KAY 274

WEEK 3
BUREAUCRACY IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE
METE YILDIZ

References

- Metin Heper
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 - 19. Yüzyıl'da Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Bürokratik Gelişme

BASIC THEMES

- Bureaucratic development and
 - Centralization
 - Modernization
 - Shift from patrimonial bureaucracy to legal-rational bureaucracy

BASIC THEMES

- Changes in bureaucratic organizations
 - Power distribution between the different sections of the bureaucracy
- Stability and change
 - Increase in the quality and quantity of traditional bureaucrats
 - Establishment of provincial organizations
 - Increase in functions
- Impact of political and military crises on bureaucracy (1808, 1839 ...)

CONTROL OF THE BUREAUCRACY

- Autonomy versus control of the bureaucracy
 - Centralized or decentralized?
- To whom the bureaucracy serves
 - Personality of the sultan and his level of control of the bureaucracy
 - New institutions
 - The Parliament
 - The Council of Ministers ...
- External/diplomatic pressures
- Bureaucrats serving their own interests?

OTTOMAN BUREAUCRACY

- Sub- subdivisions within the Ottoman Bureaucracy
 - Military (Seyfiyye)
 - Religious judicial services (İlmiyye)
 - Palace of service and civilian bureaucracy (First Kalemiyye then Mülkiye)

- Subcategories among each sub-division
 - Among religious judicial services (İlmiyye)
 - Tedris (Education)
 - Ifta (Fetva, Religious rulings about worldly and religious affairs)
 - Kaza (Administration and justice)

OTTOMAN BUREAUCRACY

- Traditionally, the members of the ruling class were in the service and under the supervision of the Sultan.
 - Sultan's subjects (kulları)
 - They were treating the other subjects of the Sultan with elite authoritarianism.
 - Their status underwent significant changes in the age of administrative reform in 1800s.
- Still the notion/thought of a parliament or a council of ministers suprevising/controlling the bureaucracy did not take hold.
 - Bureaucracy sometimes acted almost completely out of control

OTTOMAN BUREAUCRACY

- Civilian bureaucracy benefited from the reform efforts
 - Reforming of the military

- Diplomatic efforts to secure foreign assistance strengthened the position and increased the influence of the Ottoman Foreign Office within the bureaucratic system
 - This trend peaked during the Tanzimat period

5 PERIODS OF BUREAUCRATIC DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE

- 1. Pre- reform period (Late 18th Century)
- 2. III. Selim and II. Mahmud Periods (1780-1839)
- 3. Tanzimat Period (1839-1876)
- 4. II. Abdulhamid Period (1876-1908)
- 5. Young Turks Period (1908-Founding of the Turkish Republic)

PRE-REFORM PERIOD

- Kalemiye was still in an insignificant position
 - In Sublime Porte (Bab-ı Ali, Government Bureaus) about 1,500 civilian officers in total
- Organization and functioning of bureaucracy had a tradesmen-like appearance
 - Similar to apprentices (Çıraklar), journeymen (Kalfalar) & masters (ustalar) in trades
 - Bureatic categories
 - Çıraklar (şagirdan)
 - Katipler (hulefa)
 - Amirler (hacegan)
 - Learning by seeing and doing rather than having a formal education

PRE- REFORM PERIOD

- The clerks (katipler) are just documents issuers and organizers
 - High levels of red-tape
 - Use of initiative was low

 Leading members of Kalemiye could be a governor or the grand vizier with the rank of «pasha»

- Transfer of position from the father to the son/relatives
 - High levels of favoritism and bribery

PRE- REFORM PERIOD (18th CENTURY)

- The clerks were only issuing documents
 - High level of red-tape
 - Low level of discreation

- Leading kalemiyye (men of the pen) members could be a governor or the grand vizier with the rank of pasha
 - Transfer of positions from fathers to the the sons
 - Corruption an favoritism (nepotism, cronyism...)

III. SELİM AND II. MAHMUD PERIODS (From 1780 to 1839)

- The necessity to centralize government is well-understood
 - Military reform, financial reform

- The only legal authority to be used for government reform was the authority of the sultan
 - Two strong-willed monarchs, who pursued similar policies

- The centralization of power in the hands of the sultan
 - Education and preparation of a new elite that will act on behalf of the Sultan

III. SELİM AND II. MAHMUD PERIODS (From 1780 to 1839)

- Establishing permanent embassies in Europe
 - Use of embassies for the education of young outstanding candidates for bureaucracy in European languages and cultures
 - On the job-training

- Establishment of the Translation Office in 1821 to replace the Greek interpreters
 - After the Greek Uprising

III. SELİM AND II. MAHMUD PERIODS (From 1780 to 1839)

- Transformation of Kalemiyye into a new kind of civil bureaucracy (a civil service system, Mülkiye)
 - Important public personnel policy reforms regarding the key personnel on issues of the status and security of bureaucrats
 - In the 1830s, new schools for training civilian bureaucrats
 - A civil ranks system
 - An official salary system instead of processing fees
 - Abolishment of term limits (one year) in high bureaucratic positions
 - A criminal sanctions system for the bureaucrats

TANZÍMAT PERIOD (1839-1876)

- The process of educating new and capable elites ready to serve under strong sultans was working well.
 - What if the sultans in power are not strong and/or determined?

