DISCOURSES OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN POSTCOMMUNIST TRANSITION: THE CASE OF ESTONIA

By

Kristina Muhhina

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Faculty of

The Graduate College at the University of Nebraska

In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements

For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Major: Public Administration

Under the Supervision of Dr. Gary Marshall

Omaha, Nebraska

September, 2012

Supervisory Committee:

Dr. Gary Marshall

Dr. Christine Reed

Dr. Angela Eikenberry

Dr. Jody Neathery-Castro

www.manaraa.com

UMI Number: 3546042

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS
The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript
and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed,
a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI 3546042

Published by ProQuest LLC (2012). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.
All rights reserved. This work is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

www.manaraa.com

DISCOURSES OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN POSTCOMMUNIST TRANSITION: THE CASE OF ESTONIA

Kristina Muhhina

University of Nebraska, 2012

Advisor: Gary Marshall, Ph.D.

The purpose of this study is to examine global and local discourses that have constituted public administration in postcommunist Estonia with the aim of exploring the potential for creating a more context-bound practice of public administration. The aim of this research is to identify the vocabularies which constitute public administration in the dominant discursive regimes of "transition," and search for alternative representations in the marginalized accounts of postcommunist transformation.

This research adopts a discursive approach for exploring the issues of transition in former socialist states. By drawing on perspectives critical of the orthodoxy of "transition" including cultural studies, anthropology, discourse studies, critical development studies, and postcolonialism, this project calls into question the prominent "transition" paradigm, and investigates its consequences for the field of public administration.

This research is grounded in the poststructuralist research tradition and is inspired by the linguistic turn in social sciences. It utilizes critical discourse analysis (CDA), Foucauldian discourse analysis, and deconstructionism to address the primary research question: *What is the role of public administration in postcommunist social change in Estonia?* Investigation of this issue is driven by CDA's concern with the relations between discourse, critique, power, and ideology, Foucault's notion of "problematization," and deconstructive analysis of binary oppositions.

www.manaraa.com

Overall, the study finds that postcommunist social change in Estonia has been constructed and normalized as "transition" in the prevailing narratives of public administration. The prevailing problematizations of postcommunist transformation in Estonia have constructed the role of public administration through the economic, managerialist, Europeanization, and technocratic discourses. The dominant discursive practices shape the identities of public administrators as "accountants," "plant managers," "therapists," and "inspectors." However, this study also finds that there are alternative problematizations of postcommunist transformation in Estonia which have given rise to the ecological, democratic, and normative discursive regimes. These suppressed groups of statements influence the subjectivity of public officials as "problem-solvers," "reconcilers," and "moral actors," and have a potential to reconceptualize the role of public administration beyond the "transition" paradigm.

www.manaraa.com

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to many people for help in writing this dissertation and completing the Ph.D. program. My biggest thanks go to Dr. Christine Reed and Dr. Gary Marshall who encouraged me to join the doctoral program at the UNO's School of Public Administration. I owe a great deal to the faculty and staff at the UNO's School of Public Administration, especially to Dr. Richard Box, Dr. Angela Eikenberry, Dr. Dale Krane, Dr. Christine Reed, Dr. B. J. Reed, and Dr. Jay White, who have challenged me with alternative views, assisted me with clarifying my ideas, and guided me through the doctoral experience. I would particularly like to thank the chair of my supervisory committee Dr. Gary Marshall, who has generously given his time to improve my work. I would also like to thank the members of my dissertation committee: Dr. Jody Neathery-Castro, Dr. Christine Reed, and Dr. Angela Eikenberry. I want to express my gratitude to the state officials, local government representatives, academics, and NGO leaders in Estonia who kindly agreed to share their thoughts for this research, and whose participation made this study possible. For their friendship and support, I am appreciative of my colleagues in the program: Catherine Brown, Anthony Campbell, Gang Chen, Lora Frecks, Michael and Donna George, Sikarn Issarachaiyos, Courtney Jensen, Michael Pippin, Changsoo Song, Levi Thiele, Gerard and Lisa Wellman, and Yan Xiao. My special thanks go to the members of my family for their unwavering support and encouragement in my pursuit of knowledge.

www.manaraa.com

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION 1
Public Administration in Postcommunist Change 1
Rethinking the Transition Paradigm 4
Research Problem 5
Discourse Theory and Research Questions 7
Significance of the Study 9
Overview of the Manuscript 10
CHAPTER 2: PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN POSTCOMMUNIST CHANGE 12
The Transition Paradigm 12
Democratic Transition 14
Economic Transition 17
Public Administration in Transition 20
The heritage of communist bureaucracy. 21
Approaches to public administration reform. 24
Europeanization. 28
The emerging model and future scenarios. 31
Summary 34
CHAPTER 3: RETHINKING THE TRANSITION PARADIGM 36
Critique of "Transition" 36
The Concern with Culture 39
Cultural studies. 40
Anthropology of postsocialism. 42
Discourse studies. 45
Critical development studies. 47
Postcolonialism. 49
Summary 53
CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH PROBLEM 54
"Transition" Lacks Complexity 54
"Transition" is Hegemonic 56
"Transition" has Failed 59
Examining Transition as a Discourse 61
Summary 62
CHAPTER 5: DISCOURSE THEORY AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS 64
Epistemological Foundations of Critical Discourse Analysis 64
Social constructionism. 65
The linguistic turn in social sciences. 66

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

Micro and macro approaches to discourse. 68
Structural analysis of language. 69
Theoretical Framework of the Study 71
Critical discourse analysis. 72
Problematization. 73
Deconstruction. 76
Research Questions 78
Summary 81
CHAPTER 6: METHODOLOGY 82
The Case of Estonia 82
Case study design. 82
EU's structural assistance for administrative capacity. 84
Data Collection 86
Procedures for Discourse Analysis 90
Trustworthiness of Research 92
Summary 93
CHAPTER 7: FINDINGS OF THE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS 94
Discursive Regimes of Public Administration in Transition 94
Economic discourse. 94
Managerialist discourse. 109
Europeanization discourse. 123
Technocratic discourse. 139
Ecological discourse. 151
Democratic discourse 162
Normative discourse. 177
Modes of Subjectivity 189
Forms of Power/Knowledge 193
Power/Knowledge in marginalized discourses. 196
Research Questions 197
CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS 208
Public Administration in Postcommunist Transition 208
Public Administration in Post-Transition 210
Implications for Estonia. 211
Implications for international actors. 212
Future Research 216
Conclusion 217
REFERENCES 218

www.manaraa.com

APPENDIX A: Conceptual Map of Research 237
APPENDIX B: Results of Preliminary Corpus Analysis 238
APPENDIX C: Recruitment E-mail Text (English) 250
APPENDIX C: Recruitment E-mail Text (Estonian) 251
APPENDIX D: Interview Protocol and Questions (English) 252
APPENDIX D: Interview Protocol and Questions (Estonian) 254
APPENDIX E: Stages of Discourse Analysis 256

www.manaraa.com

TABLES AND FIGURES

Figure 1. Central tenets of economic discourse in Estonian PA……..95
Figure 2. Central tenets of managerialist discourse in Estonian PA……..110
Figure 3. Central tenets of Europeanization discourse in Estonian PA…….125
Figure 4. Central tenets of technocratic discourse in Estonian PA……140
Figure 5. Central tenets of ecological discourse in Estonian PA……...152
Figure 6. Central tenets of democratic discourse in Estonian PA..……....163
Figure 7. Central tenets of a normative discourse in Estonian PA…….178
Figure 8. Discourses and identities in Estonian PA…….……..189
Figure 9. Central problematizations of postcommunism in Estonian PA……..198
Figure 10. Alternative problematizations of postcommunism in Estonian PA……..205

www.manaraa.com

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine global and local discourses that have constituted public administration in postcommunist Estonia with the aim of exploring the potential for creating a more culturally sensitive and context-bound practice of public administration. This research examines the ideas which have guided the development of public administration in the context of postcommunist social change[1], problematizes and deconstructs the prevailing transition discourse, and searches for alternative vocabularies of public administration in marginalized accounts of postcommunist transformation.

Public Administration in Postcommunist Change

More than twenty years have passed since the beginning of postsocialist[2] transformation after the collapse of communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) in 1989 and the end of the Soviet Union in 1991. The former communist countries that emerged from these toppled regimes[3] have been experiencing unprecedented social change as a result of radically reforming their political and economic systems. CEE countries, such as Estonia, have established liberal-capitalist institutions and have completed their integration with the major economic and security

[1] *Postcommunist social change* is understood in this research as a change in the ways of representing or imagining the political, economic, and social reality in the former socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) after the collapse of the communist regimes (e.g. Fairclough, 2005c, 2007a; Galasińska & Krzyzanowski, 2009). The concept is employed as a generic term for designating a wide range of societal processes in postcommunism, and is contrasted to the notion of "transition" as a particular discourse for describing, explaining, and practicing postcommunist change as a shift from a planned economy to free-market capitalism, and from a dictatorship to a liberal democracy (e.g. Kennedy, 2002).

[2] *Postsocialism* will be used interchangeably with *postcommunism* in this research (e.g. Stenning, 2005). Both terms refer to a state of development in CEE countries which have shifted from authoritarian rule to multiparty democracy, and replaced centrally planned economies with free-market capitalism in their recent history.

[3] The postcommunist countries of the former Soviet Union and its East Central European satellite nations include: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan.

www.manaraa.com

alliances of the West including the European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The adoption of Western institutions and membership in multilateral organizations, however, does not indicate the end of transition in the region. Postsocialism is still a viable category in understanding the foundational assumptions, orientations, and attitudes in former communist countries.

Postcommunist transition is a form of political and economic change featuring reform processes which transformed communist party-states, such as Estonia, into democratic multiparty systems and marketized their state-run economies (Batt, 2003; Holmes, 1997; Rose, 2009). In the immediate aftermath of democratic revolutions in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, newly-established democratic political institutions replaced one-party rule. Centrally planned economies with socialized ownership and state planning were reformed into market systems through the liberalization of economic activities and privatization of means of production (Holmes, 1997, pp. 200-210; Rose, 2009, p. 49).

Postsocialism is a concept that is applied to all these reforms and broader transformations experienced in the former socialist states (Stenning, 2005). Postcommunism is an ambiguous term and is better understood as "the rejection of the communist power system than as a clear-cut adoption of an alternative system" (Holmes, 1997, p. 13). Even though there is no identifiable theory of postcommunism, which could simply be understood as whatever came after the fall of communism, we can discern a number of premises, assumptions, attitudes and orientations, often not even fully articulated by those building postcommunism (Holmes, 1997, p. 3).

The notion of "transition" is commonly understood as a twofold process of political and economic change in former socialist states (Budryte, 2011; Connor, 2011). It is often conceptualized as a teleological movement from plan to market, and

www.manaraa.com

from dictatorship to democracy (Kennedy, 2002; Kolodko, 2000; Lavigne, 2000). Transitology envisions "a swift and painless shift from socialist totalitarianism to liberal democracy, and from the planned economy to the market" (Giordano & Kostova, 2002, p. 74). This linear journey towards prosperity is directed by the key ideas of market democracy and inevitability or naturalness of neoliberalism (Aslund, 2007; Bruner, 2002, p. 168; Dauphinée, 2003, p. 190; Hann, 2002b, p. 3; Kalb, 2002, p. 321; Lavigne, 2000, p. 477; Stenning, 2005, p. 551).

A central assumption of the "transition paradigm" is that former communist states are in the process of being cured from the pathologies or inadequacies of their former regimes, so these nations can become "normal" or fit for integration with Western Europe. Hence, the term "shock therapy," which implies a set of predefined pathologies that organize social transformation in postcommunist nations (Dauphinée, 2003, p. 198). Transition policies are informed by neoclassical economic theory, which is viewed as value-neutral scientific knowledge. An underlying assumption is that history and culture must yield to this expertise (Dauphinée, 2003, p 194; Kennedy, 2002, p. 108).

Similar to political and economic institutions, administrative structures were created almost from scratch in postcommunist societies. The socialist state, which served as the implementation apparatus for the decisions of the Communist Party, was characterized by patronage, single-party control, over-centralization of policy-making, absence of the rule of law, and a lack of accountability mechanisms (Hesse, 1993; 1997; Randma-Liiv, 2005; Verheijen, 2003). Early public sector reforms dismantled the previous systems of governance and included decentralization and separation of powers, elimination of party control over state bureaucracy, development of external bodies of oversight, and creation of a meritocratic civil service (Hesse, 1993; 1997).

www.manaraa.com

Later administrative readjustments have concentrated on creation of a modern Western public administration by combining ideas from two dominant reform doctrines of New Public Management (NPM) and the (Neo-) Weberian State (Bouckaert et al., 2008; Dreschsler, 2005; Nunberg, 2000). Moreover, while public administration has been undergoing reform itself, it has simultaneously been a major agent of transition. Administrative systems have been used as an instrument for bringing about change in all domains of society including the reconstruction of state institutions, development of markets, and the management of the European Union (EU) integration processes.

Rethinking the Transition Paradigm

On the margins of postsocialist studies, there are several research programs which challenge the prevailing transition paradigm of postcommunism (e.g. Elster, Offe & Preuss, 1998; Goralczyk, 2000; Kennedy, 2002; Pickles & Smith, 1998; Pollert, 1999; Stark & Bruszt, 1998). Approaches critical of "transition" dispute its key ideas of teleology, institutional homogeneity, universal problematization of postsocialist condition, and uniform trajectories of change. Such critics conceptualize postcommunism as an uncertain, open-ended process of transformation characterized by institutional heterogeneity, contextually embedded challenges, and unpredictability of outcomes.

Consistent with the aims of these programs, this research adopts a cultural, and more specifically a discursive, approach for exploring issues of transition in former socialist states. Different from ahistorical and acultural studies of postcommunist transition, this projects aims to contextualize its object of inquiry by drawing on perspectives critical of the orthodoxy of transition including cultural studies (Kennedy, 1994; 2002), anthropology (Berdahl, Bunzl & Lampland, 2000;

www.manaraa.com

Buchowski, 2001; Buroway & Verdery, 1999a; Hann, 2002a; Mandell & Humphrey, 2002; Verdery, 1996), discourse studies (Chilton, Ilyin & Mey, 1998; Dryzek & Holmes, 2002; Fairclough, 2005b, 2005c, 2006; Galasińska & Galasiński, 2010; Galasińska & Krzyzanowski, 2009), critical development studies (Brohman, 1995; Dubois, 1991; Escobar, 1995; Ferguson, 1994; Harriss, 2002; Kamat, 2002; Parajuli, 1991; Sachs, 2010; Sharma & Gupta, 2009), and postcolonialism (Chari & Verdery, 2009; Burawoy, 1999, 2001; Dauphinée, 2003; Kandiyoti, 2002a, 2002b; Lampland, 2000; Thadhani, 2005; Verdery, 2002).

The linear view of change characteristic of the transition paradigm overlooks the diversity and uncertainty of transformations occurring in postcommunist countries. The cultural approach regards culture as constitutive of all social life and investigates the ways language, and other practices of representation produce meaning (Abrams, 1988; Bonnell & Hunt, 1999; Edwards, 2007; Hall, 1997; Nash, 2001; Smith & Riley, 2009; Steinmetz, 1999a). Despite methodological variation, cultural theorists are united in their concern with culture, not in the sense that culture is a category of society or explained by the noncultural but, in the sense of analyzing noncultural practices in cultural terms (Steinmetz, 1999b). Here, it is assumed that "[s]ocial practices and objects such as states or state officials have to be situated in specific historical and cultural settings" (Steinmetz, 1999b, p. 23). A cultural approach, thus, is a valuable alternative to the objectivist and decontextualized social science which has so far dominated transition research including the study of public administration in postcommunist change.

Research Problem

Going beyond the underlying assumptions of "transition" is an important addition to the literature. The essence of the problem in postcommunism, as defined

www.manaraa.com

by the "science" of transition, is the lack of institutions of market democracy consistent with the standards of Western models. However, transition theory overlooks the complexity, messiness, uncertainty, and diversity of real-life experiences of postcommunist change. Politics, culture, and history yield to comparative expertise in institution-building and regime change (Dauphinée, 2003, p. 194; Kennedy, 2002, p. 108; Pickel, 2002). This research aims to challenge this view and suggests we need to reconceptualize transition research by employing alternative lenses for investigation to bring to light aspects of postcommunist condition marginalized or overlooked by the prevailing perspective.

A closer look at the assumptions, attitudes, and orientations in postsocialism reveals that what has come to be known as the dominant form of postcommunist change is a bundle of reform mechanisms and interventions associated with a particular type of social change in the region and informed by a global hegemonic culture of transition (cf. Kennedy, 2002; Sharma & Gupta, 2009). The assumptions of "transition" include *teleology* in the movement from state to market (Kennedy, 2002; Kolodko, 2000; Lavigne, 2000), *normalization* of pathological forms of communist organization (Dauphinée, 2003, p. 198), *choicelessness* in the trajectories of regime change (Mandelbaum, 1996, p. 9; Sakwa, 1999, pp. 114-116), and *scientific knowledge* as validation for imposing particular forms of social arrangements as universal solutions for problems of postcommunism (Dauphinée, 2003, p. 194; Kennedy, 2002, p. 108).

Finally, has "transition" indeed failed? Having diligently adopted the conditionality criteria of various international development organizations and adapted their systems in accordance with the Western-European mould, CEE countries have recently congratulated themselves for completing their "return to Europe" after the

www.manaraa.com

accession to the European Union (EU) in 2004 and 2007. This "end of transition" or arrival at the state of "normalcy" has been overshadowed by the global financial crisis of the late-2000s which has discredited the very institutions and policies of neo-liberal free-market capitalism the transition apparatus has been creating in CEE countries. The "science" of transition has failed to transform these countries into prosperous economies and substantive democracies (cf. Fotaki, Böhm, & Hassard, 2010).

In this research, transition is conceptualized as a discourse or a network of terms and concepts which constitute a vocabulary for talking about and practicing "transition." This approach helps to reveal how the prevailing conceptualization of transition lacks complexity, is hegemonic, and has failed to bring about expected outcomes. Transition discourse, thus, is an established order of statements and practices that guide postcommunist change. It is a regime of representations through which certain concepts and practices for postcommunist change have been created and reproduced including those pertaining to public administration. Among other things, it helps to understand how various significations of public administration are shaped by (and are possibly shaping in their own right) the ways we talk about and practice transition.

Discourse Theory and Research Questions

To investigate the transition discourse, this research draws on three streams of discourse theory: critical discourse analysis (CDA), Foucauldian discourse analysis, and deconstructionism. With the help of critical discourse analysis (CDA), we are able to unveil a set of statements that provides a language for talking about postcommunist transition (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1992, 1995, 2001a, 2001b, 2003, 2005a, 2007a, 2007b; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Gee, 1999; McKenna, 2004; Philips & Jørgensen, 2002; Van Dijk, 1985, 1993, 2001; Willig, 1999; Wodak &

www.manaraa.com

Meyer, 2009; Wodak & Krzyżanowski, 2008). Critical discourse analysis is characterized by its "questioning of objectivity and its interest in the practices which produce apparent objectivity, normality and factuality" (Jaworski & Coupland, 1999, p. 33). Through the analysis of text and talk we are able to reveal how language as social practice creates and reproduces certain representations of reality.

One of the central theoretical concepts of this study is "problematization" (Foucault, 1985). Foucault's problematization is a way of applying discourse theory to understand how particular representations of issues have been constructed and normalized through forms of knowledge, systems of power, and modes of subjectivity (Howarth, 2000, p. 135). Problematization aids in the investigation of how and why present solutions have emerged. It allows an examination of various problematizations of postcommunism and the emergence of "transition" as the solution.

In addition, deconstruction will be used for opening up the structural logic of texts which attempt to close off meaning (Alvesson, 2002, p. 178; Howarth, 2000, p. 135; Kilduff & Kelemen, 2004, p. 260). Consistent with the philosophy of deconstruction, attention will be paid to the constructive power of language in producing meaning through categories of distinction. For example, deconstruction allows an unpacking of the postcommunist transition system of thought. It does so by revealing the underlying structure of binary oppositions through which it maintains its force (Sarup, 1993, p. 54).

This study will address the following primary research question: *What is the role of public administration in postcommunist social change in Estonia?* The secondary research questions are the following.

Research question #1. *What is the prevailing problematization of postcommunist social change in Estonia? How has the dominant representation of*

www.manaraa.com

postcommunist transition been constructed and normalized through forms of knowledge, types of power, and modes of subjectivity?

Research question #2. *How is public administration constituted in postcommunist transition discourse in Estonia? How does public administration constitute the transition discourse? What are the side-effects of its role in society?*

Research question #3. *What are the alternative problematizations of postcommunist social change? What are the representations of public administration inherent in marginalized accounts of postcommunist transformation?*

These questions will be answered through discourse analysis of a representative sample of texts pertaining to public administration in postcommunist transition in Estonia. Two sources of data, documents and interviews, will be utilized for building a corpus of texts. This research employs a single-country case study design and focuses on investigating the implementation of a European Union (EU) structural assistance measure for administrative capacity building in Estonia in the periods 2004-2006 and 2007-2013.

Significance of the Study

This research contributes to the study of postcommunism and public administration by making explicit the unproblematized assumptions that guide the development of public administration in CEE. As Estonia and other similar postcommunist states have built their administrative systems from scratch, it is important to uncover the variety of principles and ideals which have guided the design of administrative structures and practices in postsocialism.

