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DEVELOPING GUIDING OPTIONS FOR AN EDUCATIONAL CURRICULUM
FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATORS IN TAJIKISTAN

By

OLEG SALIMOV

Bachelor, Tajik State University of Law, Business, and Policy, Khujand, Tajikistan, 2001
Master, University of Montana, Missoula, Montana, 2008

Dissertation

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Missoula, MT

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Approved by:

Sandy Ross, Associate Dean of the Graduate School
Graduate School

Jonathan R. Tompkins, Chair
Political Science Department

Eric Hines
Political Science Department

Dusten R. Hollist
Sociology Department

Peter Koehn
Political Science Department

William P. McCaw
Educational Leadership Department

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....v

ABSTRACT.....vi

Chapter

1. INTRODUCTION.....1

Distinguishing “Developed” from “Developing” Countries

The Problems and Challenges Facing Developing Countries

Problem Statement and Primary Research Questions

Methodology

Expected Impacts

2. CONTRASTING PATHS TO INDEPENDENCE AND
STATE FORMATION.....25

How Independence Was Achieved

The Effects of Civil War

Governing Traditions and Culture

The Influence of Pre-Existing Structures and Processes

Effects of Outside Influences

Degree of Political Homogeneity

Summary

3. POLITICAL SYSTEMS OF THE UNITED STATES AND
TAJKISTAN: OVERVIEW.....55

The Comparison of Two Political Systems

Overview of Qualitative Changes in Two Countries’ Political Systems

Summary

4. THE PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.....	85
Public Administration as an Academic Discipline	
Public Administration as an Area of Professional Practice	
Principles/Core Values of Public Administration	
Structural principles	
Administrative Practice	
Overview of Principles Applicability to Tajikistan	
5. CONTENT ANALYSIS OF AMERICAN MASTER OF PUBLIC	
ADMINISTRATION ROGRAMS.....	118
Methodology	
Research Questions	
Data Collection	
Data Analysis	
Summary	
Description and Requirements of a Typical MPA Program	
6. CONTENT ANALYSIS OF TAJIK PROGRAMS IN PUBLIC	
ADMINISTRATION AND/OR RELATED AREAS.....	136
Methodology	
Research Questions	
Data Collection	
Data Analysis	
Summary	
7. FINDINGS AND OPTIONS.....	148
8. CONCLUSIONS.....	159

Appendix

1. TABLES.....171

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....184

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ABSTRACT

Chairperson: Jonathan R. Tompkins

Since freeing itself from the autocratic control of the former Communist regime, the republic of Tajikistan has confronted numerous problems of underdevelopment which threaten to sink the republic in a new wave of authoritarianism and misery. Implementing democratic reforms aimed at modernizing a developing country requires a cadre of competent and professionally trained public administrators who understand and are committed to basic democratic values and sound administrative principles. Unfortunately, such a cadre does not now exist in Tajikistan and no educational program has yet been introduced to develop such a cadre. The answer does not lie in attempting to transfer a model of public service education developed in a liberal democracy such as the United States to a still-developing country such as Tajikistan. It is for this reason that the presented study seeks to develop options for educational curriculum for public administrators in Tajikistan that is simultaneously well suited to the unique characteristics of Tajikistan's social and political institutions and the special challenges faced by developing countries in general.

It is expected that the results of the study will have significant positive impacts as Tajikistan seeks to develop its capacities and transition successfully from autocracy to democracy. It is hoped that the options for educational curricula developed in this study will encourage Tajikistan's national universities to implement graduate level degree programs in public administration. Tajikistan will benefit from the study in the short-term through the development of its human capital and in the long-term through the study's contribution to the establishment of democracy, greater economic prosperity, and greater personal security for its citizens. If prospective public administrators can be well-trained in the best practices of public administration, the positive impacts for society will be truly significant.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

In general terms, a “developing” country is one that aspires to achieve the economic prosperity, political stability, and democratic institutions enjoyed by the more fully “developed” countries of the world but lacks the capacity to do so as quickly and peacefully as it might like. Tajikistan is one such country. In 1991 it asserted its freedom from the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and declared its intent to develop itself politically and economically. One of the challenges it faces, however, is that its civil servants generally lack the human capital – the basic knowledge and skills – they will need to implement public policy and administer government programs effectively in a developing country.

This lack of capacity is not easily remedied because Tajikistan has not yet developed a specialized and coherent program or clear strategy for educating public administrators. Insufficient funds for sending students abroad and lack of internal educational capacities hinder Tajikistan from responding effectively to the challenges of the country’s post-Soviet reformation. It is clear that a country that has chosen a democratic way of development cannot continue to rely upon the old managerial and human resource practices of the former Communist regime. It must find new ways to develop human capital if it is to follow a more democratic path to economic prosperity and political stability. The issue is a significant one because much is at stake. If the current lack of human capital in the public sector is allowed to persist, then it is

likely to be followed by further degradation of the country and loss of hope for a better life by Tajik people.

It is for this reason that the present study aims to develop an educational curriculum for public administrators in Tajikistan, one that is simultaneously well suited to the unique characteristics of Tajikistan's social and political institutions and the special challenges faced by developing countries in general.

Distinguishing “Developed” from “Developing” Countries

The better part of the last century was spent in wars, military conflicts, and struggles for independence in occupied and colonized countries. The two world wars left most European and Asian countries in ruins and struggling with significant human and material losses. During the closing decades of the twentieth century, the world's leading countries devoted their energies to recovering from the aftermath of these wars and rebuilding their economies. But as they succeeded in doing so, the growing gap between the world's leading countries and the other countries became increasingly apparent. As the economy of the West started to prosper, greater attention was focused on the economically, technologically, and socially less advanced countries commonly known as “developing” countries. Presumably, the concern for assisting these countries reflected a mix of humanitarian values and a more self-interested concern for developing new market places for the world's leading industrialized nations.

The Concept of Development as Seen by Economists

Because scholars tend to view the world through the lenses of their own disciplines, there exists no commonly accepted distinction between a “developed” nation and a “developing” one. Where should the line between them be drawn? This question is most frequently approached

from either of two perspectives: in terms of economic growth and in terms of political evolution.

It may be argued that the concept of development originates from the discipline of economics where the distinction is based on relative levels of economic growth and generic changes in related socioeconomic categories.¹ From this perspective socioeconomic development is widely measured by various monetary indexes. One of the most common indexes is gross national product (GNP) per capita.² In 1987, for example, the World Bank began defining low-income developing countries as those with gross national income per capita below \$480 and middle-income developing countries as those with per capita incomes between \$480 and \$6,000.³

Today the World Bank maintains a similar scheme adjusted for years of inflation and deflation: a low-income developing nation is one with gross national income per capita of \$995 or less, a low-middle income developing country is one having a per capita income between \$996 and \$3,945, an upper-middle income developing country is one with a per capita income between \$3,946 and \$12,195; and a high-income developing country is one with a per capita income of \$12,196 and higher.⁴ As a point of comparison, the gross national income per capita in the United States in 2009 was \$47,240.⁵ In Tajikistan, which is the focus of this study, the gross national income per capita in 2009 was only \$700.⁶

Acknowledging that “there is no established convention for designation of developed and developing countries or areas in the United Nations system,” The United Nation’s Statistics

¹ Colin Leys ed., *Politics and Change in Developing Countries: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Development*. (Cambridge University Press, 1969), 16

² Merilee S. Grindle, John W. Thomas, *Public Choices and Policy Change: The Political Economy of Reform in Developing Countries* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University press, 1991), 46

³ The World Bank, A Short History, <http://data.worldbank.org/about/country-classifications/a-short-history> Retrieved from World Wide Web 10/9/2010 The World Bank Historical Classification. Attachment 1

⁴ The World Bank, How We Classify Countries, <http://data.worldbank.org/about/country-classifications> Retrieved from World Wide Web 09/11/2010

⁵ The World Bank, Data by Country, United States, <http://data.worldbank.org/country/united-states> Retrieved from World Wide Web 10/09/2010

⁶ The World Bank, Data by Country, Tajikistan, <http://data.worldbank.org/country/tajikistan> Retrieved from World Wide Web 10/09/2010

Division developed its own categorization scheme simply for statistical purposes.⁷ These statistical categories include developed countries and regions, developing countries and regions, least developed countries, landlocked developing countries, small-island developing countries, and transition countries. The United Nations Statistics Division scheme places Tajikistan in two categories: landlocked developing country and transition country. Tajikistan was placed in these categories as it has no open access to seas and it is in the process of transition from a communist regime to a liberal democracy.

Tajikistan was placed on 127th place on United Nations' Human Development Index in 2011.⁸ The United Nations' Human Development Index uses such categories as health, education, income, inequality, poverty, gender inequality, sustainability, and demography. The United Nations Development Programme employs Human Development Index since 1990 as a more complex measuring tool which provides wider assessment of a nation's development.⁹ As of 2011, the United Nations' Human Development Index states Tajikistan's below average regional level of development.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) uses macroeconomic data to divide countries into either of two groups: advanced economies and emerging and developing economies. Each of these categories is further divided into appropriate subgroups. In this system Tajikistan is assigned to the emerging and developing economies group and to the Commonwealth of Independent States subgroup. The Fund uses nineteen macroeconomic indexes to measure the

⁷ United Nations Statistics Division, Composition of macro geographical (composition) regions, geographical sub-regions, and selected economic and other groupings,
<http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regin.htm#developed> Retrieved from World Wide Web 09/11/2010

⁸ United Nations Development Programme, International Human Development Indicators, Tajikistan
<http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/TJK.html> retrieved from World Wide Web 04/23/2012

⁹ United Nations Development Programme, International Human Development Indicators, Tajikistan
<http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/TJK.html> retrieved from World Wide Web 04/23/2012

level of each country's economic development, ranging from gross domestic product in constant prices to the country's current account balance.¹⁰

The only thing that these indexes or classification schemes tend to have in common is the tendency to define national development in terms of economic criteria. Other criteria are sometimes used but they tend to be somewhat arbitrary. For example, at least twice Tajikistan is grouped with other ex-Soviet Central Asian countries in the same category and subgroups. These are the IMF's "emerging and developing economies" group and its "Commonwealth of Independent States" subgroup, and the United Nations Statistics Division's "landlocked developing countries" and "transition countries" groupings. Grouping all ex-Soviet Central Asian countries into the same categories in this way tends to obscure the many important differences between these countries. The United Nations' Human Development Index provides more comprehensive picture of the country with measuring indicators extending beyond simple economic concepts.

The Concept of Development as Seen by Political Scientists

In contrast to the economists' view of development in terms of income, production, and consumption, political scientists frequently view development in terms of advancement of democratic principles. As Magstadt has noted, whereas economists define development as changes in patterns of production, distribution, consumption, and investment, political scientists think in terms of changes in patterns of power and authority.¹¹ Some political scientists, for example, believe that the political aspects of development can be universally measured in terms

¹⁰ International Monetary Fund, World Economic and Financial Surveys, World Economic Outlook Database <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2010/01/weodata/index.aspx> Retrieved from World Wide Web 09/12/2010

¹¹ Thomas M. Magstadt, *Nations and Governments: Comparative Politics in Regional Perspective* (Bedford/St.Martin's, 2002), 56

of dynamism and pluralism which are indicative of each country's relative level of democratic development.¹²

The political understanding of development became a part of everyday language during the Cold War based on the simplistic distinction between the First World (the industrialized and economically developed countries of the West), the Second World (the Soviet Union and its satellite states), and the Third World (the remaining, mostly poor and recently decolonized countries of the world). Wishing to avoid such a simplistic distinction, political scientists turned their attention to the processes by which nation states might move from highly authoritarian regimes to highly democratic regimes. For example, in his study of development and democratic culture Robert Dahl suggests three possible paths of democratic development: 1) a common Western sequence in which democratization and a democratic culture precede and ultimately favor socioeconomic development; 2) an authoritarian-modernization sequence in which socioeconomic development precedes and favors democratization; and 3) an integrated path in which democratization occurs incrementally as economic, social, and political developments mutually reinforce one another.¹³

Wiarda argues, however, that economic development and democratization are two distinct dimensions that do not necessarily go hand-in-hand.¹⁴ He cites the examples of the Soviet Union and China where economic development is quite high while democratization still lags far behind. At the same time, a number of countries in Latin America have made significant advancements toward democratization while remaining economically underdeveloped.¹⁵ Siaroff expresses the same idea that there isn't a tight linkage between the level of democratic

¹² Alan Siaroff, *Comparing Political Regimes: A Thematic Introduction to Comparative Politics*. (Broadview Press, 2005).

¹³ Robert A. Dahl, "Development and Democratic Culture" in *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies: Themes and Perspectives* ed. Larry Diamond et al. (The John Hopkins University Press, 1997), 36-37

¹⁴ Howard J. Wiarda with the assistance of Esther M. Skelley, *Comparative Politics: Approach and Issue* (Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc, 2007), 52, 210

¹⁵ Wiarda, *Comparative Politics: Approach and Issue*, 208, 221, 218-19

development and the level of economic development.¹⁶ Nonetheless, it is quite common to associate wealthier countries with higher levels of democracy.¹⁷ Diamond points out, for example, that it is mostly the rich industrialized countries which are considered democracies.¹⁸ Despite this association, it is wisest for analytical purposes to conceptualize economic and democratic development as separate but intertwined dimensions of the larger phenomenon of development.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the reduction in Cold War politics, attention has shifted to the specific institutional and behavioral characteristics that might define a fully developed liberal democracy. Diamond has suggested, for example, that the development of democracy is followed by certain institutional and behavioral changes. Among them are: liberalization of economic structures, improvement of horizontal accountability, promotion of basic freedoms, control of corruption, and public accountability of legislatures, among others.¹⁹

Siaroff proposes assigning countries to one of four categories: liberal democracies, electoral democracies, semi-liberal autocracies, and closed autocracies.²⁰ He argues that this allows for a much more useful classification scheme than labeling countries as belonging to the First, Second, or Third World. Because liberal democracy is presumed to be the stage of development toward which all countries aspire, Siaroff's conceptual model focuses on the defining characteristics of liberal democracy. There are five elements in Siaroff's classification scheme: responsible government, free and fair competition for political office, full and equal rights of political participation, full civil rights, full civil liberties, and a well-functioning state

¹⁶ Siaroff, *Comparing Political Regimes: A Thematic Introduction to Comparative Politics*, 118

¹⁷ Siaroff, *Comparing Political Regimes: A Thematic Introduction to Comparative Politics*, 117

¹⁸ Larry Diamond, "Introduction: In Search of Consolidation" in *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies: Themes and Perspectives* Larry Diamond et al. eds. (The John Hopkins University Press, 1997), xiii

¹⁹ Diamond et al eds., *Consolidating the Third World Democracies: Themes and Perspectives*, xviii

²⁰ Siaroff, *Comparing Political Regimes: A Thematic Introduction to Comparative Politics*, 73

with effective and fair governance.²¹ Siaroff distinguishes liberal and electoral democracy by the fact that elections are necessary but not sufficient conditions of a liberal democracy. Elections can ensure functioning of certain democratic institutions but they as well can be used as a legitimating cover by autocratic regimes.²²

Similarly, Kesselman et al. stress the need to replace the outdated First, Second, and Third World classification scheme with one that addresses changes in modern politics.²³ They propose an alternative classification system comprised of three categories: long-established democracies, transitional democracies, and nondemocratic regimes.²⁴ They use a number of factors to measure the level of democratic development in a country. Among them are political accountability, political competition, political freedom, and political equality. The main point that Kesselman et al. emphasize in distinguishing long-established or durable democracies from transitional or newly-established democracies is the level of probability that a newly-established democracy will remain democratic in the future.²⁵

Wiarda points out that although many ex-Communist and authoritarian countries have made changes towards democracy, the quality of those changes is sufficient only for purposes of achieving formal recognition as a democracy and not for full consideration as pure democratic regimes.²⁶ To support his statement, Wiarda cites a classification system proposed by Freedom House, a non-governmental organization tracking democratic processes in the world, as an example. This scheme distinguishes among free countries, partly free countries, and not free countries.²⁷

²¹ Siaroff, *Comparing Political Regimes: A Thematic Introduction to Comparative Politics*, 67

²² Siaroff, *Comparing Political Regimes: A Thematic Introduction to Comparative Politics*, 64-65

²³ Mark Kesselman, Joel Krieger, William A. Joseph, *Introduction to Comparative Politics: Political Challenges and Changing Agendas* Second edition (Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000), 14

²⁴ Kesselman et al, *Introduction to Comparative Politics: Political Challenges and Changing Agendas*, 16

²⁵ Kesselman et al, *Introduction to Comparative Politics: Political Challenges and Changing Agendas*, 19

²⁶ Wiarda, *Comparative Politics: Approach and Issue*, 157

²⁷ Wiarda, *Comparative Politics: Approach and Issue*, 157

In short, political scientists tend to emphasize different aspects of democratic development, often limiting their attention to the process of development, the goals that will be reached when democratization is achieved, or the overall functionality of the forward movement. Thus, for example, Larrain views development as a historical process in which the contradictions inherent in the class struggle ignite a transformation of one historical stage into another. In other words, protection of class interests transforms society and this process, from an historical point of view, can be defined as a process of development.²⁸ McMichael, by contrast, views development as a goal. He articulates his idea using the example of certain isolated communities which adjust their lives according to natural cycles in order to meet basic needs.²⁹ At the same time, Rist argues that although development can be viewed in terms of goals or processes our task is to understand development in terms of functioning as the rhythm which irreversibly transforms countries both qualitatively and quantitatively.³⁰ The fact that development can be viewed from so many different dimensions and perspectives makes analysis of this phenomenon a highly challenging undertaking.

A Blended Approach to the Concept of Development

The foregoing literature review is useful in setting up the problem with which this study is concerned. Both the economic and the political perspectives offer important insights. For purposes of this study, the concept of development will be understood as involving both a process and a set of goals towards which that process aims, and as encompassing both economic and political dimensions. It imagines a progressive movement from one point, where the

²⁸ Jorge Larrain, *Theories of Development: Capitalism, Colonialism and Dependency* (Polity Press, 1998), 1-3

²⁹ Philip McMichael, *Development and Social Change: A Global Perspective* Second edition (Pine Forge Press, 2000), xli

³⁰ Gilbert Rist, *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith* Third edition, Translated by Patrick Camiller (Zed Books, 2008), 10-12

country now stands economically and politically, to another point that the country aspires to reach, as measured by appropriate qualitative and quantitative changes.

Whether evaluated against an economic index or an index of democratic development, Tajikistan must be viewed as a developing country, one which must find its own path forward on both dimensions. Unfortunately, while it aspires to become “more developed” on both dimensions it lacks many of the economic and political prerequisites for development. Thus, for example, the ruling regime may believe that it must be more authoritarian than it might otherwise wish to be in order to build the social and economic capacities it will need to modernize.

This point is highly relevant to this study. Tajikistan requires a well-trained cadre of civil servants and an educational curriculum for providing that training. Unfortunately, as will be seen in subsequent chapters, the kind of training offered in liberal democracies may not be well-suited to the realities, challenges, and constraints that the civil servants of Tajikistan will face in performing their administrative duties. Thus, the fundamental problem with which this study is concerned is how to construct a curriculum for preparing students for public service in Tajikistan that borrows from Western traditions and educational curricula but is simultaneously well-suited to the unique realities and challenges that these civil servants will face in their work lives.

The Problems and Challenges Facing Developing Countries

Developing guiding options for curriculum appropriate to the needs of students and simultaneously attuned to the unique realities those students will face as public administrators requires a clear understanding of the special problems and challenges facing developing countries as they seek to move forward. As identified in the existing literature, these include low

economic growth, high poverty rates, lack of financial capital, political instability, weak traditions of democratic governance, insufficient human capital, inadequate infrastructure, corruption, and potential conflicts with neighboring countries.³¹ Among the most important of these for Tajikistan are: insufficient human capital, political sustainability, lack of industrial infrastructure, and lack of democratic principles.

Insufficient Human Capital

The term human capital refers to the knowledge, skills, and other value-adding attributes that workers bring to their work.³² A similar, yet broader, approach can be through the concept of human capabilities which looks at the potential for development individuals possess.³³ The concept of human capabilities emphasizes pro-justice and pro-fairness in assessing human well-being.³⁴ Aksentijevic and Jezic, in their study on human resource development and economic growth, suggest that investments in human capital are essential for developing countries. They consider that the lack of human resources is the main obstacle for development of a country.³⁵ Similarly, Parts emphasizes the importance of human capital for economic development in transition countries.³⁶ The idea that might be derived from these statements is that if a country embraces modernization as a goal, the problem of insufficient human capital has to be addressed before the major and most vital reforms are proposed and pursued. A country has to have well-

³¹ Dhaneshwar Ghura and Benoît Mercereau, *Political Instability and Growth: The Central African Republic* (International Monetary fund, African and Asian and Pacific Department. Working Paper. May 2004).

³² Thomas Davenport, *Human Capital: What It Is and Why People Invest In It* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1999).

³³ Martha C. Nussbaum and Jonathan Glover, *Woman, Culture, and Development: A Study of Human Capabilities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 5

³⁴ Melanie Walker and Elaine Unterhalter, "The Capability Approach: Its Potential for Work in Education," in Melanie Walker and Elaine Unterhalter ed. *Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 1-18

³⁵ Nada Karaman Aksentijevic and Zoran Jezic, "Human Resources Development and Research Capacity and their Impact on Economic Growth," *The Proceedings of Rijeka Faculty of Economics – Journal of Economics and Business*. Vol. 27, No. 2, (2009): 264, 284

³⁶ Eve Parts, *Interrelationships between Human Capital and Social Capital: Implications for Economic Development in Transition Economies* (University of Tarty – Faculty of Economics and Business Administration, Working Paper Series, No. 24. 2009).

trained and competent professionals who will ensure the developing country's economic prosperity and successful transition from an autocratic to a democratic regime.

As jobs become more knowledge-based, it becomes increasingly important for countries to develop human capital through higher education. Public administrators are among these "knowledge workers". They are in the forefront of reform implementation processes in developing countries. They create value by using their intellectual capital (know-how, reasoning ability, judgment) to carry out their assigned tasks. As McGregor has written, knowledge and the learned capacity to accumulate and manipulate new knowledge have become the coin of the realm in the post-industrial era.³⁷ In addition, as the challenges faced by the global community cross national boundaries and require interdisciplinary solutions, public officials today increasingly require what Koehn and Rosenau refer to as "transnational competence."³⁸ This term encompasses analytical competence, emotional competence, communicative competence, creative/imaginative competence, and functional competence.

According to the United Nations Statistics Division, the literacy level in Tajikistan in 2008 was 100 percent.³⁹ The enrollment at universities, colleges, and professional schools in the same year was relatively high for men at 73.2 % and low for women at 26.8 %.⁴⁰ However, in spite of high literacy and higher education enrollment levels the lack of human assets is named as one of the main problems in Tajikistan.⁴¹ There are several reasons that might explain this inconsistency. First, with the Tajik government expending only 3.4 % of total GDP on education, it may be assumed that the quality of the education cannot address the challenges of

³⁷ Eugene B. McGregor Jr., *Strategic Management of Human Knowledge, Skills, and Abilities* (San Francisco, Jossey-Bass, 1991).

³⁸ Peter H. Koehn and James N. Rosenau, *Transnational Competence: Empowering Professional Curricula for Horizon-Rising Challenges* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2010).

³⁹ United Nations Statistics Division, Social Indicators
<http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/socind/literacy.htm> Retrieved from World Wide Web 11/04/2010

⁴⁰ United Nations Statistics Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *World Statistics Pocketbook 2008: Landlocked Developing Countries* (United Nations, New York, 2009), 25

⁴¹ Martha Brill Olcott, *Central Asia's Second Chance*, (Washington D. C., 2005), 113-17

development that the country faces. Second, education in Tajikistan suffers from outdated educational curricula as stated in 2002 in the United Nations Children's Fund report.⁴² The findings of the report were especially applicable to higher education.

As a result of its human capital deficit, Tajikistan suffers from lack of competent public administrators whose managerial skills are based on modern day values and principles of public service. Niyazi broadly elaborates on the necessity of reform in the area of public administration in Tajikistan emphasizing the role of task delegation, empowerment, involvement, and democratization.⁴³ Similarly, poor management is mentioned by Shirin as one of the major problems for semi-governmental and non-profit agencies in Tajikistan.⁴⁴

Acknowledging the problem of insufficient human capital and democratic governance principles in Tajikistan, the United States Agency for International Development organized a training program for local government officials to improve their governance skills and delivery of local services.⁴⁵ However, the limited range of skills addressed and the narrow focus on only currently employed government officials cannot satisfy the needs of the country in developing its public administration cadre. As noted earlier, Tajikistan does not have sufficient funds to send its prospective public servants abroad for training and, even if it did, the relevance of that training for a developing country is questionable.

It is probable that the years of neglect in establishing democratic principles of work in the public sector and the lack of properly trained public managers have contributed to the country's decline in many spheres. The United Nations Human Development Report calculated

⁴² Iveta Silova, *Education Reform in Tajikistan: Donor Coordination Meeting* (Almaty, Kazakhstan. September 27th, 2002), 4-5.

⁴³ Aziz Niyazi, "Islam and Tajikistan's Human and Ecological Crisis" in *Civil Society in Central Asia* eds. Holt M. Ruffin and Daniel Waugh (University of Washington Press, 1999), 192-93

⁴⁴ Shirin Akiner, *Tajikistan: Disintegration or Reconciliation* (The Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 2000), 58

⁴⁵ USAID, Asia, Tajikistan <http://www.usaid.gov/locations/asia/countries/tajikistan/> Retrieved from World Wide Web 09/12/2010

that between 1990 and 2007 Tajikistan's Human Development Index fell -0.16% annually.⁴⁶ The described factors combined could lead to greater citizens' distrust in government and political instability.

Political Instability

Political instability can be understood as a lack of consent among groups in society which may lead to rapid changes in a country's politics, regimes, and institutions. Alberto Alesina et al. define political instability as the propensity of a change in the executive power either by constitutional or unconstitutional means.⁴⁷ A country enters into the state of political instability when the government is unable or unwilling to satisfy the demands of its citizens. Political instability threatens the status and existence of the government. If unresolved, political instability can provoke a conflict in a society and destroy the regime in power, thereby making progress toward development virtually impossible.

In Tajikistan, political instability can be seen from long-term and short-term perspectives. From a long-term perspective the entire history of Tajikistan is one of constant conquests and colonization. Each regime was removed by force and replaced by another, thus continually changing politics, norms, and attitudes.

The short-term perspective refers to the present political situation in Tajikistan. Although the country enjoyed a measure of stability during the Soviet era, the three main factors which can help to explain the current political instability in Tajikistan can be traced. First, the current government seized power by force as the result of a Civil War. Second, there is a general lack of consent among societal groups in Tajikistan regarding the legitimacy of the current regime.

⁴⁶ United Nations Development Programme. Human Development Reports. Human Development Report 2009. Tajikistan. Human Development Index – Going Beyond Income
http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/country_fact_sheets/cty_fs_TJK.html Retrieved from World Wide Web 09/05/2010

⁴⁷ Alberto Alesina, Sule Özler, Nouriel Roubini and Phillip Swagel, "Political Instability and Economic Growth," *Journal of Economic Growth* Volume 1, Issue 2 (June 1996): 189-211

Third, citizens lack social protection under the current regime.⁴⁸ Understanding the vulnerability of its current status the government takes preventative measures to protect itself. In the absence of necessary human and material resources the government has limited options to stabilize these factors. In the case of Tajikistan these options have led to more authoritarian actions.

The political instability of Tajikistan is not the problem of Tajikistan alone. It also threatens the security of the whole Central Asian region. The fear of regional political and economic destabilization in the case of any Central Asian state failure is considered to be relatively high.⁴⁹ Being interconnected culturally, politically, and economically, Central Asian countries are interested in supporting the political stability of one another.

Lack of Industrial Infrastructure

Economic growth is frequently seen as a product of a country's competitiveness and involvement in international trade.⁵⁰ These factors involve a country's ability to produce certain goods and engage in international goods exchange. Thus, low economic growth can be understood as the inability to reach established economic goals, such as an increase of gross national product per capita and the amount of international trade over certain period of time.

A country's inability to stimulate economic growth can be caused by the lack of the necessary industrial infrastructure. Lack of industrial infrastructure can be understood as insufficient productive capacities or absence of productive potential. Industrial infrastructure is essential for generating a country's revenue and financial reserves. In general, industrial infrastructure is typically understood as including factories, plants, and other manufacturing

⁴⁸ Nozar Alaolmolki, *Life After the Soviet Union: The Newly Independent Republics of the Transcaucasus and Central Asia* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), 93-98

⁴⁹ Olcott, *Central Asia's Second Chance*, 206-07

⁵⁰ Brian Snowdon, *Globalization, Development and Transition: Conversations with Eminent Economists* (Edward Elgar Cheltenham, UK Northampton, MA USA, 2007); Ian Goldin and Kenneth Reiner, *Globalization for Development: Trade, Finance, Aid, Migration, and Policy*. Revised edition (A copublication of the World Bank and Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

facilities on the one hand and means for transporting, exchanging, and distributing products on the other hand. Tajikistan lacks both.

The following factors help explain the lack of industrial infrastructure in Tajikistan. First, unlike other Soviet republics, the decline of Tajikistan's economy started long before the republic became independent.⁵¹ As mentioned by Roudik, economically and politically Tajikistan was the least prepared and least inclined republic towards independence.⁵² Niyazi argues that the diversified pre-Soviet economic structure in Tajikistan was destroyed in a favor of a cotton monoculture thus limiting economic and agricultural capacities of the republic. Niyazi concludes that the narrow focus on cotton cultivation slowed down economic growth and put the country in an exfoliating position compared to the growth of the nation's population, thus causing Tajikistan to become the worst performing republic economically in the Soviet Union by the 1990s.⁵³ It may take years to diversify production in Tajikistan and fully engage in international trade.

Second, the Civil War of 1992-1997 destroyed even those small industrial capacities Tajikistan had before becoming independent. The Civil War also, to a certain degree, alienated some of its closest neighbors further complicating the transit of goods through their territories.

Third, it is assumed that Tajikistan has been unable to attract investments from foreign businesses due to political instability. As a result, production equipment continues to become obsolete and facilities to decline.

Lack of Liberal Democratic Principles

Liberal democratic principles can be understood as basic civil and human rights and liberties. These principles ensure dignity of an individual, an existence free of fear, and respect

⁵¹ Ruffin and Waugh eds., *Civil Society in Central Asia*, 187-88

⁵² Peter L. Roudik, *The History of the Central Asian Republics* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2007), 151

⁵³ Ruffin and Waugh eds., *Civil Society in Central Asia*, 188

of an individual's life, opinions, and rights. Liberal democratic principles provide equal opportunities for individuals and protect them from tyranny and injustice. It is expected that governments obey, protect, and promote these principles. The liberal democracy principles of freedom confront autocracy and tyranny.

The status of a developing country is understood not only in terms of economic growth and prosperity but also in terms of the development of liberal democratic principles and institutions. Successful transition of a country from autocratic to democratic governance is important to closing the gap between developed and developing statuses. Unfortunately, the destruction or disintegration of an autocratic regime does not automatically lead to the creation of a democratic regime. As in the case of Tajikistan, the change of regimes may have had a regressive effect.

The political death of Communism in Tajikistan allowed the introduction of certain democratic principles. However, their number and functioning is limited and their survival is threatened. The basic principles of democracy are suppressed by the government to help secure its greater political stability. In addition, the lack of commitment to principles of liberal democracy can be explained in part by the lack of human capital among public servants who are not trained in the principles of democracy.

The public sector in Tajikistan is overwhelmed by autocratic principles of governance inherited from the Soviet times. The majority of today's public managers are the people whose education and experience was largely influenced by Communist ideology. Roudik mentions that many of the officials in the Central Asian states received similar Soviet-era ideological training which stressed authoritarianism.⁵⁴ He argues that in spite of declaring themselves democratic most Central Asian countries retained the same managerial practices and interests of the old

⁵⁴ Roudik, *The History of the Central Asian Republics*, 167

Soviet system.⁵⁵ The lasting heritage of the old Soviet system of management and lack of democratic principles in Tajikistan can be explained by unavailability of specifically designed education in the area of public administration.

As seen, the described problems represent a set of interconnected issues with the underlying problem centering on the lack of human capital. As human capacities are exhausted Tajikistan has very little ability to develop politically and economically. It also has fewer choices for maintaining social protection of its citizens which negatively affects the overall stability of the country. These problems, and in particular the problem of insufficient human capital, is likely to lead to humanitarian catastrophe where either the state fails or a new dictatorship is established. A number of these problems can be resolved if the country's main asset – its human capital – is replenished.

