

# Comparative Civil Service Systems in the 21st Century

Frits M. van der Meer  
Jos C.N. Raadschelders  
and  
Theo A.J. Toonen

---

2nd edition



# Comparative Civil Service Systems in the 21st Century

**This page intentionally left blank**

# Comparative Civil Service Systems in the 21st Century

2nd edition

Edited by

**Frits M. van der Meer**

*CAOP Professor of Comparative Civil Service and Public Sector Reform, Institute of Public Administration, Leiden University, the Netherlands*

**Jos C.N. Raadschelders**

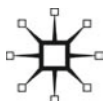
*Professor and Associate Director of Faculty at the John Glenn School of Public Affairs, Ohio State University, USA and affiliated Professor of Public Administration, Institute of Public Administration Leiden University, the Netherlands*

and

**Theo A.J. Toonen**

*Dean, Faculty of Technology, Policy and Management, Delft University of Technology, the Netherlands; Chair in Institutional Governance and Public Administration at Delft and Leiden University, the Netherlands*

palgrave  
macmillan



Selection, editorial matter, introduction and conclusion © Frits M. van der Meer, Jos C.N. Raadschelders and Theo A.J. Toonen 2015

Individual chapters © Respective authors 2015

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, Saffron House, 6–10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The authors have asserted their rights to be identified as the authors of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2015 by  
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, RG21 6XS

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries

ISBN 978-1-137-32578-5      ISBN 978-1-137-49145-9 (eBook)  
DOI 10.1057/9781137491459

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

# Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	vii
<i>List of Contributors</i>	viii
1 Civil Service Systems and the Challenges of the 21st Century <i>Jos C.N. Raadschelders, Theo A.J. Toonen and Frits M. van der Meer</i>	1
2 Civil Service Development in Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS: A Perfect Storm? <i>Tony J.G. Verheijen and Aleksandra Rabrenovic</i>	15
3 Civil Service Systems in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis <i>Frits M. van der Meer, Trui Steen and Anchrit Wille</i>	38
4 Anglophone Systems: Diffusion and Policy Transfer within an Administrative Tradition <i>John Halligan</i>	57
5 Explaining Civil Service Reform in Asia <i>John P. Burns</i>	77
6 Africa: Revitalizing Civil Service Systems to Enhance Economic Performance <i>Ladipo Adamolekun and Dele Olowu</i>	95
7 National Civil Service Systems in Western Europe: The End or Endurance of Weberian Bureaucracy? <i>Caspar van den Berg and Theo A.J. Toonen</i>	114
8 Civil Service Reforms, Public Service Bargains and Dynamics of Institutional Change <i>Philippe Bezes and Martin Lodge</i>	136
9 Public Service Systems at Subnational and Local Levels of Government: A British–German–French Comparison <i>Sabine Kuhlmann, Sylvia Veit and Jörg Bogumil</i>	162
10 Middle-Level Officials and Policy <i>Edward C. Page</i>	185

11	Transitions in Civil Service Systems: Robustness and Flexibility in Human Resource Management <i>Per Lægreid and Lois Recascino Wise</i>	203
12	Civil Service Systems and Public Service Motivation <i>James L. Perry</i>	223
13	Law and Management: Comparatively Assessing the Reach of Judicialization <i>Robert K. Christensen and Charles R. Wise</i>	237
14	The Constitutional Responsibility of the Civil Service <i>John A. Rohr</i>	255
15	Civil Service Systems and Responsibility, Accountability and Performance: A Multi-Dimensional Approach <i>Gerrit S.A. Dijkstra</i>	270
16	Governance and Civil Service Systems: From Easy Answers to Hard Questions <i>B. Guy Peters and Jon Pierre</i>	286
17	Is Past Prologue to 21st-Century Civil Service Systems? Exploring Historical Frames for Discovering Lessons about Institutional Futures <i>Richard J. Stillman II</i>	301
18	Political-Administrative Relations: Evolving Models of Politicization <i>Luc Rouban</i>	317
19	Political (System) Reform: Can Administrative Reform Succeed Without? <i>Jos C.N. Raadschelders and Marie-Louise Bemelmans-Vidéc</i>	334
20	Civil Servants in the Enabling Framework State of the 21st Century <i>Jos C.N. Raadschelders, Theo A.J. Toonen and Frits M. van der Meer</i>	354
	<i>Index</i>	371

# List of Illustrations

## Figures

3.1	European trust in national governments for 15 EU countries, 2003–2013 (%)	50
3.2	Trust in civil service in 17 West European countries, 2005 (%)	51
7.1	Number of policy officials employed by the Permanent Representations at the European Union of four EU-member states	117
19.1	Levels of political and administrative system reform	337

## Tables

5.1	Economic growth, quality of public institutions and corruption of selected Asian states	79
5.2	Public sector reform capacity: institutional veto points, bureaucratic autonomy and reform results in selected Asian countries in the 1990s	80
5.3	Moon and Ingraham's PNT and public sector reform in selected Asian countries in the 1990s	90
5.4	Economic growth and corruption of selected Asian states	91
6.1	Attributes and broad indicators of state fragility	101
6.2	Comparison of GDP and governance and output indicators 2011/2012	103
6.3	African public management capacity, 2011: Mo Ibrahim governance scores	104
6.4	Core reform elements required for revitalizing Africa's civil services in the 21st century	110
9.1	Local government systems (traditional profiles)	165
9.2	Local public employment, general public employment and general employment in country-comparative perspective 2012/2013	168
9.3	Development of local public employment in country-comparative perspective	176
12.1	A typology of incentive systems associated with three common public sector incentives	231
18.1	High level of trust in elected politicians in 2010	330

# List of Contributors

**Ladipo Adamolekun** is Professor of Public Administration and former Dean of the Faculty of Administration at Obafemi Awolowo University, Nigeria, and a former Lead Public Sector Management Specialist in the World Bank.

**Marie-Louise Bemelmans-Videc** is Emeritus Professor of Public Administration at Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands, and a former senator in the First Chamber of Parliament.

