

Bureaucratic structures, behavior, and performance

Docent lecture

Department of Political Science, University of Gothenburg

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Dr. Kohei Suzuki

Assistant Professor, Institute of Public Administration



**Universiteit
Leiden**

The Netherlands

Brief self-introduction

- **Academic positions**

- Institute of Public Administration, Leiden University, the Netherlands
- Assistant Professor (2019-)
- The Quality of Government (QoG) Institute, Dep't of Political Science Research Associate, University of Gothenburg, Sweden
- Post-Doctoral Research Fellow (2016-2018)

- **Education**

- Joint Ph.D. in Public Policy, Paul H. O'Neill School of Public and Environmental Affairs & Department of Political Science, June 2016
- Indiana University, Bloomington, the U.S.

Brief self-introduction

- **Research interest**

- Bureaucratic structure, behavior/attitudes, and performance
- Comparative bureaucracy
- Municipal performance

- **Publications**

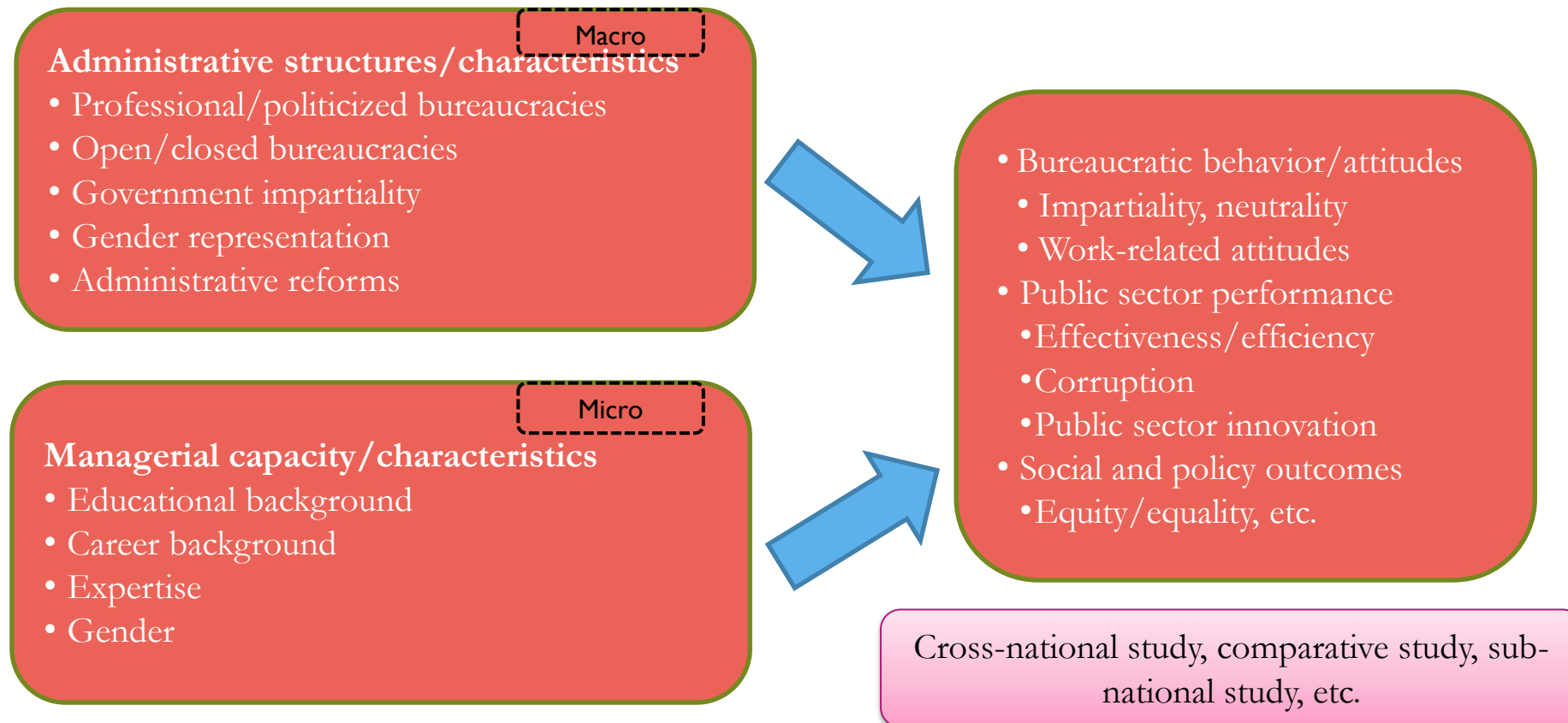
- *Public Administration Review, Governance (2), Journal of European Public Policy, Public Management Review (3), Policy & Politics, etc.*

- **Editorial board members**

- *Public Administration Review, Local Government Studies, International Journal of Public Administration, Asia Pacific Journal of Public Administration, Journal of Policy Studies, Governance & Management Review.*

Broad research agenda: Bureaucratic structures, managerial characteristics, and government performance

- Q. How do administrative characteristics of bureaucracy and characteristics of decision-makers affect the performance of government, broader social outcomes, and bureaucratic behavior/attitudes?



Four main research programs

1. Bureaucratic structure, behavior/attitudes, and performance

- Characteristics of bureaucracy
- Civil servants' values and work-related attitudes

2. Representative bureaucracy

- Gender representation, effects of gender

3. Government downsizing, citizen participation, and co-production

- Effects of government downsizing on citizen co-production

4. Municipal merger

- Effects of municipal merger on socioeconomic outcomes

Aiming for filling research gaps

- Trained in two disciplines: PS and PM/PA
- **Political Science**
 - Macro-focus
 - Bureaucracies have received little attention and an object of political control (Meier & O'Toole 2006, Fukuyama 2013)
 - Lack of attention to diversity in and internal functioning of public organizations.
- **Public Management and Administration**
 - Focus on micro: individual civil servants or public organizations
 - Assuming “all states are alike”, “neglecting the state” (Milward et al. 2016; Roberts 2018)
 - Split between PS and PA/PM (Peters, Pierre, et al. 2022)
 - Increased attention to contextual factors (Meier et al. 2017; Schuster et al 2020; Bertelli et al. 2020)
 - Still very few comparative studies in public management

Where is bureaucracy in political science?

Figure 1.2 *A word cloud of the 60 most popular keywords in political science, based on 10,000 articles published in the top 20 journals over the last ten years*



Toshkov (2016)

Public management approach

- Emerged in the late 1970s in the US
- Grew rapidly and still dominant approach
- Main focus
 - Performance of public agencies, or networks of public and private agencies to achieve goals set by political masters
- The unit of analysis
 - Interaction between managers and workers
 - The effects of managerial behavior on workers
- **Organizational behavior (OB)** is main focus
- the study of individual and group behavior in organizational settings

Is public management neglecting the state?

*“The field of public management is incomplete because it ignores basic questions about the capacity and purpose of the state. It assumes that **all states are alike**—that **Mexico is just like the United States, for example**—and that all states can perform certain basic tasks adequately. This is a mistake. Public management research needs to treat the state as a variable rather than a constant”* (Milward et al. 2016, 312)

Milward, Brint, et al. 2016. "Is public management neglecting the state?" *Governance* 29 (3):311-334.

- Country-level contextual factors are usually overlooked in studies of public management
- Do managerial tools and practices and administrative reforms (pay-for performance, NPM, performance measurement, co-production, cutback management, etc.) work in similar ways in any countries or any local governments within the same country?

Bureaucratic structure, behavior, and performance

- **My research motivation**

- Bureaucratic behavior and motivation, and their performance are essential to government capacity and quality of government
- Existing QoG and good governance literature: positive impacts of meritocracy and impartiality on policy outputs and broader socioeconomic outcomes
- However, individual bureaucrats are left out of the analysis
- To what extent do individual-level bureaucrats' attitudes and motivation vary across countries?
- How are bureaucratic attitudes and motivation associated with characteristics of national bureaucracy?
- What determines bureaucrats' commitment to core public values and managerial values?

Data & method

- **The Quality of Government Expert Survey Dataset (Dahlström et al. 2015)**
 - Measures characteristics of national bureaucratic structures constructed from the opinions of over 1,200 country experts
 - Novel quantification effort to measure characteristics of bureaucracy across countries covering 159 countries
- **The COCOPS Executive Survey on Public Sector Reform in Europe (Hammerschmid 2015)**
 - Unique survey answers of 9,330 **senior public sector executives** from 21 European countries.
 - Attitudes and beliefs about their work, political influence, reforms, etc.
- **European Quality of Government survey (EQI)(Charron, Dijkstra, and Lapuente 2015)**
 - The EQI survey was conducted through telephone surveys of over 85,000 citizens from 212 regions in twenty-four European countries.
 - The survey was designed to create a general picture of how citizens perceive the quality of their regional government
- Multilevel analysis (country-(region)-individual)

Publications

1. Lapuente, Victor, and Kohei Suzuki. 2020. "Politicization, Bureaucratic Legalism, and Innovative Attitudes in the Public Sector." *Public Administration Review* 80 (3):454-467.
2. Lapuente, Victor, and Kohei Suzuki. 2021. "The prudent entrepreneurs: women and public sector innovation." *Journal of European Public Policy* 28 (9):1345-1371.
3. Lapuente, Victor, Kohei Suzuki, and Steven Van de Walle. 2020. "Goats or wolves? Private sector managers in the public sector." *Governance* 33 (3):599-619.
4. Suzuki, Kohei, and Mehmet Akif Demircioglu. 2019. "The Association Between Administrative Characteristics and National Level Innovative Activity: Findings from a Cross-National Study." *Public Performance & Management Review* 42 (4):755-782.
5. Suzuki, Kohei, and Mehmet Akif Demircioglu. 2021. "Is impartiality enough? Government impartiality and citizens' perceptions of public service quality." *Governance* 34 (3):727-764.
6. Suzuki, Kohei, and Hyunkang Hur. 2020. "Bureaucratic structures and organizational commitment: findings from a comparative study of 20 European countries." *Public Management Review* 22 (6):877-907.
7. Suzuki, Kohei, and Hyunkang Hur. 2022. "Revisiting the old debate: citizens' perceptions of meritocracy in public and private organizations." *Public Management Review* 24 (8):1226-1250.