Problem Statement and Primary Research Questions

The research problem addressed in this study is how to develop and deliver guiding options which can be used by interested parties when developing educational curriculum for those entering public service in Tajikistan that promises to be both job relevant and appropriate to the cultural and political realities faced by workers of the current political regime. Such a curriculum must teach public servants to be respectful of current conditions while quietly working to improve governmental administration consistent with the aspirations of a liberal democracy. To this end, the following research questions will be addressed in this study:

⁵⁵ Roudik, *The History of the Central Asian Republics*, 167

1. To what extent are the principles and practices of public administration in a developed country such as the United States relevant to the realities of a developing country such as Tajikistan and what are the specific factors that may constrain the application of the American educational model for preparing public administrators to the case of Tajikistan?
2. To what extent are educational degree programs in Tajikistan adequate for preparing public servants relative to norms established by public administration degree programs in the United States?
3. What guiding options of public administration curriculum might be recommended for implementation in Tajikistan, consistent with its institutional and societal realities, to best prepare public servants for the tasks they will face as public administrators in a developing country?

Viewed as highly effective and widely supported in the United States, certain democratic values and principles are yet to be recognized and understood in many developing countries. The respectability of some democratic values in the United States may be misinterpreted or rejected in less developed countries for various reasons. For example, some authoritarian regimes argue in favor of sacrificing democratic values for the sake of creating economic wealth first.⁵⁶ Tajikistan also limits applicability of democratic principles. The current Tajik President, for example, rejects Western democratic values as being alien to the Tajik culture.⁵⁷ These points cannot be used as excuses for promoting autocracy yet they have to be considered when creating the guiding options for educational curriculum for prospective public administrators.

The formation of statehood and national identity of one country could omit some phases of development experienced by other countries. Some believe that “democracy is a unique

⁵⁶ Patrick O’Neill, *Essentials in Comparative Politics* (W.W. Norton and Company Inc., August, 2009), 125

⁵⁷ Joanna Lillis, *No Surprises in Tajik Elections* (Eurasia Net, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich, Nov.7, 2006).

product of interconnected historical experiences in Europe... the emphasis on individualism and secularism, the development of nation-state, early industrialization, and the development of capitalism, among others.”⁵⁸ This perspective assumes that a developing country has to experience similar factors in development to fully integrate democracy. And although this assumption can be misleading it has to be admitted that certain values and principles are hard to implant in different cultures with the same degree of success. The difficulty of conveying supposedly universal ideas from one part of the world to another may lie in a hostile environment created by varying political, cultural, and economic conditions. Cultural differences often produce norms and institutions which may not be easily matched with certain democratic principles.⁵⁹ As noted by Niyazi, the problems of the developing country cannot be overcome by simply introducing contemporary Western models applicable to developed post-industrial countries. In his view, introducing democratic principles into the current mixture of local social relations and economic culture will not produce the desired effect but rather interfere with social development. He suggests that the unchanging traditional culture has to be considered when developing models for the stable development of the country.⁶⁰

Every culture is unique and thus it shapes every country differently in terms of relationships among its subjects. Easton points out that the members of every society act within the framework of an ongoing culture that shapes their general goals, specific objectives, and the procedures that the members feel ought to be used. He states that every culture derives part of its unique quality from the fact that it emphasizes one or more special aspects of behavior and this strategic emphasis serves to differentiate it from other cultures.⁶¹ The several hundred years of statehood and democracy experienced by the United States and enriched by the European

⁵⁸ O’Neill, *Essentials in Comparative Politics*, 126

⁵⁹ O’Neill, *Essentials of Comparative Politics*, 126-27

⁶⁰ Ruffin and Waugh eds., *Civil Society in Central Asia*, 191

⁶¹ David Easton, “An Approach to the Analysis of Political System,” *World Politics* Vol.9, No. 3 (1957): 383-400

heritage is no match for the two decades of independence in Tajikistan. Thus before seeking to transfer the American model of public administration education to a developing country such as Tajikistan, the political, economic, and cultural environments of the country need to be carefully considered if the underlying goals are to be achieved.

In search of best practices, this study takes the American model of public administration education as a starting place. The American model of public administration is widely viewed as being very effective in the United States, yet its applicability in such countries as Tajikistan must be assessed. This study will be concerned, in part, with the degree of applicability of the United States public administration principles to the governmental and social realities in Tajikistan. The goal of this assessment is the identification of adjustments which need to be made in public administration educational curriculum for Tajikistan.

Whereas techniques and methods of work in such areas as, for example, engineering or medicine, are almost entirely universal and have equal value and applicability in any given country, the principles of public administration are frequently based on certain historical and socioeconomic factors and cultural values unique to each country. Thus, the options for educational curriculum that this study develops and recommends seek to address the most urgent needs of Tajikistan by combining best principles of the American model with the current realities of Tajikistan. The years of Soviet rule left Tajikistan a heritage that slows down the country's transformation and democratization. Post-civil war sufferings of its citizens are multiplied by flourishing corruption and authoritarianism of the government. The proximity to the Afghanistan war zone makes Tajikistan an easy prey for antidemocratic elements which promote ideas of hatred and terror. The destabilized economy has disabled a number of public services previously accessible for citizens and further complicates reconstruction of a normal life.

Thus, if prospective public administrators can be well-trained in the best practices of public administration, the potential positive impacts for society will be enormous. Given the condition currently facing Tajikistan the importance of wisely taught public administration increases as never before. As the poorest country among ex-Soviet republics, it is crucial that the limited resources of Tajikistan be allocated to teaching principles of public administration in order to produce visible results and address the needs of current citizens.

Methodology

This study uses content analysis to address the second and third research questions. Content analysis is a well-established research methodology in the social sciences used to explore oral and written messages or policy statements, often producing quantitative data about the underlying themes being expressed.⁶² This methodology may be usefully applied to the study of educational curricula, including those in the United States and in Tajikistan with respect to public administration.

In this study:

1. NASPAA-accredited MPA programs are content analyzed with respect to the following criteria:
 - Number of credits required for graduation
 - Percent of programs requiring comprehensive exams, a thesis or professional paper, applied research projects, internships, etc.

⁶² Chava Frankfort-Nachmias and David Nachmias, *Research Methods in Social Sciences* (Worth Publishers, 2000), 295-300

- Percent of programs requiring each type of course (as an indicator of importance or centrality)
 - Options or areas of specialization
2. Content analysis of public service preparation programs in Tajikistan using the same criteria.
 3. Comparative analysis to determine the extent to which degree programs in Tajikistan approach the core elements of the U.S. model.
 4. Development of appropriate conclusions and recommendations.

Expected Impacts

Currently, Tajikistan is a poor and under-developed country wishing to modernize and evolve into a liberal democracy. Its success will depend significantly on the competence with which its public administrators perform their duties. It is hoped that the results of this study will be used at national universities to create the graduate level programs in public administration which Tajikistan lacks at the moment. The study will bring much needed education in public sector to Tajikistan.

The study will propose guiding options for developing educational curriculum which is aligned with Tajikistan's challenges and realities. It will address the most urgent and immediate needs of public administration in the country. The study will help Tajikistan to expand its human capital and thus intensify the process of development. As stated earlier, the transition from autocratic to democratic regime is hard to accomplish without human resources trained in accordance with democratic values which this study is intended to do.

It is expected that the study will have both short-term and long-term impacts. The short-term impact is provision of competent and professionally trained public administrators. The long-term impact is political and economic development and the establishment of democracy.

By developing guiding options for an educational program for public administrators, the study will help Tajikistan to restore political stability and social protection vital for its own citizens and for the security of the entire Central Asian region. The study is intended to help prevent state failure, ensure the consolidation of democracy in Tajikistan, and enable the people of Tajikistan to benefit from the prosperity of their country.

Chapter 2

CONTRASTING PATHS TO INDEPENDENCE AND STATE FORMATION

This chapter reviews and compares the prevailing conditions and experiences of the United States and Tajikistan as they engaged in the process of democratic state-building. Emphasis is placed on the historical and cultural factors that have shaped political development in the two countries. The purpose of this analysis is to identify differences that may limit the prospects for democracy in Tajikistan and thereby limit or complicate the application of American principles of public administration to the realities existing in Tajikistan. The results of this analysis will be used to help craft an educational curriculum for public administration which is relevant to and addresses the immediate needs and challenges of the Tajik government.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and Tajikistan's new-found independence confronted the country with a variety of choices about how to structure its new government. They ranged from maintaining the Soviet form of government, to adopting a Western-style liberal democracy, to transforming itself into a theocracy dominated by clerics. Given these choices, Tajikistan deliberately proclaimed itself an independent secular republic which aspired to develop the country based on principles of democracy and the protection of human rights. However, this may not be accomplished easily given Tajikistan's history of invasions, colonialism, and oppression. Historical forces embedded in the culture may not be easily erased or disregarded as

Tajikistan heads down the road toward building a democratic state. This concern is supported by the fact that the two decades since independence have been characterized by numerous riots, a devastating Civil war, and internal fights for power which have left the country's economy in ruins and the people desperate for peace and stability. This chapter seeks to establish the possible consequences of these factors for democratic state-building and to explore some of the prerequisites that must be in place in order to develop an educational curriculum that is informed by American principles of public administration while simultaneously cognizant of the realities of life in Tajikistan.

The political system of every country has its own unique characteristics rooted in its political, economic, and cultural history. These factors influence the political development of a country and affect subsequent changes in the country's political system. For example, the historical movement from authoritarianism to liberal democracy in the West was conditioned by certain underlying factors or forces that may not have been immediately apparent. Identification of these factors in the cases of Tajikistan and the United States may help explain their contrasting paths to independence and state formation and the implications that may follow from these differences.

In the relatively short period of time since independence, Tajikistan's political system has gone through a series of political, legal and institutional changes. These changes and counter-changes may be explained in part by the following factors: the manner and suddenness of gaining independence, the effects of Civil War, the long-term historical heritage, outside influences, and lack of political homogeneity among the people. Although some of these factors are closely interconnected, for purposes of analysis it is useful to examine each of them separately. In the sections that follow, the historical experiences of the United States and Tajikistan will be compared and contrasted on each of these factors. It will become readily

apparent that different experiences lead to different outcomes in regards to the structure and behavior of political systems.

How Independence Was Achieved

The disintegration of the Soviet Union which gave independence to Tajikistan was not an objective of Soviet policy-makers. Although the outcome of the wide reforms initiated by Gorbachev was unexpected, there were at least three key moments which could have helped predict the eventual dissolution of the USSR. The first key moment was the open movement for independence in the Baltic States in 1988.⁶³ The Baltic States were the most progressive among other Soviet republics in political development. Their proclaimed desire for sovereignty can be considered as an invitation for other republics to join them in seeking greater decentralization from Moscow. The second key moment was the falling popularity of the Communist Party in the final years of the Soviet Union.⁶⁴ The decline of the ruling party which was in charge of all political, economic, and social processes contributed to Moscow's loss of control over different parts of the country. The third key moment was the rise of nationalism and inter-ethnic clashes in the Caucasus and Central Asia.⁶⁵ The territorial disputes and ethnical conflicts signaled a growing desire for self-determination by Soviet republics.

December 25, 1991 is considered the official date of Soviet Union dissolution and Soviet republics becoming independent, except for the Baltic States which obtained their independence four months earlier.⁶⁶ The events in August 18-21, 1991 in Moscow which de-facto marked the end of Communist rule were followed by the abrupt declaration of independence by Tajikistan

⁶³ Helene Carrere d'Encausse, *The End of the Soviet Empire: The Triumph of the Nations* translated by Franklin Philip (A New Republic Book Basic Book, 1993), 117-22

⁶⁴ Robert Strayer, *Why Did the Soviet Union Collapse? Understanding Historical Change* (M. E. Sharpe, 1998), 6

⁶⁵ Helene Carrere d'Encausse, *The End of the Soviet Empire: The Triumph of the Nations*, 52-55, 74-82, 96-101

⁶⁶ Jack F. Matlock, Jr. *Autopsy on an Empire* (Random House, 1995), 3-5

on September 9, 1991.⁶⁷ The confrontation between three major camps, Communists, Democrats, and Islamists, which centered on the efforts of the Communists to uphold the power of the Communist regime and prolong the influence of Moscow, intensified in March of 1992.⁶⁸ With a number of issues tearing the country apart, Tajikistan stepped into Civil War, the most active phase of which lasted from May 1992 until December 1996.⁶⁹ Demonstrations which started as demands for higher liberalization quickly became a fight for power among different regions of the country. The little and late efforts which Tajiks put toward establishing democracy and obtaining independence were transformed into violent actions against each other.

With the dissolution of the Soviet Union, independence arrived in Tajikistan all at once and straight out of the blue. There was no bloody revolt or rebellion against Soviet rule as in Caucasus, no long-standing reform movements as in the Baltic States, and no ideology developed expressly for the purpose of justifying freedom and independence. It simply happened. As Tajikistan was always seen as a creation of the Communist regime there was little sense and meaning of independence among its people.⁷⁰ This reality became the major factor determining the structure of the new political system that emerged with relative suddenness in Tajikistan. Independence gave the Tajik people an opportunity for political self-determination, a chance to govern their country on their own, and a chance to enjoy human rights and liberties not experienced in the past. But independence also revealed the many political weaknesses and socioeconomic problems facing the Tajik nation, and there was little in its historical experience that prepared it to cope with these weaknesses and problems.

⁶⁷ Bess A. Brown "The Civil War in Tajikistan, 1992-1993" in *Tajikistan the Trials of Independence* eds. Mohammad-Reza Djalili, Frederic Grare, and Shirin Akiner (St. Martin's Press, 1997), 88

⁶⁸ Brown, *The Civil War in Tajikistan, 1992-1993*, 89-90

⁶⁹ Akiner, *Tajikistan: Disintegration or Reconciliation?*, 37

⁷⁰ Dudoignon, *Political Parties and Forces in Tajikistan, 1989-1993*, 53

Although Tajikistan was not a colony in a pure sense, its political relationships with Russia did resemble colonial governing.⁷¹ In contrast to European colonies in Asia or Africa, Russia tried to develop Central Asia socially and economically by making substantial investments in the region.⁷² At the same time Tajikistan, like the other Soviet republics, served mainly as resource suppliers for Russia and was politically and economically controlled by Moscow.⁷³ In some respects this was not unlike the situation faced by the American colonies with respect to Great Britain. However, unlike the people of the American colonies who actively fought for independence from Great Britain, the Tajik peoples were entirely passive in obtaining their independence; they received it only as a result of the political dissolution of their former protector.

Not only did the Tajiks do little to get their independence but, of all of the former soviet republics, they were also “the least prepared and least inclined towards independence.”⁷⁴ As a creation of the Soviet regime and a Russian semi-colony, Tajikistan lacked many attributes of economic and political self-sufficiency. The authoritarian rule of Russia for nearly seventy years created a lack of political will and capabilities among the Tajik peoples. In a very real sense, independence came as more of a burden than a reward for Tajiks. As a result of not having a clear vision and understanding of independence, the country almost immediately fell into Civil War. This case history revealed how the potential for political development provided by independence can be wasted by the political unpreparedness of its people.

In Tajikistan, independence destroyed the old political system without providing the means by which to establish a new one. The example of Tajikistan demonstrates that if

⁷¹ Alex Stringer, “Soviet Development in Central Asia: The classic colonial syndrome?” in *Central Asia: Aspects of Transition* ed. Tom Everett-Heath (Routledge Curzon: Taylor & Francis Group, London and New York, 2003), 146-166

⁷² Ian Murray Matley, “Industrialization (1865-1964)” in *Central Asia: 130 years of Russian Dominance, A Historical Overview* Third Edition, ed. Edward Allworth (Duke University Press, 1999), 309-348

⁷³ M.S. Gafarly, V.D. Chernikov & N.N. Semenova, “The Economic Crisis” in *Central Asia: Political and Economic Challenges in the Post-Soviet Era* ed. Alexei Vassiliev (London: Saqi Books, 2001), 220-232

⁷⁴ Roudik, *The History of the Central Asian Republic*, 151

independence is not expressly desired, any vision for the country's future political development will be blurred or entirely absent. In the case of Tajikistan, the disappearance of its overlords and the political incompetence of its internal leaders led to political conflict and a bloody fight for power. One conclusion that might be drawn from this is that in order to extract the maximum benefit out of independence, people have to desire it, be ready for it, understand the opportunities that independence brings to them, and have a consensus regarding the post-independence path to political development.

Independence in the United States, by contrast, was a long-desired and politically and economically motivated event. Unlike the relationship between Russia and Tajikistan, the relationship between England and the American colonies was characterized by a series of tensions and conflicts which eventually exploded in the War for Independence.⁷⁵ The people of the United States were aware of the benefits of independence and the disadvantages of colonial rule. They were also guided by the classical liberal ideology that they brought with them from the "mother" country that emphasized freedom and liberty above all else. The several decades of ideological and physical struggle with Great Britain allowed time for a partial consensus to form among the American people about the desirability of independence and the necessity of fighting to obtain it.

Independence significantly altered the political system of the United States. It gave the United States an opportunity to establish a new state and new form of rule and self-regulation, engagement in unrestricted trade, and proclamation of a new political ideology. The American War for Independence was revolutionary not only in respect to relationships between the United States and England but it was also revolutionary in terms of global political change.

⁷⁵ Alan Brinkley, *A Survey American History* (McGraw Hill, 2007), 101

For the first time a colony had successfully obtained its independence and proclaimed the creation of a new state.

After a brief period under the Articles of Confederation, independence resulted in a unique written constitution creating a federal system instead of a unitary system and replacing the English form of “virtual representation with an “actual” form of legislative representation.⁷⁶ Consequently, the concept of representative democracy was laid down in the United States in a more meaningful way than in England. Independence also created a system of self-governing states free to make their own laws as long as they were consistent with the laws enacted by Congress. In short, whereas Americans took advantage of the opportunity presented to them to fashion an entirely new form of representative democracy, the Tajik people were not prepared to do so upon gaining their independence. Independence came unexpectedly and there was no intellectual class preparing to introduce positive changes. Civil War was the result.

The Effects of Civil War

As mentioned earlier, the most active phase of the Civil War in Tajikistan lasted from May of 1992 to December of 1996. However the Accords of Reconciliation were not signed until June of 1997. There were four major camps fighting each other: Communists, Democrats, Islamists, and Pamirian separatists. Besides their ideological differences, these camps were also divided by regional characteristics. Thus, Communists were mainly represented by Khudjand region of Tajikistan on the north, Democrats by Dushanbe and Kulyab regions on the south, Islamists by Kurgan-Tube region on the south, and Pamirian separatists by the Badakhshan region on Pamir. Regional fragmentation of Tajikistan is seen as one of the main causes of Civil

⁷⁶ Brinkley, *A Survey American History*, 118

War.⁷⁷ The domination of politicians from the North and infringement of political interests of other regions during the Soviet Era inflamed the fight for power after independence.

As the main opponents in the conflict were in the South, most of the action took place there. The four camps formed two coalitions: Kulyab, Dushanbe, Khudjand regions versus Kurgan-Tube and Badakhshan regions.⁷⁸ The opportunistic motives of each camp provided temporary cohesion for coalitions. Some perceived the Civil War as primarily a confrontation of Democratic and Islamic forces, whereas others, at the same time, saw it as a conflict between pro-Communists and Islamist forces.⁷⁹ This confusion can be explained by the fact that as the war started almost immediately after the collapse of Soviet Union, the government, for the most part, remained the same. It was not yet fully democratic and not still Communist. The pro-government forces of Kulyab and Khudjand were opposed by radical Islamists and separatists of Kurgan-Tube and Badakhshan, later called The United Tajik Opposition. Although the pro-government coalition formally defeated the opposition, the isolated resurgence of Islamists lasted up until and after the Accords of Reconciliation was signed.

A number of countries and international organizations took part in peacemaking efforts and reconciliation of opposing sides. Along with the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe such countries as Afghanistan, Iran, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, Russia, Uzbekistan, and, to a lesser degree, the United States, participated in Tajik peace talks.⁸⁰ The Accords of Reconciliation were signed on June 27, 1997 and officially registered by the Secretariat of the United Nations.⁸¹ However, not all units of the Islamic opposition laid down arms. Their recent violent resurgence in Summer-Fall of 2010 is evidence

⁷⁷ A.I. Kuzmin, "The Causes and Lessons of Civil War" in *Central Asia: Political and Economic Challenges in the Post-Soviet Era* ed. Alexei Vassiliev (London: Saqi Books, 2001), 176

⁷⁸ Brown, *The Civil War in Tajikistan, 1992-1993*, 86-93

⁷⁹ Ahmed Rashid, *The Resurgence of Central Asia: Islam or Nationalism* (Zed Books, 1994).

⁸⁰ Akiner, *Tajikistan: Disintegration or Reconciliation?*, 54

⁸¹ Akiner, *Tajikistan: Disintegration or Reconciliation?*, 55

of the fragility of peace and the complexity of conflict settlement in Tajikistan.⁸² Nonetheless, the Accords of Reconciliation provided a basis for peaceful political development of Tajikistan.

Tajikistan paid a high price in the Civil War. Not only had the country suffered from human losses but also from political, economic, and social setbacks. According to the United Nations Higher Commission on Refugee, as of May 1, 1996 the Civil War in Tajikistan killed at least 20,000 people and displaced about 700,000 people with 60,000 seeking refuge in Afghanistan.⁸³ The alternative estimate compiled by local organizations provides a figure of up to 300,000 people killed and 100,000 missing with 1.5 million displaced and 120,000 refugees in Afghanistan.⁸⁴ The difference in statistics can be explained by exaggerations by some agencies, such as by UNHCR counting mostly registered refugees. Tajikistan's industrial output as of 1997 was reduced by as much as 70%.⁸⁵ It can be stated that the post-effects of Civil War are still present in the country. The lag in economic and social development of Tajikistan as compared to some other Central Asian republics consistently increases. The country also keeps moving away from the principles of democracy towards authoritarianism.

The Civil War and the Accords of Reconciliation were another important factor defining Tajikistan's political system in the post-independence era. It can be characterized as having both positive and negative impacts on the system.⁸⁶ The positive impacts include preserving the democratic way of development, establishing a secular political regime, institutionalizing a multiparty system, securing political stability for the nation, and preserving territorial unity. The

⁸² Yaroslav Trophimov and Alan Cullison, *Islamists Hit Central Asian in New Strikes: Deadly Unrest Threatens Governments, Imperils Supply Routes in Afghan War* (The Wall Street Journal, September 21, 2010) <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748703556604575502924131076734.html> Retrieved from World Wide Web 03/02/2011

⁸³ United Nations Higher Commission on Refugee "CIS Conference (Displacement in CIS) – Central Asia on the Move" <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/search?page=search&docid=3b5580864&query=civil%20war%20in%20tajikistan> Retrieved from World Wide Web 03/02/2011

⁸⁴ Kuzmin, *The Causes and Lessons of Civil War*, 191

⁸⁵ Lena Jonson, *Tajikistan in the New Central Asia: Geopolitics, Great Power Rivalry and Radical Islam* (I.B. Tauris, 2006), 48

⁸⁶ Akiner, *Tajikistan: Disintegration or Reconciliation?*

biggest negative impact is the regime's predisposition to authoritarianism with all of its associated defining characteristics such as suppression of political opposition, centralization of power in the hands of a few, nominal separation of branches of power, lack of citizen participation, ineffectiveness of the multiparty system, and violations of human rights and civil liberties. In summary, the Civil War resulted in the establishment of unitary form of government with a multiparty system that operates as a semi-democratic and semi-authoritarian regime,

The causes of the Civil War can help explain the eventual outcomes. The political fight for power in Tajikistan had mostly an ideological and religious basis: secularists confronted clergy. The Civil War in the United States was caused by a different set of social, economic, and political concerns: unethical institution of slavery, the need of greater industrialization of the South, and the need of greater centralization of power. The accords of reconciliation in Tajikistan supposedly started the process of establishing democracy. The victory of the Union in the United States started the process of political and economic transformation. The radical differences in political views complicated the process of national reconciliation and postponed establishment of democracy in Tajikistan.

The Civil War affected the institution of legislative representation in Tajikistan. The establishment of democracy was confirmed with an agreement for legislative power-sharing between the government and opposition.⁸⁷ The agreement made an important change in the legislative system of the republic. The national reconciliation agreement contributed to the adoption of a bicameral parliament and multi-party system.⁸⁸ Although it held significant potential for developing democracy in Tajikistan, it has to be noted that the forces of United Tajik Opposition (UTO) had an agenda that was not only different from the pro-governmental forces but also suffered from conflicting interests within their own formation. Their interests

⁸⁷ Irina Zviagelskaya, "The Tajik Conflict: Problems of Regulation" in *Tajikistan: The Trials of Independence* eds. Mohammad-Reza Djalili, Frederic Grare, and Shirin Akiner (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 176

⁸⁸ Roudik, *The History of the Central Asian Republics*, 152

included wider autonomy or complete separation of certain regions of Tajikistan, establishment of unified monarchical Islamic state, and revival of traditional Tajik culture.⁸⁹ The lack of consensus within the opposition forces weakened the level of its influence and allowed the ruling elites to consolidate their power. Thus, in spite of structural changes in the legislative branch, the ruling elite used authoritarian methods to acquire complete control over the parliament and to exclude opposition forces from political participation.⁹⁰

The Civil War in the United States had causes different from those in Tajikistan. Researchers and historians tend to differ in their assumptions about the causes of the Civil War yet the main points of agreement can be outlined.⁹¹ The leading causes of the American Civil War can be defined: as social or moral as they related to the institution of slavery; as economic as they related to the uneven development of industry in the North and an agricultural economy in the South; and as political, given that Southern states resisted the growing centralization of power and increasing role of the federal government. These causes divided the country into two camps that fought each other with no external interference or interests involved. In Tajikistan, the diversity of causes created a number of conflicting groups whose coalitions had temporary and self-interested characters. There were also a number of external players who had their own agendas in supporting one group or coalition over another.⁹² It is potentially easier to overcome the consequences of the Civil War and reach reconciliation when only two groups are engaged in conflict, like in the United States. It is much harder to meet the needs and demands of numerous groups simultaneously involved in conflict for different reasons and causes, like in Tajikistan. As a result, the aftermaths of the Civil War in the United States were fairly quickly mitigated and

⁸⁹ Dudoignon, *Political Parties and Forces in Tajikistan, 1989-1993*, 52-85

⁹⁰ Akiner, *Tajikistan: Disintegration or Reconciliation?*, 64-66

⁹¹ Brinkley, *A Survey American History*, 372-73

⁹² Catherine Poujol, "Some Reflections on Russian Involvement in the Tajik Conflict, 1992-1993" in *Tajikistan: The Trials of Independence* eds. Mohammad-Reza Djalili, Frederic Grare, and Shirin Akiner (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 99-110; Mohammad-Reza Djalili and Frederic Grare, "Regional Ambitions and Interests in Tajikistan: the Role of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iran" in *Tajikistan: The Trials of Independence* eds. Mohammad-Reza Djalili, Frederic Grare, and Shirin Akiner (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 119-131

the causes of the Civil War were used for greater political and economic advancement of the whole country. In Tajikistan, the presence of numerous conflicting groups and external interests lead to a more uncompromised fight for power, rise of authoritarianism, and economic decline.

The Civil War in the United States concluded the debate over the basic form of the state, confirming centralized federation over loose confederation. It also made serious societal changes through emancipation and it created the foundation for race and gender equality. In the long run the establishment of equal civil rights, restored legislative representation for all states, and the increasing role of government were some of the outcomes of Civil War in the United States. The Civil War changed society, provided advances for economic growth, and altered the political system of the United States. It allowed the nation, to some extent, to resolve existing controversies and disputes over the country's development and gave birth to some modern political institutions.

Civil War is an extreme form of political fighting for power. It creates conditions for extraordinary measures to protect obtained power and can play an important role in determining future policies and their applications. The Civil War in Tajikistan, however, produced unexpected effects on the political development of Tajikistan. Thus, the winning side abandoned its initial commitment to preserving democracy and used the Civil War as an excuse for phased transition from democracy to authoritarianism. Even in the post-war period it still applies coercion rather than consent to acquire and protect its power. The current political elite uses the fear of Islamic rule for accumulating maximum power in their hands.⁹³ Therefore, it can be concluded that the victory of democratic forces in political conflict does not immediately establish or guarantee democracy. Unlike in the United States, the Civil War in Tajikistan did not represent an advancement for democracy but a setback from democracy to authoritarianism.

⁹³ Joanna Lillis, *No Surprises in Tajik Elections*

Governing Traditions and Culture

Rule of Law

The rule of law is frequently considered an essential part of democracy. Jean Hampton notes that the success of modern democracies is based on creation of rules which allow people to coordinate different points of view in the political process.⁹⁴ It means that obedience and mutual respect expressed through the rule of law create favorable conditions for the development of democracy. Everyone agrees to abide by the same fundamental rules, and no one puts himself or herself above the law. Both the rule of law and democracy are found to have reinforcing effect on each other.⁹⁵ The interconnectedness of rule of law and democracy can be considered strong if the law is just and accepted as such by all people.

The rule of law in Tajikistan has certain underlying characteristics. First of all, most laws throughout the country's history were imposed upon the Tajik people by outsiders. Starting with Arab colonization and the substitution of local religion and norms by Islam and Sharia code of rules, the various colonizers brought their own rules and norms of behavior to the region. It is assumed that numerous colonizations and conquests have reduced the level of respect to ever-changing laws among Tajik people. The consciousness about Tajiks being ruled by Tajiks was lost with the demise of first Tajik state, the Samanid Empire, in around 1000 A.D.⁹⁶ The current legal and political system has inherited a number of traits from the Soviet past which in cooperation with formal rejection of Communist ideology creates not only confusion but also disrespect to current laws and norms.

⁹⁴ Jean Hampton, "Democracy and the Rule of Law" in *The Rule of Law* ed. Ian Shapiro (New York University Press, 1994), 41

⁹⁵ Roberto Rigobon and Dany Rodrik, "Rule of Law, Democracy, Openness, and Income: Estimating the interrelationships," *Economics of Transition* Vol. 3, no. 3, (2005).

⁹⁶ Jill E. Hickson, "Using Law to Create National Identity: The Course to Democracy in Tajikistan," *Texas International Law Journal* Vol. 38 (2003): 356

Second, as one of the post-conflict countries, Tajikistan has to deal with reconciliation of winners and losers of civil conflict and their equal integration into the political process. Unlike the struggle with an outside enemy which normally unifies a nation, the civil conflicts and wars divided the nation and destroyed mutual respect. The options for establishing rule of law are limited and usually very painful. In Tajikistan the dominant option became authoritative governing. Some scholars propose a framework for supporting the rule of law in post-conflict societies built mainly on an institutional level.⁹⁷ At the same time, it has to be noted that without complete reconciliation of conflicted sides, the concept of rule of law will be hard to implement.

Third, the rule of law in Tajikistan can be undermined by the political environment of the surrounding countries. There is some discussion among scholars on the effect the neighboring and close-by states produce on a country's own democratic processes.⁹⁸ Scholars suggest that the societal mood and aspirations of being accepted into international democratic community can be stimulated by democratization processes observed in near-by countries. The countries of Central and Eastern Europe are brought as an example. Unfortunately, Tajikistan is surrounded by countries with either very immature democratic or strongly authoritarian regimes. In the given conditions the rule of law cannot find necessary support and basis for development.

Self-Governance

The tradition of self-governance is another important concept for newly-established democracies. Self-governance can be understood as ability of a country to establish and maintain state institutions without interference from outside. For countries which recently became

⁹⁷ David Tolbert and Andrew Solomon, "United Nations Reform and Supporting the Rule of Law in Post-Conflict Societies," *Harvard Human Rights Journal* Vol.19 (Spring 2006): 33-50

⁹⁸ Dencho Georgiev "The Collapse of Totalitarian Regimes in Eastern Europe and the International Rule of Law" in *The Rule of Law After Communism: Problems and Prospects in East-Central Europe* eds. Martin Krygier and Adam Czarnota (Ashgate, Dartmouth, 1999), 329-344

independent self-governance can become not only the start-up point of statehood but also the cornerstone of internal conflicts and disputes. Tajikistan is one example of that.

As pointed out earlier, the tradition of self-governance disappeared with the demise of first Tajik state in 1000 A.D. and was not reintroduced until the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991. As an artificial creation of Communist regime, independent Tajikistan had a challenge of rediscovering itself as a united nation within the limits of one state and one territory. As other post-Soviet Central Asian republics, Tajikistan represents a web of tightly intertwined official and unofficial institutions.⁹⁹ This web includes Soviet style of governing, regionalism, nepotism, and corruption which create numerous obstacles for establishing self-governance in the country.

One of the major obstacles for self-governance is lack of discretion for self-governing during Soviet Union. In other words, Tajikistan has little if any experience for governing itself as a political, economic, and social entity. State institutions were not prepared for independence on the one hand and people were not ready and organized for self-rule on the other hand.¹⁰⁰ The indisputable ruling of Tajiks by Tsarist and later Soviet Moscow, as well as ruling of other colonizers before Moscow, gave Tajiks no chances for experiencing and strengthening self-governance. As a result, Tajikistan went into chaos right after independence.

