Dimensions of Bureaucracy
A Cross-National Dataset on the Structure and Behavior of Public Administration[1]

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Abstract:

Scholars have emphasized the importance of having a "Weberian bureaucracy" for the socio-economic development of a country, but few attempts have been made to measure public administrations according to their degree of Weberianism. This paper presents the study and questionnaire design of a web survey covering 58 countries, which embodies the largest cross-national dataset on the structure of public administrations up to date. It also provides the main findings from the dataset: The features often associated with a Weberian bureaucracy can neither theoretically nor empirically be collapsed into a single dimension (Weberian versus a patronage-based administration). Instead two distinct dimensions are identified, in the paper referred to as *professionalism* (i.e. up to which extent bureaucracies are "professional" vis-à-vis "politicized") and *closedness* (i.e. up to which extent bureaucracies are more "closed" or public-like vis-à-vis "open" or private-like). Finally, the paper validates these dimensions with information from other available data sources, and demonstrates that the results have not been produced by respondent perception bias.

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Introduction

It has been argued that state bureaucratic structures have important effects on political, economic, and social outcomes. Scholars in economics and sociology argue that a strong and well-organized state bureaucracy contributed to the economic growth in the Asian miracle economies of the 1990s (Amsden 1989; Wade 1990; World Bank 1993) as well as to the economic growth more generally in semi-industrial countries (Evans and Rauch 1999). Other scholars claim that the way the state bureaucracy is organized also strengthens poverty reduction in developing countries (Henderson et. al 2007). With reference to the rich western democracies, political scientists have long argued that the bureaucratic structure directly affects policymaking, both historically and today (Heclo 1974; King and Rothstein 1993; Wier and Skocpol 1985; Marier 2005; Dahlström 2009a). Within the field of public administration, scholars have defended the bureaucratic organization, warned against the effects of New Public Management reforms (Suleiman 2003, Pollit and Bouckaert 2004) and are now predicting the "rediscovery" of bureaucracy (Olsen 2006).

However, in spite of the attention paid to bureaucratic structures there are very few systematic cross-country comparisons where the organization of the state bureaucracy is actually incorporated. There are several reasons for this. First, the "sore point in the development of comparative public administration" is the lack of reliable data on bureaucratic structures (Brans 2003, 426; Lapuente 2007, 301). There are numerous cross-country indicators on the outcomes of bureaucracies, both from private organizations – such as the widely used *Political Risk Services'* International Country

Risk Guide indicator of "quality of bureaucracy" – and from public ones – such as the encompassing *World Bank*'s "governance indicators". Yet there is an almost total lack of cross-country datasets on bureaucratic structure. The sole exception is Peter Evans and James Rauch's pioneering work. Their innovative study resulted in several seminal articles (see for example Evans and Rauch 1999; Rauch and Evans 2000) and a dataset that has extensively been used in several cross-country comparisons (see for example Van Rijckeghem and Weder 2001; Henderson et al 2007). Evans and Rauch dataset has however some limits since it only covers 35 developing or "semi-industrialized" countries and focuses on the 1970-1990 period. While it provides a pioneering insight into the bureaucratic structures of a particular group of countries which experienced unprecedented growth rates with the help of autonomous bureaucracies (such as Spain, South Korea and other Asian "Tigers"), it remains unclear if the same results holds for the bureaucracies of advanced democracies, and for the East European and Post-Soviet states.

A second reason for why we do not see more cross-country comparisons of state bureaucratic structures is that it is not entirely clear what should be compared. Evans and Rauch (1999; 2000) address – and find support for – what they call the "Weberian state hypothesis". This hypothesis refers to the effect of several different Weberian organizational features (such as meritocratic recruitment to the state bureaucracy, predictable careers for bureaucrats, etc.) on economic growth and bureaucratic performance. However in a recent article, Johan P. Olsen (2008, 13, 25) points out that one of the main lessons from the "ups and downs of bureaucratic organization" is that the

composite nature of bureaucratic organizations makes it probable that the different bureaucratic dimensions change in different ways and "is not always positively correlated". Olsen's note reminds us of that even if we limit the analysis to the Weberian features of the bureaucracy it might very well be multidimensional. Yet we do not know which and how many those dimensions are.

This paper addresses these two obstacles for cross-country comparisons of the state bureaucratic structure. First, the paper presents the *Quality of Government Institute*'s "Quality of Government Survey", a dataset on the structure and behavior of public administration based on an expert poll in 58 countries. It uses the core conceptual basis of Evans and Rauch's (1999; 2000) data on Weberian bureaucracies as a theoretical tool for guiding data collection, but other perspectives such as New Public Management (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2004) and administrative "impartiality" (Rothstein and Teorell 2008) have also informed the questionnaire design. The goal is to identify the most important structural characteristics that differentiate public administrations. Second, the paper disentangles the bureaucratic structure into two dimensions. The two dimensions are labeled bureaucratic "professionalism" and "closedness", and they correspond with established classifications in the comparative administrative history (see for example Silberman 1993) for which no encompassing datasets exist.

The main finding of the paper is that, unlike the standard view on Weberian bureaucracy, Weberianism should not be seen as a single dimension, but two. The paper presents both empirical and theoretical support for these two dimensions. These dimensions represent

two principal crossroads for a public bureaucracy. First, is the administration directly dependent on the current government (i.e. politicized) or is it more independent from the government and instead responsible to professional ethos and to peer-review? Second, is the administration similar to a standard private sector organization (e.g. regulated by general labor laws) or is there a distinctively public, legalistic organization isolated from competitive dynamics (e.g. regulated by generous specific labor laws)? The first question concerns the dimension of bureaucratic "professionalism" (as opposed to bureaucratic "politicization") and the second to the dimension of bureaucratic "closedness" (as opposed to bureaucratic "openness").

Contrary to a prevalent interpretation of Weberianism, these two dimensions do not need to go hand in hand in the sense that a less politicized administration should also be a more "closed" one. A pervasive puzzling example from a comparative point of view has always been the case of Sweden (among other Nordic countries) whose public employees, despite having a very "open" public administration, are traditionally seen as more "professional" than "politicized". The opposite illustration would be the highly "closed" public administrations one observes in many Southern European countries, such as Greece, Italy or Spain, where public employees enjoy extensive civil service protections and are regulated with specific labor laws different from those regulating their private-sector counterparts, but where, at the same time, politicization and patronage seem to play, in multitude of case-study or small-N comparisons, a more prominent role than professionalism. This paper provides, to the best of our knowledge, the first

quantitative empirical evidence supporting the notion that there are two major and independent clusters of Weberianist characteristics.

In the remainder of the paper we first summarize the most prevailing existing efforts in comparative public administration to classify public bureaucracies following the concepts of "administrative" or "civil service" traditions and legacies. We maintain that these categories need to be complemented by continuous variables such as the ones collected in the "Quality of Government Survey". More importantly we also provide the theoretical justification for focusing our analysis on the human relations features of public bureaucracies. Second, the paper describes the sampling frame, data collection and questionnaire design in some detail. Third, we analyze the multidimensionality of the bureaucratic structure and propose the two bureaucratic dimensions mentioned above as the two main ways of classifying public administrations. We assess the extent to which respondent characteristics predict placement of countries along these dimensions and validate the cross-country patterns against other available sources, including broad cross-country datasets, few case comparisons and more in-depth case studies. In the final section we discuss the wider implications of this study.

Key Characteristics of Bureaucratic Structures

When it comes to measuring and classifying public bureaucracies, there are broadly speaking two strands in the literature. On the one hand we have economists, mostly focused on the "quality" of the outcomes produced by a given state apparatus. Their aim is to capture up to which extent a bureaucracy provides "good governance" and both the

theoretical concepts and the empirical measures are heavily geared towards outcomes and thus provide little insights when it comes to the actual characteristics of the bureaucracy (see for example the *World Bank*'s Governance Database; La Porta et al. 1999, 223; for a critique of this approach see Rothstein and Teorell 2008).

On the other hand comparative public administration scholars have developed broad typologies based on theoretical concepts such as administrative legacies or civil service traditions (Pollit and Bouckaert 2004, Pollit et al. 2007, Meyer-Sahling and Yesilkagit 2010). Most authors agree that bureaucracies structurally differ from country to country as a result of historical factors and that this creates stable trajectories (Barzelay and Gallego 2010; Painter and Peters 2010). Administrative traditions are however broad categories including what the political and administrative elites in a country think about bureaucracy, a number of bureaucratic institutional features, and the relationships between state and society regarding the administration of public policies (Peters 2008: 119). The most encompassing and up to date classification of administrative traditions, the collective work compiled by Painter and Peters (2010), divides world bureaucracies into nine major administrative types: Anglo-American, Napoleonic, Germanic, Scandinavian, Latin American, Post-colonial South Asia and Africa, Soviet and Islamicist.

