Translating Theory into Practice: Exploring UN Arabian Version of the Politics-Administration Dichotomy

Hani A. Alsarraf[1]

Abstract

The politics-administration dichotomy is a generic concept that affects different countries. This article joins the public administration literature by presenting an example of the impact of this dichotomy on the government of Kuwait. This article argues that there is an imbalanced politics-administration relationship in Kuwait that favors the former. This relationship has caused government instability and led to corruption. This article goes a step further to find that this situation has been affected by foreign influences that stress 'politics' rather than 'administration.' Implications are provided for public administrators in different countries, including those that are witnessing transitions toward democracy.

Keywords: politics-administration dichotomy; theory and practice; public administration; corruption in government; and Kuwait.

1. Introduction

The tension between democracy and bureaucracy, reflected in the traditional politics-administration dichotomy, is a critical notion that has long affected the theory and practice of public administration (PA). The politics-administration tension has considerable impacts on governments and continues to influence the public administration discourse around the world (Kim &Myeong, 2014; Lee, 2001). In fact, the politics- administration relationship continues to represent a model that 'provides a good baseline for the analysis of the public sphere of a country' (Moon & Gage, 2003, p. 82).

The American PA literature could be used to introduce the politics-administration tension because the concept is well established in the American PA literature. Indeed, questions concerning the relationship between politics and administration have been fundamental in American PA since its establishment (Demir, 2009; Demir&Nyhan, 2008; Rosser, 2012; Svara, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2008; Woller, 1998). The politics-administration dichotomy was initially recognized by Woodrow Wilson's 1887 classic article, *The Study of Administration*. Wilson's question, which is widely seen to be one of the central questions of the field, concerns the tension between efficiency and democracy. In his article, Wilson (1887) claimed that 'the field of administration is a field of business,' (p.209) and by extension, PA should be rooted in a science of management that is free of political influences. Government should be run as a business because the abuse of power in government leads to corruption. In his 1900 work *Politics and Administration,* Goodnow(1967) argued that government functions and activities can be and should be divided between politics and administration. Fry and Nigro (1998) argued that the search for a science of PA was tied to the politics-administration dichotomy. The early contributions to management theory that were mainly created in business administration had already been accepted in PA because of Wilson and Good now. This dichotomy was stressed by the early PA writers who advocated for the science of administration as a means to reform government. The school of scientific management, led by Frederick Winslow Taylor, was a main influence on the use of scientific reasoning in PA.

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[1]Kuwait University, P.O.Box 5486, Safat, The State of Kuwait

The influence of scientific management on PA appeared when Leonard White published the first textbook in PA in 1926.This movement established the foundation of Orthodoxy in PA, which focused on scientific means, efficiency, technical expertise, and professionalism to reach efficient administration. Lynn (1996) emphasized that 'scientific administration became the dominant idea in public administration from roughly 1910 to 1940' (p.29). Stillman (2000) argued that the 1940's witnessed the end of the Orthodoxy and the beginning of a new paradigm in the field. New voices called for a reconsideration of the politics-administration dichotomy and pushed the field towards political perspectives. Appleby, Waldo, and Dahl, among others, are often considered to be the scholars who demolished the dichotomy (Lynn, 2001; Overeem, 2008; Rosenbloom, 2008; Shafritz, Hyde, & Parkes, 2004).Appleby(1949) emphasized that public administrators should be directed by democratic values and public will because 'public administration is policymaking' (p. 170). Also, Waldo (1952) argued that the scientific perspectives of the Orthodoxy disregarded the 'public' part of PA, which is based on normative values that are founded in democratic political theory.Dahl (1947) criticized the attempt to make PA rational by creating laws and scientific principles. In general, these perspectives viewed democracy, citizenship, and responsiveness as the core characteristics that cannot be separated from reforming government.

In fact, this tension between administration and politics reflects a continuous debate in contemporary PA (e.g., Box, 1999; Callahan, 1999, Cheong et al. 2009; Demir, 2009, 2011; Demir & Nyhan, 2008; Levy, 2009; Lynn, 2001; Meier & O 'Toole, 2006; Rosenbloom,2008; Rosser, 2012; Rutgers, 2001; Sager & Rosser, 2009; Stivers, 2003; Svara, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2008; Yang & Holzer, 2005;Verschuere& Bach, 2012). Scholars from different countries have continually discussed different aspects of the politics-administration relationship such as in Canada (Wilson, 1997), Hong Kong and China (Moon & Gage 2003), Ireland (Connaughton, 2015), Greece (Gouglas, 2015),Russia (Pshizova, 2015), Netherlands, the European Union, and the United States (U.S.)(Wal, 2014)among other countries.

This discourse continues to be between a perspective believes that administration should be run neutrally by eliminating political influence anda perspective argues that decisions in PA are inextricably political in their nature, which makes it impossible to detach an administrative decision from its political context. Although both perspectives abide together in PA, there is no strict right answer to the question regarding which perspective has greater potential for forming effective or efficient government. In the context of this tension, public administrators should reach reconciliation using their discretionary authority to solve administrative dilemmas. Atpresent, the politics-administration relationship is depicted as 'complementary' rather than 'dichotomous' (Demir, 2009, 2011; Overeem, 2005; Svara, 1999, 2008).

