

Civil Services in the EU of 27 – Reform Outcomes and the Future of the Civil Service



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This article is presenting the results of a study on “Civil Service Systems in the EU of 27”¹, based on empirical data from the EU Member States, and realised within the European Public Administration Network (EUPAN), on the evolution of the classical bureaucratic career system in Europe. The following discussion presents an overview of the current status of national civil services, the main reform trends that are taking place and the main outcomes of selected national reform policies. The overall aim is to provide empirical evidence, facts and comparative statistical evidence in order to help experts and scholars to better understand the different national civil service systems, the nature of reforms and the changes that are taking place. This study thus represents basic research from which it may be worth continuing with more research into managerial issues, organisational reforms as well as different HR policies such as leadership issues, developments in the field of working time, diversity management, anti-discrimination and pension reforms. This overview may also serve as an instrument for a more rational discourse about the similarities and differences amongst the different national civil services.

Introduction

National public services are moving through a fascinating but also disorienting period of change throughout Europe. During the last few decades almost all national (and sub-national) public services have introduced major civil service reforms. The discussion on what has been achieved by restructuring the national public service is most controversial. Still, there is little evidence of the outcome of these reforms, the identification and definition of new administrative and organisational models and on the answer to the question of whether and how a specific civil service will survive at all in the future.

Still, civil service systems are a constituent part of our system of government. Modern government still depends to a great extent on the work of the national civil services and their employees; the millions of civil servants. In fact, the quality of life in Europe depends in many ways on those who work for governments and on how government works as such. Furthermore, civil services have a democratic and

ethical function; they should serve society and the law, protect the population as well as function in a sustainable manner. For all of these tasks and duties the Member States have established specific civil services. No government functions as a private company or under labour law.

Public Service Reforms and their outcomes

When looking back in time it indeed seems that every “era (...) has a few words that epitomise its world-view and that are fixed points by which all else can be measured. In the Middle Ages they were such words as faith, grace, God, nation; in the eighteenth century they were such words as reason, nature, and rights...”²

In the field of public management, reform language is changing all the time and is subject to many fashions. One could also say that, where classical civil service values such as neutrality, stability, hierarchy, impartiality, fairness

and standardisation are “static” and “conservative”, public management reform values are “fluent” and “modern”.

Modern public management science still promotes the linear development belief that there is always a better way to do things. Management theory therefore often matches our own cultural belief that anything new is better and promising. Therefore, many consider the old-fashioned term “bureaucracy” as something negative whereas the modern term “good governance” is seen as more positive. Reform rhetoric also contrasts new (good) managerial reforms with old (bad) bureaucracies, civil services and bureaucrats. “The name given to the old – that against which the modern, reformed public sector organisation stands out as superior – is usually something like traditional bureaucracy”.³ However, it remains unclear as to what the new model actually is and how it contrasts with the old model, if this new model ever existed at all.

Pollitt claims that public management reform has occurred much more as a result of replication of rhetoric, fashion and symbolism than the “grim dictates of the world economy or the functional necessity for increased efficiency”.⁴ When looking from the past to the present, however, it seems more likely that change will not result in a linear progress for the better, but rather to failures, successes, paradoxes, dilemmas and simple alternation. Choices must therefore be made very carefully. In reality, public sector modernization is full of paradoxes and unintended results (see Margetts/Perri 6 and Hood (2010)). Moreover, often, public reform language is contradictory.

Of course, most experts have a clear idea of what they want to leave behind. The well known bureaucratic pathologies have produced a counter wave against the bureaucratic model. But what is emerging instead? New public services, new public management organisations, hybrid organisations, private sector-like organisations, post-bureaucratic organisations, position systems? Some observers even claim that public administration in the 21st century has arrived in a new era of post-modernity.⁵ Still, “techniques for organisational engineering come and go with remarkable rapidity. New techniques come into fashion and old ones go out, much like the outfits modelled in Paris, Milan, and New York”.⁶

As many modern terms imply, the new models are mostly counter models to an old model. However, there is not yet a widely accepted new organisational model. Moreover, the move away from the classical model has produced new, but still not well known, organisational problems and difficulties. In the future, it will be interesting to see where and how new organisational models and reforms will indeed produce better results.

