

**IMPLEMENTATION OF MERITOCRACY
IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR OF KAZAKHSTAN**

by

Nargis Saginova

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ABSTRACT

Kazakhstan's ultimate goal for the next 20 years is to become one of the most economically successful top 30 countries in the world. In order to get onto that list, the President of the country, on a regular basis, sets goals that should be achieved by politicians, businessmen, scholars, students and others. One of the latest goals was the introduction of 5 reforms in 2015 that included a huge transformation of the civil service. The reform was aimed at creating a professional and effective civil service free from corruption, nepotism, and tribalism, with bright leaders who will guide the country towards success and prosperity. Thus, political stability will gradually result in economic success. The focus of the civil service reform was the implementation of principles of meritocracy. Meritocracy guarantees that access to the civil service will be equally given to everyone interested in working for the government and who has the proper qualifications. Promotion should be based on their merits ignoring things like subjectivism, nepotism, corruption etc. On the basis of the reforms, the government has introduced new law 'On civil service'. Thus the main objective of this thesis paper is to investigate whether the principle of meritocracy has been introduced and implemented in the civil service of Kazakhstan. Using the example of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan I have researched whether the results of this process have been successful or not. The primary source of data is interviews conducted with the representatives of the MoFA. The results of the interviews showed interesting findings regarding merit-based and non-merit based principles of recruitment and promotion in the MoFA. According to the interviews one of the important factors besides merits is professionals networking connections which can play crucial role in the candidate's recruitment and promotion. The implementation of a meritocracy will contribute to the building strong government institutions free from corruption and will also support Kazakhstan's economic development.

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IMPLEMENTATION OF MERITOCRACY IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR OF KAZAKHSTAN

In March 2015 at the Nur Otan Party congress, the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev announced 5 institutional reforms one of which was the “Formation of a professional state apparatus”. (President proposed 5 institutional reforms, 2015). At that time, professional and autonomous apparatus was in a great need in order to ensure the qualitative implementation of economic programs and the provision of public services. Professional and autonomous apparatus stipulates that all civil servants should be ‘serving’ the country in a best possible way under the conditions prescribed by the law. Any professional who wants to be a civil servant, and is eligible, should have an equal right to join the public service and contribute to the government. In order to improve the civil service system and public service quality and create good governance, people should be hired on the principle of their merits, regardless of social standing, gender or age. Public officials should be focused on making positive changes in the government and building their careers rather than waiting for next appointments and holding senior positions.

One of the main principles of this reform was implementation of a meritocracy in the public sector. Meritocracy is a system in which talented people who display superior abilities and accomplishments are rewarded with positions of leadership are chosen and moved ahead on the basis of their abilities and accomplishments. (Meritocracy n.d., 2017) Political elite and public administrators fully supported the idea.

In 2015 civil service of Kazakhstan experienced harsh period, because of increased number of corruption cases and several failures in government programs, like introduction of the increased age for female retirement, or land reform, thus it was a very appropriate time for introducing reforms (Arystanbekov, 2016; Kiseleva, 2017; Nur.kz, 2017). The decision-making process was very politicized, even in cases where professional management was required without any policy.

Another issue was creation of teams around one manager. In the Kazakhstani public service, senior level civil servants are transferred frequently; the average tenure of civil servants can be as low as one year or one and a half maximum (Civil servants in Kazakhstan will not be able to transfer from one agency to another, 2015). Every new manager comes with the group of people with whom he/she used to work in his previous position, thus the former manager is quitting with ‘his’ people to another place. The new manager comes with ‘his’ people and ‘old’ management leaves with his team creating a vicious cycle. Patronage creates conditions for corruption, generates cronyism and reduces the quality of human resources. Such teams often leave the projects unfinished and new management starts either from the very beginning or initiates something completely different. In such a way, middle level civil servants suffer from lack of consistency and clear career prospects and tend to quit the job because of unappreciated work. They are quite aware that their promotion depends on the notorious patrons.

These rotations have led to the situations when a newly appointed manager doesn’t even try to successfully fulfill all the assignments because he/she knows that in a short period of time he/she will quit and someone else will finish the work. Thus, these managers have tendency to miss important deadlines and fail projects. One of the high-profile cases was the arrest of the CEO of the National Company Astana Expo 2017. According to the anti-corruption service,

the head of the company was accused of theft that amounted to 10 billion 200 million tenge; overall there were 23 people in the case. All of them were accused of 5 episodes of criminal activity (Talgat Ermegiyev is sentenced to 14 years, 2016).

Another high-profile case happened to the ex-minister of National Economy of the Republic of Kazakhstan and Prime minister of the Republic of Kazakhstan. (tengrinews.kz) Both of them were accused of embezzlement of particular large sums of state money. In the country where prime minister is imprisoned because of corruption, something has to be done with the whole civil service (Serik Akhmetov is under house arrest, 2014).

Some practitioners assumed that the main reason of unstable situation in the country was the Soviet Union heritage. After the collapse of the USSR in December 1991, Kazakhstan has gone through challenging years. By the mid-90s Kazakhstan had carried out the necessary state change: a new constitution of an independent state, elections of the central and local governments, privatization of a number of economy sectors, a new banking system and a favorable climate for foreign investment.

As a result, by the end of the 1990s, the recession was over, and the rapid economic development began: GDP has been growing rapidly during almost 10 years with the indicators of at least 9-10% per year. (Dally, 2008) January 1, 2011 GDP per capita amounted to more than 9000 US dollars. As compared with 1994, GDP grew by more than 12 times. World experience shows that in the first 20 years of independence, no country has reached such a result. Over the past 10 years, monetary incomes of Kazakhstan have grown 5 times, average monthly wage increased 6 times, minimum wage increased 25 times. These significant achievements in economic and social spheres today allow Kazakhstanis to be optimistic about the future (Dally, 2008).

Education system and its development was paid particular attention by the President Nursultan Nazarbayev. One of the most successful long-term educational investments Kazakhstan has made was the establishment of the international scholarship of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan “Bolashak”. International scholarship “Bolashak” was established in 1993. (History of the Bolashak program, 2016). 24 years ago, talented youth received the opportunity to win scholarship on a competition basis to study in the best universities worldwide. The initiative was adopted from the Singapore government scholarship program, which aims to increase the quality of human resources potential of the country by sending students to study abroad. Upon graduating from universities, this talented ambitious youth apply for the job in the public sector. Being very competitive, they strive for the best, but what they can be sure of, is that despite their social status, average income of the parents or overall financial situation, they will be evaluated by their merits and performance (Bellowsa, 2009, p. 36).

