

Presentation by Dr. Róbinson Rojas Sandford

For Session 8 of module

Managing and Planning for Development: International and National Dimensions

(Academic year 2011-2012)

8 - Bureaucracy and public administration. Definitions and problems. The international and national dimension

Bureaucracy: the national and international dimension

- [brief description](#)
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State bureaucracy has two different descriptions:

- a) A system of government in which most decisions are taken by state officials (civil servants) rather than by elected representatives, and
- b) The aggregate of employees in the different **institutions of a modern state**, whose individual income is paid from taxes collected from the members of the whole society

We are going to work mainly with the second description.

Institutions in a modern state

Civil and military bureaucracy

- 1) the legislative**
- 2) the executive**
- 3) the judiciary**

- 4) the military**
- 5) the police**

- **1), 2) and 3)** are the “**civil bureaucracy**”
- **4) and 5)**, are the “**military bureaucracy**”

- In **1)** the **legislators** will be elected for fixed periods.
- In **2)** the **head of government** will be elected for fixed periods

- In **3), 4) and 5)** the highest ranks of employees will be nominated by the executive and/or the legislative *

Bureaucracy: the national and international dimension

Some theoretical definitions:

A bureaucratic organization can operate more or less the same irrespective of the identities of individual workers.

As long as there is someone who can fill a particular slot and follow orders, operations will continue.

Thus in a bureaucracy the workers are replaceable cogs.

Each worker or cog does what is required; if one isn't working properly, then it can be replaced by another. No one is essential.

(B. Martin, S. Callaghan and C. Fox, 1997, "**Challenging bureaucratic élites**", University of Wollongong, Australia)

Bureaucracy: the national and international dimension

Some theoretical definitions:

The rise of bureaucracy has been closely linked to the rise of modern states. The foundation of the state is its monopoly over large-scale violence that the state itself claims is legitimate, namely by the military and police, within a particular territory.

(B. Martin, S. Callaghan and C. Fox, 1997, “**Challenging bureaucratic élites**”, University of Wollongong, Australia)

“State...refers to a set of institutions that possess the means of legitimate coercion, exercised over a defined territory and its population, referred to as society”.

(World Bank, 1997, “**World Bank Development Report 1997**”

Bureaucracy: the national and international dimension

Some theoretical definitions:

“Civil government, so far as it is instituted for the security of property, is in reality instituted for the defence of the rich against the poor, or for those who have some property against those who have none at all”.

(Adam Smith, 1776, **“Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations”**, page 674)

“...the state benefits and it threatens. Now it is “us” and often it is “them”. It is an abstraction, but in its name men are jailed, or made rich on oil depletion allowances and defence contracts, or killed in wars”.

(P. Edelman, 1964, **“The symbolic uses of politics”**, Urbana, New York)

Bureaucracy: the national and international dimension

Some theoretical definitions:

Bureaucracy is a way of organizing work based on hierarchy and division of labour.

Hierarchy means that some people are officially in positions of power over others.

The chief executive of a company is officially in a position of power over their deputies and so on down to the bottom level of workers.

In the army, generals give commands to colonels, colonels give commands to majors, and so on down to privates.

(B. Martin, S. Callaghan and C. Fox, 1997, “**Challenging bureaucratic élites**”, University of Wollongong, Australia)

Some theoretical definitions:

“The relationship between administrative power and money wealth in the former Soviet Union showed the hybrid character of the bureaucracy.

Its non-capitalist nature was expressed in the fact that it ruled not through money wealth but by a monopoly of political power.

Its non-socialist nature was expressed in its inability to free itself from the influence of money”.

(E. Mandel, 1993, “**Power and Money**”, Verso, London)

Bureaucracy: the national and international dimension

Some theoretical definitions:

“...a new ruling class is dominant in the Chinese society. This new ruling class is a civil-military bureaucracy developed during the process of building socialism... the new bureaucratic rulers will try their best to develop capitalist relations of production in China; they will add, step by step, individual economic power to their collective political power, and then try to create a big capitalist power competing with the old ones for world domination.” *

(Róbinson Rojas, 1978, “China, una revolución en agonía”, Editorial Martinez Roca, Barcelona, Spain)

Bureaucracy: the national and international dimension

Conceptual framework so far:

If we take

- 1) bureaucracy as rule by officials,
- 2) bureaucracy as public administration, and therefore as the backbone of the state, and
- 3) bureaucracy as administration by officials

We can work analytically with the notions of national and international bureaucracies:

national bureaucracies as public administration in nation-states, and

international bureaucracies as administration in international bodies like the UN, IMF, World Bank, WTO, Regional Trade Agreements, Regional Military Agreements and Transnational Corporations.*

