



Adjusting State Structures for Resilience: Analyzing the Dynamics in Pakistan (1947-2018)

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Abstract

State structures are constantly adjusted for resilience in a social world full of external and internal challenges. Structural shifts or reforms are comprehensively explored in the public management literature, though little is known regarding the dynamics of reforms in a developing context like Pakistan and that too from a longitudinal perspective. This research documents the key adjustments in the state structure and analyses the changing dynamics of reform mechanisms at the federal level of Pakistan in a period of over seven decades. Both civilian and military led governments made continuous adjustments in state structures with shifting choices in reform mechanisms. With a dominance of hierarchy type mechanisms over the years, the new trends in reforms around the world, including market and network type mechanisms, were also brought in for a resilient system in an uncertain world. Markets and hierarchies were mostly blended in with hierarchies to create state specific reform patterns. Developing countries pick up international trends in reforms imported from the West; however, the way they are implemented is influenced by the role of contextual actors (both political and non-political).

Keywords

Public Governance, Management Reforms, Hierarchy, Market, Networks

Introduction

Resilience is the capacity of a system, community, or society potentially exposed to hazards or challenges to adapt, by resisting or changing in order to reach and maintain an acceptable level of functioning and structure (Haase, 2009). Resilience has remained a policy goal, since the concept has been primarily used as a metaphor to describe a desired condition (Manyena, 2006). Governments all around the world face a number of external and internal challenges and crises. To deal with them, government and its institutions adopt structural changes including restructuring the hierarchies and public organizations or modifying the system for better service delivery to the citizens. Wait and see is now no longer an option for the organizations; it is a death sentence for both public and private sector organizations. In practice, an average large firm reorganizes every two to three years (De Smet & Gagnon, 2018). In the public sector all these deliberate changes to the structures and processes of public sector organizations with the objective of getting them to run and survive better are termed public management reforms (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2017). According to them, reforms in the public sector have become a more prominent political topic while emerging from the dusty backrooms of administrative change to feature, sometimes at least, as a major agenda item in party manifestos and government programs). Governments around the world have always introduced different techniques for restructuring and adjusting the system to make themselves more efficient and resilient. A suitable combination of reform mechanisms based on the institutional and political context is chosen by the ruling elites for a resilient public sector.

Like all other developed countries, a developing country like Pakistan has been no exception in using different mechanisms for adjusting its structures for resilience. The reform process has been continuous and unstoppable despite the external and internal factors causing it to fluctuate often. For better understanding of a particular

context and the way public sector organizations reorganize; it is highly relevant to understand the reform process in the country and the ways in which different management mechanisms have been used by the ruling elites.

This article documents the major adjustments in structures in the context of Pakistan and analyses the prominent reform mechanisms used by the government over the years.

The research objective is translated into the following questions:

- What types of adjustments in structures have been made in the government machinery in order to make the public sector more resilient since 1947?
- What types of reform mechanisms were preferred for the structural adjustments by the ruling governments?

The article discusses the structural reforms and choices in reform mechanisms over the years with the changing governments in Pakistan – a context that is distinctive from the widely analyzed Western context with a combination of civilian and military governments along with the major dynamics of security, religion, and funding agencies.

What makes mechanisms shift?

The trends in the public sector have changed over the past 30 years from public administration to public management. Public administration involves process, procedures, and bureaucracy in a traditional set up with authority belonging at the top. By contrast public management gives the manager responsibility for the delivery of results (Hughes, 2017) accompanied by autonomy in decision making. A new management philosophy was developed in the 1980s and implemented in later years, replacing the emphasis on inputs and processes with one on results. This was the shift towards business-type corporations in government with an increasing role and responsibility of civil servants as the managers produced significant changes in the way organizations were managed. The structural model proposed was one with increased specialization and fragmentation, both vertically and horizontally (Christensen & Laegreid, 2010). These reforms became famous as New Public Management (NPM) (Hood, 1991; Hughes, 2017).

The phase after emphasis on management and a market-type public sector is described as state-centric governance, which appeared in the 2000s. The focus here was more on control and coordination by the cabinet, improved financial as well as performance information for the ministers and abolition of certain agencies to achieve better integration (Bouckaert et al., 2010; Osborne, 2006). All these terms are based on horizontal coordination and control over a proliferated government apparatus (Verhoest & Laegreid, 2010).

The evolution in reform paradigms followed from a traditional bureaucratic model to an outcome-oriented and user-centric one aimed at an improved and more resilient public sector. For this study, we use the nomenclature introduced by Bouckaert et al. (2010), who divided the major reform mechanisms into three categories, which are hierarchy-type management, market-type management, and network-type management mechanisms. They have used these mechanisms to describe the coordination process, which is also a part of the overall reform process. Their approach precisely takes into account all three reform paradigms prevalent in different periods and classifies the instruments under these three paradigms. Bouckaert et al. (2010) mapped the changes over time in seven countries, using the same method and so adding to the comparative literature.