Graduates of the “Bolashak” program were assumed to form the basis of the meritocratic public apparatus because they are the people who studied abroad and experienced all the inner processes of the civil service in different countries. They were supposed to constitute political elite in the very near future. However, according to statistics only 185 out of 583 graduates with the degree in Public policy and Public administration, work in public sector, which basically constitutes only 31% out of 100%. (Statistics taken from the statistical data requested from the JSC, 2015) Why does this happen? The reason for this inconsistency is unattractiveness of the public sector in Kazakhstan. Fresh graduates with high expectations anticipate public sector to be a competitive sector with high salaries and equal opportunities

for everybody. But what they experience in reality are low wages, nepotism, patronism, corruption and irrelevance of their knowledge. As a result, people who could be very useful in civil service tend to implement their knowledge in other spheres.

The absence of middle level of management together with poor functioning of high-level leadership and strategic planning results in an under-performing civil service and an inadequate provision of public services. Among the biggest problems might be: inadequate staff competencies, inadequate pay, no formal performance appraisal system, non-meritocratic recruitment. Professionals prefer to work in the private sector rather than the public one due to the above-mentioned reasons.

According to the above-mentioned reasons, civil service in Kazakhstan was really in need for changes. And these changes took place in 2015 when the 5 institutional reforms were introduced. Thus, this paper will analyze the results of meritocracy implementation in Kazakhstan since 2015 and argue that a more complete implementation of a merit-based system will assist in creating effective and transparent state institutions in Kazakhstan to ensure fair treatment of its citizens.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Successful human resources system starts from the recruitment process. In the private sector recruitment process is based on a candidate's abilities and performance during the interview and testing stage. Thus, employers can critically assess the qualifications of the candidate and understand what position he/she fits in the best. Same criteria should be used in the public sector. It is one of the most challenging tasks to fit the person in the right position and create all the necessary conditions where he/she can apply his knowledge. Otherwise an employee can be engaged in the work with inappropriate functional responsibilities.

At this stage meritocracy comes to the foreground. According to Krauze and Slomczynski meritocracy is a utilitarian formula that asserts those who purposefully contribute to a system's "well-being" will receive the greater rewards (Krauze, Slomczynski, 1985, p.630). Basically those who work and show best results will be chosen as candidates for promotion. Meritocracy or 'merit-based system' objectively allows the best, brightest and the most talented from the pool to fit into the positions. Not only they are given opportunities to apply for positions, but they are also given the right to believe that nothing else but their knowledge skills and experience will matter in the process selection.

As Dr. Gago Tanku in his work "Meritocracy – the only criterion to have a professional public administration in the civil service" states, any individual, group and industry will benefit from a world where the most talented people have good opportunities to exercise their talents. He calls it "creative meritocracy" (Tanku, Shkelzen, 2014, p. 165-166). Dr. Tanku considers that nowadays quality of ideas and talent is sometimes less important than the person who represents you and the name you have. Philosophical orientation which is based on meritocracy uses intellectual skills and personality, as a fundamental indicator for determining the merit of the individual. Dr. Tanku states that this is based on Darwinian model of evolution, reminding the "survival of the fittest" in the social and political context (Tanku, Shkelzen, 2014, p. 165-166).. In order to implement the system of meritocracy in public administration from top to down, every candidate must be hired through meritocracy rules, which should be made public.

What does it mean to be public? In Kazakhstan, it is synonymous to transparency. Every process, interview, test should be transparent in order to be trustworthy. Every candidate should be informed about negative or positive results of the test by seeing the results himself. The interview process and tests have also gone through changes in Kazakhstan. After the reforms, new questions regarding ethical norm in the civil service and situational questions were added. However, the updated legislation will be discussed further.

One of the few countries that really succeeded in building a meritocratic civil service is Singapore (Tan, 2008; Asia Centinell, 2007; Quah, 2007). If we look closer at the Singaporean example we will see few tendencies that Kazakhstan is also trying to follow. Public sector is the biggest employer in Singapore, as well as in Kazakhstan, thus this apparatus should always be filled with the appropriate number of professional work force. According to Kenneth Paul Tan in order to make public sector more attractive talented people should receive some kind of compensation not only for their work, but also for their ideological cohesiveness and a goal to serve for the country's benefit (Tan, 2008). The choice they made on the expense of their private life, missed alternative career options, should have a big opportunity cost. They should be given competitive "market-rate" compensation in order to make the civil service an attractive place to work at. Thus, they had to make several

adjustments to civil servants' wages. This legislation was enforced in 1994 when under the direction of Goh Chok Tong, 1994 White Paper set forth the reasons a superior pay scheme should be put in place for the political leadership and top-level civil servants. A second round of adjustments occurred in 2000. The most recent adjustment took place in March 2007 due to the financial crisis January 2008 (Tan, 2008, p. 13). Salaries for ministers increased to US\$1.26 million beginning 1 January 2008 (Asia Centinell, 2007). The prime minister's salary rose to US\$2.53 million. A principal concern is that competitive pay for the top and decent pay for all ranks in government service is one of the most effective means to eliminate corruption (Quah, 2007, p.14). This practice can also be partially introduced in Kazakhstan. The changes to public servants' wages should be made by introducing adjustments to the law. Obviously, the process will take time and should be made gradually in order not to hurt other spheres of economy. Thus, the process will be successful.

Lee Kuan Yew believed in intellectual-merit based elitism (Bellowsa, 2009, p. 36). As a prime-minister he began the process of integrating the merit concept into the operational mechanism of the political system. Lee Kuan Yew 4 core components recruiting, nurturing and judging potential leaders remains in place today. Recruitment is the key to renewal process. Though achieving meritocracy is not easy, sustaining it on the right level is much more complex and difficult. The Singapore government put in place substantial salary increases for high flyers beginning in 1972. The intention is to pay competitive market rates for senior civil servants, government ministers and elected representatives, and civil servants. Market rates are calculated on the basis of top management positions in the private sector (Bellowsa, 2009, p. 36)

In order, not to turn the principle of meritocracy into the discriminative act John Roemer suggests that meritocracy should be perceived of "before" and "after". (Tan, 2008, p. 13). Meaning that in the very beginning everybody should be given equal opportunities, but after the competition begins, individuals should be on their own. The access to the competition itself should be much equalized. Those who do not possess adequate resources to develop their talents should be given more of them due to government redirection of resources (through welfare, education, training) (Tan, 2008, p. 13)

According to the World Development Report 1997: The State in a Changing World bureaucracies with more competitive, merit-based recruitment and promotion practices and better pay are more capable. "Motivated staff is the lifeblood of an effective state". Employees can be motivated to perform effectively in different ways, however the most important would be through recruitment and promotion systems based on merit. These principles were used back in nineteenth century by countries which strived to build professional bureaucracies. Later the principles were used in East Asia and transformed countries from weak corrupted ones into competitive and well-functioning systems (World Development Report 1997, p. 9). Central banks over the world are represented in the report as a historically good example of the merit-based system, because they work despite anything that can happen in the country, they are less subject to political interference, their employees are usually comparatively better paid than their colleagues from other parts of civil service.