However, the question remains whether public administrators must be accountable to professional values or to democratic values in reaching that, a question which appears to be 'no closer to being resolved than it was in Appleby's day' (Woller, 1998, p.86).This article joins the discussion based on the assumption that the politics-administration tension is, theoretically and practically, a generic concept that exists in PA elsewhere in the world. In particular, the Kuwaiti government has faced many difficulties in its efforts to reform PA. Much of the difficulty is attributable to this tension, especially during the political transition that occurred after the liberation of Kuwait from the Iraqi occupation in 1991. In general, there is a very little of substance written on the macro-level of PA in the Gulf States. There is not much known about the politics-administration dichotomy in the government of Kuwait. Indeed, Kuwait could be viewed as a case study of a developing country making progress toward a customized democracy, where local political culture is influenced by Western political forms (Meyer, Rizzo, & Ali, 2007; Tetreault,1995). In addition, Kuwait's transition to democracy is considered to be a role model in the Gulf region(Davis, 2007; Karam, 1993; Tetreault, 1995), which makes the influences and the implications of the relationship between democracy and bureaucracy so significant for the other countries in the Gulf. Moreover, the lessons that can be learned from Kuwait have become more important since the political transition that began in 2011 known in the popular press as the Arab Spring. The challenges that many regimes have faced to make dramatic changes towards democracy have emphasized the importance of the lessons that these countries could learn from the impacts of the political transition in Kuwait on PA.

2. Purpose

The purpose of this study is to lay the groundwork for further qualitative and quantitative research to explore the politics-administration tension in Kuwaiti PA and the impact of foreign influence on it. In fact, this tension may exist in other governments in a type of equilibrium or complementarily that allows public administrators to reduce corruption in government by reconciling the two aspects (Svara, 1999).

However, the problem in Kuwait is that politics dominates the performance of administrators in a negative manner, as discussed below, which prevents them from making routine decisions or practicing discretionary authority. In light of this situation, this article discusses the stumbling journey that Kuwaiti PA has taken to reconcile the politics-administration tension. The article presumes that the imbalanced relationship between politics and administration in Kuwait, due to the domination of political values, is responsible for the government's failure to address the reform efforts. The main concern of this article is whether administrators in Kuwait have been overburdened by political influences that do not allow them to consider professionalism.

The literature regarding reforming government tends to focus on the domestic factors that lead to efficient PA rather than on foreign influence (Yetiv, 2002). This article challenges the argument that 'public administration [is] highly resistant to international reform trends' (Common, 2008, p.177) in the Gulf countries. It also challenges the argument that the efforts to democratize any society tend to be accompanied by administrative reforms that enhance the business-like management of PA (Baker, 2004).This study attempts to shift the focus from the domestic dynamics that shape reform to the foreign influence. It argues that, in addition to domestic factors, the political influence on PA in Kuwait is considerably affected by foreign influences.

To sum up the logic of this article, the author introduces the case of the politics-administration tension in Kuwait based on the PA literature. The past few decades have witnessed the increasingly weak performance of Kuwaiti PA. The parliament has used its power in a negative manner, which has led to the domination of political values over professional values. Consequently, more conflicts have occurred between legislators and executives, the government has become dramatically less stable, and the levels of corruption have increased. This negative change in the government could be attributed to the foreign influences on Kuwait to promote democracy.

3. Method

In order to explore the rationales of the politics-administration tension, a qualitative study was conducted using in depth semi-structured interviews; and supported by the literature. The interviews were conducted with six politicians, policy makers and government officials. Based on their request, no details could be given about the participants in order to maintain the confidentiality of their identification. Interviews took between 45–60 minutesfor each and notes were taken during the interviews. Additional details were added directly after each interview. Interviews involved a set of open-ended questions prepared to examine participants' thoughts on the politics-administration tension. Interviews were transcribed and manually analyzed for major themes and points of agreement.

It should be noted that this study focuses on the period from 1963, when the first parliament was elected, to the end of 2011, when the parliament was constitutionally dissolved[i].This period covers approximately 50 years of the democratic practices in Kuwait, which is considered a reasonable period to support the argument of this article. The following few years witnessed a series of political conflicts that involved the three branches of government: the Council of Ministers (executive branch), the National Assembly (legislative branch), and the Constitutional Court (judicial branch)[ii]. It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss this issue, but it should be a reasonable justification to stop at this point in time because the argument of this article could be affirmed with or without this period.