Lapuenta & Suzuki (2020)

- Research question
 - How are types of bureaucracies associated with senior civil servants' pro-innovation attitudes?
- Innovative attitudes
 - Accumulated studies on public sector innovation
 - Essential to administrative reform
 - Receptiveness to new ideas and creative solutions
 - Change orientation
 - Risk taking

Lapuenta & Suzuki (2020)

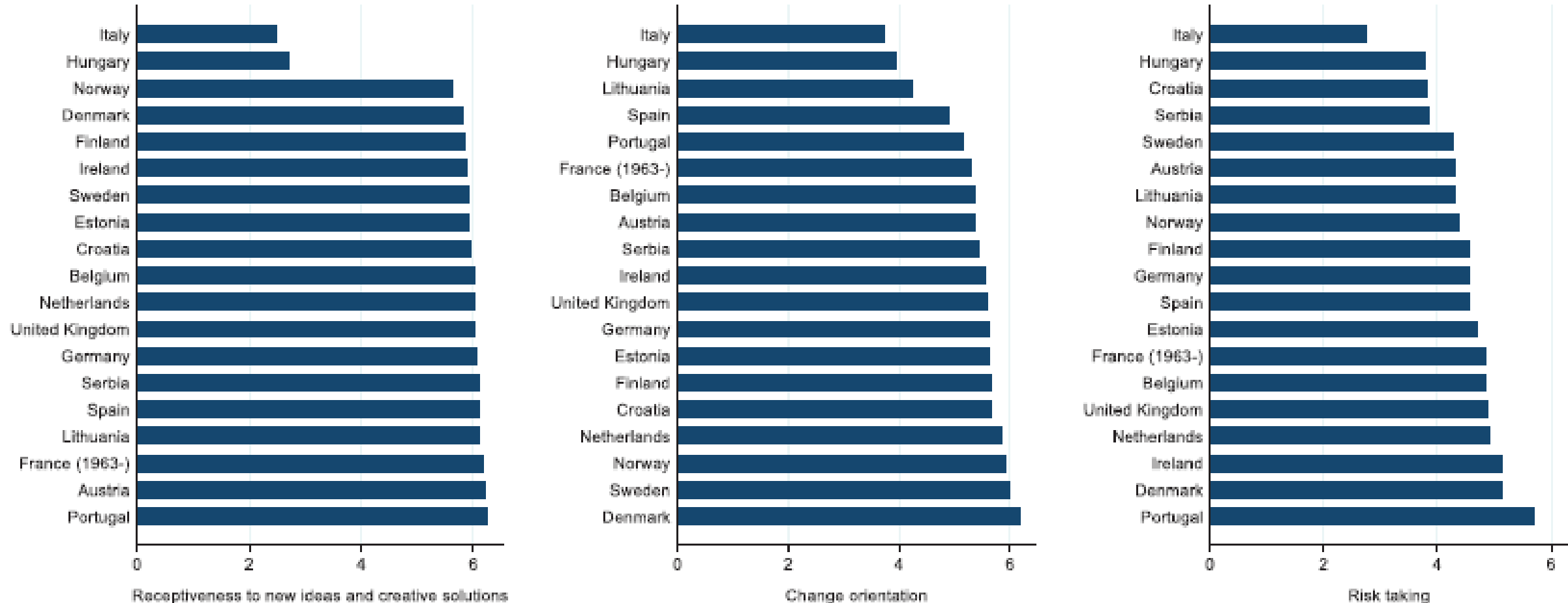
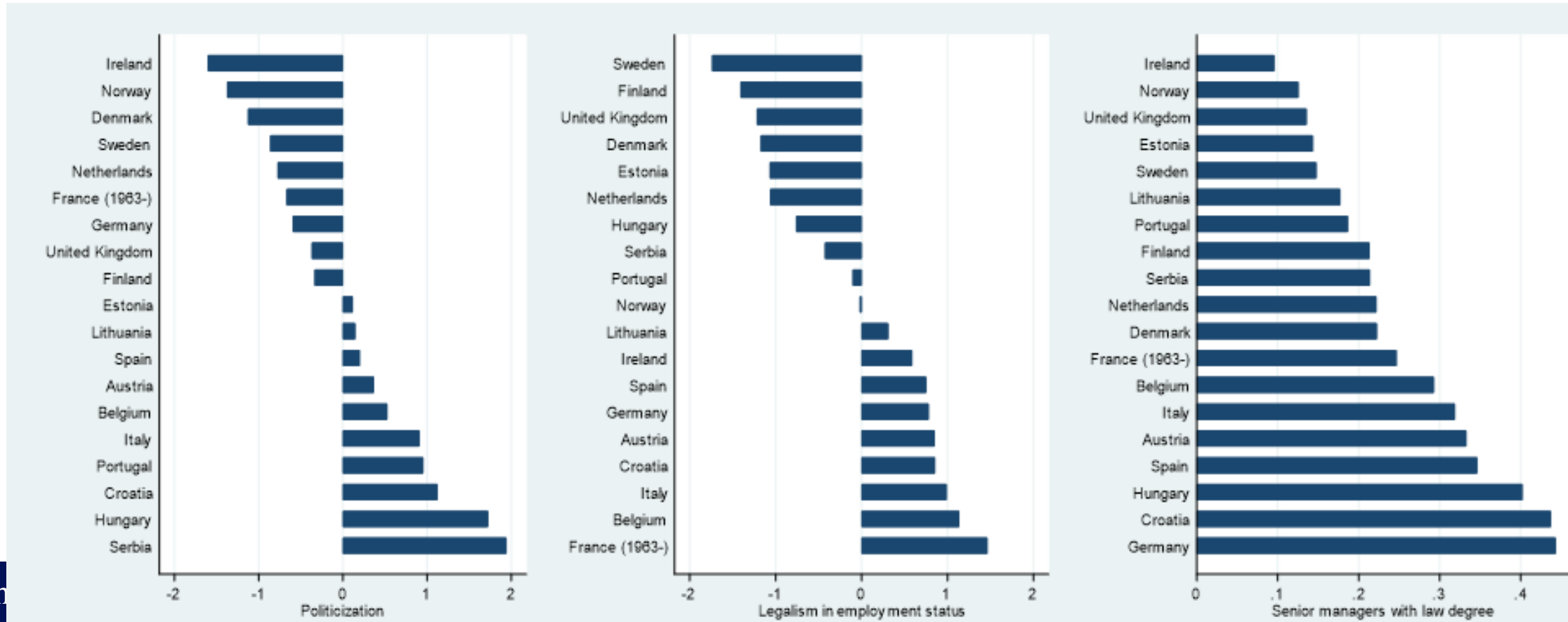


