

Development policy and international administrative relations: the aspect of education and training

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SUMMARY

Within the framework of administrative co-operation, transnational arrangements of education and training constitute a delicate activity. Many reverberations of colonial and early post-colonial times can still be felt in this domain. Nevertheless, the problems of transfer, be it doctrine, technical implementation or practical experience, are still very apparent and will probably continue. This article traces the progress of education and training through post-colonial history until the present, discusses the merits of the different approaches taken by the most active Western institutions and identifies the major experiences and lessons regarding the various problems of transfer. The debate concentrates on the specific activities and experiences of the most recent programmes offered by the Graduate School of Administrative Sciences in Speyer in co-operation with the public administration branch of the German Foundation for International Development.

ADMINISTRATION AND EDUCATION IN POST-COLONIAL TIMES

The former colonies, in spite of all variations, generally entered post-colonial times with inadequate administrative services in terms of both numbers and quality. In this context, we may put aside the political tensions that were bound to arise between the new rulers and the former servants of the colonial powers, as well as the cultural dualism that continued to exist between the westernized administrative staff and the traditional authorities. Even where there were educated administrative corps, it was criticized that, although they were qualified to handle matters of public security and taxation, or to settle disputes at local council level, they had not been prepared to fulfil the development functions that had become necessary in states that had gained independence. Besides, there were shortages of indigenous staff (Potter, 1973, p. 47ff.). At the same time, the demands for 'nation building' confronting the new states not only required mass movements but also civil services. The shortage of staff could not be remedied quickly. Finally there was a lack of basic mass education, on which any modern administration depends.

Accordingly, it is not sufficient simply to examine the political-historical data of decolonization when considering administrative matters (Albertini, 1966). The processes of localization, Africanization etc. caused great difficulties for the administrative services. In many countries the colonial powers' administrative staff—now termed advisers—supported the new rulers for quite some time. And in many places this is still true today.

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Mass education is a problem encountered both in general development-aid co-operation in the education sector and in the promotion of public administration as part of international development policy. From the beginnings of development-aid, educational co-operation with the countries of the Third World has been a focal point. This is also true of the Federal Republic of Germany. In each decade certain focal points can be identified. The 1970s, for instance, reflected the industrialized countries' self-assessment regarding educational economics and educational sociology (manpower requirements and social demand) stressing the promotion of educational planning and educational research in the developing countries to a greater extent than before (Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung, 1972). In the 1980s, the strategy of basic needs is focusing greater attention on the prevailing conditions in the South and attaches increasing importance to basic education programmes such as literacy campaigns and occupation-oriented adult education (Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit, 1980a).

Beyond such conceptual matters, the practical implementation of educational co-operation can be viewed as a broad current extending vertically from basic education up to scientific-technological research and encompassing the various social fields of work and occupation. Educational efforts in areas as varied as agriculture, public health, etc. are marked by their technical links with the respective subsector of development policy. This also applies to education and training in the civil service as a component of promotion for public administration. However, it is precisely in this field of extraordinary political sensitivity that particular importance must be attached to the fact that education—beyond its implications for system and organization—always has some impact on the individual personality as well.

Looking back at the beginnings of promotion for public administration, we learn, for instance, that the dean of a public administration school at a university in Southern California travelled to Turkey in the 1950s on a World Bank mission. He identified public administration as a kind of bottleneck in every effort to promote the economic and social development of that country. A group of young Turkish academics accompanied him home, studied administrative science, taught public administration after their return to Turkey and later on founded the first institute for that subject there. At that time, the public administration school in Southern California was also participating in the establishment, within the framework of the United Nations, of Brazil's first governmental training institute for public administration. It was also in the first half of the 1950s that this college began to work with the US government to set up administrative courses at the University of Teheran in Iran. Teachers were seconded, teaching aids and methods developed, books purchased and so on (Siegel, 1978).