4. What is the problem?

Directly after its independence from Great Britain in 1961, Kuwait began to establish a modern government with the aim of providing various services in accordance with the will of its citizens[iii]. During the 1960s and 1970s, Kuwait witnessed a massive growth that comprehensively contributed to the transition of a traditional country into a modern Western-style state that aimed to match 'traditional power structures with a growing margin of Democracy' (Salem, 2007, p.19). Essentially, the Kuwaiti government dominated all major economic activities (Burney &Al-Mussallam, 1999). The economic development and growth showed significant progress during this era, which are indicators of the positive performance of the Kuwaiti PA because of the association between high economic growth and low corruption in government (Mauro, 1995; Mo, 2001; Pellegrini &Gerlagh, 2004). However, the Iraqi invasion in 1990 created a new image of the government's performance, internally and externally, which were claimed to be the cause of the invasion. The government was 'challenged by corruption, which has increased after the Gulf crisis' (Yetiv, 2002, p.269).

As a major source of criticism, corruption has begun to be a hot issue on the political agenda, one which administrators in Kuwait have been forced to address. Since the liberation, the efforts to reform the corrupt government have begun to face major obstacles due to the instability of PA. A new phenomenon of continuous political conflicts between the executive branch and the legislative branch has led to a major decline in the developmental progress of this state (Katzman, 2009). More specifically, after the liberation, the parliament has gained a rapid increase in its power and has become a powerful structure that monitors public organizations[iv](Brown, 2009; Meyer et al., 2007).According to Yetiv (2002), 'the assembly has asserted its rights increasingly since the Gulf crisis. They include investigating government conduct, debating issues publicly, overruling the Amir by simple majority, and approving laws' (p.267).

The stability of any political system has a significant economic value and is considered to be a necessary condition for economic growth (Milio, 2008). The increasing power of the parliament has exerted political pressure on the executive branch, destabilizing the PA in Kuwait with all the attendant negative impacts. Salem (2007) noted the consequence of these political conflicts, which have led the state to 'the endless splintering and divisions that make decisions difficult' (p.19). Brown (2009) described the effect of these political conflicts by stating that '[e]conomic reform, vital legislation, and major projects of all sorts are put on hold as long as one influential actor seeks to block or delay. Kuwaiti politics seems to be all motion and no movement' (p.3).Thus, PA has failed to perform effectively and to make reform decisions.

The constitutional means of interrogation was used, or misused, to support the political interventions of the representatives in PA. The prime minister and the ministers in some cases were pushed by representatives to choose between either accepting political interventions or resigning from office to avert public questioning (Katzman, 2009). Not only were ministers disabled from effective performance by the parliament, but administrators were also placed under pressure by the parliament to consider political deliberation and affiliation rather than professionalism.

4.1. Administrative Indicator of Conflicts

One can affirm the effect of the domination of politics over administration through the spread of favoritism that is seen in the government of Kuwait (Al-Kazemi & Abbas, 2002). Many high-ranking positions are filled based on political affiliation rather than professional standards. Also, street-level bureaucrats make daily decisions based on favoritism. In fact, favoritism can be observed in Kuwait's ranking in the Global Competitiveness Report, which is issued yearly by the World Economic Forum in Geneva, Switzerland. The report assesses the capabilities of countries to provide prosperity to their citizens by using different indicators, including 'favoritism in decisions of government officials.' The first rank in the Global Competitiveness Index denotes strong governance.(Table 1) presents Kuwait's ranking in terms of the spread of favoritism, which asserts the high levels of government favoritism in Kuwait.

Table (1): The Rank of Kuwait in the Favoritism Indicator which is Included in the Global Competitiveness Reports (2008-2016)

Year of Report	2008/ 2009	2009/ 2010	2010/ 2011	2011/ 2012	2012/ 2013	2013/ 2014	2014/ 2015	2015/ 2016	2016/ 2017
Rank of Kuwait	73	61	47	57	99	100	81	86	85
Total Number of Countries included	134	133	139	142	144	148	144	140	138

Source: World Economic Forum, Global Competitiveness Reports 2008/2009 – 2016/2017.

Accordingly, public administrators have encountered similar challenges that resulted from the political intervention. Yetiv (2002) asserted that administrators 'have become more responsive to [the demands of] certain political groupings' (p.268) who have gained an effective role in PA. Brown (2009) pointed that there are 'so many leaders and groups pursuing their demands so forcefully… that everyone in Kuwait has not merely a voice but a veto' (p.3). Administrators have been pushed by some representatives to make decisions for political purposes regardless of their professional standards and official roles (Yetiv, 2002)[v]. Instead of balancing them, the discretionary authority of administrators has been forced to consider the political dimensions of their decisions more than the professional aspects. This increasing parliamentary power has exerted political pressure on the executive branch, destabilizing the Kuwaiti PA.

4.2. Political Indicators of Conflicts

Government instability due to the political conflicts can be observed through certain political indicators. While a complete term of office in Kuwait lasts four years for both the legislative and executive branches, there was a considerable change that brought several parliaments and cabinets to power during the 1990s and 2000s. It has become a trend for both branches not to complete their terms in office. For example, between 2006 and 2013, Kuwait has witnessed six parliaments and twelve cabinets, which has led to a so-called 'political deadlock'(Katzman, 2009, p.1). To understand the government instability due to the political conflicts, two signs can be observed to affirm this phenomenon.

