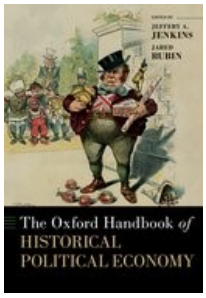

The Oxford Handbook of Historical Political Economy

Jeffery A. Jenkins (ed.), Jared Rubin (ed.)

https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780197618608.001.0001

Published: 2022 **Online ISBN:** 9780197618639 **Print ISBN:** 9780197618608

CHAPTER

Bureaucracies in Historical Political Economy

Jan P. Vogler

https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780197618608.013.19

Published: 19 December 2022

Abstract

This chapter provides an overview of the historical development of modern bureaucracies and their impact on socioeconomic structures. After introducing these systems' key features, the chapter discusses several prominent classification schemes that allow for further conceptual differentiation. Then it examines the historical context in which modern bureaucracies emerged and the factors that influenced their organizational structures. Furthermore, the analysis considers the effects that public administrative systems had on their environment throughout history, emphasizing their impact on economies, but also discussing society and politics as additional dimensions.

Keywords: bureaucracy, bureaucratization, public administration, political economy, public institutions, state capacity, state-society interactions

Subject: Political Economy, Political Institutions, Politics

Series: Oxford Handbooks

Collection: Oxford Handbooks Online

The Relevance of Modern Bureaucracies

Since the emergence of modern public bureaucracies in the late eighteenth century, these administrative organizations have become indispensable to most polities. They are responsible for essential governmental tasks that help maintain (or achieve) social order and material prosperity, including policy implementation and the supply of public goods. The extent and properties of the latter not only affect states' prospects for economic growth (Evans and Rauch 1999; Pierskalla et al. 2017) and development (Evans 1995; Johnson 1982; Vries 2019), but also citizens' quality of life (Vogler 2019a).

While executives and legislatures are the primary decision-making centers regarding countries' *broad* trajectories, no policy can take effect without implementation by the state apparatus (Geddes 1994, 138;

Ingraham 1995, xxii). Furthermore, bureaucracies often have leeway regarding the concrete design of laws (Huber and Shipan 2002), and variation in administrative performance affects societies every day (Vogler 2019b).

Therefore, scholars of historical political economy (HPE) have examined the causes of bureaucratization and bureaucracies' impacts throughout history. Both historically and in the present, significant variation in bureaucratic institutions is observed (Dahlström and Lapuente 2017; Painter and Peters 2010; Peters 2021; Vogler 2019c). The starkest differences in the performance of public administration existed between states that developed modern bureaucracies and those that retained traditional administrations.[1] Bureaucracies were also critical to major historical processes: (1) they shaped and were shaped by industrialization (Skowronek 1982; Vogler 2022b); (2) empires frequently implemented administrative systems in colonies (Eisenstadt 1993; Mattingly 2017); (3) states' military capacities often partly depended on efficient bureaucratic organization (Tilly 1990);[2] and (4) governments' ability to promote economic growth has been closely tied to public services (cf. Baum and Lake 2003; Besley and Persson 2009).

The emergence of modern bureaucracies, which primarily took place in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was only one step in the overall development of modern states—a centuries-long process that began in the medieval period. "Modern states" are political entities led by a central government with an effective monopoly on violence within a defined territory. Their development began in Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when England and France established central fiscal and judicial institutions (Strayer 1970).[3] In the early-modern period, states also created standing armies (Kennedy 1988; Parrott 2010; Tilly 1990) and provided internal security and economic standards that reduced transaction costs (Olson 1993; Spruyt 1996).[4] The creation of additional ministries and mutual international recognition were further key developments (Raadschelders and Rutgers 1996, 72–73). Yet the emergence of modern bureaucracies only began in the late eighteenth century, initially only affected a few countries, and was most visible in the military domain (Fischer and Lundgreen 1975; Hintze 1975; Kennedy 1988, 75–76; Mann 1993, chs. 11–13; Vries 2002, 106–7).[5]

What Is a "Bureaucracy"?

Definition of Modern Public Bureaucracy

A "modern public bureaucracy" is an (internally hierarchical) administrative organization that is subordinated to the government[6] and has the following features:

(1) a strict separation of offices and officeholders (implying no private possession of offices);

(2) recruitment procedures that emphasize relevant skills and ensure that officeholders have at least minimal competence (applicable to the vast majority of positions);

(3) a written set of rules and regulations that establish standards for official conduct;

(4) stable salaries (and salary progression) that are primarily—though not exclusively—determined by rank within the organization; and

(5) administrators have only limited discretion in their work routines, and bureaucratic operations primarily follow political goals[7] or legal principles rather than goals of economic efficiency or service orientation.[8]

We may think of administrations that only partly meet criteria 1 to 4 as "proto-modern bureaucracies."[9]

While the aforementioned features primarily refer to *internal* bureaucratic organization, an auxiliary *output* criterion[10] may be that "modern" bureaucracies must be capable of addressing the fundamental service needs of industrialized (or postindustrial) societies or economies (including the provision of infrastructure, education, and healthcare) and of managing complex militaries and police forces.[11]

Modern public bureaucracies gradually became the dominant form of administrative organization beginning in the 1850s, and this superiority lasted at least until the 1980s (Raadschelders and Rutgers 1996; Silberman 1993; Skowronek 1982; Vogler 2019c). Prior to 1850, only a few countries had adopted them (Mann 1993, ch. 13; Vries 2002, 106–7), and in the 1980s, bureaucracy was challenged by "new public management."

Distinction from Other Forms of Public Administrative Organization

The first three characteristics just mentioned are key to distinguishing modern bureaucracies from previous forms of administration. Premodern administrations typically did not have a clear separation of office and officeholder. Instead, positions often were private property, inherited within families, given to powerful ecclesiastical representatives, or awarded based on personal or political loyalty (Ertman 1997; Fischer and Lundgreen 1975; Raadschelders and Rutgers 1996).[12] These practices allowed for the abuse of offices and implied the absence of procedures that ensure officials' competence. Although recruitment in many modern bureaucracies was and is influenced by applicants' socioeconomic status, gender, or ethnicity, most of their hiring procedures do require a certain level of competence. Finally, in premodern administrations, standards of conduct were loose, often based on local custom, and violations were not systematically punished.

Moreover, the last two features discussed in the previous section distinguish bureaucracies from recent forms of public administration. Although bureaucracies still remain predominant, there has been a partial reorientation toward incentive-based payment schemes and the goal of economic efficiency (Dunleavy et al. 2006; Hood 1991; Hood 1995; Osborne and Gaebler 1992).[13]

Comparison to Max Weber's Perspective

In some respects, my definition deviates from Max Weber's prominent characterization of bureaucracies. To Weber (1978, 220–221, ch. 11), several additional features distinguished the ideal type of modern bureaucracies from "patrimonial administration," including (1) recruitment that is (primarily/exclusively) based on individuals' qualification, (2) strict career paths for all bureaucrats, (3) a complete separation from politics, and (4) clearly delineated and exclusive spheres of competence for officials and agencies.[14]

The problem with using a definition derived from Weber's work is that the vast majority of historical and contemporary administrations would not satisfy these criteria.[15] To Weber, too, "ideal types" were abstractions of reality that cannot be fully observed in practice (Fry and Raadschelders 2022, ch. 1; Sager and Rosser 2021), which underscores the desirability of a definition that is applicable to (historical) real-world bureaucracies, such as the one developed in this chapter.

East Asian Administrations and Modern Bureaucracy

It is possible to argue that several historical East Asian administrative systems (such as the Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese administrations) represented the first modern bureaucracies (Drechsler 2013; Drechsler 2018; Fukuyama 2011, 19–21, 113–14). Indeed, they partly resembled modern bureaucracies. However, some aspects of their organization make this classification difficult. First, while modern bureaucracies emphasize practical skills, these systems often asked applicants to master more abstract cultural or philosophical contents, which could require more than a decade of preparation (Ebrey 2016, 42; Hong, Paik, and Yun 2021; Jiang and Kung 2020; Painter and Peters 2010, 27; Wang 2022, ch. 7).[16] Additionally, Bell (2016, 223–24) points out that Chinese administrators were generalists with broad political power, whereas modern bureaucrats are specialists with more limited discretion.

Moreover, recruitment and advancement within these administrations often strongly depended on candidates' social networks or family background (Hong, Paik, and Yun 2021; Jiang and Kung 2020; Paik 2014; Wang 2022), and consideration for the Chinese civil service examination necessitated a recommendation from local elites, which introduced patronage into the system (Wang 2022, ch. 3). The result was widespread corruption and abuses of power, and that the administration was "far less meritocratic than it appeared to be" (Vries 2002, 107). Also, with respect to the discussed output criteria, the Chinese state may not qualify, as its reach was limited (Ebrey 2016, 47; Finer 1997, 73–74; Vries 2002, 109; Vries 2015).[17]

In line with these observations, Raadschelders and Rutgers (1996) suggest that the first modern bureaucracies emerged in Europe, not China.[18] However, because East Asian administrations already mostly satisfied the criteria of (1) formal separation of office and officeholder, (2) comprehensive and consistent regulations for conduct, and (3) stable salaries (see, e.g., Ebrey 2016, 37–42, 46), we may categorize them as "proto-modern bureaucracies."

