POSITION PAPER

GOOD GOVERNANCE IN PAKISTAN

Civil Society Perspective on the eve of National Elections

BY ISHRAT HUSAIN

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CENTRE for GOVERNANCE RESEARCH
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This Paper is the first of the CGR's Ideas of the Year Initiative spotlighting people and concepts that can shape the future of Pakistan. Dr.Ishrat Husain, the writer, is former Governor State Bank of Pakistan and Advisor to the Prime Minister on Civil Service Reform and Restructuring of Government during 2018-21.



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Introduction

Economic and social development policies, however, sound or benign, can produce the desired outcomes only if the institutions of governance intermediating those policies are strong, efficient and effective. It is the quality, robustness and responsiveness of these institutions that can transmit and implement these social and economic policies. The channel through which governance affects development is the quality of civil servants, the incentives facing them and the accountability for results.

An objective analysis of the multiple crises Pakistan is facing today – anaemic growth combined with high inflation, energy shortages and leakages, low tax revenues, losses of public enterprises, corruption, poor law and order, arms, drug smuggling, non-availability of land, housing and transport, 22 million children out of school, mafias controlling land, water transport, etc. – would reveal that the root cause can be found in governance deficit and institutional decay. Pakistan is full of well drafted

plans, vision statements, strategy documents, diagnostic studies, solid prescriptions but most of them have never been implemented. The result is gradual deterioration in the situation and dissatisfaction of the public at large with the delivery of essential public goods and services. The rising numbers of educated middle class and growing urbanisation, the intrusion of electronic and social media in daily life, the demonstration effect emanating from a globalised economy have raised the expectations of society.

The capacity of the state to meet these expectations is becoming weaker every day. The implementation record is dismal. The elite capture of the state, excessive centralisation of power by both the elected and military rulers, chronic political instability, politicisation of the civil services and the collusion between the power structures - the politicians, the army and the judiciary in addition to the widespread acceptance of patron-client culture in the society have been the main stumbling blocks in the implementation of policy. The conflicts that took place at times between these power structures were not rooted in benign balancing acts for the larger collective good of the society but assertion of the authority by different actors for advancing their own parochial interests. Unlike other societies, the cost Pakistan is paying for poor governance and institutional decay is relatively very high and poses an existential threat.

Civil services have lost their dynamism, vigour and sense of mission. Parliament is not properly exercising vigilance over the Executive and holding them accountable for results, the court system is overloaded and congested with millions of cases that have been

lingering for long periods of time. Institutions of restraint such as the Election Commission, Auditor General of Pakistan, Public Services Commissions etc. have become controversial.

Good Governance Agenda

The good governance agenda for the future should aim at reforms in the political arena, civil services, Police, Judiciary, restructuring government structure, processes and size and revitalizing institutions that deliver the basic public services to common citizens in an effective and efficient manner and to promote inclusive markets through which all citizens have equal opportunities to participate in the economy. The restructuring should lower transaction costs and provide access without frictions by curtailing the arbitrary exercise of discretionary powers, reducing overtaxation, minimizing corruption, cronyism and collusion, and ensuring public order and security of life and property.

Political Reforms

The political system in Pakistan has evolved around feudal, biradri and kinships, tribal affiliations, and ethnic groupings. Nepotism, favouritism and corruption have become entrenched social norms. Trust and social capital, on the other hand, which play a positive role, are rapidly eroding. Social polarisation of 'us' versus 'them' has become part of our norms – reinforcing tendencies of adversity, confrontation and hostility.

These societal norms have become ingrained in the voters' psyche. As most of them do not have direct access to government services they deploy their elected representatives as their intermediaries for interface with the

government departments for their daily chores and survival. They expect these MNAs, MPAs and party leaders to provide maximum benefits to them and their kith and kin in the form of jobs, livelihoods, admission to schools, healthcare, land and water. It does not matter to them whether the applicants are qualified for the jobs or not. Constituency politics forces the candidates to go out of the way to oblige their voters. This pressure rather than prudence results in unqualified and incompetent people entering public services and public enterprises. Election manifestos of the political parties become subservient to the realities of constituency politics. The consequences of such behaviour on the part of the electorate are disastrous for the economy. The public sector expands in numbers with unproductive people on pay rolls and the budgetary ceilings are breached leading to increases in deficit financing. The public at large suffers at the hands of these functionaries in terms of the low quality of delivery of goods and services. Absentee teachers and health workers, corrupt Revenues and Police Officials make lives miserable for a common citizen. Anatol Lieven aptly summarizes this phenomenon in his book, Pakistan: A Hard Country. He asserts that, "in so far as the political system runs on patronage and kinship and corruption is intertwined with patronage and kinship it would mean gutting Pakistan's society like a fish. Kinship plays a vital part in maintaining the dominance of the 'feudal elites and many of the urban bosses.

