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Authors Index

A		GU Xiang	843
A. Venkatraman	351	GUAN Wei	276
Anagha Somwanshi	93	GUO Huang-lin	552
Anas Khan	737	GUO Jia	713
Andrew Patching	3	GUO Jian-hua	688
Anupama Mahajan	725	GUO Jing-tao	569
Ashutosh Gupta	429	GUO Jun-hua	479
B		GUO Nan	596
B. Amarender Reddy	615	H	
B. N. V. Satyanarayana	210	HAN Xiao	527
B. Ramalingam	500	HU Teng	281
Bidyut Chakrabarty	254	HU Xin	409
Brian Pinkowski, J.D.	3	HUANG Tao	817
C		HUANG Wei-hong	421
CAO Chao-xue	881	HUANG Xiao-ye	138
Carol W. Lewis	229	HUANG Yu-xin	909
CHEN Ai-hua	810	J	
CHEN Guo-ying	676	JI Guang-nan	803
CHEN Jing	324	JI Jun	219
CHEN Li-jun	380	JIA Jin-ru	701
CHEN Wen-jing	660	JIANG Li-sha	300
CHEN Xing	162	JIN Hai-he	533
CHENG Qian	563	JIN Hai-he	639
D		JIN Zhang-feng	122
D. Ravindra Prasad	441	JIN Zhang-feng	203
D. Sriram	621	JING Hui-lan	755
DAI Li	577	John Antony Xavier	629
DENG Li	695	K	
DENG Xing	404	K. Tirupathi	500
DENG Zhi-feng	540	KANG Ju-hua	488
DING Ying-jun	928	KANG Mei-hua	718
Dolly Mathew	85	KE Qi	479
DONG Yue	494	KISHWER Jehan Begum	365
DOU Zheng-bin	886	KONG Bo	584
F		KONG Dong	810
FAN Jia-xi	903	L	
FANG Xin	766	LEI Shan-yu	667
FENG Jing-yan	527	LEI Xu-chuan	219
FENG Lu	311	LI Hai-feng	869
FENG Yi-feng	203	LI Jin	777
G		LI Lun	39
G. Sudarshanam	340	LI Mei	644
GAO Shan	750	LI Xiao-hong	849
GE Zhong-quan	706	LI Ying-hong	857
GE Zhong-quan	862	LI Yuan	584
GOU Xiao-ju	892	LI Ze-gang	176

LIANG Ping	825	QING Ming-kun	706
LIANG Xin	607	QUE Tian-shu	103
LIANG Yu-chao	915	R	
LIAO Wen-jie	311	R. Limbadri	621
LIU Ai-lian	39	R. Venkatesham	615
LIU Da-zhi	52	Ramabrahmam	356
LIU Gui-hua	399	REN Chun-ye	602
LIU Hui	849	REN Liang	876
LIU Jian-feng	129	REN Ran	921
LIU Ling-hui	72	Riad Khan	737
LIU Lin-sha	701	Riant Nugroho	12
LIU Wei-zhong	66	Ritesh Saxena	429
LIU Ye	111	Roopinder Oberoi	238
LIU Ying-yu	682	S	
LIU Ze-fang	784	Sanjeev K. Mahajan	725
LU Hua-feng	281	Saul H. Nesselroth	229
LU Qin	886	SHEN Jun-long	468
LUO Da-yu	332	SHEN Shi-yong	317
LUO Li-juan	399	SHI Lu-ping	590
LUO Ming-can	881	SHI Rui-jie	260
LUO Peng-yi	188	SHI Sheng-an	921
LUO Ruo-yu	188	Shila Devi Ramadass	629
LUO Ruo-yu	79	SONG Xue-ying	639
LUO Ruo-yu	933	SUN Huan	921
LUO Yuan-yin	933	SUN You-hao	796
LV Ya-jing	494	SUN Zhao-hui	145
LV Yan	195	SUN Zhong-gen	527
M		Sunil Dutt	507
M. Ramakrishnaiah	500	SUO Li-ming	457
MA Jing	156	Syarifudin Tippe	12
MA Xiao-yan	546	T	
MA Xiao-yan	654	TANG Zhi-wei	391
MIAO Xiao-li	590	TANG Zhi-wei	607
Mohammad Habibur Rahman	737	TAO Jun-yu	270
MUKONZA, Ricky Munyaradzi	517	TAO Jun-yu	654
Murali Sambasivan	629	TENG Shan-shan	464
N		TIAN Mi-mi	473
N. Chaitanya Pradeep	340	W	
N. Narasimha Rao	621	WANG Bo	79
Nidhi Vij	429	WANG Chun	939
Nileshkumar Joshi	27	WANG Gang-yi	667
P		WANG Guang-kun	755
P. Shekar	615	WANG He-jiang	676
PENG An-ya	494	WANG Hui-song	391
PENG Gui-lin	457	WANG Jing-ting	421
Pooja Atkare (Sonkhaskar)	93	WANG Kun	546
Prakash Chand	254	WANG Pei-cheng	479
Q		WANG Shan	404
QI Zhong-ying	286	WANG Tong-yi	122

