups at national level. The story of political activity in Pakistan is a story of progressive decrease in effectiveness and therefore, collapse of representative institutions and corresponding increase in the political role played by the bureaucracy (43).

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41. Nimrod Raphaeli "Development Administration in Iraqs" Philippine Journal of Public Administration Vol. 10, No. 4(1966), 389-98.
  42. S.N.Eisenstadt, Essays on Sociological Aspects of Political and Economic Development. pp. 33-36.
  43. Khalid Bin Sayeed, "Collapse of Parliamentary Democracy in Pakistan", Middle East Journal, Vol. 13 (1959), 398-406.

Legislature in Pakistan has been dominated by powerful landlords from West Pakistan. There was indirect influence of business usually influencing policy by individual contacts with officials rather than through organised public pleading of its interests. In East Pakistan no single group was powerful with the exception of Hindu minority which emerged powerful because there was no one else. It capitalised on the fact that it held the balance (44).

The landlords can count on several families which cultivate their land to return them successful in any election. Therefore, there is no need to cultivate the electorate, nor is there anything like representing them (45). Such legislators are not likely to care for any interest other than their own. It is pertinent to quote Callard on this point:

"Politics in Pakistan has begun at the top.... is made up of a large number of leading persons who, with their political dependants, form loose agreements to achieve power and to maintain it. Consequently rigid adherence to a policy or a measure is likely to make a politician less available for office....Political parties... have not turned their attention to the primary voter" (46).

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44. Maniruzzaman Talukder, "Group Interests in Pakistan Politics, 1947-58", Pacific Affairs, Vol. 39 (1967), 83-96.
45. Goodnow, op.cit; p. 67.
46. Callard op.cit; p. 67.

The landlord-politician have been mainly interested in cabinet posts failure in which case prompts him to set up new loose agreements and form new political parties. Maneuvering leaves them with no time to perform constructive work in legislation, budget review or making policy decisions, which thus come to be handled by civil servants. Basic interest of the landlords, of course, has been prevention of land reforms which cause redistribution of land to peasants. Frequently, educated in some British universities, they can form friendship with district collectors many of whom enjoy their hospitability in villages. This however does not mean that the landlords and the civil servants are allies. In fact, the civil servants as a group are progressive and reform-minded. Their concern for economic development tends to make them aware of the need for land reform. This fact separates them from the landlords as a group, thereby making them take a stand, howsoever overt, on an important political problem (47).

Pakistan lost its two top political leader at its very inception. Muslim League, the major political party, could not maintain discipline among its ranks. On the decline of national leadership, it was the regional and local leadership which came to the fore. Provincialism thrived. It was particularly serious in East Pakistan which voiced that it had been relegated to play a subordinate role. Political activity

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47. Goodnow, op.cit;, p.84.



was centred in Karachi, West Pakistan. East Pakistan which outnumbered West in population, demanded parity in every-thing: parity in language, parity in government's investment expenditure, parity in representation and in government services.

Whatever the merits and demerits of the claims, the manner in which they were made shook not only the government but the whole nation. Slogans and demonstrations were rampant. In this case, it was the bureaucracy whose reaction demonstrated its strength. Permanent secretary of Defence, a son of the civil service, became governor in East Pakistan to maintain law and order (48).

When political activity can sacrifice principles for profits, fraudulent practices in elections can naturally be expected. An important problem in elections in Pakistan is one of correctly identifying the voter because there is no practice of identify cards. Voters can alter their names and vote in place of others. No wonder somebody may go to east his vote but find vote slip against his name already issued. Sometimes responsibility of election frauds must be borne by members of the civil service themselves. They indulge in these practices either because they are in league with local politician who patronise them and secure them promotions, or they have to obey the order from above, from their bosses and ultimately from political group in power.

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48. This discussion is based on Goodnow, op.cit; pp. 77-103.



The government employees use coercive methods to prevent candidates from running for office. The fraudulent practices in elections during the pre - 1958 period reduced the prestige of the legislature. Unfair elections meant that the legislature did not really represent the people. This also provided a rationale to dismiss them when the need arose. In the absence of legislature, the relative power of the bureaucracy increased.

Legislatures in Pakistan have not shown zeal and enthusiasm in their work. One of the important opportunities afforded to legislature in any country for controlling policy is that during annual budget sessions. But even this tool has not been employed in Pakistan. During pre-martial law period, members of the Treasury benches had to go around to collect assembly members from the lobby to make a quorum. In the provinces sometimes assemblies could not pass budget by certain deadline date and "Governors' rule" had to be imposed to adopt the budget. Some parties would try to delay it so that ruling party might go out of office. This, however, had important consequences for weakening the position of all the political parties. The ineffective role of the legislators meant that review function of the budget went to higher civil servants in the Ministry of Finance where estimates assembled by the departments were sent for consolida-

tion. The civil servants could make whatever alterations seemed desirable to them (49).

More obnoxious, however, has been the misbehaviour of the parliamentarians exhibited in pinning scandals upon one another in their wranglings. The uncontrolled ambition to obtain and retain power, especially in the form of prize cabinet posts, led to the use of actual violence. One such incident took place in September, 1958 in East Pakistan:

"Outraged government deputies laid down a barrage of paper-weights, desk panels and curtain rods, chased him (Speaker of the Assembly) out of door, voted him 'insane'. Thereupon one of their men, Deputy Speaker Shahid Ali, took over his place.

When parliament met again the new Speaker readmitted the six deputies (who had been earlier disqualified by the first Speaker). Opposition members exploded with fury. They tore their desks from the floor, ripped their microphones out of their stand, and charged" (50).

This was perhaps an extreme example, so was the corresponding reaction. Iskandar Mirza who came to the civil service after he had attained the rank of major-general in Indian Army by 1926, had earlier expounded the political philosophy of the civil services:

"Some underdeveloped countries have to learn democracy, and until they do so they have

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49. Gustav Papanek, "The Location of Economic policy Decisions in Pakistan", in Public Policy vol. 9 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University, 1959), pp. 127-35.
50. Goodnow, op.cit; p. 96.

tobe controlled. With so many people illiterate, politicians could make a mess of things...A district officer or magistrate must be given full powers to deal with any situation"(51).

Soon after this incident, president Iskandar Mirza declared martial law, abrogated the constitution, dissolved all the assemblies and banned the political parties. An unrestrained rule of the military and the civil service began.

"Thus the shortcomings of the politicians continually gave the president or the governors a reason to intervene and impose bureaucratic rule. Eventually intervention became a habit, until finally it seemed unnecessary or undesirable to interrupt bureaucratic rule at all"(52).

Senior partners in the bureaucratic rule was, of course, the military whose head had warned the politicians as early as 1954 when he submitted a memorandum to streamline the political form on the lines which would permit strong executive action (53).

The Constitution of 1962 establishes the administrative process as the "paramount manifestation of political power in Pakistan, challenged to some degree by a strong judicial order and a lesser extent by a slowing emerging political process... It sedates politicization so that its inter-

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51. B. Sayeed, "Political Role of Pakistan's Civil Service", Pacific Affairs vol. 31 (1958), p. 134.
52. Goodnow, op.cit; p. 97.
53. Karl von Varys, Political Development in Pakistan (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. x-xiii.

ference with administrative and economic modernization is the minimal" (54). It enhances the powers of the central government where President is head of the government and also an integral part of the legislature. Of course it is bureaucracy especially its higher echelons, which is the agent of the executive powers. Not only the legislature is weak as a political institution, nonbureaucratic groups which exist, are not effective participants in the governmental process (55).

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54. Braibanti, "Higher Bureaucracy in Pakistan", p. 209.

55. A. Lee Fritschler, "Business Participation in Administration" in Guthrie Birkhead, ed; Administrative Problems in Pakistan (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1966), pp. 63-88.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION IN PAKISTAN

#### Section One: Administration Reform Efforts

Pakistan lacked, from its very inception, not only administrative personnel but also political leadership; the sheer number was very small, and it rotated in ministerial and other political positions at the central as well as provincial levels (1). Many top administrators held political posts including the highest posts of governor-general, president of the republic, and prime minister. To the problems of scarcity of political leadership were added problems of administrative and political corruption visible even in the early years of creation of the new country. In spite of all this, the government of Pakistan has been alive to the need of development. A planning advisory board was set up within five months of the creation of Pakistan, and was charged with the responsibility to advise the government "on matters pertaining to planning and development, review progress made in implementing such plans and educate the public in regard to the necessity of various development schemes undertaken to secure their cooperation" (2).

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1. Khalid Bin Sayeed gives a list of twenty-six such leaders. See "Collapse of parliamentary Democracy in Pakistan", op.cit; p. 406
  2. W.S. Swaminathan, "Pakistan: problems and prospects", Middle East Journal, Vol. 4. No. 4 (October 1950), p. 451.

However, after one year of its existence, Pakistan lost its architect, the father of the nation, as he is called. He was symbol of unity and his personal authority and prestige were a big asset for the government. Within next two years the next great leader and first prime minister was assassinated, and a socio-political confusion set in. Developmental goals now had to be carried out in the context of slogans for regional autonomy, adequate regional representation in administrative cadres, parity in economic development programs, and from social side, modernisation of society in the framework of Islamic principles (3). Reorganization and strengthening of public administration to perform the development functions of the government has been (and continues to be) a slow process which bears the imprint of the play of all socio-political forces in the society.

Administrative reforms were initiated just after six days of the creation of Pakistan, and a central government with seven ministries and a cabinet secretariat was organised (4). However, reform efforts specifically aimed at meeting the needs of planned development were not made until 1953 when services of Rowland Egger of the University of Virginia were made available to Pakistan by Ford foundation to under-

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3. All divisive forces and ideological pressures were fully reflected in the process of constitution-writing which took about nine years. They are analysed by G.W. Choudhury in his Constitutional Development in Pakistan (Lahore: Ilmi Printing Press, 1959).
  4. Braibanti, Research on the Bureaucracy of Pakistan, p. 215.

take a survey of Pakistan's administration. Within months, he produced a report "The Improvement of Public Administration in Pakistan" which was made public after seven years in 1960. Professor Egger summarised the situation in the following words:

"The deficiencies in the public administration of Pakistan are.... deficiencies inherent in an administrative system designed for a day that has gone by. Both the political leaders and civil service are fully aware of these defects, but the acute shortages of personnel, both in political and administrative circles, and the overwhelming burdens of day-to-day administration falling upon a corps that is too small in number have prevented the adjustment of administrative organization and procedures to changing conditions" (5).