As the study “Civil Services in the EU of 27” shows, the reform of classical bureaucracies is actually a fascinating subject. It challenges many popular assumptions and increasingly calls into question the traditional characteristics of civil service systems, but leaves us puzzled as to the outcomes of all reforms. In fact, although almost all European civil services are in a process of ongoing reforms, there is still very little knowledge and comparative information

with regard to the nature and outcomes of these reforms. As a consequence, traditional features of the national civil services are increasingly disappearing. Long-standing taken for granted assumptions and orthodoxies no longer hold.

The Challenge of Comparing Civil Service Reforms in the European Union

Since the publication *Public Management Reform: A Comparative Analysis*, from Pollitt and Bouckaert (2000)⁷ until *Government at a Glance* (OECD) (2009),⁸ awareness has been growing of the importance of government activities and public sector reform. Despite the great importance of the civil services for the well-being of our societies, very little comparative and empirical information exists about the nature of reforms and the reform paths of the national civil services. Even amongst academics, little attention has been devoted to the field of comparative civil service reform outcomes. What could be the reason for this? One basic explanation could be the enormous difficulties involved in carrying out comparative research in an area which, until recently, was considered to be a national competence and represents a branch of the politico-administrative system that has been influenced the most by national traditions and history.

Comparisons of the national public- and civil services have so far produced a contrasting picture.⁹ Most of these comparisons are based on qualitative and literature research. Overall, there is very little factual and empirical evidence about structures, processes and policies in the national public services. The same is true as regards the nature of civil service reforms and evaluations in terms of their effects and outcomes.

Due to the difficulties involved in obtaining reliable data and carrying out applied empirical research, many theories reflect personal opinions, images and perceptions. According to Pollitt and Bouckaert, “There is a growing fashion for the authors of academic texts to ‘confess’ their own perspectives and likely biases”.¹⁰ Often, some countries are praised as being reform-oriented countries, whereas others are seen as reform laggards although it remains unclear as to the basis on which these judgements and value statements are based. Another challenge represents the identification of administrative models. As such the use of models is ambiguous: “Not only is it difficult to know what the exact reference is about, but the word “model” is often used with an everyday language connotation (...). One of the most typical uses of this kind of concepts of models is illustrated by the recurring temptation to look at so-called best practices in public management. Comparing experiences can be very fruitful if it is done according to a carefully designed programme, but it usually ends up at best in misunderstandings, at worst in used-car salesman attitudes...”.¹¹ Overall, many comparative publications about civil service reforms easily take the direction of ideological discourses.

The latter is not surprising given the fact that it is very difficult to obtain reliable, yet comparable data from all 27 EU Member States.¹² Moreover, different historical

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traditions and cultures¹³ as well as different HR systems have a considerable impact on public management modernisation paths and on the outcomes of HR reforms. The relevance of context and diversity in European public administrations also has critical implications for the concept of mutual learning and the possibility to “import” so-called best practices from one country to another.

Other problems relate to the challenges involved in comparing different national concepts and definitions of civil services. For example, the concept of civil service is totally different in the British concept. Moreover, whereas some Member States apply a narrow concept of the national civil service (e.g. Ireland and Poland), others use a broad definition (e.g. France, Finland, the Netherlands). Moreover, there can be too little or too much attention paid to theoretical issues, too little or too much focus on historical explanations, an analysis which is too general without taking into consideration the many existing specific features of the national systems, avoidance of different linguistic meanings and definitions, etc. In particular when comparing civil service systems, another problem stems from the question as to whether different reform concepts mean the same thing and whether the comparison is really comparing the same issues.

Other challenges relate to the lack of attractiveness of doing research in a field which is often considered to be very complex, technical and dominated by legalistic approaches. In many Member States civil service laws can easily fill hundreds of pages. Thus, any comparative study faces the risk of being far too superficial. Finally, there is the added difficulty of comparing and analysing the different (legal, political, organisational and HR-) instruments in different legal and administrative traditions and in many languages.