Bureaucracy: the national and international dimension

Building a social model (1): main elements

Taking the elements given by the World Bank (World Development Report 1997) linking state and government, and therefore public administration and bureaucracy, we can group

(1) civil bureaucracy into

Legislative (whose role is to make the law)

Executive (responsible for implementing the law)

Judiciary (responsible for interpreting and applying the law), plus

Civil Police, Militarised Police and State Owned Enterprises

Bureaucracy: the national and international dimension

Building a social model (2):

Now we add

(2) Military Bureaucracy composed of the Army, Air Force and Navy.

this civil-military bureaucracy will rule the whole of **(3)**
civil society composed of

owners of land, owners of capital, waged-salaried workers,
own-account workers,
old people, children, students,

**all of them having some kind of religious or non-religious affiliation
and some ethnic origin, many of them belonging to non-governmental
associations and/or social movements**

Bureaucracy: the national and international dimension

Building a social model (3):

Finally civil-military bureaucracy and civil society will have some type of links with

(4) international bureaucracies of foreign financial and industrial capital, international organizations, and foreign governments (foreign civil-military bureaucracies) hosting the central offices of foreign capital.

The interconnections between **(1)(2)(3)(4)** will explain why the role of bureaucracy in any style of development and public administration “is accepted” by the dominating social groups.*

Bureaucracy: the national and international dimension

Building a social model (5): on corruption

in developed and developing countries the bureaucracy will stand between economic, social and political activities of individuals or groups of individuals and the mechanisms and rules for producing goods and services, acquiring education and having some basic human rights respected, etc.

**therefore, individuals can use “bribes” (monetary and non-monetary) to make their way through the bureaucratic red tape, etc., and for making extra profits by illegal means, etc.
Here “corruption” will appear.**

Bureaucracy: the national and international dimension

Building a social model (4):

(Rank refers to levels of income and relative political power)

Social groups	Rank	Rank	Rank
Civil bureaucracy	high	middle	low
Military bureaucracy	high	middle	low
Owners of land	high	middle	low
Owners of capital	high	middle	low
Waged-salaried workers	high	middle	low
Religious affiliation	high	middle	low
Ethnic origin	high	middle	low

[Case study: corruption in the U.S. Senate and House of Parliament*](#)

Bureaucracy: the national and international dimension

Building a social model (6): organizational features

we can say that civil-military bureaucracy will have a dual role in accordance with the organizational and functional role of the state.

Organizational features:

The roles of public administration (bureaucracy) are

- 1. making general rules,**
- 2. controlling,**
- 3. guiding, and**
- 4. regulating**

Bureaucracy: the national and international dimension

Building a social model (7): organizational features

From the above features it follows:

- 1) The state is a set of institutions differentiated from the rest of society making possible to identify PUBLIC and PRIVATE spheres;
- 2) The state is the ultimate authority: public law is made by state officials (all of them, including members of parliament, are paid from “public funds”), and backed by a formal monopoly of brute force and violence upon members of society;

Bureaucracy: the national and international dimension

Building a social model (8): organizational features

- 3) The modern state's personnel are mostly recruited and trained for management in a bureaucratic (specialized) manner;
- 4) The state (bureaucracy) has the capacity to extract monetary revenues (taxation) to finance its activities from its subject population. In industrialized countries (for example USA, Germany, Britain, and others) the civil servants (bureaucrats) in charge of collecting taxes have absolute power over their fellow citizens;*

Bureaucracy: the national and international dimension
Building a social model (9): functional features

The state is seen here as a set of institutions which carries out particular **goals, purposes or objectives**; Goal, purposes and objectives being the outcome of **political** agreement/disagreement between particular sectors in society

(sectors grouped in a **complex mix** of property/non-property of **wealth**, property/non-property of **means of production**, management/non-management of **means of production**, membership/non-membership of **religious institutions**, membership/non-membership of **political organizations**, belonging/non-belonging to a particular **ethnic group**, and belonging/non-belonging to a particular **gender**.)

Bureaucracy: the national and international dimension
Building a social model (10): functional features

- 2) The state is a set of institutions aiming at the reproduction over time of the **social order** agreed among powerful economic and political sectors of civil society. A **social order** adequate to keep carrying out goals, purposes or objectives already agreed;
- 3) For making this functionality sustainable, the survival of the state will be possible with a **strong civil-military bureaucracy**.*

On changing goals, purposes or objectives:

Historically, civil society or large sectors of civil society **violent insurrections** have been the main tool for changing goals, purposes and objectives of civil-military bureaucracies as the defenders of the vested interests of powerful economic and political minorities (for example, the French, Haitian, United States, Russian, Chinese, Vietnamese, Cuban revolutions, among others).

