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appellate justices have exercised judicial power considerably greater than in most common law nations. The United States is the most important example, especially since Chief Justice John Marshall rendered his pivotal decision defining and justifying the doctrine of judicial review in *Marbury v. Madison* (1803:137). It has been suggested that Canada, after the adoption of its constitutional Charter of Rights and Freedom in 1982, will increase its judicial review activities (McWhinney 1982).

Judicial review, the power of judges to declare unconstitutional the enactments of legislatures and actions of chief executives and their subordinates and administrators, is the very highest exercise of judicial authority. Courts possessing such power thus play a much broader role in national governmental affairs than those which do not. Indeed, in a number of historic periods of considerable judicial activism in the United States such as the early New Deal era of the 1930s, the American Supreme Court was characterized as exercising judicial supremacy. By contrast, the British courts, including those at the apex of British judicial hierarchy, defer to the supremacy of Parliament. Within the common law family of law, judicial review is generally found in those nations which are federal rather than unitary, notably Australia, Burma, Canada, India and Pakistan. Historically, nations with courts organized in accordance with the civil law family of law rarely incorporated judicial review as part of the judiciary's power (see below). Perhaps the major pre-1940 exception was Switzerland, a civil law nation, which utilized judicial review in its Federal Court to assess cantonal legislation.

After the Second World War, several civil law nations, whether organized as federal or unitary systems, adopted some form of judicial review. Japan, a unitary system, and West Germany, a federal system, made the change under American influence during the post-war military occupation. Austria and Italy also responded with limited forms of judicial review in the aftermath of the war. France also made a post-war change toward limited review. All the later three are unitary systems. Japan's Supreme Court comprises fifteen members including a Chief Justice. Except for occasional *en blanc* sessions, the court meets regularly in three panels of five judges each. In accordance with centuries of tradition and practice in continental European civil law systems from which Japan's system was derived in the Meiji era (French to some extent, but primarily German civil law of the era of the Imperial German Empire), Japanese judges and justices (with a few exceptions among the latter) are trained separately from attorneys as career judges. Compulsory retirement of members of the Japanese Supreme Court at the age of seventy has resulted in an inadvertent limitation on the influence of Japanese Chief Justices. Because elevation to Chief Justice is determined by seniority of service on the Court, Japanese justices generally reach that office late in their careers, often near compulsory retirement age. Thus, long

tenure in that post, similar to the more than three decades experienced by American Chief Justices John Marshall and Roger B. Taney, is largely unattainable for Japanese justices. Indeed, their average tenure between 1947 and 1980 was approximately four years (Hayakawa and Schmidhauser 1987:219).

France is the only nation in this group that adopted limited judicial review which was not subject to Allied military occupation at the conclusion of the Second World War. Its voluntary adoption of judicial review was very guarded and did not apply to courts within the regular administrative and judicial court systems of the nation. The framers of the Constitution of the Fourth Republic created a Constitutional Committee chaired by the President of the Republic and composed of the Presidents of the National Assembly and Council of the Republic plus seven members chosen by the Assembly and thereby the Council. Its role was to ensure that suggested legislation of questionable constitutionality did not become law without a constitutional amendment. This committee could not act unless requested to do so by the President of the Council of the Republic and an absolute majority of the Council. When the de Gaulle Constitution of 1958 was adopted, a Constitutional Council was created, composed of all ex-presidents of France plus nine notable individuals, three of whom are chosen by the presidents of the Republic, of the Senate, and of the National Assembly. This Council, each member usually a lawyer, may declare unconstitutional ordinary and organic laws, treaties and protocols. Despite the scope of the powers, the ability to challenge is denied to individual citizens and most groups. Access to it is limited and complicated (Abraham 1986:310–12).

West Germany created a Federal Constitutional Court (*Bundesverfassungsgericht*) in 1951. It consists of sixteen judges chosen by the two houses of the legislature (the *Bundestag* and the *Bundesrat*). It meets in two chambers (Senates) and has proved considerably more assertive than its originators anticipated in major decisions such as its 1966 Political Party Finance decision and its 1975 Abortion decision (20 *BVerFG*e 56–59, 119, 134 and 39 *BVerFG*e 1–95). Austria's Constitutional Court (*Verfassungsgerichtshof*) was reinstated in 1945 (it had been established in 1920 and eliminated by the Nazis). It has fourteen members appointed by the president of the Republic based in part upon legislative recommendations. Since the 1970s Austria's Constitutional Court has also become more assertive, developing along the same lines as that of West Germany. Italy's *Corte Costituzionale* was authorized in 1948 but actually functioned as a court from 1956. This fifteen-member Constitutional Court is, indeed, the ultimate interpreter of the Italian Constitution of 1948. Thus, it is technically superior to Italy's regular higher judicial and administrative courts—the Court of Cassation, the Council of State, and the Court of Accounts. In fact, the Constitutional Court has been characterized as a very restrained tribunal

albeit composed for the most part of mature individuals with extensive careers as experienced judges, attorneys, or law professors.

Despite the great attention often given to courts which exercise judicial review, the seemingly more prosaic regular judicial and administrative courts typical of the nations comprising the major families of law are basically the prototypes within the common law, civil law, religious (most importantly Islamic), and socialist families. Furthermore, the regular court systems of major colonial powers often served as models for court systems imposed upon regions or subject nations. Several broad features distinguished these systems. France, as one of the most influential of the civil law nations, imposed its legal system throughout the world, particularly during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, first through Napoleon Bonaparte's codification of French civil law, its dissemination in the wake of his continental military successes, and, after his final defeat, the general acceptance of versions of his code in many areas of Western Europe that had rejected his military regime. After Napoleon Bonaparte, France as a major colonial power spread its code and major portions of its court organization, its mode of legal training, and legal professional organization throughout the world. Because France at the height of its colonial influence generally incorporated its colonies as part of metropolitan France, its impact upon law in its colonies was intensive and enduring. One of the main features of French court organization is the distinction between regular judiciaries and administrative tribunals, a distinction generally not present in the English and American judicial systems. At the apex of the regular French judicial system is the Court of Cassation, a supreme court of appeal. This court does not have original jurisdiction, nor does it retry cases appealed to it. It does determine, however, the accuracy of decisions rendered by a lower court and, in the event that inaccuracy is found, remands the case to a court of similar jurisdiction and rank for retrial. If after a second appeal inaccuracy is again found, the Court of Cassation will render a determinative final decision. Below the Court of Cassation are the Courts of Appeal with civil and criminal jurisdiction plus jurisdiction for appeals from a variety of special courts including juvenile and rent tribunals. Civil appeals arise from Courts of Instance (original jurisdiction) to Courts of Major Instance (original and appellate jurisdiction). On the criminal side, Police Courts deal with minor transgressions, correctional tribunals have jurisdiction over lesser criminal offences, and the Courts of Assize deal with major criminal cases.

France's administrative tribunals consist of one level of Regional Councils of Administrative Tribunals and, at the centre of this system, the Council of State established initially by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1797. This Council has seven divisions, only one of which, the Litigation Section, is concerned with Administrative Law. The others deal with a range of administrative and

legislative drafting and advisory opinions on executive and legislative matters. The Council, staffed by career civil servants, a large proportion of whom are graduates of the prestigious National School of Administration, has a role in France not replicated by any institution in the United States or Great Britain. Furthermore, just as French administrative judges are products of an exceptionally fine and intensive specialized education system, so too are regular French judges who are trained as civil servants and career jurists in a manner distinguished from the regular education of lawyers.