One argument about ex-Soviet republics being formed as autonomous national entities and thus having some chances for self-determination and self-rule can be counter argued by the following. The concept of autonomy was never expanded in the Soviet Union beyond its theoretical meaning.¹⁰¹ Highly centralized power enhanced by totalitarian and authoritarian

⁹⁹ Pauline Jones Luong, "Politics in the Periphery: Competing Views of Central Asian States and Societies" in *The Transformation of Central Asia: States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence* ed. Pauline Jones Luong (Cornell University Press, 2004), 2

¹⁰⁰ Gregory Gleason, "The Politics of Counterinsurgency in Central Asia," *Problems of Post-Communism* Vol. 49, No. 2 (March/April 2002): 3

¹⁰¹ Svante E. Cornell, "The Devaluation of the Concept of Autonomy: National Minorities in the Former Soviet

forms of ruling disregarded principles and guarantees of autonomy for Soviet Union's national entities. Tajikistan along with other ex-Soviet Union republics was unable to use its autonomous status in a legitimate manner.¹⁰² Instead, Moscow did everything to limit Tajikistan's ability for self-governing. Thus without ever experiencing complete autonomy Tajikistan stepped into full independence.

Bureaucratic Culture

The problem of bureaucratic culture is one deeply-rooted in Tajikistan. Bureaucratic culture can be understood as a behavior of public officials when they distance themselves from public concerns and needs. Bureaucratic culture can be characterized by mechanical execution of duties, prioritization of formalities and process rather than abilities and end-result, and personal indifference to general public's problems. Bureaucratic culture is frequently connected with privileged position of public officials in a society.

It can be stated that the bureaucratic culture is a product of Soviet style of governing. Hyper-centralized economic planning and governing employed by the Soviet regime is seen as one of the major causes of preponderance of bureaucratic culture.¹⁰³ The unrestrained discretion in decision-making is viewed as one of the reasons for appearance of bureaucratic culture.¹⁰⁴ Autocracy, disregard of public will, and lack of control are some of the main traits of a Soviet and later Tajik public official. With little or no pressure and control from the public the bureaucrats in Tajikistan continuously subvert the quality of public service. The strengthening

Union," *Central Asian Survey* Vol. 18, No. 2 (1999): 186-187, 192

¹⁰² Svante E. Cornell, "The Devaluation of the Concept of Autonomy: National Minorities in the Former Soviet Union," 186-187, 192

¹⁰³ Gregory Gleason, "Corruption, Decolonization, and Development in Central Asia," *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research* Vol.3, N.2 (1995): 41

¹⁰⁴ David Schultz, "Administrative Law and Performance Reform of Government Agencies in Communist and Post-Communist States," *Public Administration, Electronic Herald* Issue 18 (March 2009): 2

authoritarian regime only reinforces bureaucratic culture in the country and leaves little hopes for positive changes in the public sector.

By limiting and hampering normal functioning of the governmental institutions the bureaucratic culture affects major aspects of state life. In Tajikistan it is seen as responsible for economic stagnation and decline as the numerous bureaucratic administrative barriers prevent private entrepreneurs from opening businesses and frighten foreign investors.¹⁰⁵ Tajik bureaucrats are indifferent to the fact that private sector and free market can speed up economic prosperity of the country. The people appointed to deliver common good act in a contrary fashion.

Bureaucratic culture can be also associated with the corruption of public officials. The protection of public interest is substituted for the pursuit of self-interest. Privileged status and lack of public control allow bureaucrats to turn to attainment of personal goals using their positions and duties. Bureaucratic culture creates common disrespect to professional obligations among public servants on the one hand and stimulates prioritization of personal interest on the other hand. Bribes and other personal motivators become the only means to stimulate a bureaucrat for performing his/her direct duties.

Corruption

Corruption is another problem threatening to steer Tajikistan away from the course of democratic development. Corruption can be understood as activity of government officials which infringes public interest, abuses the law, and seeks personal gain. The term corruption is usually applied to state or government representatives as its essence is in their ability to disrupt legally established norms in someone's favor. Social scientists define corruption as a divergence from commonly acceptable norms of behavior due to economic and political deficiencies,

¹⁰⁵ Alexander Libman, *The Economic Role of Public Administration in Central Asia: Decentralization and Hybrid Political Regime* (Munich Personal RePEc Archive Paper, N. 10940. October 7, 2008), 4

whereas political scientists link corruption to the ability to exercise political power and influence.¹⁰⁶ Several conclusions can be made out of these determinations. First, the corrupt official is the one who possesses sufficient abilities to impose his/her personal will. Second, the economic and political conditions in Tajikistan favor corrupted behavior. Third, corruption undermines the common good and public interest.

Corruption in Tajikistan has an endemic character.¹⁰⁷ It is not the only country in the region whose public sector is affected by corruption. Starting from their appearance in corruption perception index surveys in 1999 and up until latest available data for 2010 all ex-Soviet Central Asian countries score at the bottom of the list with highest levels of corruption.¹⁰⁸ At the same time, Tajikistan, in many cases, is viewed as the most corrupt among other Central Asian republics.¹⁰⁹ Considering the fact that corruption is not an overnight occurrence it can be assumed about its institutionalized or deeply-rooted character.

One of the main prerequisites for the spread of corruption was made by the establishment of authoritarian form of ruling in Tajikistan and other neighboring countries during and after the Soviet Union. In Central Asia, politics is tightly intertwined with clans which constitute social structure of the republics.¹¹⁰ Corruption became the form of protecting clans and their interests. The centralization of power elaborated by Communists and close-to-colonial politics resulted in appearance of clan politics.¹¹¹ Besides historical traditions and colonialism, specific factors of economic and political institutions such as free market and political accountability also

¹⁰⁶ Gerald E. Caiden and Naomi J. Caiden, "Administrative Corruption," *Public Administration Review* Vol. 37, No. 3 (May-June 1977): 301-303

¹⁰⁷ Libman, *The Economic Role of Public Administration in Central Asia: Decentralization and Hybrid Political Regime*, 4

¹⁰⁸ Transparency International, Survey and Indices, The Corruption Perception Index 1999-2010, http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/previous_cpi/1999 retrieved from World Wide Web 11/19/2011

¹⁰⁹ Brenda Swartz, Frank Wadsworth, and Jerry Wheat, "Perception of Corruption in Central Asian Countries," *International Business and Economic Research Journal* Vol.7, No.3 (March 2008).

¹¹⁰ Kathleen Collins, "Clans, Pacts, and Politics in Central Asia," *Journal of Democracy* Vol.13, No.3 (July 2002): 143

¹¹¹ Gleason, "Corruption, Decolonization, and Development in Central Asia," 38-41

contribute to the growth of corruption.¹¹² The worsening economy, scarcity of resources, and strengthening authoritarianism enclose the circle of problems nurturing corruption in Tajikistan.

Corruption brings gloomy consequences for a state, destroying it as a meaningful political and economic entity. Among outcomes of corruption, the criminalization of power is one of the most prominent. Bribes and payoffs become the norm and the way for avoiding the law. In Tajikistan corruption and proximity to Afghanistan resulted in the significant growth of drug trafficking.¹¹³ As the drug trafficking backed by the corrupt government officials offers more financial incentives, the use of other economic means is dismantled. Further industrial degradation of the country is to follow. Also, the political elites in Tajikistan are able to control the political processes via corruption leaving the opposition no chances for voicing their opinions.¹¹⁴ Justifying its literal meaning, corruption corrodes and destroys the country, the morale of its people, and all prospects for safe and secure future.

The Influence of Pre-Existing Structures and Processes

The pre-existing structures and processes identified above can affect the structures and processes of newly created political systems. These structures and processes may be used either as things to be rejected entirely or as points of departure for modest changes. In the first case, an old system is completely converted into something new, whereas in the second case, an old

¹¹² Jacob Svensson, "Eight Questions About Corruption," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* Vol.19, No.3 (Summer 2005): 26

¹¹³ Letizia Paoli, Irina Rabkov, Victoria A. Greenfield, and Peter Reuter, "Tajikistan: The Rise of Narco-State," *Journal of Drug Issues* Vol.37, No.4 (Fall 2007).

¹¹⁴ Erica Marat, "Criminal State of Play – An Examination of State-Crime Relations in Post Soviet Union Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan," *Jane's Intelligence Review* (March 01, 2007) <http://www.silkroadstudies.org/new/docs/publications/2007/0702JIR.htm> retrieved from World Wide Web 11/16/2011

system is only slightly modernized or transformed. The United States is example of the first case and Tajikistan is an example of the second.

The manner in which independence was achieved in the United States and in Tajikistan played an important role in determining what type of political system and form of government each country would adopt. Achieving independence in the United States led to rejection of the British form of governing and representation. The requests for fair representation and increased value of freedom for ex-colonies contributed to the appearance of the basic principles of the American political system. In Tajikistan, by contrast, the lack of struggle for independence, absence of strong national identification, and great economic dependence led to the emulation of the basics of the political system of its former superior – Russia. Stated differently, if the conversion of an old colonial form of governing in the United States ended up with creation of a completely new form of political system and government, the transformation of the Communist form of ruling in Tajikistan was more a formal procedure without any qualitative changes. The announced democracy in Tajikistan became, in actuality, only a slightly modernized form of Communism.

The difference between the two nation's willingness to transform its old political system lies in the motivation for change among political elites. In colonial United States, the political elite, just like the general public, was an object of colonial rule, whereas in Soviet Tajikistan the political elite was the colonial ruler. In other words, the political elite of the United States lacked autonomous power and was ruled by Britain, whereas the political elite of Tajikistan was part of the ruling party and had sufficient governing power. Thus the political elite of Tajikistan had little motivation for drastic changes which would reduce their power, whereas the political elite of the United States was highly interested in fundamental changes which would provide them with more power and autonomy.

A nation's recent historical experiences imply that not everything can be rejected or excluded. Although rejecting the form of the British political system, the United States nonetheless inherited some of the principles and practices of British democracy such as popular sovereignty and legislative representation. The development of these principles over a period of hundreds of years made people accustomed to them and increased the likelihood of retaining them. The lasting political heritage of the Soviet Union can be also seen in modern Tajikistan. As a country which was formed during Communist rule, Tajikistan's governing experience is formed exclusively on authoritative, non-democratic principles. Even though the former Communist officials declared a change in the course of Tajikistan's political development toward greater democratization, the primary methods of work and governing in the country preserved many characteristics of the Soviet type of ruling.¹¹⁵ Thus, in establishing their political systems, both countries experienced certain levels of influence of their former superiors and to some extent recreated or preserved some of the previous political principles and institutions.

Pre-existing British political structures and processes influenced the type of regime of the United States by securing basic rights in the form of a constitution, an analogy of the English Bill of Rights of 1689, and by instituting a revised form of legislative representation. Rejecting the institution of constitutional monarchy, the United States formed a more democratically inclined constitutional republic. The principles of British democracy were transplanted and improved upon. In Tajikistan, the factor of historical heritage affected the style of work of government officials who retained authoritative practices of the Communist regime. In spite of massive changes in the legislature, government, and legal system, the methods of work and administering remained the same. Not only in Tajikistan, but also in other Central Asian republics, politicians and government officials still employ Soviet principles, ideas, and

¹¹⁵ Olivier A.J. Brenninkmeijer, "International Concern for Tajikistan: UN and OSCE Efforts to Promote Peace-Building and Democratization" in *Tajikistan: The Trials of Independence* eds. Mohammad-Reza Djalili, Frederic Grare, and Shirin Akiner (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 181, 185

attitudes.¹¹⁶ Thus, this factor helps to explain the incomplete character of the transformations which countries may experience during period of reforms.

Effects of Outside Influences

The outside influence factor can refer to active political and economic pressure exerted by neighboring and other countries on Tajikistan for their own specific purposes. However, the outside influence factor can also refer to the passive influence exercised by others when Tajikistan voluntarily copies or emulates other countries for various personal reasons. The outside influence factor strongly affected many parts of Tajikistan's political system. This factor is more relevant to Tajikistan than to the United States due to the progress that was made in international relationships lately, increased global dependency among countries, and the unification of the world's interests. All of these factors were less or underdeveloped during the time of the United States' nation-building period.

As a creation of the Soviet Union, Tajikistan now tries to reestablish itself as an independent and self-sufficient state with all relating attributes and institutions. Besides the mentioned universal points of influence, Tajikistan also has some particular characteristics which increase the effect of the outside influence factor. These are lack of means for economic growth and independence, weak political position in the international arena, and fragile political stability. These factors determine Tajikistan's response to outside influence. Having little array of choices, Tajikistan has to comply with requirements of the international community by implementing some of their propositions voluntarily or under their pressure. For example, the Civil War peace accords and reconciliation agreement with its subsequent restructuration of

¹¹⁶ Edward Allworth, "The Hunger for Modern Leadership" in *Central Asia: 130 Years of Russian Dominance, A Historical Overview* ed. Edward Allworth (Duke University Press, 1994), 605

parliament was done in most part due to the great involvement of other countries and international organizations.¹¹⁷ Tajikistan was not only advised on how to form its government, economic system, and social agencies, but also it was financially motivated to move in a certain direction and fulfill particular requirements.¹¹⁸ The provided assistance can be interpreted as a form of influence on Tajikistan's institution-building processes.

The outside influence factor has drastically changed the political system of Tajikistan. In particular, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe Helsinki Final Act of 1975 is among those that influenced the structure of Tajikistan's political system.¹¹⁹ As a member of the United Nations and Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Tajikistan has to adopt numerous regulations and norms of these organizations. Tajikistan ratified the Act and committed to implementing the Act's provisions which protect human and civil rights and freedoms.¹²⁰ The ratification resulted in legalization of a multi-party system, including religious parties, and implementation of democratic principles in Tajikistan.

The opportunity to participate in regional projects and establish stronger partnerships with neighboring countries serves as another motivator for Tajikistan to adjust its political system and government structure to the most common standards in the region. Most of the former ex-Soviet republics have chosen a democratic form of development, a parliamentary form of legislature, separated branches of power, and a presidential form of republic. Having common historical ties and political and economic dependency, Tajikistan duplicated most of the political and legal institutions of its neighbors – former Soviet Union states. As former parts of one country, Central Asian and other ex-Soviet republics developed great dependency among

¹¹⁷ Brenninkmeijer, "International Concern for Tajikistan: UN and OSCE Efforts to Promote Peace-Building and Democratization," 180-208

¹¹⁸ Akiner, *Tajikistan: Disintegration or Reconciliation*, 53-62

¹¹⁹ Brenninkmeijer, "International Concern for Tajikistan: UN and OSCE Efforts to Promote Peace-Building and Democratization," 183

¹²⁰ Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, *Helsinki Final Act of 1975*
<http://www.osce.org/mc/documents/39501> retrieved from World Wide Web 01/12/2010

each other in economic, communications, military, and other spheres which created conditions for emulating one another's political and economic systems.¹²¹ Feeling dependent on its neighbors Tajikistan borrowed from them the model for its political system, further developing unification in the region critical for international political and economic cooperation.

The outside influence factor gave birth to and shaped many state institutions in Tajikistan. Being mostly influenced by a number of democratic states via political, economic, cooperative, financial, and other means, Tajikistan has made a series of positive democratically-inclined changes. The international community applied significant efforts for encouraging and ensuring democratic reforms in the country. The outside influence factor proved to be one of the determining moments in state-building processes in Tajikistan in the period after the collapse of the Soviet Union. However, the effect produced by this factor has weakened recently as in spite of international concerns Tajikistan has turned from building democracy to establishing an increasingly autocratic regime.

Degree of Political Homogeneity

Political homogeneity implies a similarity of political interests in a society or commonality of views on major political values and principles. Political homogeneity can also be understood as a factor limiting political confrontation and conflict. Normally, political homogeneity leads to greater political and social stability. The Civil War in Tajikistan was an outcome of lack of political homogeneity. Different groups within Tajik society held antagonistic ideas and visions of the desired new state which eventually lead to the outbreak of violent conflicts. The poor economy and lack of resources increased hostility among groups and reduced chances for a peaceful political resolution.

¹²¹ Allworth, *The Hunger for Modern Leadership*, 605

There were several irreconcilable political forces at work in Tajikistan during its nation-building period. The society was divided between supporters of the old regime, the reformers, the separatists, and the Islamists. Their entirely opposite political ideologies and agendas further disintegrated groups and created perfect conditions for greater violence and political repressions. Under these conditions, coercion rather than consent becomes the easiest way to achieve political homogeneity. Thus, in order to achieve political homogeneity and relative political stability, the Tajik government physically and legally suppressed opposition groups, thereby violating human rights and freedoms along the way.

The lack of political homogeneity in Tajikistan contributed to greater centralization of power, creation of a strong president with vast authorities, and eradication of boundaries among different branches of power. In other word, the lack of political homogeneity has led to weakening of democratic principles and norms and to strengthening of an authoritative form of ruling. In spite of the legislative and technical democratic changes in the political system of Tajikistan, the government interpreted diversity of political interests as a potential source of political instability and used it as a justification for the further accumulation of power and establishment of authoritarianism.

Political homogeneity does not necessarily require similarity of political platforms or objectives. More important is similarity of country-wide ideology and primary state principles. The United States is one example of this kind of homogeneity. The two-party system is comprised of Democrats and Republicans whose guiding objectives differ from one another yet their vision of the country as a democracy which protects basic human rights and freedoms is the same. A study conducted by researchers from University of Pennsylvania and National Bureau of Economic Research shows that party affiliation has little to do with cardinal change of policy

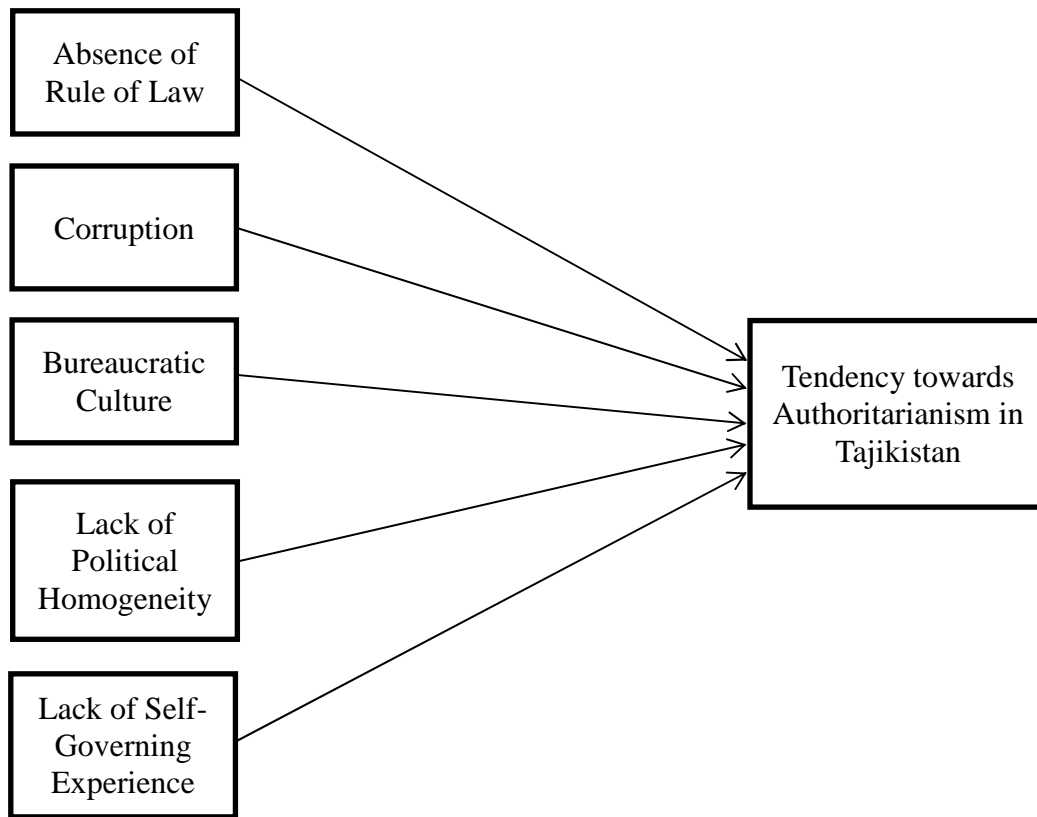
on the local level in the United States.¹²² The United States does not go through dramatic changes of regime, ideologies, and forms of government when one party takes over in elections. In Tajikistan, by contrast, it is highly likely that fundamental changes in regime, ideology, and forms of government will occur if Islamic fundamentalists rise to power. This assumption provides the Tajik government with further justification for employing authoritative practices of governing.

Whereas the differences of opinions within the political arena is usually seen as one of the basic principles of democracy, Tajikistan demonstrated that the new-born states require fulfillment of additional prerequisites before political heterogeneity starts benefiting democracy. Guided by the examples of many European and other countries, the United Nations Organization and Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe tried to implement a multi-party system in Tajikistan as a pledge for long-term stability.¹²³ However, Tajikistan risks the relative stability it has achieved through repressing opposition groups if political heterogeneity is allowed. Until the country learns that power cannot be ultimate and respect among citizens has to be mutual it is unlikely that democracy will be achieved regardless of what type of political forces is in charge. The lack of political homogeneity in Tajikistan is not only responsible for significant changes from a democratic to authoritative form of governing but also brings an element of controversy in the debate about preferences over political homogeneity and heterogeneity.

¹²² Fernando Ferreira and Joseph Gyourko, "Do Political Parties Matter? Evidence from U.S. Cities," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* (February 2009): 399-422

¹²³ Brenninkmeijer "International Concern for Tajikistan: UN and OSCE Efforts to Promote Peace-Building and Democratization," 181

Figure 1: Causal Model of Authoritarianism in Tajikistan



Summary

The factors shown in Figure 1, as will be described below, influence a country seeking to transition from colonies into independent states and trying to establish different political and state institutions. These factors help explain why countries develop differently in terms of government structure, regime, and state institutions. Although the United States and Tajikistan had several similar factors influencing their political development, the countries reacted differently and produced different results. This leads to the conclusion that even though countries can have similar objectives and go through a series of similar events the final outcomes can be quite different.

Substantial political transformation depends on such characteristics as the intensity of previous political experience, economic sustainability, and preparedness and willingness of a society to change. Unlike the United States, Tajikistan lacked these characteristics. Tajikistan also is not yet prepared for establishing democracy-building processes. When explaining the success or failure of a country in establishing democratic institutions, the factors surrounding that country's political development have to be carefully defined and examined. The most important of these are:

Rule of Law: Democracy is said to be a system of laws rather than people. Nobody is allowed to claim to be above the law; all must abide by the basic rules of society. All rulers, including public servants, must be prepared to act in accordance with established principles of law if a democratic form of governance is to thrive. A curriculum based in Western, democratic values and principles will have a hard time establishing itself where there is little respect for the rule of law.

Elimination of Corruption: Corruption, by definition, involves a violation of law, whether it takes the form of bribes, nepotism, or other unlawful activities preserving self-interest. All rulers, including public servants, must behave in accordance with a code of ethics that says that corruption is unacceptable. A curriculum with strong emphasis on anti-corruptive measures and norms of ethics can produce more positive effect on Tajik public sector than the one without such emphasis.

Bureaucratic Culture: The indifference to public needs and concerns created by bureaucratic culture is frequently a cornerstone of problems in the public sector. Avoidance of behavior and norms of a bureaucratic culture should be the priority for all public servants. A curriculum addressing bureaucratic culture and related problems has to be considered for implementation in Tajikistan.

Lack of Political Homogeneity: Armed confrontation and usurpation of power observed in Tajikistan due to lack of political homogeneity lead to wider problems in all spheres of life. Reconnecting various political groups along democratic lines is a primary objective of a post-conflict government. Public servants should serve as conductors of democratic values to society. Establishment of democracy from the scratch has to be one of the foundational principles for the curriculum in Tajikistan.

Lack of Experience with Self-Governance: Inability to self-govern can result in political inactivity of the masses and flourishing authoritative practices. Public servants inexperienced and uneducated in democratic governing principles risk becoming accomplices of authoritative rulers. A curriculum which cannot connect lack of self-governing experience with democratic norms and practices will be irrelevant if a democracy building objective is established.

Unfortunately, the initial attempts of Tajikistan to introduce democratic reforms soon started to decline. The country rapidly moved toward authoritarianism, violating numerous human and civil rights and freedoms. However, these failures can be and should be used as a source of knowledge for recreating democratic institutions and reaffirming progress in political development. To date, however, these failures have not been addressed. Therefore, the educational curriculum for public administrators in Tajikistan must be designed with consideration of the factors surrounding the political development of Tajikistan, the country's current characteristics, and the country's current needs and abilities in mind. The following points of divergence in political development between the United States and Tajikistan will be used for marking specific areas needing attention when creating an appropriate curriculum.

After all, it may be discovered that a public administration curriculum developed and delivered in a Western, democratic context may have no relevance for a semi-autocratic regime such as that which exists in Tajikistan.

Chapter 3

POLITICAL SYSTEMS OF THE UNITED STATES AND TAJIKISTAN: OVERVIEW

This chapter reviews and compares the political systems of the United States and Tajikistan. Emphasis is placed on the basic components of political systems such as regime, power, and governing principles. The purpose of the analysis is to identify differences between the two countries that may limit or complicate the application of American principles of public administration to the realities existing in Tajikistan. The results of the overview will be used for crafting an educational curriculum for public administration which is relevant to and addresses the immediate needs and challenges of the Tajik government.

The Comparison of Two Political Systems

The correspondence of political regime and environment of a country to principles of democracy is imperative for full-fledged implementation of public administration. The questions of authority, political regime, distribution of power, and administrative structure have to be answered at the beginning of the research to see what conditions for public administration are in place. The political systems of both countries must be well comprehended before an appropriate and detailed research tool is designed and used. As public administration most commonly takes

place in governmental and non-profit agencies, the understanding of political and organizational structure of a country and government is important for the applicability of principles of public administration.

The Form of Analysis

For the purposes of this work the two governments will be compared along two dimensions: structural and contextual. The structural dimension can be understood as regime, party system, structure of power, and state structure. The contextual dimension can be understood as political culture, political traditions, and professional ethics. The example of Tajikistan and other post-Soviet states demonstrates that the two dimensions do not necessarily depend on one another. In Tajikistan, the proclamation and legal establishment of democratic institutions does not imply their democratic functioning. Another example is that the separation of branches of power does not guarantee their independence. Thus, the structural transformation can be easily undermined by the lack of contextual changes meaning that the transformation can be only visual and not necessarily qualitative. At the same time the government of the United States demonstrates that the democratic institutions can be closely associated with democracy and separation of power is not just a concept but a fully functioning model. The analysis of the governments in these two dimensions will allow for understanding the reasons of government malfunction, the change of political course, and the prospects of democratic development of the country.

In Tajikistan the concepts of separation of power, free elections, superiority of Constitution and laws, and protection of human rights have been laid in the foundation of a newly established state. By doing that, Tajikistan sent a signal to the rest of the world that it disavows authoritarian and suppressive Communist politics and is open to democratic ways of development. This step moves Tajikistan closer to other countries, with the United States being

one of them, where democracy and personal freedoms have been propelled for years. As mentioned earlier, the countries' political systems have to be well comprehended before comparative analysis can take place. Figure 2 compares the political system of the two countries on several dimensions.

Figure 2: A Structural Comparison of Two Countries

Political System Attributes	<i>The United States</i>	<i>Tajikistan</i>
Form of a Country	Constitutional Republic	Presidential Republic
Legislative System	Congressional	Parliamentarian
Executive Power	President as a Head of the Country and Government	President as a Head of the Country Prime Minister as a Head of the Government
Political Party System	Two Party	Multiparty
Judicial System	Independent Courts/Attorney General The Jury System	Independent Courts/General Prosecutor
Territorial Structure	Federation	Unitary State

In the context of the political system, the United States became a constitutional republic headed by a publicly elected president. The separation of power in the United States is fortified by its division into legislative, executive, and judicial branches. The United States inherited from England the two-party system yet opted for a Congressional form of legislature instead of English parliament. The distinctive feature of American judicial system from Tajikistan's is the jury system which does not exist in Tajikistan. The territorial form of the United States is defined as federal which is comprised of 50 states delegating power to the central government to rule.

Tajikistan is defined as presidential republic with strong president as the ultimate head of the state and capable of discharging the Prime-Minister with the government and members of judiciary. In other words, the president has certain tools for controlling the executive and judicial branches of power. Tajikistan has adopted a bicameral Parliament as its legislative body and has a multi-party system. Finally, Tajikistan is a unitary state with strong vertical power exercised from the central government to the smallest village.

In short, Figure 2 shows clear dissimilarities in all comparable items between the two countries. These differences can be key points among others in the argument for developing a specialized educational curriculum for public administrators in Tajikistan.

Since declaring its independence in 1776 the United States has gone a long way in establishing its statehood and securing its democratic regime. Tajikistan in its turn has had only twenty years of sovereignty, which is incomparable with the United States term. In spite of many changes, the United States has stayed loyal to its main law, the Constitution, which remains mostly unchanged and undisputed for over two hundred years. This demonstrates the Constitution's high respect among American people and its superior guiding power. By contrast, Tajikistan initiated several major changes in its Constitution in 1999 and 2006, since adopting it in 1994.¹²⁴ Mostly, these changes have related to extending authorities and terms of office of the current president.¹²⁵ These changes give an idea about decreasing validity and meaning of the Constitution in Tajikistan. It leads to one of the main points of the analysis: that in Tajikistan the personal authoritarian needs and political realities can outweigh established laws and popular principles.

¹²⁴ Oleg Stalbovskiy and Maria Stalbovskaya, *Law of the Republic of Tajikistan: A Guide to Web Based Resources* retrieved from World Wide Web 01/16/2011 <http://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Tajikistan.htm>

¹²⁵ US Department of States, *Tajikistan: Country Reports on Human Rights Practices 2003* (Bureau on Democracy, Human Rights and Labor: February, 2004) retrieved from World Wide Web 01/16/2011 <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2003/27868.htm>

One of the main differences between the political systems of the United States and Tajikistan relates to the hierarchy of power. As a form of representative democracy, the United States is guided by the principle that the people are the ultimate holders of power and that the Constitution delegates a certain amount of power to their representatives in local and state governments to govern and regulate for them. It gives the people of the United States greater tools of control of their government, increases responsibility of government officials, protects circulation of power, and protects people's rights and freedoms. The Constitution serves as the main source of people's power and the government serves as the addressee of people's needs.

In Tajikistan, by contrast, the president is the ultimate holder of power who through government controls regulates the people. The president distributes certain amounts of power to his local representatives to govern the people. The heads of regional and local governments replicate the state model of governing. The amount of power decreases with each lower level. The president uses the Constitution as a source of his power by changing or amending the Constitution. In this model, people have no power to express their desires or make their needs met. The political repressions and sanctions against those questioning the appropriateness of this model are used to secure the model. The proclaimed democracy in Tajikistan does not match the established model as practiced.

If, in the United States, all power goes from bottom to top and then returns back (see figure 3), in Tajikistan the power flows only from the top to bottom and has little or no reverse movement (see figure 4). Within these conditions, the applicability of some principles of American public administration might be ineffective unless there are systemic changes in Tajikistan or certain adjustments in the educational curriculum are made. The following conceptual models demonstrate the hierarchy of power in the United States and Tajikistan.