Study outcomes

The study “Civil Services in the EU of 27” took more than two years from which more than one year was dedicated to the gathering of data, the clarification of concepts and definitions. It was supported by all Member States and the European Commission. All Member States contributed to the study. There is no space to discuss the applied methodology in detail (the interested reader may consult the relevant book chapters II, III and IV).

The study confirms an OECD analysis¹⁴ which maintains that there is:

- a transition from a centralised to decentralised determination of employment condition;
- a shift from statutory to contractual or managerial governance;
- a development from career systems to post-bureaucratic (position systems);
- a delegation of responsibilities to managers;
- an alignment of pay levels with private sector practices;
- a change of special retirement schemes.

However, it observes different and distinct reform paths amongst different country clusters, administrative models and civil service systems. For example, the current reform paths in Portugal and Spain, Austria and Germany or Latvia and Lithuania seem to differ widely. This reform process does not only challenge many traditional perceptions and traditional aspects of the bureaucratic civil services. In reality, it challenges the whole concept of a specific civil service and the traditional legitimacy of specific working conditions as such. Moreover, the often prevailing perception that civil services are reform resistant is clearly wrong. Instead, the tremendous pace of change is challenging the experts who have difficulties in understanding how and why public services are changing.¹⁵ Moreover, the current reform process is taking place in very different national contexts and against the background of widely varying traditions. In addition, the changing of some features has turned out to be more sensitive in some countries than in others.

In the discussions and the analysis of the various civil service systems, much insight and many fascinating developments have been found. However, the results of this comparative analysis also represent a remarkable challenge regarding a theoretical understanding of the discussed change processes in the field of civil service reforms. In fact, many reform outcomes confirm the assumptions of path-dependency, political culture, rational choice, neo-institutionalism, Europeanisation and convergence theories at the same time.

Moreover, because of the growing fragmentation of national public services, the increasing diversity of the public sector workforce and the differences in structure and size of the national civil services, this study also challenges uniform public motivation theories. On the other hand, the findings do not challenge the existence of public service motivation as such. However, we agree with Perry and Hondeghem that it is necessary to investigate the influence of the country/region/civil service structure as an institution of public service motivation. In addition, it is also important to carry out more research on public service motivation in different parts of the public sector. Do civil servants (still) have a different public service motivation than other public employees? Are civil servants in the ministries different to those in the agencies? Do civil servants in “bureaucratic” countries have different motivations and values than civil servants in post-bureaucratic countries? And – are civil servants more ethical because they are civil servants?

This study gives evidence that different historical traditions and cultures as well as HR systems have a considerable impact on public management modernisation paths and on the outcomes of HR reforms. In a way, the findings in this study give an intriguing picture about the differences and similarities of the public service systems in Europe at the same time. It also illustrates the difficulties in identifying country models and geographical similarities in times of decentralisation, differentiation, greater flexibility and blurring of boundaries within the public sector and between the public and private sector. At the same time it

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also gives an overview about Europeanisation, convergence and common reform and fashion trends in some areas.

In fact, whereas in some policies similar reform trends and reform outcomes can be observed, in other fields differences are prevailing or even increasing. Almost all Member States follow the same grand reform paths: decentralisation of HR responsibilities and responsabilisation of managers, greater flexibility in recruitment and career development policies, a stronger focus on individual and organisational performance management and a general trend towards de-bureaucratisation. The relevance of context and diversity in European public administrations has important implications for the concept of mutual learning and good practice. Because of this it is almost impossible to offer a European definition of the term *civil services* and good practices in civil service reform. Only in rare cases can foreign reforms be purchased as standard off-the-shelf products without taking into account their roles and repercussions in the respective administrations. Success is only possible if new reform instruments are shaped to the needs of the specific administration, taking the particularities of the administrative culture into account. At the same time, benchmarking may only be possible in those areas which are marked by a) common reform trends, b) common reform fashions, c) the adoption of common reform instruments in a d) similar administrative culture/structure.



