ÉCOLE NATIONALE D'ADMINISTRATION PUBLIQUE

RESEARCH SYNTHESIS ON RED TAPE

PAR

LEONARDO L. SA

MARS 2017

Research synthesis on red tape

Summary

Introduction

Red tape is decried as a nuisance to citizens, a burden to bureaucrats and a drag on businesses' performance (Gore [1993] 2017, 515; Wilson 2000, ix; OECD 2007, 9). Governments of countries as diverse as Brazil, Canada or Croatia have implemented reforms aiming to cut red tape (Fredriksson 2014, 266; Government of Canada 2010; Jacobs 2005). International consultants offer their expertise in red tape reduction to countries (Jacobs, Cordova & Associates 2014) whilst business associations create campaigns to raise awareness on the subject (CFIB 2017). Despite it being an old problem, red tape remains a societal hindrance and there seems to be no easy way to deal with it.

But why is it so difficult to parry red tape? Political scientist Herbert Kaufman noted that red tape is not created for the sake of adding burdens to the people who must comply with rules and procedures. Red tape would be usually created as an answer to someone's needs (Kaufman [1977] 2015, 25). Rules and procedures that are viewed as senseless by some may be someone else's "sacred protection" (Kaufman [1977] 2015, 50). He argued that the more a society is concerned about the rights of individuals, the more administrative procedures are required (Kaufman [1977] 2015, 38). Late professor James Q. Wilson arrived at a similar conclusion. He suggested that "no rules can be promulgated that tells you when promulgating rules is a good idea" (2000, 344). Hence avoiding red tape can be a challenging task. Red tape creates negative impacts on society, but circumventing regulations may create further negative impacts.

My aim in this article is to provide an overview of the empirical research on red tape. As late philosopher of science Karl Popper noted, social science is valuable if it addresses practical problems of our time ([1945a] 1985, 376). Therefore I will attempt to analyze to what extent research on red tape has done so.

Origins of red tape research

Red tape is a relatively new concept in the academic study of public administration. The first attempt to use it in research is attributed to Bruce Buchanan (1975), who compared the level of perceived red tape between managers working for public organizations and managers working for private organizations (Pandey and Scott 2002, 556).

In 1977, Herbert Kaufman published a book that later became the most cited scholarly work on the subject (Bozeman and Feeney [2011] 2015, 153): *Red Tape: Its Origins, Uses and Abuses*. Kaufman was the first to propose a theory aiming to explain the origins of red tape, outlining the relationship between external control of public organizations and red tape (Stazyk, Pandey, and Wright 2011, 608).

The value of Kaufman's pioneering work notwithstanding, the first attempt to develop a comprehensive theory on the matter is attributed to Barry Bozeman (2000), thanks to his book *Bureaucracy and Red Tape* (Borry 2015, 997). Bozeman's work provided a number of concepts regarding red tape that could be used to construct measurable variables in academic research. His work was such a milestone in the study of red tape that research can be classified as pre-Bozeman and post-Bozeman (Pandey and Marlowe 2015, 231).

The common understanding of red tape concepts that followed Bozeman's book made possible the development of research on the matter. Hence there was a substantial increase on academic research since *Bureaucracy and Red Tape* was published (Davis and Pink-Harper 2016, 183). Drawing on Bozeman's earlier work, Bozeman and Feeney presented a thorough review of research on red tape up to 2011. They traced more than 100 articles published on the matter ([2011] 2015, 125).

Definitions of red tape

As in many social science concepts (Gerring 2012, 738), there is no single, universally accepted definition of red tape. In popular use, red tape is associated to excessive amount of paperwork, incomprehensible regulations, unfair rules or slow bureaucratic behavior (Bozeman and Feeney [2011] 2015, 3). Writer Charles Dickens used the term red tape to describe "how a government department found ways not do something" (Maheshwari 2002).

In scholarly literature, the first studies on the matter used a rather vague concept of red tape. Dwight Waldo would define it as "the cult of administrative procedure" (Maheshwari 2002). In similar vein, Buchanan related red tape to "a ponderous, often ineffective administrative style" (Buchanan 1975, 424).

Many authors have stated that Kaufman did not explicitly provide a definition of red tape in his book (Bozeman 2000, 7; Moynihan and Herd 2010, 657; Borry 2016, 574). Such authors may have failed to notice that Kaufman did use a definition of red tape all through his book, although he has only provided this definition implicitly. For him, red tape refers to two phenomena: (1) pointless constraints applied by the government, or (2) government actions that are unnecessarily slow (Kaufman 1977, 5, 19). In his foreword of the 2015 edition of Kaufman's book, Philip Howard summarizes Kaufman's stance on red tape as "senseless rules and procedures" (Kaufman [1977] 2015, vii). In this regard, the definition of red tape would be more focused on rules and procedures than on an administrative cult or an administrative style, as Waldo and Buchanan suggested.

As mentioned above, Bozeman strived to provide a definition of red tape that could be appropriated by other researchers. Following Kaufman's first steps, he defined red tape as "rules, regulations, and procedures that remain in force and entail a compliance burden but do not advance the legitimate purpose the rules were intended to serve" (Bozeman 2000, 12). Red tape would then be explicitly associated with rules and procedures, at least in public administration research.

Another important step in the scholarly definition of red tape was the introduction of Pandey and Kingsley's (2000) definition. Aiming to provide a concept that would be easy to measure, they defined red tape as "impressions on the part of managers that formalization (in the form of burdensome rules and procedures) is detrimental to the organization" (2000, 782). Pandey and Kingsley (2000, 779) draw on Kaufman's (1977, 5) take on red tape as a perception of constraints, instead of an objective measure of reasonableness, which would be impossible to calculate. However, Pandey and Kingsley promoted a displacement of the notion of red tape from a concept based on real rules and procedures to a concept based on impressions of rules and procedures. Such displacement turned the concept of red tape dependent only on perceptions (Pandey and Scott 2002, 565). Like Bozeman's, this concept became very popular amongst scholars. Most of the research on red tape produced in the last fifteen years seem to be based on Pandey and Kingsley's (2000) definition or on Bozemans's (2000) definition.

In their 2011 book, Bozeman and Feeney introduced additional theoretical concepts of red tape, providing yet more workable definitions for research purposes. This set of definitions would be adaptable to different research approaches. Thus they presented, for instance, *stakeholder red tape* as "rules that remain in force and entail a compliance burden for the organization but make no contribution to objectives valued by a focal stakeholder" ([2011] 2015, 44) and *multi-dimensional red tape* as "rules that remain in force and entail a compliance burden for the organization or its stakeholders, but that are ineffective with respect to at least some of the organization's or the stakeholders' objectives for the rules" ([2011] 2015, 46). With these concepts, Bozeman and Feeney underline that rules that are red tape for some may not be red tape for others, corroborating Kaufman's take on the matter.

Criticism on red tape research

Based on red tape as perception, many authors have addressed factors that may cause red tape or may be an effect of it, ranging from work alienation amongst bureaucrats to citizen satisfaction with public services (Borry 2016, 516). However, some scholars have questioned the validity and the usefulness of such studies. I review some of this criticism below.

Harvard Professor Steven Kelman, for instance, contends that some studies on red tape lack sound evidence and method. He argues that way too often such studies relate self-reported measures of red tape with some other aspect of the organization's performance, which would lead to a common-method bias (Kelman 2008, 43–44, 50–51).

Based on a single article which he deems representative of red tape research, Professor Larry Luton criticizes the use of statistical analysis on subjective measures like perception of red tape. He argues that studies of this type cannot claim to measure objective reality (2007, 532–33). Luton also contends that much of the empirical research on red tape derives from the same data set, and that for this reason these studies fail to build a body of knowledge (2007, 534).

Bozeman and Feeney dismiss Luton's critique by categorizing it as postmodern. They state that postmodernist researchers have deep suspicion on quantitative research and that postmodernist approaches are not particularly relevant to the study of public administration ([2011] 2015, 146–47). Nevertheless, Bozeman and Feeney do criticize the overreliance of scholars on surveys in what concerns red tape research ([2011] 2015, 153). According to them, what is lacking in such studies are reliability and validity tests which would bring more objectivity to red tape research ([2011] 2015, 100).

Finally, Professors Donald Moynihan and Pamela Herd also criticize the focus on managerial perception in most of red tape research. They argue that red tape research should instead focus on the effects of red tape on citizens, which they consider the most important question on the matter (Moynihan and Herd 2010, 657).

