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Abstract

Four aspects of the relationship between Public Administration (PA) and Political Science (PS) are analyzed: the historical configurations of the emergence of PA and PS; their respective disciplinary self-understandings; their intellectual exchange; and the question of whether PS and PA are at the same level of disciplinarity if assessed from a philosophy of science perspective. The chapter concludes that the relationship between PA and PS can be characterized as close, competitive, and based on a division of labor—though their concrete interactions depend to a large extent on specific topics and scholarly fads. There are also important differences in the goals of PA and PS: the former is a multidisciplinary endeavor that focuses applied research, while the latter aims to advance our theoretical knowledge in terms of basic research.

Biographical Note

Michael W. Bauer is Jean Monnet Professor and holds the chair of Comparative Public Administration and Policy Analysis at the German University of Administrative Sciences in Speyer. He is interested in international and multilevel public administration as well as in the comparative analysis of public policy-making. Current projects include investigating the autonomy of international bureaucracies, studying implementation conflicts in EU annulment litigation, and surveying the attitudes of subnational as well as supranational public servants to European integration.

1. Introduction

Trying to illuminate the relationship between Public Administration (PA) and Political Science (PS) poses a number of challenges.¹ First, academic disciplines are notoriously conflicted in terms of their own self-understanding. Opinions differ widely about what actually constitute the essential characteristics of either PA or PS respectively. Isolating the relationship between such moving targets is thus not only difficult but also largely a matter of perspective. Second, as scientific projects, PS and PA both aim to discover general knowledge; however, as social sciences, they also mirror the values, traditions, and cultures of the societies in which they operate. Similarly, they are shaped by national contingencies such as, for example, the particular pathways established by national university systems. In other words, there are distinct and persistent country specificities scholars need take into account when considering the relationship between PA and PS. One should expect to find various “configurations” between the two, rather than *one* clear linkage that holds across contexts. A discipline is, thirdly, an intellectual endeavor, i.e., it is made up of a community of individuals. Institutionalization—in terms of university faculties, study programs, disciplinary associations, etc.—is of course important for providing continuity, and for offering a platform to struggle for societal attention and government funding. It is, however, the creativity, curiosity, skills, and perseverance of individuals who raise questions and advance ideas in the quest to produce relevant theories on which a discipline is built—and creativity and curiosity do not observe disciplinary borders. Think of scholars like Herbert Simon or Elinor Ostrom; their works influenced PA and PS alike, even though they are regularly monopolized by PS or PA as representatives of “their” respective discipline. Moreover, many PA colleagues are active in a variety of different projects simultaneously—some of which can be subsumed under core PA topics, others might fall into clear PS territory. This indicates that both societal problems and our attempts as scholars to cope with them regularly transcend disciplinary borders. This should remind us that the particular order of disciplines that has emerged is nothing more than an artifact of our past and present ways and abilities to look at the world.² Ultimately, influential research is a matter of asking questions and finding answers regardless of contingently institutionalized or imagined disciplinary borders.

With these caveats in mind, I concentrate here on four aspects of the relationship between PA and PS. First, there are the historical paths by which disciplines in general and PA in particular emerged, and how the emergence of PA interlinks with the development of PS. Second, there are the respective disciplinary self-understandings of PA and PS—the attitudes of individual scholars within each field towards their own discipline and its relationship with the other. Third, I look at what intellectual interchange between PA and PS actually looks like in practice. Fourth, it’s necessary to ask whether PS and PA exist at the same level of disciplinarity³ if assessed from a philosophy of science perspective. The chapter concludes that the relationship between PA and PS depends on specific topics and current fads, and also reflects differences in goals. PA is a multidisciplinary endeavor with a prime focus on studying government in order to produce insights to improve government practice. PS, in contrast, studies government in a much broader sense and the prime aim is to produce theoretical explanations and generalizable knowledge.