First, one can observe the change among the members of the cabinet as the first indicator of these conflicts. This change can be seen based on two elements: the actual length of time that every cabinet spends in office and the number of ministers who individually resign from the cabinet. In most cases, the actual length of time of each cabinet is less than the regular four-year term. This indicates that most cabinets, especially during the 1990s and 2000s, encountered political challenges that did not allow them to complete their terms in office. Claims regarding the cabinet as a whole can also be made about its members. The number of ministers who resigned is considered here because, with few exceptions, ministers have been pushed to resign in reaction to instances in which some representatives have argued with them regarding corruption. Accordingly, it is inferred that the decline in the time each cabinet spends in office and the increase in the number of resignations mean that more political conflicts have been taking place.

Figure (1): The Executive Branch's Terms of Office and the Number of Resignation (Number)
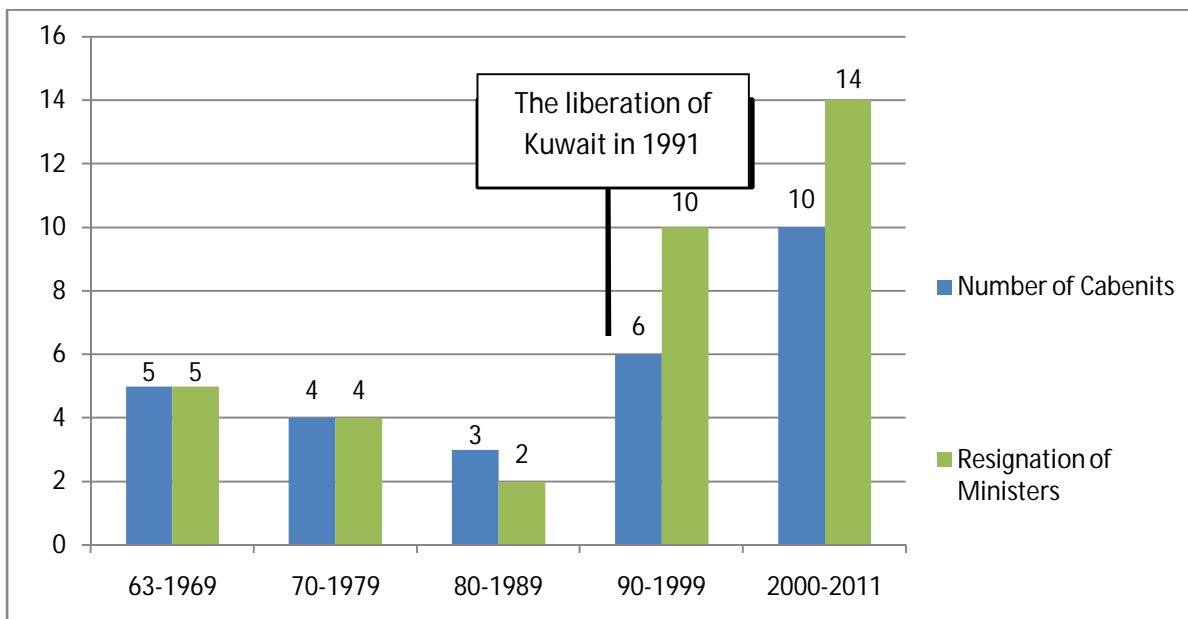
Source: Kuwait Council of Ministers General Secretariat website and calculations made by author.

(Figure 1) illustrates that the number of cabinets in the government has increased in each decade since 1990s. The government had only 3 cabinets during the 1980s; and the number jumped to 6 during the 1990s and 10 cabinets during the 2000s. The average number of months that cabinets spent in office in each decade has obviously decreased from 37 months during the 1980s to 21 month during the 1990s to end up as less than 13 months in the 2000s, as show in (Figure 2). In addition, the number of ministers who were pushed to resign increased from two cases during the 1980s to 10 during the 1990s and 14 ministers in the 2000s.

Figure (2): The Average Number of Months for Cabinet in Office
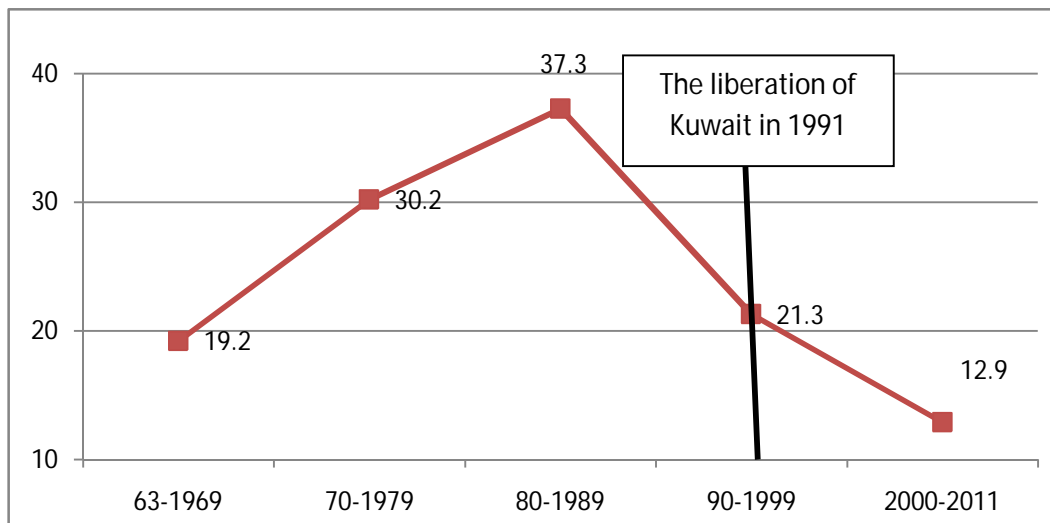
Source: Kuwait Council of Ministers General Secretariat website and calculations made by author.