More than the economic analysis, the administrative tradition approach provides important insights on the bureaucratic structure in a comparative perspective. However, despite its value for describing cross-country differences; there are several shortcomings

that justify a more continuous, quantitative classification of bureaucracies. In order to develop testable theories, and following Przeworski and Teune's (1970, 25) general recommendation for social sciences, we maintain that comparative public administration should replace broad categories for explanatory variables.

The important question for this paper is thus to ask which the key characteristics of bureaucratic structures are. Our answer is that the employment system in the public sector offers a useful and principally decisive way of classifying public bureaucracies in comparative public administration. There are several reasons for this.

First, while employment relationships are at the theoretical core of the concept of Weberian bureaucracy, they have been empirically overlooked. In his pivotal essays, Max Weber gave an overwhelming importance to public staff policy. For Weber the interactions between rulers and their administrative and military staff were essential to understand a society. As emphasized by contemporary scholars, Weber's view of employment relationship between rulers as employers and civil servants as employees anticipates many of the concerns tackled nowadays in economics under the framework of the principal-agent theory. One of the main drivers of Weber's theory of bureaucracy is the problem rulers (as principals) encounter when controlling state officials (as agents), because the interests of the latter often differ from the former (Lapuente 2007, 73). This is a classical statement of principal-agent theory: delegation of authority leads to problems of control due to conflicting interests of principals and agents (Kiser and Baer 2005, 6). Weber saw an unavoidable organizational conflict within modern

bureaucracies: "Historical reality involves a continuous, though for the most part latent, conflict between chiefs and their administrative staffs for appropriation and expropriation in relation to one another" (Weber [1922] 1978, 264). Personnel policy is the tool for managing that "latent" but key bureaucratic conflict and therefore we consider it to be a preferential object of study.

Second, numerous scholars have pointed out important variations in how public employment is managed. In some public administrations, 'principals' (i.e. political masters) are totally free to choose their 'agents' (public employees). In others, administrations have stringent civil service regulations or autonomous administrative *corps* that tie the hands of the 'principals' to choose their 'agents' (Lapuente 2007, 1). These employment systems represent "the most striking" difference between public and private organizations (Frant 1993, 990).

That is exactly the motivation behind Evans and Rauch's (1999) data collection effort, which, again, represents the clearest precedent of the dataset we present. Following Weber's insight that the key for achieving good governance is replacing a patronage bureaucracy with a merit bureaucracy, Evans and Rauch (1999) develop the "Weberian state hypothesis". They gather information on several characteristics of the employment system in core economic agencies. Their data collection is however guided by the idea that there is an underlying continuum between, on one extreme, patrimonial bureaucracy and, on the other, Weberian ideal-type bureaucracy. In line with this, Rauch and Evans (2000) build an indicator – called "Weberianness Scale" – and show how developing

countries scoring higher on it were growing faster in the 1970-1990 period. The "Weberianess Scale", which collapses information on ten items, captures the degree to which bureaucracies employ meritocratic recruitment and give predictable, stable and rewarding long-term careers to civil servants. Despite the strength of their findings, one should keep in mind that data only covers 35 countries, which, in addition, are selected following a particular criterion. Evans and Rauch focus on 30 "semi-industrialized" countries – as identified previously by Chenery (1980) – and they add 5 poorer countries selected to increase the representation of the Caribbean, South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. By virtue of this selection, their strong findings could be driven by the relatively high presence of a group of countries that are either iconic examples of Asian Tigers or "developmentalist dictatorships" – such as Spain, Singapore, Hong Kong or South Korea – and who experienced unprecedented rates of growth precisely in the 1970-1990 period.

One may thus doubt to which extent the set of bureaucratic features identified in the "Weberianness Scale" have played the same growth-enhancing role in other parts of the world (e.g. advanced capitalist democracies) and during other historical periods. These doubts increase if we pay attention to the work of numerous administrative scholars who – looking at different historical periods and developing mostly small-N comparisons – point out an intriguing puzzle that is not captured by Evans and Rauch's data collection. In principle, one should expect that those bureaucracies are more similar to standard private sector firms – flexible and with few legal and cumbersome constrains to hire, fire or promote public employees – less meritocratic, and more patrimonial than those bureaucracies where public employees enter the civil service via a formal examination

system and enjoy special protections against arbitrary actions by their (political) superiors, such as civil service status and the guarantee of secure tenure. In practice, the advancement of meritocracy does not necessarily go hand in hand with a higher protection of employment in the public sector. Several historical narratives on the transition from patronage-based or patrimonial administrations to merit-based ones indicate that two different types of meritocratic bureaucracies may emerge a country: one that we could consider more "private", since public employees' status is closer to that of their private sector counterparts, and another that we can define as more "public", with over-protected public employees who are legally separated from the rest of employees in the country.

Important administrative historians have pointed out the differences across public administrations of several Early Modern European countries (Finer 1997, Fischer and Lundgreen 1975). Britain and France represent two opposite models on how to achieve a meritocratic public workforce. In its state-building process, Britain did not develop an autonomous civil service as such (Cohen 1941, Fischer and Lundgreen 1975). The non-formalized system of hiring and firing in the Early Modern Britain looked more like that of some private-sector corporations (Finer 1997). Top officials like Wolsey or Cromwell ran the British administration in a similar way that corporate managers run private firms nowadays. As Fischer and Lundgreen point out, comparatively speaking, Britain lacked legal regulations for public employment and "no merit system was formally established, but this does not mean that merit remained necessarily unrewarded" (1975, 482). Britain created a system of "hunting" and protection of talent, which "remained in a much more

fluid, adaptable state than on the Continent" (Fischer and Lundgreen 1975, 483). On the

contrary, in France, Prussia and Spain the transformation from a patrimonial to a

meritocratic bureaucracy entailed the development of highly legalistic civil service

systems. Public employees started to be covered by extensive special regulations and

grouped into autonomous and self-regulated administrative bodies, generally known as

Corps. These bodies established formalized merit-based examinations to recruit new

members, which were hardly disrupted by governmental or royal arbitrary interventions

(Morstein Marx 1935, 174), and they also monopolized the management of civil servants'

incentives and disciplinary measures (Fischer and Lundgreen 1975).

These historical differences were still present at the moment of expansion of state

activities in Western countries during the late 19th century. In one of the most

encompassing analysis of the evolution of bureaucratic structures at that crucial time,

Silberman (1993) distinguishes between two different types of Weberian bureaucracies.

Some countries, such as Japan, France, Germany or Spain developed bureaucracies with

an 'organizational orientation', where public employees were not recruited for filling a

given position or undertaking a specific task, but to generally join an organization (or

Corps). On the contrary, public bureaucracies in countries like the US, the UK, Canada or

Switzerland developed a 'professional orientation', since public employees, like the

private-sector employees, were recruited to fill in a given job.

As far as the 20th century civil service system is concerned, several authors point out that

there is a division between "open" civil service systems (e.g. US, UK, Netherlands) and

"closed" ones (e.g. France, German, Spain) (Auer at al. 1996). In the later, public employees join the administration through formalized civil service entry examinations, enjoy life tenure and are frequently managed by self-regulated autonomous administrative corps (Bekke and Van der Meer 2000). Those civil service systems are also known as the "classic administrative model" (Heady 1996). At the other end of the continuum we have the more "open" civil service careers systems of Sweden, the UK, Netherlands or Finland, where most public employees are regulated by general labour laws like their private-sector counterparts. Like them, they are also selected according to the rule of "best-suited candidate for each position" (OECD 2004, 4), instead of generally joining an administrative body. These systems allow more open access and life tenure is less frequent than in "closed" or "classical" civil service systems.

In sum, scholarly studies point towards the existence and importance of the employment system as a key characteristic for defining public bureaucracies. These studies also show that the classical Weberian bureaucracy seems to be multidimensional (Olsen 2008). In this section we have explained why we expect at least two dimensions – in the introduction referred to professionalism and closedness – to occur in the data. In the next section we will describe the data collection and then turn to the empirical analysis of these dimensions.

Questionnaire Design

The general purpose of the Quality of Government Institute's Quality of Government Survey (the QoG Survey for short) is as already mentioned to measure the structure and

behavior of public administration across countries. This survey aims at filling a gap between two highly dense research areas with a large variety of available indicators each. On the one side, we have numerous cross-country datasets on the degree of democracy or, generally speaking, the "input" side of the system, with well-established measures (see, for example, Freedom House or the Polity project). On the other side, we have also a large body of research on the quality of "outputs" of the system, either regarding the "quantity" of state activity (e.g. how generous the Welfare State is, which policies are provided) or the "quality" of the state (e.g. governance, state capacity). Yet, as we have seen in the previous section, we lack indicators on how state bureaucracies are structured and operate. The exact question wording and graphical layout of the questionnaire is provided in the Appendix. Despite being condense, the questionnaire covers a variety of topics which are seen as relevant to the structure and functioning of the public administration according to the literature, but on which we lack quantitative indicators for a large number of countries, such as meritocratic recruitment, internal promotion and career stability, salaries, impartiality, NPM reforms, effectiveness/efficiency, and bureaucratic representation.