Figure 1 Variations in Pro-Innovation Attitudes across Sample Countries

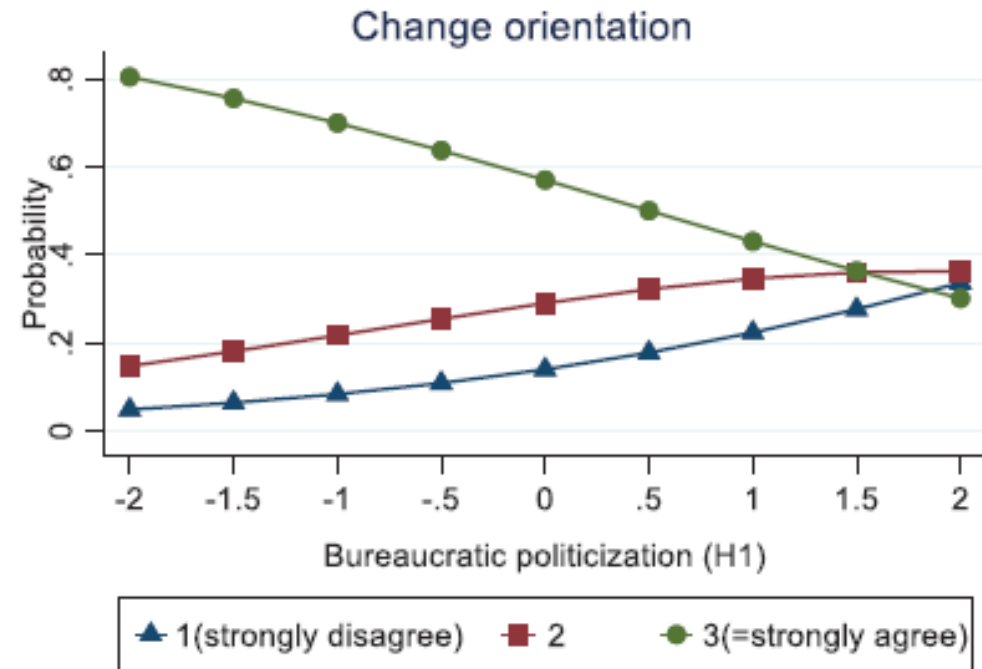
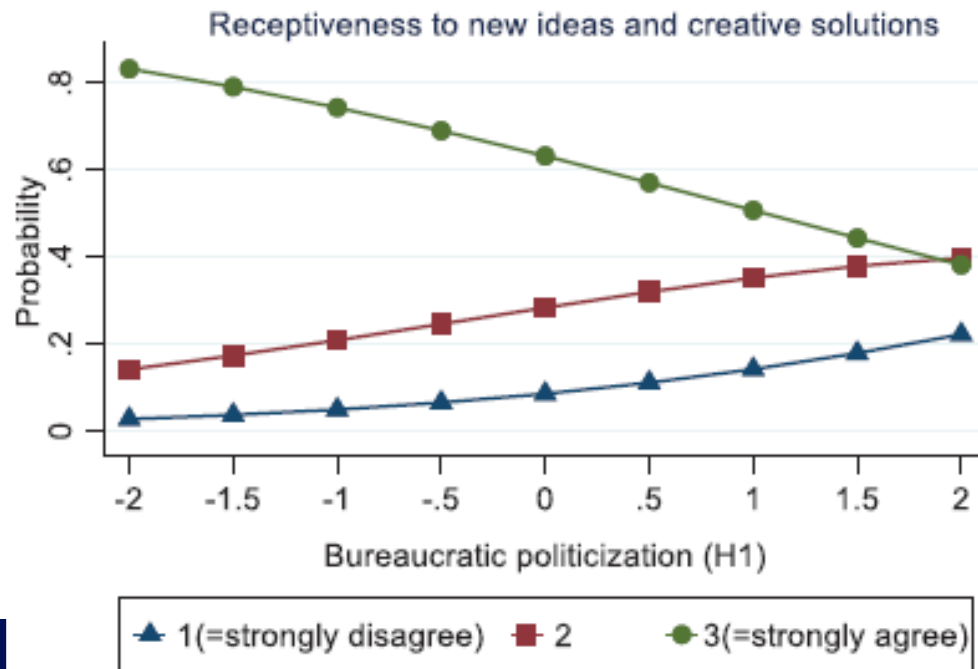
Lapuenta & Suzuki (2020)

- the “labor market for public managers” and educational background as a key explanatory factor for variations in pro-innovation attitudes.
 - the degree of (1) political interference and (2) bureaucratic legalism in personnel policy
 - Legal training of public managers (i.e. law degree)



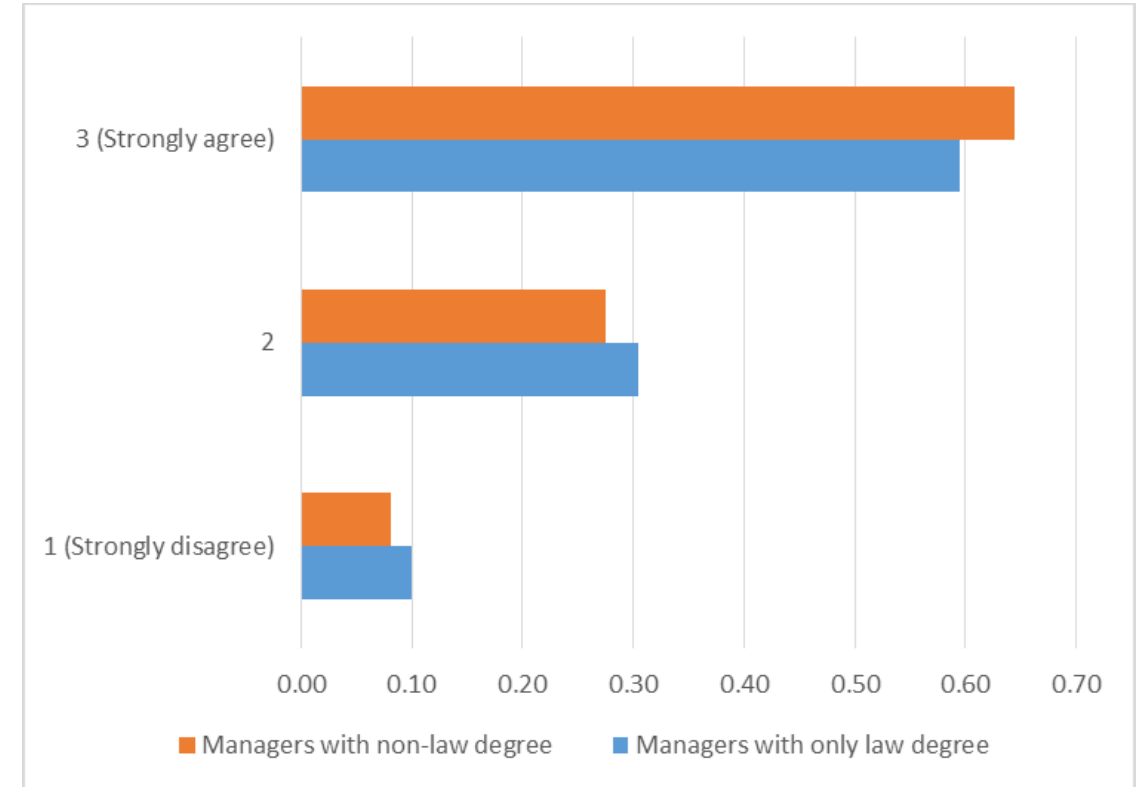
Lapuenta & Suzuki (2020)

- The **bureaucratic politicization** of an administration and the **law background of public managers** negatively influences pro-innovative attitudes.
 - the importance of an innovation-inducing, competitive job market for public managers
 - Political interference= major obstacle
 - Judged on their political connection rather than job performance



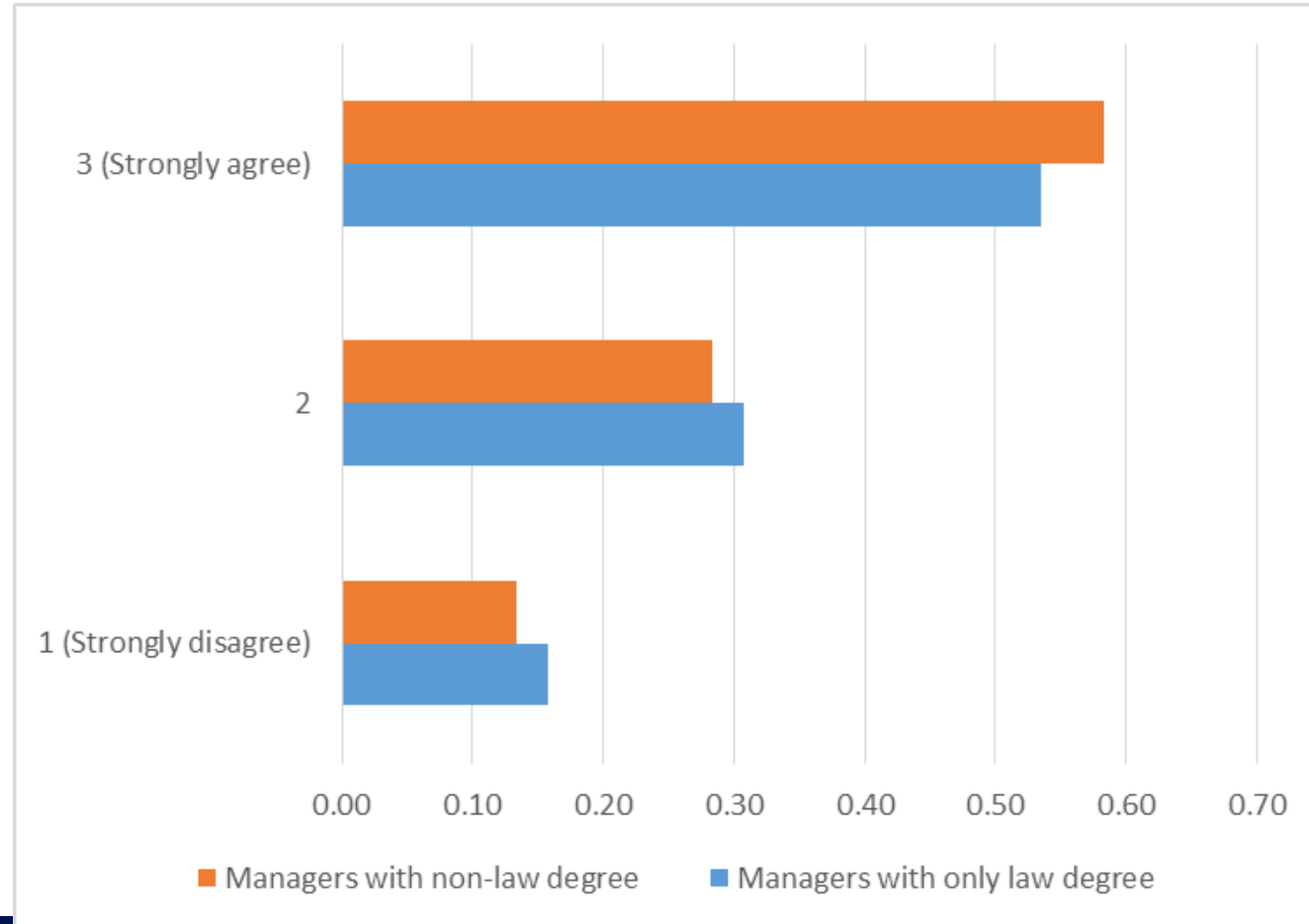
Lapuenta & Suzuki (2020)

