

# Index

---

- Abott, Tony (Australian PM) 21  
access issues 93, 99–100  
accountability mechanisms 155,  
183–4, 192, 194  
actor-level research 202  
administrative reforms, Australia 15,  
20  
administrative roles 83–6  
administrative state model 168  
administrative state secretaries 74,  
81–2  
administrative systems/traditions 165,  
192, 205, 210–12  
*see also* political-administrative  
administrative-technical policy 43–4,  
46  
adversarial model 164–5, 168–71,  
173–7  
advisory staff  
change drivers 37–9  
characteristics 25–6  
as coordination agents 116–20  
emergence of roles 72–90  
governance contribution 34–52  
policy work 39–48, 203–5  
*see also* ministerial advisers; policy  
advisers; political advisers;  
special advisers  
age factors, civil servants 172  
agency bargains 149, 156–7  
agency-loyalty relationships 59–60  
aides *see* special advisers  
alignment function, advisory staff 47  
Anglo-American tradition 1–2  
*see also* Westminster  
Aucoin, Peter 35  
Australia  
institutional environment 209, 212  
ministerial advisers 5, 15, 211  
political staff 15–33  
Spiers' outburst 1  
supplementary information 216  
bailout programmes, Ireland 114, 122,  
124  
Balkenende governments, Netherlands  
136–7, 140  
bargains 60, 145–62, 206  
*see also* political adviser bargains;  
public service bargains  
behavioural issues 94, 98–9  
Belgium 27–8  
benevolence 95, 102–3  
Bezes, Philippe 27  
biographical profiles, advisers 133  
Blair, Tony (UK PM) 186  
Blick, Andrew 206, 214  
blind trust 104–6  
'boundaries of propriety' 191  
Brans, Marleen 27–8, 214  
bridging function, advisory staff 40,  
43–7, 49  
Britain *see* United Kingdom case  
study  
Brown, Gordon (UK PM) 186  
buffering function, advisory staff 40,  
43–8  
bureaucracy  
Australia 19, 23  
conflict potential 168  
Denmark 61  
Germany 74–5, 84, 85, 87  
Netherlands 141  
United Kingdom 192–3  
bureaucratic line organization 77–80,  
81–3  
bureaucratic staff, Netherlands 129

- cabinet ministers 17, 180, 182–3
- cabinet policy unit, Australia 20–21, 27
- cabinet pre-briefs 47
- cabinetization process 92
- cabinets ministériels* 129
- cabinets/cabinet systems
  - Australia 24
  - Canada 36, 44–5
  - Greece 91–109
  - Ireland 111, 120, 122–3
  - Netherlands 142
- Campbell, Alastair 186
- Canada, case study 34–52, 211, 216
- caps on adviser numbers 206, 210
- ‘cardinals of the conclave’ *see* the ‘conclave’
- career civil servants 140, 185
- career-oriented advisers 62, 74
- ‘central’ advisers 24
- centrifugal forces
  - in government 67
  - special advisers 183
- centring trends 116–17
- centripetal forces, special advisers 183
- chief of cabinet role 97
- chiefs of staff 21, 41, 114, 123
- ‘children of favouritism’ 102
- Children Overboard Affair 16, 29
- ‘chimney effect’ 74
- Christian Democratic Party, Netherlands 137
- Christiansen, Peter Munk 205
- circles of trust 94, 99–102, 104, 107
- civil service/servants
  - advisers and 159, 163–79
  - Canada 36
  - Denmark 55, 56–8, 63–5
  - Germany 73–5, 84–5
  - institutional rules 206
  - laws regulating 87
  - loyalty 58–9, 64, 84
  - Netherlands 129, 134, 139–40, 142–3
  - partisan advisers and 211
  - politicization 73–5
  - Sweden 163–79
  - United Kingdom 181–2, 184–6, 190–94
  - see also* public service/servants
- ‘co-CEO’ format, PMOs 41
- coalition governments
  - Australia 16, 18–19, 20–21
  - Denmark 62, 64, 66–7
  - Germany 73, 80
  - Ireland 111–13, 116, 121, 123–4
  - Netherlands 133
  - New Zealand 147
- codes of conduct
  - Australia 16, 29
  - Danish advisers 59
  - Denmark 208
  - New Zealand 146, 160, 208
  - United Kingdom 180–81, 190–91
- collective responsibility 182–3
- commanding heights approach 74, 86
- committee system, Ireland 122–3
- communication issues 98–9, 188, 191
- compacts 145–62
- comparative analysis 30, 198–211, 213–14
- competence
  - advisers 95, 102–3
  - as bargain dimension 150
  - definition 153
  - as PAB dimension 151, 153–4, 158
  - relational contexts 206
- competitive relationships 169–74, 176
- the ‘conclave’ 101–2, 105, 107
- concrete behaviour, trust and 94, 99
- confidentiality 103
- conflict potential 81–2, 168–9
- Connaughton, Bernadette 131, 133, 140, 205, 213
- Conservative–Liberal Democrat coalition, UK 188
- Conservative Party, UK 187
- constitutional issues 73, 181–5, 208
- constitutional theory 183
- content of policy *see* shaping function
- contestability 148
- contingency junctures, institutionalism 27