Types of Bureaucracies

Beyond the five discussed core features, bureaucracies exhibit substantial organizational variation. This has historically led to fundamental differences in (1) policy implementation effectiveness, (2) public service quality, and (3) state-citizen interactions. Thus, understanding these differences allows us to better evaluate the impact of bureaucracies on societies.

Organizational versus Professional Bureaucracies

Silberman (1993) primarily differentiates between two types: (1) *organizational* and (2) *professional* bureaucracies. The former place emphasis on coherent internal career paths and administrative hierarchies. Moreover, the training of civil servants takes place in the organization itself, which results in strong administrative cultures with a shared feeling of loyalty toward the organization. Examples are "Japan, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, and the Soviet Union" (Silberman 1993, 12).

The main alternative is professional bureaucracies, which have looser recruitment and promotion systems. Training of bureaucrats often takes place outside of the organization, and bureaucrats can introduce external skills through lateral entry. Consequently, these systems' organizational cultures are less coherent, hierarchies are less pronounced, and career tracks are less stable. Examples include the "United States, Great Britain, Canada, and Switzerland" (Silberman 1993, 14).

Bureaucracies with Integrated versus Separated Career Tracks

Dahlström and Lapuente (2017) develop four categories of bureaucracies along two dimensions. The first dimension of *open* versus *closed* bureaucracies is similar to Silberman's categorization. Open systems have hiring practices similar to the private sector (including job interviews). Closed systems require applicants to take specialized examinations and provide special employment protections.

Importantly, Dahlström and Lapuente (2017) place greater emphasis on the second dimension: *integrated* versus *separated* career tracks for politicians and bureaucrats. In integrated systems, there is significant overlap in the careers of these groups. In separated systems, they have much sharper distinctions, which incentivizes them to monitor each other. Such mutual elite monitoring has multiple beneficial consequences for governance, which includes fewer opportunities for corruption.

Four categories of bureaucracies emerge (Dahlström and Lapuente 2017, 38) (see Table 1). The first type—open and integrated—is the "patronage bureaucratic system" (historical party machines in the United States, Western European public administrations prior to the nineteenth century, developing countries in the present day). The second type—closed and integrated—is labeled the "corporatist bureaucratic system" (France, Spain, Italy, and Japan). The third type of system—open and separated—is a "managerial bureaucratic system" (Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and Sweden). Finally, the fourth type—closed and separated—is labeled an "autonomous bureaucratic system" (Germany and South Korea).

Table 1. Typology by Dahlströhm and Lapuente

	Open Bureaucratic Systems	**Closed Bureaucratic Systems**
Integrated Career Tracks	**Patronage system**	**Corporatist system**
Separated Career Tracks	**Managerial system**	**Autonomous system**

Political Control and Meritocracy

Vogler (2019c, ch. 2) provides a typology focused on Europe and North America. He differentiates between two continuous dimensions: (1) the level of political control (through appointments and dismissals of upper-level bureaucrats[19]) and (2) the level of meritocracy in recruitment (the extent to which applicants' qualifications matter[20]). There is a complex interplay between these dimensions. While they are substantively different, they are not fully orthogonal.

Based on this typology, three kinds of systems are observed: Some systems, such as Italy's, combine high levels of political control with low-meritocracy recruitment. On the other extreme, some systems, such as the Netherlands', combine few political appointments with high levels of meritocracy in recruitment. Finally, a third type of (hybrid) bureaucratic system, such as in the United States, combines high degrees of control at the upper levels with relatively high meritocratic recruitment standards.

Families of Administrative Traditions

Painter and Peters (2010) differentiate between nine administrative traditions that entail both organizational features and bureaucratic culture: (1) Anglo-American, (2) Napoleonic, (3) Germanic, (4) Scandinavian, (5) Latin American, (6) Postcolonial South Asian and African, (7) East Asian, (8) Soviet, and (9) Islamic. Since this chapter has already covered Western systems extensively, I provide brief illustrations of three non-Western traditions.[21]

Latin American administrations, especially in former Spanish colonies, were historically characterized by strict hierarchies and inflexibility. Therefore, once these states gained independence, they engaged in comprehensive administrative reforms. Yet the newly emerging formalism on the surface merely hid deeply entrenched patronage recruitment, corruption, and the imperfect implementation of regulations (Painter and Peters 2010, 23–24).

In East Asia, many countries had administrations that reflected some of the principles of modern bureaucracies long before the arrival of European colonial powers, with Confucianism being an essential influence. Colonial powers then shaped these systems through imposed institutions, which led to a combination of traditional and imported principles (Painter and Peters 2010, 25–27).

Finally, in Soviet systems, communist parties played a key role. Bureaucracies were either subordinated in hierarchical relationships or could even practically fuse with them. As a result, adherence to official ideology and uncritical deference to superiors were often key to bureaucrats' career success. Nevertheless, Soviet systems, like other modern bureaucracies, generally required at least minimal competence (Painter and Peters 2010, 27–28).

Additional Dimensions of Organizational Differentiation

Four further organizational distinctions of bureaucracies are noteworthy. First, Bustikova and Corduneanu-Huci (2017) differentiate between low- and high-capacity bureaucracies.[22] Low-capacity systems are organizationally unable to comprehensively deliver public services, which spurs demand for clientelistic exchange between voters and politicians. Also, Huber and Shipan (2002) show that administrative systems vary widely in the extent to which they allow for bureaucratic discretion in the implementation of laws, with some allowing for significant leeway, while others severely restrict bureaucrats.[23]

Moreover, Gingerich (2013) and Bersch, Praça, and Taylor (2017) highlight substantial interagency variation in organization and capacity, which underscores the utility of disaggregated analysis. Finally, the existence of another type of "hybrid" (proto-)bureaucratic system is discussed by Brierley (2021), who identifies a distinct combination of meritocratic recruitment for leading positions with patronage recruitment for lower positions.

The Historical Emergence of Bureaucracies

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Prussia and Austria created the first modern bureaucracies. Military defeats and unsustainable war-related expenditures were the main reason for the introduction of wide-ranging changes to these countries' administrations, including (1) the separation of office and officeholder, (2) the introduction of salaries, (3) comprehensive rules, (4) protections from arbitrary dismissal, and (5) more rigorous recruitment procedures that ensured officeholders' (minimal) competence (Deak 2015, esp. 9–17; Fischer and Lundgreen 1975, esp. 516; Hochedlinger 2003; Judson 2016; Kann 1974; Kiser and Schneider 1994; Mann 1993, chs. 12–13; Raphael 2000, 53–61; Unruh 1977, 26–28; Wunder 1986, 21–22; Vogler 2019b; 2022a).[24]

While many European states had already developed (proto-)bureaucratic structures in the military domain before 1800 (Hintze 1975; Mann 1993, chs. 11–12; Kennedy 1988, 75–76), the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were crucial for the emergence of modern bureaucracies for four reasons (Carpenter 2001; Fischer and Lundgreen 1975; Raadschelders and Rutgers 1996; Silberman 1993; Vogler 2019c). First, bureaucracies (with all five institutional features discussed previously) became the dominant form of administrative organization among the great powers (Buzan and Lawson 2015; Vogler 2019c).[25] Second, bureaucracies

massively increased the degree of intervention in society and the supply of public services (Ansell and Lindvall 2020; Mann 1993, chs. 13–14). Third (and partly as a consequence), their size and public spending on their activities grew significantly (Fischer and Lundgreen 1975, esp. 462–463; Mitchell 2022). Fourth, they became indispensable to imperialism (Buzan and Lawson 2015; Vogler 2019b; 2022c).

In this period, three trends caused the emergence of bureaucracies:

- **External military pressures.** Even before modern bureaucracies emerged, warfare was typically associated with a growth in the state's (military) administrative apparatus and significant fiscal burdens (Besley and Persson 2009; Hintze 1975, esp. 201; Kennedy 1988, esp. 70–72, 75–86; Mann 1993, chs. 11–12; Tilly 1990; Vogler 2022c). As observed in Prussia and Austria, such massive expenditures created pressure to reform the state apparatus with the goal of increasing its efficiency and competence ("rationalization").

