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## **The role and functions of expertise in contemporary societies: Evidence from the German Hartz Commission**

*Master Thesis*

presented by

**Christian Büger**

Johann Wolfgang Goethe University Frankfurt,  
Faculty of Social Science

**Peter Onneken**

Johann Wolfgang Goethe University Frankfurt,  
Faculty of Social Science

Frankfurt am Main  
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“We wrote a bible for the labour market” (Peter Hartz)

## **Abstract**

Following the concepts of knowledge societies, capacity for effective action is limited mainly by the availability and application of expert knowledge. Experts can therefore be seen as influential actors in societal decision-making. Taking the prognosis that modern society is on a way of transformation towards a knowledge society as point of departure, this thesis explores the role experts and their expertise plays in policy and society empirically and theoretically. The thesis therefore explores key theoretical concepts, that further the understanding of the emerging role of experts. The connection between theory and practice, and the state of knowledge as presented by theory of science is explored and the shape of a upcoming knowledge society is sketched. To find definitions and the broadest possible picture for the terms 'expert' and 'expertise' several theoretical perspectives are evaluated following an eclectic approach. As the task of the thesis is to find theoretical and empirical evidence a single case is studied in a process-tracing approach: The case of the German Hartz Commission working about the reform of the German labour market. The case was selected as it can be seen as paradigmatic, as this expert group played not only a decisive role in the German national election of 2002, but is ought to be a model for societal decision making for at least the next legislature period.

Key findings of the thesis include that expertise can not only be used in a strategic or legitimising manner but also fosters dialogue between conflicting interest groups.

## Contents

<b>1. Introduction: Experts under research</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2. Knowledge societies</b>	<b>4</b>
2.1. Prelude	4
2.1.1. The classics	5
2.1.2. The central shortcomings of the classical approaches	6
2.2. Knowledge constitutes social reality	8
2.2.1. Knowledge as capacity for action	9
2.2.2. Theorists and practitioners	10
2.2.3. When knowledge travels	10
2.3. Concepts of knowledge societies	11
2.3.1. Concepts and defining elements	12
2.3.2. Knowledge societies and political rhetoric	15
<b>3. Experts, expertise, advise</b>	<b>18</b>
3.1 Trends observed under the knowledge society research agenda	18
3.1.1. The scientification of policy	18
3.1.2. The 'Vergesellschaftung' of science	19
3.2. What is an expert? Who qualifies as an expert?	20
3.2.1. The voluntaristic perspective	20
3.2.2. The psychological perspective	21
3.2.3. The Constructivist definition	21
3.2.4. Towards a definition of an expert	22
3.3. The social functions of experts	23
3.3.1. The context of expertise	24
3.3.2. Plausible functions in detail	25
3.4. Consequences and lessons for future research and our case study	26
<b>4. The Hartz Commission</b>	<b>27</b>
4.1. The initial position	28
4.1.1. The situation in Germany	28
4.1.2. The collapse of the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit	29
4.2. The mission	30
4.3. The members of the commission	32
4.3.1. The head of the commission	33
4.3.2. The public sector	34
4.3.3. The Bundesanstalt für Arbeit	35
4.3.4. The trade unions	36
4.3.5. The economy/employers	37
4.3.6. The management consultancy	39
4.3.7. The science	41
4.4. Self image of the commission	43

4.5. Results 13 modules of innovation	45
4.6. During the work	51
4.6.1. Working methods/part projects	51
4.6.2 The discussion on unemployment benefits.	52
4.6.3. A consensus paper	53
4.7. Reaction on the report	54
4.7.1 The government	54
4.7.2 The Opposition	55
4.7.3. Interest groups	56
4.7.4. science	57
<b>5. Conclusion</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>61</b>

## **1. Introduction: Experts under research**

"No lesson seems to be so deeply inculcated by the experience of life as that you should never trust experts", while this statement from Robert Lord Salisbury from 1877 can be seen as a good representation of the dark and apocalyptic visions of the German technocracy discussion in the 1960s<sup>1</sup> it stand in sharp contrast to the bright and over-optimistic future visions of knowledge societies associated with American scientists as Peter Drucker or Daniell Bell. While this paper leaves the normative issues of these debates beside, it highlights one novel factor of contemporary societies, that were the contending issue in the 1960s, namely: the rise of expertise in policy and society. Following the concepts of knowledge societies capacity for effective action is limited mainly by the availability and application of expert knowledge. Experts can therefore be seen as influential actors in societal decision-making.

Taking the prognosis that modern society is on a way of transformation towards a knowledge society as point of departure, this thesis explores the role experts and their expertise plays in policy and society empirically and theoretically.

The key research question of this thesis is therefore: If expertise becomes more and more important, how is it used in the policy process? Which roles and functions does expertise play in the societal decision-making of contemporary societies?

Considerable attention has been spend by social research to the influence of ideas and knowledge in the policy process, in the recent years. While this current trend in social science labelled as "post-modernism", the "constructivist turn" or the "linguistic turn", merely

rests on theoretical work, combined with calls for more research, this thesis tries to explore the role of knowledge empirically by paying attention to the stratum of experts and undertakes empirical research in a single case, namely the case of the German Hartz Commission.

This case is of special interest because the expert commission was not only tasked to find solutions for one of the most important problems of contemporary societies: unemployment, but because it played an important if not decisive role in the re-election of German Bundeskanzler Schröder. It therefore makes an ideal case to explore the connection between experts and societal decision making. Although it seems clear that the research questions could be answered good under a comparative research design, also, we believe there are more than enough lessons to learn from this single case, as a single case interpretative research design has the advantage of going deeper into detail and identifying specific social mechanisms.<sup>2</sup> The task of thesis therefore follows more an "Verstehen" approach than aims to "explain" the underlying social mechanisms. The case study is developed under a process-tracing method.<sup>3</sup>

To develop and consider these arguments, the thesis is organized as follows: Chapter 2 leads us in a prelude to the theory of science and asks for relevant theoretical models helping to understand the relationship between expertise and society, or in the vocabulary of theory of science between theory and practice. The following section

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<sup>1</sup> Although it is not from this era

<sup>2</sup> For the advantages single case research has in comparison to comparative research designs or other types, de Vaus 2001: 233-266; for the explicit value of a single case study or the power of example see Flybjerg 2001: 66-87.

<sup>3</sup> The process tracing method, which is largely employed by historians, but also lies close to the method of thick description (following Geertz) highlights the advantages of narrative social science, See especially George 2001 for the advantages of a single case approach and the process tracing method.

explores the concepts of knowledge societies, which are the base for the premise of the changing and emerging role experts play in contemporary societies. It presents an introduction to the concepts of Peter Drucker, Daniell Bell and Nico Stehr, asks for the novel role knowledge plays in society, and what role the stratum of experts play in this transformation process. Chapter 3 brings us closer to the original research object in asking what is an expert, answering the question by presenting in an eclectic approach several theoretical definitions of experts. In the next step the basic concepts towards expertise in society are explored, concluding in considerations about which plausible roles and functions expertise can play in contemporary societies. In Chapter 4 the results of the case study are presented in a narrative style. While the first section describes the context of the expertise, the following section describe the constitution and results of the expert commission in detail. The chapter concludes in considerations of lessons that can be learned from the Hartz Commission. The final Chapter 5, the conclusion, tries to bring the different theoretical and empirical paths laid out together again and concludes with the theoretical and practical lessons we can learn from the case under research.



## **2. Knowledge societies**

The following chapter, which tries to consider the basic theoretical arguments will proceed as follows. In a first step the main theoretical ideas which guide the understanding of science in society and the process of (scientific) expertise will be presented. As those models, which can be seen as the classical ones, have many shortcomings the next section sketches a theoretical alternative rooted in the interpretative paradigm. Which such an foundation the following section asks for the role of knowledge in society as been presented by theories of knowledge societies. Those concepts highlight the growing importance knowledge and expertise plays in society but as the evaluation will show, there is still much research necessary.

### **2.1. Prelude: Theory and practice or the basic perspectives on the relationship between knowledge and society**

The relationship between theory and practice or between expert knowledge and policy, nowadays, are basically shaped by categories widely discussed in elite-discourses of the 1960s and 1970s<sup>4, 5</sup>. As Habermas (1969) noted the two basic positions can be drawn back to a long line of philosophical thinking: the decisionistic view point leading back to Max Weber and the technocratic view point leading back at least to Francis Bacon. As those lines of thought are basic reference points in the field we study, we will give a short introduction to those concepts<sup>6</sup>, criticize them from a interpretative viewpoint and take them as point of departure to present and evaluate the neighbouring concepts of knowledge societies.

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<sup>4</sup> See Hampel 1990 for a good overview of the discourse.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Krevort 1993: 14; Rehfeld 1999: 184.

### **2.1.1. The classics**

Premises for the decisionistic and technocratic model are<sup>7</sup> 1) the general advantage of scientific knowledge (compared to the knowledge of the practitioner). Scientific knowledge is following the positivistic ideal or the critical rationalism value free. Therefore a difference or a gap in rationality between policy and science<sup>8</sup> is diagnosed. 2) Also scientific actors, experts or advisors are seen as value free actors, 3) Both models are thought linear and are based on continuous process of end definition (problem definition, agenda-setting), policy advice, political decision (definition of means), realizing, and evaluation.

The decisionistic model argues that there is a clear separation between science and practice (between rationality and irrationality). A clear dividing line between the science's special knowledge and political practice is existing. While theory (and science) is fundamentally rational, decisions in their definition of means and ends are theory-free, sovereign and therefore irrational. In this model a transfer between expert knowledge and policy is rather impossible, although some means might be evaluated by rational methods.

The technocratic viewpoint is based on the assumption of an evolutionary process of mere and mere domination of scientific expertise and therefore a strict rationalizing of political action. Concepts that can be subsumed under the technocratic model or the vision of an technocratic state come from two traditions. The positive

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<sup>6</sup> As these concepts are deeply rooted in theory of science, we can here only present the basic arguments. A Good evaluation can be found in Weingart 2001 and Ritsert 1996.

<sup>7</sup> See Habermas 1969, Hoppe 1999, Weingart 2001.

version is inspired by the hope for a better and more efficient policy, seeing experts and scientists may come to the rescue of the political sphere. This is good represented in a statement by Lane, which hope was:

"if one thinks of a domain of 'pure politics' where decisions are determined by calculations of influence, power or electoral advantage, and a domain of 'pure knowledge' where decisions are determined by calculations of how to implement agreed-upon values with rationality and efficiency, it appears to me that the political domain is shrinking and the knowledge domain is growing, in terms of criteria for deciding, kinds of counsel sought, evidence adduced, and the nature of rationality employed."<sup>9</sup>

The pessimistic picture developed a rather apocalyptic picture of the state dominated by experts, the power of experts silencing all other voices and purposes. Prominent scholars like Schelsky (1965) therefore forecasted the rule of technical rationality and finally the end of the state and ideology coming.<sup>10</sup>

### ***2.1.2. The central shortcomings of the classical approaches***

Several of the premises of those approaches are misleading, namely the premise of value-free science and the premise of linearity.

