

Research Protocol: “Relations between Politicians and Civil Servants in Transition Societies: impact of specific historical-cultural and contextual factors”

1. Introduction (1 page)

The paper should contain a concise introduction, putting in context the current state of development of politico-administrative relations. The introduction should contain some basic information about the state concerned and a brief description of its evolution and political situation since the dissolution of the soviet bloc (type of government, election results, state of economic development, in particular in terms of potential repercussions on civil service development).

2. Institutional Structure of Central Government and Administration (2 pages)

The objective of this section is to provide an overview of the framework in which politico-administrative relations operate. The section should provide a brief description of the institutional structure of governance within the state, with particular attention to the institutional arenas which both engage and spotlight relations between Ministers and Civil Servants in the policy making process. The following roles and relationships should be considered – role of the President vs. Government, Presidential administration vs. Government administration, cabinet formation and the formal and actual interactions between Government and Parliament. Detailed data on elections and nominations (parliaments, presidents, cabinets, coalitions etc.) should be contained in appendices.

3. History, Traditional Position of Civil Servant vis à vis Politics (3-4 pages)

In this section authors should trace the development of politico-administrative relations in the country in a historical context and illustrate the main characteristics of these relations in the defined periods of civil service development (in particular the dismantling of the Soviet institutional framework and mechanisms and direction of transition). The impact of the following factors should be considered in the analysis – role of authoritarian vs. democratic traditions; national statehood or its absence in the 19th and 20th centuries (addressing the impact of colonial administration); composition of society (cleavages, large ethnic or regional groupings); politico (communist party) and administrative relations in the later stages of the communist era; the role of centralizing-self governance trends.

A possible approach is to employ a framework whereby the historical development of politico-administrative relations is divided into phases according to significant events/landmarks in civil service development (e.g. state reorganisation, war or social unrest, new laws, public service reform in earlier stages of transition).

4. Formal Relations, Constitutional and Legal Norms, Guiding Relations between Elected Politicians and Appointed Officials (2-3 pages)

This section should provide an insight into how the position of the Civil Service vis à vis politicians is defined in constitutional and administrative law and other forms of government regulation. The analysis should commence with the presentation of basic provisions stipulated in the Constitution followed by a description of the relevant elements of the legal framework which regulate the relations between politicians and civil servants.

The principal focus of this section is an analysis of the formal politico-administrative structure of presidential power and its support structures, government and its support structures, ministries, career officials and appointed officials at ministries and agencies.

5. Political Culture and Attitudes (2-3 pages)

This section should analyse the accepted political culture and attitudes towards the role civil servants are expected to play in relation to their political masters. The discussion should gauge the extent to which the legal norms are in correspondence with the prevailing attitudes amongst citizens and politicians with regard to the position civil servants are expected to take in relation to politicians.

A starting point for this analysis is an overview of basic societal attitudes towards state, government, institutions, politics (especially political parties and political competition). The analysis should be presented along dimensions *state centred-society centred, egalitarian-hierarchical and individualist (liberal) vs. collectivist* values in social and political life. If religion plays an important role in the formation and stabilisation of those values, describe trends and possible controversies with secular hierarchies and values. Further, the presence of traditions of self-governance and regional autonomy should be analysed.

Secondly, a discussion of attitudes towards the performance of politicians and attitudes towards civil servants in the state. It is requested that the analysis is not wholly dependent on survey data concentrating on levels of trust in civil service, political parties and other government institutions. Other possible indicators include the level of prestige of the service, openness and transparency, representativeness (e.g. presence of elites), ethical/corrupt, balance between prestige and distribution of power between actors at various levels of government...

Thirdly, the attitudes and values of politicians and civil servants themselves and the incentives, perceptions of and motives of service.

