Is there a distinct Islamic Public Administration? The Case of Pakistan, an "Islamic" State

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ABSTRACT

The role of religion in human life and at the societal level is being debated, restructured, renegotiated, and transformed all over the world. Although the twin orthodoxies – religion is everything or nothing – still exist, debates and negotiations are no longer limited to two extremes. Pakistan is seen by many as an Islamic state where Islam permeates all aspects of the state. Is there a distinct Islamic public administration framework, and does it exist in Pakistan? This paper intends to probe and unpack Islam's role in public administration by first analyzing Islamic provisions in Pakistan's three constitutions and Islamic laws, and then probing fifteen experienced bureaucrats regarding Islam's influence on their work and overall public administration in Pakistan. A purposive sampling technique was used to choose a set of bureaucrats with diversity in terms of gender, type of service, religious observance, and ethnicity. Based on the literature review and the opinion of the bureaucrats, it can be argued that the existence of a distinct Islamic public administration framework is doubtful. The questionnaire results also show that Islam has minimal impact on public administration in Pakistan.

Key Words: Pakistan, Islam, Islamic public administration, religious nationalism, church-state relationship, religious state

INTRODUCTION

Abortion and homosexuality have been two of the most debated policy issues in the United States, and many Catholic-majority European and Latin American countries. Often called "culture wars" in the United States, these debates have been instrumental in not only reviving or destroying many political careers but also polarizing the populace. The inability to compromise by both parties on the abortion issue has led to decades-long tensions, anger, and hatred across the American political landscape. In November 2019, abortion was called the preeminent issue by the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops. The New York Times reported that 300 bills related to abortion are at various stages of approval in the United States (Reese, 2019). Laws related to homosexuality have become part of the political agenda in many other countries too. In September 2018, the Indian Supreme Court decriminalized homosexuality, while in June 2019, the Brazilian Supreme Court criminalized homophobia disregarding the objections of former President Jair Bolsonaro (BBC, 2018; AFP, 2019). More recently, in March 2023, the Ugandan Parliament passed one of the toughest anti-homosexuality bills and sent it to the President for consent (Atuhaire, 2023).

Muslim women's attire has also become a major public policy issue in many countries of the world. In many European countries or their sub-national jurisdictions, the niqab (cloth covering the whole face) has been banned. In India too, girls wearing hijab (a piece of cloth worn by women to cover their hair) were stopped from coming to school and sitting in exams in 2022. After months of controversy, the hijab ban remains in place in Karnataka as a two-judge Supreme Court bench failed to agree on a decision (Mohanty & Jamkhandikar, 2022). On the other extreme, Saudi Arabia and Iran have enforced or actively encouraged wearing hijabs or niqabs (a veil that covers the whole face, except the eyes). In Iran, hijab protests spread all over the country, and more than 150 people died in 2022 after a woman, who allegedly broke the hijab law, was killed while in police

detention (Gritten, 2022). Similarly, in 2019, a controversial order in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan forced female students to wear an abaya (a robe that fully covers the body, usually worn over regular clothes), gown, or chador (a large loose cloth worn by women to cover the upper body including the head) to school was withdrawn after public outcry (Ashfaq, 2019).

In another example of religious edicts becoming public policy issues, many governments have promulgated dietary policies and laws, or notified rules and regulations. In Israel, the kosher food sector is regulated by the Chief Rabbinate while in many Muslim-majority countries, transportation and sale of alcoholic drinks are restricted. In India, the killing of a cow is forbidden in many states. During the last few years, many people were lynched on the suspicion that they were taking cows for slaughter and there is a demand for banning cow slaughter nationally (Ranjan 2023).

Finally, the way an animal is killed in a slaughterhouse has also become a public policy issue and a controversial one. Judaism's Halacha and Islam's Sharia, both call for a ritual slaughter where the animal's throat is cut and it dies as a result of blood loss. The stunning of animals before slaughter is not permitted. In Europe, there many animal rights organizations are campaigning to ban ritual slaughter as they consider it cruel and inhumane. Numerous European countries and regions have already banned ritual slaughtering and this ban was upheld by the European Court of Justice in 2020, making the lives of observant Jews and Muslims difficult (Global Legal Research Directorate Staff 2018; Temizer & Taskin, 2022).

All of the above public policy issues have been so hotly contested because of their association with religion. The secularization thesis, which (broadly) predicted the gradual vanishing of religion from the public sphere, has been proven erroneous. Religion's role in the public sphere may not have increased in recent decades but it is not waning and certainly not on a

trajectory to oblivion. The contestation around religious beliefs and practice is manifested in numerous forms and over a range of intensities. Interestingly, both sides of the debate claim to defend the overriding values of liberty, freedom, and human rights. Religious violence, although proportionally small, has grabbed big headlines since 9/11 as its affinity with terrorism is now largely presumed, not debated. Terrorism brings us to politics as it is the pursuit of a political aim or ideology that transforms a crime into a terrorist act. Religion and politics have always been twin sisters. Priest-kings (such as in Indus Valley civilization and Mesopotamia) and God-kings (such as Egyptian Pharaohs and Japanese Emperors) have been common in human history but, with the rise of modernity and secularization thesis, it was argued that the fewer association politics (and public administration) has with religion, the better. This is because religion was considered primitive and divisive. Times, however, are changing and there is now a growing acceptance of religion's role, both in the upper echelons of power and in academia.

This article explores Islam's role in public management or administration in Pakistan. It is divided into four parts. The first section is the literature review, which is geared towards unpacking different aspects of the role of religion, particularly Islam in public administration. The next section looks at the role of Islam in Pakistani constitutions and laws in general. The third part summarizes the responses of fifteen bureaucrats, who are highly experienced and part of the top management of ministries and departments, to the 20-item questionnaire. The last part comprises the analysis and conclusion.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Role of religion in public administration

Although public administration is perhaps as old as human civilization, prehistoric, or even medieval, empires neither had nor needed a large number of permanent officers paid from state coffers (Farazmand, 1996). People might have been employed (or enslaved or forced to do unpaid work) for years for huge projects, such as pyramids, but a large permanent bureaucracy for general administration was rare. Many scholars trace the origins of bureaucracy to the consolidated German Empire under Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, although some have traced it further back to the early 19th century Prussia (Beck, 1992). Not surprisingly, the first, seminal and comprehensive analysis of the bureaucracy was done by one of the founders of Sociology, German social scientist, Max Weber. He identified three types of legitimate authority: traditional, charismatic, and rational-legal. Traditional authority was considered legitimate because of culture and tradition. The acceptability of charismatic authority was based on the personality of the leader with a larger-than-life leader attracting admirers who are ready to follow him or her. The most modern form of legitimate authority is the rational-legal authority, which is based, not on traditions or emotions, but on laws and rules.

