

FORSCHUNGSINSTITUT FÜR ÖFFENTLICHE VERWALTUNG

BEI DER HOCHSCHULE FÜR VERWALTUNGSWISSENSCHAFTEN SPEYER

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SOCIAL SCIENCE KNOWLEDGE IN THE
POLICY OF ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

SPEYERER

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The use of social science knowledge in the policy of administrative reforms results in a remarkably reflexive connection between science and practice. In the case of the Federal Republic of Germany, too, which is being dealt with here, the state administrations have become significant promoters of the policy of science. Within the scope of social sciences not only the administrative science, but also disciplines such as the political science increasingly serve as an advisory science for public agencies. In this way part of the problems of science and practice is reflected in the use of social science knowledge in the policy of administrative reforms.

I.

Administrative reforms have been implemented in various fields in the Federal Republic of Germany. First and foremost the regional reorganization of the administration should be mentioned. Public administrations may be structured according to various organizational principles. In view of the politico-administrative macroorganization in the Federal Republic of Germany the territorial principle has been given priority. Generally speaking, there are five administrative levels: the federation, the individual states, the administrative districts, the counties and non-county towns, the local administrative units with municipalities and unions of municipalities. The territorial principle presents itself in an even more pronounced way due to the fact that the federal government has an administrative substructure only in exceptional cases. The execution of the federal laws is usually left to the public agencies of the individual states. In analogy, the municipalities do not deal with matters of self-administration alone. Furthermore, the idea of the unity of administration is an important factor in this connection. This means that the public tasks are concentrated with the

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agency of the administrative districts at the medium level, and in the counties at the lower level. Wherever this system proves to be impracticable and consequently special agencies exist for instance for the administration of finances or labour, an attempt is made to implement the principle of an undivided administration relating to space by avoiding overlapping administrative boundaries.

Considering this predominance concerning the spatial orientation it is understandable that among the administrative reforms special importance is attached to the territorial reform. Reform aspects considered were the increasing demand for administrative services, the extension of the socio-economic fields of interconnection, the shrinking distances due to improved mobility, the adjustment of public services in rural areas to urban conditions, the need to combine larger numbers of the population in order to fulfil public tasks efficiently, the new technical administrative instruments, the needs for public planning, the necessary specialization of the administrative personnel and other aspects. The results of the territorial reform are reflected in the generally larger dimensions of the administrative areas. 33 administrative districts have been reduced to 25, 425 towns to 89, 24,444 municipalities belonging to counties to 3,261 local administrative units.

The internal organization of the administrative agencies in the Federal Republic of Germany relies, in principle, on a hierarchical pyramid-shaped structure. When we make an international comparison, it is not so much striking that there is such a basic pattern in which organizational relations become more and more continuous communicatively, but instead it is remarkable how uniformly it is applied in all public administrations ranging from the ministerial administration to

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the local administration. It is true that traditionally there are also non-hierarchical forms of organization such as in the municipalities where self-administration is marked by collegial features. However, hierarchical superior, side and sub orders are observed comparatively strictly. The costs of such a division of labour, power and competence have resulted in a movement of the organization development aiming at improving the administration's capacity for information, processing, and formulation of interests by the increased establishment of committees, advisory boards, working groups, commissions, staffs, project groups, etc. Ideas like matrix organization, project management, program organization are taken up in order to strengthen the intelligence of the administrative machinery.

Apart from the above, there is a political reform trend to be noted which is oriented towards the extension of the democracy within the organization. Soviet-based democratic and fundamental - democratic conceptions, but also anti-bureaucratic ideas have been voiced. Within the framework of internal organization two scopes of influence have to be distinguished: the field of directive codetermination in public matters themselves and the field of codetermination in social, personnel and organizational matters of the administration. Directive codetermination was discussed and partially also introduced above all in institutions which have a certain self-administration or a certain partial autonomy of their own. The spectrum ranges from universities to the public utilities of the municipalities. It is, however, usually the system of the representative democracy which is considered the political legitimation of public administration. However, codetermination in social, personnel and organizational matters of administration members has been firmly institutionalized in all fields. In the administrations independent bodies have been set up which represent the interests of those employed and, as staff delegates, are a second hierarchy from the organizational point of view.