#### ***Expertise and Linearity***

The policy process is far more complex and the way knowledge travels is much more difficult than understood in both models. The different steps identified by the linear models are in fact interwoven. As an example, many of the problems on the policy agenda are identified by experts at first, e.g. in the ozone layer case. In the way

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<sup>8</sup> Science is here and in the following meant in its broadest sense, capturing natural as well as social science, as it is represented in the term "Wissenschaft".

<sup>9</sup> Lane 1966: 657-658.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. Weingart 2001: 19

experts become more connected to political action they are playing an important role in finding solutions for problems they identified at first.<sup>11</sup>

It is therefore necessary to understand the process of expertise or advice as complex interaction phenomenon.<sup>12</sup> Many more actors are involved in the process of expertise, knowledge travels through intermediary actors, like interest groups, other non-governmental organizations or via the media.

### ***Value free Science***

Rather the same can be noted for the claim of value-free science. Both models follow the positivistic understanding of science: secured knowledge is used for deciding between different means to reach independent set ends. Knowledge in opposition to this claim mostly heavily contested. A consensus under experts is rather the exception than the rule, especially as there are usually competing paradigms involved.<sup>13</sup> If knowledge can be used to support different political positions it seems to be difficult to understand these as value-free and as corresponding to the ultimate truth. The claim of value free science is also heavily contested by research undertaken of sociologists of knowledge. Following this line of thought knowledge is always contextual or context-sensitive<sup>14</sup> and has a huge interpretative flexibility.<sup>15</sup> Scientific facts and (scientific) knowledge can therefore be interpreted in an process of expert advice very

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<sup>11</sup> See Murswieck 1994: 114, Weingart 2001:140, Boehmer-Christiansen 1995: 201.

<sup>12</sup> This was already noted by Habermas 1969, who developed from this point of critic his pragmatic model of expertise.

<sup>13</sup> The term "paradigm" is originating in the work of Thomas Kuhn. Although one paradigm may be hegemonial, there are usually different explanations from different theoretical perspectives or paradigms.

<sup>14</sup> Which means that knowledge has only sense in a special social context. An example might be the Laboratory, which is needed to show different natural phenomena.

<sup>15</sup> See e.g. Knorr-Cetina 1981.

differently. Also the decisionistic division between scientific facts and value judgement can be seen as misleading, as scientific facts are usually interpreted in the light of value judgement.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, as Nincic noted: "it is emphatically not the case that ends are value-laden and sharply debated while means are value-free and uncontroversial, [...] many possible ways of attaining [...] ends and much value judgment (and consequent debate) is associated with the evaluation of [...] means".<sup>17</sup>

As has been shown the relation between expert knowledge and political decision or between theory and practice appears to be much more complex as thought in the technocratic and decisionistic pictures.

## **2.2. Knowledge constitutes social reality**

Current social research under the fashioned label of the "interpretative paradigm"<sup>18</sup> not only highlights this complex interaction process but has a fundamental different view on knowledge than in the classical models. Knowledge does not represent reality but constitutes reality. In the words of Kenneth Booth "truth/power and theory/practice are more meaningfully connected by the verb 'is' than by the conjunction 'and' (in whatever order the words appear), and that we are all theorists now, whether or not we recognize it, whether or not we like it."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Mostly scientific facts are ranked by relevance in the light of value judgement. For the full argument see Weingart 2001: 145, Felt/Nowotny/Taschwer 1995: 142, Hoppe 1999.

<sup>17</sup> Nincic 2000: 4-5.

<sup>18</sup> Following the "cognitive turn", "the constructivist turn" or the "linguistic turn" in theory of science also called "constructivist" or "cognitive" paradigm. Although as Nullmeier (2001: 291-291) states many academics do not follow the constitution of reality through knowledge completely, therefore heavy academic debates are going on. See Walsh 2000 or Majone 1996 for recent examples.

<sup>19</sup> Booth 1997: 377.

### **2.2.1. Knowledge as capacity for action**

Nico Stehr justifiably speaks of knowledge as an anthropological constant as human action is and was always knowledge based.<sup>20</sup>

Every action, including political action as well as science, is based on the meanings, that actors have of the situation, of their possibilities for action and of themselves. Those meanings or beliefs are represented and re-produced in every action of actors. Social groups and social roles depend on knowledge and relations among individuals are based on knowledge of each other.

Any societal problem can therefore not longer be seen as given, as the problem is shaped or framed by the meanings and beliefs (knowledge) of all actors involved, scientists, politicians and experts included.

But knowledge although not representing reality cannot be seen as nothing special or arbitrary, as we are able to separate between dreams and the reality - what ever is meant by that. Knowledge has to prove relevant in practice. Following the American pragmatist tradition<sup>21</sup>, we can prove the appropriateness (or 'truth') of an suggestion only by its practical consequences, although those cannot be seen as objectively given, but constituted in an interaction process of perceiving and acting persons on the one hand and the 'world' on the other hand. As formulated by the grounding father of pragmatism Charles Sanders pierce: "belief is a rule for action".<sup>22</sup> Knowledge can therefore be seen as "capacity for social action".<sup>23</sup> As will be laid out in the following section contemporary societies are based more and more on knowledge, and capacity for effective action is limited mainly

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<sup>20</sup> See Stehr 1992: 114, as well as Stehr 1994, Compare also the comments of Fried/Süßmann (2001b: 11-13) as well as the other chapters in this volume.

<sup>21</sup> See James 1977, Dewey 1960.

<sup>22</sup> Peirce 1997 (1878): 33.

<sup>23</sup> Stehr 1994: 208.

by the availability and application of knowledge, which is provided largely (but not limited to) by experts.

### **2.2.2. Theorists and practitioners**

As every action is guided or based on knowledge the rationality gap, laid out by the classical models can be filled again. Both groups practitioners and theorists follow a trial and error process and find their solutions in waging the practical consequences. Of course it has to be noted that the political practitioners and the experts or scientists are embedded in a different social system with different vocabularies which cause communication problems.<sup>24</sup> As well practitioners and theorists apply different methods in the trial and error process. This view also resolves the contradiction between theoretical and practical knowledge, as theoretical knowledge is always embedded in a certain practice and vice versa.<sup>25</sup>

### **2.2.3. When knowledge travels**

If knowledge cannot be seen as fixed category, this has profound consequences for an advisory process. It does mean, when knowledge is transmitted or applied by experts it is not passed on or communicated in a manner which leaves it virtually untouched and unaffected by the work of the expert. On the contrary, the transmission and application is an active process. The reproduction of knowledge involves almost invariably the production of

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<sup>24</sup> These differences must not be seen as rationality gap, but it is obviously that there are dividing points between practitioners and scientists. These basically are communication problems. As an example foreign policy theorist Alexander George (1997: 38) noted that "practitioners eyes glazes over, when the word theory is mentioned". See Kamarck (1990: 429) for a list of words that scientific experts should not use in an process of advice. Comp. the statement by Leggold (2000: 366): "Theorists and policymakers often speak languages that are unintelligible to the other", see Büger (2002: 27-33) for an broader evaluation of this problem.

<sup>25</sup> Knowledge in this broad understanding includes both values and rational means.

knowledge.<sup>26</sup> "It is difficult not only not to learn in the process of applying knowledge, but it is also virtually impossible to leave knowledge, as it is transmitted and applied, unaffected and untouched by this very process."<sup>27</sup> Knowledge therefore cannot be seen as a currency that can be easily exchanged.

### **2.3. Concepts of knowledge societies**

Concepts (or theories) of a knowledge based society are developed since the early 1960s. Were the early publications primarily interested in the changing face of modern economy due to technical advances and the rise of the third sector<sup>28</sup>, contemporary concepts are working towards a new theory of society, integrating those trends. Broader speaking rather all contemporary concepts of knowledge societies are looking for a way to integrate the dynamics of science<sup>29</sup> and technology into a theory of society. All concepts are based on the assumption, that many of the major transformations in industrial society are directly connected to advances in scientific knowledge and technology. This immense impact of science and technology is seen as one of the defining characteristics of modern societies, and has to be therefore analysed as such.

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<sup>26</sup> Compare the results by the DFG project on the use of sociology. Beck/Bonß 1989 noted in their conclusion that the use of sociological knowledge is not equivalent to application. It is more or less an active process of re- and new-producing of the results, which lose their result character, and most of time are at first produced in the action-, communication-, expectation and value-context of the practical advisory process.

<sup>27</sup> Stehr 1994: 184. See also the pragmatic model Habermas elaborated, which sees the advisory process as an interactive learning process.

<sup>28</sup> See the pioneer study of Machlup (1962) as an good example.

<sup>29</sup> Science is here and in the following meant in its broadest sense, capturing natural as well as social science, as it is represented in the term "Wissenschaft".



### **2.3.1. Concepts and defining elements**

This is especially important for the economic sector as the social constructs of property and labour are challenged and are changing. A new principle, 'knowledge', is added which challenges property and labour as constitutive mechanisms of society. While the traditional production and exchange factors of an economic system, capital and physical work, are losing their significance (although not disappearing), knowledge is instead becoming more of the foundation of and orientation for human activity than ever before. This is symbolized by the emerging stratum of knowledge-based occupations.

But "the appearance of 'knowledge societies' does not occur suddenly; it represents not a revolutionary development, but rather a gradual process which the defining characteristics of society changes and a new one emerges."<sup>30</sup> It is therefore hotly debated in the academia if we are already living in a knowledge society or if we are in a transformative phase towards such a society. In the concept of Daniel Bell, who developed one of the most elaborated concepts of a post-industrial or knowledge society, the development can be seen as following three steps: 1) the pre-modern age 2) the labouring society and 3) the knowledge society. Bell traces the symbolic onset of post-industrial society back to the end of the second world war.

Robert E. Lane was in 1966 the first talking about a knowledgeable society, which is characterized by, its members

"a) inquire into the basis of their beliefs about man, nature and society; b) are guided (perhaps unconsciously) by objective standards of veridical truth, and, at the upper levels of education, follow scientific rules of evidence and

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<sup>30</sup> Stehr 1994: 6

inference in inquiry; c) devote considerable resources to this inquiry and thus have a large store of knowledge; d) collect, organize, and interpret their knowledge in a constant effort to extract further meaning from it for the purposes at hand; e) employ this knowledge to illuminate (and perhaps modify) their values and goals as well to advance them. Just as the 'democratic society' has a foundation in economics, so the knowledgeable society has its roots in epistemology and the logic of inquiry."<sup>31</sup>

The concept of Lane is a good example of the early concepts, as it was inspired by technocracies great optimism and trust in the sciences. Society here is guided by the standards of 'veridical truths'.

In *The Age of Discontinuity*, the management theorist Peter Drucker (1969) also employed the term knowledge society.<sup>32</sup> He presented a good description of the novel features and attributes of contemporary knowledge. He saw knowledge as central to our society and as the foundation of economy and social action. While Drucker largely concentrated on the consequences of the new knowledge workers for managers in organizations, he highlighted that the importance of knowledge lies in its application, new knowledge has to be of use in the productive process. He therefore saw the main changes in the institutions of knowledge, as research has always to consider the potential application. With the central position of knowledge in society the central institution developing new knowledge (the universities) becomes a new task: the duty for society.<sup>33</sup> The central ethical question of a knowledge society is therefore the responsibility of scientists and experts for society.