Figure 3: The United States “Hierarchy of Power” Model

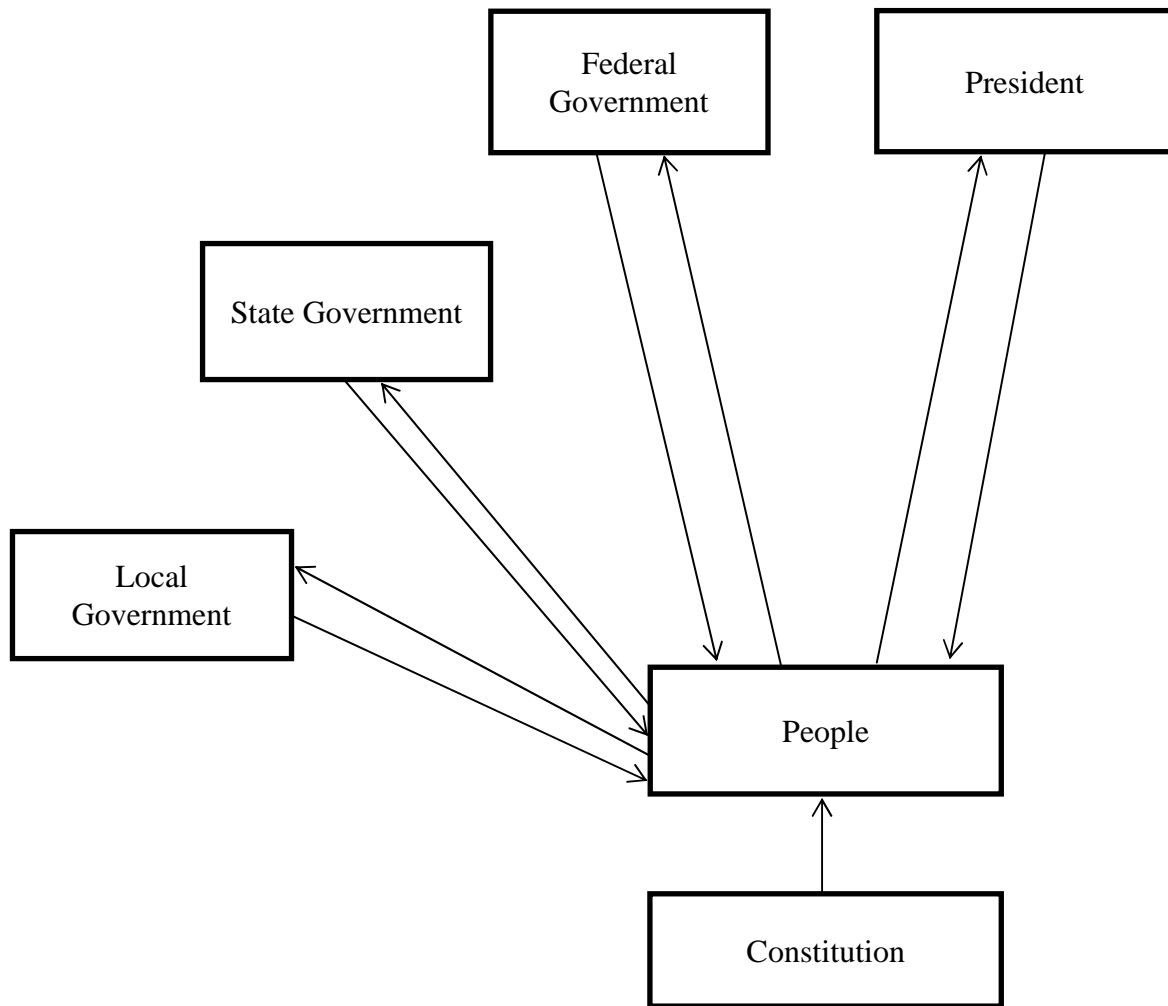
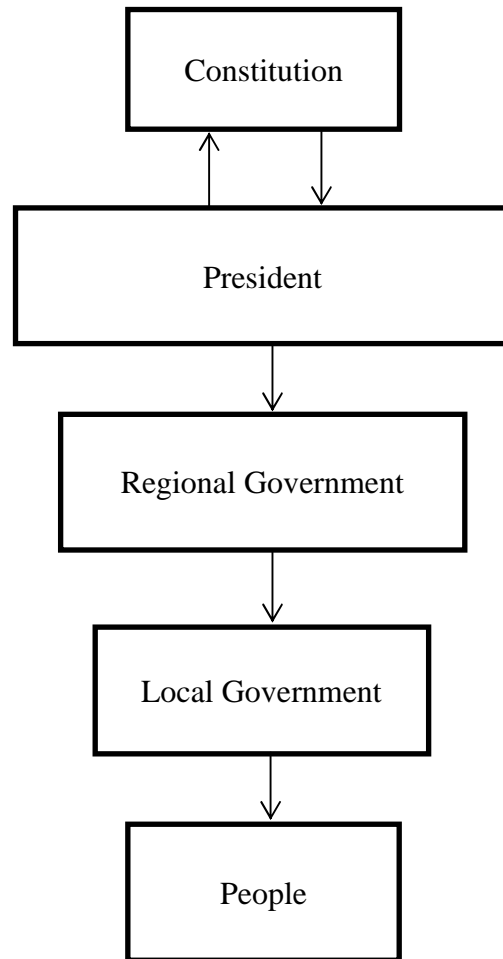


Figure 4: Tajikistan “Hierarchy of Power” Model



Other differences in the political systems of the two countries include: form of the state, type of legislature, party system, type of judiciary, and territorial administration.

Form of the State

There is a disagreement over whether the United States should be classified as a constitutional or presidential republic. The presidential system is usually characterized by a strong president elected in separate elections, who serves as head of the state and the

government, and is responsible for major state affairs.¹²⁶ Guided by these determinants, Dye, Greene, and Parthemos classify the United States as a presidential system.¹²⁷ At the same time the Constitution of the United States created the system of check and balances which limits the absolute power of all power-holders, including the president.¹²⁸ Therefore, in spite of the fact that the president of the United States is the separately elected head of the country and government, he/she does not possess a higher amount of power than the other branches of power. The ability of the president to exercise absolute power is restrained by Congress and the Courts. At the same time, both the president and Congress use the Constitution to regulate their relationships. As the Constitution is the ultimate source of laws, mandates, and regulations, the United States can also be classified as a constitutional republic. Created more than two centuries ago, the Constitution describes and interprets all details of governance and statehood. The United States Constitution contributed to the establishment of one of the most stable and effective regimes in modern history.¹²⁹ Amendments to the Constitution involve a hard and lengthy process and are seldom made, which gives an idea about the close perfection and completeness of the country's main law.¹³⁰ Even though the term presidential republic can be still applied to the United States, it is suggested that the concept of constitutional republic more accurately describes the political form of the country.

In Tajikistan, on the other hand, the Constitution is also considered the primary law, yet the center of power is displaced towards the president, making it a presidential republic. The president in Tajikistan is allowed to appoint the Prime Minister and members of the government,

¹²⁶ Thomas R. Dye, Lee S. Greene, and George S. Parthemos, *American Government: Theory, Structure, and Process* (Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc. 1969), 13-14

¹²⁷ Dye, et al., *American Government: Theory, Structure, and Process*, 14

¹²⁸ James A. Thurber, *Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations* (Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2009), 12

¹²⁹ Brinkley, *A Survey American History*, 159

¹³⁰ Dye, et al., *American Government: Theory, Structure, and Process*, 54-59

Chairman of the Supreme Court, judges, and several members of the legislature.¹³¹ Thus in spite of being a Republic, in Tajikistan the president possesses certain tools of control over the legislature, judiciary, and government. The changes to the Constitution initiated by the president show his dominance in political and administrative fields. The greater centralization of power in the hands of a particular person in Tajikistan might better be described as an autocracy. However, due to continuing support of the international community in building a democracy, Tajikistan is still officially recognized as an emerging democracy.

In spite of some conceptual confusion, there is a clear difference between the United States and Tajikistan in terms of power distribution and the system of check and balances. This difference can have important effects on interpretations of common laws and personal decrees, orders, and directives. It is often assumed, for example, that the personal will of a superior can be interpreted by his/her subordinates as decisive relative to common laws and rules. The example of strong presidential authority in Tajikistan creates sufficient basis for the concept of respect for rank not for law on all levels of governing and administering. This point has to be considered when developing an educational curriculum for public administrators in Tajikistan.

Legislative System

The United States and Tajikistan maintain different types of legislature. However, the two legislatures, Tajik Parliament and the United States Congress, are both bicameral in their nature. Bicameralism is frequently chosen for reasons of better representation and protection of various groups of a society, more precise mechanism of control and accountability, more thorough policymaking, and more advanced expression of democracy.¹³² When creating a Congress with

¹³¹ Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan, retrieved from World Wide Web 01/16/2011 <http://www.tajik-gateway.org/index.phtml?lang=en&id=874>

¹³² Naira Zavrabyan, *Bicameralism and Democracy in the Republic of Tajikistan* (Centro Argentino de Estudios Internacionales), 7-9. Retrieved from World Wide Web 01/16/2011 <http://www.caei.com.ar/es/programas/cei/P15.pdf>

two equal houses the framers of the United States were guided by similar thoughts. The fears of power seizure by a single body and reconciliation of various interests became primary reasons for adopting bicameralism in the United States.¹³³ However, bicameralism in the American legislature has its unique characteristic which is not presented in the Tajik Parliament. The equal houses in Congress which serve as power controlling mechanisms on the one hand intensify internal conflict on the other hand.¹³⁴ While the balanced houses prevent the concentration of power in the hands of any one political group, they can substantially reduce the effectiveness of policymaking activity by rejecting one another's initiatives and proposals. In Tajik Parliament the balance of power is shifted toward the lower house (house of representatives) allowing it to supersede decisions of the upper house. This ruling decreases the effectiveness of democratic principles yet increases the effectiveness of the legislative processes. One of the outcomes of this feature of the Tajik Parliament is a heightened ability to control the legislature by the ruling party.

There are also organizational differences between two legislative systems. The Parliament of Tajikistan, as in other parliamentary systems, is formed by principles different from those that are used to form the United State Congress.¹³⁵ First, unlike the Senators in Congress, the members of the upper house in Tajik Parliament are partly elected indirectly by members of the House of Representatives who are elected by direct popular vote and partly appointed by the president.¹³⁶ The House of Representatives in the Tajik Parliament is formed on a professional full-time basis while the Upper House gathers only for annual legislative sessions.¹³⁷ In Congress, on the other hand, both houses perform on a professional basis and hold

¹³³ Dye, et al., *American Government: Theory, Structure, and Process*, 214

¹³⁴ Thurber, *Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations*, 11-12

¹³⁵ H. Mark Roelofs and Gerald L. Houseman, *The American Political System: Ideology and Myth* (Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc. 1983), 84

¹³⁶ Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan

¹³⁷ Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan

annual legislative sessions.¹³⁸ The organizational differences widen the distance between the United States Congress and Tajik Parliament. It is assumed that organizational differences can affect attitudes of policymakers to their work and increase or lessen the sense of responsibility in front of the people. For example, the members of the Upper House in Tajik Parliament can feel less responsible to the people and less affiliated with them as they were indirectly elected and appointed.

It is assumed that in Tajikistan, much like in the United States, the establishment of a bicameral legislature was proposed in order to create a system of checks and balances for power holders and to promote the concept of representative democracy. However, a review of Tajik Parliament shows that it lacks the actual concept of balance. The Congress in the United States consists of two chambers and is virtually self-controlled as well as it is controlled by the electors, the people of the United States. Tajik Parliament is only partially controlled by people who elect members of lower house but they cannot influence election of members of upper house. The structure of the Parliament allows capture of power in the lower house thus destroying the concept of checks and balances.

Political Party System

Another dimension identified in Figure 2 is the political party system. The United States and Tajikistan implemented different party systems: the two-party system in the United States and multi-party system in Tajikistan. Each country followed its own reasons in adopting its particular system. As mentioned earlier, some of the possible explanations for each system are traditions of English parliamentarism in the United States and internal multi-sided conflict in Tajikistan. One of the important features of this component of the political system is each nations' ability to achieve unification and interest aggregation.

¹³⁸ Dye, et al., *American Government: Theory, Structure, and Process*, 214-15

The monopoly of the Communist Party during the Soviet Union era in Tajikistan was diluted by the organization of over six officially registered political parties after independence. The high number of parties can be explained by a high level of political disagreement in Tajik society as well as by fears of various groups being underrepresented in government. In other words, the great variety of parties provides better representation and defense of interests of Tajikistan's citizens even though it reflects a lack of common goals and solidarity among the people. However, the most recent elections demonstrated a certain level of political homogeneity or consent in Tajikistan when the ruling People's Democratic Party of Tajikistan appeared to get over seventy percent of the votes.¹³⁹ At the same time, the country was accused of failing to meet many electoral requirements for fairness and transparency established by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.¹⁴⁰ It has to be noted that this is a repeated electoral victory of the ruling party. Thus, it remains unclear whether there is a definite political homogeneity in the multi-party system in Tajikistan or falsification and example of authoritative ruling.

While Tajikistan has more than six parties for about seven million citizens, the three hundred million population of the United States is represented by only two parties. The Democrats and Republicans have divided the country into two big political camps each united by very general ideas and objectives. However, the seeming ease of functioning and representation of the two-party system in the United States is rather a myth than a reality. First, presumably, the vast and diverse population should have more than two sets of political interests, goals, and ideologies. It causes parties or their constituencies to alter or abandon their initial goals. Second, the federal structure of the United States is replicated in the party system.¹⁴¹ The

¹³⁹ Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Tajikistan: Madjlisi Namoyandagon (House of Representatives)* June 23, 2010. Retrieved from World Wide Web 01/17/2011 http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/2309_E.htm

¹⁴⁰ The Associated Press, *Tajikistan Election Fraud Alleged* CBC News March 01, 2010. Retrieved from World Wide Web 01/17/2011 <http://www.cbc.ca/world/story/2010/03/01/tajikistan-election.html>

¹⁴¹ William G. Shade, "Elections, Parties, and the Stages of American Political Development" in *Parties and Politics in American History* eds. L. Sandy Maisel and William G. Shade (Garland Publishing, Inc. 1994), 3

three level structure of government visibly complicates proper and coherent functioning of the parties bringing more tension and discrepancy among party levels. On the other hand the two-party system offers such advantages as allowing a higher degree of order in the legislature, better uniting of isolated political groups, and unlike in multi-party system, it gives numerous minorities a high chance of being among the political majority.

The two-party system of the United States has one important advantage over the multi-party system of Tajikistan. In cooperation with balanced structure of Congress and refined common ideology of the state, the American two-party system guarantees more political stability for the country regardless of the results of elections. In the United States the shift of majority in the legislature from Democrats to Republicans does not bring dramatic and rapid political changes. In spite of certain political differences, both parties try to preserve main values and principles of American society such as personal freedom, protection of civil and human rights, free market, and other attributes of a democratic country.

In Tajikistan, the objectives and vision of country's prospects of let's say Democrats, Communists, or Party of Islamic Renaissance, vary greatly and cannot be easily substituted. The arrival to power of one or another of these parties would bring major political, organizational, and social changes to the country. The differences in political vision among these and other parties in Tajikistan and lack of democratic practices are great enough to provoke revolutionary changes incompatible with any predecessor's accomplishments. It may be concluded that in Tajikistan, the shift of power in the legislature would almost certainly break the continuity and consistency of the development process and make the future of the country more unpredictable. It is very likely that this reality contributes to the loyalty of the people of Tajikistan to the ruling party and leads to this party's repeated electoral victories.

The difference between party systems of the United States and Tajikistan explains the character of political processes in the two countries. In both cases the countries have achieved certain levels of political stability which should generate a positive effect on development. At the same time the risks of destabilization and failure are much higher in Tajikistan due to the immaturity of democratic principles. Thus, the development of democratic principles must be prioritized when designing an educational curriculum for public administrators in Tajikistan.

Executive Branch of Power

At first glance, the executive branches of power in the United States and Tajikistan demonstrate several points of similarity. The executive power in both countries consists of government, its local representations, and the President. The governments in both countries are headed by the president who is also the head of the state and the commander-in-chief at the same time. The presidents in both countries are allotted vast authorities and responsibilities. The main task of the two governments is implementation of decisions made by the legislative branch of power. At this point, the similarities between governments of the United States and Tajikistan start diminishing.

One of the notable characteristics of Tajik government is principles of organization. The government of Tajikistan is built on the principles of a strong hierarchy of power with no visible overlaps among its levels. First, the President is the ultimate and highest head of the government. He is the only one in the government who is directly elected by popular vote. He forms the government and appoints the Prime Minister as de-facto head of the government. Second, the President appoints its local representatives in regions with the approval of local legislative body. The President's local representatives are heads of regions and accountable directly to the president. Third, the President's regional representatives appoint heads of towns and villages in their regions who are accountable to them, thus completing the hierarchical

structure.¹⁴² The same principle is used in ministries and other governmental agencies. The head of an agency appoints its deputy and the deputy in the same way passes the power down the chain. The government is organized by the principles of appointing or assigning.

The United States government employs opposite practices in organizing its government. The most distinct feature of American government is its electoral component. The state governors, heads of cities and towns, and many other government officials are elected by direct vote not appointed by superiors as in Tajikistan. Unlike in Tajikistan, the elected government officials in the United States are accountable directly to the people who elected them, not to the appointed body. This particular characteristic creates more horizontal than vertical structure of government in the United States. At the same time, the president of the United States possesses some amount of appointing and removal power in respect to those government employees whose appointments are not detailed in the Constitution or laws, with the removal power being less specified.¹⁴³ This power is applied towards various federal departments which perform duties similar to those of ministries in Tajikistan. This form of the government diffuses the ability of American president to exercise absolute power and control. Unlike his Tajik counterpart, the President of the United States cannot significantly influence the lower levels of government.

The major differences between executive branches of power in the two countries are: structure of the government and source of power. The strict hierarchy of power and the system of appointments lead to clear vertical structure of the government in Tajikistan. In the United States, on the other hand, the direct elections create a more horizontal system of control and accountability of the government. In Tajikistan, the superior or upper ranking person is the source of power for the next lower government official when in the United States the people are the source of power for federal, state, and local heads of government. Unlike in Tajikistan, the

¹⁴² Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan

¹⁴³ Dye, et al., *American Government: Theory, Structure, and Process*, 285-86

relationships between different levels of executive power in the United States are built on principles of mutual dependency rather than hierarchical supremacy. It can be concluded that the American principles of government organization more correspond with the principles of democracy and the Tajik organization of government is more congruent with authoritative practices and norms. These differences can be another issue for consideration when developing an educational curriculum for public administrators in Tajikistan.

Judicial System

The United States and Tajikistan have similar, to some extent, judicial systems. Both are independent from other branches of power. Both have implemented similar systems of courts with the Supreme Court being the highest. In both systems, most judges are appointed by the presidents. Finally, both operate on the principles of common and internationally recognized principles of law. At the same time there is one important difference, that is, a lack of a jury system in Tajikistan which is widely employed in the United States. For the rest, most principles of work and organization in the two systems are almost the same.

The separation and independence of the judicial system in Tajikistan from other branches of power is stated in the Constitution.¹⁴⁴ The same is true for the American judicial system.¹⁴⁵ However, the overview of Tajik system states the opposite; the judicial system of Tajikistan is only nominally independent and is the object for outside influence. Using the same practice of appointing its representatives, the President appoints Chairmen and judges of Supreme, Constitutional, and Higher Economic Courts with the approval of the Parliament. The President also has the right to recall them with the approval of the Parliament.¹⁴⁶ In respect to regional, local, and other lower courts, the President of Tajikistan has the power to appoint and dismiss

¹⁴⁴ Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan

¹⁴⁵ Constitution of the United States of America, retrieved from World Wide Web 01/20/2011
http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/constitution_transcript.html

¹⁴⁶ Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan

judges without consent or approval from the Parliament or local legislative bodies.¹⁴⁷ This ability of the President makes Chairmen and judges in the listed courts dependent on the President. It decreases public trust in judges' impartiality and increases anxiety about their adherence to professional ethics and devotion to justice.

There is only a partial similarity in the organization of the courts in the United States. First of all, the President of the United States, with the approval of Senate, can only appoint and not recall judges in Supreme and federal courts. Second of all, unlike in Tajikistan, the President of the United States cannot affect selection of state and local judges. On the one hand, the judges in the Supreme Court and federal courts are appointed by the President for life after Congressional approval. On the other hand, the President has no authority to recall or discharge the appointed judge.¹⁴⁸ The judges of state and local courts are directly elected and their terms of office vary from state to state.¹⁴⁹ This system assures higher levels of objectivity and justice in courts than in Tajikistan. At the same time, as the members of the society, judges cannot completely avoid societal influence which can undermine their professional ethics. However, the objectivity of judges in Tajikistan is more questionable than their American counterparts as the president has the power to remove as well as appoint judges.

The controlling mechanism of judges in the United States is impeachment by the legislature. The controlling mechanism of judges in Tajikistan for the most part is the President. It brings up the biggest controversy about separation and independence of powers in Tajikistan. This ability of Tajik president creates perfect conditions for abuses of power and justice and for authoritative seizure of power in the country. The people in Tajikistan have to rely on and believe in the good moral standing and high ethical principles of the country's leader and the judges that are accountable to him. Unfortunately, the practice of political imprisonment,

¹⁴⁷ Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan

¹⁴⁸ Dye, et al., *American Government: Theory, Structure, and Process*, 331-33

¹⁴⁹ Roelofs and Houseman, *The American Political System: Ideology and Myth*, 139

repressions, and human rights abuses in today's Tajikistan demonstrate the opposite, confirming the idea about imperfection and weakness of the justice-controlling mechanisms in the country.¹⁵⁰

In general, the system of courts in Tajikistan retained most of the traits of the Soviet system of courts. Compared to the two other branches of power, the judicial branch remains the least reformatted and innovated. This refers both to the structure of courts' system and to the normative basis the courts use. The concept of jury trial is yet to be explored and many procedural and other articles in codes of laws are outdated or inapplicable. The system of courts in Tajikistan that is organized from national, regional, district, and city courts imitates the hierarchical structure that is used in the executive branch of power. The higher level court through appointments delegate some amount of power to the lower level courts. The President is the ultimate source of power for courts just like for regional and local governments.

Thus, the main difference between the two judicial systems lies in the level of independence and objectivity. The vast authorities of the Tajik President towards judges generate doubts in independency and objectivity of judges in Tajikistan. The American judicial system on the other side is one of the examples of nearly perfect system of independency and objectivity. This difference, once again, brings up an idea about the authoritative form of power concentration in Tajikistan and probable difficulties in functioning for government employees in such conditions.

Countries' Administrative/Territorial Structure

Perhaps one of the biggest differences between the United States and Tajikistan can be observed in these countries' territorial structures. As part of the political system the territorial structure can be understood as composition of a state and form of relationships among its

¹⁵⁰ Shireen T. Hunter, *Central Asia Since Independence* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1996), 162-63

regions. The essence of territorial or administrative structure involves power sharing among different territorial units. For the most part it relates to the way the power is delegated from the center to peripheries and vice versa. As a result, the territorial structure may have a significant effect on public administration and serves to provide for a more detailed comparison of two countries on the one hand and presents a scientific interest for the purpose of this study on the other hand.

The United States remains one of the oldest known federations which dates back to the days of the country's formation after obtaining independence from Great Britain. In the post-colonial United States the necessity of arranging the federation was stipulated by political, economic, and security reasons.¹⁵¹ The complexity of federation embodies in several levels of government presented in the country and relationships among them.¹⁵² Federalism can be understood as an alliance of different states which create a central government and provide it with an authority to govern them. Thus, the power flows from the bottom to the top as states, at least initially, controlled how much power the central government will have to govern them. In the United States the federal, state, and local governments all have different tasks and authorities yet one mission to fulfill. The subjects of federation may use their unique internal regulatory basis and have their own state attributes such as flag, seal, Senate, laws, and regulations. As the size of the country plays a main role in federal regulation the state governments remove substantial portion of a burden to govern a vast territory from the federal government by taking over their states. The state governments may have a better vision of a situation in states, make a prompt response, and take an individually crafted and thus more effective approach to an issue.

Some of the drawbacks of federation include lower level of sovereignty for states and higher level of interest sacrifices. Although the states are allotted wider discretion in

¹⁵¹ Brinkley, *A Survey American History*, 151-55, 160-72

¹⁵² Roelofs and Houseman, *The American Political System: Ideology and Myth*, 71

administering internal issues, their independence is limited or controlled by the federal government. Thus, the states would have to make sure that their statutes and actions comply and do not contradict with regulations of the federal center. As a rule, the federal government is granted the right of using various means which can force states to comply with federal regulations. This regulation allows better coordination of different states. The sacrifice of state's interests is another disadvantage of federation. Aligning the common course of political, economic, and social development of the whole federation leads to some inconveniences for states. In a federation the interests of the country prevail over interests of a single member of the federation. One of the examples of that is abolishment of slavery in the early United States. The political and economic domination in the world can be one of today's common interests for preserving territorial integrity in a form of federation for the United States.

Tajikistan presents the entirely different form of territorial structure. The territorial structure of Tajikistan can be classified as a unitary state. The unitary state can be understood as a country formed in terms of a single unit. Unlike in the federal structure, in the unitary state the power is delegated by the central government to its local branches. The central government determines the amount of power and controls its distribution on lower levels. Local branches of government are put in direct dependency on the central government.¹⁵³ Thus, as opposed to the federal system, the power in a unitary system flows from the top to the bottom. The structure of the unitary state is less complicated than the structure of the federation. Although there are different levels of government in a unitary state they all are derivations of the central government and their relationships are built on the vertical principle. In a federation the central government is derivation of the state governments and relationships among branches of government can be as vertical as horizontal.

¹⁵³ Dye, et al., *American Government: Theory, Structure, and Process*, 14

Being one of the smallest states among fifteen ex-Soviet republics, Tajikistan is operated by one central government and its few local representations. As mentioned earlier, the unitary system considerably simplifies the structure of government and relationships among its agents. The center has direct access to and influence on localities. This factor significantly advances the power of the government and allows rapid and effective responses in critical situations. The unitary state holds little or no immediate political or other obligations in front of other states in respect to internal matters. There is virtually no one who can directly and legally restrain or impact independence or internal interests of a unitary state.

Some shortcomings of a unitary state which can be observed in Tajikistan are weak political status on the international arena, weak defensive opportunities, and limited options for economic development. For example, lacking energy resources and means for their development, Tajikistan is unable to adequately increase production capacities and engage in international trade. The strong central government can become another disadvantage of the unitary state as it can raise concerns about the regime sliding toward authoritarianism. The current process of strengthening the hierarchy of power by the central government in Tajikistan can be easily interpreted as potential establishment of authoritarianism. By centralizing its power, Tajik government deprives legislative and judicial branches from the amount of power they should have and thus weakens many principles of democratic institutions.

Recapturing the characteristics of the federal and unitary state, it can be concluded that the main difference between the territorial/administrative structure of the United States and Tajikistan is the direction of power flow. In the case of the United States the power moves from the bottom to the top and in the case of Tajikistan the power goes in the reverse direction. This difference defines the role of the central government in the country's political system and peoples' attitudes towards it. It can be concluded that the more authoritative role of the

government in Tajikistan can have certain effects on government officials and the principles of their work. The educational curriculum for public administrators in Tajikistan has to take this into account when addressing challenges of public employees in the country.

Summary of Comparison

The political systems of the United States and Tajikistan are not only on different levels of development but also they operate on different concepts and principles. There are very few similarities in terms of organization, principles of work, and structure. The review finds almost no balance of power in Tajikistan while it finds a considerably well-aligned and balanced structure in the United States. One of the notable findings of the review is that a high potential for authoritarianism is hidden in Tajikistan's political system. It can become one of the challenges when an educational curriculum for public administrators in Tajikistan is developed.

Many components of Tajikistan's political system are built on principles of strong hierarchy and centralization of power. The described specifics of Tajikistan's political system can help us better understand the potentially low level of effectiveness of American public administration principles as taught in the United States. The approach in teaching public administration in Tajikistan has to be taken from the position of existing differences between two systems and possible challenges these differences create. The demonstrated growing tendency toward authoritarianism in Tajikistan can be reversed and democratic institutions can be cemented if the current and future government officials are properly trained and educated. According to the review, it can be preliminarily stated that the emphasis needs to be made on system of checks and balances, separation of power, and role and functions of government. Authoritarianism can be prevented if people are shown ways of life and work without authoritarianism. This is one of the tasks of the current study.

Overview of Qualitative Changes in Two Countries' Political Systems

In spite of visible structural changes in its political system, Tajikistan still lacks well developed contextual changes. The practices and norms in Tajikistan have remained the same as during the Communist regime. The new ideals do not perform the assigned roles. The political culture, professional ethics, and personal attitudes of public servants do not match the declared and conducted structural changes of the political system. Supposedly, the high level of inconsistency between democratic reforms and behavior of government officials is responsible for failure of reforms, retarded economic growth, and wide-spread corruption. The review of the political system in its contextual dimension can show the level of closeness of political culture and professional ethics of Tajik government officials to their American colleagues. The review of changes in Tajikistan's political system in its contextual dimension might help in finding the "missing dots" and recommending a solution via educational curriculum for public administrators.

Political System of Tajikistan in Contextual Dimension

In spite of visible structural changes in the political system, Tajikistan still lacks pro-democratic contextual changes. The administrative practices and norms in Tajikistan remain the same as they were during the Communist regime. The new ideals of democratization and civil liberties do not perform their assigned roles. It is plausible that the political culture, professional ethics, and personal attitudes of government servants might not match the declared and conducted structural changes of the political system. As noted by James Alexander in his study of post-Communist Russia, the basis of political behavior may not change as quickly as the political structure.¹⁵⁴ The establishment of democracy cannot be achieved by simple separation

¹⁵⁴ James Alexander, *Political Culture in Post-Communist Russia: Formlessness and Recreation in a Traumatic Transition* (St. Martin Press, LLC, 2000), 178

of power, proclamation of the Constitution as the main law of the land, and the conduct of free elections.

Change also needs to occur on the cultural and attitudinal levels of people and, particularly, of government officials in the first place. It is very likely that the high level of inconsistency between democratic reforms and the actual behavior of government officials is responsible for the failure of these reforms, retarded economic growth, and wide-spread corruption. The example of Tajikistan, as in many ex-Soviet countries transiting from authoritarianism to democracy, demonstrates that the institutionalized behavior and political culture of government officials often become an obstacle for the country's successful political transformation. The Soviet style administrative practices and ideologies are still strong among many government employees.¹⁵⁵ The patterns of Tajik officials' authoritative behavior and reasons of such behavior of public servants have to be understood and explained for expediting the process of political development.

The concept of political culture can be understood as a set of beliefs, values, and principles regarding political phenomena or events.¹⁵⁶ Political culture determines the behavior of individuals in political environments and within the political system. Political culture is also interpreted as the matrix of attitudes and beliefs which accommodates the political system.¹⁵⁷ It represents and expresses the ideology of a country. The concept of political culture is also generalized as who gets what, when, and how.¹⁵⁸ Political culture is responsible for actions that individuals, as part of a political system, take.

¹⁵⁵ Allworth, *The Hunger for Modern Leadership*, 605

¹⁵⁶ David J. Elkins and Richard E.B. Simeon, "A Cause in Search of its Effect or What Does Political Culture Explain?" *Comparative Politics* Vol. 11, N. 2, (Jan. 1979): 127-45

¹⁵⁷ Alexander, *Political Culture in Post-Communist Russia: Formlessness and Recreation in a Traumatic Transition*, 14

¹⁵⁸ John Kincaid, "Political Culture and the Quality of Urban Life" in *Political Culture, Public Policy and the American States* ed. John Kincaid (Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1982), 123

The analysis of political culture can help explain authoritative behavior of government officials in Tajikistan and their inability or unwillingness to adopt more democratic attitudes and principles. The analysis of political culture of Tajikistan will also come in handy in crafting a more appropriate educational curriculum given these political realities.

Political Culture of the United States and Tajikistan

For the most part, the current political culture of Tajikistan was formed based on the authoritarian Soviet system and ideology. As a product of the Soviet system Tajikistan was nourished by Communist norms and principles from the very beginning of its creation. The country's pre-Soviet political history includes endless series of conquests and colonization of people and territory of modern Tajikistan. Authoritarianism, tyranny, and despotism were the prevalent forms of ruling. In other words, up until 20 years ago, the people of Tajikistan have not been exposed to any forms of independence, democracy, and self-government since 1000 A.D. The political culture of elites and masses was formed on norms and principles very distant to democracy. The similarities between Soviet-style of ruling and current Tajik principles of governing and administering allow for conclusions about the significant impact of norms and principles of Soviet bureaucracy on the political culture of Tajik officials. The country's gradual slippage into authoritarianism can be seen as one of the supporting evidences to this conclusion.

While the current political culture in Tajikistan was formed, mostly by influence of Soviet ideology, the political culture in the United States was shaped by norms existing in different Western societies. Social scientists recognize three forms of political culture in the United States: moralistic, individualistic, and traditionalistic.¹⁵⁹ Moralistic political culture is defined as the one that is focused on common good or "good society." Individualistic political culture prioritizes market place conceptions in respect to political events and processes. Finally,

¹⁵⁹ Kincaid, *Political Culture and the Quality of Urban Life*, 123-24

traditionalistic political culture is based on hierarchical and paternalistic relationships.¹⁶⁰

Researchers explain such variety by the arrival of different groups of immigrants to the United States from different European countries who brought their own values and norms.¹⁶¹ It can be assumed that the strong principles of democracy exported from Britain allowed support of diversity of values which in their turn supported further development of democracy in the United States. The equality of different and conflicting values limits domination of one societal group or political party over another.

It is noted that the transformation of a country from authoritarianism to democracy requires wide participation of its citizens in all political processes.¹⁶² Politically active citizens can form a responsible government which serves the needs of a country. In part, citizens' participation is determined by the political culture of the society. The values and norms of a society create a particular set of attitudes among citizens toward government. They also define the type and intensity of reaction to government actions and behavior. Combined, the attitudes and reactions of citizens can help one or another regime in a country prosper.