- **Increasing socioeconomic complexity.** Industrialization made economies and societies much more complex and increased the demand for public services, especially security, education, social insurance, and infrastructure (Ansell and Lindvall 2020; Mann 1993, chs. 11–14; Potter and Vogler 2021; Raadschelders and Rutgers 1996, 86; Saylor 2014; Skowronek 1982; Vogler 2022b).[26] Thus, governments created more competent administrations capable of delivering these services. Furthermore, effective taxation of increasingly complex socioeconomic structures often also required additional bureaucratic capacity, with more substantial capacity increases in early industrializing states (see Beramendi, Dincecco, and Rogers 2019).[27] (Importantly, the process described here—that is, bureaucratization due to increases in socioeconomic complexity—is not merely a historical phenomenon. As societies keep growing more complex, we also witness further growth of the administrative state.)

- **Imperialism (and threat of imperial occupation).** Already before industrialization, large colonial administrations were created by imperial centers (see, e.g., McClellan and Regourd 2011). When imperial expansion intensified in the nineteenth century (Vogler 2022c), major powers introduced a variety of administrative institutions to colonies (Buzan and Lawson 2015, esp. 130–38).[28] In this process, imperial centers also improved the capacities of domestic bureaucracies to manage extensive overseas territories. (In this respect, however, Cornell and Svensson [2022] find only very limited evidence for the traditional claim that domestic British civil service reforms were inspired by the Indian Civil Service.) Additionally, similar to military competition, pressure resulting from a credible threat of imperial domination could result in administrative reforms in targeted polities, such as Japan or Siam (Paik and Vechbanyongratana 2019). Japan later became an imperial power itself and imposed state-building on others (Kohli 2004, ch. 1; Matsuzaki 2019; Mattingly 2017).

Although these three factors explain the broader emergence of modern bureaucracies, they generally do not suffice to explain variation in bureaucratic organization, which is the subject of the next section.

Factors That Shaped Bureaucratic Institutions

While Weber's (1978) classical perspective—that economic development and social progress automatically lead to the establishment of modern bureaucracies—does not leave sufficient space to explain the significant institutional variation we observe across (historical) bureaucracies (Mann 1993, 359; Vogler 2019a, 100–101), a multitude of theories aim to explain this divergence.

First, with respect to politically autonomous countries, there are intense debates regarding *which* domestic factor shaped early bureaucracies. Candidates include (1) differences in socioeconomic development, (2)

macro-political and macro-legal circumstances, (3) interest groups and parties,[29] and (4) sociocultural determinants. Second, with respect to countries under foreign rule, external factors had a decisive influence on bureaucratic organization.

Domestic Factors

In terms of socioeconomic developments, Skowronek (1982) suggests that industrialization and urbanization in nineteenth-century America necessitated a strong and centralized administrative state. As new social groups emerged and conflicts between them arose, the state needed the capacity to intervene. Such intervention was initially difficult because the United States did not yet have a modern bureaucracy. Instead, America's patronage-ridden state was considered to be a (premodern) "spoils system" (Ingraham 1995, 20–25; Shefter 1994, ch. 3; Silberman 1993, 243–49; Van Riper 1958, ch. 3).[30]

Moreover, Johnson and Libecap (1994) argue that significant growth of this administrative state contributed to the infeasibility of maintaining an inefficient patronage recruitment system. In 1883, Congress passed the Pendleton Act that brought America significantly closer to a modern bureaucracy by introducing merit recruitment for some bureaucrats (Hoogenboom 1968; Theriault 2003; Van Riper 1958, ch. 5; Vogler 2019c, 61–65). Protection from dismissal allowed those bureaucrats to develop domain-specific expertise, increasing the bureaucracy's overall effectiveness (Gailmard and Patty 2012b).[31]

Another contribution that considers the impact of socioeconomic development on the state is from Kurtz (2013), who suggests that the mobility of workers in Latin America was a key factor that influenced local elites' ability to resist centralized state-building processes. Similarly, Garfias and Sellars (2021) argue that the weakening of elites as intermediaries following demographic collapse allowed for the strengthening of central bureaucratic institutions in colonial Mexico.[32]

In terms of macro-political factors, Silberman (1993) posits that "uncertainty about leadership succession" in the nineteenth century was essential to bureaucratic development: In high-uncertainty settings, organizational bureaucracies reduced risks associated with governing and provided more stability. However, in low-uncertainty settings, political elites were not as dependent on administrations' organizational coherence, which led to professional bureaucracies.

With respect to the American states, Ting et al. (2013) argue that incumbent governments that anticipated electoral defeat had incentives to insulate bureaucracies from political pressure (to protect their own appointees). Similarly, Ruhil and Camões (2003) find that political competitiveness and the secret ballot influenced the adoption of merit recruitment. Alternatively, Theriault (2003) argues that general political pressure from constituents caused administrative reform.

Another macro-political argument comes from Waldner (1999), who emphasizes elite conflict and the inclusion of popular classes in determining bureaucratic structures in late-developing countries. In cases with significant intraelite conflicts, political leaders needed to build broader (cross-class) coalitions to achieve a stable administration. Thus, they created bureaucratic capacity for channeling resources into welfare measures, which resulted in more politicized administrations, designed to maintain economic interventionism.[33]

An example of an interest-group perspective is Vogler (2019c, ch. 2), who suggests that three social groups were crucial for the institutional design of early bureaucracies. First, traditional elites sought to maintain a bureaucracy under the control of nondemocratic institutions and with socially selective recruitment. Second, the entrepreneurial and professional middle classes preferred a competent bureaucracy capable of delivering high-quality public services, which required meritocratic recruitment. Additionally, they sought to minimize political influence to shield the bureaucracy from landed-elite or working-class manipulation.

Finally, the urban working class preferred broad access to public sector jobs, but its members lacked higher education, so they were against academic recruitment standards. With respect to political control, workers' representatives sought maximum control through democratic institutions. Given these diverging preferences, Vogler argues that these groups' relative political power was crucial to bureaucracies' institutional design.

Carpenter (2001) also embraces an interest-group perspective and finds that the early structures of American bureaucracy were heavily influenced by mid-level bureaucrats. Through substantial expertise, the construction of political networks, and an achievement-oriented administrative culture, those mid-level bureaucrats were sometimes able to establish their agencies as "autonomous" actors with the power to set political agendas.

In the postbellum American South, too, interest groups shaped bureaucracies. Suryanarayan and White (2021) find that coalitions of (White) elites weakened administrative capacity to prevent economic redistribution to former slaves. Further elite-centered arguments regarding the development of bureaucratic capacity (that emphasize conflicts among elites, however) have been made by Beramendi, Dincecco, and Rogers (2019) and Garfias (2018).

In political economy, there are only a few sociocultural explanations for variation in bureaucracies. For example, in a literature survey, Johnson and Koyama (2017) find that existing human capital and ethnolinguistic fractionalization likely influence the development of state capacity.[34] Importantly, however, Pardelli and Kustov (2022) highlight the possibility of endogeneity in the relationship of ethnic demography and public goods provision through bureaucracies.

In addition to perspectives that rely on the analysis of a single factor, several "hybrid" frameworks combine multiple types of explanations. For instance, with a focus on US states, Potter and Vogler (2021) argue that, as socioeconomic systems became more complex, more diverse economic elites pushed for the creation of competent, professional, and independent bureaucracies. Bureaucratic independence meant an insurance mechanism against the possibility of other elites fundamentally changing administrative intervention in society.

Another hybrid theory is developed by Saylor (2014), who posits that historical commodity booms sometimes led to the expansion of bureaucratic capacity through increased demand for public goods provision. However, this effect depended on interest-group coalitions as some (political) actors found it in their interest to block state expansion.

Finally, Soifer (2015) provides a framework that combines several of the aforementioned factors, contending that the discrete choices of political leaders/elites (interest groups) matter most. But he also suggests that those choices are based on elites' material circumstances—especially urbanization (socioeconomic development)—as well as ideology (a sociocultural determinant).

External Factors

As detailed earlier, military competition in Europe spurred administrative reforms, even prior to the emergence of modern bureaucracies (Tilly 1990). Connecting to this perspective, Centeno (2002) argues that the relative absence of war in South America meant that states did not have strong incentives for centralization and bureaucratization.[35] Similarly, Herbst (2014) suggests that Africa's geography combined with low population densities made the formation of territorial states unlikely; Queralt (2019) finds that participation in wars only strengthened states' fiscal capacity if it was financed through taxation, not loans. Thus, the self-reinforcing dynamics of war-making and administrative development were not realized in all world regions.

However, Schenoni (2021) argues that Latin American wars sometimes did shape state-building because defeat enabled peripheral elites (with the goal of replacing incumbents) to weaken the state apparatus, including the bureaucracy. Conversely, military victories allowed incumbent elites to strengthen their dominant position by consolidating the state.