Second, the other political indicator of the conflicts between the two branches of government can be observed through two elements regarding the parliament: the change in the actual length of time that each parliament spends in office and the number of interrogations that take place in each parliament. In many cases, the actual length of time of each parliament is less than the regular four-year term because the Amir has used his constitutional right to dissolve it. Typically, the right to dissolve the parliament is used after an interrogation of a minister (Tetreault, 2000). The number of interrogations is considered because it indicates how the ministers are challenged due to the corruption in their ministries. To clarify the usage of this indicator, an explanation should be provided regarding how the constitution of Kuwait addresses this issue.

The constitution of Kuwait affirms the right of parliament members to question ministers on public issues in a special session. According to article No. 100 of the constitution, every member of the parliament is empowered to direct interrogations at the prime minister and the ministers on matters falling within their competence. This action might lead to a veto of no-confidence in the prime minister or in any one of the ministers. Article No. 101 states that if the parliament passes a vote of no confidence against a minister, he is considered to have resigned his office. In fact, it is historically affirmed that in most cases, suspensions of parliament or ministerial resignations have occurred directly before or after interrogations[vi]. Similar to the first indicator, it is inferred that the increase in the number of interrogations indicates that more political conflicts have occurred between the two branches of government. (Table 2) shows the rapid increase in the number of interrogations that ministers have faced since the election of the first parliament in 1963.

Table (2): The Number of Interrogations in Every Legislative Term (1963-2011)

| Parliament	1st Legislative Term	2nd Legislative Term	3rd Legislative Term	4th Legislative Term*	5th Legislative Term	6th Legislative Term*	7th Legislative Term**	8th Legislative Term	9th Legislative Term	10th Legislative Term	11th Legislative Term	12th Legislative Term	13th Legislative Term
Actual Period (in months)	48	46	49	17	50	16	48	41	49	38	28	15	30
Number of Interrogations	2	1	3	0	3	5	1	4	8	7	7	4	18

Source: Kuwait National Assembly website and calculations made by author.

*The parliament was suspended for about six years.
** The first parliament after the liberation of Kuwait.

Since the period of each parliament differs, the number of interrogations might not make total sense. Some parliaments had shorter periods than others, so a measure is used to reflect the ratio of the number of interrogations to the number of months for each term.(Figure 3) shows how the ratio of interrogations/periods of parliaments has increased, especially during the 1990s and 2000s. The implication is that more interrogations began to take place over shorter periods of time, and as noted above, the increasing number of interrogations over shorter periods of time is a strong indicator of government instability.

Figure (3): Ratio of the Number of Interrogations to the Number of Months each Parliament Remained (1963-2011)
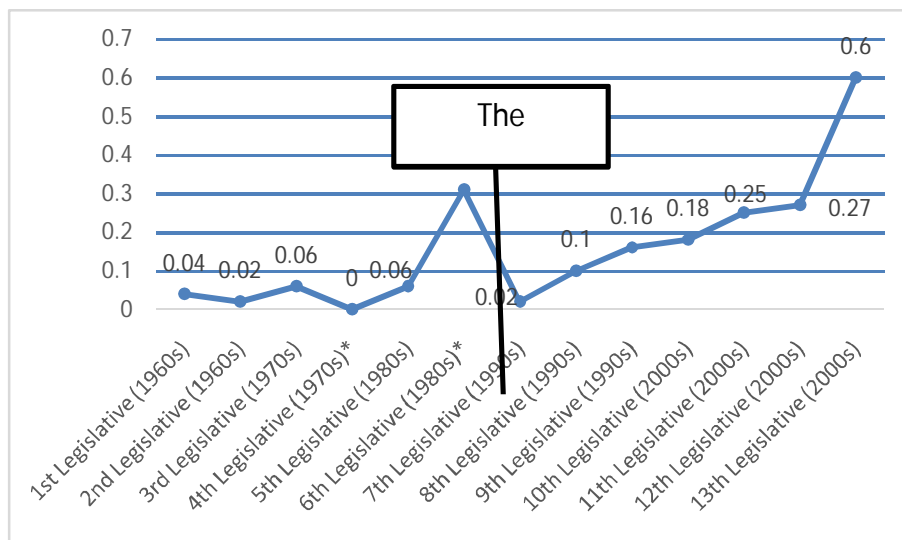
Source: Kuwait National Assembly website and calculations made by author.