- contingent nature, advisers' influence 35, 47
- contracts of employment 153–5, 208
- coordination  
 definitions 115–16  
 theory of 119
- coordination scale 110, 115, 117–20, 122, 124, 205
- coordinator-type advisers 97, 110–28, 131, 133, 140–41, 167
- Copernicus reform, Belgium 28
- core executive  
 Canada 36  
 Denmark 55, 60, 67  
 Greece 97, 106–7  
 Ireland 117, 121, 124  
 New Zealand 145–62  
 trust theories 213
- core relationships, advisers 205–9
- 'corporation sole' ministers 111–12
- court politics 142
- covenants 145–62
- Craft, Jonathan 46–8, 203, 205, 213
- Credlin, Peta 21
- crisis management 121–4
- De Visscher, Christian 150
- decentring trends 116, 117
- decision instruments 45
- decision making, cabinets 24, 27
- deinstitutionalization, ministries 86–7
- delegated agency bargains 157
- 'delivering', policy work 24–5
- demand side, adviser appointment 153
- democracies, parliamentary 6–7
- democratic accountability 194
- democratic development 187, 193–4
- democratization theory 192
- Denmark, case study 53–71, 206, 208–9
- department-centric PMOs 47–8
- department directors 135
- departmental ministers 111–12
- departmental principle 85–6
- departmental roles 23, 54, 79, 124, 146
- departmental secretaries 17–18, 20
- deputy PM, Ireland 111  
*see also* tánaiste
- development theory 192, 194
- 'dialogue model' 84
- directed agency bargains 157
- Dutch system *see* Netherlands, case study
- economic bailout programs 98
- Economic Management Council (EMC) 122–3
- economic policy, Ireland 122
- educational background, advisers 137
- Eichbaum, Chris 60–61, 69
- electoral law 27
- electoral systems 125, 133
- Elston, Thomas 151
- EMC (Economic Management Council) 122–3
- empire, British 182
- empirical focus, comparative research 203
- employment contracts *see* contracts of employment
- England *see* United Kingdom case study
- EU-ECB-IMF bailout, Ireland 114, 122
- European Union, ministerial advisers 6
- 'events-based' contracts 208
- exchanges  
 PMO advisers 44, 47  
 policy learning 49  
*see also* transactional relationships
- executive government  
 advisers and 1, 55, 160  
 bargains 60, 149, 156  
 centrifugal forces in 67  
 constitutional provisions 73  
 coordination functions 115–17  
 institutional context 36, 49  
 ministerial cabinets 97, 106–7  
 relational contexts 206  
*see also* core executive; political executive
- 'exempt staff' 37, 39, 42, 45, 50