In the modern era of the twentieth century it was generally assumed that the courts and judges within the major common law and civil law legal systems had achieved a high level of independence from political control and a similarly high level of professional competence and ethical integrity. But the particular political circumstances within each nation were often determinative, rather than the historic traditions of each family of law. Thus, civil law nations like Germany in the 1930s or a number of Latin American nations lost judicial independence and professionalism to dictators like Adolf Hitler or to military juntas (Kirschheimer 1961; Becker 1970). Similarly, Italy lost both its judicial independence and a large measure of its judicial integrity during the fascist years of Benito Mussolini when judges were often politically controlled by the state and corrupted by private monetary inducements (Calamandri 1956). The example cited most often of the erosion of judicial independence in the twentieth century is Soviet Russia. The civil law system of its predecessor, the Tsarist absolute monarchy, was hardly a model of judicial independence, and a major feature of Tsarist absolutism and judicial control, the Procurer General, was adapted to Soviet needs by the early 1920s (Berman 1963).

In sum, modern courts often mirror the social conditions and political realities of their nations. Yet, in many jurisdictions throughout the world, judicial objectivity and independence is closer to achievement than in earlier eras.

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BUREAUCRACIES

FERREL HEADY

Bureaucracies are large-scale organizations that are common in both the public and private sectors of contemporary society.

ORIGINS

The word ‘bureaucracy’ was coined fairly recently, but it is derived from much older Latin and Greek sources. Fritz Morstein Marx (1957:17–18) states that the first half of the word can be traced to *burrus*, meaning in Latin a dark and sombre colour, and that in Old French *la bure* was a related word referring to a certain kind of cloth covering for tables, especially those used by public officials. The word *bureau* was first applied to the covered table, then to the surrounding room or office. Eventually, the word *bureaucratie* was created by combining *bureau* with a Greek suffix referring to type of rule. This usage is credited to an eighteenth-century French minister of commerce, Vincent de Gournay, who presumably intended the word to be a way of describing government as rule by officialdom. Soon it took the form *Bürokratie* in German, and later appeared in many other languages.

MEANINGS

This evolution explains the pejorative connotation commonly and popularly given to ‘bureaucracy’ when it is used as a way of expressing disapproval of the actions of government officials or objection to the procedures required in large organizations that are alleged to be cumbersome and inefficient. The term ‘bureaucracy’ also has, however, a less negative and more neutral meaning in the social sciences, referring to organizational arrangements of a distinctive type characteristically found in modern societies. Bureaucratic organizations, in this sense, are those that have attributes identified in the writings of the German social scientist Max Weber (1864–1920) and his successors. Bureaucracies of

Weber's 'ideal-type' model are marked by traits such as hierarchy, specialization, professional competence, separation of the office and the incumbent, full-time occupational commitment, fixed monetary salaries and written regulations specifying internal relationships and procedures to be followed in bureaucratic operations (Weber 1922; Bendix 1960; Hall 1962).

Ambiguity of meaning in the use of 'bureaucracy' and 'bureaucracies' is unavoidable. The stress here is put on the identification of attributes that distinguish between bureaucratic and other types of organizations, with neither positive nor negative implications as to organizational outcomes. This is the Weberian meaning, as opposed to Harold Laski's use of the term as applying 'to a system of government the control of which is so completely in the hands of officials that their power jeopardizes the liberties of ordinary citizens' (Laski 1930:70). Even Weber, while emphasizing the superior capabilities of bureaucracies over earlier organizational types, expressed concern late in his career because of the 'overtowering' power position of fully developed bureaucracies. More recently, Henry Jacoby (1973) has argued that bureaucracies are necessary but dangerous, with a strong potential for the usurpation of political power. His interpretation is that modern all-encompassing bureaucratic organizations are the culmination of a long process of centralization and accumulation of power begun long ago, when historical civilizations found it necessary to create and then to rely on the prototypes of present-day bureaucracies. The resulting paradox for our time is that bureaucracy is necessary and indeed inevitable but is at the same time dangerous and potentially usurpative. Contemporary societies simultaneously demand, depend on, and deplore the apparatus of bureaucracy. This outlook is basically pessimistic as to future prospects.

Another manifestation of this negative orientation is the tendency by Merton (1952:361-71) and others (Morstein Marx 1957:25-8; Crozier 1964:4-5) to highlight as typical behaviour in bureaucracies traits that are 'dysfunctional', pathological, or self-defeating, tending to frustrate the realization of organizational goals. Red tape, buck passing, rigidity and inflexibility, over-secretiveness, excessive impersonality, unwillingness to delegate, and reluctance to exercise discretion are all identified as behavioural orientations typical of the 'trained incapacity' of bureaucrats. Undoubtedly, such behaviour occurs frequently within bureaucracies, but so does a range of other kinds of behaviour with more positive implications for attainment of organizational objectives. Some students of bureaucracies, including Friedrich (1963:471) as a prime example, stress traits such as objectivity, precision, consistency and discretion, describing them as 'desirable habit or behaviour patterns' which are usually followed by members of bureaucratic organizations (Friedrich 1968:44-5).

In contrast to these differences in describing dominant bureaucratic behavioural traits, there is considerable agreement as to the basic structural

characteristics of bureaucratic organizations. A compact formulation is that of Victor Thompson (1961:3–4), who says that such an organization is composed of a highly elaborated hierarchy of authority superimposed upon a highly elaborated division of labour. Friedrich (1963:468–70) asserts that the pivotal structural characteristics can be reduced to these three:

- 1 hierarchy;
- 2 differentiation or specialization; and
- 3 qualification or competence.

Bureaucracies with such structural characteristics are prevalent in what Robert Prethuis (1978) calls today's 'organizational society'. No contemporary nation-state, for instance, can be viable without a public bureaucracy as one of its major political institutions (Heady 1991:75; Riggs 1970:388). Hence an understanding of the distinctive internal features of different nation-state public bureaucracies and of the relationships between these bureaucracies and other institutions in the political system is crucial both to the analysis of particular polities and to comparisons among them. One aspect of such study needs to be consideration of the negative possibilities in bureaucratic operations already mentioned, including the self-defeating proclivities of patterns of bureaucratic behaviour that undermine achievement of policy goals, and the dangers of encroachment by public bureaucracies on the appropriate roles of other political institutions.

STRUCTURAL VARIATIONS

Patterns of differentiation among national public bureaucracies as to their organizational features have received much attention, and there is considerable consensus about appropriate categories. Among the more developed countries, three such basic groupings emerge (Bendix 1968; Heady 1991; Rowat 1988). One group consists of the democracies on the European continent in an arc from Scandinavia through western and southern Europe, plus perhaps other examples geographically widely scattered such as Ireland, Israel, and Japan. A second group includes Great Britain, the United States and other former British colonies such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The third group consists of the Soviet Union and other nations in Eastern Europe included in the Soviet bloc since the Second World War.

Despite significant individual differences, the public bureaucracies in each of these groups share some basic similarities. Members of the first group, typified by Germany and France (with historical roots in Prussia and the French *ancien régime*), are sometimes referred to as 'classic' systems, conforming most closely to Weber's 'ideal-type' bureaucracy. The present public service can usually be traced to an earlier royal service that was itself highly professionalized. Members

of the bureaucracy are recruited on a career basis according to educational attainment; mobility upward within the bureaucracy from one level to another is relatively limited; higher-ranking bureaucrats are intimately involved in the policy process, are allowed to engage in political activity, often have opportunities for second careers in either the public or private sectors, and generally enjoy high prestige in the society.