*The parliament was suspended for about six years.

To connect these puzzle pieces together, one could say that the instability of the government is shown through the increasing number of interrogations, which lead to the increasing number of incomplete terms of office for both the cabinet and the parliament. Based on the history of the developmental progress and the history of government stability in Kuwait, one can see the influence of the increasing tendency of conflicts between the two branches of government on the deceleration of the reform efforts and the developmental progress.

4.3. Consequences

Government instability is considered the main sign of the domination of politics over PA. Since the 1990s, development plans and reform efforts in the government have frozen every time there is an interrogation. Instead of paying enough attention to the development, the PA has focused on political debates and manipulations. In this context, administrators have been pushed to act in a way that helps protect the ministers rather than to seek for efficient government. Consequently, the rules and standards, for example, in recruitment or promotion, were determined based on the political support that they provide to the ministers. The problem arises when administrators turn their attention to political affiliations instead of making their decisions based on professional standards.

As a result of the negative political influence on administration, new challenges to the Kuwaiti PA have emerged that have continued to play a significant role in weakening any efforts to reform the government while simultaneously increasing corruption. One indicator of the corruption of the Kuwaiti government is its ranking in the Global Corruption Report, which is issued every year by Transparency International in Germany. The Corruption Perception Index includes 175 countries in which a top ranking indicates a clean government, whereas the level of corruption increases as the country moves further away from a top ranking. Kuwait has taken a step backward in the Corruption Perception Index, moving from 35th-place in the 2004 Report, when it started to be included in the index, to 75th-place in the 2016 Report. This indicates that corruption in the Kuwait has increased since 2003, pushing Kuwait toward the bottom of the list in the Corruption Index. (Figure 4) illustrates the positions of Kuwait in the Corruption Perception Index over the last 11 reports.

Figure 4: The Rank of Kuwait in the Global Corruption Reports (2003-2016)
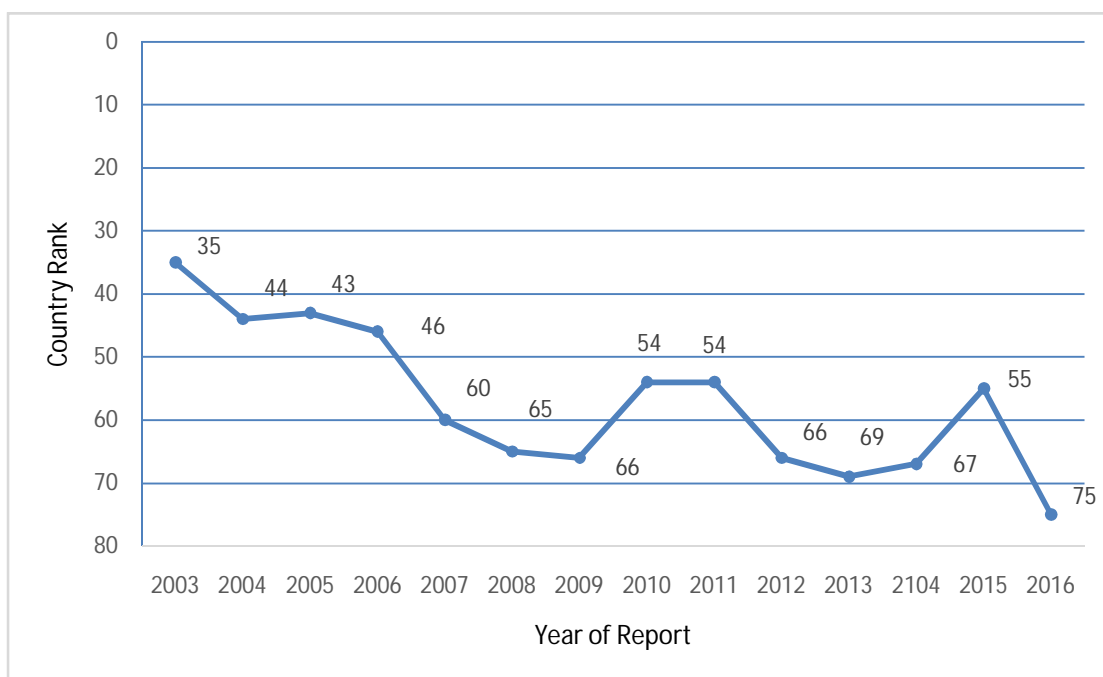
Note: Kuwait Competitiveness Report 2015/2016.

