Parties are not the only patrons: towards a new typology of patronage

Literature review protocol

The study combined a semi-systematic and an integrative literature review. A systematic review was not feasible because the research project included different areas and broad research questions. Furthermore, it did not seek to give a full account of all research in the field but rather analyse the broad progression in a certain period and propose new methods and theories. In this sense, integrative reviews are especially useful for developing new theoretical frameworks or bringing contributions to previous ones (Snyder, 2019), which makes it more suitable for the research goals:

i) An overview of connections between studies on bureaucracy, interest groups and lobbying, and public policies.
ii) Mapping recent studies on political connections of bureaucrats and their interactions with interest groups.
iii) Reformulating analytical frameworks on patronage and politicisation of the bureaucracy.

The research literature aimed at mapping studies on patronage, politicisation, and political connections of bureaucrats.

Tasks

1. Defining initial search terms x
2. Conducting tests in databases x
3. Refining search terms x
4. Using search terms in different databases x
5. Merging databases in the reference manager x
6. Correcting bibliometric data and checking duplicates x
7. Reading all abstracts x
8. Selecting papers for catalogues based on abstracts x
9. Building final catalogues (divided by themes and relevance to research questions) x

10. Refining search (search terms in other languages, new corrections, reviewing selection) x
11. Downloading full-texts and organising folders x
12. Final adjustments x
13. Analysing the content qualitatively (content analysis) – full texts (codification - integrating concepts) x

BASES:

- Scopus
- Web of Science

Software and tools:

- Mendeley (reference manager/organisation)
- VOSViewer (initial visualisation of bibliometric data)
- R (analysis of bibliometric data)
- NVivo (content analysis)

Screening criteria:

- Theme: politicisation, bureaucracy, interest groups, patronage
- Time: 2000-2022
- Title/abstract language: English
-

Procedures:

Search terms were tested (pilot) in Scopus and Web of Science. Then, the final search terms were chosen based on the proximity of the results with the theme explored – which were analysed to the screening of abstracts and analysis of network maps of co-occurring words through VOSViewer.

The results of all searches were exported from the databases (Scopus and Web of Science) and imported into a reference manager. They were separated into thematic collections, excluding duplicates.

Considering the thematic compatibility (political connections of bureaucrats), 1978 texts were grouped into a single collection ("general collection"). Reading their abstracts allowed the selection of publications focusing on patronage and politicisation. Excluding non-available texts (list below), the final sample had 415 texts.

SEARCH TERMS (ENGLISH)

The study comprised testing different search terms in Scopus and Web of Science. The search terms with their Boolean operators were:

- **BBIGL:** (bureaucracy OR bureaucrats) AND (interest groups OR lobbying)
- **BP:** bureaucracy AND politicisation
- **BPA:** bureaucracy AND patronage
- **BAP:** bureaucracy AND appointments
- **OAP:** (officers OR officials) AND appointments
- **OIGL:** officers OR officials AND interest groups OR lobbying
- **OBIGLP:** officers OR officials OR bureaucrats AND interest groups OR lobbying AND parties
- **CSIGL:** civil servants AND interest groups OR lobbying
- **BUR:** bureaucracy OR bureaucrats (18,412 documents in Scopus / 13,437 documents in WoS)
- **IG:** interest groups OR lobbying (192,106 documents in Scopus / 240,728 documents in WoS)

The search terms were chosen based on previous knowledge of the research literature (concept map) and questions. Based on previous tests, "officers" was the broadest term – it returned more papers than other terms such as bureaucrats and civil servants – but it also brought a greater quantity of non-related materials (works on CEOs and the private sector). Running tests was also essential to verify errors in the software (Mendeley), which were corrected manually (there were many problems with authors' keywords). The group "officers

or officials and interest groups or lobbying" brought more results (804 documents in Scopus and 2.471 in WoS). Some pilot tests were conducted through VOSViewer with each group of words separately. 144 texts mentioned "patronage".

QUERIES

Scopus:

Bureaucracy or Bureaucrats AND Interest Groups or Lobbying (BBIGL): (TITLE-ABS-KEY (bureaucracy OR bureaucrats) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY ({interest groups} OR lobbying)) AND PUBYEAR > 1999 AND PUBYEAR < 2023

Bureaucracy and Politicization or Politicisation (BPO): (TITLE-ABS-KEY (bureaucracy) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY (politicization OR politicisation)) AND PUBYEAR > 1999 AND PUBYEAR < 2023

Bureaucracy and Patronage (BPA): (TITLE-ABS-KEY (bureaucracy) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY (patronage))

