

**MANAGING WITHOUT? MANAGEMENT AND MANAGERIAL SKILLS IN
THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION**

Sara Connolly¹, Hussein Kassim² and Michael W. Bauer³

¹Professor of Personnel Economics
Norwich Business School
University of East Anglia
Norwich
NR4 7TJ
United Kingdom
E-mail sara.connolly@uea.ac.uk

²Professor of Politics
School of Politics, Philosophy, Language and Communication, and Centre for
Competition Policy
University of East Anglia
Norwich
NR4 7TJ
United Kingdom
E-mail h.kassim@uea.ac.uk

³Professor of Comparative Public Administration and Policy Analysis
German University of Administrative Sciences Speyer
Freiherr-vom-Stein-Str. 2
D-67324 Speyer
Germany
E-mail michael.bauer@uni-speyer.de

Abstract: This paper puts to the empirical test and challenges the prevailing wisdom in the literature that, because of the diversity within their workforce, on the one hand, and the impediments to their ability to undertake reform, on the other, international administrations are unlikely to be able to promote management as a value or to develop a shared managerial culture. Taking the European Commission as a case study and drawing on an unusually rich dataset, it opens the ‘black box’ ten years after a comprehensive reform programme sought to enhance the status of management and promote managerial skills to investigate the views, values and perceptions concerning management of staff across the organization and from all levels, groupings and backgrounds. Although it finds cross-departmental variation in the staff experience of management, as well as dissatisfaction among managers about the adequacy of the tools available to them, analysis reveals that a common understanding of ‘good management’ exists across the organization.

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Management is an issue in many public institutions, with initiatives to improve management and enhance managerial skills an apparently permanent feature of the landscape since at least the 1980s. Although national bureaucracies have been the main targets and dominated discussion in the literature, international administrations have not escaped the trend. Yet if the promotion of management is difficult in any organisation, the challenge is arguably even more formidable for international bodies (Kassim 2008). As well as the greater cultural diversity, broader range of experience, and multinationality of the workforce, the incentives for reform champions are poor and reform agents are weak in an international administration as compared to the national setting (Bauer *et al* 2017).

As yet, however, there are few discussions in the literature, still less analyses, of how international administrations have risen to the management challenge (Geri 2001, Dykmann *et al* 2014). Such neglect is surprising in view of the pressures to which international administrations are subject and because effective management has become a key factor. Caught between the increased focus on engagement and workplace satisfaction, demands for greater efficiency and effectiveness, and the resource squeeze imposed by the politics of austerity, international administrations must also compete for talent in the same pool as companies offering international experience at higher salaries or firms in the new economy that boast flat hierarchies

and working environments that are otherwise more attuned to the demands of millennials.

This paper aims to make a first step to filling the gap in the existing scholarship. It examines and evaluates the efforts of one such international administration -- the European Commission -- to promote management and to develop a shared managerial understanding in a culturally heterogeneous environment. More than a decade after the enactment of such an initiative as part of a package of administrative reforms, it assesses the extent to which in the eyes of those working inside the institution these efforts have been successful. Drawing on data collected from an online survey and programme of interviews that give employee views on these and related issues across the organization, it looks at the experience and perceptions of three groups: managers, the managed (i.e. members of staff below the position of head of unit), and members of *cabinets* (i.e. the private offices of the Commissioners, formed of political appointees who oversee the work of the administration).

The paper presents three arguments. The first is that, in an organization where it was previously accorded low priority (Laffan 1997, Shore 2000, Hooghe 2002), management has become embedded as a value among Commission managers, as well as throughout the Commission workforce more generally, and is written into Commission practices and procedures (Levy 2006). This achievement is qualified in two important respects, however – the second argument. Managers lack important tools, and there is considerable variation in performance across the organization. Third, despite these qualifications, the paper argues that the Commission’s experience demonstrates that it is possible for a multinational public administration to establish a shared understanding of good management amongst a diverse workforce and that

international organisations are able to overcome the structural impediments that they confront in instituting change of this sort.

The discussion below is organized in five parts. The first section describes the question of management in the European Commission and how management was perceived within the organization. The second looks at the Kinnock reforms of 1999-2004 – the first major programme of administrative change in the Commission’s history -- and considers how they sought to promote and develop management in the Commission. The third part examines the beliefs and perceptions of management from across the organization, as expressed in 2014. The fourth section discusses the data, and reports the views of managers, non-managers, and members of *cabinet*. An exploratory factor analysis of those views – based on 14 questions relating to the experience of management – is undertaken and these results along with a multivariate analysis of how experience varies with pre- and post- Commission experience is reported in the fifth section.

A MANAGEMENT PROBLEM

In a field of scholarship where agreement is rare, there is a remarkable consensus among sources, from both inside and outside the institution, that management was historically accorded a low priority in the Commission.¹ Although from the outset the Commission was entrusted with responsibility for policy management and other operational issues, both its leadership and rank-and-file staff identified the

¹ See, for example, scientific analyses (Metcalf 1992, Cini 1996, Laffan 1997, Stevens and Stevens 2000: 181-94, Hooghe 2002, Schön-Quinlivan 2012, Kassim *et al* 2013: ch 8, Harlow and Rawlings 2014), the personal memoirs of former officeholders (Tugendhat 1986, Brittan 2000), internal reports (Spierenberg 1979, Schmidhuber 1995), and administrative histories (Seidel 2010: 101-08).

organization more closely with the Commission's policy initiation function, which was interpreted as the source of its institutional mission to build Europe.

Possession of technical expertise was central to this conception of the Commission's role within the EU system. It found expression in the conviction of the first Commission President, Walter Hallstein (1965), that the Commission needed specialist knowledge not only to carry out the responsibilities entrusted to it under the treaty, but to command the respect of the member states. His vision of the Commission as a permanent and expert administration triumphed over the alternative view that the organization should be staffed by seconded national civil servants on fixed-term contracts, in line with the more traditional international secretariat model of (Seidel 2010, Kassim 2017).

Technical expertise became intimately associated with the Commission's self-understanding as an *administration de mission* rather than *administration de gestion* (Pisani 1956). It linked directly to the Commission's view of itself as a heroic and pioneering organization, and provide the Commission with its legitimating myth as a history-making institution. Specialist knowledge at the service of Europe gave the Commission its legitimacy and *raison d'etre*, and distinguished the organization from other institutions and actors in the EU system. In practical terms, a premium was placed on technical expertise in matters of personnel policy.

The importance attached to technical expertise can be illustrated by consideration of the traditional role of the head of unit, a key post in the Commission (Bauer 2008a). The head of unit is the line manager for an overwhelming majority of staff. He or she is the person who allocates work to particular individuals, organizes and supervises the team, and liaises upwards with the hierarchy. The head of unit is a middle management position, yet historically technical expertise was the main

criterion in making appointments to that post. Despite the range and volume of managerial responsibilities borne by the head of unit, it was believed that the incumbent of that position should be the leading technical expert in the unit. On a routine basis, the head of unit would not only manage the work of the unit, but would typically assume responsibility for a particular area within the team and be ready to take over individual dossiers from colleagues if necessary.

Although most obvious at head of unit level, the emphasis on technical expertise was only slightly less strong in higher positions. Even for senior management posts, technical expertise was considered important. Directors and even Directors General, it was thought, needed to have specialist knowledge of the matters handled by their Directorates and Directorates-General (DGs). Since they would be called upon to defend a proposal in discussions with the *cabinet* or counterparts in other DGs when the draft text was nearing the final stages of adoption within the Commission or once a dossier reached a particular level in the Council of the European Union or the European Parliament with senior civil servants, ministers or officials from the European Parliament Secretariat, Directors and Directors General would need to be able to argue its technical merits.

Once the close identification of the Commission with its policy initiation function became culturally entrenched and the importance of technical expertise an established norm, they were difficult to change. Even if the top leadership had thought that reform was necessary and had been able to agree on the content of a reform programme, the lack of strong central authority within the organization and of interest in its internal working on the part of its member state principals would have made change difficult to bring about.

The Kinnock reforms:² upgrading management

The opportunity for the Commission to address the management issue, as well as other longstanding problems (Kassim 2008, Seidel 2010), arose out of an exogenous shock; namely, the crisis precipitated by allegations of corruption and mismanagement that were levelled at the organization by members of the European Parliament in the late 1990s and its aftermath. The Commission agreed to the creation by the European Parliament of a Committee of Independent Experts to investigate these claims and, after the Santer Commission had resigned on the eve of the publication by the Committee of its first report, the incoming Commission, led by Romano Prodi, committed itself to abide by the recommendations of the Committee's second report. Prodi entrusted the task of enacting the reform to Neil Kinnock, a member of the outgoing Santer Commission, who was appointed Vice President in the new Commission.