If we proceed from these beginnings through three decades to the 1980s and have a look at the 'lettres d'information' of the French Institut International d'Administration Publique, for instance, it becomes obvious how close the network of administrative relations in development politics has become. It extends from Paris through Southern Europe to Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America. Internally, it is linked with a variety of institutions, including universities, making it possible for students in long-term programmes to earn university degrees. The subjects dealt with cover a wide range: public finance, public management, public enterprises, rural and urban development, public employment, administrative conflicts, administrative law, local administration, energy administration,

administrative control (also in public enterprises), foreign service, health administration, deconcentration, evaluation—to name a few random examples. It is worth mentioning that the activities undertaken by a government institute in the field of development policy are by no means confined to the former French colonies. This is not merely a matter of continuing the tradition of colonial education by using other means. It is true that special relations are maintained with the overseas countries formerly under colonial rule. These manifest themselves, for instance, in a conference arranged every two years by the Institut International where the directors of the Ecoles d'Administration Publique in French-speaking African countries meet to deal with subjects of common interest. When considering the regional distribution of training programmes, however, it must be conceded that the special motives of development politics also come to the fore in the case of France.

Granted, it may be stated as a general fact that the promotion of public administration through education and training of the civil service in many places still exhibits links resulting from the after-effects of colonialism. This is particularly true of countries which freed themselves of foreign rule at a relatively late date or which—whatever the reasons may be—maintained particular administrative ties to the former colonial power even beyond that date. Accordingly, a belated administrative decolonization in terms of the political-historical dates should be taken into account. However, to a great extent international administrative relations with the Third World reflect the same mixture of interests prevailing in the development policies conducted by the industrialized Western countries and democracies. Public administration promotion offered by Eastern-bloc countries will not be taken into account here because of their ideological imperialist orientation. In the West, ethical-humanitarian sympathies link up with professional-technical obligations—of the administrative staff in this case—as does foreign policy influence with foreign trade interests. Accordingly, public administration promotion of this kind is also provided for countries that attained their political-administrative independence prior to the more recent colonial era or where colonial administration never gained a foothold (König *et al.*, 1980, p. 265ff.). The decisive factor is the characterization as a developing country.

A description of education and training for civil services as promoted within the framework of development policy requires reports on the donor and beneficiary countries as well as on the activities of international organizations (Protz *et al.*, 1982). A sketch of that network of international administrative relations reveals that the most important linchpins in the beneficiary countries are the national administrative schools and institutes. In the middle of the 1970s it was reported that the United Nations, the Ford Foundation and the government of the United States helped to establish about 70 training institutes in developing countries (Siffing, 1976, p. 61ff.).

That combination of promoting institutions is characteristic. It indicates a certain style in which administration is interpreted as a universalist phenomenon. However, we must also note in this context that there are certain American views on public administration behind the seeming indifference *vis-à-vis* cultural characteristics. No other donor may credit itself with helping to establish a similarly large number of administrative schools and institutes.

Great Britain was able to build on the basis of certain colonial traditions. There, too, the idea of training was put into the foreground of development policy. Also,

there have been more recent institutions such as the Administrative Staff College which joined together key staff from the private and public sectors and in particular from public enterprises, that could be taken as a model. But, fundamentally, it is apparent that—in contrast to the United States (König, 1975, p. 456ff.)—there is no basis for administrative education in Great Britain itself. Here France, with its Ecole Nationale d'Administration, has a further-reaching impact (König *et al.*, 1981d, p. 49ff.). In fact, institutes for education and training of that name were founded in the former French colonies. This does not mean that they were able to duplicate the former colonial power's elitist approach to access to, and the course of, education. Yet something of France's political-administrative centralism and of the status of its administrative service is reflected in the various ENAs' education and training programmes.

Compared with institutionalization projects promoted by agencies in the United States and countries with a major colonial tradition, the assistance for administrative schools and institutes in developing countries provided by other Western countries is rather sparse. This does not mean that their contributions are unimportant, as demonstrated by the case of the Federal Republic of Germany. The German Foundation for International Development, the German Agency for Technical Co-operation and the political foundations are active in all Southern regions, working together with schools and institutes engaged in training and education for the civil services. Indonesia and Sri Lanka, Jordan and North Yemen, The Sudan and Togo, Columbia and Peru are a few examples. Although as a rule the establishment phase has already been terminated, the promotion activities frequently go beyond co-operation in the mere implementation of the training programme. A range of functions are dealt with extending from development tasks in a narrower sense to the safeguarding of basic needs. Thus, schools and institutes turn out to play the key role in public administration promotion. In view of the manifold examples of discontinuity in the political-administrative systems of the developing countries, these are the institutions on which international co-operation may rely with relative security. When dealing with the educational sector, one can remain somewhat aloof from the problems of practical power. Nevertheless, reaching the civil services means getting at a relevant factor of political-economic development. Thus it is understandable that there are sometimes several promoters declaring their interest in one and the same institution.