The problem of staff delegation leads us to the civil service reform. This is because questions of participation are connected with this field of reform in many places around the world. In the Federal Republic changes in the civil service, as far as politically desired and controlled, have been made in measured steps. Most recently, an attempt has been made also to implement an extensive reform. The traditional controversy inherent in what used to be the meaning of the civil service has, however, been in the way. In one political direction the civil service is quite specifically a state service which, as an objective authority, is separate from the particular interests of the society. For others the civil service is a social service representing one employment relationship among others existing within society. This divergence of opinion has to be seen against the background that there are two different personnel bodies in the public sector which are subject to differing laws. They are the civil servants on the one hand to whom a particular public law is applied, and the workers and employees in the public service on the other hand to whom the labour and private law is applied.

Apart from the intentions to combine both personnel bodies - be it by separating them from the rest of the professional world as a state service, be it by reintegrating them as a social service into the society - there is a variety of reform approaches. Due to the extent of the civil service alone important social fields are involved. As the public administrations recruit a major part of well-qualified and well-educated people, there is a close connection with the educational system. This is reflected in the provision of so-called "Fachschulen" for the elevated group of the civil service. This special college is a kind of polytechnic conveying education on a practice- and vocation-related, but scientific basis. As the public sector is a main employer, changes in this sector

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are of decisive importance for the employment system. The extension of part-time employment in the West German civil service is therefore also an instrument of labour market policy. Among the manifold reform interests of the public personnel policy those referring to the access to professions and career should be mentioned particularly. They may even imply a personnel control involving on the one hand computer-aided personnel information systems, and psychological elements of staff appraisal on the other hand.

The discussion of reforms concerning public planning is accordingly complex. The social and welfare functions of the modern administrations have resulted in the fact that public matters are no longer steered by the communication form of the classical law alone, but increasingly also by plans determining explicitly the public goals and means. In the politico-administrative system of the Federal Republic of Germany such programs concern above all the manifold specialised plans of the Ministries of Health, Education, Transport, Social Policy, etc. In addition, there are more extensive plans both horizontally and vertically. Vertically, there are so-called joint tasks of the federation and the individual states, for instance with regard to extending universities and the agrarian structure which both entail joint skeleton planning. Horizontally, the extension of traditional budgeting to the medium-term financing program should be mentioned. At the level of the individual states and at the regional level there are, in addition, development plannings which seek to cover the public infrastructure on the basis of regional planning. Further-reaching approaches of an integrated planning, decision and control system, however, have mostly remained unsuccessful.

The subject of public planning is closely related to the problem of the intelligence of the administrative machinery and the question concerning the power in state and society.

High-strung sociopolitical and sociotechnological expectations on the one hand and utmost scepticism on the left and on the right on the other hand have been voiced in this connection. It has been and is the aim of a considerable part of the reform efforts to enable state and administration to represent an active political system. This means in particular to create structural bases for integrating government and administrative action which is oriented towards the overall policy and is conceptionally directed towards the future. This concerns both the organization as well as the processes and the personnel of a comprehensive program development. There are, however, also voices doubting whether, under the socio-economic conditions of its environment in the Federal Republic of Germany, the politico-administrative system is capable at all of providing the function of active planning. Critical statements range from the limitation of state-administrative scopes of action due to economic conditions to the state agency of the economically dominant class including the sheer denial of the planning concept for capitalist systems. As opposed to these views there are liberal positions assuming that the potential for the solution of social problems in many fields is not at all to be found in the state administration, but elsewhere and in particular in the market forces.