Unlike Tajikistan, the United States, as a country, has not experienced authoritative rule and has pushed forward the idea of protecting public interest. In comparison to Tajikistan, open and easy access to American government, high level of transparency, and promotion of all democratic values and principles create a highly developed democratic culture and make the United States one of the leading democracies in the world. The structure of the political system of the United States is consistent with its ideology and practices. Thus, in the United States democracy has all the necessary conditions for flourishing while inconsistency of structure of political system and political culture contribute to expansion of authoritarianism in Tajikistan.

¹⁶⁰ Leonard G. Ritt, "Political Cultures and Political Reform" in *Political Culture, Public Policy and the American States* ed. John Kincaid (Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1982), 143-44

¹⁶¹ Kincaid, *Political Culture and the Quality of Urban Life*, 123-24

¹⁶² Marina Ottaway, "Facing the Challenge of Semi-Authoritarian States" in *Comparative Politics: Annual Edition 10/11* ed. O. Fiona Yap (The McGraw Hill Companies, 2011), 29

Unlike different ideals and values in the United States, the perceptions, behavior, and attitudes of political elites and masses in Tajikistan is still influenced solely by the remaining, relatively strong, Soviet ideology. Political elite can be understood as group of individuals who possess high amount of power and control over political processes in a country.¹⁶³ In Tajikistan the political elite include: the President, representatives of government on all levels, legislators, and representatives of judicial system. Masses can be understood as large groups of people and the public in general.¹⁶⁴ Formed by one ideology political culture creates different perspectives for elite and masses on the country, regime, and political processes. The elite and masses behave differently but in support of one idea. Prevailing for a long time, the institutionalization of authoritarianism in Tajikistan becomes the means of survival for elites and a way of existence for the masses.

The behavior of the political elite in Tajikistan is based on the following. Tajik political elite conveys to the masses an idea about their unsurpassed superiority and irreplaceable status, thereby suppressing the political will and activity of the masses. The President is positioned as an ultimate power-holder and gets reelected in spite of the visible illegitimacy of elections. The President's local representatives and legislature secure interests of the President and ruling elite and not the masses. Control of the public rather than fulfillment of public interests becomes the main function of the government. Due to the long history of authoritarianism, the elite encourages the submissive nature of the masses and necessity of authoritative rule. It can be assumed that this belief determines the behavior of the political elite in Tajikistan.

The behavior and attitudes of the masses is based on the following. Due to the long maintained authoritative norms and values as well as applied force and repressions the masses have accepted ideas that the elites pass on to them. It can be said that the submissive behavior of

¹⁶³ Geraint Parry, *Political Elites* (Colchester, UK: ECPR Press, 2005), 15-19

¹⁶⁴ Parry, *Political Elites*, 47-49

masses and political inactivity thus became the norm. Presumably, as a result, the constantly suppressed will does not allow Tajik people to protest or take proactive political position against existing authoritarian practices. Thus, the promotion of the idea about leader's superiority and irreplaceability on the one hand and acceptance of this idea on the other hand creates the culture of authoritarianism in Tajikistan. The authoritative ideology about the superiority of a single individual or small group of individuals over masses still prevails in Tajikistan and deeply affects the political culture of the society.

The difference of political perceptions between elite and masses in Tajikistan results in growing levels of mutual distrust and hierarchical differentiation. The groups are highly divided, pursue polarized interests, demonstrate very low degree of identification with each other, and mostly coordinate based on principles of coercion rather than consent. As in many authoritarian regimes, this growing imbalance in political environment threatens to explode into violent political conflict. Here rises the importance of initiative from Tajik government employees for changing and aligning political culture toward democratic values and principles. The specially designed educational curriculum for public administrators in Tajikistan must help current and future government officials to change existing culture of authoritarianism and promote democratic values and norms.

Summary

The authoritarian communist ideology is mentioned as one of the most resilient and adaptive in the modern world.¹⁶⁵ The ideas of free market, personal freedoms, civil rights, and political expressions are successfully suppressed or disregarded in many ex-Soviet countries.

¹⁶⁵ Neil Harding, "Legitimations, Nationalities and the Deep Structure of Ideology" in *The Post-Soviet Nations: Perspective on the Demise of the USSR* ed. Alexander J. Motyl (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).

The political culture which developed over the years of Soviet regime is one of the contributors of the lasting authoritative practices. The political culture in the United States was mostly formed by various Western societies and traditions founded on democratic values. The initial idea of the United States was rooted in democracy. This idea reflected on the political culture of the United States. While the ideals of democracy have been already presented in Tajikistan the attitudes, norms, and beliefs about them are yet to be developed. To implement democratic ideas in Tajikistan the focus has to be made on changing the political culture of elite and masses together. However, the current research is more focused on the political culture of the elite in Tajikistan; the goal is to change the behavior and attitudes of current and future Tajik government officials via specially designed educational curriculum.

Chapter 4

THE PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Understanding the foundational principles of public administration is an important step in developing guiding options for educational curriculum for government officials in Tajikistan. This chapter examines public administration not only as an academic discipline but also as practical methodology for managing governmental agencies. Adopting this dual perspective will help us better comprehend the role of public administration in state-building and democracy-establishing processes.

As is true for most academic and professional fields of study, public administration is grounded in certain values and principles that can help shape the political cultures and institutions of a particular society. However, not every value and principle may have the same level of acceptance from one country to the next due to differences in cultures, traditions, ethnic make-up, level of economic development, and so on. Thus, while it is assumed that the principles explored in this chapter have a certain relevance for democratic governance in the United States, analysis must be undertaken to determine the extent to which these principles are currently practiced in Tajikistan or the extent to which they may be relevant to Tajikistan as it undertakes to establish democratic governance. Only upon completion of this analysis can we

proceed to design appropriate guiding options for educational curriculum specifically for public administrators in Tajikistan.

Public Administration as a Field of Study

American public administration started forming as a field of study discipline nearly one hundred years ago. First taught through a loose collection of courses offered mainly in political science departments, beginning in the 1920s, it has since grown into a self-sufficient educational field of study.¹⁶⁶ For example, more than one hundred and sixty schools in the United States currently offer accredited graduate programs in public administration.¹⁶⁷ In short, public administration in the United States has developed from an ad hoc set of individual courses into a coherent and widely recognized field of study which serves the growing needs of the American people.

Public Administration as an Area of Professional Practice

Although the curriculum that defines public administration is relatively well established, there is much disagreement about how to define public administration as an area of professional practice. Some scholars interpret public administration as the fulfillment or enforcement of public policy.¹⁶⁸ Others interpret it as a range of activities and functions performed within

¹⁶⁶ Herbert A. Simon, Donald W. Smithburg, and Victor A. Thompson, *Public Administration* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), 18

¹⁶⁷ National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration, *2010-2011 Roster of Accredited Programs* http://www.naspaa.org/accreditation/NS/document/annualrosterofaccreditedprograms2010-11_update9-30-10.pdf Retrieved from World Wide Web 02/08/2011

¹⁶⁸ Leonard D. White, *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration* Third Edition (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948), 3

bureaucratic structures, especially within the executive branch of government.¹⁶⁹ Public administration has also been defined as a general human activity which consists of stages of decision, preparation, and execution within the public sphere.¹⁷⁰ The public administrator in this interpretation is seen as the coordinator of this set of activities. While keeping in mind such diversity of views, and for the purposes of this work public administration will be understood as involving the coordination of human and material resources for addressing various needs and demands of the public in accordance with each agency's legal mandates.

Principles/Core Values of Public Administration

Practicing public administration in the best possible way requires each political jurisdiction to answer a number of basic questions, including: What is the proper role of a civil servant in a democratic state? Who should appoint the career civil servants and by what criteria? How can civil servants be held accountable both to the public at large and to the chief executive? How should the administrative structure be organized so that government programs are carried out with maximum efficiency and effectiveness?

In a very general sense, these questions involve the interweaving of two basic concepts: organization and management. Organization here refers to the formation or structure of an agency or the entire executive branch of government, whereas management refers to the coordination of human resources and the systems within which they work. Therefore, the main principles or core values of public administration that have been developed over the years can have a structural or a managerial basis or they can have both. For example, the principle of a nonpartisan career civil service has more to do with the structure of an agency whereas the

¹⁶⁹ Robert H. Simmons and Eugene P. Dvorin, *Public Administration: Values, Policy, and Change* (Alfred Publishing Co., Inc., 1977), 3; Simon et al, *Public Administration*, 7

¹⁷⁰ E. N. Gladden, *The Essentials of Public Administration* (Staples Press, 1953), 17-18

principle of effective job performance relates more to how well agency employees are developed, managed, and motivated. The principle of merit, at the same time, demonstrates both structural and managerial aspects. Stated differently, public managers have to focus on reaching two objectives: forming an agency of a particular structure and managing staff in a particular manner. The main principles of public administration have been developed over the years to provide guidance to direct public managers seeking to attain these objectives.

What these foundational principles should be has been a matter of considerable discussion and debate. Academics and practitioners have posed a number of organization and management theories over time, each emphasizing a particular approach to administration and a particular set of values or principles.¹⁷¹ As Holzer and Gabrielian suggest, these different theories must be placed within their unique historical contexts.¹⁷² Some have stood the test of time and some have been rejected. Nonetheless, over time, these theories have created or contributed to the appearance of a body of basic principles of modern public administration in the United States. As noted above, they provide guidance to public administrators struggling with issues of organizational structure and managerial processes.

This chapter identifies the most commonly recognized principles of American public administration. A distinction is made between those principles governing the structure of the executive branch and those relating to the daily administration of government programs. The structural principles define the form of a public agency and basic organizational norms. In general, they describe what a public agency should look like. The administrative principles, by contrast, establish norms of behavior of a public agency. They relate to how a public agency should perform its functions and manage its employees. Each principle will first be discussed

¹⁷¹ Jonathan Tompkins, *Organizational Theory and Public Management* (Wadsworth Publishing, 2004).

¹⁷² Marc Holzer and Vatche Gabrielian, "Five Great Ideas in American Public Administration" in *Handbook of Public Administration*, Second Edition eds. Jack Rabin, W. Bartley Hildreth, and Gerald J. Miller (Marcel Dekker, Inc., 1998), 50

from the perspective of the American public sector. Next, the applicability of each principle to Tajikistan's current situation will be assessed and conclusions will be offered about the potential application or modification of each principle to public administration in Tajikistan as it proceeds with state building and the introduction of democratic governance.

Structural principles

1. Single, integrated administrative structure.

The principle of a single, integrated administrative structure calls for the arrangement of bureaucratic offices in a hierarchical manner with clear lines of authority running from top to bottom and with everyone ultimately responsible to the chief executive.¹⁷³ This principle is reflected in Max Weber's concept of domination based on authority.¹⁷⁴ It is deemed essential so that executive level officers can impose their will on subordinates through the hierarchical and authoritative structure of an agency. Leonard White refers to this principle as the rule of unity of command and the rule of allocation of authority in clear and precise form.¹⁷⁵ It is also one of the "canons of integration" developed by reformers working in and through government research bureaus in the early 1900s, among them Luther Gulick of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research and W. F. Willoughby at the Institute for Government Research in Washington D.C. Gulick argued, for example, that this principle is essential in the public sector because democracy requires elected executives to hold departments accountable to the will of the people.¹⁷⁶ These reformers advocated for the elimination of all independent boards,

¹⁷³ Luther Gulick, "Notes on the Theory of Organization," in *Papers on the Science of Administration* ed. Luther Gulick and Lyndall Urwick (New York: Institute of Public Administration, Columbia University, 1937): 1-46

¹⁷⁴ Brian R. Fry and Jos C.N. Raadschelders, *Mastering Public Administration: From Max Weber to Dwight Waldo* (CQ Press; 2nd edition, 2008), 27

¹⁷⁵ White, *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*, 37-39

¹⁷⁶ Tompkins, *Organizational Theory and Public Management*, 108

commissions, and agencies because they were outside the executive's chain of command and thus could not be held directly accountable. This principle, or "canon of integration," was thus offered as an antidote to the fragmented and disorganized administrative structures then existing in the United States at all levels of government.¹⁷⁷ Gulick's main idea can be summarized as follows: coordination of diversified work is essential for achievement of organizational purpose and the structure of authority is the main tool for establishing such coordination.¹⁷⁸

This principle may be seen as highly relevant to Tajikistan as it seeks to build a democratic state in which the chief executive has the authority and ability to hold executive departments accountable to the will of the people. In practice, the executive branch structure of government mostly reflects a single, integrated administrative structure. The special danger for Tajikistan, however, is that the chief executive may take advantage of this structural principle to hold civil servants accountable to his personal agenda rather than the laws of the land or the will of the people.

The basics of administrative structure in Tajikistan do not contradict the conceptual formulations of Weber, Gulick and others. At the same time, the interpretation of this principle is taken to the extreme. The earlier conducted analysis of a political system shows that Tajikistan is more inclined towards authoritative rather than democratic practices in governing. The structure of public organizations is based on a solid hierarchy of power, frequently with unbalanced authority and lack of room for flexibility and disputes. Clear top to bottom lines of authority establish executive responsiveness, accountability, and coordination of an agency. At the same time, overemphasized, as in Tajikistan, they limit the agency's ability to adjust to changes and rob it of employee empowerment.

¹⁷⁷ Tompkins, *Organizational Theory and Public Management*, 112-115

¹⁷⁸ Tompkins, *Organizational Theory and Public Management*, 112-115

Having explained the single, integrated administrative principle, next suggestions for the educational curriculum for public administrators in Tajikistan are proposed. Solutions have to be found for facilitating the structure of authority in a way consistent with main values of democracy. The concept of employees' involvement and participation in decision-making processes has to be prioritized and explained. The concept of accountability of public servants to the public has to be prioritized and explained. The concept of abuses of authority has to be prioritized and explained. The concept of mutual respect and openness has to be prioritized and explained. Focus on these concepts will allow transforming the Soviet-style vision of hierarchy of authority to one that is more democratic and human-oriented.

2. Functional principle

The functional principle, according to Urwick, can be understood as allocation of specific and well-defined responsibilities to particular agencies.¹⁷⁹ This principle determines the purpose of an agency and its objectives, and prevents overlaps. The functional principle defines what an agency does. This principle lists tasks and functions an agency performs in clear and definite language. The functional principle allows for order and efficiency in the provision of public services.

The functional principle takes its start in Max Weber's theory of bureaucracy and particularly in the concept of rationalization. He sees rationalization as value and purpose which define the meaning and result of each action.¹⁸⁰ Echoing Weber's interpretation of organization the functional principle determines duties and purpose of each public agency. While Weber's concept of rationalization links functions to results, an alternative approach views functions in

¹⁷⁹ Lyndall Urwick "The Function of Administration: With Special Reference to the Work of Henri Fayol," in *Papers on the Science of Administration* ed. Luther Gulick and Lyndall Urwick (New York: Institute of Public Administration, Columbia University, 1937): 115-30

¹⁸⁰ Fry and Raadschelders, *Mastering Public Administration: From Max Weber to Dwight Waldo*, 27

terms of cause or what contributed to appearance of a function.¹⁸¹ This concept is elaborated by administrative management theorists; one called it the departmental principle, one the homogeneity principle, and one the functional principle. Luther Gulick articulated on functional principle by seeing a great deal of pragmatism in division of work.¹⁸² The main idea that can be derived from this observation is the notion of increasing effectiveness of the working process which is done by division of work. Lyndall Urwick describes the functional principle in terms of specialization.¹⁸³ Specialization to Urwick is a complex process and the complexity of skill specialization only increases proportionately the societal progress.

The functional principle can be observed in Tajikistan's structure of government. The primary functions and roles of Tajik government are outlined in the Constitution. The government performs its functions through various ministries, a relative analogue to the United States departments. Special decrees and laws define roles and duties of each agency covering main spheres of state life. For example, eighteen Tajik ministries are occupied in a range of areas from education to irrigation. The tasks and objectives are strictly divided among ministries and the levels of responsibility are divided between national and local branches. As the functions are clearly assigned, there is little or no overlaps among different governmental units.

The functional principle first introduced in Tajikistan by the Soviets has changed little since the country became independent. It means that there is strong authoritative basis in the functional principle which might become an obstacle for promoting democratic development. Therefore, it is suggested that for the purposes of developing options for educational curriculum for public administrators in Tajikistan, the functional principle has to be reinterpreted and explained as understood in leading democratic countries. It implies that functions of

¹⁸¹ Ronald Philip Dore, "Function and Cause" *American Sociological Review* Vol. 26, No. 6 (Dec. 1961): 843-53

¹⁸² Luther Gulick, "Notes on the Theory of Organization," 3-4

¹⁸³ Lyndall Urwick, "Organization as a Technical Problem" in *Papers on the Science of Administration* eds. Luther Gulick and Lyndall Urwick (New York: Institute of Public Administration, Columbia University, 1937), 51-52

governmental agencies are seen as a necessity for fulfilling public interest rather than the fact of inevitable governmental involvement and presence. In other words, a governmental agency performs a certain function because the public wants it to, not because government has the ability and desire to perform it. It is imperative to focus on democratic norms and values when presenting the core idea of the functional principle. This implication has to be considered in educational curriculum development process.

3. Executive leadership principle

Executive leadership principle is understood as authority commensurable with responsibility.¹⁸⁴ It means that the head of an agency, unit, department, or group is obligated to exercise leadership with full understanding and acceptance of responsibility for his/her actions. In public service the leader has to make well-assessed decisions, has to understand the importance of his/her actions, and has to foresee and accept consequences of these decisions and actions. Executive leadership principle establishes personal responsibility for each public manager and creates the necessary prerequisites for more responsible and controlled government. Executive leadership implies hierarchical subordination to authority within an organization. Executive leadership principle establishes the system of management which ensures execution of commands and decisions.

As noted by Tompkins, the concerns about the chief executive's ability to lead were first raised in President Roosevelt's Committee on Administrative Management, also known as the Brownlow Committee. As one of the members of the Committee, Luther Gulick states that an individual's position in the organizational structure affects his/her vision of purpose and tasks of leadership.¹⁸⁵ Robert Simmons and Eugene Dvorin also refer to Brownlow Committee as a

¹⁸⁴ Luther Gulick, "Notes on the Theory of Organization," 12-15

¹⁸⁵ Tompkins, *Organizational Theory and Public Management*, 107

starting point in strong executive leadership.¹⁸⁶ Viewing American bureaucracy as a system of independent or self-regulated administrative units, Simmons and Dvorin regard the chief executive as a negotiator in conflict situations between these units. They also refer to the chief executive's ability to develop, promote, and sustain programs diverting various internal and external threats from the system. In both types the chief executive employs and combines a certain level of provided authority and personal discretion to attain established goals.

Leonard White explains the rule of authority commensurable with responsibility as the ability of the official to accomplish the mission for which he has been made responsible and in which success or failure depends primarily on his own diligence and wisdom.¹⁸⁷ Jonathan Tompkins defines executive leadership in human resource management as the chief executive's full authority to provide energy, direction, and leadership in human resource management.¹⁸⁸ Emmette Redford refers to executive leadership principle as an ideal of competence and responsibility.¹⁸⁹ Gladden refers to executive leadership principle as good leadership which is delivered by highly skilled and most competent senior administrators who work to a high code of professional honor and set an example for the rest, who possess high professional morale, take pride in their work, and uphold a high level of professional competence and conduct.¹⁹⁰ Executive leadership principle is seen as one of the most central principles in establishing effective and responsible public service.

As a remnant of the Communist past the overemphasized top down approach in public agencies prevails in Tajikistan. This top-down approach leads to the excess of authority in the hands of higher level managers. They use it to ensure employees and subordinates'

¹⁸⁶ Simmons and Dvorin, *Public Administration Values, Policy, and Change*, 159-60

¹⁸⁷ White, *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*, 38-39

¹⁸⁸ Jonathan Tompkins, *Human Resource Management* (Thomson Wadsworth, 2005), 54-55

¹⁸⁹ Emmette S. Redford, *Ideal and Practice in Public Administration* (University of Alabama Press, 1958), xi-xii, 50-51

¹⁹⁰ Gladden, *The Essentials of Public Administration*, 205-206

responsiveness to their agendas. In Tajikistan, executive leadership leaves little room to employees for discretion and self-coordination. Each and every action has to go through and be approved by the higher person in command. As a result, it creates an elaborately structured and clumsy bureaucratic apparatus where leadership is in control of everything. A low level of effectiveness can be seen as typical for Tajik public service.

Given the importance of executive leadership for public service in Tajikistan the following is suggested. First, the guiding options for educational curriculum for public administrators in Tajikistan have to focus on developing the principle of executive leadership. Second, the importance and necessity of this principle has to be explained and established. Third, emphasis has to be made on personal responsibility of public managers in front of the public. Fourth, emphasis has to be made on professional competence and morale. Finally, it is imperative that the proper balance between the amount of authority and the level of effectiveness be explained and established. The guiding options for educational curriculum have to ensure proper development and application of executive leadership principle in Tajikistan.

4. Career Service principle

The career service principle can be explained as employment in public agencies with opportunities for professional growth and achievement and for satisfaction of personal self-esteem.¹⁹¹ The career service implies personal devotion to public service in exchange for distinction and honor through promotions, class ranking, appointments, and other related benefits and privileges. Usually, career service involves lifelong employment in a particular agency, field, or the entire sector. Thus, a person can progress through all positions in his/her agency, its higher supervising organizations, and upper or top structures. The main idea of career service principle is ensuring professional and personal achievement of employees when

¹⁹¹ James L. Perry and Lois Recascino Wise, "The Motivational Bases of Public Service," *Public Administration Review* (May/June 1990): 367-373

necessary efforts are applied and required qualities are possessed.

One of the classic figures in public administration, Arthur Procter, suggested several points for career service before it was officially formulated and adopted.¹⁹² Procter advises that greater opportunity for promotion and advancement have to be created in public service, the public employee has to have reasonable certainty in regular salary increase, larger field for promotion with new duties and corresponding compensation has to be provided, more freedom of promotion among different departments has to be provided, comprehensive retirement system has to be established, and adequate training for employees which will assist in promotions has to be provided. Procter admits the negative consequences of patronage system on promotions and calls for stronger compliance with merit principle to attract and retain the best employees.

Leonard White tracks the establishment of government career service, as known today, back to the Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel of 1933 appointed by the Social Science Research Council.¹⁹³ White's idea is that while the merit system can be considered as a definite progress for career service, it only laid down the foundation for it which includes such components as accessibility for all, progressive development, and the ultimate goals of public service. Simon, Smithburg, and Thompson argue that the typical "linear" career ladders where employees are gradually promoted from lowest to highest positions are being replaced by the schemes where employees with proper education are brought in to fill out the higher.¹⁹⁴ They say that although the public sector in the United States imposes lower educational requirements than other countries, the significant career advancement is impossible without proper level of higher education.

¹⁹² Arthur W. Procter, *Principles of Public Personnel Administration* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1921), 20-21

¹⁹³ White, *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*, 333

¹⁹⁴ Simon, et al., *Public Administration*, 335-38

In a very general sense, the career service in Tajikistan follows the same principles of career service that the United States does. The focus is placed on advancing employees' lifelong careers through promotions, appointments, and salary increases. However, there are very little fair opportunities for career advancement. The promotions for mid-level and higher positions in many public agencies, particularly those with higher amounts of authority, are impossible unless corruptive methods are involved.¹⁹⁵ Personal ties are valued more in Tajik public sector than personal qualities. The problem is also created by little competitiveness for the best employees with the private sector. The government in Tajikistan is still a dominant player on the job market and the only source of a stable income. A number of major enterprises are government owned. Numerous employees compete among each other on all levels and create a more fertile ground for corruption. The guiding options for educational curriculum for public administrators in Tajikistan have to revisit the canons of career service in the country and have to try to address the problem by educating public managers on the importance of fair and legitimate career service.

5. Merit hiring principle

The merit hiring principle can be understood as hiring and promoting practices based on professional skills and knowledge.¹⁹⁶ The merit means that the most qualified and suitable person is hired for the position. Merit hiring principle opposes the system of spoils which implies hiring based on nepotism, favoritism, and patronage. In merit systems, positions are filled up with persons who have the best skills, knowledge, experience, or qualities needed for the job rather than with persons who relate to or are favored by persons responsible for hiring. Hiring based on merit can be seen as the most objective and professional hiring system.

¹⁹⁵ Gleason, "Corruption, Decolonization, and Development in Central Asia," 38-41

¹⁹⁶ Colleen A. Woodard, "Merit by Any Other Name: Reframing the Civil Service First Principle," *Public Administration Review* Vol. 65, No. 1 (Jan.-Feb., 2005): 111-12

The merit system was preceded by the system of spoils which guaranteed employment opportunities in exchange for loyalty. Joseph Cayer discusses efforts made by Congress to establish a merit system as opposed to spoils system.¹⁹⁷ Among legislative initiatives passed by Congress, Cayer mentions Tenure of Office Act of 1867, Civil Service Reform Act of 1871, and the Pendleton Civil Service Act of 1883. Cayer attributes the important role in facilitating the principles of a merit system to the Civil Service Commission created based on provisions of Pendleton Act.

Luther Carter considers the merit principle as the core component of modern public personnel administration and the Pendleton Civil Service Act of 1883 as the most notable legislative start-up of the merit system.¹⁹⁸ Carter says that an effective civil service system has to protect public servants from political pressure while ensuring that elected officials are able to direct public servants by exercising their power. According to Carter, one of the basic ideas of merit is examination of skills and knowledge of potential employees. Tompkins also traces the establishment of merit system to the Pendleton Civil Service Act of 1883 which created conditions for development of professional career civil service based on professional competence.¹⁹⁹ Simon, Smithburg, and Thompson state that the merit hiring principle serves to preserve three values of public service: competence, neutrality, and equality of opportunity.²⁰⁰ Arthur Procter explains that merit hiring principle as competitive examination which prevents patronage and opens equal and fair opportunities for public service for all citizens.²⁰¹ Felix Nigro expands the interpretation of merit from simple competitive hiring to projections of future job

¹⁹⁷ N. Joseph Cayer, "Public Personnel and Labor Relations" in *Handbook of Public Administration*. Second Edition eds. Jack Rabin, W. Bartley Hildreth, and Gerald J. Miller (Marcel Dekker, Inc. 1998), 325-333

¹⁹⁸ Luther F. Carter, "Public Personnel Administration in the 20th Century" in *Handbook of Public Administration*. Second Edition eds. Jack Rabin, W. Bartley Hildreth, and Gerald J. Miller (Marcel Dekker, Inc. 1998), 357-58

¹⁹⁹ Tompkins, *Human Resource Management*, 59

²⁰⁰ Simon, et al., *Public Administration*, 315

²⁰¹ Procter, *Principles of Public Personnel Administration*, 111-12

requirements and training preventing skills obsolescence.²⁰² It can be concluded that the main idea of the merit hiring principle is professional competence and suitability based on competitiveness and equal access.

The merit system in Tajikistan exists only formally on paper. Although the Constitution and Tajik Labor Code guarantee equal employment opportunities and establish provisions for the merit system, nepotism is the most common principle of hiring in public agencies.²⁰³ Various human rights groups and non-governmental organizations report abuses of employee rights and deep-rooted practices of nepotism in Tajikistan. Thus, the New York-based Open Society Institute reports about nepotism-defending statements by Tajik officials and control of the vital state institutions by the family of President Rakhmon.²⁰⁴ Also the European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity reports on the importance of clan and family ties in job allocation and wide-spread practices of nepotism.²⁰⁵ Little social and economic protection from the state and scarcity of jobs create perfect conditions for nepotism as one of the means for survival.

Several considerations regarding merit hiring principle are proposed for guiding options for educational curriculum for public administrators in Tajikistan. First, the guiding options for educational curriculum have to emphasize the importance of merit hiring system. Second, the focus on nepotism elimination has to be made. Third, the provisions of professional competence and equal opportunities have to be explained and prioritized. The educational curriculum has to assist public managers to understand the necessity and importance of merit system as opposed to nepotism and favoritism.

²⁰² Felix A. Nigro, *Modern Public Administration*, (Harpercollins College Div; 7 edition, 1988), 257-61

²⁰³ Gleason, "Corruption, Decolonization, and Development in Central Asia," 38-41

²⁰⁴ David Trilling, *Tajikistan: A Defense of Nepotism* (Eurasianet.org, April 17, 2010)
<http://www.eurasianet.org/node/39189> retrieved from World Wide Web 04/10/2011

²⁰⁵ European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity, Tajikistan <http://www.europeanforum.net/country/tajikistan>
retrieved from World Wide Web 04/10/2011

6. Social Representativeness principle

Social Representativeness can be understood as public service's inclusion of all groups presented in a society.²⁰⁶ Very frequently these groups include minorities and women. The employment in the public sector cannot be a privilege of a narrow or single social group. Public service has to be represented by all existing political, ethnical, religious, economic, gender, and other groups. This principle ensures service and protection of interests of all social groups. The social representativeness principle in the public sector supports the major canons of a democratic country. It comports with common civil and human rights of a modern society.

As described by Joseph Cayer, the approach to representativeness in the United States has varied over time. Thus, the partisan affiliation and aristocratic status played an important role in public service starting from the John Adams administration.²⁰⁷ It eventually ended up as a system of spoils and unable to effectively represent diverse interests. Simmons and Dvorin explain representativeness as a basic component in government response to public needs.²⁰⁸ The context of their discussion implies the following. Representativeness is the part of response to public needs. A more diverse society has more diverse needs and requires more diverse representativeness. When speaking about a more representative public service Joseph Uveges and Lawrence Keller incorporate the development in civil rights movement, public frustration with the government, and the need for more diversified system of public service delivery.²⁰⁹ Echoing Uveges and Keller, Felix Nigro points out the considerable efforts made by the United States government in attracting employees from disadvantaged groups as a response to

²⁰⁶ Frederick C. Mosher, "Democracy and the Public Service" in *Representative Bureaucracy: Classic Readings and Continuing Controversies* ed. Julie Dolan and David H. Rosenbloom (M. E. Sharpe Inc., 2003), 19-21

²⁰⁷ Cayer, *Public Personnel and Labor Relations*, 321-24

²⁰⁸ Simmons and Dvorin, *Public Administration Values, Policy, and Change*, 59

²⁰⁹ Joseph A. Uveges, Lawrence F. Keller, "One Hundred Years of American Public Administration and Counting" in *Handbook of Public Administration*. Second Edition eds. Jack Rabin, W. Bartley Hildreth, Gerald J. Miller (Marcel Dekker, Inc., 1997), 20-21

challenges of 1960s-70s.²¹⁰ Used as a release valve for societal pressure representativeness becomes one of the main principles of American public administration.

Representativeness is not complete if only simple access to public employment for various societal groups is granted. The interpretation of this concept has to be wider and deeper. The presence of women or ethnic minority groups in an organization does not constitute representativeness if they are primarily employed in low ranking positions. The mid and higher level positions have to be accessible for all who meet general and special requirements. Members of all societal groups have to be encouraged for occupying managerial and leading positions. The scope of agencies and their fields of occupation have to be also considered when speaking about social representativeness.

It can be concluded that a complex and heterogeneous society such as the United States needs a more elaborated system of social representation. At the same time, the urgent need for social representation in highly homogenized and quickly becoming mono-ethnic Tajikistan might be less vital. However, with vanishing ethnic and religious minorities the focus can be made on women and groups with different social economic status. Also, not so critical importance of the social representativeness principle in Tajikistan should not be mistaken with the equal employment opportunities which have to be prioritized and maintained. The guiding options for educational curriculum for public administrators in Tajikistan have to elaborate and ensure these provisions regarding social representativeness.

²¹⁰ Nigro, *Modern Public Administration*, 160-61

Administrative Practice

Administrative practice or administrative principles are the ones that define the desirable behavior of public servants, outline the relationships of public employees with the served population, and regulate internal managerial norms and practices. Administrative principles are responsible for how public employees perform their duties. These principles are the result of public vision and the expectation of a public employee. Administrative principles in the United States have formed and progressed over time in connection with political, economic, and social changes. The most commonly discussed administrative principles by scholars and practitioners are: neutral competence/political neutrality; political responsiveness; three “E’s” of economy, efficiency, and effectiveness; protection of employee rights; elimination of graft and corruption; and, finally, openness and transparency.

1. Political Neutrality

There are three aspects to the concept of political neutrality: that civil servants are hired on the basis of merit, protected from removal from office for political reasons, and allowed to voice their opinions based on their expertise without fear of political recriminations. This last aspect has been labeled neutral competence by Herbert Kaufman and is especially important in developing nations.

Political neutrality of public employees can be understood as performance of a civil servant’s duties with a high degree of professionalism and avoidance of any political activity while on duty.²¹¹ A public employee cannot use or consider personal or group political interests or goals when performing his/her professional duties. A public employee has to exclude all partisan contexts from his/her statements, actions, and decisions. The public employee has to

²¹¹ Alasdair Roberts, “Demonstrating Neutrality: The Rockefeller Philanthropies and the Evolution of Public Administration, 1927-1936,” *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 54, No. 3, (May-June, 1994): 224-27

be professional and free of political prejudices and preferences. The main idea of this principle is that the public employee has to provide equal service to all groups or individuals regardless of their partisan association or political affiliation.