WANG Tong-yi	203	ZHANG Fang-fang	928
WANG Wei-quan	760	ZHANG Jian-ming	317
WANG Xi-quan	468	ZHANG Li	750
WANG Xi-quan	750	ZHANG Li-li	46
WANG Yi-wen	145	ZHANG Long-peng	79
WEI Xue-jiao	457	ZHANG Meng-meng	375
WEI Yuan-yuan	837	ZHANG Ming-feng	305
WU Shou-rong	803	ZHANG Qin-peng	150
WU Wei-jun	300	ZHANG Qiong	391
WU Wei-jun	577	ZHANG Rui	817
X		ZHANG Sha-sha	116
XIA Li-jun	791	ZHANG Song-li	380
XIAO Hong	270	ZHANG Wei	750
XIAO Jing	404	ZHANG Wei	876
XIE Ji-hua	695	ZHANG Xiao-dong	688
XIN Fang-kun	832	ZHANG Xiao-mei	772
XIONG Wen-long	305	ZHANG Xiao-yu	295
XU Cai-ming	404	ZHANG Xin-sheng	183
XU Chen-xun	133	ZHANG Yan	133
XU Qiong	676	ZHANG Yi-wei	772
XU Ying-feng	404	ZHANG Yu	451
Y		ZHANG Zhao-wei	837
YAN Ting	546	ZHANG Zhen	176
YANG Fan	921	ZHAO Da-wei	34
YANG Lu-ping	332	ZHAO Peng-liang	265
YANG Sheng-liang	404	ZHAO Yan	862
YANG Xi	784	ZHENG Hai-tao	286
YAO Xian-guo	203	ZHENG Hao-sheng	399
YIN Li	557	ZHENG Shu-fen	557
YU Hai-peng	415	ZHOU En-yi	156
YU Kai	169	ZHOU Wen-jun	903
YUAN Fang	533	ZHU Hui	169
YUAN Wen-yi	60	ZHU Jie	701
YU Quan-jiao	276	ZHU Mei-ling	488
Z		ZHU Qing-mei	796
ZEN Zhi	468	ZHU Xiao-ning	116
ZENG Ru-gang	853	ZHU Xiao-ning	375
ZENG Wei	295	ZHU Xiao-ning	46
ZHA Jian-ping	399	ZHU Xiao-ning	473
ZHA Yang-qian-wen	791	ZHU Xiao-ning	552
ZHAN Xun	660	ZHU Xiao-ning	596
ZHAN Xun	718	ZHU Xiao-ning	909
ZHANG Bei-bei	777	ZONG Yi-xiang	837
ZHANG Bei-bei	825	Zulkifli bin Idris	629
ZHANG Fan	311		

Contents

Part One Roles of Governments and Markets

The BRIC Experience with Civil Service Reform: Lessons for Developing Countries and Fragile States.....	Andrew Patching Brian Pinkowski, J.D.	3
State Corporations, the New Frontiers of Public Administration Indonesian Model for Managing State Owned Enterprise (SOE): A Policy Framework for a Possible Solution.....	Riant Nugroho Syarifudin Tippe	12
Managing the Market: Exploring Policy Changes and Reforms in Telecom Sector in India.....	Nileshkumar Joshi	27
The Path Selection of Prompting Local Government Executive Power	ZHAO Da-wei	34
Reshaping the Image of Local Government in China	LIU Ai-lian LI Lun	39
A Study on Transformation of Government Function of Outsourcing of Public Service.....	ZHU Xiao-ning ZHANG Li-li	46
New Definitions of Public Goods: Review and Prospect	LIU Da-zhi	52
Construction on Quaternity of Food Safety Regulation System Conducted by Chinese Local Government.....	YUAN Wen-yi	60
On Value Precondition of Public Administration in the Service-orientated Government Construction in China	LIU Wei-zhong	66
Analysis on the Problems and Solutions in the Process of Land Sharing between Local Residents and Outgoing Resettlers in Reservoir Resettlement of Zipingpu Reservoir	LIU Ling-hui	72
Industrial Transfer, Local Government Competition and Economic Growth of Western China.....	ZHANG Long-peng LUO Ruo-yu WANG Bo	79
Towards a Search for Excellence in Public Administration Theory and Practice	Dolly Mathew	85