2. Historical pathways

The emergence of academic disciplines is often connected with the discovery of new problems as well as the technologies (in the broadest sense) to cope with them, the entrepreneurship of some charismatic personalities, and the willingness of societies (or rather governments) to invest resources into institutionalization. However, once university disciplines *have* emerged, they are quite persistent and tend to reproduce themselves. Moreover, within an established discipline new and dissenting paradigms tend to be absorbed and accommodated—up to a point (Kuhn, 1962). The usual way how disciplines come into being is by splitting off in the form of a secession of a “new” discipline from a “mother” discipline. The links between secessionist and mother disciplines usually remain close and a matter of continuing struggle—at least for some time. The history of PA in general and its relationship to PS in particular features both, secession and competition. Consider the disciplinary history of PA in most western European countries. Knowledge about the state, and how it should do its business, used to be concentrated in what has been called ‘Staatswissenschaft’, i.e., in a ‘science of the state’ that comprised a range of expertise that is today distributed among public law, national economy, management and budgeting among others (Heyen, 1982; Schuppert, 2000). The legacy of this tradition, in countries close to the German model in particular—is that issues of public administration have long been dominated by the legal perspective (Ellwein, 2001). Social science-rooted PA in the modern sense was thus a latecomer, which needed to conquer its academic role in an institutional and intellectual context that was already relatively rigid and dominated by jurisprudence. The various European national trajectories of how PA evolved and matured cannot be described in detail here.⁴ A central explanatory variable can be seen, however, in the national tradition organizing the recruitment to public offices. Where the legal profession controls recruitment, this legal dominance is usually also reflected in how PA as a discipline or field of study is nationally organized (Bossaert et al., 2001). The point here is that the particular relationship between PA and PS depends greatly on how the two fields evolved and are respectively organized in a particular national setting.

Let us consider just a few examples. In Germany, PA was a post-war importation from the United States. Within Germany, however, it met with an already affirmative tradition of ‘Staatswissenschaften’ dominated by public lawyers (Bogumil and Jann, 2009; Ellwein, 1997; Seibel, 1996). Political science was introduced roughly at the same time as PA, but established itself more successfully—first as a ‘science of democracy and democratization’ and later as an empirical social science focused on public institutions and collective decision-making. In contrast, the development of PA was less successful—the field remained *normatively* dominated by public law and *empirically* had to compete with an ever stronger PS and other related social sciences. In Germany, therefore, PA never really emerged as an independent academic endeavor and leads a niche existence even today.

In Holland, to take another example, PA emerged before the Second World War thanks to a similar push from the US, like in the case of pacified Germany helped Dutch PA to develop into a full-fledged university discipline (Raadschelders, 1998; Sager and Rutgers, 2014). Four decades later after the fall of the wall in the 1990s, in many Eastern European countries still another PA trajectory can be identified. There, PA is rather conceived of as a matter for management and economics departments (Bauer, 2005; Hajnal, 2015b). A good overview of the state of the art is given by Hajnal (2003, 2015a). Although he focuses empirically on teaching programs—one can safely assume that the dominant patterns that he detects also characterize national PA traditions in a broader sense.