Making meritocracy of the civil service helps bring in high-quality staff, confers prestige on civil service positions, and can do a great deal to motivate good performance. In countries like Japan and Korea a national civil service entrance exam uses very tough standards to select the more skilled from the less skilled candidates. There are two systems of merit based recruitment and promotion: mandarin systems and open recruitment system. Mandarin system

is a hierarchical closed-entry system with highly competitive entrance requirements, it refers to 'corps-career' system with low and middle level civil servants. The system is very centralized and selective, candidates are chosen in the basis of the entrance examination, candidates are hired into career corps rather than specific jobs. It is used in such countries as France, Germany and Japan. For example, in France National School of Administration high level candidates take 1 year professional internship and 15 months of coursework. Open recruitment systems are more flexible, because they are de-centralized and driven by the market. They provide managers with greater flexibility in selecting candidates with needed skills because centralised examinations are replaced with profession specific exam. Good example of the country using this method will be USA, to New Zealand, countries following the new public management reform. The US system for instance allows entry at any point in the hierarchy with no age restrictions, and in New Zealand agency managers can hire candidates at market salaries (World Development Report 1997, p. 93).

"Countries with well-functioning bureaucracies can reduce poverty and enhance economic growth. In the nineteenth century, successful administrative reforms towards meritocracy in Great Britain resulted in its dominance over international commerce" (World Development Report 1997, p.79)

Meritocracy rejects such negative issues as nepotism, corruption, patronage in the civil service, promoting equality and professionalism. Meritocracy values transparent selection and recruitment processes, careful evaluation of candidates' abilities and healthy competition among candidates. According to Poocharoen and Brillantes, there is a lot of instruments and reasons to implement meritocracy. In regards of the selection process, meritocracy is about giving equal opportunities to everybody by panel interviews and psychological tests. In terms of promotion merit-based system allows best performing employees to be assessed in a fair way and given opportunity to be promoted (Poocharoen and Brillantes, 2013, p. 143).

According to Weber in his "Weberian bureaucracy and economic growth" "public administrative organizations with meritocratic recruitment and predictable career rewards are effective at facilitating capitalist growth than other forms of state organizations" (Evans and Rauch,1999, p. 749). Basically, he states that economically more successful countries are the ones with meritocratic system of civil service. Weber viewed bureaucracy as a particular kind of organizational structure, set in contrast to earlier patrimonial form of government administration. This hypothesis cannot be dismissed simply by the discovery that people who call themselves bureaucrats have engaged in rent-seeking or that corrupt governments have undermined economic growth. Addressing the "Weberian state hypothesis" means answering the question, "Are countries whose administrative apparatuses more closely approximate bureaucratic forms of organization characterized by higher rates of economic growth?" (Evans and Rauch,1999, p. 749).

Meritocratic recruitment enhances corporate coherence and esprit de corps, which in turn can has great substantive effects on the motivation of individual officeholders. Bureaucrats who share similar abilities with their colleagues are more likely to internalize shared norms and goals than those who work for a patron. Identification with colleagues and the organization itself should increase the effectiveness of monitoring (Evans and Rauch,1999, p. 752). Overall, meritocratic recruitment should help organizations to pursue long-term goals in an effective way by bureaucrats who work in a right way. And it may be quite sufficient to have Weberian structures in the strategic core of the bureaucracy. (Evans and Rauch,1999, p. 760).

A report published by UNDP notes that, “the civil service at the national and local levels is a key system on which the state relies to fulfill its obligations towards its citizens” (UNDP, 2015). Thus, in order to reach its development agenda, a country must prioritize investments in a professional, merit-based civil service and strengthen local governments responsible for overseeing or delivering basic social services, especially to the poor and other vulnerable groups. This fundamental capacity is based on the availability of experienced and well-trained staff in key government institutions and central economic agencies, such as ministries of planning, finance and central banks (UNDP, 2015, p.7).

EXCEPTIONS FOR MERIT-BASED SYSTEM

However, governments do not totally rely on merit systems. Willy McCourt, in his paper ‘The merit system and integrity in the public service’ states that “in pure merit system all public appointments, from top to bottom, follow a competition based on merit rules that are publicly understood and can be challenged if a breach is suspected” (McCourt, 2007b, p. 6) . However, probably no administration runs a pure merit system as defined by McCourt. McCourt definition of merit includes the following:

- Jobs at every level: merit principles apply as much to promotion as to initial recruitment;
- The best candidate: demonstrably the most able among a number of candidates, any of whom could do the job adequately;
- Open to all: no internal-only appointments or restricted shortlists;
- Systematic, transparent and challengeable: we welcome challenges to our decisions, including from the unsuccessful candidates, viewing them as valuable feedback which will help us make better decisions in future.

Here are five possible exceptions for merit-based system provided by McCourt:

- Elected officials. Some officials are appointed, not elected;
- Political and ‘direct’ appointments. Elected officials mostly should be narrowly confined to senior staff who are working directly to politicians;
- Affirmative action. Several administrations, including Canada, Cyprus, Malaysia and the US, have used ‘quotas’ and in public appointments to increase the number of members of a disadvantaged group, such as women or certain ethnic groups (the Turkish minority in Cyprus, women and disabled people in Canada);
- Internal appointments and transfers; local managers’ discretion. Most administrations have restricted certain promotion posts to existing staff in order to minimize transaction costs and to provide career development opportunities;
- Other appointments: succession plans, secondments, reallocation of duties, sub-contracting to employment agencies etc. (McCourt, 2007b, p. 6)

GEORGIAN TRANSITION AS AN EXAMPLE

Despite the achievements that Kazakhstan is making in economic, political spheres and on international levels, it is still a country of developing world, and some experts consider it's not reasonable to compare Kazakhstan with the developed countries that have used meritocratic principles for many years, like Singapore, Japan or France. In this regard, it would be more reasonable to compare Kazakhstan either with the former USSR countries, or the CIS countries which went through the process of implementing meritocratic principles in the civil service.