In this respect not only public planning, but also legislation along with its flood of legal standardizations including specifically bureaucratic implications are involved. Under the heading of task review, removal of state control, reprivatization, etc. an attempt is made to start off a movement which aims at diminishing the influence of the welfare state and its omnipresent administration. Many people doubt, however, whether the developed stock of public tasks to be fulfilled can be reduced considerably. They intend to improve the mode of generation and implementation of policies. Classical categories such as democratization or decentralization are quoted as possibilities. There are reform efforts

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aiming at strengthening the political control of the executive within the representative democracy not only by instituting Parliamentary State Secretaries or parliamentary planning controls, but above all by improving the relationship between citizen and administration. Competences are shifted from the upper to the lower public agencies so as to enable better access on the part of the citizen. A legally regulated administrative procedure makes it easier to make individual demands. There are forms of citizen participation in public planning, etc. An easily accessible public administration which is oriented towards the citizen is made a guiding factor.

II.

The survey of these main fields of administrative reforms gives a good impression of the varied information which is required by the promoters of relevant policies. Considering the premises of a civilization which is called the scientific age such reforms cannot be implemented without a minimum of social science knowledge as a support. And in fact, scientific arguments are used in one way or another in the field of administrative reforms. It is, however, also true that there are reserves of non-used science and all those potentialities which have not yet been made accessible by the administrative research. If the social science knowledge in the policy of administrative reforms is to be characterized within this scope, the first thing to do is to go back to disciplinary features. Now as before the world of science in the Federal Republic of Germany is determined by this pattern. Its counterpart is to be found in the administrative practice whose members have been socialized accordingly in their academic studies. Empirical studies show that, in their dealings with each other, civil service personnel prefer to communicate with each other according to their special field of knowledge.

From what has been said before it is understandable that even for administrative reforms certain affinities may develop, affinities resulting from the general close connection between certain disciplines of science and the subject of public administration. Even if social sciences such as the political science may traditionally play an important part elsewhere, it is primarily the arguments of the legal science which are turned to account in Continental Europe. This usage is indeed marked by various aspects. It must be considered above all that administrative action is subject to legal regulations. In the Federal Republic of Germany the standardization of public administration in the various forms of legal provisions, hereby including the concretization of the constitutional law has considerably increased. An extensive administrative jurisdiction even further extends the control by the medium called law. Not only are the programs to be implemented by the administration to a large extent statute-law, but also the organizational structures are covered by law more than used to be the case before. In this way it can be proved empirically that a large percentage of the working processes in public administration as well as in the policy of administrative reforms relies upon knowledge of the public law. The already quantitatively powerful position of lawyers in public administration, their role as a function élite, etc. are other aspects to be added.

In view of this situation it is striking that arguments based on legal science have proved to be of limited advantage only in the territorial reform which has considerably changed the politico-administrative system. Although the municipal self-administration as guaranteed by the constitutional law must be considered and the solutions found have to be measured against the applicable law, basically, however, it is the territorial cut of an administration to be reorganized for which models, patterns, standards, criteria, etc. are to

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be found. To this extent, two fields of social science knowledge have in particular been used. One concerns the socio-economic spatial interconnections. The old administrative boundaries were no longer adjusted satisfactorily to limits of mobility in the fields of labour, leisure, education, purchasing, etc. To redefine the boundaries, it was also necessary to have scientific information available on relevant movement processes and their assessment. On the other hand, the efficiency and effectivity of the administrative services were to be achieved. Also with regard to new instruments and technologies it was necessary to bring the administrative services in the fields of schools, health, garbage disposal, etc. in line with the number of population. To this end, certain scoring methods had to be introduced in the reform.

Considering that the territorial reform already indicates the extension of the scientific interests, the project of a civil service reform is an even more significant example for the development towards the broad field of social sciences. It is just these reform problems which are a classical field of legal science argumentations. Accordingly, lawyers are, by tradition, the scientific advisers of professional associations, trade unions, political parties, parliamentary groups, agencies of the federation and the individual states and self-administration bodies in civil service matters. As opposed to this, the composition of the personnel of the Study Commission for the Reform of the Civil Service Law set up in the Federal Republic of Germany alone reflects the importance of many disciplines of social science. Among its members were professors of public law, furthermore the disciplines of sociology, political science and contemporary history were also represented. An even further extension was noted in fields such as the administrative science, psychology and economic sciences, when the Commission tried to put its work on a scientific basis by setting up working

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groups, conducting empirical studies, calling in expert reports, etc. Accordingly, there are comparative analyses available about the civil service law such as expert reports on its constitutional position, sociological, psychological, political science- and administrative science-related studies of entry into and careers in the civil service, functions and public tasks, job structures, appraisal of qualification and performance, effects and procedures of the autonomy in collective bargaining, etc.

