

The Study of Public Management in Spain

Xavier Ballart

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Xavier Ballart
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

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1. Introduction

Expertise in Public Administration (PA) and Public Management (PM) is claimed in Spain by scholars based in political science, economics, law and sociology. This is therefore an interdisciplinary field where the Spanish literature as a whole is quite ill defined. Specialists from political science may study public organizations (politics –administration relations, policy initiatives, implementation structures), substantive policy areas (education, health, social services) or processes (policy change, reform, influences). Other specialists from economics departments tend to focus on financial matters (budgeting procedures, accounting, auditing) or apply theoretical models to the analysis of the effects of institutional rules in the provision of public services (efficiency). Law students tend to write on regulations (procedure, civil service, public contracts) while sociologists may adopt different perspectives in the analysis of public organizations and their human resources (bureaucracy formation, organizational routines, power relations). Still there are transversal matters like administrative reform, modernization, participation, performance, etc which appear in the studies of specialists with any of those backgrounds. The Spanish literature does not strictly distinguish between PA and PM but it does often refer to New Public Management (NPM), a family of ideas that over the past twenty years has meant a significant shift in the PM policy of some anglo-saxon countries (UK, New Zealand, Australia). The term NPM is often applied to characterize market oriented reforms (contracts, private provision, indicators) even if the administrative culture of Spain as a whole cannot be classified under this label.

This chapter will discuss studies of PA and PM in a broad sense, that is, both research intended to explain observed changes and argumentative papers debating management techniques and public sector reform proposals. The main objective is not to present the Spanish system of government or Spanish public administration. However, the thread of studies is closely associated to the historic evolution of Spanish public administration, the political discussion on the deficiencies of the public sector and the proposition of reforms including actual “public management” policy.

One of the main questions in the study of public administration is how much change (in budget, civil service, organizational arrangements) eventually took place in a political era or after major historic reforms. Some of the studies, from a more general political or legal perspective, look at the process and outcomes of major administrative reform efforts. Other stud-

ies take an economic and managerial approach to discuss changes in policy tools (innovative instruments and practices intended to improve performance) or changes in the institutional structure of incentives (for example with the more recent division in the provision of health services).

There is a permanent question on the sociological characteristics of civil servants, their role and identity, the power of Spanish bureaucracy. On the background, there remains the question of the separation between politics and administration, political and bureaucratic roles, policy and management lines. Present issues in PA are the separation of policy-making and executive operational functions through executive agencies, the managerial role of public administrators, and the political and administrative accountability in a decentralized State.

A part of the PA literature is fundamentally normative since it is based on arguments about the way public administration should be organized or managed. Some of it is quite specific and looks at public management tools and practices. This more focused category of studies pays attention to instrumental reforms in civil service, administration structures, budgeting procedures and decision-making, auditing and accounting functions. It is a different kind of literature since it is more focused and at the same time looks more at international trends and their underlying doctrines than at the effectiveness of actual implemented changes with empirical data.

This is not done in a vacuum given the influence of administrative traditions and culture and also of economic development and political change. Therefore, the paper starts with a short historical review of the administrative system in Spain and a description of the academic educational organization since they both have a significant influence in the research and teaching of PA and PM. The chapter goes on to present studies of PA and PM in Spain according to the main approaches – legal, political, economic, sociological, management - mentioned before. The analysis of the literature shows that PA reflects institutional traditions which are associated the field with the study of law and sociology, but that, for some years now, an emerging literature is filling gaps and developing a variety of disciplinary approaches in the study of PA that are actually giving content to a more specific PM studies category.

2. A short historical view

There was a time towards the end of the XVIII century in Spain when the public bureaucracy started to appear as an independent power. The transformation of the “personal royal servants” into the first “civil servants” developed the study of “police” as a science of public administration. Along those lines, the innovations introduced in France, the United Kingdom and Prussia were followed by Floridablanca (the first Spanish acting prime minister), López Ballesteros (the main modernizer of public finances) and Bravo Murillo (the first modernizer of Spanish public administration), whose concern for the separation between politics and administration, led to rationalize the structure of the administration of the time and to propose the first civil servants regulation.

However, public administration studies were soon undermined by the development of constitutionalism in the XIX century. In this new context, the study of PA ceased to be perceived as a socio economic “police science” similar to German “cameralism” to come closer to the study of constitutional and administrative law. The mission of public administration was the execution of decisions taken in the political sphere according to public regulation and civil servants were formally perceived as mere subordinates whose professional career depended on their political affiliation.