- The prominent figures of the civil service/Mülkiye became the most important members of the Ottoman Administration.
 - These high administrative officers tried to re-establish the administrative, political and economic system of the Empire with innovative laws and policies
 - Relatively away from the control of the royal court

TANZİMAT PERIOD (1839-1876)

- The 1839 Egypt Crisis: The Ottoman Empire overcame this crisis only with the help of European Powers
 - The most influential pro-European civil servants educated in the Translation Office had become the most powerful group
 - Mustafa Reşit, Fuad and Ali Pashas
- Some people characterized these civil servants/pashas as tools of imperialism
 - The 1839 Ottoman British Free Trade Agreement fully opened the Ottoman Market to a very low-tax European commerial activity, leading to the destruction of the economy
- Some people characterized them as heroes of modernization
 - They were seen as cultural and political compromisers, who protected the Empire from the Europeans at a time when there are no means of protection

TANZİMAT PERIOD (1839-1876)

- Functional expansion of bureaucracy
 - New administrative responsibilities, such as provincial administration, justice, education, census
- Numerical expansion
 - The number of civil service officers surpassed 10,000.
 - Nevertheless, the absence of a sufficient number of qualified bureaucrats adversely impacted the success of the government reforms.
- People thought that the reforms are realized/done by pro- West bureaucrats, who manipulated the Sultan and avoided his control.
 - Widespread discontent among the common people

II. ABDÜLHAMİD PERIOD (1876-1908)

- This period is the continuation of the Tanzimat Period in terms of bureaucratic development
 - Reforms continued in areas such as provincial administration, education and justice.
 - Centralization of power continued as well.
- II. Abdulhamid strengthened his authority by controlling and diminishing the power of the civil bureaucracy as Sultan II. Mahmud had wanted.
 - The real power rested in Yıldız Palace in terms of political importance, not the Sublime Porte (Bab-ı Ali).

II. ABDÜLHAMİD PERIOD (1876-1908)

- Significant reforms in personnel policies and the introduction of modern and rational forms of bureaucracy
 - Legal regulations regarding the appointment, promotion and retirement of civil servants
 - A pension system that was financed by deductions from salary
 - Recruitment and appointment committees in government institutions
 - Introduction of the record-keeping about the bureaucrats
- The sultan received recommendations for promotion, but gave the final decisions

II. ABDÜLHAMİD PERIOD (1876-1908)

- An incredible growth in the number of civilian bureaucrats because of the existence of a patronage and control system
 - The number of civilian bureaucrats exceded 100,000
 - Overemployment
 - Most of them did not have an official career.

- The goal was to maximize the number of people to be subordinated to the sultan
 - Thus, keeping the people who had an interest in politics under control

YOUNG TURKS PERIOD (1909-REPUBLIC)

- Demand for the expansion of political participation
 - The bureaucracy was given a responsibility in this regard

- Reduction in the number of bureaucrats of II. Abdulhamid, which worked as a tool of oppression
 - Bureaucratic reorganization and layoffs
 - As of 1909 the number of dismissed civil servants: 27,000

YOUNG TURKS PERIOD (1909-REPUBLIC)

- In many respects, continuation of the Tanzimat Period
 - Rather than creating new institutions, reorganization of the ones that were already established
 - Dependency on the bureaucracy as new centers of political power

After World War I

- Bureaucratic development trends were halted.
- Until the early years of the Republic, an effective mechanism of control over the bureaucracy could not be established
 - Republican government formed such control mechanisms

- The issues that were emphasized in the reform process
 - Legal regulations, such as regulations for the civil service
 - Education: Establishment of Bureaucrats schools
- Objective: Minimization of personal and religious influences on the bureaucracy
 - Importance/emphasis was given to the principle of legality
- Efforts to establish a Weberian structure of legal-rational bureaucracy
 - Unfortunately, most of these arrangements remained basically formal.

- Coexistence: Traditional and modern bureaucracy and laws / rules existed side by side
 - More than one legal and educational system existing at the same time
- The upper echelons of the bureaucracy had been very political organs instead of being administrative.
 - Neither legal nor rational dimension was dominant in these echelons
 - Strong patrimonial properties continued to exist
- Personal loyalty was more important than ability/merit
 - Favouritism in appointments and promotions have continued

• The purpose of legal regulations was to bring the control and limitedrationality.

- Because of the existence of generally unqualified lower and mid-level bureaucrats, devolution was avoided.
 - Very limited autonomy and decision-making authority for these bureaucrats

- The efforts to modernize the bureaucracy and make it more efficient have failed in part because :
 - The main purpose of reforms was not providing economic efficiency or fast public services.
 - The aim was to protect the power of the bureaucracy against other institutions.
- Another aim was to imitate the West (in terms of administrative organization) without much criticism/analysis
 - Nevertheless, there were many bureaucratic accomplishments in the Ottoman Period that benefitted the Republican era of revolutions.

Triggers of Bureaucratic Reform

- 1. Military failures
- 2. Economic problems
- 3. Diplomatic crises
- 4. Administrative, economic and political centralization efforts
- 5. Strong leaders/sultans
- 6. New institutional arrangements
 - Parliament, Council of ministers, Council of State...
- 7. Technological developments