Egger criticised the secretariat system in which decision-making power rested with generalist staff and where recommendations of technical and scientific departments were often cleared through lowest

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5. Government of Pakistan "The improvement of Public Administration in Pakistan" (Karachi, 1953) p. X-XI



clerical staff (6). The generalists did not have background experience or competence but were dictating what was to be done. Egger suggested conversion of the secretariat into a ministerial general staff and formation of strong operation departments in which both executive and administrative duties and responsibilities would be vested; the heads of these departments would ordinarily to be technical persons but when from other services they must have subject matter specialization.

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6. "Ministerial organization in Pakistan in 1953 may be represented as consisting of three layers or strata. At the apex is the minister. Below the minister but in close contact with him are the secretariat divisions. Each Ministry has at least one secretariat division; in 1953 thirteen of the nineteen Ministries (including the Cabinet Secretariat) had in fact only one, four Ministries two, and the Ministry of Finance, had six. The secretariat divisions, headed by civil servants variously designated as Secretaries, joint secretaries, or additional secretaries, staffed by deputy secretaries, under-secretaries and assistant secretaries and supported by clerical-grade employees called superintendent, file clerks, et-cetera performed the functions of policy-making and supervision, under the control of the minister, for one or more executive departments, offices, commissions, boards and services, et cetera. For this level of administrative machinery there was no uniformity of nomenclature, although the larger and more important ministries tended to be headed by officials called directors-general, they were however, quite separate from and subordinate to the secretariat divisions and their heads had access to Ministries only through the secretariat divisions, some secretariats, offices, et-cetera had (under) executive department under their control, while others supervised as many as eight or nine". See Egger, "Ministerial and Department Organisation and Management in the Government of Pakistan" Public Administration (London) Vol. 39 (Summer, 1961), p. 150.

Maximum delegation from ministries to the department heads and from them to those incharge of sundivisions or sub-departments, was practised. The ministerial general staff would not be in the line of command. It would advise and assist the minister on the one hand, and the head of the department on the other, and would handle general staff work of the ministry, such as budgets and accounts, establishment and program progress supervision and reporting, etc. Counsellors to ministries, general administrative officers and progress officers should be provided to each ministry depending on the nature and amount of their work. Egger had in mind that this staff particularly counsellors, would come from the Civil Service of Pakistan. Financial management was to include a program-based budget, budget examiner of the ministry of finance working in the department where fiscal and administrative planning was in the process of developing. Coordinating activities were to be reassembled in the ministry of finance and cabinet secretariat which was to be strenghtened. He also recommended strong public service commission, creation of an administrative staff college, public administration institutes, and encouraged the strenghtening of O & M units (7). The report antagonised the CSP officers whose status it implied to diminish; hence it was put under lock and key.

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7. "The Improvement of Public Administration in Pakistan",  
passim.

Another detailed study of the organization of Pakistan government was undertaken by Barnard Gladieux, again, under Ford Foundation's sponsorship. His report was even more critical than Egger's of Pakistan's bureaucratic status system. According to him, "officers of the elite Civil Service of Pakistan have not earned their right, as a group, to be in such complete command of governmental administration" (8). The report was submitted to the Planning Board and the substance of its recommendations formed the seventh chapter of the First Five Year Plan titled as "Public Administration".

The plan found that development departments in the provinces were understaffed, unplanned changes in organizational combinations were made, there was inadequate distribution of administrative burden, attitude was not developmental and, above all, there existed acute problems in control, delegation and coordination of functions. It recommended creation of development departments at provincial level with an additional chief secretary as head, all departments to have planning cells, autonomous corporations to be created for special development subjects such as water and power, and district administration to be reorganized to increasingly reflect the role and responsibility of welfare programs. District officer should provide "leadership, guidance and help, instead of imposing authority in an arbitrary manner(9)".

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8. quoted by Braibanti, "Transnational Inducements of Administrative Reform" in John Montgomery and William Siffin, eds; Approaches to Developments p. 144.
  9. The First Five Year Plan, pp. 92-102, 102

The Plan repudiated further sanctioning by ministry of finance before actual commitment or expenditure of budgeted funds. It recommended creation of a post of financial adviser for every ministry or department to work under that agency. The plan also advocated that technicians should be more and more associated in policy formulation and decision making and be promoted to any pool of administrative leaders (10).

Most needed reforms, and as suggested by the First Plan, were, not carried out until under the general drive for reform during Martial law, an Administrative Reorganization Committee was appointed in 1958. Mr. G. Ahmad, then head of Planning Commission, was appointed as chairman of the committee. The report of the committee was approved by the government in 1961, and was the first such major report to be released for public. The recommendations of the committee reflect concepts of modern administrative technology but are not ideologically revolutionary. It retains the elite cadre and separation of policy and operating functions, and thus the secretariat above the departments. The major changes are described below (11).

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10. The First Five Year Plan, op.cit; p. 113.

11. The following account is based on "Official Press Release Summary Report of the Administrative Reorganisation Committee", 1961, appendix, 8 in Braibanti, Research on the Bureaucracy of Pakistan, pp. 433-439.

The first change relates to the system of budgeting and financial control. The ministry of finance exercised a check on expenditure of other ministries even after ministry-wise budgetary allocation had been made. This process of clearance before actual expenditure paralysed most government projects. The reformed system authorises the ministries to exercise full power over expenditures and is designed to expedite implementation of development programs. The ministry of finance, however, assigns a financial adviser to each ministry.

The second measure relates to the introduction of sections officers scheme in the secretariat. It envisages to improve the decision-making machinery so as to ensure expeditious disposal of government business. A whole hierarchy of subordinate officials including clerks superintendent, assistant secretary and under secretary with much power to delay but no power to decide, has been eliminated. The section officer combines in himself the tasks of this hierarchy and is expected to take decisions.

An economic pool to give officers from finance and other related services the chance to move out of their specialised assignments and become secretaries to government at both the central and provincial levels, has been created. This is in response to greater degree of specialised character of work in such ministries as finance, com-

merce and industries. The economic pool will primarily cover these ministries, and will be built up of officers drawn from various services, who will acquire an intimate knowledge of the working of economic policies of the government through comprehensive initial training and long experience in such ministries.

More administrative and financial powers have been delegated to the heads of the attached departments; their importance for further economic and social development is increasingly realised. They are primarily responsible for the technical soundness of their proposals and entitled to submit cases directly to secretaries and joint secretaries of the government.

Besides efforts at general reform to gear administrative machinery to the tasks of development, organs for planning have been evolved so that "planning apparatus in Pakistan is now one of the most effective of those found in developing states" (12). The planning function reflects the relative importance of the levels of government and is organized as outlined in the following section.

## Section Two: Organisation of Planning

### 1. Central level

- A. The National Economic Council headed by the president is the highest planning and controlling authority for

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12. Braibanti, "Higher Bureaucracy of Pakistan", p. 345.



the approval of five-year plans and for the balanced over-all development of the country.

The National Economic Council has its members, the governors of East and West Pakistan, ministries of finance, industries and works, irrigation and power, railways and communications, commerce, food and agriculture, deputy chairman of the Planning Commission, chairmen of PIDC (Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation) and two provincial WAPDAS (Water And Power Development Authority). In 1962 when the present National Economic Council was transformed out of pre-constitutional Economic Council, two provincial ministries of finance were also included as members (13).

B. The Governors Conference: It is the highest policy making body of the Gout of Pakistan. Headed by the President, and two governors of the provinces as its members, these conferences are usually held inconjunction with meetings of the National Economic Council. These meetings are also attended by minister and other officials of Central or provincial government as required. Decussions usually centre on the implementation aspects of the plans.

C. The Executive Committee of the National Economic Council: Established in 1962 as one section to follow the Econo-

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13. Albert Watertson, Planning in Pakistan (Baltimore: Johns Hopkin's Press, 1963), pp. 81-82.



mic Committee of the Cabinet, is the body that approves development projects. Members include, Minister of Finance as Chairman, the two provincial governors, or the ministers they may nominate, deputy chairman of the Planning Commission and the two provincial finance ministers (14).

- D. Planning Division of President's Secretariat: The above mentioned three bodies are mainly policy-making bodies and their purpose has been to streamline the government policies to the plans or vice-versa at central, provincial and financial and fiscal levels.

Planning Commission (also known as Planning Division) is the central most important body of experts that is the source of all economic planning, Five Year Plans, Prospective Plan, and annual development plans, the last to be simultaneously presented with the central government budget for determining the capital and development expenditure in the annual budget allocations of the Central Government.

