The OECD and Global Public Management Reform

Leslie A. Pal
School of Public Policy and Administration
Carleton University
Ottawa, Canada K1S 5B6
E-mail: leslie_pal@carleton.ca

Abstract

The last two decades have seen substantial public sector reforms efforts around the world. A leading global actor in these reform efforts has been the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The OECD launched its governance efforts in 1990, and published its path-breaking review of public sector reform in 1995 (Governance in Transition). The paper examines the OECD's role as a key actor in a global public policy network devoted to public sector reform, and how it has contributed to changes in state structures and administration. It reviews the OECD's key publications, examines how the organization developed its public sector reform agenda, and assesses its relationships with and influence over national governments. The methodology consists of a review of documents and publications, as well as interviews. The key findings are that the OECD is a key node in what is emerging as a global network around public sector reform.

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1. Introduction

The last decade has seen an intensified emphasis on good governance – in the sense of effective, ethical, accountable and transparent administration. The collapse of communism generated major efforts in governance reform in Central and Eastern Europe (of which NISPAcee is a product), but the early focus was on building markets and expanding economies (Nunberg 1999). Eventually leading international organizations began focusing on governance and public management in the late 1990s. The World Bank began the process with its 1991 annual conference devoted to “good governance” (Nanda 2006: 272) and by 1996 World Bank President James Wolfensohn issued a statement reversing the Bank’s policy not to address political factors in development such as corruption ((Arndt and Oman 2006: 17) (Williams 2008). The connection between governance and development was also importantly supported by the OECD and the UNDP in the mid-1990s (Landman and Hausermann 2003: 2). The Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the OECD issued a report in 1996 entitled Shaping the 21st Century: The Contribution to Development Cooperation (OECD 1996) focusing on capacity building. This entailed priorities for “effective, democratic and accountable governance, the protection of human rights and respect for the rule of law.” A process to develop governance indicators was proposed by the DAC in 1998 to a joint OECD/UN/World Bank meeting on Agreed Indicators of Development Progress (Knack, Kugler, and Manning 2003: 346).

Two other watersheds followed. The first was the UNDP’s 2002 Human Development Report, entitled Deepening Democracy in a Fragmented World (UNDP 2002). Claiming that it was controversial, the report stated that its inspiration was “the idea that politics is important to successful development as economics.” The second was the European Commission’s draft manual on good governance, published in 2003. It enunciated what was by now the conventional wisdom: “There is widely acknowledged evidence that development cooperation has not succeeded in reducing poverty in recent years. One fundamental reason has been identified as poor governance, which most people can recognise when they see it” (European Commission 2003: 5).

A key point is that this emphasis on good governance has been developed and deepened through a global network of organizations dedicated to public sector reform, public management, and good governance (Pal 2008; Pal 2006; Buduru and Pal: forthcoming); Ireland and Pal: forthcoming). In other words, there is now a global conversation about what constitutes a well-functioning state and good governance. This conversation is not simply among state actors, but is facilitated by networks of those actors, professional associations, and international governmental organizations such as the World Bank, the UNDP and the OECD. The appreciation of these international or global policy networks as conduits of policy change has also intensified in the last decade (Schimmelfennig 2002; Risse-Kappen 1995: 31; see also (Risse-Kappen 1994: Smith 2001; Jacoby 2001; Stone 2004; Slaughter 2004; Bogason and Toonen 1998).

Various scholars have noted both the phenomenon of a “global public management revolution” – that is, a relatively coordinated set of basic reforms – as well as the key role of international governmental organizations (IGOs). “Since the 1980s, a global reform movement in public management has been vigorously underway” (Kettl 2005: 1). Peters and Pierre (2001) noted: “Except perhaps during major wars there never has been the extent of administrative reform and reorganization that has been occurring during the period from approximately 1975 onward” (1). On the role of IGOs, Hood (1998: 202) noted that international organizations like the OECD and the World Bank had a vested interest in arguing on behalf of “best practice” models that they would then have a role in fostering and supporting. Premfors argued that PUMA (the public sector management directorate at the time in the OECD) had developed the dominant narrative of public sector reform and that it had “been very successful in stimulating interest and debate among both member governments and wider audiences and in formulating and propagating a particular mode of thinking about administrative reform” (Premfors 1998: 142). Other scholars agreed: “PUMA has been one of the nodal points in an international network, bringing together civil servants, management consultants and academics (an occasionally politicians themselves) who are interested in public management. It has helped shape what has now become an international ‘community of discourse’ about public management reform….The World Bank, the IMF and the Commonwealth Institute have also been international disseminators of management reform ideas” (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2004: 20-21). In a broader study of transnational discourse communities concerned with public sector reform, Hansen et al. (Hansen, Salskov-Iversen, and Bislev 2002: 113) observe that international organizations and professional organizations share a “capacity to intervene from outside the specific politically and historically generated logics that any given governance institution, whether sub-national, national or supra-national is embedded in, and provide these institutions with notions about
governance unmediated by territorial politics. Even if these notions are subsequently negotiated locally, the very power to place them on the agenda in multiple contexts and at different levels constitutes a potentially globalizing force."

Despite this progress – supplemented by work on policy transfer (Rose 1993; Bennett 1991, 1992, 1997; Dolowitz and Marsh 1996; 2000) - we still know relatively little about how IGOs influence public management reform and debates. This paper is an effort to help remedy that gap by providing a close examination of the OECD and its GOV Directorate (see Appendix B for a time line). The OECD warrants this attention for several reasons.

- Established in 1961, it is the club of the world’s 30 richest countries, and includes the G-7 countries as well. Moreover, it exchanges information (through conferences, meetings) with another 100 countries. It has opened membership talks with Chile, Estonia, Israel, Russia and Slovenia, and has offered “enhanced engagement” to Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, and South Africa.