- Predicted Probabilities of Openness to New Ideas and Creative Solutions by Law Professional Background
 - Legal values: entitlements, uniformity, and the search for predictability, legal security, and procedural fairness
 - Managerial values: needs, adaptation to clients' requirements, and the search for efficacy, effectiveness, and efficiency (Painter and Peters 2010b; Pierre 2011)
 - Effects of legal education



Lapiente & Suzuki (2020)

- Predicted Probabilities of Willingness to Challenge the Status Quo by Law Professional Background



Suzuki & Hur (2020)

- Types of bureaucrats' **organizational commitment** and bureaucratic structures
 - Continuance commitment: based on the side benefits and costs of leaving
 - Normative commitment: feelings of obligation to remain with the organization
 - Affective commitment: emotional attachment to organizational goals and values
- RQ: how are bureaucratic structures associated with organizational commitment?
- Closed personnel systems
 - Regulated entry and mobility patterns, a low degree of public and private sector mobility, seniority systems, lifetime employment (i.e. career-based systems), and special labour laws that regulate public sector employees
- Open personnel systems
 - Greater flexibility in recruitment and promotion, high job mobility, position-based systems, and regulation of public organizations by general labour laws.
- Finding
 - Closed systems are associated with continuance and normative commitment, not with affective OC

Lapuente, Suzuki, and Van de Walle (2020)

- Private sector experience and core public values (i.e. impartiality and equity)
- New Public Management
- Bringing private sector management practice into management of public bureaucracies
- RQ: Does private sector experience hamper commitment to core-public values?
- Results
 - Public managers with private sector experience have more core managerial values (efficiency, results-orientation, etc.)
 - Yet, unlike the conventional view, core public values do not suffer.

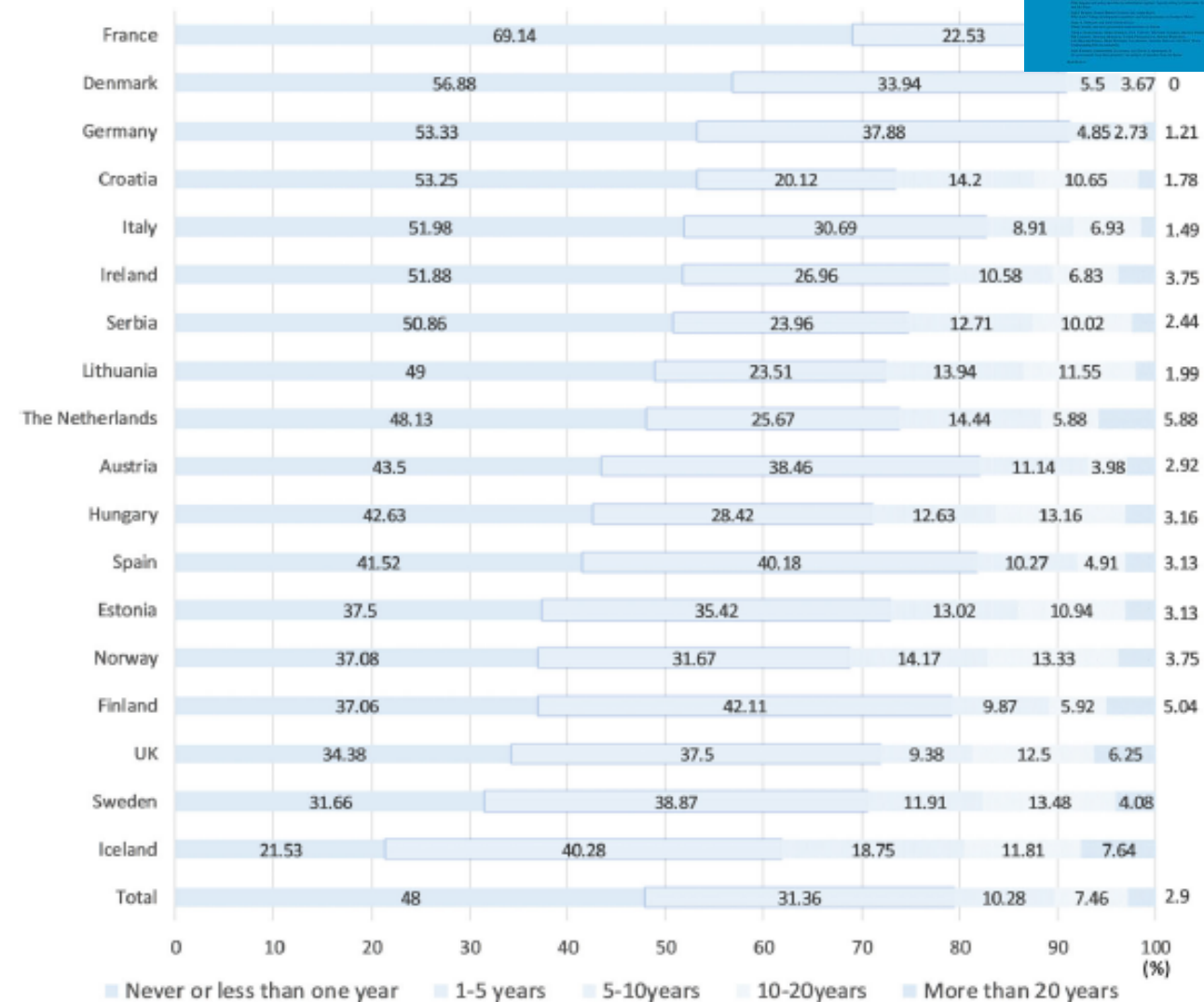


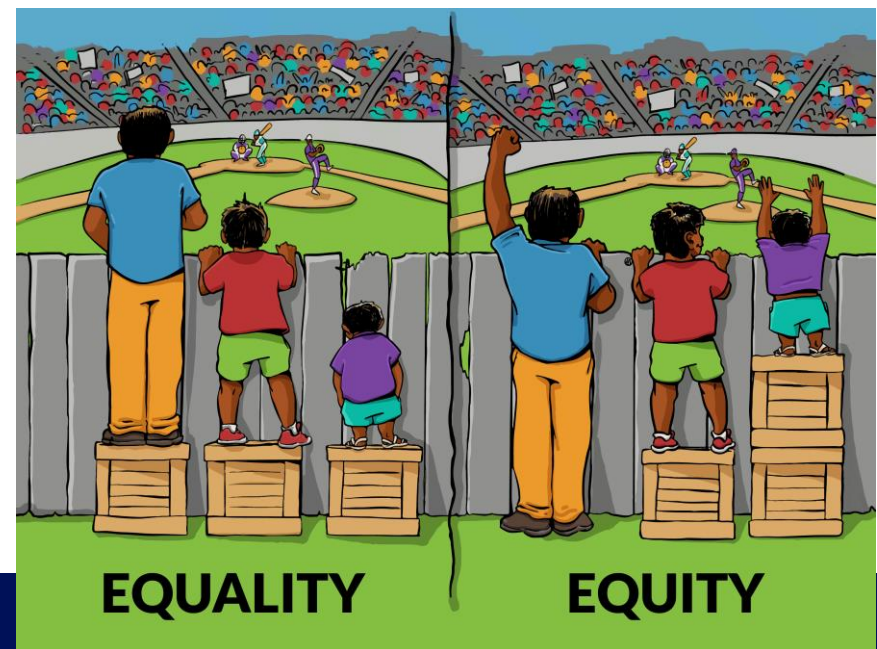
FIGURE 1 Private sector experience by country. Samples are based on Model 1.1 in Table 2

Suzuki & Demircioglu (2020)

- Impartiality is considered a core feature of QoG, and one that leads to favorable macro-level outcomes (Rothstein & Teorell, 2008).
- Prior studies focus on macro-level factors
- Impartiality: equal treatment of citizens regardless of their background
- Equity: equality in outcomes
- Research question
 - Do all citizens equally benefit from gov't impartiality?
 - How about socially disadvantaged and vulnerable citizens?
- Increasing attention to social equity

Interaction Institute for Social Change HP

<https://interactioninstitute.org/illustrating-equality-vs-equity/>



Suzuki & Demircioglu (2020)

- **Vulnerable consumers/citizens argument**

- “at a disadvantage in exchange relationships where that disadvantage is attributable to characteristics that are largely not controlled by them” (Manning 1990)
- Various sources of vulnerability: age, education, employment, race, disability, and income
- Fewer available resources, less knowledge, lower cognitive abilities (Clifton et al. 2014, Clifton, Díaz-Fuentes, et al. 2017, Clifton, Fernández-Gutiérrez, et al. 2017, Jilke 2015)

- **Administrative burden** (Herd & Moynihan, 2018)

- “learning, psychological, and compliance costs that citizens experience in their interactions with government” (Moynihan, Herd, & Harvey, 2014, p. 43),