Countries in the second group have in common a 'civic culture' with widespread citizen participation in governmental affairs. A public service based on selection by competence or merit is relatively recent, with civil service reform having occurred after the middle of the nineteenth century in both Great Britain and the United States and even later elsewhere. Although educational background is increasingly important, entry points into the bureaucracy are more varied and internal mobility is greater. Higher-level bureaucrats are also heavily involved in policy making, but in a manner that varies from country to country. They are often subjected to severe restrictions as to partisan political activity, and the career paths of politicians and career bureaucrats are generally distinct and separate. Public service careers, especially in the more egalitarian former British colonies, do not rank as high in societal prestige as in the 'classic' systems.

The communist bloc countries have been in the past the most highly bureaucratized, both in the apparatus of the dominant party and of the state. A 'public' bureaucratic career of some type has been the only choice for most individuals, because of the enormous range of party and state activity. Educational and professional qualifications have gradually gained over loyalty considerations as factors in bureaucratic selection and promotion, so that the backgrounds and career paths of higher bureaucrats in these countries differ less markedly now than in the past from their counterparts elsewhere. The dramatic and unforeseen changes taking place in these systems as the decade of the 1990s begins makes prediction hazardous, but the trend seems to be toward greater similarity, rather than increasing divergence, between the communist bloc (including what was the USSR and countries of Eastern Europe) and other developed nations with regard to the societal role of bureaucratic organizations.

The public bureaucracies of developing countries in the Third World are usually lumped together as a fourth major category, but with wide variations among them in their degree of competence, and in the educational backgrounds, career prospects, degree of participation in the making of public policy and societal power status of members of the bureaucracy. Generalizations are difficult to make, beyond noting the impact of inherited colonial public service patterns, the general lack of security in bureaucratic careers, the importance of the public sector in societal decision making generally, and the frequent ascendancy of military bureaucrats over both civil bureaucrats and politicians.

BEHAVIOURAL VARIATIONS

In contrast to organizational or structural distinctions, the identification and classification of distinctive national patterns of bureaucratic behaviour is as yet at an early stage of sophistication. Clearly cultural factors are basic to such efforts. Some useful analyses of specific cases have been made by knowledgeable scholars who are themselves products of the culture described. A notable example is the examination by Crozier (1964) of behavioural traits in the French bureaucracy. He traces these traits to more general French cultural characteristics, stressing the qualities of rationality, impersonality and absoluteness. He views France as essentially a 'stalemate society', with the bureaucratic system providing a means of reconciling two deep-seated but contradictory attitudes. One is an urge to avoid as much as possible direct face-to-face authority relationships, and the other is a prevailing view of authority in terms of universalism and absolutism. The bureaucratic system combines an absolutist conception of authority with the elimination of most direct dependence relationships, hence solving the basic French dilemma about authority as indispensable but hard to endure. At the same time, the system suffers from deficiencies in co-ordination, in the decentralization of decision making, and in adjusting to change.

More systematic comparative studies are dependent on advances in cultural analysis at a variety of relevant levels—societal, political, administrative and organizational. Some progress is being made at each of these levels. Hofstede (1980) has identified four value dimensions as accounting for a major proportion of cultural differences among societies. These are:

- 1 individualism-collectivism;
- 2 uncertainty avoidance, relating to attitudes toward risk-taking and ambiguity;
- 3 power distance, concerned with attitudes towards patterns of power distribution; and
- 4 masculinity-femininity, having to do with the extent that dominant values are 'masculine' in terms of assertiveness, advancement and acquisition of material goods.

Hofstede, after analysing data from forty countries showing various combinations of these value dimensions, identified eight country clusters with distinctive patterns in their value systems differentially affecting behaviour in these social groupings.

Almond and Verba (1963) undertook pioneering work in exploring the concept of political culture for differentiating among national polities. Building on their foundation, Nachmias and Rosenbloom (1978) have proposed a model for the more restricted concept of bureaucratic culture as a means of studying

orientations toward the public bureaucracy as a sub-unit of political systems. Retaining the cognitive, affective and evaluative cultural orientation sub-types suggested by Almond and Verba, they concentrated on two dimensions—orientations of citizens or the general public toward the public bureaucracy, and orientations of the bureaucrats themselves toward the bureaucracy. In addition, they were interested in assessing the congruence of these two sets of dimensions.

More recently, Schein (1985) and others (Frost *et al.* 1985) have used the concept of organizational culture to focus on specific organizations, mostly in the private sector. Organizational culture is defined by Schein as:

a pattern of basic assumptions—invented, discovered, or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration—that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems.

(Schein 1985:9)

Clearly this definition recognizes that organizational culture is significantly influenced by cultural characteristics at more inclusive levels in the society.

Among these studies, the bureaucratic culture model appears to offer most promise for systematically profiling the characteristics of different national bureaucratic systems. However, it has been applied only to Israel, and any application on a multinational basis would require a massive effort of data accumulation and analysis.

More has been accomplished in the comparative treatment in a variety of settings of the relationships between public bureaucracies and other political institutions. An assumption commonly made is that political modernization or development requires a balance between the public bureaucracy and institutions (such as chief executive officials, legislatures, political parties, courts and interest groups) in the 'constitutive' system (Riggs 1973:28–9), so that the public bureaucracy is subjected to effective external controls from these other political institutions, and thus plays an instrumental role in the operation of the political system rather than usurping political power and taking over as the dominant political elite group.

Two factors have received most attention in the analysis of various patterns of relationships between public bureaucracies and the 'constitutive' political institutions. The first is the role of the 'state' or the degree of 'stateness' in the polity, and the second is the nature of the existing political regime.

A recent trend in comparative political studies has been a renewed interest in political institutions and a lessened interest in political functions. This 'neo-institutionalism' has emphasized the importance of the 'state' as distinct from both 'society' and 'government', and has advanced the notion of degree of 'stateness' (referring to the relative scope and extent of governmental power and

authority) as a tool for making cross-societal comparisons (Nettl 1968). Metin Heper and a group of associates (Heper 1987) have undertaken to distinguish four ideal types of polity based on their degree of 'stateness', and to identify six types of bureaucracy corresponding to these polity types. 'Personalist' and 'ideological' polities rank high in 'stateness'; 'liberal' and 'praetorian' polities rank low. A one-to-one relationship between polity type and bureaucracy type is suggested in three instances: 'personalist' with a 'personal servant' bureaucracy, 'liberal' with a Weberian 'legal-rational' bureaucracy, and 'praetorian' with a 'spoils system' bureaucracy. The 'ideological' polity can produce any one of three types of bureaucracy, depending on whether the high degree of 'stateness' is linked with a ruler ('machine model' bureaucracy), the bureaucracy itself ('Bonapartist' or *Rechtsstaat* bureaucracy), or a dominant party ('party-controlled' bureaucracy). The application of this framework for analysis by Heper and his associates includes case examples that are both historical (ancient Rome, Prussia, nineteenth-century Russia) and contemporary. The authors do not directly address the issue of balance between the bureaucracy and other institutions, but the implication is that the 'Bonapartist' or *Rechtsstaat* bureaucracy in the 'ideological' polity would present the most unbalanced situation in favour of the bureaucracy, followed by the 'spoils system' bureaucracy in a 'praetorian' polity. The other linkages of polity and bureaucracy indicate that sufficient effective external control over the bureaucracy is provided by a ruler, a party, or some other source or combination of sources. The contemporary case studies (dealing with the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Turkey and Indonesia) seem to fit this assessment. At any rate, presumably some degree of 'stateness' can be detected in any polity, with consequences for bureaucratic behavioural characteristics and the role of the bureaucracy in the operation of the political system.