The centralized structure of Spanish public administration was completed with the creation of a territorial administration along the lines of the French administration. In 1833, De Burgos, a Minister of Interior, implemented the division of Spain in 49 provinces. With regard to personnel, an Statute approved by the Maura government in 1918 meant a qualitative change since it put an end to the Spanish spoil system known as “cesantías” – the “cesantes” being those who lost their job with every change of government – and regulated civil servants as a professional body at the service of the State organized in “special corps” according to different professional functions.

The main problem for the Franco regime after the Civil War was to maintain itself in power and this was only possible by the use of force. Spanish Public Administration went through a “dark age” where offices were held by Falangists by virtue of party loyalty. The purges were dramatic and civil servants had to publicly declare their loyalty to the regime. It was not until the second half of the fifties and during the sixties that the internal battle for the control of the

State between Falangists and Catholic-Opus Dei technocrats was resolved in favour of the last ones. Progressively, the authoritarian State followed a path of rationalisation of patronage appointments and increase in the number of the issues that were subject to objective rules.

A number of civil service reforms were approved in the first half of the sixties which created a professional administration dominated by elite corps. The system was based on a career system where successful candidates to civil service positions entered in the posts reserved for “special” or “general administration” corps of civil servants. Entry required specific educational requirements and a competitive selection procedure (*concours*). There was no recognition of professional experience from the private sector and civil servants had a public law appointment and contract for life.

On the whole, the amount of studies produced in Spain before democracy was modest but there were a significant number of translations of management oriented books which were politically neutral. Opus-Dei technocrats were active in the promotion of the “scientific” study of PA with the creation of la *Escuela Nacional de Administración Pública* (founded in 1958, today *Instituto Nacional de Administración Pública*) or the journal *Documentación Administrativa*. López Rodó, a Professor of Administrative Law and several times minister with Franco was among the founders of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences, which for many years published its main journal in three languages, Spanish being one of them (López Rodó, 1990).

More recently and under democracy after death of Franco in 1974, the trajectory of the Spanish administration has been marked by the Constitution of 1978 which set a plurality of power centers and administrations. The democratic governments at each level (central, regional and local) have developed their own public services on the basis of administrations which face a progressively more complex environment and are accountable to the society through democratic elections. Spain has also been very active in maintaining a network of public administration institutes, similar to the Spanish INAP, in Latin America where some of the PA and PM “official” studies produced in Europe and translated into Spanish are distributed.

With regard to administrative reform, the central government passed a civil service reform law in the 1980s which did not have a substantial impact on the general basis of Spanish PA but reduced the number of special corps, introduced job classification and regulated the conditions under which public employees could develop other professional activities outside public

administration. These reforms contributed to change the administration image, particularly in the regulation of full time dedication and control of times of arrival and departure. Administrative reform followed a path of incremental change with some difficulties in the regulation of issues that had a direct effect on the interests of high civil servants. For example, there was no agreement on the regulation of executive positions since high civil servants wanted to preserve their benefits.