Purpose of this study

The last comprehensive review of red tape research was published in 2011 (Bozeman and Feeney [2011] 2015). The flaws of a substantial amount of empirical research on red tape that I presented above point to the need of an updated review of the literature on the matter. This review could disclose whether there was an evolution in research since these flaws were unveiled, or whether the criticism was unwarranted.

I employ the concept of phronetic research, proposed by Bent Flyvbjerg, to carry out this review. Flyvbjerg argues that social science researchers should answer the following questions concerning their subject of research: “Where are we going? Is this desirable? What should be done?” (2001, 60). This practical view of social science is shared by other scholars working in a range of fields, from policy evaluation to international relations (Czarniawska 1999, 9; Brown 2013, 494; Côté and Lorange-Millette 2016, 43). Moreover, it is in line with Popper’s propositions concerning the value of social sciences, as mentioned in the beginning of this article. Appling Flyvbjerg’s questions to red tape research, my objective is to answer the following research questions: (1) What is the current situation of empirical research on red tape? (2) Is this situation desirable? (3) What should researchers be doing concerning empirical red tape research?

Conceptual Framework

The criticism reviewed above shows that a number of problems of red tape research is probably linked to questionable methods applied on incoherent ontology. Indeed, Bozeman and Feeney argue that it is important to study the ontology of red tape, because “the method by which red tape is conceived and discussed plays an important role in how it is measured, assessed, and addressed” ([2011] 2015, 80). Following Bozeman and Feeney’s argument, I try to answer the three research questions giving a special attention to researchers’ ontology and its implications. To this end, I will employ the concept of methodological coherence proposed by Furlong and Marsh (2010) and the concept of scholasticism proposed by Frank Ramsey (in Popper [1945b] 1985). I discuss these concepts in the following paragraphs.

Methodological coherence

Professors Paul Furlong and David Marsh provided a simple conception of the contested relationship between ontology, epistemology and methodology (2010, 186), a conception that was then appropriated by other scholars, such as Dan O'Meara (2010, 52). According to them, researchers espousing a foundationalist (objective) ontology see their object of study as an entity that is independent from the observer. The causal relationships between social phenomena would not depend on anyone's understanding of them (Furlong and Marsch 2010, 190–91). Such a view implies that social science is analogous to natural science and thus quantitative methods are the most appropriate in a research based on a foundationalist ontology (Furlong and Marsch 2010, 194).

Researchers espousing an anti-foundationalist (constructivist) ontology, on the other hand, would see the relationships between social phenomena as dependent on the observer's understanding of them (Furlong and Marsch 2010, 191). Under this view, reality cannot be discovered, but rather constructed by the actors interpreting phenomena, and these interpretations depend on the actors' values (Furlong and Marsch 2010, 190). Such view implies that there is no objective truth and that the use of quantitative methods would be misleading. Hence researchers working under an anti-foundationalist ontology would be better off using qualitative methods (Furlong and Marsch 2010, 200). This reasoning echoes the views of other scholars, such as Fortin (2010, 32), or Julius Friend and James Feibleman. In their book *The Unlimited Community: A Study of the possibility of Social Science*, Friend and Feibleman argue that values are associated with individual minds and experiences. Hence values cannot be considered mathematically, they are not part of the objective structure of the universe (Selincourt 1936). In sum, quantitative methods would be appropriate for a foundationalist ontology, whereas an anti-foundationalist ontology should command qualitative methods (Furlong and Marsch 2010, 200).

Scholasticism

Philosophers of science have dedicated a great amount of work to the study of the ontology of objects and phenomena. A useful concept on this point is the concept of scholasticism. In popular use, scholasticism refers to things that are related to school and education. In science, scholasticism may be seen as the reference of specialists primary to themselves. The findings of this type of research would be of little interest to society (Mead 2010, 457, 460). Late philosopher Frank Ramsey, however, proposed a different take on scholasticism. He defined scholasticism as "treating what is vague as if it were precise" (in Popper [1945b] 1985, 87), which would be a threat to the validity of scientific discoveries. Ramsey's view on scholasticism is shared by a number of philosophers of science. Karl Popper, for instance, argued that objective views of the world (seeing reality as precise) should not be mixed with subjective views (seeing reality as vague, or subject-dependent) ([1960] 1985, 187). He contended that scientists that do not keep in touch with reality are likely to lapse into scholasticism ([1945a] 1985, 377).

Late philosopher of science Paul Feyerabend, who was known for his disagreements with Popper's views, also saw scholasticism as a problem. He contended that objective reality and subjective perceptions are incommensurable, since no logical relationship can be established between them. Hence they should not be used simultaneously in a research ([1975] 1979, 253). This view is shared by a number of scholars in social sciences (Mills 1967, 57; Chia 2003, 88). In sum, when data is subjective, researchers can only arrive at conclusions that are also subjective, and they should acknowledge such subjectivity in their studies (Hatch and Yanow 2003, 70–71).

Following these views, I analyze the articles in this literature review addressing the question of coherence between ontology and methodology and the question of scholasticism, as defined by Ramsey.

Methods used in this study

To assess the current situation of empirical research on red tape, I employ a research synthesis. As proposed by Professor Harris Cooper, research syntheses "focus on empirical research findings and have the goal of integrating past research by drawing overall conclusions" (2017, 7). Based on this integration, researchers can direct future work towards information that has not been treated before, or that has been poorly treated (Cooper 2017, 7).

Research syntheses may be carried out for a number of purposes (Hart 1998, 27; Fink 2005, 41; Cooper 2017, 5). Three purposes are related to my research questions. First, "[t]o describe and explain current knowledge" (Fink 2005, 41), which is related to my research question concerning the current situation of empirical research on red tape. Second, "to criticize previously scholarly works" (Cooper 2017, 5), which is related to my research question concerning the desirability of the current situation. Third, to "distinguish what has been done from what needs to be done" (Hart 1998, 27), which is related to my research question concerning what researchers should be doing.

A research synthesis encompasses two main activities: the selection of documents and the evaluation of the selected documents (Hart 1998, 13). Below, I describe how I proceeded these activities in this research synthesis.

Selection of documents

Bozeman's 2001 book *Bureaucracy and Red Tape* set the basis for scholarly research on red tape. Therefore my first criterion is to include works that were published from 2001 on. This filter should improve the likelihood that these works share a common base of scholarly knowledge on the subject. The second criterion is that these works were published in scholarly journals. These journals are supposed to assure standards of quality, since the articles would only be published after a strict peer review. Moreover, interesting results are more likely to appear in journals then in other quality-controlled channels, like professional conference paper presentations (Cooper 2017, 78).

Bozeman and Feeney published a review of the red tape literature in 2011. The authors claim to have analyzed more than 100 studies, and they present their conclusions in their book *Rules and Red Tape*. Therefore the first source of data for my review are the studies mentioned in *Rules and Red Tape*, from which I collected the texts that were published between 2001 and 2010 in academic journals. Using this criterion I selected 27 studies. I did not include studies like Pandey and Moynihan (2006), or Hicklin and Walker (2006), because they were not published in academic journals.

For the period between 2010 and 2016, I searched three databases on management: Sage Journals Online, EBSCO Business Source and ABI/INFORM Collection. I overlapped the year 2010 to make sure no study would be left behind. The criteria for each database is presented on Table 1.

Database	Criteria	Results yelded
Sage Journals Online	Period: 20100101-20161231 Keyword: red tape	10
EBSCO Business Source	Period: 20100101-20161231 Author keyword: red tape Academic journals only	16
ABI/INFORM Collection	Period: 20100101-20161231 In abstract: red tape Academic journals only	121

Table 1: Criteria for selection of studies

I applied two additional criteria on the set of texts gathered from the sources (*Rules and Red Tape* and databases) mentioned above. First, the authors should define (or use a pre-existing definition of) red tape, because one of my concerns is their ontology. Second, red tape should be assessed empirically, since my focus is on empirical research. Therefore I did not include studies like Fredriksson (2014) and Jung and Kim (2014), which are not based on empirical data, but on econometric modelling.

Evaluation of selected documents

For evaluating the documents, I employed content analysis, which is "the process of organising information into categories related to the central questions of research" (Bowen 2009, 32). I summarized or coded the categories found in the selected documents based on their content and how they are related to my research questions.