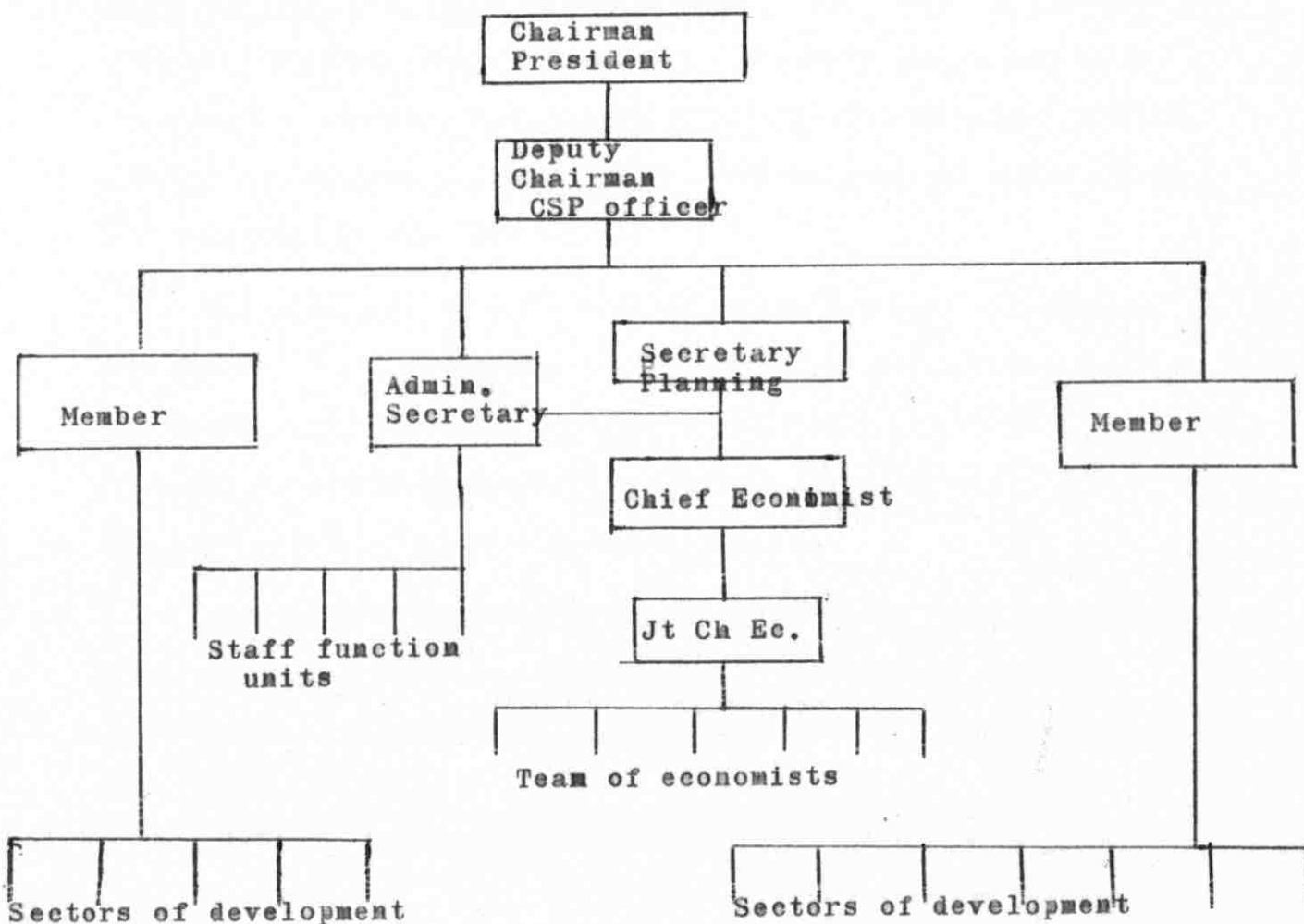
Headed by the president, as the Chairman, the commission is in its practical work under a deputy chairman, in most of the cases a C.S.P. officer, assisted by two secretaries and two members from the two provinces of the country. Organizationally speaking it is one of the five divisions of president's secretariat.

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14. Ibid; pp. 82-83.

Presently its functions are mostly advisory while implementation and inspection aspects have finally been given over to the provincial Planning and Development Departments. Under its two members the Planning Commission has sectors for each line of department while for planning there is a planning secretary advised and helped by a team of economists, and for general administrative functions of the commission there is a secretary to the commission.

The following chart will illustrate the setup of planning commission:



The Planning Commission performs its evaluation and appraisal work by strengthening its sectoral units under its two members and it coordinates the evaluation of projects in various sectors and appraises overall results with the help of an Evaluation Section (15).

Another important development is the placement of Economic Affairs Division of the President's Secretariat under the authority of the deputy chairman of Planning Commission thus assuring collaboration of the two divisions in the important field of foreign aid (16).

Planning cells in central ministries: In order to broaden the planning process, establishment of planning cells has been achieved in several ministries but greater emphasis has been shifted to provincial governments for sending in their planning suggestions and advice.

Functionally, the various organizations in the central government for development administration are overwhelmingly concerned with planning aspects of the work. The Planning Commission has an evaluation unit and the Governor's Conference reviews program implementation.

After a long series of trials and errors, the programming and implementation functions of development process

15. Ibid; pp. 81.

16. Outline of the Third Five Year Plan, 1965-1970, p. 84.

have been completely handed over to the provincial governments, while central ministries only supervise the performance and only provide data through their planning cells.

11. Provincial Level: The second Five-Year-Plan lays down the principle of success of planning process in the long run, that it depends upon effective machinery for decentralization and coordination of planning. There was not much significant contribution to the plan by provincial planning bodies because of personnel, resource and organizational inadequancies.

#### PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENTS

Since 1960 in East Pakistan and 1961 in West Pakistan, Planning and Development Departments have been reorganized placed under the charge of an Additional Chief Secretary and Bureaux of Statistics have been added as integral part of the Departments.

In East Pakistan there are two inter-departmental committees to supplement the Department's work. They are:

- a. A planning Authority composed of chief secretary, additional chief secretary and the finance secretary. This authority, on the parallel level of central government's now defunct Economic Committee of the Cabinet, functions as a sub-committee of Secretaries meeting, a meeting of secretaries of all the provincial departments empowered to make final decisions on matters connected with economic development.
- b. A Development Working Party composed of one representative of the planning and development department, finance department and the department sponsoring the project under consideration. This party was establi-

shed mainly to review projects submitted and to pass them to Planning Authority and in case changes are needed, send them back to the department concerned.

Due to incuperable delays in flow of work one single planning Board in 1963 on parralled with central planning commission has been created as a reviewing authority in the East Pakistan Province, while the planning and Development Department acts as a secretariat to the Board.

The existing organizational set up of planning and implementation body in the provincial headquarters of East Pakistan is as follows:

Progressing Division: This Division is responsible for all reviews and appraisals of projects underhand in cooperation with functioning departments.

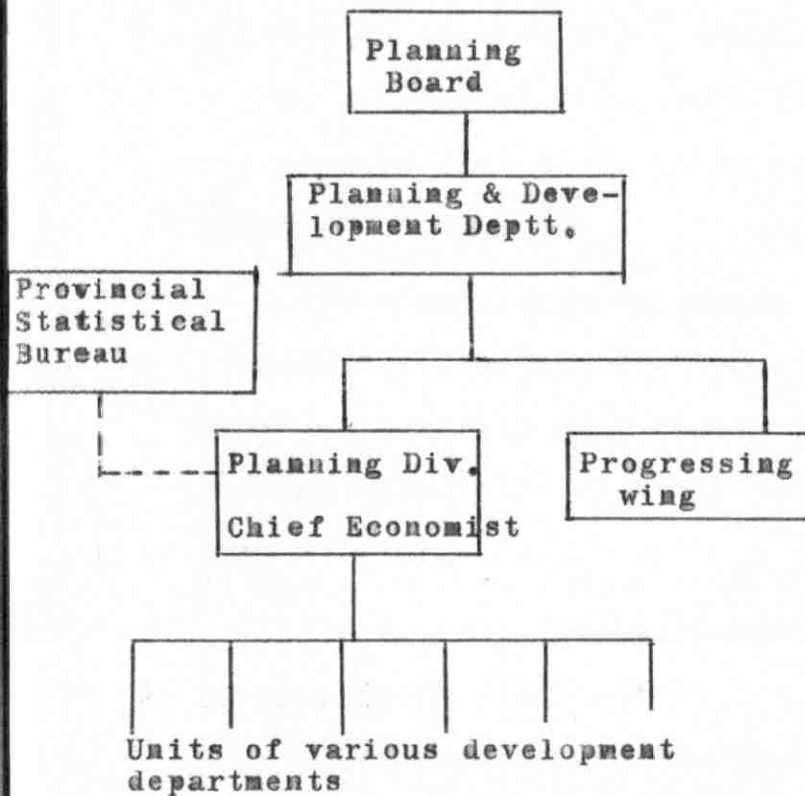
In West Pakistan, a similar Planning and Development Department operates on much the same level doing much the same functions as in East Pakistan. But there is no planning Board in West Pakistan, Instead there is the Provincial Development Working Party chaired by the additional chief secretary, on which the finance department and the department sponsoring a project are represented by their permanent secretaries. The decisions taken by the Party are in the form of recommendations presented to the Governor of West Pakistan for approval.

The Planning and Development Department of West Pakistan also has a Progressing Wing, that reviews and appraises the

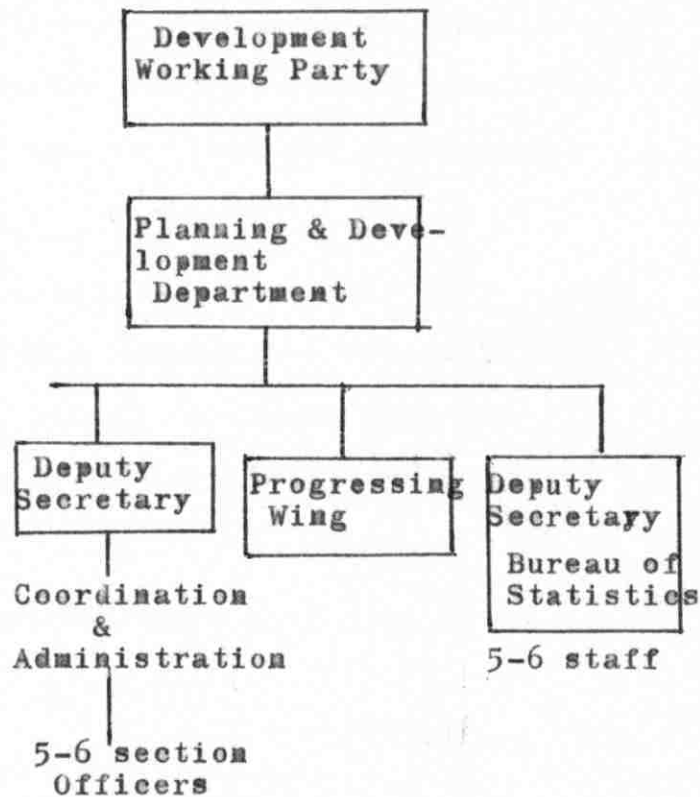
underhand projects and brings out reports on their status of implementation. An implementation committee headed by an additional secretary of finance has been established to improve project and program execution.