Another variable always present and likely to be highly significant for characterizing and comparing public bureaucracies is the type of political regime existent in the polity (Heady 1991:87–8). Western democracies (whether unitary or federal, parliamentary or presidential, two-party or multi-party) are balanced in the sense that their public bureaucracies, although participating in major decisions as to public policy, are ultimately answerable to and controlled by various extra-bureaucratic political institutions (Dogan 1975; Aberbach *et al.* 1981). Distinctive national features do exist that affect bureaucratic behaviour enough to justify description and analysis on a case-by-case basis, but in their fundamental characteristics they are basically similar political regimes. European one-party communist bloc political regimes, exemplified in the past by the Soviet Union, also are balanced in this same sense, but the source of control over the official state bureaucracy has been concentrated in the dominant party, and this is likely to continue even though *perestroika* reforms open up the political arena

somewhat to other parties or political groupings, leading to additional channels for maintaining bureaucratic accountability.

Third World developing countries are numerous enough and diverse enough to require groupings into broad categories of political regimes for comparative purposes. Numerous classification schemes have been proposed (Heady 1991:289–96), with variations mainly in terminology rather than in essentials.

Some Third World democratic regimes with competitive party systems closely resemble Western democracies, but their legitimacy and stability are more subject to challenge, and they are often short-lived. Evidence indicates that vulnerability may be greater for countries that have adopted the presidential model of democracy rather than the parliamentary one. Only a few of these countries have had a lengthy record of open competition among two or more parties and of peaceful political transition after free elections. Costa Rica is a leading example. Many Third World countries have moved to single-party systems (usually communist or oriented towards some variety of Marxism-Leninism, as in China, Cuba, and numerous countries in Africa and the Middle East), with political competition from outside the party either prohibited or severely restricted. In other instances (as in India, Malaysia and Mexico), party competition is allowed, but a dominant single party has been in power either continuously or for most of the time, in some cases since independence. The presumption in these regimes is that the dominant party can be replaced peaceably after an electoral defeat. This possibility has now been demonstrated twice in India, and may be tested in Mexico during coming years. All of these Third World nations have what can be described as ‘party-prominent’ political regimes, with the public bureaucracies (including the military segments) playing secondary political roles.

Much more common in the Third World are ‘bureaucratic-prominent’ regimes, with military and/or civil bureaucrats wielding political power either directly or behind the scenes. Even in the declining group of traditional regimes with monarchical or religious leaders (such as Morocco, Saudi Arabia or Iran), a loyal and minimally competent bureaucracy is crucial for regime survival. The most prevalent Third World regime type is a personalist or collegial bureaucratic elite with one or a group of professional bureaucrats (usually military professionals) clearly dominating the political system. Examples are numerous among developing nations in every geographical region of the world. When not so openly in control, high-ranking military bureaucrats are often crucially influential behind the scenes, or are in a position to intervene to replace a civilian government in nations with a political record of pendulum-like swings between bureaucratic elite and civilian competitive regimes (Turkey, Nigeria and Argentina are representative cases from different regions). The overall picture is thus one of imbalance rather than balance in the

relationship between public bureaucracies and the other political institutions that are generally considered to have a more legitimate claim to the exercise of ultimate political power.

CONTROLS OVER PUBLIC BUREAUCRACIES

The acknowledged tendency in most countries for the public bureaucracy to assume increasing importance in the formulation and implementation of public policy at the expense of executive officials and legislators, and the undeniable fact of political dominance by professional bureaucrats in numerous Third World countries have together activated various efforts to curb the excesses of bureaucracies or even to replace them with other forms of organization.

Attempted reforms by chief executives have included the creation or strengthening of managerial units with budgetary and personnel controls over administrative agencies, the expansion in numbers of political appointees in the upper leadership levels of agencies, and greater involvement in the placement of high-ranking career bureaucrats. Legislatures and legislative committees have often greatly expanded their staff capabilities in an attempt to match the expertise of bureaucratic professionals in a variety of programme areas, and have tried to strengthen their capacity to conduct investigations of administrative actions and to carry out corrective measures. Numerous countries have initiated programmes of 'equal opportunity' or 'affirmative action' to increase the proportions in the public bureaucracy of previously under-represented groups such as women and ethnic minorities. 'Sunshine' laws have allowed greater access to the proceedings of public bodies and to public documents. In the United States and other countries, courts have experienced a rapid growth in administrative law cases, and have begun to intervene more frequently to overturn or alter administrative decisions. As a remedial instrument for citizens, the Scandinavian institution of *ombudsman* has been widely imitated elsewhere to protect the public against administrative abuses or inadequacies (Rowat 1985).

This is a sampling of the measures designed to bring public bureaucracies under better control without drastic changes in their characteristics or the role they play in modern societies. Evaluations as to the results are mixed. The usual attitude is one of continuing concern, as expressed by R.E. Wraith that:

the growing impact of government and governmental agencies on everyday life has brought a more than corresponding increase in public administration which, both by its ubiquity and its sheer size, appears to 'feed on itself' and which could grow to a point when it became virtually beyond political control.

(Wraith 1982:139)

However, Donald C. Rowat has recently concluded that the net effects of these reform efforts are likely to be that 'the influence of senior officials will more

nearly represent the interests of society', that 'the bureaucracy will be supervised and controlled more closely', and that bureaucratic influence will be reduced by 'increasing the political input into policy-making' (Rowat 1988:457).

ALTERNATIVES TO BUREAUCRACIES

Some critics of bureaucracies propose to go further, either by restricting the bureaucracies' scope of operation, or by replacing them with other organizational forms. Ramos (1981) and other advocates of 'social systems delimitation' and a 'new science of organizations' recognize a continuing need for bureaucracies with their hierarchical and coercive attributes for dealing with market-centred activities, but urge the recognition and encouragement of other institutional arrangements in which members of the organization are peers or are subject to minimal formal controls, contending that such non-bureaucratic organizational forms are more appropriate for 'social settings suited for personal actualization, convivial relationships, and community activities of citizens' (Ramos 1981:135). The functioning of bureaucracies would thus be sanctioned but limited as compared to the present.

A more drastic reorientation is called for by proponents of substitute and presumably more suitable organizational forms to take the place of contemporary bureaucracies (Bennis 1973; Thayer 1973). Much as Weber claimed earlier that bureaucracies were most efficient for meeting the needs of a society recognizing the legitimacy of a 'legal-rational' pattern of authority, the argument is that societal needs now are for a predominant type of organization that is post-bureaucratic, even though its exact characteristics remain to be clarified.

Organizational evolution is likely and probably desirable, but whatever its timing and shape, bureaucracies are likely to remain the most prevalent form of organization for the foreseeable future. Hence attention must continue to be focused on how to maximize the positive while minimizing the negative influences of bureaucracies as they operate in contemporary society.