- While it has virtually no direct leverage over its members (unless they agree to a convention) it is one of the world’s largest publishers of materials in economics and public policy. Its approach is to be a centre for research, publications, conferences, and meetings. These “soft” tools can be remarkably effective. Most importantly, as we will note below, the OECD provides a constant venue for discussion, exchange, and comparison. It creates possibilities for mutual adjustment, potential convergence, and “uncoordinated coordination.”

- The OECD has an explicitly normative agenda – it seeks to establish best practices, standards, and benchmarks. It is not neutral – it is a club of rich, democratic countries, and through a process of “experience sharing” claims to arrive at certain minima of good governance. It is unabashed about pushing a “reform” agenda – for example, with potential new members and associates. Reform, change, improvement – it champions these, even while walking a fine line between universal standards and the need to respect local differences.

- OECD pronouncements have tremendous legitimacy, precisely because of the club it represents, and its research muscle. Its 1995 publication, Governance in Transition and the 2005 sequel, Modernising Government, are touchstones for both practitioners and academics on what counts as modern governance.

- The OECD is not isolated. Rather, it interacts with the wider network through participation at conferences, joint meetings, and sometimes joint projects. It is thus globally connected to its core country membership, an outer ring of non-OECD countries (some now lining up for membership), and other IGOs. Some 40,000 senior officials attend OECD committee meetings each year, and then continue to communicate with each other and the OECD Secretariat through the rest of the year.

- It is important to see that the OECD is a reflection of a new phase of globalization – the increasing coordination about IGOs and nation-states. The global financial crisis has placed even great pressure on this sort of coordination (e.g., the G-20 meeting in early April in London). As the OECD’s 2008 annual report noted: “Globalization is blurring the boundaries between domestic and international policy making and regulation. Consequently, more and more policy issues cannot be tackled by a single government department or even by central government alone. Decentralization and the growing role of supranational bodies have increased the number of stakeholders involved in policy making (OECD 2008a: 80)

The paper proceeds with a brief historical background to the OECD and GOV, an analysis of the GOV directorate itself and its policy processes and activities/publications, and conclusions and directions for future research.

2. **OECD and Public Management: Background**

The OECD has a tripartite structure. At the apex is the Council, consisting of ambassadors of the member countries plus a representative of the European Commission. It only meets once a year to set the broad directions for
the organization. A second leg of the stool is the committee system, working groups and expert groups, consisting of representatives of member countries. There are some 200 of these, and they typically meet once or twice a year. The third leg is the OECD Secretariat, consisting of about 2,500 officials, mostly based in Paris, and organized in directorates that support the different committees.

PUMA was established in 1990 as one of the OECD’s committees – at the time it stood for Public Management Committee. The title of the committee has now changed to Public Governance Committee (PGC), and has representatives of senior officials from central agencies from all 30 OECD’s members. PUMA actually grew out of a pre-existing committee, TECO, which provided financial assistance to European countries to modernize both their societies and economies (Sahlin-Andersson 2000). TECO initially had a large budget, but increasingly came under pressure as the OECD faced a financial crunch and financial aid seemed less relevant with the establishment of the EEC and eventually the EU. PUMA therefore was created to provide not just financial aid, but advice and analysis around public management challenges and issues. Originally it was to last five years, and so its Governance Under Pressure (1995) report was the culmination as well as distillation of its first period of life and activity. It was given an extension and eventually became a permanent feature of the OECD. It is supplemented now by a second committee, the Territorial Development Policy Committee (TDPC).

The GOV directorate supports these two committees, and their ancillary bodies (working and expert groups). A number of working parties fall under the two major umbrella committees (PGC and TDPC) and, in the case of the PGC, there are also networks of top officials responsible for the central management systems of government. The following working groups and networks fall under the PGC: the Working Party on Regulatory Management and Reform (REG), the Working Party of Senior Budget Officials (SBO), the Network of Senior Officials from Centres of Government (COG), the Public Employment and Management Working Party (PEMWP), the Expert Group on Conflict of Interest: Ensuring Accountability and Transparency in the Public Service, and the Network of Senior E-Government Officials (EGOV). The following working groups fall under the TDPC: the Working Parties on Territorial Policy in Urban Areas, Rural Areas and on Territorial Indicators. Finally, there is a stand alone Group on Regulatory Policy Public Governance whose membership includes chairs of committees from the Public Governance, Trade and Competition Committees and their subsidiary bodies.

All committees, working parties and networks under the GOV Directorate are open to all OECD members. The committees and networks under the PGC have regular observers from the non-member countries such as Brazil, Chile, Israel, Slovenia and Ukraine as well as an ad hoc membership from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) on the Working Party of Senior Budget Officials and the networks on Financial Management and Parliamentary Budget Committee Chairpersons, and ad hoc membership from the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), Organization of American States (OAS) and World Bank (WB) on the Expert Group on Conflict of Interest. Working Parties under the TDPC have regular observers from the non-member countries of Chile and Morocco, but no ad hoc observers.

As has often been noted, none of this machinery is coercive. The OECD is a talk shop, a venue, and network for exchanges of ideas and experiences supplemented by research. As discussed at greater length in the conclusion, this means that it wields influence primarily through “soft” policy instruments – information, naming and shaming, and standards setting. But there were structural factors in the 1980s and 1990s that gave the OECD and ultimately PUMA and GOV a receptive audience for these instruments (and typically, with informational tools,)

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2 The membership, date of creation, duration and mandate of all committees and networks are available from the OECD’s on-line guide to intergovernmental activity (http://www2.oecd.org/oecdg/).
3 The following networks fall under the Working Party of Senior Budget Officials: Network on Financial Management, Network of Parliamentary Budget Committee Chairpersons, Network on Organisational Structures, Network on Performance and Results.
4 The Group on Regulatory Policy Public Governance was created in 1996.
5 The following Financial Action Task Force (FATF) Bodies and Organisations may act as observers: African Development Bank, Asian Development Bank, Commonwealth Secretariat, Egmont Group of Financial Intelligence Units European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), European Central Bank (ECB), Europol, Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), International Association of Insurance Supervisors (IAIS), International Monetary Fund (IMF), International Organization of Securities Commissions (IOSCO), Interpol, Organization of American States (OAS), Offshore Group of Banking Supervisors (OGBS), United Nations (UN), World Bank and World Customs Organization (WCO).
an audience has to have an ear cocked in the first place). The 1980s were turbulent – the second oil shock which in turn destabilized budgets in the western countries; the Reagan and Thatcher and Lange (New Zealand) revolutions; the collapse of the Soviet Union. The rebuilding of central and Eastern Europe initially involved economic policy interventions around privatization and the creation of markets, but quickly raised concerns about transitions to democracy and appropriate forms of governance and administration.