A great example of a post-Soviet Union country that has gone through a huge civil service reform is Georgia. Before the reform took place, Georgia was considered to be one of the most corrupted countries in the USSR. Nepotism was also a driven force in the public sector, thus poor public sector led to shrinking economy due to corruption. What did they do? They started from the law, various legislative amendments were passed to enhance the existing civil service legislation and to bring greater transparency and efficiency. Second step was increase in salaries in order to prevent corruption. Electronic governance was paid a lot of attention as well in order to eradicate any human factor and subjectivism in the processes. They were also focused on increasing efficiency of public service delivery, like public and civil registries, e-licenses, e-taxation and other services. Government prosecuted many corruption cases in the court, logistical advancements played an important role as well including building new offices, modern equipment and civil servants underwent major training in good governance.

In Georgia public officials believe that efficient civil service will help them to integrate into European and Euro-Atlantic Organisations. Georgia has committed to reform the Civil Service with the support of various international organisations such as: the European Union (within the framework of the Eastern Neighbourhood Partnership (ENP)); North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) (within the framework of Annual Action Plan (ANP)); Open Governments Partnership (OGP), etc. (retrieved from <http://csb.gov.ge/en/reform-in-civil-service>).

As a result, in 2010 Transparency International and World Bank has named Georgia as biggest fighter against corruption in 2010. In 2012 Georgia was considered as one of the least corrupt countries in Europe under the Eurobarometer, 2012. Civil Service Bureau was awarded with UN Public Service Award in 2013. (Koketishvili, 2013)

AMENDMENTS TO THE LAW

The new Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan ‘On Public Service’ was enforced on January 1, 2016 (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On civil service”, 2015).

Due to the fact that the law was enforced quite recently, statistical data and official information on the implications of the reform in the public sector is not available. However, what can be used as a valuable source of information is primary resource of information represented by working civil servants on senior positions, civil servants as employees, applicants to civil positions. Thus, all the above-mentioned actors from one department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan will be interviewed in order to get the statistical qualitative and quantitative data. The selection of this ministry is justified by several reasons. First and foremost, I had an easy access to the ministry because of networking connections. Second, the ministry is a great example of the agency which civil servants represent Kazakhstan abroad and help people over the world shape their opinion about the country. These data will be used in the case study research method, upon which this thesis paper is based.

The law shapes the public service as a whole and underlines the importance of meritocracy entrenchment in the public sector. Amendments that were made to the void law “On public service” of July 23, 1999, state that public service in Kazakhstan should base on several principles. Article 4 of the law elaborate them 5) efficiency, effectiveness, transparency in the activities of state bodies; 6) equal right of citizens to access to public service; 7) voluntariness of citizens' admission to the civil service; 8) professionalism of civil servants; 9) meritocracy - recognition of personal merits and achievements of a civil servant, his promotion in the civil service in accordance with his abilities and professional training. Thus, the law guides the public service into the main principles of meritocracy underlying that public servant should ‘serve’ the country in an efficient and professional way, moreover all public servants should be hired on a basis of merits and their knowledge regardless of other things, like networking connections, rich families, affiliation with powerful people and other like. (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On civil service”, 2015, article 4).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The main idea of this section is to address two main questions: 1) how was the data for the paper collected and 2) how was it analyzed? As mentioned in the beginning, the core question of this paper is whether the principles of meritocracy have evolved into the public sector of Kazakhstan, and whether they are successful.

Case study analysis was chosen as the most appropriate research method for this thesis paper due to several important issues. According to Robert K. Yin (1984; 2012; 2017) one of the strongest features of the case study method is its strength to examine in-depth a case within its 'real-life' content and make direct observations. This, in turn, serves to analyze the current situation in public sector in a more detailed way. Yin defines the case study research method "as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used." (Yin, 1984, p.23).

Another strong argument in favor of using the case study analysis is that its core idea is to "triangulate or establish converging lines of evidence to make the findings as robust as possible" (Yin, 2012, p.13). This methodological evidence may result in a more objective conclusion and can provide more information from different perspectives. In my case triangulation will be made between the actors mentioned above as a primary source of information and legislation, in such a way the interview held will provide the evidence with sufficient clarity providing readers to judge. The new law "On civil service" was introduced in November 2016. Changes that were made to the law referred to the principles of meritocracy and its introduction to the civil service. Article 5 of the law states that one of the principles of the civil service in Kazakhstan is "meritocracy - recognition of personal merits and achievements of a civil servant, his promotion in the civil service in accordance with his abilities and professional training" (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan on "Civil Service", 2016). Thus, in order for a civil service to work in accordance with the law and not obide it principles of meritocracy should be used on a day to day basis.

Variations in terms of intrinsic, instrumental and collective approaches to case studies allow for both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the data. This unique new phenomenon as a case study is the best way to collect and analyze information in this case. In order to keep the case study narrative close to the data that I have collected from the respondents, I have divided their answers into merit and not merit consideration. The table is represented in Appendix 2.

DATA

In order to collect data on the existing hiring and promotion processes in the civil service I have chosen a specific method of data collection - interviews¹. I have conducted three interviews with three representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan, one interview with each person. Three representatives form one department with the overall quantity of 20 civil servants. The interviews were taken with the senior level manager, middle manager and a new entry. My intention to take civil servants as sample population stipulates their direct involvement not only in executing important government tasks, providing public services on a daily basis, but also directly dealing with the reforms implemented in the civil service. As mentioned above several respondents from different levels were selected in order to achieve the triangulation of opinions and make the conclusions as objective as possible.

Interview method of gathering data also investigated the problem thoroughly and will allow readers to critically evaluate the study's reliability. Interview method is a firsthand resource of information. Thus, the question of whether they experience merit-based principles at work, or not, gave me an opportunity to analyze the implementation process of state programs. On the basis of their answers I sought to derive common patterns within the responses which allowed me to believe that a fact is true or can be considered to exist.

I would like to mention that the results of the interview that I have conducted were hand written, because tape recording was not allowed inside the ministry. Due to professional networking connections I got an easy access to the Ministry which allowed me to enter the it and conduct interviews with no restrictions, except for general restrictions of the ministry such as no electronic devices, like cell phones, notebooks, tape recorders were allowed. Thus, I did the best that I could in order to be as precise with the respondents' answers and the notes I took. I asked each respondent six questions. Overall it took me more than 3 hours to talk to each of them separately and take down the notes. I analysed the answers they have given me in the discussion section in order to find out whether their opinions coincide or not and if meritocracy exists in their ministry.