Three considerations motivating the questionnaire design deserve special mentioning. First, the questionnaire asks about *perceptions* rather than about statements of facts. In this regard, it differs from Evans and Rauch (1999; 2000) and is more in line with the general surge in expert polls on quality of government across the globe. Thus, for example, whereas Rauch and Evans (2000, 56) ask their respondents to state "approximately what proportion of the higher officials…enter the civil service via a

formal examination system", with responses coded in percentages, we instead ask: "Thinking about the country you have chosen, how often would you say the following occurs today: Public sector employees are hired via a formal examination system", with responses ranging from 1 ("hardly ever") to 7 ("almost always"). The difference between these two question formats should not be exaggerated. At the end of the day, most of the questions have a factual basis in the sense that some answers for a given country are more correct than others. It would for example at least in principle be possible to learn how many public sector employees actually were hired in a country a certain year that had to pass a formal examination. Yet, with one noticeable exception (q6), we ask each respondent to translate this basic fact into a more subjectively oriented response scale.

The downside of this strategy is that the subjectively defined endpoints might introduce bias in the country-level estimates, particularly if experts have varying standards of what should be considered "common" or "uncommon". The reason we still opted for this strategy is twofold. First, this enables us to use the same response scale for a large number of "factual" questions, rather than having to tailor the response categories uniquely for each individual item in the questionnaire. The overarching rationale here is thus questionnaire efficiency: we save both space and response time by a more standardized question format. Second, we believe that even the most knowledgeable country experts are rarely in a position to correctly answer more than a handful of these questions with any precision. In other words, even the factual question format used by Rauch and Evans (2000) evokes informed guesswork on behalf of the experts. The

questionnaire makes this guesswork more explicit from the outset by asking about overall perceptions rather than "correct" answers.

This of course does not imply that the questionnaire disregards the correspondence between respondents' perceptions and the actual workings of the public administration systems they assess. We are not primarily interested in perceptions per se (although the data could very well be used for that purpose as well), but in the reality that underlie these perceptions. As indicated by the assessments of respondent perception bias reported below, there are few instances where personal characteristics of the experts systematically predict how they place their respective countries. In other words, subjectively defined endpoints do not appear to be a serious threat to the validity of these measures. Moreover, by relying on more than one expert per country, the cross-country descriptives reported below rely on the convergence of different expert perceptions as our point estimate for the actual workings of a certain country. In practice, this means relying on the mean estimate per country. These cross-country means are overall well correlated with other data sources representing the most established – although small-N – proxies for types of bureaucratic structure up to date. As the section on cross-source validation indicates, there is no obvious support for the presence of systematic measurement error in our data. As a matter of fact, it is quite the opposite, the data presented here seems to generalize for a larger and more diverse group of countries some smaller-N studies and impressionistic insights by administrative historians. At the same time, respondent disagreement within countries (i.e. the variation around the country mean) may be used

as an indication of the uncertainty surrounding each country estimate, thus providing a gauge of the extent of random measurement error.

The second design issue concerns the time frame of the study. Whereas Evans and Rauch (2000) asked about the state of affairs prevailing over a 20-year period (1970-1990), this questionnaire opted for another solution: to mostly ask about the current state of affairs (questions q2, q4, and q6-q8), but also to ask about perceived *change* over the last 10-year period for a selected set of items (questions q3 and q5). The goal of this retrospective approach was to at least be partially able to address the perennial issue of endogeneity bias when these data are to be used for explanatory purposes.

The third and most pressing design issue concerns how to label and select the dramatis personae at center stage of the inquiry. More precisely, should one ask about the public administration in general or about specific sectors or agencies? And what term (in English) should one use to designate the persons working in the public administration in order to convey an equivalent meaning across countries? One initial temptation is to opt for the terms "civil service" and "civil servant". Yet this is problematic since these terms do not even convey the same meaning in English-speaking countries across the Atlantic (in American English, civil servants include political appointees; in British English, they do not). The survey could also have been focused on a "core agency" in the public administration, as did Rauch and Evans (2000), but it is challenging to define what should be considered the "core" of a state. Recall that Rauch and Evans (2000) had a particular bureaucratic outcome in mind when designing their study: that of attaining

economic development (Evans and Rauch 1999). Our approach is more general. Apart from studying outcomes such as growth or economic well-being, the survey is designed to explore consequences for public opinion such as generalized trust and subjective well-being. For these types of outcomes the characteristics of street-level bureaucrats could arguably be as important as the those of senior officials, and what specific sector or agency within the public administration that should matter the most cannot be easily settled in advance (and might very well vary between countries). Thus, we opted for a holistic take on the public administration, trying to gauge perceptions of its working in general (with one major exception: we explicitly exclude the military).

After pre-testing it in a pilot, the term chosen to designate – at the most general level – those persons within the public administration we inquire into was *public sector employee*. This is of course a debatable solution. Most notably, there might be large variation across different types of public sector employees in a country, and the expert respondents might then run into difficulties when asked to provide one overall judgment. To off-set this problem somewhat, the survey contained the following clarification in the opening page of the questionnaire:

> When asking about public sector employees in this survey, we would like you to think about a typical person employed by the public sector in your country, excluding the military. If you think there are large discrepancies between branches of the public sector, between the national/federal and subnational/state level, or between the core bureaucracy and employees working with public service delivery, please try to average them out before stating your response.

This is of course more easily said than done, as is also indicated by the numerous comments on this particular issue provided by the respondents (q14). By exploring the consistency and face validity of the data below, however, we may conclude that this strategy worked more often than not.

Sampling Frame and Data Collection

After a pilot conducted in the winter of 2007-2008, the survey was administrated between September 2008 and May 2009 as a web survey of public administration experts in a wide array of countries. In order to obtain a sample of experts, we drew up a list of persons registered with four international networks for public administration scholars (NISPACEE, EGPA, EIPA, and SOG), complemented with searches on the internet, personal contacts, the list of experts recruited from a pilot survey, and a small snowballing component. All in all, this resulted in a sample of 1361 persons, of which 528 or 39 percent responded.[1]

The distribution of experts and the response rate across countries are provided in Table 1. While the number of respondents varies substantially, from only 1 for China and Mauritius to a maximum of 28 in the Czech Republic, on average 9.1 experts per country have taken the time to respond to our survey. As should be expected from the sampling frame, Western Europe and Northern America together with post-communist Eastern

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[1] The average response time was 17.05 minutes, or 14.51 minutes when correcting for extreme outliers. We contacted these persons by email, including a clickable link inside the email leading to the web-based questionnaire in English. The only incentives presented to participants were access to the data, a first-hand report, and the possibility of being invited to future conferences on the Quality of Government.

Europe and the former Soviet Union carry the weight of countries covered. All European Union member countries are covered (although with only two and one respondents for Malta and Luxemburg, respectively). Only seven non-Western and non-post-communist countries are covered by at least three respondents: India, Brazil, South Africa, Japan, South Korea, Mexico, and Turkey, the last four of which are OECD members. By and large, then, our sample of countries is heavily geared towards the developed world.

*** Table 1 about here ***

Dimensions of Bureaucracy in the Real World

We now turn to the key result of this web survey. To enhance data quality, this section's analysis exclusively relies on the 519 respondents covering 52 countries for which at least 3 expert responses have been obtained (in effect excluding China, Cyprus, Luxemburg, Mauritius, Nigeria and Serbia & Montenegro). Given the impossibility to account for all bureaucratic features in a comparative study, we concentrate on what could be referred to as the human resources dimension(s) of a Weberian bureaucracy, leaving other characteristics aside. With the human resources dimension(s) we basically mean the recruitment, the career, and the rewarding system for state bureaucrats. It is important to emphasize here that, as Olsen (2008, 16-18) notes; there are several other characteristics of an ideal type Weberian bureaucracy such as the bureau organization, the hierarchical organization, and the rule-based authority. Nevertheless, following the theoretical reasons presented in previous sections and the empirical recommendation by Evans and Rauch (1999, 751), we consider staff policy or human resources to have an essential role for explaining bureaucratic capacity.

For the present purposes we have explored the eight items that, for the literature reviewed above, represent the main employment-related characteristics of a Weberian bureaucracy. According to the most prevailing view (confirmed in Evans and Rauch's 1999 dataset) one should expect these characteristics to go hand in hand. These items include the extent to which recruitment is based on merit (q2_a) and formal examinations (q2_c) rather than political criteria (q2_b, q2_d), as well as the extent to which promotion within the hierarchy is an internal affair (q2_e) and is based on lifelong career paths (q2_f). Competitive salaries (q2_k) and special protection from extraordinary labour laws (q8_1) are other components of this assemblage of features.