Nonetheless, the scope of work undertaken by the committees, their ancillary bodies, and the GOV directorate is impressive, and illustrates the point we made at the outset about how the OECD is able to weave together a global conversation on public management issues. But more than a conversation, it also suggests normative standards, or at least goal-posts. This takes the OECD’s work out of the realm of research and much closer to advocacy. As we will note in the conclusion, this advocacy role for what constitutes “good governance” poses certain difficulties for the OECD in terms of accepting that there will be a reasonable variation of approaches to governance in terms of institutions and practices that accord with local history, culture and circumstances.

2.1 Public Governance Committee, Working Groups, and Networks

The terms of reference of the Public Governance Committee emphasize the need for improved governance at multiple levels: supranational, national and sub-national level. A need for country and context specific governance reforms combined with consistent long-term goals is a recurring theme across most committee mandates. Promoting good public governance is described as an overarching goal and is defined in part as strengthening pluralistic democracy, promoting sustainable development, maintaining confidence in public administration, ensuring policy effectiveness, economic efficiency and sound fiscal balances, and in maximizing the quality and programme results achieved with regard to government expenditure. Again, these descriptions mix an emphasis on fiscal prudence and efficiency with a broader view of good governance that includes the values of pluralism and environmental sustainability. A final section from the terms of reference states that the committee considers public governance as both “an agent for achieving structural adjustment and international competitiveness, as well as a subject for reform itself.

The purpose of the Public Governance Committee is to support the economic and social policy objectives of member countries by identifying the strategic challenges they face (e.g., strengthening trust in public institutions and adapting to emerging challenges); assisting them to achieve more coherent and effective policies; and promoting key elements of a good governance framework. This work is to be accomplished by providing a forum for exchanges of experience among civil servants; following, assessing and reporting on key developments and (in member and, as appropriate, non-member countries); developing a range of tools and frameworks to enable comparative evidence-based analysis of public management issues from a governance perspective; sharing and disseminating results among non-members and different organizations; contributing to activities such as technical assistance; contributing a public governance and public management perspective on major policy concerns and; maintaining close working relationships with other relevant bodies of the OECD and other international institutions.

The tools the committee uses to achieve these goals are its Working Groups and Networks:

• The Working Party on Regulatory Management and Reform (REG) was established in 1991 and is described as a unique forum in the OECD (in its terms of reference) in the way that it brings together policy officials responsible for cross-cutting and horizontal regulatory reform policies. The committee’s work emphasizes regulatory quality, which is described as “combining both good regulation where needed to protect health, safety, and the environment and to enhance the functioning of markets, and deregulation where free markets work better” (REG, terms of reference). This committee has produced the greatest amount of output (of all types) – a result of it being a longstanding committee and perhaps due to the nature of its work.

• The Working Party of Senior Budget Officials (SBO) was created in 1990 and focuses on improving the effectiveness and efficiency of resource allocation and management in the public sector. It is a collaborative forum for policy makers and senior officials to address major budgeting concerns, identify and disseminate research on good practice and develop policy and analytical tools. The tools it employs to achieve this are analysis and research\(^6\) on budgeting issues as well as “peer review”

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\(^6\) The SBO maintains a comprehensive database of national budgeting practices in Member countries.
examinations of the budgeting systems of individual member countries. The results of this work are shared with non-members\(^7\) in part through the committee’s regional networks in Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, Latin America and the Middle East/North Africa.

- The Network of Senior Officials from Centres of Government was created at the same time as the SBO. The network’s mandate states that it seeks to: to review issues of making the centre of national government work effectively; to understand decision and policy-making systems; to strengthen the relations among peers in order to encourage them to exchange experiences and priorities; to work on broad governance issues; and to provide the Public Governance Committee with insight and guidance on ongoing activities and future work. The Network holds an annual meeting of senior officials that includes heads of prime minister's offices, cabinet secretaries, secretaries-general of governments and other senior centre-of-government officials from Member countries, plus the Commission of the European Union.\(^8\) Each year a different governance theme is explored at the annual meeting.

- The Public Employment and Management Working Party (created 1985) focuses on the management of senior civil servants, civil service ethics, employment policies retention, performance management and knowledge management. It produces information exchanges on emerging issues, trends and challenges, disseminating best practices, and developing policy and analytical tools (e.g., database on public sector pay and employment and on human resources management). The work of this group focuses on case studies, reports, publications, questionnaires and statistics/data. In comparison to other GOV groups, this group holds relatively few conferences and events.

- The Expert Group on Conflict of Interest (created in 2002) aims to improve governance arrangements for promoting integrity in the public service. This ad hoc Expert Group provides input and guidance to the Secretariat on promoting integrity and preventing corruption largely through the Public Governance Committee’s bi-annual programme of work on Governance and Management of Public Institutions and Resources. In addition, the Expert Group presents best practices, reviews trends, creates guidelines and disseminates this information and supports dialogue with non-members.

- The Network of Senior E-Government Officials is the most recent of all GOV Directorate groups (created in 2003). It carries out analysis and research on e-government issues and conducts peer review examinations of national e-government initiatives. The network also maintains a database of national e-government practices in member countries.