The findings of this work will contribute to the literature by showing the extent to which the "transition" paradigm has been the guiding principle for the development of Estonian public administration. This study investigates whether there are any

www.manaraa.com

alternative narratives of postcommunist transformation in Estonia with a potential to reconceptualize the role of public administration beyond the "transition" paradigm.

In regard to the implications, this study contributes to the knowledge of the ideas underlying social transformations in Estonia. Since public administrators are in a position to impact the "transition" discourse, understanding the ways in which they are both constituted and enabled sheds some light on the dialectical relationship between discourse and social transformation. The detection of alternative narratives of postsocialist change should illuminate the potential for discursive shifts and different social transformations.

Moreover, in the course of deconstructing the postcommunist "transition" discourse of public administration, this research seeks to establish a vocabulary for legitimizing a more context-grounded and culturally sensitive practice of public administration. Since transitional public administration is first and foremost informed by transnational management doctrines, this research project will also engage in and contribute to conversations about how to rethink administrative reform and what lies beyond New Public Management (NPM) more globally.

Overview of the Manuscript

The rest of this work is organized into eight chapters which follow the themes outlined in the introductory discussion above. In Chapter 2, the dominant framework for thinking about and practicing postcommunist transition is introduced along with the overview of the prevailing ideas of public administration reform. Chapter 3 turns to the critique of the transition paradigm and suggests reconceptualizing transition research by applying the cultural theory lens. The alternatives to the orthodoxy of transition are found in cultural studies, the anthropology of postsocialism, discourse studies, critical development studies, and postcolonial theory. The research problem

www.manaraa.com

and the need to examine transition as a discourse are summed up in Chapter 4. Building on the argument made in the previous section, Chapter 5 outlines a theoretical framework for the study by utilizing critical discourse analysis (CDA), Foucauldian discourse analysis, and deconstruction. Chapter 6 goes on to discuss the methodology of the research project. Using a single-country case study design, the research questions will be answered by carrying out a discourse analysis of a representative corpus of texts. Chapter 7 presents the findings of the study. Chapter 8 discusses conclusions, implications, and potential research paths for future studies of (postcommunist) transition and public administration.

www.manaraa.com

CHAPTER 2: PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN POSTCOMMUNIST CHANGE

The Transition Paradigm

There is no explicit theory of postcommunism, but there are a number of discernible assumptions, attitudes, and orientations which inspire those building postcommunism in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). The term suggests "the abandonment rather than the clear-cut adoption of something" (Holmes, 1997, p. 14). After the collapse of the communist regime it was assumed that postcommunism required the opposite: a less interventionist state, no all-embracing ideology, a multiparty system, and a privately owned market economy (Holmes, 1997, pp. 14-15). Some of the features of postcommunism include the end of the Communist Party's monopoly over states and economies, the emergence of pluralistic societies, liberalization and marketization, changes in the class and employment structure, and the reorientation of foreign and security policy (Sakwa, 1999, pp. 5-6).

The concept of "transition" is understood as a shift from state-dominated to market-dominated society. In the parlance of "transitology," the goal of transition is the same for all postcommunist countries: the replacement of totalitarianism with democratic politics and a free market economy (Mandelbaum, 1996, p. 2). It is a twofold process of political and economic change conceptualized as a teleological advancement from a planned economy to a market-based approach, and from dictatorship to democracy (Budryte, 2011; Connor, 2011; Kolodko, 2000; Lavigne, 2000). Transition is a goal-oriented movement from East to West with a clear direction and a common destination (Mandelbaum, 1996, p. 2; Przeworski, 1991, p. xii).

The transition paradigm is embedded in the metanarrative of modernity which envisions a universal development pattern for all societies (Sakwa, 1999, p. 119). It

www.manaraa.com

finds its inspiration from the ideas of universalism and the so-called "end of history" argument about the supremacy of Western liberal democratic institutions (Fukuyama, 1992). Transition theory views democracy and the free market economy as innate They emerge naturally as the result of universal tendencies and human impulses: "Both are natural in the sense that each will take root unless forcibly prevented from doing so. Neither requires elaborate cultural preconditions. Both spring from what is basic, almost biological, in human nature" (Mandelbaum, 1996, p. 9). One of the defining features of postcommunism, thus, is choicelessness. Postcommunism is discursively constructed as choiceless with no alternatives to the capitalist path (Sakwa, 1999, pp. 114-116).

Transition is a wider term that applies to regime changes beyond postcommunist countries. Postcommunist transition in CEE is often treated as part of the broader "third wave" of democratization processes in Southern Europe in the mid-1970s, toppling of military dictatorships in Latin America in the 1980s, retreat of authoritarian rule in part of South-East Asia in the mid-1980s, decline of one-party regimes in sub-Saharan Africa in early 1990s, and liberalization in the Middle East region in the 1990s (Balcerowicz, 1994; Carothers, 2002; Diamond, 1999; Huntington, 1991; Linz & Stepan, 1996; Przeworski, 1991). What distinguishes postcommunist transition is its unprecedented scope, simultaneous transformation of politics and property, and historically new sequence of introducing market-oriented reforms under pluralistic political arrangements (Balcerowicz, 1994; Stark & Bruszt, 1998, p. 1). Postcommunism usually refers to the 27 countries in Eurasia that were part of the global communist order along with states such as Mongolia, China, Vietnam, Laos, North Korea, and Cuba (Sakwa, 1999, p. 3). Grouped by regions the countries are: East Central Europe (Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary,

www.manaraa.com

Eastern Germany); Balkans (Albania, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Romania, Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro[4]); Baltic (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania); Slavic (Belarus, Ukraine, Russia); Moldova; South Caucasus (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia); and Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan) (Sakwa, 1999).

Democratic Transition

Samuel P. Huntington's (1991) *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, in which he observes transition from authoritarian rule to democracy by thirty countries between 1974 and 1990, has given rise to an academic field of "transitology" with "transition" as its analytic framework for explaining and promoting democracy at a global level (see also Burawoy, 1992; O'Donnell & Schmitter, 1986). Similarly, "transition" as an analytic model for democratization was used as a generic paradigm for building democracy once it reached the postcommunist CEE.

Five core assumptions of the transition paradigm are outlined by Carothers (2002, pp. 6-9). First, transition, involving some kind of political liberalization, is always necessarily a movement from dictatorial rule to democracy. Second, democratization unfolds in a sequence of stages from the initial opening and breakthrough of democratic forces to the consolidation of new institutions. Third, establishing regular elections is the basic condition for further democratic reforms. Fourth, socio-economic and cultural features of transitional countries are not considered as major determining factors of transition processes; rather what matters are the political intentions of the elite. Fifth, the transition paradigm rests on the assumption of the existence of a functioning state.

[4] Montenegro is an independent country since 2006.

www.manaraa.com

> In this view of transition, it was argued, socialist societies will undergo modernisation to market capitalism and democracy once the appropriate policies, institutions and mechanisms are in place. As central planning systems are dismantled, the bureaucratic economy will be replaced (through privatisation, new firm development and the emergence of an entrepreneurial class) with thriving examples of market economies and the emergence of social groups capable of cementing the market, liberal democratic practices and a re-emergent civil society. (Pickles & Smith, 1998, p. 4)

The transition paradigm assumes a minimalistic conception of democracy. Based on one definition, democracy means "the institutionalized practice of peacefully choosing rulers through regular, free, and fair elections based on the principle of one person, one vote" (Balcerowicz, 1994, p. 77). The concept of democracy in postcommunist transition is derived from Joseph Schumpeter and Robert Dahl, and essentially denotes "polyarchy" or "democratic elitism" (Diamond, 1999, p. 8; Fagin, 1998, pp. 144-145).

Democracy is most often defined in terms of "formal constitutional rights and the rule of law, free elections and the consolidations of a stable party system" (Fagin, 1998, p. 145). There is an institutional "checklist" that forms the basis for standard portfolios of reform throughout the postcommunist world which usually include "some judicial reform, parliamentary strengthening, civil society assistance, media work, political party development, civic education, and electoral programs" (Carothers, 2002, p. 18). This view has prompted one observer to argue that most postcommunist countries completed their transition to democracy in the mid-1990s (Mueller, 1996, p. 102).

Diamond (1999) emphasizes the need to distinguish between "electoral democracy" and "liberal democracy" in recent democratization processes. "*Electoral* democracy is a civilian, constitutional system in which the legislative and chief executive offices are filled through regular, competitive, multiparty elections with

www.manaraa.com

universal suffrage" (Diamond, 1999, p. 10). In liberal democracies, however, freedom and pluralism are secured through the rule of law. "Under a true rule of law, all citizens have political and legal equality, and the state and its agents are themselves subject to the law" (Diamond, 1999, p. 11).

The preoccupation of democracy-builders with elections has given rise to the concern of "illiberal" democracy in some parts of the region (Zakaria, 1997). This is related to another characteristic of postcommunist transformations, namely, "democratization backwards" (Rose & Shin, 2001; Rose, 2009, p. 106). The "third wave" democracies have introduced competitive elections before establishing the institutions of a modern state such as the rule of law, institutions of civil society, and the accountability of governors. "The governors of these new democracies thus face a double challenge: completing the construction of a modern state while competing with their critics in free elections" (Rose & Shin, 2001, p. 336).

Transitologists have designed a variety of instruments for assessing developing democracies and evaluating their progress towards consolidation. Some have pinpointed the end-point of democratic consolidation when democracy becomes "the only game in town" (Linz & Stepan, 1996, p. 5; Przeworski, 1991, p. 26). In other words, democracy is institutionalized when "rules according to which political and distributional conflicts are carried out are relatively immune from becoming themselves the objects of such conflict" (Elster, Offe & Preuss, 1998, p. 28). Sakwa (1999) has suggested democracy can be measured by assessing the establishment of institutions independent from personalities and the irreversibility of democratic reforms (p. 51).

According to one of the most prominent comparative studies of democratization, successful transformations need to take place in five arenas of

www.manaraa.com

consolidated democracy: civil society, political society, rule of law, state bureaucracy, and economic society (Linz & Stepan, 1996). Based on Linz and Stepan (1996), consolidated democracy requires the development of a lively and autonomous civil society where self-organizing groups can come together, form associations, and articulate their interests. A democratic polity also requires the development of a political arena with adequate institutions (political parties, elections, legislatures) for resolving struggles over the legitimate right to exercise public power. Further, consolidated democracy is governed by the rule of law, the third arena. Fourth, there must be a usable state bureaucracy for democratic government to protect the rights of citizens and deliver basic services. Finally, democratic consolidation requires institutionalization of a socially and politically regulated market or, in other words, creation of economic society.

Economic Transition

Postcommunist economic transition entails replacement of the centrally planned command economy by a capitalist free-market economy (Aligica, 2003; Aslund, 2002, 2007; Kolodko, 2000; Lavigne, 2002; Pollert 1999; World Bank, 1996). Postcommunist transition entails "total transition from a predominantly planned and state-owned to a predominantly marketized and privatized economy" (Holmes, 1997, p. 206).

Communist economies were command economies directed by comprehensive five-year plans designed by state planning committee. Prices were centrally determined, means of production were socialized, and goods and services were heavily subsidized (Holmes, 1997, p. 200). The communist economy was based on Marxist ideology which rejected the key institutions of the market (private property, profit, capital), and the bourgeois state as a means of exploitation of the masses in the

www.manaraa.com

interest of capital (Rose, 2009, p. 49). ”Party officials, not the ebb and flow of supply and demand, determined what would be produced and grown, in what quantities, and the prices at which what was produced would be sold” (Mandelbaum, 1996, p. 2).

Economic reforms in the region were guided by abolishing state control over the economy, promoting private enterprise, and establishing free markets. Postcommunist economic reforms were systemic in carrying out extensive microeconomic liberalization (removal of various state-imposed restrictions on economic activity, recognition of property rights, ending price control and rationing), and institutional restructuring (privatization of state enterprises, reform of the tax system) (Balcerowicz, 1994, p. 80). Economic transformation included a number of market-oriented reforms shared by most postcommunist countries: liberalization of prices and economic activity, reduction of the dominance of communist-era monopolies, liberalization of foreign trade, institutionalization of property rights, privatization of state-owned enterprises, and overall reduction of the state’s role in the economy (Elster, Offe & Preuss, 1998, pp. 156-157; Przeworski, 1991, p. 136; Sakwa, 1999, pp. 42-45).

The key notions in postcommunist economic transition are “shock therapy” and the “Washington consensus” (Sakwa, 1999, p. 40). The Washington consensus is a package of neoliberal reform measures, designed by international donor organizations (most importantly the World Bank and IMF), and targeted at ensuring liberalization, structural readjustment, and economic growth in a number of Latin American countries in the mid-1980s, and later in postsocialist states (Lavigne, 2000, pp. 477-478; Przeworski, 1991, p. 145; Sakwa, 1999, p. 40). Standard measures of the Washington consensus are fiscal discipline and minimization of the budget deficit, changing priorities in public expenditure, broadening the tax base, financial

www.manaraa.com

liberalization, a strict monetary policy, a competitive exchange rate, liberalization of foreign trade, liberalization of foreign direct investment, privatization of state enterprises, deregulation, and reinforcement of property rights (Aslund, 2002, p. 72; Kolodko, 2000, pp. 119-120; Przeworski, 1991, p. 145).

These measures were introduced in a number of postsocialist countries in a rapid and radical way during the early stages of democratization. It came to be known as "shock therapy." There were two scenarios for economic transition during the early 1990s: "shock therapy" (or the "big bang" approach) and gradualism. "By and large, those countries which have been heavily influenced by Western radical rationalists such as Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs have tended towards the 'shock therapy' approach, whereas others – usually those which have been more ambivalent about the communist period, and which do not necessarily want to reject everything from it – have been more gradualist" (Holmes, 1997, p. 206). Radical reformers included, for example, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Estonia, and Latvia. Gradualism was the prevalent strategy in Hungary and Romania.

Nevertheless, there is a widespread consensus among transitional economists who endorse "shock therapy" that a country is better off implementing radical and comprehensive economic reforms during the period of "extraordinary politics" rather than introducing market reforms in an incremental fashion under more difficult political and economic conditions in later stages (Balcerowicz, 1994, p. 88; Sakwa, 1999, p. 41). "Bitter medicine is easier to take in one dose than in a prolonged series of doses" is their argument (Balcerowicz, 1994, p. 86). The institutional collapse and the time of crisis are viewed as an opportunity for "building capitalism by design" (Stark, 1992; see also Klein, 2007).

www.manaraa.com

Despite criticism, the central tenets of the Washington consensus remain unchallenged and CEE countries, in some cases, "exemplify the success of shock therapy" (Lavigne, 2000, p. 480). As Pickles & Smith (1998) have put it, the dominant transition theory is essentially based on "shock therapy" and the "three zatsias" (*privatizatsia, demokratizatsia, liberalizatsia*). This leaves little room for any other alternative path for transformation (Pickles & Smith, 1998, p. 4).

Public Administration in Transition

Administrative reform in transitional societies does not merely involve managerial modernization. Instead of reform, in the sense of formal reorganization, the states need to engage in public administration development (Verheijen, 2003, p. 490). Restructuring of the state apparatus and public sector reform are part of the broader processes of societal change. Similar to developing countries, the administrative system is used as an instrument for social and economic transformation and for bringing about changes in society including the reconstruction of social, legal, economic, and political institutions (Farazmand, 1999, p. 806; Kettl, 2005, p. 4). Public administration in transition countries is, thus, implicated in a dual process of change: it is undergoing reform itself while simultaneously playing a central part in reforming other domains of society. The wider context of politico-economic reconstruction affects the role-definition of public administration as "democratization, pluralization, de-étatisation, marketization, privatization and liberalization are connected with strong pressures for administrative adaptation, which extend to tasks, structures and procedures as well as to aspects of personnel policy" (Hesse, 1993, p. 222). Public administration is both the object of reform and its key agent (Hesse, 1993, p. 247).

www.manaraa.com

The heritage of communist bureaucracy. Administrative systems under the previous regime of state socialism used to be an implementation machine for decisions taken by the Communist Party (Guess, 1997; Verheijen, 2003, p. 490). "Very crudely, the division of labour between the party and state was that the party set general guidelines for society's development, which were than elaborated and implemented by the state; the party was then responsible for checking on implementation" (Holmes, 1997, p. 140).

Due to state ownership of the means of production, the role of systems of socialist administration was control of economic processes and, in most areas, direct delivery of goods and services (Verheijen, 2003, p. 490). As a common communist legacy, these systems were characterized by an extreme concentration of power and a lack of separation of legislative and executive branches of government (Ágh, 2003, p. 537; Hesse, 1993, p. 219). Communist bureaucracy was based on patronage and on an entirely politicized system of employment (the so-called *nomenklatura system*), over-centralization of policy-making, and a lack of accountability mechanisms (Hesse, 1993; 1997; Randma, 2001, p. 42; Randma-Liiv, 2005, p. 100; Verheijen, 2003, p. 490). The core principles of socialist administration have been summed up as follows:

> Basic distinguishing features of socialist administration included extreme centralization, with pervasive hierarchical controls over the lower levels of administration; this implied, for example, the absence of an independent sphere of local government. Centralization was coupled with concentration, i.e. the fusion of executive and legislative powers in the highest organs of the state, which were, in turn, controlled by the decision-making bodies of the ruling Communist/Socialist Party. Party control extended over all levels and branches of state administration, and the Party and state apparatuses were closely intertwined. The will of the Party was superior to the rule of law; consequently, the principle of legality played only a secondary role in administration. Accordingly, effective external controls over the legality of public administration hardly existed. Concerning administrative personnel,

www.manaraa.com

> allegiance to the ruling party was the decisive criterion for career development. (Hesse, 1993, pp. 219-220)

The early reforms concentrated on dismantling the previous system of governance and creating basic structures of administration for independent states. The disintegration of the massive public sectors of the communist states involved an extensive reduction of government competencies and a complete reorganization of public-private relationships (Ágh, 2003, p. 539). In the course of the basic systems development, the state-owned enterprises (the largest part of the former public sector) were privatized, direct delivery of public services (such as education, health care, social services, public transport and communication) was radically reduced, and state administration functions (public administration in a narrower sense) were downsized and re-designed (Ágh, 2003, pp. 540; State Chancellery, 2004, p. 12).

Besides the complete overhaul of the structures and functions of the public sector, the immediate challenge for postsocialist states was the creation of a modern Western public administration (Hesse, 1993; Nunberg, 1999; Verheijen, 2003). Modernization involved decentralization of the over-centralized state administration, creation of an independent sphere of local government, separation of party bureaucracy from public administration, establishing clear boundaries between executive and legislative institutions, instituting the rule of law as the basis for administrative action, creating new forms of democratic accountability, and developing a politically neutral civil service (Hesse, 1993, pp. 220-251; Toonen, 1993, p. 165).

By the middle of the 1990s, three predominant areas of concern emerged among the reformers of public administration which have continuously figured in the administrative agendas of postsocialist states: depoliticization and professionalization

www.manaraa.com

of the public service, public policy making and coordination capacity at the center of government, and creation of democratic accountability mechanisms.

The aim of civil service reforms has been to replace the communist patronage system with a politically neutral, merit-based civil service cadre. Building a "nonideological civil service system" (Rice, 1992) has meant depoliticization and professionalization of the central administration (Goetz & Wollmann, 2001, p. 879; Jabes, 1997, p. 8; Meyer-Sahling, 2004; 2006). Reform measures have sought to modernize human resources management by adopting civil service laws, stressing development of skills, political neutrality, performance management, and merit-based recruitment (Jacobs, 2004, p. 326; Nunberg, 1999, p. 3; Randma-Liiv, 2005, p. 100; Verheijen, 2003, p. 429).

Improvement of policy making and coordination has been another item in the reform agendas of postcommunist states. Since under socialist administration the Communist Party controlled the policy process by issuing political imperatives and ensuring their implementation from the top, postsocialist states have inherited weak policy making capacity and lack of coordination mechanisms (Goetz & Margetts, 1999; Nunberg, 1999, p. 238; Randma-Liiv, 2005, p. 110; Rice, 1992; Verheijen, 2003, p. 493). "Policy formation, the discussion of policy alternatives, arbitration amongst contending interests and authoritative decision-making were, to a large extent, the preserve of the party and its bureaucracy, to which the state executive was subordinated" (Goetz & Wollmann, 2001, p. 864). The legacy of communism is that policy was viewed as something which civil servants could not be involved in. This resulted in a weak capacity for addressing the policy component of public administration by postcommunist state administrators (Jacobs, 2004, p. 325).

www.manaraa.com

In addition to this, developing communication channels between citizens and their governments and ensuring that civil servants are held accountable for their actions has been a continuous challenge for postcommunist administrations (Randma-Liiv, 2005; Rice, 1992; Verheijen, 2003). Reformers have been struggling with the task of replacing the communist control system, which was based on a single hierarchy reporting to the leading political party, with multiple lines of accountability corresponding to democratic arrangements (Verheijen, 2003, p. 493).

Approaches to public administration reform. In light of these deficiencies, public administration reforms in Estonia, and in most CEE countries, have not followed a systematic vision (Nemec, 2008; Tõnnisson & Randma-Liiv, 2008). Rather, reforms have been characterized by haphazard adoption of often conflicting ideas along with emulation and imitation of Western practices. Nevertheless, two guiding doctrines which have informed public administration reform in CEE over the years of transition may be discerned: neoliberal and neoinstitutional economic theory (Friedman, 1962; North, 1990).

The newly independent countries first embraced the global neoliberal New Public Management (NPM) trend (Hood, 1991; Kettl, 2005; Lane, 2000; Osborne & Gaebler, 1997; Peters, 2001a) dominating the public management scene in the early 1990s. Reform of public administration had a low profile compared to the progress made in other areas of reform (Verheijen, 2003, p. 489). "The state was largely absent in the analysis of democratization in the early 1990s and the almighty market was mystified" (Ágh, 2003, p. 547).