In all reforms of public administration the importance of political factors is evident. However, this does not necessarily mean that political science knowledge is turned to account. The territorial reform for instance was a highly political question from the very beginning, especially since the democratic representation in the field of municipal self-administration was one of the objectives to be achieved. The structure of the political parties was also of concern. The same applies to the pressure groups and their specific importance for the pluralist society. However, politico-scientific findings were considered to a larger extent only in connection with the problems of the - non-implemented - nation-wide territorial reorganization of the individual states. From the point of view of party politics the balance of power in federalism was at issue here. Thus it was a question of a highly political value, as in the field of the civil service reform the principle question concerning the constitutional interpretation was of great interest.

A reform subject which was soon given the attention and the consideration of the political science is the subject of public planning. In this respect it must be taken into account that the control of socio-economic activities by state plans has for a long time provoked general political objections in the Federal Republic of Germany and is still the subject of

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disputes today in some social fields of problems, in particular in the economic sector, at the political and party-political level as well as between the organized interest groups. This was at first a broad field for literary approaches on the part of political science. When public planning was then developed in the late-sixties and early-seventies, political scientists were also asked to contribute to this development and their knowledge was used by the practice. This applied above all to the central government machinery of the federation, but also to some individual states. At least initially, the interest of the political science focussed on attempts to provide comprehensive government planning including the integration of the planning of tasks and finances rather than on specialized plannings.

However, it was just the subject of planning which made it clear from the beginning that the changes in state administrations can be interpreted only insufficiently from the point of view of the pattern of scientific disciplines. Politico-administrative problems do not keep within academic delimitations. Promoters of administrative reforms need advice in particular wherever they can no longer rely on their own expert knowledge as conveyed to them by the university disciplines. In public planning for instance political and economic factors are so closely related that they must be analyzed precisely in this connection. The specific economic-science perspective does not, as a result, become obsolete. However, it needs to be supplemented. Consequently and in particular with regard to the discussion of planning aspects the political science tries to move towards the political economy. Two directions are noted. The politico-economic school is most variable, but mainly follows the theories of Marx. In the economic theory of politics insights into market bartering are also made useful for the understanding of the relations in the political system.

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With regard to administrative reforms the relevance of such approaches is often looked upon with great scepticism. In the first case it must be asked to which extent the reservation in principle against the capitalist conditions allows constructive answers at all, in the second case it must be considered to which extent there are isomorphies at all between the market economy system and the politico-administrative system. There are, however, interesting examples extending the reform discussion. Thus the economic theory of politics has been made a useful approach for the interorganizational relations in the West German federalism. Certain forms of interconnection between federation and individual states, also as regards their change, require an interpretation beyond the classical state theory. A more constructive contribution made by neomarxists is the introduction of the model of government by councils (soviets) in the organizational discussion. It must be noted though that the exploration of the real administrative institutions in socialist countries still seldom produces knowledge which can be used for administrative reforms in the Western part of the world. In this respect the civil service reform is of great interest. Here the various personnel structures in the public sector have been described by a system comparison in which scientists from socialist countries took part themselves.

On the whole, analyses and criticism of the politico-economic approach have not remained unnoted. When specifically interrelating philosophy, social science and administrative practice it becomes evident - even though this is marked by the cornerstones of the material social existence and the standpoint of social classes - that the solutions for the problems of state and public administration have to be found beyond scientific disciplines. Accordingly, the administrative reforms are the subject of interdisciplinary research and discussion also in other fields. For the territorial reform looking on the relevance of a regional science this

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applies beyond the theory of economic action in space. However, this also concerns the evaluation of efficiency and effectivity of the territorial administrative organisation which must not be limited to what can be expressed in monetary terms. In fact, not only aspects of law, power, finances, but also the intelligence of the state machinery are under discussion in the reform of legislation and planning, the organization within and between public agencies, administrative procedures, civil service, etc. Subjects like social communication, information processing, political sensitivity, the capacity for identifying bottlenecks, for making analyses and designs, for solving problems, for executing politico-administrative control and so forth are relevant.