The first mechanism, hierarchy-type management (HTM), is public administration with dominance of the rule of law as highlighted by Hood (1991). There could also be political hierarchical control where management varies with the willingness of politicians to assert their formal powers (Bouckaert et al., 2010). Different governments establish new lines of control or change the previously working lines of control, which leads to structural and procedural shifts, but the management stays bureaucratic and authoritative. Market-type management (MTM) mechanisms include the attributes of NPM: new public sector enterprises are created, government monopolies are ended, and management becomes more result oriented. Network type management (NTM) mechanisms are about cooperation, coordination, and involvement of all the actors in the network in order to make the system

work better. In NTM arrangements, there is both vertical coordination and horizontal coordination depending on bargaining, negotiation, and mutual cooperation among the participant organizations (Peters, 2003; Bouckaert et al., 2010). It is a state where multiple interdependent actors contribute towards better management of the public sector; the power inequalities among the actors of the network persist but they are used to make the system work effectively (Osborne, 2010). Organizations work as a network assisting the overall state system. The level of network type management (NTM) arrangements can vary from simple information exchange between bodies to joint decision-making bodies and even joint organizations (Bouckaert et al., 2010). Different instruments for the three management mechanisms are used to make adjustments in the government structure to make it more robust and better able to adjust with the call of time. The mechanisms do not exist in isolation, nor is the picture black and white. Governments choose a combination of different mechanisms according to the requirements and needs of the time for a resilient future.

The article maps key structural reforms and the choice of reform mechanism with the fluctuating political cycles in Pakistan.

Data and methods

This study draws together literature on governance, reforms, and politics to analyze the structural changes in Pakistan in the light of prevailing reform paradigms in the public sector. The methodology and instruments of HTM, MTM, and NTM were adapted from the book of Bouckaert et al., (2010) titled *The Coordination of Public Sector Organizations: Shifting Patterns of Public Management*, in order to describe and analyze the changes and trends in the type of mechanisms used for those changes.

Table 1 summarizes the major instruments falling in the three categories.

Table 1: Mechanisms and instruments for adjusting state structures

Instruments	Mechanism/ Management type
Top-down and unilateral strategic management	HTM
Traditional input-oriented financial management	HTM
Organizational mergers or splits; centralization and decentralization	HTM
Reshuffling lines of control	HTM
Result-oriented financial management and incentives for units	MTM
Regulated, internal, external, or quasi-markets	MTM
Advisory & consultative bodies	NTM
Entities for collective decision-making	NTM
Partnership organizations and chain management structures	NTM
Bottom-up and interactive strategic management	NTM
Result-oriented financial management encouraging information exchange across policy sectors	NTM

Source: Bouckaert et al. (2010)

This description and analysis is provided using secondary data sources including books, articles, government documents, newspapers, and government websites. Books used for this research were written by renowned authors working on history and politics. Government documents included ministry yearbooks, legal documents, and annual reports of the major organizations. Most of the available data in books and online sources on Pakistan covers political events and political reasoning, while it misses the structural changes from the management (reform mechanism) lens, which is where this study makes its contribution by showing a context vividly different from that of the West.

In terms of period, we have analyzed the trends in structural changes and the choice of reform instruments for a period of over seven decades. We chose the closing year for each period based on a major government shift or a period of martial law. The type of government (military or civilian) certainly affects the choice of structural reforms and mechanisms, and whether the choice of reform mechanisms is aligned with the political cycles is part of the analysis.

Table 2: Types of government in seven periods

1947-1958	1959-1970	1971-1977	1978-1988	1989-1998	1999-2008	2008-2018
Civilian government	Military led government	Civilian government	Military led government	Civilian government	Military led government	Civilian government