Research focus

- Using the European Quality of Government Index data (EQI 2013)
- Examine the relationships among government impartiality, public service quality, and citizens' vulnerable status
- 1) public education and 2) public health
- DV (individual-level)
 - Perceived quality of public services measured by citizen satisfaction
- IV (regional=level)
 - Subjective measure of impartiality/objective measure of impartiality
- Moderating factor (individual-level)
 - Vulnerable status: 1) income and 2) educational levels
 - High (ref.), Medium, and Low

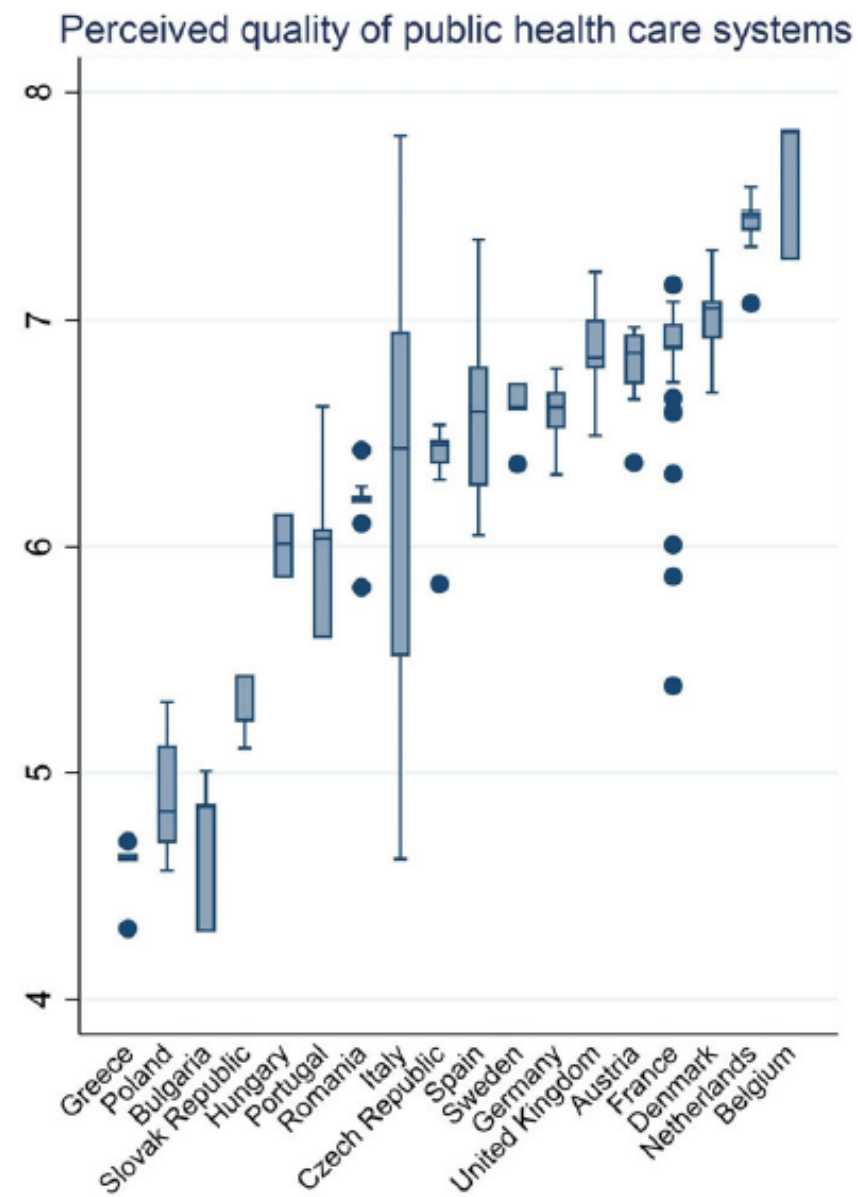
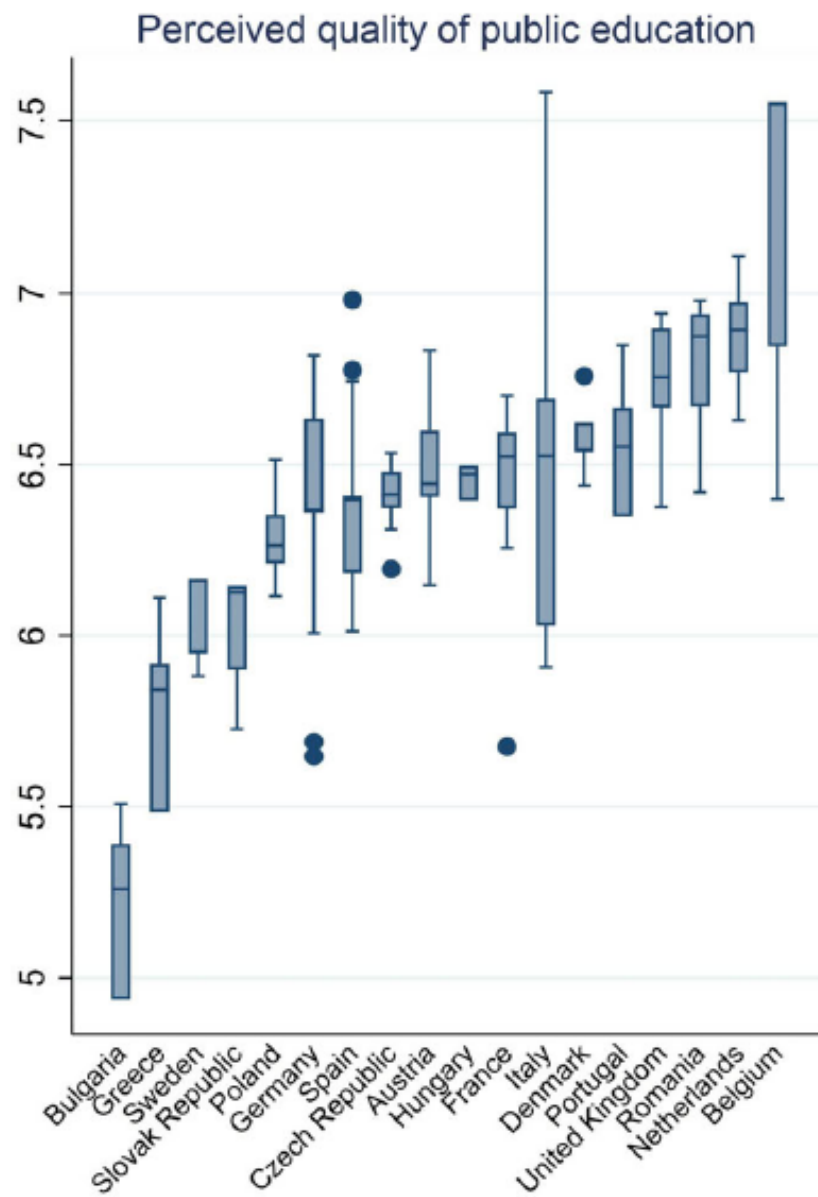


FIGURE 2 Citizens' perceived public service quality: national average and within-country variation