Part Two Human Resources, Public Services and Social Security

Fostering the Core Value of Leadership through Decentralization and Emergence of Women Leadership in Rural India.....	Pooja Atkare (Sonkhaskar) Anagha Somwanshi	93
World Health Organization and China's Public Health Management: Norms Proliferation and Agenda Change	QUE Tian-shu	103
Analysis of Psychological Capital Development.....	LIU Ye	111
A Research on the Grid Allocation Model of Human Resources for Emergency	ZHU Xiao-ning ZHANG Sha-sha	116
The Peer Effect on Migrant Workers' Job Mobility and Wages in China	JIN Zhang-feng WANG Tong-yi	122
The Researching and Analyzing of Input and Output about Chinese Provincial Human Resource —Based on the DEA Model	LIU Jian-feng	129
Western Performance Management's Adaptation within Chinese Organizational Culture	XU Chen-xun ZHANG Yan	133
Personnel Strategies of Private Enterprises—From the Perspective of Social Network	HUANG Xiao-ye	138
Research on the System of China's Civil Service.....	WANG Yi-wen SUN Zhao-hui	145
The Suggestions on Accelerating the Equalization of China's Basic Public Services	ZHANG Qin-peng	150
Chinese Urban and Rural Pension Insurance Problems Discussion and Analysis in View of Social Fairness.....	MA Jing ZHOU En-yi	156
The Study of Financial Expenditure and the Construction of Pension System.....	CHEN Xing	162
Functional Transformation and Policy Innovation: The Experiences, Problems and Countermeasures of the Urban Community Elder Care Service System in Shanghai, China.....	YU Kai ZHU Hui	169

A Review of the Employment Training Policies for Land-lost Farmers in China.....	LI Ze-gang ZHANG Zhen	176
Approaches of Improving Rural Doctors' Pension in Underdeveloped Areas in China.....	ZHANG Xin-sheng	183
Analysis of the Factors Influencing Public Decision Making within Local Governments in China —Based on Case Study of the Medical Reforms in Suqian and Shenmu	LUO Peng-yi LUO Ruo-yu	188
Social Evaluation and Suggestions about Creating the Civilized City—Based on the Investigation of 761 Yangzhou Citizens	LV Yan	195
The Wage Gap between State and Private Enterprises in China: Counterfactual Analysis Based on Quantile Regression.....	WANG Tong-yi JIN Zhang-feng FENG Yi-feng YAO Xian-guo	203
Globalization and Changing Human Resource Perspectives: A Study of Public Sector Undertakings in India	B. N. V. Satyanarayana	210
The Study on the Correlation between Interpersonal Trust and Subjective Happiness of Chengdu Resident.....	LEI Xu-chuan JI Jun	219

Part Three Ethics and Integrity

Public Opinion on Political Ethics: Inconsistency, Division, and Paradox	Carol W. Lewis Saul H. Nesselroth	229
Integrity Measurement and Assessment Framework—Comprehensive Construct to Combat Corruption	Roopinder Oberoi	238
Ethics in Governance—A Study of the Moily Committee Report	Bidyut Chakrabarty Prakash Chand	254
The Rebuilding of the Value System in Social Transformation—The Base-line Ethics and the Morality Cultivation	SHI Rui-jie	260
The International Impacts of the Confucius Institute.....	ZHAO Peng-liang	265
Characteristics and Application Mode of Ethical Leadership	XIAO Hong TAO Jun-yu	270
On Developing the Ethical Responsibility of Chinese Government Officials	GUAN Wei YU Quan-jiao	276
The Protection of Civil Rights and the Push of the Government's Anti-corruption Campaign.....	HU Teng LU Hua-feng	281
Policy Networks and Policy Outcomes: Empirical Analysis of Falsely High Drug Price.....	ZHENG Hai-tao QI Zhong-ying	286
The Shaping of Civil Servants' Administration Personality from the Perspective of Public Ethnics.....	ZENG Wei ZHANG Xiao-yu	295
On the Improvement of China's Government Contract Privilege System	JIANG Li-sha WU Wei-jun	300
Study on the Problems of the Local Government Land Law Enforcement in China	ZHANG Ming-feng XIONG Wen-long	305
Exclusive Dispute Resolution: An Empirical Study on Administrative Environmental Dispute Resolution in South-west China.....	FENG Lu ZHANG Fan LIAO Wen-jie	311
The Study on the Integrity Mechanisms of Medical Service Provider under the Background of New Healthcare Reform	SHEN Shi-yong ZHANG Jian-ming	317
The Research on Problems and Solutions of Administrative Culture in the Local Administrative Service Center of China.....	CHEN Jing	324
A Study of the Basic Public Service Equalization in Urban and Rural Areas in China from Perspective of Harmonious Society	LUO Da-yu YANG Lu-ping	332
Integrity and Morale in Police Administration: A Study of Andhra Pradesh Police.....	G. Sudarshanam N. Chaitanya Pradeep	340
Civil Society and Ethical Governance in the Indian Context.....	A. Venkatraman	351