**Philippe Bezes** is CNRS Research Professor (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique) at Centre d'Études et de Recherches de Sciences Administratives et Politiques (CERSA), Paris, France.

**Jörg Bogumil** is Chair of Political Science, Comparative Local and Regional Politics at Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Germany.

**John P. Burns** is Dean of Social Sciences and Chair Professor of Politics and Public Administration at the University of Hong Kong, China.

**Robert K. Christensen** is Associate Professor in the Department of Public Administration and Policy, School of Public and International Affairs, University of Georgia, USA.

**Gerrit S.A. Dijkstra** is Senior Lecturer at the Institute of Public Administration, Leiden University, the Netherlands.

**John Halligan** is a Research Professor of Government and Public Administration, Faculty of Business and Government, University of Canberra, Australia.

**Sabine Kuhlmann** is Chair of Political Science, Administration and Organization at the University of Potsdam, Germany.

**Per Lægreid** is Professor in the Department of Administration and Organization Theory at the University of Bergen, Norway.

**Martin Lodge** is Professor of Political Science and Public Policy at the London School of Economics, Department of Government and Centre for Analysis of Risk and Regulation, UK.

**Dele Olowu** was Professor of Public Administration at Obafemi Awolowo University, Nigeria, former teacher and researcher at the Institute of Social Studies, the Hague, adviser at the United Nations Economic Commission and African Development Bank, adjunct professor at Mountcrest University, Accra, Ghana and Convener of Global Peace Center, Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

**Edward C. Page** is Sidney and Beatrice Webb Professor of Public Policy at the London School of Economics, UK.

**James L. Perry** is Distinguished Professor Emeritus and Chancellor's Professor of Public and Environmental Affairs Emeritus at the School of Public and Environmental Affairs, Indiana University, Bloomington, USA and Visiting Distinguished Scholar, University of Hong Kong, China.

**B. Guy Peters** is Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Pittsburgh, USA and at Zeppelin University, Germany.

**Jon Pierre** is Research Professor of Political Science at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden and Professor of Public Governance at the Melbourne School of Government, University of Melbourne, Australia. He is also Adjunct Professor at the University of Pittsburgh, USA.

**Jos C.N. Raadschelders** is Professor and Associate Director of Faculty at the John Glenn School of Public Affairs, Ohio State University, USA and affiliated as Professor of Public Administration, Institute of Public Administration, Leiden University, the Netherlands.

**Aleksandra Rabrenovic** is Team Leader of the EU-financed Public Service Reform program in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**John A. Rohr** was Professor of Public Administration at the Centre for Public Administration and Policy, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, USA.

**Luc Rouban** is Professor and CNRS Research Director at Cevipof, Sciences Po, Paris, France.

**Trui Steen** is Associate Professor in the Department of Public Administration, Leiden University, the Netherlands and a professor at the KU Leuven Public Governance Institute, Belgium.

**Richard J. Stillman II** is a professor of Public Administration at the School of Public Affairs, University of Colorado, Denver.

**Theo A.J. Toonen** is Dean, Faculty of Technology, Policy and Management (TPM), Delft University of Technology, the Netherlands; Chair in Institutional Governance and Public Administration at Delft and Leiden University, the Netherlands.

**Caspar van den Berg** is Senior Lecturer in Public Administration at the Institute of Public Administration, Leiden University, the Netherlands.

**Frits M. van der Meer** is CAOP Professor of Comparative Civil Service and Public Sector Reform, Institute of Public Administration, Leiden University, the Netherlands.

**Sylvia Veit** is Professor of Public Management, Department of Economics and Management, University of Kassel.

**Tony J.G. Verheijen** is Country Manager for Serbia, Europe and Central Asia at the World Bank.

**Anchrit Wille** is Senior Lecturer at the Institute of Public Administration, University of Leiden, the Netherlands.

**Charles R. Wise** is Distinguished Visiting Professor, Arizona State University, USA.

**Lois Recascino Wise** is Professor Emeritus at the School of Public and Environmental Affairs, Indiana University, USA.

# 1

## Civil Service Systems and the Challenges of the 21st Century

*Jos C.N. Raadschelders, Theo A.J. Toonen, and  
Frits M. Van der Meer*

### 1 Introduction

In the first edition of this book (*The Civil Service in the 21st Century*, Raadschelders, Toonen, and Van der Meer, 2007) we noted that between the early 1990s and the mid-2000s civil service systems (CSS) had come under intense scrutiny. The role and position of the civil service as core actors in the public sector had been seriously questioned by political pundits and other actors in society and academia. It seemed that the central position of civil servants in the political-administrative and societal systems was eroding and that the supposed monopoly of the civil service in public service delivery had gradually broken down. Some visionaries even expected the demise of the civil service as we know it (Demmke, 2004, 2005; Demmke and Moilanen, 2010). As we now know, this particular prophecy was grossly exaggerated, reflecting the author's wish rather than an empirical fact. In fact, as we can see in several of the updated and renewed chapters in this volume, the fiscal crisis that has troubled many countries has resulted in popular rejection of political officeholders and a strengthening of the social and professional status of civil servants. Of course, it cannot be denied that, owing to a variety of reasons, CSS have increasingly been influenced by a range of internal and external pressures prompted by changes in the institutional context. These internal and environmental changes will be examined in this volume and will be introduced in this chapter. Taken together, these changes supposedly amount to a new, more fragmented order in the public domain generally referred to nowadays as multi-level governance. In this supposed new order, governments and CSS have to find their place. Although there appears to be some common understanding in the scientific community with respect to the nature of these

wide-ranging change processes, the analysis of the actual consequences for CSS has received less attention.

