

THEORIES OF BUREAUCRACY

PROF. METE YILDIZ

WEEK 1: THE CONCEPT OF BUREAUCRACY

Course Plan for Bureaucracy

Topics

- Concept of bureaucracy
 - Theories of bureaucracy
 - Bureaucracy in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey
 - Criticisms against bureaucracy
- Midterm II (Time and place to be announced)
 - Only about the bureaucracy part
- Final Exam
 - About both state and bureaucracy theories

References

- Heywood, Andrew (2007). Politics, NY: Palgrave McMillan, 3rd Edition, “Bureaucracies”, Chapter 18, pages 381-400.
- Yılmaz Üstüner, «Kamu Yönetimi Disiplininde Kimlik Sorunsalı», Kamu Yönetimi, Ankara: Nobel.
- Metin Heper (1982). «Bürokrasi», Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi, Cilt 2, sayfa 290-297, İstanbul: İletişim.
- Cahit Emre, Yönetim Bilimi Yazıları.
- Ömer Bozkurt (1980) Memurlar: Türkiye’de Bürokrasinin Sosyolojik Görünümü, Ankara: TODAİE.
- Kamu Yönetimi Sözlüğü (1998). Ankara: TODAİE.

The Big Picture:

The Basic Tenets of Public Administration (Üstüner, s. 596)

- Max Weber
 - Theory of Bureaucracy
 - Legal-rational bureaucracy
- Frederick W. Taylor
 - Scientific management
 - The ideology of human and societal engineering
- Woodrow Wilson
 - The existence of an autonomous public administration discipline

WHAT IS BUREAUCRACY?

- Government of (and by) the bureaus
 - Government by the people, who work in bureaus (the bureaucrats)
- Negative meaning
 - Abundance of unnecessary actions and formalities
 - Red-tape (Kırtasiyecilik, yazçizcilik)

WEBERIAN BUREAUCRACY

- Rationality
- Impersonality
- Governing with written rules
 - Legal-rational authority
- Expertise
- Division of labor
- Merit-based employment and promotion

WHAT IS BUREAUCRACY?

1. A way of governing

- A governing body/formal organization that uses the power to govern based on laws

2. A sociological category (a group of people)

- A category made up of the actors/bureaucrats who take part in the system of government

WHAT IS BUREAUCRACY?

3. A form of administrative organization
 - Based on hierarchy
 - Based on written rules and records
 - Making and implementation of impersonal decisions
 - Formally organized
 - Continuous
- Bureaucracies can be found in **both public and private sectors.**

AUTHORITY & BUREAUCRACY TYPES

- Types of Authority (Weber)
 - Traditional
 - Charismatic
 - Legal-rational
- Authority & Bureaucracy Type Relationship
 - Traditional Authority—Patrimonial Bureaucracy
 - Legal Rational Authority— Weberian Bureaucracy
- According to Heper, Turkey has a «**legal patrimonial**» bureaucracy.

HISTORY OF BUREAUCRACY

- Existed even in ancient China and Rome as an institution
- The concept first used by
 - French economist Vincent De Gournay, 1745
- Cracy: Power
 - Demos-cracy: The political system in which the people has the power to govern
- Bureau-cracy:
 - The political system in which people working in bureaus has the political power and has important roles to play in the political and administrative life.

HISTORY OF BUREAUCRACY

- **Negative perceptions**
 - 1764, French philosopher Baron de Grimm:
 - Bureaus are not created to protect public interest, the concept of public interest is created to protect the power of the bureaus.
 - 1798, Dictionary of the French Academy
 - The directors and the employees of the government bureaus has the power to influence.
 - 1813, German Foreign Terms Dictionary
 - The concentration of power by various government bureaus and its representative units contrary to the benefit of the people

HISTORY OF BUREAUCRACY

- Social function(s) of the bureaucracy in West European Feodalism
 - The concepts of state and public service were almost forgotten after the fall of Rome.
 - No government was left that centrally governed the whole society
 - Power was distributed among many small units of government
 - Mutual rights and responsibilities between the king and feudal lords
 - Scattered and low-density population
 - Low levels of agricultural productivity and social interaction
 - Type of authority: Traditional
 - Self-maintaining communities

HISTORY OF BUREAUCRACY

- Reasons for the unfolding/dissolution of the feudal system
 1. Money economy replacing the barter economy
 - The economic monopoly of feudal aristocracy by way of land ownership has ended.
 - The new middle class (bourgeoisie) overcome the feudal limitations on trade by establishing free city governments (autonomous cities, municipalities)
 - The guild (lonca) system has ended.