Within months of the Prodi Commission's investiture Kinnock had drafted a far-reaching reform programme, which not only incorporated the recommendations made by the Committee of Independent Experts in its second report, but extended to include new elements that drew partly on an internal reform agenda that had developed within the organization and partly on consultations with members of staff at all levels. Promoting management and improving managerial skills within the Commission were an important component (Levy 2006).

Although the principles that informed the reform have been contested – Bauer has argued that it was inspired by New Public Management (NPM) while others interpret them as neo-Weberian (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, Ongaro 2015) or guided

² There is an extensive literature on the Kinnock reforms. See, notably, Bauer 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2009, 2012; Kassim 2004a, 2004b, 2008; Kassim *et al* 2013, ch 8; Schon-Quinlivan 2011.

by other considerations (Harlow and Rawlings 2014) – the decision to address management was motivated by several considerations. Four of the main aims of the reform required the organization to improve management. The first, improving priority setting and planning, necessitated the construction of an institution-wide apparatus and procedures, but it also required personnel with an ability to look beyond the technical side of the Commission's business. Similarly, improving financial management and control, involved the creation of new systems, but it also necessitated detailing staff with the right skills. Improving the performance of the organization and its ability to meet customer demands was a third aim. Finally, the overhaul of human resources policies in recruitment, promotion, training, and management was at one an objective in itself and a way to strengthen pursuit of the first three aims. Subsequent initiatives have sought further, through selection and training, to support professional development on the part of managers and prospective managers (see Ban 2013).

VIEWS AND PERCEPTIONS OF MANAGEMENT

The Kinnock reforms are an interesting experiment, not only because they constitute a rare case of a comprehensive reform programme undertaken by an international bureaucracy, but because they sought explicitly to upgrade management within the Commission and to promote a different kind of manager; namely, an individual who is not only, or even primarily, a technical expert, but someone who possesses managerial skills. Although it is probably not possible – at least within the bounds of this paper -- to ascertain the extent to which the Kinnock reforms were successful in attaining its goals, it is possible to investigate the status, experience and perception of management and managers more than a decade after the reforms were enacted.

With the aim of examining whether management is still regarded as a matter of secondary importance in the Commission post-Kinnock and determining the extent to which in a culturally diverse, multinational institution there can be a consensus on what constitutes good management, the research project on which this paper is based sought to investigate the attitudes and values of staff within the organization in 2014. A first objective was to identify whether the policy initiation function of the Commission is still regarded as more important than its policy management responsibilities. A second was to examine the extent to which there is a shared understanding of management across the organization: for example, among and between managers and non-managers, staff from the various Commission departments, and employees with varying educational qualifications, contrasting professional backgrounds, and different national origins. A third objective was to investigate staff experience of management across the Commission. The fourth was to assess the extent to which managers consider that they have the appropriate tools to carry out their managerial responsibilities and that they are supported by the organization in terms of rules, procedures and material resources.

Data was collected from two main sources: an online survey that was administered to the entire workforce of the Commission in all staff groupings, and a programme of face-to-face interviews. The online survey was used to assess the experience of management across the organization. It included fourteen closed questions, covering important aspects of effectiveness, performance, person and equality management (see Table 1). While the descriptive statistics give a view of how perceptions are distributed within the Commission, analysis of the responses to those questions (reported in the appendix) provided a measure of the extent to which similar values are shared across the organization. The survey was completed by 5,631

respondents, representing a response rate of 18%. The actual numbers of staff within each category was as follows: Cabinet members: 51; Senior Management AD (Directors General/Deputy Directors General/Directors): 81; Middle Management Administrator AD (Heads of Unit): 306; Administrator AD official: 2279; Assistant or Secretary AST official: 1797; Contract agent: 822; Temporary agent: 99; Seconded National Expert: 117; Others/prefer not to say: 79.

[Table 1 here]

Face-to-face interviews were used for three purposes: to ask staff at all levels about the quality of management in the organization; to collect the views of managers on how well they are equipped to carry out their responsibilities; and to discover the underlying values to which managers subscribe – in particular, to investigate whether they adhere to a traditional hierarchical image of managers, to New Public Management, to neo-Weberianism, or to a governance conception. Interviews were conducted in two rounds: the first with a self-selecting sample of 83 interviewees (AST 5, AD 58, CA 4, Cabinet 2, DHoU 5, HoU 6, SNE 3); the second with 162 interviewees (9 Commissioners, 25 *cabinet* members, 120 managers, and 8 ‘others’).

RESULTS

Mapping the experience of management

The results from the fourteen questions on the experience of management asked as part of the online survey offer a mixed picture. In a modern workplace, staff should expect their work objectives to be clearly defined and the work of their team to be

managed effectively, receive constructive feedback from managers, and expect appraisal to be meaningful. Respondents are most positive about more informal and interpersonal aspects. For example: my manager seems to care for me as person. However, they are less positive about formal rules and procedures. Only 24 per cent consider that appraisal ‘offers an accurate evaluation of how well I do my job’, while 45 per cent disagreed, 19 per cent strongly. They complain about over-reliance on hierarchy, failures to collaborate, poor communication, extreme risk aversion and an emphasis on technical expertise rather than managerial skills. They also report a failure to address problem of underperforming staff, and that change management is poor. At the same time, there was considerable variation in levels of satisfaction expressed across the Commission departments, (see Figures 1-3).

[Figures 1-3 here]

In the face-to-face interviews,³ *cabinet* members and staff in the services who did not hold managerial positions – but not managers⁴ -- were asked a question that was designed to elicit a general perception of the general quality of management in the organization: ‘*It is often said that management in the Commission is problematic. What is your view?*’ The responses of *cabinet* members were varied and diverse.

Some thought that management is unproblematic: ‘*Management in the sense of running the place is fine. ...*’ (ECFTF 28). Others were less convinced, but did not blame the managers. Some attributed the fault to the system:

³ Interview quotations are used to illustrate the diversity of views. They emphatically do not reflect the balance of opinions expressed.

⁴ Not because it was feared too delicate, but because there were other issues that were important to pursue.

'No, management is not weak; [the] deficiencies are in management structures. ... If you have the financial crisis you need financial experts and you get civil servants who need to be trained for two years before they can do anything. Hire experts and pay them whatever it takes! Flexibility is missing to face unforeseen situations.'
(ECFTF 215)

'... This organization [is] extremely poor in identifying good managers, understanding what good management means and putting in place structures for management. The European Commission is a long way behind from where it needs to be as public bureaucracy.' (ECFTF 216)

Some thought that the environment is too complex and that it takes a long time to understand how the Commission works:

'... [I] [h]ave seen a number of very good, and some less good ones. That generation is disappearing. Managers who come in from the outside do not know the Commission culture and then start to reorganise from the start, insulting half of the team.....' (ECFTF 108)

'... Managers from new member states no idea about Brussels created some problems, decision to appoint manager is not out of the blue, competition, rules, experiences. ...' (ECFTF 124)

Others thought that life was hard for managers, because the whole administration is full of talented people: *'... vast majority of managers are really brilliant people. In*

my view what is a problem is that in general you have high quality people ...

Frustrated, think somebody not as good as I am. ‘ (ECFTF 166)

Some *cabinet* members were concerned that technical expertise weighed more strongly than managerial skill in appointments to management posts: ‘ ... *too much of a varied quality in senior management, many have been employed because very good on a file, but does not make them good managers. ...*’ (ECFTF 112). One saw this as inevitable in the absence of a non-managerial career path for technical experts: ‘ ... *to progress in career people have to become manager in order to progress...there is not really an incentive. [They must be] senior technical experts.*’ (ECFTF 126). However, not all *cabinet* members saw technical expertise as a problem: ‘ ... [You] *Only can convince stakeholders, the member states, the European Parliament, if you have people who know what they are talking about ...*’ (ECFTF 113)

Similar responses were given by policy officers (administrators) in non-management roles. Some did not think that there was a problem: ‘*[I’m] Not sure that’s so true. The hierarchy I worked with was usually pretty competent. I have heard stories though where incompetents have been put in posts where they shouldn’t be. Fortunately I’ve not experienced that.*’ (ECFTF 4). As with *cabinet* members, a number commented on how technical expertise matters more than managerial skills or experience appointment to a management role. According to one knowing interviewee: ‘*A stylised fact you’ll come across a lot is that you’ll get head of unit for performance, not as a manager for motivating staff*’ (ECFTF 11). Another commented simply: ‘*We need to recognize not everyone has the skills to be a good manager.*’ (ECFTF 21).

The intrinsic difficulty of management was underlined by some interviewees: *'everyone is equal until you're a manager. ... you can work here for years and then when you become a manager, it's the first time you're doing it'* (ECFTF 2). Another who was otherwise quite critical acknowledged that: *'There's quite a leap between non-management and management.'* (ECFTF 18). One administrator pointed to the Commission's multinational environment. Management is hard, and in the words of that interview, it is *'.... Made more difficult by different cultures and backgrounds. ... I've done a course on first steps in management, but this doesn't mean I'm trained to be a manager, but its more acute with the Commission because we come from different cultures. Sometimes the clashes shouldn't happen because people should be less autocratic, more understanding and that's where the difficulties arise.'* (ECFTF 15).