Yet even persistent presence of external military pressure tells us little about historical divergence in bureaucratic institutions. An external factor that was more decisive in determining bureaucracies' specific institutional design was imperialism. The two most important imperial powers that sought to implement aspects of their administrative and legal systems in their colonies were France and Britain (La Porta et al. 1997). The French bureaucracy was highly regulated, with strict internal career paths and standardized examinations (Silberman 1993, chs. 4–5). The British civil service also introduced competitive examinations in the nineteenth century, but access remained socially selective, and political control decreased over time (Vogler 2019c, 65–68).

Additionally, empires such as Austria, Prussia, and Russia occupied large parts of Central and (South)Eastern Europe, often implementing their own administrative institutions (Becker et al. 2016). Poland serves as a good example: Prussia and Austria imposed institutions that were close to modern bureaucracies. Russia, however, imposed a corrupt and inefficient administration. These stark differences in bureaucratic organization created fundamentally different equilibria of state-citizen interactions, which affected administrative performance and recruitment in the long run (Vogler 2019b).

Moreover, Romania is a good case to illustrate the consequences of information asymmetries between imperial centers and local populations. When unable or unwilling to delegate tasks to local elites, empires often experienced difficulties with bureaucratic control. Combined with the underfinancing of administrations, local populations frequently found ways to resist against external bureaucratic institutions, which thwarted their effectiveness and simultaneously reduced the potential for long-term legacies (Vogler 2022a).

Additionally, Mattingly (2017) finds that the historical state-building attempts by the Japanese occupiers of Northeastern China still have long-term effects on the capacity of bureaucracies in terms of public goods provision. He suggests that, although Japan ruled through brutal and extractive methods, the effectiveness of their administrative institutions generated a variety of positive legacies in bureaucratic organization.

Mazzuca (2021) argues that the external factors that influenced state capacity-building varied over time and across world regions. While European states were historically formed due to war, state formation in Latin America took place as a result of international trade, which generally resulted in lower state capacity and authority.[36] Mazzuca then lays out three paths ("port-driven," "lord-driven," and "party-driven") to different state types. Similarly, Buzan and Lawson (2015) suggest that creation of modern bureaucracies (as a key aspect of rational state-building processes) was part of a complex web of global developments in the long nineteenth century.

Finally, external cultural explanations for the character of bureaucratization remain underexplored. But there are noteworthy contributions: Gorski (2003) focuses on the emergence of modern states and attributes importance to Calvinism as a transnational cultural force. Also, Sager et al. (2018) suggest that the transnational dissemination of ideas regarding administrative reform historically affected bureaucracies.

Path Dependence in Bureaucratic Organization

An analytical perspective of path dependence is useful when analyzing bureaucracies because administrative organizations are known for exhibiting extremely high levels of organizational persistence (Carpenter 2001; Gimpel'son 2003; Richards 2003; Silberman 1993; Wunder 1986). "Path dependence" refers to the disproportionate and lasting influence of institutional design at the moment of an organization's creation, which we may consider a "critical juncture" (Capoccia and Kelemen 2007).[37]

What are the theoretical reasons behind bureaucratic path dependence? Vogler (2019c, 43–46) identifies four factors:[38]

(1) Bureaucrats often form strong and coherent interest groups. In part because their skills are usually nontransferable to other professions and because they profit from organizational autonomy (low transparency), they often reject administrative reform (see Asatryan, Heinemann, and Pitlik 2017; Vogler 2019c).

(2) Governments fundamentally depend on bureaucracies to implement policies, which incentivizes even revolutionary governments to leave the state apparatus intact to exercise political power.

(3) Administrative culture is often highly persistent over time.

(4) There can be self-reinforcing equilibria in state-citizen interactions, in which citizens' expectations toward and views of bureaucracy are reinforced by the actual behavior of bureaucrats (see Bustikova and Corduneanu-Huci 2017; Vogler 2019b). For example, in contexts where corruption is common, the behavior of public officials and the expectations of citizens are typically aligned in a way that perpetuates corrupt practices (Corbacho et al. 2016).

Usually, at least one of these factors constitutes bureaucratic path dependence in any specific context. However, while fundamental structures rarely change, through multifaceted interactions with their environment, bureaucracies still change on the margins (Vogler 2019a).

How Bureaucracies Historically Influenced Economies, Societies, and Politics

The effect of bureaucracies on economies and societies is manifold. On one hand, governments can use bureaucracies to provide public goods and implement growth-enhancing policies (cf. Besley and Persson 2009; Hanson 2014; Kohli 2004). On the other hand, if elites pursue economically harmful policies, "effective" bureaucracies could be detrimental to growth (Cornell, Knutsen, and Teorell 2020; Johnson and Koyama 2017, 11). Bureaucracies also represent potential tools of repression, used by authoritarian governments to harm or even murder groups in society (cf. Aaskoven and Nyrup 2021; Hilberg, Browning, and Hayes 2019).

Scholars of political economy have investigated in detail the historical effects of bureaucracies on development. For instance, Johnson (1982) examined the role of the Japanese central bureaucracy in coordinating the country's economic policy and found that it was successful at implementing an aggressive export-oriented growth strategy. Furthermore, Vries (2015; 2019) details how historical administrative capacity was essential to British and Japanese development, respectively. Also, Pierskalla et al. (2017) and Hough and Grier (2015) suggest that exposure to centralized and effective state authority (which is directly linked to administrative capacity) has positive effects on economic development.

Moreover, Evans (1995) suggests that public administrations historically achieved maximum economic growth when they were embedded in society (representing broad interests), but also autonomous (not captured by special interests). Similarly, Evans and Rauch (1999) find a positive effect on growth of meritocratic recruitment and bureaucratic career paths. They suggest that such "Weberian" institutions make bureaucrats less susceptible to corruption and promote an esprit de corps that improves bureaucratic performance and thus the quality of public goods.[39] However, the perspective that bureaucracies were key contributors to economic growth throughout history is challenged by Cornell, Knutsen, and Teorell (2020), who find a positive but mostly insignificant effect.[40]

With respect to the effects of imperial bureaucracies, Lee and Schultz (2012) compare indirect British rule with the imposition of French administrative institutions in Cameroon and find that the latter had negative effects on the quality of public goods. Moreover, while the Spanish colonial administration in the Americas did not meet all the criteria of modern bureaucracy, it did have multifaceted economic effects on colonies: Irigoin and Grafe (2008) argue that it had an important redistributive function. Based on a complex fiscal bargaining process between the Crown, local officials, and elites, a system of fiscal redistribution emerged.

Although modern public bureaucracies are technically "subordinated" to the government, their performance can also have substantial effects on politics (Yazaki 2018). Specifically, from the perspective of Bustikova and Corduneanu-Huci (2017), a complex interactive equilibrium exists between political strategies and state capacity. Low-capacity bureaucratic systems amplify clientelistic political exchange as public services remain in poor condition.

Moreover, Stasavage (2020) argues that the capacity of premodern central administrations was essential to the prospects for democracy. Where central administrations were powerful, such as in China, rulers did not need the consent of the governed to collect taxes. This allowed authoritarian political structures to persist. Only in systems that had weak central administrative capacity did rulers need to govern with the consent of other societal actors, which laid the foundations for more collaborative forms of government.

The institutions of public bureaucracy may also have significant influence on other aspects of state-building. For instance, Charron, Dahlström, and Lapuente (2012) suggest that preexisting administrative structures shaped the development of legal systems, arguing that administrations with more standardized forms of recruitment were historically more likely to represent a strong check on the ruler, which benefited the emergence of robust legal systems. Additionally, the bureaucratic (infrastructural) capacity of central versus regional political entities may have influenced whether countries adopted federalism (Ziblatt 2008).

Furthermore, scholars have investigated the effects of public goods on the ability of citizens to engage with the state. For instance, Zhang and Lee (2020) find that increases in literacy (which are typically the result of more extensive public education) lead to improvements in state-society interactions. Specifically, Zhang and Lee (2020) observe that a decrease in transaction costs through easier access to state services improves the ability of citizens to interact with the bureaucracy and make use of existing laws and regulations.

On the flip side, authoritarian governments may use public administration to manipulate society through education (see Paglayan 2022), propaganda, or repression. Even when they are unable to fundamentally alter citizens' beliefs, exposure to the state apparatus can "inform" citizens about authoritarian elite preferences and shape their behavior (see de Juan, Haass, and Pierskalla 2021).

Historical public administrations outside Europe, which generally did not qualify as modern bureaucracies, typically had a very uneven impact on societies due to the widespread delegation of tasks to agents (such as tax farmers) and the low state capacity in rural areas. For instance, both in the Ottoman Empire and in India, the state delegated tax collection to privately owned offices, which then constituted at most an indirect influence on society (Vries 2002, 104–9). Similarly, the practice of selling offices may have enabled

unqualified or predatory individuals to take on high-level positions in the Spanish Empire, which led to dramatic cross-regional variation in socioeconomic outcomes (Guardado 2018).