In this connection theoretical approaches concerning social systems and decisions have proved useful in the administrative science and practice. In these approaches the administration is defined as a social system with laws and plans figuring as the program structure, the patterns of communicative relations as organizational structure, the civil service formation as personnel structure, the constancy of the administrative procedure as a process structure. Decision-making is the decisive function of the politico-administrative system. The functional and structural analyses reflect the contexts of action in public administrations. It is tried to design the improved possibilities of the administration in an accordingly functional and structural way. This is where the scientific perspective and the practical interest meet, for the administrative reforms in the Federal Republic of Germany mostly aim at structural changes. In public administration there has, however, been a fundamental change in attitudes over the last thirty years such as most recently also in the attitude towards work. But this change is usually not the result of purposive and controlled programs and measures of reform promoters. In this respect the consistent development of continuing education and training

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for the administrative service may be called an exception. Apart from this, measures taken to change attitudes in some public services such as the police may be mentioned.

The preference for structural changes also has to be seen in relation with the fact that psychology, social psychology, political psychology, organizational psychology only play a minor part in West German administrative reforms. The entry of psychologists into administrations may also still be called very modest. Even such a classical field of psychological problems such as the relations of public administration personnel with each other, with superior and subordinate personnel, questions concerning the motivations for access to professions and career, satisfaction in work, etc. have not been studied sufficiently. The psychological problems involved are, however, not only of interest in the administrations, but also with regard to the relations between citizen and administration. If the citizen-oriented presentation of the administration has indeed become a guiding rule for reforms today, and even critics from the most various ideological worlds agree in asking whether the Western societies are still governable at all in particular in the densely populated areas of industrial concentration, then the attitudes, opinions, behaviour patterns of individuals and groups in relation with the state are also involved. Even if we are not of the opinion that it is easy to bring the relevant motivational conditions of action into line, but instead that there is something like a bureaucratic dilemma, it is still necessary to ensure the reform discussion including the human factor when providing public services. From the side of the social sciences this is subject to the condition that the recently conducted psychological studies are extended. Furthermore it is necessary to introduce more extensively in the West German reform practice what has already proved useful as behavioural sciences with regard to the administrative conditions in other countries.

III.

As is shown in the interdisciplinary approaches regarding administrative reforms, the application-oriented research causes manifold problems of epistemology and methodology. Moreover, it must be taken into account that social science itself is a part of social life and is linked to certain interests of its own. This means with regard to administrative reforms that certain trends of social science in the Federal Republic have traditionally developed as an opposition science. If general objections are raised to a finalization of the science, the request is made in particular as regards state and government action to remain autonomous in selecting and tackling problems. This makes it easy to understand the debate of principle about scientific consultation of politics. A distinction is made between the decisionistic model of scientific consultation with a dualism between empirical - analytical knowledge and the subjective decision on the value, the technocratic model with a practice which is subject to the necessities of instruments, technologies, strategies made available scientifically and the pragmatic model of consultation with a critical interrelationship of scientific and practical orientations.

It must be added that, in the field of domestic policy, the political science has above all dealt with parliaments, parties, pressure groups, etc. rather than with the administrative machinery. The relevant knowledge which is available is hardly satisfactory. Practical experience is frequently missing as well. There is not always an opportunity to gather a certain routine experience by internships, practical studies etc. Nevertheless, in connection with administrative reforms conditions have developed which do at least point into the direction of a pragmatic consultation of politics. Here the work of the Study Commission for the Reform of the Civil Service Law should be mentioned in

particular. In addition, it is worth noting the work of the Project Group for Government and Administrative Reform whose activities covered questions of state and administrative organization, public planning including the planning of resources, etc. Wherever continuous working conditions developed, there used to be a critical interrelationship between scientists and practitioners so that orientations of values like empirical knowledge were introduced into a joint discussion; the result was a mutual communication to the effect that scientific experts consulted decision-making bodies and conversely practitioners entrusted the science with the solution of problems according to their needs.