Note. Sorted by country mean. Survey design weights used

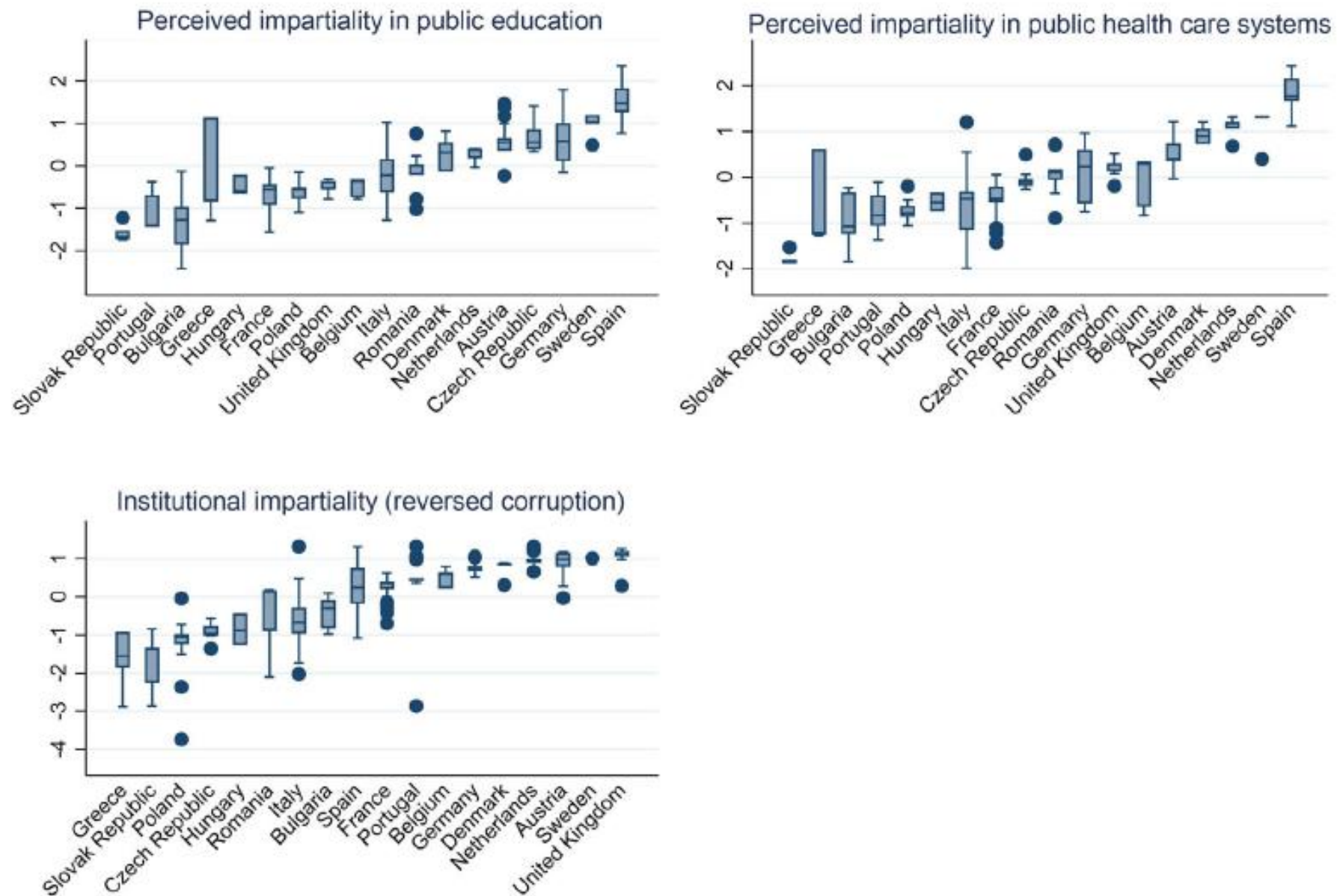
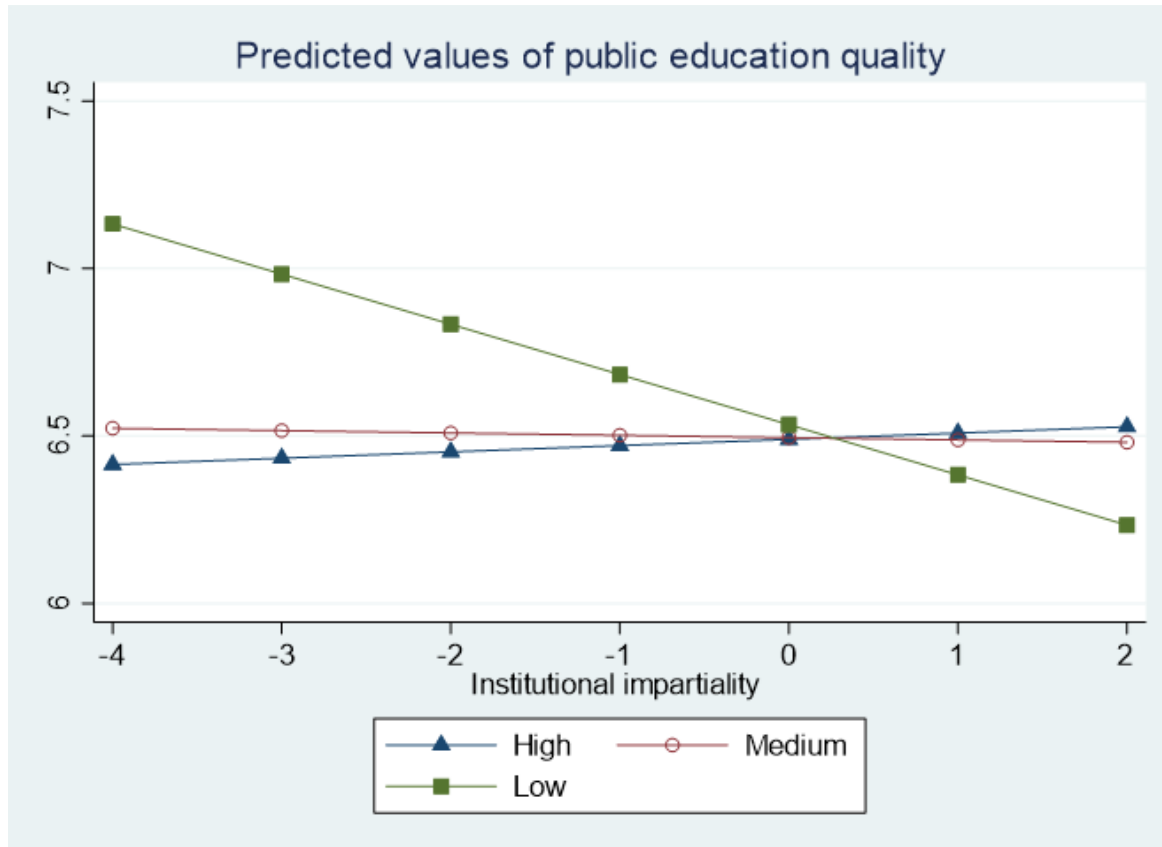


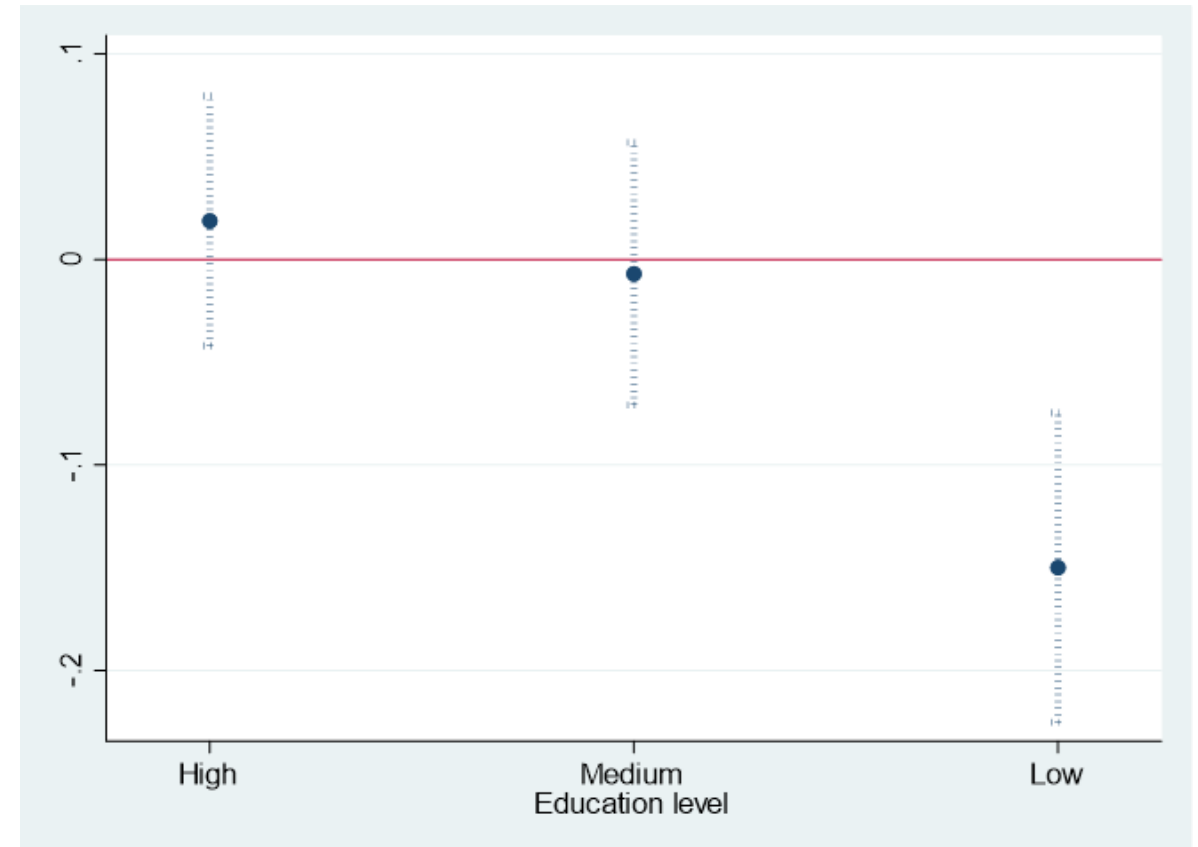
FIGURE 1 Within-country variations in government impartiality
Note. Sorted by country mean. Survey design weights used

Suzuki & Demircioglu (2021)

- Predicted values of public education quality by educational level over institutional impartiality: dependent variable treated as continuous



- Conditional marginal effects of institutional impartiality on perceived public education quality by education level: dependent variable treated as continuous



Empirical results

- No empirical support for the impacts of impartiality on perceived public service quality after considering country-level factors (H1).
- Impacts of impartiality are conditional (H2)
- **Citizens with vulnerable background** are less likely to be satisfied with quality of public education and health-care services compared to nonvulnerable citizens in regions with high impartiality
- An increase in impartiality negatively influences perceived quality of public education for vulnerable citizens
- How should governments promote equity without harming impartiality?
- How should we include equity aspects in the discussion of the QoG as impartiality?
 - Representative bureaucracy

Suzuki & Hur (2021)

- Classic topic in the public management literature: sector difference
 - Very few cross-national studies
 - Problem of generalizability
 - The EQI data sets
- Differences in the degree of meritocracy
- Show significant variations in levels of meritocracy in public and private sectors in Europe
- There exist larger public-private sector gaps in more advanced NPM countries