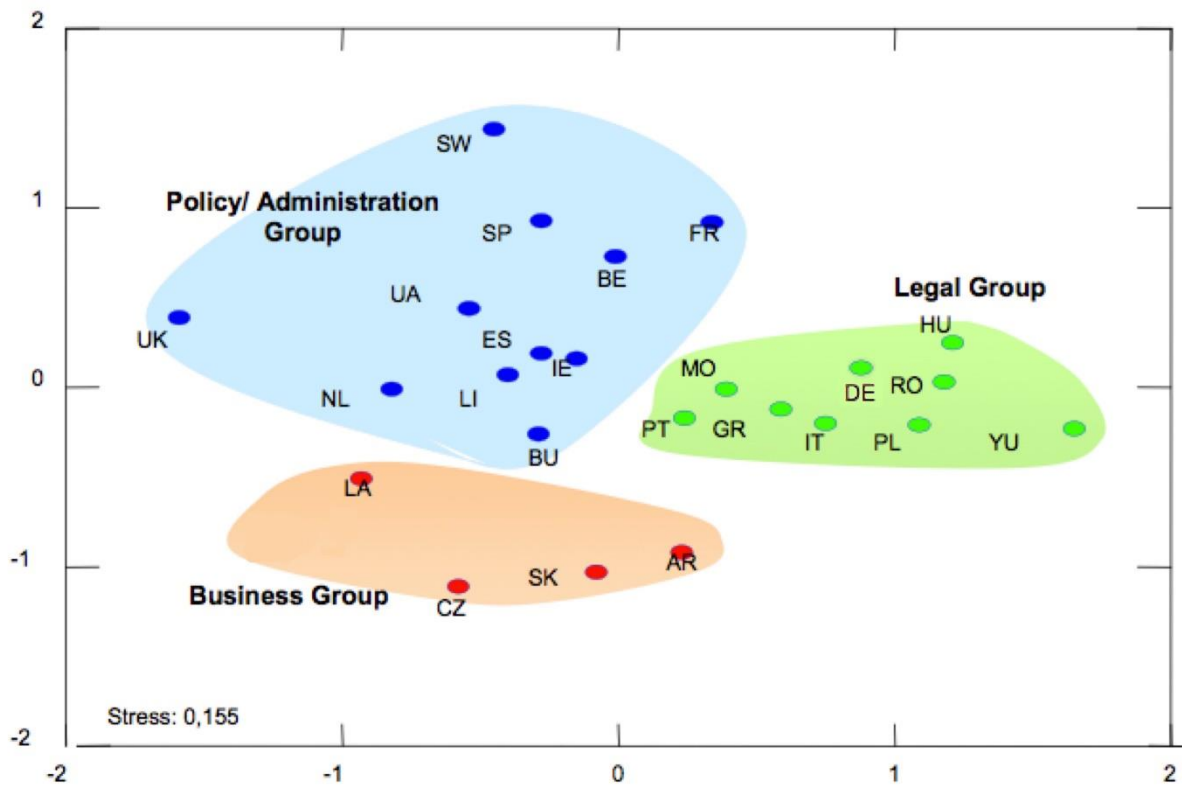


Figure 53.1: Three different clusters of PA – Relative dominance of legal, business or political science traditions in Europe

Source: adapted Hajnal 2003 and Schneider 2004.

Non-metric multidimensional scaling (MDS) based upon percentile distributions of the disciplines in their countries. MDS is a means of visualizing the level of (dis-)similarity of individual cases of a dataset. The center of the graph indicates a PA program that consists of equal parts of legal, policy and business components. For details, see Schneider (2004).

Source: With a correction (Germany) taken from Schneider (2004), this is based on Hajnal (2003).⁵

When we turn to the US case, we notice that the development there is quite different. In the US, the legal discipline is not as strongly intertwined with the state as it is in Europe. Political Science emerged first, and only by overcoming a basic anti-government authority reflex around the turn of the twentieth century when the need to professionalize the expanding central state bureaucracy became apparent (Wilson, 1887). It was in this context that demands for a science to turn public administration into a modern, effective and efficient state instrument led to the secession of PA from PS (Kickert and Stillman, 1999; Stillman, 1990).

What do these examples tell us about the relationship between PA and PS? First, the relationship between PA and PS is shaped by the situation prevailing at the time PA emerges in a national context. Which academic discipline occupies the broader intellectual territory before the institutionalization of a PA focus is crucial. Secondly, PA as a multidisciplinary enterprise thus has a close but competitive relation with its 'peer' disciplines, particularly PS when and where it departed from PS. How this competition plays out—i.e., whether and to what extent PA can become an independent and influential university discipline in a given context—depends on the respective national development these peer disciplines.⁶ Third, how the state

organizes the recruitment of its employees is the most important 'external' variable that determines the configuration of competition, independence, and relative importance that PA as a discipline enjoys or suffers in a given country.

3. Disciplinary self-perceptions

Historical pathways that influence disciplinary realities in a sociological sense are one matter. Another important and related aspect is the resulting disciplinary self-understanding that both reflects and reproduces attitudes of individual scholars towards their profession and shapes their relationship with 'other' disciplinary territory. Exploring the respective self-perceptions of PA and PS as academic disciplines can thus help us to better understand the relationship between the two fields.

In PA, there is a continuing debate about what actually constitutes a 'science' of public administration and what purpose it should serve. There are similar self-critical reflections in PS, though smaller in number and perhaps less dramatic in tone. It is probably fair to say that the need for self-assurance is greater in PA than in PS (Benz, 2005; Bogumil, 2005; Jann, 2003; Peters, 2003; Whicker et al., 1993). Take, for example, the following quote from a PA introductory text from Gerald Caiden (1982, 3):

... no other discipline seems to have so much trouble justifying itself to itself and to the world at large. (...) It has yet to develop a solid theoretical foundation. It is plagued by vagueness, indefiniteness, looseness and imprecision. Its theorists and its practitioners barely relate to one another. Universal agreement is rare; wide differences of opinion exist over meaning, approaches, study methods, identity and boundary limitations. Its students often find it dull, the texts unreal, the debates pointless, the controversies meaningless, the theories inoperable and practical training worthless. In short, it suffers from a loss of conceptual direction.