Bureaucracy and Appointments (BAP): (TITLE-ABS-KEY (bureaucracy) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY (appointments)) AND PUBYEAR > 1999 AND PUBYEAR < 2023 AND PUBYEAR > 1999 AND PUBYEAR < 2023

Officers or Officials and Appointments (OAP): (TITLE-ABS-KEY (officers OR officials) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY (appointments)) AND PUBYEAR > 1999 AND PUBYEAR < 2023 AND PUBYEAR > 1999 AND PUBYEAR < 2023

Officers or Officials and Interest Groups or Lobbying (OIGL): (TITLE-ABS-KEY (officers OR officials) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY ({interest groups} OR lobbying)) AND PUBYEAR > 1999 AND PUBYEAR < 2023 AND PUBYEAR > 1999 AND PUBYEAR < 2023

Officers or Officials and Interest Groups or Lobbying and Parties (OBIGLP): (TITLE-ABS-KEY (officers OR officials OR bureaucrats) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY ({interest groups} OR lobbying)) AND (TITLE-ABS-KEY (parties) AND PUBYEAR > 1999 AND PUBYEAR < 2023 AND PUBYEAR > 1999 AND PUBYEAR < 2023

Web of Science:

BBIGL: (((ALL=(bureaucracy)) OR ALL=(bureaucrats)) AND ((ALL=(interest groups)) OR ALL=(lobbying)))

BPO: (((ALL=(bureaucracy)) AND ((ALL=(POLICITIZATION)) OR ALL=(POLITICISATION)))

BPA: (((ALL=(bureaucracy)) AND ((ALL=(patronage)))

BAP: ((ALL=(bureaucracy)) AND ((ALL=(appointments)))

OAP: (((ALL=(officers)) OR ALL=(officials)) AND ((ALL=(appointments)))

OIGL: (((ALL=(officers)) OR ALL=(officials)) AND ((ALL=(appointments)))

OBIGL: (((ALL=(officers)) OR ALL=(officials)) OR ALL=((bureaucrats)) AND ((ALL=(interest groups)) OR ALL=(lobbying))) AND ALL=((parties)))

CSIGL:

***In WoS, quotation marks for searching exact expressions (Scopus: operator or {})

PERIOD: from 2000 to 2022 (anticipated access included) *except for catalogue BR, which included classical works

PREVIOUS SEARCHES (PILOT)

- BBIGL: (Bureaucracy*OR*Bureaucrats) AND (Interest Groups*OR*Lobbying)
    - Catalogue BR: 116 documents
        - Keywords: min. oc. = 2 (m. 30-40 words meeting the criteria)
    - Scopus: 273 documents
        - Keywords: min. oc.= 3 (70 meeting the criteria) for all keywords and 2 for authors keywords (66 meeting the criteria)

        - Countries: min. oc.= 2 (29 meeting the criteria)
        - Authors: min. oc= 2 (39 meeting the criteria)
    - Web of Science: 442 documents
        - Keywords: min. oc. = 5 for all keywords (93 words meeting the criteria) x 3 for authors keywords (64 meeting the criteria)
        - Countries: min. oc. = 2 (41 meeting the criteria)
        - Authors: min. oc. = 2 (39 meeting the criteria)
- BPo: (Bureaucracy) AND (Politicization*OR*Politicisation)
    - Scopus: 177 documents
    - Web of Science: 137 documents
- BPa: (Bureaucracy) AND (Patronage)
    - Scopus: 175 documents
    - Web of Science: 153 documents
- BAP: (Bureaucracy) AND (Appointments)
    - Scopus: 142 documents
    - Web of Science: 138 documents
- OAP: (Officers or Officials) AND (Appointments)
    - Scopus: 1,114 results
    - Web of Science: 784 documents
- OIGL: (Officers or Officials) AND (Interest groups or Lobbying)
    - Scopus: 804 documents
    - Web of Science: 2,471 documents
- OBIGLP: (Officers or Officials) AND (Interest groups or Lobbying) AND (Parties)
    - Scopus: 140 documents
    - WoS: 212 documents

OBS: Some terms (“human”, “article”, among others) were excluded from the map analysis.