Politicizing Corruption in India: Political Executive VS. Constitutional Body (Conflicting Views on Measurement of Corruption)	Ramabrahmam	356
Public/Private—Similarities /Differences	KISHWER Jehan Begum	365
The Sino-US Comparative Study of Administrative Ethics Based on Cultural Dimensions Theory	ZHANG Meng-meng ZHU Xiao-ning	375
Guanxi's Effect on Administrative Ethical Decision-making—An Empirical Study of 188 Cases Based on Content Analysis	CHEN Li-jun ZHANG Song-li	380
Study on Causes and Countermeasures for Local Government Behavior Anomie	WANG Hui-song TANG Zhi-wei ZHANG Qiong	391

Part Four Budgetary and Fiscal Transactions

Study on Transfer Payment System in Realizing the Equalization of Public Service in China.....	ZHENG Hao-sheng LIU Gui-hua ZHA Jian-ping LUO Li-juan	399
Study on the County-level Government Technical Efficiency	XU Cai-ming DENG Xing XU Ying-feng WANG Shan XIAO Jing YANG Sheng-liang	404
The Integration Study on People's Congress Fiscal Supervision and Government Auditing in China	HU Xin	409
A PLSR Analysis on the Impact Effect of the Financial Supporting Agriculture Policy	YU Hai-peng	415
An Empirical Study on Incentive Effects of Fiscal and Taxation Policies for Independent Innovation by Enterprises	HUANG Wei-hong WANG Jing-ting	421

Part Five Governance

Two to Tango: Monitoring Mechanisms in Practice: Implementation Impediments and IT-initiatives under MGNREGA in India	Nidhi Vij Ritesh Saxena Ashutosh Gupta	429
Citizen Participation in Urban Governance in India: Need for Reforms	D. Ravindra Prasad	441
On Reconstruction of the Relationship among the Government, the Society and the Citizen in the Course of Social Governance Innovation in China	ZHANG Yu	451
Transaction Costs and Choice of Local Government Regional Economic Governance Structure	SUO Li-ming WEI Xue-jiao PENG Gui-lin	457
Agricultural Information Management: The Strong Booster for Building and Improving of China's New Countryside Construction.....	TENG Shan-shan	464
Study on Governance Mechanism about the Traditional Chinese Medicine Tacit Knowledge.....	WANG Xi-quan SHEN Jun-long ZEN Zhi	468
Research on Grass-roots Social Management System Innovation Based on Governance Theory —A Case Study of Chengdu.....	ZHU Xiao-ning TIAN Mi-mi	473
Model and Empirical Research on User Acceptance of E-government Services	GUO Jun-hua WANG Pei-cheng KE Qi	479
Analysis on Dilemmas of Xinjiang Rural Governance and Solutions	KANG Ju-hua ZHU Mei-ling	488
Public Opinion Governance in Microage: Challenges Authoritative Management Mode Confront and the Solution	LV Ya-jing DONG Yue PENG An-ya	494
Urban Governance Reforms and Policies in India.....	M. Ramakrishnaiah K. Tirupathi B. Ramalingam	500
The Challenges of Last Mile Delivery of Services: Common Service Centres in the National E-governance Plan of India	Sunil Dutt	507
E-governance in South Africa's Local Government	MUKONZA, Ricky Munyaradzi	517

Part Six Emergencies and Catastrophic Events

Analysis on Contributing Factors of Risks to Affect Social Stability Caused by Urban Housing Demolition from the Perspective of Combustion Theory	SUN Zhong-gen HAN Xiao FENG Jing-yan	527
Research on the Responsibility of Each Participant in Emergency Management in China	YUAN Fang JIN Hai-he	533
Populace Vulnerability and Public Crisis Management—An Analysis Based on the Psychological Contract.....	DENG Zhi-feng	540
Study on Public Crisis and Media Relations Management	MA Xiao-yan WANG Kun YAN Ting	546
Study on Contemporary Chinese Government Emergency Mobilization of Political Pattern.....	ZHU Xiao-ning GUO Huang-lin	552
On Protection of Public's Right to Know in Chinese Public Crisis Management	ZHENG Shu-fen YIN Li	557
Collaboration or Competition: Choice in Risk Society.....	CHENG Qian	563
Establishing Public Crisis Management System in Chinese Minority Regions	GUO Jing-tao	569
On the Legislation Predicament and Reform of Chinese Government Information Openness System in Crisis Management.....	DAI Li WU Wei-jun	577
Construction of the Post-disaster Psychological Intervention System in the Government Emergency Management	KONG Bo LI Yuan	584
Risk Management Research on Floodwater Resources Utilization in Mountainous Areas Based on IOT	SHI Lu-ping MIAO Xiao-li	590
Study on Grid-feedback Mechanism of Public Emergencies in Social Transition Period.....	ZHU Xiao-ning GUO Nan	596
Research on Legal Issues of Traffic Accident Third Party Liability Compulsory Insurance in China.....	REN Chun-ye	602
Research on Contingency Plans of Sudden Natural Disasters Based on System Dynamics Model.....	LIANG Xin TANG Zhi-wei	607