To address the first research question, I proceeded a structured content analysis, in which categories are pre-determined (Fortin 2010, 458). I summarized the following descriptive categories: objectives, definition of red tape and findings. I also coded the following descriptive categories: publication title, year, main theme, field of study, definition of red tape, unit of analysis, level of analysis, measure, source of data, method of analysis, red tape as cause or as effect, and other variable. These two groups of categories are intended to provide the main features of the selected studies (Hart 1998, 48–49). The category red tape as cause or as effect is used to identify if the concept was used as a change variable or as an outcome variable (Kumar 1996, 51). The category other variable is used to identify which other variable is related to red tape in each study.

To answer the second research question, I coded inferential categories (Fortin 2010, 463) drawn from the concepts related to ontological coherence mentioned above: coherence between measure and ontology, coherence between measure and source of data, and coherence between measure and findings. Additionally, I identified the benefits for society mentioned by the authors in their studies. I draw the answer to the third research question from the analysis of the preceding ones.

Current situation

Publication outlets

Acronym	Publication Title	Total
JPART	Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory	9
PAR	Public Administration Review	5
AS	Administration & Society	4
ARPA	The American Review of Public Administration	4
PA	Public Administration	4
RPPA	Review of Public Personnel Administration	3
IPMJ	International Public Management Journal	3
PPMR	Public Performance & Management Review	2
WD	World Development	1
EL	Economics Letters	1
IJHRM	The International Journal of Human Resource Management	1
IJPE	European Journal of Political Economy	1
IJPPM	International Journal of Productivity and Performance Management	1
PAQ	Public Administration Quarterly	1
RG	Regulation & Governance	1
PSJ	Policy Studies Journal	1
PSP	Public Service Performance	1
WTR	World Trade Review	1
PCE	Post-Communist Economies	1
PMR	Public Management Review	1
PP	Policy and Politics	1
JAE	Journal of Asian Economics	1
Total		48

Table 2: Publication outlets

Out of the 174 studies initially selected, I identified 48 studies corresponding to my research criteria. I provide a succinct description of them in the Appendix. These studies were published by 22 academic journals, listed in Table 2. More than half of all articles were published by only five journals (JPART, PAR, ARPA, AS and PA), all of them dedicated to public administration. It is worth noting that there is only one study published by the Journal of Public Procurement in which red tape is indexed as a subject (Prier and Mccue 2009). Nevertheless, this study was not included in my analysis because it is not an empirical study and its authors do not provide a definition of red tape. The absence of red tape in this journal is striking, since public procurement is seen as a field prone to red tape (Wilson 2000, 121).

Publications during the period

The number of published studies which adhere to my research criteria has not changed much throughout the period 2001-2015. In 2016 there was a considerable increase in this number, as shown in Figure 1.

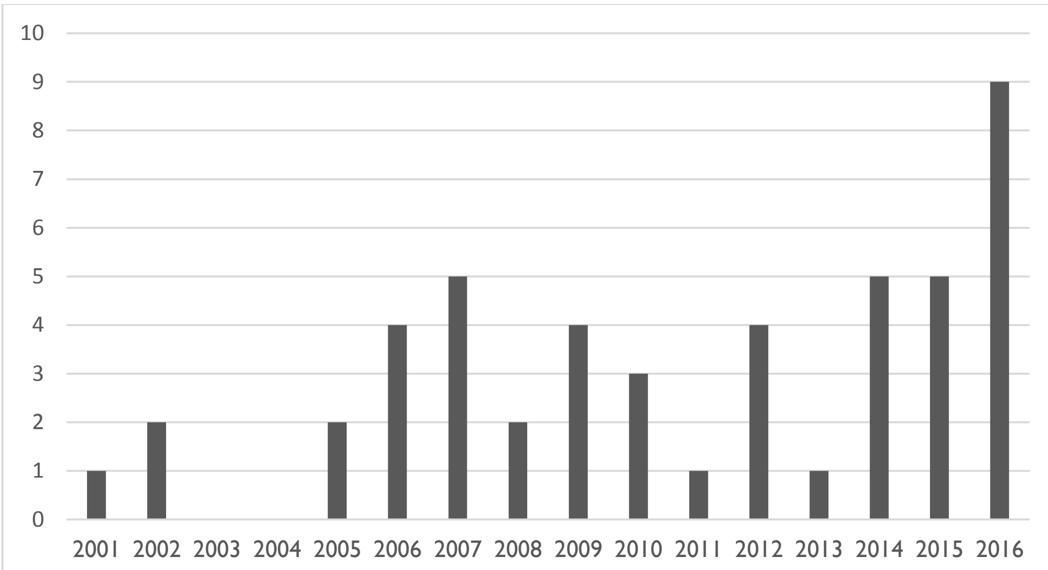

Figure 1: Number of publications, 2001-2016

Principal themes

By analyzing the authors' stated objectives, I identified eight themes that are associated to red tape research, as shown in Figure 2. These themes and the respective studies are:

1. Personal attitudes and attributes, including subjects like public service motivation and work alienation (Pandey and Welch 2005; Scott and Pandey 2005; Pandey and Rainey 2006; DeHart-Davis 2007; DeHart-Davis and Pandey 2005; Stazyk, Pandey, and Wright 2011; Park and Rainey 2012; Davis and Stazyk 2014; Yousaf, Zafar, and Abi Ellahi 2014; Quratulain and Khan 2015; Davis and Pink-Harper 2016);

2. Performance, including public organization effectiveness and survival of firms (Pandey and Garnett 2006; Pandey and Moynihan 2006; Pandey, Coursey, and Moynihan 2007; Brewer and Walker 2009; Walker and Brewer 2009b; Kaufmann and Feeney 2014; Zaki 2014; Jong and Witteloostuijn 2015; Amici et al. 2016);

3. Organizational characteristics, including subjects like hierarchy and differences between public and private contexts (DeHart-Davis and Bozeman 2001; G. Chen and Williams 2007; Walker and Brewer 2008; Feeney and Bozeman 2009; Walker and

Brewer 2009a; Brewer and Walker 2010; Feeney and Rainey 2010; C.-A. Chen 2012b; C.-A. Chen 2012a);

4. Concept and measurement, including works dedicated to the refinement of concepts and their operationalization (Pandey and Scott 2002; Coursey and Pandey 2007; Kaufmann and Feeney 2012; Pandey and Marlowe 2015; Borry 2016; Loon et al. 2016);

5. Political choice and rule making, including rule-making process and political support to organizations (Yang and Pandey 2008; Bellettini, Berti Ceroni, and Prarolo 2013; Lodge and Wegrich 2015; Šimić Banović 2015; Bozeman and Anderson 2014; Moynihan, Herd, and Ribgy 2016);

6. Citizens' rights, dealing with the use of red tape to reduce rights (Brodkin and Majmundar 2010; Saldívar 2015; Tummers et al. 2016);

7. Corruption, either caused by red tape or resulting in red tape (Duvanova 2014; Soans and Abe 2016);

8. Innovation, dealing with its adoption and implementation (Moon and Bretschneider 2002; Welch and Pandey 2006).

The most common themes are *personal attitudes and attributes*, *performance*, and *organizational characteristics*. These three themes correspond to 58% of the studies analyzed. In only three studies researchers were concerned with citizens' rights. This low number echoes Moynihan and Herd's (2010) assertion that researchers working on red tape have given little attention to its effects on citizens.