After Mahatma Gandhi's practice of **non-violent insurrection** (liberation of India from Britain), non-violent public action have been utilised as a very important tool.

Bureaucracy: the national and international dimension
Building a social model (12): challenging the state

A useful listing of non-violent public actions is given in P. Sargent, 1973, **“The politics of non-violent action”**, Penguin:

“Symbolic actions:

- formal statements (speeches, letters, petitions)
- slogans, leaflets, banners
- rallies, protest marches, vigils, pickets
- wearing of symbols of opposition (such as the paper clips worn by Norwegian citizens during the Nazi occupation)
- meetings, teach-ins

Bureaucracy: the national and international dimension
Building a social model (13): challenging the state

“Noncooperation:

- social boycott, stay-at-home
- boycotts by consumers, workers, traders, embargoes
- strikes, bans, working-to-rule, reporting “sick”
- refusal to pay tax or debts, withdrawal of bank deposits
- boycotts of government institutions
- disobedience, evasions and delays
- mock incapability (“misunderstandings”, “mistakes”)

Bureaucracy: the national and international dimension
Building a social model (14): challenging the state

“Intervention and alternative institutions:

- fasts
- sit-ins, non-violent obstruction and occupation
- destruction of information and records
- establishment of parallel institutions for government, media, transport, welfare, health, credit, currency and education *

Bureaucracy: the national and international dimension
Building a social model (16): on peripheral capitalist economies

To go further in a critical analysis of the relationship between state (bureaucracy) and the individuals in society we should, with Alavi, pose at least FOUR areas of research:

First – Looking at the central role of the state in developing societies in “the creation and reproduction of the social order that constitutes the necessary precondition for the functioning of a peripheral capitalist economy”

(H. Alavi, 1982, “**State and class under peripheral capitalism**”, in **Introduction to the Sociology of Developing Societies**, H. Alavi and T. Shamin (eds), Macmillan, p. 289)

Bureaucracy: the national and international dimension
Building a social model (17): on peripheral capitalist economies

Second – Looking at the “instrumental” nature of the state (civil-military bureaucracy) for and on behalf of particular groups and classes that seek control over it”.

(H. Alavi, 1982, “**State and class under peripheral capitalism**”, in **Introduction to the Sociology of Developing Societies**, H. Alavi and T. Shamin (eds), Macmillan, p. 289)

Bureaucracy: the national and international dimension
Building a social model (18): on peripheral capitalist economies

Third – Looking at the “nature and character of those who occupy positions of authority and power within the state apparatus, ‘the servants of the state’.

-Are they in fact masters rather than servants?

-If they enjoy a degree of autonomy, how far does (or can) it extend?

-Do they have interests of their own, independent of those of the dominant classes?”

(H. Alavi, 1982, “**State and class under peripheral capitalism**”, in **Introduction to the Sociology of Developing Societies**, H. Alavi and T. Shamin (eds), Macmillan, p. 289)

Bureaucracy: the national and international dimension
Building a social model (19): on peripheral capitalist economies

Fourth – Looking at the state “not as an actor”, operating on behalf of dominating classes, but as an arena of class struggle –the state not as a homogeneous and monolithic entity but as a differentiated one, within which we may discover more than one locus of power”.

Here, class contradictions between the executive and the legislative-judiciary-military can occur (for example, Chile 1970-73, China 1970s, Soviet Union 1980s, Venezuela 2000s, etc.)

(H. Alavi, 1982, “**State and class under peripheral capitalism**”, in **Introduction to the Sociology of Developing Societies**, H. Alavi and T. Shamin (eds), Macmillan, p. 289)

Final thought

“Given the central role that is accorded to the state and public policy in “modernization” theory, it is rather striking to see how little thought is given to an examination of the nature of the state itself, its location within the matrix of a class-divided society, and its relationship with **contending social forces.**” *

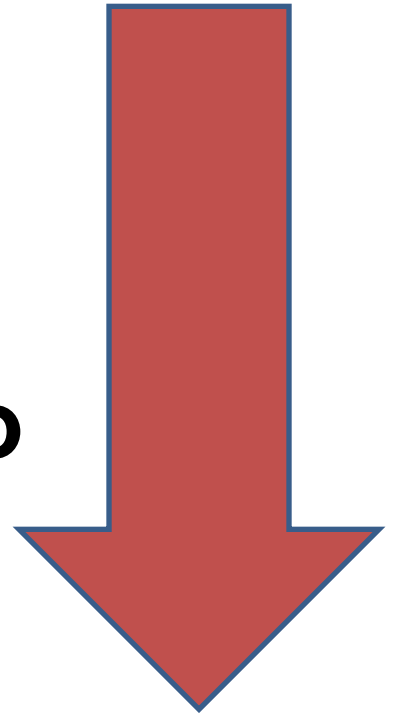
(H. Alavi, 1982, “**State and class under peripheral capitalism**”, in **Introduction to the Sociology of Developing Societies**, H. Alavi and T. Shamin (eds), Macmillan, p. 289)