The reform proposals in Estonia, for example, carried the neo-liberal "flavour" of the market model (Tõnnisson & Randma-Liiv, 2008, p. 107). The core ideas of reforms dealt with themes such as cost-cutting and quality of public services.

www.manaraa.com

Administrative reform efforts, especially in the 1990s, were inspired by key ideas of the NPM doctrine: decentralization, privatization, contracting out, customer orientation, and performance management (State Chancellery, 2004; Tõnnisson & Randma-Liiv, 2008). Other recurring themes in the reform programs included promotion of quality management tools, introduction of greater flexibility in management, implementation of performance-related remuneration systems in the public service, creating a more cost-effective and customer-friendly public administration (Randma-Liiv, 2005; State Chancellery, 2004; Tõnnisson & Randma-Liiv, 2008).

This emphasis on NPM-spurred managerialism was largely due to the international political and intellectual climate dominated by neoliberal concepts of public administration which coincided with the beginning of transition in CEE (Cardona, 2007, p. 11; Lagerspetz & Rikmann, 2009, p. 402; Verheijen, 2003, p. 490). The ideological commitment of the reform movement was to a minimal state. The development administration orthodoxy of the Western donor organizations such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development focused on championing public-choice economics with a faith in unbounded rationality (Newland, 1996, p. 385). These international actors concentrated on the advocacy of privatization and assigned a key role to ministries of finance "while nearly insisting on keeping the rest of government out of the way to let *the* market work as the key to transition" (Newland, 1996, p. 385). This prevailing focus on the devaluation of government became more important than the empirical assessment of the actual needs of the postcommunist states which might have arisen from their transitional experience (Verheijen, 2003, p. 490).

www.manaraa.com

In the second half of the 1990s, however, the attitude towards the role of the state changed. The rise of the concern with state effectiveness in the economic and social development of postcommunist societies was affected by the changing philosophy of international organizations, most importantly the World Bank (see World Development Report, 1997). The postcommunist context was unable to sustain pure market models due to a weak institutional infrastructure (Drechsler, 2005; Schick, 1998; Peters, 2001b; Randma-Liiv, 2005; Tõnnisson, 2006; Verheijen & Coombes, 1998). The NPM critique emphasized the need for institutions to manage economies and deemed markets without strong financial, legal, and social institutions insufficient for carrying out transition. The building of capitalism depended on mechanisms for enforcing contracts, specification of property rights, regulation of economic activity, strengthening of rule-based government, and developing robust markets (Schick, 1998; see also Evans & Rauch, 1999). The early transition experience demonstrated the significance of institutional development. Public choice theory was modified as the need for the "visible hand" of the state regulation became more evident (Ágh, 2003, p. 547).

This retreat from pure neoliberal ideology in major development organizations drew attention to the questions of public administration in postcommunist states. Combined with the growing EU membership aspirations of transition countries, the rise of the neoinstitutional framework gave more prominence to the regional SIGMA programme (Support for Improvement of Governance and Management) in the development of state administrations in postcommunist countries. SIGMA[5] is a joint initiative of the EU and the OECD for supporting public administration reforms in CEE which, in contrast to the dominant *Zeitgeist* of NPM, stressed the importance of

[5] For more information about SIGMA see http://www.sigmaweb.org

www.manaraa.com

institutional reform and creation of administrative capacities since its launch in 1992. In contrast to the reign of the market in the early 1990s, a competing set of ideas, which stressed the development of market economies in CEE required the support and facilitation of the state, now had even more resonance (Hesse, 1993, p. 251; Jenei & Zupkó, 2001, p. 77; Rice, 1991, p. 39). For example, Guess (1997), writing at that time, argued that, "[a] major lesson of the Eastern European experience with reform so far is that strong, independent public sector institutions are needed to deliver services and manage economies" (p. 558).

Consequently, attention of the reformers turned to state effectiveness and administrative capacity building which gave rise to the emergence of the Neo-Weberian State (NWS) (Drechsler, 2005; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2004) in the CEE region. NPM doctrine was challenged by administrative capacity building doctrine partly due to the EU membership requirements in the aspiring member-states (see more on Europeanization in the section below). The EU requirements for the administrative development in pre-accession countries were in essence Weberian and emphasized the legal and civil service components of reforms (Nunberg, 2000, p. 2).

Hence public administration reform in transition is distinguished by a continuous tension between endeavors of "modernization" or implementation of guidelines for the creation of a Weberian base promoted by SIGMA and the EU, on the one hand, and mostly NPM-related fads and fashions which have swept the reform landscape of CEE at various times, on the other. So far, the transition experience has not generated a consensus among the observers on the adequate dose of legalism and managerialism in the model of public administration appropriate for postsocialist states. There are some who believe CEE countries have been designing their systems predominantly along the lines of the classical Weberian model and the NPM approach

www.manaraa.com

has had a limited impact or hardly featured in the reform initiatives (Goetz, 2001, p. 1034; Nunberg, 1999, p. 264; Ridley, 1995, p. 13). The majority of observers, however, identify NPM as the dominant reform doctrine while drawing attention to the constraints and detrimental effects of its application in the postcommunist context (Cardona, 2007; Drechsler, 2005; Jabes, 2003, p. 8; Lember, 2004; Peters, 2001b; Randma-Liiv, 2005; Tõnnisson, 2006; Verheijen & Coombes, 1998). Contrary to these warnings, still others argue public administration in the CEE needs to embrace the "opportunity to leapfrog to a more flexible system" and implement NPM-style reforms or "new managerialism" more broadly (Nunberg, 1999, pp. 264-265). These contradictory assessments demonstrate how approaches to public administration reform in postcommunist CEE have not necessarily exhibited patterns of convergence. Rather, individual states have, at different times, combined multiple ideas simultaneously with varying degrees of emphasis on the two discernible reform trajectories of NPM and the (Neo-)Weberian State.

Europeanization. European integration, especially the processes involved with administrative capacity building of candidate states during the EU's Eastern enlargement in 2004 and 2007[6], created a potential for the harmonization of public administration systems in postcommunist CEE. For transition states, Europeanization could be understood as redesign of administrative systems in alignment with the conditionality criteria of the EU, on the one hand; and the resulting impacts of the Union's membership on domestic governance, on the other (Goetz, 2001, p. 1037; Lippert, Umbach, & Wessels, 2001, pp. 980-982).

[6] The Eastern enlargement of EU was carried out in two waves. In 2004, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia joined the EU (along with Cyprus and Malta). In 2007, Bulgaria and Romania became new member states.

www.manaraa.com

In the course of the accession process, the applicant countries needed to demonstrate their readiness to become part of the *European Administrative Space* (EAS) defined by a particular set of shared principles of good governance (D'Orta, 2003; Olsen, 2003; SIGMA, 1998; Verheijen & Connaughton, 2003, p. 841). EAS is a basic consensus among the EU member states with different traditions and systems of governance on shared expectations in regard to "basic institutional arrangements, processes, common administrative standards, civil service values and administrative culture" (Randma-Liiv & Connaughton, 2005, pp. 356-357). The common values of EAS are reliability and predictability, openness and transparency, accountability, efficiency, and effectiveness (SIGMA, 1998, pp. 8-14). The presence and application of these principles in the orders and practices of public administration is expected to give an idea of the ability to adopt and implement the *acquis communautaire* (the body of European Union law) in applicant countries.

Thus, creation of a "high quality" public administration capable of carrying out the obligations of the membership became an important eligibility criterion for accession. The administrative capacity requirement of the EU was a major driving force behind public administration development in postcommunist candidate countries and made an important impact on administrative institution-building in these states (Ágh, 2003, pp. 536-537; Cardona, 2007, p. 10; Drechsler, 2005, p. 100; Eriksen, 2007, p. 364; Jabes, 2003, p. 11; Lippert, Umbach, & Wessels, 2001, p. 980; Nunberg, 1999; 2000; Randma-Liiv & Connaughton, 2005, p. 356). Even though it has been argued that EAS is essentially (Neo-)Weberian (Drechsler, 2005; Drechsler, 2009), the EU does not prescribe formal requirements for administrative development nor does it have a uniform blueprint for public administration (Eriksen, 2007, p. 367; Grabbe, 2001, pp. 1023-1029; Lippert, Umbach, & Wessels, 2001, p. 1003).

www.manaraa.com

Nevertheless, the Eastern enlargement led to the emergence of the so-called "target zone of administrative EU readiness" (Lippert, Umbach, & Wessels, 2001, p. 1003) which emphasized the areas of merit-based civil service, policy capacity, accountability mechanisms, training systems, and management of EU affairs (Nunberg, 2000; Verheijen, 2000). This informal administrative *acquis* was implemented through familiar mechanisms of Europeanization such as conditionality, benchmarking and monitoring, provision of legislative and institutional templates, technical assistance, advice, and twinning (Grabbe, 2001, p. 1020). EU Commission used the SIGMA programme as the main tool for promoting public administration capacity development in CEE countries. SIGMA baseline assessment, which comes closest to the definition of some minimum standard for administrations, was also employed in the Commission's *Progress Reports* for evaluation of administrative capacity building across six core areas: policy-making and coordination, civil service, financial management, public procurement, internal financial control, and external audit (Verheijen, 2000, p. 19).

The accession process has affected at least three aspects of governance in CEE countries: "the relationship between the executive and legislature; the emergence of a privileged accession team in the executive; and the relationship between central and regional governments" (Grabbe, 2001, p. 1016). The accession process concentrated resources and power in the executive branch of government and marginalized the role of parliaments, political actors, and civil society organizations. Since accession was most importantly an administrative rather than political challenge, it contributed to the "technocratization" of the political process (Lippert, Umbach, & Wessels, 2001, p. 1004) and increased the danger of exporting aspects of EU's own democratic deficit to CEE (Grabbe, 2001, p. 1017). For example, the role of the Estonian parliament,

www.manaraa.com

Riigikogu, was mostly limited to "acceptance and rubberstamping of the accession policy of the government" (Viks & Randma-Liiv, 2005, p. 88).

Moreover, the accession process led to the emergence of a central team at the center of government for the management of EU affairs. These dedicated institutions have become so-called "islands of excellence" or "enclaves of effectiveness" in national governments distinctive from the rest of domestic institutions by their unparalleled quality and efficiency (Goetz, 2001, p. 1038; Nunberg, 2000, p. 20). As Verheijen (2007) asserts, the accession process "has not created soundly performing systems across the whole of government" (p. 2006).

In addition, the accession process provided incentives for creation of regional structures and bodies of self-governance (Kettunen & Kungla, 2005; Reiljan, Timpmann & Olenko, 2003) while often excluding the sub-state élites from reform (Grabbe, 2001). It has also drawn attention to the development of policy coordination mechanisms in some countries (Viks & Randma-Liiv, 2005).

The emerging model and future scenarios. Transition has not led to the development of a particular postcommunist administrative model (Eriksen, 2007; Goetz, 2001; Grabbe, 2001; Lagerspetz & Rikmann, 2009; Lippert, Umbach, & Wessels, 2001; Randma-Liiv & Connaughton, 2005; Verheijen & Connaughton, 2003). Rather the emerging system is an amalgam of traditions, external pressures, fads and fashions, and incremental responses to rising needs. Nevertheless, closer examination of the underlying pattern of reform ideas reveals an implicit role of public administration as the instrument of transition. The emergent model combines elements of New Public Management (NPM) and the Weberian State (WS) compatible with the dominant function of public administration as the implementation agent for the indisputable goals of extensive top-down social engineering. Its primary

www.manaraa.com

concern has been getting out of the way of and, later, facilitating the development of a Chicago School style neoliberal capitalist market economy.

Mixing of NPM and Weberian principles may seem incompatible; however, these two doctrines find common ground in advancing instrumental rationality, appealing to the authority of scientific knowledge, technocratization, and de-politicization (Drechsler, 2005; Dunn & Miller, 2007; Gregory, 2007). Some reoccurring reform trajectories include NPM-inspired marketization, privatization and managerialism as well as WS-oriented impartial civil service and rule-based government. Both doctrines remove decision-making from the political sphere by either resorting to market mechanisms or empowering the allegedly expert bureaucrat (Drechsler, 2005, pp. 97-98; Gregory, 2007, p. 225). As Gregory (2007) explains, bureaucratic rules and the legal apparatus of contractualism are "alternative means for securing and maintaining rational control" (p. 237).

In postcommunism, NPM and WS are both inherently techno-utilitarian and advance the idea of a neutral, technocratic state. Despite this ideological neutrality, however, the state is a vehicle of "transition" (Pollert, 1999, p. 63). Hence, Lagerspetz & Rikmann (2009) find in their study of Estonian civil servants a paternalistic attitude towards politics and civil society, "a view of the Estonian civil service as a key element of a state that not merely aims to serve its citizens, but to guide them in a given direction" (Lagerspetz & Rikmann, 2009, p. 419).

Having secured the membership of the EU and, as some argue, completed the transition from communism, the question is: what shapes the identity of public administration in "post-transition"? National responses are open to a variety of different institutional arrangements (Eriksen, 2007; Goetz, 2001; Randma-Liiv & Connaughton, 2005), including the public administration frameworks which have

www.manaraa.com

emerged outside the CEE. The debates suggest that Western Europe and the United States have entered the post-NPM era, however, no new paradigm of governance has emerged to fill the vacuum left by the waning of NPM (Peters, Pierre, & Randma-Liiv, 2011, p. 15). In contrast to the reforms of the 1980s and 1990s, some post-NPM trends include the declining use of market solutions, re-regulation, rejection of single-purpose organizations, introduction of more coordination and collaboration to administrative systems, de-agencification, and development of central state capacity (Christensen & Lægreid, 2007, p. 2). The global marketplace of ideas on public sector reform is currently supplying the following alternatives: the Neo-Weberian State (NWS), the Whole-of-Government (WOG) approach, and legacy effects in public administration reform.

The reconceptualization of the role of the state has given rise to the Neo-Weberian (NWS) state which merges some elements of NPM with the classical base of Weberian public administration (Drechsler, 2005; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2004). It reaffirms the role of the state, representative democracy, administrative law, and the role of a civil service (the "Weberian" elements) while emphasizing an outward looking attitude, direct citizen participation, performance orientation, and development of professional management skills (the "Neo" elements) (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2004, p. 99).

Another recent catchphrase in the reformers' vocabulary is the Whole-of-Government (WOG) approach. The proponents of this perspective perceive disaggregation and fragmentation of the public sector brought about by two decades of NPM reforms as the primary challenge for future improvements (Christensen & Lægreid, 2007, p. 5; Randma-Liiv, Nakrošis, & György, 2011; OECD, 2011a). As the phrase suggests, WOG "denotes the aspiration to achieve horizontal and vertical co-

www.manaraa.com

ordination in order to eliminate situations in which different policies undermine each other, to make better use of scarce resources, to create synergies by bringing together different stakeholders in a particular policy area and to offer citizens seamless rather than fragmented access to services" (Christensen & Lægreid, 2007, p. 11).

Finally, the reform efforts in postcommunist states and Europeanization of national administrations have renewed interest in the role of politico-economic regimes, historical legacies, and administrative traditions in administrative readjustments (Bevir et al. 2003; Christensen & Lægreid, 2001, p. 24; Knill 2001; Meyer-Sahling, 2009a; Meyer-Sahling & Yesilkagit, 2011; Olsen & Peters 1996; Painter & Peters, 2010; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2004). It is suggested that local administrative traditions mould and filter reform outcomes, and administrations develop according to idiosyncratic national pathways. Hence, postcommunist heritage is not uniform across the CEE. To understand different reform trajectories, it is necessary to explore historical legacies before and after regime change (Meyer-Sahling, 2009a, p. 520).

Summary

This chapter has discussed the dominant representation of postcommunism as "transition" from state-dominated to market-dominated society. It has explored the political, economic, and administrative aspects of the transition paradigm and outlined the major developments of democratication, marketization, and public administration reform after the collapse of socialist regimes. In this chapter, it has been examined how administrative readjustments in postcommunist CEE have advanced the principles of instrumental rationality, scientifically-based social action, technocratization, and de-politicization by combining aspects of different reform discourses of NPM and the Weberian/Neo-Weberian State. Consistent with the state-

www.manaraa.com

orchestrated approach to social change in postcommunism, public administration has assumed the role of an agent of transition. The next chapter turns to the critique of the prevailing conceptualization of transition and suggests it is but one lens among many for thinking about postcommunism and the role of public administration.

www.manaraa.com

CHAPTER 3: RETHINKING THE TRANSITION PARADIGM

Critique of "Transition"

Compared to the assumptions of the transition paradigm the real trajectories of change in postsocialist states are messy (Carothers, 2002, p. 14; Rose, 2009, p. 1). In contrast to the one-way teleological approach of transitology, some scholars have adopted non-teleological, institutionalist, or bottom-up perspectives for the analysis of postcommunist change, and paved the way for the emergence of an open-ended concept of "transformation" (e.g. Elster, Offe & Preuss, 1998; Fagin, 1998; Flynn, Kay, & Oldfield, 2008; Goralczyk, 2000; Pollert, 1999; Pickles & Smith, 1998; Rose, 2009; Stark, 1992; Stark & Bruszt, 1998). The concept of "transformation" regards postcommunism as a set of systemic social changes without uniform goals nor clear-cut beginnings or ends. Postcommunist change is discussed as a broad complex of simultaneous, and potentially counteractive, social processes. Transformation does not assume institutional homogeneity and draws attention to more contextually embedded challenges of postcommunist societies. As Goralczyk (2000) explains, the "transition" in CEE countries is over since there is hardly any chance of returning to the previous, discredited system; however, the process of deep "transformation" is still underway.

> The system has been changed while the whole "transformation" process has only just been initiated, and is at a different stage in each post-communist country or territory. "Transformation," understood in this way, suggests that we do not know when, where and how this change will end. Transformation is the task for all post-communist states for years, maybe decades, to come. (Goralczyk, 2000, p. 284)

The convergence model of transition has most strongly been disputed by the "new institutional" approach (Elster, Offe & Preuss, 1998; Pollert, 1999, pp. 56-60). New institutionalists shift their attention away from the system's destination, and instead focus on its dynamics (Kennedy, 2002, p. 21). For example, Stark and Bruszt

www.manaraa.com

(1998), instead of focusing on end-points, start with the reality of transition processes: "In contrast to the imitationists, who see in the collapse of communism an institutional void waiting to be filled with their recipes, therapies, and formulas, we look to the variation in how communism fell apart and how these partial ruins provide institutional building blocks for political, economic, and social reconstruction" (p. 6). The new institutionalist approach emphasizes "historical legacy and 'path dependence' of change, as opposed to the 'tabula rasa' assumptions of transition" (Pollert, 1999, p. 56).

In their study of post-communist institution building, Elster, Offe and Preuss (1998) find there are three groups of interrelated phenomena that could explain the processes of change observable in various CEE countries. The authors argue the paths of transformation are dependent on the interplay between first, legacies of the past (social structures, habits, cognitive frames) acting as inherited constraints on formation of new order; second, the nascent institutional order (the new rules of the game) being formed and subject to a degree of design and alteration; and, finally, decisions of transformation actors (intentional rational intervention) (Elster, Offe & Preuss, 1998, pp. 293-295). Explanation of the course of social, economic, and political consolidation is thus believed to rest in the complex interaction between these variables:

> Rather than opting for one of the three types of independent variables, such an approach would have to allow for backward and forward linkages and other forms of complex interaction. Forward linkages occur when structures select agents and institutional settings, and the latter in turn select choices and decisions. Backward linkages would be cases in which choices put agents and institutional rules in their place, and these new arrangements alter or nullify the determining force of structural legacies or replace them with newly created legacies. (Elster, Offe & Preuss, 1998, pp. 295-296)

www.manaraa.com

Institutionalists, thus, hold that the outcomes of the formation of new social, political and economic orders is determined by a complex synthesis of the past shaping the trajectory of transformation in the future by means of past legacies, on the one hand, and social and cultural capital adjusting those legacies to the requirements of the present, on the other (Elster, Offe & Preuss, 1998, p. 308).

Similarly, Pickles and Smith (1998) question the uniform model of economic and political life advanced by the transition paradigm. By employing a variety of different theoretical perspectives in political economy, feminism, evolutionary economics, and new cultural theory they show that transition is much more diverse and complex than the dominant theory suggests. The authors provide a critical political economy of transition to challenge the neoliberal hegemony of the prevalent transition studies. They argue the idea that transition entails implementation of a set of policies prescribing liberalization, marketization, and democratization is overly simplistic. "Such claims tend to reduce the complexity of political economic change in Eastern and Central Europe and fail to provide us with an adequate basis on which to move beyond policy prescriptions of transition as a set of end-points" (Pickles & Smith, 1998, p. 2). Instead of viewing transition as a one-way process they focus on achieving an opening of "conceptual maps of transition to counter the closure of dominant discourses and the power of these ideas in shaping the policy agendas of transition in ECE and beyond" (Pickles & Smith, 1998, p. 7). Based on their account, transition is characterized by diversity and complexity.