Weber associated bureaucracy with rational-legal authority as a form of organization based on laws, rules, and regulations. Weber's bureaucracy was hierarchical, rule-oriented, formal, and efficient organization, something essential for running a modern economy and polity. It was quite different from how the bureaucracy is generally perceived today i.e., acquisitive, expanding, inefficient, and corrupt (Moore, 2005). The consistency and uniformity made bureaucrats or public administrators predictable, fair, and impersonal managers. In the late 1970s, the welfare state received severe backlash as inflation, deficits, and unemployment soared. Bureaucracies, as

implementers of the welfare state, were castigated and bureaucrats, at least in the Anglo-American context, became synonymous with inefficiency, red-tapism, arrogance, elitism, and ineffectiveness. This change of fortune is perhaps best seen in the British (satire) sitcoms- Yes, Minister and Yes, Prime Minister, in which Sir Humphrey Appleby, the permanent secretary, a master of obfuscation, delay, and confusion, used everything in his arsenal to maintain the status quo and reject all attempts to reform.

This decline of the Weberian bureaucratic model and the rise of neo-liberal economics led to the conceptualization of the New Public Management (NPM) approach in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The NPM called for privatization, devolution, goal or output orientation, competition, service delivery, customer focus, and cost reduction. The NPM continues to hold sway, however, its failure in terms of ignoring (or not fully comprehending) the disadvantages of making governments work like businesses, led to the tie-in with the governance model. Governance or good governance models call for a broad-based approach towards decision-making, where local leaders, religious leaders, civil society organizations, businesses, universities, minorities, etc. all collectively participate, decide, and implement policies. The government becomes one of the many players striving to reach a certain goal. The governance model is a response to the rising complexity of social and political action. Extensive horizontal linkages, social networks, and coordination across organizations, tiers of government, social classes, and groups, define governance.

The term "good governance" has, however, extended to a point where it might break. There is nothing that does not come under good governance. Almost every public administration reform conceived is presented as good governance. There is not much guidance or concern about the sequence, capacity, financial constraints, interaction effects, short-term impact (it is assumed long-

term impact is positive), or necessity of each of these reforms. This brings one to the concept of "good enough governance" as envisaged by Merilee Grindle (2004, 2007). Grindle tries to answer the queries raised above about good governance by bringing in context (type of government: type, legitimacy, capacity, etc.), characteristics of a specific action, and the process of reform. Michiel de Vries (2013) agrees with Grindle that the good governance concept is confusing and can be dangerous for developing countries, working under severe constraints. He is, however, clear about what should be done first i.e., building the capacity of the bureaucracy. De Vries is also ready to look at the "Islamic public administration" for inspiration to improve good governance. But the question remains: does Islam, or more generally religion, have a role in public administration?

Before one looks at the influence of religion on public administration or management, it is important to understand that the term "religion" is difficult to define. Most of the popular understanding of religion is influenced by Semitic theocentric Abrahamic religions (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam). However, Abrahamic religions, with their detailed and complex doctrines, injunctions, and dogma, are quite different from numerous other religions that are without god(s) and intricate cosmologies, worldviews, and moral systems. An African religion, practiced by a small tribe in Savanna, with a simple moral system and no God or heavenly book, is no less of a religion than Christianity or Islam.

Three types of academic literature delineate the interaction between public administration and religion. First, there are articles, reports, and books that seek to scrutinize the influence of individual or collective social values on public administration. Values influence behavior, and religious values and worldviews have influenced human conduct for millennia. These values are mostly connected to religions or have been embraced after rejecting the religious values (such as Cohen & Hertz (2020), de Vries & Kim (2011), and Box (2008)). However, it is imperative to

recognize that it is often difficult to decide which values are religious and which are based on secular thought. Many of the secular values were embraced by religions, and many erstwhile religious values are now defended using a secular utilitarian perspective (Saleem, 2019). Second, there is research that has prioritized the influence of culture and context on public administration in developing countries and public sector reform in general. As religion is a significant part of the culture in numerous developing countries, it is part of the discussion (such as in Ugyel (2021), Knassmuller & Veit (2016), Mauri & Muccio (2012), Schedler & Proeller (2007), and Caiden & Sundaram (2004)). Finally, academics and practitioners have discussed or investigated the effect of specific religious traditions, individually or in a comparative perspective (such as Bandara, Adikaram, & Dissanayake (2022) vis-à-vis Buddhism; Minkenberg (2002), and deHaven-Smith (2003) vis-à-vis Christianity; Yanow (2003) vis-à-vis Judaism; King (2000) vis-à-vis Judeo-Christian tradition; and Sharma (2005); and Williams (2021) vis-à-vis Hinduism). The majority of the literature in the first category is focused on Western countries, but there is more research on developing countries within the second and third categories (Shah, Larbi, & Batley 2007).

Islamic Public Administration

Amidst these many studies, work focusing exclusively on the effect on public administration of Islamic religious traditions, in particular, remains an untapped niche in the academic arena, although several writers have attempted to explain the concept of Islamic public administration and demonstrate its existence. Behrooz Kalantari (1998) and Dr. Mohamad Salleh & Nazifah Mohamad (2012) both use Quranic verses and Hadiths to highlight the differences between Western and Islamic public administration.

Kalantari (1998) contends that cultural values are important for any society. So, in view of not very successful experiences of Muslim-majority countries with the Western model, Islamic

public administration might be more apt for Muslim societies. He delineates several characteristics of Islamic public administration using the Quran, Sunnah of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), and Imam Ali bin Abu Talib's (Fourth Rashidun Caliph, caliphate period: 656-661 AD) statements, speeches, and letters. First, Islam calls for a belief in an all-powerful, omnipresent, eternal, and engaged God. Therefore, the unity of mankind (as God's vicegerent) and meaningfulness of the universe (as the place where mankind is tested) is a fundamental truth. The interdependence that is the logical consequence of this truth is associated with the theory of open systems by Kalantari. Public administration in Muslim-majority societies is, hence, not separate but part of the effort to facilitate moral humans and moral society in this moral universe. Everybody, whether official or businessman or housewife, must accept and adhere to the following Islamic meta-values: equality and social equity; justice; kindness and compassion; righteousness and true conviction; self-control; respect for private property; personal growth through constant learning; social and moral responsibility, all of which are vital components of the Islamic public administration. The main difference between Western and Islamic public administration is that the latter prioritizes the construction of an ideal society that balances the spiritual and material worlds.