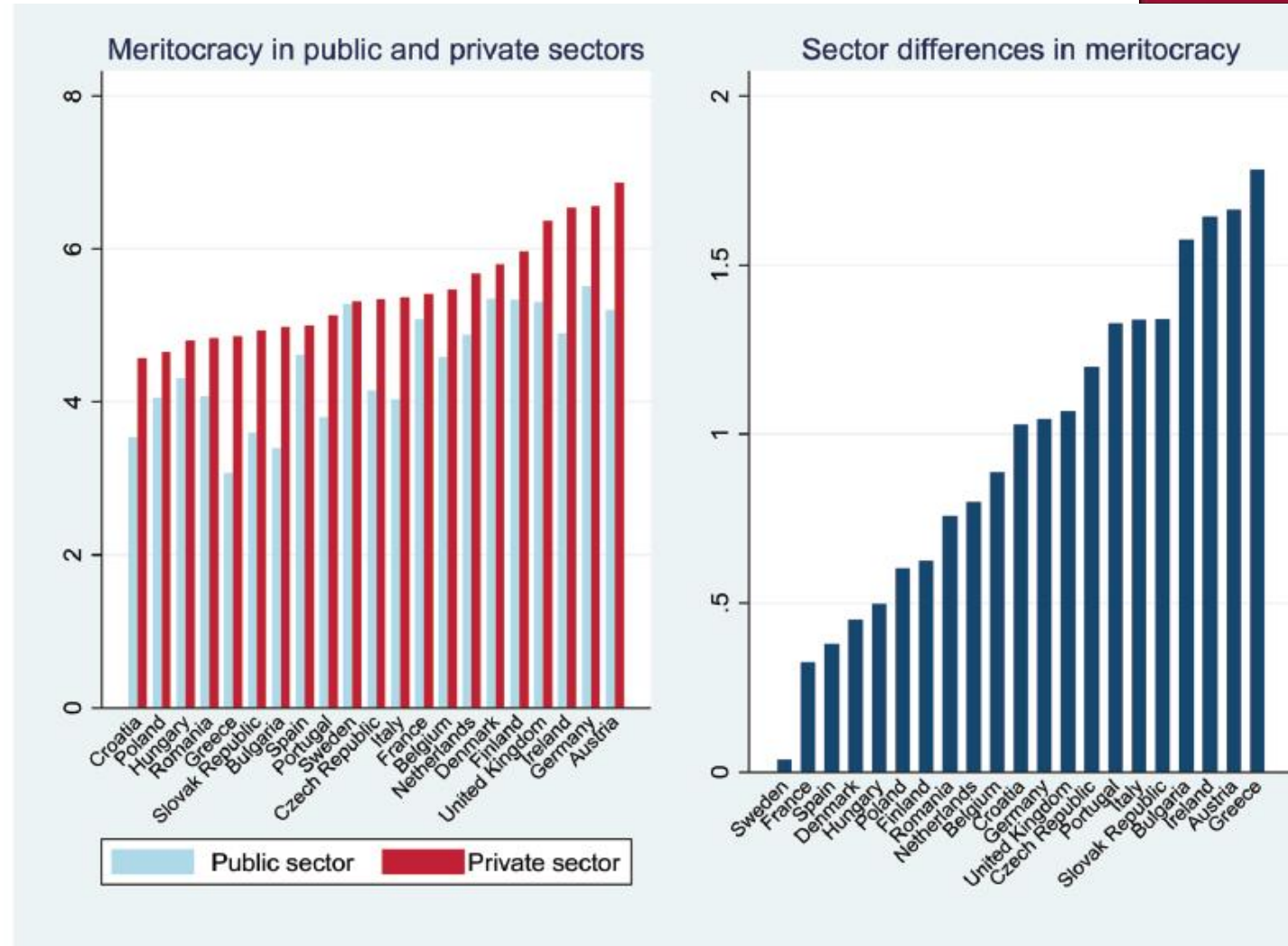


Figure 2. Mean comparison of citizens' perceived meritocracy in public and private sectors and sector differences. Notes: N = 53,498. Samples are based on model 3. Post-stratification survey weights are included.

Ongoing & future research direction

1. Systematic Review/Meta-analysis of Research on Meritocracy and Government Performance (with James Perry, Gordon Abner, Eloy Oliveria, Hyunkang Hur, and Shinwoo Lee)
 - “What Does the Evidence Tell Us About Meritocracy and Government Performance?”
 - Synthesize and summarize empirical evidence of meritocratic recruitment
 - Find out an overall effect of meritocracy on bureaucratic performance and outcomes
 - Recent developments related to Schedule F appointment in the U.S.
 - Review scientific studies since 1990s

Ongoing & future research direction

- Systematic literature review is a key tool for developing evidence-based policy making
- “a scientific tool that can be used to appraise, summarise, and communicate the results and implications of otherwise unmanageable quantities of research” (Green 2005)
- Adopting a replicable, scientific and transparent process
- Use of “Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analysis” (PRISMA)
- Underused in political science, but widely used in public management and other field such as medical science, nursing, etc.
- Meta-analysis
 - Systematically synthesise or merge the findings of single, independent studies, using statistical methods to calculate an overall or ‘absolute’ effect.

Ongoing & future research direction

2. Experimental local civil servant survey in Sweden, Spain, and Japan

- 2020-2022: Research Project Grant for “Why are some civil servants more committed to professional norms than others?” (with Victor Lapuente, Sofia Axelsson, Nora Anter). Swedish Research Council.

Why are some civil servants more committed to professional norms than others

Three Big Research Questions:

1. What are the determinants of recruitment/promotion of civil servants in practice at the local level? e.g. meritocracy in law # in practice (Schuster 2017)
2. What are the main determinants of civil servants' commitment to core public values and core principles vis-a-vis the determinants civil servants' disposition to please their political superiors (e.g. favor some particular constituency over the public interest)?
3. What determines civil servants' attitudes toward innovation, gender equality, and impartiality?

Setting of the survey

- Local government in Sweden, Japan, and Spain
 - 453 Spanish municipalities above 20,000 inhabitants (Spain)
 - 290 municipalities (Sweden-all municipalities)
 - 791 municipalities (Japan-city level municipalities)
- **Respondents:** highly-ranked civil servants (e.g. top to mid-range bureaucrats at the first, second and third tier below the political level)

Survey Experiment #1: Con-joint experiment on recruitment (promotion), innovative attitude, and resistance to political pressure

- In the following section, you will be presented with two hypothetical candidates for a management position in your unit. These candidates have already fulfilled the formal requirements for a managerial position.

| | Candidate A | Candidate B |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Name | Harry Smith | Sarah Smith |
| Education | Bachelor degree | Bachelor degree |
| Area of study | Economics | Economics |
| Qualifications appraisal by selection committee | Excellent | Excellent |
| Public sector experience | More than 14 years | More than 14 years |
| Private sector experience | 8 years | 8 years |
| Birthplace | Born in the municipality | Born in the municipality |
| Has connections with the important local party/parties | Yes | No |
| Has connections with persons working in the municipality | No | Yes |

Survey Experiment #1: Con-joint experiment on recruitment (promotion), innovative attitude, and resistance to political pressure

- Name:
 - Spain: **Alvaro Martínez García / Alba Martínez García / Jordi Puig Solé / Laia Puig Solé/ Said El Moussaoui / Karima El Moussaoui**
 - Sweden: **Erik Andersson / Linnéa Andersson / Kathem Ahmed / Rana Ahmed**
 - Japan: **Sato Daisuke / Sato Tomoko/ Kim Daisuke/ Kim Tomoko**
- Education level: **Bachelor degree / Master degree / Ph.D.**
- Birthplace: **Close to your municipality / Far away from your municipality**
- Experience in the public sector: **None / 2 years / 8 years**
- Experience in the private sector: **None / 2 years / 8 years**
- Political connection: **knows personally the municipal politicians / does not know personally the municipal politicians**
- Internal connection: **knows personally people working in municipality / does not know personally people working in municipality**

Survey Experiment #1: Con-joint experiment on recruitment (promotion), innovative attitude, and resistance to political pressure

Q1_1

Which candidate do you think will be selected as a manager in your unit?