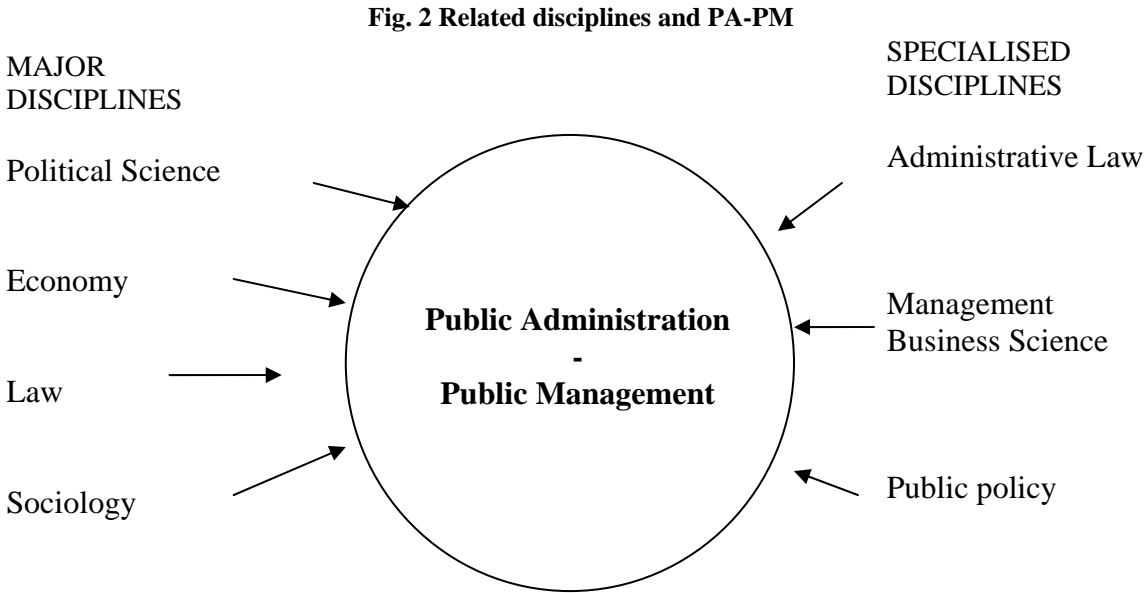
High civil servants from “special corps” – diplomats, finance and labour inspectors, State lawyers, University professors, judges and prosecutors – had a significant role during the transition since they filled a gap in the management of the new democratic State. They continue to occupy the administration highest positions under the political control of the Government. But the Spanish administration is today a bureaucratic structure with less capacity to assert its own will, challenge the power of elected leaders or make special claims about representing the public interest than it did at the time of the transition to democracy. The fragmentation of power through decentralization, the reforms simplifying the number and regulations of “special corps” and the politisation by the two main political parties of high civil servants who are appointed for top positions like “undersecretaries” and “general directors” are factors that tend to weaken “special corps” identity.

There has not been a clear “public management” policy in Spain with a clear vision of the situation that was desired. Both Socialist (PSOE) and Popular Party (PP) governments passed general plans of administrative modernization that were based on the idea of long term cultural change towards a more client oriented PA, diffusion of “best practices” with regard to efficiency, performance and quality and introduction of ICT. The major administrative change was induced by political decentralization and the creation of new public administrations at the regional level which, at present, account for more than fifty percent of public employees. The federal evolution of the Spanish government structure together with the competitive nature of the intergovernmental relations has had a significant effect on all Spanish administrations since the central administration had to adapt to the new democratic context and both regional and local administrations, expanded to assume the management of basic public services (education, health, police, prisons, taxes...) and to respond to new problems and needs (such as ageing, immigration or housing).

Most of the new public employees in the regional and local administrations are not civil servants in a strict sense. And those being civil servants do not always perform administrative duties: they often provide services (education, social assistance, health, police) or are hired as professional managers of public agencies, universities, institutes, consortiums, foundations and so on. None of those new public sector professionals correspond to the traditional image of the “civil servant” as a bureaucrat trained in law and formal procedures. Their demands towards the academic system in terms of teaching and research are also different from those working in the core of the central public bureaucracy.

3. Brief description of the educational system in the field of PA/PM

The four dominant disciplines in the study of PA and PM are political science, economy, law and sociology. As represented in Fig. 1, PA and PM can be defined as a “second generation” discipline that is highly related with other more specialized disciplines such as administrative law (which used to be identified with PA), business management (more closely related to PM) or the study of public policies.



Since 1986, Political Science and Administrative Science were joined in Spain to create an official field of knowledge and give the name to one of the degree programs which students

pursue in the Schools of Political Science and Sociology (in some universities Social Science or Law Schools). A few years later, a new first cycle (shorter degree) in “Public Management and Administration.” was created – the only one with PM in the name – for the training of the B personnel group of public administrations – with entry requirements and qualifications lower than top higher education studies-. The term “gestión pública” – PM in Spanish – was therefore officially associated with a lower rank type of studies.

However, the term PM was also used by a few public universities and at least one private business school in Barcelona – ESADE - to designate research groups and master’s programs in PM. In those cases, training programs were aimed at professional managers in the public sector. Similar research and training initiatives were developed by the official training institutes of the central and various regional administrations. The demand for the development of “management” abilities in civil servants has had a significant impact in the effort to bring the field closer to the needs of practicing public administrators.