The point to begin this process is the strengthening of the political and electoral system that moves away from dynastic and elite capture to a broad-based system where educated middle-class individuals of calibre and competence can be attracted to take part

in politics. Unlike other countries where one becomes rich by dint of hard work, risk-taking and enterprise, all you need in Pakistan to become a millionaire overnight is a privileged status that enables you to acquire plots of land for yourself and your family, development funds, contracts and public procurement as a largesse from the government of the day.

An empowered and fully resourced Local Government system along with Intra-party elections from the grassroots level to the national level would open doors to newcomers gradually nibbling the exclusivity of the electables. The power of nominations for party positions, for membership of the legislatures, and appointment to cabinet positions has concentrated too much authority in the hands of one individual -- the party leader. Those who would come up as office bearers through the intra party election process or lower tier elected offices would be able to neutralize the arbitrary powers of the top leader.

When tackling governance problems, it must be realized that meaningful empowerment of communities through decentralization and delegation of authority, in which the local government system plays a crucial role would in the long run promote greater trust, cohesion and harmony in our society and ensure access to basic public services in an efficient and equitable manner. These outcomes will not only help mobilize additional resources at the local level but also improve the efficiency of resource utilization.

The present state of disaffection and discontentment with the government would also be mitigated if public goods and services of everyday use to the citizens become

available to them at the grass root level. Unfortunately, the position of political leaders regarding empowering and strengthening local governments is highly unfavourable as in fact it entails the transfer of power from the provincial and national legislators and the ministers to the locally elected nazims or mayors of the districts.

Naturally, the resistance to empowerment and resource transfer to the local governments comes from these legislators who would lose their power of patronage under such a system. Thus, deliberate efforts are made to dilute the law establishing these local bodies. Despite the Supreme Court's clear instructions there has been very little movement in setting up these entities.

From a national perspective, this devolution would result in efficiency, accountability, resource mobilization and better resource utilization. Local communities know their problems and their solutions much better than anybody else. The present culture of concentrating authority in power centres has not only alienated the rural periphery, but reduced its productive potential also, and to no small extent. It is little surprise that 80 districts are in a miserable condition, according to the Deprivation Index, and remain almost criminally starved of their most basic needs.

The 18th Amendment and the NFC Award are positive steps, delegating authority and resources to the provinces. But it is of vital importance to note that development is incomplete unless extended to districts. If visible efforts are not made to delegate relevant authority as well as resources directly to the districts, much of the benefits of the amendment and the award will fizzle out.

Civil Service Reform

The decline in the quality of Civil servants can be traced to 1973, when the constitutional guarantee of the security of the job was removed, All Pakistan Unified Grades were introduced, and the Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP) cadre was abolished and replaced by District Management Group (DMG).

The next 25 years witnessed a significant decline in the quality of new recruits to the civil services as the implicit trade-off between job security and low compensation ceased to operate and the expanding private sector including multinational corporations offered more attractive career opportunities. The erosion of real wages in the public sector over time also led to low morale, demotivation, inefficiency and resort to corrupt practices among the civil servants at all levels.

The abuse of discretionary powers, bureaucratic obstruction and the delaying tactics adopted by government functionaries are all part of the maneuvering to extract rents for supplementing their pay. In real terms, the compensation paid to higher civil servants is only one half of the 1994 package. The low wages mean that the civil service no longer attracts the most talented young men and women.

Some of the incumbents of the civil services, in their instinct of self-preservation, fell prey to the machinations of the political regimes in power and many of them got identified with one political party or the other. They also benefited from the culture of patronage practised by the politicians. During the 1990s and in the post 2008 period, the replacement of one political party by the other in the corridors of power was followed by changes in top bureaucracy.