FINAL SEARCH

(Files’ names: Final Base Search Terms CM Period)

IGs + Bureaucracy

Scopus: (TITLE-ABS-KEY (bureaucracy OR bureaucrat OR {civil servants} OR {government officers} OR {government officials}) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY ({interest groups} OR {lobbying} OR {advocacy} OR {pressure groups} OR {interest organizations} OR {lobbyists})) AND PUBYEAR > 1999 AND PUBYEAR < 2023 AND PUBYEAR > 1999 AND PUBYEAR < 2023 **[805 results]**

WoS:

(bureaucracy OR bureaucrats OR "civil servants" OR "government officers" OR "government officials") *AND* ("interest groups" OR "lobbying" OR "advocacy" OR "pressure groups" OR "interest organizations" OR "lobbyists") **[576 results]**

Politicisation/politics of the bureaucracy

Scopus:

1 - (TITLE-ABS-KEY (bureaucracy OR bureaucrat OR {civil servants} OR {government officers} OR {government officials}) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY (politicization)) AND PUBYEAR > 1999 AND PUBYEAR < 2023 **[264 results]**

2- (TITLE-ABS-KEY (bureaucracy OR bureaucrats OR {civil servants} OR {government officers} OR {government officials}) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY (politicization OR politics

)) AND PUBYEAR > 2001 AND PUBYEAR < 2023 AND PUBYEAR > 2001 AND PUBYEAR < 2023 **[3,422 results]**

WoS

1- (bureaucracy OR bureaucrats OR "civil servants" OR "government officers" OR "government officials") AND politicization **[184 results]**
2- (bureaucracy OR bureaucrats OR "civil servants" OR "government officers" OR "government officials") AND (politicization OR politics) **[3,255 results]**

Patronage of bureaucracy

Scopus:

(TITLE-ABS-KEY (bureaucracy OR bureaucrat OR {civil servants} OR {government officers} OR {government officials}) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY (patronage)) AND PUBYEAR > 1999 AND PUBYEAR < 2023 **[264 results]**

WoS

(bureaucracy OR bureaucrats OR "civil servants" OR "government officers" OR "government officials") AND patronage **[219 results]**

TOTAL (QT) – General collection (previous searches + final search): 1,978

Qualitative analysis: >400

Final Collection (Quali analysis)

415 texts (texts not available excluded)

Exclusion criteria for general collection:

- Non-academic materials (newspapers, notes, among others).
- Non-related themes or topics (private sector, other activities rather than those belonging to the policy cycle).
- Generic mentions of the search terms (for instance, public officials were mentioned in the paper because they were interviewed).

Screening criteria for the <u>final catalogue</u>:

- **Period:** Contemporary (studies on past imperial regimes were excluded)
- **Phase:** policymaking, rulemaking, or political appointments
- **Level of Government:** Executive branch, federal agencies, and committees. State-owned enterprises were excluded.
    - National and regional level (EU). Exceptions: papers focusing on the relationship between IGs and national delegations or the central government and subnational unities, papers with a comparative design
- **Type of bureaucrat:** Intermediate or high-level posts (street-level bureaucrats and armed forces[1] excluded from the quali analysis)
- Comparative studies were prioritised
- **Type of material:** journal articles and chapters (books and reports excluded)
- Although the relationship between politicians and bureaucrats was considered in the analysis, the main focus does not refer to electoral politics.

Challenges in selecting materials:

- Some works do not mention the terms "lobbying" or "interest groups" but approach these phenomena in policymaking. In other cases, authors use these words with no theoretical precision.
- Officials are sometimes mentioned due to their role in policymaking with no further discussion of their functions, characteristics, or political connections.

[1] Except for military servants occupying traditionally civic posts. Police was considered as an armed force.

- The word “policymaker” is often used in studies on lobbying and may refer to either public officers or elected officials.
- Several works just use the search terms generically. For instance, the authors state that they have interviewed officials (but the theme of the paper is not bureaucracy or politicisation).
- Some abstracts do not specify the type of bureaucracy when they mention the term “bureaucrats”. This study refers to government bureaucrats (not partisan bureaucracy).
- Regional and cultural differences: public appointments have another meaning in the UK (the term refers to appointments to boards of public bodies).

Further comments/annotations

- Books: I considered the first date of publication.
- Potential meta-analysis: appointments to federal ministries and agencies / recruitment processes and profile of bureaucrats

Texts which were not available (information was found, but text is not available):

- **Acs, Alex (2018).** *Policing the Administrative State*.
- **Alba, Carlos R. (2008).** *Bureaucratic politics in Spain: A long-lasting tradition*. (Book chapter).
- **Ameringer, Carl (2002).** *Federal antitrust policy and physician discontent: Defining moments in the struggle for congressional relief*
- **Ayinde, Fatai & Adedire, Solomon (2020).** *Bureaucracy, Bureaucratic Politics, and the Policy Establishment*
- **Bes, Bart Joachim (2017).** *Europe's executive in stormy weather: How does politicization affect commission officials' attitudes?*
- **Bischoff, Carina (2012).** *Party Patronage in Denmark: The Merit State with Politics 'On the Side'* (book chapter)