Salleh & Mohamad (2012) argue that Islamic principles in administration are not only present but also provide "a more comprehensive system as they incorporate both moral and spiritual dimensions." The Quran and Sunnah prescribe rules and regulations for all aspects of life. The most critical principles of Islamic administration, according to the authors, are amanah (trust), moral and ethical behaviors, adalah (justice), motivation, shura (consultation), ilm (knowledge), muhasabah (accountability), commanding good and forbidding bad, brotherhood, and responsibility (trustworthiness). In conclusion, the authors opine that Muslims have been granted "complete principles of administration so they can effectively execute their duties as God's

vicegerent on earth. However, the authors fail to give an example of where and how Islamic public administration works in practice.

Mohamad Ismail bin Mohamad Yunus (2018), presenting a case study on Malaysia, too links Islamic principles to good governance. The article comprises two parts. In the first part, he expounds on the principles of good governance as practiced in Malaysia. Good governance, according to him, is possible if the decision-maker is fair, unbiased, rational, factual, and logical. And (s)he is not afraid to use its discretionary power, rejects outside interference, and gives a timely decision after hearing both sides of the argument. The requirements of good governance are then linked with the Maqasid al-Shariah (objectives of Islamic law), which, according to the author, are mutual consultation (al-shura), leadership (khilafah), accountability (hisab), transparency, justice (adl), equality and promote good and prevent evil (al-amr bil maruf wa nahi anal-munkar).

Abdul Rahim Chandio (2019) take a narrow view of Islamic public administration and define it as a way to put Sharia into practice. Various characteristics of Islamic administration are detailed; it is universal, revealed, permanent yet flexible, welfare and goal-oriented, neutral, and rational. The focus is again on Islamic ethics and how they affect public administration by encouraging accountability, responsibility, trust, knowledge acquisition, discipline, honesty, and social justice. All of this begs the question why Islamic public administration does not exist now or has not existed for centuries. Is it an ideal type?

Wolfgang Drechsler (2015) has debated the question, does Islamic public administration exist, in *Public Money & Management's* viewpoints. He chastises the mainstream scholarship for not acknowledging the existence of public administration paradigms other than the Western one:

Is there such a thing as Islamic public administration (PA), let alone public management (PM)? Not if we believe that there is only one style of global good public managerial practice and that there are institutions that work better than others, independent of time and place. Phrased such, this notion already sounds odd, but this is the perspective that dominates PA and PM today. Contrary to most other social sciences, what we tacitly do is to equate good with global PM, and global PM with modern PM, and that today is Western PM (Drechsler, 2015, pg. 63).

Drechsler opines that along with the Confucian public administration, the Islamic public administration has several advantages that make it a worthwhile candidate and an alternative to the Western public administration. These have sufficient theoretical literature, long history of the practice, carrier countries, a unique theory and governance framework i.e., a non-derivative system, and strong relevance to today's world.

In an earlier work, Drechsler (2013) discusses, in more detail, the three paradigms as potentialities or epistemes, if not practice. He sidesteps the issue to which paradigm the Islamic public administration is related to by focusing on the Ottoman public administration but sticks to his main argument that a distinct Islamic public administration exists. Drechsler argues that it is universally accepted that Islam, where it has been dominant, has influenced societies and their cultures in innumerable ways, so it would be imprudent to claim that it has not influenced public administration. However, there is no Islamic public administration comparable (in detail) to Islamic law or Sharia. Two of the distinguishing features of the Ottoman public administration were the presence of a powerful, autonomous bureaucracy and the decentralization of authority (Drechsler, 2018).

Eugenie A. Samier (2017) contends that there is a distinct Islamic public administration that has existed (and continued to modify) from early Muslim states to the present, although she

acknowledges that the Quran and Sunnah do not have specific instructions regarding government structure, functions, or operations. The lack of appreciation of Islamic public administration is attributed to the overwhelming influence of colonialism, globalization, and Arab culture. The author gives three arguments to support her thesis. First, she argues that Muslim states and empires developed a "complex and highly functional public administration" system, long before Europeans developed modern public administration. Based partly on pre-Islamic practices, the Islamic public administration gradually evolved, and its basic structure was established during Caliph Umar (caliphate period: 624-34 AD). Later Umayyad, Abbasid, Seljuk, Ottoman, and other Muslim empires established large officialdoms, taxation systems, police, justice and military departments, social welfare, and religious affairs administrations, etc. that were governed by principles such as honesty, accountability, merit, life-long occupation, inclusiveness, the delegation of powers to departmental secretaries (viziers) and division of responsibilities between them, etc. Second, Ms. Samier opines that there are underlying principles of good governance and administration that can be gleaned from the Quran and Sunnah and these aspects are relevant to the senior civil service today.

She organizes these principles or meta-values into four categories: the desired personal qualities senior officials should have; the knowledge and skills officials require; social, political, and moral values that they should advance and promote; and the goals or substantive values of an Islamic administration. There is also a long list of academic scholarships that led to administrative textbooks, manuals, case studies, and the "Mirror of Princes" literature (to guide and advise the ruler). Although each Muslim-majority state is different and public administration is not immune from local culture, language, history, and traditions, Ms. Samier argues that there is a distinct Islamic public administration in practice too. The processes may not be very different from what

has been employed in Western public administration but there are additional moral and religious requirements that make Islamic administration dissimilar and unique. Moral accountability and responsibility towards fellow human beings are based on each official's contract with Allah and thus go much beyond the official requirements of conduct and behavior. According to Ms. Samier, there are three areas where Western and Islamic public administration differs: individualism, the lack of spiritual values, and the focus on performance-related and economic measure-based approaches. The author concludes by arguing that the Islamic public administration is closer to traditional public administration exercised in the Western world as compared to the new public management managerialism.