> Post-communist reform is, in this sense, about the reworking of modernity and the reconfiguration of the economic and political institutions and practices put in place (or adapted from pre-communist days) by state socialism. It is also, at the same time, a restructuring of the social relations of actors, the construction of new identities and the mobilisation of existing cultural resources to new ends. Reworking the social relations

www.manaraa.com

> of communism and the building of post-communism thus also requires engagement with critical theories of subject formation, the role of discourse, and the nature of modern power in post-communist states and economies. (Pickles & Smith, 1998, p. 12)

The Concern with Culture

To open up the conceptual maps of "transition," there is hardly a better way than shifting attention to culture. The so-called "epistemological turn to culture" which draws attention to culture's position in matters of knowing and constitution of social relations and identities (Hall, 1997; Nash, 2001) can provide additional explanatory power to researchers interested in understanding postcommunism beyond the closed doctrine of transition.

Culture as an epistemological lens, rather than a category of social life or empirically observable developments, helps to see how every social practice has cultural conditions of existence, i.e. they depend on meaning and are situated within discourse (Bonnell & Hunt, 1999; Hall, 1997). The cultural approach regards culture as constitutive of all social life and investigates the ways language and other practices of representation produce meaning (Hall, 1997, p. 220). Since social and economic phenomena are imbued with meaning, they can be studied as cultural objects.

The power of cultural theory lies in its ability to reveal the classifying categories and ideological preconceptions with which we approach the social reality of our societies. As White (1999) asserts, the significance of the cultural turn "inheres in its suggestion that in 'culture' we can apprehend a niche within social reality from which any given society can be deconstructed and shown to be less an inevitability than only one possibility among a host of others" (White, 1999, p. 316). In the similar vein, we can problematize "transition" as it is constructed by systems of representation. Among numerous studies utilizing various streams of cultural theory

www.manaraa.com

the following will be considered for rethinking the transition paradigm: cultural studies, anthropology of postsocialism, discourse studies, critical development studies, and postcolonialism.

Cultural studies. Michael Kennedy's (1994) edited volume *Envisioning Eastern Europe: Postcommunist Cultural Studies* deals with the question of envisioning a future for the postcommunist Eastern Europe. This volume in postcommunist cultural studies explores the societal imaginations or utopias for what constitutes postcommunism. It is explained how discourse, ideology, and identity formation are the driving forces in the construction of communism's successor. From the cultural studies perspective, the prevalent transition paradigm, structured around the oppositions of plan-market and dictatorship-democracy, is merely a powerful discourse with a pretentious claim to represent reality which is quite different. As Kennedy (1994) explains, "This discourse on historical change in Eastern Europe, reinforced through its regular use by liberal politicians, policy makers, and scholars, is so powerful that it begins to obscure the fact that it is a vision, a way of seeing, and not just the way things are" (p. 2).

With the help of Foucault, Gramsci, Marx, Lacan, Bourdieu, Williams, and Hall cultural studies aim to unpack and problematize the ways in which postcommunism is envisioned. "Whether we speak of discourse, cultural hegemony, or ideology, in each of these visions, culture and power are mutually implicated. Social order is not perceived as voluntary and intersubjective" (Kennedy, 1994, p. 21). Discourse is the "structure that gives meaning to the world through language and the institutions, practices, and materials that are attached to those words" (Kennedy, 1994, p. 23). It focuses our attention to particular sets of problems and marginalizes others. "Instead of seeking the sociological origins of the barriers to the liberal-democratic

www.manaraa.com

and capitalist utopia, we may wonder why we were so convinced that *that* was to be the East European future" (Kennedy, 1994, p. 44).

In *Cultural Formations of Post-Communism: Emancipation, Nation, and War* Kennedy (2002) explores the cultural formations of postcommunism and argues there is a global transition culture, or a community of discourse that informs and interprets change in postcommunism. His account of transition culture draws on the notion of "cultural formation" from the work of Raymond Williams (*Marxism and Literature*, 1977). Williams, besides identifying traditions and institutions as appropriate objects for cultural analysis, introduces the notion of formations in the sense of not yet formally articulated or identifiable cultural moments. Formations are those "effective movements and tendencies, in intellectual and artistic life, which have significant and sometimes decisive influence on the active development of a culture, and which have a variable and often oblique relation to formal institutions" (Williams, 1977, p. 117). This notion of formation is conducive to unveiling how certain cultural tendencies, not fully articulated nor completely institutionalized, contribute to the making of social change in postcommunist transition.

> By attending to the *ways* in which postcommunist possibilities and problems are engaged, we not only attend to the epistemologies shaping our inquiry, but we also help to inform the character of the social transformations themselves. By making explicit those complexes of norms, rules, practices, symbols, and beliefs underlying the interventions of both politically engaged and the analytically detached, we can illuminate the ways in which culture articulates social change. And, by making that culture explicit, we also become more aware of the conditions of our action, and perhaps, collectively, have greater control over the consequences of our interventions. (Kennedy, 2002, p. 8)

Kennedy (2002) suggests transition culture is structured around a set of binary oppositions: plan *versus* market, dictatorship *versus* democracy, Russia *versus* West,

www.manaraa.com

past *versus* future, particularistic *versus* comparative, bureaucrat *versus* entrepreneur, and dependency *versus* opportunity (p. 108). The narrative of transition explains changes in CEE as a teleological movement from socialism to capitalism and from dictatorship to liberal democratic rule. Socialist past and dependency on Russia are contrasted to the global capitalist future and integration with the West. Transition culture values comparative expertise over local contextual knowledge and assumes universality of challenges, methods as well as solutions. "History and culture are things to be transformed, and made to yield to superior knowledge" (Kennedy, 2002, p. 108). Transition discourse is structured around "pathological lacks" or "deviancies" as defined by external experts that need to be cured before these countries can become "normal." Transition culture is a culture of power, a set of norms, rules, understandings, social practices, competencies, and epistemologies which underlie interventions in former socialist states (Kennedy, 2002, pp. 7-8).

Anthropology of postsocialism. Anthropologically informed studies explore specific cultural phenomena to illuminate the wider societal processes. The aim of anthropology is to document and analyze "human social arrangements in all their historical and geographical diversity" (Hann, 2002b, p. 1). By focusing on the cultural peculiarities of specific postsocialist contexts, discarded by the universalism of the transition paradigm, the field of anthropology is in an excellent position to challenge the master-narrative of transitology.

Anthropological studies do not gloss over contradictions, ambiguities, and paradoxes of postsocialism, but rather make these their primary research objects (Berdahl, Bunzl & Lampland, 2000; Buchowski, 2001; Buroway & Verdery, 1999a; Hann, 2002a; Mandell & Humphrey, 2002; Verdery, 1996). By focusing on details of everyday life, anthropology of postsocialism aims to explore how the slogans of

www.manaraa.com

transition such as "return to Europe," "private property," and "market economy" connect to the social realities of citizens in postsocialist countries (Hann, 2002b, p. 10). Anthropology aims to provide what is missing from the macrolevel perspectives of transition studies, i.e. "the kinds of challenges to certain generalizations, conclusions, and categories of analysis that an acute sensitivity to detail can provide" (Berdahl, 2000, p. 3). It also illuminates the darker side of transition and how integration with the global capitalist exchange networks brings affluence to some while poverty, marginality, and exclusion for others (Burawoy & Verdery, 1999b, p. 16).

An anthropology of postsocialism highlights transition's uncertainty and the continuities of past legacies. Ethnographic studies, such as Verdery's (1996), reject the assumption of transition to capitalism and instead investigate local processes on their own terms. Anthropologists dispute the teleology of transition or the assumption that former socialist countries are necessarily on the path towards Western capitalism. They call for analyses of what is distinctive about these countries, not what they lack in comparison to Western ideal-type models (Burawoy & Verdery, 1999b, p. 15). They detect and unveil a plurality of trajectories and experiences of postsocialism which is in stark contrast to the unilinear view of progress projected in neoliberal plans (Berdahl, 2000, p. 3). As Burawoy & Verdery (1999b) emphasize, "we cannot conceive of the transition as either rooted in the past or tied to an imagined future. Transition is a process suspended between the two" (p. 14).

> The electoral success of former communists in several postsocialist states, the escalating unemployment rates throughout the region, the difficulties of establishing new businesses for many would-be entrepreneurs, the return to a barter (indeed, mafia) economy in the most economically devastated areas, and the slow improvement in most countries' gross national products are but a few examples of the

www.manaraa.com

> uncertain outcome and ongoing nature of postsocialist transitions that reflect the inadequacy of teleological thinking. (Berdahl, 2000, pp. 1-2)

Moreover, several scholars have detected continuities and reversions in many fields of social, political, and economic life (Berdahl, Bunzl & Lampland, 2000; Buroway & Verdery, 1999a; Verdery, 1996). The return of the "old" is often explained as an inherited legacy of the socialist past, or as Burawoy and Verdery (1999b) argue, a response to exigencies of the present. "Repeatedly, we find that what may appear as 'restorations' of patterns familiar from socialism are something quite different: direct *responses* to the new market initiatives, produced *by* them, rather than remnants of an older mentality" (Burawoy & Verdery, 1999b, pp. 1-2).

Anthropology shows how the economic cannot be separated from the political and the cultural (Burawoy & Verdery, 1999b, p. 14). When economic theories of neoliberalism and "shock therapy" meet everyday life, resistance can take many forms: "Markets can generate a retreat to barter relations or criminalized trade, as well as to monetized exchange; markets can lead to involution rather than revolution or evolution; markets can be the engine of primitive disaccumulation rather than advanced accumulation" (Burawoy, 1999, p. 302).

While the majority of postsocialist theorizing is to a large extent based on socialism's negation and capitalism's supremacy, anthropological studies emphasize the importance of not losing sight of alternatives.

> As socialism retreats into the past, the danger is that we will become ever more enthralled with a single model – an ideal typification of liberal capitalism – against which to compare reality, inevitably making of the post-Soviet world a black hole. We will lose sight of alternatives, whether alternative capitalisms, alternative socialisms, or other utopias that offer novel lenses through which to interpret the present and the past, as well as the future. (Burawoy, 1999, p. 309)

www.manaraa.com

Discourse studies. The unidirectional change of transitology is also challenged by scholars studying postcommunist transformation discursively (Chilton, Ilyin & Mey, 1998; Dryzek & Holmes, 2002; Fairclough, 2005b, 2005c, 2006; Galasińska & Galasiński, 2010; Galasińska & Krzyzanowski, 2009; Ietcu, 2006). These studies explore the role of discourses in the construction of social and political transformations in CEE. Discourse theorists hold that political and economic changes are culturally conditioned, informed by particular meanings, narratives, values, and identities, i.e. they have a discursive character (Krzyżanowski & Wodak, 2009, pp. 25-26).

Discourse studies in postcommunism employ critical discourse analysis (CDA) as the underlining framework for investigating social, political, and economic changes in CEE (e.g. Fairclough, 2005c, 2006; Krzyżanowski & Wodak, 2009). With the help of discourse analysis, these studies unveil a set of statements that provides a language for talking about postcommunist transition. The framework is particularly advantageous for illuminating the dialectics between micro-level discourse and macro-level social change (Krzyżanowski & Wodak, 2009, p. 25). It helps to demonstrate the interactive nature of the relationships between social practices and vocabularies. Language as a form of social praxis "both reflects, and conditions, society" (Mey, 1998, p. 28). As Dryzek & Holmes (2002) explain, "discourses help condition what is possible and likely in terms of political development, while political development can change the terms of discourse" (p. 6).

There are a handful of scholars who have employed discourse analysis for understanding and explaining a broad range of changes in postcommunist countries. For instance, Krzyżanowski and Galasińska (2009) present a set of national case studies to explore the role of discourse in the construction of social and political

www.manaraa.com

changes in CEE. They deconstruct and unpack the concepts such as "modernization" and "transformation," and point to the power dynamics that underlie these processes.

Bourdieu and Wacquant (2001), and Fairlclough (2005c, 2006) identify neoliberal models of transition as discourses. In these accounts, transition is a particular way of representing and imagining change with its own particular values and strategies. Fairclough (2005c) observes how transition "construes change in CEE and elsewhere as a passage from a well-defined point of departure to a unitary and well-defined destination, which seems difficult to reconcile with the complexity and diversity of the processes which are actually taking place" (p. 12).

Dryzek and Holmes (2002) explore meanings of democracy and democratization in thirteen countries of the postcommunist world. The authors aim to move away from the "institutional hardware" approach of constitutions, parliaments, elections and party systems, and instead, examine the ways in which democracy is conceptualized and lived by ordinary people. "That is, to understand if or how democracy works, we must attend to what people *make* of it, and what they think they are doing as they engage politics, or politics engages them" (Dryzek & Holmes, 2002, p. 4). The authors explore the "discursive field" of democracy in each society and identify patterns of discourses that they find with reference to country's history and contemporary circumstances (Dryzek & Holmes, 2002, p. 6). Besides the minimalist Schumpeterian notion of democracy within the transition paradigm, democratization can take a variety of paths including the following dimensions identified by the authors: *social democracy to libertarianism*, *authoritarianism to open society*, *civil society to a strong state*, *pluralism to republicanism*, *elitism to participation*, *nationalism to cosmopolitanism* (Dryzek & Holmes, 2002, pp. 10-12). Besides these general categories, the authors discover political orientations such as "moralistic,"

www.manaraa.com

"economistic," "disaffected," "nostalgic," "communist," and "presidential populist" (Dryzek & Holmes, 2002, p. 265). Moreover, they find "liberal," "republican," "participatory," and "statist" trajectories of democratization as the result of their investigation (Dryzek & Holmes, 2002, pp. 268-273). The findings of this study demonstrate the idiosyncrasy of democratic discourses across the postcommunist countries. There is no singular democratic destination for the CEE nations.

Critical development studies. Another two streams of literature relevant to this research are in the fields of development studies and postcolonial theory. Development and transition are not synonyms and South-North problematic cannot be equated with that of East-West; however, there is an array of similarities in the condition of these societies.

A few scholars (Brohman, 1995; Dubois, 1991; Escobar, 1984, 1988, 1995; Ferguson, 1994; Ferguson & Lohmann, 1994; Harriss, 2002; Kamat, 2002; Mueller, 1987; Parajuli, 1991; Sachs, 2010; Sharma & Gupta, 2009; St-Hilaire, 1993) have carried out the deconstruction of development discourse and uncovered its articulations of power/knowledge that foster hegemonic social change in the Third World. These studies have shown how "development" is an order of representations, statements, and practices produced and reproduced by a particular regime of knowledge and an underlying system of power that amounts to the so-called global development apparatus. One of the aims of the research introduced here is to extend this view to the postcommunist world in order to understand and explain the workings of "transition."

For instance, Sachs (2010) offers archaeology of the key concepts in development discourse. Based on this account, development is not merely a socio-economic endeavor, but "a particular cast of mind" (Sachs, 2010, p. xvi). It is a

www.manaraa.com

perception of reality that privileges certain concepts of change and social action while marginalizing others. The hidden agenda of development and its apparatus, as demonstrated by Sachs's archaeology, is Westernization.

Escobar (1995) provides an account of how the post-World War II discourses and practices of development have created and reproduced the Third World as we know it. He observes how the way development is problematized by the international community requires mechanisms of intervention that are structured by certain forms of knowledge and power. Social change in the developing world relies on outside expert knowledge and Western science which is given the status of objective truth. Power operates through normalization, knowledge, and bureaucratization. As Escobar (1995) explains, "The forms of power that have appeared act not so much by repression but by normalization; not by ignorance but by controlled knowledge; not by humanitarian concern but by the bureaucratization of social action" (p. 53).

Ferguson (1994) demonstrates how the transnational discourse of the World Bank produces Lesotho as a Least Developed Country (LDC), a particular kind of object of knowledge, which then necessitates implementation of particular sets of interventions. Ferguson's study is an investigation of how "development" works in practice. He finds the primary effect development produces is expansion of bureaucratic state power; it is an "anti-politics machine." The state, in the development discourse, is represented as a neutral implementation machine for carrying out development projects and engineering economic growth. Social problems, such as poverty and social justice, are depoliticized to be governable by technical expertise. According to Ferguson (1994) "We have seen that the conceptual apparatus systematically translates all the ills and ailments of the country into simple, technical problems and thus constituted a suitable object for the apolitical, technical,

www.manaraa.com

'development' intervention which 'development' agencies are in the business of making" (p. 87). The main paradox of development lies in its effort to bring about social change without engaging in politics; rather it has strong depoliticizing side-effects.

Postcolonialism. Also relevant for deconstructing the transition paradigm is colonial/postcolonial discourse (Gandhi, 1998; Loomba, 2005; Mills, 2004, pp. 94-115). Colonial/postcolonial theory has adopted the notion of discourse as a useful device for "characterising the systematic nature of representations about colonised countries" (Mills, 2004, p. 114). As Edward Said examines in *Orientalism* (2003), colonial discourse is a discursive order in which Western representations of colonized cultures are used for constructing the Orient and maintaining a system of domination over it. Starting with the late eighteenth century, Orientalism emerged as a corporate institution for dealing with the Orient, "dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it" (Said, 2003, p. 3). By exploring Orientalism as a discourse, Said demonstrates the ways in which Western culture has managed and produced the Orient "politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period" (Said, 2003, p. 3).

In the same way as Said (2003) critiques the history of the European representation of the Orient, Larry Wolff (1994) demonstrates how the notion of Eastern Europe has emerged from Western consciousness. Much like the Occident needed the Orient as a contrasting geographical and cultural entity for defining itself, Western Europe invented Eastern Europe as its complementary other half in the age of Enlightenment. As Wolff explains, "the study of Eastern Europe, like Orientalism, was a style of intellectual mastery, integrating knowledge and power, perpetrating

www.manaraa.com

domination and subordination" (Wolff, 1994, p. 8). The invention of Eastern Europe as "shadowed lands of backwardness, even barbarism" in the late eighteenth century preceded the division of the continent by the iron curtain during the Cold War and survives on the mental maps of the public culture today (Wolff, 1994, p. 4).

We can find similar "imaginative geography" at work in the post-World War II development discourse, invention of the "Third World" nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin-America, and construction of the "least developed" or "underdeveloped" states (Escobar, 1988, 1995; Ferguson, 1994; Sharma & Gupta, 2009). Drawing on the above, this study is interested in post-Cold War transition discourse which has managed and produced postcommunist states. "Postcommunist state" as a discursive formation is a Western invention very similar to those of "the Orient" or "the developing country." In the same vein, "transition" is a system of representations produced by the Western development establishment for dealing with postcommunist countries. By utilizing the postcolonial lens, one can examine how the dynamics of discourse and power create representations of social reality and constitute postcommunist nations. Postcolonial theory is a critical framework that can be used for deconstructing this order; for analyzing the Western knowledge and power structures. "The main function of postcolonial theory has largely been to challenge and subvert the hegemony of Western knowledge, questioning its authority, objectivity, and universality" (Thadhani, 2005, p. 976).

Postcolonial studies emerged as a form of critique of the persistence of poverty and inequality in formally liberated postcolonial states (Chari & Verdery, 2009, pp. 7-8). After the failure of transitology and appearance of the devastating effects of neoliberal "shock therapy" in CEE, the scholarship of postcolonialism could provide a new angle for understanding the postsocialist condition. A number of observers have

www.manaraa.com

suggested applying postcolonial theory to postcommunism and creating a link between postcolonial and postsocialist studies (Chari & Verdery, 2009; Burawoy, 1999, 2001; Dauphinée, 2003; Kandiyoti, 2002a, 2002b; Lampland, 2000; Thadhani, 2005; Verdery, 2002). These scholars believe that postsocialist scholarship could benefit from postcolonialism's critical body of theory which would help to challenge the teleological narrative of transition and explain the workings of power/knowledge in these new settings.

Postcolonial insights can be used beyond former colonies for creating a "new angle of vision" for studying postsocialism: "One possibility is to create a parallel with postcolonial studies, inviting that body of work to open itself to insights from a rather different quarter while also turning postsocialist studies in new directions" (Verdery, 2002, pp. 15-16). Postcolonial studies have generally been dealing with the so-called Third World while postsocialist studies have been focusing on the post-Soviet space. Verdery (2002) suggests overcoming this separation in post-Cold War studies which examine the effects of imposing Western identity on regions freed from formal shackles of imperial rule: "Postcolonial studies emphasizes, rather, *practices of domination*, such as techniques of evangelizing, manipulations of time and space, modes of inscribing the colonial system on the bodies of its subjects, etc. To adopt this broader rubric, along with some of its insights, would give an alternative kind of coherence to postsocialist studies" (Verdery, 2002, pp. 17-18).

Both "posts" deal with abrupt political changes, either the fall of the Communist regimes or the granting of formal independence to former colonies, and the aftermath of these changes, "that is, becoming something other than socialist or other than colonized" (Chari & Verdery, 2009, p. 11). Postcolonialism, thus, can be taken to refer to the complex results of the socio-economic and cultural crises caused

www.manaraa.com

by colonialism and colonialism's ongoing presence in the practices of the post-independence national elites (Chari & Verdery, 2009, p. 11). Moreover, this approach draws attention to how the still-persisting Cold War representations affect theory and politics globally. As long as the Western self-identity is imposed as "natural" or "normal" the epistemological effects of the Cold War endure.