- expert-type advisers 131, 133, 140–41  
 explicit rewards 150, 151–3, 158–60  
 extrinsic rewards 151–2
- failure avoidance, policies 48–9  
 favouritism, Greek politics 102  
 federal bureaucrats, Germany 74–5, 85  
 federal exempt staff, Canada 42  
 federal government  
   Australia 18–22  
   Germany 72–5  
 federal ministerial staff, Australia 15–33  
 Fianna Fáil Party, Ireland 113, 120–21  
 Fine Gael Party, Ireland 112–14, 121–2  
 Fleischer, Julia 27  
 formal-legal model 167–8  
 formal rules 29, 205–9  
 ‘four corners’ meetings 35, 47–8  
 fragmented trust 101  
 framing device, research 198–203, 214  
 Fraser, Malcolm (Australian PM) 19  
 functional approaches 3–4, 37, 39–40, 130–31, 142  
 functional consolidation, staff units 76–9  
 functional politicization 57, 84, 169, 172, 174, 177  
 functional village model 163–4, 167, 175  
 ‘funnelling’ effect 4, 148
- gender issues 136, 172  
   *see also* women  
 general trust theory 93–5  
 Germanic tradition 210–11  
 Germany, case study 72–90, 209–10, 212  
 Gilmore, Eamon (Irish deputy PM) 122  
 Gouglas, Athanassios 97–8, 205, 213, 214  
 governance role, advisory staff 34–52  
 government offices 163, 165–7, 177  
 Government Staffing Committee, Australia 16–17  
 governments/government systems  
   Canada 34–52  
   centrifugal forces in 67  
   Denmark 54–5, 60, 62, 64, 66–7  
   Germany 72–5  
   Ireland 113  
   party position within 66–7  
   political arm of 34–52  
   political staff and 15  
   special advisers and 53  
   *see also* coalition governments;  
   executive government  
 Greece, case study 91–109, 206, 208–10, 217  
 Gulick, Luther 115  
 Guttman scale of coordination 117
- Harper governments, Canada 43–6, 47  
 Hazell, Robert 152  
 ‘head of staff unit’ 76, 78–80, 82–3  
 heads of division 74  
 Hillman, Nicholas 190  
 historical institutionalism 27, 212  
 history of interaction,  
   ministers–advisers 95, 102  
 homogeneity promotion 183–4  
 Hood, Christopher 149–51, 153, 156, 158–9  
 horizontal coordination 117, 120, 121, 125  
 horizontal dimension  
   PAPS bargain 158  
   policy 24–5, 132  
 Howard, John (Australian PM) 20  
 Hustedt, Thurid 124, 132, 209, 210, 212, 214
- ideal type models 163–4, 167–70  
 ideational approach, political staff 28  
 ideology, civil servants 171, 177  
 impartiality 26, 184, 186, 210–11  
 imperial history, UK system 182  
 incentive structures 214  
 individual policy actors 25  
 individual responsibility 182–3

- informal rules 29
- inner-circle advisers, Netherlands 141–2
- institutional analysis, political staff 15–33
- institutional construction of roles 83–6
- institutional context/settings
  - Canadian government 36–7, 49
  - Danish special advisers 54–9
  - German federal government 73–5
  - Irish advisers 111–12
  - ministerial advisers 3, 200–203, 209–10
  - New Zealand 145–7
  - political staff 29
  - politics–bureaucracy relationship 87
  - theoretical approaches 212
- ‘institutional emergence’ process 83–4
- institutional loyalty 78, 85, 87
- institutional role theory 72
- institutional rules 206–7
- institutionalism 27–8, 212
- instrumentation, policies 48–9
- integrity 95, 102–3
- intermediaries *see* bridging function
- internal government negotiators 189
- intra-departmental policy making 79
- intra-executive relationships 147–8
- intrinsic rewards 151–2
- Ireland, case study 110–28, 206, 211, 217
- James, Simon 93
- junior ministers 56, 120–21, 134–5
- Kiser, Larry 202
- Kok, Wim (Dutch PM) 136
- Labour Party
  - Australia 18–19, 20, 28
  - institutional context 212
  - Ireland 112–13, 120, 121–2, 125
  - United Kingdom 186–7
- laws *see* legislation
- leadership, executive government 115
- leadership staff units 76–80, 81–3, 85, 209
- leaking stories 64
- left-leaning civil servants, Sweden 174, 176–7
- legislation/legislature 16, 27, 87, 208
- legislative alliances 147
- legitimacy, institutions 83
- Leitungsstab, Germany 209, 212
- ‘line’ advisers 24
- line competencies, special advisers 56
- line organization/bureaucracy 77–80, 81–3, 85
- locational dimensions 3–4, 25
- Lodge, Martin 27, 60–61, 149–51, 153, 156, 158–9
- loyalty
  - as bargain dimension 150
  - bureaucracies 75, 77–8, 83–4
  - civil service 55, 58, 63–5, 84
  - federal bureaucrats 75
  - institutions 87
  - line bureaucracies 77–8, 83
  - ministers 68–9
  - as PAB dimension 151–2, 154–6, 158
  - relational contexts 205–6
  - special advisers 53–71, 190
  - staff units 85
  - see also* trust
- macro-level research 202, 206
- Maijenburg, Mark 135
- Maley, Maria 3–5, 11, 131–2, 209, 212, 214
- managerial staff 101–2, 107, 113–16, 120–21, 123
- MARG group 199, 200, 214
- MCs *see* memoranda to cabinet
- media advisers 53, 58, 79–81, 91, 189
- media logics 85
- mediatized political communication 55
- members of parliament (MPs), Australia 16
- memoranda to cabinet (MCs) 45, 47–8
- merit, recruitment on 193–4
- meso-circle of trust 101–2, 107