5. Findings

This article builds the argument that the imbalanced relationship between politics and administration was, to a large extent, caused by the domination of the political values that were stressed as the result of foreign influence. The liberation of Kuwait under the umbrella of the United Nations and the leadership of the U.S. was a significant mark for the beginning of the era of so-called New World Order. According to Azam and Khan (2012), '[d]emocracy promotion in the U.S. foreign policy became more important after the Cold War' (p.86). Indeed, the U.S. exerted pressure on Kuwait to transition toward democracy because it was difficult for the U.S. government to justify the war to Congress due to the lack of democracy in Kuwait[vii] (Salem, 2007; Yetiv, 2002). Since the early 1990s, the U.S. has begun to promote the spread of democratic values in the Middle East, specifically in Kuwait[viii] (Azam & Khan, 2012; Davis, 2007; Islam & Azam, 2010; McElhinny, 2005; Meyer et al., 2007; Yetiv, 2002).

Based on these efforts, Kuwait not only was placed under American pressure to reform its political system (Azam & Khan, 2012; Brown, 2009; Islam & Azam, 2010) but it was also thrust under an international spotlight to stimulate its progress toward democracy (Yetiv, 2002).One of the main themes considered by this article is the US impact on the Kuwaiti government. Several participants emphasized this point when they were asked to describe the foreign influence on government after the liberation of Kuwait. The participants, who referred to some cases, affirmed the foreign influence. One of the participants mentioned how the American ambassador was considered as a'co-ruler' in Kuwait after the liberation. Another participant affirmed that is was hard not to pay attention to the American demands while thousands of their soldiers were protecting Kuwait. One participant stressed that 'the military threats on the Kuwaiti-Iraqi borders in 1994 affirmed the continuous need for the American troops..so, we had to listen to them.'

As an example of the American pressure, Azam and Khan (2012) noted that the first Bush administration 'issued statements in support of political participation in Kuwait' (p.87). According to Yetiv (2002), 'Bush even sent the Amir a letter emphasizing the need to pursue "political reconstruction"' (p.260). Another major theme considered by this article is the foreign impulsion for democracy. One participant mentioned that the government of Kuwait had the obligation to the international community to restore democracy. Another participant stressed that 'the government might not have been interested in calling for elections to restore the parliament.. They preferred to keep the national assembly.. Not before the end of 1992 when they were under continuous pressure to call for the elections.'

President Clinton's administration also continued to exert pressure on Kuwait to reform its democratic system. Clinton's administration promoted the 'democratic enlargement' policy, which supported the political rights of women in Gulf countries including Kuwait (Azam & Khan, 2012). The direct American influence on the political system in Kuwait during that era was obvious, so much so that, at times, this influence came under criticism due to the role played by the intervention of U.S. Ambassador in pushing for democracy in Kuwait (Yetiv, 2002).

During the 2000s, the administration of George W. Bush expanded the efforts to spread democracy in Kuwait and the Middle East. Islam and Azam (2010) emphasized the role that American civil society played in spreading democracy in the Gulf region and noted that many of them 'were provided support, financially and/or otherwise, by the Bush Administration' (p.9).Azam and Khan (2012) stated that there were 14 programs and initiatives that were launched by the U.S. to push for democracy in the Gulf region. The American ambassador in Kuwait continued to make 'frequent visits to *diwaniyas* (evening political salons) and talked about how to develop democracy in the country'[ix] (Azam& Khan, 2012, p.91).

The U.S. Department of State's Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI) has funded many programs (Katzman, 2014), including the American University's Center for Democracy and Election Management, which involved in training Kuwaiti politicians. One of the participant stressed that it was not 'a coincidence' to find that all of the women who became the first female representatives, in 2009, were trained in the US on how to run for elections. Another participant pointed out that the first female representatives in the parliament were supported by the US and they were not able to become representatives without the American assistance. According to Azam and Khan (2012), '[f]or 2003-4, MEPI allocated 143 million U.S. dollars for the Middle East. Thirty-five million U.S. dollars from the amount were earmarked for democracy aid' (p.88).

Another example of supporting democracy in Kuwait is found in a report entitled 'Supporting Human Rights and Democracy' submitted to Congress by the Department of State. According to the U.S. Department of State's website, 'The U.S. funded a $559,000 project from its Human Rights and Democracy Fund (HRDF) to establish a regional training academy for non-government organizations on political participation, political party development… which includes Kuwaiti participants' (US DOS, 2014). Moreover, the National Democratic Institute (NDI), which is funded by the U.S. government, conducted many activities in Kuwait between 2004 and 2006 to promote democracy, including a campaign for women's political rights in 2004, a one-month training program for female candidates in 2006, training workshops on election campaigns in 2006, and a series of focus group discussions in the wake of 2006 elections in Kuwait (Islam &Azam, 2010). In 2008, the NDI established a partnership with the Kuwait Transparency Society to support its election monitoring, and later, the NDI sent international delegates to observe the elections in 2008, 2009 and 2012.