Some administrators took a sympathetic view of their bosses. One commented, for example, that: *' ... I have a lot of time for my line manager because he doesn't have a lot of tools to manage... He doesn't have a lot of power to encourage people'* (ECFTF 23). Similarly, another observed that: *'From the point of view of the manager it's difficult to manage resources you practically have no control over, HR or financial resources. They are so heavily regulated you can't actually play with those resources. ...'* (ECFTF 10). Some were more critical: *' ... Managers in the European Commission very often are not open to new management ideas. [You] Often get the ideas that managers ... were educated somewhere in 19th century [and are] not willing to take into account new management concepts. ...'* (ECFTF 82).

Do managers have the necessary tools?

In a third set of face-to-face interviews, managers were invited to reflect on their role and the adequacy of the tools available to them. A distinction was drawn between Directors General, who head the Commission departments, and other managers, which includes Directors and Heads of Unit.

Directors General were generally more positive than middle or other senior managers. In response to the question, ‘To what extent does the Commission provide you with the tools necessary?’ (see Figure 4) 33 per cent (or 5 out of 15) Directors General indicated that they had the right tools, 20 per cent (n=3) that they have many of the right tools, 13 per cent (n=2) that the tools are adequate and 33 per cent (n=5) that they do not have the right tools. Among managers, by contrast, 16 per cent (or 16 out of 100) indicated that they had the right tools, 38 per cent that they have many of the right tools, 27 per cent that the tools are adequate and 19 per cent that they do not have the right tools.

[Figure 4 here]

When asked more specific questions – for example, about motivating staff -- Directors General were more divided and negative responses outweighed the positive. When invited to give their views on ‘How effective are the mechanisms available to you for getting the best out of your staff?’ (see Figure 5) 42 per cent (5 out of 12) gave the answer ‘helpful’, but 58 per cent thought them not helpful (n=7). Managers were also divided, but more were positive than negative. Fifty-three per cent (or 38 out of 72) thought the mechanisms were helpful and 47 per cent not helpful, including 11 per cent who considered them ‘not at all helpful’. However, the same was not true

of their opinions concerning the extent to which ‘the procedures for recruiting and promoting staff help or hinder you: 44 per cent considered them helpful, while 55 per cent thought them not helpful.

[Figure 5 here]

Managers were asked a different question to *cabinet* members and administrators. They were asked: *To what extent does the Commission provide you with the tools necessary to carry out your responsibilities as a manager?* Opinion was divided. Some considered that they were appropriately equipped: ‘... *On this I am definitely extremely positive. ... the share of talented people in the COM is quite high ... if you have some reasonable demand in the way you want to organise your work, you just have to explain and argue it ...*’ (ECFTF 55). One Director General went even further: *‘I think we have a rather sophisticated toolbox, ... we have a management plan for whole DG bottom up and top down exercise. ... after [the] Kinnock reform COM is [a] most modern admin in that sense. ...’* (ECFTF 239)

Others gave a somewhat more qualified endorsement. One commented: *‘They are there if you look for them. ...’* (ECFTF 121). According to another, *‘the tools are in place, maybe the procedures are complicated. Very complex, need to penetrate to understand well. Complex tools and processes.’* (ECFTF 123).

Certainly, managers in the Commission did not have the freedoms enjoyed by their counterparts in the private sector: *‘sticks and carrots we don’t have so much, not like in private sector, cannot fire. Have to cope with people. As manager when you recruit you have to be extremely confident that people deliver. If you are stuck with a person, not enough tools to go against that. ...’* (ECFTF 197). However, according to

another, the situation had improved since the Kinnock reforms: ‘... *Management or leadership roles because they were experts in the past, that has clearly changed, more attention paid to how the place is managed. ...*’ (ECFTF 233).

A number of managers took a very different view. ‘*It doesn’t!*’, according to one, ‘*It gives tools for ethics and bureaucratic tools. It doesn’t give you the tools for leadership. ...*’ (ECFTF 101). A second thought the Commission stuck in the past: ‘... *The COM all in all is a huge administration with huge heterogeneity ... modern quality management approach would help us in COM to have flexibility and performance, ... Still classical admin hierarchy, which has been there for 200 years...*’ (ECFTF 252). Managers lacked autonomy, according to a third: ‘*to the extent that autonomy is a tool, no, we are over managed by the system, too many checks and balances...*’ (ECFTF 260). Another was still more negative: ‘*no, significant understaffing. ... people are overworked, .. so difficult, completely unacceptable... TUs too much power, very difficult to get rid of substandard collaborators. System here is overprotective...*’. (ECFTF 144).

Do managers share a similar outlook and values?

A third line of enquiry focused on the views of managers and for contrast with *cabinet* members (Gouglas, Brans, Jaspers 2017). It asked three sets of questions. The first related to the comparative value of technical expertise and managerial skills. The second asked a series of abstract questions about values in relation to the public sector, designed to determine whether managers committed themselves to the core values of contrasting public management philosophies, and their preferences about how these might be applied in the case of the Commission. The third asked interviewees to express their preferences in relation to a number of options

concerning the hypothetical application of performance management values to the Commission.

The traditional view that technical expertise is paramount has been challenged at various points in the Commission's history, not least by the Kinnock reforms, which argued for strengthening management in the organization and promoting managerial skills. Supporters of the traditional conception contend that management is different in the Commission. They argue that because they can be called to the European Parliament or participate in working groups of the Council of the European Union, middle and senior managers in the Commission need to be technical experts.

Against this background, *cabinet* members, Directors General and middle and (other) senior managers were asked in face-to-face interviews which of the following options most closely captured their view of the basis on which managers should be appointed in the Commission:

- Managers should foremost be technical experts
- Managers should be technical experts and professional managers
- Managers should be professional managers first, and technical experts second if at all.

The results show an emphatic rejection of the traditional view as captured by the first proposition. A majority of managers – 56 per cent – favoured the third proposition, though Directors General and *cabinet* members – 55 and 52 per cent respectively -- preferred the second.

On the second issue, interviewees were invited to identify which of a number of propositions most closely approximated their views:

- The public sector is not fundamentally different from the private and should be governed as far as possible by business concepts, techniques and values.

- The public sector has a distinctive role and should meet citizen needs through a professional ethic of quality and service.
- Society is composed of diverse interests and the role of the public sector is to forge, coordinate and steer networks.

Each proposition was intended to capture a particular philosophical approach to public management: the first, new public management; the second, neo-Weberianism; the third, new governance. A clear majority – 74 per cent of managers, 68 per cent of Directors General, and 74 per cent of *cabinet* members – expressed a preference for the second proposition. The first was ranked second – 14, 16 and 19 per cent respectively, and the final option was ranked third: 12, 16 and 7 per cent respectively.

However, on a second question – intended to explore views on the respective roles of political leaders and managers – the most favoured response was the first, i.e. the NPM, option. The new governance option emerged in second place for managers and Directors General – third for *cabinet* members – and the new-Weberian option was third for managers and Directors General and third for *cabinet* members (see Table 2). These rankings were mirrored in responses to a third question, which applied these conceptions to the Commission:

- Commissioners should set strategic goals, while managers should be free to manage and reward according to their performance.
- Commissioners should take decisions, both big and small, and managers should implement them using their technical knowledge and professional management skills.
- Commissioners should forge compromise deals among multiple stakeholders; the job of managers is to coordinate networks, manage partnerships, and find synergies between the interests of different constituencies.

[Table 2 here]

A final set of questions invited interviewees to indicate whether they strongly agreed, agreed, disagreed, strongly disagreed, or did not know/prefer not to say -- on three propositions, which described scenarios in an imagined world:

- Performance measurement plays an important role in assessing and rewarding staff in the Commission.
- The performance of Commission services is measured by the extent to which they deliver against defined strategic and operational goals.
- Managers are rewarded according to the performance of the services for which they are responsible.

In all three instances, ‘agree’ was the option favoured by at least half the interviewees in each segment – managers, Directors General and *cabinet* members.

A shared understanding of management?

In order to test the extent to which respondents to the online survey expressed a shared understanding of management, an exploratory factor analysis of the 14 questions relating to the experience of management was undertaken. The factor analysis revealed three underlying traits, which together account for 60 per cent of the variation in experience (see Figure 6).