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INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS: UNITARY SYSTEMS

R.A.W.RHODES

Amongst the earliest proponents of intergovernmental relations (IGR) was Anderson, who defined it as ‘an important body of activities or interactions occurring between governmental units of all types and levels within...the federal system’ (Anderson 1960:3). This general definition has been elaborated by Wright (1974:1–16) who identifies five distinct characteristics. First, IGR recognizes the multiplicity of relationships between all types of government. Second, it emphasizes the interactions between individuals, especially public officials. Third, these relationships are continuous, day-to-day and informal. Fourth, IGR insists on the important role played by all public officials, be they politicians or administrators. Finally, it emphasizes the political nature of relationships and focuses on substantive policies, especially financial issues such as who raises what amount and who spends it for whose benefit with what results (see also Wright 1978). In summary, Wright claims that:

The term IGR alerts one to the multiple, behavioural, continuous and dynamic exchanges occurring between various officials in the political system. It may be compared to a different, novel and visual filter or concept that can be laid on the American political landscape.

(Wright 1974:4)

For unitary states it is perhaps more common to talk of central-local relations. The ‘visual filter’ of IGR is even more novel, therefore, when it is applied to unitary systems.

FORMS OF DECENTRALIZATION

The terminology of IGR is as profuse as it is confusing. Figure 1 attempts to illustrate the profusion without the confusion. Decentralization is one of the more emotive terms in politics, almost rivalling democracy and equality in the heat it can generate. Not only is decentralization 'good' but centralization is quite definitely 'bad' (Fesler 1965). It is not necessary to take sides in such normative disputes. The multifarious forms of decentralization can be described and classified. Such a dispassionate approach requires a degree of care in the use of words.

Decentralization refers to the distribution of power to lower levels in a territorial hierarchy, whether the hierarchy is one of governments within a state or offices within a large-scale organization (Smith 1985:1). Or more briefly, it refers to the real division of powers (Maass 1959). So defined, the term encompasses both political and bureaucratic decentralization, federal and unitary states, and multiple decentralization or decentralization between levels of government and within each type of government. Figure 1 does not purport to classify the different types of decentralized systems in the world. It has the more modest aim of identifying the forms which decentralization can take.

Deconcentration, sometimes referred to as field administration, involves 'the redistribution of administrative responsibilities...within the central government' (Rondinelli and Cheema 1983a:18). A broad distinction can be drawn between prefectorial and functional systems. In the integrated prefectorial system, a representative of the centre—or prefect—located in the regions supervises both local governments and other field officers of the centre. They are the superior officers in the field, embodying 'the authority of all ministries as well as the government generally and...the main channel of communication between technical field officials and the capital' (Smith 1967:45). Classic examples are the French departmental prefects and the collectors/ district commissioners in India (Maddick 1970). In the unintegrated prefectorial system the prefect is only one of a number of channels of communication with the centre and the prefect is not superior to, and does not co-ordinate, other field officers. In addition, they only supervise local governments and are not their chief executives. Examples of the unintegrated system include the Italian prefect (Fried 1963) and the district officer in Nigeria (Smith 1967). In the functional System, field officers belong to distinct functional hierarchies. The administration of the several policy areas is separate. There is no general, regional co-ordinator. Co-ordination occurs at the centre. This system of multifarious functional territories is exemplified by Britain.

Delegation refers to 'the delegation of decision-making and management authority for specific functions to organizations that are not under the direct control of central government ministries' (Rondinelli and Cheema 1983a:20).

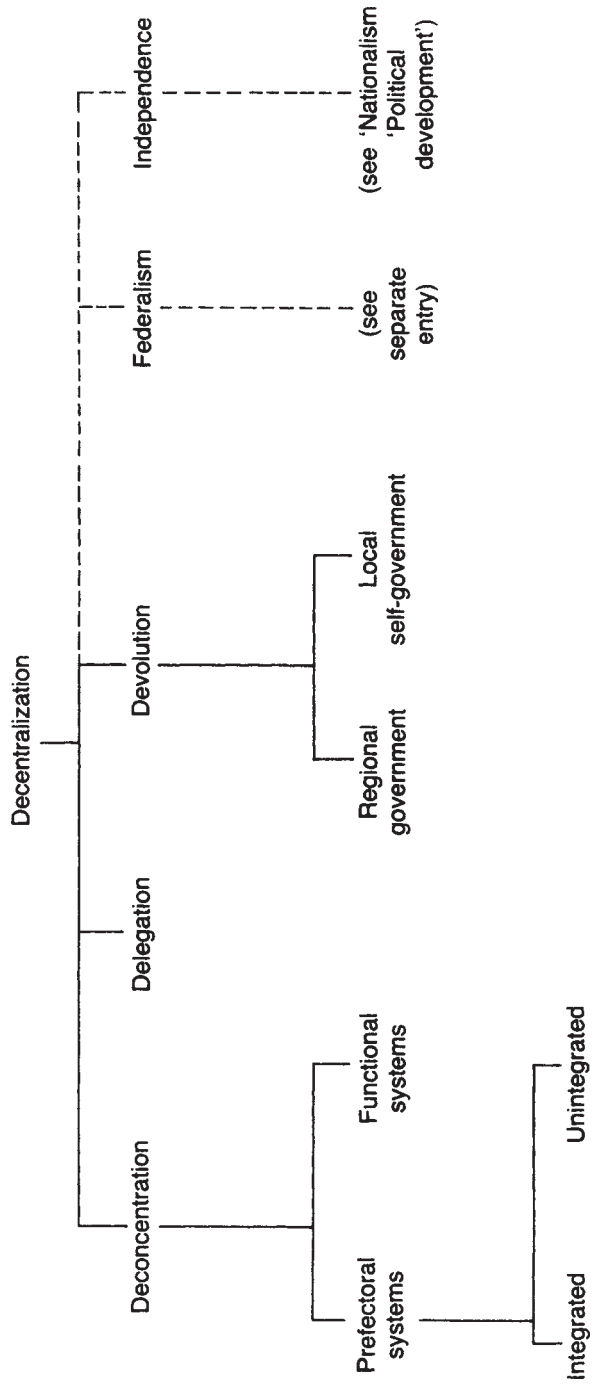


Figure 1 Forms of decentralization

Source: diagrammatic conversion and modification of text in Rondinelli and Cheema 1983a:18-25; Smith 1985: chapter 1; Smith and Stanyer 1976: chapter 3.

Such organizations are referred to variously as parastatal organizations, non-departmental public bodies and quangos (quasi-autonomous non-governmental organizations). They include public corporations and regional development agencies. This category does not cover the transfer of functions to the private sector or voluntary bodies. Such transfers are normally referred to as privatization or debureaucratization. Privatization is not a form of delegation (nor of decentralization) because the relevant agencies are no longer part of the government's territorial hierarchy. However, privatization can have marked effects on that hierarchy and these effects will be considered below.

Devolution refers to the exercise of political authority by lay, primarily elected, institutions within areas defined by community characteristics (Smith 1985:11). Thus, 'local units are autonomous, independent and clearly perceived as separate levels of government over which central authorities exercise little or no *direct* control' (Rondinelli and Cheema 1983a:22). The *locus classicus* of devolution is said to be British local government. Up to this point, the discussion has focused on the decentralization of bureaucratic authority, on service-defined areas. With devolution, the discussion turns to the decentralization of political authority either to local or regional government. As the term 'regional government' is used to refer to the reform of local government, it is not possible to draw a hard and fast distinction between these two levels of government (Rhodes 1974). The distinction is necessary because there have been significant developments in regional government since the early 1980s.

Federalism is defined separately in this encyclopedia (see chapter 22) so the comment here will be brief. Federal states are normally seen as more decentralized than unitary states with devolution to local governments. However, two notes of caution are in order. First, the formal division of powers in a federal constitution can differ greatly from the practice of federalism. The federal government can exercise considerable influence and control over the individual states. Second, the degree of devolution within a unitary state can be considerable, as in the case of Northern Ireland between 1920 and 1973. In other words, it is unwise to assume, as Figure 1 implies, that there is a continuum from deconcentration to federalism. It is much more important to question whether or not 'there is anything about a federal constitution which is important for the way in which intergovernmental relations are conducted' (Smith 1985:15).