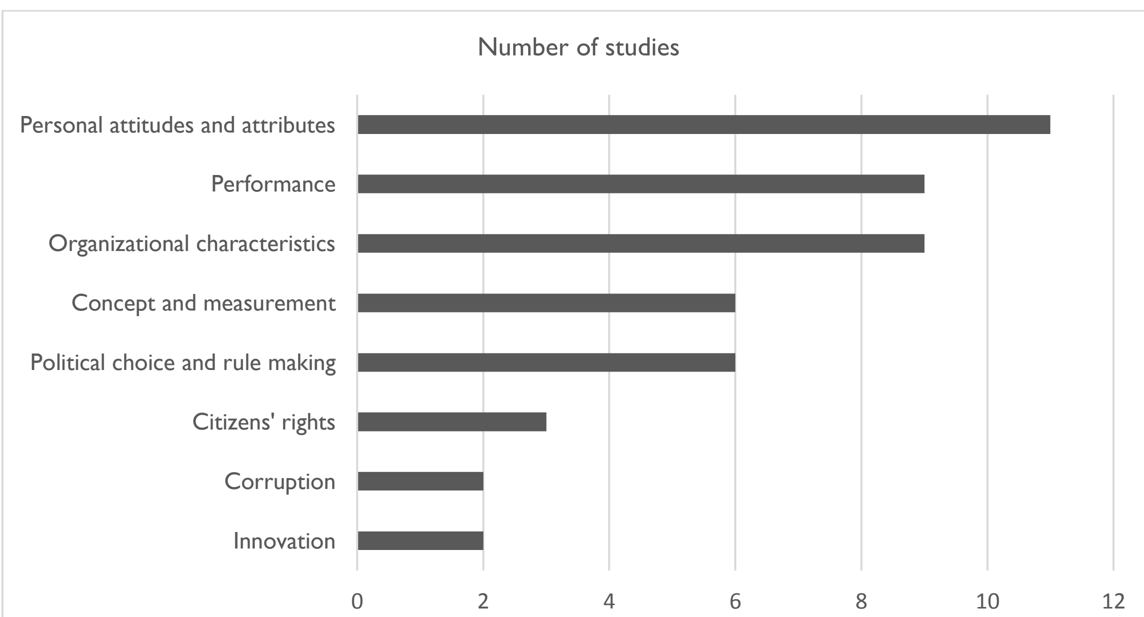

Figure 2: Number of publications by themes

Definitions

I identified three types of definitions of red tape in the studies analyzed. In Table 3 I show the number of studies using each type, as well as the field of knowledge from which these studies come. In most of the studies analyzed (35), their authors propose or adopt a definition based on Bozeman's definition of red tape (Bozeman 2000, 12). This figure shows that Bozeman's ideas on the matter are perhaps the most influential. Some scholars that used this type of definition are, for instance, Scott and Pandey, who assess red tape as "burdensome administrative rules and procedures" (2002, 570), and Saldivar, for whom red tape refers to "rules that present an unjustified cost and burden that are systematically and disproportionately experienced by disadvantaged groups" (2015, 60). In sum, for the authors of these articles, red tape are rules that are burdensome and useless, reflecting a seemingly objective view of red tape.

In seven articles red tape is defined as rules that are burdensome, but not necessarily useless. The use of this definition corroborates Bozeman and Feeney's observation that, for some scholars, red tape is used as a synonym for cumbersome rules ([2011] 2015, 80). One example of these is Zaki, who defines red tape as "administrative barriers (…) related to product shipment from one country to another" (2014, 104). None of these articles comes from the field of public administration. Hence it seems that Bozeman's definition, albeit influential, has had limited impact outside public administration. These authors also espouse an objective view of red tape.

In six articles red tape is defined as perceptions that rules are burdensome and useless. This definition draws on the one proposed by Pandey and Kingsley, discussed on page 2. For instance, Borry states that "[i]n this study, red tape is considered a latent, unobservable phenomenon because it is reflective of perceptions about rules" (2016, 581), whilst Loon et al. "define red tape as rules that employees perceive as burdensome and not helpful" (2016, 663). These authors consider red tape as subject-dependent, and therefore they view red tape as subjective.

Definition	Economy and business	Political economy	Political science	Public administration	Total
Rules that are burdensome	4	2	1		7
Rules that are both burdensome and useless	1	1	2	31	35
Perceptions that rules are burdensome and useless			1	5	6
Total	5	3	4	36	48

Table 3: Definitions and fields of knowledge

Level of analysis

Raadschelders (2013, 52) argues that the study of public administration straddles at least three levels of analysis: individual, group and society. Following this proposition, I identified upon which units of analysis the concept of red tape was applied in the literature and their respective level of analysis (Table 4). In most of the articles, red tape was assessed at the individual level. Amongst this category, bureaucrats are the most common unit of analysis. Seven studies focused on the level of analysis corresponding to group. In all of these, the unit used was businesses (private firms). Only one study focused on the level of society. This study used a measure of red tape across a number of countries.

Level	Units of analysis	Total
1 - Individual	Bureaucrats and researchers	1
	Bureaucrats and private managers	1
	Bureaucrats and private consultants	1
	Bureaucrats and non-profit managers	3
	Citizens	6
	Bureaucrats	28
2 - Group	Businesses	7
3 - Society	Countries	1
Total		48

Table 4: Levels and units of analysis

Measurement

Red tape was assessed by means of nine different measures, displayed on Table 5. The most common measure is, by far, perceived red tape, which was used in 81% of the studies. In half of these studies, perceived red tape was used as an independent variable.

Measure	Dependent variable	Independent and dependent variable	Independent variable	None	Total
Perceived red tape	13	6	19	1	39
Perceived time spent to comply with rules			2		2
Support or opposition to proposed reforms		1			1
Quantity and growth of rules	1				1

Measure	Dependent variable	Independent and dependent variable	Independent variable	None	Total
Level of administrative burden	1				1
Survival rate of firms			1		1
Mention of procedural responses			1		1
Index of bureaucratic quality produced by a third party			1		1
Cost of transport			1		1
Total	15	7	25	1	48

Table 5: Measures and types of variables

Source of data

I identified nine sources of data, as shown in Table 6. The most common source of data are surveys (73%). In only two studies the content of rules was used as a primary source of data (Bozeman and Anderson 2014; Moynihan, Herd, and Ribgy 2016).

Source of data	Total	%
Survey	35	73%
Interviews	2	4%
Administrative data	2	4%
Content of formalized rules	2	4%
Interviews and survey	2	4%
Experiment	2	4%
Secondary data	1	2%
Anchoring vignettes	1	2%
Internet messages	1	2%
Total	48	100%

Table 6: Sources of data

I also identified which source of data was used for the different measures, as well as the respective method of analysis (Table 7). Surveys were used to assess three measures: (1) perceived red tape in 32 studies; (2) perceived time spent to comply with rules in two studies; and (3) number of mentions of procedural responses in one study. Perceived red tape and perceived time spent to comply with rules were both used as subjective measures in those studies. This means that authors have drawn conclusions from subjective measures assessed by means of surveys in 34 studies (71% of the studies).

Measure	Source of data	Method of analysis	Number of studies
Cost of transport	Administrative data	Statistical	1
Index of bureaucratic quality produced by a third party	Secondary data	Statistical	1
Level of administrative burden	Content of formalized rules	Content analysis	1
Mention of procedural responses	Survey	Statistical	1
Perceived red tape	Survey	Statistical	32
	Interviews and survey	Statistical and content analysis	2
	Interviews	Content analysis	2
	Experiment	Statistical	2
	Anchoring vignettes	Statistical	1
Perceived time spent to comply with rules	Survey	Statistical	2
Quantity and growth of rules	Content of formalized rules	Content analysis	1
Support or opposition to proposed reforms	Internet messages	Content analysis	1
Survival rate of firms	Administrative data	Statistical	1
Total			48

Table 7: Measures, sources and methods of analysis

Method of analysis

Regarding the methods of analysis alone, authors analysed the data by means of statistical methods in 86% of the studies. Content analysis is the second most frequent method of analysis (10%), followed by mixed methods (4%), as seen in Table 8.

Method of analysis	Total	%
Statistical	41	86%
Content analysis	5	10%
Statistical and content analysis	2	4%
Total	48	100%

Table 8: Methods of analysis

Cause or effect

In 47 studies[1], red tape is analysed as a cause, as an effect or as both cause and effect of another variable. These figures are broken down in Table 9. In thirteen studies, red

[1] Pandey and Marlowe (2015) was not included in this analysis because their study is limited to testing a measurement tool.

tape was analyzed as a cause of some factor related to economic or organizational performance (ineffectiveness, inefficiency, low communication performance, low performance, low survival of firms, low trade and reduced competition). Red tape as a cause of low performance is the relationship that has been studied most frequently (eight occurrences).

Variable	**Red tape as cause**	**Red tape as cause and effect**	**Red tape as effect**	**Total**
Administrative delay; work alienation		1		1
Administrative exclusion	1			1
Bad work attitudes	1			1
Bureaucratic structure	1			1
Citizen dissatisfaction	1			1
Corruption	1	1		2
Difficulty to implement changes			1	1
External control; low affective commitment		1		1
Formalization			1	1
Goal ambiguity	1			1
Highly professionalized services			1	1
Ineffectiveness	1			1
Intranet implementation		1		1
IT innovation		1		1
Knowledge of rule-breaking	1			1
Logical incrementalism			1	1
Low communication performance	1			1
Low motivation			1	1
Low performance	8			8
Low political support			1	1
Low PSM	1		1	2
Low survival of new firms	1			1
Low trade	1			1
Lower organizational levels			1	1
Manager's perception		1		1
Organizational disaster			1	1
Overcompliance with rules	1			1
Political choices			2	2
Public sector context			2	2
Reduced competition	1			1
Resigned satisfaction	1			1

Variable	Red tape as cause	Red tape as cause and effect	Red tape as effect	Total
Sector imprinting			1	1
Unbureaucratic personality	1			1
Work alienation	1			1
Perceived burden and inefficiency			1	1
Inefficiency; poor rule-making process		1		1
Total	**25**	**7**	**15**	**47**

Table 9: Cause or effect

Is this situation desirable?