These questions are capturing different bureaucratic characteristics, and could be seen as indicators of distinct bureaucratic dimensions. Table 2 reports the results from a country-level principal components factor analysis of the above mentioned eight items. The goal is thus to ascertain whether a set of underlying dimensions structure the differences in mean responses across countries. As reported in Table 2, in a first dimension meritocratic recruitment and internal promotion appear to be strongly connected with a non-politicized bureaucracy. Since these characteristics represent the ideal of a "professional" (vis-à-vis "politicized") administration, we call this dimension bureaucratic "professionalism." Nevertheless, not all characteristics seem to go hand in hand. Specifically, some features form a second empirically significant cluster. In this second dimension, the use of formal examination systems is intimately connected to having lifelong careers and protection through special employment regulations. Since this dimension captures the distinction between open (i.e. more "private-like") and closed (i.e.

more "public-like") civil service systems mentioned above, we call it bureaucratic "closedness".

*** Table 2 around here ***

This allows us to see that the countries whose bureaucracies have more formal examination systems to join the civil service tend to also have special employment laws for civil servants (different from the general labor laws), who, in addition, enjoy lifelong careers. More interestingly, contrary to the intuitive view that a more public-oriented or "closed" administration would prevent politicization and enhance meritocracy, the analysis in Table 2 shows that the countries with more closed bureaucracies *do not* significantly have more meritocratic recruitment or less politicization of the civil service. The final component, competitive salaries, does not conclusively belong to either of these dimensions and should therefore be treated separately.

Based on these results we construct two additive indices, *professionalism* and *closedness* which link back to the theoretical expectations described in previous sections, computed by averaging the respective items to which these dimensions are strongly connected.[2] Theoretically these indices may thus vary from 1 to 7, with 1 representing completely unprofessionalized or perfectly open systems, and 7 corresponding to a perfectly professionalized or closed system. The basic descriptive information on these two indices, together with the remaining competitive salaries indicator, is presented in Table

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[2] In addition, we have replaced missing values on individual items of the two indices by regression estimates based on all other items. This ensures that all 519 experts are assigned values on each index.

3. As can be seen, the average bureaucratic system included in this sample is deemed to be both more professionalized and, even clearer so, more closed than the midpoint (4) of the 1-7 scale. Salaries are however to a lesser degree perceived to be competitive in these countries.

*** Table 3 about here ***

As Table 3 also indicates, however, there are large discrepancies around these means, both among experts assessing different countries and among those judging the same countries. These variations are presented in Figure 1-3, which together with the country-specific means display 95 % confidence intervals that take the underlying within-country uncertainty into account.[3]

*** Figure 1-2 around here ***

In Figure 1 we find most countries belonging to the Anglo-American tradition, such as Ireland, New Zealand and the UK, or to the Scandinavian administrative tradition, such as Norway, Denmark and Sweden, at the top of the Bureaucratic Professionalism continuum, which is not very surprising. However, here we also find countries belonging to the East Asian administrative tradition, like Japan and Korea, known for having a strong professional bureaucracy (Painter and Peters 2010). Further down we find

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[3] Since the average sample size per country is less than 10 respondents, non-parametric bootstrapped confidence intervals are deemed more accurate than parametric ones based on the normality assumption. Bias-corrected 95 percent confidence intervals with 1000 replications on a country-by-country basis have been estimated in Stata 10.0

countries with known high levels of politicization of the civil service, such as Spain, Italy and, close to the bottom, Mexico (Dahlström 2009b; Matheson et al 2007). As the confidence intervals indicate, there is of course considerable uncertainty underlying these estimates. Of particular concern in this regard is Kyrgyzstan and Turkey, where the expert respondents are in considerable disagreement over the extent to which the public administration in these two countries are professionalized. The average 95 % confidence interval is however .97, almost exactly the magnitude of the cross-country standard deviation. The ratio of the between- over the within-country variation, moreover, is approximately 1.22. Despite expert uncertainty, and in some cases small country samples, we would thus argue that these data give meaningful estimates of the level of professionalization across countries.

Figure 2 captures how "closed" civil service systems are, and, again, the ranking seems to correspond with established observations in the small-N studies surveyed above. Near the top are Spain, France and Japan, countries that already in the historical analysis of public administrations in the 19th century have been pointed out as the clearest examples of bureaucracies with "organizational orientation" (Silberman 1993, 12), in opposition to the ones with "professional orientation." Those countries (together with other such as Greece, Korea or Belgium) also rank at the top in more contemporary accounts of closed administrations, both by scholars and international organizations (Schnapp 2001, OECD 2004, Lapuente 2007). At the bottom of the ranking, we find, first of all, the countries regarded in those accounts as more "open" (or more professional or private-sector oriented), such as New Zealand, Australia, Denmark or the Netherlands. These countries

lack the formal examinations more "closed" bureaucracies have (e.g. French *concours* or Spanish oposiciones) as well as their guarantees of lifelong tenure and other civil service protections established in special employment laws. Secondly, at the bottom of the bureaucratic closedness scale we see a very different group of countries – such as South Africa, Belarus, Georgia or Russia – that were also at the bottom in terms of bureaucratic professionalism given their high levels of politicization and low levels or meritocracy. In other words, being at the bottom of this scale, because you have a more open or private-oriented approach to public employment, does not lead you to have a less (or more) meritocratic bureaucracy.

Again these point estimates are surrounded by perception uncertainty, actually even more so than in the case of professionalization. The average 95 % confidence interval is here 1.11, and the between/within-country variation ratio only .92. Countries of considerable concern are Uzbekistan, where the uncertainty bounds are so wide as to render any meaningful inference almost impossible, but also South Africa, Kazakhstan and Malta, in the latter case by and large due to the small number of expert respondents. Although this warrants caution for potential data users, the cross-country patterns are nevertheless sensible enough to suggest that these data tap into another structural difference among bureaucratic systems.

*** Figure 3 around here ***

The main findings of the paper can be graphically summarized in Figure 3, which plots the 52 countries analyzed according to their degree of "professionalism" and "closedness." Unlike the usual unidimensional accounts of bureaucracies (i.e. patronage-based vs. merit-based), we see here how four different types of bureaucracies emerge. Among the more "open" (or more "private"), there are both patronage-based (e.g. South Africa, Georgia) as well as the top performers in merit (e.g. New Zealand, Denmark). And among the more "closed" or "public" there are some relatively meritocratic (e.g. India, Japan, France), but there are also some with relatively high levels of politicization and lack of merit (e.g. Greece, Italy). In other words, having a more "public" bureaucratic employment system does not mean having a more meritocratic bureaucracy. These findings can have important normative implications for policymakers interested in developing more meritocratic bureaucracies.

Cross-Source Validation

This section checks the robustness of the two dimensions just discussed, using four different proxies from various sources. We first report these tests as correlations in Table 4. The first source of validation is an expert survey on the number of politically appointed officials in the central government offices from 18 countries conducted by Dahlström (2009b). Between two and four highly qualified country experts, all of whom were identified on the basis of their publication record in public administration, were by email asked to provide an estimate of this number. This survey is thus similar to ours in terms of the sample of experts (although the sample size per country is more narrow), but instead of using a subjectively defined response scale, exact, and thus more objective

statements of facts, were solicited. We have taken the log of this figure to smooth out country outliers, the expectation of course being that more professionalized systems should have fewer appointees. The degree to which a bureaucratic system is open or closed, on the other hand, is not expected to be correlated with this number.

*** Table 4 about here ***

The second source reported in Table 4 is the scale of "Bureaucracy quality", ranging from 1 to 4, as reported by the Political Risk Services group's "International Credit Risk guide" in 2008, the latest year available (ICRG 2009). The ICRG staff produces a subjective assessment based on available political information from 143 countries in the world, 47 of which overlap with our country sample. According to their definition of "Bureaucracy quality":

> high points are given to countries where the bureaucracy has the strength and expertise to govern without drastic changes in policy or interruptions in government services. In these low-risk countries, the bureaucracy tends to be somewhat autonomous from political pressure and to have an established mechanism for recruitment and training. Countries that lack the cushioning effect of a strong bureaucracy receive low points because a change in government tends to be traumatic in terms of policy formulation and day-to-day administrative functions (ICRG 2009, p. 7).

We should thus expect also this assessment to be correlated with the professionalism index, but not with bureaucratic closedness.

The third and fourth source have instead been intentionally selected to correspond to the open-closed dimension. Data for both have been collected by the OECD through a survey filled in by senior officials from ministries/agencies for public employment/management of the civil service (OECD 2009). The underlying data are thus again subjective perceptions, but now from the viewpoint of civil servants themselves rather than from outside experts. The first is the "Index of Recruitment Systems", which theoretically varies from 0 ("Career-based system" –i.e. "closed") to 1 ("Position-based system" – i.e. "open"). This index is constructed from four questions, two of which tap in to the use of competitive examinations vs. direct applications in the recruitment process, and one of which concerns the extent to which positions in the civil service are open to external recruitment or not. These features thus closely correspond to our theoretical distinction between open and closed bureaucracies.