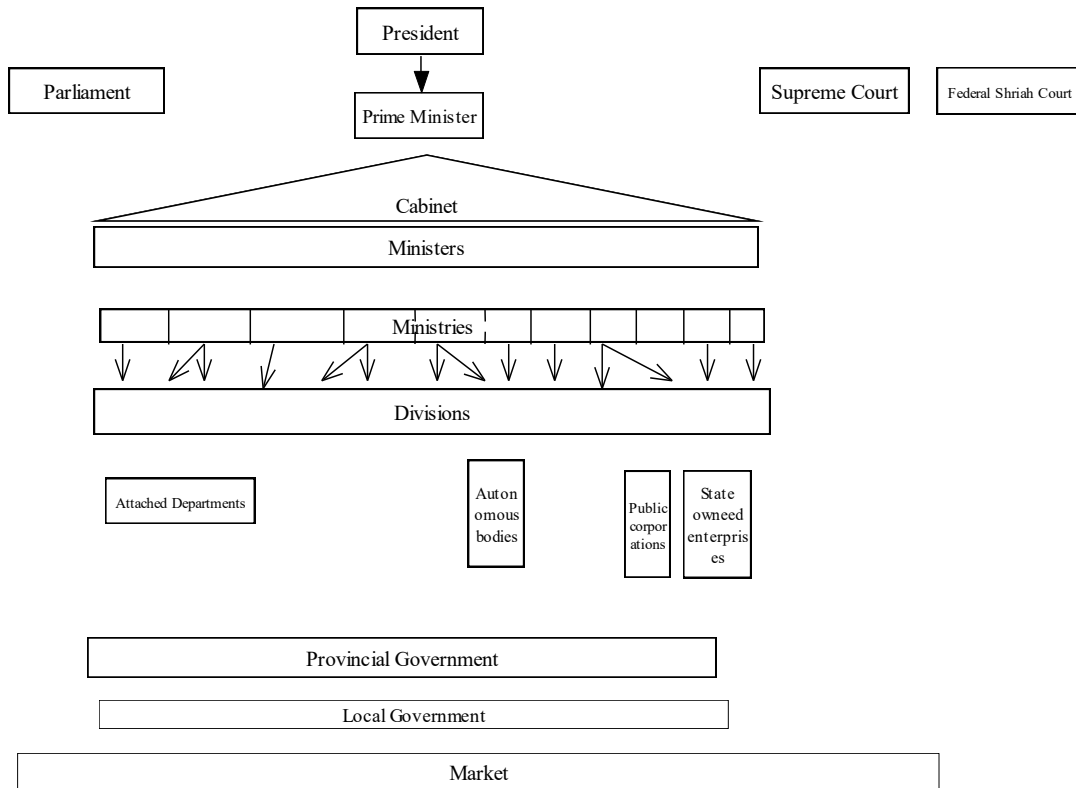
Source: Authors

The major events related to structuring and restructuring in every period are described in order to analyze the trends in the use of HTM, MTM, or NTM instruments. By using the methodology of Bouckaert et al. (2010), the analytic task was to present the instruments used for reforms and common patterns in reform over the years in Pakistan and ultimately discuss the journey of state resilience in Pakistan.

The politico-administrative context of Pakistan

Pakistan is a parliamentary democratic republic with four provinces as federating units. Government itself is composed of three branches, the executive, legislative and judicial. The executive includes the President as head of state and Prime Minister as head of government. The Prime Minister leads the Federal Cabinet, which includes the Prime Minister (PM) secretariat, Cabinet Division, and Establishment Division; these report directly to the PM office. All the organizations working under ministries or as part of ministries report to their minister, who then reports to the PM office. Pakistan's legislature (lawmaking body) is bicameral, with an upper house known as the Senate and a lower house known as the National Assembly. The judiciary is the third major branch of the government, which ensures law and order while the executive works on implementation of policies and projects.

Figure 1: Structure of the government of Pakistan according to Constitution of 1973



Source: Authors, using Bouckaert et al.'s (2010) methodology

Structural reforms in Pakistan

This section documents key adjustments in structures with changing political cycles to track trends in the use of reform instruments using available data.

First period (1947-1958)

The British ruled the Indian subcontinent for nearly 200 years. After a long freedom fight, on August 14, 1947, India was divided into two countries and Pakistan came into being. The Indian Act of 1935 became the legal framework of the country, which established parliamentary governments. The country had five provinces as federating units including both East and West Pakistan.

The cabinet secretariat was inherited from undivided India. At that time 18 portfolio ministries were functional under different ministers. The founder of the country died in the first years and the first Prime Minister was assassinated. Later Prime Ministers could not function effectively, and the Governor General dissolved the Constituent Assembly in October 1953. The Governor General at that time had the authority to dismiss the assembly and veto any legislation. When assemblies were dissolved, the government machinery was mainly handled by the civil bureaucrats who were trained under colonial viceroys to lead the state, which proved instrumental in strengthening the roots of bureaucracy in the country (Bashir, 2013). The assembly of the next three Prime Ministers were also dissolved by the successor Governor General and none of the Prime Ministers was able to complete their term of office. One of the Prime Minister's appointed Chiefs of Military, Ayub Khan, welcomed the formal arrival of the military in the matters of parliament as Defense Minister.

The assembly took nine years to formulate a new constitution, which was approved by the Constituent Assembly on March 23, 1956. The constitution of 1956 established Pakistan as an Islamic republic having a parliamentary form of government with a unicameral legislature. The post of Governor General was replaced with the President, who could dissolve the assembly at any time.

In the early years after independence, several institutions were set up. The planning and control of industries dealing in iron, steel, heavy machinery, cement, mineral oil, sugar, and tobacco were taken over by the government. Electrical, telephone, and wireless equipment industries were also nationalized, and it was emphasized to use raw material available in the country.