Following chart will show the organizational set-up

## EAST PAKISTAN



## WEST PAKISTAN



111. Local Level: There exists a dilemma in the question of planning and executing department programs at the local administration level. This is evident in the divergent lines of thinking reflected in the five-year-plans themselves. The

first-five-year plan advocated that "instead of being prepared and imposed from above programs particularly in the sphere of rural development should originate in the villages and proceed upward"(17). On the other hand, planners of the second plan were worried about excessive number of layers involving difficult problem of coordination. District being the pivot of administrative set-up in Pakistan for all aspects of law and order administration as well as for public works, irrigation etc., the Provincial Reorganization Committee recommended that district be made the key unit for development administration (18).

The administrative system has been rendered more complicated by the introduction of basic democracies consisting of union councils (for villages), tehsil (or thana councils in East Pakistan), district council and the divisional council.

These basic democracy institutions have four categories of functions: (19)

1. administrative functions,
2. development functions,
3. local-self-government functions and
4. constitutional functions.

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17. Planning Commission, The Second Five-Year-Plan (Karachi: Manager of Publications, 1961), p. 111.
  18. Ibid, p. 112.
  19. Pakistan Ministry of National Reconstruction and Information: Scope and Functions of Basic Democracies 1961, Passim.



Their development functions consists of: (20)

- a. decentralizing development planning and implementation and
- b. coordinating development activity at all appropriate levels.

Thus they will be concerned with:

1. schemes undertaken by various government departments and public agencies as part of their normal operations.
11. schemes initiated and undertaken by the councils themselves.

Before the institutions of basic democracy were launched in 1959 the two important local government bodies were known as District Board and Panchyat, at the district and village levels respectively. By circumstance or tradition, out of the four tiers of basic democracy institutions it is again the district council and the union council that have shown satisfactory progress in undertaking their functions. The thana and Tehsil councils and the divisional council have more or less complimentary functions to perform.

Researches in the functioning of basic democracy institutions indicate that they are not functioning as desired. The District council is not performing planning and coordinating functions in respect of departmental programmes and the departmental schemes are not always brought up for discussion in the District Council (21). Development departments already

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20. Pakistan: Bureau of National Reconstruction and Pakistan Academy for village Decca December 1961 p. 6

21. Ibid; p. 134-136

over-burdened with their own work are not in a position to advance technical advice and whatever is given is not satisfactory (22).

Due to lack of properly trained administrative and technical manpower, and lack of decentralization as a consequence, it has been found that local administration levels have very little to contribute towards the development planning programs of the country. As the Second-Five-Year Plan suggests "The easy course would be simply to continue to do all planning at or near the top of the hierarchy, and to use the machinery of Basic Democracies essentially as an instrument for obtaining consent for decisions taken at the centre and in the provincial capitals. Not excluding the possibility of local administration level participation, the plan says that, if vigorously and consistently pursued, it will be rewarding in the long run" (23)

#### Semi - Autonomous Public Agencies

There are several semi-governmental agencies under various departments or provincial governments as well as a few under central ministries that have taken a major responsibility in implementing the development plans. Even under the Third-Five-Year Plan these agencies were expected to handle around 55 percent of the total public sector allocations.

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22. Bureaux of National Reconstruction and Pakistan Academy for village op.cit; p. 135.

23. Pakistan: Second-Five-Year Plan; p. 112.

24. Pakistan: Outline of the Third Five Year Plan (August 1964) p. 86.

A very clear tendency, however, has been noticed that public agencies will mostly remain under the control of provincial governments, who are mostly entrusted with the implementation and evaluation work of the plans. Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC) and Water and Power Development Authorities (WAPDA) have been split into provincial units and administered so.

### Section Three: Administrative Deficiencies

Although several administrative reforms have been carried out to cope with responsibilities of planned development over the past years, there remain certain deficiencies which must be eliminated.

An important area which requires urgent reform is that of recruitment. Recruitment of employees is processed by Central Public Service Commission in case of the central government and Provincial Public Service Commissions in case of provincial governments. Demands of various agencies are sent to the commissions which are published in newspapers in consolidated advertisements as notices for prospective candidates. Applications are usually not filled in properly, or they are incomplete lacking attested copies of testimonials, or have some other flaw. Writing back and forth takes place. Final selection some times takes as much time as three years. Delays caused through these media hamper work of the administrative agencies which are often pressed for time, and which resort to ad hoc

appointments. Such appointments become a medium for obliging somebody and merit considerations may be set aside.

Problems related with recruitment are many. Perhaps basic one is lack of well qualified persons. Education at all levels means memorisation of factual data rather than real learning. There is far too little stress on initiative, independence of thought, habits of industry, imaginative use of knowledge, and self-reliance. Examinations are given annually relying solely on written tests. The system of examination reflects the prevalent methods of teaching and learning. The value and appropriateness of the current examination system has already been questioned; the system encourages use of unfair means and such practices have been mounting. The system is also conducive to laziness on the part of the pupils. These deficiencies in the educational system sometimes are the grass-root causes of administrator's placid attitude towards functions of the government.

Another area requiring urgent consideration is that relating to position of specialists in the governmental structure. The Second Five Year Plan opened that partly in view of well-established administrative traditions, and partly in the context of the special conditions of this country, reliance must continue to be placed on the generalists (25). It also pointed out that specialists have not been given proper recognition, their salaries being often below their

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25. Second Five Year Plan, p. 114.

market value. It emphasised the need to constitute well-paid, superior Central services, with prospects of good career, to attract them to carry out vast development programs (26). The Third Five Year Plan (1965-1970) went beyond simple career problem and made an important proposal. It recommended that specialist should be given a greater say in the formulation of policies pertaining to his field. It went further and added that barriers to healthy generalist-specialist relationship should be carefully indentified and consciously broken down through, inter alia, greater intercadre mobility and interchangeability (27). This perhaps is the crux of the problem; the Civil Service of Pakistan is not inclined to intercadre mobility (28).

Planning apparatus in Pakistan hasbeen continuously improved and is now considere& "one of the most effective of those found in developing states" (29). However, provincial planning organisations need to be strengthened. They need additional economic and technical staff. Some departments still lack planning units. An important defect which must be eradicated is that projects are not analysed as to their management feasibility. Management analysis is necessary in order to stop frustration resulting from non-implemen-

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26. Second Five Year Plan, op.cit; p. 115.

27. Third Five year Plan, p. 172.

28. Braibanti, "Higher Bureaucracy of Pakistan", p. 309.

29. Ibid; p. 345.

tion of projects. This points to the fact that techniques of project planning are still rudimentary (30).

While planning function is being carried out on provincial and district levels reasonably well, it is very weak at divisional and local levels (31). One scarcely hears what divisional level is doing. Divisional level is increasing in importance, specially after several regions in West Pakistan have been merged into one province since 1956. The Division bridges the gap between larger regions on the one hand and districts on the other. In a way it has assumed the character of regions and it will pay if the divisional administrations are made to play active role to coordinate the development schemes of various districts comprising them. Strengthened planning at local level will facilitate to associate people and public support for administration of government projects.

For implementation of the public sector, Pakistan mostly relies on corporate device. The rationale for the use of corporations is that enterprises conducting essentially commercial activities must have greater flexibility in financial and personnel matters than other government departments. Around 55% of total public sector allocation under the Third plan are to be handled by the corporations (32).

30. Third Five-Year Plan, p. 164.

31. Ibid., p. 125.

32. Ibid.; p. 167.

No systematic research has been made as to how much effective corporations are they. Apparently their results are impressive. But there is some criticism as to red tapism and malpractices. According to the Third Plan the belief "is by no means without foundations" (33). Also, there is a continuing practice to send administrators on deputation for the manning of these agencies. The deputed personnel often lack appropriate training.

At the time of implementation usually each agency tends to concentrate mainly on its own project and does not always see to it that their programs move in step with other related programs. In the field of irrigation, for example, large projects have been constructed but their expected results could not be achieved simply because plans for colonisations lagged behind. Coordination thus is absolutely necessary to overcome such drawbacks. One method to overcome the situation is to prepare comprehensive programs rather than isolated projects, or at least, interdepartmental conferences should be arranged (34). Evaluation of projects and programs rests primarily with the provincial governments. The units set up for this purpose should be strengthened with staff which will permit to undertake evaluation of projects itself rather than just compiling whatever data are reported by executing agency.

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33. Third Five Year Plan, op.cit; p. 167.

34. Ibid; p. 170.



The Planning Commission is responsible for evaluating the progress of Five Year Plans and of individual central projects.

For evaluating projects, there is a prime need of a good reporting system. The general Phenomenon of completing of reports half-heartedly and their late submission, renders them useless in the planning process. Sometimes reports indicating highly increased cost on certain projects may reach at a time when half of the project is already completed and is beyond the point of return. Another trend acutely observed is that sponsoring agencies "Over estimate" the benefits and underestimate the cost of individual projects in order to gain acceptance through the approval machinery of the government." (35) Budget is organised as financial rather than administrative or programming process. In fact, it mainly depends on the accounting system whether or not it is related to management's need in formulating and controlling the execution of programs and projects. The Third Five Year Plan like its predecessors, has strongly emphasized the need for a streamlined system of accounts. While up-to-date, accurate and meningfully arranged data are considered prime requisites for planning, "the accounting system now in use .... is patently ill-adapted to present day requirements" (36). Under this system, final ac-

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35. Mahbub ul Haq, "Planning Agencies in Pakistan" in Graeme C. Moodie, ed., Government Organisation and Economic Development, "Papers and Proceedings of the Fourth Study Conference on Problems of Economic Development", Paris, 7-11 September, 1964, p. 30.