All the three respondents have answered thoroughly to six questions and provided me with the full information regarding hiring and promotion processes. Six questions that I asked included principles of hiring and promotion in the ministry and the example of the successful one; what qualifications except merits a candidate should possess in order to be hired to the MoFA and other government agencies; ethical issues in the civil service; discussion of the term meritocracy. They have shared valuable information on the legal procedures that the civil servant has to go through in case of promotion within the ministry.

¹ Interviews were held with the representatives of 3 levels in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from one department. No specific criteria were used in their selection, just the affiliation with one department. The MoFA was selected due to the easy access.

#	QUESTIONS
1.	Do you believe that persons should be hired and advanced based only on merit or are there other important considerations? If there are others what are they?
2.	What do you believe is the basis for promotion and recruitment currently being used in your ministry
3.	Do you think this is also true of other ministries in the government?
4.	Can you tell me of an example of a recent promotion or hire in your department and how the final decision was made?
5.	What does the term meritocracy mean to you?
6.	Has the introduction of the ethical norms in the civil service law changed the civil service? If so how? If not, why not?

CASE STUDY

Kazakhstan is striving to become one of the most economically successful top 30 countries in the world. Today country is still experiencing huge post-Soviet Union heritage in terms of hiring and promotion people in the civil service. The old system is characterized by such things like corruption, nepotism, favoritism, tribalism which is unfortunately very common in Kazakhstan. Unlike the old system the new one has completely different rules. In the new competitive world, it is highly important to have knowledgeable and professional people work in the strategically government agencies or ministries. Their work will be positively associated with the country's development per se. Kazakhstan aspiration is to make a smooth transition from post-soviet stage to market economy, for that purpose government needs to create effective and professional state apparatus. This can be achieved by implementing merit-based system in the civil service. Meritocracy guarantees that access to civil service will be equally given to everyone deserving it and having proper qualifications. On the example of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan I will research whether the results of this process are successful or not. MoFA is a very important ministry because diplomats and ambassadors make people from around the world shape their opinions about our country and our citizens.

My first question to the respondents was: Do you believe that persons should be hired and advanced based only on merit or are there other important considerations? If there are others, what are they? All of the respondents underlined good communication skills to be very important for diplomats because they are the people who represent Kazakhstan on international arena, thus being able to be a good communicator and negotiator may play a crucial role in building understanding and reaching common grounds both with our companions and those who do not share our values and views. In their opinion, all of the candidates should have good background in terms of education and working experience, they also have to possess knowledge about the work they will be responsible for and overall be a professional.

So, what does the hiring process in the civil service on the example of MoFA look like? Nowadays anyone can find information about open vacancies in the newspapers like "Egemen Kazakhstan" or "Kazakhstansya pravda". Afterwards, the candidate applies for a job and wait until he/she is invited to the test. The candidate will be tested for legislation knowledge. The questions in the test check the knowledge of the laws, alongside they include situational questions that test candidates' behavior in different situations. If a candidate passes the test successfully he/she will go through assessment of personal qualities. Upon successful completion of this stage, the next step will be interview for profile knowledge in the state agency. Basically, everyone who wishes to join public sector can apply. Several steps allow the system to sort out the best and at the interview stage the committee meets the best selected, then the committee in conformation with certain procedures chose the candidate. (Information on entering civil service of Kazakhstan, 2017)

Answering my question regarding hiring processes in the Ministry of foreign affairs all the respondents tend to give similar answers regarding the official procedures that everyone has to follow in order to be hired or promoted in the MoFA. This process, described in detail below, excludes any kind of corruption or biased attitude. It creates equal opportunities for those who want to join civil service and those who are already there.

The promotion system in the MoFA is built in such a way that every employee has the opportunity to take part in an inner contest within the Ministry to be promoted to higher positions and basically everyone there gets promotion every 2-3 years. The diplomats have special ranks, the higher the rank the higher the position.

As civil servants of MoFA say almost none of their colleagues work in the same position for more than 5 years. It is a very good sample for the civil servant. Because change of the positions leads to progress in the work. In such a way, the civil servant will be able to work in different positions within the ministry and get a full picture from various perspectives. Thus, he/she will get experience and will become a valuable employee. Moreover, this person will be motivated to work hard in order to get promoted. Once you get in the ministry, people seem to be motivated to build a career within the ministry and in case of hard work there is a so-called guarantee that the person will be promoted. However, the promotion process itself also takes time and effort, the inner contest is another independent and time-consuming procedure. If a civil servant in the MoFA finds out about the vacancy within his/her agency, he/she has an absolute right to apply. At this stage nothing can help him/her to get promotion, no networking, family ties, only his/her knowledge, merits, and the contribution he/she has been making to the ministry throughout the years. Thus, he/she applies for the position and the inner contest begins. On a procedural basis, the candidate has to pass the interview with the committee consisting of several department directors who make the decision. Taking into consideration the fact that decision is made not only by the immediate director but by the committee, it excludes favoritism.

If we compare how the procedure was done before the amendments we will see that inner contest was open for every interested civil servant from any other state agency or ministry. Civil servants had more freedom to transfer from one ministry to another and did not have to participate in the inner contest. From one point of view it was very convenient. Basically, if a head of department from one ministry wanted to apply for the job in another ministry, he/she was automatically applying for the same position even though his qualifications could vary. However positive things about the amendments are that now the system fairly chooses the candidate from within the ministry. Thus, amendments made the process better and fairer. The inner promotion gives more access to the civil servants within the ministry and less competitors from outside. This might seem not very meritocratic, however within one particular civil agency this seems to be very fair. Because in such way those who have been working for many years and deserve promotion will get it, rather than those who might not have quality knowledge about the work in MoFA. MoFA civil servants will be sure that no one will come from outside and take their possible positions. With the introduction of merit-based system, public sector had become more autonomous from outside decision makers, political appointment and became more competitive I say. Now, a candidate knows that if he/she wants to apply for the position he/she needs to be knowledgeable and should be able to defend his knowledge in civil service, state language, ethical norms in whatever ministry he/she applies to.

All of the respondents expressed the opinion that they do not possess thorough knowledge about hiring and promotion processes in other ministries. In respondents' opinion unlike the MoFA, other ministries do not practice gradual promotion, they can appoint a fresh graduate with no experience to the middle position or on the contrary hold a specialist in one position for several years with no promotion. They dared to assume that situation also differs in a sense that other agencies and ministers suffer from a still existing Soviet Union system, the so-called "sovok".