This growing tendency of informal political affiliation for tenaciously holding on to key jobs was also responsible for the end of an impartial, neutral and competent civil service responsive to the needs of the citizen. Loyalty to ministers, chief ministers and prime ministers took ascendancy over accountability to the public.

The key to quality and high performance of institutions lies in once again attracting, retaining and motivating civil servants of high professional calibre enjoying integrity. They should be allowed the authority and powers to act in the larger interests of the public while being held accountable for nepotism, favouritism, corruption etc. This can be accomplished by introducing a merit-based recruitment system, continuous training and skill up-gradation, equality of opportunity in career progression, adequate compensation, proper performance evaluation, financial accountability and rule-based compliance.

The entire value chain of human resource policy - from recruitment to compensation has been reviewed and redesigned. Detailed proposals on induction, training, performance management, career progression, compensation and benefits, discipline and severance have been developed after extensive consultations. (IRC Report Volume I September 2021). Some of the recommendations such as the appointments of CEOs/MDs of 61 public sector corporations and bodies were implemented but others have been shelved or put in cold storage. A proposal to establish a National Executive Service where all government officers --- cadre, non-cadre, ex cadre - compete after reaching Grade 19 in an open, transparent manner and do away with the present system of entitlement by a certain group to fill in higher Secretariat positions has

proved to be contentious.

To strengthen the local governments where the delivery of public services takes place a radical change must take place. Instead of senior, qualified and courteous officers being assigned to secretariat positions and junior, rude, unqualified functionaries at the local level as under the present configuration there has to be a reversal of roles.

As most of the public services are delivered at the local level, young, dynamic and competent officers should occupy key positions in the metropolitan corporations, municipal committees, district and tehsil councils. Assistant and deputy commissioners, assistant and superintendents of police and district executive officers of the devolved departments should be legally empowered to resolve the issues and difficulties faced by citizens at their level without referring the matters to the provincial secretariats.

It would be imperative that the chief executive officers of metropolitan corporations and large district councils are opened up and appointed from among professionals and domain specialists, Grade 21 and 22 officers of the All Pakistan and Federal Service cadres and the Provincial services. After all, the chief secretaries of the provinces are at present selected from this pool of officers. There is no reason why officers of the same caliber and status should be utilized at the local government level. We must invert the pyramid of hierarchy between the three tiers of the government.

The rules of business should be changed drastically from maintaining the status quo to promote a dynamic and modern administrative structure.

There is both too much and too little accountability of those involved in public affairs in Pakistan. On the one hand, the plethora of laws and institutions such as anti-corruption Accountability establishments, National Bureau, auditor general's office, public accounts committees of the legislature, parliamentary oversight, judicial activism and the ombudsman system have created an atmosphere of fear, inertia and lack of decision-making among honest civil servants. On the other hand, instances of rampant corruption, malpractices, nepotism and favouritism and waste and inefficiency have become a common folklore in the administrative culture of the country. Too much emphasis on ritualistic compliance with procedures, rules and form has taken the place of substantive concerns with the results and outcomes for welfare and justice.

Police Reforms

There is almost a consensus that the law and order and security problems that have worsened in recent years have arisen due to inefficiency, corruption and politicization of the police force. The original Police Order 2002 had been compromised by amendments that weakened the functioning and accountability of the police. Legislative amendments and revised disciplinary rules are needed to allow police officers to perform their duties in accordance with the police order and to remove the discretionary powers of politicians in postings and transfers, a powerful tool that has created the present state of indifference, inefficiency and unresponsiveness on the part of police officials.

The reversal to the Old Police Act after 2008 has, in fact, aggravated the situation as the

police have become highly politicized. The police force should not fall under the purview of the Civil Servants Act (except those belonging to the Police Service of Pakistan) as it impedes internal accountability. Disciplinary rules should be framed under the Police Order. The National Police Bureau (NPB) should be responsible for management of the PSP cadre in place of the Establishment Division as they know the problems as well as remedial solutions better. The provincial police office should be organized along functional lines and powers should be delegated to the lower tiers.

Urban police stations should be merged, upgraded and headed by a directly recruited officer of Grade 17 with full responsibility for Watch and Ward, Investigation and Operations. Training, allowances, mobility, logistics support, lodging and boarding, medical facilities and welfare of the police force fall short of their requirements and create demoralisation, too. These should be reviewed and strengthened. Traffic police in all large cities should be organized and operated on the lines of the Motorway Police.