36. Third Five Year Plan of Pakistan, p. 166.

counts of a fiscal year and sometimes even of a particular project are not available till several years after the completion of a program. The need for reform in the area has been considered 'great and urgent' by the planners.

Beside the efforts at administrative reorganisation has grown an emphasis on 'improvement role of training'. Although the training programs are not explicitly committed to reform of administrative organisation and procedures, the objective is implicit in the operations of these institutions. "In Pakistan, the expectation is that the changes will occur in the administrative system of the country.... since reform is an objective, the reforming effect of teaching is crucial"(37).

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37. Ralph Braibanti, "Trans-national Inducements of Administrative Reforms", in Montgomery and Siffin, eds, p. 182.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### TRAINING FOR DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

Total employment in government in Pakistan is nearly a million people (1) out of which some 1800 are employed in twenty-six all-Pakistan central services ranging from the Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP) to the Central Engineering Service, Class 11. On July 31, 1962 the Government of West Pakistan employed some 376,521 persons of whom 8,814 were gazetted employees, i.e. officers, working in the provincial secretariat and in the field. Provincial Civil Service is comparable to the CSP cadre at the central level and its members sometimes hold as important positions as the members of the CSP itself. Information about the Government of East Pakistan is not available, but situation is likely to be the same as in West Pakistan (2).

#### Section One: Training Policy.

To provide properly qualified persons to cope with new problems of planned development, a basic policy in Pakistan has been to concentrate on in-service training of the existing personnel. Many underdeveloped countries have adopted this policy for obvious reasons:

- 1- Existing personnel, particularly senior civil servants occupy strategic positions;
- 2- They direct and supervise major government establishments and,

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1. Braibanti, "Higher Bureaucracy of Pakistan", p. 243.

2. Based on Ibid; pp. 243-44

3- It is highly likely that they retain these positions for a number of years (3).

Members of the CSP have been assigned more and more positions of power. Not only are they permanent secretaries, joint secretaries at central and provincial levels, analysis of the quality of their assignments in government corporations management positions reveals that the cadre provides officers in key positions of secretary, financial director and even chairman of certain corporations (4). There is every likelihood of the CSP continuing as elite cadre; it has successfully defended its role as a "closed generalist cadre" against Pay and Services Commission which is presumed to have recommended its abolition (5).

Bureaucracy in underdeveloped countries as a whole consists, "by and large, of people with progressive motivation, wide administrative experience, and a rich store of pooled knowledge. Far from being written off, it cannot be ignored(6), and this is specially true in case of Pakistan. The existing personnel has to be trained and reorientated for development administration. However training for development administration is not to be viewed as a neat curriculum to be learned

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3. Martin Kriesberg, "Senior Civil Servants and the Teaching of Public Administration in Underdeveloped Countries", International Review of Administrative Sciences vol. 13 (1957), 336.
  4. Braibanti, "Higher Bureaucracy of Pakistan" op.cit; p. 311.
  5. Garvine, "Administrative Reform" in Birkhead, ed; op.cit; p. 202 "Two of the members of the Commission wrote a dissent to the majority report (and) it was shelved by the government". These two members were CSP officers.
  6. S.C.Duke, "Bureaucracy and Nation Building in Transitional Societies", International Social Science Journal vol.14(1964) p. 235.

in a few easy lessons. As indicated in the section on administrative deficiencies and socio-political environment, training has to be imparted to many categories of persons for many categories of responsibility.

Broadly speaking, training has to be imparted not only for formulating policies and planning programs and projects and integrating them into comprehensive plans, and for implementing programs and projects which may involve institution-building and tackling problems of coordination, but it is also to be imparted for motivating the people to accept change. Thus there will be a group of significant persons holding positions in the central and the provincial secretariats, planning and budget agencies, cabinet secretariat, development banks and coordination and implementation agencies. They are the chief directors and administrators of development. Positions in these categories in Pakistan happen to be usually manned by members of the Civil Service of Pakistan. Persons in this group require broad preparation. Planning agencies have specialists including economists, town planners, social scientists, manpower specialists, educational planners, etc., who, following policy decisions, are involved in programming, control and evaluation of their implementation. These are typically the functions of the Planning Commissions and

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several positions in it are filled by members of generalist cadres (7). Persons required here should have apart from thorough specialist training in their respective field, reasonable training in management analysis to test administrative feasibility and be able to spell out management requirements of projects and programs.

At the level of implementation, persons must be capable of institution-building, handling program planning, budgeting, project evaluation and coordination. An important thing is that these persons must understand how their sector relates to other sectors in effecting the total development effort. Usually, their training will necessitate a good degree of emphasis on subject matter related to respective operating agencies and ministries. At the lower levels of implementation are people who are entrusted with the responsibility of operating the administrative machinery. It is at this point that the people are involved with the administration; it is at this point that the common citizenry will form its attitude to the bureaucracy, the government and more importantly, to the plans for development (8). At

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7. Braibanti, Asian Bureaucratic Systems...Table No. 23 facing page 304 indicates 8 CSP officers in planning function. Of course, they must be holding high positions.
  8. Says Inayatullah in his Basic Democracies, District Administration and Development, "...it is the nature of the relationship between the district bureaucracy and the common citizenry which determines the concrete relationship between the ruling elite, bureaucracy and the masses". Quoted in Birkhead, op.cit; p. 35

this point, even general civil administration must behave to reflect development orientation, this group must know human relations techniques and be prepared to apply them to facilitate change.

The need for training in development administration was stressed by the First Five Year Plan which proposed inclusion of "public administration with special emphasis on planning and development and social science necessary for the new type of administrator, including economics, sociology, social psychology, and political science" (9). The plan suggested to involve a combined course comprising a synthesis of these subjects; it emphasised that economics in view of its special importance should be taught as a separate subject (10).

The plan recommended the establishment of a subsidised but autonomous 'Institute of Public Administration', the scope of which was to include business administration (11).

Several institutions for training have been established. They include Administrative staff College at Lahore, National Institute of Public Administration at Dacca, Karachi and Lahore, and Pakistan Academy for Rural Development at Comill and Peshawar. The training institutions are under centra-

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9. First Five Year Plan, pp. 111-112.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid; p. 113.



lised control of Establishment Division of the President's Secretariat, in which a joint secretary in charge of training serves. The entire training program is coordinated by the training Policy of 1961 contained in the Letter No. 2/17/61-A-1V issued by the establishment division to the chief secretaries, governments of East and West Pakistan (12).

The training policy recognises the need for continuous in-service training for all levels of public employment. It distinguishes the responsibilities of the training organisations, and distinguishes the ranks of civil servants who will be clientele for these institutions. It also relates training at one of the three training institutions to promotion in the following manner:

1. The officers who are likely to be appointed as secretaries to the Central Government or to an equivalent position should have training at the Administrative Staff College.
2. The officers who are likely to become deputy commissioners, deputy secretaries, heads of departments should have training at one of the National Institutes of Public Administration.
3. All officers concerned with development and junior officers of general administration should have training at the Academies for Rural Development.

#### Section Two: Training Institutions

There are three types of training institutions which are directly concerned with, and have been established under

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12. Government of Pakistan, Letter No. 2/17/61 A 1V dated 31st October, 1961, President Secretariat, Establishment Division, Rawalpindi.

the impetus of need for, institutionalised in-service training for development administration. The British syndicate method for training is followed at the Pakistan Administrative staff College, Lahore; it is, however, tempered by presence of some Syracuse University (U.S.A.) staff members with emphasis on seminar method. National Institute of Public Administration concentrates on scientific management oriented toward secretariat work and has at staff some members trained at University of Southern California. A sociological approach oriented toward, and increasingly based on field research materials gained from study of, rural problems of Pakistan is followed at Rural Academies.

Pakistan Administrative Staff College, Lahore:

The Staff College was established in 1960 with assistance from Ford Foundation which arranged for the services of Administrative Staff College at Henley-Thames, U.K. and Maxwell Graduate School of Public Affairs and Citizenship, U.S.A. The College is designed to widen the experience of those who already occupy senior positions in the government, in public corporations, and in the private sector of industry and commerce, and who are likely to be considered for posts of greater responsibility. More specifically, in case of government, clientele of the College is to be selected from:

1. Joint secretaries and officers of equivalent status who are likely to be considered for secretaryship or posts of equivalent rank;

2. Joint secretaries and officers of equivalent rank as far as possible in order of seniority, and
3. Senior deputy secretaries and deputy commissioners or officers of equivalent rank to be considered for promotion to the rank of joint secretary or its equivalent (13).

In-service training specially for people at this level, has specific problems of its own: in such a situation, prospective trainees have already acquired a series of practical experience in the performance of their duties. Teaching should, therefore, aim to organise experience, correct errors and improve administrative practices. Moreover, it should impart thorough background and real understanding of the character of economic and social planning (14).

The courses of study at the College both in content and method have, professedly, been prepared to meet the needs i.e. age and experience of men under training (15). Typically, courses offered at the College are General Administration, Economic Development and Development Administration, Field Research, and Role of Administrator.

The course on general administration is taught through syndicate method. This method was developed at the Administrative Staff College, Henley-on-Thames in Great Britain. This

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13. Administrative Staff College, Lahore, 1963 (Brochure), p.10.
  14. Guillermo Nannet, "A new Institution Considers Teaching Methods and Materials" in Donald C. Stone, Education in Public Administration (Brussels: International Institute of Administrative Sciences, 1963), p. 49.
  15. Administrative Staff College... op.cit; p. 13.

is a form largely of self-education of mature administrators by means of small working groups called syndicates. Each syndicate, working under the direction of a chairman and a secretary from among its members, but appointed by the College Principal, is assigned a particular subject or problem for study within a specified time with the result and recommendations, if necessary, to be reported back in writing for critical commentary from the entire group of participants. Some lectures are timed in such a way as to be helpful for participants while preparing their reports. They are given a 'brief' at the very outset. It contains problem or subject to be studied, broken up into major issues and indicates what aspects require special attention. It also contains a bibliography for help (16).