As regards the scientific consultation with regard to administrative reforms a distinction must be made between the various stages of action even more than would be normally done in public policy. The participation of social scientists usually ends with the design of the reform program. Their actual scope of action lies within the fields of perception, analysis and conception. They help to identify the problems. There are cases where they also influence the selection of problems. They establish the connection with traditional problems and point out new bottlenecks. They provide empirically secured planning data and make forecasts. They assist in determining basic reform issues, in structuring fields of tasks, etc. up to formulating reform programs. As regards the reform steps after programming up to the implementation a cooperation of social scientists is noted only rarely. Attempts have been made to find reasons why the science is not involved in the implementation of the administrative reforms. In this respect it must be pointed out that there is often an identity between those who develop such programs in the administration and have to execute them and those being finally concerned by the programs themselves. In this respect the promoters of administrative reforms want to keep their liberty of action, also with regard to a modification in the

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efforts to concretize the programs. They demand flexibility as regards the execution and believe that this flexibility is not conceded by the scientific consultant who is not involved in the same way.

The tension between practitioners making compromises when implementing the programs and the scientists who believe that, as a result, the conception is jeopardized, is, however, only one of the difficulties encountered. Scientists are afraid that their services are only used for reasons of legitimation, maybe even for preventing an administrative reform. Practitioners fear that scientists turn out to be the decision-makers in the political process. Impatience on one side, routine on the other side are still the smaller problems. Therefore disappointments of all sorts are not uncommon. The promoters of administrative reforms sometimes refuse to admit that the scientific findings provided are of any use. In some cases they certify that science has not had any considerable influence on the reform. However, scientists ask about the consequences of their work. At times they note that reforms not only develop into a different direction, but also fail to be implemented at all. In this respect some are in the difficult position of being learnt opponents by tradition who have now access to those in power according to the present political situation, who wish to have and can have a say in government action, but at the same time do not want to lose the part of being opponents. Others separate themselves more strictly and believe that the most successful "consultation of politics" is in practice to renounce consultation. They feel that instead empirical and analytical research into politics should be done, a research demonstrating precisely to the actors of the politico-administrative system the denials of reality which are constitutive for their action. This is requested in the hope of making it more difficult for those to stick to these denials of reality.

The liberal and pluralistic society makes many positions possible for social sciences including the retreat to literature although it is necessary to see that the reality assumed therein does not convince administrative reformers considerably. The large number of antagonists in the reform process also has to be taken into consideration. Not only the administration itself, but also the political parties, the trade unions, the organized interests ask about scientific information. The move towards the public presents more problems. In the Federal Republic of Germany there are comparatively few cases in which administrative reform subjects have been taken up for instance by initiatives and movements of the citizens. In other political fields there are, however, indications for a growing cooperation with science. The mass media tend to circulate events in public administration as bad news only. Social science information mostly fits into this pattern only when additional cuts are made.

Considering that the promoters of administrative reforms are mostly to be found among the more professionalized politicians and among the administrators themselves, it will also be important for them to use scientific knowledge. Despite all the difficulties encountered nobody can imagine today that for instance the economic science keeps separate from the economic policy, the legal science from the legal policy and that they are not used by their promoters. And the interests are not one-sided. There are cases of cooperation between scientists^{and}/practitioners as regards administrative reforms where it may happen that practitioners have good reasons to say that social sciences have gained more in knowledge than reforms have been promoted. But also for practice it is not possible simply to derive the question concerning the transformation of social science knowledge from indicators of direct success. Furthermore it must be considered that just the social science findings collected in administrative reforms have been included in the continuing education of civil service personnel. Over the last

ten years the training programs for administration have been considerably extended in federation and individual states of the Federal Republic of Germany. Those presenting the programs have also taken up above all subjects of administrative reforms. Here it was possible to use the relevant subjects of the social science discussion effectively as material to be taught and learned.