[Figure 6 here]

The relationship between the elements of management and the three traits are shown in Table 3. The results seem to suggest that there is some underlying component of general management which we term ‘good’ management. All the elements are positively related to this and, moreover, in a similar way. The second and third components, meanwhile, appear to capture distinct elements of management which Ban (2013, p19) draws attention to ‘For the purposes of this research, we focus on the distinction between task-orientated and people-orientated leadership , often referred to as initiating structure versus consideration (Yukl, 2010; Denhardt et al., 2009), with the assumption that good leaders need to do both, the balance of time and energy between the two may differ significantly’. The second component is positively related to ‘effective’, ‘understanding’ and ‘visibility’ – elements which all relate to the clarity of the task at hand, so we refer to this as ‘task’ management. The third component is positively related to ‘care’, ‘recognition’, ‘flexible’ and ‘choice’ – elements that appear to capture ‘person’ management. Interestingly, ‘care’ is negatively related to ‘task’ management and the elements which most clearly capture performance management ‘feedback’ and ‘performance’ are negatively related to both ‘task’ and ‘people’ management.

[Table 3 here]

Having examined the underlying traits, a further step is to explore the determinants of staff experience of each of the three elements. In the next stage of the analysis, a series of hypotheses are identified with a view to determining the extent to which the experience of these three underlying traits of management varies

by pre-Commission background, experience within the Commission, roles and responsibilities. The hypotheses are as follows:

H1: Pre-recruitment experience – educational and professional background. Staff with experience in the private sector or with an educational background in Business or Economics may be more used to the concept of performance management and be more accepting of the practice.

H2: National norms - national background. There may be regional differences in norms of public administration and management styles. The Globe project (House *et al*, 2004, 2014) explores cross-cultural differences in management norms and identifies five clusters within the EU: Anglo, Eastern Europe, Nordic Europe, Germanic Europe and Latin Europe. We test for differences between experience of those from member states across these clusters.

H3: Post-recruitment experience. Those with longer service or with wider experience within the Commission may have a broader experience of management styles and be more accepting of differences in approach.

H4: Positional advantage. Those in more senior positions or with managerial/leadership responsibilities may prefer particular management styles.

H5: Department - departmental typology. It may be easier to manage particular departments, due to their size, coherence or mission.

H6: Role – job family. Particular management styles or approaches may be more appropriate for particular roles.

Appendix Table 1 includes a full list of definitions, sources and descriptive statistics.

Kassim *et al.* (2013: 19-30, especially Table 1.2) and Hooghe (2002) discuss the context and operationalization of key explanatory variables. The key explanatory variables examined are as follows:

- ‘Pre-recruitment experience’ is captured by educational background (subject and level of highest qualification), pre-Commission professional experience includes national administration or the private sector.
- ‘National norms’ is based on the survey respondent’s main nationality, an indicator of whether the individual has multiple nationalities, and whether he or she was educated abroad.
- ‘Post-recruitment experience’ is measured by years of service in the Commission, staff category, experience of horizontal mobility across DGs, experience of a political role (i.e. service in a *cabinet*), whether respondents were motivated by building Europe when joining the Commission, location in Brussels, Luxembourg, and in Commission representations or EU delegations internationally.
- ‘Positional advantage’ is proxied according to whether the respondent’s job family indicates that they have management or leadership responsibilities.
- ‘DG – size’ is based on the number of people employed in each DG.
- ‘DG – type’ is proxied by the main types of work undertaken within the DG according to the ‘job screening’ or ‘main responsibility’ of jobs within the DG.

- ‘Role’ is based on role descriptions provided by the respondent which is based on the job family typology used in the Commission.
- Controls for gender were also included.

Tables 4-6 shows the results of the multivariate analysis. These are presented for OLS but were also estimated using multi-level analysis to control for clustering effects by DG or nationality. Neither proved significant and the estimated coefficients were similar across models (results are available upon request from the authors).

[Tables 4-6 here]

Table 4 presents the variation in experience of the first trait, the experience of ‘good’ management. We find some support for hypothesis 1 and 2, that the experience of ‘good’ management is associated with background variables such as educational, professional or national norms. The experience of ‘good’ management is more positive amongst those with a humanities background, who were educated abroad, those from ‘Latin Europe’ and Belgium but more negative for those with prior experience of working in national administrations. There is stronger support for hypotheses 3 – 6, that the experience of management differs by role and experience within the Commission. For example, the experience is more positive for managers but more negative for contract/temporary agents, similarly for those working in Delegations and for those who have moved DGs. The experience of ‘good’ management is more positive for those in moderately sized DGs (300-500) and those working in linguistics (measured by job screening or DG responsibility). Based on

job families, the experience of ‘good’ management is more positive for those with management or leadership responsibilities (management, team leadership, senior assistant, HR) and those working in statistics, linguistics or operational roles.

Table 5 presents the variation of experience in the second trait, ‘task’ management. We again find some support for hypothesis 1 and 2, that the experience of ‘task management’ is associated with background factors such as educational, professional or national norms. The experience of ‘task management’ is more positive amongst those with a law background, who were educated abroad or with experience working in national administrations and more negative for those from ‘Latin Europe’. There is also stronger support for hypotheses 3 – 6, that the experience of management differs by role and experience within the Commission. For example, the experience of ‘task’ management is more positive for managers, those working in Delegations and those who have longer years of experience in the Commission but more negative for AST officials and for those who have moved DGs. The experience of ‘task’ management is more positive for those in smaller DGs (100-300) and those working in linguistics (measured by job screening). Based on job families, the experience of ‘task’ management is more positive for those working in External Relations but more negative for Senior assistants.

Table 6 presents the variation of experience in the third trait, ‘people’ management. We find much more limited support for our hypotheses here. There is no support for hypothesis 1 or 2, that the experience of ‘people’ management reflects background factors such as educational, professional or national norms. There is some support for hypotheses 3 – 6, that the experience of ‘people’ management differs by role and experience within the Commission. For example, the experience of ‘people’ management is more negative for managers and AST officials but is more positive for

those working in Luxembourg, those who joined the Commission to build Europe and those who have longer years of experience in the Commission. The experience of ‘people’ management is more negative for those in very small DGs (<100). Based on job families, the experience of ‘people’ management is more negative for those working in Statistics, Human Resource management, linguistics, document management and operational support.

To summarise: there is some support for Hypotheses 1 and 2 that experience of management reflects educational, professional or national norms; and there is strong evidence to support Hypotheses 3-6 that the experience of management varies according to post-recruitment experience in the Commission – most notably, staff category, DG size and type, and job family (see Figures 4-6). Those who have been in the Commission longer are more likely to report positive experience of ‘task’ and ‘people’ management but those who have moved across DGs are more likely to report negatively across all three management traits. There is strong evidence of positive experience of ‘good’ and ‘task’ management amongst those with management or leadership roles (positional advantage). There is also evidence that the experience of ‘good’ and ‘task’ management is more positive in DGs with very coherent tasks or responsibilities (linguistics, statistics).

[Figures 4-6 here]

CONCLUSION

International administrations confront particular challenges in efforts to enhance management or to promote managerial skills. As well as the constraints and pressures that make reform a more difficult undertaking than in national settings, international

bureaucracies by their very nature are more diverse. Multicultural and multinational, they also draw a workforce that is more heterogeneous than national bureaucracies in terms of educational background and professional experience.

Investigating the extent to which it is possible for an international administration to accord management a significant status and to create a shared understanding of ‘good management’, this paper has examined a particular bureaucracy – the European Commission. Well into the 1990s, management was regarded as unimportant. Largely because it was associated with the policy initiation and the institutional myth of the Commission as building rather than managing Europe, technical expertise was, by contrast, highly valued as a key personal quality within the workforce and more important than managerial skills in judging an individual’s suitability for appointments to middle and senior management roles. Although it was recognized as an organizational shortcoming, the ‘management deficit’ (Metcalf 1994) was not meaningfully addressed until the Kinnock reforms, enacted between 1999 and 2004.

Drawing on a rich dataset of unusual scope and scale, this paper has examined the values, attitudes and perceptions of staff, including managers and non-managers, across the organization. More than a decade after the Kinnock reforms, it finds, first that there is not only a perception that policy management is an important Commission responsibility, but a value change, suggesting that a growing proportion of the workforce believe that performance of this task is a good thing.

Second, the views expressed by employees on a range of management-related questions show that there is a shared understanding of good management among the Commission workforce. Moreover, a management culture has become embedded in the Commission. Managers believe that management is important, and want better

tools in order to carry out their managerial responsibilities effectively. More significantly, perhaps, although the 5,545 respondents to the survey report differential experience of management along departmental lines, detailed analysis using factor analysis shows that beneath these perceptions there is a single underlying trait – a perception of what makes ‘good’ management – that is held across the organization. The discovery of this common understanding is very significant. The development of a common managerial culture within an international bureaucracy had been regarded as a remote prospect. The experience of the Commission shows, however, that despite the diversity of backgrounds (national, educational and professional), differences in function, staff grouping, outlook and location, and department – barriers that are rarely as high in a national setting -- it is possible for an international administration to develop a coherent understanding – a third finding.