Although economists are not officially trained in programs under the rubric of PA or PM, some economic departments in public universities have research groups with a public sector orientation and offer courses to their students in public finance, budgeting and economic analysis of public services. One step forward in the training of economists has been the development of courses that may be identified as PM courses where a bridge is made between the traditional training of economists in the area of public economy - based on the theory of public finance – and the more practical demands of analysis, evaluation and decision making in relation to specific public services. The studies of PM from this perspective tend to be more instrumental – the objectives are given – with the distinctive economic concern for rationality and efficiency - to maximize the objectives in a context of restrictions -.

It is less clear how sociologists or law students deal with PM as a distinct field from the traditional study of the sociology of civil servants and their regulations. They belong to PA studies but they did not have a significant stake in the development of a PM perspective if this is understood as a specific field the aim of which is to change the public sector, the motivation of public employees, the reform of public organizations or their accountability. Public administration is the object of Organization Theory and Administrative Law. In the Spanish academic tradition, Administrative Law has been important numerically – weight of law in relation to Political Science - and ideologically – justification of public sector – private sector dif-

ferences. Public administrations continue to be the main arena for the study of the power relations between the social groups. The differential regulation of personnel, procedure and contracts in the public sector is also a key element in the training of both civil servants and social agents interacting with public bodies. Any student of Law or Sociology will have courses on those issues in courses such as “Administrative Law”, “Public Contracts”, “Civil Service Regulations”, “Sociology of organizations,” but they do not provide the main justification for the existence of PA and PM as a field of study.

Thus, the number of scholars and researchers specialized in PM is limited but significant adding up economists, business specialists and political scientists with an interest in public management policy. There are also specialists from the ministries of Public Administrations and Economy and Finance or working as auditors in the public sector who publish works on spending planning and financial management, civil service and labor relations, contracting and procurement, public organizations and methods, auditing and evaluation. A few academics have worked on the analysis of government-wide policies and experiences that intend to produce sustainable changes in the ways the public sector is managed, it is guided, controlled and evaluated. Depending on the definition of the field and whether PA, not just PM is considered, those numbers are bigger since they can include, as mentioned before, specialists in public economy, administrative law or specific public policies.

In sum, since the creation in 1986 of the degree and area of studies “*Ciencias Políticas y de la Administración*,” the study of public affairs and public policies is officially based on Political Science. There are no PA – PM departments or chairs independent from Political Science and the universities that offer degrees in Political Science also offer courses in PA as part of the curriculum. Only a fraction of those universities (Complutense, Juan Carlos I and UNED in Madrid; Autónoma, Pompeu Fabra and ESADE in Barcelona) have consolidated research teams in PA or more specifically in PM.

Table 1 Public Universities: Political and Administrative Sciences Degree

University	Location	Institution	Since	Number of students 04-05
UAB	Barcelona	Political Science & Sociology	1986	824
UAM	Madrid	Law	1993	49
UB	Barcelona	Social Sciences	1994	165
UBU	Burgos	Law	na	58
UCM	Madrid	Political Science and Sociology	1972	1.919
UGR	Granada	Political Science and Sociology	1988	na
UM	Murcia	Law	na	na
UMHE	Elche	Political Science and Sociology	na	281
UNED	Madrid	Social Sciences	1987	3.758
UPF	Barcelona	Social Sciences	1995	540
UPV	Bilbao	Political Science and Sociology	1989	352
USC	Santiago C.	Political Science and Sociology	1991	878
UV	Valencia	Law	Na	na

Source: Report presented in 2005 by the Spanish universities to ANECA, the state agency in charge of the reform of university degrees and curriculum design.

4. State of the art in Spanish PA and PM research

In this section a general review of “Spanish” studies is made with the aim to present a research map and provide some references. The list of works is illustrative rather than comprehensive. It is organized according to a classification in four groups – administrative and civil service reform, politics and bureaucracy, governance and “managerialism”, economic and management studies– which partly follow the disciplinary perspectives presented above. Political scientists are more present in all kinds of studies, while jurists, sociologists and economists tend to follow a more specialized approach to the study of public administration.

4.1 Administration and civil service reforms

The first category of studies describes and analyzes administrative reforms taken at different times in history and processes initiated with the rather vague aim of public administration modernization. The account of reform efforts in civil service or in organizational structures

can look at content - measures taken by successive governments and relative success of the reforms in terms of actual change - or at processes considering the reform of public administration as a continuum.