If we look at the reform of the fields of government organization, public planning, administrative personnel itself beyond the more indirect changes by continuing education and training, it will be possible to solve the problems connected with the effects, impacts and the benefit of social science knowledge by extending the scientific inquisitiveness rather than by dispensing with scientific consultation. In the field of changes in the politico-administrative system it is necessary to ask, apart from the reform contents, about the reform processes, the strategic and tactical capacities the possibility to implement the reforms, the conception of realization, the forms of implementation, etc. This includes that the purposive and planned reform measures are not considered as such, but that the social change, too, is noted in the politico-administrative institutions. In some of its schools the social science contributes to having the subject of reform hastily encoded in a dual paradigm of progressive and conservative policy. Changes in public administration are forced into a framework which may contribute to causing distortions. The broad processes of social adjustment to the changed conditions of democratization, industrialization, technicalization, urbanization, etc. are no longer taken into account although they have further-reaching repercussions than the politically intended and controlled changes by the state. Reform as a political principle is not obsolete. The speed of reform processes can, however, only be assessed along with other forms of change.

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This means that, for administrative reforms, it is not only necessary to discuss the formulation of reform programs, but also the administration of reforms and more extensively the management of change. In this connection the various degrees of intensity of scientific consultation in the various stages of the process of change must be made the subjects of the discussion. The implementation including an improved use of social science knowledge must be regarded as an integrating element of this problem treatment. It is furthermore necessary to proceed to evaluation and feedback. In the Federal Republic of Germany one has only recently been started to evaluate administrative reforms by means of social science support. The results yielded have been presented to the responsible agencies along with the assessments of the reform practitioners. As has been proved, it is possible to obtain, in addition to the practical experience gained with the reform, deepened and reliable assessments by scientific studies.

It is, however, just the scientific cooperation in the field of evaluation which reveals the deficits of social science with regard to public administration. The institutionalization of social science is decisive for obtaining and using application-related social science. Although in the reform-related practice there are preferences shown for renowned scientist personalities over and over again whose names may mean political legitimation and support at the same time, it has become evident in the field of administrative reforms how social science is dependent upon an institutionalized scientific work. This also explains the partially strong position of consulting firms which have put the usage of social science knowledge on the basis of functioning personnel structures, organizational forms, processes of utilization under economic constraints of action. It must, however, also be admitted that there are cases where scientific symbols are merely marketed. In view of the great burden of teaching on

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the universities it is difficult to provide new capacities for the administrative research. Foundations for the promotion of science and research associations try to support the universities in their efforts to obtain knowledge which can be used for administrative reforms by financing research projects and determining the main fields of research. There are tendencies to produce and make usable social science knowledge in institutions outside the universities. Institutions inside the administration have been set up to make knowledge relevant for administrative reforms usable. The idea of a separate generation of science by the state machinery itself is rejected. However, the establishment of scientific institutes of administrative research - even though in few cases - has been successful.

There is not yet a sufficient number of cases where social science research in the fields of public administration and its reform has become a continuous source of knowledge. This is regrettable because it is the very examples of a successful cooperation of science and practice in implementing administrative reforms which reveal the extent to which continuity is essential for making use of social science knowledge. Only when a continuity is ensured in the dialogue with the reform-related practice can questions be raised and working rules and methods, etc. be worked out which establish the necessary connection of communication. Here science and practice appear to be confronted with a common bureaucratic dilemma. A classical problem of reforms in the public sector is the problem of bureaucratic resistance. In administrative reforms this is of importance in particular because state bureaucracy is affected directly. Many people in the Federal Republic of Germany note an increasing tendency towards bureaucratization in science as a social system. This might also be a reason for the difficulties to extend social research innovatively with regard to reforms of the state machinery and the politico-administrative change.

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Correction of Errata:

1. Page 2, Line 21: 33 administrative districts were reduced to 25, 425 counties to 235, 141 non-county towns to 89, 24 444 municipalities belonging to counties to 3 261 local administrative units.
2. Page 4, Line 30: Instead of "Fachschulen" read "Fachhochschulen".