Table 3: Key events and reform instruments in 1948-1958

Period	Key events	Reform instruments
1948-1958	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Governor Generals (President) dismissed the assembly several times - Unicameral legislature and President with the power to dissolve elected assembly - Strong bureaucracy and weak legislature - Commander in Chief of the Military appointed as Defence Minister - Numerous public organizations created - Main industries taken over by the government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - HTM - HTM - HTM - HTM - HTM - HTM

Source: Authors

This stretch of time was spent in settling down with personnel changes at the positions of President, Prime Minister, and other members of the National Assembly. Primarily the focus remained on developing a consensus in terms of rules, regulations, and policies and on having a basic framework for the nation. A number of institutions were developed along with their formal rules and procedures and authorities were defined; these are the main elements of hierarchy type management (HTM). According to Bouckaert et al. (2010), the use of hierarchy-type management instruments has two aspects including bureaucratic hierarchical control and political hierarchical control. In the first decade after independence, the government worked more on bureaucratic hierarchical control with more emphasis on legal and formal rules.

Political hierarchical control was also visible since there were attempts by politicians to rule and control the way government work was done when Governor Generals dismissed the assemblies without giving enough evidence or reasoning. Several Prime Ministers were changed, and the military was directly involved in the Parliament.

A number of attached departments and autonomous bodies were created, and huge sectors were nationalized, which increased the responsibilities of government bodies. This can be summed up as “structural positioning”, through reallocating organizations to the government (nationalization), creating new organization, or changing the division of labor among already functioning organizations. Most of the changes in structures fall into the hierarchy-type management category as could be in case of any newly born state.

Second period (1958-1970)

Amidst the unstable political governments, corruption, and a food crisis, on October 7, 1958, the then-President Iskandar Mirza declared martial law. General Muhammad Ayub Khan, commander in chief of the armed forces, was appointed as Chief Martial Law administrator (CMLA); he had earlier led the Defense Ministry.

Khan, as President, undertook major reforms including Elective Bodies Disqualification Orders (EBDOs) and nearly 7,000 people were "EBDOed" (Blood, 1995) based on misconduct. In his tenure, several reform commissions were set up, of which almost all the recommendations were implemented. The major change was giving financial powers to the ministries and some other changes in the way civil service worked.

“Basic Democracies” was one of the major reforms of Ayub Khan’s time, where people voted for their representatives (basic democrats) in their union councils. These basic democrats had no political affiliation and later choose the members of National Assembly and the President. This set up a multi-tiered system of institutions in the country (Blood, 1995).

The new constitution presented in 1962 created a stronger presidency and an elaborate system of local government that was party-free (Cohen, 2004). The president got more power as head of state and head of the government and enjoyed absolute power of appointing federal ministers, provincial governors, and chief justices and judges of the Supreme and High courts (Rabbani, 2005). Legislative powers were divided between National and Provincial assemblies.

A Planning Commission was set up to initiate and monitor the implementation of various reforms in the country (Husain, 2012). The establishment of the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC) financed the industrial growth of the 1960s. Between 1962 and 1969, it financed 25 large industrial projects in the private sector (Cohen, 2004). The Equity Participation Fund supplemented growth of small and medium private sector enterprises. The idea was to involve the private sector in the development of the country. Some major reforms in the religious and social areas were also implemented.

Creation of new organizations and ministries in some areas and reshuffling the lines of control by giving more power to the President or by initiating the basic democracies system, all are the instruments of HTM. These adjustments appeal to power and authority as a fundamental resource. Focus remained more on reallocation of roles and changing lines of control in the public sector by giving more power to ministries and by having nonpolitical local governments. The system of ‘Basic Democracies’ to some extent is a NTM instrument where the idea was to manage bottom up by increasing vertical coordination with less focus on horizontal coordination. The use of multiple reform mechanisms for different sectors of the country was apparent while maintaining strict control at the top as power was transferred to another Martial Law Administrator.

Table 4: Reform instruments in 1958-1970

Period	Key events	Reform instruments
1958-1970	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 1st Martial Law declared by the President - Several reform commissions worked, financial powers given to the ministries - ‘Basic Democracies’ initiated a multi-tiered government - New Constitution with strong presidency and weak federal legislature - Massive support for private sector and industrial growth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - HTM - HTM - Less HTM-NTM (vertical coordination) - HTM - MTM

Source: Authors

Third period (1970-1977)

The CMLA Yayha Khan held general elections amidst constant protests in the country but the results of the elections led to a dispute between the winning parties in East and West Pakistan. The dispute ultimately led to a war and Pakistan lost its Eastern part, which became independent as Bangladesh in December 1971. Meanwhile, Zulfikar Bhutto from the Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) assumed the role of president.

Bhutto started nationalization in the country and passed the Economic Reform Order. The government took over firms with a net worth of PKR1.4 billion, initiating mass nationalization of industry. By 1974, the government controlled 60 percent of the country’s financial and nonfinancial assets, with direct authority over critical sectors such as banking, insurance, and heavy industry (Rabbani, 2005; Wynbrandt, 2009). Government had monopolies in the major sectors of the economy.