While this quote is purposefully provocative, it highlights PA's lack of a common paradigm or coherent unifying agenda (Chandler, 1991). As yet, PA constitutes more of pluri-discipline, combining various disciplinary perspectives on its subject-matter, without being able to integrate towards the direction of inter-disciplinarity, let alone trans-disciplinarity. Dealing pragmatically with disciplinary fragmentation and incoherence, Rosenbloom, Kravchuk, and Cerkin (2014, 14) suggest defining PA as an undertaking based on legal, managerial, and political science approaches to studying the state, its organization, and its activities. This three-pillar-doctrine is now widely accepted among PA scholars, and is—as figure 53.1 suggests—strongly rooted in PA educational realities.⁷ Figure 53.2 attempts to sketch the situation by combining the three most important PA approaches in a triangle. It illustrates disciplinary priorities and existing affinities. What the triangle also showcases is the likely difficulty one would have coming up with PA paradigms or research questions that could integrate all three PA 'corners' equally well. For example, the interest in institutions is shared by the legal and political science perspective, but less so by the management approach. Political science and management can interrelate in terms of their concern with the role of individuals, but the instrumental dimension of PA is rather a question of legal design and economic concerns and thus something more akin to the focus of law and management than the political science perspective. The triangle is a simplification, but it nonetheless points to the field's inherent heterogeneity, its origins, and the difficulty of overcoming it. In all likelihood, one might be able to integrate two poles via one axis, but hardly all three poles via all three axes.

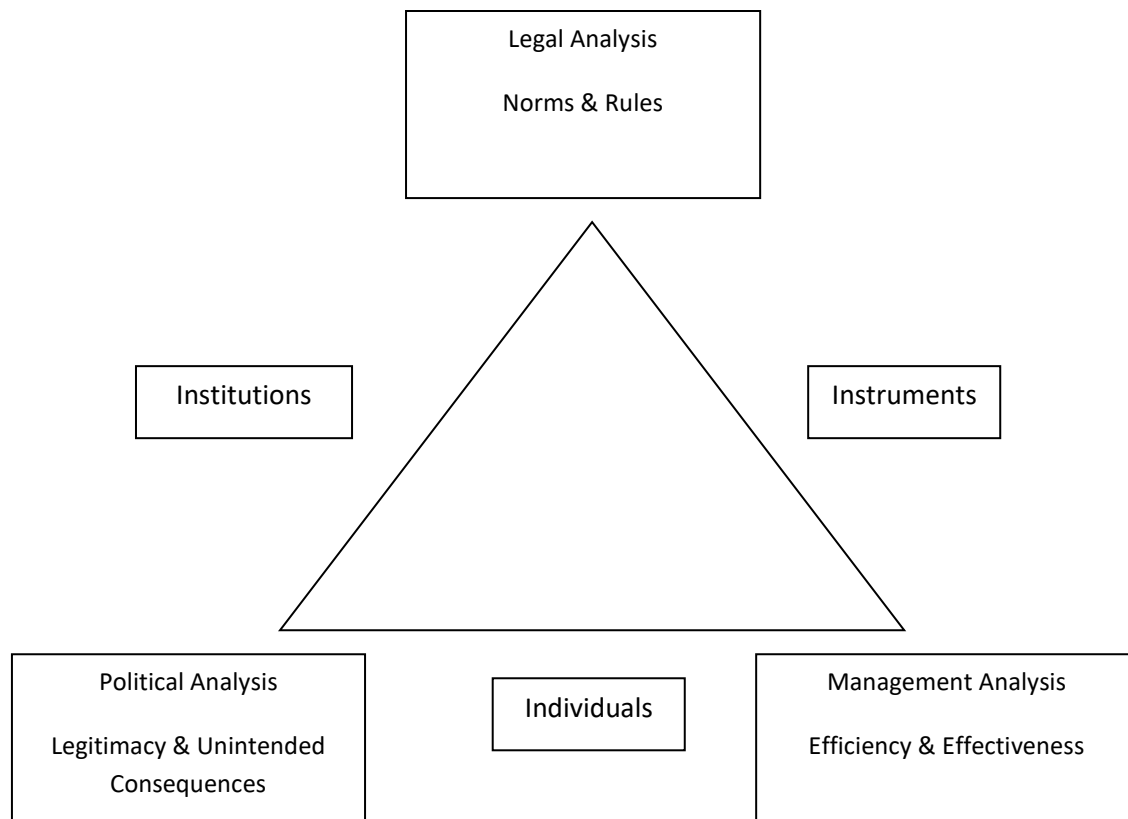


Figure 53.2: The PA triangle

Source: Own compilation, derived from Bauer (2005).