6. Classification according to Theoretical Framework (3-4 pages)

In order to summarise the analysis of the respective civil service system different methods and models of Civil Service configuration should be applied (see Rabrenovic, 2001 and Meyer-Sahling 2001 in Verheijen (ed.), 2001). The aim is to provide different lenses through which the features and problems in politico-administrative relations in the case studies will be analysed. The authors should use the “village system” analysis primarily developed by B. Guy Peters (see Peters , 1988). The Civil Service can belong, as a rule, to one of 5 possible models, each in its

own way, extreme models of the relationship between civil servants and their political masters. Peters (1987: 258) notes that almost any national or subnational system will at times display at least one aspect of all the models but that by developing such models and exploring relationships within the executive branch, our understanding of the politics of administration will be enhanced

In the first model the *clear separation between politicians and administration exists*, in which the civil servants are ready to unquestionably follow the orders of the political appointees. This mode of interaction aligns clearly to the Weberian formal-legal model and the traditional Wilsonian approach to public administration whereby 'the field of administration is a field of business. It is removed from the hurry and strife of politics'. Namely those politicians make policies and civil servants implement them. Peters (1987) notes that while this model is advocated by many contemporary political executives it also serves as useful fiction, allowing civil servants a great deal of functional responsibility while retaining political responsibility in the hands of the elected politicians.

The second model ("village life") assumes that civil servants and politicians are both part of *unified state elite* and they should not be in conflict over power within the government structure itself. Senior civil servants and political executives are conceptualized as having relatively similar values and goals that contributes to the maintenance and functioning of government. In this instance this horizontally connected elite coalesce against external interference in their affairs and common interest in the management of the state.

The third model ("functional village life") *assumes a degree of some integration of civil service and political careers*. Peters (1987) refers to model three as a subset of the 'village life' model with the difference that while 'village life' assumes an integration of political and administrative elites in the higher echelons of government, the 'functional' model places this integration along functional lines. To illustrate, a politician and civil servant from one government department have more in common than a minister with his political cabinet colleagues heading different governmental portfolios. This model is oriented toward vertical integration and more extensive contacts with society whereby political and administrative elites within a specific policy sector will be allied against political and bureaucratic elites from other policy sectors. The village life and functional models need not be mutually exclusive and in reality are closely intertwined.

The fourth model ("adverse model") *assumes a significant separation between the two groups (politicians and bureaucrats)* who are assumed to be competitors for power and control over policy. Such conflicts may arise in several ways – via the challenge of the bureaucracy to an incoming political executive, conflicts over the shape and content of policy, resources and the impact of politicization.

The fifth model ("administrative state model") of the interactions between politicians and civil servants *indicates the clear separation between policy makers and administration, but in which civil servants are the dominant force*. This model conceives that the dominant role of the bureaucracy in decision making has been exacerbated by the growth and complexity of government and the decline of the legislature in contemporary times. This model differentiates from the 'adverse model'

in that the latter assumes that the political executive is the principal motivator in the decision-making process (as imputed in their role).

Characteristics of the Five Models

	TONE	WINNERS	CONFLICT RESOLUTION	STYLE	IMPACTS
Formal-Legal	Integrative	Politicians	Command	Authority	Variability
Village Life	Integrative	Both	Bargaining	Mutuality	Management
Functional Village Life	Integrative	Both	Bargaining	Expertise	Interest dominance
Adversarial	Adversarial	Variable	Power	Conflict	Variability
Administrative State	Integrative	Civil Service	Abdication	Expertise	Stability

Reference: (Peters, 1987)

These models are illustrated fully in Peters (1987) and Verheijen (ed.) (2001).

7. Conclusions (1-2 pages)

The discussion should conclude with an outlook with respect to the current state of development of politico-administrative relations in the country study, direction in which it is moving in, impact of reform and political climate.

References

Peters, B.G. (2001) *The Politics of Bureaucracy*, London: Routledge (fifth edition)
 Peters, B.G., (1988) *Comparing Public Bureaucracies: Problems of Theory and Methods*, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press
 Peters, B.G. (1987) 'Politicians and Bureaucrats in the Politics of Policy Making' in J.E. Lane (ed.) (1987) *Bureaucracy and Public Choice*, London: Sage Publications, pp.256-82
 Verheijen, T. (ed.) (2001) *Who Rules?* Bratislava: NISPAcee