For this analysis, I draw on the views of Furlong and Marsh concerning methodological coherence and on the concept of scholasticism. I discuss the application of these concepts in the paragraphs below. Later, I will discuss the benefits for society from these studies, as a way of addressing the question of the value of social science.

Methodological coherence and scholasticism

The definitions employed in the selected studies match the ontologies described by Furlong and Marsh. On one hand, there is a foundationalist ontology of red tape, under which red tape is defined as rules that are useless and/or burdensome. For authors espousing this view, red tape exists independently of our knowledge of it. As Bozeman and Feeney argue, red tape is not in the minds of bureaucrats, but are "a real phenomenon related to the burdens and bad outcomes of rules and procedures" ([2011] 2015, 128). On the other hand, there is an anti-foundationalist ontology, under which red tape is defined as perceptions that rules are burdensome or useless. As Pandey and Kingsley (2000, 782) propose, red tape refers to "impressions on the part of managers" that rules are burdensome and/or useless.

Considering Furlong and Marsh's arguments, there seems to be a mismatch between ontology and methods in the studies analyzed. Such mismatch is found in two instances: (1) incoherence between objective ontology and subjective measurement; and (2) incoherence between subjective measurement and sources of data. I will discuss these problems below.

First, in most of the studies, authors see red tape as an objective phenomena, as per the definition of red tape they provide. Nevertheless, the most common measure employed in these studies is perceived red tape, which is a subjective measure. More revealing yet, authors used measures that could be considered objective (independent of someone's interpretation) in only four studies. These measures were *mention of procedural responses* (Brodkin and Majmundar 2010), *cost of transport* (Zaki 2014), *survival rate of firms* (Amici et al. 2016) and *quantity and growth of rules* (Bozeman and Anderson 2014). In all other studies analyzed, authors used subjective measures, i.e., measures that depend on the observer's interpretation, whilst espousing an objective ontology of red tape.

Second, there is a problem in the relationship between subjective measures and source of data. Since authors assess red tape by means of perceived red tape in the majority of the studies, one would expect to find qualitative data in them. But quantitative data is used conspicuously in these studies. Surveys employing Likert scales were used in 73% of the studies. In only seven studies authors used qualitative data, in the form of interviews, content of rules and internet messages. Furthermore, the researchers used statistical analysis alone in 86% of the studies. Reflecting the nature of the data, interpretive methods were used in only seven studies. If quantitative methods may produce misleading information in such cases, as suggested by Furlong and Marsh, the findings from most of the studies may be based on unreliable methods.

Concerning the problem of scholasticism, I compared the type of measure used in the studies with findings researchers draw from these measures. As seen in the discussion on page 5, subjective data is not a good source for objective findings.

Many authors used a subjective measure, mostly perceived red tape, to draw objective findings. The use of a perceptual measure is not questionable per se. A problem arises when researchers draw findings that omit the subjective nature of their measure. Some examples of such findings are "higher levels of support (…) lead to lower levels of red tape" (G. Chen and Williams 2007, 432), or "red tape has a detrimental impact on performance" (Walker and Brewer 2009a, 439). Besides, the overreliance on perceptual measures may lead to questionable findings, since there is a "disconnect between scholarly and popular usage of the term" (Borry 2016, 589). Due to this disconnect, researchers should avoid relying on citizens' or bureaucrats' perceptions of red tape to arrive at objective findings based on scholarly concepts.

In short, drawing on the concepts above, I identified three inconsistencies in most of the studies: (1) Inconsistency between measure and ontology, (2) inconsistency between measure and source of data, (3) inconsistency between measure and findings. This information is shown in Table 10.

I found inconsistencies in 41 studies, which represents 85% of the texts reviewed. This figure points that criticism was warranted, and the current situation of research on red tape is not desirable.

It is worth noting that in 2011 Bozeman and Feeney already claimed that red tape research is too dependent on quantitative data and methods ([2011] 2015, 153, 171). They suggested that research should focus on real instances of red tape, instead of "generalized perceptions of red tape", and that more qualitative research on the matter would be beneficial (Bozeman and Feeney [2011] 2015, 142). This literature review shows that little has changed, their suggestion notwithstanding.

Study	Measure and ontology	Measure and data	Measure and findings
Amici et al 2016	C	C	C
Bellettini, Ceroni and Prarolo 2013	I	C	I
Borry 2016	I	C	C
Bozeman and Anderson 2014	C	C	C
Brewer and Walker 2009	I	I	I
Brewer and Walker 2010	I	I	I
Brodkin and Majmundar 2010	C	C	C
Chen 2012a	I	I	C
Chen 2012b	I	I	C
Chen and Williams 2007	I	I	I
Coursey and Pandey 2007	I	I	C
Davis and Pink-Harper 2016	I	I	C
Davis and Stazyk 2014	I	I	C
DeHart-Davis 2007	I	I	I
DeHart-Davis and Bozeman 2001	I	I	I
DeHart-Davis and Pandey 2005	C	I	C
Duvanova 2014	I	I	I
Feeney and Bozeman 2009	I	I	C
Feeney and Rainey 2010	I	I	C
Jong and Witteloostuijn 2015	I	I	I
Kaufmann and Feeney 2012	I	I	C
Kaufmann and Feeney 2014	I	I	C
Lodge and Wegrich 2015	C	C	C
Loon et al 2016	I	C	I
Moon and Bretschneider 2002	I	I	C
Moynihan, Herd, Ribgy 2016	C	C	C
Pandey and Garnett 2006	C	I	I
Pandey and Marlowe 2015	I	I	I
Pandey and Moynihan 2006	C	I	I
Pandey and Rainey 2006	I	I	I
Pandey and Scott 2002	I	I	I
Pandey and Welch 2005	I	I	C
Pandey, Coursey and Moynihan 2007	C	I	I
Park and Rainey 2012	I	I	C
Quratulain and Khan 2015	I	I	I
Saldivar 2015	I	C	C
Scott and Pandey 2005	C	I	C
Simic Banovic 2015	I	C	I
Soans and Abe 2016	I	I	I
Stazyk, Pandey and Wright 2011	I	I	I

Study	Measure and ontology	Measure and data	Measure and findings
Tummers et al 2016	I	I	I
Walker and Brewer 2008	I	I	C
Walker and Brewer 2009a	I	I	I
Walker and Brewer 2009b	I	I	I
Welch and Pandey 2006	I	I	I
Yang and Pandey 2008	I	I	C
Yousaf, Zafar and Abi Ellahi 2014	I	I	I
Zaki 2014	C	C	C
C = consistent, I = inconsistent			

Table 10: Analysis of methodological incoherence and scholasticism

Benefits for society

As shown above, in only six studies I could not identify inconsistencies (Brodkin and Majmundar 2010; Zaki 2014; Lodge and Wegrich 2015; Amici et al. 2016; Bozeman and Anderson 2014; Moynihan, Herd, and Ribgy 2016). So I investigated whether researchers addressed practical problems of our time by analyzing the benefits for society mentioned in these studies.

Brodkin and Majmudar analyzed the implementation of a federal welfare program in the United States. According to them, the Federal Government rewarded states that reduced the number of beneficiaries by means of this program. For this reason, state organizations responsible for the program created administrative burdens to reduce the number of persons who benefit from it (Brodkin and Majmundar 2010, 843). For the authors, there is administrative exclusion when persons who are eligible to a benefit do not claim it due to burdens put in place by the administration (2010, 821). They conclude that "[a]bsent countervailing incentives to assure access and administrative accountability, one would expect conditions to be ripe for administrative exclusion to become even more salient than in the period of this study" (2010, 844). Their study thus do provide a contribution to the understanding of how red tape, defined as useless administrative burdens, may be used to rig people's rights.