2.2 The Territorial Development Policy Committee, Working Groups, and Networks

The second committee supported by the GOV directorate, the Territorial Development Policy Committee (TDPC) was created much later than PGC (in 1999) and as such, has fewer subsidiary committees. The TDPC’s mission is to improve policy performance by influencing the main factors that generate and sustain regional competitive advantage and by promoting effective and innovative governance. The mandate further states that TDPC serves as an international forum for senior-level government policy makers to identify, discuss, and disseminate a vision of development policy that is place-based, multi-level, innovative and geared to different types of regions. As a newer committee, its mandate reflects a shift in policy development towards an emphasis on integrating environmental and social concerns with economic ones. Its mandate further describes its objective as being a premiere international forum for cooperation and the development and dissemination of new policy frameworks largely through the development of statistical indicators and comparative policy analysis.

The working parties under the TDPC are divided between urban and rural policy analysis and the development of statistical indicators and databases to facilitate comparative research and track trends. The primary

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\(^7\) The OECD engages with non-members though global forums, regional approaches and country programmes (see OECD, Center for Collaboration with Non-members).

\(^8\) Documentation from these meetings is available from the OECD’s website. E.g., see “A decade of decision-making: Annual Meetings of Senior Officials from Centres of Government from OECD Countries (1995-2004)” (weblink: [http://www.oecd.org/document/26/0,3343,en_2649_33735_34060506_1_1_1_1,00.html](http://www.oecd.org/document/26/0,3343,en_2649_33735_34060506_1_1_1_1,00.html) )
output of the TDPC committee and working groups is country surveys and reviews, policy briefs, publications and reports, and statistics/data.

- The Working Party on Territorial Policy in Urban Areas was created in 1999, though, as its terms of reference state, the OECD has had a programme of work on urban affairs since 1979 focusing on distressed urban areas, urban governance, urban environmental policy and urban economic development. The working party states that cities are an integral element in national strategies for territorial development and that urban growth and development have regional and national impacts. Successful urban policy is stated as that which integrates the economic, social and environmental spheres. Like other working groups, the urban areas party seeks to monitor developments, and identify trends and challenges. They also seek to facilitate multi-level government interaction on urban issues and present internationally comparable indicators and best practices. More specifically, the group has a mandate to examine the management of urban growth and the competitiveness and sustainability of cities in the medium term.

- The Working Party on Territorial Policy in Rural Areas was established in 1999. This working party takes over the focus of policy analysis and guidance on rural issues from the earlier Rural Development Programme (established in 1991). A key component of the mandate of this working party is to facilitate structural reforms in rural areas to diversify their economic bases and promote integrated solutions to economic, social and environmental problems. Specifically, the working party on rural issues assesses the scale, complexity of economic, social and environmental challenges facing rural areas, monitors trends and conducts territorial reviews using internationally comparable indicators for the purposes of identifying best practices.

- Complimentary to the mandates of the working groups on urban and rural issues, the Working Party on Territorial Indicators provides sub-national comparative statistics and indicators on a range of topics – e.g., demographic, economic, social, institutional and environmental. This statistics and indicators strive to be comparable across countries to facilitate cooperation and communication between jurisdictions, leading to a better understanding of the territorial and subnational dynamics of change.

The Group on Regulatory Policy (GRP) is shown as a standalone group under the GOV umbrella in the OECD’s committee and groups database. GRP was established in 1996. The 2005 OECD Guiding Principles for Regulatory Quality and Performance provide a basis for assessment of Member countries’ regulatory frameworks. Dialogue with non-member takes place largely through APEC-OECD Co-operative Initiative on Regulatory Reform. The GRP identifies challenges and trends facing countries with respect to designing and implementing regulatory reform, provides a framework for conducting country peer-reviews, and facilitates dialogue with member and non-member countries on issues related to regulatory reform.

3. Decision-Making Processes and Instruments

Appendix A contains an organization chart for the OECD as a whole and for the Secretariat. As we noted earlier, the OECD as a whole consists of three elements. The first is the Council, consisting of Ambassadors from member countries. The second consists of committees, which meet once or twice a year, and are also made up of government officials from member countries, as well as observers in some cases. Committees set the broad research agenda for their various networks and working parties, and in turn advise the OECD Council on matters within their field of work. The working parties and networks consist of officials from the member governments as well as observers from other countries or other international organizations. The third element is the OECD Secretariat (described in the chart). It provides a permanent research arm and support structure of some 2,500 officials for the committees and their working parties, as well as the Council, of course.

We describe the outputs of GOV in the next section, and want to focus here on how the OECD operates and how it makes decisions. The Council of course is a political body, and seeks support and advice from its committees and the Secretariat. At the Council and committee levels, decisions are made by consensus. This means that even smaller country members can influence the organization’s agenda. In the case of the area of governance or public management, the Council has been somewhat frustrated in the advice and perspectives it receives from the two
committees and the Secretariat. That is because it is very difficult to get a broad view of governance issues coming from these bodies, since the committees are essentially dependent on the working parties and networks. The latter are populated by experts in very specific and sometimes technical areas, who share similar backgrounds and research interests. Their advice and reports to the committees are in their specific areas of expertise, and the committees themselves have bifurcated mandates, and do not speak with a single voice. Moreover, the committees only meet once or twice a year for only two to three days, and so inevitably tend to focus on the reports and activities of the working parties. Consequently the advice that the committees give to the Council on governance matters tends to be quite general (these observations based on interviews – more detailed interviews to come in fall 2009 at the OECD).

The OECD has both hard and soft instruments at its disposal. The more formal instruments are of the following types: decision of the council, decision-recommendation of the council, recommendation of the council, agreement, arrangement, convention, DAC recommendation, declaration, guidelines, OECD principles and understandings. In the area of public governance, the only formal instrument of this type that has been employed is the issuing of three recommendations. They are: the Recommendation of the Council on OECD Guidelines for Managing Conflict of Interest in the Public Service (C(2003)107); the Recommendation of the Council on Improving ethical Conduct in the Public Service Including Principles for Managing Ethics in the Public Service (C(98)70) and, the Recommendation of the Council on improving the quality of government regulation (C(95)21).