Most of the studies look at content and to the actors behind the reform initiatives in the period under analysis. Beltrán (1994) looked at reform under the Franco regime, while Nieto (1988) Bañón (1994), Subirats (1990, 1994 and 1995) and Alba (1998) discussed reform initiatives in the eighties and beginning of the nineties. More recently, Torres and Pina (2004) compared reform initiatives in Spain that could be considered forms of NPM – customer focus, quality, service charts, ICT - with similar developments in the UK, with the aim to explain differences in implementation and results on the basis of differences in culture and administrative tradition.

With regard to government organization, structures and procedures, there was a significant debate in the second half of the eighties after the creation of the Ministry for Public Administrations with the specific mandate to address the need to modernize the state administration. MAP made attempts to conceptualize modernization and place it in the political agenda. The activities and debates of the time were the basis for the document *Reflections for the Modernisation of the State Administration*, a paper which included proposals for a government-wide reform covering all the key management areas – structures, financial methods, contracting, civil service, auditing and evaluation. The document was published as a book in 1990 (MAP, 1990) and was followed by a delphi study on the modernisation of public administration procedures (MAP; 1991). The MAP strategy was not implemented across government structures but it was in the origin of significant change processes such as those experienced by the INSS - National Social Security Institute – and the Treasury with the creation of an agency for tax administration.

A few studies analyze the policy process around public administration reform. Those studies give as much relevance to agenda setting, alternatives specification and political context as to the description of the reforms. That is the case of the work by Gallego (2003) who applied a new form of institutionalism labeled “processualism” that tries to capture the dynamics of change. This approach was initially developed by Barzelay taking an international comparative approach to the study of PM policy (Barzelay, 2001). Ballart (2006) also uses this ap-

proach to explain the success of a public “entrepreneur” to break the public monopoly in the provision of primary health care in the Catalan region.

Closely associated with reforms in the civil service, there is a literature on public sector human resources management (HRM) which describes and analyzes the Spanish civil service system, the main reforms in the regulations and the opportunities for improvement in various aspects of HRM, particularly in the selection of personnel (Jímenez Asensio, 1989, Carrillo, 1991; Férez, 1993; Olías, 1995; Rodríguez Fernández, 1995; Longo, 1995, 1996; Sánchez Morón, 1996; Villoria y Del Pino, 1997, Palomar, 1997).

4.2 Politics and bureaucracy

One main actor in public administration reform is public bureaucrats. A key question is therefore the position of the civil servants as a group with regard to political and administrative reform. Already in 1968, this had been studied by political sociologists like De Miguel and Linz. Beltran (1984) and later Villoria (1996) had this same concern in their studies of the role of the Spanish civil service during the transition and thus their position and contribution with regard to the modernization of the State.

Those studies are part of an important sociological tradition in the study of PA in Spain that goes back to the sixties and beginning of the seventies when various professors in Madrid started to pay attention to bureaucratic theory, to analyze the characteristics of the Spanish public bureaucracy and the role of bureaucratic elites. García Pelayo (1974, 1977) wrote about the contemporary State and the role played by bureaucracies and technocrats. Other publications at the time followed this approach looking at the relation between bureaucracy and economic development (Moya, 1972), tried to make a photograph of Spanish public bureaucracy under Franco (Nieto, 1976, Beltrán 1977, Información Comercial Española, 1977; Pernaute, 1978) or analyzed the relation between the administration and the Cortes of the time (Bañón, 1978; Baena del Alcázar and García Madaria, 1979). A number of studies followed with the aim to describe and analyze the bureaucratic elite (Baena del Alcázar and Pizarro, 1983; Baena del Alcázar, Garrido and Pizarro, 1984), the Spanish civil service and the characteristics of the Spanish bureaucracy after democracy was consolidated (Nieto, 1984; Beltrán, 1990a and 1990b). Along similar lines, some studies looked at the sociological characteristics of high civil servants and political appointees in the Basque Country (Mesa, 1991) and Cata-

lonia (Matas, 1995). More recently, Baena del Alcázar (1999 and 2002) focussed on power relations between interest groups in Spain.

Together with main textbooks in the field (Baena del Alcazar, 1985; Ballart and Ramió, 2000), the works cited above are representative of studies in the field of PA. The object of analysis and the approach is not the same as in PM studies, but it is certainly a significant part of the literature, based on the analysis of facts and events and clearly different from more normative studies or publications which either discuss reform proposals or management tools and techniques that are the object of international attention with regard to the management of the public sector.