The courses on development administration and development economics are taught through seminar method. Soon after arrival, members are divided into two groups for seminar purpose. They are handed over outlines of listed topics of the two fields with reading lists attached. Each of the members selects a topic from either the economic development list or development administration list and prepares a preliminary paper on the subject which is presented before the whole group of participants and comments and suggestions are incorporated in the final version of treatment of the subject.

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16. The Administrative Staff College at Work (Brochure, Lahore, 1963), pp. 11-19, passim.

Lectures are arranged to acquaint the members with basic concepts of the field in which they choose to write their paper (17).

The curriculum at the College also has what is called "operations research" aimed at changing the attitude of participants toward an empirical methodology. A small group is given a particular problem to study. This usually occurs after the participants have been at the College for about six weeks. The group studies the problem in the field and its findings presented in a report are discussed before the whole group. Usually, whole batch is divided into two groups, one of which studies an actual problem in East Pakistan, the other in West Pakistan (18). Final reports are beginning to constitute rudiments of administrative case studies (19).

Another item in the curriculum is study of biographies of well-known personalities, national and international. This is to impart understanding of the approach adopted by great men in history and is believed to provide insights into administrative and human situations.

#### National Institutes of Public Administration

National Institute of Public Administration a network of training institutes at Dacca, Karachi and Lahore was es-

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17. Ibid; p. 26-28.
18. Pakistan Administrative Staff College, Lahore, 1963 (Brochure), pp. 18-20.
19. Braibanti, Research on the Bureaucracy of Pakistan, p.90.

established with assistance from United States Agency for International Development which contracted with University of Southern California to initially operate and subsequently advise on the training program. Advisory services were gradually diminished, according to plan, and by 1965 the training institutions were staffed entirely by Pakistani (20).

Training at NIPA is primarily meant for middle management personnel through a course called 'Advanced Management and Development Program' which lasts for three months. Every year two sessions are held. Its professed aim is to increase knowledge of participants regarding the principles and process of public administration; to impart to the participants new approaches and improved management skills and procedures; to provide basic knowledge of some salient elements of Development Economics and finally to afford government officers an opportunity to share their ideas, experiences and insights with each other and thus develop in them a feeling of fraternity and spirit of mutual cooperation.

The program is divided into four parts usually in the following succession order; introduction to Public Administration which is broken down in (a) historical background of administration and (b) comparative study of public administration with special reference to IndoPak subcontinent. Deve-

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20. Braibanti, "Transnational Inducement of Administrative Reform", in Montgomery and Siffin, ed; op.cit; p.154.



lopment Economics includes such lecture topics as factors in economic development, human and natural resources and their management, and administrative requisites for economic development; Management Process, the third part for the course, is organised under such topics as policy formulation, Organisation and methods, leadership and human relations. The last part, 'Public Administration and Public Interest' is designed as a series of lectures to be delivered by well-known administrators and public figures interested and active in civic affairs. Typically, topics covered include nature of public interest, administrator and the citizen, control of corruption in public administration, social welfare and 'national integration'. The last part of the course also covers some panel discussions on special areas, such as private enterprise, emerging role of civil servants, concept of administration in Islam, etc.

The predominant teaching method is classroom lecture. However, it is usually followed by discussion and questions from the participants. Seminars are also organised in which participants present papers on their individual study projects. A feature of training methodology is use of audiovisual teaching aid, such as documentary films, strip projector, slides and taperecorder, etc. Field trips are also used as a method of training: participants are divided into four to five groups to study on-the-spot various development projects and are required to submit joint report on the same.



No program of follow-up exists. Report on the performance of a participant is submitted to government and his parent-organisation.

Rural Development Academies.

Academies for Rural Development at Comilla and Peshawar were established in 1959. It was realised in 1955 that Village Agricultural and Industrial Development program required giving a new orientation to administrative techniques and practices. The First Five Year Plan supported the idea and made provisions for its realisation (21). The Government of Pakistan approved the scheme and assigned functions of conducting research and providing advanced training in rural administration for administrative and supervisory personnel of Village AID administration and for other nation-building departments as well as for CSP and PCS - probationers. The faculties of the two academies were trained at Michigan State University which keeps a resident adviser at each campus with Ford Foundation support (22). The VAID program was terminated in 1961 but the Academies continue, perhaps with more zeal and imagination. The faculties of the Academies are trying to "practice the philosophy of V-AID more in spirit than in letter trying to convert all administrators to V-AID philosophy" (23).

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21. The First Five Year Plan, p. 207.
  22. West Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, What it is? and What it Stand For? Academy Town, Peshawar: np. n-d. pp. 2-5.
  23. Qoutation in Mezirow, op.cit; p. 177.

So far as clientele of the Academies is concerned, only one thing is certain, namely, that all officers concerned with development activities and junior officers of general administration should have training at one of the Academies for promotion purposes. Otherwise, the Academies have evolved approaches useful for extremely diverse groups; for example Comilla admits village wives and mothers on the one and trainee participants of Administrative Staff College, on the other (24). However, basic training programs aim at officers of nation-building departments and basic democracies.

The Peshawar Academy faculty represents such disciplines as public administration, social psychology, rural sociology and applied anthropology, rural economics, education and communication, and community organisation. More important, however, is the fact that these disciplines are combined in an inter-disciplinary approach to equip the participants with

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24. "Seminars of Senior Officers"

"The training for senior officers centres primarily on the evaluation of the Comilla experiment in cooperation, agricultural extension methods, adoption of improved practices, land use, animal husbandry, and so on. This year a total of 104 senior officers participated in seminars of from 6 to 15 days; Cooperatives, 41 officers; agriculture, 24; Administrative Staff College, 13; and National Institute of Public Administration, 26....At the end of each seminar, the officers present their reports which again are discussed in a joint session of the faculty and the officers". Pakistan Academy for Rural Development: Fourth Annual Report, June 1962- May 1963 (Comilla: East Pakistan), p. 6-7.

necessary attitudes and skills to become effective instruments of change. The essence of the method which has been evolved is team approach. The participants are encouraged to be contributors rather than mere recipients of knowledge. In fact, methods of training followed depend largely on the purpose of course, its contents and length of the course period. One thing has become a belief with the Academies, namely, that training without supporting rural research and demonstration is without substance and is unrealistic. Government officers need to know basic facts about conditions in village communities, and about tried and tested rural improvement procedures, and closer contact between the officers and people is essential for effective developmental work (25).

In fact, the Academies have so defined their role that they do not only function as training institutions for rural development, but they have undertaken the task of rural reconstruction. "Comilla approach" has attracted the attention of several social scientists (26). The approach "builds

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25. West Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, op.cit; pp.7-12.

26. See, for example, "Cooperatives vs. Commune" mentioned in Platt, George M; in Birkhead, op.cit; p. 109, n 26. Dickinson Richard "Villages on the Move", Pakistan Quarterly vol. 12 (summer 1964), p. 25 states that "The distinctive programmatic feature of the Comilla project is that it is centered in the village, uses the existing village leadership, and keeps the leaders in the village". See Platt, op.cit; p. 108.

from the village "up" rather than from governmental departments "down" ... the Comilla formula concentrates almost exclusively on solving problems that have a direct bearing on the economic well-being of the villager" (27). The Peshawar Academy is also undertaking projects aimed at firstly surveying socio-economic conditions and, secondly, developing these villages (28).

#### Civil Service Academy

Another important institution of training is the Civil Service Academy, Lahore which was established in 1948 and serves as a foundational institution to train the newly recruited officers of Civil Service of Pakistan and Pakistan Foreign Service. Training at the Academy continues for nine months until a 'passing-out' examination is administered by Central Public Service Commission of Pakistan.

Choice of subjects and training methodology are influenced by several considerations. Immediate purpose of the Academy (in case of CSP probationers) is to produce successful district officers (29). "District work requires somewhat more attention to physical conditioning than to research in intellectual problems" (30). It is perhaps, there-

27. See Platt, op.cit;p. 108.

28. West Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, op.cit;p.23.

29. M.R. Inayat, "The Civil Service Academy", in M.R.Inayat, ed. Perspectives in Public Administration (Lahore: Society for Public Administration, Civil Service Academy, 1962), p. 98.

30. Braibanti, "Higher Bureaucracy of Pakistan", p. 293.

fore, that early rising (about 4.30 a.m) and riding are compulsory (31). As a district magistrate, a member of the CSP must know law, especially, penal code, code of criminal procedure and law of evidence (32). Out of a total of thirty-six hours per week some eleven hours are given to law. (Members of the Pakistan Foreign Service take, instead, international law and relations.) Study of land revenue systems is also important for the collector.

Starting in 1960, there is an emphasis on "development" curriculum, This also shows concern for making a successful district officer out of a probationer. Development has become important responsibility of the government and the district officer is, in one way or the other, concerned with all development activity in his district. Such subjects as development economics and public administration have been included in the curriculum and three and seven hours are allotted for them respectively. Islamiat (Islamic studies) is taught for two hours per week, and three hours are given to debating, current affairs and special lectures.

The method predominantly used is class-room lecture method, although sometimes "dummy courts" are arranged for training in legal disputations. An American resident advisor has been conducting seminars in public administration during

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31. Braibanti, "Higher Bureaucracy of Pakistan" op.cit;p.293

32. The following figures are based on Civil Service Academy. Syllabus and General Instructions for C.S.P/P.F.S. Probationers, 1965 Batch (mimeographed), (p.57).

1960-62, but later on, when the advisor left, lecture method came to be used again (33).

It is the characteristic of this institution that it continues to transmit British norms and modes of behaviour and inculcate a sense of aloofness from the general public. For a decade, a British ICS officer has been Principal of the Academy; for other periods old Muslim ICS officers have been heading the institution. "The very architecture of the building (in which the Academy is housed) imparts the atmosphere of empire" (34).