Zaki states that an important implication of his study is that "agreement on trade facilitation could be easily reached and put some flesh onto the bones of the Doha Development negotiations" (2014, 127). This argument does not seem to consider all the political pitfalls that endanger such negotiations. It is unlikely that his study alone will make agreement easily reached between all countries involved. Zaki also argues that "trade facilitation will (…) increase the economic efficiency of different countries because infrastructure, customs, and the business environment are enhanced" (2014, 128). However, there is no data in the study that supports this claim.

Lodge and Wegrich analysed a case of public consulting by means of crowdsourcing. The aim of this consultation was to generate ideas for scrapping red tape (2015, 44). They argue that "[i]t was not crowdsourcing that offered the legitimacy for widespread scrapping, but the political agenda within the coalition government that drove this process" (2015, 44). Crowdsourcing thus did not produce expected outcomes and it was a waste of time for participants and for the administration (2015, 42). While not providing knowledge directly related to red tape, this study may still be useful for policy-makers seeking to avoid wasting resources.

Amici et al. studied the relationship between red tape and survival rate of firms in Italy to conclude that reducing red tape costs of entry increased entry rate of firms (2016, 27). It is difficult to fathom how this conclusion can improve knowledge beyond common sense. However, they claim that the reform they studied affected only one type of firms (2016, 27). Therefore, if decision makers want to improve entry rate of other type of firms, they will know that their proposals will need to go further than those analysed by Amici et al.

Bozeman and Anderson analyzed a case of organizational disaster and concluded that an episode of organizational disaster may lead to the creation of red tape (2014, 17). The authors unveil the origins of red tape in a specific context and their findings are valuable to avoid the creation of red tape.

Moynihan, Herd and Ribgy analyzed the contents of rules regarding welfare and election policies in the United States and concluded that "rules are used as barriers to access services", affecting some groups more than others (2016, 667). Their conclusion corroborates Brodkin and Majmudar's conclusion. In this regard, both studies can be seen as advancements on red tape theory, since the social exclusion that can be caused by an increase in administrative burden, be it intentional or otherwise, had not been assessed before.

According to author Murray Davis, theories that merely confirms what is taken for granted are of little value (in Swedberg 2012, 37). In the set of six studies above, Zaki (2014) and Amici et al. (2016) propose very limited advancements in knowledge that is not common sense. The four remaining studies, however, do provide useful insights. The studies of Brodkin and Majmudar (2010) and of Moynihan, Herd and Ribgy (2016) unveil another question, though. If red tape is used consciously as a way to limit access to benefits, is it still red tape? If we consider red tape as rules that are burdensome and useless, such rules do not fit in the latter category, and therefore would not be red tape. In such cases, "administrative burden", as proposed by Moynihan, Herd and Harvey (2015, 45–46) might be a more appropriate concept.

What should researchers be doing?

As seen above, Bozeman and Feeney ([2011] 2015, 153) called for more red tape research that is not based on perceptions. Their suggestion sent a signal that something may be wrong with this research. Nevertheless, not many researchers ventured into other measures of red tape since then. My analysis using the concepts of methodological coherence and scholasticism shows that, in most of the selected studies, researchers mix perceptions with objective reality. The validity of their studies can be challenged on this base.

The huge number of studies based on perceptions of red tape unveils the difficulty in measuring this phenomenon. As Luton (2007, 533) demands, if red tape is measurable, what would be a unit of it? The use of perception does permit some sort of measurement. However, unlike motivation, for instance, red tape is not an inherent state of someone. Red tape is an external entity, and thus measuring people's perceptions is valid up to the point that our conclusions remain subjective. Otherwise, scholasticism sets in.

Forty years ago, Kaufman suggested that relevant research on red tape should focus on particular rules to get useful results (1977, 88). Yet, researchers have devoted too little attention to rules themselves and to their effects on citizens. It is telling that, in this review, researchers used the content of rules as a measurement of red tape in only two studies. The analysis of the six articles that I did not classify as inconsistent reveals that the ones that are most useful are case studies, focusing on certain aspects of red tape. Brodkin and Majmudar (2010), Bozeman and Anderson (2014), and Moynihan, Herd and Ribgy (2016) provide examples of coherent studies which offer useful knowledge and that are based on the analysis of the rules themselves or on the effect of rules on citizens.

Red tape may be viewed as rules that are not reasonable, meaning that they are useless and burdensome, as proposed by Bozeman (2000, 12), or meaning that they impinge an unfair administrative burden on a group of people, as proposed by Moynihan, Herd and Harvey (2015, 45–46). In both senses, the identification of such rules would be a contribution to society, to the extent that decision-makers would use this information to repeal them. Bozeman proposes a "red tape audit method", which is intended to determine which rules are not reasonable in the context of an organization (2000, 177). This method is based on stakeholders' perceptions of the impact and the outcomes of organizational rules. Hence the use of this method seems to aim at objectivity by means of subjective data, which can be seen as another case of scholasticism.

Yet, asking people about their perceptions may be appropriate if researchers use this information as clues for the investigation into red tape. To single out rules that are potentially not reasonable, researchers may employ questionnaires, which is a data collection method used in the majority of the selected studies. In this regard, researchers should ask respondents which rules they perceive as red tape. The results would give a hint on which rules are likely to lack reasonableness.

Researchers may also assess "rule space" (Adam, Knill, and Fernandez-i-Marin 2016, 9), a concept that measures the number of items in a rule as an indicator of rule complexity. Rule space can thus be a way to identify rules that are probably red tape.

Such methods will only provide an initial assessment of potentially troublesome rules. Researchers would need to dig deeper into the rules themselves to assess their reasonableness. One can think of the reasonableness of rules as range, from completely useless and burdensome to very useful and easy to comply with. However, levels of reasonableness would depend on the individuals concerned by the rule, as Feeney and Bozeman (2009, 711) proposed by means of the stakeholder red tape concept.

Given that reasonableness is subjective (Kaufman 1977, 5), qualitative methods would be more appropriate for assessing this feature of rules, as argued by Furlong and Marsh (2010). For instance, hermeneutics is bound to be a fruitful method in this assessment. Hermeneutics is an interpretation tool that expands the analysis of a text: it goes beyond its contents, incorporating the context in which the text was created and the context in which it is used (Prasad 2005, 35). This extended knowledge of a rule is likely to give new insights concerning the reasonableness of rules.

Researchers may also call on postmodern approaches to present their findings (Prasad 2005, 231). Postmodern approaches are fit for showing to practitioners what is not generally visible to them. Thus researchers may use postmodern approaches to show decision makers that some rules are not reasonable. For instance, artistic pastiche may be used to represent the level of burden impinged by a rule, or one can compare rules to other forms of expression. Organization theorist Barbara Czarniawska (1997) used the latter approach for comparing organizational texts with literary genres.

Conclusion

Research on red tape is haunted by incoherence. Researchers too often rely on perceptual measures of red tape, without considering whether these measures are coherent with the way they see red tape or coherent with the findings they draw from such measures.

It remains questionable whether red tape is something one can measure objectively. That said, three studies in this review – Brodkin and Majmudar (2010), Bozeman and Anderson (2014), and Moynihan, Herd and Ribgy (2016) – provide knowledge on red tape that is valuable for society. These studies are based on a foundationalist ontology and their measures are centered on the rules themselves or on the effect of rules on people.

Perception is not a measure that is hopelessly useless for the assessment of red tape. Perceptions can be used as a starting point for investigating red tape. Employed in this manner, they can provide an insight on what rules are not reasonable, guiding researchers towards problematic instances. Building on this knowledge, researchers may use qualitative information to assess the reasonableness of rules.

None of the studies in this review provided a coherent, anti-foundationalist ontology in which red tape would be treated as a subjective phenomenon. This is surprising, since many researchers acknowledge the subjective character of red tape (Pandey and Marlowe 2015, 217). Constructivist approaches are probably useful for assessing the effects of red tape on different people or on different organizations. Hermeneutics, for instance, could be used to assess whether a rule that was useful in the context in which it was created is still useful in the current context.

In sum, future research on red tape may be most beneficial for society if researchers use case study strategies applied on a rule or on a set of rules that are deemed not reasonable. Researchers should pay special attention to the coherence between their ontology and the methods they use, and avoid drawing objective conclusions from subjective data. Red tape may be unavoidable, but coherent research on the matter might be useful for avoiding it or at least reducing the speed of its growth.