In this essay, the term IGR covers all forms of decentralization. The identification of variations in IGR between federal and unitary systems is not seen as a matter of stipulative definition but as a matter of investigation and the theoretical standpoint of the investigator will have a marked effect on the findings.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES

There is a profusion of theoretical approaches in the study of IGR including the public/development administration, 'new right', centre-periphery, 'radical' and intergovernmental approaches (Rhodes 1988:15–45; see also Dunleavy 1984:56–65; and Bulpitt 1983: chapter 1).

The *public/development administration* approach focuses on the institutions, procedures and decision-making processes of government. It is concerned with description rather than theory, with practical problems rather than analysis and explanation. Its main preoccupations are the adverse consequences of centralization and the promotion of decentralization, especially local self-government (see Bulpitt 1983:19–34) in both developed (Jones and Stewart 1983) and developing countries (Maddick 1963; Wallis 1989). The public administration approach is the source of the classic distinction in the study of IGR between the agency and the partnership models. In the agent model, local authorities implement national policies under the supervision of central departments. In the partnership model, local authorities and central departments are co-equal and local authorities have considerable discretion in designing and implementing their own policies. It is argued that in recent experience local government is ceasing to be a partner and is becoming an agent because of its dependence on central grants and increased central controls (for a more detailed summary see Rhodes 1981: chapter 2).

The *'new right'* approach has an economic, political and bureaucratic component. The economic component stresses reductions in the level of public expenditure and the centrality of markets and competition in a healthy economy. The politics component has at its heart the link between markets and freedom. The call is for a minimalist state with its functions limited to the protection of private property and external defence. The bureaucratic component criticizes the over-supply of services by bureaucrats acting from self-interest and calls for the substitution of private for public provision or, failing that, the use of private sector management methods to improve efficiency. In the context of decentralization and IGR, this approach stresses the reduced scope for local government, the transfer of services to the private sector and making services both more responsive to consumers and more efficient. The most visible policy of this approach in both developed and developing countries has been privatization.

The *centre-periphery relations* approach is concerned with the relationship between central political institutions and peripheral or territorial political interests and organizations. For example, Hechter (1975:17–22, 39–45) argues that in Britain an economically advanced centre colonized—i.e. dominated and exploited—less advanced areas, for example Scotland (see also Bulpitt 1983; Tilly 1975). In the guise of the concept of 'political penetration', this thesis has been

applied to centre-periphery relations in developing countries. For example, Coleman defines political penetration as 'an heuristic concept' concerned with the ways in which 'the political-administrative-judicial centre of a new state (1) establishes an effective and authoritative central presence throughout its geographical and sectoral peripheries, and (2) acquires a capacity for the extraction and mobilization of resources to implement its policies and pursue its goals...' (Coleman 1977:3). (See also LaPalombara 1971; Cliffe *et al.* 1977; Staniland 1970.)

The *radical* approach has neo-Marxist and neo-Weberian variants (see for example Dunleavy and O'Leary 1987: chapter 5), but at a minimum this approach rejects explanations couched in terms of the behaviour of individual actors, explores the relationship between IGR and social classes, explores 'crises' to identify the social roots of administrative problems, and employs functional explanation (see Dunleavy 1982). For example, Saunders summarizes his 'dual-state thesis' as follows:

local government in Britain is typically concerned with the provision of social consumption through competitive modes of political mediation and organized around the principle of citizenship rights and social need. Central and regional levels of government, on the other hand, are typically the agencies through which social investment and fiscal policies are developed within a relatively exclusive corporate sector of politics organized around the principle of private property rights and the need to maintain private sector profitability.

(Saunders 1982:61)

In a similar vein, Smith has argued that, in developing countries, centralization is not a function of the greater technical and administrative competence of the centre but of 'the configuration of political forces emerging in a new state as new relations of production develop with the support of state intervention' (Smith 1985:194).

The *intergovernmental* approach is that variant of neo-pluralist theory which seeks to explain the changing patterns of interaction and behaviour in IGR. In discussions of IGR, neo-pluralism explores the impact of professional influence, the logic of technical rationality, the privileged position of a select number of interest groups, and the complex interdependencies within decentralized governmental structures. These themes have been developed for a number of advanced industrial liberal democracies. Thus, Hanf argues that the characteristic problem of such countries is that:

the problem solving capacity of governments is disaggregated into a collection of sub-systems with limited tasks, competences and resources.... At the same time governments are more and more confronted with tasks where both the problems and their solution tend to cut across the boundaries of separate authorities and functional jurisdiction....

A major task confronting political systems in any advanced industrial country is therefore that of securing co-ordinated policy actions through networks of separate but interdependent organizations.

(Hanf 1978:1-2)

The limits to rational policy making, the factorizing and professionalization of policy systems, the interdependence of governmental organizations and the emergence of policy from network interaction are said to be recurrent features of advanced industrial society. Oligopoly has replaced the free market competition between groups said to characterize pluralism. (For a more detailed summary and citations see Dunleavy and O'Leary 1987: chapter 6; and for an extended illustration of the approach see Kaufman *et al.* 1986.)

This brief account of the several approaches currently employed in the study of IGR does not provide an adequate summary of each theory, nor does it provide a critique (see Rhodes 1988:16-45 and citations). However, it does draw attention to a key feature of the field: it is multi-theoretic. Each theory differs in its unit of analysis, level of analysis and criteria of evaluation. As Allison has observed, these approaches are 'much more than *simple* angles of vision or approaches. Each conceptual framework consists of a cluster of assumptions and categories that influence what the analyst finds puzzling, how it formulates his question, where he looks for evidence, and what he produces as an answer' (Allison 1971:245). Although he was analysing the Cuban missile crisis, Allison's general argument is equally applicable to the study of IGR. In an ideal world, any account of IGR 'should draw on *several* or all of the theories relevant to the empirical questions examined, using them as sources of competing hypotheses and interpretations' (Dunleavy 1980:131). The following description of trends in IGR in developed and developing countries is rooted in the intergovernmental approach.

DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Page and Goldsmith (1987a:3-11) argue that the position of local government in the modern state can be evaluated along three dimensions: functions, discretion and access. In other words, local government systems vary in the range of services allocated to them (functions), in their ability to take decisions about the type, level and financing of services (discretion), and in the nature of their contacts with central actors (access).

After comparing central-local relations in seven unitary states, Page and Goldsmith (1987b:156-62) conclude that there is a distinction between North European and South European states. In North European states, a category which comprises Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Britain, local authorities have more functions and there is a clearer division of labour between centre and locality. Local government in France, Italy and Spain, by contrast, spends a much

smaller proportion of total public expenditure. No clear distinctions are possible for discretion in service delivery. In practice, discretion varies from service to service, not between countries. There are differences in the forms of control. In North European states the preferred method is statutory regulation: local government does as it pleases within the law. In South European states, the preferred method is administrative regulation or detailed state approval of local actions. Patterns of access are also distinctive in North European states. Local authorities in these countries have large national interest groups to conduct central-local negotiations whereas in South European states the pattern is one of local elites with direct access to central elites, as well as indirect interest group representation. As a consequence local government in South European states is better able to influence central policy making.