While Peter Drucker's understanding of the nature and role of knowledge comes close to the pragmatistic understanding, as laid

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<sup>31</sup> See Lane 1966: 650; Stehr 1994: 26.

<sup>32</sup> See Steinbicker 2001: 21-49 for a detailed discussion of the concept.

<sup>33</sup> See Steinbicker 2001: 35.

out before, the most elaborated early concept of Daniell Bell is inspired by positivist thought.

Daniel Bell's concept, developed largely in the book 'The post industrial society' employed the terms post-industrial society, information society and knowledge society rather synonymous, as knowledge is a fundamental resource of post-industrial society. The knowledge society after Bell is marked through the centrality of theoretical knowledge, the primarily importance of science and technology as sources of innovation, the priority of the education and research sector in the perspective of resources spend and the number of people employed.

The key difference between the industrial society and the post-industrial society is that the first can be seen as "a game against fabricated nature cetering on the manufacturing and processing of tangible goods by semi-skilled factory workers and engineers" while the latter is "a game between persons in which an intelligent technology, based on information, rises alongside of machine technology."<sup>34</sup> In his own words:

"If there are no primary images of work, what is central to the new relationships is encounter or communication, and the response of ego to alter, and back - from irritation of a customer at an airline-ticket office to the sympathetic response of teacher to student. But the fact that individuals now talk to other individuals rather than interact with a machine, is the fundamental fact about work in the post-industrial society."<sup>35</sup>

What makes Bells concept problematic is his use of knowledge as he is largely applying a technocratic picture (the end of ideology), knowledge is treated as a black box and his work is crowded with the positivist vocabulary seeing knowledge as representing the 'truth'

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<sup>34</sup> Waters 2003: 54.

<sup>35</sup> See Bell 1976: 163.

calling for a interest-free and value-free research, and highlighting in contrast to Drucker the importance of pure theory.<sup>36</sup>

As a recent conference concluded, the early concept of Bell is not of much use any more<sup>37</sup>, as current trends observed, which will be presented in chapter 3.1 contradict the premises of this concepts.

This is especially true for the nature of knowledge, as one trend is the rise of non-knowledge(ignorance), which is always produced together with knowledge, and risks associated with that non-knowledge. This aspect is an important part of recent research and of the concept of Nico Stehr, who has an somewhat different focus in developing a theory of knowledge societies as he is, while still drawing on some conclusions of Daniell Bell, interested in: "the relationship between scientific knowledge and everyday knowledge, declarative and procedural knowledge, knowledge and non-knowledge, and on knowledge as capacity for action".<sup>38</sup>

Science in Stehr's eyes is not only representing the key to the puzzles of the world but representing the making of the world. Knowledge societies represent a social and economic world, in which events or transformations mostly are 'done', and not just happen as has been before. Experts have a key role in this society as they are the mediators of knowledge.<sup>39</sup>

### ***2.3.2 Knowledge societies and political rhetoric***

To conclude the metaphor "knowledge society" is one of the most important to describe and analyse contemporary societies and their future trends, nowadays. The metaphor, originating in the work of

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<sup>36</sup> Comp. Steinbicker 2001: 59.

<sup>37</sup> See Bösch 2002: 6.

<sup>38</sup> Stehr 1994: 12

1960s sociologists is, today also, on the top of the political agendas of rather all European governments. While some sociologists still remain critical about the shape of an future society<sup>40</sup>, several examples from the political sphere express that the coming of knowledge society is a sure matter for political actors. The best example might be the Lisbon program of the European Union calling for an European Research area. "The strategic goal set by the European Union in Lisbon: to become, by 2010, the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater cohesion"<sup>41</sup>, While the Lisbon program is crowded with quotes to the knowledge society also the German science ministry, the Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung (BMBF) sets the upcoming knowledge society as standard to be prepared for.<sup>42</sup> This is also represented by the political influential German Bertelsmann Stiftung, which already published a book asking "What comes next after the knowledge society".<sup>43</sup>

As Martin Heidenreich stated it remains somewhat unclear what is exactly meant by political actors if they are talking about knowledge societies.<sup>44</sup> Either the metaphor is only used to integrate several current developments<sup>45</sup> under a fashionable label or it is defined as a theoretical model, which identifies major developments of contemporary societies. Following Heidenreich the first seems more appropriate as the metaphor knowledge society is rather used

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<sup>39</sup> See Stehr 1994: 160ff.

<sup>40</sup> See e.g. Schumm 1999 for an critical approach to the concept. Due to pragmatic reasons, the critical voices will not be mentioned in detail in this chapter, as the focus, here, is to show that there are good reasons to consider that the role of knowledge in society is in fact changing.

<sup>41</sup> European Commission 2002a: 6

<sup>42</sup> Heidenreich (2001: 3) counted around 60 uses of the term in 2001 in official documents of the BMBF.

<sup>43</sup> See Kühlen 2002.

<sup>44</sup> Heidenreich 2001.

synonymous with the term of an information society, which in fact are rather different concepts.<sup>46</sup> In contrast to knowledge societies, which can be seen as a far reaching societal concept, the term information society is centred around the technological dimension and highlights the vision that future societies are primarily defined by the distribution and availability of information and its use.

The information society concept therefore is close to the early thesis's of the knowledge society, which are marked, as has been shown through the naïve technocratic optimism of the early 1960s and were based on a scientific-technical determinism.<sup>47</sup>

Contemporary knowledge society concept in contrast highlights the importance of ignorance, risks, and the different natures of knowledge.

As the political sphere draws such intensively on the concept, there is a growing need in developing an complex societal theory of such an type of society and to understand the roles of the key actors and novel features. More research is necessary to fill the knowledge society concepts and the theoretical models of knowledge transfer processes as associated with expertise with data and life.

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<sup>45</sup> like the changes in the economic sector and labour relations, new trends in knowledge management and the rise of new information technologies.

<sup>46</sup> See Heidenreich 2001: 4, see also Weingart 2001: 12.

<sup>47</sup> For an introduction to the information society concept its history and its neighbourhood to the knowledge society concepts see Steinbicker 2001, especially pp. 13-21, see also the critique in Stehr 1994: 12.

### **3. Experts, expertise, advise**

Having explained the basic theoretical understandings of the process of expertise and having identified the global trends of the role of knowledge connected with the concepts knowledge societies this chapter leads closer to the original research object: expertise. Here we will problematise what is meant by an expert and which social functions can be associated with the process of expertise concentrating on the function in the policy process. Before that we will shortly introduce into the current trends in the science-society relationship.

#### **3.1. Trends observed under the knowledge society research agenda**

Beside of the consequences and trends in the economic sectors the knowledge society research agenda made some important findings in the relationship between science and society or experts and policy.<sup>48</sup>

Two major societal trends are highlighted by knowledge society theorists: 1) the scientification of policy and 2) the 'Vergesellschaftung' (re-societification) of science:

##### **3.1.1. *The scientification of policy***

While policy was always surrounded by experts<sup>49</sup>, policy decisions since world war II are more and more based on (scientific) expertise.

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<sup>48</sup> Although the transformations in the economic sector highlighted by concepts of knowledge societies will be an important factor in the case study, they will be not considered further here, as knowledge societies build foremost the background to develop an argument of the new role experts play. The authors do recognize that the economic transformations of the knowledge society should be considered in the case study too, but it seems a to complex task to follow two lines of argument, as our special research interest lies primarily in the role of experts in policy.

Policymakers request more and more expertise, the number of advice commissions and the intensity of advice is increasing.<sup>50</sup> The direct input of experts into practical policy is therefore rising. This can be seen as rooted in the rapidly advancing scientific knowledge as well as to the complexity and interdependence of contemporary societies, economies and cultures. Also Policymakers are having a higher academic qualification than before.<sup>51</sup> The use of reflexive scientific mechanisms of lesson learning spreads in rather all parts of society. Academic language, definitions and concepts are used in rather all social systems. Science therefore is a central part of society and the policy process.<sup>52</sup>

### **3.1.2 The 'Vergesellschaftung' of science**

Experts get more and more involved in political controversies. Their diverging statements in public debate not only destroyed the public image of an interest free academia, but the classification of experts under the diverging positions of interest also demonstrated the legitimatising function expert knowledge played in the policy process. This is also expressed by the further use of expertise through interest groups, who often confronted official expertise with counter-expertise. Many political conflicts were fought therefore on the back of experts and scientists.<sup>53</sup> This has profound consequences for the science system as well, as with the increasing demand of scientific

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<sup>49</sup> There are several examples in science history, the most prominent might be Machiavelli. See Böhret 1995 for an interesting evaluation of historical examples.

<sup>50</sup> See Albaek 1995, Saretzki/Rohde/Leif 1999, Stehr 1992a, Rehfeld 1999: 185/186.

<sup>51</sup> See the empirical evaluation for Germany of Krevert (1993: 53-56).

<sup>52</sup> The term knowledge society itself is one example.

<sup>53</sup> Contemporary examples in Germany include the public debates about the risks of Mad Cow disease, the risks of nuclear energy, or the discussions about the consequences of the ozone layer. The discussions following the terrorist attacks of 9-11, with scientists arguing for a more co-operative or a more aggressive strategy, also highlights that this is a trend in social science as well. See Van den Daele 1996 or Weingart 2001 for the full argument.



expertise the system is under legitimatisation pressure to give answers on the rising expectations. Science therefore gets more and more responsible for the consequences of its results. In the concepts of knowledge sociologists like Gibbons and others the science system responds to the new demands through an epistemological change, and more problem oriented transdisciplinary research programs.<sup>54</sup>

### **3.2. What is an expert? Who qualifies as an expert?**

While there is nothing like a common definition of an expert, considerable efforts have been made from various disciplines to get closer to a definition of the expert.<sup>55</sup> As an example Nico Stehr uses the terms experts, advisors and counsellors interchangeable, and defines those simply as "the group of occupations engaged in transmitting and applying knowledge"<sup>56</sup>. It does not seem of much use to have "the" definition of an expert, but it is important to evaluate the broadest possible picture of the problem at hand. Several different perspectives can be separated all highlighting specific aspects of the expert<sup>57</sup>:

#### **3.2.1 The voluntaristic perspective**

The voluntaristic perspective highlights the evidence that every human has special crafts or information to cope with everyday life.

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<sup>54</sup> The from Gibbons et al. 1994 under the label of 'mode 2' claimed transformation is heavily contested, because most disciplines are not affected by these changes, yet; see Weingart 1997 for a far reaching critique.

<sup>55</sup> See Hitzler/Honer/Maeder 1994, Bogner/Menz 2001, Schulz 1998.

<sup>56</sup> Comp. Stehr 1994: 171, 184.

<sup>57</sup> The neighbouring concepts of bureaucracy, professions and intellectuals will not be considered here, See (Stehr 1994: 172-178), who argues that theories of professions largely ignore knowledge structures and sees the dividing line between intellectuals and experts in: "Intellectuals stress general knowledge, experts specialized knowledge" (Stehr 1994:177).

So in a wide sense this can be seen as an comparative knowledge advantage. Under this definition principally everybody is an expert, an expert for his own way of life. This definition of an expert seems not of much analytical use, as situations in which the social effects of expert-knowledge are obvious, can not be treated differentiated.