In his book *Islam and Good Governance: A Political Philosophy of Ihsan* (2019), Muqtedar Khan prioritizes broader concepts of politics and political philosophy and does not focus on public administration. The Quranic concept of ihsan i.e. striving for beauty and excellence is his way out of the binary of identity politics and violent extremism on the one hand and secular Westernization on the other available to Muslims today. Islamic ethics based on ihsan, according to Khan, should replace the attachment with laws, rules, and punishments that many Muslim revival movements propagate. What is implicit is that once Muslim-majority countries adopt the correct political philosophy (i.e. ihsan), secondary issues like public administration would improve without much effort.

Noori and Mohamadhossein (2021) explain the differences between the Islamic-Iranian public administration and Western public administration and try to come up with a theory of Islamic-Iranian public administration. They explain that in the decades after the 1979 Islamic Revolution, the Iranian state has struggled to deal with dichotomies such as accountability to the Vilayat-e-Faqih or elected authorities, commitment to religious edicts or professional rules and

regulations, revolution or progressive change, the superiority of alms or taxes, justice or status quo, etc. Therefore, developing Islamic-Iranian public administration theory is critical. For this purpose, they highlight and contrast the public interest, accountability, leadership, citizenship, the role of government and public administration, and performance metrics defined in Iran and the West.

Most of the authors discussed above gave three key arguments to prove a distinct Islamic public administration is extant. First, they argue that the existence of Islamic ethical principles or meta-values such as adalah (justice), amanah (trust), muhasabah (accountability), ilm (knowledge), shura (consultation), ihsan (striving for beauty and excellence), khilafah (subordinate leadership), al-amr bil maruf wa nahi anal-munkar (promote good and prevent evil), etc. that can be applied to the public administration proves that Islamic public administration is a reality. The second argument given in favor of a distinct Islamic public administration is that, in contrast to the Western public administration, it is concerned about the moral and spiritual aspects of life. Finally, evidence of good administrative practices, such as decentralization, of a specific Muslim empire is given to prove that a distinct "Islamic public administration" existed during certain periods of history. The next section elaborates on the role of Islam in Pakistan by analyzing Pakistan's three constitutions and laws that are influenced by Islam.

Islam's influence on the Pakistani Constitutions and Laws

The influence of a constitution on the public administration of a country cannot be overemphasized. Constitutions provide the framework within which public policies are made and administered. The link between a certain clause of a constitution with a specific public administration law or overall public administration culture can be debated, but there is no doubt about the constitution being the guiding principle and main source of public administration laws,

rules, and regulations (Spicer & Terry 1993; Newbold & Rosenbloom 2016). Therefore, Islam's influence on the "grundnorm" is reviewed first before moving on to general and public administration laws.

A constitution is the most important document for a nation. It tells one about the nation's aspirations, its past, and its present. Although constitutions, like public administration laws and rules, are almost always made by the elites, inputs from the people and groups that constitute a nation make constitutions organic to the nation. The constitution is an intra-elite affair, but the contribution of the elite can vary. Mendez and Wheatley (2013) based on their research on 160 countries, claim there are three types of constitution-making bodies: elites appointed, indirectly selected, and directly elected. The elite-appointed bodies have the least input from the people. Of the 160 constitutions studied, a little more than one-third were made by elite-appointed bodies. If one adds the situations where there was no formal constitution-making body, but the elite drafted the constitution, then the percentage rises to 47%. The 1962 Constitution of Pakistan is an example of a constitution-making process where an elite body appointed by a martial law administrator drafted the constitution. Around 18% of the constitutions were made by a constitution-making body that was indirectly elected. The 1956 Constitution of Pakistan was debated and approved by an indirectly elected National Assembly. About two-fifths of the constitutions studied were made by directly elected bodies. The current 1973 Constitution of Pakistan was approved by the first directly elected National Assembly.

It is obvious that constitutions are elite driven but their impact on the national public sphere, consciousness, and public administration is preeminent and omnipresent. It is the national myths, narratives, and beliefs, as understood by the elite, that set national priorities and goals.

Furthermore, the set of procedures and methods related to politics given in the constitutions inform what is legal and allowed, and what is out of bounds.

Islam has been a part of all three Pakistani constitutions. As the Pakistan independence movement was based on Muslim nationalism (i.e., Indian Muslims constitute a separate nation and have the right to self-determination), a secular constitution, without any input from Islam, was improbable, if not impossible. Many of the speeches of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, before and after independence, promised that Islam would have a role in the public sphere. However, how important this role would be or what type of role it would be is not clear and this has, among other things, hindered the resolution of debate regarding Islam's role.

In the 1956 Constitution, Islam's role was largely symbolic except for one article. The elite was not secular but was more interested in implementing Islamic principles than Islamic punishments. The prime example of this thought was the Objectives Resolution, passed in 1948, where Islamic principles or universally accepted human rights couched in Islamic language were designated as the guiding objectives of Pakistan's constitution. For instance, the Objectives Resolution called for the implementation of "the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance, and social justice as enunciated by Islam." Or the Resolution called for provisions to ensure that minorities can "freely profess and practice their religion and develop their culture." Nothing was binding in the Objectives Resolution and most of the Islamic declarations were qualified.

Aside from the Objectives Resolution, which became the preamble, there were not many articles related to Islam. The Directive Principles of State Policy had Islamic references, but they were, like the Objectives Resolution, nothing more than recommendations. Two significant articles were Article 1(1) which named the country the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and Article 32(2)

which made only Muslims eligible to become President of the country. There was also a separate section in the Constitution entitled Islamic Provisions, consisting of two articles. This was surprising as it gave the impression that other articles of the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan were not Islamic. But it was also revealing because it showed Islamic provisions were an add-on, an appendix attached to the constitution to placate a group, without disturbing the other 234 articles. Article 198 was important as it informed that no law shall be enacted which is repugnant to the Injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran and Sunnah and asked the President to set up a Commission to implement this article. This was one article that went beyond Islamic symbolism and could have been used to Islamize colonial laws. The Commission, however, was never established during the two-and-a-half-year life of the 1956 Constitution. The second article was about setting up an organization of Islamic research. A research institute was already working since 1955 so Article 197 just gave it a constitutional cover.