Despite all current developments away from the bureaucratic model, it is difficult to say whether the findings confirm the end of the bureaucratic paradigm or the beginning of a new post-bureaucratic paradigm. For certain, the classical bureaucracies are about to change. However, some bureaucratic features are not vanishing. It is also not yet clear what the post-bureaucratic paradigm is, apart from remedies to the weaknesses of the classical bureaucratic model. Still, developments like decentralisation, responsabilisation, greater flexibility, deregulation and more openness are too wide and too fluid concepts. These developments are also full of paradoxes and ambivalences. Consequently, they represent alternatives to the classical models. But does this also mean improvements?

What is clearly noticeable is that the post-bureaucratic reform of the national civil services is gaining importance in all Member States. As a result, the current international reform process is leading to a boost in innovation that could also be of great interest in the respective national practice. The international comparison provides a multitude of options for learning from the experiences and problems of

others, without ignoring the particularities of the national administrative structures. Hence, the nature and effects of public service reforms must be seen much more in the context of the different public administrative traditions, geographical and cultural differences as well as the importance of different organisational structures. At the same time it must be seen in the context of worldwide reform trends, reform fashions, political interests and the importance of the European integration process.

The need for better country clusters

As the results of the study suggest, it is also important to find better and more fine-tuned classifications for the national civil service systems. It also becomes increasingly difficult to classify the Member States into country traditions, geographical or civil service clusters. In fact, similarities exist only with regard to some institutional and structural issues. One example may illustrate this: all Mediterranean countries have a career structure in their civil services; whilst none of the Scandinavian countries has a career system. This could be interpreted as the existence of two different models. However, this is problematic for various reasons. In fact, other institutional features may be very diverse within the different country clusters and administrative traditions. For example, continental countries differ sharply as regards the issue of civil servants' job security.

From the clusters, only one group, Mediterranean countries, indeed represents a number of homogeneous civil service systems. However, the trend seems to be rather in the direction of more differentiation. In the meantime, especially after the most recent reforms in Portugal, this group of countries (Greece, Cyprus, Portugal, Spain and Italy) is becoming increasingly diverse. Although most

of these countries still share the fact that they have many more bureaucratic features than the Scandinavian group, they are also relatively diverse. The bureaucratic and "privatised" Italian civil service is very different from the still relatively traditional and bureaucratic Greek civil service. On the other hand, the reformed Portuguese civil service cannot be compared with the Spanish civil service which still resembles the traditional French model (although the Spanish reform process has introduced, similarly to Germany, many different and diverse reform initiatives at central and regional level). Contrary to this and despite some significant differences between Estonia on the one hand and Denmark, Finland and Sweden on the other hand, the latter three Scandinavian countries can also be seen to form a relatively homogenous administrative tradition. The Netherlands combine features of the Scandinavian states with classical bureaucratic states. The data suggests that it would be problematic to include it into the same category as Belgium, Germany, Luxemburg and France, which still have more traditional bureaucratic systems. The Anglo-Saxon countries and the Eastern European

countries represent the most diverse groupings of countries. Thus, the Anglo-Saxon cluster and Central European cluster are relatively diverse and arbitrary groupings.

Differences can also be seen in relation to the former communist countries that entered the EU in 2005. Most of them adopted a traditional bureaucratic career system in the early nineties. However, many Eastern European states are still struggling with many different reform concepts and do not know which reform path to take. Whereas some take very different reform concepts (Lithuania vs. Latvia), others have opted for more similar strategies (Slovakia, Hungary). Today, most of the Eastern European states have hybrid systems with fragile career systems (if at all), less job security for civil servants than in other Member States, no specific pension systems for civil servants, flexible recruitment systems and mobility flows that are too large (given the fact that work in the public services is not very attractive).