The fourth (and second OECD) source is a measure of the "degree of individualization", which denotes "the degree to which the management rules and practices vary according to the individuals and less according to the group" (OECD 2004, 17). This is a measure traditionally associated with the closedness of a bureaucracy. In those systems defined as closed, public, organizationally-oriented or career-based, candidates join the civil service in relatively large-scale job competitions, their salaries and employment conditions are collectively bargained and their promotions collectively regulated and granted. In simple words, civil servants are, first and foremost, treated as members of a collective. On the contrary, in those systems known as open, private, professionally-oriented or position-based, candidates (like their private sector counterparts) are recruited to fill a particular

position, and their salaries and employment conditions are more likely to be set on an individual basis.

As Table 4 makes clear, these expectations are well borne out. Among the 18 countries for which there are overlapping observations, the professionalism index is negatively correlated with the number of appointees (at −.67), whereas the association with the closedness index at .36 is not statistically significant. Moreover, ICRG:s "bureaucracy quality" is reasonably well correlated with professionalism (at .71), but completely unrelated to closedness. By contrast, the two OECD indices are most closely related to closedness (with correlations at −.69 and −.58), but their relationships with professionalism are weak and not statistically significant.

*** Table 4 about here ***

Figures 4a-5b offer a graphic visualization of the cross-national patterns producing these relationships. All in all, one can see how, despite using varying response scales, expert selection criteria, and types of experts, measures of similar features of the bureaucratic structure produce fairly consistent results. Therefore we believe these cross-source correlations strengthen our confidence in the validity of both the professionalism and closedness dimensions.

*** Figures 4a, 4b, 5a, 5b about here ***

Assessing Respondent Perception Bias

All expert respondents taking part in the survey are of course not of one and the same kind. The average respondent in our sample of 52 countries with at least 3 respondents is a male (66 %), 47-year-old PhD (82 %), an overwhelming majority of which were either born (90 %) or live (92 %) in the country for which they have provided their responses. Do these expert characteristics somehow affect perceptions of bureaucratic structures? If perceptions vary systematically by observable expert characteristics, the extent to which they reflect a common underlying reality would be in doubt. That would for example imply that the estimate for a particular country is determined by the make-up of the sample of experts rather than by its bureaucratic structure or practices.

To assess the risk of such perception bias, we have in Table 5 regressed the two dimensions of bureaucracy on all five expert characteristics for which we have data. At first, there seems to be two systematic tendencies in the data. Both these tendencies appear in the upper panel of the table. The first is that female experts (which make up a third of the sample) perceive their bureaucracies to be somewhat less professionalized and somewhat more open than their male counterparts (although the latter tendency is only marginally significant). Moreover, younger experts perceive bureaucracies to be both less professionalized and more closed.

*** Table 5 about here ***

These tendencies could however simply reflect the fact that the female and younger experts are overrepresented in countries whose bureaucracies differ systematically on these dimensions. In other words, we would preferably want to assess differences in perceptions across different types of experts while holding the object of evaluation (i.e. the bureaucracy of a specific country) constant. In the lower panel of Table 5, we accomplish this by exclusively relying on the within-country variation among experts (in technical terms, we control for country-fixed effects). With this control in place, as can be seen, both the gender and age biases disappear. There is thus no systematic tendency among either female or younger expert to perceive bureaucracies differently *when asked about the same bureaucracy*. However, another systematic tendency now appears, namely that respondents assessing countries *in which they do not live* perceive bureaucracies to be less professionalized and more open (as compared to experts living in the country they assess). Thus, once cross-country variation is being controlled for, respondents not living in the country they assess rate the bureaucracies .385 points lower than resident respondents on the 1–7 professionalism scale, and .349 lower on the 1-7 closedness index (although the latter difference is only marginally significant).

There is no obvious explanation as to why these differences in perception between resident and non-resident respondents appear. Although we must acknowledge that this systematic difference appears in the data, it is at the same time not very large in absolute terms. When it comes to relative differences in country scores, moreover, the results we obtain from these two types of experts for the 25 countries where we have at least one point estimate from each of them are very similar. For the professionalization index, the

scores from resident and non-resident experts correlate at .76, for bureaucratic closedness at .77; and it should then be remembered that the point estimates from non-respondents are in most instances (19 of the 25 countries) based on only one expert. By and large then, whereas this source of perception bias introduces some extra noise in our data, it is not serious enough to question the overall validity of the dimensions of bureaucracy.

Conclusions

The field of comparative public administration has always had great thinkers. Not only from Max Weber and onwards, but as Raadschelders' (1998, 45) review of comparative administrative scholars shows it also includes classical writings from Herodotus, Aristotle or Ibn Khaldun. However, to a large extent the field lacks comparative data on many of its key variables which, of course, hampers empirical analyses. This paper has presented a unique attempt to provide such data on several relevant administrative features for a large number of countries. This data will in the future hopefully help to explain differences in bureaucratic performance, state capacity and social outcomes such as corruption and economic growth.

The paper makes both a theoretical and an empirical contribution. Drawing on the work of administrative historians, we argue that already on theoretical grounds one should expect several dimensions in a Weberian bureaucracy. The main contribution of the paper is however empirical and we demonstrate that, unlike the prevailing view (e.g. Evans and Rauch 1999), bureaucratic features do not follow a single continuum, but rather two

distinctive dimensions. In this paper we refer to the two dimensions as bureaucratic *professionalism* (i.e. up to which extent bureaucracies are "professional" vis-à-vis "politicized") and bureaucratic *closedness* (i.e. up to which extent bureaucracies are more "closed" or public-like vis-à-vis "open" or private-like). By way of validating these dimensions against other independent data sources and demonstrating that the results have not been produced by respondent perception bias the paper secures data quality and points to the significance of the results.

The normative implications of this finding are also very relevant. Institutional designers and policymakers interested in creating meritocratic bureaucracies tend to follow the standard view of Weberianism as a highly regulated bureaucracy where civil servants, in order to be protected from politicians' interferences, must enjoy civil service status, have special protections and specific labor laws different to those applied in the private sector. However, in the light of the evidence presented here, those measures are not correlated with a more meritocratic or less politicized administration. In order to protect professional merit from arbitrary political assaults, it does not seem necessary to isolate public employees from the working conditions of the private sector. A professional bureaucracy seems to be compatible with a higher degree of flexibility than has previously been recognized.

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Appendix: The Questionnaire

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Quality of Government

At the Quality of Government Institute at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden, we seek to enhance research on quality of government -- how to get it and how it influences public policy. As part of this endeavour, we are conducting a web survey of a global panel of experts on the quality of government in various countries.

The questionnaire only includes 14 groups of questions, and takes approximately *10 minutes* of your time to answer.

All replies will be treated with strictest confidentiality, and your personal information will in no way be publicly revealed. As a participant, you will receive a first-hand report with the main results from the survey, and you may also access the data directly yourself. In the future you might also, if you wish, be invited to attend QoG conferences on the subject.

Since a high response rate is critical for the quality of a survey like this, we would be very grateful if you took the time to fill out the questionnaire.

Country for which you want to provide your answers

All questions in this questionnaire pertain to the public sector employees of a specific country of your choice. This could be your country of birth, your country of residence, or any other country for which you perceive yourself most knowledgeable to provide answers.

When asking about public sector employees in this survey, we would like you to think about a typical person employed by the public sector in your country, excluding the military. If you think there are large discrepancies between branches of the public sector, between the national/federal and subnational/ state level, or between the core bureaucracy and employees working with public service delivery, please try to average them out before stating your response.

Please, choose the country for which you want to provide your answers:

1. Your country of selection:

> Sweden

Comment: Each respondent may only answer to one country. We would like you to choose the country on which you are most knowledgeable.

The survey has 13 more questions of a total of 14.

> Next group

> Save answers

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2. Thinking about the country you have chosen, how often would you say the following occurs today?

	Hardly ever → Almost always							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	No opinion
a. When recruiting public sector employees, the skills and merits of the applicants decide who gets the job?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
b. When recruiting public sector employees, the political connections of the applicants decide who gets the job?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
c. Public sector employees are hired via a formal examination system?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
d. The top political leadership hires and fires senior public officials?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
e. Senior public officials are recruited from within the ranks of the public sector?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
f. Once one is recruited as a public sector employee, one stays a public sector employee for the rest of one's career?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
g. Firms that provide the most favorable kickbacks to senior officials are awarded public procurement contracts in favor of firms making the lowest bid?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
h. When deciding how to implement policies in individual cases, public sector employees treat some groups in society unfairly?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
j. When granting licenses to start up private firms, public sector employees favor applicants with which they have strong personal contacts?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
k. Senior officials have salaries that are comparable with the salaries of private sector managers with roughly similar training and responsibilities?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
l. The salaries of public sector employees are linked to appraisals of their performance?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
m. When found guilty of misconduct, public sector employees are reprimanded by proper bureaucratic mechanisms?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Previous group | Next group

The survey has 12 more questions of a total of 14.