In this book various aspects of these challenges and change processes will be probed and the findings will serve as a basis for the final chapter. This publication is rooted in a research project, *Civil Service Systems in Comparative Perspective*, that started in 1990. Back then, empirically grounded and theoretical information was scarcely available on this topic (Bekke, Perry, and Toonen, 1996; Perry, 1999). This deficiency in empirical research was problematic given the widely perceived urgency to reform public services and this project was started to remedy this deficiency. The first phase was to develop an analytical framework to guide empirical research. In 1996 the first volume, *Civil Service Systems in Comparative Perspective* (edited by Hans Bekke, Jim Perry, and Theo Toonen), was published. It contained a conceptual framework for civil service research. It developed a neo-institutional approach that stressed the historical dimensions and the embeddedness of these systems within their particular political and societal contexts. On the basis of this framework (see also Raadschelders and Perry, 1994) the second phase of the project could start. This involved an examination of a large number of civil service systems. The results were published in a series of four comparative studies published by Edward Elgar on Central and Eastern Europe (Verheijen, 1999), Western Europe (Bekke and Van der Meer, 2000, Van der Meer 2nd edition 2011), Asia (Burns and Bowornwathana, 2001) and Anglo-American countries (Halligan, 2004). The consortium leading this research effort has been fortunate to attract scholars from all over the world. Only Africa was not included in the second phase of empirical studies (see on that continent, Adamolekun, 1999). We partially rectified this by including a chapter on Africa in the first volume (by Adamolekun) and in this edition (Adamolekun and Olowu). As for Latin America, two of the papers at the 1997 conference at Indiana University, Bloomington were published in 1999 (Perlman on Nicaragua, Oszlak on Argentina).

This updated volume still serves as the third phase of this project and offers reflections on developments in various world regions, seeks to identify the major challenges CSS will confront in the 21st century, and what this implies for these institutions. In this opening chapter we will provide a general introduction to pressures and challenges presently confronting CSS (Section 2). Central to this section is the discussion of the neo-institutional definition of civil service systems as used by Bekke et al. (1996) that analyzes CSS at three different levels and characterizes change in terms of processes of de- and re-institutionalization. We then

discuss in more detail the four sections of this book and the various chapters in each (Section 3).

## 2 Pressures and challenges confronting civil service systems

Change, continuity, and diversity have characterized the development of the civil service in the past two centuries. It is most common to date the start of wide-ranging and profound changes in (mainly) the environment of government organizations in the early 1980s. These environmental changes necessitated or even dictated a fundamental overhaul and reforms of CSS (Ferlie, Lynn, and Pollitt 2005; Kickert, 1997; Peters and Pierre, 2000, 2001; Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2011).

The list of environmental changes is impressive. Internationally, they include the redesign of the global (economic) world order with the fall of many communist systems, the rise of new economies in developing countries, the growing effects of globalization, transnational economic and demographic movements, efforts at controlling cross-border movement and constraining, for instance, international terrorism, and since the late 2000s the banking, economic, and fiscal crises (for the distinction between these three types of crises, see Kickert, Randma-Liv, and Savi, 2013) that we only now, at the time of writing, seem to be slowly recovering from. These, though, are only a few among the many international change processes that diminish the dominance of the unified nation state (Farazmand and Pinkowski, 2006). However, we should also be aware of counter trends. Accelerated information exchange and increased accessibility of information have, paradoxically, made nations and world regions more aware of their differences. Indeed, while globalization made some fear the possibility of losing national and/or regional identity, a fairly strong popular sentiment, nothing of the sort has happened. Also, we have to remember that governments have always operated in an interdependent international environment and that globalization and state activity increased simultaneously. In that perspective globalization has not systematically undermined state control (Krasner, 2001: 234–236).

National environmental changes include ever-increasing calls and demands from a more active and educated citizenry asking for *voice* and tailor-made solutions to social problems, increased awareness of the influence of parallel societal and governmental decision centers, and rapid information exchange. Hence the suggestion that also nationally the (monopoly) position of central government is seriously undermined.

At the same time, though, the existence of multiple policy- and decision-making arenas or networks has made government and its CSS more aware of the intermediary role no one else can play. In other words, more than ever before, civil servants have become brokers among a wide range of nonprofit and private stakeholders. While in a variety of policy areas governments still take the initiative (cf. the active state concept), it is the government of the enabling state that has come to the surface (Page and Wright, 2007).

These international and national developments are captured in the conceptual shift from unified, national state government to multi-level governance. Before the late 1980s and 1990s the concept of governance was hardly used in public administration and political science literature.<sup>1</sup> Since then, public administration scholars and political scientists have embraced this fashionable concept, and often more for its normative connotation rather than for its analytical potential.<sup>2</sup> They should more consider perspective, which will sooner downplay the novelty of phenomena than declare the coming of a new age (Peters and Pierre, 2004).

Coming from the World Bank report on sub-Saharan development in 1989 the concept of good governance emphasizes the interplay between state and civil society with regard to decision making and service delivery in the public domain. Although the use of the concept in public administration and political science might be comparatively recent, from an empirical and historical point of view its content and occurrence are certainly not (see Chapter 7 in this volume by Van den Berg and Toonen). Several examples come to mind. In consociational states such as Germany and the Netherlands, governmental and third-sector actors at national, regional, and local levels have worked together in the development and implementation of policy and the provision of services since, at least, the 16th century. But, private actors may also operate independently from public actors, as is the case with, for example, the establishment of private schools and hospitals, with charities, and with the public utilities concessions in the second part of the 19th century. The expansion of the welfare state did not make these initiatives redundant, although in some countries, such as France and perhaps the UK, the role of national government had become more important than in others (such as the Netherlands, Germany, Sweden).

The multi-level governance concept resembles closely the strengths of network theory, that is, focusing attention on the interdependence between and substantial cooperation among various public, semi-private, private, and nonprofit actors in public service delivery. But this

focus on horizontal relations and processes often overlooks the effects of power differences and the role that formal institutions and jurisdictions still play (Peters and Pierre, 2004).

In this chapter multi-level governance refers to the intertwinement of public decision making and service delivery mechanisms and actors at local, regional, and nationwide levels of government and society. Private actors, citizens, interest groups, enterprises, and so on are considered as important as public sector actors, although the latter continue to have the final authority to make binding decisions in matters of collective or societal interest. Some may suggest that multi-level governance directly strikes at the very existence of civil service systems, given public service delivery through policy networks, decentralized governance networks, public-private partnerships and a cooperation between non-governmental bodies, consultants, and government. *Ipsa facto*, the unified bureaucratic career civil service is challenged and perhaps even approaching its demise.