Overall, the study confirms the existence of a great variety of systems. Whereas most countries move away from the traditional bureaucratic career systems, our study cannot confirm that all Member States are moving towards the same direction. There is no clear development towards the emergence of a European post-bureaucratic model. Instead, most Member States seem to be keeping some traditional elements whilst discarding others. The decision on what to keep and what to abandon is closely connected with national traditions, habits, beliefs and the national political interests. Overall, the result is a paradox: whilst all Member States want to move away from the bureaucratic model, they have not found yet a final reform destination.

Thus, this study gives a completely new insight into the differences and similarities of the HR systems in Europe. However, it illustrates much more a new stage of civil service reform and experimentation. The reform focus varies greatly amongst the Member States. Whereas some introduce new civil service laws (Portugal and Germany), others focus on HR reforms and mobility policies (France), coordination policies (Sweden) or the fight against corruption (many Eastern European states). Bureaucratic career systems and post-bureaucratic systems produce their own reform agendas. The same can be said for country clusters: Continental, Eastern European, Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon, South-Eastern and Mediterranean countries produce their own successes and failures as a result of public service reforms.

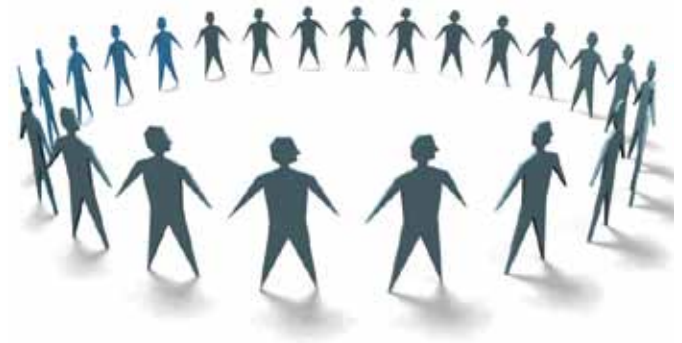
Still it is very difficult to say whether post-bureaucratic countries produce more or less efficiency, effectiveness, citizen orientation, fairness, good administration, performance, less patronage and corruption than the bureaucratic countries. So far it seems that many civil service models have their own strengths and weaknesses. However, as the study shows, many Eastern European countries face challenges that do not exist in old Member States (and even less in the Scandinavian countries). In general, the older Member States seem to be more successful in fields such as anti-discrimination, equality and diversity policies. Many continental career-system countries also have more competitive salary systems. However, overall the Scandinavian countries are seen as more successful with regard to a number of individual HR policies. Eastern European states and the two new Member States face more challenges than the older Member States.

The future of national civil services

In the future, public administration will most likely become more complicated and probably more contradictory all the time¹⁶. While expectations of government are increasing, the resources available to meet these expectations are diminishing. Civil servants of the future will have to be at ease with more complexity and flexibility. They will have to be comfortable with change, often rapid change. At the same time they will take more autonomous decisions, be more responsible, accountable, performance-oriented, and subject to new competency and skill requirements. Despite the popularity of criticising the over-emphasis on laws and rules in contemporary civil services and the reaction: reducing bureaucracy, rules and administrative burdens, the primacy of law is likely to remain in the future. However, it will be complemented by other tools for resolving conflicts, new integrity-based approaches, new regulatory techniques, new informal instruments, an enhanced access to IT information, and a delicate balance between more citizen rights and a general stronger concern for governmental risks.

The civil service workforce will be better qualified and more diverse than ever before. At the same time, civil servants will face more value conflicts and dilemmas although they are also more aware of the existence of ethical rules, conflicts of interest issues and conflict resolution techniques.

Despite all alignment trends, civil servants will never be able to compete with private sector companies in terms



of flexibility. On the other hand, in the meantime, there are also a number of national public services that are less bureaucratic than many companies in the private sector. However, especially in the national civil services some specific bureaucratic features will remain in place in order to sustain core democratic values like equality, fairness and legal security. According to Peters and Pierre, "the challenge in the longer term.... is to design organisations that combine the efficiency and service capacity of decentralised organisations with the uniform and legalistic nature of hierarchical organisations".¹⁷