Part Seven Networks and Partnerships

Strengthening Rural Governments for Good Governance	B. Amarendra Reddy R. Venkatesham P. Shekar	615
Multi-stakeholder Collaboration in Controlling AIDS: The Andhra Pradesh Model in India.....	R. Limbadri D. Sriram N. Narasimha Rao	621
The Role of Accountability Interdependence for the Success of Public Sector Collaboration.....	Shila Devi Ramadass John Antony Xavier Murali Sambasivan Zulkifli bin Idris	629
Research on the Machining of Multiple Subjects' Participation in Social Management.....	SONG Xue-ying JIN Hai-he	639
An Analysis of HIV/AIDS Policy Networks in Yunnan, China	LI Mei	644
The Operational Risks and Countermeasures of Government Affairs Micro-blog in China.....	TAO Jun-yu MA Xiao-yan	654
Analysis of the Service Concept in Local Government Departments' Micro-blogs from the Perspective of Communication Studies: A Case Study of Chengdu Traffic Police's Sina Micro-blog	CHEN Wen-jing ZHAN Xun	660
China Management Innovation of Salvation Organizations in Folk—Case Study of Dalian Sun Yihong Children Village	WANG Gang-yi LEI Shan-yu	667
Research on Internet Participation and Its Political and Social Influence: From the Perspective of Discourse Right	CHEN Guo-ying XU Qiong WANG He-jiang	676
Research on Conflict of Community Residents' Committee's Role and Its Path—Taking Shanghai for Example.....	LIU Ying-yu	682

Game Analysis on Credit Deficiency of NGO from the View of Principal-agent Theory	GUO Jian-hua ZHANG Xiao-dong	688
The Brief Analysis of University Counselors' Blog Construction	XIE Ji-hua DENG Li	695
The Environment of the Antagonism Decoding and the Government Public Communication Strategies in China.....	LIU Lin-sha ZHU Jie JIA Jin-ru	701
The Role of Chinese Government to Maintain the Order of Network	QING Ming-kun GE Zhong-quan	706
Policy Learning and International Cooperation: The Case Study of the Grain for Green Project in China	GUO Jia	713
A Study of Communication Strategy on Political Participation of Chinese Officials' Micro-blog —Case of Cai Qi's Micro-blog	KANG Mei-hua ZHAN Xun	718
Impact of Proactive Policies in Improving Social Sector Service Delivery through Public Private Partnership	Sanjeev K. Mahajan Anupama Mahajan	725

Part Eight Global Developments in Public Administration and Others

In Quest of Globalization: Governance Dilemmas and Challenges in Fiji	Mohammad Habibur Rahman Riad Khan Anas Khan	737
Social Marketing Case Study in Chinese Firms: Based on Knowledge Map Method	ZHANG Wei WANG Xi-quan ZHANG Li GAO Shan	750
The Natural Disaster Prevention and Control System Construction in Chinese City from the International Perspective	JING Hui-lan WANG Guang-kun	755
Coordinating the Local Interest's Conflict during Regional Integration: Experience from the Yangtze Delta in China	WANG Wei-quan	760
College Expansion Policy and Educational Mismatch in China: An Empirical Analysis of Over-education	FANG Xin	766
New Generation Migrant Workers Quality Evaluation Based on the AHP and Fuzzy Comprehensive Evaluation Method	ZHANG Yi-wei ZHANG Xiao-mei	772
Changes and Enlightenment of American College Student Affairs Management	LI Jin ZHANG Bei-bei	777
Study on Higher Education Quality Guarantee System from the Perspective of the Powerful Human-resources Nation	YANG Xi LIU Ze-fang	784
Analysis on the Present Management Situation of the South Korea Cultural Tourism Products Industry	XIA Li-jun ZHA Yang-qian-wen	791
Study on Private Education Investment in China: Based on the Yield Rate of Personal Education.....	SUN You-hao ZHU Qing-mei	796
A Study on Industry Development Strategy in China State-owned Forest Region Based on SWOT Analysis	WU Shou-rong JI Guang-nan	803
Construction on Content Structure of High Performance Work Systems in Scientific and Technological Enterprises in China.....	CHEN Ai-hua KONG Dong	810
On the Theoretical Principle of Scientific and Technological Management System	HUANG Tao ZHANG Rui	817
Challenge and Response: The Government Management of Network Mass Incidents in China	LIANG Ping ZHANG Bei-bei	825
The Interaction of Local Interests in China: Research Based on Field Theory	XIN Fang-kun	832
Study on Walnut Production Development in Hebei Province of China.....	WEI Yuan-yuan ZONG Yi-xiang ZHANG Zhao-wei	837
Challenges and Public Participation Strategies on Coastal Resources Protection in China	GU Xiang	843
Problems and Suggestions of Chinese University Management with Dual-campus.....	LI Xiao-hong LIU Hui	849
English Teaching Quality Evaluation Research of Textile Trade Based on the Real Language Environment	ZENG Ru-gang	853