Finally, although with the information available the paper cannot demonstrate either that the promotion of management, the higher valuation placed on managerial skills or shared norms are a direct result of the Kinnock reforms, strong circumstantial evidence and the absence of more plausible alternative hypotheses suggests at the very least that they made an important contribution. The tentative inference is that, contrary to the pessimism expressed in the literature on the possibility of successful public sector reform, a concerted effort may have a positive effect.

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Figures 1-9

Figure 1. I have a clear understanding of what is expected from me at work by DG (% agree)

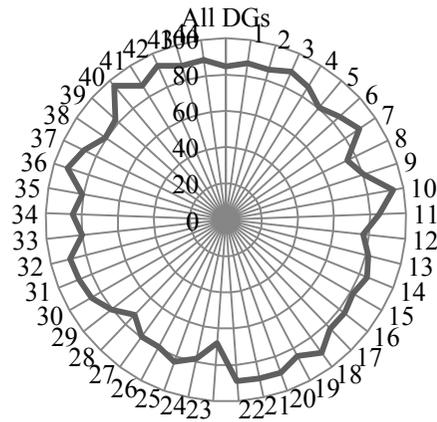


Figure 2. I have recently received recognition or praise for good work by DG (% agree)

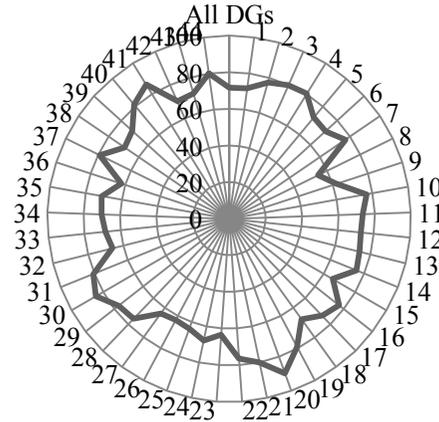
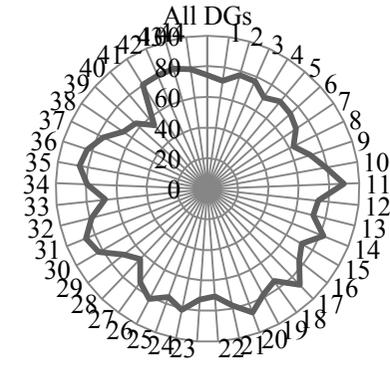


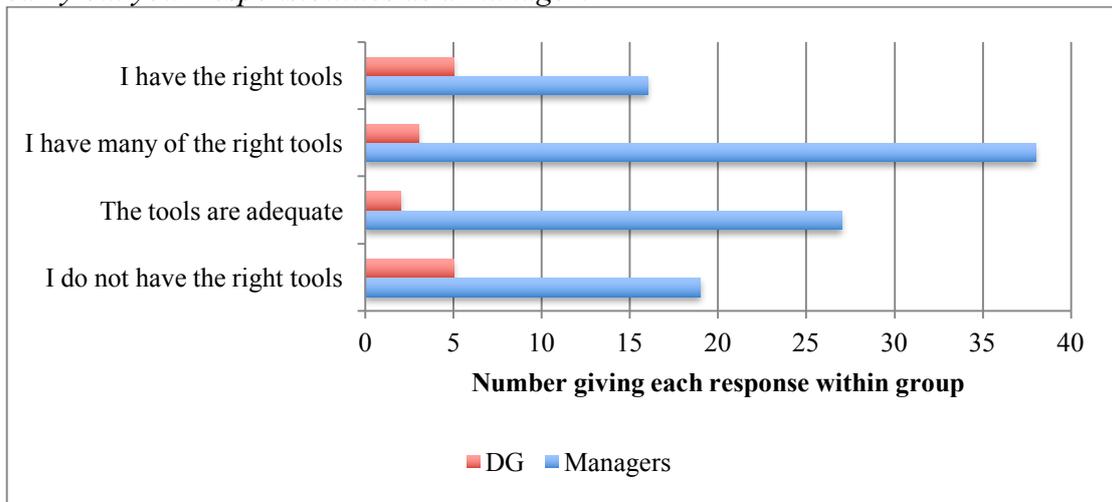
Figure 3. I have a choice in deciding how I do my work by DG (% agree)



Note: Figures not presented where n<10.

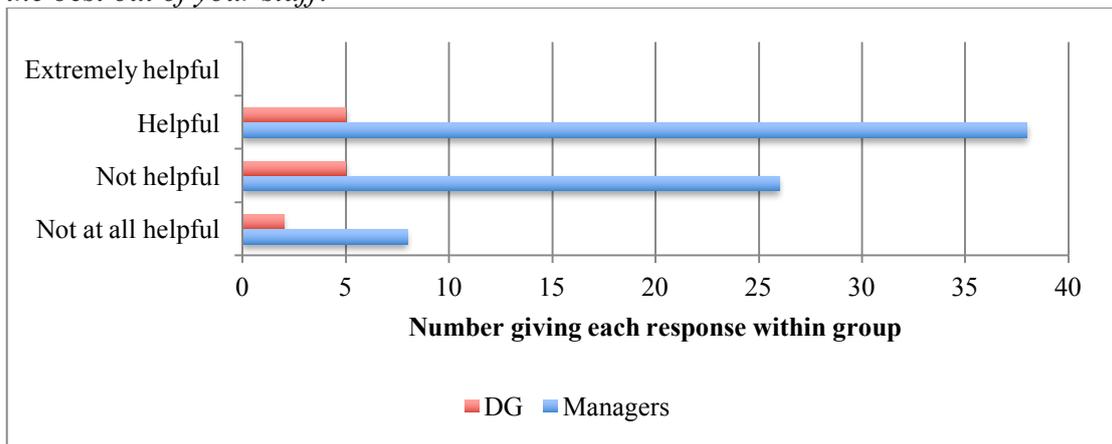
Source: 'European Commission: Facing the Future' online survey data.

Figure 4. To what extent does the Commission provide you with the tools necessary to carry out your responsibilities as a manager?



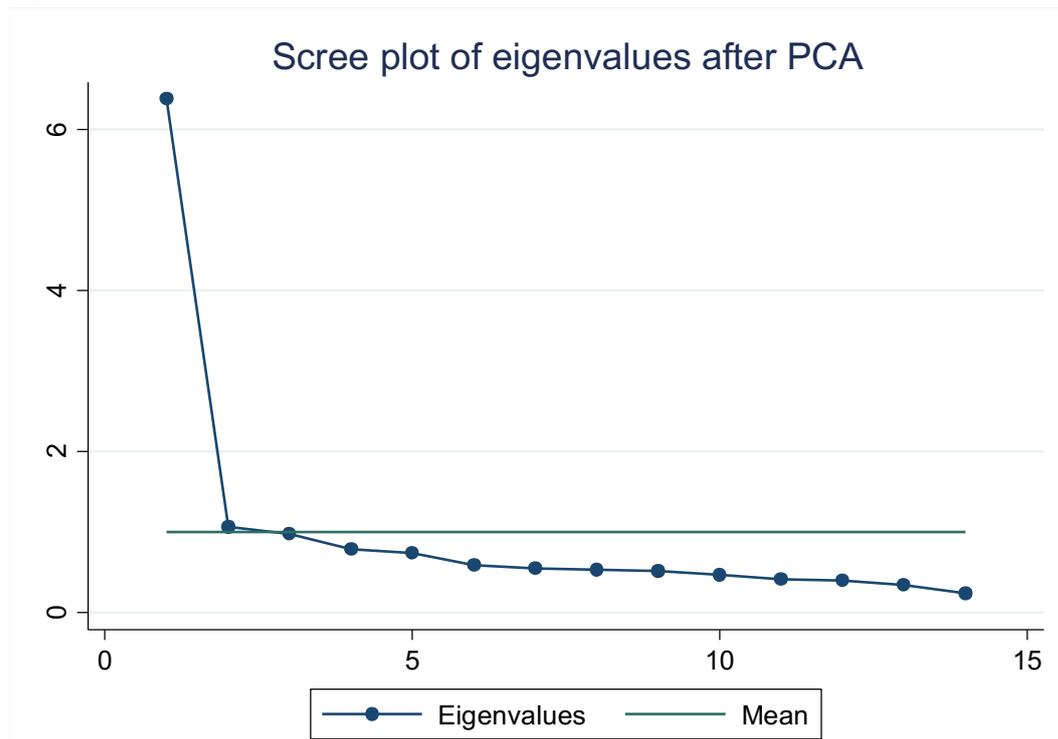
Source: 'European Commission: Facing the Future' face-to-face interviews 2014

Figure 5. Responses to 'How effective are the mechanisms available to you for getting the best out of your staff?'