The Police Reforms Committee Report released by the Supreme Court of Pakistan in January 2019 needs to be implemented for meaningful reforms related with accountability, specialization in investigations, urban policing, combating terrorism, alternate dispute resolution mechanism, and police welfare.

Land Revenue Administration Reforms

Land records as maintained by the patwari are the single largest source of disputes and litigation in the country. Attempts to create a digital database of land records have remained halfhearted except in Punjab where some progress was made but reversed recently by reinstating the patwar system. Land revenue assessment and collection, adjudication and dispute resolution, maintenance and update of land records should remain under the district government. The patwari should be replaced by a qualified revenue assistant and recruited through the provincial Public Service Commission. The Colonisation of Government Lands Act 1912 should be revised for better and transparent allocation and utilization of state land.

Deregulation and Taxation

To achieve sustained economic growth, a competitive private sector must be nurtured and relied upon. Therefore, a major area of reforms in Pakistan is to create space for the growth of new entrants in the private sector by removing the constraints created by the state in their entry and smooth operations. R&D and innovation by private-sector firms should be encouraged through fiscal incentives. The entrenched firms that have subsisted on protection, concessions, exemptions and subsidies should be given timelines either to compete or wind up.

Despite the pursuit of policies of liberalization, deregulation, delicencing and disinvestment during the last 15 years the overbearing burden of government interventions in the business lifecycle looms large. The difficulties faced by new businesses in acquiring, titling, pricing, transferring and possessing land, in obtaining no objection certificates from various agencies, in getting water and gas connections, sewerage facilities, reliable electricity supply, access to roads, securing finances for green field

projects or new enterprises using emerging technologies are still horrendous and nerveracking. The powers of petty inspectors from various departments/ agencies are so vast that they can either make or break a business.

The growing trend towards 'informalization' of the economy particularly by small and medium enterprises is a testimony to the still dominant nature of the government. Over 96 per cent of the establishments reported in the economic census of 2005 fall in this category. The attitude of middle and lower functionaries of the government in the provinces and districts towards private business remains ambivalent. Either functionaries harass businesses to extract pecuniary and non-pecuniary benefits for themselves or they are simply distrustful, hostile or hesitant towards private entrepreneurs. The multiple agencies involved, too many clearances needed and avoidable delays at every level raise the transaction costs for new entrants. Unless the ease of entry and exit is facilitated, competitive forces will remain at bay and the collusive and monopolistic practices of large businesses will continue to hurt consumers and citizens.

The present regressive and extortionary taxation system in which those already are taxpayers are forced to pay more for achieving the revenue targets while 60 percent of the economy in the agriculture, retail and wholesale trade, real estate, construction pays almost nothing. Automation, Computerization, Digitalization along with the integration of data bases of third parties backed by political resolve can reduce the tax rates and increase the overall tax collection. Documentation of the economy would also help the growth of formal sectors and decent wage employment.

Size, Procedures and Functions of the Government

The next area of reforms has to do with the size, structure, scope and procedures of the federal, provincial and local governments and the skills, incentives and competencies of the civil servants. Similarly, the division of functions and responsibilities between the different tiers of the government must be clarified and delineated. Several federal and provincial departments that are already redundant or would become so under the proposed devolution should be abolished. The elongated hierarchy within the ministry/division has to be trimmed down and the relationship between the ministry and the executive departments, autonomous bodies have to be redefined.

Another source of grief to citizens is caused by uneven and discriminatory application of government rules, regulations and instructions. As these rules are not known to anyone except somelimited number of lower functionaries, they exploit their power of hoarding this knowledge for their benefits. Multiple and conflicting rules exist on the same subject as there has been no systematic weeding out exercise. The multiple rules, regulations, instructions and circulars existing in the manuals should be screened, updated and compiled in the form of a concise and accurate manual. The rules of business must be drastically modified and updated from time to time to reflect the present exigencies of service.

The revision of the establishment manual and the finance manuals deserve priority attention. These manuals after updating and revision should then be uploaded on the websites of the government of Pakistan so that they are accessible to the public at large.