Administrative schools and institutes in smaller countries, as central organizational units, may perform the whole range of educational functions for the public sector, even including the training of staff. They may not be concentrated but dispersed to various places. They may be organized as separate units for the various personnel groups within the hierarchy. They may be differentiated according to levels and branches of administration. The institutes for local administration are a major example of the one case, whereas the financial schools are an instance of the other. Administrative schools and institutes are generally governmental institutions. This does not preclude the possibility that they may enjoy a certain degree of independence, perhaps through collegiate supervisory bodies. Sometimes, they constitute special organizations. In a few cases, universities have taken over government-related training functions for the civil services, as for example in the Philippines or in Nigeria.

When exclusively school-related training is examined, the administrative institutes

generally have no monopoly on education and training for the civil service. Just as in the industrialized countries, many developing countries maintain internal training organizations that serve the specific purposes of the authorities. These, too, are partners in the promotion of administration. Also, it may happen that capacities for civil service training are established for the very purpose of achieving certain modifications of behaviour aimed at organizational development. Where this is the concern of a technical co-operation project, further education will be a complementary aspect of the project (König *et al.*, 1981a, p. 316ff.)

There are also regional organizations for public administration. These include the Asian and Pacific Development Administration Centre, the Centre Africain de Formation et de Recherches Administratives pour le Développement, the Arab Organization of Administrative Sciences and the Instituto Centro-Americano de Administracion Publica. These international organizations are also among the industrialized countries' partners in the field of public administration co-operation.

WESTERN INSTITUTIONS OF ADMINISTRATIVE CO-OPERATION

Turning from conditions in the developing countries themselves to the organized promotion of public administration in the Western world, we are again confronted with a wide variety of institutionalized educational services. These range from the administrative authority offering a position as a trainee for a civil servant from a developing country to the scholarship programme of a foundation that is also open to students of administrative sciences. From the outset of administrative aid, one of the basic ideas has been that not only should administrative schools and institutes in the Third World be supported, but the countries' own educational institutions should also be used for appropriate tasks and perhaps expanded. In this regard, the universities with their classical tradition of educational exchange across frontiers are a logical starting point—provided that they teach public administration as a specific course of study. In Europe, this is true only in exceptional cases. In the United Kingdom there are only a few universities, Sussex for instance, that have arranged courses for development (Jackson, 1980). In continental Europe, the study of law is still the usual academic preparation for the general civil service. Separate courses of administrative sciences are exceptions to the rule.

Given these circumstances, the United States has assumed a kind of leadership in academic training for the civil services in developing countries. Students may choose from among over a hundred courses of study in public administration, public affairs and public decision-making (Chapman, 1978, p. 40ff.). However there is a certain concentration on universities with proven competence in development policy for the public sector such as Southern California, Indiana, Pittsburgh, Syracuse, Cornell, Harvard and Berkeley. That competence is based not least on intense research in the fields of development policy and public administration.

Those responsible for the curricula are experienced in development policy, which is also being demonstrated by their consultancy work. These curricula do not press the students concerned into strict school-like courses of instruction dealing exclusively with subject-matters relevant to development administration. Studies can rather be tailored to individual requirements and still allow concentration on focal points, for instance giving priority to rural development (e.g. The Special Series on Rural Local Government by Cornell University).

The expertise in some American universities in development policy with regard to training and education for civil services is paralleled by some European institutions specializing in administrative co-operation with the Third World, like the Institut International d'Administration Publique in Paris and the Berlin Public Administration Promotion Centre of the German Foundation for International Development (Frhr. v. Richthofen *et al.*, 1981, p. 411ff.) which can carry out their training programmes at their home location or *sur place* in the Third World. From these specialized institutions of international co-operation, the wide range of educational co-operation extends to administrative services in the industrialized countries which not only offer positions for trainees, but also organize training sessions for civil servants from developing countries—as does, for instance, the Berlin Senator (=Secretary) of the Interior. In between there are programmes dealing with development policy that are organized by national administrative schools such as the Irish School of Public Administration, by administrative associations such as the Institut für Kommunalpolitik des Städte- und Gemeindetages in the German Democratic Republic, by academic associations such as the British Royal Institute of Public Administration, by party organizations such as the political foundations in the Federal Republic of Germany, by specialized academies such as the Lausanne Institute for Public Administration in Switzerland, or by government-supported technical colleges such as those in France dealing with taxes, customs duties, cadastral surveying, accounting, statistics, banking or insurance.