The 1962 Constitution was the creation of General Ayub Khan, although he did try to legitimize it by setting up a Constitutional Commission, with Justice Shahabuddin as chair. The 1962 Constitution, promulgated by Ayub Khan in March 1962, tried to even decrease Islamic symbolism. The Objectives Resolution was retained as the preamble, and Islamic provisions in the Principles of Policy were also retained. The requirement for the President to be Muslim also became part of the new constitution. However, Islamic symbolism was significantly reduced as compared to the 1956 Constitution. First, the official name of Pakistan was not Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The country was simply called the Republic of Pakistan in the new Constitution. Second, the reference to the Quran and Sunnah was removed from the constitution except for a few articles. The Islam-related articles from the 1956 constitution that were retained in the 1962 constitution replaced references to "the Quran and the Sunnah" with more generic "Islam" to allow

the state more control and to circumvent specific commitments. Finally, there was no article similar to Article 198 of the 1956 Constitution. Still, there was an Article under the Principles of Lawmaking that recommended there to be no law that was repugnant to Islam. Ayub Khan was a modernist and was not ready to implement medieval theology and fiqh (Muslim jurisprudence- i.e., the science of ascertaining the precise terms of the Shariah or Islamic law). The 1962 Constitution established two advisory bodies to assist governments in enabling Muslims to live their lives according to Islam, the Advisory Council on Islamic Ideology (Articles 199-206) and the Islamic Research Institute (Article 207). However, in 1963, Ayub Khan had to retreat as the new National Assembly passed the first constitutional amendment, which restored the name (i.e., Islamic Republic of Pakistan) as well as references to the Quran and Sunnah as given in the erstwhile 1956 Constitution. It also gave the Advisory Council on Islamic Ideology the responsibility of examining and advising the government regarding bringing all legislation in conformity to the Quran and Sunnah.

The 1973 Constitution and its amendments make it the most Islamic of the three constitutions. In the original constitution, promulgated on 14th August 1973, Islam became the state religion, and both the President and the Prime Minister were required to be Muslims. Many new Islam-related provisions were added to the Directive Principles of State Policy. An article, similar to Article 198 of the 1956 Constitution, calling for bringing laws closer to the Quran and Sunnah was also made a part of the constitution. Finally, for the first time, almost all oaths of state dignitaries given in the Constitution contained the statements, "That I will strive to preserve the Islamic Ideology, which is the basis for the creation of Pakistan" and "May Allah Almighty help and guide me (Ameen)." The amendments in the 1973 Constitution augmented the religious character. The Second Amendment, passed in 1974, defined a Muslim and categorized the

Ahmadiyya community as non-Muslim. The Eighth Amendment then made all additions to the constitution and legislation of General Zia legal. Most of the changes made by General Zia were in laws which will be discussed in the next section. The most significant of the changes in the constitution were the following: the Objective Resolution was made a substantive part of the Constitution (Article 2A); the Federal Shariat Court and Shariat Bench of the Supreme Court were made part of the judiciary (Article 203, Clauses 203A to 203 J); and Islamic references ("sadiq": truthful and "amin": trustworthy) were added to the qualifications of a parliamentarian (Articles 62 and 63).

While Islamic provisions in the first two constitutions were all about symbolism, the 1973 Constitution, with its amendments, went beyond symbolism, and these provisions have consequently resulted in the death of a governor and the conviction and ouster of two sitting Prime Ministers who had the confidence of the majority members of the National Assembly and many ministers. However, it is difficult to see any direct effect of these Islamic provisions on public administration rules and regulations. Ninety-five percent of Pakistanis are Muslims. Hence, Islamic principles of honesty and justice should impact the bureaucracy's behavior or conduct, regardless of whether they are made to be a part of the Constitution or not. There should have been a perceptible decrease in bureaucratic corruption after the introduction of these constitutional provisions in the late 1970s and 1980s. Most Pakistanis would, in fact, argue that dishonesty and corruption have increased since the 1980s (Saleem 2017, 50-65).

Let's now discuss how Islam has influenced laws in Pakistan. The British colonial administration's bureaucratic structure in the Indian subcontinent is still intact in many ways. The origins of the Civil Servants Act (1973), the Civil Servants' (Appointment, Promotion, and Transfer) Rules (1973), the provincial and federal rules of businesses, the Estacode, and other

laws, rules, and regulations governing the public administration in Pakistan can all be traced back to the British colonial state. Over the years, more so since the 1980s, the Pakistani state has tried to "Islamize" itself, but it has failed. As the latter part of the article will demonstrate, Islam does not have much to do with public administration in Pakistan, neither in theory nor in practice.

From 1947 to 1971, when Bangladesh was part of Pakistan as its Eastern Wing, Islam did not have much influence on the laws of Pakistan. Most of the laws remained the same after the Partition, and the new laws that were promulgated after independence invariably did not mention or use Islam. The only major law influenced by Islam during this period was the Muslim Family Law Ordinance (MFLO), 1961. This was not surprising because it was not a deviation from the colonial practice but a continuation of it. The British colonial government had rejected both Hindu and Muslim religious laws but allowed it to operate and govern in one area (subject to some conditions) i.e. personal laws domain. After independence, the Pakistani state continued following the same bifurcation. Some of the laws that were influenced by Islam prior to 1961 were the West Punjab Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act of 1948, the Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application (Sind Amendment) Act, 1950, etc. The MLFO (1961) was influenced by Islam but was not based on Islamic fiqh. Unsurprisingly, these laws did not affect public administration in Pakistan in any significant way (Saleem 2017, 149-54).

Since 1973, more laws have been influenced by Islam. Particularly more laws outside the traditional domain of Islam i.e., personal laws, have been influenced by Islam. Most of the changes happened in the 1980s under General Zia-ul-Haq's martial law or its immediate aftermath. All these changes were legalized by the Eighth Amendment in 1985, which affected around sixty articles of the Constitution (The Express Tribune 2018). Significant laws that became part of Pakistan's legal structure were the Hudood Ordinances (1979), Zakat and Ushr Ordinance (1980),

Ehteram-e-Ramadan (Reverence of Ramadan) Ordinance (1981), amendments to various laws to enable an interest-free banking system (the early 1980s), Qanun-e-Shahadat (Law of Evidence) Order (1984), Blasphemy laws made more stringent, with severe punishments (1980s), and Ordinance XX (1984).