The third constitution of Pakistan, presented in 1973, declared Pakistan a federal republic with a bicameral parliamentary system. This constitution made the Prime Minister the key power holder and placed the military under civilian authority in an effort to prevent martial law (Wynbrandt, 2009). Bhutto also created an alternate force FSF (Federal Security Force) to reduce the influence of the military. The Council of Common Interests (CCI) was created as a body to formulate and regulate policies with mutual consultation of federation and provinces in matters like railways, electricity, major ports, national planning, and national economic coordination. The idea was to increase coordination between the federal and provincial levels while the legislative powers stayed with the federal level.

Extensive civil administration reforms were implemented, which focused on curbing the powers of civil servants. Religion remained high in the agenda of the ruling government: a separate Ministry of Religious Affairs was created, and numerous steps were taken to implement Islamic practices in the country.

Establishing and changing lines of control remained the main factor behind structural and procedural shifts in these years, either by increasing the influence of the PM in matters of national security and curbing the role of military. Bottom-up management instruments were used by introducing a list of areas where the federal legislature needed to consult with the provincial legislature but legislative powers were not shared. Vertical coordination among different tiers of government and bodies for collective decision-making showed a tendency towards NTM and horizontal coordination; however, keeping the legislative power with the federation made it less NTM with a focus on authority and power for the central government (HTM). The government undertook massive nationalization, took away major industries from private investors, and in the meantime increased government monopolies, which is much of political hierarchical control. This civilian government ensured a strong central government. They augmented the control by taking industries from the private sector and by paving the way for government monopolies.

Table 5: Key events and reform instruments in 1970-1977

Period	Key events	Reform instruments
1970-1977	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Massive nationalization and government monopolies - Constitution with a federal and bicameral legislature, more power for the PM - Shared rule between federation & provinces, legislative powers stayed with federal government - Bodies for collective decision making between federal & provincial government - New ministries & public organizations created 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - HTM - HTM - Less NTM, more HTM - NTM - HTM

Source: Authors

Fourth period (1977-1988)

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto won the next elections but the worsened socio-economic conditions welcomed another declaration of martial law in the country on July 5, 1977 with Zia ul Haq as the CMLA. Zia created a parliament of non-political intellectuals, religious scholars, and professionals. The civil judiciary was marginalized and military courts got a position above the judiciary and legislature after a constitutional amendment. “Shariat Appellate Benches” were grafted to the Supreme Court of Pakistan (Hussain, 2014). A Federal Shariat Court was also set up, which decided whether any law was against the injunctions of Islam and heard cases involving religious matters.

Table 6: Key events and reform instruments in 1977-1988

Period	Key events	Reform instruments
1977-1988	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Another Martial Law in the country - Parliament of non-political intellectuals and scholars - Military courts given status above the legislature and judiciary - Religious court grafted and massive Islamization in the country - Denationalization, more opportunities for private sector investors - Many state-owned enterprise were converted in to public companies - IMF's structural adjustment program to reduce the size of government - Strengthened local government and instituted a party free system at local level 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - HTM - HTM - HTM - HTM-NTM (cultural and religious values) - MTM - MTM - MTM - Less HTM

Source: Authors

In early 1978, Zia showed a shift in economic strategy as compared to that of Bhutto by restraining nationalization. The rice husking and flour milling units were denationalized, three steel mills were returned to their previous owners, and all industries were made open to private sector investors (Mohiuddin, 2007). Very little was privatized under the Zia government; the private sector was chosen as the leading vehicle to bring about economic and industrial development (Ali et al., 2017). A corporatization process was initiated with the promulgation of the Companies Ordinance in 1984 in order to convert state departments into public companies (Hussain Raja, 2016). Pakistan also joined the IMF's Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) in 1981 and became one of the major recipients of World Bank loans. The reforms under the SAP focused on reduction of the size of government while less attention was paid to improvement in public sector management (Jadoon & Jabeen, 2013).

Zia ensured a non-party based politics while maintaining the local government system from the previous martial law regime, but gave more power to the union and district governments. In this tenure, massive Islamization was done in the country with strict rules and regulations. The military enjoyed numerous perks including lateral entry into civil service cadres and were assigned senior positions in Middle Eastern organizations.

Overall, structural and procedural changes during these years kept the tradition of using HTM instruments. Civilian and military governments used HTM instruments in a different way, but the main purpose remained the same, that is, to ensure their command and control. This time, then, emphasis in structural changes was on strengthening the military and the military government. This included, for instance, the creation of military courts, increased power of the president, and strengthened local governments without ensuring coordination among local, provincial, and federal legislature. Military men were given high ranks in the public companies and autonomous bodies, ensuring their involvement at all levels of the country. It was merely a reshuffling of competencies across different levels of the government. Religion was given a prominent position in the policies and practices by establishing special courts for issues related to religion and by ensuring implementation of religion in all spheres of life. The government used religion to achieve legitimacy, which is a HTM mechanism.