When assessing the content of international administrative relations within the range of development politics, the following results emerge (for the Federal Republic of Germany see Kosow, 1978). In the forefront there are the basic classical topics of administrative science teaching known in the industrialized countries, notably the political, economic and social environment of public administration including cultural values, constitutional institutions and economic influences; the basic patterns of the state bureaucracies and their relations with the public, citizens, social strata and organized interests; state goals, public functions, administrative programmes and resources; state and inter-authority organization including federalism and self-administration, above all at the local level; intra-authority organization, most importantly from the viewpoint of the state-machinery's intelligence but also from the viewpoint of intra-organizational participation; public planning, preparation of laws, programming, budgeting, decision-making procedures; implementation including the application of quantitative methods and automated data processing; civil service and staff administration including personnel planning, staff management, internal and external control aimed at the efficiency and effectiveness of administration as well as at political responsibility and the protection of citizens.

For development purposes these subjects are preferably dealt with by reference to administrative reform (e.g. Centro Latinoamericano de Administracion para el Desarrollo, 1979). In one case or another, this may indeed be a matter of restructuring or improvement. However, development policy in general refers to more radical structural changes in regard to public administration. This gives a special meaning to categories such as development administration, development planning, institution-building, community development or co-operative systems.

The central subjects of education and training programmes reflect the

administrative bottlenecks in developing countries. Thus, problems of decentralization, deconcentration, delegation, regionalization and localization rank high, since excessive centralism in inter-authority relations and strict hierarchies within the authorities—often inherited from the colonial powers—paralyse public decision making processes.

Another major problem is project organization. In many developing countries, public administration is not strong enough to have far-reaching government projects dealt with by the line organization. Also, for reasons of political symbolism, countries are obliged to clothe their activities in project form. Many training programmes—carried out by Yugoslavia, France or Ireland—deal with public enterprises. In this field, some organizers may be guided by a certain ideology; but the weaknesses of the private sector of Third World countries leave no doubt about the importance of public enterprises. The Federal Republic of Germany attaches major importance to public finances (Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit, 1980a). This covers a wide range, extending from taxes and customs duties, budget and financial planning to accounting and budgetary control.

True, each policy field has administrative factors of its own: traffic, transport, agriculture, education etc.; whether these are also reflected in public administration promotion measures is another matter and is also affected by chance. This is why the United States, for instance, chose an organizational solution, also for personnel reasons, and established an Office of Rural Development and Development Administration. In the Federal Republic of Germany, some infrastructure and regional planners seem to prefer to avoid administrative factors in development policy, although their importance—also for our own country—should be well known. On the whole, the vast majority of measures to promote public administration taken in fields like health services or education are in the form of 'concealed' administrative aid. In other fields, as for instance labour administration, the administrative aspect is manifested in the very title. It should be noted here that international organizations also co-operate as donors in public administration promotion by sponsoring education and training, and contribute to the appreciation of administrative phenomena beyond frontiers; one of these is the International Labour Organization, which carries out training activities in the field of labour administration. During certain periods, the United Nations has provided relatively widespread aid for administration development by supporting education and training (e.g. United Nations, 1966). However, new international protagonists repeatedly turn up in this field; for instance, there is the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development which grants assistance for administrative studies in Portugal and Turkey; and the World Bank, which is showing growing interest in administrative factors in its financial co-operation. The International Association of Schools and Institutes for Administration within the framework of the International Institute for Administrative Sciences in Brussels, which has traditionally concentrated its main efforts on the industrialized countries, is turning more and more to the problems of its members from developing countries.

CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES OF EDUCATIONAL PROMOTION

As is the case with development policy in general, international administrative relations within this field of politics are a target of criticism. In matters of state

administration Western self-criticism goes rather beyond the normal level. Those who judge co-operation in development policy in terms of the theory of imperialism will regard the state-bureaucracies in Northern and Southern cities as agencies of suppression and exploitation (Hanisch *et al.*, 1981). Those who generally interpret political-administrative cultures from the viewpoint of criticism of bureaucracies will not only find fault with the growing welfare-state administrative machineries in the industrialized countries, but also with bureaucracy in the Third World (e.g. Illy *et al.*, 1976, p. 99ff.). Education is not excluded from this kind of interpretation; it contributes to administered underdevelopment (Bosse, 1978). Where academics and practical experts cope with everyday problems of development administration and public administration promotion, such radical criticism is usually disregarded. Its tendency to one-dimensionality makes those interested in solving the problems at hand consider it too unproductive. Yet, at least in the Federal Republic of Germany, it appears to add to the general reservations about administrative co-operation. Even in official documents on development policy, administration is dealt with as inadequate, and viewed in conjunction with privileges, corruption and other injustices (Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit, 1980b). In addition, however, public administration and related training and further education are accompanied by criticism which is more specifically related to administrative science and practice. This also holds true for the Federal Republic of Germany (Schnur, 1969, p. 446ff.).

The fruitfulness of differences of opinion of course also depends on how successfully an atomization of organization-related viewpoints and substantive arguments is avoided (Wolff, 1976, p. 339). A country is in a favourable starting position if problems of public administration in development policies can count on an interested public among experts, so that the existing controversial issues are also subjected to careful examination intellectually and in publications (Korten, 1980, p. 480 ff). In this context, it should be noted that administrative co-operation is scrutinized more closely than are other subsectors of development politics. It is not enough, though, to point out that important projects concerning health, food supply or vocational training are endangered because administrative factors were not given sufficient attention. Public administration includes aspects of humanity, social technology and power. The latter necessarily entails particular political sensitivity.

Criticism of public administration promotion is levelled both at the field in general and at education and training of the civil services in developing countries in particular. As we know from our own administrative history, education is a key factor in the development of civil services and—through these—in further social change. Still, history has shown up to the most recent times how the possibilities of bringing about change through education have frequently been overestimated compared with other social factors. Administrative development includes a wide range of structural changes such as change in organizational factors. Accordingly, public administration promotion becomes one-sided if it relies mainly upon the effects of education and training and fails to pay adequate attention to other factors such as organizational development. Furthermore, the dynamics of educational institutions themselves must be taken into account. Indeed, it is in the context of administrative co-operation that the term 'trainingism' is used (Schaffer, 1974, p. 1 ff).

A main point of criticism of general public administration promotion refers to the export of Western administrative technologies. This applies mainly to techniques, methods, systems and models such as management-by-objectives, the planning-programming-budgeting system, position classification, and so on. As American administrative scientists have had a major influence on the establishment of schools and institutes of administration in developing countries, these problems also touch upon education and training. After two decades of administrative aid, American experts themselves have clearly pointed out the problem of certain dysfunctionalities (Siffing, 1976). The exported techniques—if they show any effect at all—lead to unintended consequences. For instance, in the staff sector, they do not contribute to mobilization and fair job assessment but to immobility and the consolidation of achieved status. Western administrative techniques are adopted superficially, with no change in the truly relevant patterns of behaviour. Organization consultants have become more cautious regarding questions of the appropriate social technique. Again, American administrative scientists in particular have submitted research results, for instance on the subject of planning and budgeting in poor countries (Caiden and Wildavsky, 1974) suggesting a more differentiated assessment of what is technically feasible.

Concerning such criticism, it is still all too often the case that education and training are judged in rather negative terms. Sometimes lectures are given on sophisticated administrative models that are known to have failed even in the industrialized countries. A fact of even greater importance, however, is that teachers in many developing countries have no teaching and learning aids developed with their own country's administrative problems in mind. They have no choice but to use common international textbooks which—understandably—tend to generalize. In addition, students at training institutes frequently demand that their teachers furnish magic formulae for administration. This may lead to discussions where teachers point out supposedly universal principles of good administration, while the students lose touch with their concrete situation in day-to-day administration. Matters are no less difficult when a model is directed to developing countries from the viewpoint of 'Northern' national administrative culture. Subjectively, it may be a relief to regard oneself as performing a civilizing mission, making it possible to picture one's own public institutions as models for developments in the world—as is done quite traditionally in the case of France, and is also encountered today in the Yugoslav workers' self-administration. Yet this does not change any of the objective difficulties that exist.