### **3.2.2 The psychological perspective**

The psychological perspective typically focuses on the intellectual or cognitive characteristics of a particular individual that promote the development of expert knowledge. Krems identifies the grade of expert of a person by three criteria<sup>58</sup>: The first: efficiency, an expert performs an above-average number of tasks on a below-average expenditure, in terms of time costs, or error rate. Second, the person has subject-specific knowledge. Experts possess both extensive and differentiated forms of knowledge (facts, rules, thinking procedures), while also knowing the methods, procedures and techniques for dealing with novel tasks that arise in the special field of knowledge. The third criteria is experience. The specialized knowledge an experts hold can only be gained through long-term, labour-intensive study of a particular subject. Within this view "the term expert is given primarily to a person who fulfils the criterion of maintaining excellent performance in a particular domain over a long period of time".<sup>59</sup>

### **3.2.3. The Constructivist definition**

The Constructivist definition focuses on the mechanisms of attribution of an expert role. The definition can be separated in an relational and an social-representational approach. The first reflects

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<sup>58</sup> Comp. Krems 1996.

<sup>59</sup> Gruber/Ziegler 1996, cited after Huber 2001.

the fact, that every expert is the construct of a special interest, as in a specific problem situation it can be seen as constructed by the recipient of counsel that the selected expert has relevant knowledge.<sup>60</sup> So to be an expert under this definition largely depends on the actors that are interested in special knowledge, which give somebody else the role as an expert. This definition highlights that expert status not has to be an personal skill, but is largely defined by the actors involved, although it can not be ignored that the selected expert rather always is selected because he is seen by society as an expert in this specific case. This fact is highlighted by the social-representational approach. Following this approach somebody is an expert if he is made an expert by society.<sup>61</sup>

The separation of the constructivist approach in two different strings, is only of analytical use as both strings come always combined. Who is the expert is always defined by the problem or the situation and the social representation of the expert at the same time.

#### ***3.2.4. Towards a definition of an expert***

To sum up the expert can be defined by his personal attributes and the (micro- or macro-)context of expertise. He is holding a special kind of knowledge in a specific action field, which has the potential to guide action and which is of social relevance. At the same time he is defined by the context of expertise. He is asked by actors for his expertise and also gets the attribute as expert through society. As an important clue to get closer to an understanding of "the" expert the next section will ask for the functions experts have in societal decision making.

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<sup>60</sup> Comp. Meuser/Nagel 1997.

### 3.3. The social functions of experts

The functions experts have in societal decision making (the policy process) can be seen as vast and varied and largely context dependent. In face with the "factual mixture of science and policy in governmental action"<sup>62</sup> different types of functions can be separated only analytically: The core functions can be seen as a orientating, an instrumental and an legitimizing function.

Experts can provide meanings, problem frames, cultural facts and instruments to cope with everyday life and reducing everyday complexity, which can be seen as the orientating function. Furthermore experts have an instrumental function, which means the capability to give secured answers to problems, or provide information, instruments or other helpful tools for the solution of concrete problems of a special matter. Finally experts can help to legitimise decisions. In the policy decision making process all functions usually come together. For example, the same time an expert is asked for instrumental advice it has a legitimizing function.

Positions highlighting only the legitimizing function, as done in the concept of symbolic policy<sup>63</sup>, not only ignore the orientating function of every knowledge but also ignore that in the case, that expert knowledge is only used as simple power instrument it has profound consequences. A government, that brought his policy through based on a specific knowledge loses its credibility, if it uses diverging knowledge the next time. As Majone has argued, the legitimizing function of knowledge has profound consequences. Knowledge can 1) structure a before unstructured field of single policy decisions and

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<sup>61</sup> This approach therefore comes close to an rather unreflected picture of an expert as member of an functional-elite. Compare Meuser/Nagel 1994: 181.

<sup>62</sup> Murswieck 1994:104.

<sup>63</sup> See e.g. Edelman 1990.

increases the duty to consistence and coherence . 2)it helps to institutionalize this knowledge, basing it on a everyday practice. 3) it starts up a sequence with argumentative higher levels of legitimitation.

### **3.3.1. The context of expertise**

The functions of experts that dominate heavily rely on the specific situation or context. As several authors from competing paradigms have showed it is useful to apply a differentiation between crisis and routine situations.<sup>64</sup> As Joseph Kruzel noted: "There is [...] a particular time when scholarly advice is most useful: when some catastrophic or unexpected event puts an end to bureaucratic politics as usually".<sup>65</sup>

Evers and Nowotny presented as result of their study on the role of science in coping with new technological risks, that the functions of expertise differs by the grade of societal constructed uncertainty.<sup>66</sup> In times with felt safety and shared positive future expectations, expert knowledge has the function to guarantee and secure these safeties. In these phases the instrumental function of experts is dominating. In contrast in phases of societal uncertainty, where existing safeties disappear, the orientating function of expertise is dominant. Expert knowledge is then used to find creative solutions, new routines for the problems at hand and alternative conceptions for action.

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<sup>64</sup> This differentiation echoes the division drawn by the pragmatistic theory of action.

<sup>65</sup> Kruzel 1994:180.

<sup>66</sup> Comp. Evers/Nowotny 1987, for rather the same finding from a different paradigm (Institutionalism in International Relations Theory) see Keohane/Goldstein 1993.

### **3.3.2. Plausible functions in detail**

In the complex interaction process of expertise there can be found many different functions. Expert advice is, as it is usually seen, primarily needed by governments to solve existing problems and clarify the conflicting interests of major participants in policy debates. Boehmer Christiansen (1995) and Landfried (1986) identified several detailed functions that expert advice can play in the policy process, which are presented below:

- Expertise can be an source of authority and hence legitimacy for official actors and their involvement. An example are the many appeals that often are made to the academic consensus.
- Expertise can serve as instrument of persuasion or rationalization in debates and negotiations. Scientific expertise is used in rather every policy debate, with the parties tending to select the advice that best fits their own perceptions and interests.
- Expertise can be used as mechanism for delaying or avoiding action, or substituting action. This use is encouraged by scientific uncertainty. Doing more research gains time, promises more knowledge to somebody else. When governments cannot act at all, they can always call for more research. Also a counter-argument can be made. Expertise may be used to call for immediate action on uncertain scientific grounds.
- Expertise can give the justification for unpopular policies <sup>67</sup>
- It can be used as cover-up for policy and as scapegoat. Being subject to revision as new knowledge becomes available,

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<sup>67</sup> An example is the justification of German nuclear power policy in the early 80s was justified with reference to "Waldsterben".

science may be used to allow politicians to change their minds without losing face or having to admit error.

- It can function as a problem solver or provider of useful knowledge for designing targets, measures and instruments. Here at last is the 'rational' use of science, namely to solve an problem so that other types of knowledge can set work to define optimal or cost-effective solutions. Expertise rather than bargaining or the irrational public is seen as setting standards
- Expertise can judge or arbiter in disputes over 'facts' when experts may be appointed to decide a conflict of interests presented as scientific.
- Expertise can serve for the clarification of conflicting interests of major participants in the policy process, when experts provide policy-formulators with information about likely political impacts and consequences of their proposal..

### **3.4. Consequences and lessons for future research and our case study**

This chapter has identified those factors that we consider to be important while doing research on experts and expertise. To sum up, the following aspects should be kept in mind in our case study: For empirical research a precise description of the background situation and the context in which expertise is used, is needed as the function expertise plays varies in different contexts. The knowledge experts present should be considered, is it more orientating, instrumental or legitimizing in nature? A focus on the selection process of the experts is necessary, as this might give hints on the role of the expert, already.

## **4. The Hartz Commission**

In Chapter four we will present the results of the case studied.

As there have been about 50 expertises to the labour market and the economic policy in the last legislative period,<sup>68</sup> none of these were of the importance than the report of the commission for “modern services for the labour market”, the case under research here. As the Commission was an important factor in the election campaign of 2002 and as German chancellor Schröder recently pronounced the commission will be a model for coping with other important social problems, the case can be seen as paradigmatic and of an ideal type as it will be the first case in a long row of them.

Following the conclusions of chapter 3 the presentation of the results is organized as follows: At first the problem of unemployment in Germany is sketched, as this is the crucial point the commission should solve. Further on the political situation in which the commission was set up will be evaluated. This together can be seen as the context of the expertise, which is of special relevance as has been showed in chapter 3. As will be demonstrated, the overall context in which the expertise was placed can be seen as an crisis situation. In the next step the constitution of the expert commission will be explained as this already will give important hints about the role the commission played. As the case was studied under a process tracing approach the next sections describe the work process of the commission and following that the reaction and consequences of it.



## 4.1. The initial position

### 4.1.1. The situation in Germany

The German dilemma ironically started with the unification. In the fever of passion for the end of separation, Germany missed to start a reform process. A stabilization policy financed on debts fizzled out. There was a short term effect of this policy, so there was the illusion of getting away without reforms in the fields of social policy and labour market. The result: the highest unemployment rate since World War II.<sup>69</sup>

When the whole European continent asked the question, if they are able to afford there social system, Germany was not able to discuss this problem. The number of people unemployed rose to nearly five million.<sup>70</sup>

One of the major problems were seen in the costs for social security. The costs exploded directly after the unification, because Kohl and the conservative government tried to finance costs of the unification by the social system.<sup>71</sup> This infected also the costs for wages, because social costs have to be paid one to one by employee and employer.

In December 1995 the IG Metall and other unions proposed a 'Bündnis für Arbeit', a social pact.<sup>72</sup>

But the 'Bündnis' did not work, because the Kohl-administration was not able to mediate between unions and employer's associations.

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<sup>68</sup> Claudio De Luca, Die Gutachter-Republik, Capital, 08-08-02, p.18-20.

<sup>69</sup> Rainer Hupe, Schafft Schröder die Job-Wende?, Die Woche, 19-02-99, p.1.

<sup>70</sup> Peter Hartmann, Deutschlands Sonnenkönig, Die Weltwoche, 07-05-98, p.7.

<sup>71</sup> Die Sozialleistungsquote ist leicht gesunken, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 12-03-98, p.17.

<sup>72</sup> IG Metall billigt Zwickel Kurs, Handelsblatt, 06-11-95, p.1.

On September 27 1998 the administration of Kohl was over after 16 years in power. Gerhard Schröder won the election. He promised: "If we do not manage to reduce the unemployment rate, we do not deserve re-election."<sup>73</sup>

He restarted the 'Bündnis für Arbeit', declared it his prestige project, and succeeded in the beginning. The social pact agreed on offering job trainings for all adolescents.<sup>74</sup>

But in times of recession the climate in the social pact changed. In March 2001 the Swiss newspaper Neue Zürcher Zeitung titled: "German Bündnis für Arbeit" as alibi exercise.<sup>75</sup>

Neither the social pact did manage to reduce the number of people unemployed, nor did Gerhard Schröder.

In summer 2001 he proclaimed the policy of the "ruhige Hand"/still hand. Schröder asked for action did not want to start a short term economic intervention. He argued that these kind of programs would just flash in the pan.<sup>76</sup> Later on did not see himself in the position to do an about-turn. So less then half a year before the election he had a huge problem in this main political issue.