#### Pakistan Industrial Development Management Institute

The PIDC Management Institute is located in Karachi and organises intermittent management and supervisory training courses mainly for its own personnel. Courses offered in management training typically include Administrative process, Control and Financial Administration and Policy Determination. The course on administrative process focusses on determinants of organisational effectiveness and executive decision-making and action, significance of personal values and individuals perception of his environment and skills attitudes and personal qualities enhancing individual performance. The course on control and financial administration is concerned with effective administration of financial resources including methods

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33. Braibanti, "Higher Bureaucracy of Pakistan", p. 291.

34. Ibid; p. 290.



for raising needed capital on advantageous terms. Policy determination concentrates on top-management functions (35). Method of instruction is case method with a practical approach to management problems. Guest speakers from the Government and business are also invited (36). Case method is also supported by training films (37). A supervisory course is also sponsored (38).

#### Public Administration Department

A department of Public Administration (renamed as Department of Administrative Science) was established with the help of US-AID which provided American professors for initial years and now has become part and parcel of University of the Punjab at Lahore (39). The University offers two years full-time program every year for Masters' degree in the subject. Part-time program is extended over longer period. Several graduates of the University have been sent for doctorate program to the United States. But the upsurge of interest in the subject is diminishing because graduates have found it difficult to get jobs either in the government or private firms, where Business Administration degree is naturally preferred. Public Administration as a subject in

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35. Advanced Management Programme for Top Executives (Brochure), Institute of Personnel Training, P.I.D.C. 1962, p.4.
36. Ibid; p. 5.
37. Management Development and Supervisory Training Programmes. (Brochure).
38. Ibid; pp. 10-13.
39. Braibanti, "Transnational Inducement of Administrative Reform", p. 154.



competitive examinations for government services carries only hundred marks while all other social science subjects carry two hundred marks.

## CHAPTER SIX

### APRAISAL AND SUGGESTIONS

#### Section One: Planning for Training

Institutionalised in-service training is envisaged as a permanent feature for training in development administration. Training Policy of 1961 "attempts to establish the doctrine that training is a continuous process which must be given the necessary prestige to enlist the interest of everyone in government" (1). The existing program is impressive in terms of number of institutions and people trained. A total of 1200 officials had been trained by 1965 at Administrative Staff College, the national institutes of public administration, and at universities in the United States for varying lengths of time. Many of them have received master's or doctorate degrees. Of this total, some 200 have been trained outside Pakistan (2). West Pakistan Rural Academy trained some 723 officers by 1962 (3). The Comilla academy drew some 732 government officers for training involving varying time periods during 1962-63 (4).

The training program, however, continues to suffer from administrative deficiencies in the program itself. The program is, in the first place, unplanned. No determination

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1. Braibanti, "Higher Bureaucracy of Pakistan", p. 332.
  2. Ibid; p. 330.
  3. West Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, op.cit; p.13.
  4. Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, Comilla op.cit; p.1.

of personnel resources and needs has been made. This obviously affects training because selection of trainees is not made properly. Somebody may be picked up and sent for training without really knowing what he should be trained in. This also hampers systematic reorganisation of courses taught at the several training institutions. Perhaps, of greatest importance is the selection of trainees, on foreign governments scholarships schemes. Outside training resources are a scarce commodity and they must be utilised according to well conceived plan. Concern about gravity of the situation was expressed by the Planning Commission of Pakistan which urged that "Effective steps should be taken to ensure that the services of Pakistanis trained abroad under technical assistance programmes are utilized properly and in fields in which they have been trained" (5). In fact, some people may be over-trained who just do not fit in their organisation upon their return. The Commission recommended that survey of personnel needs already started should become a continuous operation to keep an up to date comprehensive personnel development plan ready for action. Not only will it facilitate regular inflow of trainees but also will act as a control on the quality and quantity of training to be imparted. It suggests that National Administrative Training Council should devote special attention to this important task (6).

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5. Government of Pakistan, The Third Five Year Plan p. 178.

6. Ibid; p. 176.

There seems to be lack of coordination and cooperation among the various institutions. An unexpected, and unrecognised at the out-set, result of the training programs especially at the Staff College and the NIPAs has been that among men of various services, the CSP, police, audit and accounts, PCS, education, agriculture and others, there has been produced a sense of comradeship and understanding of the points of view and attitudes of one another, "The friendships which have been formed in living and working together have carried over, enabling some of the officers to subsequently work more closely" (7).

The Staff College, NIPA Lahore, and civil service Academy are situated less than one Kilo-meter from one another. Still they do not conduct any joint sessions of get-together even when their sessions occur at the same time. One senses an atmosphere of hostility among these institutions. There is another academy for training central superior services probationers in financial services which teaches several subjects common to the Civil Service Academy, the two are located only a few K-meters apart, yet no joint classes are conducted and "there is a little social contact between the two groups of probationers or the faculties" (8)

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7. Gorvine, op.cit; p. 201.

8. Braibanti, "Higher Bureaucracy of Pakistan" p. 283.

While no comprehensive plan for training to meet the needs of development administration has been chalked out, CSP seems to have established itself as the chief inventory to supply administrators who have been trained to shoulder the responsibilities of planned development. Establishment Division of the President's Secretariat controls the administration of new Training Policy of 1961. The establishment division has been the citadel of the CSP. By 1960-61 views of Pay and Services Commission had been known, namely, that a Pakistan Administrative Service was to be established and the CSP as elite cadre abolished. The new service would admit men of technical-services (9). Main argument against the CSP was that as it was a generalist service and, particularly, it was not versed in new methods and skills in public administration. The establishment division framed the policy in such a way as to provide the superior services Maximum training possible under the existing facilities. Member of the CSP, apart from postentry training at Civil Service Academy, have to undergo training at all the institutions, namely, the rural development academies, the national institutes and the Staff College. Their promotions are related to training at these institutions. (10).

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9. Gorvine, op.cit; p. 202.

10. Braibanti, "Higher Bureaucracy of Pakistan", p. 332.

### Training Staff

Training staff is not upto the mark in several ways. Most of the institutions "rely a great deal upon assistance from men and women of wide general and specialist experience. Some of them give talks and expose themselves for questions, others do not give prepared talk but clarify problems of syndicate groups, still others assist in the discussion of final versions of reports" (11). A look at the list of lecturers shows that most of them are very senior officials, and ministers of Central and provincial cabinets (12), who may not know about the subject except some unorganised experience. Civil Service Academy, Lahore, relies very much on part-time lecturers from local bar, colleges and the Punjab University, for teaching in its substantive fields (13). Such lecturers may not produce desired results mainly because they are not part and parcel of the institutions and lecturing there is not their main interest. National institutes do not only rely on guest speakers but their own staffs are not qualified. Generally, senior PCS and some CSP officers are appointed as senior instructors and most of them do not have any background in Public Administration as a discipline, nor in Economics. Moreover, they are sent on deputation and may take things lightly. There is a feeling that some of them are sent there to "punish" them by taking them out of the field,

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11. Administrative Staff College, Lahore (Brochure), p. 20.

12. Ibid; pp. 40-49.

13. Civil-Service Academy, op.cit; Passim.

and thus snatching from them the authority they can exercise in the field. Other faculty members are appointed on temporary basis; they are not on career jobs and, therefore, feel insecure. Some of them have Ph.D. degrees and look for better career jobs.

### Training Methods.

Duration of training sessions differ from institution to institution and in fact within the same institution because of conducting several types of training programs. Duration of a course, its purpose and contents are inter-related with one another. Main programs of the institutions directly concerned with in-service training for development administration last not more than three months, usually two sessions a year. It means that half a year is spent in petty courses of few days duration or without doing anything. This sub-optimum utilisation can be avoided by having three sessions of three months each year. However, a better plan would suggest itself in arranging two main sessions of about five months duration. This arrangement is specially fitted for Staff College and national institutes. They may utilise the rest of the time in any light courses they want to hold and in curriculum planning.

Increase in the duration of main courses will have important healthy consequences. Three months are hardly suf-



ficient, at Staff College, to write a syndicate report, a seminar report and a field trip report of substantial quality showing real learning in fields which participants may not have touched before. The fact that, for field research, the participants are usually sent outside Lahore may also be taken into account. Fatigued in the evening, all persons being of considerably advanced age, they cannot be expected to concentrate on work. Moreover, longer time will permit to improve the quality of the curricula. The first two months may be devoted exclusively to theoretical matters in public administration and economic development. The two disciplines should be brought together to bear on the vexing problem of project formulation. In fact, the Planning Commission has identified it as the most important area which it has recommended to be included as a "specialised syllabus item at the different administrative institutions" (14). Management aspects of projects receive little attention at the time of project formulation. This creates serious problems and sometimes even causes failure of projects. The Staff College and NIPAs receive participants not only from departments and ministries where they are concerned with planning but Planning Commission and provincial planning departments send their own persons for training (15). If these persons happen to be specialist, such as, economists, educationists, they should

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14. The Third Five Year Plan p. 165.

15. Administrative Staff College, Lahore, 1963, pp. 50-51.

be taught management analysis so that they are equipped for preparing administratively feasible projects.

Emphasis is still continued on law and revenue administration at Civil Service Academy. Theory and practice of general administration constitutes one of the five parts dealt with in this course. Other four are constitution of Pakistan, organisation of Central and provincial governments, divisional and district administration, and local self government including basic democracies. True, the aim of the Academy is to make a successful district officer of a probationer, it is hazardous, even for this purpose, to so much deemphasise such important areas as human relations. The district officer should more and more rely on good relations between himself and his several well-educated and well-behaved subordinates, and set for them examples which may guide them to create the same spirit below. This is specially true for educating members of basic democratic institutions who very often come into contact with him as representatives of the people. Civic education as a responsibility of the professional administrators has begun to be recognised by the administrators themselves. A top-ranking CSP officer states:

"The reasons why authority does not vest in full in them (the lay basic democrats) are reasons of history and its momentum still continuing. The deputy commissioner must therefore prepare them to discharge the

responsibilities which assumption of full authority by them will entail" (16).