Overall, despite all popular images, work in civil services will remain interesting, challenging, important and "a key to a better society and world".¹⁸ Next, the Member States will – due to different national political agendas – continue to differ sharply as regards reform pressure and reform priorities. However, reform policies such as diversity, anti-discrimination, reducing administrative burdens and performance-related pay are likely to continue to have a high priority on the reform agenda of many countries. At the same time, budgetary constraints will lead to a deterioration of working conditions in some countries and not enhance

the attractiveness of work in the national civil services. Moreover, growing financial constraints and budget pressures will force the national governments to further cut resources in more areas and policies, and this may have negative results on the effectiveness of public policies. Many Member States will continue to employ a specific category of public law civil servants. However, the number of civil servants will be reduced as will the sectors that employ civil servants.

In the future, the national civil services no longer have a single, coherent paradigm or conceptual framework. "Disaggregation promotes decomposition of the civil service. Two concepts central to traditional management are now disappearing. One is that any particular government, whether federal, state, or local, should act as a single, unified employer. The other is the concomitant idea of a unified civil service".¹⁹ Consequently, "we may soon find ourselves with a hollow administrative structure processing huge transfers", but with service provision increasingly conducted under the auspices of non-governmental actors.²⁰ Whereas once perhaps 80 to 90% of national public employees were subject to the same statutes and working conditions, today the number is declining.²¹ "Information technology also promotes decomposition. The workplace of the future may be no 'place' at all".²²

Overall, these changes may also have positive effects after all; "the problems of the old 'one-size-fits-all' approach are well documented and real. However, they will also fundamentally alter the concept of civil service and further fragment government".²³ For example, if reliance on decentralisation and outsourcing grows, "as seems likely, the demands for personal responsibility are likely to increase and reach private individuals engaged in government work".²⁴ Therefore, good leadership will become more important than ever before. At the same time, people will also become more critical towards bad leadership and poor performance of their leaders.

Without a doubt, the future will see the emergence of a growing paradox.

On the one hand, various factors (e.g., growing financial and demographic pressures as well as value changes) will continue to put pressure on the civil services to continue with radical reforms. On the other hand, the pace of change and growing uncertainties about the reform results will generate more discussions on the need to preserve traditional values, to keep the identity of civil servants and to maintain some specific features that are different to the private sector. The emergence of new discussions around "Value Management" is such a counter development.

In all Member States, accusations that the civil services are not innovative, not ready to reform and suffering from reform inertia are clearly wrong. Contrary to this, reforms have led to many changes. The ongoing reforms in the national public services promote the change, deconstruction and the decentralisation of the public services on all fronts. As a consequence, the traditional concept of the public service as a single, unified employer is slowly disappearing. At the same time, HR management is also becoming more flexible and decentralised. Moreover, public employees and their values are also changing with the result that value dilemmas will ever increase.

Today, the changing role of the state requires a changing conception of the public services and the civil servants. Despite the many changes that are taking place in many countries, the public perception is still that civil servants work in an environment that is clearly separated from the private sector. In some countries civil servants are seen as a protected group, set apart from the outside world. In reality, customer- and citizen- orientations have increased, and working conditions have been aligned to those in the private sector. Nowadays the differences between public and private employees in terms of their status, working time, pay, pensions, holidays, recruitment and competency requirements are smaller than they were previously.

Reforms are implemented everywhere and at great speeds. Overall, this study has shown that the current reform process in the national civil services can be identified as an opening-up process of the national civil services. Instead of being separated from the society and citizens, the trend is towards the blurring of public and private boundaries as well as between civil servants and public employees. Also physically, the walls between the civil service and the labour market are coming down. Almost all Member States have started to facilitate recruitment procedures, reform or even abolish careers, reduce internal hierarchies, support more mobility, delegate more responsibilities to line managers and align the working conditions between civil servants and other public employees. More and more public tasks are carried out by non-state bodies and more tasks which have traditionally been carried out by civil servants are carried out by other public employees or private service providers.