Like PA, PS also comprises a number of strong sub-disciplines—like political theory and history of political thinking, comparative politics, policy analysis, international relations, as well as political sociology and electoral studies—few of which are particularly or consistently close and amicable with one another (Goodin and Klingemann, 1996). In this sense, PS is likewise eclectic in using explanatory programs and methods from other social sciences (mostly from sociology and economics) and has problems of fragmentation. Nonetheless, PS can be said to revolve around a unifying research agenda of theoretical and empirical questions about how political orders emerge, function, and change, and what role political power plays in the attempt to solve societal conflicts and distribute scarce resources. With its focus on institutions and decision-making, the normative questions of PS concern how legitimate political order and political action are best achieved. Moreover, in PS a methodological and epistemological consensus has emerged that can be described as a mild critical rationalist position (King et al., 1994). With respect to the epistemological consensus in PS one notes a stark contrast to PA. Due to their different ontological understanding of scientific method and progress, the legal PA community cannot embrace the standards of PA as an empirical social science, and this constitutes a natural barrier to more comprehensive disciplinary integration of PA as a field of study.

One should also note that PS itself has undergone several disciplinary transformations, the most important one probably being the changes brought about by the behavioral revolution in the social sciences (Wahlke, 1979). In its aftermath a focus on political behavior and explanatory strategies relying on individual-level explanations and using formalized and quantifiable methods and research strategies—inspired by modern Economics—came to dominate mainstream PS (Héritier, 2016). Or, rather, this is the impression one gets looking at the top journals of the discipline. In reality PS

is more heterogeneous; in particular, those areas of PS closer to PA—like the study of political systems and policy analysis—are decisively less defined by the methodological rigor and epistemological consensus emerging in other PS areas (Katznelson and Milner, 2003).

Common territory between PS and PA emerges thus in particular where approaches inspired by the new institutionalism are followed and organizational factors and institutional contexts are put center stage (March and Olsen, 1983). Given the fads, fashions, and splits within PS, it only makes sense to analyze the relationship between PA and PS by further specifying which sub-disciplines of the latter.

Consider a concrete example. In the 1950s and 1960s western welfare states expanded, the ideal of a ‘great society’ prevailed, and demands for the state to engage in planning and social development reached their peak. Societal planning and large-scale public redistribution programs boosted interest in policy analysis, especially in view of evaluation and policy implementation studies, on the one hand, and on the other hand the growing need to assess the capacity of state administrations to actually design and deliver on the new priorities. In that context of planning and implementation as political processes, PA and PS had a common focus. This led, especially in the US, to the emergence of policy schools that brought together scholars from PA, PS, and other related (mostly technical) disciplines in a joint institutional context (Allison, 2006). This was when Fritz W. Scharpf provocatively proclaimed PA as a part of PS—encouraging continental PS in Europe to likewise take on the academic challenges and opportunities arising from the expansion of public tasks and changing political-administrative responsibilities (Scharpf, 1973). These heydays and the potential they held for joint disciplinary endeavors between PS and PA ended with the oil price shock in the ‘70s and the rise of the age of austerity. Reagonomics and Thatcherism stopped social democratic welfare expansion and public administrations, or sometimes the whole public sectors, came to be reassessed solely through the lens of efficiency and cutback potentials, in keeping with the New Public Management agenda (Hood, 1995). One can say that PA thus ceased to be part of PS at that point and, rather, moved towards business administration and the management corner of the triangle presented above (see figure 53.2).

Another shift of analytical focus is relevant to characterize the changing relationship between PS and PA. PS has become ever more interested in the role of private actors in the provision of public goods.⁸ There is obviously a link here to the shift away from the strong planning and spending role of the state just described and the growing interest in alternatives to hierarchical planning and top-down government. But the rising interest in private actors and the transition from a focus on government to governance also mark an ever greater alienation between PS and PA. At the very least, the common ground between PS and PA—i.e., the role of state bureaucracies in the making of public policies—has been reduced in most PS research designs to just one (usually independent) factor, among many others. In other words, with the emerging governance perspective—to which those parts of PS traditionally close to PA began to subscribe—the interest in issues of bureaucracy and public administration has vanished.