#### **4.1.2. The collapse of the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit**

In February 2002 the Bundesrechnungshof, the federal audit division, came to the conclusion, that the statistics of the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit (BA) were wrong. The job offices did not get jobs for every second job seekers as their own statistics claimed, but just every fifths. Government, the public was confronted with the fact, that the general body with a budget of 50 billion Euros, and 90.000 public

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<sup>73</sup> Associated press, Schröder erhofft sich im Osten „Hildebrandtschen Schwung“, 09:45, 06-09-98.

<sup>74</sup> Wirtschaft sagt Unterstützung für Lehrstellenprogramm, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 08-12-98, p.1.

<sup>75</sup> Deutsches „Bündnis für Arbeit“ als Alibiübung, Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 05-03-01.  
<sup>76</sup> Handelsblatt, Bundeskanzler Schröder ist die "ruhige Hand" am Steuer wichtiger als der Kurs, 19-06-01, p.11.

employees did not manage at all, to solve the problems of the unemployment.<sup>77</sup>

There was a very huge debate in media about the fact, that just one in ten employees of the BA, actually worked in the placement service.<sup>78</sup> The president of the BA, Bernhard Jagoda had to step back.<sup>79</sup> Jagoda was already in his position before the Schröder-administration, he served already under Chancellor Kohl. Nevertheless it also put pressure on the government. Werner Tegtmeier, the permanent secretary of the minister of labour, Walter Riester, was sent in early retirement.

Chancellor Schröder did realize, that it would not have been enough to replace these positions, but to show, that he was willing to start a reform process. It seems to be the last chance for him to defend the political area of employment against his conservative challenger.<sup>80</sup> On February 22 Schröder informed the public, that Peter Hartz will form an expert's commission to reform the structure of the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, and the services to the labour market.

#### **4.2. The mission**

On February 22 the federal government set the corner marks for the reform plans of the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit. It asked for direct improvement and modern services for the labour market.<sup>81</sup> Furthermore the government wanted to split the reform plans in two

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<sup>77</sup> Wolfgang Storz, „Skandal und Skandälchen“: Frankfurter Rundschau, 07-02-02, p.3.

<sup>78</sup> Christian Baulig/Margaret Heckel/Cordula Tutt, „Jagodas Höllentag“, Financial Times Deutschland, 07-02-02, p.29;. „Düstere Aussichten für den Arbeitsmarkt“, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, p. 13; Peter Gillies, „Weiß der Kapitän, was die Mannschaft treibt?“, 07-02-02, p.9.

<sup>79</sup> „Reformen in Nürnberg ohne Jagoda“, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 21-02-02.

<sup>80</sup> Alexander Hagelüken, „Wer hat Angst vorm bösen Markt?“, Süddeutsche Zeitung, 23-02-02, p.4.

<sup>81</sup> Report of commission 2002: p.11.

steps. The first step was characterized as “effective urgent measures”, the second as “reform of structure”.<sup>82</sup>

First step: effective urgent measures

Peter Hartz summarised these first steps in four categories:

(1) modernisation of the benefits structure

(2) more competition

(3) more co-operation with third parties

(4) more quality and more customer orientation

These steps should be implemented by July first.<sup>83</sup>

Second Step: reform of structure

The commission “modern services for the labour market” was established to prepare concepts and suggestions for the legislation process. The commission shall give its solutions till the end of the legislative period.

The commission was asked to give

(1) a concept for future scope of duties,

(2) a concept for new structure of organisation, and

(3) a concept of implementation of the decisions.<sup>84</sup>

On the first meeting of the commission, Hartz introduced five guiding principles:

- I. orientation of all process on the needs of the labour market and all kinds of customers.
- II. Benchmark of all adjustments are “Best Practices” in modern service-management and development of the culture of stakeholders.

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<sup>82</sup> Report of commission 2002: p.12, 13.

<sup>83</sup> Peter Hartz, Kommission „moderne Dienstleistungen am Arbeitsmarkt“ – Projektorganisation und Vorgehensweise, Berlin, 22-03-02, p.2.

<sup>84</sup> Report of commission 2002: p.14-16.

- III. Efficiency of the commission's work take place by simultaneous and integrated project work.
- IV. All suggestions have to be sustainable by politics and economy.
- V. Target of all action is an international competitive organisation that helps to reduce unemployment and backs up the position of Germany.<sup>85</sup>

Hartz explained right in the beginning that he wants to change the structure of the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit fundamentally, but also had in mind, that the solutions have to be implemented by the coalition in the German parliament, and can not be implemented against protest of the interest groups of employees (trade unions) and employers.

The most interesting point is the idea of the reduction of unemployment, because although this was the urgent interest of the government, and the promise of chancellor Schröder himself, it was not written in the mission.

Hartz not just defined this position, he also revalued the significance of the commission by expressing the goal of the reduction of unemployment.

#### **4.3. The members of the commission**

In the mission to the commission, the government explained that the members of the experts group shall be personalities from the economy and economic associations, trade unions, politics, science, management consultancy, federal countries and local authorities.

The commission shall be chaired by Dr. Peter Hartz.<sup>86</sup>

In following the members of the commission will be introduced briefly.

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<sup>85</sup> Peter Hartz, Kommission „moderne Dienstleistungen am Arbeitsmarkt“ – Projektorganisation und Vorgehensweise, Berlin, 22-03-02, p.4.

<sup>86</sup> Report of commission 2002: p.15.

#### **4.3.1. The head of the commission**

Dr. Peter Hartz



Dr. Peter Hartz is member of the management board of Volkswagen (VW) responsible for human resources. He is well known for innovative answers to problems of the labour market. In the early nineties he prevented mass dismissals by introducing the four day week in the main factory of Volkswagen in Wolfsburg.<sup>87</sup> He saved about 30.000 jobs.<sup>88</sup> Last year he introduced the program 5000 for 5000 (5000 new jobs with a monthly income of 5000 Deutsch Mark). Volkswagen will employ 5000 new people on different working conditions. The deal was made after a long process of discussions in harmony with the trade unions.<sup>89</sup> Hartz also published in this field.<sup>90</sup> He is considered to be close with chancellor Schröder, who was member of the supervisory board of Volkswagen, when he was governor of Lower Saxony.<sup>91</sup>

During the commissions work his working method was described as chaotic, on the other hand he was seen as “Guru” who is able to fill the audience with enthusiasm for his ideas. He also was able to motivate the experts group, and asked for positive answers: (“Do not tell me, what is impossible, tell me how it works – that is what we

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<sup>87</sup> Es knirscht und knarzt, Der Spiegel, 25-07-94, p.64-67.

<sup>88</sup> Dietmar Hawranek, „Machen Sie etwas anderes“, Der Spiegel, 24-06-02, p.26.

<sup>89</sup> Alexander Hagelüken, „Volkswagen als Vorbild“, Süddeutsche Zeitung, 29-08-02, p.2.

<sup>90</sup> Peter Hartz, “Job revolution”, Frankfurt, 2002; „Jeder Arbeitsplatz hat ein Gesicht“, Frankfurt 1994.

<sup>91</sup> Elisabeth Niejahr, „Zwei Ohren für die Wirtschaft“, Die Zeit, 07-03-02, p.17.

do.”)<sup>92</sup> Finally all members of the commission agreed that Hartz was the mediator of the group and the consensus paper at the end was his credit.<sup>93</sup>

#### **4.3.2. The public sector**

Harald Schartau



Harald Schartau is minister for labour and social affairs in North Rhine Westphalia. He is member of the Social democratic Party of Germany (SPD), and the IG Metall (trade union), which he led in his federal country from 1997-2000. Although Schartau has a very strong union background he is open for new ideas and new challenges: *“In cases of mass dismissals employers and work councils should not just look for the amount of redundancy payments but for ways to get the dismissed back to work.”*<sup>94</sup>

Wolfgang Tiefensee



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<sup>92</sup> Elisabeth Niejahr, „Mit Charme, Chuzpe, und Charisma“, Die Zeit, 15-08-02, p.18.

<sup>93</sup> Alexander Hagelüken, „Maßanzüge für Arbeitslose“, Süddeutsche Zeitung, 16-08-02, p.9.

<sup>94</sup> Hilmar Höhn, Harald Schartau – Im Gespräch, Frankfurter Rundschau, 04-10-02, p.4.

Wolfgang Tiefensee is mayor of Leipzig and member of the social democratic party of Germany (SPD). Furthermore he is head of the Deutsche Städtetag, the association of local governments in Germany. Just before the commission work started Tiefensee told the Leipziger Volkszeitung, that he will be aware of the interests of the local authorities, who have to pay for social security benefits (Sozialhilfe).<sup>95</sup> He also insisted, that the commission shall and will use the pressure put on the commission for a reform without taboos.<sup>96</sup>

#### **4.3.3. The Bundesanstalt für Arbeit**

Wilhelm Schickler



Wilhelm Schickler is the only representative of the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit in the commission, he is head of the job offices in the federal country of Hessen. He also introduced the idea of Personal Service Agencies in his federal country before the commissions work.<sup>97</sup> Schickler started to work for the BA directly after university and worked on all levels of the department.

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<sup>95</sup> Leipziger Volkszeitung, 06-03-02, p.2.

<sup>96</sup> Leipziger Volkszeitung, 06-03-02, p.2.

<sup>97</sup> Wilhelm Schickler in an interview with the Frankfurter Rundschau, 24-08-02, p.29.



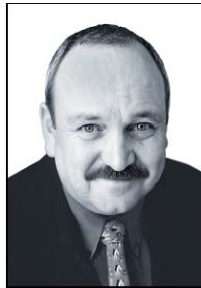
#### **4.3.5 The trade unions**

Isolde Kunkel-Weber



Isolde Kunkel Weber is the second member of the commission that belongs to the trade unions. She is member of the national board of ver.di, the trade union for service sector. Ver.di is also responsible for the 90.000 employees that work for the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit. Isolde Kunkel-Weber made clear, that she also wants to look after the interests of these employees.<sup>98</sup> Her background is typical for an public servant, she studied administration, and managed the department for asylum seekers, before she started her trade union career.

Peter Gasse



Next to Isolde Kunkel-Weber Peter Gasse is the second representative of the trade unions. Gasse belongs to the IG Metall, one of the biggest unions in the world. He is head of the regional organisation of North Rhine Westphalia, responsible for 716.000 unionist. In this position he is successor of Harald Schartau, another

member of the commission.<sup>99</sup> He also worked in the field of collective bargaining, and he has got experience with the dialogue with employers.

In 1997 he participated to develop the model of salary plus (“Lohn plus Konzept”) in Duisburg. It was one of the first attempts of a Job centre to combine salary and social benefits to get long time job seekers back to work.<sup>100</sup>

#### **4.3.8. The economy/employers**

Hanns-Eberhard Schleyer



Hanns Eberhard Schleyer, son of Hanns Martin Schleyer victim of an assassination of the left extreme terrorist group Rote Armee Fraktion (RAF), is general secretary of the central organization of the German handwork (Zentralverband des Deutschen Handwerks), and also member of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) the conservative party in Germany. He headed the Minister president’s office of Rhineland Palatinate in the eighties. He was also representative of the employers in the talks of social pacts in the last years, and quite familiar with the idea of camp debates (unions vs. employers).