Ougaard describes the main output of the OECD’s formal instruments in five broad categories: i) decisions, made by consensus and binding on all members; ii) recommendations, adopted by consensus but with voluntary compliance; iii) agreements, involving members and non-members; iv) declarations, non-legally binding policy commitments whose application is generally monitored by Committees and; v) arrangements that only involve some members and are made in the framework of the OECD (OECD Legal Directorate, 1996 in Ougaard 2004.: 82). Informal instruments include multilateral surveillance and peer review. In the OECD’s official history, Sullivan writes that these informal instruments, which constitute so much of the work of the Committees, produce:

a complex process called ‘peer pressure.’ Subtly but powerfully, ideas and standards advocated by a majority of committee members gain agreement of all or nearly all and are shaped to account for the views of the dissenters. No country likes to feel itself on an entirely different wavelength than all its partners. (Sullivan 1997: 99)

The OECD operates with a special mix of research and country participation. Governments broadly set its research agenda, and governments/members are usually involved in reviewing reports before they are published. But the OECD’s comparative advantage is that it can draw on the willing support of its members (and other states) to provide “inside” information about what governments are doing in specific fields, and that information by definition is credible. The key instruments that the OECD uses to exercise influence are research based, informational ones: (1) ordinary seminars and workshops involving academic experts, government officials, or both; (2) “high-level” seminars of government officials and/or experts; (3) peer-to-peer visits by government delegations to study “best practices” in other governments; (4) didactic country reports that openly recommend certain changes in order to meet global stands (e.g., a 2005 report on China arguing for major reforms in public and corporate governance; (5) journals, newsletters, policy briefs (e.g., the OECD Journal on Budgeting); (6) the development and facilitation of networks of officials to exchange information (e.g., the network of Senior Budget Officials); (7) the development and issuance of “guidelines” in certain areas that governments can voluntarily adopt (e.g., the Guidelines for Managing Conflict of Interest in the Public Service); (8) the construction of inventories, checklists, and frameworks that can guide decision-makers in specific fields (e.g., Public Sector Integrity: A Framework for Assessment); (9) surveys of governments and their practices; (10) databases and indicators. This is a formidable informational arsenal that would have to be invented if it did not already exist. However, it could probably not be invented outside of an organization like the OECD that combines a clubby atmosphere of governments with the more cerebral qualities of a think tank.

A key tool used by the OECD is peer review. According to Pagani (2002: 4-5):
Peer review can be described as the systematic examination and assessment of the performance of a State by other States, with the ultimate goal of helping the reviewed State improve its policy making, adopt best practices, and comply with established standards and principles. The examination is conducted on a non-adversarial basis, and it relies heavily on mutual trust among the States involved in the review, as well as their shared confidence in the process. When peer review is undertaken in the framework of an international organisation – as is usually the case –
Governance in Transition had a tone of naked urgency and radicalism that one rarely finds in reports by international organizations. Its key premise was that a combination of fiscal pressures, rising public demands, falling public trust, and increasing global economic competition was creating a policy environment “marked by great turbulence, uncertainty and an accelerating pace of change” in which tradition “governance structures and managerial responses are increasingly ineffectual” (15). Half measures were out of the question; only “fundamental change” would do. While the report acknowledged that countries had responded to these challenges differently, and that while there was no single best model of governance, nonetheless it was possible to identify “common reform trends.” Principal among these trends was a focus on results and performance in terms of efficiency, effectiveness, and quality of service, and decentralization of public management.

The environment facing governments is described bleakly, like a sermon to dinosaurs on the cusp of the first ice age: “Organisations that do not learn to adapt themselves to ever-faster, multi-fronted change atrophy until external forces transform them. Governments no less than business have to adapt to an environment that is becoming more turbulent, complex and difficult to predict. Global transformations, caused by, among other things, developments in technology, communications and trade, demand new abilities. Flexibility and nimbleness have become key objectives. Inherited forms of governance appear outmoded and inflexible” (21). The bulk of the report
was divided into chapters describing major reform efforts in the following areas: devolving authority; performance and accountability; developing competition and choice; service; human resources management; information technology; regulation; and strengthening steering functions. It acknowledged that countries differ at the level of individual reforms, but it strongly asserted that nonetheless there was a “remarkable degree of convergence overall” with “clear patterns of reform” (25). The report had no doubts about the radical nature of these changes. They amounted to a “paradigm shift.” The “fundamental, comprehensive nature of the changes described represents a move to a new order” (27). Unsurprisingly, the report noted that change on this scale would inevitably generate resistance, and so devoted a chapter to implementing reform, highlighting the fact that public management reform is “a long haul, not a quick fix” (80).

_Governance in Transition_ was the first attempt at a broad overview of public management and governance issues in the OECD countries. From that point on PUMA concentrated on sectoral policy and administrative reforms, and would not take up the broad theme of governance per se until 2003, when it launched a series of Policy Briefs “look at the evolving modernization agenda and how governments can best develop their capacity to achieve, and measure, the desired results.” These Policy Briefs fed into the _Modernising Government: The Way Forward_ (cite Pal in Mahon), and as a group of documents had six key themes. They were: (1) reform is driven by pressure, (2) there are surprises and unintended consequences in the reform project, (3) reform always involves multiple goals, (4) the importance of organizational culture and values, and the organic nature of public sector reform (“whole of government”), (5) context matters and there are important differences among countries – one size of reform does not fit all, (6) change and reform is difficult and demanding. These themes are interconnected, and the following passage is an imaginative recreation of those themes in a single narrative that captures the main argument of _Modernising Government:_

_In the past years, all OECD countries have faced major pressures for reform – technological, demographic, budgetary, and political. All have undertaken reform, though at varying rates and with varying success. Mistakes were made along the way, particularly with a single-minded devotion to efficiency and to instrumental reform. There were major surprises as the pioneers of reform forged ahead on the cold, unforgiving plains of their administrative and political systems. We now know some of the mistakes that were made, principally that there was not enough attention to culture and the fragility of institutions, or to the diverse paths towards modernity. But the pressures have not subsided, and reform and modernization will have to continue. All OECD countries face the same pressures, and they share the same basic principles – how they respond to those pressures and implement those principles will always be a matter of context. Reformers will face challenges, since change is never easy. They must renew their efforts, develop better tools and better calibration, and move forward._