A life without civil services and civil servants is difficult to conceive since public sector organizations need people. As Richard Rose observed: 'public employees in very real sense put flesh on the barebones of government' (quoted in Bekke and Van der Meer, 2000: 1). Who are these civil servants and in which institutional arrangements do they operate? Most discussions are to large degree focused on and often obsessed by a particular manifestation or even local definition of civil service. Some West European public administration scholars consider CSS as legal-rational constructions characteristic for the 19th century emerging within a particular political-administrative and legal framework and often characterized by idiosyncratic national features (Demmke 2004, 2005; Demmke and Moilanen, 2010; Page and Wright, 1999). In this perspective, CSS is conceptualized as a traditional career system, fitting a particular set of state traditions, and – irrespective of country – responding in a similar way to similar pressures irrespective of national contexts. This perspective, however, is seriously impaired and we must, instead, differentiate between CSS as a neo-institutional concept and CSS as an organization.

In the Bekke, Perry, and Toonen volume (1996) CSS were defined as institutions (i.e. rule complexes) that mobilize human resources in the service of the state. These rule complexes then become manifest in a particular organizational design. Hence, CSS is an institutional arrangement and not just an organizational structure or career system. As an institutional arrangement, that is, the deepest level of analysis, it includes constituting values such as *Rechtsstaat* principles. These values

and principles are manifest in, inter alia, the design of specific decision-making procedures (including rules, e.g. about the involvement of career civil servants in setting policy directions). This constitutes an intermediate level of analysis. At the most visible level of analysis, CSS includes rules of human resource management (e.g. the notion of internal labor market). The actual substance (in terms of rules) of these CSS and their organizational manifestation varies across nations and over time. In this perspective the emergence of multi-level governance might be regarded as a change in rule structure and substance, thus creating, first, a different institutional environment for and, second, possibly changing the rule structure and substance of CSS. Neither is inconceivable. For instance, efforts to establish the *Rechtsstaat* principles in Central and Eastern Europe and in many developing countries provides a different institutional environment for civil servants and had some consequences for the internal features of CSS (see Chapter 2 by Verheijen and Rabrenovich, as well as Chapter 6 by Adamolekun and Olowu, this volume). Adding into this environmental complexity is that governments and their CSS are not isolated but aware of the changes and reforms each experience. The exact design and developmental route of CSS is conditioned by particular societal and political-administrative contexts.

### **3 Construction and the plan of book**

From what has been said above, we can distill the main elements of our study. First, the importance of considering the existence or absence of variation regarding both the design and reform of civil service systems. Second, the importance of the (discovery of the) multi-level governance context for existing civil service systems both on a macro (system or parts thereof) and micro (the individual civil servants) level. Third, the normative dimension and the internal inconsistencies relevant to CSS have grown in importance. Fourth, CSS needs to be considered in relation to its immediate institutional/organizational environment: the political system and its officeholders

This book is thus divided into four parts. In Part 1, we will examine current issues and changes affecting the civil service systems that were included in the civil service project. Thus, we will examine the state of affairs in Central and Eastern Europe, in Western Europe, in Anglo-American countries, and in Asian countries. The chapter on Africa is co-authored by Ladipo Adamolekun and Dele Olowu. The binding theme in this part is the public sector reform dimension and the

effects on the different civil service systems. Obviously, this includes attention to the historical perspective, since the impact of the past is as relevant as the influence of contemporary changes. Tony Verheijen and Aleksandra Rabrenovic discuss rapid changes and their effects in Central and Eastern European civil service systems (Chapter 2). They specifically consider the usefulness of the legalist continental European model, the performance-focused Anglo-American model, and the corporatist South Asian model, and then assess the feasibility of New Public Management (NPM)-style reforms in that part of Europe. They have paid specific attention to the impact of the fiscal crisis in Central and Eastern Europe. One of the features they observe is that the initial strengthening of civil service legislation leading up to EU membership has, following this membership, been dismantled so that civil servants work in a more politicized environment. The depth of institutionalization did not reach beyond the level of formal rules (Meyer-Sahling, 2012: 77). The stagnation in the institutionalization of civil service systems can be attributed to declining perspectives upon EU membership of the Western Balkan states and to enlargement fatigue (Meyer-Sahling, 2012: 78). Next, Frits M. Van der Meer, Trui Steen, and Anchrit Wille examine change and continuity in Western Europe and how various countries have coped with managerialist-type reforms in light of the budgetary crisis given their specific systems and models (Chapter 3). It is intriguing to read how in several countries a trend can be seen of lesser reliance upon a neutral civil service, while in other countries attempts are under way to increase civil service neutrality.

John Halligan focuses attention on what he calls the easy diffusion in case of the Anglo-American Systems (Chapter 4). While he points to the degree to which these systems are able to adopt easily from each other, there are national variations. It appears that presently NPM is not as pervasive as it used to be.

John Burns considers the reform experience in six South East Asian countries (Vietnam, China, Singapore, Korea, Japan, Hong Kong) (Chapter 5). These six countries share a Confusionist tradition, that is, they operate a strong interventionist state. It appears that in states with weak civil societies reforms have been more successful than in states with strong civil societies. Finally, Ladipo Adamolekun and Dele Olowu study the experiences in Africa with an emphasis on the past 30 years (Chapter 6). New in this chapter is the attention to the overall improved economic performance of African countries, coupled with increasing fragility of many of its political systems. The authors claim that about a third of Africa's 600 million people live in a fragile

state. They categorize reform efforts in various states into four major groups (advanced reformers, committed reformers, hesitant reformers, and beginners/non-starters). Reform outcomes vary with the degree of political, social, and economic turbulence. The major focus of reform has turned to the influence of culture and governance on CSS and their relation with the various groups in society.