It therefore becomes necessary to introduce an interdisciplinary seminar on problems of political and economic development with judicious use of comparative and indigeneous materials (17). The First Five Year Plan favoured the introduction of courses in rural development into the "curriculum of the CSP Academy... (the Plan) should be put into operation as soon as possible" (18). Already, CSP probationers are sent to rural academies for a few weeks duration to inculcate in them the spirit of the community development movement but results are not encouraging.

"The probationers usually look upon the development academies with disdain and get little chance to immerse themselves in the ethos of community development work, which is essentially a shirt-sleeve, rice-roots operation, quite different in nature from training at the academy" (19).

This fact reinforces argument for introducing an interdisciplinary seminar on problems of development with emphasis on the appreciation of socio-cultural and political factors affecting, and being affected by, technological developments. Training at rural academies is likely to have more

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16. Abdul Qayyum "The Role of the Deputy Commissioner in Basic Democracies", in Inayat, op.cit; p. 138.
  17. Several research publications of the rural academies may be used, To name a few: Attitudes of rural people towards Village AID Programme. Assistant Directors in Basic Democracies - A study of Values and Attitudes; Study of Governments Clerk within Peshawar; Dynamics of District Council; Absentecism among Village AID workers, etc.
  18. Third Five Year Plan. p. 207
  19. Braibanti, "Higher Bureaucracy of Pakistan", p. 297.

impact when succeeded by rigorous interdisciplinary seminar at the Civil Service Academy.

Provincial Civil Service (PCS) at provincial levels, is comparable to Civil Service of Pakistan at the central level. Members of the PCS also hold important positions, many of them are posted as Additional Deputy Commissioners, but are given no formal training. A few weeks training at rural development academies is necessary for promotion. That, however, is not enough. Second only to the CSP as regards prestige and power in the field, members of the PCS are as much important. Moreover, some of them are more experienced in routine matters than CSP probationers because the latter can enter service upto the 35th year of age, and they may already have put in some years of service as superintendents, assistants, college lecturers or even as gazetted employees in other departments. They are usually diligent persons. Their out-look may have to be widened, and for that purpose they must be given appropriate training along with, of course, training in development administration. Usually, they are recruited, biennially. Their training can be arranged within the existing facilities; they can be trained at Rural Academies and National Institutes, one session at each, or joint initial training of the CSP and the PCS may be undertaken. Common training for provincial civil services and Civil Service of Pakistan probationers was recommended in Report of the Council for Administration of Pakistan (20).

### Research and Teaching Materials

Imparting of significant information in training very much depends upon availability of training materials. Such material must be useful for development administration. Action-oriented social research (social used to mean all kind of research based on social sciences) is difficult not only because it faces many methodological limitation but also because general political and social conditions may not be conducive to research activities. Ideal material for the study of public administration in Pakistan may be those reports which seem ugly, but nevertheless true, and which have been marked "confidential", "secret", "not for circulation", "for official use only", etc. Once classified as such they remain in this category, though at least some parts of them have ceased to serve any useful purpose in their capacity as restricted documents" (21).

Since independence, some fifty-six committees and commissions have been set up to investigate and report on problems relating practically to all departments of public life. Half of these commissions were concerned with administration. Two committees did not report. Out of twenty-six reports, some have been released in full, some in summary form and "eleven major reports...totalling 1381 pages...can be said to be unreleased

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21. Aslam, op.cit; iii.

probably because of official policy" (22). Moreover, reconstruction of material for case studies becomes impossible when not only some but substantial amount of information cannot be utilised from files of administrators. Any part of file marked "confidential" becomes out of reach. A highly placed CSP officer observes acutely, "lack of materials, particularly based on Pakistan's experience, is a very common problem for all institutions. Majority of them have to rely on foreign publications and even these are not always available" (23).

Perhaps this statement was true in the early days of the Staff College. As of now, collection of books is available under "relatively attractive circumstances for research... An index to its acquisitions of government publications is the most complete and valuable compilation available" (24). Moreover, it compiles the field research and seminar papers presented by its participants. The syndicate and staff studies prepared by participants and directing staff are often of a high quality (25). National institutes also sponsor research

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22. Braibanti, Research on Bureaucracy of Pakistan, p. 236. Those not released include such important reports as Report of the Committee Set Up by Government to Examine the Question of Raising the Morale of the Services, and Pay and Services Commission Report 1962 (which proposed abolition of the CSP).
23. S.I.Haque, "Seminar on Development Administration: In-service Training". Pakistan Administrative Staff College, Lahore, n.d.p.17.
24. Braibanti, Research on the Bureaucracy of Pakistan, p. 67.
25. Ibid; p. 148.



studies and some publications are already available. The rural development academies have organised good libraries and are significant steps toward the emergence of adequate research collections. These institutions are effectively generating an appreciation for empirical research. The rural academies have several research publications to their credit (26).

Research activities of the training institutions are, however, not coordinated. The Third Plan envisages to set up "All Pakistan Administrative Research Centre" and an advisory body known as the "Pakistan Council for Research in Public Administration" to coordinate research and publications in the field of public administration. The Centre has been set up since 1965 but has not been staffed as yet, though it has a CSP officer as its director. When the Center begins to function, one may hope that research is carried out in an organised and coordinated manner. The Centre is to formulate programs of research on five-year basis (27).

#### Objectives and Motives of Training

"Training programs have been successful in the sense that they have imparted considerable information to the government officers. Whether they have actually changed any attitudes is

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26. To name a few Basic Democracies at the Grassroots; Attitude of Rural population toward Family Planning and Decision-making in Administration.

27. The Third Five Year Plan, p. 178.



difficult to test or to prove" (28). The problem of gauging effectiveness of the training institutions for inculcating new managerial ideologies is a challenging area for research. In fact, an American inter-university consortium on institution-building is undertaking research in the effectiveness of administrative training institutions in several developing states; Administrative Staff College at Lahore is one of the institutions which will be studied under this project (29).

Imparting of information is not a satisfactory criterion to judge the effectiveness of training programs. The techniques which have been learnt may not be used, or, if so, may be used in a way detrimental to planned development as in whole. It has been observed for, example, that some of the operating agencies see their success only in getting their projects approved and included in the five year plans. It has been acutely observed by a member of the Planning Commission that such agencies "overestimate the benefits and underestimate the costs of individual projects in order to gain acceptance through the approval machinery of the government" (30).

28. Gorvine op.cit; p. 201

29. Braibanti, Research on the Bureaucracy of Pakistan p. 152. Universities participating in the project are University of Pittsburg and Syracuse, Indiana and Michigan State universities. Experience in Pakistan is likely to figure very much since all of these universities are involved in programs of assistance to Pakistan.

30. Haq, op.cit; p. 28.

The effectiveness of the institutions even to impart information is declining. Abandonment of seminar in public administration at Civil Service Academy, departure of several technical assistance advisers and, consequently, heavy reliance on guest speakers all point to this tendency. This is specially true of national institutes, and, to a lesser degree, of Staff College. The development academies present some promise of success. They have been unusually productive in published materials and their approach in training is interdisciplinary, mainly centred on rural problems (31).

#### Training And Administrative Reforms

In retrospect, howsoever strengthened the programs, training alone cannot solve the problems of development administration. The Civil Service of Pakistan, with establishment division as its citadel, plays central role in "implementing or blocking reform..."(32) Majority of its officials are not anxious for administrative reform which may change their status by changing the status of this service. A reorganisation of administrative set up on such lines as may end the institutionalised bureaucratic status system may be in order. Recruitment pattern of the CSP which fixes "an officer's destiny by a single capricious examination and interview in his youth" is widely criticised in Pakistan (33).

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31. Braibanti; Research on the Bureaucracy of Pakistan, p.148.

32. Gorvine, op.cit; p. 210.

33. Ibid; p. 211.

The dynamics of this institutionalised bureaucratic status system are considered even worse (34). The preferential status not only in salary, but also in facilities like spacious villas and household staff to posts connected with revenue collection and law enforcement, is abhorrent to several thoughtful Pakistanis including some CSP officers (35).

In fact, representatives of technical and welfare departments operationally under the control of district officer tend "to share the authoritarian attitudes as well as manners and dress of these supreme agents of law enforcement... To the villager, they are indistinguishable from the police, and villager's reaction is one of suspicion and hostility" (36). So far as administrative organisation, specially at district level, is concerned a total reversal may be in order: "agents of law enforcement be placed under control of the welfare agent. Welfare agents would assess the effectiveness and worth of the control agents, rather than vice versa" (37).

Inner administrative democratisation may, however, have to be seen as corollary of social democracy in which local community action may be encouraged. People may be associated in the process of governmental decision making and thus be given chance of understanding what government is" (38)

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34. Naseem Mahmood quoted in Mezirow, op.cit; p. 165.

35. Maseehuzzaman (CSP) as analysed in Ibid; pp. 163-164.

36. Ibid; p. 160.

37. Ibid; p. 161.

38. Ibid; p. 161.

Braibanti also concludes that it is naive to expect the elite cadre to behave like Plato's gaurdians... 'Elitist arrogance and corruption of power must be contained' (39). Basic democratic institutions are emerging slowly as independent centers which may increasingly assert themselves. Curiously, also, rural development academies have undertaken not only to train administrators but also to reconstruct rural socio-economic life, and impart civic education in democratic methods. Their work shows

"a new awareness of public responsibility some-what in advance of the nation's general state of development as a constitutional democracy. The totally different attitude of these academies in dealing with public, disseminating information, and subjecting their own operations to rigorous self-criticism stands as one of the most impressive and hopeful achievements in Pakistan" (40).

While basic democratic institutions and efforts of the academies may be hoped to throw up independent organisations and associations to be of use to contain abuse of bureaucratic power, any hope to introduce inner democracy in bureaucratic system lies in reorganisation of administrative system on such lines as will reduce the status of the CSP and thereby diminish inter-services rivalry.

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39. Braibanti, "Transnational Inducement of Administrative Reform", p. 183.

40. Braibanti, Research on the Bureaucracy of Pakistan, p. 148.

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