In future the national civil services will look more aligned as was ever the case before. To state that the times of the traditional bureaucracy are over is tempting. In fact, it is highly unlikely that traditional bureaucracy is coming back. However, it cannot be excluded that specific principles and aspects may return to the agenda. For example, the current trend towards decentralisation and fragmentation has resulted in new discussions about the need for a

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new public service ethos, the need for common values, standardised HR practices and fairness issues. Much depends on the outcomes of reforms. As the study 'Civil Services in the EU of 27' shows, many HR reforms in the national civil services do not show clear results. Whereas some reform trends produce improvements (e.g. in the field of transparency, citizen orientation, ethics, anti-discrimination, job autonomy and responsibility), others simply bring about alternation (fairness, impartiality) in the field of performance related pay or even deteriorations of working conditions (stress, risks, job security, partly working time, pay) and reform results (more performance management bureaucracy, fewer career development possibilities). Thus, the reform outcomes do not indicate that the post-bureaucratic times are much better; in many cases they are simply different.

Also in the coming years, most Member States will maintain the public law status of civil servants. At the same time they are introducing reforms which call into question the very sense of it. Civil servants are still numerous; however, their numbers are diminishing. They still enjoy greater job security. However, the difference between public employees and civil servants' job security is fading. Member

States are abolishing careers and seniority. However, they still want to value experience, competence and stability and fight patronage. Member States are eager to promote the traditional civil service ethos. However, many modern reform trends are generating a new set of values which are producing value dilemmas. Member States are fighting inequality and discrimination. However, poverty and inequality levels are rising in society.

The future will be a constant strive towards finding the right balance between competing values and principles: between standardisation and citizen-orientation, flexibility and the need for stability, autonomy, individualism and fairness, centralisation and decentralisation, secrecy and openness, hierarchy and responsabilisation, the call for new rules and deregulation, individual performance and equality, etc.

If the traditional bureaucracy is slowly disappearing what will happen to the bureaucrats, the civil servants? Will they disappear like the classical concept of bureaucracy? In this study we could not find that civil servants carry out their tasks any differently than other public employees. However, we also could not find any evidence that they perform their tasks differently (or worse) because they are civil servants. Nevertheless, this study reveals one important paradox: all Member States continue to employ civil servants; however, they see fewer reasons as to why civil servants with specific working conditions are needed. In fact, all they need are professional and competent public employees.

NOTES

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³ Christopher Pollitt/Geert Bouckaert, *Public Management Reform: A Comparative Analysis*, First Edition, 2000, p. 61

⁴ Christopher Pollitt, *Convergence, The Useful Myth?*, in *Public Administration*, Vol. 79, No. 4, Winter 2001, p. 934

⁵ See Ellen Mastenbroek, *De postmoderne overheid: wens of werkelijkheid?*, in: *Bestuurs-weten-schappen*, No. 2, 2003

⁶ Joel D. Aberbach/Bert A. Rockman, *In the Web of Politics – Three Decades of the U.S. Federal Executive*, Brookings Institution, Washington D. C., 2000, p. 9

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¹¹ Jacques Ziller, *European Models of Government – Towards a Patchwork with Missing Pieces*, in: *Parliamentary Affairs*, No. 54, 2001, p. 102

¹² See OECD, *La mesure de l'emploi public dans les pays de l'OCDE*. Sources, Methodes et Résultats, Paris, 1997

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¹⁵ Arthur Benz, *Status und Perspektiven der Politikwissenschaftlichen Verwaltungsforschung*, in: *Die Verwaltung*, Nr. 3/2003, p. 369

¹⁶ David H. Rosenbloom/Robert S. Kravchuk/Richard M. Clerkin, *Public Administration, Understanding Management, Politics, and Law in the Public Sector*, 7th edition, Mc Grawhill, Singapore 2009, p. 541

¹⁷ Guy Peters/Jon Pierre, *Handbook of Public Administration*, 2nd edition, Sage, 2007, p. 6

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¹⁹ Ibid., p. 545

²⁰ Peters/Pierre, *Handbook of Public Administration*, 2nd edition, op cit

²¹ Rosenbloom/Kravchuk/Clerkin, *Public Administration*, op. cit., p. 546

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 548