> How else does one understand the importance accorded by both scholars and policy-makers alike to "privatization," "marketization," and "democratization" – that troika of western self identity so insistently being imposed on others around the world as a sign that the Cold War *is* over? Is the emphasis on these features driven, just as modernization theory was, by the ideological goal of compelling "them" to be like our outdated image of "us"? (Chari & Verdery, 2009, p. 30)

Colonial/postcolonial theory can be used for building a critique of mainstream transitology and for searching alternative perspectives which go beyond organizing the world into Cold War binaries of capitalist West and communist East. Similarly to the reflections of postcolonial studies on the failures of projects of modernization in the South, postsocialist studies can focus attention on the fallacies of shock therapy in the East (Chari & Verdery, 2009, pp. 9-10). Postsocialist theory, analogous to postcolonial theory, brings a critical focus to exploring the limits of change and global capitalism while contesting Western transplants by indigenous visions and recovering subaltern alternatives (Burawoy, 2001, p. 1103, 1017; Thadhani, 2005, p. 984). "Just as postcolonial theory turned to subaltern studies and the search for opportunities and visions eclipsed in the colonial or even precolonial world, so postsocialist theory will perhaps exhume alternatives that were rapidly closed off when communism began to teeter" (Burawoy, 2001, p. 1118).

www.manaraa.com

Summary

This chapter has summed up the critique of "transition" and discussed various streams of cultural theory for rethinking the transition paradigm. As discussed above, the teleological model of transition has recently been challenged by the open-ended concept of "transformation" which focuses on the dynamics, rather than the destination, of postcommunist systems. One of the strongest criticisms of the prevailing perspective comes from the new-institutionalists who focus on institutional constraints, past legacies, and "path-dependence" in shaping outcomes of transformation. To counter the closure of the dominant transition discourse, this research embraces epistemic pluralism and suggests using the cultural approach as an alternative to the atemporal and decontextualized transition studies. Cultural studies, anthropology of postsocialism, discourse studies, critical development studies, and postcolonialism constitute a body of research which aids in understanding what is problematic about the dominant approach to postcommunist transition. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

www.manaraa.com

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH PROBLEM

"Transition" Lacks Complexity

The dominant transition paradigm of postcommunist social change is a simple-minded, and possibly dangerous, doctrine. Transitology's problemtization of postcommunism as lack of institutions of market democracy consistent with the standards of Western models overlooks the complexity, messiness, uncertainty, and diversity of real-life experiences of postcommunist change. As Carothers (2002) warned a decade ago, "The continued use of the transition paradigm constitutes a dangerous habit of trying to impose a simplistic and often incorrect conceptual order on an empirical tableau of considerable complexity" (p. 15). The linear approach of de-contextualized transition has been a misguiding representation of what has been happening in postcommunist societies. Postcommunism has been characterized by uncertainty and disruptions rather than teleological movement towards a predetermined destination (e.g. Buroway & Verdery, 1999a). Similarly to modernization theory, the neoliberal transition framework has been characterized by universalism or the "use of universal concepts that exclude the contextuality of social reality, reliance on unrealistic assumptions, neglect of social relations and structures, failure to consider meanings and values" (Brohman, 1995, p. 125). The transition paradigm simplifies and distorts the actual development experiences of different societies and should therefore be called into serious doubt (cf. Carothers, 2002, p. 14).

"Transition" as a "scientific" doctrine of institution-building and regime change discards politics, history, and culture in favor of globalized social science expertise (Dauphinée, 2003, p. 194; Kennedy, 2002, p. 108; Pickel, 2002). The transition apparatus is an "international scientific-governmental-corporate complex" which includes "academic institutions and research institutes, governments,

www.manaraa.com

international organizations, the media, as well as political networks within and among these institutional actors" (Pickel, 2002, p. 107). These producers and consumers of transition theory regard postcommunist transformation as a "scientific" project devoid of normative questions, political contestation, indigenous knowledge, or popular participation. Rather, borrowing a term from the development studies, the "professionalization of transition" implies de-politicization of practical problems of postcommunism, removing them from the political realm, and subjecting them to technical expertise (Escobar, 1984, 1988, 1995; Ferguson & Lohmann, 1994). Similarly with "expertization" of development efforts, "technification" of transition allows experts to recast the problems of postcommunism into the neutral realm of science, thus, obscuring the political and ethical dimensions of social change (DuBois, 1991, p. 12; Escobar, 1984, p. 387). "Transition" is not much different from the "anti-politics machine" of development that evades the inconvenient issues of power differentials, class relations, property rights, contestational politics, and conflicts of interests and ideas (Ferguson, 1994; Harriss, 2002). Moreover, "transition" instrumentalizes social science for legitimation of political claims. Consider the following warning from Pickel (2002) about the dangers of fusing power/knowledge in the prevailing theory of postcommunist political change:

> Some activists neither question the validity and relevance of their specific scientific knowledge, nor do they always show sufficient recognition of the fact that social science has no authoritative or privileged answers to the political and other normative questions that practical problems of policy making pose. Thus in the cloak of the scientist, ideologues and dogmatists use their scientific credentials to pronounce on issues that are beyond the scope of science in general or beyond the scope of their disciplinary knowledge. This widespread, though dishonest use of science for the legitimation of political claims and normative positions is one way in which social science ought not to be instrumentalized in political debate. (Pickel, 2002, p. 110)

www.manaraa.com

Decontextualized transition and lack of attention to local context is problematic for public administration in CEE countries. The development orthodoxy advances expert-led capacity building and international technical assistance with limited attention to indigenous experience, institutions, and recommendations (Newland, 1996, p. 385). Neglect of politics and local context within the "transition" paradigm is not a viable strategy for sustainable redesign of state systems (Newland, 1996, p. 385; Young, 2006). While "transition" relies on the foreign language of administrative reform, a more complex theory of postcommunist change could reconceptualize public administration as a human social arrangement that is contextualized, historicized, and contingent on surrounding social reality. There is a need for a new paradigm of (postcommunist) political change that would embrace the complexity of the diversity of experiences, the particular socio-economic, political, cultural, and environmental conditions of various societies (cf. Brohman, 1995, p. 123; Carothers, 2002, p. 20; Pickel, 2002, p. 113).

"Transition" is Hegemonic

A closer look at the assumptions, attitudes, and orientations in postsocialism reveals that what has come to be known as the dominant form of postcommunist change is a bundle of reform mechanisms and interventions associated with a particular type of social change in the region and informed by a global hegemonic culture of transition (cf. Kennedy, 2002). In line with other mainstream development frameworks, "transition" is a form of neocolonial discourse informed by the "universal concepts of the West's main intellectual frameworks – invariably at the expense of alternative frameworks that do not accord with Western interests" (Brohman, 1995, p. 128). Even though making Eastern Europe "more European" through disciplinary power is "not a violence that often appears on the radar screens of

www.manaraa.com

those who theorize neocolonialism, neoimperialism, or development more generally" (Dauphinée, 2003, p. 196), the prevailing neoliberal theory has a hegemonic undertow. The transition paradigm is resting on the assumptions of teleology, normalization, choicelessness, and scientific knowledge.

1. *Teleology.* "Transition" envisions a teleological movement from dictatorship to democracy and from plan to market (Kennedy, 2002; Kolodko, 2000; Lavigne, 2000). This process involves liberalization, privatization, and restructuring of economies along with democratization, institution-building, and civil society development consistent with established Western frameworks (Dauphinée, 2003, p. 191). The singular destination of "transition" has been "programmed into the conceptual navigation system" of postcommunist change, and has hardly ever been seriously challenged (Dauphinée, 2003, p. 191).

2. *Normalization.* "Transition" is conceptualized as the cure for externally defined pathological lacks which organize social transformation in postcommunism:

> The term "therapy" cannot be simply viewed as a value-free euphemism; it clearly indicates that these states have gone terribly wrong somewhere, that they are at best dysfunctional and at worst pathological, and that IMF, among other mechanisms and tools of political, economic, and social intervention will help them to become normal. (Dauphinée, 2003, p. 198)

"Transition" works through discursive construction of "anomalies" which are targeted and "corrected" by disciplinary and normalizing interventions. Postcommunism, similarly to underdevelopment, is defined as a lack – "a lack that stands out in relief against the backdrop of the 'complete' Western society" (DuBois, 1991, p. 2).

www.manaraa.com

3. *Choicelessness.* "Transition" promotes a universal form of social organization which combines Schumpeterian democracy with neo-liberal free-market economy (Mandelbaum, 1996, p. 9; Sakwa, 1999, pp. 114-116). The intellectual frameworks of neoliberal and neoclassical economic theory lend "objective" parameters for evaluation of the progression towards becoming "properly European" (Dauphinée, 2003, p. 194). Within these parameters, the requirements for economic and political "success" are regarded as value-free, "rather than as particular products of particular historically-generated subjectivities on how legitimate political communities should operate" (Dauphinée, 2003, p. 194).

4. *Scientific knowledge.* "Transition" is premised on and informed by value-neutral social science. Appeals to scientific truth validate imposition of particular arrangements of social organization as universal solutions for postsocialist states with limited regard to politics, history, or culture (Dauphinée, 2003, p. 194; Kennedy, 2002, p. 108). Neoliberal "transition" is rooted in "monoeconomics" – "the notion that there is only one body of economic theory with universally applicable concepts, just as there is only one physics or chemistry" (Brohman, 1995, p. 126). There is a power/knowledge dyad at work in the transition paradigm which is putting out a seemingly objective scientific discourse and is establishing a regime of truth about postcommunist change. In this process, certain bodies of knowledge are admitted as "true knowledge" and become the basis for policy formation while another set of knowledges "is rendered suspect, discredited, excluded, and 'disqualified'" (DuBois, 1991, p. 7).

Hegemonic "transition" is problematic for public administration in CEE countries. From the perspective of postcolonial theory, postcommunist public administration is a Western representation invented by the transition apparatus and

www.manaraa.com

reinforced by its system of power/knowledge. The "science" of public administration takes its cues from the modernist paradigm, i.e. the universal knowledge in the discipline is erected from the West whereas "the practices and local knowledge of non-Western societies are construed as particularistic and not applicable to the rest of the world" (Thadhani, 2005, p. 984). An anti-hegemonic approach aims to denaturalize the Western imagination of the state (and public administration), and demonstrates how this is constructed through globalized registers of governance and authority (Hansen & Stepputat, 2001, p. 5). Here, the study of the state and its practices should explore "the local and historically embedded ideas of normality, order, intelligible authority, and other languages of stateness" (Hansen & Stepputat, 2001, p. 9).

"Transition" has Failed

Those whose problematization of postcommunism revolves around "lacks" and "abnormalities" of forms of social organization in CEE countries have recently proclaimed the "end of transition" and successful "normalization" of postcommunist states with the entrance to the European Union of ten postsocialist states in 2004 and 2007. According to these observers and practitioners, transition is over. The new EU member-states from CEE are no longer postcommunist; rather, they are labeled more flatteringly as "emerging democracies" of Eastern Europe.

Beyond this problematization, "transition" has failed to transform these countries into prosperous economies and substantive democracies. The alleged "end of transition" has been overshadowed by the global financial crisis of the late-2000s which discredited the very institutions and policies of neo-liberal free-market capitalism the transition apparatus has been creating in CEE countries. "To countries whose governments have been told that privatization, liberalization, open markets,

www.manaraa.com

balanced budgets and the minimal state are the sure path to prosperity, the sudden economic downturn came as an unexpected and painful experience" (Peters, Pierre, & Randma-Liiv, 2011, p. 23). Twenty years after "the end of history" was proclaimed "the new democracies" found themselves in deep economic and political struggles.

Estonia and the other Baltic states of Latvia and Lithuania have long been the success cases of free market transition and experienced exceptional growth rates during the last decade (10% in Estonia, 12.2% in Latvia, and 7.8% in Lithuania in the peak-year of 2006) (Peters, Pierre, & Randma-Liiv, 2011, p. 21). Recently this trend has been radically reversed as these nations became among the first to plunge into severe economic recession predominantly due to the "transition" path they had adopted which left their economies particularly vulnerable. In 2009, the GDP declined in Estonia 16.1%, in Lithuania 20.2%, and in Latvia (being hit the hardest and bailed out by the IMF) 18.7% (Peters, Pierre, & Randma-Liiv, 2011, p. 22). The Latvian government had to cut the wages of public service workers (such as teachers) by up to a half and reduced state pensions by 10% (Fotaki, Böhm, & Hassard, 2010, p. 640). Unemployment rate reached 13.3% in Estonia, 17.1% in Latvia and 15.6% in Lithuania as of June 2009 (Peters, Pierre, & Randma-Liiv, 2011, p. 22).[7] As one commentator put it, after having been celebrated as the "poster children" of free market transition during the past decade, the macroeconomic policies of the Baltic states have become a case of "globalization gone astray" (Kattel, 2009). The post-transition reality exposes the "transition" project to be "nothing more than a niche philosophy offering an intellectual justification and ideological cover-up for illiberal and exploitative business practices, which was enabled by the collusion and/or co-

[7] For more detailed overview of the impacts of the global financial crisis in CEE countries, see Staehr (2010), Darvas (2010), Kattel (2009), IMF (2010, 2011), Gardó & Martin (2010).

www.manaraa.com

operation of 'properly democratic', elected governments" (Fotaki, Böhm, & Hassard, 2010, p. 639).

There is a whole range of conceptual baggage and ideological divisions the Eastern Europeans need to overcome before a more pragmatic "here-and-now approach" to transformational challenges can be embraced. The key obstacles include the Cold War effects on knowledge and subjectivity which are shaping the perceptions of what is "natural" or "normal." The influence of the Cold War dichotomies is felt even now as the Western self-identity is essentialized as the archetype of what it means to be "not communist" in the realms of economics, politics, as well as public administration. For two decades, "transition" has been celebrated as "the only game left in town" for arriving at a post-ideological system – a post-transition "dreamworld" of prosperity and liberation. Nevertheless, as Fotaki, Böhm, & Hassard (2010) argue, it is more of a shift from one socio-economic "dreamworld" to another – from the ideological system of state socialism to that of neoliberal capitalism – rather than a movement towards real freedom or democracy (pp. 638-639). According to them, the recent global financial crisis is among the "moments of failure of symbolization" which provide us with an opportunity for seeing neoliberal capitalist system for what it really is, and unmask the illusions and fantasies of transition. "They offer possibilities of seeing the limits of systems that portray themselves as final, claiming that they would be ending all historical struggles. Crucially, these failures also offer the possibility of radically different social systems and identities to emerge" (Fotaki, Böhm, & Hassard, 2010, p. 641).

Examining Transition as a Discourse

In this research, transition is conceptualized as a discourse or a network of terms and concepts which constitute a vocabulary for talking about and practicing

www.manaraa.com

"transition." This approach helps to reveal how the prevailing conceptualization of transition lacks complexity, is hegemonic, and has failed to uplift the former socialist states to the imaginary post-transition "dreamworld" of prosperity and freedom.

This research explores "transition" as a discursive formation; as a post-Cold War system of representations produced by the Western development establishment for inventing and managing postcommunist states politically, economically, and culturally. By researching "transition" as a discourse, one can examine the systemic ways in which the postcommunist countries have been created and controlled by the dynamics of power/knowledge of the global development apparatus.

It is important to unearth the intellectual genealogy of "transition" to understand the present social reality in CEE countries and how/why particular systems of ideas have acquired the status of "truth" or "normality." The failure of "transition" provides the urgency to examine the discourses "that have not only shaped social, economic and cultural relations in large parts of the world over the past two decades, but also have had an immense impact on the identities, subjectivities and life journeys of millions of people beyond the so-called 'economies in transition'" (Fotaki, Böhm, & Hassard, 2010, p. 647).

The aim of this research is to problematize and deconstruct the prominent view of postcommunist transition and explore its consequences for the field of public administration in Estonia. The study explores the vocabulary which constitutes public administration in transition discourse and searches for alternative representations in marginalized accounts of postcommunist transformation.

Summary

This chapter has summed up the research problem of the study. It has been discussed how the conceptual order of the transition paradigm is overly simplistic to

www.manaraa.com

adequately embrace the complexity of the political, social, economic, and cultural reality of different postsocialist states. Moreover, the assumptions of "transition" include teleology, normalization, choicelessness, and scientific knowledge which make it a hegemonic approach to political and economic change. Finally, beyond problematization of postcommunism as "lack" of Western institutions, "transition" has failed to bring about economic prosperity and substantive democracy. These problems of the prevailing transition paradigm give legitimacy and urgency for studying transition as a discourse. The next chapter turns to the foundations of discourse-theoretical research and outlines the research questions of the study.

www.manaraa.com

CHAPTER 5: DISCOURSE THEORY AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Epistemological Foundations of Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis has no sharply outlined theoretical foundations. The discursive approach has its philosophical origins in the works of Kant, Nietzsche and Marx who regarded humans as creative agents in the production of knowledge and considered knowledge, at least to a certain degree, emerging from human thought rather than external reality (Burr, 2003, p. 12; Smith, 1998, p. 138). Discourse theory is related to the transcendental turn in modern philosophy which hypothesizes that human perception depends on "the structuration of a certain meaningful field" which precedes factual immediacy and, at least in part, determines our thoughts and actions (Laclau, 1993, p. 431).

Discourse theory in the social sciences has an ambiguous epistemological status. There are a variety of methods of analysis referred to as discourse analysis linked to different research traditions. For example, Burr (2003) distinguishes between conversation analysis, discursive psychology, interpretive repertoires and Foucauldian discourse analysis (p. 26). Wetherell, Taylor, & Yates (2001) draw upon six discourse traditions: conversation analysis and ethnomethodology, interactional sociolinguistics and the ethnography of communication, discursive psychology, critical discourse analysis and critical linguistics, Bakhtinian research, and Foucauldian research (p. 6). Similarly Howarth (2000) explains how discourse is a contested concept in the social sciences and its meaning is relative to different theoretical systems in which it is embedded including the positivistic view of discourse, realistic accounts of discourse, Marxist view of discourse, Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, and post-structuralist and post-Marxist views of discourse (pp. 3-4). Fairclough (1992) is attempting to develop a social theory of language by drawing together methods of

www.manaraa.com

analysis from linguistics (vocabulary, semantics, grammar), language studies, and social and political thought (Antonio Gramsci, Louis Althusser, Michel Foucault, Jürgen Habermas and Anthony Giddens) (see also Fairclough 1995, 2001b).

Due to this plurality of approaches, discourse theory has been criticized for "methodological anarchism" and "epistemological irrationalism" (Howarth, 2000, p. 13). Most importantly, what is meant by discourse analysis depends on the theoretical and research orientation of the particular writer (Burr, 2003, p. 24).

Social constructionism. Nevertheless, various approaches outlined above tend to share some "family resemblances" when it comes to assumptions about culture, society, and politics. What these approaches have in common is what could be referred to as social constructionism (Burr, 2003; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). According to Berger and Luckmann's *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966), the social world is created and maintained through social practices. Social reality is constructed by individual interpretations with reference to our intersubjectivity, i.e. a body of collectively shared meaning that arises through social interaction. Berger and Luckmann demonstrate how the individuals socially construct the world through the processes of externalization, objectivation, and internalization (Burr, 2003, p. 13). The essence of social constructionism is that "the things we take for granted as given, fixed and immutable, whether in ourselves or in the phenomena we experience, can upon inspection be found to be socially derived and socially maintained" (Burr, 2003, p. 45). Social constructionists argue that human beings who share meanings create and perpetuate a certain version of social reality.

Even though there is no one feature that could be used to identify all social constructionist approaches, there are at least four overarching philosophical assumptions shared by most discursive-theoretical research traditions. Drawing on the

www.manaraa.com

accounts of Burr (2003), Gergen (1985), and Phillips & Jørgensen (2002), the shared foundations of social constructionism are as follows. First, social constructionists take a critical approach to taken-for-granted knowledge (Burr, 2003, p. 2; Gergen, 1985, pp. 266-267; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p. 5). They reject the correspondence theory of truth or the idea that reality is available through direct experience. Rather, we engage with the world through pre-existing categories of thought. Our knowledge of the world is never a set of objective truths. Second, social constructionism emphasizes historical and cultural specificity meaning that understanding is culturally and historically relative (Burr, 2003, p. 3; Gergen, 1985, p. 267; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p. 5). Adherents to this view embrace the anti-foundationalist position on knowledge and argue there is no overarching, meta-theoretical base for deciding about universal truths. As the result, all knowledge is contingent. Third, social constructionists argue there is a link between knowledge and social processes (Burr, 2003, p. 4; Gergen, 1985, p. 268; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p. 5). Knowledge emerges as the result of social interaction. People construct knowledge intersubjectively through the daily interactions. Finally, social constructionists suggest there is a link between knowledge and social action. Particular worldviews make some actions permissible while others unthinkable (Burr, 2003, p. 5, Gergen, 1985, pp. 268-269; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p. 6). Since our constructions of the world are intertwined with power relations, different descriptions of the world lead to different social actions.

The linguistic turn in social sciences. Closely related to social constructionism are notions of culture, language, and discourse which are all ways of thinking about representation, i.e. ways of producing meaning (Smith, 1998, p. 231). The linguistic turn in social sciences changed the attitudes toward language. Language

www.manaraa.com

began to be seen as a general term for the practices of signification. The Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (*Course in General Linguistics*, 1986) prompted investigation into the structure of language which led to language being seen as having a privileged role in the construction and circulation of meaning (Alvesson, 2002, pp. 63-89; Hall, 1997, p. 220; Howarth, 2000, p. 16). The roots of the linguistic turn, however, can be traced back to three broad philosophical traditions: German tradition of hermeneutics (Johann Gottfried Herder, Johann Georg Hamann, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Martin Heidegger, Hans-Georg Gadamer, Jürgen Habermas), French structuralism and post-structuralism (Ferdinand de Saussure, Roland Barthes, Jacques Derrida), and Anglo-American analytic and post-analytic philosophy (most importantly Richard Rorty) (Piirimäe, 2011, p. 34).