POSSIBILITIES OF A WEST-GERMAN CONTRIBUTION

The problems of transfer indicate the difficulties encountered in administrative co-operation between the Federal Republic of Germany and developing countries in the field of education and training. Administrative scientists in Germany are aware that public administration is linked to the historical situation of state and society. Because of the dominance of the legal sector and the emphasis put on the concrete legal order, these links are more likely to be overestimated—the formula 'constitutional law will pass away—administrative law endures' being superseded by the view of administrative law as concretized constitutional law (König, 1970, p. 11

ff.). Administrative scientists and practitioners may be convinced that our public administration can stand comparison on an international level in terms of human, political and technical aspects. Still, against the background of our national history, hardly anyone will be tempted to praise a German model abroad, especially in the education sector. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the partners encountered in the training and education of civil services come chiefly from ministries, associations, administrative schools and institutes, or from regional centres in developing countries, which do not consider themselves to be mere passive partners in the transfer of technology. Frequently these are national elites with educational qualifications from two worlds. However, this educational level represented in top positions does not signify that no more aid is required, and that all the rest could be done by the partners on their own. It has been shown that the statement made in the 1960s in the early days of German administrative aid is still valid, expressing the view that public administration promotion is a decisive component of efficient international development policy (Schnur, 1968/69). However, the partners in the developing countries must be given an active role from the outset. The term 'sharing experiences' manifests this insight. On the other hand, this does not mean that the Western countries should play only a passive role, merely being obliged by international law to grant development aid without having any right of control of their own (Schröder, 1970, p. 56 ff.). Administrative co-operation engenders control and responsibility on both sides.

Training courses within the framework of public administration promotion take shape in a process that combines features of supply and demand with ascertained and stated needs. Although the postulate that co-operation in development politics must be oriented towards specific needs also applies to training and further education (Schmidt-Streckenbach, 1981), it must be realized that educational requirements are highly controversial issues in connection with such complex phenomena as public administration. Basically, development policy has proceeded on the assumption that there was more or less unlimited demand in the developing countries. Through learning processes and trial-and-error exercises lasting many years, the programme structures of the educational institutions have been consolidated in a pragmatic form. To ensure the continually necessary revision of achievements, it is not enough simply to rely on a newer method of budgeting or a better management model. Such a course would again lead to universal concepts of 'good' administration, whereas evidence has proved that there are unique cultural links with a specific situation in industrialized or developing countries to be taken in account (McCurdy, 1977, p. 298 ff.). In particular, it is impossible to borrow from our cultural complex a unified model of administration as a target for the Third World (Illy, 1982, p. 13 ff.). Proceeding on the basis of this evidence, an examination of teaching programmes of Northern educational institutions must take into consideration three kinds of information: on public administration and its strong points in the Northern country concerned; on administration and its weak points in the developing country; and information enabling one to assess these teaching programmes as a potential or as a bottleneck.

In the case of the Federal Republic of Germany, doubts have also been expressed as to whether the German administrative structures—with their language ties for instance—are at all acceptable for another world. Many developing countries continue to orient themselves in matters of administration towards the former

colonial power. The results achieved by a British committee on civil service reform may be given greater attention on the Indian subcontinent than in the United Kingdom itself. In addition, the American way of handling administrative matters is spreading, as illustrated above. On the other hand, the partners in developing countries are showing a growing interest in gaining other administrative experiences than those with which they are already familiar. The excessive centralism that is frequently encountered in the South, for example, has to be seen in conjunction with colonial traditions. Many developing countries are faced with administrative bottlenecks in attempting to decentralize decision-making (Kübler, 1982, p. 570 ff.).

One way of tackling this problem is to co-operate with the former colonial power, which is going through similar processes of regionalization; however, it may be better to consult those with historical experience in federalism and local self-government. In the Federal Republic of Germany, administrative co-operation has thus concentrated to some extent on local administration (Koppe, 1979).