In Part 2 we go beyond the dominant view of civil service systems as only a personnel system at the national level, by pointing to the larger (institutional) environment and to differences in rank and in level of government. Traditionally civil service (system) research had a tendency to focus on the civil service as a labor organization positioned at the national level and using a government-centered approach. Increasingly, in the past decade attention is shifting from a hierarchically state-centered perspective concerning government to a multi-level approach captured by the concept of governance. This shift also places civil servants in an entirely new light: they are not just subordinates, quiet yet persistent experts, or policy drafters, but also network managers. Therefore, ample attention will be given to the emergent perspective of multi-level governance.

Caspar van den Berg and Theo Toonen suggest that multi-level governance rests on three pillars: lack of a single center of authority, the involvement of non-state actors in policy making and implementation, and interaction in the public realm not so much guided by constitutional arrangement but, instead, fluid, informal, and horizontal (Chapter 7). They discuss several trends that currently strengthen multi-level governance and suggest that these potentially result in two contradictory trends: politicization of the core bureaucracy as well as a depolitization of administrative bodies. How influential this multi-level governance structure is becomes clear in the chapter of Philippe Bezes and Martin Lodge in which they examine exogenous and endogenous influences upon the dynamics of administrative change (Chapter 8). Could it be that too much attention is given to external factors, such as societal environment and institutional arrangements, and too little to factors internal to CSS such as the influence of minor reforms becoming more influential later (the displacement effect), the introduction of new layers in the existing decision-making structures, and the challenge of replacing a rapidly aging and soon retiring middle and higher level civil service? Both Chapters 7 and 8 address macro-level issues.

The next three chapters in this section are more focused on micro-level issues. Chapters 9 and 10 bring two groups of 'forgotten' civil servants to the forefront, while Chapter 11 focuses on the traditional, but no less

important, topic of CSS as a personnel system. One group or category of civil servants that is systematically overlooked in comparative civil service research are those working at subnational levels of government. Sabine Kuhlmann, Sylvia Veit, and Jörg Bogumil have made a start filling that void by comparing English, German, and French local government civil servants (Chapter 9). They are the backbone to the entire political-administrative systems because it is at their level of government that most public services are provided and can be tailored toward specific local needs.

How have NPM reforms influenced local government's capacity for service delivery? Another group of civil servants that escaped research attention are the rank-and-file in the middle and lower levels of an organization. Edward C. Page's chapter explores the increasingly important role of mid-level specialist/expert civil servants in policy making (Chapter 10). For various reasons their influence is extensive. Does this influence their relation with the political leadership, and in what sense is that relation different from that between the career generalists at the top and political officeholders? Civil servants are generally recruited for particular expertise and, in the course of their career, routed through various line and staff positions. The internal labor market of any CSS is highly regulated and standardized. Per Læg Reid and Lois Recasino Wise point out that differences between the public and the private sectors with regard to the personnel function are declining (Chapter 11). Yet, there are some clear differences as well. For instance, in the public sector the emphasis on efficiency and accountability is more controversial, clashing, *inter alia*, with seniority and loyalty. But, how can CSS balance flexibility and accountability with representativeness and equity? In their chapter they deal with the impact that fiscal stress had upon recruitment, promotion, and mobility. They conclude that the fiscal crisis has resulted in pay freezes, other cuts such as reductions in staffing, and other program expenditures (health care, social benefit systems, old-age pensions; see also Melchor, 2013: 5–7).

In Chapter 12 James Perry examines public service motivation (PSM). He observes that variation in PSM is sooner explained by factors larger or smaller than the civil service system itself; that civil servants produce results not by shirking and pursuing self-interest (as existing behavioral theories suggest) but by working hard, by placing public goals before their own, and by going an extra mile; and that public service motivation is best advanced when applying a mix of incentives (pay, job security, and opportunities to satisfy PSM).

To balance flexibility and accountability with representativeness and equity represents a challenge that cannot be addressed in a mechanistic fashion. The enhanced discretion that civil servants as public managers may seek with regard to personnel decisions potentially diminishes political control, hence why in Part 3 of this book normative aspects pertinent to CSS and the effects of reforms upon value systems are explored. In particular, the focus is on legality, efficiency, and responsiveness. Civil service reforms have often been pursued and defended for reasons of public sector efficiency, as anti-corruption measure, and as an effort to enhance responsiveness. In many analyses, civil servants have become more active over time because of the exponential growth and complexity of public service delivery. At the same time, though, the emergence of multi-level government has prompted a much more active role of civil servants. What consequences has this had for the role of civil servants in the assessment and defense of public sector values? This question will be answered by way of examining specific issues, such as the balancing of legality with efficiency, the degree to which civil servants have and/or ought to have policy-making discretion and at the same time being held responsible for policy, and the extent to which civil service performance can and ought to be measured. The immanent tension between government (i.e. the structure) and governance (i.e. the action) serves as the conclusion to this part.

In Chapter 13, Rob Christensen and Charles Wise examine the potential conflict between law and management and, especially, the judicialization of public policy making. Increasingly judges and courts are 'invited' or assume policy-making responsibilities, thus complementing, substituting, and competing with legislators. In their comparative analysis, which they hope provides a framework that enables the comparison of policy and civil service practices, they contrast common law systems with civil or Roman law systems. They also consider intergovernmental relations and the influence of international judicial bodies. To what extent do national legal traditions vary and influence the degree of judicialization? How are CSS influenced by this judicialization?

One could, of course, argue that judicialization should not matter all that much if and when civil servants' responsibilities are clearly grounded in a constitution. Yet, and obviously, law and practice are not the same. Comparing the American, French, and English CSS John Rohr argues that American civil servants have the best chance of serving as constitutional actors, because of their oath to the Constitution, and this despite the fact that their social status is generally less than that of their British and French colleagues (Chapter 14). The argument developed in

this chapter is that career civil servants who are members of the Senior Executive Service should forgo their right to vote in any election so that their elected officeholders and political appointees know that they can rely on the non-partisanship of these SES-ers. The content of the chapter is still relevant today and has not been updated (Professor Rohr passed away in 2011).