Save answers

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3. Still thinking about the country you have chosen to submit your answers for, how common would you say the following occurrences are today in that country as compared to 10 years ago?

	Much less common today		About as common as before			Much more common today		No opinion
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
a. When recruiting public sector employees, the skills and formal merits of the applicants decide who gets the job?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
b. Public sector employees are hired via a formal examination system?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
c. Senior officials have salaries that are comparable with the salaries of private sector managers with roughly similar training and responsibilities?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
d. The top political leadership hires and fires senior public officials?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
e. Senior public officials are recruited from within the ranks of the public sector?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
f. Once one is recruited as a public sector employee, one stays a public sector employee for the rest of one's career?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
g. When deciding how to implement policies in individual cases, public sector employees treat some groups in society unfairly?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

[Previous group]　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Next group]

The survey has 11 more questions of a total of 14.

[Save answers]

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By a common definition, impartiality implies that when implementing policies, public sector employees should not take anything about the citizen/case into consideration that is not stipulated in the policy.

📖 **4. Generally speaking, how often would you say that public sector employees today, in your chosen country, act *impartially* when deciding how to implement a policy in an individual case?**

Hardly ever   Almost always

○ 1   ○ 2   ○ 3   ○ 4   ○ 5   ○ 6   ○ 7   ○ No opinion

📖 **5. How common would you say *impartiality* among public sector employees is today as compared to 10 years ago?**

Much less common today   About as common as before   Much more common today

○ 1   ○ 2   ○ 3   ○ 4   ○ 5   ○ 6   ○ 7   ○ No opinion

Previous group		Next group

The survey has 9 more questions of a total of 14.

Save answers

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6. Hypothetically, let's say that a typical public sector employee was given the task to distribute an amount equivalent to 1000 USD per capita to the needy poor in your country. According to your judgement, please state the percentage that would reach:

Fill in the percentages for each question in the right column and make sure that all questions together add to 100 percent.

	Percent (%)
The needy poor	
People with kinship ties to the public employee	
Middlemen/consultants	
The public employee's own pocket	
The superiors of the public employee	
Others*	
Total:	

No opinion ☐

7. For the answer *others* *: please specify whom?

Previous group   Next group

The survey has 7 more questions of a total of 14.

Save answers

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8. To what extent would you say the following applies today to the country you have chosen to submit your answers for?

	Not at all 1	2	3	4	5	6	To a very large extent 7	No opinion
a. Public sector employees strive to be efficient?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
b. Public sector employees strive to implement the policies decided upon by the top political leadership?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
c. Public sector employees strive to help clients?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
d. Public sector employees strive to follow rules?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
e. Public sector employees strive to fulfill the ideology of the party/parties in government?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
f. The terms of employment for public sector employees are regulated by special laws that do not apply to private sector employees?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
g. The provision of public services is subject to competition from private sector companies, NGOs or other public agencies?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
h. The provision of public services is funded by user fees and/or private insurances rather than taxes?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
i. Women are proportionally represented among public sector employees?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Previous group   Next group

The survey has 6 more questions of a total of 14.

Save answers

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Finally, we would like to ask some questions about your self

9. Are you man or woman?

○ man   ○ woman

10. What is your level of education?   `--No answer--` ▼
Mark the answer that You think most properly describes your education

11. Which year were you born?   `[    ]`
(year: 19xx)

12. In which country were you born?   `--No answer--` ▼

13. In which country do you live today?   `--No answer--` ▼

`Previous group`   `Next group`

The survey has 1 more Question of a total of 14.

`Save answers`

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Considerations about this survey?

Thank you for your interest and your participation in our study!

📊 **14. If you have any considerations about this survey, please write them down in the box below.**

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In order to submit your questionnaire, please press 'Answer'.

| Previous group | | Answer |

The survey has 0 more questions of a total of 14.

| Save answers |

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Table 1. Number of Valid Responses by Country

Country	Respondents	Country	Respondents
Albania	11	South Korea	7
Armenia	16	Kyrgyzstan	6
Australia	10	Latvia	7
Austria	5	Lithuania	11
Azerbaijan	6	*Luxembourg*	1
Belarus	9	Macedonia	7
Belgium	7	Malta	4
Bosnia & Herzegovina	7	*Mauritius*	1
Brazil	3	Mexico	11
Bulgaria	22	Netherlands	14
Canada	13	New Zealand	12
China	1	*Nigeria*	2
Croatia	6	Norway	12
Cyprus	2	Poland	11
Czech Republic	28	Portugal	9
Denmark	13	Romania	17
Estonia	10	Russian Federation	6
Finland	11	*Serbia & Montenegro*	2
France	6	Slovakia	7
Georgia	8	Slovenia	11
Germany	12	South Africa	4
Greece	22	Spain	7
Hungary	15	Sweden	10
Iceland	4	Switzerland	5
India	7	Turkey	5
Ireland	16	Ukraine	11
Italy	7	United Kingdom	11
Japan	9	United States	19
Kazakhstan	7	Uzbekistan	3
		TOTAL	528

Note: Countries in italics are not included in this paper due to too low response rate.

Table 2. Dimensions of Bureaucracy.

	Professionalism	Closedness	Salaries
Meritocratic recruitment (q2_a)	**.90**	−.10	.03
Political recruitment (q2_b)	**−.93**	.09	−.13
Political elite recruits senior officials (q2_d)	**−.82**	−.17	−.04
Senior officials internally recruited (q2_e)	**.82**	.18	−.16
Formal examination system (q2_c)	.03	**.89**	−.01
Lifelong careers (q2_f)	.38	**.67**	−.42
Special employment laws (q8_f)	−.24	**.75**	−.12
Competitive salaries (q2_k)	.08	−.10	**.96**

Note: Entries are varimax rotated factor loadings for the first three factors retained from a principal components factor analysis at the country level (n=52). Loadings >.5 or <−.5 are highlighted in bold, questionnaire items (see the Appendix) within parentheses.

Table 3. Descriptive Characteristics of Three Dimensions of Bureaucracy.

	Individual-level mean	Country-level mean	Cross-country standard deviation	Within-country standard deviation	Ratio cross- over within variation
Professionalization	4.25	4.22	0.99	0.81	1.22
Closedness	4.99	5.00	0.81	0.88	0.92
Salaries	3.37	3.34	1.10	1.43	0.77

Note: Each dimension may theoretically vary from 1 to 7. The individual-means and within-country standard deviation is based on 519 respondents for professionalization and closedness, 514 for salaries. The country-level means and cross-country standard deviations are based on 52 countries.

Table 4. Tests of Cross-Source Validity.

	Professionalism	*Closedness*
Log of no. of political appointees	−.67***	.36
	(18)	(18)
Bureaucracy quality (ICRG)	.71***	−.00
	(47)	(47)
Index of recruitment system (OECD)	.09	−.69***
	(25)	(25)
Degree of individualization (OECD)	.32	-.58***
	(28)	(28)

* significant at the .10-level, ** significant at the .05-level, *** significant at the .01-level.

Note: Entries are correlation coefficients, with number of countries within parentheses.

Table 5. Respondent Perception Bias.

	Professionalism	Closedness
A. OLS		
Female	−.309**	−.207*
PhD	.167	.244*
Year of Birth	−.016***	.017***
Was Not Born in Country	.205	−.017
Does Not Live in Country	−.195	−.153
B. Country-Fixed Effects		
Female	−.053	−.142
PhD	−.210*	.137
Year of Birth	−.000	.006
Was Not Born in Country	−.050	.149
Does Not Live in Country	−.385**	−.349*

* significant at the .10-level, ** significant at the .05-level, *** significant at the .01-level.

Note: Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients. No. of observations is 490 for professionalism and closedness, 477 for salaries. No. of countries is 52.