- meso-level research frame 202
- Metcalf, Les 110, 117–18
- micro-level research frame 202, 215
- minder-type advisers 131, 133, 141
- ministerial advisers
- Anglo-American tradition 1–2
  - appointment of 134–5, 153–5
  - average age 136–7
  - comparative analysis on 199–203
  - conceptualizing work of 130–32
  - conduct 1, 20
  - coordination role 110–28
  - core executive and 145–62
  - definitions 3
  - dimensions of 3–4
  - emergence 72–90, 129–44, 145–6
  - evolution of 133–5
  - guidelines 48
  - history of 18–22
  - Irish system of 112–15
  - new study directions 198–217
  - numbers comparisons 15, 135–6, 146, 210
  - policy work 22–4, 46
  - political adviser bargains 53–71
  - public servant distinction 18
  - researching 5–7, 132–3
  - roles 5, 8, 11, 138–40, 145–7
  - theoretical studies 5
  - types 131
  - use of term 3
  - in Westminster 2, 4–5
  - see also* chiefs of staff; policy advisers; political advisers; programme managers; special advisers
- ministerial cabinets 27–8, 91–109
- ministerial offices 22, 26–7, 29, 36–8, 45–8, 97
- ministerial responsibility system 182–5
- ministerial staff
- Australia 15–33
  - coordination role 167
  - location importance 25
  - see also* ministerial advisers
- ministers
- adviser relationship 92–5, 102
  - independence 54–5
  - loyalty 68–9
  - roles 60–61
  - safeguarding position of 65–6
  - strength of 73–5
  - minister's portfolio 135
  - ministries, numbers of 166
  - minority governments 54–5, 62, 146
  - mobility in circles of trust 104
  - MOPS Act, Australia 19, 26
  - moving function, advisory staff 40, 43–5, 47–9
  - MPs *see* members of parliament
  - multi-party governments 146
  - Napoleonic tradition 210
  - nation states 200
  - national administrative traditions 211
  - Netherlands, case study 129–44, 205, 209
  - New Zealand, case study 145–62, 211
  - Niklasson, Birgitta 206, 213
  - non-advisory work 39–40, 44, 203, 205
  - 'Northcote-Trevelyan'-type civil service 181, 184, 192–3
  - observations, organizing 202–11
  - Öhberg, Patrik 206, 213
  - operational role, advisory staff 45
  - organizational interests 168–9, 171, 174–5
  - organizational theories 115
  - organizational units 76–7
  - Ostrom, Elinor 202
  - PABs *see* political adviser bargains
  - Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) 96, 97–8, 106
  - PAPS bargain *see* political adviser/public servant bargain
  - parliamentary democracies 6–7
  - parliamentary state secretaries 73
  - parliamentary system, Netherlands 133
  - partisan advisers