References

Adam, Christian, Christoph Knill, and Xavier Fernandez-i-Marin. 2016. "Rule Growth and Government Effectiveness: Why It Takes the Capacity to Learn and Coordinate to Constrain Rule Growth." *Policy Sciences*, November. http://link.springer.com/10.1007/s11077-016-9265-x.

Amici, Monica, Silvia Giacomelli, Francesco Manaresi, and Marco Tonello. 2016. "Red Tape Reduction and Firm Entry: New Evidence from an Italian Reform." *Economics Letters*, 24–27.

Bellettini, Giorgio, Carlotta Berti Ceroni, and Giovanni Prarolo. 2013. "Political Persistence and Economic Growth." *European Journal of Political Economy* 31 (September): 165–79.

Borry, Erin L. 2015. "'Bureaucracy and Dissent' or 'The Ethics of Red Tape'? Linking Red Tape and Guerrilla Government." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 25 (3): 996–1002.

———. 2016. "A New Measure of Red Tape: Introducing the Three-Item Red Tape (TIRT) Scale." *International Public Management Journal* 19 (4): 573–93.

Bowen, Glenn A. 2009. "Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method." *Qualitative Research Journal* 9 (2): 27–40.

Bozeman, Barry. 2000. *Bureaucracy and Red Tape*. Upper Saddle River: Prentice-Hall.

Bozeman, Barry, and Derrick M Anderson. 2014. "Public Policy and the Origins of Bureaucratic Red Tape." *Administration & Society* 48 (6): 736–759.

Bozeman, Barry, and Mary K Feeney. (2011) 2015. *Rules and Red Tape: A Prism for Public Administration Theory and Research*. New York: Routledge.

Brewer, Gene, Alisa Hicklin, and Richard Walker. 2006. "Multi-Level Modelling Stakeholder Red Tape, Environmental Constraints, Management and Public Service Performance." In *Determinants of Performance in Public Organizations II*. Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong. http://hdl.handle.net/10722/93711.

Brewer, Gene, and Richard Walker. 2009. "The Impact of Red Tape on Governmental Performance: An Empirical Analysis." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 20 (1): 233–57.

———. 2010. "Explaining Variation in Perceptions of Red Tape: A Professionalism-Marketization Model." *Public Administration* 88 (2): 418–38.

Brodkin, Evelyn, and Malay Majmundar. 2010. "Administrative Exclusion: Organizations and the Hidden Costs of Welfare Claiming." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 20 (4): 827–48.

Brown, Chris. 2013. "The Poverty of Grand Theory." *European Journal of International Relations* 19 (3): 483–497.

Buchanan, Bruce. 1975. "Red Tape and the Service Ethic: Some Unexpected Differences between Public and Private Managers." *Administration & Society* 6 (4): 423–444.

CFIB, Canadian Federation of Independent Business. 2017. "Red Tape Awareness Week 2017." *Canadian Federation of Independent Business*. http://www.cfib-fcei.ca/english/article/6890-red-tape-awareness-week-2017.html.

Chen, Chung-An. 2012a. “Sector Imprinting: Exploring Its Impacts on Managers’ Perceived Formalized Personnel Rules, Perceived Red Tape, and Current Job Tenure.” *The American Review of Public Administration* 42 (3): 320–40.

———. 2012b. “Explaining the Difference of Work Attitudes between Public and Nonprofit Managers: The Views of Rule Constraints and Motivation Styles.” *The American Review of Public Administration* 42 (4): 437–60.

Chen, Greg, and Daniel W Williams. 2007. “How Political Support Influences Red Tape through Developmental Culture.” *Policy Studies Journal* 35 (3): 419–436.

Chia, Robert. 2003. “Organization Theory as a Postmodern Science.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Organization Theory*, edited by Haridimos Tsoukas and Christian Knudsen. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cooper, Harris. 2017. *Research Synthesis and Meta-Analysis*. 5th ed. Los Angeles: Sage.

Côté, Catherine, and Jonathan Lorange-Millette. 2016. “Les fondements de la connaissance.” In *Recherche sociale: de la problématique à la collecte des données*, edited by auteur Gauthier and Isabelle Bourgeois, 6th ed. Québec: Presses de l’Université du Québec.

Coursey, David, and Sanjay Pandey. 2007. “Content Domain, Measurement, and Validity of the Red Tape Concept.” *The American Review of Public Administration* 37 (3): 342–361.

Czarniawska, Barbara. 1997. *Narrating the Organization: Dramas of Institutional Identity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1999. *Writing Management: Organization Theory as a Literary Genre*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Davis, Randall S, and Stephanie A Pink-Harper. 2016. “Connecting Knowledge of Rule-Breaking and Perceived Red Tape: How Behavioral Attribution Influences Red Tape Perceptions.” *Public Performance & Management Review* 40 (1): 181–200.

Davis, Randall S, and Edmund C Stazyk. 2014. “Making Ends Meet: How Reinvention Reforms Complement Public Service Motivation.” *Public Administration* 92 (4): 919–36.

DeHart-Davis, Leisha. 2007. “The Unbureaucratic Personality.” *Public Administration Review* 67 (5): 892–903.

DeHart-Davis, Leisha, and Barry Bozeman. 2001. “Regulatory Compliance and Air Quality Permitting: Why Do Firms Overcomply?” *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 11 (4): 471–508.

DeHart-Davis, Leisha, and Sanjay Pandey. 2005. “Red Tape and Public Employees: Does Perceived Rule Dysfunction Alienate Managers?” *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 15 (1): 133–48.

Duvanova, Dinissa. 2014. “Economic Regulations, Red Tape, and Bureaucratic Corruption in Post-Communist Economies.” *World Development* 59: 298–312.

Feeney, Mary K, and Barry Bozeman. 2009. “Stakeholder Red Tape: Comparing Perceptions of Public Managers and Their Private Consultants.” *Public Administration Review* 69 (4): 710–726.

Feeney, Mary K, and Hal Rainey. 2010. “Personnel Flexibility and Red Tape in Public and Nonprofit Organizations: Distinctions Due to Institutional and Political Accountability.” *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 20 (4): 801–26.

Feyerabend, Paul. (1975) 1979. *Contre la Méthode. Esquisse d’une théorie anarchiste de la connaissance*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

Fink, Arlene. 2005. *Conducting Research Literature Reviews*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Flyvbjerg, Bent. (1958) 2001. *Making Social Science Matter. Why Social Inquiry Fails and How Can It Succeed Again*. Oxford: Cambridge University Press.

Fortin, Marie-Fabienne. 2010. *Fondements et étapes du processus de recherche: méthodes quantitatives et qualitatives*. 2nd ed. Montréal: Chenelière Éducation.

Fredriksson, Anders. 2014. “Bureaucracy Intermediaries, Corruption and Red Tape.” *Journal of Development Economics* 108 (May): 256–73.

Furlong, Paul, and David Marsch. 2010. “A Skin Not a Sweater: Ontology and Epistemology in Political Science.” In *Theory and Methods in Political Science*, edited by David Marsch and Gerry Stoker, 3rd ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gerring, John. 2012. “Mere Description.” *British Journal of Political Science* 42 (04): 721–46.

Gore, Al. (1993) 2017. “From Red Tape to Results: Creating a Government That Works Better and Costs Less.” In *Classics of Public Administration*, edited by Jay M Shafritz and Albert C Hyde, 8th ed. Boston: Cengage Learning.

Government of Canada. 2010. “Cutting Red Tape…freeing Business to Grow.” Home page. September 22. http://www.reduceredtape.gc.ca/index-eng.asp.

Hart, Chris. 1998. *Doing a Literature Review*. London: Sage Publications.

Hatch, Mary Jo, and Dvora Yanow. 2003. “Organization Theory as an Interpretive Science.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Organization Theory*, edited by Haridimos Tsoukas and Christian Knudsen. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jacobs, Cordova & Associates. 2014. “What Is the Regulatory Guillotine.” *JCA*. http://regulatoryreform.com/regulatory-guillotine/.

Jacobs, Scott. 2005. “The Regulatory Guillotine™ Strategy.” United States Agency for International Development. http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNADG614.pdf.

Jong, Gjalt de, and Arjen van Witteloostuijn. 2015. “Regulatory Red Tape and Private Firm Performance.” *Public Administration* 93 (1): 34–51.

Jung, Chan Su, and Seok Eun Kim. 2014. “Structure and Perceived Performance in Public Organizations.” *Public Management Review* 16 (5): 620–642.

Kaufman, Herbert. 1977. *Red Tape: Its Origins, Uses, and Abuses*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.