Why should this consistent difference between North and South European states exist? Page and Goldsmith (1987b:163–8) identify a variety of possible explanations. For example, they suggest that the experience of a Napoleonic state could explain the preference for administrative regulation in the South European states' system of central-local relations. In North European states social-democratic regimes committed to the development of welfare state services used local government to deliver those services. The fate of clientelism in central-local relations was sealed: it was swamped by the demand for public services and the growth in scale, and professionalism, of local government. Of the possible explanations, Page and Goldsmith lay particular emphasis on 'the conditions under which local politics maintains or loses its importance to national politics' (ibid.: 167). Thus, in South European states, local government has 'a firm pillar of effective support at the national level for the expression of the needs of localities' and it has not been supplanted by professional-bureaucratic service delivery networks. However, this focus on differences should not be allowed to obscure recent developments. The impact of the squeeze in resources (see below, pp. 324–5) has led the centre in North European states to exercise more detailed control whereas in response to the same fiscal pressure the centre in South European states has decentralized functions to the regions. This convergence is not explained by any of the foregoing factors but by 'the centre's need to manage and control its local territories' (ibid.: 168).

The bulk of the literature on comparative local government provides case studies of particular local government systems, too many of which pay little or no attention to IGR. (The exceptions include Ashford 1982; Rhodes and Wright 1987b; and Tarrow 1977; and for a review of the literature see Rhodes 1980.) The advantage of Page and Goldsmith's (1987a, 1987b) account is that it not only is *comparative* but also provides descriptions of IGR in individual countries. It avoids long and tedious descriptions of structures, functions and finance. It also demolishes some of the more prominent shibboleths in the study of IGR: for

example, the claim that financial dependence on the centre is a key factor determining the degree of local discretion. Above all, it avoids cross-national comparisons of the degree of centralization/autonomy of local government. Such terminology is unhelpful: for example, British local government has more functions but French local government has more access to and influence on the centre—so which system is more centralized? However, rather than comparing systems of IGR, it is possible to compare problems and/or trends within systems of IGR. Four such trends have characterized the last two decades: reorganization, the resource squeeze, political decentralization and differentiation.

The reorganization of local government has been a mini-industry in Western Europe (see Dente and Kjellberg 1988; Kalk 1971; Gunlicks 1981; Leemans 1970; Rowat 1980). Dente (1988:178) identifies four different types of reorganization: structural reform or changes affecting the number of local units; organizational reforms; financial reforms; and functional and procedural reforms. Structural reform has taken three forms: the amalgamation of municipalities (as, for example, in Britain and Sweden); the creation of regional tiers of government (as in France, Italy, Belgium and Spain); and the introduction of participatory local service delivery agencies (as in Norway and Spain). Organizational reform refers to changes in the internal structure of local government, usually designed to increase efficiency and rationality of decision making (for example, corporate planning in Britain, personnel reform in Italy). Financial reforms in response to resource squeeze are discussed below. Functional and procedural reforms is a miscellaneous category covering, for example, the reduction in prefectorial control in France and Italy and the introduction of new, function specific, planning systems in the UK.

There was almost a 'conventional wisdom' on the need for structural reform: 'functionalism' or effective service delivery. In other words, local government units were deemed to be too small in area with too few financial resources and experts to maximize economies of scale. The consequence of reform has been a reduction in the number of local units, an increase in their size, a reallocation of functions away from the locality and a decrease in the opportunities for citizen participation (Rhodes 1980:574–6). However, and as important, the reformers did not have it all their own way. As Dente concludes, 'the weight of local tradition, and notably the importance of the local political systems, with their clientelistic practices and their personal links between the politicians and the electorate' enabled reform to be either resisted or turned to local advantage (Dente 1988:185).

'Resource squeeze' refers to the gap between local taxes and grants and local expenditure—it is a measure of the elasticity of local taxes and grants (Newton 1980:12–13). In other words, in an era of inflation, has the growth of local income kept pace with the growth in local expenditure? Newton (*ibid.*: 18) demonstrates that the picture is varied. Denmark and Sweden had few problems, whereas the

situation of local authorities in Britain was worsening, and the finances of Italian local authorities had reached crisis proportions. Sharpe (1981:24) concludes that the only common local financial problem is the disparity between the responsibilities and powers of local authorities: a disparity exacerbated by inflation because local authority taxes were not progressive. However defined, the response of the centre to resource squeeze involved increases in the provision of resources by the centre, the consolidation of grant systems, and increases in central control of local expenditure. Moreover, as central governments were also under financial pressure, they offloaded functions to local and regional units, further exacerbating the disparity between functional responsibilities and financial powers (as, for example, in the Netherlands). The response of local authorities included cuts in local services, the transfer of services to the private sector, and raising revenue through charges and borrowing (see Newton 1980: chapter 9).

Structural and financial reforms seem to illustrate the steady centralization of advanced industrial society. However, there are contradictory trends. Sharpe (1979a:19) argues that the 1970s saw the political decentralization of Western democracies and he itemizes the spread of neighbourhood councils and the resurgence of ethnic nationalism. In a similar vein, Tarrow argues:

as the migration of functional conflicts to the summit of the political system erodes the effectiveness of national parliaments, citizens turn more and more not to 'functional' representation but to the territorial institutions around them, reinforcing the territorial dimension in representation just as it is being displaced in policy making and administration.

(Tarrow 1978a:3)

Moreover, centralization and differentiation went hand in hand. Rhodes and Wright (1987:7-12) argue for a focus on policy networks rather than local authorities. Central government is non-executant: that is, it is dependent on other agencies for the delivery of services. These agencies include, but are not restricted to, local authorities: the centre works with and through a plethora of institutional tools, referred to by Beer (1978) as 'professional-bureaucratic complexes'. The resulting network of organizations will be function-specific or limited to the particular policy sector or sub-sector. In other words, individual policy sectors are disaggregated (or fragmented vertically between the centre and other agencies) and differentiated (or fragmented horizontally between central agencies). There is no unitary central actor in advanced industrial society but the co-existence of differentiation and centralization:

Divergent interests within a centre, coupled with the professionalisation of functional policy systems, create multiple centres and erode horizontal coordination.... [W]e live in an era of 'centreless' societies. Each policy system may be centralised, however, at least in the sense of its centre repeatedly intervening.

(Rhodes and Wright 1987a:8)

(See also Luhmann 1982:xv, 353–5; Hanf and Scharpf 1978; and Kaufman *et al.* 1986.) IGR in developed countries displays contradictory tendencies between, on the one hand, structural and financial centralization and, on the other hand, political decentralization and differentiation. No easy conclusion about the onset of an era of centralization is defensible. Instead, there is an era of organizational complexity in which IGR can no longer focus on central-local government relations but must concern itself with the full range of organizations: with the professional-bureaucratic complexes or policy networks.

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The role and fate of local government, and the pattern of IGR, in developing countries cannot be isolated from the larger topic of political and economic development. Indeed, with independence from colonial rule, local government inherited a heavy burden of expectations. The ‘classic model’ is summarized as follows by Mawhood:

A local body should exist which was constitutionally separate from government, and was responsible for a significant range of local services.

It should have its own treasury, a separate budget and accounts, and its own taxes to produce a substantial part of its revenue.

It should have its own qualified staff, with hire-and-fire powers over them....

Decision making on policy and internal procedure was to be in the hands of a majority-elected council.

Finally, the central government administrators were to be external advisors and inspectors, having no role within the local authority.