The principle of political neutrality has been conceptualized in contrast to the negative effects of the spoils system. The emerging merit system was aimed to protect public employees from political appointments, removal, and coercion.²¹² Once made an object of political manipulations, the public service risks losing its representativeness and becomes the servant of one group. As observed during the spoils system, party loyalty outweighs professional qualities of candidates thus greatly reducing public agencies effectiveness and performance. The distrust in government and its leadership competency will follow.

There are some implications of political neutrality for public employees. The public employee is the representative of the government which protects the interests of the entire population of the country, not just its part or a single group. The public employee has to see the population as a whole and not as a set of various groups or associations. With that, the politically neutral public employee protects unity and political stability of the country. By advancing or protecting certain political interests, the public employee creates inequality and destroys public trust in government. It is important that all on-duty activities of public employees are solely based on professional expertise and not on political objectives.

The earlier analysis of the political system of Tajikistan supports the next conclusion about political neutrality of Tajik public service. The lasting effect of one-party system can still be observed. Nepotism and personal ties are growing problems. Personal loyalty is one of the determining factors in appointments and career growth. Hiring and appointments in public agencies are made with the objective of securing personal positions and interests of an agency's

²¹² Simon, et al., *Public Administration*, 325

leadership. Self-interest dominates among public servants. These factors can have negative effect on the process of building democracy in Tajikistan.

The principle of political neutrality in Tajikistan cannot be viewed in the same way as it is done in the United States. First of all, there is no party rotation in Tajikistan. The single Communist Party during the Soviet Union era, was reborn as the People's Democratic Party of Tajikistan, and has dominated the country's political arena for nearly twenty years now. Personal ties are more important than political affiliation although belonging to a ruling party is seen as a plus. Second, the center of power in Tajikistan is located in the executing branch and not evenly distributed like in the United States. The parliament is viewed as an addition and supporting body to the strong president not as its counterbalance. Finally, due to, in-fact, one party domination, in Tajikistan personal interests are more important than party or political objectives. These differences lead to the next implications.

The differences in the principle application cannot diminish its importance for Tajikistan. When applied to Tajikistan the emphasis in political neutrality principle has to be made on neutral rather than political grounds. The meaning of political neutrality in Tajikistan transforms from avoiding not partisan but personal loyalty. It implies that the public servant has to be free of personal influences and interests. The core idea of the principle remains the same – the determining factor in hiring and the appointment of public employees, as well as in performance of their duties, has to be based upon professional qualities and expertise not personal or group goals. It is noted that neutral competency increases the fairness and effectiveness of government.²¹³ Neutral competency is also particularly important for developing nations where confidence in government is essential for democracy building.²¹⁴ Neutral competency and

²¹³ William F. West, "Neutral Competence and Political Responsiveness: An Uneasy Relationship," *The Policy Studies Journal* Vol. 33, No. 2 (May 2005): 156-57

²¹⁴ David L. Weimer, "Institutionalizing Neutrally Competent Policy Analysis: Resources for Promoting Objectivity and Balance in Consolidating Democracies," *The Policy Studies Journal* Vol. 33, No. 2 (May 2005): 132-33

avoidance of subjugation to personal pressures will help to reinforce the democratic processes in Tajikistan.

The guiding options for an educational curriculum for public administrators in Tajikistan have to ensure development of principle of neutral competency. Professional expertise versus personal pressures, professional qualities and skills versus nepotism and public interest versus self-interest will be emphasized when developing a curriculum. The priorities will be made to assure the growth of professional and neutral cadres of public employees protecting public interest and providing equal high quality service to all Tajiks regardless of their regional or family belonging.

2. Political Responsiveness

Political responsiveness and political neutrality are frequently discussed side by side in public administration. The problem of these two, as seen by scholars, is whether they can coexist without undermining each other or creating controversy.²¹⁵ As it is not the focus of this paper, the only suggestion that can be made is to find a proper balance when establishing administrative practices.

Political responsiveness in the context of this paper can be understood as responsiveness of public employees to the administration in power.²¹⁶ As a part of the executive branch public employees have to be responsive to the chief-executive and his/her administration. Depending on the system and type of government the administration in power can be the President or the prime-minister. As a country's leader the chief-executive has a certain vision and agenda for country's present and future. Politically responsive public employees allow him/her to realize this vision and agenda. Political responsiveness does not contradict to the idea of neutral

²¹⁵ West, "Neutral Competence and Political Responsiveness: An Uneasy Relationship"

²¹⁶ West, "Neutral Competence and Political Responsiveness: An Uneasy Relationship"

competency. Political responsiveness does not protect interests of a particular group but complies with an agenda of a chief-executive who implements public requests expressed via legislative branch of power. As the main public servant, the chief-executive has to have responsive and collaborative staff of public employees to be able to successfully perform his/her duties. Political responsiveness is important for coordinating work of public agencies maximizing effectiveness and efficiency of the public sector.

The analysis of the political system of Tajikistan allows a conclusion about over-emphasized political responsiveness of public employees. Tajikistan is an example of complications that can arise from excessive political responsiveness. Not only does it create injustice and disregard of a number of issues but it also helps consolidating authoritarianism in the country. The problem of over-emphasized political responsiveness consists out of two parts. One is that public employees in Tajikistan suffer from the lack of objectivity when performing their duties. The other part is that public employees in Tajikistan lack discretion and experience the excess of supervision. Combined, they make the Tajik public sector a clumsy and ineffective bureaucratic apparatus.

The lack of objectivity and discretion of Tajik public employees are other traits of the Communist past. As known, Communist regimes require full and non-questioned obedience to the leadership. It can be concluded that the factor of complete obedience is partly responsible for public employees losing their feeling of objectivity and the need for discretion. Having public employees highly reactive to the needs of authoritarian leadership creates tyranny of power. The political responsiveness only strengthened as the authority of a single party was replaced by the authority of a single person. The President has an effective mechanism at his hands to realize his agenda of enhancing personal power. It is expected that the misuse of

political responsiveness in Tajikistan will continue as long as the problem of balance of power is unaddressed.

The blind political responsiveness creates more problems than it is supposed to resolve. Political responsiveness is of vital importance for countries with well-developed democratic norms and institutions while for countries with distinct authoritarian characteristics it brings more danger and controversy. The guiding options for educational curriculum have to rediscover the principle of political responsiveness for Tajikistan. However, it cannot be the curriculum's priority at the present moment. The educational emphasis needs to be made on public administrators being educated on basic democratic principles. The balance of power, public representativeness, protection of public interest and freedoms all have to be understood and established before political responsiveness. Only when stable democratic processes take place will the principle of political responsiveness start working for strengthening public trust.

3. Three “Es”: Economy, Efficiency, and Effectiveness

The three “E” principle can be understood as combined operational and administrative strategy aimed at making public agencies efficient, effective, and economical.²¹⁷ Efficient public agency is the one that is able to complete its tasks with the least amount of resources and within the shortest period of time. Effective public agency is the one that is able to maximize the positive effect of its output. The economical public agency is the one that avoids wastefulness. The three “E” principle outlines the general guidance and expected outcomes for public agency. This principle explains how a public agency should operate and achieve its objectives.

The focus on improvement of provided governmental service in the United States was made in 1910 with the creation of Commission on Economy and Efficiency.²¹⁸ Conceptualizing

²¹⁷ Chester A. Newland, “Public Personnel Administration: Legalistic Reforms vs. Effectiveness, Efficiency, and Economy,” *Public Administration Review* Vol. 36, No. 5 (September-October, 1976): 529-37

²¹⁸ Cayer, *Public Personnel and Labor Relations*, 331

the fundamentals of public administration, Luther Gulick identifies efficiency as one of the most important components of public administration.²¹⁹ Emmette Redford reaches a similar conclusion about efficiency's primary importance for public administration.²²⁰ With more complicated development of the public sector, creation of new agencies involved in a broader spectrum of activities, and introduction of new tasks and objectives for many agencies, effectiveness became an independent and important concept for public administration. The three "E" principle separates and formulates efficiency and effectiveness more clearly.

It is very likely that public agencies in Tajikistan do not understand and employ the concept of efficiency and effectiveness today. The Soviet practice of manipulating indicators of performance, altering outputs, and overall falsification in the public sector make the principle of effectiveness irrelevant. The lack of an effective evaluation instrument is named one of the most important obstacles for increasing effectiveness of Tajik government.²²¹ If employed the existing performance measurement tools are frequently a replica of Soviet-style performance reports and are rarely used in a proper way.

The principle of the three "E" economy, efficiency, and effectiveness can be seen as one of the foremost principles for revitalizing the Tajik public sector. The economic decline and low public trust must urge the responsible government for actions. Educating public administrators on the importance of efficiency and effectiveness, modern performance measuring techniques, and strategic development can help laying down the basis for the three "E" principle. It is believed that the problem can be tackled from the micro-level when each public agency adopts performance-oriented and cost-effective style of work. It is also believed that this initiative can survive better if implemented locally rather than through the directive from higher authorities. At

²¹⁹ Gulick and Urwick, *Papers on the Science of Public Administration*, 192

²²⁰ Redford, *Ideal and Practice in Public Administration*, 1-9

²²¹ Azizullo Avezov, "Economic Aspects of Interrelation between Center and Regions in Tajikistan" in *Tajikistan at a Crossroad: The Politics of Decentralization. Situation Report 4* ed. Luigi De Martino (Cimera Publications, January, 2004), 38

the same time, the governmental support and willingness for change can create definite positive effect.

The guiding options for an educational curriculum have to emphasize the basics of strategic development, performance measurement, and the basics of an open-market economy. Public administrators have to be taught how efficiency differs from effectiveness, why these principles are important, and how to identify the public agency's priorities and make this agency efficient and effective. Public administrators have to be taught how their performance protects their jobs, how to fulfill public expectations, and how to avoid falsifications and ignorance.

4. Protection of Employee Rights

Protection of Employee Rights principle can be understood as observance of all laws, legal acts, collective bargaining agreements, and other norms defining employee rights.²²² Employee rights are aimed at protecting employee health, freedoms, and safety. Employee rights cannot be violated, seized, ignored, or manipulated in any other way. The employer cannot interpret or use employee rights for personal advantage. The employee has to be guaranteed easy access to his/her rights and non-interference from their employer, management, and others when he/she feels the need to use these rights. To comply with this principle, an employer must not only agree with all laws and norms but also make employee rights available, inform employees of all legal changes, organize work and working conditions according to laws and agreements, and perform other obligations defined by laws.

The origins of employee rights in the United States are frequently dated back to employee union movement with some of the formations as early as 1888.²²³ Collective bargaining and later the Civil Rights era helped establish comprehensive and detailed employee

²²² Daniel R. Levinson "After Abood: Public Sector Union Security and the Protection of Individual Public Employee Rights," *The American University Law Review* Vol. 27, No. 1 (Fall, 1977): 1-30

²²³ White, *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*, 447

rights. Several groundbreaking legislative provisions focusing on employee rights include Federal Salary Reform Act of 1962, Equal Pay Act of 1963, and Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972.²²⁴ Currently in the United States a number of different governmental agencies monitor observance of employee rights alongside professional unions and non-governmental organizations. Protection of employee rights has become an inseparable part of day-to-day work practices. Protection of employee rights in Tajikistan started with Soviet Socialist Revolution of 1917 and establishment of Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic in 1924. The Revolution of 1917 gave workers the rights they did not have before. After independence Tajikistan once again replicated the Soviet Labor Code with minimal changes and adopted a few laws regulating labor relationships omitted in the Code.

The current Labor Code in Tajikistan describes in detail employee-employer relations and complies with most norms and regulations of industrialized countries. Although being present, the professional unions do not play such a pivotal role in Tajikistan as they do in the United States. The existing professional unions are heavily influenced and controlled by the government.²²⁵ Discrimination by race, gender, age, disability, or other factors is prohibited by laws. This research revealed no registered cases of employee rights violation found in Tajikistan.

The lack of registered violations can be explained by two factors. The first factor is the overall low level of democratic development of the country and authoritative nature of government. As shown in the earlier analysis of the political system of Tajikistan, Tajik people are not yet very familiar with major canons of democracy. The government controls most political and societal institutions forcing people to comply with the regime. The low-ranking employees are unwilling or unable to protest. The second factor is that hiring and employment is overwhelmingly local. It means that, considering wide regional, local, and family ties among

²²⁴ Cayer, *Public Personnel and Labor Relations*, 339

²²⁵ Bureau on Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor 2007, U.S. Department of State, *Tajikistan* (March 11, 2008) Retrieved from World Wide Web 06/20/2011 <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2007/100621.htm>

Tajiks, employer and employees are very likely to know each other or be distant or close relatives. This brings together the problems of nepotism, regionalism (protection of interest of your region), and corruption. A person is unlikely to report a violation of his/her rights if it hurts a relative or friend or if a person unfairly obtained his or her position and receives personal benefits from it.

The protection of employee rights exists in Tajikistan but suffers from negative influences outside of the employer-employee relationships. The legal basis for employee rights is there and presumably well-developed, yet it is not necessary in its working stage. The transferring of the practices existing in American labor relationships to Tajikistan can be seen as ineffective due to differences in environment and background. The emphasis, though, has been made on developing general democratic practices and other public administration principles which will change the public employees' attitudes and behavior. The guiding options have to concentrate on promoting the existing legal basis and ensuring its practical application. The employee rights will be protected by addressing the problems of nepotism and corruption.

5. Elimination of graft and corruption

Elimination of graft and corruption can be understood as establishment of honest, conscientious, law-abiding, reliable, and reputable government. The incorruptible government is the government and government officials who prioritize and protect public interest, who always act in a fair and just manner, and who keep up to high ethical ideals. The graft and corruption is eliminated when a government official consciously and willingly refuses personal gain he/she can acquire from his/her position for the sake of justice and a better common good. The graft can be seen as more individualized and concrete action of immediate personal gain. Corruption, at the same time, can be explained as more abstract action or inaction with or without immediate personal gain. Both graft and corruption decay government and reduce public trust.

Graft and corruption can be met in all types of government and they mostly depend on the level of laws' development in a country. Samuel Huntington suggested that while corruption can be linked to rapid social and economic modernization, the difference between high developed and developing countries can be found in the level of political development and political modernization.²²⁶ Analyzing Western theories on administrative corruption in developing countries where Western values of impersonal bureaucracy are opposed by other world values of kinship and reciprocity, Caiden and Caiden deduce two types of corruption. First is administrative corruption as a norm when it is not a deviation but a normal and regular part of the government. Second is administrative corruption as functional when it is a benefit to certain groups or individuals by compensating lacking mechanisms or functions.²²⁷ This typology helps us understand the roots of corruption and methods of addressing it.

The conclusion about normal and functional character of corruption can be found in the United Nations report on corruption fighting in post-Soviet states. The report cites such causes of corruption in post-Soviet republics as previous and current economic complexities, traditional clan structure, and wide-spread perception of corruption as daily fact of life for everyone's benefit. There is also lack of respect for the law as a result of centuries of foreign occupation, imperial bureaucratic structures, and influence of communism.²²⁸ Referring to Tajikistan, Erica Marat characterizes the public's perception of wide-spread corruption as "organic" corruption. She points out a large state-society gap and common tendency of government officials to place personal interests ahead of national ones. Marat points out the long-term implications of high levels of corruption in Tajikistan. These include regional and domestic instability, the country's

²²⁶ Samuel P. Huntington, "Modernization and Corruption" in *Political Corruption: Concepts and Contexts* eds. Arnold J. Heidenheimer and Michael Johnston (Transaction Publishers; 3rd edition (September, 2001), 253-54

²²⁷ Caiden and Caiden, "Administrative Corruption, 301-309

²²⁸ United Nations Development Programme, *Fighting Corruption in Post-Communist States - Lessons from Practice* (Regional Bureau for Europe and the CIS, Regional Support Centre in Bratislava in co-operation with the Open Society Institute, Budapest, 2002), 7

inability to pay external debt, and failure of state institutions.²²⁹ The complexity of corruption in Tajikistan and its underlying causes impose the difficult task of establishing honest and just government. As mentioned earlier, the set of Western ideas on fighting corruption might be inapplicable for Tajikistan. At the same time, elimination of graft and corruption is essential for building democracy in the country and preserving overall integrity of the state.

The guiding options for an educational curriculum have to focus on developing ethical and law-abiding values in public employees. They also have to ensure understanding of state-building canons and principles in public employees. Changing the perception of corruption as a normal or acceptable behavior is important in eliminating graft and corruption. Educational curricula alone will not be able to accomplish that. The multi-sided approach needs to be taken with the educational curriculum changing specific attitudes and behavior of public administrators, just one of the players in an elaborated scheme. At the same time, the principle of elimination of graft and corruption can be gradually built by individuals taking a personal stand against corruption.

6. Openness and transparency

Openness and transparency is closely related with the principle of elimination of graft and corruption. Openness and transparency can be understood as the government and governmental agencies working in a fair and open manner with their decisions and actions being available for discussion and judgment by the public. The public agency operating on the principle of openness and transparency reports all of its activities, involves public in decision-making process, and is open for audits and scrutiny. In general, openness and transparency

²²⁹ Erica Marat, *The State-Crime Nexus in Central Asia: State Weakness, Organized Crime, and Corruption in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan* (Central Asia-Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program, A Joint Transatlantic Research and Policy Center, Uppsala 2006), 114-19

means honest performance of duties and accountability in front of the public. It involves a great level of public agencies self-policing and developing responsible and honest governing.

A number of laws have been passed in the United States in an effort to create more open and transparent government. One of the most prominent is the Freedom of Information Act of 1966 with subsequent amendments. Other laws which regulate basic democratic freedoms and rights in the United States also imply honesty and accountability of the government. Leonard White notes that the executive branch in the United States inclines more toward wider discretion and authority assuming better protection of public interest.²³⁰ It can be concluded that this tendency is the result of public trust in the government. At the same time, the public possesses some tools of control for keeping public officials accountable. While trust and control are imposed on a public organization from the outside, openness and transparency come from the inside of an agency making monitoring of public organization a two-way road. The government and governmental agencies in the United States are constantly questioned on their activity by the legislature, judiciary, media, and general public. Everyone in the United States has an access and a right to request financial and other records from most public agencies, government officials, and country's leadership. In their turn, a number of governmental agencies and officials pledge for more openness and transparency in order to receive public trust, support, and approval. They frequently call for more transparent processes and collaboration with public. Openness and transparency is the personal willingness of an agency to monitor its own functioning.

As the result of Soviet-style governing, the executive branch in Tajikistan remains highly inaccessible for monitoring and public control. There are two possible explanations, both inherited from the Soviet Union, for lack of openness and transparency in Tajik public sector. First, is the no longer relevant Soviet ideology of "outer enemy" and thus the need for top

²³⁰ White, *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*, 574

secrecy. Although this type of thinking lost its rationality, it became institutionalized in the minds of public officials who continue to prevent wide public involvement through simple inertia. Second, and the more important explanation is the wide-spread corruption of public officials. The public position became a means for achieving personal interests and prosperity. The practices of nepotism, self-interest, and corruption are contrary to claims of building a better life for all. The openness and transparency cannot be achieved until the fairness, justice, and honesty is established in public sector.

In Tajikistan, the authoritarian regime provides nearly unlimited discretion and authority to a number of public agencies without any type of public control or oversight. Acting on behalf of the authoritarian leadership and fulfilling its objectives these agencies are accountable to the authoritative leader and not the public. It makes openness and transparency incompatible with authoritarianism. Unlike in Tajikistan, the principle of openness and transparency is possible only in a truly democratic state where the public can actually control and influence the government. Disregarding openness and transparency and thus excluding its people from any forms of involvement and monitoring the Tajik government severely limits public trust. As the earlier analysis shows, Tajik leadership relies heavily on fear and power which makes openness and transparency irrelevant.

As described, openness and transparency cannot be established until basic democratic freedoms and principles are in place. At first, the guiding options for educational curriculum have to focus on explaining and building major democratic institutions in Tajikistan. The openness and transparency is expected to follow. Until public agencies stop being an outlet for personal gain they will resist any form of public control and involvement. As openness and transparency refers to the entire public sector or at least to a public agency it cannot be established on an individual level, unlike elimination of graft and corruption. Establishing

openness and transparency requires collective or group action. The factor of collective action for openness and transparency has to be considered when developing educational curriculum for public administrators in Tajikistan.

Overview of Principles' Applicability to Tajikistan

This chapter analyzed major principles of public administration as seen in the United States. The guiding options for educational curriculum for public administrators in Tajikistan will be developed based on the applicability of these principles to Tajikistan. There were two sets of principles analyzed. The principles were divided between structural and administrative practices. The structural principles included: single, integrated administrative structure; functional principle; executive leadership; career service; merit hiring; and social representativeness. The administrative principles included: political neutrality; political responsiveness; three "E" economy, efficiency, and effectiveness; protection of employee rights; elimination of graft and corruption; and the construct of openness and transparency.

The applicability of the following structural principles was deduced: single, integrated administrative structure; functional principle; executive leadership; career service; merit hiring. All these principles are present in Tajikistan yet their interpretation and functionality might differ from the United States. Being built on antidemocratic norms, some of these principles are skewed towards authoritarianism. The correct interpretation and reestablishment of these principles is suggested. The applicability of the principle of social representativeness was found to be insignificant due to the high social homogeneity of the country.

The applicability of the following administrative principles was deduced: political neutrality; three "E" economy, efficiency, and effectiveness; and elimination of graft and

corruption. These principles do not exist or are underdeveloped in Tajikistan yet their vitality for developing competent and professional public sector is high. These principles are also important for consolidating the democratic institutions in Tajikistan. The principle of protection of employee rights is relatively well-developed yet suffers from outside influences. It is expected that general development of democracy will have a positive effect on this principle. The principles of political responsiveness and openness and transparency are seen as currently inapplicable to Tajikistan due to low political and democratic development. The principle of political responsiveness is seen as more harmful than useful.

It is proposed that the priority in guiding options for educational curriculum has to be established on promoting general democratic norms and values. The lack of democracy does not allow or negatively impacts a number of principles of public administration. It is assumed that with the growth of democratic practices the public sector will move towards other principles that are currently inapplicable or deemed ineffective. As the educational curriculum will aim at increasing performance of Tajik public sector and, as a result, public trust, it also will lay the groundwork for building and maintaining democracy in the country. Consolidation of democracy is a complex process and the educational curriculum for public administrators is a single part of this process with expected positive results.

Chapter 5

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF AMERICAN MASTER OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION PROGRAMS

This chapter presents data obtained from content analysis of accredited Master of Public Administration (MPA) programs in the United States. Content analysis is a well-established methodology for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages or other written works.²³¹ The purpose of this chapter is to create a synthesis accredited of Master of Public Administration (MPA) programs as taught in the United States in order to create a model for possible introduction in Tajikistan. The creation of such a model will allow identification of prioritized courses, programs' length, types of comprehensive assessments used, and other requirements and components. The resulting model will demonstrate the proximity of MPA programs in the United States to the needs and realities of Tajikistan.

²³¹ Chava Frankfort-Nachmias and David Nachmias, *Research Methods in the Social Sciences* (Worth, 6th ed., 2000), 296.

Methodology

To identify the “typical” MPA program, the following methodology was implemented. The study population was comprised of all of the accredited members of the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA). The researcher thus conducted analysis of 142 Masters of Public Administration programs for content. The extensive list of the universities offering accredited MPA programs was obtained from the NASPAA website. The collected data was aimed at discerning the most frequently required courses, the length of programs in terms of credits, internship requirements, types of comprehensive examinations, and offered specializations. The results were then generalized into a prototypical, American MPA program. The generated program is discussed in this chapter in terms of its suitability to previously identified principles of public administration in Tajikistan and the country’s needs and realities.

Research Questions

The following provided the major research questions for this study:

1. Which courses appear most frequently as required courses?
2. What are the most frequently offered options or areas of specialization?
3. What is the most frequently required number of credit hours?
4. How many schools require internships and what is the number of credit hours most frequently required for internships?
5. What types of comprehensive assessments are used most frequently?
6. How many American Master of Public Administration Programs emphasize understanding other cultures, or emphasize transnational competencies in their curricula?

These research questions were designed to identify general components of MPA educational curriculum as offered in the United States.

Data Collection

The data for the analysis of 142 American Master of Public Administration Programs were collected from official websites of the universities whose Master of Public Administration Programs were accredited by the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration. A few universities with no information available online were contacted via phone and e-mails, however the responses received were incomplete for three schools: California State University – Fullerton, Clark Atlanta University, and Willamette University. Willamette cannot be considered for the purposes of the conducted study as it offers only a concentration in public administration within its Master of Business Administration program. Thus, the total research population was comprised of 139 programs.

No sampling technique was employed in data collection as the entire population of universities offering accredited Master of Public Administration program was studied and therefore a census was used. The collected data includes: the exhaustive list of required courses, types of academic system (semester/quarter), total credit hours required for completion of the program, internship credit hours and types of internship, types of comprehensive examinations, and specializations offered.

Data Analysis

The collected data were sorted out, organized by research question, and reported in several tables. Tables that are less pertinent to the immediate research questions are available in the appendices. Descriptive statistics were used to report the results of conducted analysis. Data analysis is reported one research question at a time.

1. Which courses appear most frequently as required courses?

By looking at the required courses in all programs, it should be possible to ascertain a pattern regarding which courses are viewed as most essential. This pattern can then be used to develop a model of the typical MPA program in the United States. This model was later analyzed for how well it meets current political and social realities of Tajikistan. By knowing the most frequently required courses, conclusions about academic and practical priorities in American MPA programs can be made.

The data collected from 139 universities offering MPA programs accredited by NASPAA revealed the following. One thousand seventy-nine (1,079) required courses were identified. Because course titles can vary significantly, courses were assigned to one of 32 different groups based on the general subject or area of study. Some universities offered more than one course relating to a particular subject. The highest number of courses in a single group is 178 (the public budgeting/finance group). The lowest number of courses in a single group is 1 (nine required courses comprised their own unique grouping).

Statistical Values for 32 Subject-Based Groupings of Courses

Mean	34
Mode	1
Median	14
Range	177

The statistical mean is 34. This means that the average number of courses appearing in the various groups is 34 courses. Because there were so many groups containing a single course, the mode actually turned out to be 1 course.

Whereas an exhaustive list of course titles can be found in the appendix, our analysis is most concerned with those categories of courses that are required most often for graduation. The top 17 such groups are presented in Table 1 below. (The bottom 15 categories are excluded from analysis because most have only one course in each category. See appendix for complete data). Public Budgeting/Finance courses, for example, appear 178 times as required among 139 MPA programs, representing 17.6% of all courses in the top 17 categories. It should be noted that the number of such courses is greater than the number of universities in the study population because many universities require both a budgeting course and a finance course.

Table 1: Number and Percent of Courses Offered in Top 17 Subject Areas

Rank	Course Category	No. of courses (N=1013)	% of Total
1	Public Budgeting and/or Finance	178	17.6%
2	General Courses on Public Administration and/or Management	145	14.3%
3	Research Methods and/or Quantitative Data Analysis	142	14.0%
4	Organizational Theory and/or Organizational Behavior	103	10.2%
5	Human Resource Management	101	10.0%
6	Policy Analysis and/or Program Evaluation	96	9.5%
7	Economics for PA	50	4.9%
8	Capstone Seminar	40	3.9%
9	Information Technology Administration	33	3.3%
10	Ethics and/or Accountability in PA	32	3.2%
11	Public Policy Process	29	2.9%
12	Statistics	21	2.1%
13	Leadership	19	1.9%
14	Legal Basis of Public Administration	17	1.7%
15	Strategic Planning and/or Performance Management	15	1.5%
16	Administrative Law	14	1.4%
17	The Professional Development Seminar and/or Application of Public Administration	14	1.4%

The top 17 subject categories are the ones that appear 14 or more times as required courses in MPA programs. Perhaps of greater interest is the number of universities that actually requires a particular course. Table 2 shows the number and percentage of universities having a particular subject in their MPA core curricula. For example, Research methods/Data analysis appears as a required course at 117 universities, or 84.2% of 139 universities. The cross review of tables 1 and 2 demonstrates that the Research methods/Data analysis subject, as an example, is required at 84.2% of universities and represents 14.0% of all required courses. Thus, Tables 1 and 2 paint a picture of which courses are deemed to be most important for students preparing for the civil service to take.

**Table 2: Number and Percentage of 139 Universities Offering Courses
in Each of Top 17 Subject Areas**

Rank	Courses by Group	No. of Universities	% of Total
1	Public Budgeting and/or Finance	126	90.6%
2	General Courses on Public Administration and/or Management	126	90.6%
3	Research Methods and/or Quantitative Data Analysis	117	84.2%
4	Organizational Theory and/or Organizational Behavior	100	71.9%
5	Human Resource Management	101	72.7%
6	Policy Analysis and/or Program Evaluation	86	61.9%
7	Economics for PA	48	35.3%
8	Capstone Seminar	40	28.8%
9	Information Technology Administration	32	23.0%
10	Ethics and/or Accountability in PA	32	23.0%
11	Public Policy Process	29	20.9%
12	Statistics	19	13.7%
13	Leadership	19	13.7%
14	Legal Basis of Public Administration	17	12.2%
15	Strategic Planning and/or Performance Management	14	10.1%
16	Administrative Law	14	10.1%
17	The Professional Development Seminar and/or Application of Public Administration	13	9.4%

As noted earlier, some universities offer more than one course in a certain subject or area of study, whereas some universities may offer no courses in a particular grouping. This means that in spite of the high number of courses in a group (e.g., 178) there is no single group of courses which is required in all 139 universities. Thus 117 universities (84.2%) require, collectively, 178 courses on Research Methods and/or Quantitative Data Analysis; 126 universities (90.6%) require, collectively, 145 courses on Public Budgeting and/or Finance; and 126 universities (90.6%) require 142 courses on General Public Administration and/or Management. The spread and combination of courses can be seen in the next example.

The Research Methods and/or Quantitative Data Analysis course is offered as a single

course or combination of courses such as: Research Methods, Analytical Methods, Quantitative Methods, Data Analysis, Quantitative Analysis, and Applied Research Methods. The highest combination of courses on Research Methods and/or Data Analysis offered by a single university is three. Thus, out of 117 universities offering Research Methods and/or Quantitative Data Analysis, 6% of universities offer three courses on this subject; 40.2 % offer two courses; and 53.8% offer one course. The detailed description of spread and combination of courses can be found in the Appendix, Tables 7, 8, and 9.

To determine which courses are deemed “most important,” the 32 groups of courses can be aggregated into four clusters by the frequency of their appearance in MPA programs. These clusters are defined as courses required 200 to 151 times (the highest priority cluster), courses required 150 to 101 times (the high priority cluster), courses required 100 to 51 times (the average priority cluster), and courses required 1 time (the low priority cluster). For purposes of this analysis, courses found in the first three clusters will be considered as important for inclusion in the typical set of MPA requirements:

Table 3: Typical Core of Required Courses

Highest priority cluster	High priority cluster	Average priority cluster
Public Budgeting/Finance	General PA/Management Research methods/Data Analysis Organization Theory/Behavior Human Resource Management	Policy Analysis/Program Evaluation

There is a clear break between the Average Priority Cluster and all of the remaining courses; that is, the Average Priority Cluster contains one course that is required 96 times whereas the next lower grouping contains one course that is required only 50 times. By way of conclusion, the six courses identified in Table 3 may be taken as the typical core of required courses among American MPA programs.

2. What are the most frequently offered options or areas of specialization?

The research project also sought to determine whether there are specific areas of specialization from which students might choose and which might indicate an important area of public administration in practice. Analysis revealed that 102 MPA programs (73.4% of total programs) allowed students to choose from among specific areas of specialization. Viewed collectively, these 102 programs offered 41 different options or areas of specializations. The most commonly offered option is nonprofit administration, with 68 universities providing this option. By contrast, several options are offered at only a single university.

The 41 options or areas of specialization range from “Nonprofit Administration” to “Management Consulting” and cover a wide scope of the many spheres of public administration. The complete list of specializations can be found in the Appendix, Table 10.