One way of improving transparency and accountability in the Government is through digitalization. The world is moving swiftly towards Information and Communication Technology that is bringing benefits to the lives of the common citizens. E-government tools and development in digital technology offer promising prospects for improving the efficiency of government, reducing the costs of transactions, conveniencing ordinary citizens, introducing transparency and reducing discretionary powers and corruption and tracking performance and output.

Despite such a potentially powerful impact of e-government, the resistance, reluctance and contrived delay in its adoption are fierce. Training of those already working in the government in electronic filing, messaging, sharing and exchange of documents, retrieving, reporting, and archiving will make the transition from a paper-based environment quite smooth. The transparency achieved through e-government will also help curb corruption and exercise arbitrary discretionary powers by government functionaries.

Along with e-government, another way to reduce the discretionary powers of officials is through simplification of rules and regulations, codification and updating and wide dissemination through e-governance tools such as a dynamic website or information kiosks. Online access to government functionaries can help enforce internal accountability standards while at the same time making it convenient for citizens to carry out hassle-free transactions. Strong pressure from organized civil society advocacy groups on specific sectors or activities from the media, political parties, private sector

and think tanks can also compel government departments and ministries to become more accountable for the results.

Education and Health Reforms

Pakistan faces two serious problems in education. Twenty-two million children are out of school and learning outcomes from existing schooling are quite weak. To resolve both these problems, governance reforms are badly needed.

These reforms should begin with a clear division of responsibilities between the federal, provincial and district governments in the delivery of services. While the federal government should focus on higher education financing, regulations and standards and curriculum, the provincial governments should be made responsible for college education, technical and vocational education.

The district governments will have the exclusive powers to manage and operate primary and secondary education up to matriculation. Examination reforms should be carried out to bring the standards of various boards at par. Management and teaching cadres should be separated and the career paths for the two cadres would not discriminate against the teachers. Curriculum at all tiers from school to higher education should be developed at the national level jointly by the federal and the provincial governments.

To bring about coordination and ensure uniformity in standards of public, private and not-for-profit schools, a District Education Board should be established in each district. The board will consist of eminent people enjoying a good reputation in their communities and

will have the district education officer as the secretary to the board. The board will be assisted by school management committees which will be empowered to oversee the school's functioning. Head teachers will enjoy more administrative authority in running the schools and disciplining teachers and arranging inspection of schools periodically.

To provide financing for talented students to pursue studies at top institutions in the country, endowment funds at the provincial levels should be topped up every year out of the budget. Student vouchers or stipends should be available to meritorious children from poor families to attend private schools of their choice. Private-public partnerships in the form of 'Adopt a School' programmes should be encouraged and given incentives. To promote increased female enrollment at primary schools, only female teachers be employed whenever possible.

Science, mathematics and computer literacy courses should be introduced right from the middle school level, which should be equipped with networks, internet connectivity and laboratories. To attract out-of-school children, both modified formal schooling without age restrictions and vocational and technical training streams should be offered.

Most of the problems in healthcare delivery arise not from financial constraints but due to poor management practices. The health management cadre should, therefore, be separated from teaching and service providers in each province and the federal government. Only those with aptitude should be recruited as health managers and trained at the national and provincial health academies. District, teaching and other specialized hospitals should have

their own autonomous board of directors and should be given autonomy in administrative, financial, legal and human resource matters.

Health, manpower, development, particularly in the nursing and paramedical professions, require urgent attention for quality and volume increase. The health regulatory framework should be made more effective and also set up at the provincial level. Pay scales for health professionals should be separated from those with basic pay scales.

Conclusion

The governance agenda outlined above should not be considered a technocratic exercise as it is essentially a political exercise that considers the existing power relationships in which the polity is rooted. The balancing of diverse interests of the various stakeholders involves many politically tough choices which cannot be made by technocrats. The sustainability of reforms requires broad consultation, consensus building and communication to articulate the long-term vision.

People should see beyond the immediate horizon and buy into future changes. Concerns, criticism and scepticism should be addressed. The scope, phasing, timing, implementation strategies, mitigation measures for the losers from the reforms should be widely discussed and debated. If things do not proceed the way they were conceptualized, corrective actions should be taken considering the feedback received. Citizen charters, citizen surveys and report cards, citizen panels and focus groups should be used as instruments for receiving regular feedback about the impact of reforms on society and its different segments.