———. (1977) 2015. *Red Tape: Its Origins, Uses, and Abuses*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.

Kaufmann, Wesley, and Mary K Feeney. 2012. "Objective Formalization, Perceived Formalization and Perceived Red Tape: Sorting out Concepts." *Public Management Review* 14 (8): 1195–1214.

———. 2014. "Beyond the Rules: The Effect of Outcome Favourability on Red Tape Perceptions." *Public Administration* 92 (1): 178–91.

Kelman, Steven. 2008. "The 'Kennedy School School' of Research in Innovation in Government." In *Innovations in Government,* edited by Sandford Borins. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Kumar, Ranjit. 1996. *Research Methodology*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Lodge, Martin, and Kai Wegrich. 2015. "Crowdsourcing and Regulatory Reviews: A New Way of Challenging Red Tape in British Government?" *Regulation & Governance* 9 (1): 30–46.

Loon, Nina van, Peter L M Leisink, Eva Knies, and Gene Brewer. 2016. "Red Tape: Developing and Validating a New Job-Centered Measure." *Public Administration Review* 76 (4): 662–673.

Luton, Larry S. 2007. "Deconstructing Public Administration Empiricism." *Administration & Society* 39 (4): 527–44.

Maheshwari, Shriram. 2002. "Red Tape." *A Dictionary of Public Administration*. Hyderabad: Orient Longman.

Mead, Lawrence M. 2010. "Scholasticism in Political Science." *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (02): 453–64.

Mills, C. Wright. 1967. *The Sociological Imagination*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Moon, M Jae, and Stuart Bretschneider. 2002. "Does the Perception of Red Tape Constrain IT Innovativeness in Organizations? Unexpected Results from a Simultaneous Equation Model and Implications." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 12 (2): 273–291.

Moynihan, Donald, and Pamela Herd. 2010. "Red Tape and Democracy: How Rules Affect Citizenship Rights." *The American Review of Public Administration* 40 (6): 654–70.

Moynihan, Donald, Pamela Herd, and Hope Harvey. 2015. "Administrative Burden: Learning, Psychological, and Compliance Costs in Citizen-State Interactions." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 25 (1): 43–69.

Moynihan, Donald, Pamela Herd, and Elizabeth Ribgy. 2016. "Policymaking by Other Means." *Administration & Society* 48 (4): 497–524.

OECD. 2007. *Cutting Red Tape. Comparing Administrative Burdens across Countries*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

O'Meara, Dan. 2010. "La méthodologie." In *Théories des relations internationales: contestations et résistances*, edited by Alex Macleod and Dan O'Meara, 2nd ed. Outremont: Athéna éditions.

Pandey, Sanjay, David H. Coursey, and Donald Moynihan. 2007. "Organizational Effectiveness and Bureaucratic Red Tape: A Multimethod Study." *Public Performance & Management Review* 30 (3): 398–425.

Pandey, Sanjay, and James Garnett. 2006. "Exploring Public Sector Communication Performance: Testing a Model and Drawing Implications." *Public Administration Review* 66 (1): 37–51.

Pandey, Sanjay, and Gordon Kingsley. 2000. "Examining Red Tape in Public and Private Organizations: Alternative Explanations from a Social Psychological Model." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 10 (4): 779–799.

Pandey, Sanjay, and Justin Marlowe. 2015. "Assessing Survey-Based Measurement of Personnel Red Tape with Anchoring Vignettes." *Review of Public Personnel Administration* 35 (3): 215–237.

Pandey, Sanjay, and Donald Moynihan. 2006. "Bureaucratic Red Tape and Organizational Performance: Testing the Moderating Role of Culture and Political Support." In *Public Service Performance*, edited by George Boyne, Kenneth Meier, Laurence O'Toole, and Richard Walker. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pandey, Sanjay, and Hal Rainey. 2006. "Public Managers' Perceptions of Organizational Goal Ambiguity: Analyzing Alternative Models." *International Public Management Journal* 9 (2): 85–112.

Pandey, Sanjay, and Patrick Scott. 2002. "Red Tape: A Review and Assessment of Concepts and Measures." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 12 (4): 553–580.

Pandey, Sanjay, and Eric Welch. 2005. "Beyond Stereotypes: A Multistage Model of Managerial Perceptions of Red Tape." *Administration & Society* 37 (5): 542–575.

Park, Sung Min, and Hal Rainey. 2012. "Work Motivation and Social Communication among Public Managers." *The International Journal of Human Resource Management* 23 (13): 2630–60.

Popper, Karl. (1945a) 1985. "Against the Sociology of Knowledge." In *Popper Selections*, edited by David Miller. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

———. (1960) 1985. "Truth and Approximation to Truth." In *Popper Selections*, edited by David Miller. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

———. (1945b) 1985. "Two Kinds of Definitions." In *Popper Selections*, edited by David Miller. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Prasad, Pushkala. 2005. *Crafting Qualitative Research: Working in the Postpositivist Traditions*. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe.

Prier, Eric, and Clifford Mccue. 2009. "The Implications of a Muddled Definition of Public Procurement." *Journal of Public Procurement* 9 (3/4): 326–370.

Quratulain, Samina, and Abdul Karim Khan. 2015. "Red Tape, Resigned Satisfaction, Public Service Motivation, and Negative Employee Attitudes and Behaviors Testing a Model of Moderated Mediation." *Review of Public Personnel Administration* 35 (4): 307–332.

Raadschelders, Jos. 2013. *Public Administration: The Interdisciplinary Study of Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Saldívar, Karina Moreno. 2015. "A Muted Voice? Red Tape and Latino Political Participation." *Public Administration Quarterly* 39 (1): 51.

Scott, Patrick, and Sanjay Pandey. 2005. "Red Tape and Public Service Motivation: Findings from a National Survey of Managers in State Health and Human Services Agencies." *Review of Public Personnel Administration* 25 (2): 155–80.

Selincourt, Oliver de. 1936. "The Unlimited Community: A Study of the Possibility of Social Science (Book Review)." *Philosophy* 11 (44): 488–89.

Šimić Banović, Ružica. 2015. “Cutting the Red Ribbon but Not the Red Tape: The Failure of Business Environment Reform in Croatia.” *Post-Communist Economies* 27 (1): 106–28.

Soans, Aaron, and Masato Abe. 2016. “Bribery, Corruption and Bureaucratic Hassle: Evidence from Myanmar.” *Journal of Asian Economics* 44: 41–56.

Stazyk, Edmund C, Sanjay Pandey, and Bradley Wright. 2011. “Understanding Affective Organizational Commitment: The Importance of Institutional Context.” *The American Review of Public Administration* 41 (6): 603–24.

Swedberg, Richard. 2012. “Theorizing in Sociology and Social Science: Turning to the Context of Discovery.” *Theory and Society* 41: 1–40.

Tummers, Lars, Ulrike Weske, Robin Bouwman, and Stephan Grimmelikhuijsen. 2016. “The Impact of Red Tape on Citizen Satisfaction: An Experimental Study.” *International Public Management Journal* 19 (3): 320–41.

Walker, Richard, and Gene Brewer. 2008. “An Organizational Echelon Analysis of the Determinants of Red Tape in Public Organizations.” *Public Administration Review* 68 (6): 1112–1127.

———. 2009a. “Can Public Managers Reduce Red Tape? The Role of Internal Management in Overcoming External Constraints.” *Policy and Politics* 37 (2): 255–272.

———. 2009b. “Can Management Strategy Minimize the Impact of Red Tape on Organizational Performance?” *Administration & Society* 41 (4): 423–48.

Welch, Eric, and Sanjay Pandey. 2006. “E-Government and Bureaucracy: Toward a Better Understanding of Intranet Implementation and Its Effect on Red Tape.” *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 17 (3): 379–404.

Wilson, James Q. 2000. *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It*. New York: Basic Books.

Yang, Kaifeng, and Sanjay Pandey. 2008. “How Do Perceived Political Environment and Administrative Reform Affect Employee Commitment?” *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 19 (2): 335–60.

Yousaf, Momna, Shiza Zafar, and Abida Abi Ellahi. 2014. “Do Public Service Motivation, Red Tape and Resigned Work Satisfaction Triangulate Together?” *International Journal of Productivity and Performance Management* 63 (7): 923–45.

Zaki, C. 2014. “An Empirical Assessment of the Trade Facilitation Initiative: Econometric Evidence and Global Economic Effects.” *World Trade Review* 13 (01): 103–30.