In order to identify the most important or critical areas of specialization in public administration, the various options were assigned to one of three groups based on natural breaks in their appearance in MPA programs. The first group includes four specializations offered by 36-68 universities; the second includes seven specializations offered by 19 to 30 universities; and the third includes thirty specializations offered by 1 to 12 universities:

Table 4: Typical Areas of Specialization Offered by 102 MPA Programs

Most Common Specializations		Somewhat Common Specializations		Rarely Found Specializations
	<i>No. of Schools</i>		<i>No. of Schools</i>	[See Appendix, Table 10]
Nonprofit Administration	68	Public Finance Administration	30	
Public Policy	43	Urban Administration	26	
Health Care Administration	43	State/Local Gov't Admin. Human Resource	26	
Public Management	36	Management	25	
		Criminal Justice Administration	23	
		Environment Management	20	
		General Public Administration	19	

For purposes of this study, only the areas of specializations falling under the “most common” and “somewhat common” categories are considered typical of MPA programs in the United States. These categories include four areas of specialization Nonprofit Administration, Public Policy, Health Care Administration, and Public Management. The fact that only 4 out of 41 areas of specialization were included as elements of a typical MPA program can be explained by the following. While specializations are offered by 73.4% of universities most of them concentrate on a very narrow area of specializations and are rarely duplicated at other universities. By contrast, the Nonprofit Administration specialization is offered by 66.7% of 102 universities. The Public Policy specialization and Health Care Administration specialization are offered by 42.2% of 102 universities. Public Management specialization is offered by 35.3% of

102 universities. The other options or areas of specialization are to a lesser degree unequally distributed among universities.

3. What is the most frequently required number of credit hours?

By addressing this question the length of a typical MPA program was determined. It allowed defining the number of credit hours most commonly required for granting a Master's degree in Public Administration. The length of a typical MPA program will be later examined for its suitability to needs and realities of Tajikistan.

The collected data shows that 8 out of 139 universities use the quarter system. For the purpose of the research, the quarter credit hours were converted into semester credit hours. The commonly used system of conversion was applied (the total number of quarter units is divided by 1.5). After the conversion was completed, five groupings were created. These groups are: 25 to 34 credits, 35 to 44 credits, 45 to 54 credits, 55 to 64 credits, and 65 to 74 credits. The highest number of universities in a single group is 115. The lowest number of universities in a single group is 1 (see Table 5 below).

Also, the average of semester hours required for completion of a program was calculated. Forty one is the average of semester hours required for completion of a typical MPA program.

Statistical Values for Semester Credit Hours

Mean	41
Mode	42
Median	40
Range	47

Table 5: Number and Percent of Universities by Groupings of Required Credits N=139

Credit Groupings	No. of Universities	Percent of Universities
65-74	1	.7%
55-64	2	1.4%
45-54	17	12.2%
35-44	115	82.7%
25-34	4	2.9%

Nearly all universities (82.7%) require between 35 and 44 semester credits. The average number of credits required is 41. Clearly, 35 to 44 semester credit hours are considered as necessary for accomplishing the typical MPA program with 41 credits being an average credit requirement. The detailed layout of data on credit hours requirements can be found in the appendix, Table 11.

The presence of a few universities with a very high number of credit hours, such as those in the 55 to 74 range, can be explained by the fact that they are committed to an intensive course of study in a specialized field study such as health care administration.

4. How many schools require an internship and what is the number of credit hours most frequently required for internship?

The responses to this question help us understand a practical component of MPA programs and the frequency with which internships are required. The analysis will be later conducted on the correspondence of internship standards in American MPA programs to Tajikistan.

After gathering data from 139 universities, the following results were revealed. There are 88 universities, or 63.3% of our study population, which require an internship for completion of the MPA program. Out of these 88 universities, 71.6% require internship from all pre-service students. Pre-service students are defined as students without previous professional experience in public, non-profit, or related organizations. Post-service students are defined as students currently employed or with previous professional experience in public, non-profit, or related organizations. The remaining 28.4% of universities requiring an internship do not specify whether the internship requirement is limited only to pre-service students or whether it applies to all students. Sometimes the post-service students can opt-out of this requirement via petition.

Four different groups were formed to explain credit hours requirements for internship. These groups are: 1 to 2 credit hours, 3 to 6 credit hours, 7 and more credit hours, and unspecified credit hours. Data analysis shows that the largest group among them is 3 to 6 credit hours group, accounting for 71.6% of universities. This group is comprised from two smaller subgroups of 52.3% of universities requiring pre-service internship and 16.3% of universities with pre-service unspecified requirement. The second closest is unspecified number of credits group with 22.7% of universities. Of those universities which specified a fixed number of required credits, the average was 4 credits. The detailed layout of data on internship requirements can be found in the Appendix, Table 12.

Statistical Values on Required Credit Hours for Internship

Mean	4
Mode	3
Median	3.5
Range	11

Based on the data analysis it can be summarized that more than half of universities, 63.3%, require an internship. In addition, 71.6% of these universities impose internship requirement for all pre-service students. Finally, 71.6% of universities requiring an internship insist on 3 to 6 credit hours of internship fulfillment. As a result, a typical MPA program includes a 3 to 6 credit hours of internship requirement for all pre-service students with an average requirement of 4 credit hours.

5. What types of comprehensive assessment are used most frequently?

Comprehensive assessment exams are regarded as an assurance of obtained knowledge. By answering this question, conclusions can be reached about the frequency of comprehensive assessment for MPA programs. In addition, revealing the most popular types of exam can provide an insight on particular focus of MPA programs. The obtained results will be later reviewed for how they meet current needs and realities of Tajikistan.

The data collected from 139 universities on comprehensive assessment demonstrates the following. A total of 104 universities (74.8%) require one or another type of comprehensive assessment. These 104 universities were organized according to the four most frequently offered kinds of assessments. The first group is the comprehensive exam or portfolio. The second group is thesis, paper, or project. The third group is choice of exam or thesis. The fourth group is choice of internship or thesis. The group with highest number of universities is thesis, paper, or project. It accounts for 64.4% of universities requiring comprehensive assessment. The second closest is comprehensive exam or portfolio group with 26.9% of universities. The detailed data is presented in Table 6.

Table 6: Percentage and Frequency of Comprehensive Assessments

	Types of Comprehensive Assessment		
	<i>Percentage out of 139 Universities</i>	<i>Percentage out of 104 Universities</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
<i>Comprehensive Exam or Portfolio</i>	20.1%	26.9%	28
<i>Thesis, Paper, or Project</i>	48.2%	64.4%	67
<i>Choice of Exam or Thesis</i>	2.9%	3.9%	4
<i>Choice of Internship or Thesis</i>	3.6%	4.8%	5
<i>Total</i>	74.8%	100.0%	104

According to the conducted analysis, it is found that comprehensive assessments are a frequently used tool in MPA programs for reviewing students' progress. The greater emphasis on thesis, paper, or project might indicate that students are not limited in the choice of their post study pursuits. Thesis, paper, or project might involve theoretical as well as practical components which later might be transferred to real-life or academic applications. Based on the results of conducted analysis, a comprehensive assessment in a form of thesis, paper, or project was included as a core characteristic of the typical MPA program.

6. How many American MPA programs emphasize understanding other cultures and/or emphasize transnational competencies in their curricula?

In the age of globalization and an interconnected world it is suggested that certain qualities and skills, dealing with problems on more versatile global level, should be developed in a number of professions, including public management. This set of skills and qualities identified as transnational competencies are broadly discussed by Koehn and Rosenau in *Transnational*

*Competence: Empowering Curriculums for Horizon – Rising Challenges.*²³² As a progressive way of thinking, the ability to effectively perform and adapt in transnational environment, Koehn and Rosenau advise educators to focus on transnational competencies and encourage better understanding of other cultures. Koehn and Rosenau identify and describe five groups of competencies: analytic, emotional, creative, communicative, and functional.²³³ The listed competencies should not be confused with regular skill sets defined by MPA programs as learning objectives. Koehn and Rosenau emphasize transboundary, multicultural, and international context in their description of transnational competencies.

Taking Koehn and Rosenau as a point of departure, the curriculums of American MPA programs were explored on the subject of transnational competencies. The review of 139 universities revealed that the concept of transnational competencies is not yet prioritized. No clear and definite references to transnational competencies were found either in course titles or in program descriptions. The sets of objectives and goals for MPA programs tended to be vague and could not be considered as containing strongly established sets or subsets of transnational competencies. Of course, it is still possible that such competencies are addressed in specific courses. Nonetheless, the MPA programs description or programs requirements provide no direct indications of developing transnational competencies in students. As a result, no transnational competencies were included into the typical model MPA program. This does not mean, however, that such competencies are unimportant to practicing administrators in Tajikistan.

²³² Koehn and Rosenau, *Transnational Competence: Empowering Curriculums for Horizon-Rising Challenges*

²³³ Koehn and Rosenau, *Transnational Competence: Empowering Curriculums for Horizon-Rising Challenges*, 8

Summary

The conducted analysis allowed the researcher to infer the primary characteristics of a typical American MPA program. Six research questions were formulated to address basic components of programs' curriculum, such as: the list of required courses, options or areas of specialization, number of total credit hours, internship requirements, types of comprehensive examination, and types of transnational competencies. The review of 139 universities offering Master of Public Administration programs accredited by the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration produced the following synthesis of a typical MPA program.

Description and Requirements of a Typical MPA Program

Required courses:

Research Methods and/or Quantitative Data Analysis

Public Budgeting and/or Finance

General Courses in Public Administration and/or Management

Organizational Theory and/or Organizational Behavior

Human Resource and/or Personnel Management

Policy Analysis and/or Program Evaluation

Options or Areas of Specialization:

Nonprofit Administration

Public Policy

Health Care Administration

Public Management

Credit hours requirements: 35 to 44 semester credit hours. The average is 41 semester credit hours.

Internship requirements: 3 to 6 semester credit hours for all students without previous professional experience in public, non-profit, or related organizations. The average is 4 semester credit hours.

Comprehensive examination requirements: thesis, paper, or project.

The described prototypical MPA program will be considered as a model and analyzed in the next chapter in terms of its applicability for educational curricula for public administrators in Tajikistan.

Chapter 6

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF TAJIK PROGRAMS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND/OR RELATED AREAS

Chapter 6 is devoted to the analysis of Tajik educational programs offering degrees in public administration and/or related areas. The purpose of this chapter is to identify what programs in public administration and/or related areas exist in Tajikistan, what courses, specializations, and degrees they offer, and what types of comprehensive assessment they use. The chapter presents the methodology, an overview of Tajik educational system, data analysis, and discussion. The chapter is organized around four research questions covering general components of an educational programs offering degrees in public administration and/or related areas in Tajikistan. The end-result of this chapter is assessment of development of programs offering degrees in public administration in Tajikistan.

Methodology

All Tajik universities and academic institutes were reviewed in terms of presence of programs on public administration and/or related areas. Related area can be understood as a program whose graduates have high potential of working as public administrators. For the

purpose of the proposed study, the related areas include but are not limited to: national economics, jurisprudence, agriculture administration, and management. The concept of a related area was proposed due to absence of U.S.-style public administration programs and the long-term tradition of graduates of listed programs entering public service. The specific data on the educational programs from Tajik universities and academic institutions were collected and organized into various categories. The level of public administration programs' development was determined based on the analysis of obtained data.

Research Questions

1. How many universities and academic institutes offer programs on public administration and/or related areas in Tajikistan?
2. What types of degree and specializations in public administration and/or related areas do universities and academic institutes offer in Tajikistan?
3. What courses and types of comprehensive assessment are required in public administration and/or related programs in Tajikistan?

Data Collection

The data were collected from universities' and academic institutes' official websites and by personal contact with universities' officials via phone and email. The received data were sorted out by subjects, such as: courses, degrees, and specializations offered, and comprehensive assessment requirements. A total of 14 universities and 11 academic institutes were identified in Tajikistan based on various sources of information, including Tajik governmental and private websites, listings, and governmental agencies and officials. Due to the low number of

universities and academic institutes, the entire research population was covered and, therefore, a census was used. During personal contacts with university and governmental officials via phone and email, only specific professional and technical information related to research questions was requested. The requested information included names of universities and academic institutes, types of programs, degrees, and specializations offered, and types of comprehensive assessments required. The detailed list of reviewed universities and academic institutes with available information can be found in Tables 13 and 14.

The following limitations were met in the process of data collection:

1. The level of internet application in Tajikistan is limited and underdeveloped.
 - a. Some universities and governmental agencies lack websites or possess non-working websites
 - b. Universities' and governmental agencies websites are limited on posted information
 - c. Universities' and governmental officials do not use or are limited on the use of email services
2. The communication with university and governmental officials is limited and obstructed
 - a. Some university and governmental officials are inaccessible due to organizational or structural barriers
 - b. Some university and governmental officials are unresponsive

Additional searches of alternative sources of information as well as multiple calls and contacts were employed to minimize the effects of listed limitations.

Data Analysis

The collected data was sorted out and organized into Table 14. The research questions were answered one question at a time.

1. How many universities and academic institutes offer programs on public administration and/or related areas in Tajikistan?

The responses to this question allowed for a determination of the number and type of educational programs in public administration and/or related areas in Tajikistan. This question is important as it defines presence and overall level of development of public administration programs in the country. The results will be used in defining the span and urgency of the developing educational curriculum.

Fourteen universities and 11 academic institutes were found in the process of data collection. In Tajikistan, academic institutes differ from universities by the narrow concentration in a specific field and limited number of offered programs and specializations. The analysis of collected data provided the following results: 9 universities out of 14, or 63.3%, appear to have no public administration and/or related area programs or information was unavailable on whether they offer such programs. Among them 2 universities, or 14.3%, have no programs in public administration and/or related areas and 7 universities, or 50%, have insufficient information available to make a determination. Ten out of 11 academic institutions, or 90.9%, also have no information indicating programs on public administration and/or related areas. Among them 8 academic institutions, or 72.7%, do not specialize in public administration and/or related areas, and 2 institutions, or 18.2%, have no information available to indicate such programs.

The data on the remaining 5 universities and 1 academic institute, which were included in data collection and data analysis, were dispersed as follows: 5 universities, or 35.7% of all universities in Tajikistan, offer economics or business based administrative programs. They include: business administration, economics and management, and economics and administration of the agricultural sector. They also offer 3 jurisprudence programs.

There is no university with a specifically designed and clearly identified program on public administration. Some of the listed programs are business- or economics-based implying their greater focus on the private sector and general economics. Other programs are general programs in jurisprudence without any references to an administrative component. While the listed program might or might not lead to employment in the public sector managerial positions they do not fully replicate a general program on public administration.

The single academic institute with a related program is the Institute for Improving the Qualifications of Civil Servants. It is organized as part of the Administration of the President of the Republic of Tajikistan and is not a regular educational venture. It is designed only for currently employed state employees who are trying to advance their existing professional careers but lack the necessary skills or qualifications.

In short, no educational program on public administration was found. Five business and economics based administrative programs and three jurisprudence programs were identified. These are often taken by individuals pursuing careers in government but do not replicate the American-style MPA program. This finding supports the earlier conclusion about the need for a general program on public administration in Tajikistan, one with a greater emphasis on management theory, policy analysis, public service values, and so on. As a result, no comprehensive comparison can be made between the Tajik public administration program and the American generic MPA program identified in Chapter 5 of this study.

2. What types of degree and specializations in public administration and/or related areas do universities and academic institutes offer in Tajikistan?

The answer to this question brought more detailed insights regarding existing programs in Tajikistan. Research revealed that there are no graduate programs specifically focused on public administration in Tajikistan. The existing programs, in Tajik universities, grant undergraduate and graduate degrees in specializations which are close to public administration. These programs are used as a substitute for wholesome public administration program.

The data analysis shows that two bachelor degrees in management and three bachelor degrees in economics are offered in Tajik universities. There are also three bachelor's degrees in jurisprudence. There is also one bachelor's degree offered in state and municipal administration within a business and administration program. In respect to graduate degrees, there is one master's degree in economics and one master's degree in national economy administration. The full list of degrees and specializations can be found below in Table 13.

**Table 13: Tajik Universities and Academic Institutes with Public Administration and/or
Related Areas Programs**

No.	Universities and Institutes	Programs	Undergraduate Degrees and Specializations	Graduate Degrees and Specializations
1	Technological University of Tajikistan	Business Administration and Innovative Economy	BA in Foreign Economic Activities Administration	MA in National Economy Administration
2	Russian Tajik Slavic University	Economics and Management	BA in Management	
State and Law		BA in Jurisprudence		
3	Tajik Agrarian University	Economics and Administration of Agriculture	BA in Economics	MA in Economics
4	Tajik State University of Law, Business, and Policy	Business and Administration	BA in State and Municipal Administration	
Law		BA in Jurisprudence		
5	Tajik State University of Commerce	International Economic Relations & Law	BA in Jurisprudence	
Economics and Management		BA in Economics & Administration of an Enterprise		
		BA in Management		
6	Institute for Improving Qualifications of Civil Servants	Liberal Arts		
Informational Technology				
Economics and Finance				
State Law, Public Administration, and Public Service				

As described, the greater focus is made on private sector with the majority of specializations in economics and business. Although some fragmented basis for public administration can be found among listed specializations there is no solid and consistent specialization in the field of general public administration. Perhaps the closest is the Bachelors of Arts in State and Local Administration offered by Tajik State University of Law, Business, and Policy. In Tajikistan, the specializations, listed in Table 13, are used for objectives of public administration. However, their abilities for meeting these objectives are limited. The reason is that these specializations are founded on principles other than principles of public administration and public service. These specializations employ the concepts and principles of economics, business, and law which might not coincide with the main concepts and principles of public administration. The economics program studies financial factors and may lack sufficient information on administrative needs of an agency. The business program prepares employees for private corporations which function on principles different from those used by non-profit organizations. The law program focuses on legal issues and omits managerial principles.

3. What courses and types of comprehensive assessment are required in public administration and/or related areas programs in Tajikistan?

The response on this question allowed for more detailed descriptions of the educational programs on public administration and/or related areas in Tajikistan. Identification of fundamental courses helped the research reach more accurate conclusions about various programs' consistency with principles of public administration. The obtained information will serve for making adjustments in developing an educational curriculum.

One clarification needs to be made before the research question is addressed. The main difference of educational curriculum in Tajikistan from the United States is classification of

courses. In Tajikistan, unlike in the United States, courses are not divided between required and electives. All courses are required yet grouped as main and secondary. In a Tajik university all students take main courses in a selected field, for example economics and management, up until their third year in university. In their third year, these students are divided on specific specialization groups, for example BA in management or BA in economics, and start taking secondary courses required for their specialization in BA in management or BA in economics. All secondary courses for certain specializations are preset and required for accomplishing a program. Thus, all courses are considered required as students cannot choose between one and another course they wish to take.

Among the five universities with programs on public administration and/or related areas, only two universities have available information on specific courses for 3 programs. The information is available for the bachelor degree in jurisprudence at Russian Tajik Slavic University, the bachelor degree in management at Russian Tajik Slavic University, and the bachelor degree in state and municipal administration at Tajik State University of Law, Business, and Policy. Specific coursework is discussed below:

The economics and management program which grants a bachelor degree in management at Russian Tajik Slavic University has certain courses on administration, organizational theory, and human resource management. Considering the fact that this is a private sector oriented program, it is assumed that administration and human resource courses are based on business principles. It means that this program might leave aside concepts employed in public and nonprofit sectors. The prevailing number of courses is on economics and business theories and practices. No information on comprehensive assessments was available for the described program.

The jurisprudence program which grants bachelor degree in jurisprudence at Russian Tajik Slavic University touches a couple of aspects of public administration through some of its courses. These are primarily, legal foundations of public service and governmental structure. Many vital concepts of public administration are not studied in jurisprudence programs in Tajikistan. The main focus of the jurisprudence program curriculum is placed on comprehending and interpreting law and justice. The available information on the jurisprudence program shows that two comprehensive exams and graduation papers are required for completing the program. The first comprehensive exam is on the theory of state and law. The second is on constitutional law.

The business and administration program which grants a bachelor degree in State and Municipal Administration at Tajik State University of Law, Business, and Policy has a number of courses relevant to public administration and public sector theories and practices. At the same time it contains business and economics courses. This mixture of courses is explained by the combination of two large fields into one. Public administration is seen as part of business administration. The distinction is made by naming the program “Business and Administration,” implying that administration is a larger term for all forms of administration. The incorporation of two fields can be explained by the fact that debates on separation of public and business administration might still be taking place within Tajikistan. Students working on the BA in state and municipal administration at Tajik State University of Law, Business, and Policy are obligated to pass two comprehensive exams. The first exam covers the theory economics. The second exam covers administrative management and state planning.

It can be concluded that the state and municipal administration specialization within the business and administration program at Tajik State University of Law, Business, and Policy is more relevant to public administration than the previously described programs in jurisprudence,

economics, and management at Russian Tajik Slavic University. While the first two programs on jurisprudence and management at Russian Tajik Slavic University offer some public administration related courses, the program on state and municipal administration at Tajik State University provides a wider spectrum of courses on various public administration issues. At the same time, it is not a fully independent and complete public administration program.

The Institute for Improving Qualification of Civil Servants at the President of Tajikistan is the only educational enterprise on the list which demonstrates nearly complete and sufficient curriculum for public administrators. It divides the field of public administration into three parts: division of liberal arts, division of informational technology, and division of economics and finance. Each division offers courses targeting a specific part of the field. The institute is the only major educational enterprise which specializes in the field of public administration. However, out of the six most popular core courses of a generic American MPA program described in Chapter 5, only one course on public administration and various courses on fiscal policy and management are presented at the Institute. Considering the fact of the Institute affiliation with the Presidential administration, it can be assumed that it prepares public officials for the highest governmental positions. The same idea can be derived from the name of the courses the Institute offers. For example, the Institute offers such courses as Resource Potential and Geopolitics of Tajikistan, Investment Policy and Investment Activity, Economic-Social Strategy of Regions Development, Military and Economic Security of the Country, and others. It seems that the emphasis at the Institute focuses on a broader country-wide range of problems rather than the problems of a single agency or organization as it is done in a regular MPA program.

A few deficiencies of the Institute were found during the data analysis. First of all, the institute does not grant a degree, but rather a mere certificate. Second, the institute is designed

exclusively for currently employed public servants desiring career growth but lacking necessary skills and knowledge. The Institute sets up strict eligibility requirements and narrows down output capacity of the institute. Third, the institute's educational curriculum lacks courses addressing issues of non-profit organizations. The institute is a governmental enterprise created only for the needs of government. Non-profit organizations, which have become a part of public administration field, are omitted in the institute's curriculum. As a result of the listed deficiencies the institute cannot be considered as an analog of public administration program.

The list of courses for described programs in Russian Tajik Slavic University, Tajik State University of Law, Business, and Policy, and the Institute for Improving Qualification of Civil Servants at the President of Tajikistan can be found in the Appendix, Table 14.

Summary

Due to a lack of actual public administration programs in Tajikistan, educational programs such as business, management, economics, and jurisprudence which traditionally supply the cadre for public service were included into data collection and data analysis. The information obtained from 5 universities and 1 academic institute shows that only 1 program offers specialization in public administration, specifically state and municipal administration. This specialization is considered to be closest to public administration by the content of the program. The focus of other programs in economics and management and jurisprudence is predominantly business, economics, and law oriented with only few courses relevant to public administration. The only academic institute in the list which focuses heavily on public administration has a number of limitations which minimize its educational and practical value for preparing students for public service.

Chapter 7

FINDINGS AND OPTIONS

Chapter 7 addresses three main research questions identified in Chapter 1. The chapter aggregates and reviews the major points identified in previous chapters with respect to the main research questions. Applicable recommendations to each research question are then proposed.

Primary Research Question 1: To what extent are the principles and practices of public administration in a developed country such as the United States relevant to the realities of a developing country such as Tajikistan? What are the specific factors that may constrain the application of the American educational model for preparing public administrators to the case of Tajikistan?

Earlier analysis pointed out the necessity of distinguishing between developed and developing countries. The distinction needs to be made for an accurate assessment of each country's capabilities and potentials in upholding democratic values. The concept of developed and developing countries was reviewed from two different standpoints. The most common definitions are formulated by economists and political scientists.

In their definition of developed and developing countries, economists rely heavily on various economic indexes. They measure a country's production output, financial wealth, and consumption abilities. Economists try to define the level of a country's development by its niche

in the world economy. Unlike political scientists, the economists are little concerned about political processes taking place in a society.

Political scientists regard developed and developing countries in terms of their political functionality. The main factor here is a country's devotion to democracy, some of the main components of which are: the process and functionality of development and the established goals. Political scientists frequently link and interchange democratization and development.

After applying both measurement standards it was concluded that the United States and Tajikistan represent developed and developing countries respectively. This implies that realities and challenges of Tajikistan are very distinct from those of the United States. Certain Tajik realities and challenges obstruct the country's path to democratization and limit the applicability of American principles of public administration as well as American educational curriculum for public administrators.

The primary obstacles for democratization in Tajikistan were then identified. The general challenges of developing countries are: insufficient human capital, political instability, lack of industrial infrastructure, and lack of liberal democratic principles. The individualized realities of Tajikistan include: sudden and unexpected independence, not fully reconciled and politically integrated sides after the civil war, weakness of rule of law, lack of a tradition of self-governance along with a bureaucratic culture and history of corruption, continuous domination of Soviet style institutions and mentality, political and economic influence of surrounding countries, and lack of political homogeneity. The listed obstacles can be grouped by their political, economic, and social character. In combination, they not only slow down the country's development but also reverse it away from democratic values. Taking into account that principles and practices of American public administration are based on democratic values, the listed obstacles represent a serious challenge for implementation of democratic principles.

As shown in Chapter 4, the main principles of public administration in the United States were divided into two large groups: structural principles and principles of administrative practice. The structural principles group includes: single, integrated administrative structure; functional principle; executive leadership; career service; merit hiring; and social representativeness. The administrative practice group includes: neutral competence/political neutrality; political responsiveness; three “E” economy, efficiency, and effectiveness; protection of employee rights; elimination of graft and corruption; and openness and transparency. The relevance and presence of each principle in Tajik public sector was determined.

Four categories of principles were formed:

1. Relevant and Present
2. Irrelevant and Non-present
3. Relevant and Non-present
4. Irrelevant and Present

Relevant was defined as applicable and necessary for the public sector. Present was defined as currently existing and practiced in the public sector. The placement of principles into categories was based on actual practices and realities in Tajikistan. It means that practical, rather than theoretical or legal criteria, were used as determining factors in the placement of principles. To be defined as relevant, a principle has to have close practical and theoretical applicability to the public sector. To be defined as present, a principle has to be regularly employed rather than just legally assigned. In respect to Tajikistan, the American principles of public administration are sorted out in two-dimensional matrix as the following:

Two-Dimensional Matrix of Public Administration Principle's Categories

	Relevant	Irrelevant
Present	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single, integrated administrative structure • Functional Principle • Protection of employee rights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political responsiveness
Non-present	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Executive leadership • Career service • Merit hiring • Political neutrality • Three “E” economy, efficiency, and effectiveness • Elimination of graft and corruption • Openness and transparency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social representativeness

The extent and applicability of group #1 principles: relevant and present

The earlier analysis of principles of public administration shows that the principles in the first group determine some of the main characteristics of Tajik public sector. These principles are close in their meaning and content to American interpretation. As principles which form and define the public sector they are legally defined by Tajik laws and are practically applied by

Tajik officials. As a result, these principles were assigned as relevant and present. Practically and theoretically these principles in Tajikistan are mostly the same as in the United States.

The extent and applicability of the group #2 principles: irrelevant and non-present

As explained earlier, the principle of social representativeness is not as vital in Tajikistan as it is in the United States. Due to differences in state-founding factors and social structure between the United States and Tajikistan there is no sufficient basis or urgent need for implementing the principle of social representativeness in Tajikistan. This research suggested though that considering existing political challenges of democratic development in Tajikistan the principle of regional representativeness instead of social representativeness is rather to be adopted. This principle can have different purposes and objectives inconsistent with social representativeness because it imagines equal representation in government by region rather than socio-economic or ethnic criteria. The principle of social representativeness as interpreted in the United States is not applicable in Tajikistan.

The extent and applicability of the group #3 principles: relevant and non-present

The principles in group three incorporate some of the main democratic norms and values into public organizations. Some of these principles represent democratic values and some support the values or create conditions for their flourishing. In respect to Tajikistan as a developing country, these principles are highly relevant and vital for building democracy. Considering the universal nature of democratic values, these principles should have the same extent and applicability in Tajikistan as they have in the United States. Unfortunately, the lack of these principles leads Tajikistan in a direction opposite of the path to democracy.

The extent and applicability of the group #4 principles: irrelevant and present

According to the earlier analysis it was concluded that the principle of political responsiveness in the conditions of authoritarianism is irrelevant in Tajikistan. The urgency of this principle arises with the advanced level of democracy in a country. Currently in Tajikistan, the principle of political responsiveness only increases the power and extent of an authoritarian regime. The problem is not only in the radical and biased interpretation of the meaning of this principle but also in the lack of conditions balancing and controlling government power. Based on the analysis conducted in this research, it was concluded that Tajikistan is not yet ready for the principle of political responsiveness.

The four groups of principles sorted out based on their relevance to and presence in Tajikistan are used in developing recommendations for a curriculum for Tajik public administrators.

The constraining factors for implementation of the American MPA model

The multidimensional analysis of the United States and Tajikistan allowed finding several obstacles for implementing generic American MPA program in Tajikistan. As the MPA programs usually try to address the needs of the public sector and government, the differences in needs of the two countries were examined. The differences in needs and realities of the United States and Tajikistan create obstacles for American MPA program implementation in Tajikistan. The three main differences were formulated in the process of analysis. They are: differences in applicability of principles of public administration; differences in the structure of political, economic, and social systems; and the differences in state needs and objectives.

Assuming that American MPA programs are focused on explaining and implementing American principles of public administration via their curricula, the irrelevance and level of presence of some of these principles can be an obstacle for success. As shown, at least two main

principles of American public administration are irrelevant for Tajikistan. At least seven main principles are relevant but not presented in Tajik public sector. This means that unless the greater emphasis is placed on “relevant but not present” principles, with a lesser consideration of the irrelevant principles, the American MPA model will be ineffective for Tajikistan.

A number of differences were found in the structure of political systems, levels of political and economic development, and the content and structure of the social fabric of the United States and Tajikistan. These differences can also obstruct the implementation of American MPA programs in Tajikistan. The problem arises from the necessity of creating courses which are consistent with those differences. For example, among required general political science or economics courses, a political science discipline on separation of power or an economics discipline on free market can be added. These courses can review the specifics of Tajik economy and political system in details.

The last main obstacle can be found in inconsistencies of needs and objectives of the two countries. As Tajikistan only recently entered the stage of independence and state-formation it is more concerned with sustaining democratic development and creating relevant state institutions. Consequently, its needs and objectives differ from those of the United States, a country with amature level of democracy and formed state institutions. The generic American MPA model does not account for the political realities and needs of a country in transition but only those of the country with established and a well-developed type of political regime and form of economy.

These three sets of obstacles are used in developing guiding options for educational curriculum for Tajik public administrators.

Primary Research Question 2: To what extent are educational degree programs in Tajikistan adequate for preparing public servants relative to norms established by public administration degree programs in the United States?

The data collection and analysis shows that educational degree programs in Tajikistan do not prepare public servants at the same level of competency as the American MPA programs. Tajik educational programs preparing public servants demonstrate considerable difference with the American MPA programs. First, Tajikistan lacks undergraduate and graduate programs in public administration. Second, the existing Tajik programs follow a type of curricula for preparing public servants different from those in the American MPA programs. Third, the existing Tajik programs do not satisfy the norms established by the American MPA programs. As a result of these differences, little correspondence and comparability can be found between Tajik educational programs preparing public servants and the American MPA programs.

Two prominent problems with Tajik programs preparing public servants were observed. First, a number of Tajik educational programs preparing public servants do not concentrate solely on public administration. In their curricula on business administration, management, jurisprudence, and economics, they use a loose variety of courses on public administration. Second, as these programs have minimal affiliation with public administration, the needs and problems of Tajik public sector and public administration are not accounted for. The aggregation of these two problems results in graduates entering public service without sufficient professional knowledge. It is assumed that the employees' incompetency further degrades the quality of the provided public services in Tajikistan.

The results of the data collection and analysis support the assumption of inadequate educational preparation of public servants in Tajikistan. Tajik educational programs do not resemble the American MPA programs and do not address the problems targeted by the American MPA programs. Also, the main differences within educational programs preparing public servants in Tajikistan and the lack of information on offered programs did not allow the researcher to infer a generic Tajik program preparing public employees. Not only do the

objectives of those programs fail to align with the objectives of the American MPA programs but also they do not align with each other. The limited number of Tajik educational programs preparing public servants represents various academic schools arguably affiliated with public administration which list scattered courses on public administration in their curricula.

Primary Research Question 3: What guiding options for public administration curriculum might be recommended for implementation in Tajikistan, consistent with its institutional and societal realities, to best prepare public servants for the tasks they will face as public administrators in a developing country?