However, since religion is strongly embedded in the culture of Pakistan and people give it a lot of importance this can be seen as using a NTM mechanism to keep society together for effective functioning of the government. With IMF's program, the government used major instruments of MTM including creation of public companies, reduced nationalization, and privatization of some entities. Competition was encouraged by involving the private sector in the economy, accompanied with corporatization in the public sector.

Fifth period (1988-1999)

After the death of military ruler Zia ul Haq in an accident, new elections were held and Benazir Bhutto from Pakistan People's Party (PPP) became the PM by forming a coalition cabinet. The economic and social conditions were worsening and there were a number of socio-economic scandals; hence in 1990, the President dismissed Bhutto's government and dissolved the assembly. In the next elections, Nawaz Sharif from then Pakistan Muslim League (PML) became the PM and gave preeminence to denationalization, de-regulation, and the private sector. Government approval was not required anymore for establishing new industrial enterprises, and government monopolies ended. IMF loans continued and during the 1990s, a structural adjustment program (SAP) began that included privatization of state-owned enterprises; this explains the increased privatization in the 1990s (nearly 67 enterprises) (Ali et al., 2017). Moreover, the industrial background of PM Sharif cannot be ignored when explaining the increased corporatization and public private partnerships.

The local government scheme by the military government was ended for political reasons. In the wake of increased tensions between the President and PM Nawaz Sharif, both stepped down from their offices in 1993 in order to avoid another military intervention.

Table 7: Key events and reform instruments in 1988-1999

Period	Key events	Reform instruments
1988-1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif elected twice as Prime Ministers and dismissed before completing their tenures - Denationalization & increased involvement of private sector - Government monopolies ended, SOE's were privatized - Local government scheme of previous government diminished - 17 ministries abolished - Number of government organizations given autonomous status - Division of assets between federal and provincial governments - More power to the position of Prime Minister 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - HTM - MTM - MTM - HTM - Less HTM - less HTM/MTM - less HTM - HTM

Source: Authors

The caretaker government carried out major reforms in the country including abolishing 17 ministries and giving an autonomous status to a number of government bodies such as the State Bank, Pakistan Television, and Radio Pakistan. Elections were held and again Benazir Bhutto became the PM in a coalition government. Creation of a placement bureau was the key structural change that encouraged political hiring in the government organizations. Due to various issues, government could not work, so the next elections were held in 1996, and Nawaz Sharif from PML won a majority. His government carried out the division of assets between federal and provincial governments by involving the Council of Common Interests (CCI). Along with privatization and a liberalization agenda, organizations were restructured through unbundling their distribution function mainly in the power sector (Jadoon & Jabeen, 2013). In his second tenure, Nawaz Sharif's government did several constitutional amendments including restoring the powers of the Prime Minister, increasing the jurisdiction of speedy trial courts, and ending the practice of switching party loyalties. He tried to control all the state institutions,

in which he was quite successful, but when he tried to control the military, the state faced the results with another military takeover.

In spite of the civilian rule, the competencies for major areas like Defense and Foreign Office remained with the military. Bureaucratic neutrality was eroded through large-scale postings and transfers of civil officials, at both the district and policy-making levels in the federal and provincial secretariats, with each change of government. The judiciary was divided on political lines due to political transfer and promotions. Both the political parties had an entire focus on strengthening their government by strict top-down and unilateral management, reshuffled lines of control and abolition of the local government system. This period implied an inclination towards procedural HTM instruments. Privatization and competition within the public sector, with public private partnerships in order to promote common objectives, brought private sector practices into the public sector, which are closer to MTM instruments.

Sixth period (1999-2008)

Pakistan faced another declaration of martial law on October 12, 1999. Chief of Army (COAS) General Pervaiz Musharraf became the Prime Minister of the country while maintaining his post of COAS.

Like every other military government, Musharraf also introduced local government reforms with the plan to delineate powers at the ground level. The National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB) was created for devolution of power under the federally promulgated Local Government Ordinance (LGO) 2001. The autonomy of provincial governments and the bureaucracy was reduced and local elected bodies were made more autonomous. Formula-based fiscal transfers to the districts through Provincial Finance Awards were also initiated under LGO 2001.

Table 8: Key events and reform instruments in 1999-2008

Period	Key events	Reform instruments
1999-2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Another Martial Law in the country - New system of local government installed - Direct involvement of military in national security matters - Another constitutional amendment with more power to the position of President - Increased participation of market & private sector, more SOE's were unbundled by privatizing part of their functions; and IMF's reform model continued - Regulatory bodies created 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - HTM - Less HTM/NTM - HTM - HTM - MTM - HTM/NTM

Source: Authors

General Musharraf established the National Security Council (NSC) for policy making and consultation in state security matters, with its members from military and civilians. He also introduced the Legal Framework Order (LFO) and Political Parties Ordinance in 2002 to keep strong political parties away from the government. Further, he amended the constitution once again to return the authority of President to dismiss the elected Prime Minister and National and Provincial Assemblies, while he held the position of President.