The premise of the linguistic turn is a non-representational approach to language, meaning that words do not mirror the things to which they refer (Alvesson, 2002, pp. 48-50; Smith, 1998, p. 238). Differently from the denotative use of language in scientific thought, those concerned with language do not regard it as a transparent medium (Burr, 2003, p. 48). Instead they see the relationship between language and so-called "objective" reality reversed: language is not subordinate to the world of fact, but rather, language brings facts into being (Hall, 1997, p. 221). A key argument that underlies the linguistic turn is that "the meaning of any object resides not within that object itself but is a product of how that object is socially constructed through language and representation" (Hall, 1997, p. 221). There is no fixed or given "nature" or "essence" of things. Meaning arises from classifying-systems which are used in each act of perception. These meaning-systems categorize objects and give them meaning by distinguishing them from other objects (Hall, 1997, p. 221).

www.manaraa.com

Language, thus, is at the heart of the construction process which is why the analysis of language is one of the principal methods of social constructionist research (Burr, 2003, p. 24). "Language is thus central to the production of objects, in that it provides the social and historical distinctions that provide unity and difference" (Alvesson, 2002, p. 53). Instead of just describing the world, our use of language is a form of action through which the world gets constructed (Burr, 2003, p. 8).

Micro and macro approaches to discourse. The term "discourse analysis" is confusingly applied to a variety of different techniques concerned with investigation of language use. For example, traditions of discourse analysis may include speech act theory and pragmatics, conversation analysis (CA), discursive psychology, the ethnography of communication, interactional sociolinguistics, narrative analysis, and critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Jaworski & Coupland, 1999, pp. 14-35). Depending on their research focus, discourse analysts may adopt either "micro" or "macro" approaches to discourses. These perspectives tend to be related to the fields of social psychology and post-structuralism respectively (Burr, 2003, p. 21; Smith, 1998, pp. 246-260).

The micro approach focuses on specific instances of language use in social interaction whereas the macro approach is concerned with large-scale discourses or linguistic and social structures that frame our social life (Burr, 2003, pp. 20-21; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, pp. 6-8). Thus, discursive psychologists refer to discourse as "situated use of language in social interactions" (Burr, 2003, p. 62). Post-structuralists such as Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Ernesto Laclua and Chantal Mouffe, on the other hand, regard discourses as "symbolic systems" or "social orders" and the task of discourse analysis as tracing the origins of their construction (Howarth, 2000, p. 5). Besides examining the role of language in the processes of signification

www.manaraa.com

and meaning-making, macro social constructionists are first and foremost interested in how the constructive force of language is linked to material structures, social practices, and institutions (Burr, 2003, p. 22). In other words, while micro approaches look at isolated instances of language use, macro approaches examine language in the broader socio-political context of power relations and institutional practices.

Structural analysis of language. Further division within the macro theories of discourse differentiates between those which rely on the Saussurean notion of the sign in their analytic strategies and those that are not related to the field of structural linguistics (Laclau, 1993, p. 431). The former include, most importantly, Derrida's deconstructionism (1976; 1978) and Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory (1985) while the latter are represented by the work of Michel Foucault. Discourse analysis that relies on structural analysis of language is premised on Saussurean structural linguistics and the subsequent transformations in post-structuralism.

At the heart of Saussure's program is his theory of the sign (Saussure, 1986). Based on his account, language is a system of signs made up of linguistic rules (*langue*) which individuals draw on in their acts of speaking (*parole*) (Howarth, 2000, pp. 18-19). Saussure distinguishes between two parts of a sign and refers to them as the "signifier" (the spoken sound or the medium) and the "signified" (the concept or the idea the signifier designates) (Alvesson, 2002, p. 52; Burr, 2003, p. 50; Howarth, 2000, p. 19). His major contribution comes with his argument that the relationship between the signifier and the signified is an arbitrary one. What he is saying is that there is no natural relationship between concepts and the signifiers we use to refer to them. "So when Saussure talks of the arbitrary linking of signifiers to signifieds, he is saying that, with the aid of language, we have divided up our world into arbitrary categories" (Burr, 2003, p. 51).

www.manaraa.com

The underlying idea of the structuralist tradition is that language determines the categories which divide up our experience of the world (Burr, 2003, p. 50). According to Laclau (1993), Saussurean structural linguistics is organized around two principles. First, language constitutes a system in which there are no positive terms, only differences. For example, to understand the term "mother" we need to understand the related terms "father", "daughter", "son" etc. Similarly, the signifier "professional" only gains its meaning in relation to other signifiers such as "manual worker" and "trader" (Burr, 2003, p. 52). Second, language is a *form* and not *substance*, "that is, that each element of the system is exclusively defined by the rules of its combinations and substitutions with the other elements" (Laclau, 1993, p. 432).

Thus, structuralists advance a relational (anti-nominalist) conception of language based on which, words do not function as labels for pre-given objects, but rather meaning arises from the relations between different elements of a system of signs (Howarth, 2000, p. 10, pp. 16-24). There is no correlation between words and things; meaning depends on the differences and oppositions between them. As Burr (2003) explains, "The idea of making a division between things lies in the rules you use to say what makes them different from each other. Any category or concept can only ultimately be described by referring to yet other categories or concepts from which it is different" (p. 52). Thus, our conceptual landscape is bounded by "the system of signifiers and signifieds and their meanings as constituted in the differences between them" (Burr, 2003, p. 52).

The central arguments of the structuralist tradition have been extended and reformulated in post-structuralism (Alvesson, 2002, p. 30; Burr, 2003, pp. 52-56; Howarth, 2000, pp. 35-47; Laclau, 1993, p. 21). Post-structuralism does not reject the structuralist approach entirely but rather addresses its criticisms and adds to its

www.manaraa.com

program. The most important revision of post-structuralism to classical structuralism has been its challenge of the notion of closed totality (Laclau, 1993, p. 21). Despite the arbitrary nature of the relationship between signifiers and signified, Saussure fixes the meaning of signs. Poststructuralists, however, argue meanings are never fixed, always contestable and temporary (Burr, 2003, p. 53). Language is a site of variability, contestation, and possible conflict over an infinite number of possible meanings or constructions (Burr, 2003, pp. 54-56).

Theoretical Framework of the Study

This research is grounded in the macro approach to discourse analysis. I am drawing on critical discourse analysis (CDA), Foucauldian discourse analysis, and deconstructionism which tend to be lumped together under the broad umbrella of post-structuralism (Burr, 2003; Smith, 1998). Alvesson (2002, pp. 47-48) has summed up five ideas which are common to postmodern or poststructuralist research perspective. First, poststructuralist research recognizes the constitutive power of language and focuses on discourse as its central object of inquiry. Second, poststructuralists operate with the idea of the decentered subject and emphasize the discursive construction of the individual instead of the "essentialistic" understanding of people. Third, postmodernism rejects the representational view of language as a transparent medium of meaning. Fourth, postmodern philosophy is antifoundational and denies grand narratives as the basis for truth claims. Finally, postmodern researchers are concerned with the knowledge-power connection and assume the impossibility of separating power from knowledge. Consistent with these positions, my adopted research perspective is skeptical about ideals such as rationality, order, certainty, and stable meaning and, instead, relies on ambivalence, variation, and fragmentation as guidelines for understanding the social world (Alvesson, 2002, p. 27). Instead of

www.manaraa.com

setting out to discover positive knowledge, my aim is "to attempt to open up the indeterminacy that modern social science, everyday conceptions, routines and practices have closed off" (Alvesson, 2002, p. 58).

Critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis (often abbreviated to CDA) is a broad movement in discourse analysis which investigates language use in social context. CDA is concerned with four common themes: discourse, critique, power, and ideology (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Critical discourse analysis regards discourse as "language use in speech and writing" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258). Moreover, discourse is viewed as a form of "social practice" which implies a dialectical relationship between a discursive event and the social and institutional structures that frame it (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258; Fairclough, 1992, pp. 63-64; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p. 61). Discourse is a form of action which constructs the world in meaning. According to Fairclough (1992), "Discourse is a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning" (p. 64).

Critical discourse analysis is "critical" in the sense that its goal is to reveal how discursive practices, i.e. production and consumption of texts, maintain the social world, including unequal relations of power (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p. 63). CDA is "a highly context-sensitive, democratic approach which takes an ethical stance on social issues with the aim of improving society" (Huckin, 1997, p. 78). Critical discourse analysts are openly normative; they are committed to social change and emancipation of oppressed social groups (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p. 64; Van Dijk, 1993, pp. 249-250).

Moreover, CDA aims at "revealing structures of power and unmasking ideologies" as manifested in language (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 8). Critical

www.manaraa.com

discourse analysts examine how discourses have ideological effects, i.e. discursive practices produce and reproduce unequal power relations between social groups (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p. 63; Wodak, 2001, p. 2). However, CDA does not operate with the Marxian totalitarian type of ideology; rather it is looking for "hidden and latent type of everyday beliefs" which are often disguised in language use and largely unchallenged (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 8). CDA, thus, is "fundamentally interested in analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 10).

Problematization. In this broader movement of CDA, my research draws most importantly on Foucauldian discourse analysis and utilizes his notion of "problematization" as one of the central theoretical concepts. Foucault's problematization is a way of applying discourse theory to understand how particular representations of issues have been constructed and normalized (Howarth, 2000, p. 135). According to Foucault (1985), the task of a history of thought is "to define the conditions in which human beings 'problematize' what they are, what they do, and the world in which they live" (p. 10). Instead of analyzing ideas, behaviors, or ideologies, we should explore "the *problematizations* through which being offers itself to be, necessarily, thought – and the *practices* on the basis of which these problematizations are formed" (Foucault, 1985, p. 11). Problematization is thinking in terms of problems and solutions. It seeks to demonstrate how various solutions to a set of difficulties or obstacles are made possible by the way the problem is posed in the first place (Campbell, 1998, p. x; Rabinow, 1984, p. 389). Different forms of problematization of the same set of challenges result in different forms of solutions. Problematization,

www.manaraa.com

thus, "defines the elements that will constitute what the different solutions attempt to respond to" (Rabinow, 1984, p. 389).

To rediscover what has made the present solutions possible, problematization combines archaeological and genealogical discourse analysis. In the Foucauldian tradition, the term discourse encompasses more than merely the use of spoken and written language in a social context. Instead, discourse is understood in the sense of "a line of thinking about and the making of truth claims about certain segments of the world" (Alvesson, 2002, p. 177), or as "institutionalized ideas or reasoning patterns with a material practice referent and with power to define and structure part of social reality" (Alvesson, 2002, p. 68). The Foucauldian notion of discourse is concerned with the relationship between discourse, subjectivity, practices, and material conditions and is, thus, not exclusively focused on language (Hall, 2001, p. 78; Willig, 2001, p. 107). Rather, "Foucault is interested in questions of what discourse *does* rather than what it *means*" (Prichard, Jones, & Stablein, 2004, p. 222). Discourse, in the Foucauldian sense then, is a system of representation or a group of statements that provides a language for talking about a particular topic and producing knowledge about that topic (Alvesson, 2002, pp. 48-49; Hall, 1997, p. 222; Hall, 2001, p. 72; Smith, 1998, p. 254). Moreover, discourse is constitutive, i.e. it produces the objects of our knowledge, provides a set of rules that allow articulation of certain statements, and constructs our ways-of-being in the world (Burr, 2003, p. 169; Hall, 2001, p. 72; Parker, 1992, p. 5; Sarup, 1993, p. 64; Willig, 2001, p. 107). According to Foucault (2011), discourses are not just groups of signs, but "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (p. 54). Also, discourses are connected to institutional and social practices which regulate our behavior (Burr, 2003, p. 75; Willig, 2001, p. 107). There is a dialectical relationship between discourses and social

www.manaraa.com

structures in which discourses legitimate existing institutional structures while the latter validate the discourses (Willig, 2001, p. 107).

Foucault (1985) distinguishes three dimensions of discourse: the forms of knowledge that refer to it, the systems of power that regulate its practice, and the forms of subjectivity advanced by the discourse (p. 4). Studying discourse "archaeologically" means studying the rules that structure discourse and make up areas of knowledge (Fairclough, 1992, p. 39; Howarth, 2000, p. 49). The archaeological analysis of statements questions not so much their meaning, but rather their mode of existence – "what it means to them to have appeared when and where they did – they and no others" (Foucault, 2011, p. 123). As Foucault writes in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (2011), the pre-existing forms of continuity do not come about themselves, but are "always the result of a construction the rules of which must be known, and the justifications of which must be scrutinized" (p. 28). The purpose of archaeology is to describe discursive formations or, in other words, to define "discourses as practices obeying certain rules" (Foucault, 2011, p. 155). Moreover, the task of an archaeological researcher is to study "the rules that determine which statements are accepted as meaningful and true in a particular historical epoch" (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p. 12).

Foucault's "genealogy," on the other hand, is focused on the relationship between knowledge and power. It examines the emergence of discursive formations in the context of power relations and systems of domination (Fairclough, 1992, p. 39; Howarth, 2000, p. 49). Genealogy is a form of critique that is concerned with unearthing subjugated knowledges, and explaining the world and its institutions as the products of power/knowledge practices (Alvesson, 2002, p. 60; Sarup, 1993, p. 59). As Dreyfus and Rabinow (1982) explain, "For the genealogist there are no fixed

www.manaraa.com

essences, no underlying laws, no metaphysical finalities. Genealogy seeks out discontinuities where others found continuous development. It finds recurrences and play where others found progress and seriousness. It records the past of mankind to unmask the solemn hymns of progress" (p. 106). Problematization synthesizes Foucault's archaeological and genealogical forms of discourse analysis. The archaeological dimension enables "to examine the forms themselves" while genealogy makes it possible "to analyze their formation out of the practices and the modifications undergone by the latter" (Foucault, 1985, p. 12).

Deconstruction. Besides problematization, my research also relies on the philosophical approach of deconstruction. Deconstruction is a postmodern approach to analysis which seeks to demonstrate how the inner structural logic of texts attempts to close off meaning. Deconstructionists are looking for contradictions, the underlying assumptions and hidden meanings that texts are building on in order to point to the fragility of positive statements (Alvesson, 2002, p. 178; Howarth, 2000, p. 135; Kilduff & Kelemen, 2004, p. 260). Deconstruction, similarly to problematization, is concerned with unpacking categories which impose order on the world and function as "mechanisms for power and control fixating our ways of seeing" (Alvesson, 2002, p. 90). As Alvesson (2002) explains, categories "are not so much sources of misunderstandings as basic ingredients in forms of understanding that are insufficiently problematized and give too little space for uncertainty and variation" (Alvesson, 2002, p. 90). The work of deconstructionists is opening up and destabilizing the social world through taking those categories apart.

Deconstruction critiques the ideal of representation and seeks to demonstrate how language works not as a mirror image of objects, but rather as a system of distinction in which meaning resides in difference. Deconstructionists emphasize the

www.manaraa.com

constructive power of language to produce the social world through the structures of language (Burr, 2003, pp. 17-18). Most importantly, the deconstructor's method involves unpacking of thought-systems that rely on a foundation or a first principle. "First principles are often defined by what they exclude, by a sort of 'binary opposition' to other concepts. These principles and their implied 'binary opposites' can always be deconstructed" (Sarup, 1993, p. 37). Binary oppositions, such as "private/public, masculine/feminine, same/other, rational/irrational, true/false, central/peripheral, etc." function similarly to ideologies in the sense that they provide us with a way of seeing (Sarup, 1993, pp. 50-51). Deconstructive analysis reveals how the first term in these oppositions, the "privileged" one, depends on its identity on suppressing or marginalizing the other. "When the suppressed term is given value the dependency of the positive term on the negative is shown and a third term is recovered, which shows a way of world making that is not dependent on the opposition of the first two" (Alvesson, 2002, p. 59).

Deconstructionists are sometimes criticized for not paying attention to social effects of texts (Alvesson, 2002, p. 73). Even though compared to Foucauldian analysis, deconstruction does not move outside the text, it can be used for challenging the political status quo. Deconstruction could be considered as "ultimately a political practice, an attempt to dismantle the logic by which a particular system of thought and, behind that, a whole system of political structures and social institutions maintains its force" (Sarup, 1993, p. 54). By introducing undecidability to the theories with which we make sense of the world "deconstruction is able gradually to shift the structures within which we operate" (Sarup, 1993, p. 55).

The practice of deconstruction cannot be carried out based on any formula or method. It is closely related to and dependent on what the text has to offer. However,

www.manaraa.com

in most cases the deconstructive process involves paying attention to "all claims to scientific truth, to obvious principles, to matters too evident to be debated, to arguments so patently clear to everyone that they are relegated to mere footnotes, to gaps in logic, to missing assumptions, and to avoided conclusions. In short, the analyst is interested in what is absent from the text as much as what is present in the text" (Kilduff & Kelemen, 2004, p. 262).

Problematization and deconstruction, the two central theoretical constructs on which my research will build, could be regarded as parts of the ethos of defamiliarization. The idea of research as defamiliarization, according to Alvesson (2002), aims to challenge the dominant categories of thought and question self-evident truths (p. 91). "Instead of establishing ideas and beliefs being adapted and confirmed, they are disrupted. Taken-for-granted, commonsensical ideas are challenged. The well known, natural and self-evident should be approached in a manner that makes it appear strange, arbitrary and unfamiliar" (Alvesson, 2002, p. 99).

Research Questions

The purpose of this research is to explore the role of public administration in postcommunist social change in Estonia. There are three goals this study aims to accomplish: (1) to examine the emergence of transition discourse after the collapse of the communist regime; (2) to investigate the notion of "transition" and its dimensions; and (3) to explore how the apparatus of transition functions in the field of public administration in Estonia.

The study will address the following primary research question: *What is the role of public administration in postcommunist social change in Estonia?* The secondary research questions are as follows.

www.manaraa.com

Research question #1. *What is the prevailing problematization of postcommunist social change in Estonia? How has the dominant representation of postcommunist transition been constructed and normalized through forms of knowledge, types of power, and modes of subjectivity?*

This research is an exercise in tracing the history of the present. Consistent with the Foucauldian analysis, it is assumed "[w]e have no recourse to objective laws, no recourse to pure subjectivity, no recourse to totalizations of theory. We have only the cultural practices which have made us what we are. To know what that is, we have to grapple with the history of the present" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, pp. 203-204).

The first research question serves to clarify how postcommunism has been problematized in Estonia, i.e. which representations of issues related to postcommunist social change have been constructed and normalized? As discussed in Chapter 2, "transition" has emerged as the dominant discursive regime in Central and Eastern Europe. The aim of the question is to explore to what extent this discursive formation has been prevalent in the case of Estonia. How and why did particular statements about postcommunist social change come into existence in Estonia and no other?

Moreover, the first research question aims to investigate how the current social reality in the former socialist state of Estonia is a product of power/knowledge practices. The question scrutinizes the asymmetries of power in the production and consumption of texts about postcommunism, describes lines of thinking which support truth claims about postcommunist social change, and examines how discourses shape individuals' identity in the former socialist space.

www.manaraa.com

Research question #2. *How is public administration constituted in postcommunist transition discourse in Estonia? How does public administration constitute the transition discourse? What are the side-effects of its role in society?*

The second research question is concerned with how language use influences and is influenced by structures of social institutions. As discussed above in Chapter 5, the relationship between discourses and social institutions is dialectical. Language is a form of action that constructs the world while social-institutional practices legitimize and validate discourses. In this research I am concerned with how public administration in Estonia influences and is influenced by the ways we talk about postcommunist transition.

By treating public administration as a discursive object, this research will explore the discursive regimes which have given rise to the current institutions. To delimit the various discourses of public administration, the following questions will be posed: What are the various discursive constructions of public administration? What are the lines of thinking which have constituted public administration? What are the institutionalized ideas or reasoning patterns prevailing in the field of public administration?

This study is also concerned with the social and material effects of discourses and explores the impacts of systems of symbolization on the role of public administration in society. As emphasized in Chapter 5, systems of thought are related to systems of political structures and social institutions. The aim of the second research question, thus, is to relate the constructive force of language to material structures of public administration in Estonia.

www.manaraa.com

Research question #3. *What are the alternative problematizations of postcommunist social change? What are the representations of public administration inherent in marginalized accounts of postcommunist transformation?*

The third research question is concerned with finding the traces of alternative solutions to the challenges of postcommunist social change compared to the prevailing discursive regime. Which discursive formations along with which forms of knowledge, types of power, and modes of subjectivity did appear but never had a chance to materialize in the course of postcommunist social transformation? The aim is to identify alternative discursive constructions of postcommunist public administration and unearth subjugated knowledges. This question serves to discover what kind of groups of statements about what kinds of public administration remain there awaiting for the moment when they might be of use.

Summary

This chapter has constructed a theoretical framework for the study and outlined the research questions to be examined. This research is grounded in the poststructuralist research tradition and is inspired by the linguistic turn in social sciences. It utilizes critical discourse analysis (CDA), Foucauldian discourse analysis, and deconstructionism to address the primary research question: *What is the role of public administration in postcommunist social change in Estonia?* Investigation of this issue is driven by CDA's concern with the relations between discourse, critique, power, and ideology, Foucault's notion of "problematization," and deconstructive analysis of binary oppositions. The methodological strategy for data collection and analysis is explained in the subsequent chapter.

www.manaraa.com

CHAPTER 6: METHODOLOGY

The Case of Estonia

This research project utilizes the single-country case study design and collects and analyzes qualitative data (Berg, 2009, pp. 317-337; Creswell, 1998; Yin, 2002, 2003). This research makes a contribution to the understanding of the role of public administration in postcommunist transition in Estonia by exploring the implementation of the administrative capacity building measure of European Union (EU) structural assistance funding in the periods 2004-2006 and 2007-2013.