In fine, to nurture democratic governance, law and order and the justice system need to be strengthened, and government structures and institutions revamped to promote efficiency by hiring on merit, deploying e-government and decentralizing power. Authority and resources must be devolved to the elected local governments where most of the essential public goods and services are delivered. Digitalization should be promoted to bring about transparency, efficiency and convenience to the citizens.

The government must refrain from unnecessary intrusion and provide an enabling environment for the private sector to invest in and operate. For the common person, satisfaction level is correlated with access to jobs, livelihoods, price stability, affordable dispute resolution, security of person and property and delivery of education, health care, drinking water, transport etc. When this happens, economic growth will not be far behind.

Most of the population is not concerned with foreign exchange reserves, current account or fiscal deficit or other macro indicators but with the delivery of these basic public services.

Why have these reforms aimed at improving governance and strengthening institutions failed to take off when their net benefits to the economy are so obvious? The unwillingness or resistance to implement these reforms stems from the fact that the proposed reforms attack the existing system based on patronage, loyalty, connections, mutually benefitting bargains and deals and promotion of narrow personal and parochial interests. The new system cannot replace the existing system overnight or even when it takes root after a few years lays down merit, hard work, ethical behaviour and reward

for performance as the underlying principles. The benefits of this system will not accrue to the party in power during its tenure, but the costs are upfront and would have to be borne by the party that initiates the reforms process. Under the reformed system the ordinary politician who has to face his constituency would not be able to place his supporters in lucrative government jobs, award juicy contracts to them, get officers loyal to him appointed as DC, SP, Tehsildar and SHO. From his viewpoint these reforms are an anathema because he

loses all the levers of control which he exercises through this patronage system. This disconnect between the costs to be incurred by elected politicians in the form of losing their privileges, power and pelf immediately because of these reforms and the benefits that are invisible, diffused and uncertain occurring sometime in the distant future is the primary reason as to why no government has bitten the bullet and implemented the long-term institutional reforms agenda.

About the Author



Dr. Ishrat Husain was until recently Advisor to the Prime Minister on Institutional Reforms and Austerity with the status of Federal Minister and led the Government efforts to reform the Civil Services and restructure the Federal Government. A two-volume report was submitted to the Cabinet after extensive consultations with the stakeholders all over the country over a two-year period. During 2016-17 he was Public Policy Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington DC and authored the book "Governing the ungovernable; Reforms for Democratic Institutional Governance" --- a set of comprehensive reforms for all sectors of the polity, economy and society. Earlier on he chaired the National Commission for Government Reforms between 2006-2008. The Commission produced a report on Civil service reforms, Restructuring of the Federal, Provincial and Local Governments, Business process reengineering and delivery of public services. This report was later published in form of a book," Reforming the Government in Pakistan."

As the Governor State Bank of Pakistan, he successfully implemented a major program of restructuring of the Central Bank and steered the reforms of the banking sector. As a member of the economic management team of the Government, he played a key role in the impressive economic turnaround of Pakistan. As Director IBA Karachi he led the efforts to transform the Institute into a first-rate general University of excellence. Later, LUMS faculty members used these two institutions to develop case studies to show case public sector institution restructuring. During 2009-10 he was appointed by the Government of Pakistan to chair the Pay and Pension Commission.

In recognition of his meritorious services, he was conferred the prestigious award of "Hilale-Imtiaz" by the President of Pakistan in 2003. The Banker Magazine of London declared him as the Central Bank Governor of the year for Asia in 2005. He received the Asian Banker Lifetime achievement award in 2006. The President of Pakistan conferred upon him the highest civilian award of Nishan e Imtiaz in 2016 for his outstanding public service.

Earlier Dr. Husain had a distinguished career at the World Bank for over two decades 1979-1999. He joined the Civil Service of Pakistan in 1964 and served the Government in various capacities.

Mr. Husain has maintained an active scholarly interest in development issues. He has authored two dozen books and monographs and contributed more than 40 articles in refereed journals and 34 chapters in books. His book "Pakistan: The Economy of the Elitist State" published by Oxford University Press is widely read in Pakistan and outside.

He is regularly invited as a speaker to international conferences and seminars and has attended more than 150 such events all over the world since 2006. He lectures regularly at all training institutions including NDU, Command and Staff College, National Management college and National Institutes of Management. He has chaired or served on the Boards of several research institutes, philanthropic and cultural organizations.

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