Figure 1. Bureaucratic Professionalism (country means with 95 % confidence intervals)
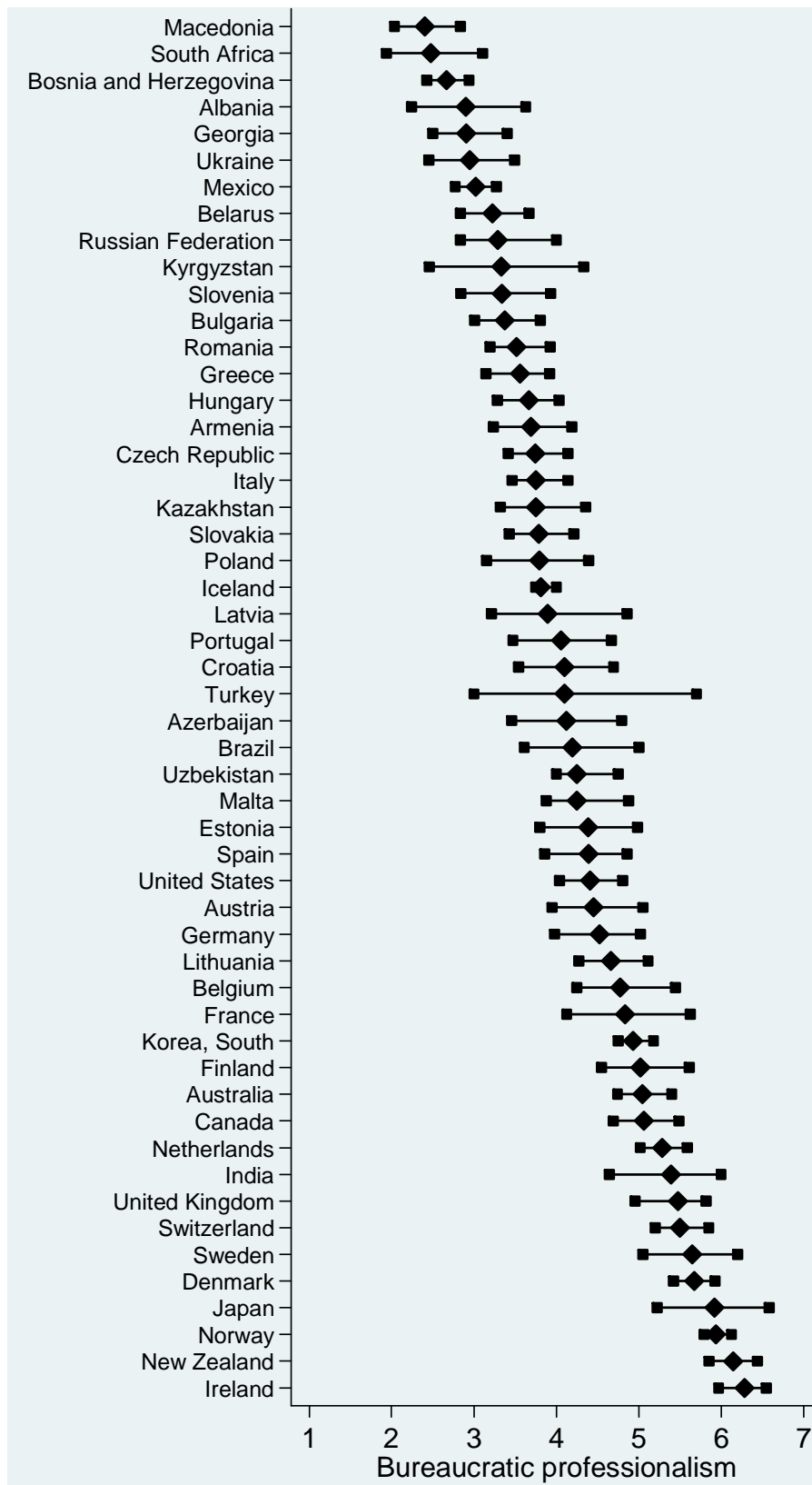
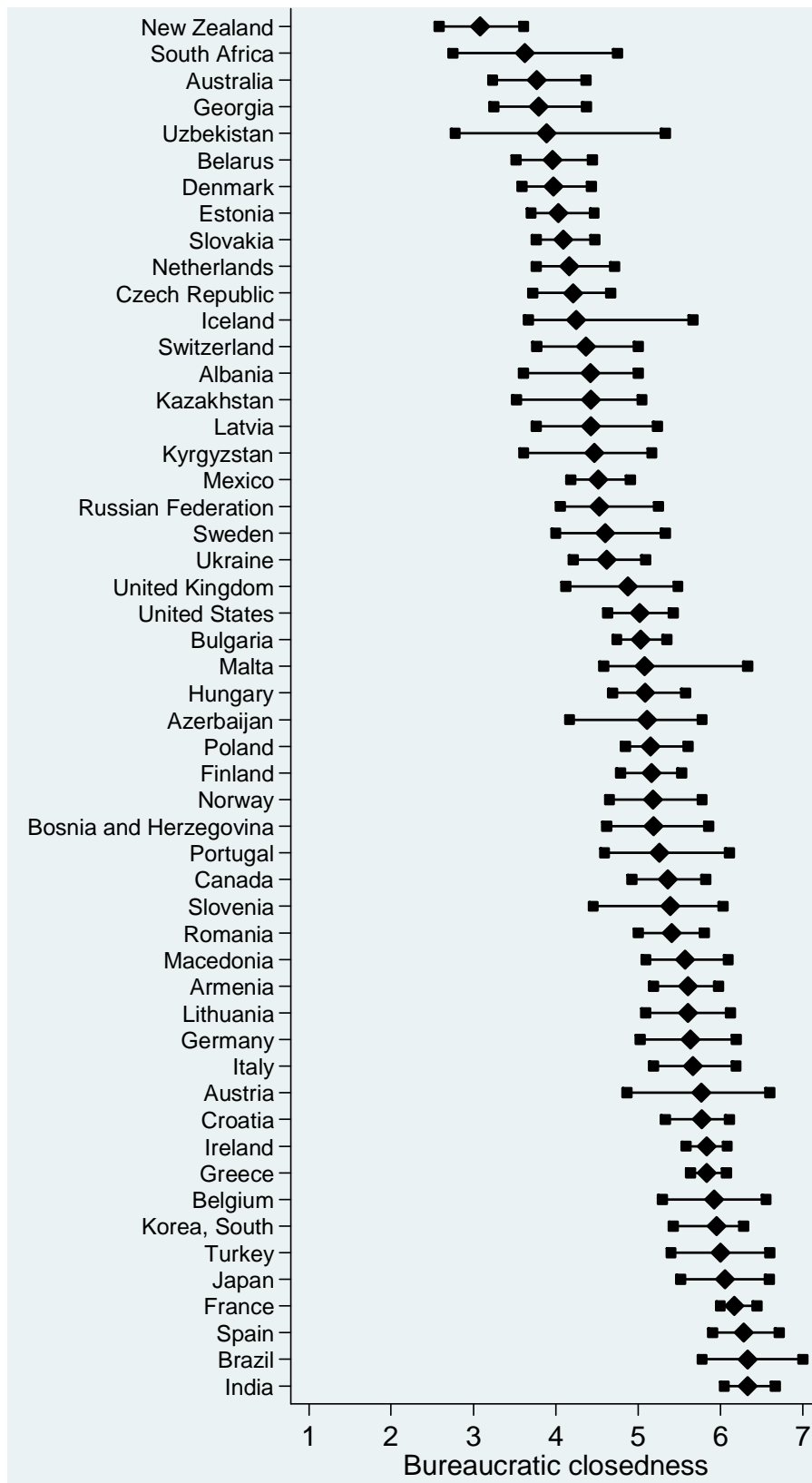**Figure 2. Bureaucratic Closedness (country means with 95 % confidence intervals)**

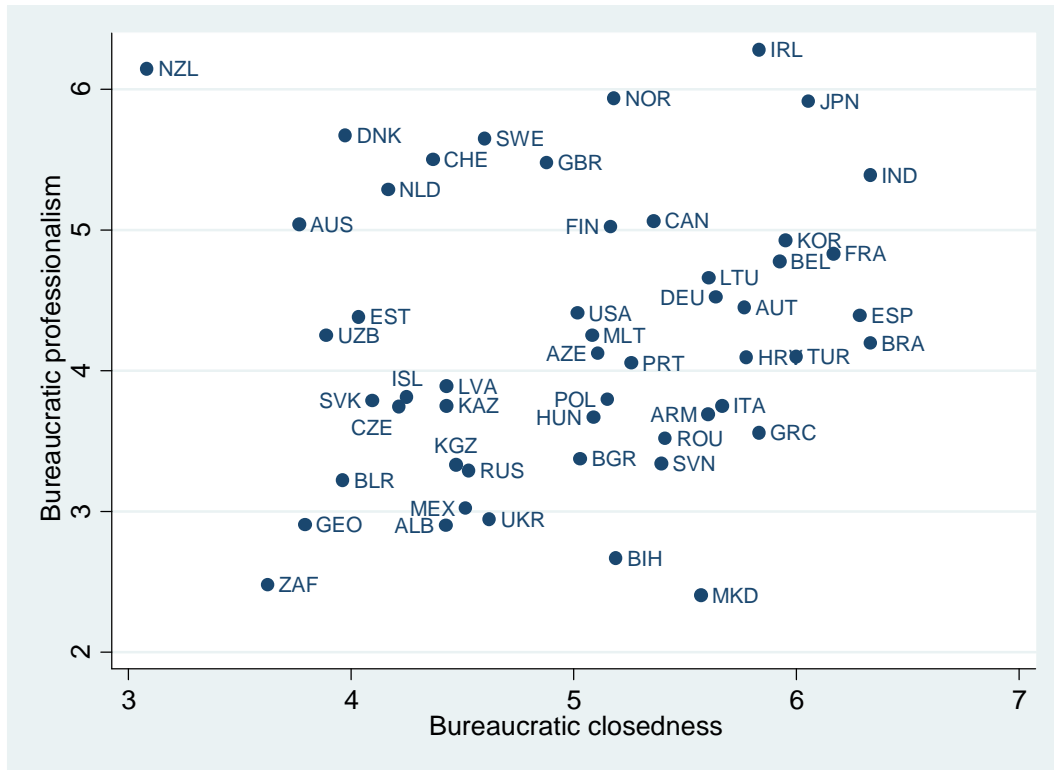**Figure 3. Bureaucratic professionalism and bureaucratic closedness.**