During these years, several structural reforms took place including privatization of numerous public-sector enterprises, regulating public and corporate governance, liberalizing external trade, and reforming the banking sector. The economy was kept from expanding rapidly by following the IMF's model of economic stabilization.

Musharraf was against extremist religious parties and took some bold steps against them. He made the media liberal and autonomous. Military staff enjoyed numerous perks and important positions in the government including the position of provincial governors. Later, due to the assassination of ex-prime minister Benazir Bhutto

and some wrong decisions regarding the judiciary, Musharraf had to conduct general elections and give up his position as President.

The major instruments adopted by General Musharraf were of the hierarchy type, including shifting powers to the President and developing a national security council. Lines of control and competencies were reshuffled but the mechanisms were for achieving authority at the top. The military was involved in policy matters of the country.

Elected bodies at the local government level were given more autonomy, and provinces had to share budget resources with them. Information exchange among three tiers of the government was practiced and somehow result oriented financial management was implemented, which are instruments of NTM. The provincial governments remained weak and policy autonomy stayed at the federal level; that affected the chain of multi-level governance or NTM in practice. So, it can instead be seen as blend of HTM and NTM by delineating power to the lower levels. The idea behind strengthening the local governments was more of an effort to weaken the strong political parties, which all the military governments in Pakistan did.

The government used a combination of HTM/NTM instruments extensively by creating regulatory bodies to oversee the performance of agencies in particular sectors. MTM mechanisms were used mainly in privatization.

Seventh period (2008-2018)

The general elections of 2008 were held under General Musharraf and led to a coalition government with PPP's Asif Ali Zardari heading the government. General Musharraf had to leave the position of President amidst protests by the public.

The government worked on constitutional reforms and presented a historic 18th amendment to the constitution on March 30, 2010. The powers of president were curbed with this constitutional amendment. More autonomy was granted to the provinces and 17 federal ministries were abolished, devolving major areas to the provincial governments. A new division was created to be entrusted all functions of abolished ministries that were kept by the federal government and retained functions were distributed among remaining federal ministries. The role of the Council of Common Interests was increased, with authority to resolve federation/provinces and inter-province issues. Assets were divided among provincial governments by including indicators beyond population. Major enterprises were proposed for privatization. This government focused more on public private partnerships by contracting out some part of the organizations in order to involve the private sector more in the working of the public sector without completely privatizing the organizations.

Several scandals appeared in this period. One of the sensitive ones, a first judicial coup, happened in Pakistan when the Supreme Court removed an elected Prime Minister. The regime continued in chaos while the army fought a war within the country to remove religious extremist groups affecting millions of people. Amidst all the economic or political issues, for the first time ever in Pakistan an elected civilian government completed its tenure.

In the general election of 2013, the PLM won with a majority vote and Nawaz Sharif held the position of Prime Minister. By this time, law and order as well as economic conditions had slightly improved in the country due to military operations and the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) project between China and Pakistan. The CPEC began in the regime of Zardari and demonstrated its effectiveness in the coming years. The focus in privatization policies remained on public private partnerships while providing stock options for workers and management in public sector enterprises (Ministry of Privatisation, 2017). The government preferred partial privatization of companies by initial or secondary public offerings (Kiani, 2013). The funding from IMF continued with proposals for reduction of government stakes in state-owned enterprises (Tahir, 2014).

During this period the military and the ruling government lead by Nawaz Sharif had clashes on certain issues mainly related to India. The cooperation between the executive and the military developed in the previous regime was affected inexorably. Moreover, the role of the judiciary grew significantly in this period with their active involvement in decisions regarding economic policy, e.g., the Chagai Hills exploration joint venture agreement, Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) project, privatizations of steel mills, and meddling in the operation of the civil services (Husain, 2018b). Meanwhile, the situation worsened for the ruling government when Prime Minister

Sharif was found to be involved in the Panama scandal. The Supreme Court later removed the PM in 2017 because of corruption cases and violating clauses of the constitution regarding eligibility as a prime minister. In a decade, this was the second Prime Minister removed by the Supreme Court, illustrating the increased eminence of judicial actors in Pakistan.

Table 9: Key events and reform instruments in 2008-2018

Period	Key events	Reform instruments
2008-2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Constitutional amendment took away increased authority of President - Legislative powers given to the provinces and major sectors delineated from federal to provincial level - NEC divided assets between federal and provincial level based on number of indicators - Privatization continued with increased trend of public private partnerships - Prime Minister removed by the Supreme Court - Partial privatization and stock offering for workers in state owned enterprises - Another Prime Minister removed by the Supreme Court 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - HTM - Less HTM-NTM (vertical coordination) - NTM - MTM - HTM - Less MTM - HTM

Source: Authors

The political party of Nawaz Sharif, however, completed its term and in the general elections of 2018, Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaaf's (PTI) led the executive.