Source: 'European Commission: Facing the Future' face-to-face interviews 2014

Figure 6



Source: 'European Commission: Facing the Future' online survey data

Figure 7. 'Good', 'Task' and 'People' management by DG (average value)

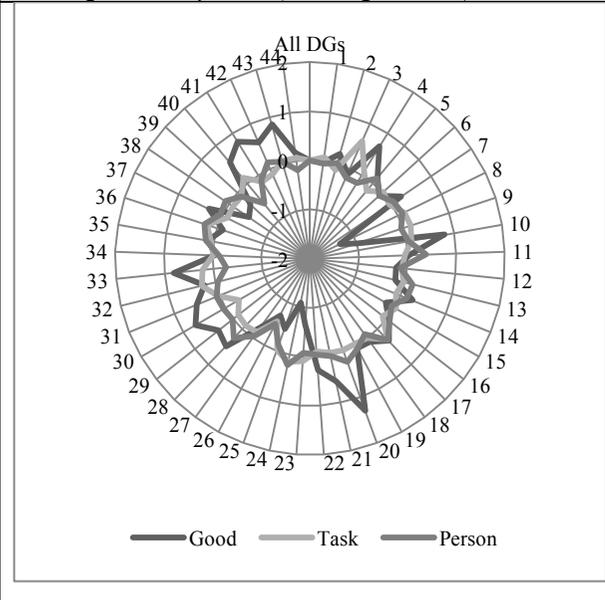


Figure 8. 'Good', 'Task' and 'People' management by job family (average value)

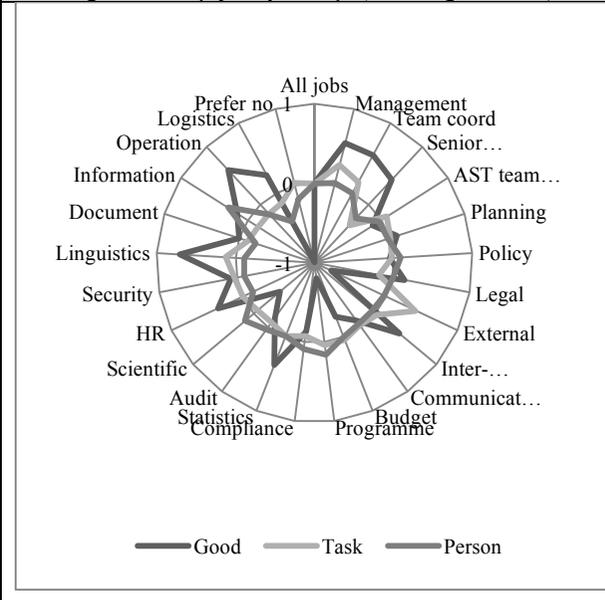
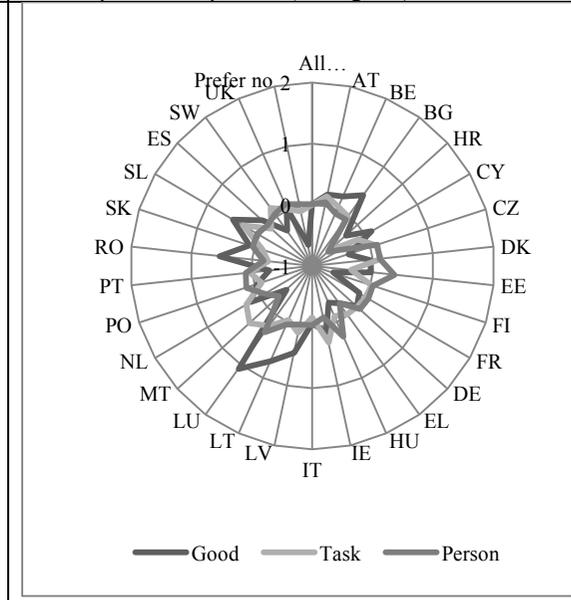


Figure 9. I have a choice in deciding how I do my work by DG (% agree)



Note. 'Good', 'Task' and 'Person' management based on PCA results presented in Tables 4-6. Figures not presented where n<10.
 Source: 'European Commission: Facing the Future' online survey data

Tables 1 –6

Table 1

Effectiveness:	The work of my team is managed effectively
Understanding:	I have a clear understanding of what is expected of me
Visibility:	I am assigned tasks or projects of high visibility by my manager
Care:	My manager seems to care about me as a person
Recognition:	I have recently received recognition for good work
Flexible:	My manager supports the use of flexible working arrangements
Choice:	I have choice in decision how I do my work
Objectives:	I have clear work objectives and measures of success
Development:	My line manager helps me identify my training and development needs
Feedback:	I receive regular feedback on my performance
Performance:	The feedback that I receive helps me improve my performance
Appraisal:	The system of appraisal offers an accurate evaluation of how well I do my job
Equality:	My manager acts to promote gender equality
Produce:	My performance is judged on the basis of what I produce rather than the time that I spend in the office.

Source: ‘European Commission: Facing the Future’ online survey data

Table 2

	Managers	Directors General	Cabinet
The role of political leaders is to set strategic goals; managers should be autonomous and entrepreneurial, while accountable and rewarded according to their performance.	58%	65%	68%
The role of political leaders is to take decisions, both big and small; the job of managers is to implement them using their technical knowledge and professional managerial skill.	15%	5%	28%
The role of political leaders is to forge compromise deals among multiple stakeholders; the job of managers is to coordinate networks, manage partnerships and create synergies between the interests of different constituencies.	27%	30%	4%
n	117	20	25

Source: ‘European Commission: Facing the Future’ interview data

Table 3 – Traits of management, loading factors

Component Element	1 – ‘Good’		2 – ‘Task’		3 – ‘Person’	
	Coef.	p	Coef.	p	Coef.	P
Effectiveness	0.27	0.00	0.32	0.00	-0.07	0.35
Understanding	0.23	0.00	0.56	0.00	0.00	0.99
Visibility	0.24	0.00	0.48	0.00	-0.03	0.77
Care	0.30	0.00	-0.21	0.00	0.19	0.00
Recognition	0.27	0.00	0.07	0.06	0.09	0.03
Flexible	0.23	0.00	-0.21	0.07	0.57	0.00
Choice	0.23	0.00	0.14	0.16	0.49	0.00
Objectives	0.28	0.00	0.06	0.42	-0.35	0.00
Development	0.27	0.00	-0.28	0.00	-0.24	0.00
Feedback	0.32	0.00	-0.12	0.00	-0.08	0.04
Performance	0.32	0.00	-0.17	0.00	-0.13	0.00
Appraisal	0.24	0.00	-0.14	0.11	-0.42	0.00
Equality	0.24	0.00	-0.30	0.00	0.05	0.47
Produce	0.27	0.00	-0.06	0.06	0.06	0.08

Source: ‘European Commission: Facing the Future’ online survey data

Table 4 – ‘Good’ management

	Job screening		DG resp.		Job family	
	Coef.	P	Coef.	p	Coef.	P
Constant	0.41	0.19	0.42	0.17	0.28	0.39
<i>Educational background</i>						
Humanities	0.36**	0.04	0.32*	0.08	0.26	0.14
Educated abroad	-0.17*	0.08	-0.17*	0.07	-0.14	0.15
<i>Prior experience</i>						
National administration	-0.19*	0.06	-0.19*	0.06	-0.18*	0.07
<i>Nationality</i>						
Nordic Europe	-0.17	0.41	-0.20	0.34	-0.14	0.49
Anglo Europe						
Germanic Europe	0.13	0.44	0.11	0.49	0.10	0.56
Latin Europe	0.31**	0.03	0.31**	0.03	0.31**	0.04
Eastern Europe	0.19	0.27	0.17	0.31	0.17	0.31
Belgian	0.45***	0.01	0.45***	0.01	0.40***	0.02
Luxembourg	0.94	0.21	0.99	0.20	0.99	0.18
<i>Staff category</i>						
Manager	0.30**	0.03	0.30**	0.02	0.27**	0.05
AD official						
AST official	-0.08	0.48	-0.02	0.84	-0.16	0.24
Contract Agent	-0.80***	0.00	-0.73***	0.00	-0.88***	0.00
Temporary Agent	-0.76**	0.05	-0.69*	0.08	-0.83**	0.03
<i>Location</i>						
Brussels						
Luxembourg	0.24*	0.10	0.22	0.14	0.23	0.12
Joint Research Centres	-0.24	0.41	-0.16	0.60	0.00	1.00
Delegation	-0.96***	0.00	-1.02***	0.00	-0.79***	0.00
Representation	-0.18	0.66	0.23	0.58	0.20	0.61
Other	-0.60	0.13	-0.55	0.15	-0.62	0.12
<i>Commission experience</i>						
Cabinet experience	0.33	0.16	0.38	0.12	0.26	0.27
DG mobility	-0.17*	0.09	-0.15	0.14	-0.20**	0.05
Years in the Commission	-0.04*	0.09	-0.04	0.13	-0.04	0.11
Years in the Commission ²	0.00	0.40	0.00	0.53	0.00	0.41
Joined Commission to build EU	0.14	0.15	0.15	0.12	0.17	0.08
<i>Gender</i>						
Male						
Female	-0.12	0.21	-0.13	0.17	-0.19*	0.06
<i>Size of DG</i>						
<100	-0.45	0.13	-0.31	0.37	-0.36	0.22
100-300	0.26	0.16	0.25	0.20	0.21	0.26
300-500	0.37***	0.01	0.30**	0.04	0.34***	0.01
500-700						
700-1000	0.14	0.35	-0.02	0.88	0.12	0.41
> 1000	-0.13	0.46	-0.36	0.06	-0.16	0.32