4.3. Governance and professional managers

A third main category of studies observes and discusses what elected executives, managers and professional civil servants do and their relations. A recent research based article by Brugué and Vallès (2005) on the evolution of the role of city councillors exemplifies this category. The word “strategic” has become here a buzz word and “managing strategically” tends to refer to either the close relationship of public management with the political sphere – the source of support for new policies – or the need for public managers to engage in the analysis of their ideas - to determine how effective new policies might be -. The emphasis on strategic governance is built on a few works (Brugué, 1996) that defend the political nature of managerial work against the traditional concept of public administration as a rational and neutral executive instrument. Closely related with the issue of management professionalism, a few evidence based studies on hiring practices of managers in public organisations – particularly in agencies, universities and local government – analyse the relations between this new category of public executives and civil service career public employees (Longo, 1999).

Another category of works within this same group discusses political and managerial leadership (Natera, 2001) and the distinctive nature of the senior executives’ job in the public sector. Influenced by well known international works such as those of Mintzberg, a few business professors have written on the guiding job of public executives and on the transformation of public employees from bureaucrats to public managers (Losada, 1999).

The underlying association of public administrators with entrepreneurs is also present in the studies referring to the “new public management” paradigm. Some authors like Torres and Pina in the article cited above do not question NPM. Others associate this label with new developments in PA (Olías, 1991) and a few express a critical view. The critical stance is based on cultural grounds – the inadequacy of implementing a NPM model to Latin administrations - or on arguments that tend to be more political, claiming to reflect a vision of public administration from the left. The criticism towards NPM has been expressed in some papers in the context of the CLAD conferences – in Madrid 2004, Santiago 2005, Guatemala, 2006 -. Overall, however, there has not been much discussion on whether the hypothesis of convergence in administrative reforms towards one single model was applicable to the Spanish case.

Research efforts have also been directed to analyze new forms of governance. The creation of networks between public, private and social agents for local development and the management of citizen participation in public projects is the object of the several studies like the ones of Blanco and Gomà (2002). A closely related type of studies is the one that looks into social policy, territorial exclusion and uncertainty associated to the emergence of new problems like immigration. The common element of this category of studies is the concern for governance issues and the changes in organization structures from traditional hierarchical, top-down approaches to alternative, more flexible and horizontal network management structures. Some excellent studies like the one on the transformation of the “Raval” neighborhood in Barcelona are accessible through the web pages of sponsoring institutions (Subirats and Rius, 2005) but not available through international journals.

A different perspective on governance is related to the transfer of power and resources to “nationalities” and “regions”. The decentralisation process and intergovernmental relations have been the object of much academic debate among Constitutional and Administrative Law experts but less so among political scientist and public administration scholars with a few exceptions (Arenilla, 1994; Morata, 1995 and 2001; Subirats and Gallego, 2002).

At all three government levels - central, regional and local - one can observe similar administrative processes: creation of new agencies to manage services with a relative autonomy from the ministries; redefinition of the administrative units distributed in the territory – the central administration passed a law in 1997 changing the name and simplifying its representation in

the provinces -; and, combination of public structures with private or third sector organisations in the provision of public services through contracting out.

Some studies looked at the territorial administration of the central State (Arenilla, 1992) while others described and analyzed the development of the regional administrations and their tendency to build similar structures to those of the central administration (Ballart and Ramió, 2000). Ramió is one of the few Spanish authors who takes an organizational approach to describe and analyze Spanish public administrations (Ramió, 1999, 2002) while Agranoff goes beyond the legal and financial analysis of the Spanish regional system to take an intergovernmental relations perspective and analyse the dynamics of the Spanish multi-level government system (Agranoff, 1999, 2004).

4.3 Economic and management studies

The category of economic studies includes those pieces of research that describe or analyze changes in policy tools and in the institutional framework for the provision of public services. This analysis is fundamentally economic and takes incentives and efficiency as its basic concern. In 1997, Albi, González Páramo and López Casanovas, public finance professors, published a PM text book under this exact title, which includes analysis of “regulated competition” in the Spanish health insurance market, use of vouchers for the provision of education services, introduction of productivity bonuses for managers in top positions and use of incentive schemes for government contracts. This book is illustrative of a category of research studies that has been well developed by economists and, less intensively, by political scientists studying major reforms in a policy domain. One example is the work by Gallego (2000) on the provision of public health services through third sector and private hospitals.