Yet the historical civil service exam of China's proto-modern bureaucracy might still have a positive long-term effect on society because it instilled a "deep respect for learning" among local elites (Chen, Kung, and Ma 2020, 2030–31). Through cultural transmission, social capital, and educational institutions, this respect was handed down through several generations and manifests itself in contemporary educational outcomes across China (Chen, Kung, and Ma 2020).[41]

Conclusion

Modern public bureaucracies are central to both the task of governing and to major historical processes like imperialism, industrialization, and interstate warfare. Since the eighteenth century they have gradually become an indispensable part of most polities.

While existing studies have delivered crucial insights, enormous room for further contributions remains. Most importantly, we still have much to learn about historical administrations and (proto-)bureaucracies in Africa, the Middle East, and the Asia-Pacific region, which differ from Western ones in important respects (cf. Pepinsky, Pierskalla, and Sacks 2017; Slater 2008; Thies 2007). Also, in these regions, precolonial structures likely had a lasting effect, even if modern bureaucracies were introduced later (cf. Wilfahrt 2018).

Furthermore, we know a great deal about the dynamics of principal-agent relationships between governments and bureaucracies (Bertelli 2012, ch. 2; Gailmard and Patty 2012a; Lewis 2003; McCubbins, Noll, and Weingast 1987; Toral 2022), but we still need to explore them more extensively from a historical perspective. For instance, Workman (2015) and Potter (2019) highlight the rule-making power of bureaucrats, which could be extended to the period prior to the twentieth century. Similarly, Lee's (2020) insights regarding how foreign states can weaken domestic administrative structures and Ding's (2020) theory about "performative governance" could be applied to historical contexts. Finally, the relationship of bureaucracies and the territorial dimension of state-building and state effectiveness has recently found increased attention (McDonnell 2020; Vogler 2019b), but this issue could be explored further, especially from a historical perspective (see Braun and Kienitz 2022).

All in all, historical political economy has gained critical insights into bureaucracies. Yet this field is just at its inception. Many future studies will help us more comprehensively understand the origins, character, and impacts of bureaucracies throughout history.

Acknowledgments

Helpful comments were provided by Agnes Cornell, Claudiu Craciun, Carl Dahlström, John Deak, Anne Degrave, Iza Ding, Wolfgang Drechsler, Niklas Hänze, Friedrich Heinemann, Jeff Jenkins, Edgar Kiser, Mark Koyama, Joe Kratz, Victor Lapuente, Melissa Lee, Reo Matsuzaki, Dan Mattingly, Christopher Paik, Daniel Podratsky, Jos Raadschelders, Jared Rubin, Steffi Rueß, Fritz Sager, Yu Sasaki, Ryan Saylor, Luis Schenoni, Matthias Scheu, Charles Shipan, Peer Vries, David Waldner, Yuhua Wang, and Bernd Wunder. I also thank participants of virtual presentations at the University of Konstanz (which was a part of the public lecture series "The Historical Political Economy of Bureaucracy and State Building") and MPSA's annual conference.

References

Aaskoven, L., and J. Nyrup. 2021. “Performance and Promotions in an Autocracy: Evidence from Nazi Germany.” *Comparative Politics* 54, no. 1: 51–85.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Ang, Y. Y. 2017. “Beyond Weber: Conceptualizing an Alternative Ideal Type of Bureaucracy in Developing Contexts.” *Regulation & Governance* 11, no. 3: 282–98.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Ansell, B. W., and J. Lindvall. 2020. *Inward Conquest: The Political Origins of Modern Public Services*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Asatryan, Z., F. Heinemann, and H. Pitlik. 2017. “Reforming the Public Administration: The Role of Crisis and the Power of Bureaucracy.” *European Journal of Political Economy* 48: 128–43.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Baum, M. A., and D. A. Lake. 2003. “The Political Economy of Growth: Democracy and Human Capital.” *American Journal of Political Science* 47, no. 2: 333–47.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Becker, S. O., K. Boeckh, C. Hainz, and L. Woessmann. 2016. “The Empire Is Dead, Long Live the Empire! Long-Run Persistence of Trust and Corruption in the Bureaucracy.” *Economic Journal* 126, no. 590: 40–74.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Bell, D. A. 2016. *The China Model: Political Meritocracy and the Limits of Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Beramendi, P., M. Dincecco, and M. Rogers. 2019. “Intra-elite Competition and Long-Run Fiscal Development.” *Journal of Politics* 81, no. 1: 49–65.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Bersch, K., S. Praça, and M. M. Taylor. 2017. “State Capacity, Bureaucratic Politicization, and Corruption in the Brazilian State.” *Governance* 30, no. 1: 105–24.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Bertelli, A. M. 2012. *The Political Economy of Public Sector Governance*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Besley, T., and T. Persson. 2009. “The Origins of State Capacity: Property Rights, Taxation, and Politics.” *American Economic Review* 99, no. 4: 1218–44.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Braun, R., and O. Kienitz. 2022. “Comparative Politics in Borderlands: Actors, Identities, and Strategies.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 25: 303–21.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Brierley, S. 2021. “Combining Patronage and Merit in Public Sector Recruitment.” *Journal of Politics* 83, no. 1: 182–97.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Bustikova, L., and C. Corduneanu-Huci. 2017. “Patronage, Trust, and State Capacity: The Historical Trajectories of Clientelism.” *World Politics* 69, no. 2: 277–326.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Buzan, B., and G. Lawson. 2015. *The Global Transformation: History, Modernity and the Making of International Relations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Capoccia, G., and R. D. Kelemen. 2007. "The Study of Critical Junctures: Theory, Narrative, and Counterfactuals in Historical Institutionalism." *World Politics* 59, no. 3: 341–69.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Carpenter, D. P. 2001. *The Forging of Bureaucratic Autonomy: Reputations, Networks, and Policy Innovation in Executive Agencies, 1862–1928*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Centeno, M. A. 2002. *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Charron, N., C. Dahlström, and V. Lapuente. 2012. "No Law without a State." *Journal of Comparative Economics* 40, no. 2: 176–93.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Chen, T., J. K.-s. Kung, and C. Ma. 2020. "Long Live Keju! The Persistent Effects of China's Civil Examination System." *Economic Journal* 130, no. 631: 2030–64.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Cirone, A., and T. B. Pepinsky. 2022. "Historical Persistence." *Annual Review of Political Science* 25: 241–59.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Corbacho, A., D. W. Gingerich, V. Oliveros, and M. Ruiz-Vega. 2016. "Corruption as a Self-Fulfilling Prophecy: Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Costa Rica." *American Journal of Political Science* 60, no. 4: 1077–92.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Cornell, A., C. H. Knutsen, and J. Teorell. 2020. "Bureaucracy and Growth." *Comparative Political Studies* 53, no. 14: 2246–82.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Cornell, A., and T. Svensson. 2022. "Colonial Origins of Modern Bureaucracy? India and the Professionalization of the British Civil Service." *Governance*: 1–21.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Crooks, P., and T. H. Parsons. 2016. *Empires and Bureaucracy in World History: From Late Antiquity to the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Dahlström, C., and V. Lapuente. 2017. *Organizing Leviathan: Politicians, Bureaucrats, and the Making of Good Government*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Dahlström, C., V. Lapuente, and J. Teorell. 2012. "The Merit of Meritocratization: Politics, Bureaucracy, and the Institutional Deterrents of Corruption." *Political Research Quarterly* 65, no. 3: 656–68.
Google Scholar WorldCat

David, P. A. 1994. "Why Are Institutions the 'Carriers of History'? Path Dependence and the Evolution of Conventions, Organizations and Institutions." *Structural Change and Economic Dynamics* 5, no. 2: 205–20.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Deak, J. 2015. *Forging a Multinational State: State Making in Imperial Austria from the Enlightenment to the First World War*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