DG screen

HR & budgetary mgt	-0.07	0.73
Law making, monitoring & enforcement	-0.06	0.75
Linguistic	0.39**	0.03
Policy making & development		
Programme management	-0.10	0.59
Other	0.12	0.47

DG responsibilities

Audit, inspection & control	-0.52	0.20
Budget, finance & contracts	-0.10	0.70
Communications, publications & information	-0.20	0.44
Human resource management	-0.17	0.55
Legal	0.13	0.65
Linguistics	0.79***	0.00
Operational, administrative & secretarial	-0.21	0.53
Policy, analysis & advice		
Programmes, projects, actions & funds	-0.02	0.93
Other	0.18	0.24

Job family

Management and Advisory Staff	0.59***	0.01
Team coordination	0.72***	0.00
Senior assistant	0.79**	0.03
AST team leader	0.10	0.78
Planning, programming & evaluation	0.36	0.17
Policy, analysis and advice		
Legal	0.07	0.76
External relations	-0.26	0.30
Inter-institutional relations	0.44	0.19
Communications, publications & information	0.07	0.77
Budget, finance and contracts	0.03	0.89
Programmes, projects, actions & funds	-0.15	0.42
Compliance, infringement handling	-0.07	0.86
Statistics	0.58**	0.04
Audit, inspection and control	0.05	0.81
Scientific research	-0.25	0.45
Human resource management	0.61***	0.01
Security and safety	0.16	0.80
Medical and social care	1.32	0.15
Linguistics	0.68***	0.01
Document and information management	0.11	0.75
Information technology	0.31	0.29
Operational, administrative and secretarial	0.86***	0.00
Other	0.11	0.74

Note: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Specification includes controls for educational background (level, subject and educated abroad), prior experience, multiple nationality.

Table 5 – ‘Task’ management

	Job screening		DG resp.		Job family	
	Coef.	P	Coef.	p	Coef.	P
Constant	-0.47	0.00	-0.40	0.00	-0.45	0.00
<i>Educational background</i>						
Law	0.17**	0.04	0.16*	0.06	0.23***	0.01
Educated abroad	0.07*	0.08	0.07*	0.08	0.07*	0.10
<i>Prior experience</i>						
National administration	0.08*	0.07	0.08*	0.06	0.07*	0.11
<i>Nationality</i>						
Nordic Europe	0.06	0.48	0.08	0.37	0.06	0.50
Anglo Europe						
Germanic Europe	-0.01	0.85	-0.01	0.93	-0.02	0.79
Latin Europe	-0.10*	0.10	-0.10	0.12	-0.11*	0.08
Eastern Europe	0.02	0.80	0.03	0.68	0.01	0.87
Belgian	0.08	0.25	0.09	0.22	0.08	0.25
Luxembourg	-0.05	0.86	-0.04	0.87	-0.02	0.93
<i>Staff category</i>						
Manager	0.34***	0.00	0.34***	0.00	0.33***	0.00
AD official						
AST official	-0.12**	0.02	-0.12***	0.01	-0.11**	0.04
Contract Agent	0.04	0.61	0.03	0.65	0.06	0.38
Temporary Agent	0.09	0.50	0.10	0.47	0.10	0.45
<i>Location</i>						
Brussels						
Luxembourg	0.09	0.17	0.11	0.07	0.12*	0.06
Joint Research Centres	-0.08	0.47	-0.02	0.89	-0.07	0.39
Delegation	0.23**	0.03	0.23**	0.03	0.19*	0.06
Representation	-0.08	0.56	-0.09	0.55	-0.04	0.76
Other	-0.10	0.55	-0.09	0.59	-0.09	0.57
<i>Commission experience</i>						
Cabinet experience	0.22*	0.07	0.16	0.18	0.23*	0.06
DG mobility	-0.11***	0.01	-0.11***	0.01	-0.12***	0.00
Years in the Commission	0.03***	0.00	0.03***	0.00	0.03***	0.00
Years in the Commission ²	0.00*	0.07	0.00*	0.08	0.00*	0.10
Joined Commission to build EU	0.04	0.27	0.04	0.28	0.04	0.31
<i>Gender</i>						
Male						
Female	-0.06	0.14	-0.06	0.14	-0.06	0.14
<i>Size of DG</i>						
<100	0.19	0.14	0.17	0.26	0.19	0.17
100-300	0.14*	0.07	0.10	0.25	0.12*	0.10
300-500	0.04	0.49	0.08	0.22	0.01	0.83
500-700						
700-1000	0.09	0.12	0.10	0.12	0.07	0.23
> 1000	0.03	0.65	0.04	0.61	0.05	0.37

DG screen

HR & budgetary mgt	0.06	0.41
Law making, monitoring & enforcement	-0.05	0.52
Linguistic	0.15**	0.03
Policy making & development		
Programme management	0.07	0.35
Other	0.08	0.28

DG responsibilities

Audit, inspection & control	-0.23	0.21
Budget, finance & contracts	-0.06	0.64
Communications, publications & information	0.09	0.43
Human resource management	-0.20	0.20
Legal	0.05	0.63
Linguistics	0.18	0.23
Operational, administrative & secretarial	-0.09	0.25
Policy, analysis & advice		
Programmes, projects, actions & funds	0.00	0.98
Other	-0.08	0.40

Job family

Management and Advisory Staff	0.01	0.92
Team coordination	0.14	0.19
Senior assistant	-0.25*	0.10
AST team leader	0.19	0.15
Planning, programming & evaluation	0.13	0.32
Policy, analysis and advice		
Legal	-0.16	0.12
External relations	0.28***	0.01
Inter-institutional relations	0.09	0.58
Communications, publications & information	0.06	0.53
Budget, finance and contracts	0.11	0.19
Programmes, projects, actions & funds	-0.03	0.75
Compliance, infringement handling	-0.04	0.81
Statistics	-0.01	0.92
Audit, inspection and control	-0.04	0.67
Scientific research	-0.06	0.64
Human resource management	0.07	0.44
Security and safety	0.02	0.92
Medical and social care	0.07	0.89
Linguistics	0.11	0.29
Document and information management	-0.05	0.72
Information technology	-0.12	0.32
Operational, administrative and secretarial	-0.01	0.93
Other	-0.10	0.42

Note: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Specification includes controls for educational background (level, subject and educated abroad), prior experience, multiple nationality.

Table 6 – ‘People’ management

	Job screening		DG resp.		Job family	
	Coef.	P	Coef.	p	Coef.	P
Constant	-0.17	0.17	-0.17	0.19	-0.10	0.45
<i>Nationality</i>						
Nordic Europe	0.06	0.51	0.06	0.47	0.05	0.57
Anglo Europe						
Germanic Europe	0.05	0.48	0.05	0.48	0.04	0.51
Latin Europe	0.00	0.96	0.00	0.93	-0.01	0.91
Eastern Europe	0.06	0.40	0.06	0.35	0.06	0.37
Belgian	-0.01	0.85	-0.02	0.72	-0.01	0.83
Luxembourg	0.33	0.13	0.31	0.16	0.27	0.25
<i>Staff category</i>						
Manager	-0.16***	0.01	-0.16***	0.01	-0.16***	0.01
AD official						
AST official	-0.11**	0.02	-0.11***	0.01	-0.09*	0.08
Contract Agent	-0.01	0.89	-0.03	0.69	-0.01	0.91
Temporary Agent	-0.06	0.70	-0.03	0.84	-0.05	0.72
<i>Location</i>						
Brussels						
Luxembourg	0.17***	0.00	0.15***	0.01	0.21***	0.00
Joint Research Centres	-0.07	0.52	-0.14	0.22	-0.16	0.08
Delegation	0.00	0.98	0.02	0.88	-0.06	0.60
Representation	-0.08	0.57	-0.15	0.29	-0.13	0.33
Other	0.02	0.90	0.00	1.00	0.03	0.83
<i>Commission experience</i>						
Cabinet experience	0.15	0.14	0.08	0.44	0.15	0.12
DG mobility	0.04	0.28	0.03	0.39	0.04	0.36
Years in the Commission	0.02***	0.01	0.02***	0.01	0.02***	0.01
Years in the Commission ²	0.00***	0.01	0.00***	0.01	0.00***	0.01
Joined Commission to build EU	0.06*	0.10	0.06*	0.10	0.05	0.17
<i>Gender</i>						
Male						
Female	-0.01	0.88	-0.01	0.87	0.01	0.79
<i>Size of DG</i>						
<100	-0.26*	0.06	-0.22	0.14	-0.25*	0.06
100-300	0.06	0.45	0.04	0.63	0.06	0.42
300-500	0.02	0.68	0.06	0.32	0.04	0.44
500-700						
700-1000	-0.09	0.15	-0.04	0.53	-0.07	0.22
> 1000	0.03	0.63	0.08	0.36	0.05	0.44
<i>DG screen</i>						
HR & budgetary mgt	-0.03	0.65				
Law making, monitoring & enforcement	0.11	0.19				
Linguistic	-0.07	0.38				
Policy making & development						