“Big Science” or “Little Science”?—A Case Study of Basic Research in Universities	LI Ying-hong	857
The Research on the Promotion of Medical Reform Mode	ZHAO Yan GE Zhong-quan	862
The Application of the Theory of Linguistic Economic Value for Business English	LI Hai-feng	869
Research on Effect of Chinese Service Industry’s Foreign Direct Investment.....	REN Liang ZHANG Wei	876
Study on Chinese Moderate City Size from Perspective of Low-carbon Growth in China	CAO Chao-xue LUO Ming-can	881
On the Reform of the Operational Mechanism of the State-owned Assets in China.....	DOU Zheng-bin LU Qin	886
Study on Regional Difference of External Technology Sourcing to Innovation Performance of Chinese Industrial Enterprises	GOU Xiao-ju	892
Game Analysis on Two Contradictions among Housing Accumulation Fund System in China	ZHOU Wen-jun FAN Jia-xi	903
The Theoretical and Empirical Research about Chinese Government’s Bailout in the International Financial Crisis	ZHU Xiao-ning HUANG Yu-xin	909
A Electric Power Supply Company’s Performance Appraisal System Design and Application Research	LIANG Yu-chao	915
The Study on the Willingness of the Post-90s College Students Volunteering to the West and Its Influential Factors	SHI Sheng-an YANG Fan SUN Huan REN Ran	921
Research on Vietnamese Science and Technology Policy Evolution after the Renovation.....	DING Ying-jun ZHANG Fang-fang	928
Three Regions Economic Development in Eastern China and Its Impacts on the Public Management Model	LUO Ruo-yu LUO Yuan-yin	933
The Path Selection of the Development of Ningxia’s Modern Service Industry under the Industrial Restructuring in China.....	WANG Chun	939

Part One

Roles of Governments and Markets

The BRIC Experience with Civil Service Reform: Lessons for Developing Countries and Fragile States

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Abstract The long-term economic influence of Brazil, Russia, India and China (BRIC countries) relies on a public service culture that adapts and/or withstands political change while consistently providing reliable administrative services to their societies. This presentation identifies fundamental characteristics of functioning civil service institutions, concluding that the BRIC countries, are solid, notwithstanding market based criticisms. The paper authors go on to identify from the BRIC experience with civil service reform the key learning points for developing countries that impact on the effectiveness of administrative independence through the lens of the experience of Timor-Leste. The lessons can provide guidance to less economically developed nations in their quest for development.

Key words Civil service reform, BRIC, Developing countries, Fragile states

1 Renewing civil service reform in the BRICs

The experience of civil service reform in the BRIC countries offers significant lessons to developing countries and fragile states. Coined by Jim O'Neill in the Goldman Sachs publication, Global Economics Paper Building better global economic BRICs^[1], the term BRICs refers to the relatively undervalued developing economies of Brazil, Russia, India and China. Using purchasing power ranking, the size of BRIC economies were re-valued significantly above their GDP ranking. In both demographic and economic terms, these countries are among the largest in the world, and in financial terms they dominate the emerging market economies^[2]. The term has been expanded by economists^{[3][4][5]} to potentially include other large, developing economies with a significant manufacturing base including Indonesia, South Korea, South Africa, Mexico and Turkey.

The impact of the global financial crisis of 2008 and current concerns with government debt to liquidity ratios in the Eurozone have significantly impacted on the ability of BRIC nations to pursue rapid export oriented economic development. However their performance has at least maintained parity with and in most cases exceeds that of G-7 block nations because of strong domestic demand. Indeed, in "The Growth Map: Economic Opportunity in the BRICs and Beyond", O'Neill states that the average annual real GDP growth rate of all the BRIC countries has exceeded almost all of the G-7 countries between 2000 and 2011^[6].

Rodrik^[7] asserts that high economic growth is linked to the development of an institutional framework, particularly civil service reform. Data from the World Economic Forum^[8] however indicates that this journey is far from complete for BRIC nations and there are concerns about remaining inefficiencies that have a dampening effect on economic development.

This paper examines ideal civil service models from the perspective of "fragile states". While BRIC countries clearly have government administrations that generally function in a consistent and effective manner, the pace of civil service reform is uneven. Through the prism of the authors experience in fragile states we provide comment on key issues that if redressed with BRIC countries civil services may assist in moving the reform process along.