In this period, we observe less use of command-and-control tactics by the government; the main aim remained to complete their tenure without intervening in the major matters of defense and national security that were being dealt with by the Military. Major changes introduced by the historic 18th amendment laid emphasis on NTM mainly on vertical coordination. The main target was to bring all the tiers of government together to improve functioning by increasing the role of negotiation bodies like CCI and by giving more autonomy to the provinces. Provinces were made more independent to decide in the main policy matters for the local as well provincial governments. Massive restructuring took place at the federal and provincial levels. Bottom up and interactive management techniques that are NTM type were used. Meanwhile, high involvement of the private sector in the form of public-private partnerships was stimulated. Although this started somewhat in the military regime of General Musharraf it was deliberated in this period, ensuring the use of MTM techniques for the effectiveness of the public sector. Overall, the use of hierarchies remained prevalent; however, the actors using them were non-political, for instance the judiciary.

Discussion and conclusions

Resilience has been part of Pakistan's story from the country's inception. Although the prism of terror, extremism, and failure in policies has deflected attention from the strength and stability of its underlying structures, those structures, however, have enabled the country to survive in national and regional storms and disasters, be they natural or man-made (Lodhi, 2011). Pakistan has faced a number of challenging scenarios from settling a new nation, to power struggles between East and West Pakistan, extremist militants, the role of religion, and increased terrorism within state. These are just few among the many; in short, the journey has not been smooth. Throughout Pakistan's history, political instability has been endemic, as the country has shuttled between ineffectual civilian government and military rule in an unbroken cycle interrupted by outbreaks of public protests demanding change and better governance (Lodhi, 2011). Every regime promised improved governance and a better performing government system although the economic and social struggles still continue for this developing country. Table 10 summarizes the key trends during the periods under study.

Table 10: Key reform instruments during seven periods

Periods	Key trends in reform mechanisms for structural adjustments
1947-1958	Entirely HTM
1958-1970	More HTM with few instruments of NTM
1970-1977	Mainly HTM with some instruments of NTM
1977-1988	More HTM but MTM was also visible
1988-1999	Combination of HTM and MTM with more inclination towards HTM
1999-2008	Combination of HTM, MTM and NTM
2008-2018	Less HTM and more MTM and NTM

Source: Authors

Looking at the trends in Table 10, one can clearly see a prevalence of HTM throughout the history of the country. Along with that, different governments experimented with MTM and NTM techniques as well. Husain (2011) has also asserted that the Pakistani scene is dominated by the elitist capture of the state and excessive centralization of power by both the elected and military rulers, which represents a HTM system. The concentration of power in the hands of political party heads, with an absence of institutional checks and balances, and centralized and authoritative decision making, all have enfeebled the state institutions (Husain, 2018). The authority mainly remained at the top with a mere reshuffling in the lines of control.

The use of MTM systems has often been associated with the IMF and other donor agencies programs. The relation between state and market is interesting to note since a small group of the elite has rigged the market, which has also captured the state. Use of MTM was more evident in regimes of industrial politicians. This lethal concentration of political and economic power in the same hands has affected the policies and shifts in structure as well as procedures in multiple ways (Husain, 2018).

Recently, there has been a shift, with less use of control and power instruments by the ruling government, since more NTM mechanisms are in use to improve coordination and to bring the three tiers of government together. The government is becoming MTM and NTM oriented with the excessive use of performance in their strategic plans, by reducing the size of government, including public-private partnerships, in order to get an effective outcome from state machinery.

In conclusion, the process of structural reforms in the government over time exhibits layering of different mechanisms in the early years while maintaining the hierarchical control. Civilian and military governments amended the system for their stability and in different ways that led to different management styles in every period but the main mechanism remained HTM. In the post-1988 period, the trends shifted with sediments of all three reform mechanisms facilitating adjustments and with the evolution of stronger institutions including the judiciary

and media. Pakistan has survived as an undaunted country, an effective journey forward with the prudent use of different management techniques would be anticipated, while ensuring the logic of appropriateness for the state, its institutions, and the environment with a long-term perspective. Moreover, categorizing reforms as a success or failure or connecting them quantitatively with resilient and better performing public sector is not a laid-back task while attributing specific results to particular reform actions. However, identifying major reform trends used in the country can be the step towards such studies in the future with questions like whether the variety in use of reform mechanisms contributes to a more resilient state or makes it better equipped for the future could be the next steps in this research domain. Taking the mapping forward to look at the shifts in the pandemic time (COVID 19) could also open new avenues for research for elaborating how reform mechanisms were changed or remained unchanged when resilience was the core issue for the state.

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