**“Great knowledge sees all in one.
Small knowledge breaks down into
the many”**

Chuang-Tzu (4th Century B.C)

**"The important thing is not to
stop questioning".**

Albert Einstein (1946)



United States: corruption in the U.S. Senate and House of Parliament

The Washington Post, Dec. 3, 2010.- House censures Rep. Charles Rangel (80-year-old former chairman of the powerful Ways and Means Committee)

Despite a concerted effort by supporters to downgrade Rangel's punishment to a reprimand, the House voted 333 to 79 for censure.

...the chamber approved the condemnation for **11 rules infractions that included 17 years of unpaid taxes on property in the Dominican Republic, more than \$500,000 in undisclosed financial assets and inappropriately raising millions of dollars for a New York City college from corporations with business before the Ways and Means Committee.**

“Rangel should know that however harmed he was by the censure, the entity that was really disgraced was Congress itself...

the House ethics committee exposed the woeful state of lawmakers' abilities to police their own.”

“The rules governing members' behavior were proven to be so lax as to be irrelevant. **The vast majority of transgressors are never punished.**”

More: [here](#)

United States: corruption in the U.S. Senate and House of Parliament

Nearly every member of the House Financial Services Committee, who in February 2009 oversaw hearings on how the \$700 billion of Troubled Assets Relief Program (TARP) bailout was being spent, received contributions associated with these financial institutions during the 2008 election cycle.

“You could say that the finance industry got their money’s worth by supporting members of Congress who were inclined to look the other way”, said Lawrence Jacobs, the director of the University of Minnesota’s Center for the Study of Politics and Governance

See <http://www.opensecrets.org>

United States: corruption in the U.S. Senate and House of Parliament

In total, members of the Senate Committee of Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs, Senate Finance Committee and House Financial Services Committee received \$5.2 million from TARP recipients in the 2007-2008 election cycle. **President Obama collected at least \$4.3 million from employees at these companies for his presidential campaign.**

Investment bankers Bear Stearns, Goldman Sachs, Lehman Brothers, Merrill Lynch, Morgan Stanley, insurer American International Group, and mortgage giants Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, have donated (since 2001) \$64.2 millions to congressional, presidential candidates and the Republican and Democratic parties. (**As senators, Barack Obama and John McCain received a combined total of \$ 3.1 million**)

See <http://www.opensecrets.org>

United States: corruption in the U.S. Senate and House of Parliament

Thousands of corporations and special interest groups, playing off the old adage "don't put all your eggs in one basket," are spreading their political cash across the nation, from the U.S. Capitol to the smallest states' statehouses.

They may do so for a number of reasons, such as building strong relationships with decision-makers, attempting to influence votes or supporting philosophical positions such as lower taxes or expanded health care.

See <http://www.opensecrets.org>

STATE LEVEL:
\$3,004,561,474 was given to political campaigns during the 2007-2008 election cycle.

FEDERAL LEVEL:
\$2,831,853,653* was given to political campaigns during the 2007-2008 election cycle

GRAND TOTAL:
\$5,836,415,127

United States: corruption in the U.S. Senate and House of Parliament

In addition to campaign contributions to elected officials and candidates, companies, labour unions, and other organizations **spend billions of dollars each year to lobby Congress and federal agencies**. Some special interests retain lobbying firms, many of them located along Washington's legendary K Street; others have lobbyists working in-house. The list to the right shows lobbying expenditure during the period 1998 - 2009.

See <http://www.opensecrets.org>

Lobbying Client	Total
US Chamber of Commerce	\$527,473,180
American Medical Assn	\$212,602,500
General Electric	\$191,270,000
AARP	\$169,752,064
American Hospital Assn	\$168,880,431
Pharmaceutical Rsrch & Mfrs of America	\$161,638,400
AT&T Inc	\$151,040,816
Northrop Grumman	\$144,414,935
National Assn of Realtors	\$132,797,380
Exxon Mobil	\$131,786,942
Edison Electric Institute	\$131,305,999
Business Roundtable	\$129,870,000
Blue Cross/Blue Shield	\$128,818,703
Verizon Communications	\$128,444,841
Lockheed Martin	\$118,735,633
Boeing Co	\$115,398,310
General Motors	\$106,261,483
Southern Co	\$100,970,694
Freddie Mac	\$96,194,048