Case study design. A case study is an appropriate research design for this project since it permits detailed examination of one particular setting. Case study, according to Berg's (2009) definition, is "a method involving systematically gathering enough information about a particular person, social setting, event, or group to permit the researcher to effectively understand how the subject operates or functions" (p. 317). Based on Yin (2003), the case study method is appropriate when researchers need "(a) to define research topics broadly and not narrowly, (b) to cover contextual or complex multivariate conditions and not just isolated variables, and (c) rely on multiple and not singular sources of evidence" (p. xi). Case study design is fitting for research projects, such as this one, which do not seek universals, but rather a holistic, rich understanding of the context under investigation (Berg, 2009, pp. 318-319; Willis, 2007, p. 240). The proposed research will follow an intrinsic rather than an instrumental case study design with descriptive-exploratory rather than explanatory purposes (Berg, 2009, pp. 326-327; Silverman & Marvasti, 2008, p. 164). Consistent with the assumptions of the intrinsic case study, this research seeks rich understanding of the context by a detailed investigation of one setting, rather than achieving a generalizable theoretical explanation.

www.manaraa.com

Estonia is a small democratic parliamentary republic in Eastern Europe (population 1.3 million, area 45 227 sq km). Throughout its history the nation has endured the dominance of a variety of occupying forces including the countries of Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Russia, and recently, the Soviet Union. In between occupations, there have been two periods of independent statehood 1918-1940 and 1991 to the present (for more about Estonia see www.estonica.org). Under the communist regime, the state institutions of the Republic of Estonia were dismantled and replaced by Soviet bureaucracy. The Soviet administrative system was heavily politicized and operated within the confines of strict ideological control (Randma, 2001; Sootla & Roots, 1999). The state functioned as the implementation apparatus for the Communist Party based on the system of *nomenklatura* or corps of officials loyal to the party. All sectors of society, including economic production, were subjugated to total party control and surveillance.

Since regaining its independence on August 20, 1991 Estonia has built up its state institutions virtually from scratch. Early reforms focused on resolving the most immediate issues related to setting up democratic state structures and decision-making procedures while later initiatives were mostly focused on an NPM-style modernization of management (Tõnnisson & Randma-Liiv, 2008). Despite the rather inconsistent and sporadic nature of administrative reforms, the underlying theme behind government initiatives has been decreasing the role of the state (Tõnnisson & Randma-Liiv, 2008). From the very beginning of transition, Estonia has earnestly followed Chicago-School style neoliberal reform policies and maintained strict fiscal discipline even in the face of severe economic conditions. It has been one of the most diligent adopters of transition reforms and EU conditionality criteria within the CEE. Estonia has been regarded as one of the "success" cases among postcommunist countries and an

www.manaraa.com

exemplar of free-market transition (e.g. CNN, 2012). The country, thus, represents an ideal setting for researching how the dominant paradigm in postcommunist transition has been constructed and whether it leaves room for alternatives. Estonia may be regarded as an *extreme* or *critical case* (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 230) for investigating postcommunist transition. Due to the devoted implementation of neoliberal reforms, Estonia is one of the "least likely" settings for viable alternative discourses of postcommunist social change.

EU's structural assistance for administrative capacity. The focal point for this research is the implementation of the administrative capacity building measures that were part of the European Union (EU) structural assistance to Estonia in the periods of 2004-2006 and 2007-2013. Since the notion of administrative capacity entered the public administration development discourse in Estonia with the Europeanization process, the EU measure is most appropriate organizing mechanism for data collection for this study. Still, this research does not aim to evaluate the capacity building initiatives within this timeframe, but rather uses the EU's administrative capacity building theme for concentrating the process of corpus-construction and interviewing for this study as discussed below. The researcher is interested in texts feeding into and feeding out of the 2004-2006 and 2007-2013 documents for grasping the various discourses of public administration during the pre-accession as well as membership years.

The aim of EU's structural support is to reduce the disparities between the levels of social and economic development of its various regions with the overall objective of enhancing the Union's competitiveness in the world economy. The development of public administration receives assistance from the European Social Fund (ESF). The 2004-2006 measure "1.4. Enhancing Administrative Capacity"

www.manaraa.com

supports development of public administration in Estonia. Its primary aim is the development of professional competence of civil servants and improvement of management quality in central government institutions (including county governments), municipalities and their associations (Estonian Public Service Web Portal, n.d.). Based on the rationale of the measure, increasing administrative capacity depends on acquiring knowledge and skills in "policy formulation and evaluation, planning, general management, human resources management, financial management, electronic records management and other areas" (Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004, p. 212). The measure outlines three specific objectives for the ESF-supported projects: "to increase professional skills in the public administration, to ensure sustainable and high quality public service training system, and to improve management quality in the public administration by supporting management capacity building" (Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004, p. 211).

In the 2007-2013 programming period the priority axis "5. Enhancing Administrative Capacity" targets public sector organizations and, more recently includes, non-governmental organizations. The aim is to ensure an increase in administrative capacity of public sector organizations as well as its partners. In the Operational Programme an explicit choice has been made by the government to develop the capacity of non-governmental organizations and civil society in general:

> From the standpoint of administrative capacity it is important that NGOs (incl. social partners) are strong partners for the public sector, thus enabling a better delegation of public services. This means that supporting the institutional development of Estonian non-profit associations is necessary – through information provision and making available counselling and training. (Republic of Estonia, May, 2012, p. 74).

With this broader target group for administrative capacity building the objectives of the administrative development axis include the following: (1) Raising

www.manaraa.com

the level of the strategic planning and management capability of public sector organisations, NGOs and social partners; (2) Developing better legislation through raising the ability of impact assessment of legal acts and evaluation of administrative burden; (3) Raising professionalism of officials in state and local government institutions, of employees in agencies, NGO-s and social partners; (4) Developing a high-quality and sustainable training system for public sector workers; (5) Developing the implementation capacity of NGOs (incl. social partners) to carry out the necessary activities for strategic planning and its implementation on a county level (Republic of Estonia, May, 2010, pp. 139-141).

The implementation and management of EU support is carried out by various authorities, most importantly, the Ministry of Finance as the primary managing authority, leading ministries of various operational programs, and a number of intermediate bodies responsible for organizing assistance application and communicating with the final beneficiaries (for a more detailed overview of public governance arrangements in Estonia see for example OECD, 2011a, pp. 97-113; Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007).

Data Collection

The methodological strategy for this research project is to carry out a discourse analysis of a representative sample of texts pertaining to public administration in postcommunist transition in Estonia (see conceptual map of research in Appendix A). The notion of "texts" in discourse-theoretical research is slightly different from the conventional understanding of the term and encompasses "all tissues of meaning" (Parker, 1992, p. 6). Discourse theorists regard as texts not only language-based systems of signification, but anything through which meaning can be produced, including gardens, cities, films, cartoons, computer games etc. which could be "read"

www.manaraa.com

as texts (Parker & The Bolton Discourse Network, 1999; Smith, 1998, p. 252). "Speech, writing, non-verbal behaviour, Braille, Morse code, semaphore, runes, advertisements, fashion systems, stained glass, architecture, tarot cards and bus tickets are all forms of text" (Parker, 1992, p. 7).

This research utilized two sources of data for building a corpus of texts for analysis: documents and interviews. The "population" or "universe of possible texts" included policy documents, legislative acts, "white papers" as well as country reports and other relevant programming and evaluation documents produced by the Estonian government and the major international organizations (most importantly the EU, World Bank, IMF, EBRD, UNDP, OECD) active in Estonia at different times since the beginning of postcommunist transition in 1991.

A representative sample of the "universe of discourse" was arrived at by utilizing "cyclical corpus-building" (Bauer & Aarts, 2000, pp. 19-37; Mautner, 2008, p. 35). "Corpus construction" is a principle for qualitative data collection; an alternative to the sampling rationale which is often not appropriate for textual and qualitative research (Bauer & Aarts, 2000, p. 19). The technique was first developed in the field of linguistics and means systematic selection of some data to characterize the whole by utilizing a stepwise procedure: "(a) to select preliminarily, (b) to analyse this variety, (c) to extend the corpus of data until no additional variety can be detected" (Bauer & Aarts, 2000, p. 31). Following from this, the researcher began by selecting a small but relevant body of texts and conducted an analysis of the preliminary corpus. The initial sample consisted of documents related to the EU's administrative capacity building measure, and the development of public administration during the postcommunist period produced by domestic as well as international actors. The selection criterion applied was the occurrence of the words

www.manaraa.com

"administrative capacity"/"haldussuutlikkus" or "administrative reform"/"haldusreform" in the texts which were collected. The preliminary corpus included 10 documents (6-378 pages in length) and spanned across the time period from 1998 to 2009. The initial corpus was assembled in May, 2012. The results of the preliminary corpus analysis are summed up in Appendix B.[8]

On the basis of these findings, more texts were selected and added to the corpus. More material was added to the collection of texts until, based on the law of diminishing returns, new data no longer yielded new representations (Mautner, 2008, p. 35). The standard for designing a successive corpus was to maximize internal variety of discursive dynamics across external registers of the population, meaning that the researcher aimed at finding varieties of representations of public administration across a range of categories which segmented the social space such as national/international, EU/non-EU, pre-accession/post-accession, public/private/non-profit, academic/policy-oriented etc. (Bauer & Aarts, 2000, pp. 31-32). The process continued until the corpus reached its point of "saturation," i.e. the researcher kept finding more of the same despite the inclusion of new strata (Bauer & Aarts, 2000, p. 34). Differently from sampling, however, the goal was not to find correlations between the known categories segmenting the population and the unknown discourses, but rather to maximize the variety of representations of an issue. As Bauer and Aarts (2000) warn, "corpus construction helps typifying unknown representations, while by contrast representative sampling describes the distribution of already known representations in society. Both rationales need to be distinguished with care in order to avoid confusion and false conclusions" (p. 33). Consistent with the aims of this study, the researcher was concerned with not ignoring the "rare events" which might

[8] The four stages of discourse analysis are explained below and in Appendix E.

www.manaraa.com

have indicated traces of marginalized discourses. The cyclical process of corpus design allowed implementation of successive corrections for identifying biases and achieving a "balanced corpus" (Bauer & Aarts, 2000, p. 29). The size of the final corpus was 154 documents (2-402 pages in length) which covered the time period from 1992 to 2012. The final collection of texts included government policy papers; government reform strategies; policy evaluation and analysis reports; opinion articles by public officials, experts, and non-governmental actors; programming documents, monitoring reports, country studies, and working papers from the World Bank, IMF, EBRD, OECD, and the European Union; web-page contents of government departments; and transcripts of interviews. The corpus was assembled in the course of two cycles of data collection: the first cycle in May-June, 2012, and the second cycle in June-July, 2012.

Interviews were the second data collection technique used for this study (Kvale, 1996; Rubin & Rubin, 2005; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In-depth interviews were conducted with current and former state and local government officials, academics, and representatives of non-governmental organizations involved in the implementation of the EU's administrative capacity measure and/or development of public administration in Estonia. In total 35 individuals were invited to participate in the research out of whom 14 individuals agreed to be interviewed for the study (see Appendix C for e-mail text used for recruiting participants from March to May, 2012).

The research participants included 5 state officials, 3 local government representatives, 3 academics, and 3 leaders of NGOs. Interviewees for the study were selected based on "purposeful selection" (Maxwell, 2005, p. 88). This is a strategy in which "particular settings, persons, or activities are selected deliberately in order to provide information that can't be gotten as well from other choices" (Maxwell, 2005,

www.manaraa.com

p. 88). Interviewees were purposefully selected based on their role in, or knowledge of, the implementation of the EU support program and/or development of public administration during the postcommunist period.

In-person interviews were conducted during the three-month period from March to May, 2012 in Estonia. Interviews were semi-structured and used open-ended questions (Berg, 2009, p. 104). Interviewing involved implementation of a flexible interview protocol that contained a number of predetermined questions and topics to be asked of each interviewee, but the interviewer was allowed to probe beyond the standardized questions and pursue emerging themes (Berg, 2009, p. 107; Willis, 2007, p. 245). The length of the interviews ranged from 43 minutes to 3 hours and 29 minutes. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. In the beginning of each interview a brief overview of the research project was given to all participants. The informed consent was obtained verbally. The Institutional Review Board approved the study on January 30, 2012 (# 708-11-EP) (see interview protocol and questions in Appendix D).

Procedures for Discourse Analysis

Drawing on Willig (2001), Parker (1992), and Kendall and Wickham (1999) my strategy of inquiry for conducting discourse analysis consisted of four steps: (1) identification of discursive objects, (2) description of discourses as systems of statements, (3) identification of subjects and what they can say or do, and (4) examination how discourses reproduce power relations (see stages of discourse analysis in Appendix E). First, I identified postcommunist public administration as a discursive object in discourses of transition. In this stage I was concerned with "the ways in which discursive objects were constructed" (Willig, 2001, p. 109). Following

www.manaraa.com

the assumption that discourses construct representations of the world I looked for ways in which postcommunist public administration was referred to.

Second, I located various discursive constructions of postcommunist public administration within discourses. The aim of the second stage was to recognize discourses as groups of recurring statements and describe their underlying rules which map a particular picture of the world. Discourses were described as "coherent systems of meaning" (Parker, 1992, p. 10) or as "corpuses of 'statements' whose organization is regular and systematic" (Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 42). I looked for differences in ways in which the same discursive object was constructed in various discourses or, in other words, focused on "identifying contradictions between different ways of describing something" (Parker, 1992, p. 13). I employed the logic of deconstruction in looking for the rules of production of statements and rules that delimited the sayable (Kendall & Wickham, 1999, pp. 43-44). I also identified the spaces (concepts, metaphors, models, analogies) in which new statements could be made (Kendall & Wickham, 1999; p. 44; Parker, 1992, p. 13).

Third, I identified what types of subjects discourses were talking about, what subject positions speakers could take up, and what could be said or done. I looked for different "subject positions" or spaces of rights and duties that could be stepped in by persons who employed a particular transition discourse (Parker, 1992, p. 9; Willig, 2001, p. 110). Consistent with Foucauldian analysis, it was assumed that individual identity is the product of discourse. Subjects act within discourse, they are "the punctuation of discourse, and provide the bodies on and through which discourse may act" (Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 53).

Fourth, I explored how discourses were related to power, institutions and ideology. The final stage of discourse analysis explored the dialectical relationship

www.manaraa.com

between discursive practices and institutions as well as showed how discourses have ideological effects. I explored the historical origins of the transition discourse and examined how employment of the discourse reproduced current institutions implementing a particular vision of social change in postcommunist Estonia.

Trustworthiness of Research

It is acknowledged that qualitative research is particularly susceptible to researcher "bias" (Maxwell, 2005, p. 108). The following measures were taken to clarify researcher's values and expectations and their possible impacts on interpretation of results from the outset of the study (Creswell, 1998, p. 202). I exercised reflexivity throughout the course of the research project, i.e. I made "conscious and systematic efforts to view the subject matter from different angles, and to avoid strongly privileging a favoured one" (Alvesson, 2002, p. 171). I looked for discrepant evidence that could challenge my conclusions, and solicited feedback from my respondents to avoid misunderstanding of the meaning of their responses (Maxwell, 2005, p. 112). I also used probing during interviews to clarify what was said (Kvale, 1996). I collected "rich data" detailed and varied enough to reveal what was really going on (Maxwell, 2005, p. 110). For this purpose all interviews were transcribed verbatim. Moreover, triangulation of different data collection methods helped to insure greater trustworthiness of this research (Creswell, 1998, pp. 201-203; Creswell, 2009, pp. 191-192; Maxwell, 2005, pp. 109-114).

Still, validity in this research is different from validity as "a fit of theory and observation" in the more traditional empirical research (Alvesson, 2002, p. 166). Quality research in the adopted paradigm relies, first and foremost, on awareness of the constructive power of language and careful interpretation of the constructive processes (Alvesson, 2002, p. 166). As Alvesson (2002) explains, "Through

www.manaraa.com

awareness of how language is central in work with empirical material, how any empirical material is constructed within a particular metaphor and discourse and how our interpretations can be based on broad consideration of alternative viewpoints and vocabularies, one can conduct good social research" (Alvesson, 2002, p. 166).

As to generalizability, this study does not suggest the findings can be directly applied to other postsocialist countries. Consistent with the assumptions of the intrinsic case, the study concentrates on the particularity of the Estonian case rather than producing generalizable results. However, transition as a discursive formation could be similarly explored in all postcommunist states which may yield partially similar results (Creswell, 2009, p. 193; Maxwell, 2005, pp. 115-116). Also, since Estonia is a critical case of transition, this research might yield some knowledge of postcommunism in other parts of the CEE as well.

Summary

This chapter has laid out the methodological strategy of the study and discussed the issues of trustworthiness and generalizability of the research findings. In the course of this study a discourse analysis of a representative sample of texts is carried out for understanding public administration in postcommunist transition in Estonia. The research utilizes "cyclical corpus-building" as its data collection technique and combines documents and interviews as two types of text for corpus design. Procedures for discourse analysis include four steps: (1) identification of discursive objects, (2) description of discourses as systems of statements, (3) identification of subjects and what they can say or do, and (4) examination how discourses reproduce power relations. The findings of discourse analysis are discussed in the next chapter.

www.manaraa.com

CHAPTER 7: FINDINGS OF THE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Discursive Regimes of Public Administration in Transition

Discourse analysis for this study was carried out in four stages. The researcher first identified various discursive constructions of public administration in texts; second, searched for rules which delineated different discourses of public administration; third, investigated the modes of subjectivity in the groups of statements; and finally, examined how discourses reproduce power relations.

This research identified seven constructions of public administration in postcommunist transition. These discourses are groups of statements about public administration structured by an internal set of rules and driven by an underlying logic, i.e. they constitute the "same" object in different ways. Still, even though these groups of statements are analytically separate they often interact and overlap in actual ways of speaking. Moreover, the list of discourses arrived at here is by no means exhaustive. Other discourses of public administration in postcommunist transition may be discovered. The discursive regimes identified in this research are: (1) economic discourse, (2) managerialist discourse, (3) Europeanization discourse, (4) technocratic discourse, (5) ecological discourse, (6) democratic discourse, and (7) a normative discourse.

Economic discourse. As the discursive material gathered for this study indicates, one of the dominant discourses of public administration in postcommunist transition is economic discourse (see Figure 1). This construction proceeds from the problematization of postcommunism as a lack of institutions of the liberal market economy, and the need to minimize the cost of government. The economic discourse has institutionalized the ideas of neoliberal economics in the Estonian system of government, and is equally supported by global business management expertise. The

www.manaraa.com

discourse shapes the identity of public administrators as "accountants" (see the discussion on the modes of subjectivity below).

Economic discourse: *A corpus of statements of which vocabulary and organization regularly and systematically advances economic thinking in Estonian PA.*	
Problematization: Lack of liberal market economy and cost-effective use of limited resources ***Power/Knowledge:*** Neoliberal economics, global business expertise, transition economics and "shock therapy" ***Subjectivity:*** Public administrator is an "accountant"	
Privileged terms	**Oppressed terms**
• cost-effectiveness, efficiency, minimizing costs, value-for-money, economy, fiscal discipline, limited public spending, limited public sector growth	• solving public problems, maximizing value of services, maximizing well-being, social protection, access to services
• PA as the orchestrator of economic development, global competitiveness, transition into the global economy	• PA as the orchestrator of human development, transition to a good society
• creating a place for business, improvement of business environment, reducing administrative burden	• creating a place for home, improvement of living environment
• transition economics, business expertise, market rationality	• ecology of PA, multiple sources of knowledge, societal preferences
• economies of scale, merging administrative divisions	• local democracy, communal decision making, cultural and social identity of communities, democratic representation and participation
• minimal state, anti-statism, non-interventionism, reducing the size of government, granting people more freedom, load-shedding of responsibilities	• totalitarian state, generous welfare state, increasing governmental interference

Figure 1. Central tenets of economic discourse in Estonian PA in transition.

Neo-liberal state. Public administration in Estonia has been affected most importantly by the ideas of the neo-liberal or the minimal state. Those immersed in this discourse share expectations about the role of the limited state in the economy and the private lives of the citizens. The central concepts advancing this line of thought in Estonia include reducing public spending, adhering to strict fiscal discipline, creating a non-interventionist state, carrying out large-scale privatization, implementing a single-rate flat income tax system, creating a favorable economic environment for the business enterprises, and downsizing the public administration system (European Commission, 2001; Nunberg, 1999; OECD & SIGMA, 2003; Rannu, 2009a;

www.manaraa.com

Riigikantselei Eurointegratsiooni Büroo, 2001; State Chancellery, 2004). In the words of Mart Laar, the two-term Prime Minister of the Republic of Estonia (1992-1994 and 1999-2002):

> Tax reform, or the transition to a single-rate flat income tax, has to a certain extent become a trademark of Estonia's success. This was based on the realization that it is impossible to make people understand that they need to rely on their own labour if every time they file their income tax returns, the government reminds them it is not beneficial or practical to work hard or to be successful – because if you are successful, the government will take a larger share of your income as "punishment." (Laar, 2009)

The emphasis of this conceptual order is on individual responsibility and the primary role of family for the care of the poor and the elderly as also evidenced by Estonia's significantly lower share of public expenditure compared to other EU countries: "Estonia spends almost 10 percentage points less on social protection than the average for OECD-22 countries, in terms of percentage of GDP" (OECD, 2011a). As Mart Laar explains, "Instead of expecting handouts from the state, people decided to take their fate into their own hands. The government had created a favourable environment for enterprise" (Laar, 2009).