Answers of respondents to my questions were not baseless because for illustrative purposes of the recent examples of promotion; they used examples of themselves. Two out of three respondents are Bolashak program graduates, which means that they left the job for 2 years in order to get a graduate degree and on return both of them were promoted one position up. Moreover, they have gone through all official procedures, applied for the position and had an interview with the directors of other departments. This process shows that there is no room for favoritism or corruption because the decision is made by several people.

All three respondents were quite familiar with the term 'meritocracy. Some of them came across the term working abroad others found about it working in the civil service. Despite the origins, meritocracy as a whole started to play an important role in the civil service of Kazakhstan during the last 3-4 years. It is the main factor along with others in recruitment and promotion stages. Meritocracy fights against nepotism, corruption, tribalism, building teams and so called "team movement" from one ministry to another. More and more opportunities appear each year for bright students to fulfill their dreams of becoming professional civil servants and they can apply for different positions throughout the government. One of the respondents has given the example of an institute of executive secretaries, that was created and existed in Kazakhstan several years ago. The institute was responsible for the executive secretaries and their selection. In case the minister or vice minister has changed, the executive secretary could stay several terms. Less connection between the secretary and the minister, unlike today, when change of minister often leads to change of the secretary. Thus, the executive secretary represented a civil servant who was knowledgeable about the work, past projects, events and other important details and could successfully continue to execute all the work started with another minister. That created a history of the work done and eliminated team work and team movement in the civil service, as a result eliminating corruption. The respondent thinks that the institute is a great working example that can be a good example for other instruments to be created and a good example of meritocracy as well.

Respondents have reached consensus regarding one issue that needs further development - ethical norms. Unfortunately, introduction of ethical norms in the legislation had minimal influence on their work and they cannot assess its positive or negative effects. However, all respondents consider ethical norms to play an important role in the civil service. Ethical norms should not be just imposed on people, but should be transmitted and explained, thus they suggest civil servants to participate in seminars, lectures to get a better understanding of the term. Together with ethical norms introduction to the civil law, every governmental body should have appointed a particular person who will be in charge of ethical norms. However, in the Ministry of foreign affairs no one has ever seen this person, moreover they suppose that meeting with this person might indicate that there are some problems with their work.

One particular issue in the whole research that needs specific attention was the answer of a new entry civil servant. The woman who has been working for one month and a half at the time I took an interview was the only one who claimed that besides merits networking connections are of great importance as well. However, networking connections today completely differ from networking connections existing in the USSR several decades ago. In the past social status of the candidate, his financial situation, income of parents, influential relatives, famous family ties were the key criteria for hiring and promoting civil servants. Only privileged ones had a chance to be promoted on the career ladder and appointed to key positions. The system did not give the equal chance to everyone. However, nowadays the quality of networking differs a lot. It is not about the social or financial status, but it is about

how well-known the person is in professional sphere, how hard-working he/she is, what background accomplishments he/she has. Connections based on knowledge rather than relatives - is the essence of networking today. This difference between old and new system give more opportunities for simple people with no privileges except merits, knowledge get into the civil service and make the real difference.

Overall, people's mindset has started to change. There is a lot yet to be done, however the process has started and it is moving in the right direction. At the end of the day every public official should remember that first and foremost he/she is serving the country and its citizens not his own needs and desires. When this ideology is fully understood and implemented, there will be no room for corruption or ineffective state apparatus.

CONCLUSIONS FROM THE INTERVIEW

In Kazakhstan, it is important to implement a merit based system, because it will change public stance that civil service is an elite closed sphere only for privileged people. It will change citizens' ideology that everyone eligible can become a public official and serve the country in a best possible way, that together we can build efficient and transparent society free from corruption that will result in economic stability and make people positive about the future. Another issue, is that historically Kazakhstan is a country with small population practicing division of society into tribes. In Kazakhstan, there are three tribes called "zhuz": older zhuz, middle zhuz and young zhuz. Thus, people of a certain tribe tend to prefer working with people from the same tribe, among one tribe people are supposed to be relatives. Harsh influence from the older generation also makes people with authority hire relatives and friends. If a merit-based system is not implemented, we will never be able to get rid of this heritage that is badly influencing our development and progress.

Overall, I can conclude that hiring and promotion systems in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is a smoothly-running process that has been working successfully during many years. Civil servants working in the ministry do not reveal severe problems. Promotion process is even more automatized in the MoFA. One will hardly find a person who is working in the MoFA on the same position as he/she was hired several years with zero promotion. If a person works diligently he/she will likely be promoted at least once. Promotion through competition is the motto of MoFA. No one there takes for granted their promotion, people know that if they want to get higher rank they have to work hard, have strong communication and presentation skills, be a true representative and patriot of your country. However, one particular sphere needs improvement. 3 out of 3 respondents mentioned about the introduction of ethical responsible person in every government agency, however it is still not used in practice, because they do not see the real work of that person.

History is written in the Ministry. A simple clerk can become the head of the department, or get an even higher promotion. It all depends on the merits and desire to contribute. Civil servants there know 5 institutional reforms by heart, they keep them on their desks just behind the screen of the monitor in case they forget. These 5 institutional reforms include:

1. Formation of modern, professional, autonomous state apparatus;
2. Support of the rule of law;
3. Industrialisation and economic development;
4. Identity and unity;
5. Formation of the accountable state.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is also breaking stereotypes about civil service in Kazakhstan. It is commonly known that civil service in Kazakhstan is famous for irregular working hours. A civil servant in Kazakhstan typically has no time for a personal life and is unable to pursue a work-life balance. Nevertheless, MoFA is currently approving innovation of computers shutdown sharp at 6.30 pm. This innovation helps to optimize work and make time management more efficient. Workers are highly motivated to finish the work on time and make it more efficient.

Based on my work what remains unknown is how the meritocracy is implemented in other governmental agencies and ministries. Hiring and promotion processes in other ministries can

vary because cadre policy is different. Various ministries aim at accomplishing various goals, some need to have more technical workers thus they can afford hiring young graduates with no experience, others tend to hire experienced workers. In some ministries knowledge of foreign language is a must, whereas for others knowledge of state language is enough. Another limitation might be quantity of respondents. Three out of 20 people might seem to be subjective and not express opinion of majority of the department. Thus, in order to investigate things unknown, it will be useful for future researchers to interview the representatives of other government agencies to get the full picture. I cannot state that meritocracy has been implemented throughout all government bodies, however the process has begun and it might require several years of diligent work, development of new strategies and monitoring of work in order to achieve positive changes.

This research may be used by policy makers in Kazakhstan in order to support change in current system of hiring and promoting in the existing government initiatives such as Nurly Zhol program, 100 Concrete Steps, “Kazakhstan 2050” strategic goals, and others.