(Mawhood 1987:12)

This model, and decentralization in general, was fashionable in developing countries in the 1960s (see for example Maddick 1963, 1971). There were a number of reasons for this popularity. (The following list is paraphrased from Rondinelli and Cheema 1983a:14–16; and Smith 1985:186–8.) First, it was seen as a way of surmounting the limitations of national planning by getting closer to problems, cutting through red-tape and meeting local needs. Second, it improved central ‘penetration’ of rural areas, thereby spreading knowledge of, and mobilizing support for, the plan and bypassing obstructive local elites. Third, it encouraged the involvement of various religious, ethnic and tribal groups, thereby promoting national unity. Fourth, it increased the speed and flexibility of decision making, encouraging experimentation and reducing central control and direction. Fifth, it increased the efficiency of the centre by freeing top management from routine tasks and reducing the diseconomies of scale caused by congestion at the centre. Sixth, it increased the administrative capacity of the localities and regions and improved the co-ordination of service delivery. Finally, it institutionalized

participation, provided opportunities for a range of interests to acquire a 'stake' in maintaining the system, trained citizens for democracy and politicians for government and thereby promoted political maturity and democratic stability.

Theory and practice diverged markedly and rapidly. Thus, Dele Olowu concludes:

African local governments operate effectively as extensions of state bureaucracy, and the rule in most countries is for the central government to appoint the councils or committees of the local government together with their chief executives. It is therefore doubtful whether the term 'local government' is an appropriate term for describing what in effect are local administration systems.

(Olowu 1987:5-6)

Cheema and Rondinelli (1983:297) talk of central 'schizophrenia' about the transfer of power and responsibilities to local agencies. They also show that in Asia, as in Africa, local governments act as 'bureaucratic instruments of the center' (*ibid.*: 298). Smith (1985:188) concludes that experience 'has almost everywhere fallen far short of expectations' and Mawhood (1983a:7) talks of the 'chaotic inefficiency of decentralized government' (see also Wallis 1989:125; Subramaniam 1980:590). In brief, elected bodies were replaced by central nominees, important functions were not devolved; there was a high level of central control; and local governments had inadequate powers and finance. Even field administration has generated waste and duplication and suffered from the inadequate delegation of authority (Smith 1985:188-91). There are two rays of light at the end of this gloomy tunnel. First, Cheema and Rondinelli (1983:298) argue that there have been incremental improvements in access for people living in neglected rural areas; in the capacity of local political leaders and bureaucrats to lobby the centre for resources; and in the administrative and technical capacity of local and regional agencies. (On attempts to improve access see Schaffer 1985.) They also note the emergence of a local-regional level of development planning. Second, in the 1980s, there was a revival of interest in the classic model (Mawhood 1987:19). The key question becomes, therefore, what conditions foster local government and build a sustainable relationship between central and local government?

There are markedly different interpretations of the constraints on decentralization and IGR. The interventions of the centre can be seen as a response to poor local standards and the need to control scarce resources. The centre is said to be technically and administratively more competent, monopolizing an urban, educated, economically powerful elite and leaving only a restricted pool of talent in local government where morale is often low and discipline is poor (Wallis 1989:132). More important, local government faced stiff competition from traditional ruling authorities (for example, village chiefs, sultans), from established castes and classes of landowners defending their sectional interests, and from a modern governing elite striving to control national

resources (Mawhood 1987:17). Historical factors also played an important role. Subramaniam makes the point trenchantly: 'both in Africa and Asia, British rule first created its own pattern of administrative centralization and consequently unleashed a rival tendency towards centralization on the part of educated Africans and Asians' (Subramaniam 1980:583). The major difference in Francophone Africa is that 'centralist tendencies were not conceived as retaliatory safeguards *against* a centralizing colonial administration but rather as necessary replications of French centralism itself (ibid.: 587). As Rondinelli and Cheema point out, effective local government has also been frustrated by a lack of 'both the resources and the authorities to raise sufficient revenues to carry out the tasks transferred from the centre (Rondinelli and Cheema 1983a:30). All of these constraints were further exacerbated by technological and economic factors. Thus the new technology of communication and information collection, central planning and the 'compulsive control of resources' to promote economic development and 'the enveloping fear' of international capital and markets all facilitated centralization (Subramaniam 1980:589). However, the key factors working in favour of recentralization were political. As Wallis (1989:126) emphasizes, the low legitimacy of regimes, for whatever reason, led them to counter their political insecurities by concentrating power at the centre. Similarly Smith (1985:193-7) argues that centralization is a product of the coalitions between state bureaucrats (with their control of scarce resources) and class interests (with their control of land, property or means of production).

There is clearly a battery of constraints on the development of local government and the attendant system of IGR. Rondinelli and Cheema (1983a:27-30) identify four sets of factors shaping the implementation of decentralization policies: environmental conditions, interorganizational relationships, resources, and the characteristics of implementing agencies. To translate, briefly, the effective implementation of decentralization policies requires:

- 1 an understanding of a nation's political structure, its dominant ideology, policy-making processes and local power structures;
- 2 the interaction and co-ordination of a large number of organizations at many levels of government which depends, in turn, on *inter alia*, clear objectives, standardized budgeting, accurate communication and effective linkages;
- 3 sufficient financial, administrative and technical support along with control over such resources and national political support; and
- 4 agencies with the appropriate technical, managerial and political skills and, *inter alia*, the capacity to co-ordinate and control sub-unit decisions.

Mawhood's (1987:20-21) list of 'tentative propositions' about the conditions supporting the classic model of decentralization is briefer but no less intimidating. Thus local government flourishes where party competition is

restrained; the national government is stable; there is good public security; citizens have been socialized to the modern system of government; resources are scarce and the centre cannot meet people's expectations and, in consequence, has to seek local support and resources; and traditional authority has an important place in the system. In short, decentralization requires political strength and economic weakness, an inherently unstable combination.

IGR in developing countries approximates the command or agency model of relationship: the centre proposes and the locality disposes. Local government has been undermined and replaced by local administration. However, even systems of field administration have complex sets of organizational relationships and there is nothing automatic about the transmission of central plans into action on the ground: for example, local bureaucrats often have a high degree of discretion and the status hierarchy of a bureaucracy impairs accurate reporting.

If the history of IGR has been bleak, the future is hardly rosy. The conditions supporting effective decentralization are exacting and, as Wallis observes, 'autonomy looks very much an unattainable idea in view of the political and economic considerations prevailing in most countries' (Wallis 1989:134). None the less, he continues, 'Scope for a limited form of the "bottom-up" approach probably exists'. Just as central governments in developed countries off-loaded functions to cope with resource squeeze, so grass-roots involvement has been part of the response in developing countries to probably even more intractable financial and economic problems. Thus, Mawhood (1987:21) concludes that local government as the agent of social and economic change has taken the back seat to a more traditional role of providing orderly, rational administration and value for money in services. The romantic view of local self-government has taken a dreadful hammering in developing countries.

TRENDS

The year 2000 will arrive in only a few years. The resurgence of local autonomy, like miracles, will take a little longer. IGR seems to be characterized, for the near future at least, by centralization, control and declining accountability. Such a bleak scenario, however, requires some qualification.

Commentators agree that there is a clear trend towards greater centralization in both developed and developing countries. However, at the same time, central government becomes more fragmented: centralization and differentiation coexist. It is claimed that the 1980s witnessed an ideological challenge to the role of government. Its boundaries were rolled back. The rejection of central planning and the return of markets can be interpreted as an exercise in decentralization. Privatization is an oft-cited and widespread example of this process (Vickers and Wright 1988; Cook and Kirkpatrick 1988). However, privatization is an