Q1_2

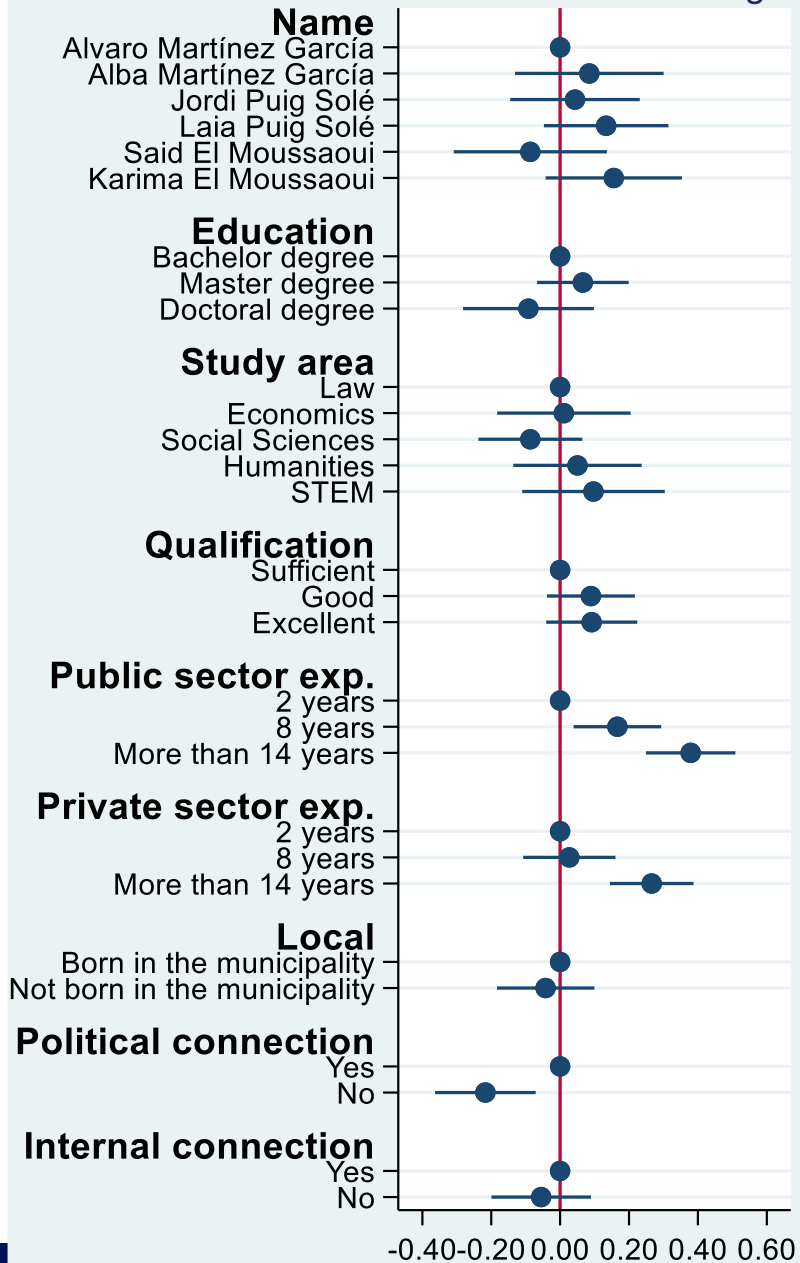
Which candidate do you think would be more willing to try new ideas at work even if it implies not strictly following the standard procedures at the administration?

Q1_3

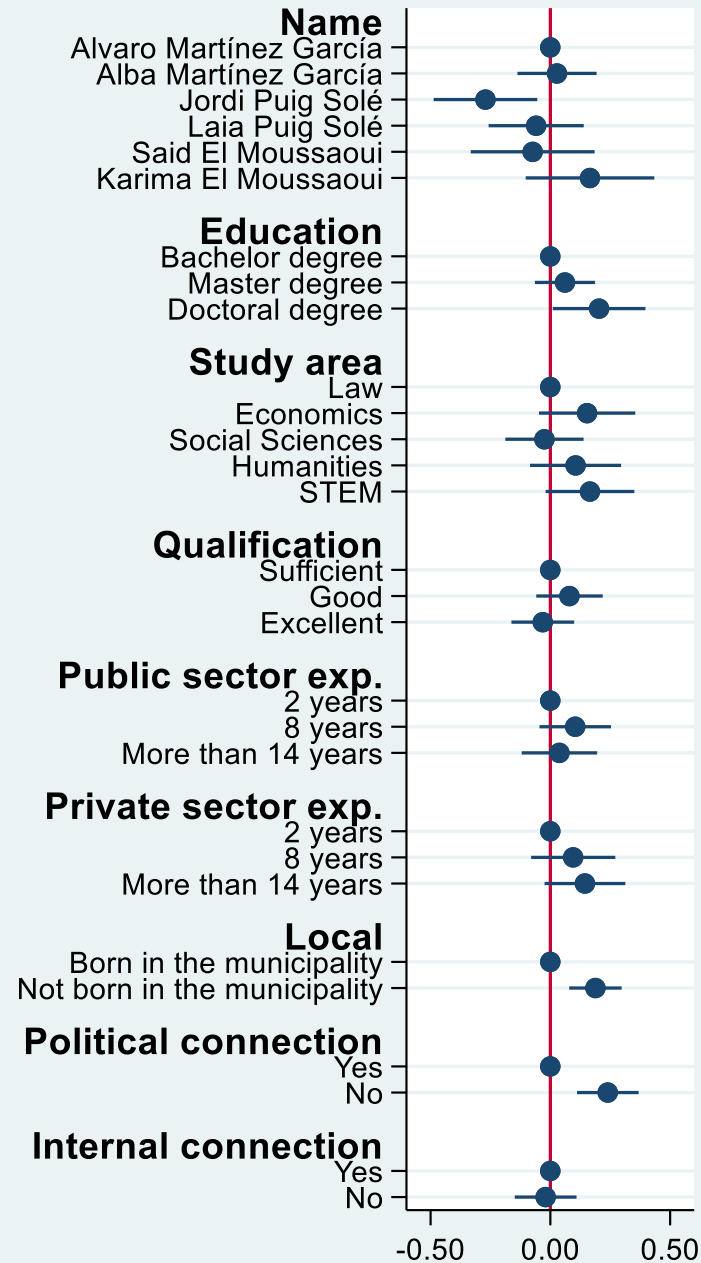
Which candidate do you think would be more likely to resist a politician's request to give a preferable treatment to a particular company, organization or citizen, at the expense of the public interest?

1 Candidate A 2 Candidate B

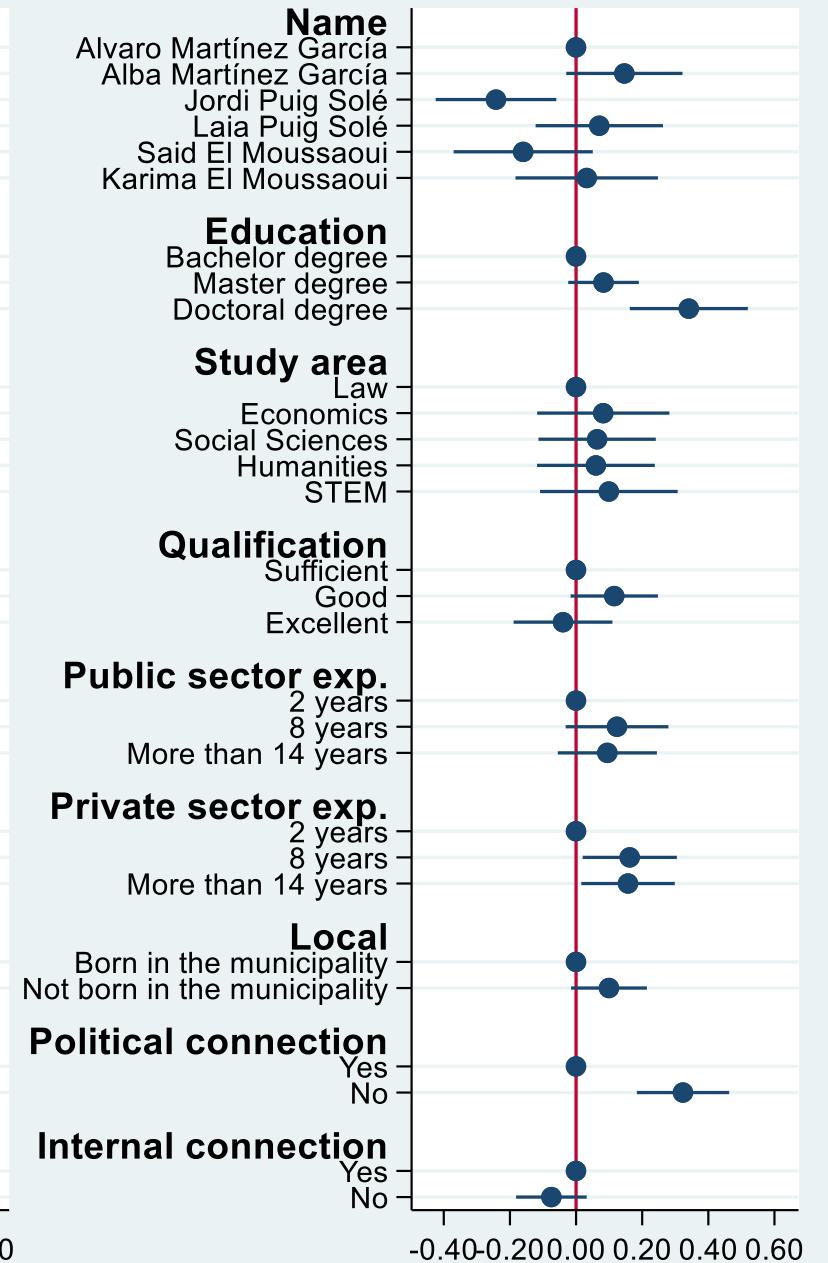
Q1-1 Selected as a manager



Q1-2 Innovative



Q1-3 Resist political request



Other experimental questions

- Vignette experimental question
 - Treatment: Pay for performance, tenure protection
 - Outcome: Impartiality, resistance to political pressure
- Vignette experimental question
 - Treatment: Political pressure, peer pressure from bureaucrats
 - Outcome: Innovative attitudes
- List experiment
 - Adherence to impartiality norm
- Endorsement experiment
 - Endorsement of female and minority public sector leaders
- Organizational culture questions

- Any question or feedback?

Thank you

<https://koheisuzuki.weebly.com/>
k.suzuki@fgga.leidenuniv.nl