5. **Conclusions: The Impact of the OECD on Public Management**

The nature of public administration has changed significantly in the last decade. As we noted at the outset of this paper, the emphasis on the importance of “good governance” – including democratic practices as well as transparent, efficient and accountable administration, is only about a decade old. This new appreciation was deeply rooted in the reform experiences in central and Eastern Europe in the 1990s. As international organizations and donors tried to help former Soviet Union states develop democracy as well as capitalism, the role of effective and responsive administration loomed larger and larger. This was driven by two other factors. The first was the steady growth of the European Union, and the evident desire of central and Eastern European states to join it (as some eventually did through the accession process, and others still wait). This involved the _acquis communautaire_ and the alignment of administrative and other practices with EU norms. The other was a broader public sector reform movement, started in New Zealand, but spreading through the Anglo-Saxon democracies and eventually taken up to different degrees around the world (Pollitt, Thiel, and Homburg 2007).

The OECD has been a key player in the wider networks through which these changes in state functions and administrative practices have been diffused. As we noted above, it connects to professional associations, to its own member governments, other international organizations such as the World Bank, the UNDP, and the EU, and a range of non-member countries. It has ambitious plans to expand its membership, and to connect in a myriad of ways with non-member countries. GOV, example, has six regional outreach programs – the China Programme, the Russia Programme, the APEC-OECD Initiative on regulatory Reform, the New Partnership for Africa’s Development, the South Eastern Europe Regional Development Programme, and the Middle East and North Africa Initiative (MENA).
To take only MENA as an example, it focuses on governance and investments through its Good Governance for Development (GfD) in Arab Countries Initiative. It is supported through a UN-OECD partnership in collaboration with the World Bank, Arab League, EU and other international and regional organizations (for a schemata on the key actors, see Appendix D).

A key question is whether the OECD is simply a node in and among these networks, or whether it exercises independent influence as an organization? Does it have a view or position on governance, in other words, which is distinct to it as an organization and not simply an artifact of consensus and discussion among member states? This is a complicated question. As we noted above, the OECD is a member-based international organization, with a Council that is made up of ambassadors from the 30 member states. The committees and working parties add another level of complexity, as does the Secretariat. One could argue that as a member-based organization that operates on consensus and peer review and peer pressure, that the members drive the organization. However, from another perspective, the OECD actually consists of highly siloed areas of research and analysis (committees), often dominated by functional groups (working parties and networks), and supplemented by a secretariat that is also siloed into directorates that support those functional groups and committees. As described above, the “governance” silo in the OECD consists of the two committees, their working parties and networks, and the GOV directorate. Most of the GOV publications and activities are in very specific fields (e.g., ethics), though we noted the concentration in four areas. Central tendencies or an “OECD view” can develop within each one of these areas. In addition, as we noted, from time to time the OECD releases broad policy briefs or overviews (Governance in Transition and Modernising Government) that take a more synoptic view.

We agree with Deacon and his colleagues (Deacon and Hulse 1997; Deacon, Hulse, and Stubbs 1997) who argue that “international organizations have independent lives of their own as policy making and agenda setting bodies and are not merely the tools of the intergovernmental politics that formally underpin them” (58). Their focus was on the role of international governmental organizations in fostering a global discourse on social policy reform, but they do highlight the clear differences in approach among the leading international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the OECD, the International Labor Organization, and the various UN bodies (e.g., UNICEF, UNDP). In the context of post-communist Europe and the role these organizations played in proposing and implementing social policy reforms, they point out that there was little coordination among them, more like jockeying for influence that was managed at the desk-officer level: “[T]he major ideological and institutional divide between the human resource epistemic communities of the Bank and Fund on the one hand and the ILO, COE, EU DGV and UNDP on the other are rarely bridged in practice" (103).

The few studies of the OECD’s discourse on governance have highlighted at least the early emphasis on a neo-liberal agenda and a strong support for core principles of “new public management”, at least its more anti-statist varieties [something in here on different varieties of NPM]. Hansen et al. (2002), observe that wealthy “OECD countries typically possess large public sectors; public sector reform has been very much on the agenda in OECD countries, and the OECD has taken the lead in developing NPM notions” (112). The OECD, in their view, took an early lead in developing NPM ideas. It started somewhat cautiously, stressing its neutrality as a member-based organization, but gradually “normativity crept into the OECD’s formulations and recommendations: NPM became knowledge, the managerial notions became internalized, horse-trained into public service” (118-19). Sahlin-Andersson (2001) agrees, but argues that the process of arriving at this consensus view is itself important. In country reviews and policy briefs, the OECD of course has to pay attention to different country contexts, approaches, and cultures, but in a process of editing, "the final and summarizing chapters…downplayed the differences and uncertainty; they presented a reform agenda which embodied the principle features of the national reforms….The reforms were described and justified as responses to a common set of problems facing all OECD countries, and they were labeled as a coherent and consistent package." The emphasis on new public management practices was unsurprising given the OECD’s clear mandate to spread and reinforce market capitalism, which at the time (mid-1990s) seemed best supported by light regulatory regimes, and lean and efficient administrative structures (Ougaard 2004: chap. 5).