If we turn from our own administration and its strong points to administrative conditions in the developing countries and their respective weak points, our information is unsatisfactory, and not only from a scientific standpoint. To be sure, everyday dealings involve some communication on the prevailing situation and the corresponding difficulties. However, relevant information, as a rule, is limited to a small group. It may be presumed, for instance, that every project dealing with co-operation in the training and further education of civil services and sponsored by a political foundation has been examined in a prior feasibility study. However, it is only in exceptional cases that such studies are made available to the public (Avenarius, 1980). Yet our knowledge should be increased also by secondary and cross-sectional studies. Analyses of requirements are rarely carried out without any commitment to a project idea (see as an exception Fanger *et al.*, 1980). On the other hand, discussions with experts from developing countries which reveal administrative difficulties are quite frequent (Bolay, 1980). While administrative research in the Federal Republic of Germany cannot compare with the post-colonial United Kingdom's search for knowledge nor with the scientific potential in the United States, some progress has been made in research on public administration in developing countries (Oberndörfer, 1981). Finally, the question should be investigated as to where criteria are to be found for determining why certain administrative institutions in a technologically developed country tend to be considered exemplary for solving public problems and why certain administrative conditions in developing countries are, under the prevailing conditions, rated as unsatisfactory. It should be noted first of all that this is a matter of orientation for practical action. Administrative science can, to this extent, make an illuminating contribution (Bodemayer, 1981, p. 351 ff.). However, it cannot set standards for decisions in development policy on its own.

On the other hand, the subjective judgements of practitioners are not enough, no matter how familiar they may be with administrative affairs in both industrialized and developing countries. The subject calls for standards of action—in written or unwritten form.

In the context of international administrative relations and development policy, such guidelines are gained more and more from the internationalization of public administration. It is no coincidence that those promoting public administration are frequently involved with fields like fiscal administration, labour administration and

local administration, which are marked by the institutionalization of international co-operation. We have no set behavioural models from colonial and post-colonial times for administrative co-operation. Emulating international organizations is not free of problems (Wolff, 1976, p. 349 ff.). But in the German situation it leads to a gain in rationality. Close co-operation with the Customs Co-operating Council, for instance, contributes a kind of orientation for administrative aid in the customs sector, thus raising individual national experiences to a mediatory level (Gotschlich, 1979, p. 749 ff.).

This need not result in a simplifying universalism of helpful administrative formulae. It is a matter of insight into the socio-technological aspects of public administration. Thus, administrative techniques function in accordance with the prevailing social, political and economic conditions. When introducing such techniques they must be adapted to the specific cultural environment (Molsberger, 1980). Here, again, the regional organizations of the developing countries in the various fields of administration are helpful; this applies in particular where they represent certain common characteristics within one cultural region. Their assistance is useful not only in the dialogue among Southern countries, but also contributes to a better understanding between North and South. Contributing—perhaps as regional associations for tax administration (König *et al.*, 1981a, p. 316 ff.), to cite an example—to a reflection on the basic cultural conditions of public administration, and aggregating experience data for a certain area, they constitute intermediate stations in helping to overcome the gap between industrialized and developing countries.

CONTINUING EDUCATION FOR TEACHERS AND PRACTITIONERS: THE SPEYER PROGRAMME

Criteria such as those resulting from organized co-operation in international administrative relations have also been of central importance in the establishment of a course of study for students from developing countries within the framework of advanced studies at the Post-Graduate School of Administrative Sciences Speyer (König, 1981b). Also the International Association of Schools and Institutes of Administration has in recent times focused increasing attention on the problems of education and training for civil services in developing countries (Stone, 1978, p. 164 ff.). For example, its working group for curriculum development deals mainly with questions of co-operation between administrative institutes in industrial countries and those in developing countries (König *et al.*, 1981c).

One of the subjects discussed by the International Association of Schools and Institutes of Administration is how the academic institutions in highly developed countries can better contribute to strengthening administrative faculties, university departments for public administration and governmental institutes for the continuing education of civil servants in the Third World. Education and vocational training for those responsible for training and education, the international teacher's programme or the training of trainers are the leading formulae. For the present, the advanced studies offered at Speyer appear to be a suitable framework. They are intended for graduates whose education is to be supplemented and deepened in accordance with the needs and demands of public administration. The objective is to

broaden the scope of completed specialized studies through practice-oriented interdisciplinary courses. The advanced studies are oriented towards certain priorities and comprise *obligatory* studies of administrative sciences, *main* subjects—for instance, organization and data processing or budgeting and finance—and *supplementary* subjects, which may also be a combination of focal topics. A practical course in administration is integrated into the study of the main subjects.