All of these examples show the U.S. efforts to spread democratic values and practices in Kuwait[x]. However, the U.S. has lacked any considerable effort to provide professional assistance to reform the administrative body of government. The third major theme considered by this article is the absence of foreign impulsion for professionalism. One of the participants stated that he has 'not heard of any American efforts to support professional values in Kuwait.' Another participant asserted that it was the responsibility of the international community, after the liberation, to participate in building effective government in Kuwait. An additional participant asserted the need to transfer American best practices in reforming government to Kuwait besides democracy. The American effort to present an effective democratic form of government lacked any effort to nourish professionalism in order to manage and reform government. The focus on transforming a political form of government rather than on an administrative model of government has led both politicians and administrators to pay more attention to the political half than to the administrative half of the cup. Consequently, 'Kuwaiti society [has become] too highly politicized' (Brown, 2009) but not adequately professionalized to manage the PA reform process.

6. Conclusion and Implications

The increasing number of political conflicts within the Kuwaiti government raises a critical question regarding the politics-administration tension. These conflicts are viewed as an expected consequence of the failure to find an effective reconciliation between politics and administration. This failure was influenced by the foreign emphasis on democracy; and it has led to an increasing level of corruption in government. As Appleby (1945) argued in *Big Democracy,* PA is not different from politics but rather is the center of political life. However, one should always remember that neither Appleby nor the other scholars who have criticized the orthodoxy of PA argued for the domination of democracy over bureaucracy. It should be affirmed that this article does not in any way call for ignoring the responsiveness of PA, but it does call for giving more weight to the administrative role of government. In other words, democracy by itself is not the problem, but the problem is the lack of considering the creation of professionalized public service simultaneously with democratization. Kuwaiti public administrators do not have to ignore their responsibility to engage citizens when they stress professionalism in running government.

It should also be clear that this article does not argue that emphasizing bureaucracy would definitely remedy corruption, but it claims that integrating professional values into government would control it. It has argued that a more balanced view of the relationship between politics and administration has to be considered in Kuwait as a means to reform government. The domination of politics over administration may lead to a corrupt rather than to a more responsive government. Therefore, neither politics nor administration should have a prominent role over the other. In the case of Kuwait specifically, there is a need for what may be called 'enlightened democracy' that maintains the role of citizens without destroying the government. There is a need for the type of democracy that employs citizen participation to maintain professionalism in government. Thus, government has to guide citizens to better consider the significance of professionalism when they vote because focusing on only representative government may destroy their expectations. Public administrators have also to be aware of the political processes and conflicts of society. Although administrators have to continue to be responsive to the needs of the people, they should be aware of negative partisan or political impacts. They need to understand their role as professionals who serve people under democratic values. The implication is that the total involvement in democracy without the right mentality may lead administrators to lose their role as professionals, with the consequence that they will not be able to be responsive, as emphasized by democracy.

To effectively address the politics-administration dilemma in Kuwait, PA has to rebalance the relationship between bureaucracy and democracy. Public administrators need toput extra emphasis on the precise balance between politics and administration. Although there is no magical formula to create this balance, administrators' increasing awareness of the need to reconcile politics and administration would mark the beginning of the rebalancing of their relationship. Thus, they ought to initially consider making professional decisions before considering the political context of their actions. It is their role to convince the Council of Ministers and the National Assembly, through the involvement in their committees, to create the ethical, legal, and administrative frameworks that enhance professionalism. Public administrators need to use the American pressure for democracy as a means to reach a more professional government by transferring the best practices regarding governmental reform. They need to give more consideration to absorbing the values and practices of professionalism, efficiency, and expertise in addition to the democratic values that are pushed by the international community. Administrators have to strengthen their accountability to professional standards as emphasized by their counterparts in Western-style models of government. With adaption to local context, the role of bureaucracy in PA has to be given more attention without losing the core values of democracy.

In light of the current evolutions/uprisings in many Arab countries, Arab public administrators need always to remember that citizens are a nation's most valuable asset and that they should strive to meet their expectations. Not only democracy but also efficient government would reduce corruption and lead to a more stable PA. On the other hand, a corrupt government may lead to dramatic future political changes with high levels of uncertainty about the form, role, and practice of PA. Thus, it is the responsibility of administrators to control this uncertainty through the reconciliation of democracy and bureaucracy. Meeting this responsibility may best serve one of the most important needs of Arab citizens at this time, the need for stable governments. Arab public administrators cannot take the foreign pressure to reform government as an unquestioned prescription to reform PA without considering the local context in applying any model for reform. They need to use the transition to democracy to reach a more stable, responsive, and efficient government. They must be aware that focusing on only democratic values, could lead them to mismanage their roles as professionals. In other words, administrators must ensure that they do not misuse the means, democratic values, to reach the end, efficient government.

American public administrators involved in managing foreign affairs to promote democracy in other countries have to treat their efforts with extra care. They need to balance the relationship between democratic values and administrative standards. Pushing too hard for democracy without considering other aspects of government may cause corruption, which is fundamentally at odds with the purpose of democracy. They shall understand that democracy is not the only objective of government. It is a means, not an end, much as the use of professional standards also aims to help the administration better serve the people, which is the objective of both democracy and bureaucracy.

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