Does social status of civil servants matter when it comes to civil servants' responsibilities? Judicialization and constitutional responsibilities are revisited by Gerrit Dijkstra in his reflection on responsibility, accountability, and performance (Chapter 15). He carefully argues that any one-dimensional approach is simplistic. Indeed, in recent years the traditional vertical approaches to this issue (professional-ethical – cf. Friedrich; political-institutional – cf. Finer; and political-societal – cf. judicialization) have been complemented with the more horizontal and programmatic approach characteristic for performance measurement and management. Is this a viable alternative to the more traditional, hierarchical approaches to accountability? Whatever the answer is, a civil servant/manager can only function properly and adequately if sensitive to the societal environment. This sensitivity is not just one of responsiveness to societal needs and problems but also one of properly and adequately managing the interaction of political and societal actors. Guy Peters and Jon Pierre focus on the Weberian, the NPM, and the governance perspectives upon managing the interaction with the environment (Chapter 16). They point out the importance of acknowledging that government and governance co-exist and that the main challenge is how to balance the traditional, juridical role of government what that of its mediating capacity among a variety of nonprofit and private actors.

In Part 4, titled “Beyond Civil Service Systems?,” we look at the implications of civil service reform for political-administrative relations, for politics, and for the political-administrative system at large in the 21st century. First, we assess the impact of the reforms summarized in Part 1, and further analyzed in terms of consequences in Parts 2 and 3. Then we consider the degree to which political system reforms might be complementary to civil service reforms. Finally, recent literature on political-administrative relations further underlines the increased importance of civil servants in the development and implementation of public law and government policy.

Richard Stillman attempts to glean lessons from the events leading up to and happening since the introduction of the Senior Executive Service in the United States (Chapter 17). While this only represents one case

of reform, and that limited to the top of the career civil service, it does emphasize a variety of commonsensical insights useful anywhere. At the same time, his discussion also shows how much institutional tradition and culture matter. So, can we draw lessons from the past for the future? Of those advanced by Stillman we will only mention that for reform to be successful time is needed, and more specifically a time period that encompasses several administrations/cabinets. This brings the role of politics and political officeholders to center stage. Reforms of CSS have undoubtedly influenced political-administrative relations. The question is: in what way? Are civil servants more subordinate to politics than before because of financial restraints, budget cuts, and the triumph of managerial values? Luc Rouban addresses this question and paints a much more nuanced picture than often found in literature (Chapter 18). It appears that politics intervenes both more and less, dependent upon issue salience. However, in light of the fiscal crisis since 2008, Rouban notes that it is more difficult to assess the impact of NPM, especially since the urge for austerity may both prompt further cuts as well as increase tensions between political and administrative officeholders. First, the fiscal crisis of 2008 has strengthened both distrust of political leaders as well as discontent with privatization and contracting out. Second, some of the new material that he presents shows how even civil servants have about as much trust in their elected officeholders as citizens do, and this is especially the case for lower- and middle-level civil servants.

However, the nature of that intervention varies with whether NPM-type reforms were imposed (i.e. top-down NPM-reform) or voluntarily embraced (i.e. bottom-up NPM reform). The matter of whether NPM reforms were imposed or embraced takes attention to the political system itself: more specifically, to the degree to which civil service and administrative reforms can succeed without political (system) reform. This question is considered by Jos C.N. Raadschelders and Marie-Louise Bemelmans-Videc (Chapter 19). Is the political environment as important to success or failure of administrative reforms as it is to the success or failure of public policy (see also Van der Meer, 2006)?

In the concluding chapter we will revisit the various topics in this volume and organize that chapter on the basis of the civil service definition used in this project: *Mediating institutions for the mobilization of human resources in the service of the state in a given territory*. We also offer a neo-Weberian perspective upon the role and position of the state, and thus of civil servants, in contemporary society. It is in that neo-Weberian perspective that we encompass both NPM and governance

approaches to understanding civil service systems. The civil service of the 21st century needs no less.

## Notes

- 1.. For most of the 19th and 20th centuries the historians' use of the concept of governance dominated. See, for example, Wolffe (1971).
- 2.. The concept of governance has become quite popular and has a normative ring to it. It is considered superior to hierarchy, under-appreciates the need of formal institutions, and is biased toward process. We will define this concept in a neutral manner later in this chapter.

## References

- Adamolekun, Ladipo (1999) *Public Administration in Africa. Main Issues and Selected Country Studies* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press).
- Bekke, Hans A.G.M. and Frits M. van der Meer (eds) (2000) *Civil Service Systems in Western Europe* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar).
- Bekke, Hans A.G.M., James L. Perry and Theo A.J. Toonen (eds) (1996) *Civil Service Systems in Comparative Perspective* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press) .
- Burns, John P. and Bidhya Bowornwathana (eds) (2001) *Civil Service Systems in Asia* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar).
- Demmke, Christoph (2004) *European Civil Services Between Tradition and Reform* (Maastricht: EIPA).
- Demmke, Christoph (2005) *Are Civil Servants Different Because They are Civil Servants? Who are the Civil Servants – and How?* (Maastricht: EIPA).
- Demmke, Christoph and Timo Moilanen (2010) *Civil Services in the EU of 27: Reform Outcomes and the Future of the Civil Service* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang).
- Farazmand, Ali and Jack Pinkowski (eds) (2006) *Handbook of Globalization, Governance, and Public Administration* (Boca Raton, FL: CRC Taylor & Frances).
- Ferlie, Ewan, Lawrence Lynn jr. and Christopher Pollitt (eds) (2005) *The Oxford Handbook of Public Management* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Halligan, John (ed.) (2004) *Civil Service Systems in Anglo-American Countries* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar).
- Kickert, Walter (1997) *Public Management and Administrative Reform in Western Europe* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar).
- Kickert, Walter, Tiina Randma-Liv and Riin Savi (2013) *Fiscal Consolidation in Europe: A Comparative Analysis*. COCOPS Trend Report (Brussels: European Commission).
- Krasner, Stephen D. (2001) 'Abiding Sovereignty,' *International Political Science Review*, 22(3), 229–251.
- Melchor, Oscar Huerta (2013) *The Government Workforce of the Future. Innovation in Strategic Workforce Planning in OECD Countries*. OECD Papers on Public Governance, no. 21 (Paris: OECD Publishing).
- Meyer-Sahling, Jan-Hinrik (2012) *Civil Service Professionalization in the Western Balkans*. SIGMA Papers, no. 48 (Paris: OECD Publishing).