The evidence thus seems clear that the OECD was a standard-bearer for NPM, an increasingly important node in international networks, and a key source (or at least venue) for the development of norms, standards and best practices of governance at both the macro level, and in specific sub-areas (e.g., anti-corruption, ethics, IT). That being said, precisely because the organization is permeable to outside networks and of course to its members (the sheer scope of interactions is telling: some 40,000 public servants from around the globe visit the OECD each year and participate in its activities), it would be too much to expect a hard, consistent, almost ideological view emanating from the organization. Some observers have noted what they call a shift, at least in some of the OECD’s areas of interest, from neo-liberalism to “inclusive” of “innovative” liberalism (Mahon and McBride 2008: 279). This can be seen in the governance area as well – the 1995 governance overview was considerably more hardcore.
NPM than was the 2005 version. The later emphasized context much more, and with it the importance of different paths to government efficiency. It also said much more about ethics and organizational culture than it did a decade ago. Yet, even with these nuances, there continues to be a strong emphasis on “modernization” of public services and the importance of implementing continuous public management reforms. Though the OECD naturally does not use the term itself, a glance at its injunctions and reports gives a sense of “permanent revolution.” This is due to several factors. First, the very assumption that public sector management is crucial to economic success and competitiveness means that it is vitally important to constantly try to improve management practices and institutions. Second, within its membership, the OECD is constantly developing comparative statistics, rankings, and best practices. This “leaders/laggards” frame of reference is a constant enticement to encourage “laggards” to catch up to “leaders.” As well, naturally, leaders may not be leaders forever, and so they too are constantly looking over their shoulders and trying to maintain their status at the head of the pack. This both reflects and reinforces the peer review process. Finally, the OECD interacts with a host of non-member states. These interactions are voluntary of course, and many of these states look to the OECD for guidance on best practices and the modernizing of a host of policies and practices. Complementing this is the OECD’s view that it is a prime vehicle for the sharing of “modern” approaches to governance. An excellent example of how the importance of reform is framed as a competitive advantage comes from a September 2008 speech by the OECD Secretary-General, Angel Gurría, to the annual meeting of Senior Officials from Centres of Government in Mexico City:

The political economy of reform is becoming an area of the utmost importance, since economies have to evolve to cope with changing environments. Reform is not an end in itself, but a means for more prosperity and greater well-being. Therefore, a government’s capacity to reform is a great comparative advantage, not only for itself, but also for citizens and for the country as a whole. Governments which are successful at reforming empower their people to make the most of globalisation, creating a favourable environment for education, for business, for innovation and for sustainable development.

At the OECD, we have enough empirical evidence to show how countries that advanced with reforms gave their economic performance a strong push.

- Countries like Ireland and Finland managed to boost employment levels by updating their labor legislations, following the recommendations of our OECD Jobs Strategy back in 1994, when there was massive unemployment in our member countries.
- Sweden’s or Australia’s early efforts on regulatory reform in the 1990s resulted in strong macroeconomic performance with high rates of growth, low unemployment and stable inflation. Today, we promote Australia’s experience in a “Competition Toolkit” (we are already working with Mexico on this) which we presented recently at a meeting of APEC in Australia this summer. Australia has estimated an average increase of 7 000 Australian dollars in households’ annual incomes as a result of action in the area of competition policy.
- The liberalisation strategies of Poland and Slovakia in the 1990s are also full of experiences on how economic reform can unleash growth.
- On the other hand, avoiding reform might seem an easy option, as not doing anything will be safe, but it comes at a high cost. The current subprime crisis is a painful example of what happens if we don’t keep pace with changing realities, through reforms and upgrading the regulatory framework of an industry or a sector.

When regulation does not evolve as fast as innovation, we open a dangerous gap. The rules of the game cannot fall behind to the creativity of the players. Financial innovation can be a fantastic economic enhancement, but it needs to operate within a stable, predictable forward looking regulatory framework. (OECD 2008b)

A second, related question to whether the OECD has a particular and organizationally distinct viewpoint on governance, is how it exercises its influence. We discussed earlier that the OECD has very little coercive capacity, that it is a venue for discussion and research and exchange, and that it relies primarily on “soft instruments” such as peer review, conferences, meetings and exchanges. (Marcussen 2004) argues that the OECD’s key technique is “multilateral surveillance.” The core of its work is “consultation” – country studies, research, conferences, meetings
and so on that produces “mutual education” and some eventual convergence around basic ideas. In line with our argument that the OECD does have an independent capacity to influence, and is not simply reflective of its members, Marcussen notes that at its founding it was hoped that the OECD would be both an “ideational artist” (formulating, testing, and diffusing new ideas) and an “ideational arbitrator,” providing opportunities for public servants around the world to exchange, discuss, and build both institutional and personal capacity. Taking this argument even further, Porter and Webb suggest that the OECD’s work constitutes an instance of “state identity formation,” an invocation of what it means to be an “ideal modern state” (Porter and Webb 2008). The OECD has managed to capitalize on a complex global psychology of “modernization,” a restless hunt to reach an always-receding horizon of improvement. What works now is never good enough. The organization has appropriated the discourse of modernity, and has a credible claim to defining what is à la mode through its membership and associational ties. Most governments, whatever their real inclinations, resist being labeled “conventional,” “backward” or “traditional.” Most prefer to be “modern” or to be “modernizing.”

A rare illustration of these dynamics in the area of public management comes from Mills’s (1999) analysis of the OECD Council’s Recommendation on Improving Ethical Conduct in the Public Sector. An OECD Recommendation is a formal consensus statement by the Council (at the time with 29 members) directed at its members and designed to help those members define their policies. The Recommendation outlined several challenges facing governments at the time (e.g., declining confidence in government, corruption), and suggested a set of “Principles for Managing Ethics in the Public Service.” The OECD Secretariat was to collect and distribute information about how its member states were meeting their commitments, and member states themselves were to establish new ethics policies and management practices. The Recommendation was preceded by two years of research, member surveys, and symposia conducted by PUMA (as it was then). Despite being just a recommendation, without coercive force, Mills notes that the “potency of such a statement may well go beyond what can be achieved through the peer pressure that the OECD claims as its chief operating method. …As a baseline statement it can contribute, internationally, to a common understanding across jurisdictions and, nationally, it can be a lever for local action” (Mills 1999: 68).