APPENDICES
APPENDIX 1

Questions	Respondent #1- senior level	Respondent #2 - middle level	Respondent #3 - new hire
1. Do you believe that persons should be hired and advanced based only on merit or are there other important considerations? If there are others what are they?	The respondent #1 answered that he believes that merit is a very important issue on the recruitment and promotion stage and that people should be recruited firstly on the basis of their knowledge. He considers such things as foreign university degree, experience, contribution to the work (when the person is promoted) should also be taken into consideration. Communication skills is a must.	To this question respondent #2 said that she believes that meritocracy is a very important constituent of recruitment and promotion processes. She said that knowledge is very crucial, she emphasized that not only knowledge, but thorough knowledge in a particular field should also play an important role. The respondent also mentioned diligence and good time-management to be important skills. Another constituent she mentioned was diligence and good communication skills, because the person will have to communicate with people from all over the world. Also, the respondent said that she considers imposing appearance to be an issue. Because the civil servant, who works at the ministry of foreign affairs will represent Kazakhstan at the	The respondent said that she thinks that persons should not be hired and advanced only on merit, besides merits the person should have good networking connections. He/she should have strong leadership skills and be able to clearly speak his mind and not be afraid. She also thinks that the person should be bright and charismatic so that in case people are in search of a good professional the should first think of that particular person. Moreover, she considers that the person should be able to speak correctly and maybe even take part in social events like TEDx. He/she could also be a famous blogger and write interesting relevant posts on different topics, in such a way he/she might draw attention of important civil servants and even be hired to the civil service. One of the

		international level and people will judge about the country looking at him/her. So, the said that in order to make a good impression on Kazakhstan's allies the ambassador need to be of good appearance.	examples the respondent brought up, was an example of a Bolashak graduate student Arman Suleimenov, who has started as an IT blogger and now he is working on government projects and making presentations in front of the president.
2.What do you believe is the basis for promotion and recruitment currently being used in your ministry	The respondent #1 answered that currently in his ministry civil servants are promoted on a regular basis every 2-3 years. He believes that Ministry of foreign affairs in Kazakhstan is one of the ministries where person will be promoted in case he works hard and has all the necessary criteria for that. He told that there is a legal procedure according to which the civil servant is given different ranks every year and thus it motivates him to stay at the ministry and work harder. The respondent said that being an ambassador is like having a special title. Moreover, he underlined that during the last 3-4 years he has seen huge changes in the civil service regarding implementation of meritocracy.	The respondent #2 believes that the basis for promotion and recruitment in the ministry she works for are appropriate qualifications for any position, good working experience in the civil service, good knowledge of laws, desirably foreign degree from the top universities. She said that currently it is a common thing in the ministry when a candidate is a graduate of a foreign university, however competition starts when there are several of them and it all comes to what their alma mater is. The respondent also answered that professional skills in writing good memos and reports	She said that if a person in the Ministry wants to claim for a particular position, he/she should apply for that position together with other candidates. Then there will be the committee consisting of heads of different departments and the representative of the Civil service agency, they will tape record the interview and make the decision. She said that even within the ministry there is a promotion through competition. Regarding the candidates outside of the ministry they find out the information regarding open vacancies and the contest from the newspapers,like

		<p>is also an important thing when recruiting or especially promoting a person. She explained that this skill is very important because the diplomats write a lot of memos and reports to the ministers and vice ministers, and if they have strong writing skills they will save a lot of time eliminating the stage of correction. Next skill that the respondent mentioned was presentation skills. She said that being a good presenter is crucial when you go on business trips and represent Kazakhstan at international conferences and forums. The respondent also said that there is a legal procedure in the Ministry of foreign affairs through which the person can be promoted. She said that if a person in the Ministry wants to claim for a particular position, he/she should apply for that position together with other candidates. Then there will be the</p>	<p>“Egemen Kazakhstan” or “Kazakhstan truth” (Kazakhstanskaya oravda”) then they take testing for knowledge of legislation, assessment of personal qualities. In case they successfully pass the test, they will be enlisted in the reserve of civil servants. After that, they will be invited to the interview in the state agency for profile knowledge.</p>
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		<p>committee consisting of heads of different departments and the representative of the Civil service agency, they will tape record the interview and make the decision. She said that even within the ministry there is a promotion through competition. Regarding the candidates outside of the ministry they find out the information regarding open vacancies and the contest from the newspapers, like “Egemen Kazakhstan” or “Kazakhstan truth” (Kazakhstanskaya oravda”) then they take testing for knowledge of legislation, assessment of personal qualities. In case they successfully pass the test, they will be enlisted in the reserve of civil servants. After that, they will be invited to the interview in the state agency for profile knowledge.</p>	
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<p>Do you think this is also true of other ministries in the government?</p>	<p>The respondent answered that he was not sure about other ministries, however he assumes that the situation is different in other ministries. He said that the Ministry of foreign affairs might be similar to the Ministry of defense, where people are also promoted on specific basis, like merits, years of experience. They get higher ranks in a particular period of time. The respondent #1 assumed that in other ministries recruitment and promotion processes may vary. especially in those ministries, that have been changed a lot or have been emerged with others, as an example in 2014 Ministry of regional development and ministry of economy and budget planning were emerged into one Ministry of national economy.</p>	<p>The respondent #2 said that she was not sure about other ministries and agencies, because she has been working only in the Ministry of foreign affairs. However, she said the Law “On civil service” is unitary and consistent for all the ministries and agencies. Thus, she said that every ministry and agency has its own staffing policy. And if a person transfers from one ministry to another he/she has to go through all the legal procedures along with other candidates both civil servants and simple people. She said that several years ago the procedure was completely different. She gave an example of a civil service from the Ministry of education on the position of the head of department wanted to transfer to the Ministry of foreign affairs, the only thing he/she had to do was to apply for the position and if he/she got positive answer he/she was admitted.</p>	<p>To this question respondent #3 answered that she did not possess enough information about other ministries, however she supposed that Ministry of foreign affairs is the most progressive in terms of recruiting and retaining young professionals. She has compared the civil service as a whole back in 2006 when she started her career path, at that time it was a rare case when a civil servant knew foreign language, however nowadays every civil servant in the ministry knows at least one or two languages. Whereas situation in other ministries differ, because when they communicate with civil servants from other ministries via email sending them documents in foreign languages, they tend to call back and ask for translation. The respondent also mentioned that nowadays Ministry of foreign affairs pays a lot of attention to automatization of processes. Whereas</p>
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			in 2006 there were no electronic devices, nowadays they use electronic communication devices. One of the innovations is the shutdown of computers sharp at 6.30 pm. Which in her opinion makes the work more productive and results in positive changes of time management.
Can you tell me of an example of a recent promotion or hire in your department and how the final decision was made.	To this question the respondent #1 answered that he can be an example of the promotion. He has been working in the ministry for 15 years and in 2014 he left the ministry to study abroad in one of the leading universities in UK. After 2 years he came back and was promoted one position up. He believes that it is a great example of meritocracy in practice. Moreover, he said that it is also a good example of loyalty to ministry which was appreciated by the decision-makers.	The respondent #2 replied that an example of a promotion in her ministry for her would be her own promotion. She said that she has been working in the ministry since 2010 and in the period from 2014 till 2016 she studied in the UK. After coming back to the university, she was promoted one position up in her department. She has also told about the process of her promotion. She told that despite the fact that she has been working in the ministry for more than 7 years she has to submit for the internal contest together with other candidates on this position. There was a committee who has decided to	To this question the respondent gave an example of the ex-head of their department who has been promoted to the General secretary of the National Committee of the Republic of Kazakhstan of UNESCO and ISESCO issues in Paris. This person has started her career in the Ministry of foreign affairs from the lowest position as a specialist and during the years worked in the ministry she has gone through all the stages and titles becoming the head of the department. After that she was promoted to the position of the secretary. The respondent believes that this is a great