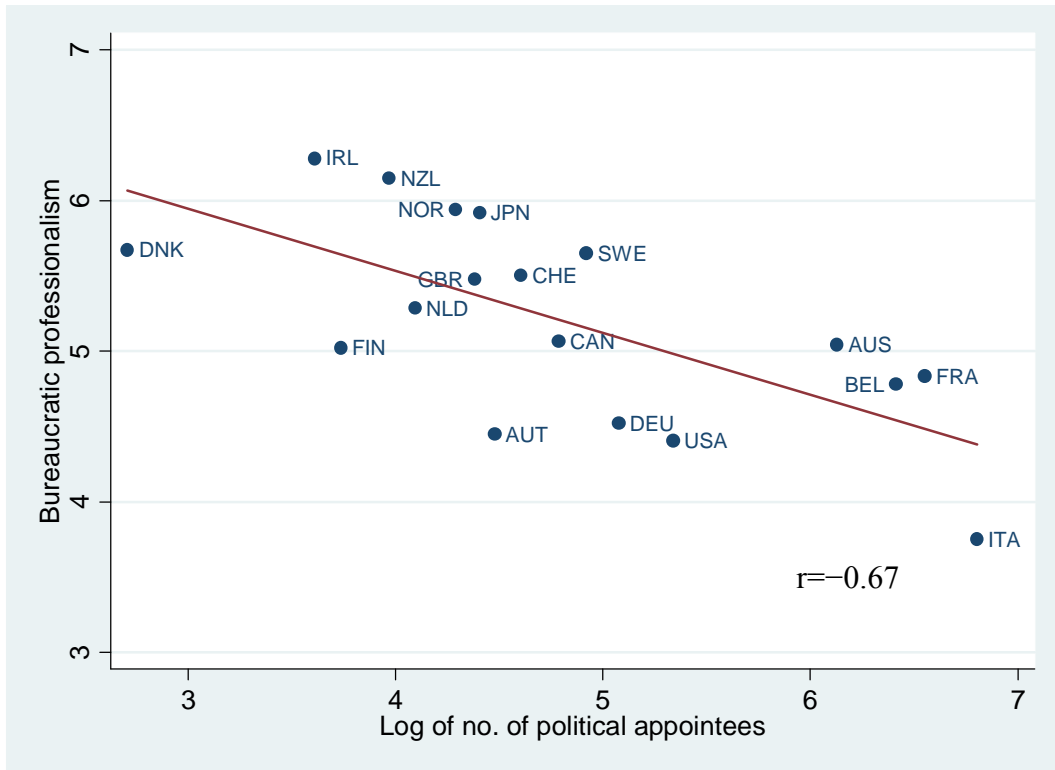**Figure 4a. Professionalism and the number of political appointees (n=18)**

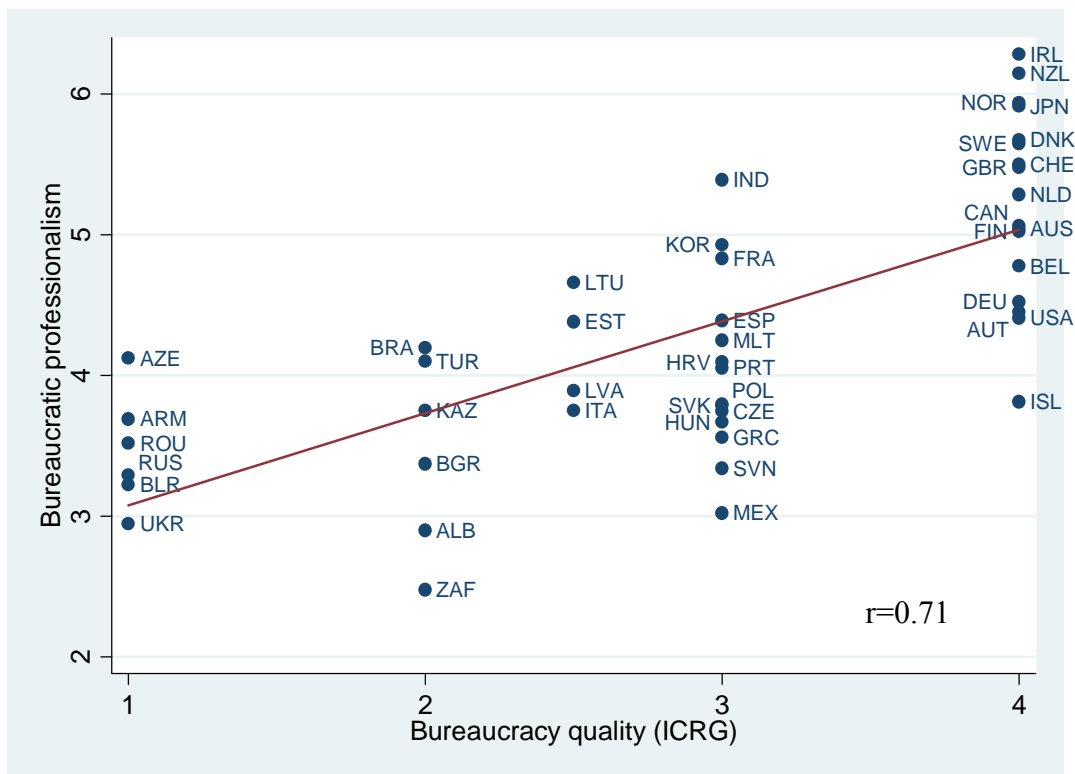**Figure 4b. Professionalism and bureaucracy quality (n=47)**
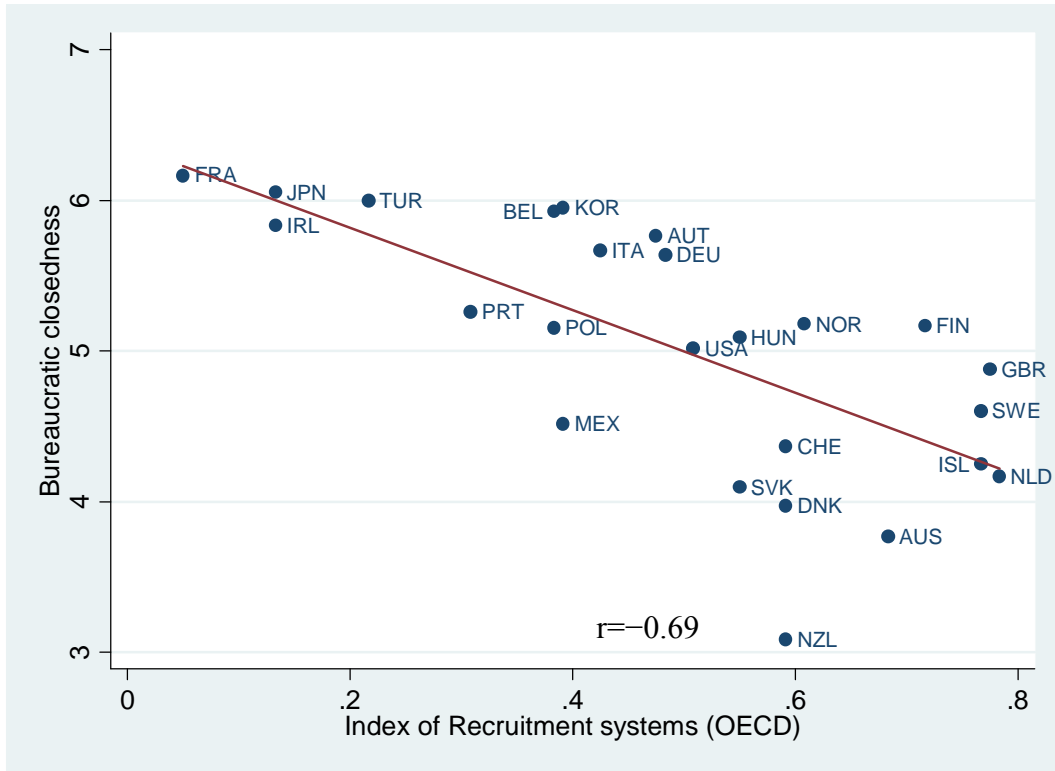
Figure 5a. Closedness and recruitment systems (n=25)

Figure 5a. Closedness and degree of individualization (n=28)