de Juan, A., F. Haass, and J. Pierskalla. 2021. “The Partial Effectiveness of Indoctrination in Autocracies: Evidence from the German Democratic Republic.” *World Politics* 73, no. 4: 593–628.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Dincecco, M. 2015. “The Rise of Effective States in Europe.” *Journal of Economic History* 75, no. 3: 901–18.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Ding, I. 2020. “Performative Governance.” *World Politics* 72, no. 4: 525–56.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Ding, I., and M. Thompson-Brusstar. 2021. “The Anti-bureaucratic Ghost in China’s Bureaucratic Machine.” *China Quarterly* 248: 116–40.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Drechsler, W. 2013. “Wang Anshi and the Origins of Modern Public Management in Song Dynasty China.” *Public Money & Management* 33, no. 5: 353–60.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Drechsler, W. 2018. “Beyond the Western Paradigm: Confucian Public Administration.” In *Public Policy in the “Asian Century”: Concepts, Cases and Futures*, edited by S. Bice, A. Poole, and H. Sullivan, 19–40. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Drechsler, W. 2020. “Max Weber and the Mandate of Heaven.” *Max Weber Studies* 20, no. 1: 25–56.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Dunleavy, P., H. Margetts, S. Bastow, and J. Tinkler. 2006. “New Public Management Is Dead—Long Live Digital-Era Governance.” *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 16, no. 3: 467–94.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Ebrey, P. 2016. “China as a Contrasting Case: Bureaucracy and Empire in Song China.” In *Empires and Bureaucracy in World History: From Late Antiquity to the Twentieth Century*, edited by P. Crooks and T. H. Parsons, 31–53. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Eisenstadt, S. N. 1993. *The Political Systems of Empires*. Transaction.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Ertman, T. 1997. *Birth of the Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Evans, P. B. 1995. *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Evans, P. B., and J. E. Rauch. 1999. “Bureaucracy and Growth: A Cross-National Analysis of the Effects of ‘Weberian’ State Structures on Economic Growth.” *American Sociological Review* 64, no. 5: 748–65.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Finer, S. E. 1997. *The History of Government from the Earliest Times,* Volume 1: *Ancient Monarchies and Empires*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Fischer, W., and P. Lundgreen. 1975. “The Recruitment and Training of Administrative and Technical Personnel.” In *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, edited by C. Tilly, 456–561. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Fry, B. R., and J. C. N. Raadschelders. 2022. *Mastering Public Administration: From Max Weber to Dwight Waldo*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Fukuyama, F. 2011. *The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution*. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Gailmard, S., and J. W. Patty. 2012a. "Formal Models of Bureaucracy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 15: 353–77.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Gailmard, S., and J. W. Patty. 2012b. *Learning While Governing: Expertise and Accountability in the Executive Branch*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Gallo, N., and D. E. Lewis. 2012. "The Consequences of Presidential Patronage for Federal Agency Performance." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 22, no. 2: 219–43.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Garfias, F. 2018. "Elite Competition and State Capacity Development: Theory and Evidence from Post-revolutionary Mexico." *American Political Science Review* 112, no. 2: 339–57.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Garfias, F., and E. A. Sellars. 2021. "From Conquest to Centralization: Domestic Conflict and the Transition to Direct Rule." *Journal of Politics* 83, no. 3: 1399–416.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Garfias, F., and E. A. Sellars. 2022. "State-Building in Historical Political Economy." In *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Political Economy*, edited by J. A. Jenkins and J. Rubin. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Geddes, B. 1994. *Politician's Dilemma: Building State Capacity in Latin America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Gilardi, F. 2009. *Delegation in the Regulatory State: Independent Regulatory Agencies in Western Europe*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Gilmour, J. B., and D. E. Lewis. 2006. "Political Appointees and the Competence of Federal Program Management." *American Politics Research* 34, no. 1: 22–50.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Gimpel'son, V. 2003. "The Size and Composition of the Russian Bureaucracy." *Problems of Economic Transition* 46, no. 5: 52–78.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Gingerich, D. W. 2013. "Governance Indicators and the Level of Analysis Problem: Empirical Findings from South America." *British Journal of Political Science* 43, no. 3: 505–40.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Gjerløw, H., C. H. Knutsen, T. Wig, and M. C. Wilson. 2021. *One Road to Riches? How State Building and Democratization Affect Economic Development*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Gorski, P. S. 2003. *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*. Chicago, IL: University

of Chicago Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Grzymala-Busse, A. 2007. *Rebuilding Leviathan: Party Competition and State Exploitation in Post-communist Democracies*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Grzymala-Busse, A. 2020. "Beyond War and Contracts: The Medieval and Religious Roots of the European State." *Annual Review of Political Science* 23: 19–36.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Guardado, J. 2018. "Office-Selling, Corruption, and Long-Term Development in Peru." *American Political Science Review* 112, no. 4: 971–95.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Hanson, J. K. 2014. "Forging Then Taming Leviathan: State Capacity, Constraints on Rulers, and Development." *International Studies Quarterly* 58, no. 2: 380–92.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Hendrix, C. S. 2010. "Measuring State Capacity: Theoretical and Empirical Implications for the Study of Civil Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 47, no. 3: 273–85.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Herbst, J. 2014. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Higgs, R. 1987. *Crisis and Leviathan*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Hilberg, R., C. Browning, and P. Hayes. 2019. *German Railroads, Jewish Souls: The Reichsbahn, Bureaucracy, and the Final Solution*. Oxford, UK: Berghahn Books.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Hintze, O. 1975. "Military Organization and the Organization of the State." In *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze*, edited by F. Gilbert, 178–215. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Hochedlinger, M. 2003. *Austria's Wars of Emergence, 1683–1797:* War, State, and Society in the Habsburg Monarchy. London, UK: Longman/Pearson Education.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Hollibaugh, G. E., G. Horton, and D. E. Lewis. 2014. "Presidents and Patronage." *American Journal of Political Science* 58, no. 4: 1024–42.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Hong, S. C., C. Paik, and Y. Yun. 2021. "The Road to Ascension: Exams, Lineages and Civil Servants of the Joseon Dynasty." Working Paper, Available at SSRN: https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4011834.

Hood, C. 1991. "A Public Management for All Seasons?" *Public Administration* 69, no. 1: 3–19.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Hood, C. 1995. "The 'New Public Management' in the 1980s: Variations on a Theme." *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 20, no. 2–3: 93–109.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Hoogenboom, A. A. 1968. *Outlawing the Spoils: A History of the Civil Service Reform Movement, 1865–1883*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Hough, J. F., and R. Grier. 2015. *The Long Process of Development: Building Markets and States in Pre-industrial England, Spain and Their Colonies*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Huber, J. D., and C. R. Shipan. 2002. *Deliberate Discretion? The Institutional Foundations of Bureaucratic Autonomy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Ingraham, P. W. 1995. *The Foundation of Merit: Public Service in American Democracy*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Irigoin, A., and R. Grafe. 2008. "Bargaining for Absolutism: A Spanish Path to Nation-State and Empire Building." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 88, no. 2: 173–209.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Jiang, Q., and J. K.-s. Kung. 2020. "Social Mobility in Late Imperial China: Reconsidering the 'Ladder of Success' hypothesis." *Modern China* 47, no. 5: 628–61.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Johnson, C. 1982. *MITI and the Japanese miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy, 1925–1975*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Johnson, N. D., and M. Koyama. 2017. "States and Economic Growth: Capacity and Constraints." *Explorations in Economic History* 64: 1–20.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Johnson, R. N., and G. D. Libecap. 1994. *The Federal Civil Service System and the Problem of Bureaucracy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Judson, P. M. 2016. *The Habsburg Empire: A New History*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Kann, R. A. 1974. *A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526–1918*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Kennedy, P. 1988. *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*. London, UK: Unwin Hyman.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Kiser, E., and J. Schneider. 1994. "Bureaucracy and Efficiency: An Analysis of Taxation in Early Modern Prussia." *American Sociological Review* 59, no. 2: 187–204.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Kohli, A. 2004. *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Koyama, M. 2022. "Legal Capacity in Historical Political Economy." In *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Political Economy*, edited

by J. A. Jenkins and J. Rubin. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Kurtz, M. J. 2013. *Latin American State Building in Comparative Perspective: Social Foundations of Institutional Order*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

La Porta, R., F. Lopez-de Silanes, A. Shleifer, and R. W. Vishny. 1997. "Legal Determinants of External Finance." *Journal of Finance* 52, no. 3: 1131–50.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Lapuente Gine, V. 2006. *A Political Economy Approach to Bureaucracies*. Dissertation (DPhil), Oxford, UK: University of Oxford.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Lee, A., and K. A. Schultz. 2012. "Comparing British and French Colonial Legacies: A Discontinuity Analysis of Cameroon." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 7, no. 4: 365–410.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Lee, M. M. 2020. *Crippling Leviathan: How Foreign Subversion Weakens the State*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Lewis, D. E. 2003. *Presidents and the Politics of Agency Design: Political Insulation in the United States Government Bureaucracy, 1946–1997*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Lewis, D. E. 2009. "Revisiting the Administrative Presidency: Policy, Patronage, and Agency Competence." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 39, no. 1: 60–73.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Lewis, D. E. 2010. *The Politics of Presidential Appointments: Political Control and Bureaucratic Performance*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Mahoney, J. 2000. "Path Dependence in Historical Sociology." *Theory and Society* 29, no. 4: 507–48.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Mann, M. 1993. *The Sources of Social Power,* Volume 2: *The Rise of Classes and Nation-States 1760–1914*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Matsuzaki, R. 2019. *Statebuilding by Imposition: Resistance and Control in Colonial Taiwan and the Philippines*. Ithaca, UK: Cornell University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Mattingly, D. C. 2017. "Colonial Legacies and State Institutions in China: Evidence from a Natural Experiment." *Comparative Political Studies* 50, no. 4: 434–63.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Mazzuca, S. 2021. *Latecomer State Formation: Political Geography and Capacity Failure in Latin America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