- Oszlak, Oscar (1999) 'The Argentine Civil Service: An Unfinished Search for Identity,' in James L. Perry (ed.) *Research in Public Administration* (Stamford, CT: JAI Press), pp. 267–326.
- Page, Edward C. and Vincent Wright (eds) (1999) *Bureaucratic Elites in Western European States. A Comparative Analysis of Top Officials* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Page, Edward C. and Vincent Wright (eds) (2007) *The Changing Role of Senior Service in Europe* (Houndmills: Palgrave).
- Perlman, Bruce (1999) 'Development and Reform of Post Sandinista Nicaraguan Public Administration,' in James L. Perry (ed.) *Research in Public Administration* (Stamford, CT: JAI Press), pp. 189–231.
- Perry, James L. (ed.) (1999) *Research in Public Administration* (Stamford, CT: JAI Press).
- Peters, B. Guy and Jon Pierre (2000) *Governance, Politics, and the State* (New York, St. Martin's Press).
- Peters, B. Guy and Jon Pierre (2001) *Intergovernmental Relations and Multi-Level Governance* (Bristol: Policy Press).
- Peters, B. Guy and Jon Pierre (2004) 'Multi-Level Governance and Democracy: A Faustian Bargain,' in Ian Bache and Matthew Flanders (eds) *Multi-Level Governance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 75–93.
- Pollitt, Christopher and Geert Bouckaert (2011) *Public Management Reform: A Comparative Analysis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Raadschelders, Jos C.N. and James L. Perry (1994) *Protocol for Comparative Studies of National Civil Service Systems* (Bloomington, IN/Leiden: Comparative Civil Service Research Consortium, School for Public and Environmental Affairs, Indiana University/Department of Public Administration, University of Leiden).
- Van der Meer, Frits M. (2006) 'EIPA and the Civil Service System,' *European Public Law*, 3, 487–490.
- Van der Meer, Frits M. (ed.) (2011) *Civil Service Systems in Western Europe*, 2nd edition (Cheltenham/Aldershot: Edward Elgar).
- Verheijen, Tony (with Alexander Kotchegura) (eds) (1999) *Civil Service Systems in Central and Eastern Europe* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar).
- Wolffe, B.P. (1971) *The Royal Demesne in English History: The Crown Estate in the Governance of the Realm from the Conquest to 1509* (London: George Allen & Unwin).

# 2

## Civil Service Development in Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS: A Perfect Storm?

*Tony J.G. Verheijen and Aleksandra Rabrenovic*

### 1 Introduction

Earlier stock-taking work on civil service system development in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) (Verheijen, 1999) showed a move from a relative similarity of approach in the early 1990s, when all transition states struggled to overcome the legacy of politicized and discredited state administrations, to a much more divergent pattern that emerged from the start of the last decade. The three factors identified that determined the civil service development path taken were proximity to the EU (and likelihood of EU membership), vision on the role of the state and model of political governance.

States on a secure path to EU membership created systems that, at least formally, complied with broadly interpreted EU requirements, an approach followed also by 'potential candidates' for EU membership in Albania and the states of former Yugoslavia. Most CIS states set out on a different track, with reforms responding to the fiscal upheaval in Russia in 1998, which strongly impacted also on other CIS states.

For those more remote from the EU, or having opted for a different development trajectory, a variety of approaches to civil service development can be witnessed, including interest in state-led development approaches mirrored on East Asian success stories (e.g. Kazakhstan and some of the other Central Asian states), approaches mirroring the diverse experience of emerging economies (e.g. Russia) and liberal 'minimal state' approaches in Georgia and Armenia. Most of these states also have models of political governance different from most 'EU candidates' which further set them apart.

Fifteen years onwards, the divergent pattern has continued, so that at this point there remains a firm distinction between states that are in the EU or strive for EU membership, and others that have sought their own path in creating civil service systems, with distinct patterns emerging within the former group.

The path chosen by countries in the EU and those who are on track for EU membership has become much less coherent than it was in the early part of the last decade. Many new member states abandoned the broadly prescriptive 'menu' derived from the principles laid out in thinking around the 'European Administrative Space' and moved away from public-private sector distinctions in employment conditions (Meyer-Sahling, 2009; World Bank, 2007).

The fiscal crisis subsequently drove further changes in civil service systems, severely affecting new member states and the candidate states in the Western Balkans. We will reflect here on the implications, and whether or not there are parallels to reform processes in Southern European states that are equally affected by strong fiscal pressures. Hence, do CEE states now gravitate towards the same 'north-south' division that characterizes the EU overall?

Patterns of administrative development have been far more predictable in the 'CIS space,' with the exception of Ukraine, which, along with only Kyrgyzstan, has shown a remarkable degree of instability in institutional development, uncharacteristic compared to most other states. Russia has had a relatively consistent, though not always progressive approach to administrative development. While tensions between modernizers and conservatives continue to abound, the performance-based logic of the reforms launched in the mid-2000s has largely remained in place and is seen as slowly having an impact on the large public sector system (World Bank, 2011). Kazakhstan has continued its approach that reflects a strong emphasis on state-led development, and borrows from East Asia in particular. Strengthening the quality of the core civil service has remained a critical element. Other Central Asian states also continue to embrace various forms of state-led development and related institutional development policies, while the countries of the Caucasus blend liberal economic policies (Armenia, Georgia) with approaches more akin to those in Central Asia (Azerbaijan).