In sum, the highly debated divide in the social sciences between methodological rigor and practical relevance (Héritier, 2016) has likewise divided the relationship between PA and PS on the whole. PS considers itself more on the basic research side of the continuum, while in PA government consulting and practical relevance are foregrounded. Put bluntly, methodologically sophisticated designs and large-n studies are much more common in PS than in PA. This, of course, has implications for the chances of theory development as well as for cross-disciplinary exchange. Moreover,

the common ground between PS and PA is also a matter of real-world changes and resulting fashions—as the shift from planning euphoria in the ‘60s to the ‘lean state’ debates in the ‘80s demonstrates. The focus on governance and private or transnational actors in PS has further reduced the potential for fruitful interaction between PS and PA (Bauer, 2015). When, as in the aftermaths of the recent financial and fiscal turmoil, demands for state intervention rise again, the PA agenda may well come to gain greater currency in PS once more. At any rate, the bulk of the exchange between PS and PA is a matter of interchange among subfields. Policy analysis and the study of political systems on the side of PS, and bureaucratic control and administrative planning questions within PA, do demarcate the poles of potentially fruitful interdisciplinary discourse. Systematically relating intra-organizational features via a causal chain to policy output and outcomes thus extends the promise of a joint research agenda shared equally by PS and PA (Bauer, 2008; Ferlie and Ongaro, 2015). There is, however, no denying that the separate ways PS and PA have chosen are unlikely to converge at a large scale.

4. Inter-disciplinary intellectual exchange

As demonstrated in the previous section, certain areas and topics of intellectual exchange are connected with the respective disciplinary self-understandings of PS and PA. What can be said empirically about the intellectual exchange between PA and PS and about potential inspiration across disciplinary borders?

First, one should note that conferences and workshops organized by the PS or PA national or international associations are in principal open to both communities; and, indeed, at these meetings in the frame of APSA, ASPA, ECPR, EGPA, IIAS, or IPSA (to name just a few) de facto exchange between PS and PA in all kinds of matters and topics takes place. Some national political science associations, like the British PSA, host specialized groups of PA scholars; on the other side, EGPA includes a number of permanent study groups—on public policy or multilevel governance—that are populated by political scientists and PA scholars alike. In other words, the organization of scientific discourse in PS and PA certainly allows for permeable boundaries and cross-disciplinary dialogue and exchange.

Second, if one looks at the current top twenty of the Thompson Reuters Citation index for PA journals, one finds among the best PA (!) journals listed outlets like *Policy Sciences*, *Policy Studies Journal*, *Environmental Planning*, *Journal of European Social Policy*, *Governance*, *Regulatory Governance*, *Journal of Public Policy*, *Journal of European Public Policy and Governance*. In other words, roughly one-third of the top twenty PA journals do not have a particular PA focus, but are rather platforms for both the PS *and* the PA communities. Notably, however, this does not apply the other way around—in other words, among ranked PS journals, no explicitly PA-related journal—with the exception of *Governance*—makes it to the top twenty.

PA and PS scholars thus meet at the same conferences and publish often in the same journals. Unfortunately, thirdly, this does not necessarily mean they are communicating intensively with each other. A citation analysis by Bradley E. Wright—based on cross-citation analysis between the top fifteen journals of PA, PS, Public Management, and law, respectively—suggests that ‘the rate at which public administration research incorporates the work of these fields is very low’ (2011, 97).⁹ But while PA takes sparse note of what is the state of the art in the related fields, the disregard of PA research by political science, management studies, and law journals is even greater. Measured, for example, by citations of *Public Administration Review* in the top journals of the other disciplines, it is revelatory that the frequency of citations of PA research in PS journals is not just low, but has even declined over time. Thus,

'the visibility of the research published in public administration journals seems to have declined over the same time period' (Wright 2011, 97). Wright comes to the conclusion that while 'public administration research only infrequently cites research published in top law, management, and political science journals, these journals cite public administration research far less frequently' (2011, 98).