In the 1990s, the religious fervor of the elite, most of which was virtue signaling, decreased but a few laws, inspired by Islam were passed, such as Qisas and the Diyat Ordinance (1991), which became law in 1997, and Enforcement of Shari'ah Act (1991), which was more rhetoric than substance. Again, these laws had minimal impact on public administration, although several provisions of the Enforcement of Shari'ah Act (1991) were directly related to public administration. For instance, Article 5 of the Act stated, "All Muslim citizens of Pakistan shall observe Shari'ah and act accordingly and in this regard, the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) shall formulate a code of conduct for Government functionaries." There was no new code of conduct after the promulgation of this law. Similarly, neither Article 6 related to "teaching of and training in Shariah," nor Article 11, "the State shall take legislative and administrative measures, to eliminate bribery, corruption, and malpractices and provide for exemplary punishment for such offences," resulted in any administrative changes. From 2000 to 2017-18, laws influenced by Islam have become extremely rare. Instead, the trend was to limit their scope, such as in the Protection of Women (Criminal Laws Amendment) Act (2006), which excluded rape and other offenses from the purview of Hudood Ordinances (1979). There have also been many instances where traditional Islamic rules as prescribed by Muslim theologians have been set aside, and pro-women laws have been promulgated, such as in the case of domestic violence laws (Saleem, 2019b).

The above discussion shows that not only was Muslim identity the basis of Pakistani nationalism, but Pakistan's constitutions and laws were also influenced by Islam. Therefore, one can assume that in Pakistan one would see the sprouting or revival of Islamic public administration.

METHODS

To ascertain the role of Islam in the public administration of Pakistan, a questionnaire was developed **(Appendix A)** and sent to eighteen public servants, out of which fifteen completed the task. In Pakistan, people have been murdered or lynched after they have been accused of blasphemy. It does not matter whether they have committed blasphemy or not. Anything opinion that seems to be different from majority opinion can be termed as blasphemy. Therefore, respondents were assured of anonymity to get their honest opinion about this issue of significance. The data was collected during 2021 by the author. Purposive sampling was used to get a mix of experienced officers that represent the actual diversity of Pakistani bureaucracy within the time and cost constraints. Fifteen experienced bureaucrats were interviewed and asked whether they have practiced Islamic public administration during their twenty years of service. As Pakistan is a federal state, respondents were selected from both federal and provincial services. Although women are a small part of senior management, their representation was also ensured. Four different ethnicities were also represented, and both practicing and non-practicing Muslims were part of the respondents' group. Finally, within the federal service, there are more than ten service groups. Experienced officers from six of these groups were selected to be part of this study. The questionnaire was developed based on the literature review and discussions with a group of bureaucrats. All questions were open-ended allowing respondents to elucidate their answers. The number of questions was limited to twenty to glean the most information without making

respondents lose interest. The questionnaire was emailed to the respondents to fill out whenever they had time. Most of them sent it back within a month.

Thirteen of these officers belonged to the federal service while two belonged to the provincial civil services. Twelve of the respondents were men while three were women. Five belong to the Secretariat Service, three to the Internal Revenue Service, two to the Customs Service, and one each to the Foreign Service of Pakistan, Pakistan Administrative Service, Pakistan Audit and Accounts Service, Punjab Provincial Management Service, and Sindh Civil Service. All of them have more than twenty years of service, except one who has eighteen years of service at the time of the interview. Fourteen belong to the top management (Basic Pay Scale 20 and above), while one belonged to the middle management (Basic Pay Scale 19). All of them either have graduate education abroad or have lived outside Pakistan for more than a year. Ten are Punjabi, three are Pakhtun, and one each is Sindhi, and one is Kashmiri. Eleven self-identified themselves as practicing Muslims, two as non-practicing Muslims, and two declined to answer the question.

FINDINGS

The first set of questions focused on highlighting Islam's influence on Pakistan's legal system in general, and public administration laws, rules, and regulations. When asked whether Islam has not prescribed some specific rules regarding public administration, besides general instructions of good conduct, such as refraining from stealing, lying, cheating, corruption, and being dutiful, just, empathetic, and kind, the respondents were divided. Four of them answered in the negative. Five referred again to general rules of good conduct as examples of specific rules relating to public administration. Four argued that specific Islamic rules about public administration can be gleaned

from the lives of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), Rashidun Caliphs, Shiite Imams, etc. Of these three, two also gave examples of specific documents, such as Rashidun Caliph Ali's letter to Malik al-Ashtar, the Governor of Egypt, and the Kitab Al-Amwal (Book on Finance written in the 8th century). Finally, two respondents agreed that Islam has prescribed, but not elaborated, specific public administration rules.

Ten of the fifteen respondents wrote that public administration laws and regulations are not influenced by Islam. Rest referred to some indirect influence or cosmetic "tinkering" by Pakistani rulers. None of the respondents claimed that there was a direct or substantive influence of Islam on Pakistan's public administration laws, rules, and regulations. The next question was about Islam's influence on general laws and rules (not specific to public administration). The respondents were not able to name many laws (except legislation related to family, blasphemy, Hudood, Zakat, Ushr, Qisas & Diyat, acceptable evidence (shahadat), and some financial regulations) that are influenced by Islam, revealing the limited imprint of Islam on the general legal structure of Pakistan. One respondent had an interesting perspective. He argued that anything not conflicting with Islamic precepts was compliant with Islam; so, it could be termed as "Islamic."

All respondents, except one, answered India when asked whether public administration laws, rules, and regulations in Pakistan were closer to India or the Muslim-majority countries. Answering the next question, thirteen respondents further affirmed the lack of Islam's influence by stating that the colonial legacy, as opposed to the social values and Islam, has had a much greater influence on public administration in Pakistan.

The next set of questions was about the Western public administration model as practiced in Western European countries. Fourteen of the fifteen respondents thought that Western European countries were better at public administration than Muslim-majority countries. When asked about

the reason for Western European success in public administration and given the options of Christianity, better public administration laws, better moral standards in the society, etc., none of the respondents gave credit to Christianity; in fact, two of them specifically denied Christianity or religious influence to be the reason. Seven respondents highlighted better public administration laws and rules and the rule of law, while two credited it to high moral standards and the rest mentioned both better laws as well as better moral standards. This was a tacit acceptance of the argument that higher moral standards are not always linked to religion. The respondents were divided when asked about the reasons for the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of Pakistani public servants, but nobody contested the implicit assumption that the bureaucracy was ineffective and inefficient. Interestingly, only four respondents chose the moral failing of the officers as the primary reason despite being given the option, and despite most of the respondents crediting the Western European success in public administration to better moral standards. Most (ten) attributed bureaucracy's inefficiency and ineffectiveness to inadequate and defective laws and rules.