In the following sections we will explore how these overall trends in institutional development (and indeed models of economic governance) affect the evolution of civil service systems. At the end of the chapter we will then return to a discussion of factors influencing trends and paths,

with a particular emphasis on the fiscal crisis (and response to this), the EU as a factor, and issues of economic competitiveness.

## **2 How civil service systems evolve: internal labor market and salary systems, politico-administrative relations**

### **2.1 Internal labor market**

Most of the analyzed countries share fairly similar legacy of the late-communist administration from which reforms during transition and in the early post-communist period started off. This legacy is marked by the absence of civil service laws and reliance upon general labor code applicable to all employees. Such inheritance also did not include any central structures responsible for the management and coordination of civil service policy.

The beginning of the transition process witnessed a flurry of civil service reforms in the whole region, with introduction of civil service laws based on classical European values of Weberian administration and central structures for unified civil service management, as elaborated in more detail in the previous volume Verheijen (1999). These new values were based on several international legal documents, such as the Council of Europe Recommendation No. R (2000) 6 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on the Status of Public Officials in Europe, the United Nations Convention against Corruption (2003) and SIGMA baselines criteria. All these documents emphasize the importance of legal regulation of civil servant status; clear separation between political and civil service positions; and recruitment and promotion based on merit and competition, fair performance appraisal, and so on. The EU Commission, OECD/SIGMA and international organizations working in the CIS also emphasized the need to establish central institutions with sufficient powers to ensure implementation of civil service policy and fair and equal treatment of civil servants across government institutions.

After the initial progress in the development of civil service systems (1991–2005) the internal labor market developments in the region over the past couple of years (2006–2013) have been quite astonishing and diverse. While the CEECs that became new EU member states experienced noticeable reform reversals, reforms in the Western Balkans have stagnated, while most CIS countries have continued to undertake efforts to strengthen their civil service systems. In the latter group of countries, tensions remain between ‘traditionalists’ and ‘modernizers’ with the former interested in maintaining a relative status quo and the

latter seeking the introduction of more innovative (performance-based) approaches.

### *2.1.1 Civil service legislation: poor implementation record*

Soon after the accession to the EU, several new EU member states abandoned or abolished their civil service legislation (see Meyer-Sahling, 2009; Verheijen, 2007). Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic all moved to dismantle legal and institutional systems previously in place, and returned to a much more politicized model of civil service management, including a much greater freedom to hire and fire staff. The Czech Republic has never actually implemented its Civil Service Act adopted in 2002, which makes it the only EU country without functioning civil service legislation. While reform reversal was less dramatic in the Baltic states, changes in direction (increased politicization and less professionalization) were equally visible (Meyer-Sahling, 2009).

The case of Slovakia, which pioneered innovative reforms in the early 2000s (World Bank, 2007), is a rather typical example of reform reversal. Slovakia passed a Civil Service Act in 2001, which was substantively amended in 2003 in order to bring about innovative elements in the civil service, such as fast-stream recruitment for young professionals and creation of a special corps of senior civil servants called the 'nominated civil service,' in order to strengthen the capacity to attract and retain qualified staff at all levels of administration (Staronova, 2013). Only three years later, in 2006, the whole system was shaken to the core by the abolition of the Civil Service Office and delegation of recruitment and remuneration authorities to individual ministries, which provided them a high degree of freedom in hiring, firing and remunerating their staff. Innovative elements did survive the initial storm but were soon abolished because of ineffective implementation. The main problem with fast-stream recruitment was that highly qualified candidates recruited through this scheme did not have opportunities to be promoted to higher positions owing to limitations in the career development opportunities in the position-based civil service system (Staronova, 2013). The recruitment for the nominated civil service showed even worse results as only five candidates managed to pass the exam in the course of 2004–2005. After the abolition of the Civil Service Office in 2006, no exams were subsequently organized and the whole system was finally terminated in 2009 (Staronova, 2013).

The reform reversals in the new EU member states could be partly explained by the absence of pressure to reform that existed during the EU accession process. It may be argued that in the process of gaining

European membership, the then EU candidate states were subject to a 'carrot and stick' mechanism, to which they responded with a high degree of compliance with the EU requirements. Once this mechanism was gone and the EU membership granted, reform reversal was a natural step backwards.

Most Western Balkan countries that are aspiring to become EU member states have adopted second or third 'generation' civil service legislations that provide legal guarantees for respect of a merit principle in recruitment and promotion, limit managers' discretion and pay due respect to performance elements, such as performance appraisal (Meyer-Sahling, 2012). Mandatory internal or public competition and a professional and unbiased competition commission (whose structure varies from country to country) constitute the standard in all the aspiring member states of this region (Meyer-Sahling, 2012). Annual or bi-annual performance appraisal has also become an unavoidable part of civil service legislation in all the countries in the region. Some of them, such as Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, have also, at least formally, linked it to pay.<sup>1</sup>

Regardless of these efforts, the implementation of the civil service legislation in the West Balkan countries over the past years has been a serious challenge. In Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia party politics continues to play a large role in civil service recruitment and promotion, even though it is often disguised as ethnic representativeness (SIGMA, 2012). In Serbia, recruitment procedures are still largely based on political affiliation and patronage and recruitment decisions are very much based on managers' discretion (SIGMA, 2012a). In Montenegro, ministries and administrative bodies often disregard legally binding procedures. Instead of the principles of merit, patronage networks, clientelism and politicization dominate recruitment and promotion practices (SIGMA, 2012b). Most of the countries have still not been able to develop sound systems of performance appraisal, as the majority of civil servants are often graded with the highest performance marks. This practice puts in jeopardy the value of the concept of performance appraisal, especially in countries in which it has been linked to pay. In order to solve this problem, some countries, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, have introduced recommended quotas, while most of other counties have resisted this idea, fearing it would bring about additional difficulties in already complex human resource management (HRM) systems.

Most of the CIS countries have also continued developing their civil service legislation, recognizing the importance of well-defined merit-based recruitment and promotion procedures, though falling short of the introduction of transparent and predictable salary systems and