To be sure, the top-ranked journals are usually connected with mainstream research which is increasingly dominated by sophisticated methodological approaches and large-n designs—i.e., with research strategies that are more current in political science and management areas than in the PA field—as discussed in the previous section. An argument could be made that PA research is of applied nature, less theory-driven, and thus less likely to be published in top journals and eventually noticed by other fields. Nevertheless, Wright's results clearly indicate in absolute and relative terms an alarming intellectual isolation of PA research.

With respect to the particular relationship between PS and PA in view of disciplinary exchange, two conclusions can thus tentatively be drawn. First, there is precariously little mutual attention. Second, to the extent that attention is paid, it is predominantly PA reflecting on results produced by PS rather than the other way around. In other words, the exchange relationship between PA and PS is rather one-sided. There is some intellectual intake from PS into PA, but PA results and approaches do not reach out to a broader PS audience.

5. What constitutes a scientific discipline anyway?

It has been left open so far whether PA and PS actually qualify as mature disciplines. Even without the empirical insights reported in the previous section—i.e., that PA intellectually builds on PS but not vice versa—the question, more specifically, is whether PA is a sufficiently autonomous discipline at all. Scholars writing on the issue are divided (Dahl, 1947; Wright, 2015). Most researchers are pragmatic in this respect. Since PA does indeed exist as a discipline in most European countries and also in the US—and although PA tends to develop increasingly into policy schools and public management courses—one has learned to live with a rather fragmented university discipline, internally characterized by multiple-paradigms (Ostrom, 2008). Other PA voices strive for systematic clarifications and carry the debate about whether and to what extent PA actually is or potentially can be a "discipline" further. For example, Eberhard Bohne—with an eye toward the German situation where PA is barely institutionalized—has tried to justify the potential for a stand-alone PA as an intellectual *and* academic discipline on theoretical and sociological grounds (Bohne, 2014). Wright (2015), reflecting on Dahl's critique from 1947, assesses the progress and deficits of PA rather positively. Applying criteria from the philosophy of science developed by the theorist Mario Bunge, Volker Schneider comes to a more gloomy assessment with respect to PA's disciplinary autonomy (Bunge, 1998, 2003; Schneider, 2004). Without its own paradigms, coherent epistemological principles, proper formal or logical theories, or clear borders of scientific discourse, PA should probably be seen as an interdisciplinary profession rather than as an outright scientific discipline.

According to the above criteria, however, PS also has a long way to go to become a mature discipline in Bunge's sense (Schneider 2004, 11–15), though PS is still farther along than PA. In other words, PA is more like medicine or engineering and unlike sociology or political science. It tries to bring together relevant knowledge of other disciplines that can be applied to its specific 'subject area'. The following quote highlights Bunge's position; the term 'management' used can well be read as PA as a whole:

The study of management is not a science, but it can become just as scientific as engineering or medicine. When scientific, it deserves to be regarded as a branch of socio-technology tapping social psychology, sociology, economics, and political science. However, it is not reducible to either of these sciences, if only because its ultimate goal is utilitarian rather than cognitive. (Bunge, 1998, 387).

But what is the subject matter of PA? As we have seen in the previous sections, this question is likely to elicit different answers from PA scholars depending upon whether they come from legal, management, or political science backgrounds. Such heterogeneous points of view add to the perception of fuzziness of the subject matter. Research questions may focus norms, institutions, or instruments—and we assess them from a standpoint of legality, fairness, or efficiency makes for big differences. The inability to unify concepts, research questions, and analytical standards will keep PA at the level of a ‘social technology’ (of public management and political steering), with advancement from ‘utilitarian’ to ‘cognitive’ levels (in Bunge’s notion) out of reach for the foreseeable future.