Another key tool at the OECD’s disposal is its research capacity, on governance and a host of other issues. It produces mountains of comparative economic statistics, as well data about a spectrum of subjects from agriculture, development in Africa, and innovation and the Internet economy. The comparative statistics on member countries facilitates the comparisons of leaders/laggards, as well as the dynamic of naming and shaming. A recent major project has been the development of comparative governance indicators in something called Government at a Glance. With the growth of interest in governance in the last decade has come a parallel interest (an “explosion”) in governance indicators (Arndt and Oman 2006: 13). There are an estimated 180 governance indicators, from Transparency International to the World Bank’s. Government at a Glance is the OECD’s foray into the field. It was launched in 2005 as “Management in Government” with the aim of “providing governments with high quality comparative information on the public sector” (OECD 2007: iii). The report notes that as “public sector reforms continue across the OECD, there is a growing need for improved data to provide a reality check on actions taken and a direction for the future” (OECD 2007: 1). The scope and ambition of the exercise is such that it warrants a full citation:

This Working Paper compiles a set of recent comparable OECD data on revenues, inputs, and public sector processes and proposes a way forward in data collection. It is the first of three annual Working Papers as the Public Governance and Territorial Development (GOV) Directorate of the OECD builds up to the first publication of a major biennial publication, “Government at a Glance”, in late 2009. It is accompanied by a volume entitled “Measuring Government Activities” (OECD, forthcoming) that sets out the proposed approach and that poses technical alternatives for expert review and comment. The first part of this volume provides a comprehensive exposition of the proposed data classification and analysis.

The development of the methodology has been overseen by three informal editorial groups comprising leading government and academic experts drawn from across the OECD (see http://www.oecd.org/gov/indicators for more details) and in close collaboration with other OECD Directorates (most particularly the Economics Department and the Statistics Directorate). (OECD, 2007: 1)
The OECD’s ambition is to hard wire indicators into an on-going global conversation among practitioners about good governance. As the report states, the publication will “facilitate a structured practitioner dialogue” and will contribute to OECD-wide “lesson-learning.”

We are not claiming that the OECD has been the dominant international governmental organization in the field of public management reform, nor that it has necessarily driven the public management reform movement. However, it is among the most visible of these organizations, and certainly one of the most active. Its unique use of “soft” instruments places a greater premium on the development of research, broad consensus on standards, and constant interaction and discussion. It is notoriously difficult to measure the impact of administrative reforms, and perhaps even more difficult to assess the impact of one organization one step removed from these changes. Nonetheless, the circumstantial evidence is quite strong that the OECD has had a unique effect in developing a global conversation – based on concepts that are not necessarily shared or agreed upon, but at least intelligible to a broad international audience. Furthermore, its entanglement and interaction with the scholarly community around the world (for example, leading public administration scholars helped advise on *Modernising Government*) means that it can act as a diffuser of ideas among academics as well as practitioners.

The nature of the OECD makes it an ideal case study for a more careful analysis of policy diffusion (Howlett and Rayner 2009), particularly since it has been a consistent exponent of governance reform for almost twenty years. As part of this research program, further work on the OECD and global public management reform will explore selected case studies and conduct interviews with both OECD officials and member state/delegation officials to more closely understand the dynamics of diffusion, organizational influence, global convergence and divergence, and administrative change.
Appendix A: OECD Organization Chart

General Structure

Council

- Secretariat
- Committees

Working Groups and Networks
Appendix B

Time Line of Events – Focus on GOV Directorate

1944 - The United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference at Bretton Woods convened, leading to the establishment of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

1945 - Representatives of 50 countries draw up the UN Charter at the United Nations Conference in San Francisco.

1946 - The International Labour Organisation (ILO, Geneva), established in 1919 under the Treaty of Versailles, becoming the first specialised agency associated with the UN.


1948 - The recipients of Marshall Plan aid sign the Convention establishing the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC, 16 April).


1949 - Headquarters of OEEC established at the Château de la Muette in Paris in 1949.

1949 - OEEC establishes an Overseas Territories Committee.

1956 - The International Finance Corporation (IFC) is established as affiliate of the World Bank.

1957 - The European Development Fund for Overseas Countries and Territories is set up as part of the Rome Treaty establishing the European Economic Community.


Sept. 30, 1961 – Public Management Committee (PMC) created.

1980 – Network of Senior Officials from Centers of Government (COG) created.

1980 – Working Party of Senior Budget Officials (SBO) created.


1996 – Group on Regulatory Policy (GRP) created.

Jan. 20, 1999 – Territorial Development Policy Committee (TDPC) created.

Jan. 20, 1999 – Working Party on Territorial Indicators created. Reports to the TDPC.

Jan. 20, 1999 – Working Party on Territorial Policy in Rural Areas created. Reports to the TDPC.

Jan. 20, 1999 – Working Party on Territorial Policy in Urban Areas created. Reports to the TDPC.
2001 – Network of Parliamentary Budget Committee Chairpersons created.


2002 – Expert Group on Conflict of Interest: Ensuring Accountability and Transparency in the Public Service created. This is an *ad hoc* expert group that provides input and guidance on promoting integrity and preventing corruption.

June 1, 2003 – Network on Senior E-Government Officials (EGOV) created.

Jan. 1, 2004 – Network on Organisational Structures created.

Jan. 15, 2004 – Council approves name change of “Public Management Committee” (PMC) to “Public Governance Committee” (PGC).

July 26, 2004 – Resolution of the Council renewing the terms of reference of the Public Governance Committee approved.
Appendix C

Figure 1

Source: OECD Website, Public Governance and Territorial Development (GOV), publications and documents.

Figure 2

Source: OECD Website, Public Governance and Territorial Development (GOV), publications and documents.

Note: This chart depicts publications (major) by percentage of total for all years by core area. Total number of publications for all years 122.
Appendix D

Key Actors in the Good Governance for Arab Countries Initiative of the MENA Program

Source: OECD Website: GfD Initiative, “Key Actors”, accessed online July 22, 2008 from http://www.oecd.org/document/6/0,3343,en_34645207_34645555_34964998_1_1_1_1,00.html
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