- **Bonica, Adam; Chen, Jowei; Johnson, Tim (2013).** *Senate gate-keeping, presidential staffing of "inferior offices," and the ideological composition of appointments to the public bureaucracy*
- **Cheng, Joseph Y. S. (2016).** *Local governments in China* (book chapter)
- **Dempsey, Caroline P. & Milford, Jonathan L. (2011).** *Presidential appointments: Overview and the 110th Congress* (book).
- **Durant, Robert F. & Resh, William G.** *Presidential Agendas, Administrative Strategies, and the Bureaucracy.*
- **Elms, Deborah.** *Business Interests Shaping International Institutions: Negotiating the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement.*
- **Ennser-Jedenastik, Laurenz (2016).** *The party politicization of administrative elites in the Netherlands*.
- **FaizYaakob et al. (2011).** *New Public Management and Politicization: A Case of Senior Civil Servants in Malaysia* – Text not found.
- **Harris, James (2005).** *Stalin as general secretary: The appointments process and the nature of Stalin's power*. (book chapter)
- **Huber, Gregory A.** *The craft of bureaucratic neutrality: Interests and influence in governmental regulation of occupational safety.*
- **Jalali, Carlos, Silva, Patrícia & Moreira, Diogo.** *Party Patronage in Portugal: Treading in Shallow Water.*
- **Kerwin, Cornelius, Furlong, Scott R. & West, William (2011).** *Interest Groups, Rulemaking, and American Bureaucracy*
- **Lederer, Markus; Wallbott, Linda; Urban, Frauke (2019).** *Green transformations and state bureaucracy in the global South.*
- **Lim, Haeran (2010).** *The Transformation of the Developmental State and Economic Reform in Korea.*
- **Lochbihler, Peter (2019).** *The Brussels reputation story - The interplay of public affairs and reputation.* (book chapter)
- **Meyer-Sahling, Jan-Hinrik & Jager, Krisztina (2012).** *Party Patronage in Hungary: Capturing the State* (book chapter).
- **Newmark, Adam J. (2017).** *Lobbying regulation in the states revisited: What are we trying to measure, and how do we measure it?*

- **Payson, Julia A. (2020).** *Cities in the statehouse: How local governments use lobbyists to secure state funding*.
- **Potter, Rachel Augustine (2019).** *Bending the Rules: Procedural Politicking in the Bureaucracy.*
- **Ritchie, Melinda N. (2018).** *Back-Channel Representation: A Study of the Strategic Communication of Senators with the US Department of Labor*
- **Richardson, Mark D (2019).** *Politicization and Expertise: Exit, Effort, and Investment*. – requested through Research Gate.
- **Schottland, Charles Irwing (2017).** *Politics and African-American Ghettos.*
- **Schuler, Douglas A. & Rehbein, Kathleen (2011).** *Determinants of access to legislative and executive branch officials: Business firms and trade policymaking in the U.S.*
- **Smith, Andy (2004).** *Politics and the European Commission: Actors, interdependence, legitimacy.*
- **Spence, David B. (2019).** *The effects of partisan polarization on the bureaucracy – Acquired through the Interlibrary loan*
- **Srivastava, Anupam & Gahlaut, Seema (2012).** *The influence of bureaucratic politics on India's nuclear strategy.*
- **Staroňová, Katarina & Malíková, Ludmila (2007).** *Political science approach towards the study of corruption.*
- **Staudt, Kathleen (2010).** (Book chapter). *1/Gender politics in bureaucracy: Theoretical issues in comparative perspective.*
- **Thornhill, Chris (2020).** *The Political/Administrative Interface in African Countries.*
- **Troynina, Ekaterina Y. (2015).** *Evolution of science and technology policy of Taiwan's government in the 1970-2000s: interest groups*.
- **Tsai, Wen-Hsuan & Zhou, Wang (2019).** *Integrated Fragmentation and the Role of Leading Small Groups in Chinese Politics.*
- **Vittoria, Armando & Alfano, Vincenzo (2019).** *Central bureaucracy and particracy in Italy: What role for political patronage? [Burocrazia statale e partitocrazia in Italia: Quale ruolo per il patronage politico?]*
- **Wang, C. & Liang, W. (2014).** *Guanxi with government officials and organizational performance: The mediating role of lobbying.*

- **Yamamoto, Hidehiro (2021).** *Interest group politics and its transformation in Japan: An approach informed by longitudinal survey data*.

Bibliography – research methods

Snyder, H. (2019). Literature review as a research methodology: An overview and guidelines. *Journal of Business Research*, *104*(August), 333–339. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2019.07.039