McClellan, J. E., and F. Regourd. 2011. *The Colonial Machine: French Science and Overseas Expansion in the Old Regime*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

McCubbins, M. D., R. G. Noll, and B. R. Weingast. 1987. “Administrative Procedures as Instruments of Political Control.” *Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization* 3, no. 2: 243–77.
Google Scholar WorldCat

McDonnell, E. M. 2020. *Patchwork Leviathan: Pockets of Bureaucratic Effectiveness in Developing States*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Mitchell, A. M. 2022. “Structured Stability Spending in Late Modern Empires: Japan, Germany, Ottoman State, and Brazil.” *Journal of Historical Political Economy* 2, no. 2: 363–89.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Nistotskaya, M., and L. Cingolani. 2016. “Bureaucratic Structure, Regulatory Quality, and Entrepreneurship in a Comparative Perspective: Cross-Sectional and Panel Data Evidence.” *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 26, no. 3: 519–34.
Google Scholar WorldCat

North, D. C. 1990. “A Transaction Cost Theory of Politics.” *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 2, no. 4: 355–67.
Google Scholar WorldCat

O’Donnell, G. 1973. *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics*. Berkeley, CA: Institute of International Studies, University of California.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Olson, M. 1993. “Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development.” *American Political Science Review* 87, no. 3: 567–76.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Osborne, D., and T. Gaebler. 1992. *Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit Is Transforming the Public Sector*. New York, NY: Penguin Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Paglayan, A. S. 2022. “Education or Indoctrination? The Violent Origins of Public School Systems in an Era of State-Building.” *American Political Science Review*.

Paik, C. 2014. “Does Lineage Matter? A Study of Ancestral Influence on Educational Attainment in Korea.” *European Review of Economic History* 18, no. 4: 433–51.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Paik, C., and J. Vechbanyongratana. 2019. “Path to Centralization and Development: Evidence from Siam.” *World Politics* 71, no. 2: 289–331.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Painter, M., and B. G. Peters. 2010. *Tradition and Public Administration*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Pardelli, G., and A. Kustov. 2022. “When Coethnicity Fails.” *World Politics* 74, no. 2: 249–84.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Parrott, D. 2010. “From Military Enterprise to Standing Armies: War, State, and Society in Western Europe, 1600–1700.” In *European Warfare, 1350–1750*, edited by F. Tallett and D. J. B. Trim, 74–95. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Patapan, H., J. Wanna, and P. M. Weller. 2005. *Westminster Legacies: Democracy and Responsible Government in Asia and the Pacific*. UNSW Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Pepinsky, T. B., J. H. Pierskalla, and A. Sacks. 2017. “Bureaucracy and Service Delivery.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 20: 249–68.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Peters, B. G. 2021. *Administrative Traditions: Understanding the Roots of Contemporary Administrative Behavior*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Pierskalla, J., A. Schultz, E. Wibbels. 2017. “Order, Distance, and Local Development over the Long Run.” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 12, no. 4: 375–404.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Potter, R. A. 2019. *Bending the Rules: Procedural Politicking in the Bureaucracy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Potter, R. A., and Vogler, J. P. 2021. “Building Better Bureaucracy: The Historical Origins of the American Administrative State.” Working Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Queralt, D. 2019. “War, International Finance, and Fiscal Capacity in the Long Run.” *International Organization* 73, no. 4: 713–53.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Raadschelders, J. 1998. “Evolution, Institutional Analysis and Path Dependency: An Administrative History Perspective on Fashionable Approaches and Concepts.” *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 64, no. 4: 565–82.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Raadschelders, J., and M. R. Rutgers. 1996. “The Evolution of Civil Service Systems.” In *Civil Service Systems in Comparative Perspective*, edited by H. A. G. M. Bekke, J. L. Perry, and T. A. Toonen, 67–99. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Raadschelders, J., and E. Vigoda-Gadot. 2015. *Global Dimensions of Public Administration and Governance: A Comparative Voyage*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Raphael, L. 2000. *Recht und Ordnung: Herrschaft durch Verwaltung im 19. Jahrhundert [Law and order: Rule through administration in the nineteenth century]*. Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Rauch, J. E. 1995. “Bureaucracy, Infrastructure, and Economic Growth: Evidence from U.S. Cities during the Progressive Era.” *American Economic Review* 85, no. 4: 968–79.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Richards, D. 2003. “The Civil Service in Britain: A Case Study in Path Dependency.” In *Civil Service Systems in Anglo-American Countries*, edited by J. Halligan, 27–69. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Ruhil, A. V., and P. J. Camões. 2003. “What Lies Beneath: The Political Roots of State Merit Systems.” *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 13, no. 1: 27–42.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Sager, F., and C. Rosser. 2021. “Weberian Bureaucracy.” In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.166. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Sager, F., C. Rosser, C. Mavrot, and P. Y. Hurni. 2018. *A Transatlantic History of Public Administration: Analyzing the USA, Germany and France*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Sasaki, Y. 2021. "The Royal Consultants: The Intendants of France and the Bureaucratic Transition in Pre-modern Europe." *Journal of Historical Political Economy* 1, no. 2: 259–82.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Saylor, R. 2014. *State Building in Boom Times: Commodities and Coalitions in Latin America and Africa*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Schenoni, L. L. 2021. "Bringing War Back In: Victory and State Formation in Latin America." *American Journal of Political Science* 65, no. 2: 405–21.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Schluchter, W. 2014. "'How Ideas Become Effective in History'—Max Weber on Confucianism and Beyond." *Max Weber Studies* 14, no. 1: 11–31.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Shefter, M. 1994. *Political Parties and the State: The American Historical Experience*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Silberman, B. S. 1993. *Cages of Reason: The Rise of the Rational State in France, Japan, the United States, and Great Britain*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Skowronek, S. 1982. *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877–1920*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Slater, D. 2008. "Can Leviathan Be Democratic? Competitive Elections, Robust Mass Politics, and State Infrastructural Power." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 43, no. 3: 252–72.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Soifer, H. D. 2015. *State Building in Latin America*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Spruyt, H. 1996. *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Stasavage, D. 2020. *The Decline and Rise of Democracy: A Global History from Antiquity to Today*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Strayer, J. R. 1970. *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Suryanarayan, P., and S. White. 2021. "Slavery, Reconstruction, and Bureaucratic Capacity in the American South." *American Political Science Review* 115, no. 2: 568–84.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Theriault, S. M. 2003. "Patronage, the Pendleton Act, and the Power of the People." *Journal of Politics* 65, no. 1: 50–68.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Thies, C. G. 2007. "The Political Economy of State Building in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Journal of Politics* 69, no. 3: 716–31.

Google Scholar WorldCat

Tilly, C. 1990. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990–1992*. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Ting, M. M., J. M. Snyder Jr., S. Hirano, and O. Folke. 2013. "Elections and Reform: The Adoption of Civil Service Systems in the US States." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 25, no. 3: 363–87.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Toral, G. 2022. "How Patronage Delivers: Political Appointments, Bureaucratic Accountability, and Service Delivery in Brazil." *American Journal of Political Science*.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Unruh, G.-C. v. 1977. "Verwaltungsreformen—Vorhaben und Ergebnisse seit dem Ausgang des 19. Jahrhunderts [Administrative reforms—plans and results since the end of the nineteenth century]." In *Verwaltungsgeschichte—Aufgaben, Zielsetzungen, Beispiele [Administrative history—Tasks, goals, examples]*, edited by R. Morsey, 23–60. Berlin, Germany: Duncker & Humblot.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Van Riper, P. P. 1958. *History of the United States Civil Service*. Evanston, IL: Row, Peterson and Company.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Vogler, J. P. 2019a. "The Entanglement of Public Bureaucratic Institutions: Their Interactions with Society, Culture, Politics, and the Economy." In *Interdisciplinary Studies of the Political Order: New Applications of Public Choice Theory*, edited by D. J. Boudreaux, C. J. Coyne, and B. Herzberg, 99–129. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield International.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Vogler, J. P. 2019b. "Imperial Rule, the Imposition of Bureaucratic Institutions, and Their Long-Term Legacies." *World Politics* 71, no. 4: 806–63.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Vogler, J. P. 2019c. *The Political Economy of Public Bureaucracy: The Emergence of Modern Administrative Organizations*. Dissertation (Ph.D.), Duke University. https://hdl.handle.net/10161/19818.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Vogler, J. P. 2022a. "The Complex Imprint of Foreign Rule: Tracking Differential Legacies along the Administrative Hierarchy." *Studies in Comparative International Development*.