Islam's influence on the actual practice of public administration in Pakistan was the focus of the next couple of questions. Most of the respondents (twelve) stated that they rarely, if ever, thought of Islamic laws, the Quran, or Prophet's (PBUH) Sunnah while making their routine official decisions. Two claimed thinking of Islamic principles while making decisions most of the time; only one asserted to be thinking of Islamic laws every time he makes official decisions. The respondents were then asked to inform, to the best of their knowledge, how often their office colleagues *think* of Islamic laws, the Quran, or Sunnah while making official decisions. The majority (ten) of respondents answered that their colleagues, like themselves, rarely thought of Islamic laws. Two respondents answered that sometimes their colleagues do keep in mind the

Quran, Sunnah, and Islamic laws, one opined half of the time, and two declined to answer the question because of a lack of knowledge.

Views of the respondents about Islamic public administration were then ascertained. Ten respondents denied that there was an Islamic public administration that was distinct from the Western public administration. Three respondents claimed that both concepts are similar, while two acknowledged the existence of a distinct Islamic public administration but did not elaborate on what it constituted or in what ways it was different.

When asked what Islam's role in public administration should be, the respondents were divided. Five of them believed that Islamic principles should serve as guidelines, while three argued that Islam is a complete code of life so Islam should have a significant role. Three respondents asserted that Islam had no direct role in public administration; two believed that it had "some role," without detailing the type of role; and two declined to answer the question. Respondents were then questioned about Islam's role in public administration reform. Seven respondents were clear that Islam did not have much role to play in public administration reform. Two respondents prioritized Islamic principles and morality and one mentioned the implementation of the Rashidun Caliphate model. The rest agreed that Islam had a role in public administration reform but failed to delineate the nature of Islam's role. Since it was anticipated that many officers would not be happy with the current public administration laws, they were asked whether public administration in Pakistan could be improved by bringing it closer to Islamic laws or fiqh. Nine respondents categorically rejected the option and one answered, "not necessarily." The five respondents that answered in the affirmative were divided in their support. One talked about Islamic principles when the question was about Islamic laws and fiqh. Another was for Islamic laws but was worried about sectarian issues. From the above discussion on Islamic public

administration theory and questionnaire, it is clear that Islamic principles, as opposed to Islamic law and fiqh, have been more popular, as far as public administration is concerned. Therefore, respondents were asked whether public administration in Pakistan could be improved by having regular trainings regarding Islamic principles of justice, truth, duty, honesty, etc. Respondents were divided. Six wrote that trainings in Islamic principles would not help, five wrote they would help and four argued that they would help only if there were other changes.

The next two questions were about the possible impact of the revival of the "Riyasat-e-Medina" (state of Medina during the times of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), and possibly also during the Rashidun Caliphate), a promise by the former Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan. Respondents were asked whether Imran Khan's revival of "Riyasat-e-Medina" would mean an increased role of Islam in public administration. Some (four) respondents argued that conceptually it might, but most (eleven) thought it was a political slogan or vague and would not result in much change. Respondents were then asked to advise which specific steps, under Imran Khan's Riyasat-e-Medina promise, can improve public administration in Pakistan. Opinions were divided. Four respondents each cited rule of law and easy access to justice, and two cited a service-oriented culture as important prerequisites. Four declined to give suggestions because for them Riyasat-e-Medina's promise was impractical, to begin with. One of the respondents gave a litany of public administration reforms that the former Prime Minister could pursue.

The last two questions inquired about the role of political leaders and international donors in public administration decline and reform. When asked whether political instability and political interference were major hindrances in effective public administration reform, twelve respondents (six fully and six partially) answered in the affirmative. The rest did not think they were major hindrances. Answering a question about the donors' role, most (eleven) respondents agreed that

the public administration reforms in Pakistan were mostly piecemeal changes imposed by the donors.

DISCUSSION

In this article, three issues were tackled. First, the uniqueness of Islamic public administration was debated. Academic literature does not have many articles on Islamic public administration, signifying that the topic is an understudied one. Second, the political, constitutional, and legal landscape of Pakistan was detailed by tracing back what the country inherited at independence to all the significant changes it has undergone since then to date. Third, an attempt was made to examine the role Islam played in the actual day-to-day working of the Pakistani public administration system. This was done by probing into the experiences and understanding of a set of bureaucrats through open-ended questions.

Three conclusions can be drawn from the above research and analysis. First, more evidence is required to establish that there is a unique "Islamic public administration." Some specific values come from the Islamic tradition, and there may be some specific actions or rules that originated first in Muslim-controlled empires or states, but they do not constitute sufficient evidence for a distinct Islamic public administration model. An Islamic public administration model would require a specific administrative framework that was present in a majority of Muslim-controlled states across different continents but was not present in other states that existed alongside them all over the world. Such a framework has not been discovered or outlined, as of yet. What can be safely claimed, though, is that Muslims have contributed to the public administration theories, rules, and frameworks that they got from the Greeks, Iranians, Egyptians, Romans, etc. Later, the Western Europeans and Americans constructed the edifice of modern public administration theory

and practice partly on their own knowledge, and partly on what they gained from the work of Muslims.

Second, Pakistan's Constitution and most of the laws are still based on the British Indian experience. The colonial legacy continues to be a major influence on the country's legal structure and public administration. Islam is primarily a veneer that is applied to assuage the concerns of the more religious sections of society. Very few laws are affected or inspired by Islam seven decades after independence. Like most other laws, public administration laws, rules, and regulations are almost devoid of any reference to Islam.

Finally, the questionnaire results are consistent with the conclusions drawn above from literature studies and document reviews. Most respondents did not agree that there was or is a distinct Islamic public administration system. They also agreed that laws in Pakistan were primarily influenced or inspired by the colonial legacy, not by Islam, Islamic history, or the Quran and Sunnah. Most either did not see any role of Islam in future public sector reform or did not have a clear idea of what it should ideally be like. Most respondents rejected the suggestion of bringing the public administration laws in Pakistan closer to Islamic laws or fiqh. Suggestions of improving public administration in Pakistan by conducting regular trainings regarding Islamic principles of justice, truth, duty, honesty, etc., resulted in a divided opinion. Most argued that either the trainings would not help, or the trainings alone would not be sufficient unless other necessary changes were made alongside. Additionally, almost all the respondents believed that most of the public sector reforms were donor-inspired.