While the larger political and economic dramas unfold related to the global economic crisis, people in government and among the general populace need basic functions of government – roads, communications, health, security, justice, markets, education and other fundamentals. Thus, public service must be stable and productive in the face of political change, even while undergoing its own pressures of evolution. Analysis of current and future growth factors^{[9][10]} suggests that effective and efficient public administration is also key to facilitating the development of robust and mature BRIC economies. The experience of similar reform in fragile states, where the majority of donor funds are directed towards strengthening effective governance, in turn provides insight on how the process of

public sector reform may be made more effective.

Both the authors have worked on business development and civil service reform programs in BRIC countries (China, Brazil, Indonesia, South Africa) and fragile states (Timor-Leste, South Sudan, Afghanistan, Iraq) for almost 20 years. Donors have been encouraged by multilateral agencies^{[11][12][13][14]} to direct the vast majority of their support in fragile states to strengthening and improving government systems and processes. In the case of Timor-Leste, where both authors currently work on governance support programmes it has been calculated that up to 80% of donor funds are directed towards attaining independently functioning government agencies^[15]. Exploration of these lessons starts here with identification of critical civil service characteristics.

A functioning civil service requires several factors well identified by Huntington and others:

- ① Breadth of support from both the political class and citizenry.
- ② Adaptability of the institutions to the shifting needs for public service.
- ③ Sufficient organizational complexity that will support the ability of the organization to function and survive in the face of budget and/or political attacks that may reduce the size or operations of the institution.
- ④ Organizational independence sufficient to permit the organization to stay “on target” in the face of political pressures.
- ⑤ Coherence of the organization that keeps the individuals and leadership operating as a team in the face of challenge^[16].

Looking more specifically at the issue of civil service organizations in fragile and conflict affected states, Brinkerhoff has suggested that the institutions may survive and continue productivity if they:

- ① Develop the capability to self-organize and act. (e.g., are able to mobilize resources while the political environment shifts.)
- ② Generate development results by producing substantive, sustainable outputs.
- ③ Establish supportive relationships by managing linkages, building legitimacy, and dealing effectively with politics and power differentials.
- ④ Adapt and self-renew, for example by adapting plans based on monitoring and developing resilience.
- ⑤ Achieve coherence, for example by developing shared strategies^[17].

In many ways, the characteristics of civil service success (institutional survival and productivity) identified by Huntington and Brinkerhoff are similar.

Burma, et al., seems to share this opinion but further distills the two lists above to three characteristics of effective government institutions:

- A. It is able to deliver positive results with respect to its core mandate.
- B. It possesses broad legitimacy within the country.
- C. Its operation is durable and resilient^[18].

The authors agree wholeheartedly with Burma. Our own work in the governance sector in developed, developing countries and fragile states suggests that one of the most common failure points is “A” due to a fundamental disagreement among the civil service employees about their role and responsibilities in fulfilling the purpose of the institution. Encompassed within this characteristic are two important concepts.

- ① The idea that there is a core mandate of the institution and that mandate is the guiding purpose for the activity of all staff in the organization.
- ② The idea that the people within institution are responsible for delivering results – production of measurable and tangible results.

Using the characteristics of successful civil service intuitions identified by Burma, et.al., we see that the BRIC countries and Indonesia offer successful models for developing countries and fragile states.

A. All of the BRIC countries have the ability to deliver positive results with respect to its core mandate.

B. The civil service in each of the BRIC countries generally possesses broad legitimacy within the country.

C. The civil service in each of the BRIC countries is generally durable and resilient, although in most cases the reform process has stalled and needs to be restarted, probably with a focus on good enough rather than best practice governance.

A brief survey of the civil service reform process across the major BRIC countries consistent support for greater market liberalization by multilateral agencies^{[19][20][21][22]}. Further emphasis has been placed in both BRICs and fragile states on professionalising the civil service, introducing merit based recruitment and performance management procedures related to agency objectives, some decentralization of authority over budgets and agency functions, development of a customer service aspect to service delivery and greater interagency cooperation^{[23][24][25][26]}. The general thrust follows the work unit professionalism and accountability approaches of New Public Sector Management with an increasing role for the leadership and process driven Good Governance approach. The following snapshot provides an overview of the reform process in BRICs and key challenges.

While the New Public Management initiatives of the 1990's have been slowly implemented in Brazil^[27], innovations have occurred through the disbursement of public funds through government agencies. Bolsa Familia is the most notable of government sponsored poverty reduction programme using conditional cash payments^[28].

Russia underwent a series of civil service reforms in the mid 1990's that coupled with financial deregulation led to a significant restructuring of the size of the civil service. While strongly advantaged in terms of an educated workforce, significant room exists for the reorganisation of the civil service.