Vogler, J. P. 2022b. "Managing Social and Economic Externalities: Industrialization and the Rise of the Bureaucratic State." Working Paper Presented at the Annual Conference of the European Political Science Association, http://janvogler.net/Managing_Externalities.pdf.
WorldCat

Vogler, J. P. 2022c. "Rivalry and Empire: How Competition among European States Shaped Imperialism." *Journal of Historical Political Economy* 2, no. 2: 189–234.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Vries, P. H. H. 2002. "Governing Growth: A Comparative Analysis of the Role of the State in the Rise of the West." *Journal of World History* 13: 67–138.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Vries, P. H. H. 2015. *State, Economy and the Great Divergence: Great Britain and China, 1680s–1850s*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury Publishing.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Vries, P. H. H. 2019. *Averting a Great Divergence: State and Economy in Japan, 1868–1937*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Waldner, D. 1999. *State Building and Late Development*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Wang, Y. 2022. *The Rise and Fall of Imperial China: The Social Origins of State Development*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Weber, M. 1946. "The Chinese Literati." In *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, edited by H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills, 416–67. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Weber, M. 1978. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Weber, M., and H. H. Gerth. 1951. *The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Wilfahrt, M. 2018. "Precolonial Legacies and Institutional Congruence in Public Goods Delivery: Evidence from Decentralized West Africa." *World Politics* 70, no. 2: 239–74.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Wood, A. K., and D. E. Lewis. 2017. "Agency Performance Challenges and Agency Politicization." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 27, no. 4: 581–95.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Wood, B. D., and R. W. Waterman. 1991. "The Dynamics of Political Control of the Bureaucracy." *American Political Science Review* 85, no. 3: 801–28.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Workman, S. 2015. *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy in the US Government: How Congress and Federal Agencies Process Information and Solve Problems*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Wunder, B. 1986. *Geschichte der Bürokratie in Deutschland [The history of bureaucracy in Germany]*. Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Suhrkamp Verlag.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Yazaki, Y. 2018. "The Effects of Bureaucracy on Political Accountability and Electoral Selection." *European Journal of Political Economy* 51: 57–68.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Zhang, N., and M. M. Lee. 2020. "Literacy and State-Society Interactions in Nineteenth-Century France." *American Journal of Political Science* 64, no. 4: 1001–16.
Google Scholar WorldCat

Ziblatt, D. 2008. *Structuring the State: The Formation of Italy and Germany and the Puzzle of Federalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Google Scholar Google Preview WorldCat COPAC

Notes

1 I use the term "bureaucracy" to refer to *modern public bureaucracies*. Other kinds of systems are labeled "(public) administrations." As elaborated upon later, some administrative systems may be classified as "proto-bureaucratic" if they partly meet the criteria of modern bureaucratic organization. Finally, the term "administrative state" is more commonly applied to *fully modern* bureaucracies and less commonly used when describing premodern forms of public administration.

2 On the related topic of military (state) capacity, see also Hendrix (2010).

3 On the importance of fiscal institutions, see Fischer and Lundgreen (1975, 458). Moreover, on the influence of the medieval church on state development, see Grzymala-Busse (2020).

4 On the relevance of transaction costs, see also North (1990).

5 For comparisons of early public administrations, see Vries (2002, 104–9); Fischer and Lundgreen (1975); Lapuente Gine (2006); and Finer (1997) (including subsequent volumes).

6 This term mainly refers to executives, but legislatures often also have influence on bureaucratic operations and personnel.

7 For instance, such goals could be comprehensive public service access or the maintenance of an authoritarian regime.

8 Several of these characteristics have similarities with Weber's (1978) characterization of modern bureaucracies (220–21, ch. 11). Nevertheless, as elaborated upon later, there are important differences between these two definitions. Furthermore, Painter and Peters (2010, 8) also make a similar distinction between political/legal goals and efficiency/effectiveness principles.

9 Ertman also uses this term (e.g., 1997, 5–9). Moreover, for a minimalist definition of bureaucracy with broader historical applicability, see Crooks and Parsons (2016, 17–18).

10 These criteria are not part of the "core definition" of modern bureaucracy because we may want to treat *outputs* both conceptually and empirically separately.

11 These forces are critical, respectively, to defending a state's *external* sovereignty and maintaining its *internal* monopoly on violence.

12 Weber (1978) differentiates between "patrimonial" and "bureaucratic-legal" administration. Moreover, for a detailed analysis of the historical example of France, see Sasaki (2021).

13 Political and efficiency goals are often contradictory. For instance, a political (equity) goal may be to supply public services even to remote villages and towns, but this practice could be considered too costly ("equity versus efficiency").

14 This is not an exhaustive list of the essential characteristics of modern bureaucracies according to Weber, but these are the criteria most clearly violated by numerous empirical cases. On Weber's perspective, see also Kiser and Schneider (1994, 188), Mann (1993, 444), and Sager and Rosser (2021).

15 On this subject, see also Ang (2017).

16 Importantly, there were also other, more practically oriented examinations. For details on Korean examinations, see Paik (2014, 439–41).

17 This becomes evident in comparison with Japan (Vries 2019).

18 This also corresponds with Weber's perspective (Drechsler 2020; Ebrey 2016, 47; Schluchter 2014; Weber 1946; Weber and Gerth 1951).

19 Although administrative law and procedures are essential for the political control of bureaucracies (McCubbins, Noll, and Weingast 1987), personnel appointments are possibly even more critical because they allow politicians to fill leading positions with loyalists (Lewis 2010; Wood and Waterman 1991), which has major implications for political outcomes and bureaucratic effectiveness (see Wood and Lewis 2017), among others.

20 The effects of meritocratic recruitment on the efficiency and corruptibility of bureaucracies have been well documented (Dahlström, Lapuente, and Teorell 2012; Evans and Rauch 1999; Nistotskaya and Cingolani 2016). Crucially, political appointments are only *one* way to undermine meritocracy (that applies mainly to bureaucrats in leading positions). In addition, many bureaucracies have socially selective recruitment, which also undermines meritocracy.

21 For a critical perspective on this categorization of administrative traditions, see Raadschelders and Vigoda-Gadot (2015, 432–35). Also, for an updated perspective on administrative traditions, see Peters (2021).

22 This distinction is more closely related to the quality of bureaucratic outputs than other classifications.

23 The character of delegation is also directly related to the important topic of "information asymmetries" between political principals and bureaucratic agents (Bertelli 2012; Gailmard and Patty 2012a; Lewis 2003; McCubbins, Noll, and Weingast 1987). On the related topic of independent regulatory agencies, see also Gilardi (2009).

24 Importantly, the argument that Prussia previously already had a "bureaucratic" form of tax apparatus is rejected by Kiser and Schneider (1994), who provide a comprehensive overview of Prussian tax collection prior to 1794/1806. Furthermore, Sasaki (2021) provides an analysis of proto-bureaucratic institutions (in the form of "Intendancy") in France prior to 1800.

25 This also included Britain, an imperial state that not only imposed administrative systems on many colonies, but which has been an essential political-administrative model for numerous countries (Irigoin and Grafe 2008, 173; Patapan, Wanna, and Weller 2005).

26 For a similar argument that is applied to preindustrial Prussia, see Kiser and Schneider (1994, 200–201). Furthermore, for a critical perspective on this theory, see Higgs (1987, ch. 1).

27 On the general relevance of standardized or uniform tax systems for the rise of effective states in Europe, see Dincecco (2015).

28 As the example of Poland shows, this also applied to Europe (Vogler 2019b).

29 For an overview of how political parties shaped post-communist states, see Grzymala-Busse (2007).

30 High politicization through patronage appointments is generally considered to weaken bureaucratic competence (Gallo and Lewis 2012; Gilmour and Lewis 2006; Hollibaugh, Horton, and Lewis 2014; Lewis 2009; 2010; Wood and Lewis 2017).

31 However, initially only a *minority* of bureaucrats were recruited through the merit system. It took several more presidencies for merit recruitment to cover a majority of bureaucrats (Ingraham 1995, ch. 3).

32 See also Garfias and Sellars (2022) in this volume.

33 Soifer (2015) makes a related argument about institutional capture, arguing that the involvement of local elites in Latin American bureaucracies often prevented effective state-building.

34 See also Koyama (2022) in this volume.

35 See also Kurtz (2013) and Saylor (2014).

36 On the impact of trade (especially in terms of import substitution policies) on regime type and bureaucratic organization, see also O'Donnell (1973).

37 On path dependence, see also Cirone and Pepinsky (2022), Mahoney (2000), and Raadschelders (1998).

38 From Mahoney's (2000) perspective, we may categorize the first factor as a "power" explanation and the second one as a "functional" or "utilitarian" explanation. Moreover, the fourth factor may be viewed as the equilibrium of a coordination game (cf. David 1994).

39 See also Rauch (1995).

40 Similarly, Gjerløw et al. (2021) challenge the argument that the sequence of building state capacity and democratization matters for development.

41 Yet China's experience with the civil service exam did not lead to an appreciation of "bureaucratism." Instead, the

Communist Party has rejected this concept (Ding and Thompson-Brusstar 2021).