		<p>promote her to that position. She said that there was no room for networking, nepotism, and no one took into consideration her degree as a primary reason for promotion. The committee took into consideration a bunch of factors, such as experience, knowledge, that she showed during the interview.</p>	<p>example of a success story base exclusively on the professionalism, hard-working character, knowledge and invaluable working experience.</p>
<p>What does the term meritocracy mean to you?</p>	<p>Respondent #1 has answered that first and foremost meritocracy for him means possibility to be promoted on the career ladder, possibility to evolve as a professional, absence of the favor of giving and taking bribes, absence of a so-called 'team movement' in the civil service, normal working conditions, absence of tribalism.</p> <p>The respondent has given the example of an institute of executive secretaries, that was created and existed in Kazakhstan several years ago. He said that the institute is a great example of succession. And whether the minister or vice minister has changed, the executive secretary did not change. That created a history of the work done and eliminated team work and team</p>	<p>Respondent #2 said that meritocracy for her is unbiased recruitment and promotion of a person who is really worth the position. She said that civil service in Kazakhstan used to be very corrupted, people were hired according to their titles, affiliation to people with renowned names, nepotism. But what she sees nowadays is that situation has changed a lot, she cannot say that it changed completely, but she believes that we are on the right way to a civil service free of corruption and biased attitude. Also, she said that meritocracy for her means equal</p>	<p>First of all, respondent mentioned that she was quite familiar with the term meritocracy, because she has studied and lived for a long period of time in the United States of America, the country, where she believes meritocracy is strongly marked. Thus, she concluded that she was quite acquainted with the term 'meritocracy'. To her the meritocracy means a bunch of things, including do the work thoroughly, be able to speak up your mind and gain the point. The respondent has also mentioned that every civil servant on their ministry</p>

	<p>movement in the civil service, as a result eliminating corruption. He thinks that the institute is a great working example that can be a good example for other instruments to be created and a good example of meritocracy as well.</p>	<p>opportunities on the entrance to the public sector for everybody. She thinks that everybody who possesses necessary qualification to become a civil servant should have the opportunity to apply regardless of the gender, nationality, affiliation with region or city, financial status. The respondent also said that meritocracy should exclude in people desire to have the power. She thinks that often desire to possess the power over people and be responsible for the matters of national importance make people act impulsively.</p>	<p>5 keeps institutional reforms memo about the reforms in the civil service including implementation of meritocracy on the table.</p>
<p>Has the introduction of the ethical norms in the civil service law changed the civil service? If so how? If not, why not?</p>	<p>The respondent answered that unfortunately the introduction of the ethical norms has not changed a lot in the civil service. Also, he said that according to the introduction of ethical norms in the civil service the person responsible for ethics norms appeared in every agency. However, he said that he has never met this person and no-one has never introduced</p>	<p>The respondent #2 said that as far as she was familiar, introduction of ethical norms in every agency should have occurred through the assignment of a person responsible for ethics norms. However, respondent said that she had never seen this person and had no idea of what were his/her</p>	<p>The respondent #3 answered that she was not quite familiar with the person who was appointed to that position and has never seen him. Also, she said that in her opinion if a civil servant is meeting the ethical norms responsible person this might tell about his or her problems and that he/she is not doing</p>

	<p>him to the colleagues. The respondent also said that he thinks that Soviet Union heritage (“sovok” as they say in russian) does still exist in many aspects of the civil service. So, he thinks that first and foremost in order to introduce ethical norms in the civil service, that should get rid of old system repercussion.</p>	<p>responsibilities. Also, she has said that ethics is a very important constituent of the civil service as a whole and all civil servants attend seminars or lectures in the universities on ethics and get the idea of what ethical norms are and their role in the government.</p>	<p>okay in his job.</p>
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APPENDIX 2

	Merit-based answers	Non merit-based answers
Respondent #1 - senior level	Respondent #1 mentioned such things as foreign university degree, experience, communication skills, contribution to the work (when the person is promoted) as merit-based characteristics.	Among non-merit based answers the respondents #1 said that loyalty to the ministry also can play an important role in promotion process.
Respondent #2 - middle level	<p>Respondent #2 said said, that thorough knowledge in a particular field, diligence and good time-management to be important skills. Another constituent she mentioned was diligence and good communication skills, because the person will have to communicate with people from all over the world. Also, the respondent said that she considers imposing appearance to be an issue.</p> <p>Professional skills in writing good memos and reports is also an important thing when recruiting or especially promoting a person. Next skill that the respondent mentioned was presentation skills. because the candidate will have to present a lotto materials.</p>	The respondent of the middle level did not mention any of the skills that do not belong to non-merit characteristics.
Respondent #3 - new hire	The respondent #3 listed such things as professionalism, good communication skills, strong personal opinion, bright character as merit base characteristics.	The new hire mentioned that networking skills play an important role in hiring and promotion processes. Not the networking connections linked to relatives and family ties, but professional connections which make the person famous for his abilities, hard-working personality and accomplishments as well. The respondent #3 thinks that the new system of hiring is connected with the old post-Soviet Union patronage system but the quality of networking is different.

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