With this organization of studies and with the final graduation as Master of Administrative Sciences, the Speyer Post-Graduate School is unique in higher education in the Federal Republic of Germany; however, in an international perspective its practical orientation is in line with the 'professional school approach'. Its offering of multi-disciplinary and inter-disciplinary courses is in keeping with the idea of a so-called comprehensive school. Optional subjects and the choice of specialisation comply with the principle of individual planning of studies within the framework of a curriculum.

An interest in administrative conditions in Germany brings students from developing countries to the Federal Republic. Officials of the sending institutions point out that British, French and in particular American patterns of behaviour influenced their own education and training, and that they are interested in widening their knowledge by becoming acquainted with other administrative systems.

Accordingly, concentration on major subjects allows them—depending on their concrete interests—to become familiar, for instance, with local self-administration in the Federal Republic of Germany. To be sure, feedback with the home country and links with the problems in developing countries is provided for. As far as content is concerned this means that the supplementary subjects generally include international relations and development administration as a major focus. In terms of didactics, it is ensured that—through reports and analyses dealing with the administrative situation in the home countries—the acquired knowledges and skills are brought into proper relation to life and the professional world in the home countries. This is particularly evident when it is necessary to provide for passing on acquired knowledge within the educational institutions of the home countries. Such feedback begins with general national reports, is oriented towards specific foci of interest in a project and included in reports on the practical courses, and is eventually presented in the Master's thesis. Finally target groups who are to act as multipliers and who pass on the acquired knowledges and skills to their fellow countrymen are enabled to obtain qualifications in curriculum development and didactics. This need can be met not only through relevant courses, but also by selecting suitable venues for the practical courses, for example in an intra-authority educational institution for the civil service.

CONCLUSION

Since it was recommended in the late 1960s that a postgraduate diploma course analogous to that offered by the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague also be established in the Federal Republic of Germany (Schnur, 1969, p. 466 ff.) the problems of public administration promotion through education and training have not become less difficult. In particular the disaster experienced in connection with

American aid to Iran, which had also included considerable efforts in public administration development, made doubts rather more evident (Seitz *et al.*, 1980, p. 407 ff.). Although it was the projects on the spot that were directly affected, intellectual repercussions have also affected the educational concepts of U.S. and other Western institutions for public administration promotion. In spite of tendencies to the contrary (Adlerstein, 1975, pp. 25 f.) it has meanwhile become generally accepted in our country that it is not feasible simply to detach technical instrumental concerns from administrative matters. In everyday activities this can be seen in the fact that those dealing with educational measures also endeavour to establish links with the political sphere in one way or another. It is recognized that relations between politics and administration in developing countries are highly diffuse, and that, for instance, we may not simply take for granted the differentiation of political and administrative roles as we know it in the West, even if a large portion of the administrative services here are engaged in party politics. The multifunctionality of civil services and the central position of politics in developing countries (Oberndorfer, 1981, p. 13 ff.) need not be perpetual points of controversy unless the subliminal idea exists that the civil services are an exception—as it were by nature—from the political-cultural order.

Nobody can rule out, though, that the religious fundamentalism which became relevant for administrative discussions following the events in Iran (Dwivedi and Nef, 1982, p. 59 ff.) is not only beyond the classic issues of the relationship between political and administrative development, of the socio-cultural conditions of development administration or of support for the status quo by way of administrative aid (Diamant *et al.*, 1966, p. 388 ff.). Experience from discussions of the ethical aspects of the education and training of civil servants suggests that this is not simply a matter of the respect traditionally demanded for the different cultural values valid in a foreign administration. In such a case, it should be admitted, with regard to Western public administration promotion through education, that the fundamental 'Weltanschauung' may set limits to co-operation, just as there are also the political-ideological constraints of Marxism-Leninism and its cadre administration as regards the East (König, 1982, p. 37 ff.). Even if the question of values is not rated so highly, it becomes evident that a risk is implied when educational idealism focuses its programmes on the doctrine of 'good' administration. It appears more appropriate to set out from the development and situation of a concrete public administration within time and space (in this case the Federal Republic of Germany), and to elucidate its social, economic and political fundamentals, than to allow for internationalized standards of public administration. A bridge can then be built to the administrative problems encountered by developing countries. Like the history of development policy in general, that of public administration promotion is often portrayed as a history of crises. It is a sign of continuity that the international community up to the present day adheres to the conviction that the administrative factor is of importance for public affairs and that education and training are decisive for the civil services in developing countries (SICA, 1982).

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