HISTORY OF BUREAUCRACY

- 2. Kings and the bourgeoisie worked together against the aristocracy to replace feudalism with centralized absolutist kingdoms
 - I. Kings have concentrated political power in their hands.
 - II. The power of kings to collect taxes were increased.
 - III. Merchantilist economic policies were implemented.
 - Removal of the guild system
 - Protection of the wealth of the bourgeoisie by the government
 - Development of the transportation systems to serve trade
 - Export of raw materials and import of foreign products were banned.
 - IV. A group of expert employees to work in government bureaus became necessary to implement merchantilist policies.

HISTORY OF BUREAUCRACY

- With the creation of the centralized absolutist kingdoms, in addition to the members of aristocracy, members of the new bourgeoisie began to enter into the royal councils as bureaucrats of the kings.
 - In order to balance the power of aristocracy
- These members were the bureaucrats of the kings. They were:
 - Protecting the privileges of the kings against the aristocracy and the Church
 - Managing the private properties of the kings
 - Protecting law and order

HISTORY OF BUREAUCRACY

- The **authority** relationship between the kings and their bureaucrats were **patrimonial** according to Weber
 - Personal relationships
 - These bureaucrats' powers and responsibilities were determined **arbitrarily** (keyfi şekilde) by the kings and they could be taken back at any time.
 - The only limitations for the kings' arbitrary decisions were ambiguous traditions
- Relations based on patrimonial authority became **insufficient** when central governments' rights and responsibilities increased considerably and required expert bureaucrats.

HISTORY OF BUREAUCRACY

- Between 1550 and 1700, the concepts of «public administration» and «permanent public employee» began to institutionalize
 - The employees/bureaucrats began to be **identified with the kingdom (institution)** instead of the king (person)
 - Bureaucracy was seen as the protector/servant of the common good (of the state and the nation), not the servant of a person.
- Later the institution of the kingdom was replaced by the concepts of nation and state.
 - In France, after 1789 the sovereignty was transferred from the king to the nation.
 - In Prussia, state got ahead of the nation as a concept/priority.

HISTORY OF BUREAUCRACY

- Developments about the education of public bureaucracy
- Birth of cameralism in Austria and Prussia
 - Studies in universities about public finance, taxation, governing, statistics...
- The rights and responsibilities of bureaucracy were defined in detail.
- In France, the study and practice of law (embodiment of the will of the people in legal documents) became more important than cameralist sciences.

HISTORY OF BUREAUCRACY

- After the second half of the 19th Century, bourgeoisie's political power increased considerably
 - The political power was transferred from the kings to the parliaments
- Public bureaucrats became public servants
 - Bureaucrats of the kingdoms became bureaucrats of the state/nation

HISTORY OF BUREAUCRACY

- At the beginning of the 20th Century, division between politics and administration
 - The main duty and responsibility of bureaucracy is **not to develop policies**, but just to implement policies developed by the parliaments

BUREAUCRATIC RATIONALITY IN WEBER

- Substantive Rationality
 - Is about values
 - Political criteria are taken into account in decisions
- Formal Rationality
 - Political decisions are accepted as a given.
 - The legal-rational bureaucracy type has formal rationality

HEGEL

Bureaucracy protects the common interests of the society.

- German philosopher, 1770-1831
 - Defined an ideal state and bureaucracy affected by the Prussian experience.
- The main function of the state is to defend/protect the common interests of the members of the society.
- Two societal classes
 - Absolute/Universal Class: Bureaucrats
 - Commercial Class

Max Weber

- German sociologist and economist (1864-1920)
 - The modern society can not survive without legal-rational bureaucracy.
 - Since legal-rational bureaucracy is neither personalized or politicized, it serves any political power with the same level of productivity and effectiveness.

WARNINGS AGAINST BUREAUCRACY

- Bureaucratization of the whole society (Weber)
 - Bureaucratic values, ways of thinking and behavior can become dominant in all parts of the society
- Bureaucracy deciding on «what is good and beneficial»
 - Bureaucratic dictatorships?
- Self-serving bureaucracies

WARNINGS AGAINST BUREAUCRACY

- Marxist Criticism
 - In a capitalist society, bureaucracy serves bourgeoisie.
 - If they find the opportunity, bureaucrats serve their narrow self-interests as well.
 - Marx, in his youth, wrote that bureaucracy may have a large degree of autonomy
- How can bureaucracy be abolished?

Bureaucrats in Turkey (Bozkurt, 1980: 152-153)

- In general, they do not see themselves as protectors of the common/public good.
- Being a bureaucrat is spending time while waiting for a better job opportunity.