India's civil service reforms, advocated by the World Bank in association with World Trade Organisation membership have improved the ability of private sector entrepreneurs to establish and expand venture capital activities citizens have however generally not seen a change in day to day service delivery with government staff and inefficient bureaucracy is considered a stumbling block to further economic development^[29].

China is also undergoing significant social/government change in nearly every corner of its society^{[30][31][32][33]}. The change from a highly centralized economy to one of 'capitalism with a socialist face' has required significant changes in the role of the party and consequently the civil service. State agencies are using their access to capital and trained workforces to provide fee for service businesses with benefits flowing to those within the watershed of their corporate responsibilities. Within the civil service a significant shift has been from control to lighter touch regulation and dealing with citizens as customers rather than dependents.

A consistent theme in BRIC country literature is the need for further strengthening of the civil services and national institutional capacity as part of the creation of strong, resilient economies^[34]. It is important to reinforce and positively acknowledge that each of the BRIC countries have large, generally effective and increasingly responsive bureaucracies. Bangura and Larbi^[35], Goel^[36] and Jensen^[37] note that reform has occurred at the national level but has not filtered down through Ministries to lower level work units. Reform therefore continues at an uneven pace and the experience of fragile states in this area can be used to throw light on how to move the process along.

2 BRICS are not without problems

Although the civil service in the BRICs is generally satisfactory as measured against the characteristic in Huntington, Brinkerhoff and Burma above, they are not without the need for improvement. Following Burma, as described above, and Pritchett^[38], the experience of the authors is that the most common failures to implement civil service reform are due to difficulties staff have in identifying and implementing the agency core mandate and the ability of staff to take responsibility for delivering measurable and tangible results. On this line of thinking, Bangura and Larbi have noted that the majority of civil service reform efforts in emerging markets has focused on senior level strategic planning and efforts to move government away from service delivery to regulation^[39]. Tackling the need for change below the executive level has been slow to take off.

Within ministries and in particular departments, the authors believe that the following areas

deserve priority to help implement the core mandate and to assist staff to deliver results to citizens.

The authors write as practitioners from the field and the view is necessarily subjective and based on experience. While both have been engaged in the development of national level public policies on organizational protocols to reduce corruption, human resources development programs and public sector fiscal reform the experience of both is that policy which lacks commitment and resources at the operational level does not translate into meaningful change in organizational practice. These areas of greatest concern to the authors are:

- ① Establish clear, written descriptions of organizational functions
- ② Write policies related to functions
- ③ Implement policy
- ④ Disseminate and connect policy with staff roles
- ⑤ Train managers
- ⑥ Build work teams
- ⑦ Depoliticize civil service operations and hiring.
- ⑧ Establish clear descriptions of organizational functions

There is value in ensuring that the core mandate is reflected in a statement of the key organizational functions and tasks of the agency. Too often mandates are implied or are an imperfectly edited version of the organic law and related legislation. The legal style often only provides a bare outline of the agencies actual work and misses the relationship between the agency and its core mandate and deliverables.

When there is a lack of clarity about an agency's key functions and deliverables, there is a risk that the organization becomes inward looking and self-serving and weakens institutional and state legitimacy. In Afghanistan the civil service reform commission has attempted to ensure that aspects of government human resources functions are embedded in law^[40]. For example there is a recently introduced procedure for annual performance review. Without commenting on the quality of the approach, all ministries now have a clear and unambiguous duty to carry out staff appraisals as part of the core functions of each agency. The downside of that approach is that any minor change, including alterations to forms, has to be passed by an Act of Parliament and therefore risks becoming unresponsive to workplace needs.

In Timor-Leste, the directorate of water services requested assistance with organizational re-design specifically to establish certainty among the staff about the core mandate. Part of that process involved defining the functions and responsibilities of each department. As a direct consequence of that activity managers have built a more comprehensive description of their agency functions and are using this to organize work, measure outputs and write job descriptions which connect all staff to the agency functions.

2.1 Need for written policy related to functions

Where policies are not written for basic government administration, civil service organizations will fail^[41]. In modern civil service, there are policies and procedures for each aspect of administrative life. In developing countries, such as South Sudan and Timor-Leste, it is common to find that there are no policies. The absence of policy creates opportunities for misuse and corruption. If, for example, there are not policies written establishing parameters for the use of government vehicles—vehicles will be misused. Where policies are not written for use of government fuel for vehicles—fuel will be misappropriated. Where policies are not written prohibiting contract kickbacks and conflicts of interests with senior government officials—money will go to unauthorized individuals.

Indeed, the lack of written policies is the single largest opportunity for corruption in any institution and in any country—developed or otherwise. Corrupt officials know this and actively work to prevent laws, policies and procedures from being developed that prohibit their wrong behavior.

Worse, without written policies, there is no basic decision as to the proper course of conduct and civil service becomes a “paycheck factory” supporting people that may have no idea what the institutions are to be doing or how to accomplish its goals.