Programme management	-0.02	0.81		
Other	-0.03	0.71		
<i>DG responsibilities</i>				
Audit, inspection & control			-0.22	0.22
Budget, finance & contracts			-0.02	0.88
Communications, publications & information			0.04	0.70
Human resource management			0.12	0.48
Legal			-0.13	0.28
Linguistics			0.13	0.36
Operational, administrative & secretarial			-0.01	0.87
Policy, analysis & advice				
Programmes, projects, actions & funds			-0.03	0.79
Other			0.02	0.81
<i>Job family</i>				
Management and Advisory Staff			-0.03	0.75
Team coordination			-0.17	0.11
Senior assistant			-0.29	0.11
AST team leader			-0.05	0.71
Planning, programming & evaluation			-0.13	0.22
Policy, analysis and advice				
Legal			-0.06	0.58
External relations			-0.13	0.16
Inter-institutional relations			-0.15	0.34
Communications, publications & information			-0.11	0.20
Budget, finance and contracts			-0.04	0.65
Programmes, projects, actions & funds			0.07	0.39
Compliance, infringement handling			0.25	0.13
Statistics			-0.25**	0.05
Audit, inspection and control			-0.06	0.55
Scientific research			0.16	0.20
Human resource management			-0.16*	0.06
Security and safety			-0.19	0.30
Medical and social care			-0.30	0.22
Linguistics			-0.29***	0.01
Document and information management			-0.31***	0.01
Information technology			0.14	0.19
Operational, administrative and secretarial			-0.18**	0.03
Other			-0.21*	0.09

Note: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Specification includes controls for educational background (level, subject and educated abroad), prior experience, multiple nationality.

APPENDIX TABLE 1 *Explanatory variables*

		Min	Max	Mean	StDev
National background	Nordic Europe (DK, FI, SW)	0	1	0.06	0.24
	Anglo (IE and UK)	0	1	0.08	0.27
	Germanic Europe (AT, DE, NL)	0	1	0.14	0.35
	Latin Europe (CY, ES, FR, HR, MT, IT, PT)	0	1	0.30	0.45
	Eastern Europe (BG, CZ, EE, EL, HU, LV, LT, PO, RO, SL, SK)	0	1	0.17	0.37
	BE	0	1	0.15	0.36
	LU	0	1	0.004	0.06
	Educated outside of nation state	0	1	0.392	0.488
	Multiple nationality	0	1	0.083	0.276
	Pre-recruitment experience	National administration experience	0	1	0.32
Private sector experience		0	1	0.53	0.50
Post-recruitment experience	<i>Years working in the Commission</i>				
	Number of years	1	54	11.72	8.69
	Square of years	1	2916	212.9	274.8
	<i>Staff grouping</i>				
	Management AD (Administrator)	0	1	0.08	0.28
	Non-management AD (Administrator)	0	1	0.35	0.48
	AST (Assistant or Secretary)	0	1	0.31	0.46
	Contract agent	0	1	0.14	0.35
	Temporary agent	0	1	0.02	0.13
	<i>Location</i>				
	Brussels	0	1	0.70	0.46
	Luxembourg	0	1	0.12	0.32
	Joint Research Centres sites	0	1	0.07	0.26
	Delegation	0	1	0.05	0.21
	Representation	0	1	0.01	0.12
	Other/Prefer not to say	0	1	0.02	0.13
	<i>Commission experience</i>				
	Cabinet experience	0	1	0.03	0.18
	Worked in more than one DG	0	1	0.51	0.50
	Positional advantage	Management and Advisory Staff	0	1	0.02
Team coordination		0	1	0.02	0.15
AST team leader		0	1	0.02	0.15
Job family	Senior assistant	0	1	0.01	0.09
	Planning, programming and evaluation	0	1	0.02	0.15
	Policy, analysis and advice	0	1	0.15	0.35
	Legal	0	1	0.05	0.21
	External relations	0	1	0.03	0.17
	Inter-institutional relations	0	1	0.01	0.11
	Communications, publications and information	0	1	0.05	0.22
	Budget, finance and contracts	0	1	0.09	0.28
	Programmes, projects, actions and funds	0	1	0.09	0.28

	Compliance, infringement handling	0	1	0.01	0.12
	Statistics	0	1	0.02	0.14
	Audit, inspection and control	0	1	0.04	0.20
	Scientific research	0	1	0.04	0.19
	Human resource management	0	1	0.05	0.21
	Security and safety	0	1	0.01	0.09
	Medical and social care	0	1	0.00	0.06
	Linguistics	0	1	0.05	0.22
	Document and information management	0	1	0.02	0.15
	Information technology	0	1	0.04	0.19
	Operational, administrative and secretarial	0	1	0.09	0.29
	Other	0	1	0.04	0.18
DG size	<100	0	1	0.02	0.15
	100-300	0	1	0.07	0.26
	300-500	0	1	0.21	0.41
	500-700	0	1	0.18	0.39
	700-1000	0	1	0.17	0.37
	> 1000	0	1	0.26	0.44
DG type (job screen)	HR & budgetary management (BUDG, EPSO, HR, OIL, SRD: CLIM/ENV, SRD: MOVE/ENER)	0	1	0.05	0.23
	Law making, monitoring & enforcement (COMP, IAS, JUST, OLAF, SJ, SRD: HOME/JUST)	0	1	0.06	0.25
	Linguistic (COMM, DGT, OP, SCIC)	0	1	0.13	0.33
	Policy making & development (AGRI, BEPA, CLIMA, CNECT, EAC, ECFIN, EMPL, ENER, ENTR, ENV, HOME, MARE, MARKT, MOVE, SANCO, SG, TAXUD, TRADE)	0	1	0.35	0.48
	Programme management (DEVCO, ELARG, FPI, REGIO, RTD, Delegation)	0	1	0.18	0.38
	Other (Cabinet, DIGIT, ECHO, ESTAT, JRC, OIB, PMO)	0	1	0.17	0.37
DG type (main responsibilities)	Audit, inspection & control (IAS, OLAF, SRD: HOME/JUST)	0	1	0.02	0.13
	Budget, finance & contracts (BUDG, OIL, SRD: CLIM/ENV, SRD: MOVE/ENER)	0	1	0.02	0.15
	Communications, publications & information (COMM, OP)	0	1	0.04	0.20
	Human resource management (EPSO, HR)	0	1	0.03	0.18
	Legal (JUST, SJ)	0	1	0.02	0.14
	Linguistics (DGT, SCIC)	0	1	0.08	0.28
	Operational, administrative & secretarial (Cabinet, ECHO, PMO)	0	1	0.03	0.17
	Policy, analysis & advice (AGRI, BEPA, CLIMA, CNECT, EAC, ECFIN, EMPL, ENER, ENTR, ENV, HOME, MARE, MARKT, MOVE, SANCO, SG, TAXUD, TRADE)	0	1	0.35	0.48
	Programmes, projects, actions & funds (DEVCO, ELARG, FPI, REGIO, RTD, Delegation)	0	1	0.18	0.38
	Other (COMP, DIGIT, ESTAT, JRC, OIB)	0	1	0.16	0.37
Highest qualification	<i>Highest qualification</i>				
	Post-graduate	0	1	0.571	0.495
	University degree	0	1	0.290	0.454

	School leaving qualification	0	1	0.067	0.250
	Vocational qualification	0	1	0.022	0.145
	No formal qualification	0	1	0.003	0.050
	Other or prefer not to say	0	1	0.047	0.212
	<i>Subject of highest qualification</i>				
	Business or Economics	0	1	0.24	0.43
	Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics or Medicine (STEMM)	0	1	0.21	0.41
	Politics	0	1	0.13	0.33
	Law	0	1	0.11	0.32
	Humanities	0	1	0.16	0.37
	Other social science	0	1	0.03	0.18
	Other or prefer not to say	0	1	0.13	0.33
Gender	Male	0	1	0.480	0.500
	Female	0	1	0.46	0.50
	Prefer not to say	0	1	0.03	0.16

Note: 1 – Yes, 0 – No