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<sup>98</sup> Alexander Hagelüken, „Gewerkschaften drohen Gerster mit massivem Widerstand“, Süddeutsche Zeitung, 07-03-02, p.7.

<sup>99</sup> Press release of IG Metall, „Peter Gasse neuer Bezirksleiter der IG Metall in Nordrhein-Westfalen“, 10-07-00.

## Norbert Bensel



Another manager in the commission was Dr. Norbert Bensel. He is member of the management board of the Deutsche Bahn AG, responsible for human resources. Before he signed on the state owned company he was also member of the management board of DaimlerChrysler Services, again head of human resources there. In an interview he described his motivations to work for the commission: *“We did it, because we wanted solutions. It would be a pity if the report will be locked away after the election.”*<sup>101</sup>

## Eggert Voscherau



Eggert Voscherau is member of the board of executive directors of BASF Aktiengesellschaft, one of the major companies of chemical industry in Germany. He was also elected in June 2002 as President of the European Chemical Industry Council (Cefic) for a two year term. Simultaneously, he is President of the International Council of Chemical Associations until April 2003.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Moderne Dienstleistungen für den Arbeitsmarkt, Biographien, Peter Gasse, August 2002; Ullrich Fichtner, DGB will Kombi-Lohn gegen Armut erproben, Frankfurter Rundschau, 17-09-97, p.1.

<sup>101</sup> Hans-Jürgen Moritz, Verena Müller, „Hochamt des Kanzler-Kumpels“, Focus, 12-08-02, p.26.

<sup>102</sup> Website of BASF, <http://www.basf.de>

Heinz Fischer



Heinz Fischer is head of human resources of the Deutsche Bank in Germany. As Peter Hartz, he also tried to create innovative ways to avoid dismissals. In 2000 he introduced “Zeit-Invest”, a tool, which allows the employees of the Deutsche Bank to save overtime or not taken vacations on an time-account, which can be used for early retirement.<sup>103</sup> His motivation for the commissions work was to design a “human frame” of the new science society.<sup>104</sup>

#### **4.3.9. The management consultancy**

Jobst Fiedler



Dr. Jobst Fiedler is one of the consultants in the commission. He is partner of Roland Berger Strategy consultants. Fiedler has also got experience in the field of job centres. He was responsible for the job centres of Harburg (part of Hamburg) in the years 1980 to 1984. With a degree in law and political science he started to work for the

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<sup>103</sup> Axel Glogler, Die Welt, „Mit Zeitsparkonten Mitarbeiter motivieren“, 13-11-00, p.16.

<sup>104</sup> Moderne Dienstleistungen für den Arbeitsmarkt, Biographien, Heinz Fischer, August 2002.

Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin in the fields of employment chances for graduates, local employment policy of Sweden, and regional development strategies.<sup>105</sup>

Peter Kraljic



Peter Kraljic is senior director of McKinsey & Company, Inc. Düsseldorf. In his self description Kraljic wrote:

*“My decision to work for the commission was on the base of my conviction, that the commission is able to solve one of the fundamental problems of the Federal Republic of Germany. This conviction is based on my experience in Dortmund and Wolfsburg.”<sup>106</sup>*

Since 1999 he works especially in the fields of regional growth and employment with projects in Germany, Brazil and Austria.

Furthermore Kraljic is the opinion, that 70 percent of economic success are related to soft skills.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Moderne Dienstleistungen für den Arbeitsmarkt, Biographien, Dr. Jobst Fiedler, August 2002.

<sup>106</sup> Moderne Dienstleistungen für den Arbeitsmarkt, Biographien, Dr. Peter Kraljic, August 2002.

<sup>107</sup> Michael Kläsgen, „Wenn Denise mit dem Hans ...“, Die Zeit 2000, 14-09-00, p.34.

Klaus Luft



Klaus Luft is head of the Market Access for Technology Services GmbH (MATCH), which offers solutions for IT companies. Furthermore he is Vice president of the investment bank Goldman Sachs Europe since 1990. Before that he was head of the management board of Nixdorf Computers, and member of the supervisory board of the Deutsche Post AG. He also founded an foundation for further education (Klaus Luft Stiftung) and is senator of the Max Planck society.<sup>108</sup>

#### **4.3.10. The science**

Günther Schmid



Prof. Dr. Günther Schmid works for the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (Social Science Research Center Berlin). He recently published the book: „Wege in eine neue

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<sup>108</sup> Moderne Dienstleistungen für den Arbeitsmarkt, Biographien, Klaus Luft, August 2002.

Vollbeschäftigung“/ Ways to a new full employment). Therein he describes the idea of “transit labour markets”: employees can work and change their status of employment (e.g. between freelance work and employment on a regular base).<sup>109</sup> He also did research on the Danish labour market and the adaptation on the German system.<sup>110</sup>

Werner Jann



The second representative of the science is Prof. Dr. Werner Jann. He is professor of administration at the university of Potsdam. He was also member of the commission for reform of the governmental system in 1996.<sup>111</sup> He is a critic of a bureaucracy that becomes an end itself, and asks for more public control of the system.<sup>112</sup>

To conclude the commission consists of broad range of expertise from different perspectives: Beside the charismatic mediator and innovative head the commission consists of: three experts from the public sector (one from the federal country level, one from the local level, and one of the national bureaucracy), two experts from the trade unions (one from the service sector, one from the producing sector), four experts from economy (one from the handwork, one from the service sector, one from the producing sector and one of the

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<sup>109</sup> Claudia Bröll, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 14-10-02, p.14.

<sup>110</sup> Günther Schmid, Jobrotation - ein Modell für Deutschland?, Frankfurter Rundschau, 29-04-99, p.8.

<sup>111</sup> DER SPIEGEL, „Die Macht der Häkchen“: 1996, 27, p. 40-42.

<sup>112</sup> Werner Jann 1999.

financial sector), three experts from the largest consultancy companies and finally two scientists one a professor at an university one working in a close to policy institution. In sum the commission consists largely of practitioners from different sectors and perspectives but all of them were already involved earlier in some sort of expertise.

#### **4.4. Self image of the commission**

Probably it would not be fair to quote Peter Hartz answer he gave in an interview two month after presenting the results, but it shows the self confidence the commission still has after a public debate.

Hartz: "We wrote a bible for the labour market"<sup>113</sup>

Even though Hartz was kidding there, the self image of the commission shows the strong belief in the importance of its work for the society.

In the preface of the report Hartz stakes out the claim, that his commission gives the right answers to break down the "social evil" of unemployment.<sup>114</sup>

The commission stakes out the claim to be independent in all matters, even from the so called fourth power, the media. Between the lines, the preface also gives the intention, that the expert group finds itself in the position to be independent from the elected government by saying "the commission interpreted its mission...to reduce 2 million unemployed in three years."<sup>115</sup> As honourable this goal might be, it shows that the expert group frames the rules, and not the democratic legitimised client, the government.

The representatives of science in the experts group, Werner Jann and Günther Schmid, also insisted in an open letter, that the

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<sup>113</sup> Peter Hartz answerd the question, if it gets on his nerves to be charactarized as a Messias for the labour market, in stern, "Wir haben die Bibel für den Arbeitsmarkt", 02-10-02, p.174.

<sup>114</sup> Report of the commission 2002: p.5.



commission would have been free of influences of political pressure.<sup>116</sup>

Another question is the independence of interest groups: Hanns Eberhard Schleyer, the representative of the employers organisations in the commission is probably the best example to proof this independence. He also agreed to the final results of the group, although nearly all umbrella organisations of the employers attacked the commission.<sup>117</sup>

On the other hand, the influence of trade unions seems obvious. After protests of the unions the commission abolished plans to cut social benefits for unemployed.<sup>118</sup> Isolde Kunkel-Weber transported the views of the unions into the commission. But it would be to simple to define a dependence on this point, because of the guiding principle of the commission: No suggestion shall be made against political or economic resistance, if it jeopardizes the whole concepts. So the position of Kunkel-Weber can also be judge as a realistic view on what the unions are going to sustain and what not.

Coming back to the phrase “we wrote a bible” the commission also insisted very strongly, that there concept just work, when it is taken as a single solution. All members of the commission repeated concordantly that the concepts and modules of the commission only reduce unemployment if they are all implemented without exceptions.<sup>119</sup> This seems like a quite elegant way to eliminate critics on single issues.

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<sup>115</sup> Report of the commission 2002: p.5

<sup>116</sup> Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, „Hartz Kommission lässt sich nicht beeinflussen“, 31-07-02, p.4.

<sup>117</sup> Hans Jürgen Moritz, Focus, „Gesundbeter Hartz“, 19-08-02,p.34.

<sup>118</sup> Jonas Viering, „Hartz Kommission vermeidet harte Einschnitte, Süddeutsche Zeitung, 10-08-02, p.1; head of the trade union ver.di, Frank Bsirske in Frankfurter Rundschau, „Einer solchen Politik werden wir uns widersetzen“, 29-06-02, p.5.

<sup>119</sup> Hanns Eberhard Schleyer, Radio interview, Südwestrundfunk 2, 12-08-02; Isolde Kunkel-Weber on the work council conference in Nuremberg, 26-08-02,“13 Module gegen Arbeitslosigkeit“, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 17-08-02, p.2.

#### **4.5. Results 13 modules of innovation**

The Hartz commission offers a program to reduce the number of unemployed by two million in three years. To reach this goal the experts group gives 13 modules, that reform the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, and the way of placement and employment in Germany. The modules orient themselves to the guiding principle of the Schröder administration “support and demand”. In following the modules shall be epitomised:

(1) JobCenter: double mandate: job seeker and employer – better service for all clients

The employment agencies will be renamed to “JobCenter”, and shall be a drop in centre for all unemployed. They are also responsible for paupers.<sup>120</sup> The double responsibility between social welfare office and employment agency will be abolished.<sup>121</sup>

(2) Family friendly placement and acceleration of placements

Also more efficiency is expected by the term of “Quick-Vermittlung”/quick placement. Unemployed shall inform the JobCenter directly after termination of employment to reduce the duration of unemployment. There will be fines up to 50 Euros per day, for those who do not contact the JobCenter. Job seekers with special responsibilities (e.g. father/mother with dependants) have priority in the placement service. One “case manager” is responsible for a job seeker, she/he is his personal contact person.<sup>122</sup>

(3) New rules of expectation and voluntaries

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<sup>120</sup> Currently paupers, who work have to go to the social welfare office.

<sup>121</sup> Report of the Commission 2002: p.67-80.

<sup>122</sup> Report of the Commission 2002: p.81-93.