One of the most interesting revelations by the respondents pertained to the lack of Islam's influence on the actual practice of public administration in Pakistan. Despite public administration laws and rules being devoid of a strong religious influence, administrators, being practicing

Muslims (most of them self-identified themselves as practicing Muslims), could follow Islamic values and principles in practice, thus augmenting and strengthening Islam's role in public administration. However, most respondents (twelve) stated that they rarely, if ever, thought of Islamic laws, the Quran, or Prophet's Sunnah (PBUH) while making administrative decisions. A majority (ten) of them also claimed that their colleagues, too, like themselves, rarely reflected on the Islamic laws, the Quran, or Prophet's Sunnah (PBUH), while making administrative decisions.

It has to be recognized that promulgating and implementing Islamic laws today is difficult. Modernity, colonialism, modern and international economic structures, system, the sexual revolution, and globalism have made enforcement of Islamic laws, as they existed a few centuries back, improbable, if not impossible. The most significant change, as far as the application of Islamic laws today is concerned, is the emergence of the nation-state. Nation-states, the modern leviathans, are impinged on every aspect of life and have altered it. Religion, like others, has been influenced and laws associated with religious texts have been re-imagined fitting the contours of the modern state structure (Wilson Center 2018).

CONCLUSION

Based on the above discussion and analysis, the questions posed in the abstract can now be answered with some degree of confidence. The first question was about the existence of a distinct Islamic public administration framework. As discussed above, three arguments are given in the academic literature to prove that a distinct Islamic public administration framework is extant or existed in history. First, the existence of Islamic ethical principles or meta-values such as shura, ihsan, ilm, khilafah, adalah, amanah, muhasabah, etc. is used to prove that Islamic public administration is real. However, most of these values are not exclusive to Islamic tradition

(Diamandouros, 2012). Moreover, the Quran and Sunnah primarily present these Islamic principles and meta-values as a guide for individuals. These principles can be applied by the state collectively but as the Muslim state, during the lifetime of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), was very rudimentary, public administration was not the focus of the Quran and Sunnah initially. Second, various authors posit that, in contrast to Western public administration, Islamic public administration gives importance to moral and spiritual dimensions of life. This argument ignores that secularized Western public administration is a recent phenomenon. Before the advent of the twentieth century, religion was an important component of the European (confessional) states, and every European politician and administrator was educated and socialized in Christian values. The fusion of the European culture and Christianity ran deep and the Church itself was part of public administration as it provided education, health, and charity services, and recorded marriages, births, and deaths (Gascoigne, 2008; Taylor, 1987). Thus, while the 20th and 21st-century Western public administration lacked a spiritual dimension, the 18th and 19th Western public administration, like the erstwhile Islamic public administration, had both temporal and spiritual dimensions. Finally, it is argued that good administrative practices of a Muslim empire during a certain period in history proves that Islamic public administration framework was extant and effective. This argument is also weak because while each of the numerous Muslim empires might have used good administrative procedures, there is not much evidence that these procedures were similar to each other and dissimilar to Western medieval and colonial imperial administrations. According to Douglas Streusand, while the latter three and Abbasid empires were highly centralized, the Saljuk administration was decentralized. Safavids imposed a religious identity on their subjects while the Mughals and Ottomans did not. Abbasids resembled the agrarian bureaucratic empires that had

ruled Mesopotamia for more than two millennia, while the Ottomans, Mughals, Safavids, and Saljuks were not primarily dependent on agrarian revenue (Streusand, 2018).

Regarding Islam's role in public administration laws, rules, regulations, and practice is in Pakistan, the results of research in this article defy Pakistan's popular image as a state heavily influenced by Islam. The literature review and respondents agree that Islam's role in public administration is insignificant. Few constitutional articles and laws are influenced by Islam and fewer still are public administration rules and procedures that have been induced or altered due to shariah. However, as discussed above, there was possibility that Islamic values influenced bureaucrats even when there were no administrative laws and rules asking them to follow these values. The questionnaire results reveal that most respondents neither themselves think about Islamic values and principles while performing their administrative functions nor think their colleagues are influenced by these values while performing routine administrative tasks. The results of this research highlight the need for more extensive research regarding the role of Islam in the public administration of Muslim-majority countries.

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Appendix A: Questionnaire for Islamic Public Administration article

Gender:

Ethnicity:

Service:

Do you consider yourself a practicing Muslim   Yes   No

1.   Has Islam prescribed some specific rules regarding public administration, besides general instructions of good conduct (such as do not steal, do not lie, do not cheat, do your duty, be just, avoid corruption, etc.)?

2.   Are public administration laws, rules, and regulations in Pakistan influenced by Islam?

3.   Can you name any Pakistani laws (besides laws related to family, blasphemy, Hudood, Zakat, Ushr, and Qisas & Diyat) that are influenced by Islam?

4.   Are public administration laws, rules, and regulations in Pakistan closer to India or Muslim-majority countries?

5.   Which has more influence on public administration in Pakistan? Colonial legacy, social values, or Islam?

6.   Is the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of public servants due to inadequate/defective laws and rules or moral failings of officers or something else? If it is a combination of reasons, which reason is the most influential?

7.   Do you think Western European countries are better at public administration than Muslim-majority countries?

8.   If yes, what is the reason for their success? Christianity, better public administration laws, better moral standards in society, etc.?

9.   What can we learn from the Western European countries and the Muslim-majority countries regarding public administration?

10.	How often do you think of Islamic laws, the Quran, or Prophet's Sunnah (PBUH) while making your daily official decisions?

11.	Based on your knowledge, how often do your office colleagues (peers, subordinates, and superiors) think of Islamic laws, the Quran, or Prophet's Sunnah (PBUH) while making their daily official decisions?

12.	Is there an "Islamic public administration" distinct from the Western public administration?

13.	Has Islam had a role to play in public administration reform in Pakistan?

14.	Will public administration in Pakistan improve by bringing it closer to Islamic laws or fiqh?

15.	Can public administration improve by having regular trainings regarding Islamic principles of justice, truth, duty, honesty, etc.?

16.	What should be Islam's role in public administration?

17.	Do you think PM Imran Khan's concept of "Riyasat-e-Medina" means an increased role of Islam in public administration?

18.	What specific steps under PM Imran Khan's Riyasat-e-Medina can improve public administration in Pakistan?

19.	Is public administration reform in Pakistan mostly piecemeal changes imposed by the donors?

20.	Are political instability and political interference major hindrances in effective public administration reform?