Within the same category, some research has been dedicated to innovative practices intended to improve performance. Again, the same economic literature (Albi, González Páramo and López Casanovas, 1997) provides examples of cost accounting development in public organizations and use of cost-benefit techniques. In the 1980s, various publications examined the introduction of program budgeting in the Spanish central administration (Zapico, 1989) an issue which has later been the object of argumentative studies cited below.

Spending procedures and financial rules had also been the object of debate and central government reforms. In 1984 the Ministry of Economy and Treasury introduced program budgeting through pilot projects, a reform that was later generalized. As stated above, some studies analyzed this particular reform and considered it was not a success in terms of changing the decision making process. This finding led to argumentative works where analysts introduced innovative concepts – like the three Ds for *diagnosis*, *design* and *development* instead of the three Es for *Economy*, *Effectiveness* and *Efficiency* - and strategies that could be used for the successful implementation of reforms in budgeting (Zapico, 1993).

A key concern in public management is “performance”. This is a word which does not have an easy translation into Spanish but it is present in a few works in relation to budgeting reform (mentioned above), management control (López and Gadea, 1992) and policy evaluation (Ballart, 1992). The application of quantitative methods to the analysis of specific policies as in the works of Ballart (1991) and Ballart and Riba (1995, 2002) is an example of a positivist approach that is not very common in the field.

More recently, one can find a few studies on management innovations in the areas of quality in the provision of public services (López and Gadea, 1998; Muñoz Machado, 1999; Sancho, 1999), e-government and communication technologies (Torres, Pina and Acerete, 2006) and access to administrative information (Tornos and Galán, 2000) and citizen participation in policy decision making (Font, 2001). Closely related are some few studies on ethics and corruption in public administration, an issue that receives increasing attention from the political science side of PA studies (Villoria, 2000 and 2006).

A different kind of studies has recollected the efforts to achieve better results in the management of public organizations and public bureaucrats through cases. One earlier example is the case study by Barzelay and O’Kean (1989) on a development agency created by the region of Andalucía in the south of Spain which had the capacity to take a vague idea – endogenous development – and convert it into a successful program that created enterprises and jobs around the production and commercialization of marble. Another example is the book published by Ballart in 2001 on innovation in public and private management, based on the stories of five successful Spanish managers with experience in both sectors, which analyzes the strategies and action plans they used to produce observable changes in the organizations they managed.

There is also an older literature on management tools and techniques that public administrators should use in their day to day activities. One can find traces of this kind of literature in the efforts to import a “management science” before democracy when the technocrats from Opus Dei were in control of the central administration. This literature evolved into a series of studies that argued in favour of the introduction of tools and techniques developed by the private sector into the public sector in order to improve management methods.

The literature on techniques is more sensitive to the time passing than other categories of studies. Already in 1975, one can find works that intend to present a general theory of administration (Jiménez Nieto, 1975). In the eighties and first half of the nineties, various publications presented management techniques for the modernization of the Spanish public sector (Paramés, 1988; López González, 1988; Mendoza, 1990 and 1993; Valero, 1990 and 1991). Others looked at European experiences in improving the public sector (Echebarría and Losada, 1993; Echebarría, 1993) or translated texts that were representative of international trends in organization theory (Ramió and Ballart, 1993) and PM (Brugué and Subirats, 1997).

4.5 Present situation

The present situation in the study of PA and PM in Spain can be characterized as incipient – as to what PM is related - constrained and fragmented. The PA-PM studies map that was described above can give an idea of the production and the extent that a PM perspective is developed. If PA is considered in a wider sense, the number of scholars, studies and topics covered is significant. However, if PM is understood as a part of PA that looks at strategies, policies and practices that are implemented with the aim to change the management of the public sector, Spanish studies are less numerous. Excluding the analysis of specific public policies, the four types of studies that were considered have been developed:

- There are studies of new policy tools and institutional reforms with the aim to improve efficiency in the provision of public services. This area is closely related with some studies of strategic leadership and new forms of governance through networks, particularly, in the provision of social services at the local level. There are also studies of the nature of managerial work and the relations of managers with the political and professional civil service level. But these two categories need more development, from both an economic

and political science perspective, since the number of studies is small and those are core categories in the study of PM.