Several recommendations for educational curriculum for public administrators in Tajikistan can be proposed. The recommendations encompass and describe the guiding options Tajikistan and its people can take for increasing the professional competency of public servants. The guiding options include:

1. Adopt the generic American MPA program as a whole
2. Adopt MPA program custom designed for Tajikistan with consideration of political and social realities
3. Adopt a non-degree program on democratic values for people intending to work or currently employed in the public sector
4. Adopt a non-degree pre-program on democratic values for people applying for master of public administration program
5. Adopt a program which merges the currently existing Institute for Improving Qualifications of Civil Servants at the President of Tajikistan with customarily designed Master of Public Administration Program

Adopt MPA as a whole. The option of the generic American MPA program as a whole can be interpreted as the generic program developed through the analysis of 139 American MPA programs. Under this option, no changes will be made when implementing this program. The exact replication of types of required courses, specializations, and other components of the program has to be made. The option of generic American MPA program also allows implementation in Tajikistan of any of 139 analyzed American MPA programs as a whole without changes or adjustments.

MPA Customized to Tajik Realities. The option of a Master of Public Administration Program custom designed for Tajikistan with consideration of political and social realities can be interpreted as a graduate level program focused solely on public administration with close and detailed consideration of political and social realities. The political and social realities can be consistent but not limited to those outlined and described earlier in this work. The generic American MPA program can be used as a reference and model to the applicable level with necessary changes and adjustments made.

Non-degree Program on Democratic Values. The option of non-degree program addressing democratic values for people intending to work or currently employed in the public sector can be interpreted as an independent program developed with the purpose of establishing and promoting main democratic values. The objective of this program is to create conditions for successful democratic development and non-violent gradual transition from authoritarianism to democracy. It has to be an obligatory program for all planning to work or currently employed in the public sector. Members of the general public should also be encouraged to complete this program.

Non-degree Pre-Program of Democratic Values. The option of non-degree pre-program on democratic values for people applying for a Master of Public Administration Program can be interpreted as a prerequisite program on democratic values for the Master of Public Administration Program. The successful accomplishment of pre-program on democratic values allows transition to MPA program. The objective of the pre-program is to lay down a basic understanding for democratic governing in those planning to become public servants. The pre-program and custom-designed MPA program should be interconnected and increase the effectiveness of education for public administrators.

Integration of Institute with MPA. The option of a program which merges the currently existing Institute for Improving Qualifications of Civil Servants at the President of Tajikistan with a custom-designed Master of Public Administration Program can be interpreted as combining the potential of existing educational facilities with specifically designed MPA program. It means that the MPA program developed according to political and social realities is implemented within the existing Institute using its prestige, potential, and financial and academic capabilities. Currently the educational potential of the Institute is limited by various restrictions. A number of changes and adjustments in the Institute will be needed for accommodating the new MPA program.

Each of the listed options has its disadvantages, prospects, and issues. The challenges of implementation can include financial, organizational, and political factors. The level of these options applicability and potential for success has to be reviewed according to the earlier conducted analysis of Tajik political and social realities. Suggestions and conclusions of that analysis have to be considered.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSIONS

Considering the earlier listed obstacles for implementation of a generic American MPA program, the relevant principles of American public administration, and the current state of Tajik educational programs preparing public servants, the applicability of presented guiding options for an educational curriculum for public administrators in Tajikistan has been explained. In this chapter, each guiding option is reviewed and weighed for creating effective and efficient public administration in Tajikistan. A conclusion is made for the results of the study and future actions.

Option 1: The generic American MPA program as a whole

The applicability and level of success of the generic American MPA program in Tajikistan are seen as unlikely. As shown by the earlier conducted analysis, the current political and social realities of Tajikistan place the country on the level of development different from the United States. The needs and challenges of Tajik public sector differ from those of the United States. The generic American MPA program cannot properly address these needs and challenges. The generic American MPA program falls short on creating the environment favorable for effective and efficient public administration in Tajikistan.

Option 2: Master of public administration program custom-designed for Tajikistan with consideration of political and social realities

The second option offers the development of the MPA program with high potential of addressing current needs and challenges of Tajik public sector. It will consider the shortcomings of a generic American MPA program, the necessities of the particular principles and practices of political and economic development, and other factors influencing the Tajik public sector. On the long run the custom- designed MPA program can help in achieving the objective of establishing effective and efficient public service in Tajikistan. The drawback of this option can be seen in the long period of time which might take for seeing positive effect of the program. While the adjustment of the program's curriculum is intended for meeting current political realities it also puts a question mark on when these realities will be changed. The adjustment of a program to political and social realities can also facilitate stagnation in political and other development. It is assumed that an MPA program customized for an authoritative regime can increase the effectiveness of authoritative government but can have little effect on democracy. This may not be the appropriate objective or outcome of responsible and human-oriented scholastic work.

Option 3: Non-degree program on democratic values for people intending to work or currently employed in public sector

The completion of a non-degree program which will explain the principles of democratic state-building and functioning of democratic government can be one of the requirements of public service in Tajikistan. The program can be intended for public employees at all levels with the purpose of democratizing Tajik public sector. The idea of this program is building democracy through learning about democracy. Most shortcomings of this option arise from its size. As the program is intended for all current and prospective public employees, the problem of financing this program arises. The country can find funding and organizing of the massive program aimed

at all public employees overwhelming. It is also possible that some current and prospective public employees will disagree with the requirement of completing this program. Not all public employees are equally involved in governing and completion of a non-degree program can deplete their financial resources and time without any immediate prospects. While option 3 can serve as the important ideological supplement for public servants it can also generate certain controversies and difficulties of application.

Option 4: Non-degree pre-program on democratic values for people applying for Master of Public Administration Program

The pre-program on democratic values can enhance the effectiveness of main principles of public administration in Tajikistan. Unlike option 3 “the non-degree program on democratic values for people intending to work or currently employed in public sector” this pre-program is aimed at a smaller group of students. Not all public employees would be required to accomplish this pre-program but only those in managerial levels. Administrators and managers have to be at the core of democratic practices spreading them within their department, agency, and sector.

The content of this pre-program can be comprised out of suggestions made earlier in Chapter 4. For example, the suggestions for the principle of single, integrated administrative structure included the following:

1. Solutions have to be found for facilitating the structure of authority in a way consistent with main values of democracy.
2. The concept of employees’ involvement and participation in decision-making processes has to be prioritized and explained.
3. The concept of accountability of public servants to the public has to be prioritized and explained.

4. The concept of abuses of authority has to be prioritized and explained.
5. The concept of mutual respect and openness has to be prioritized and explained.

A couple of advantages can be observed in option 4 “non-degree pre-program on democratic values for people applying for Master of Public Administration Program.” First, it is intended for a smaller population than option 3 “the non-degree program on democratic values for people intending to work or currently employed in public sector” and thus it can cost less to organize and operate. Second it can be more effective as it focuses on development of democratic values through professionally trained public managers. Option 4 provides a new approach to addressing the specifics of political development of the country. One of the possible drawbacks of this option can be the combined length of the pre-program and core MPA program. It is assumed that it can be lengthier than the regular MPA program. However, over the long run, the pre-program can be discontinued once the results of democratization become tangible and the Tajik public sector commits to democratic values and practices.

Option 5: Program which merges the currently existing Institute for Improving Qualifications of Civil Servants at the President of Tajikistan with custom-designed Master of public administration program

Option 5 can be seen as the option having a certain functional potential. Taking into account the resources of the Institute, it can be assumed that the specifically designated MPA program can have high productive output of public managers. However, certain possible issues of this option should be considered. First, the Institute, which is formed at the administration of the President of Tajikistan, is a highly elitist entity not equally accessible for all Tajik citizens. Second, the closeness of the Institute to the President and dependency on the presidential resources makes it the subject for control performed by the presidential administration. This

implies that the context of MPA program can be altered in a favor of the authoritarian regime. As a result, the implementation of MPA program supporting democratic development of the country will require considerable organizational changes at the Institute. These changes can involve the same or higher amount of efforts and resources as the creation of an independent MPA program taken at any other university or institution.

Conclusion

The review of the applicability of the proposed guiding options allows the following conclusion. The development of the pre-program on democratic values in connection with the custom- designed MPA program is seen as the most advantageous (option #4). It seems rational to develop the pre and core programs at a public or private educational institution. The political neutrality and independence of the programs from political influence is desirable. The curriculum developers for pre and core programs are advised to refer to the findings and options of the conducted study when establishing curriculum objectives and means of achieving and assessing these objectives. The effects of pre and core programs on democracy and the public sector development should be used for continuous curriculum revisions and reassessments. The expectations are that the qualitative improvements in Tajik public service will create a favorable environment for the democratic development of the country.

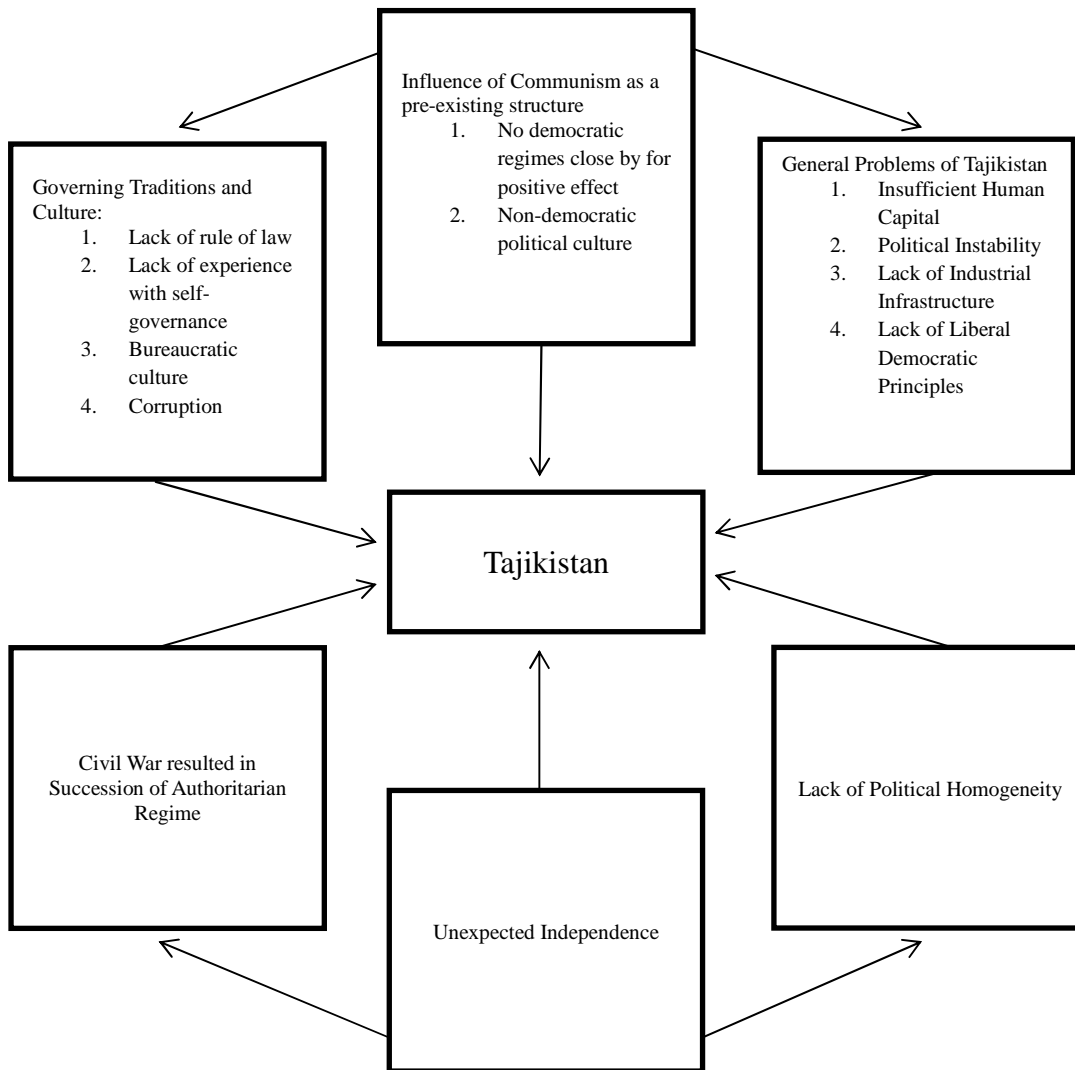
The initial idea of this dissertation was to develop the responsible public sector in Tajikistan using American public administration principles as a specific set of values. During the analysis of the applicability of American public administration principles to Tajikistan it was understood that the effective public service is unlikely in conditions of authoritarianism. Such problems as abuses of power and authority by government officials, chronic corruption, wide-

spread nepotism, pursuit of personal interests, and lack of control by the public characterize authoritarian structure of Tajik public sector. The analysis conducted in this study allowed conclusion that the authoritarianism can be used as a threat to public sector and public interest.

Public sector in authoritarian regimes can suffer from excessive control and manipulations from countries' authoritative leaders. Public managers can also lack accountability in front of the public. Public employees can be used to strengthen the power of the country's authoritative leader. Therefore, it was concluded that the principles of American public administration founded on democratic values might be difficult to implement in Tajikistan without addressing the problems of Tajik public sector. It is assumed that the foundation for primary democratic values has to be laid down before the positive effect of public administration principles can be seen.

The conducted analysis allowed conclusion that the development of the competent public sector is unlikely without addressing the problems of democratic development first. As a result, the study raised the issue of authoritarianism in Tajikistan. Figure 5 identifies basic barriers and current surrounding conditions in Tajikistan preventing it from democratic development. On the one hand, Communism contributed to appearance or expanded the existing sets of problems in Tajikistan. On the other hand, the unexpected independence resulted in the civil war and lack of political homogeneity. Developing an educational curriculum adjusted to the authoritarian regime cannot be considered as an ethical and responsible action. The educational curriculum for public administrators in Tajikistan has to promote democratic norms and values which will counteract with existing authoritarian practices in the Tajik public sector.

Figure 5: The Barriers and Surrounding Conditions in Tajikistan Preventing It from Democratic Development



Next Steps for the Curriculum Development Process

Using the findings of this study the next step can be seen as an integration of the specific actions which will lay down the pre-program with separate classes on each applicable principle. Once the pre-program is organized, the actual MPA program will be assembled with classes structured based on or close to the generic American MPA model, with greater attention paid to the certain concepts studied in the pre-program. It is expected that as a prerequisite for the MPA program the pre-program will start functioning a couple of semesters prior to the MPA program.

As the generic American MPA program covers basic components of public administration and has no specific courses and requirements adjusted to the United States only, there is no sufficient basis for rejecting this model when developing educational curriculum for Tajik public administrators. However, to ensure the positive effect of this curriculum for Tajikistan and the proper development of its public sector the pre-program on democratic values is recommended for implementation.

Based on the conducted comparative analysis of the United States and Tajikistan, it is assumed that the generic MPA model adopted in Tajikistan as it is might not have the same level of positive effect as the combined pre and post-programs. In order to increase the positive effect of the pre and post-programs, the implications for educational curriculum identified in Table 15 have to be considered. The curriculum developers can also take other measures aimed on increasing effectiveness of an educational curriculum for the Tajik public administrators.

Table 15: Implications of Various Groups of Public Administration Principles for Educational Curriculum Development in Tajikistan

Relevant and Non-present Principles	Implications for Curriculum Development
Executive Leadership	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Personal responsibility 2. Professional competence and morale 3. Balance between the authority and the level of effectiveness
Career Service	Fair and legitimate career services consistent with norms of democracy
Merit Hiring	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Importance of merit hiring 2. Elimination of nepotism 3. Professional competence and equal opportunities
Neutral Competency	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Avoiding personal loyalty and pressure 2. Professional expertise 3. Public interest.
Three “E” economy, efficiency, and effectiveness	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Strategic development 2. Performance management 3. Open-market economy
Elimination of Graft and Corruption	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Development of ethical and law-abiding values 2. Multi-dimensional approach in addition to educational curriculum.
Openness and Transparency	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Democratic institutions 2. Taking collective societal action first

Relevant and Present Principles	Implications for Curriculum Development
Single, Integrated Administrative Structure	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Facilitation of structure of authority consistent with main democratic values 2. Employee involvement in decision-making 3. Accountability of public employees 4. Prevention of abuses of authority 5. Openness and mutual respect
Functional Principle	The government functions to fulfill public interest out of necessity rather than out of inevitable presence and involvement
Protection of Employee Rights	Promotion of existing legal basis and its practical application

Irrelevant and Non-present Principle	Implications for Curriculum Development
Social Representativeness	Enforcement of greater regional representativeness

Irrelevant and Present Principle	Implications for Curriculum Development
Political Responsiveness	The balance of power has to be established first

General Implications for Educational Curriculum for Public Administrators
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Enforcement of system of checks and balances in the country's political system 2. Separation of power between legislative, executive, and judicial branches 3. Clearly identified role and functions of the government 4. Development of political culture in public employees consistent with democratic values.

Looking to the Future

If democratic norms and institutions begin to replace existing authoritative norms and institutions, the general framework for a curriculum in public administration may be described as follows:

1. Course work that continues to reinforce democratic norms and institutions
2. Emphasis on everyday managerial practice rather than legalistic education
3. Educational programs at both undergraduate and graduate level
4. Comprehensive and coherent curriculum rather than scattered courses
5. Program culminating in a master degree
6. Program's contractual obligations for retaining the program's graduates and thus employing their potential and capabilities
7. Preparing public employees with the most crucial specializations needed in Tajikistan at the moment

These and other elements identified by curriculum developers can start the Master of Public Administration Program in Tajikistan. These steps outline the general characteristics of the program and give an idea of what has to be done to make the program function. Once implemented the program is expected to expand in terms of the content, purpose, and objectives. As the democratic institutions will begin to evolve the necessary adjustments in the program's curriculum can be made.

Implications for Further Research

In comparing two countries for the purpose of developing guiding options for educational curriculum which can address political and social realities, the conducted study discovered needs for additional research in these areas. First, the general context of required courses in American MPA programs can be studied and linked to the objectives and principles of

public administration. Considering NASPAA accreditation as the determining factor, the conducted study assumed adherence of the analyzed MPA programs to the objectives and principles of public administration. Possibly, the study of NASPAA accreditation processes and standards will help to answer this question. However, it is not clear how well the curriculum of these programs addresses them. Second, more research of Tajik educational system might be needed for better curriculum development process. Tajik educational system may lack the same degree of openness, democracy, and public involvement as the United States educational system does. The obstacles and their potential effect on curriculum development process should be studied and explained. The proposed directions of research can add to this study and open perspectives for the new ones.

Appendix

Table 7: Required Courses: Categories and Frequencies

No.	Courses	Frequency	Subdivided Courses	Frequency of Subdivided Courses
1	Research Methods and/or Quantitative Data Analysis	178	Research Methods	79
			Analytical Methods	33
			Quantitative Methods	25
			Data Analysis	16
			Quantitative Analysis	15
			Applied Research Methods	10
2	Public Budgeting and/or Finance	145	Public Finance	57
			Public Budgeting	43
			Public Budgeting and Finance	38
			Public Fiscal Administration	7
3	General Courses in Public Administration and/or Management	142	Foundation of PA	21
			Introduction to PA	16
			Introduction to Public Affairs	5
			Public Management	32
			Public Administration and Democracy	36
			Seminar in Public Administration	10

			PA: Theory and Practice	11	
			Issues in Public Administration	7	
			Survey of PA	4	
4	Organizational Theory and/or Organizational Behavior	103	Organizational Theory and Organizational Behavior	79	
			Administrative Theory	13	
			Public Organization	6	
			Government Organization	5	
5	Human Resource and/or Personnel Administration	101			
6	Policy Analysis and/or Program Evaluation	96	Policy Analysis	75	
			Program Evaluation	21	
7	Economics for PA	50	Economics	41	
			Microeconomics	9	
8	Capstone Seminar	40			
9	Information Technology Administration	33	Information Technology Management	27	
			Computer Application	6	
10	Ethics and/or Accountability in PA	32	Ethics for PA	27	
			Accountability for PA	5	
11	Public Policy Process	29			
12	Statistics	21			
13	Leadership	19			
14	Legal Basis of PA	17			
15	Professional Development Seminar and/or Application of PA	15			
16	Strategic Planning and/or Performance Management	14			
17	Administrative Law	14			
18	Collaborative Government	8			
19	Public Bureaucracy	3			

20	Professional Communication	3			
21	Government Accounting	3			
22	American Institutions	2			
23	Nonprofit Organization	2			
24	Qualitative Methods	1			
25	International Perspective or Study Abroad Course	1			
26	Socialization Seminar	1			
27	Seminar in Urban Government	1			
28	Health Care Policy and Administration	1			
29	Political Advocacy, Leadership, Ethics and Press	1			
30	Cases in Public Administration	1			
31	Oral Presentation for Public Managers	1			
32	Logic Inquiry	1			
	Total	1079			

Table 8: Frequency and Percentage of Required Courses

N	Course	No. of courses on the same subject	No. of Univ. offering certain course	Percentage of Univ. offering certain course	1 course on the subject	2 courses on the same subject	3 course on the same subject
1	Research Methods and/or Quantitative Data Analysis	178	117	84.2%	53.8%	40.2%	6.0%
2	Public Budgeting and/or Finance	145	126	90.6%	87.3%	10.3%	2.4%
3	General Courses on Public Administration and/or Management	142	126	90.6%	87.3%	12.7%	n/a
4	Organizational Theory and/or Organizational Behavior	103	100	71.9%	97.0%	3.0%	n/a
5	Human Resource Management	101	101	72.7%	100%	n/a	n/a
6	Policy Analysis and/or Program Evaluation	96	86	61.9%	89.5%	9.3%	1.2%
7	Economic for PA	50	48	35.3%	98.0%	2.0%	n/a
8	Capstone Seminar	40	40	28.8%	100%	n/a	n/a
9	Information Technology Administration	33	32	23.0%	96.9%	3.1%	n/a
10	Ethics and/or Accountability in PA	32	32	23.0%	100%	n/a	n/a
11	Public Policy Process	29	29	20.9%	100%	n/a	n/a
12	Statistics	21	19	13.7%	89.5%	10.5%	n/a
13	Leadership	19	19	13.7%	100%	n/a	n/a

14	Legal Basis of Public Administration	17	17	12.2%	100%	n/a	n/a
15	Professional Development Seminar and/or Application of PA	15	13	9.4%	84.6%	15.4%	n/a
16	Strategic Planning and/or Performance Management	14	14	10.1%	100%	n/a	n/a
17	Administrative Law	14	14	10.1%	100%	n/a	n/a
18	Intergovernmental Relations	8	8	5.8%	100%	n/a	n/a
19	Public Bureaucracy	3	3	2.2%	100%	n/a	n/a
20	Professional Communications	3	3	2.2%	100%	n/a	n/a
21	Government Accounting	3	3	2.2%	100%	n/a	n/a
22	American Institutions	2	2	1.4%	100%	n/a	n/a
23	Nonprofit Organization	2	2	1.4%	100%	n/a	n/a
24	Qualitative Methods	1	1	.72%	100%	n/a	n/a
25	International Perspective	1	1	.72%	100%	n/a	n/a
26	Socialization Seminar	1	1	.72%	100%	n/a	n/a
27	Seminar in Urban Government	1	1	.72%	100%	n/a	n/a
28	Health Care Policy and Administration	1	1	.72%	100%	n/a	n/a
29	Political Advocacy, Leadership, Ethics and Press	1	1	.72%	100%	n/a	n/a
30	Cases in Public Administration	1	1	.72%	100%	n/a	n/a

31	Oral Presentation for Public Managers	1	1	.72%	100%	n/a	n/a
32	Logic Inquiry	1	1	.72%	100%	n/a	n/a

**Table 9: Number and Percentage of Universities Offering at Least 1 Required Course
in Each Subject Area**

N	Course	No.	Percentage
1	Research Methods and/or Quantitative Data Analysis	117	84.2%
2	Public Budgeting and/or Finance	126	90.6%
3	General Courses on Public Administration and/or Management	126	90.6%
4	Organizational Theory and/or Organizational Behavior	100	71.9%
5	Human Resource Management	101	72.7%
6	Policy Analysis and/or Program Evaluation	86	61.9%
7	Economic for PA	48	35.3%
8	Capstone Seminar	40	28.8%
9	Information Technology Administration	32	23.0%
10	Ethics and/or Accountability in PA	32	23.0%
11	Public Policy Process	29	20.9%
12	Statistics	19	13.7%
13	Leadership	19	13.7%
14	Legal Basis of Public Administration	17	12.2%
15	Strategic Planning and/or Performance Management	14	10.1%
16	Administrative Law	14	10.1%
17	The Professional Development Seminar and/or Application of Public Administration	13	9.4%
18	Intergovernmental Relations	8	5.8%
19	Public Bureaucracy	3	2.2%
20	Professional Communication	3	2.2%
21	Government Accounting	3	2.2%
22	American Institutions	2	1.4%
23	Nonprofit Organization	2	1.4%
24	Qualitative Methods	1	.72%
25	International Perspective	1	.72%
26	Socialization Seminar	1	.72%
27	Seminar in Urban Government	1	.72%
28	Health Care Policy and Administration	1	.72%
29	Political Advocacy, Leadership, Ethics and Press	1	.72%
30	Cases in Public Administration	1	.72%
31	Oral Presentation for Public Managers	1	.72%
32	Logic Inquiry	1	.72%

Table 10: Specializations: Frequency and Percentage

No.	Specializations	Frequency	Percentage out of 102 Universities offering Specializations	Percentage out of all 139 Universities
1	Nonprofit Administration	68	66.7%	48.9%
2	Public Policy	43	42.2%	30.9%
3	Health Care Administration	43	42.2%	30.9%
4	Public Management	36	35.3%	25.9%
5	Public Finance Administration	30	29.4%	21.6%
6	Urban Administration	26	25.5%	18.7%
7	State and Local Government Administration	26	25.5%	18.7%
8	Human Resource Management	25	24.5%	18.0%
9	Criminal Justice Administration	23	22.5%	16.5%
10	Environment Management	20	19.6%	14.4%
11	General Public Administration	19	18.6%	13.7%
12	International Development Administration	12	11.8%	8.6%
13	Informational Technology Management	12	11.8%	8.6%
14	Emergency Management	8	7.8%	5.8%
15	Personalized	8	7.8%	5.8%
16	Public Service Leadership	8	7.8%	5.8%
17	Social Policy	6	5.9%	4.3%
18	Community and Economic Development	5	4.9%	3.6%
19	Arts Management	5	4.9%	3.6%
20	Economic Development	5	4.9%	3.6%
21	Homeland Security	5	4.9%	3.6%
22	Gerontology	4	3.9%	2.9%

23	Civic Administration	3	2.9%	2.2%
24	Organization Management	3	2.9%	2.2%
25	Aviation Administration	2	1.96%	1.44%
26	Comparative Development Administration	2	1.96%	1.44%
27	Science	2	1.96%	1.44%
28	Survey Research	2	1.96%	1.44%
29	Transportation System Management	2	1.96%	1.44%
30	Education	2	1.96%	1.44%
31	Coastal and Marine Management	2	1.96%	1.44%
32	Public Safety	2	1.96%	1.44%
33	Sustainable Development	2	1.96%	1.44%
34	Animals, Community, and Law	2	1.96%	1.44%
35	Election Administration	1	.98%	.72%
36	Domestic Violence	1	.98%	.72%
37	IGERT Association in Sustainable Urban Infrastructure	1	.98%	.72%
38	Energy	1	.98%	.72%
39	Land Planning and Development	1	.98%	.72%
40	Government Contracting	1	.98%	.72%
41	Management Consulting	1	.98%	.72%

Table 11: Semester/Quarter Type of Program

Percentage and Frequency of Semester/Quarter Calendar				
Type of Credits	<i>Semester</i>	<i>Quarter</i>	<i>Converted Quarter to Semester Credit hours</i>	<i>Total Semester Credit Hours Including Converted Quarter Hours</i>
<i>25 – 34 credit hours</i>	1.4%		1.4%	2.8%
	<i>2 Univ.</i>		<i>2 Univ.</i>	<i>4 Univ.</i>
<i>35 – 44 credit hours</i>	79.9%		2.9%	82.8%
	<i>111 Univ.</i>		<i>4 Univ.</i>	<i>115 Univ.</i>
<i>45 – 54 credit hours</i>	10.8%	3.6%	1.4%	14.4%
	<i>15 Univ.</i>	<i>5 Univ.</i>	<i>2 Univ.</i>	<i>17 Univ.</i>
<i>55 – 64 credit hours</i>	1.4%	.71%		1.4%
	<i>2 Univ.</i>	<i>1 Univ.</i>		<i>2 Univ.</i>
<i>65 – 74 credit hours</i>	.71%	1.4%		.71%
	<i>1 Univ.</i>	<i>2 Univ.</i>		<i>1 Univ.</i>
<i>Total</i>	94.21%	5.71%	5.7%	99.91%
	<i>131 Univ.</i>	<i>8 Univ.</i>	<i>8 Univ.</i>	<i>139 Univ.</i>

Table 12: Percentage and Frequency of Internship Requirements

	Internship Requirements				
	<i>Percentage out of 139 Universities</i>	<i>Percentage out of 88 Universities</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Pre-Service Required out of 88 Universities</i>	<i>Pre-Service Unspecified out of 88 Universities</i>
<i>1 – 2 credits</i>	.71%	1.1%	<i>1 Univ.</i>	1.1% <i>1 Univ.</i>	
<i>3 – 6 credits</i>	45.3%	71.6%	<i>63 Univ.</i>	52.3% <i>46 Univ.</i>	19.3% <i>17 Univ.</i>
<i>7 and more credits</i>	2.9%	4.5%	<i>4 Univ.</i>	4.5% <i>4 Univ.</i>	
<i>Unspecified Number of Credits</i>	14.4%	22.7%	<i>20 Univ.</i>	13.6% <i>12 Univ.</i>	9.1% <i>8 Univ.</i>
<i>Total</i>	63.3%		<i>88 Univ.</i>	71.6% <i>63 Univ.</i>	28.4% <i>25 Univ.</i>
				<i>88 Univ.</i>	

Table 14: Courses on Public Administration and/or Related Areas Offered in Tajik Universities and Institutions

Tajik Institutions and Universities	Required courses	Required oral/written exam	Thesis, Paper, Project required	Departments	Options/Areas of Specialization
1 Russian-Tajik Slavic University	Adm Law of Foreign Coutries	Theory of State and Law	Graduation Paper	Law, Division of State and Law	BA in Jurisprudence
	Judicial Technique			Constitutional Law	
	Political Structure of Society				
	Custom Law				
	Human Rights: Intern Legal Cooperation				
	Legal Basis of State and Municipal Services				
	Problems of Responsibility in Adm and Financial Law				
	The problems of Contemporary Law Interpretation				
	Parliamentary Law of Russian Federation				
	Theory and Practice of Legal State				
	Theory and Practice of Social State				
	Elective Law and Elective Process				
	Constitutional Justice				
	Taxation Law				
Adm Process					
Sociology of Law					
2 Russian-Tajik Slavic University	Found of Management			Economics, Division of Economics and	BA in Management
	Innovational Management				
	Industrial Management				
	Marketing				
	Org Behavior				
	Org Theory				
	Economics of Org				
	Logistics				
	State and Municipal Adm				
	Performance Management				
	Personnel Adm				
	Anticrisis Adm				
	Adm Decision-Making				
	Inform Technology and Adm				
Commercial Activity					
3 Tajik State University of Law, Business, and Policy	Economics Theory		Economics Theory	Business and Administration	BA in State and Municipal Adm
	Public Adm				
	Problems of Local Governance				
	Human Resources Adm				
	Social and Economic Adm				
	Strategic Manag				
	Org Manag				
	Financial Analysis	Adm Manag and State Planning			
	Strategic Planning				
	Ethics of Business Communications and Negotiations				
	Tourism Adm				
	Adm Decision Making				
	Crisis Adm				
	Logistics				
	Local Budget				
	Performance Manag				
	Adm Theory				
Audit					
	Infomatization of Public Agencies			Division of Informational Technology	

4	Institute for Improving The Qualifications of Civil Servants	E-Government				
		IT Communication in Government				
		Informational Policy and Security of TJK				
		Resource Potential and Geopolitics of Tajikistan				
5	Institute for Improving The Qualifications of Civil Servants	Free Market and Methods for Increasing its Effectiveness		Graduation Paper	Division of Economics	
		State Management of National Economy in Transition Period				
		International Finance and Credit System				
		State Management of Finance and Credit Policy				
		State Manag of Fiscal System				
		State Management of International Economic Relations				
		Investment Policy and Investment Activity				
		Project Management				
		Economic-Social Strategy of Regions				
		6				
Constitutional Law						
State and Governance						
Public Service in TJK						
Civil Law						
PA in Foreign Countries						
Labor Law						
Financial Law						
Military and Economic Security of the						
7	Institute for Improving The Qualifications of Civil Servants	Public Administration			Division of Liberal Arts	
		Contemporary History of TJK				
		Psychology of Leadership				
		Ethics for State Employees				
		Code of Ethics for State Employees				
		History of PA				
		Psychological Aspects of State Employees Functioning				
		Records Keeping and Management				
Relationships of State Agencies and Society						

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