The rules of expectation<sup>123</sup> will be intensified. The burden of proof if an employment is unreasonable is put on the job seeker. Job seekers have to accept employments with less salary. Young and single job seekers are also expected to be more mobile. According to the principle “support and demand” there will be cuts of unemployment benefits if a job seeker is not co-operative.<sup>124</sup>

#### (4) Young unemployed – education-stocks

Young job seekers shall be supported. The JobCenters are responsible, that no adolescent sits at home on social benefits without a double-sided searching for a job training. Furthermore the instrument of the “AusbildungsZeit-Wertpapier”/education-stock is introduced. Local foundation shall finance these stocks that help adolescents without a job training<sup>125</sup> to qualify for an employment by paying the cost for the job training. The local foundation shall be financed by donations and the state.<sup>126</sup>

#### (5) Promotion of senior employees: “bridge system”

Senior job seekers shall be promoted by the “bridge system”. This system allows people over 55 to opt out of the job seeking system. JobCenters can put their efforts on those who really want to seek a job. Senior job seekers who want to be employed shall be promoted by cutting the costs for unemployment insurance for the employer.<sup>127</sup>

#### (6) Conflation of social benefit and unemployed benefit

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<sup>123</sup> The rules of expectations („Zumutbarkeitsregelung“) define the right of the job seeker to reject a job with the argument of qualification (a graduated engineer can reject a position as street sweeper without reduction of his unemployment benefits).

<sup>124</sup> Report of the Commission 2002: p.93-104.

<sup>125</sup> The German education system is organised as a „dual system“. Job trainings in companies are accompanied by state owned „job schools“. In recent years the number of companies, which offer job trainings went down.

<sup>126</sup> Report of the Commission 2002: p.105-116.

<sup>127</sup> Report of the Commission 2002: p.125-138.

Social benefit and unemployment benefit shall be united.<sup>128</sup> There will be a unemployed benefit I in the first year, followed by an unlimited unemployment benefit II.<sup>129</sup>

(7) No supplies for Nuremberg! Balance of employment – system of bonus for companies

A so called KompetenzCenter/centre of competence shall give “employment consulting” to employers. The consulting allows also small companies to introduce new working time models, and other configurations of working conditions. The commission refers to the project “Aktion 100 Betriebe” of North Rhine Westphalia.<sup>130</sup>

Companies with a positive development of employment get a bonus on the cost of insurance.<sup>131</sup>

(8) Building of Personal Service agencies (PSA) - further training close to companies

The personal service agencies are basically agencies for temporary work. These PSA hire out job seekers. By this instrument they are employed by the state, and the employer does not have to protect him against dismissal.<sup>132</sup> The job seekers do get a net income on the level of unemployment benefit I for the first half year, and a net income on a special PSA-rate after that time period. The PSA is

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<sup>128</sup> The financing of the German social system is divided in contributions from social insurance, which is not state owned and taxes. At present the job seeker gets money from his insurance in the first year (Arbeitslosengeld) and money from the state after this period (unemployment benefit, social benefit).

<sup>129</sup> Report of the Commission 2002: p.125-138.

<sup>130</sup> Bericht der Kommission, „Moderne Dienstleistungen am Arbeitsmarkt“, August 2002, p.141

<sup>131</sup> Report of the Commission 2002: p.139-143.

<sup>132</sup> The discussion in Germany always had the tendency to claim, that the „Kündigungsschutz”/protection against wrongful dismissal is too extensive, and prevent employers to hire new people.

organised as an own business unit. It can be hold in an public/private partnership.<sup>133</sup>

(9) New employment and dismantling of illicit work by the “Ich AG”-  
(the “me-plc”) , “Mini-Jobs”

One of the most popular catchphrase of the report is the “Ich AG” - the “Me stock corporation”. This shall be the instrument to fight illicit work. This alternative to normal start up programs gives the job seeker, respectively the moonlighter, the possibility to work in the form of an Ich AG up to an income of 25.000 Euros. He just has to pay an income tax of 10 percent, but also all contributions to social security. In the first three years he is also supported financially by the JobCenter.

Companies, workshops are allowed to work with this Ich AG’s. The advantage for them is no general pay agreement, and no protection against dismissal, because he is not employed, he is just a business partner. But there are restrictions: a company is just allowed to deal with this Ich AG, if it employs people. A ratio of one (employee) to one (Ich AG) is the maximum.

The other instrument is the Mini Job. This is an employment without social security obligation<sup>134</sup> with an maximum income of 500 Euros. These mini jobs rules apply only for the housekeeping sector.<sup>135</sup>

(10) Transparent controlling, efficient IT support, self administration  
The reconstructing of the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit starts with the definition of goals. The employees of the BA also shall get a new vision. Detailed guidelines, that lead to “work to rule” shall be abolished and replaced by exact goals. Furthermore there will be a

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<sup>133</sup> Report of the Commission 2002: p.147-162.

<sup>134</sup> There will be a lump sum of ten percent.

new more efficient controlling. The controlling will be only on the top level.<sup>136</sup>

In each federal country there shall be just a two level system of JobCenters on the first level and KompetenzCenters on the upper level.<sup>137</sup>

(11) Reconstruction of the federal employment agencies to competence centre for new Jobs

The KompetenzCenters are contact partners of large scale enterprises. They coordinate local arrangements between the economic interest groups (unions – employers). They are also responsible for transparency of further educations for job seekers. They do research on shortages of qualification on the labour market, and design own frame programs to encounter these problems. The reconstructing of the federal country job offices shall start in the new countries in Eastern Germany.<sup>138</sup>

(12) Financing the actions for dismantling unemployment

The term of financing new places of work is “JobFloater”. If a company employs an unemployed job seeker, the company has got an option for a financial plan in form of a loan from the state. This offer is valid for small and medium sized companies.

The commission calculates that a JobFloater would cost 100.000 Euro; for 100.000 new jobs each year there would be a financial demand of 10 billion Euros p. a. The commission pronounces in this chapter the goal to reduce unemployment by two million people. This would save about 19,6 Billion Euros on social benefit costs, which

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<sup>135</sup> Report of the Commission 2002: p.163-174.

<sup>136</sup> At present each „Arbeitsamt“ has its own controlling.

<sup>137</sup> Report of the Commission 2002: p.175-230.

<sup>138</sup> Report of the Commission 2002: p.231-262.

shall be put in part in the reconstructing process (Ich AG, PSA, JobFloater).<sup>139</sup>

(13) “Masterplan” – contribution of the professionals of the nation  
It is often argued that Germans are world champions in painting black pictures of their situation. Therefore the Hartz commission gives a “Masterplan” to the “professionals of the nation”. Not only politicians, unionists, employers and job seekers are able to solve the problem of unemployment. Hartz wants a national project. Therefore artists, journalists, priests, clubs, teachers, all employees of the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit<sup>140</sup> have to support the goal of reduction of the unemployment.<sup>141</sup>

#### **4.6. During the work**

##### ***4.6.1. Working methods/part projects***

The first meeting of the commission took place on March 6 2002. The commission decided to divide the work in parts. Five part projects were established. Hartz presented the working methods for these part projects in session number two. In each field the experts should analyse the situation, give a strategic orientation, benchmark different concepts<sup>142</sup>, develop suggestions and rate the results.<sup>143</sup>  
The rating should be orientate to the views of politics, unions, employers association. Therefore Hartz also asked for bilateral talks with the interest groups.

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<sup>139</sup> Report of the Commission 2002: p.263-283.

<sup>140</sup> The commission calculates about 6,1 Million “professionals of the nation.”

<sup>141</sup> Report of the Commission 2002: p.284-340.

<sup>142</sup> There was a benchmarking workshop on may 22 2002 in Berlin to compare the German employment organisation with its international counterparts.

<sup>143</sup> Peter Hartz, Kommission „moderne Dienstleistungen am Arbeitsmarkt“ – Projektorganisation und Vorgehensweise, Berlin, 22-03-02, p.6.

The places in these smaller groups were filled with members of the commission:

- I. **arranging employments/career guidance**  
Members of the part project: Jobst Fiedler, Klaus Luft, Wilhelm Schickler, Günther Schmid, Wolfgang Tiefensee.
- II. **Unemployment pay and social benefit; children benefit**  
Members of the part project: Isolde Kunkel-Weber, Harald Schartau, Wolfgang Tiefensee
- III. **Measures for the labour market policy and research for the labour market**  
Members of the part project: Norbert Bensel, Peter Gasse, Peter Kraljic, Isolde Kunkel-Weber, Hanns-Eberhard Schleyer, Günther Schmid, Wolfgang Tiefensee, Eggert Voscherau
- IV. **Personal, controlling and organisation**  
members of the part project: Jobst Fielder, Heinz Fischer, Werner Jann, Peter Kraljic, Isolde Kunkel-Weber, Wilhelm Schickler
- V. **attraction for clients and employees; communication**  
Members of the part project: Isolde Kunkel-Weber, Klaus Luft

The members of the commission were supported by other experts in the different areas. The advantage of this working method was not just the time saving of simultaneous work, but also the dynamic process of small groups.

The Süddeutsche Zeitung reported:



*“Isolde Kunkel Weber meets the consultant Jobst Fiedler for coffee in the Verdi-Tower at Potsdamer Platz. There they are: the representative of the insecure employees, and the “job killer”, how they call consultants in union’s slang. The unionist asks without fear, without tactical consideration...Afterwards he [Fiedler] understood the unionist’s sensitivities and compulsions better.”<sup>144</sup>*

Hartz managed to involve his members in discussions and work together. In opposite to the other attempts to reform the labour market the experts group crossed the borders between the camps.<sup>145</sup> The five part project finally were presented to the whole commission, and a final discussion started.

#### **4.6.2 The discussion on unemployment benefits.**

The discussion on unemployment benefits shows that there was not just harmony in the experts group, especially Isolde Kunkel-Weber of the unions, and Hanns Eberhard Schleyer had a big dissents on this topic.

In a first draft of the report there was also the instrument of a reduction of the unemployment pay (in time and amount).<sup>146</sup> Isolde Kunkel-Weber insisted, that the unions would not tolerate this.<sup>147</sup> Schleyer replied, that he insists on Hartz I, and the reductions. Even a week before the paper was published he was thinking of an minority vote against the others.<sup>148</sup> Finally they found an agreement, that there will be a trial period of three years. After that time there will

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<sup>144</sup> Alexander Hagelüken und Jonas Viering, Maßanzüge für Arbeitslose, Süddeutsche Zeitung, 16-08-02, p.9.

<sup>145</sup> Elisabeth Niejahr, „Mit Charme, Chuzpe, und Charisma“, Die Zeit, 15-08-02, p.18.

<sup>146</sup> Maike Rademaker, Widerstand gegen Reform am Arbeitsmarkt, Financial Times Deutschland, 24-07-02.

<sup>147</sup> Isolde Kunkel-Weber, Open letter to the employees of the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, Sozialversicherung Info 06/02, Berlin.

<sup>148</sup> Margaret Heckel, Hartzkommission ringt um Einigung für Arbeitsmarktreform, Financial Times Deutschland, 09-08-02.

be a new discussion about the benefits. Schleyer was able to agree with this compromise.<sup>149</sup>

#### **4.6.3. A consensus paper**

The Hartz commission came early to the conclusion that they want to have a paper with a far reaching effect. Therefore Hartz wanted to have a consensus vote in his commission, because they represent the whole society: Science, politics, economy, unions.

The discussion of the unemployment pay put this goal in danger. On the other hand the ideas of "Ich AG" or the PSA are far away from the German union's position. Hartz got Kunkel-Weber by implementing the gender idea in the preamble.<sup>150</sup> The unions got also four positions in the supervisory board of the new Bundesanstalt. Schartau, the minister of labour affairs, was very involved in the questions of "mini jobs".<sup>151</sup>

Nevertheless it was not just this "donation-policy" that led to this solution. Hanns Eberhard Schleyer said, that the interest groups really wanted to work together. A fact he had not realise in times when he joined the social pact talks.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> Interview with Hanns Eberhard Schleyer, Rheinischer Merkur, 15-08-02, p.7.