United States: corruption in the U.S. Senate and House of Parliament

Total Lobbying Spending	
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1998	\$1.44 Billion
1999	\$1.44 Billion
2000	\$1.56 Billion
2001	\$1.64 Billion
2002	\$1.82 Billion
2003	\$2.05 Billion
2004	\$2.18 Billion
2005	\$2.43 Billion
2006	\$2.62 Billion
2007	\$2.86 Billion
2008	\$3.30 Billion
2009	\$2.50 Billion

Year	Total Spent	Number of Lobbyists
2010	\$2,608,646,121	12,483
2009	\$2,518,701,542	13,227

See <http://www.opensecrets.org>

Political Power Abuse in United States

Bribery, Graft, Extortion, Patronage, Kickbacks and Other Crimes

Sep 27, 2008 by [Martha R. Gore](#)

Political power abuse for personal gain and power by elected officials and appointees is as rampant today as it was during the 18th Century.

Abuse of political power by elected and appointed officials has a long history in the United States. Democrats and Republicans have been indicted, charged and gone to jail. Behind each act was a desire for self-enrichment at the expense of American taxpayers.

Read more at Suite101: [Political Power Abuse in America: Bribery, Graft, Extortion, Patronage, Kickbacks and Other Crimes](http://www.suite101.com/content/abuse-of-political-power-in-america-a70431#ixzz17Ha0SEEq) <http://www.suite101.com/content/abuse-of-political-power-in-america-a70431#ixzz17Ha0SEEq>

Political Power Abuse in United States

Bribery, Graft, Extortion, Patronage, Kickbacks and Other Crimes

The types of abuses include:

Bribery requires two participants: one to give the bribe, and one to take it. Bribes may be demanded in order for an official to do something he is already paid to do or to bypass laws and regulations.

Graft only requires that the official gains something of value, not part of his official pay, when doing his work. Most large “gifts” qualify as graft. For example, any gift over \$200 value made to the President of the United States is considered to be a gift to the Office of the Presidency and not to the President himself. The outgoing President must buy it if he wants to take it with him. Another example of graft is a politician using knowledge of zoning to purchase land which he knows is planned for development, before this is publicly known, and then selling it for a significant profit.

Read more at Suite101: [Political Power Abuse in America: Bribery, Graft, Extortion, Patronage, Kickbacks and Other Crimes](http://www.suite101.com/content/abuse-of-political-power-in-america-a70431#ixzz17Ha0SEEq) <http://www.suite101.com/content/abuse-of-political-power-in-america-a70431#ixzz17Ha0SEEq>

Political Power Abuse in United States

Bribery, Graft, Extortion, Patronage, Kickbacks and Other Crimes

Extortion and Robbery may take place when money is demanded to do something. It can also be demanded by corrupt officials who otherwise threaten to make illegitimate use of state force in order to inflict harm. This is similar to extortion by organized crime groups.

Patronage refers to favoring supporters, for example, with government employment. It can be seen as corruption if this means that incompetent persons, as a payment for supporting the regime, are selected for loyalty rather than ability.

Nepotism and Cronyism is favoring relatives (nepotism) or personal friends (cronyism). This may be combined with bribery, for example demanding that a business should employ a relative or an official controlling regulations affecting business.

Read more at Suite101: [Political Power Abuse in America: Bribery, Graft, Extortion, Patronage, Kickbacks and Other Crimes](http://www.suite101.com/content/abuse-of-political-power-in-america-a70431#ixzz17Ha0SEEq) <http://www.suite101.com/content/abuse-of-political-power-in-america-a70431#ixzz17Ha0SEEq>

Political Power Abuse in United States

Bribery, Graft, Extortion, Patronage, Kickbacks and Other Crimes

Embezzlement is outright theft of entrusted funds. It is a misappropriation of property.

Kickbacks are an officials share of misappropriate funds allocated from his or her organization to an organization involved in corrupt bidding. An example is that of a politician is in charge of choosing how to spend some public funds. He can give a contract to a company that isn't the best bidder or allocate more than they deserve. It is related to bid rigging, bidding, and anti-competitive practices.*

Read more at Suite101: [Political Power Abuse in America: Bribery, Graft, Extortion, Patronage, Kickbacks and Other Crimes](http://www.suite101.com/content/abuse-of-political-power-in-america-a70431#ixzz17Ha0SEEq) <http://www.suite101.com/content/abuse-of-political-power-in-america-a70431#ixzz17Ha0SEEq>