- Australia 19, 22–3
- Canada 35, 37, 40–41, 43–8
- civil service and 211
- description of 131, 133, 141
- emergence of 86–7
- environments 209–10
- functions 4
- institutionalization 212
- use of term 50
- partisan cabinet systems 24
- partisan civil servants 169–72
- partisan policies 25, 28, 43–4
- partisan-political staff 34
- party-loyal advisers 61
- party leaders, Denmark 55
- party membership
  - ministers 65–6
  - staff units 77–8
  - state secretaries 74
- party politics 80, 116–17, 120, 125, 155, 190
- party position, strengthening 66–7
- PASOK *see* Panhellenic Socialist Movement
- path dependency, institutionalism 28
- patronage, recruitment on 193–4
- pay scales, cabinet system 97
- PCO *see* Privy Council Office
- Pearson, Lester (Canadian PM) 37
- Pelgrims, Christophe 27–8
- permanent staff
  - Denmark 56–8, 63, 64
  - New Zealand 148
  - United Kingdom 191*see also* public service/servants
- personal assistants 75
- personal loyalty 61–2, 65–9, 78, 87, 151–2, 156–7
- Peters, Guy 163–5, 167–70, 173–4, 176, 206, 213
- pillarization 129, 143
- PMOs *see* prime minister's offices
- PMs *see* prime ministers
- policy advisers 19, 22–3, 40, 43, 48, 53, 57–8, 82
- policy advisory systems 6, 97–8, 146, 165–7
- policy content, competition over 171
- policy coordination scale 117–18
- policy learning, Canada 48–9
- policy roles
  - advisory staff 39–49, 124, 131–2, 139, 147–8, 203–5
  - coordination of 116–17
  - political advisers 22–5, 163–4, 168, 170, 173
  - special advisers 112, 188–9
  - staff units 78–81
- 'policy shop', Canada 41, 44
- policy units 27
  - see also* cabinet policy unit
- political-administrative relations 81–3, 154, 164–5
- political-administrative systems 85, 96, 129–30, 132, 134, 205
- political adviser bargains (PABs) 53–71, 92–3, 150–59
- political adviser/public servant (PAPS) bargain 157–60
- political advisers
  - civil servants and 163–79
  - Greece 91–109
  - institutional analysis 29
  - media relations 58, 91
  - PSB typology 150
  - role 20, 22–5
  - Sweden 163–79
- political arm of governments 34–52
- 'political assistants' 134–5, 143
  - see also* ministerial advisers
- political-bureaucratic relations 23
- 'political civil servants' 74, 84
- political communications 80
- political control 25
- political coordination 110–28
- political executive 23–4
  - see also* executive government
- political liaison roles 188
- political neutrality 191
- political offices *see* ministerial office; prime minister's office
- political parties *see* party politics
- political responsiveness *see* 'responsiveness'
- political role construction 83–6

- political staff 15–33, 34–52, 110  
*see also* chiefs of staff; ministerial advisers; political advisers; programme managers; special advisers
- political strategists 189
- political-tactical advice 57–8
- politicization  
 civil service/servants 57, 73–5, 84, 165, 169, 174, 177  
 institutions 86–7  
 state secretaries 166  
*see also* partisan
- politico-administrative systems *see* political-administrative systems
- power structure in PABs 158
- press spokesperson role 78–80, 82–3
- prime minister's offices (PMOs)  
 36–7, 39, 41–5, 47–8, 167, 177
- prime ministers (PMs)  
 Australia 16–17, 20–21, 29  
 Canada 36–7  
 Denmark 62  
 United Kingdom 183–4  
*see also* taoiseach
- Privy Council Office (PCO), Canada  
 36–7, 45, 48
- procedural aspects, policy work  
 39–40, 44, 48
- procedural competencies 153
- process of policy making *see* moving function
- professional background, advisers  
 137–8
- programme managers 113–15, 120–21, 123
- PSBs *see* public service bargains
- psychology, trust and 98–9
- public relations 186
- public service bargains (PSBs) 54, 59–61, 68, 92–3  
 core executive/advisers and 145, 149–50  
 definition 158  
 ministerial advisers and 156  
 PAPS bargain and 160
- Public Service Management Act, Ireland 113–14
- public service/servants  
 Australia 17–20, 26–7, 29  
 Canada 37–8  
 German system 73  
 New Zealand 145–6, 148  
 political adviser relations 157–8  
*see also* civil service/servants
- recruitment effects/patterns 77–8, 82, 171–2, 174, 193–4
- regulations, advisers 53, 146, 151, 159, 208
- relational contexts 205–9
- relational nature, advisers' influence  
 35, 47
- relationship-based advisory staff 26
- relationship management 138
- research framework 198–203, 214
- responsibility dimension, bargains  
 150, 157
- 'responsiveness' 38, 84, 86
- reward dimension  
 bargains 150–53, 158–60  
 relationships 206
- risk taking 94–5
- Robson, Jennifer 45–6
- role distribution 83–6
- role expectations 84–5
- Rudd, Kevin (Australian PM) 17, 21
- rule regimes 29, 205–9
- Rutte, Mark (Dutch PM) 136–7
- safeguarding roles 65–7
- Salomonsen, Heidi Houlberg 124, 150, 205
- Scandinavian tradition 210–11
- 'second wave' of research 5–7, 49, 165, 198, 213
- secrecy 18, 103
- secretaries, permanent 63–4  
*see also* departmental secretaries; state secretaries
- secretaries-general 135
- the Senate, Australia 16
- senior advisers 122–3