6. Conclusions

The relationship between PA and PS can be characterized as close, competitive, based on a division of labor, and hierarchical, with the former subordinate to the latter. It is close not only because research questions are related where the role of state institutions and the effects of state interventions are the focus; but also in the sense that the respective scholarly communities do interact within permeable structures, often using the same venues for the presentation and publication of their research. Close ties are also provided at the individual level—as the same scholars subsequently engage in PA and PS projects or on projects that cover PA and PS topics at the same time. It is self-evident that the borders are more apparent than real among those PS scholars working on policy-making or national political systems and PA scholars from the political science ‘corner’ of their profession. The relationship is competitive with respect to establishing and entertaining university programs, demonstrating relevance to society, attracting excellent students, and struggling for resources from private actors and public authorities. The relationship is, however, also based on a division of labor. PA focuses on intra-organizational and procedural issues and its vantage point remains the authority and capacity of the state in a normative and empirical sense (Bauer 2008). PS, in contrast, takes a broader perspective where a broad range of societal inputs and policy outputs are given much greater attention; and it puts much more emphasis on the generalizability of knowledge and on theoretical advancement (see also Whicker et al., 1993, 532). Finally, if one accepts certain criteria for assessing the coherence and consistency of scientific disciplines, one is led to interpret the relative greater fragmentation, the missing methodological consensus, and the absence of an overarching paradigm as indicators of PA’s relative epistemological inferiority. Acknowledging this state of the art is not to ignore that PS has difficulties and deficits of its own if compared to ideals of pure doctrine. The point, however, is that PA is perhaps best seen as a profession that is primarily interested in instrumental knowledge, more akin to medicine or engineering for example. If we were to reframe it thus, the aim of PA would shift to optimizing public administration in the widest sense—i.e., making the state work as legitimate, fair, effectively and efficiently as possible. If one accepts these objectives for PA as a whole, then engaging in multi-disciplinarity appears to be the right strategy. In the absence of a unifying paradigm and a methodological consensus, chances for theoretical advancement in PA will remain limited—and most likely confined to discourses that originate in the respective parent

disciplines and then get re-imported to PA. In this sense, the various 'corners' of PA reflect a hybrid character. They are parts of PA but stay closely linked to their parent disciplines: political science, law, and management studies, respectively.

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Notes:

¹ There are a number of very insightful articles on the topic—see Benz (2003), Bogumil (2005), Lee (1995), Martin (1952), Peters (2003), and Whicker et al. (1993). This chapter should thus be seen as a contribution to an ongoing debate. It is, nonetheless, telling that articles reflecting on the relationship between PA and PS are written for the most part by PA scholars. In this sense, the urge to clarify the relationship seems much higher on the side of PA than on the side of PS.

² Such basic questions are not only an issue for the 'soft' social sciences; think, for example, of the harsh debates over the place of chemistry and biology in the natural sciences—see Popper (1974).

³ With the term 'disciplinarity' I mean the quality of an academic discipline in intellectual and sociological terms.

⁴ But see Bogumil and Jann (2009); Chevallier (1994); Hesse (1982); Kickert (2005, 2008); Kickert and Stillman (1999); Kickert and Toonen (2006); Kingdom (1986); König (2003); Raadschelders (1998, 2011).

⁵ In later works based on the findings of the 2003 survey, Hajnal shows a shrinking and weakening of the legal cluster. He observes a stronger orientation towards policy and management in civil servant training and education in Europe. For example, shifts occurred in Italy towards the policy-oriented cluster, and in Romania towards the management cluster. He also states that the countries of the non-legal clusters were stable and did not experience any change. Against this trend Hajnal considers Hungary and Germany strongholds of the legally-oriented public administration education, which remained, as an exception, stable in the legal cluster. See Hajnal (2003, 2015a,b).

⁶ Take the US for example, where during the '30s and '40s PA was arguably more successful as a university discipline than PS, but afterwards—especially with the behavioral revolution and the emergence of policy schools—PA fell back in esteem and productivity. See Kickert and Stillman (1999); and Raadschelders and Lee (2011).

⁷ As widespread the Rosenbloom et al. conceptualization is, it is not without its challengers. One also notes, for example, that within the US academic landscape PA as a term has somehow become connected with qualitative storytelling and immature methodological efforts that, in many eyes, characterized the field in the 1970s and

1980s. Thus PA contenders migrated to policy schools or to Public Management courses. The self-critical dealing with the label PA perhaps indicates more than anything else the disunity within the field.

⁸ Also PA – especially in the areas of Public Private Partnership and co-production – studies the role and relevance of private actors in the provision of public services. The argument, however, is that for PS the shift of focus towards private or non-public actors is much more pervasive and comprehensive than in PA. Most of PA arguably still focuses on state authorities; most of PS scholarship focuses on non-state actors, private influence, and new forms of governance.

⁹ To be more precise Wrights writes: ‘Work published in the top management or political science journals is cited relatively infrequently, while citations of work published in the top legal journals are even less common’ (2011, 97).