<sup>150</sup> Report of the Commission 2002: p. 1.

<sup>151</sup> Elisabeth Niejahr, „Mit Charme, Chuzpe, und Charisma“, Die Zeit, 15-8-2002, p.18.

<sup>152</sup> Elisabeth Niejahr, „Mit Charme, Chuzpe, und Charisma“, Die Zeit, 15-8-2002 p.18.

## 4.7. Reaction on the report

### 4.7.1 The government



Even before the presentation of the paper the Chancellor promised to implement the suggestions of the commission “one to one”.<sup>153</sup> The work of the commission is “great success.”<sup>154</sup> The presentation was on the peak of the election campaign, and Schröder combined his destiny with the commission.<sup>155</sup> Schröder realised that the “one to one” idea would be the only chance to implement a reform like that in the complicated process of legislation without new compromises with the interests group.

After the re-election of Schröder, and the coalition of Social democrats and Greens, Hartz was implemented in the coalition contract.<sup>156</sup> It is promised to implement the first parts of Hartz till the end of the year.

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<sup>153</sup> Schröder will abgeschwächte Vorschläge „eins zu eins“ umsetzen, Handelsblatt, 17-7-2002, p.5.

<sup>154</sup> press release of Chancellor of Federal Republic of Germany

<sup>155</sup> Oliver Schumacher, Schröder spricht Machtwort, Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11-09-02, p.23.

<sup>156</sup> Erneuerung – Gerechtigkeit – Nachhaltigkeit, contract of coalition between the greens and the social democrats, Berlin October 2002, p.9.

#### 4.7.2 The Opposition



The report was represented in the peak of the election campaign, and the government was in favour for it. Obviously the challenger and his party had to be against it. Edmund Stoiber (the challenger) called it “Gequatsche”/jabbering.<sup>157</sup> The fundamental problem would not be solved by reorganising job agencies but by getting more jobs by economic growth. Stoiber said, that some suggestions like “Ich AG” and the PSA are just naive.<sup>158</sup>

The shadow minister of economic affairs, Lothar Späth, had praised the suggestions in the beginning (“the suggestions are a good base”),<sup>159</sup> but was forced do rethink his position.<sup>160</sup> In August he exemplified his new position: “[Hartz] does not develop a job machine, but a subvention machine, paid by taxpayer ”.<sup>161</sup>

The position of the Christian Democratic Union changed after the national election. Friedrich Merz – leader of the opposition till the election, but still a key player in the CDU – wrote in an background article for the conservative Adenauer foundation, that the Hartz suggestions “face in the right direction”.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Nico Fried and Oliver Schumacher, Zwischen Ablehnung und Annäherung, Süddeutsche Zeitung, 12-08-02, p.2.

<sup>158</sup> „Gequatsche, PR-Inszenierung“, scharfe Kritik der Opposition an Hartz, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 12-08-02, p.1.

<sup>159</sup> Lothar Späthz in an interview with stern, „Revolutionäre Reform“

<sup>160</sup> Tom Levine, Späthe Erkenntnis, Berliner Zeitung, 13-08-02, p.5.

<sup>161</sup> associated press, Späth: Hartz-Konzept ist unglaublich, 12-08-02.

<sup>162</sup> Friedrich Merz, „Mehr Mut zu Wettbewerb und Leistung!“, Politische Meinung 8/2002, p.10

Also Roland Koch, prime minister of the federal country of Hessen, agreed (of course after the election) with the principles of the commission, but criticised, that the suggestions can not be implemented one to one, neither financially nor organisational.<sup>163</sup>

#### **4.7.3. Interest groups**

During the election campaign Germany was divided in two camps. The employer's associations decided to support the opposition and the challenger Edmund Stoiber, the umbrella organisation of the unions, the Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund (DGB) and the member unions campaigned for the social democratic- green coalition and Gerhard Schröder. For that reason it does not seem like a surprise, that both interest groups nearly adopt the position of the political parties, at least during the campaign.<sup>164</sup>

##### *4.7.3.1. Employer's associations*

Before the election the comments from the employers associations were close to the CDU. Michael Rogowski, the president of the Bundesverband Deutscher Industrie named the report castrated by union's influence.<sup>165</sup> The Deutsche Industrie und Handelskammer (National chamber of industry and commerce) declined the principle of consensus, it would just be a bluster in times of election.<sup>166</sup> On the other hand the Bundesvereinigung der Deutscher Arbeitgeberverbände, BDA, saw some positive aspects. Especially the reconstructing of the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit was judged

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<sup>163</sup> Roland Koch in an interview with Stuttgarter Zeitung, „Ernsthaft sparen aber nicht allzu harsch“, 25-10-02, p.6.

<sup>164</sup> Handelsblatt, Wirtschaft kritisiert Schröders Linksrutsch, 07-08-02.

<sup>165</sup> Michael Rogowski in an interview with the Frankfurter Rundschau, 21-09-02, p.10.

<sup>166</sup> Statement of the head of DIHK-Mittelstandsausschuss, Fritz Wilhelm Pahl, Berlin, 14-08-02.

favourably.<sup>167</sup> The all let their representative, Hanns Eberhard Schleyer, alone.

#### *4.7.3.1. trade unions*

After the protest during the process the unions were in favour for the report. The managing committee of the DGB declared at August 15 that they "welcome" the suggestions of the Hartz commission. They also welcomed the idea of consensus between the interest groups, and the chance for a large social effort.<sup>168</sup>

But there was also critics about parts of Hartz. Especially in the field of the PSA. In an internal paper of the IG Bau (union for building trade) the union was worried about the question of wages under collective bargaining.<sup>169</sup> The fear of dumping wages let some unionist in doubt. The head of Verdi, the union for the service sector, described the risks of the PSA. There would be the danger of a two class working condition in a company. Those who are not good enough are not employed directly, but through a PSA.<sup>170</sup>

#### **4.7.4. science**

Obviously it is too early now, just two month after the presentation of the paper to talk about a general debate in science. But Hartz started a debate in different science.

The institute of housing and environment (Institut für Wohnen und Umwelt) in Darmstadt published an answer nearly directly to the presentation of the Hartz paper. The sociologist Eberhard Mühlich analyses the effects on employment on the local authority level. He

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<sup>167</sup> Bundesvereinigung Der Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände, Zusammenfassung und Bewertung der Vorschläge der Kommission „Moderne Dienstleistungen am Arbeitsmarkt“, Berlin August 2002.

<sup>168</sup> Comment of the DGB managing committee, August 2002.

<sup>169</sup> Rundschreiben Nr. VB I 19/2002, Industriegewerkschaft Bauen-Agrar-Umwelt (IG BAU), August 2002, p.2-3.

was a bit disappointed about the results, which would do not enough to solve the unemployment problem on the local level. He concluded quite cynical:

The achievement would have been that, *“the knowledge about the need to change the learning situation (question, rules and circle of participants) has to be changed, to achieve a better result from learning ( learning of learning of politics).”*<sup>171</sup>

The discipline of economy also answered quite quickly. Kaus Zimmermann, president of the German institute for Economic Research also doubt the effect of the PSA:

*“This all sounds good and is deserving of strong support. However...this lack of clarity begins with the revival of the dream of an omnipotent public employment agency... It would be illusory to believe that unemployment could massively reduced solely by strengthening employee placement efforts.”*<sup>172</sup>

But Zimmermann concluded with support for Hartz:

*“The concerns put forward here cannot detract the Hartz Commission’s already emerging contributions in the area of labour market reform.”*<sup>173</sup>

Rudolf Hickel, a quite leftwing professor of economy at the university of Bremen, called the concept a new “social contract”. He criticised that the suggestions would not lead to more employment. But he did not doubt the goal of the 2 million reduction.

In his analysis Hickel explains, that the PSA leads to a revolving door effect. “the company dismisses an employee. He comes back as a temporary worker via the PSA.”<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> Frank Bsirske in an interview with Frankfurter Rundschau, 29-06-02, p.5.

<sup>171</sup> Eberhard Mühlich, Den Wandel zur Wissensgesellschaft gestalten die Stadtregionen, Frankfurter Rundschau, 12-08-02, p.6.

<sup>172</sup> Klaus Zimmermann, Economic Bulletin 7/2002, p2.

## 5. Conclusion

The thesis has evaluated different theoretical concepts on the process of expertise. As has been demonstrated in Chapter two, the positivistic understanding of expertise which is represented in the decisionistic and technocratic theory-practice models, is misleading. With an interpretative approach research on expertise becomes more complex, as distinct new levels have to be integrated. The black box of knowledge has to be opened, the multiple actors of the interaction process have to be considered, as there is no basic dividing line between practical and theoretical knowledge. This is of increasing importance as science and expertise are growing in relevance and the shape of our future society largely depends on it as the evaluation of the concepts of knowledge societies has demonstrated. Although the problem at hand can be relatively good defined it is a difficult task to find an exact definition for the object of research: “the expert” or “the expertise”. As Chapter 3 has explored, that experts play very different roles in societies which depends on the experts involved, the clients, the content of the expertise and the context or situation in which the expertise takes place.

The Case study on the German Hartz commission has shed some empirical light on the rather abstract categories of the orientating, instrumental and legitimising functions.

The Hartz commission is a prototype for substituting action. After the declaration of the policy of the “ruhige Hand” in summer 2001 Schröder was in the dilemma to act on the field of the labour market. Especially half a year before the national election.

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<sup>173</sup> Klaus Zimmermann, Economic Bulletin 7/2002, p3.

<sup>174</sup> Rolf Hickel, Kurzkomentar zur Vorlage des Hartz-Berichtes „Moderne Dienstleistungen am Arbeitsmarkt“, <http://www.memo.uni-bremen.de>, August 2002.



The results of Hartz also prove the fact, that expert groups give the justification for unpopular policies. Any plans of a government to intensify the rules of expectation would have been attacked by the unions. Hartz found a way to involve the unions and find a compromise. Another advantage of this expert group was its composition. Hartz was well known for his achievement in Wolfsburg, where he saved 30.000 jobs, and his members in the commission where respected in their fields.

The commission furthermore found a way of problem solving by fostering the dialogue between conflicting parties. The banal phrase “do not tell me what we can not do, tell me what we can do,” expresses the consideration the commission had to the reality. Politicians fight for solutions, even if they are not enforceable. At least they can show who blockades them. The commission dropped those ideas, and looked for solutions, which are enforceable. The experts looked not for the best, but for the best practical solutions.

As the thesis has demonstrated research on expertise is a rather difficult and complex task as many different theoretical perspectives have to be considered, this includes thoughts about the state of knowledge, the complex interaction process of travelling knowledge, the varieties of actors involved in the process. It therefore is a difficult task to combine the different strands of research undertaken under different paradigms (as International Relations Theory, Policy Studies, Sociology of knowledge, Theory of science) although most of them work close by or on rather the same topic. This is a important research task from the theoretical perspective especially in the light of the upcoming knowledge societies, which still has to be tackled.

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