- senior civil service 134, 139–40, 142–3
- seniority, civil servants 172
- serial loyalty bargain 59, 68, 156–7
- service delivery 146
- shaping function, advisory staff 40, 43–5, 47–9
- Shaw, Richard 60–61, 69
- similarity patterns, advisers 210–11
- Social Democrat Party, Denmark 66–7
- special advisers
- Canada 37
  - context/legacy 54–9
  - definition 180–81
  - Denmark 53–71
  - history of 55–7, 185–8, 192–4
  - Ireland 112, 113–14
  - loyalty 53–71
  - New Zealand 152
  - numbers of 187
  - relationships/responsibilities 57–9
  - roles 54–9, 188–9
  - United Kingdom 180–97
- see also* ministerial advisers
- Spiers, David 1, 10–11
- spin doctors 56
- spokesperson *see* press spokesperson
- role
- staff functions, recruitment to 77
- staff units 72, 74–83, 85, 209
- stakeholders' roles 23–5, 58
- state administrative model 168
- state secretaries 56–7, 73–4, 166, 176
- structural consolidation, staff units 76–9
- substantive advice/advisers 39–40, 48, 133, 141–2
- substantive competencies 153–4
- supply side, adviser appointment 153
- Sweden, case study 163–79, 211
- SYRIZA party, Greece 97–8, 106
- systematic coordination 120–21
- tacit rewards 150–51, 153, 158, 160
- tánaiste (Irish deputy PM) 111, 121–2
- taoiseach (Irish PM) 111, 121–4
- 'technical managers' 101–2, 107
- temporal dimension of research 214
- temporary staff, civil servants as 185
- transactional relationships 149
- see also* exchanges
- tripartite relationships 26, 148
- Troika programme (2011–14) 114, 121–4
- Trudeau, Pierre (Canadian PM) 37, 41
- Trump, Donald (US President) 168–9
- trust 98–106
- cabinet systems 91–109
  - crisis of 86–7
  - data 93–6
  - definitions 93–4
  - importance of 95, 104–6
  - inhibitors 103–4
  - ministerial advisers 78, 84
  - party membership 77
  - perceptions of 98–9
  - relational contexts 205
  - sources of 95, 102–4
  - theories 93–6, 213
- see also* loyalty
- trustee bargains 93–4, 149
- Turnbull, Malcolm (Australian PM) 21
- United Kingdom (UK) case study 180–97, 211
- Van den Berg, Caspar 205
- variation patterns, advisers 210–11
- vertical coordination 115, 125
- village models 163–4, 167–8, 175–7, 206
- watchdogs 72, 75–8
- Weberian system 129, 132
- welfare policies 168
- Westacott, Jennifer 21
- Westminster-type systems
- Australia 16
  - Canada 36, 38
  - Ireland 111
  - ministerial advisers in 2, 4–5
  - New Zealand 145
  - partisan advisers 35

- similarity/variations 210–11
- United Kingdom 151
- White Papers, Denmark 53, 56, 59
- Whitehall, UK 180–97
- Whitlam's government, Australia 18–19
- Wilkes, Giles 189
- Wilson, Harold (UK PM) 185–6
- Wilson, Paul 45–7
- women 166
  - see also* gender issues
- 'workers' *see* 'technical managers'
- Yong, Ben 152, 187–8