- There is continuity in the study of particular administrative reform and more ample modernization processes. A basic pillar in this category is the study of civil service reform which establishes a connection with more traditional PA studies of bureaucratic elites. There is also a tradition of argumentation in favor of management techniques – in the “management science” tradition – and reforms in structures, budgeting, performance evaluation, quality improvement, e-government, citizen participation, ethics and corruption. But these two categories need to be further developed through research-based studies of PM policy, reform processes and outcomes that can be associated to the introduction of new tools and rules in public management.

The study of PA and PM is constrained by the “official” categorization of the field and by the applied nature of the questions that are usually studied. As it was said above, the label “PM” has not been used to refer to a university degree except for a lower rank diploma which might disappear in the near future. PM has a “practical” connotation that makes it a less interesting option for economists or political scientists willing to make a career in academics. Students of PA and PM either pursue a PhD in Political Science or in Economics and they are asked to investigate classic questions in those fields. If funding is considered, competitive basic research in the social sciences prioritizes projects with theoretical content since applied research in PA is expected to get funding directly from the administrations. The demand for training in PM can at times be disturbing for more research oriented projects since that demand puts the emphasis on the introduction of approaches, methods and techniques that may be an innovation for public administrators but has less interest from the perspective of those interested in producing new knowledge or observing the relations between phenomenon.

Finally, studies in PA and PM are fragmented and there is a lack of coordination between specialists in the field who belong to departments which respond to the logic of specialization in more consolidated disciplines. The connection between Applied Economics and Political Science is rather loose and needs to be developed. Within Political Science, those interested in policies, whether it is specific sector policies or policy process - policy formulation and implementation – rarely look at the effect of management in the policy and political process.

5. Conclusion

The evolution of studies of PA and PM in Spain is closely related to the historical institutional context. In the first place, the official field of knowledge joining Political Science and Administrative Sciences was not created until 1986. There was a tradition of PA studies that goes back to the Spanish Empire and the formation of the central State but it was not until the reorganisation of official disciplines after the democratic transition that the new period of PA and PM studies began.

In the eighties, professors in Administrative Law and Sociology were deeply influenced by their French and German colleagues. Spain had developed the State administration following the Napoleonic model and, at the time, France and Germany were the main destinations for post-graduate studies and researchers pursuing an academic career. In the last twenty years both the Spanish administrative system and the academic field have changed significantly. Today, the study of PA and PM in Spain has a wider base, it is more plural in the approach and it is more open to international influence than any time before. The studies cited in this chapter – from the seventies until the present - give evidence of this process. Being still relatively small in numbers when compared with international production, the field integrates a diversity of studies. Still, there are a significant number of studies written in Spanish on Spanish issues and institutions. The topics and the perspectives resemble those of international and European colleagues but tend to take as the object of analysis Spanish cases.

The biggest change in the Spanish public administration was induced by the strong political and administrative decentralisation. The central State which developed the welfare state in the eighties, when other European nations were already at a time of retreat, progressively transferred competences and personnel to regional and local administrations. This allowed a process of competition among administrations that put the whole public sector in a path of unplanned modernization and reform.

This is the “Spanish” trait that is more differential. It has been intensively studied by jurists, economists and political scientists interested in federalism and intergovernmental relations,

both in Spain and abroad. However, constitutional adaptation, public finances and the juridical distribution of powers have received more attention than the relation between administrations (Borzel, 2002) or the reform in both central and sub-central administrations as a consequence of the redistribution of powers.

The Spanish field of PA and PM has had a quantitative and qualitative development in a short time and the evolution has not deviated from the main stream developments taking place in the international scientific community. However, there is not a concept, approach or analysis that is genuinely Spanish. This should not cause concern since innovative concepts and approaches are very much dependent on the production of an extraordinary individual or research group.

Nevertheless one can conclude that there are a number of high quality publications and some interesting research based applications in each of the four categories of studies that were identified: analysis of reform policies and civil service, study of the politics-bureaucracy division and new forms of governance, effects of new policies and institutional rules and new organization and management techniques such as those related with performance, quality, e-government or citizen participation. Some of the authors are present in the international and European research community but there is not a distinct Spanish “approach” or contribution in the study of public management.. The penetration of Spanish studies in international journals can be improved given the size of the Spanish academic community in the field. Those working in PA and PM need to elevate the horizon of their perspective to enter into more international and comparative analysis.

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