This radical "anti-statist" and "pro-market" stance has its roots in the early years of postcommunist change and is a combination of the post-Soviet mindset that strove to move away from everything related to the past, i.e. a totalitarian all-pervasive state, and the global neoliberal reform doctrine that gained prominence in the early 1990s (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012; Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012; Meyer-Sahling, 2009b; Nunberg, 1999; OECD, 2011a). The discursive construction of postcommunist transition in the 1990s relied on binary oppositions. There was no "third way" between the socialist command and capitalist

www.manaraa.com

market model of economy as such would be "a solution based on increasing governmental interference, not in granting people more freedom" (Laar, 2009). There was only one "right" model for carrying out transition (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012; NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012). "As a rejection of things perceived to be associated with communism, Estonian society swung in the opposite direction in favour of an extreme neo-liberal viewpoint" (OECD, 2011a).

This depiction of a non-interventionist state envisions a public administration that is seamless, fast, cheap, and unburdensome. Citizens should not be burdened by having to interact with the state (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012; State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012). Good public administration is "almost nonexistent, invisible, on E-paper, fast, and does not stand in the way of the private sector actors" (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012). The state is a necessary evil that should be kept to the bare minimum. State intervention is needed only as much as necessary for creating the conditions for the private sector to function successfully (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012; Nunberg, 1999). The construct of the state within this discourse is clearly negative: "The state is not seen as someone who assists, helps, creates opportunities, or provides guarantees, but the overall approach rather views the state as the spender of taxpayer's money" (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012). This discourse manifests itself through the terms such as a "thin state" (State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012), a "small state" (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012; Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012), a "cheap state" (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012), and also an "E-state" (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012; Local government representative No. 1, interview, April 3, 2012; State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012). The state is a "regulator" not "the provider of services

www.manaraa.com

and the participant in economic activities" (Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001).

Those who subject themselves to this discourse are also talking about load-shedding (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012; Laar, 2000; Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001; Public Administration Office, 1999; Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007; Republic of Estonia, May, 2010; SA Poliitikauuringute Keskus PRAXIS, July 2009; Siseministeerium, 2010; State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012; Tartu Ülikool, 1999; World Bank, 1999). To reduce the size of government, the responsibilities of the state should be transferred, as much as possible, to the private and nonprofit sectors. All the functions which are "not consistent with the role of a market economy" should be stripped (Nunberg, 2000). The government "must move away from direct production of goods and services" and reallocate the functions between the three sectors of society in the most optimal way (OECD, 1998a; Riigikantselei Eurointegratsiooni Büroo, 2000). An expert opinion on public administration reform in 1999 prescribed the following:

> Public sector should fulfill only those tasks which the private and the non-profit sectors cannot fulfill or which the state fulfills better. Reduction of direct service delivery cuts government spending, improves the quality and assortment of public services, and increases individuals' freedom. (Tartu Ülikool, 1999)

This pattern of thought also constitutes the non-governmental sector as a convenient partner for the devolution of state functions rather than a forum for democratic deliberation and political contestation of ideas (Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007; Republic of Estonia, May, 2010; World Bank, 1999). The government's rationale for developing and strengthening non-profit associations is to expand the public service delivery network. The recent national strategy for implementation of EU structural funds states:

www.manaraa.com

> For enhancing administrative capacity, it is important that NGOs (incl. social partners) become strong partners for the public sector, among else for enabling a better delegation of public services. (Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007)

The idea of a neo-liberal state and the accompanying logic of New Public Management in public administration is accepted in Estonia across the entire political spectrum. Based on the analyzed material, it appears to be deeply engrained as the conceptual model for the Estonian state (Academic No. 1, interview, March 29, 2012; Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012; Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012; OECD, 2011a; Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001).

> It seems to me that the New Public Management rhetoric is to some extent accepted by the political community at large. It is not merely a right-wing vision. The idea that the state must be efficient and provide services with minimal costs is shared by many. It seems to be akin to some sort of "common sense" accepted by the representatives of different political parties. New Public Management does not appear to me as an idea that belongs exclusively to the right-wing governments. I think NPM has had a very strong effect on the entire public discourse and is influencing it until this day. (Academic No. 1, interview, March 29, 2012)

In the words of another interviewee,

> Even today it is believed that the "invisible hand" will do all the necessary regulation. This is nonsense, of course, but no one wants to admit it. This primitive ideology is still dominant at large. (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012)

Efficiency. The slogan of public administration in Estonia is efficiency. In the analyzed corpus of texts, economic use of public resources and saving money are often viewed as the ultimate goals for those executing public power. This representation of public administration was particularly dominant in the early 1990s and has regained importance with the recent economic crisis.

www.manaraa.com

For the past twenty years of transition the goal of public administration has been to decrease government spending and create a "small and cheap state" (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012). This discursive regime constitutes a public administration that is frugal and concerns itself, first and foremost, with providing value for money in the use of public finances (OECD, 2011a; OECD, 2011b; Public Administration Office, 1999; Riigikantselei Eurointegratsiooni Büroo, 2001). According to an interviewee, "During the 1990s administrative capacity was approached from a purely resource-based perspective. Administrative capacity started with economy and savings. It was a monetary term" (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012). For those invoking this discourse, "the purpose of administration is to be as cheap as possible" (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012).

The efficiency-driven notion of administrative capacity within this discourse is referred to as the ability to implement tasks in a cost-effective manner (State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012; State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012). It is widely shared that the taxpayers' money needs to be used in an optimal and economical way. The central question for public administration is "how public administration can provide services to society in the best possible way and with minimal cost to citizens" (State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012).

Says one of the interviewees:

> For me, administrative capacity is the ability of the state as an institution to perform fast, in an operational manner, and with minimal resources. (Local government representative No. 1, interview, April 3, 2012)

Says another interviewee:

> Administrative capacity means that the state is able to provide public services that are useful to the citizens and it is done in the most optimal way possible. /.../ We are

www.manaraa.com

> trying to be as optimal, effective, and economical as possible. These principles are particularly important to us during the economic crisis. It seems logical that whenever public funds are used there need to be clear results. (State official No. 3, interview, April 19, 2012)

Efficiency has also been one of the central concerns in administrative reorganization. The main goals and objectives of public administration reform are "increased productivity of the public sector, cost effective use of budget resources and improved service delivery" (Centre for Pure Development, November 1, 2011; Laar, 2000; Rehemaa, 2008; Riigikantselei Eurointegratsiooni Büroo, 2000; State Chancellery, 2004; World Bank, 1999). As the Public Administration Reform Program of 2001 explains, "The citizen expects that the state's administrative system meets his or her changing and often increasing demands without bringing about additional fiscal burden" (Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001). Since Estonia is a small country and a small state there is a need to consider the constraining factor of limited resources (Drechsler & Estaga, n.d.; Public Administration Office, 1999; Vabariigi Valitsuse Haldusreformi Asjatundjate Komisjon, 1999):

> The democratic governing of a small country costs per citizen more than the governing of a large country. In order for the citizens and enterprises to feel as well as in a large country, substantially more attention must be paid to the effective organization of governing. (Public Administration Office, 1999)

Strict control over public expenditure, technical efficiency of public administration, and the productivity of the public sector are also reoccurring constructs in the textual evidence pertaining to the EU accession process (Centre for Pure Development, November 1, 2011; European Commission, 1999; OECD, 1998b;

www.manaraa.com

World Bank, 1999). The aim of administration within this conceptual order should be to achieve more with less:

> The low level of administrative capability is one of the major problems in joining the European Union. In a country with a small population it is harder to achieve the kind of public administration acceptable to the European Union and at the same time acceptable to the taxpayer. Finding this kind of a solution assumes innovative and decisive approach towards the planning and implementation of the reform. Therefore the aim of public administration is to achieve more with less money and people. (Public Administration Office, 1999)

Economic development. Moreover, the discourse analysis shows the role of public administration tends to be perceived by a majority of subjects as an instrument for creating a favorable business environment and promoting economic development. Those invoking this discursive order regard a strong public administration as a precondition for economic development (Drechsler & Estaga, n.d.; Nunberg, 1999; Nunberg, 2000; State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012). Public administration should ensure the "affluence of the nation" (State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012), it should "strengthen the institutions of a market economy and improve the legal environment for market participants" (European Commission, 1998), it should develop "an attractive market-friendly environment" (Centre for Pure Development, November 1, 2011; European Commission, 2001; Republic of Estonia, May, 2010), and it should develop "people's sense of entrepreneurship" (Republic of Estonia, May, 2010). Consistent with the neo-liberal model the central terms in the vocabulary of transitional economics in the early 1990s were "individual responsibility" and "shock therapy":

> The primary and greatest challenge for any government at this stage of reform is to change the attitudes of the people, to activate and encourage them to take care of their

www.manaraa.com

> own futures. This required shock therapy. A declaration was made that "the government would help those who wanted to help themselves." (Laar, 2009)

Making the shift from a communist command economy to a liberal market economy has been constructed, in the analyzed body of texts, as one of the most important challenges for public administration in the early years of transition (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1998, 1999, 2005; European Commission, 2002; IMF, 1999, 2000; OECD, 1998a, 2011a; Vabariigi Valitsus, 1992, 1995, 1997; Weber & Taube, 1999; World Bank, March 1993). These changes also meant re-organization of public administration along the lines of a market economy:

> Modernisation of Estonian public administration started at the beginning of the nineties and mainly focused on the decentralisation and delegation of public functions to the private sector. Today, Estonia has one of the most successful privatisation histories in the post-communist space. Estonia eliminated all tariffs, constitutionally mandated a balanced budget, established the first flat rate income tax in Europe and eliminated the corporate income tax. (State Chancellery, 2004)

As an economic construct, Estonian public administration had a major role in restoring the credibility of the country's economic system: implementing fiscal discipline, reducing public debt, cutting public spending, carrying out structural reforms, and attracting foreign investors (Nunberg, 2000; OECD, 2011a; Riigikantselei Eurointegratsiooni Büroo, 2001; World Bank, 1999). Public administration carried out the integration of the country's economy into the European and world trading systems (Nunberg, 2000; OECD, 1998b). When this discourse is employed, public administration emerges as "a key orchestrator of economic development" (OECD, 2011a). Under the supervision of government Estonia has carried out an exemplary transformation from a planned command economy to a liberal market economy:

www.manaraa.com

> Indeed, since regaining independence in 1991, Estonia has successfully implemented a broad agenda of stabilization and structural reform policies. This agenda included the introduction of a new currency under a currency board arrangement, far reaching trade liberalization, and an extensive privatization program. The agenda was implemented against a backdrop of prudent economic management. The Estonian authorities restrained public expenditures to available tax revenues and limited borrowing from domestic and foreign sources. Also, a hard budget constraint was imposed on public and private enterprises, including instances when a no bailout policy for financial institutions was enforced. (World Bank, 1999)

When this discourse is mobilized the role of public administration is to ensure the competitiveness of the private sector and to develop a favorable investment climate (Centre for Pure Development, November 1, 2011; IMF, 1999, 2000; Nunberg, 2000; OECD, 1998a, 1998b; Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001; Tartu Ülikool, 1999; Verheijen, 2007). Those working in the public sector should ask: "How can the public administration help Estonia become stronger, both in terms of global competitiveness and its own economic and socio-economic development?" (OECD, 2011a). Says one of the interviewees:

> The quality of public administration influences the competitiveness of the entire state, meaning how our public administration is performing, how much it is burdening the private sector, and whether the public services are able to promote economic growth or attract foreign investments, how easy it is to deal with the public sector. (State official No. 3, interview, April 19, 2012)

After becoming the member state of the European Union (EU) Estonian public administration influences no longer just national competitiveness, but also the competitiveness of the European common economic space (European Commission, 1998, 2001; State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012; World Bank, 1999). Says one of the interviewees:

www.manaraa.com

> The purpose of the European Union is a common economic space and in that economic space we should be able to manage our affairs in the most effective way possible. Moreover, the purpose of the European Union is to be the strongest economic environment in the world. To achieve this goal, we need to work together. (State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012)

In the analyzed corpus of texts, public administration continues to be referred to as the orchestrator of economic development to this date. Nevertheless, the vocabulary has recently shifted from using such constructs as "cheap labor force", "low production costs" , "subcontracting", "low added value" to employing such signifiers as "innovation policy", "knowledge-based economy", "sustainable economic growth", "qualified labor force", "growth of productivity" and "higher added value" (OECD, 2011a; Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007; Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004; Republic of Estonia, May, 2010; SA Poliitikauuringute Keskus PRAXIS & Tallinna Tehnikaülikooli Avaliku Halduse Instituut, 2011; Verheijen, 2007).

Reducing administrative burden. A related problematization of public administration in the economic discourse is that it needs to be less burdensome to citizens and businesses. This way of speaking constructs administrative burden as a sign of "bad" or incapable administration (State official No. 1, interview, March 21, 2012; State official No. 3, interview, April 19, 2012; State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012). As one of the interviewees explains, "Administrative burden is one aspect of 'bad' administration or incapable public administration, when we are burdening enterprises with meaningless duties and regulations we are hindering their performance" (State official No. 3, interview, April 19, 2012). Reducing administrative burden (simplification of procedures, improvement of transparency, developing better regulation, carrying out impact analysis of legal acts, and measuring

www.manaraa.com

administrative burden) is perceived as an important requirement for improving the business environment (European Commission, 2001, 2002; Jürgenson & Huik, June 2005; Jürgenson, September 2005; Ministry of Finance, n.d.b). The law needs to be simplified and its comprehensibility needs to be improved so as not to impose unnecessary restrictions on citizens and enterprises. Says one of the interviewees:

> How much administrative burden does the state impose, through its various acts and proceedings, on the enterprises and citizens? /…/ Let's say a company needs to apply for licenses: from one agency according to one law, from another agency according to another law. It needs to go through a maze of bureaucracy to accomplish its goal – to sell a product. Instead of having to apply for various licenses from a variety of bodies, these procedures need to be consolidated. Or, how fast can we found an enterprise? How much administrative burden can we impose on a business without hindering its development? We do not want to have thickets of bureaucracy. We want to be able to found an enterprise with a couple of days as it currently is in Estonia. We need to develop a legislative system that would provide us with such a framework. (State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012)

This type of discursive practice also emerges, for example, in the context of a recent capacity-building program for impact assessment of legislative acts – an initiative for the improvement of business environment and reducing administrative burden within the EU structural funds framework (Centre for Pure Development, November 1, 2011; Ministry of Finance, n.d.a; Ministry of Finance, n.d.b; Ministry of Finance, n.d.c; Ministry of Finance, n.d.d; Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007; Republic of Estonia, May, 2010). An excerpt from the programming document explains the rationalization as follows:

> There is too much *red tape* for companies and citizens involved in the use of public services. The legal environment influencing the competitiveness of Estonian companies has been formed during a short period and has been influenced by different legal systems, primarily from EU law. During the transposition of EU acquis [communautaire] and development of Estonian legislative environment, not much

www.manaraa.com

> attention was paid to the analysis of legislative impacts and assessment of the administrative burden due to limited human and time resources. There has been a requirement to conduct an assessment of legislative impacts in the Estonian legislative process since 1999, but its implementation could be more systematic and consistent. The unified criteria for determining the necessity of conducting legislative impact assessment are missing. Often the impact assessment studies have not been planned by the ministries at a sufficiently early phase of the legislative process and, same time the awareness of civil servants of the nature and opportunities of impact assessment is small and uneven. (Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007)

Economies of scale. The economic discourse also manifests itself in the long-standing debate about optimizing the regional and local governance system in Estonia. The findings of the corpus analysis indicate that mergers of local government units and building economies of scale are seen as the frequently-invoked solution to the multi-level governance problems in Estonia (Laar, 2000; Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001; Siseministeerium, n.d.; Siseministeerium, 2001; Sootla, n.d.; Vabariigi Valitsuse Haldusreformi Asjatundjate Komisjon, 1999).

Currently, Estonia has a large number of small municipalities (226 self-governing units) which due to their small size (two thirds have less than 3000 inhabitants) are lacking the administrative capacity and financial as well as human resources to adequately meet their service-provision competences, and support local economic growth (OECD, 2011a; Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001; Viks, 2012). Says one of the interviewees:

> It is terribly difficult, expensive, and burdensome to maintain such an apparatus of local government units. We are unable to ensure the highest quality of service provision in all 226 municipalities across all the competencies and functions which local governments are expected to fulfill. (State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012)

www.manaraa.com

Within the economic pattern of thought, the solution to this problem is to merge small municipalities, and thus increase their effectiveness through economies of scale: "In order to achieve sufficient administrative capacity of the local governments without the increase in fiscal burden it is necessary to carry out administrative territorial reform to unite the resources of the local governments which have smaller administrative capacity" (Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001). Larger municipalities would benefit from an increased economic and administrative potential and be able to provide better-quality services at a reduced price (Siseministeerium, 2001; Sootla, n.d.; Vabariigi Valitsuse Haldusreformi Asjatundjate Komisjon, 1999). This rationale is reinforced by the perception that there are too many parties at the decision-making table which inhibits efficient governing of the state:

> We need to consolidate local government units to strengthen the capacity and knowledge in each municipality, and we need to move towards having 15 regional centers which would take over the local government service provision. /…/ We can steer this process better with 15 partners instead of having 226 partners. We would be in a better position to implement change. The administrative territorial reform needs to be completed at some point. The current local government arrangement is too expensive to maintain. We are too big of a ship, with so many decision-making parties it is becoming terribly hard to steer it. With less parties we can steer faster and in a more operational manner. As a small country we should be able to perform more effectively. And through the savings we can offer better-quality services. People should like this. This should be something people would like. This would make things better for them. (State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012)

Summary. Public administration as an economic construct is part of the prevailing transition discourse in postcommunist Estonia. The corpus of statements which advances economic thinking in Estonian public administration includes representations of the neo-liberal state, efficiency, economic development, the

www.manaraa.com

reduction of administrative burden, and the promotion of economies of scale. The economic discourse problematizes postcommunism as a lack of a liberal market economy and shapes the identity of public administrators as the champions of competitiveness and cost-cutting.

Managerialist discourse. Based on the analysis of the collection of texts, another prevailing discursive regime of public administration in transition is managerialism (see Figure 2). Those who mobilize the discourse perceive the problem of postcommunism as the lack of structures, processes, and actions for the accomplishment of desired outcomes. The regime draws on the professional management expertise, business management, and generic management science as its primary sources of knowledge. This order of symbolization entails a role-definition of public administrators as "plant managers."

Politics-administration dichotomy. The Public Administration Reform Program of 2001 – one of the major initiatives of restructuring public administration in Estonia – emphasizes the importance of separation of public policy-making and implementation. This has also been a key idea supporting the rhetoric of indirect service delivery, marketization, and the contracting out of public services.

The managerial construction of public administration is guided by the idea of distinguishing between political and administrative management. These two branches of government can be and should be separate – the public sector needs to be run independently from its political context (Justiitsministeerium, 2007; Laar, 2000; Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001; Siseministeerium, 2001; Vabariigi Valitsuse Haldusreformi Asjatundjate Komisjon, 1999). In this vision, the political leadership and strategic planning capacities of core policy units, which

www.manaraa.com

support elected officials, need to be strengthened while administration needs to be decentralized, deregulated, and carried out outside the political sphere (Academic No. 1, interview, March 29, 2012; Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001; SA Poliitikauuringute Keskus PRAXIS & Tallinna Tehnikaülikooli Avaliku Halduse Instituut, 2011).

> To delimit the functions of the ministry and its subordinate agencies and to improve the public policymaking capacity of the ministries – the ministry has to be the institution in the centre of formulating, analysing and counselling the policies in its area of government. The main goal of the executive agencies (inspectorates, etc.) is rather to implement decisions than to develop policies and draft acts. (Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001)

Managerialist discourse: *A corpus of statements of which vocabulary and organization regularly and systematically advances managerialism in Estonian PA.*	
Problematization: Lack of systems and processes for the production of desired outcomes consistent with global best practices ***Power/Knowledge:*** Management science, professional management expertise, business administration, standards of international good practice, global principles of modern public administration ***Subjectivity:*** Public administrator is a "plant manager"	
Privileged terms	**Oppressed terms**
• politics-administration dichotomy, separation of policy making and implementation	• politics-administration intertwined, separation of policy-making and implementation impossible, the "publicness" of public administration
• professional knowledge, global management expertise, generic management competencies and organizational skills, business management	• multiple sources of knowledge (political, communal, scientific, professional, practical, experiential)
• instrumental rationality	• value pluralism
• performance-orientation, deregulation, delivering results	• due process, equal treatment, fairness, protection of rights
• independent decision-making, autonomous agencies, fragmentation, "let the managers manage!"	• pluralistic decision making, interdependence, collaboration, coordination, joint-up policies
• customer service orientation, passive clients, customer-friendly services, the quality of service provision	• pro-active citizens, ownership of government, co-production of services
• indirect service delivery, marketization, contracting out	• direct service delivery, government production

Figure 2. Central tenets of managerialist discourse in Estonian PA in transition.

www.manaraa.com

The principle of the politics-administration dichotomy, thus, aims to separate the functions of execution of public power and service delivery (Public Administration Office, 1999; Vabariigi Valitsuse Haldusreformi Asjatundjate Komisjon, 1999). The latter should be carried out by various independent organizations including boards, autonomous agencies, private businesses, nonprofit associations, and local governments (Tartu Ülikool, 1999). Commercial activities should be "devolved to the private sector or the civil society" (World Bank, 1999). The relationship between autonomous agencies and the ministry needs to be regulated by fixed-term performance contracts (Public Administration Office, 1999; Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001; Tartu Ülikool, 1999). These discursive practices promote managerial autonomy, independent decision-making, and flexibility in management:

> [H]eads of government agencies should be delegated more authority and responsibility in managing resources and performance of individual organisations. Performance contracts will be introduced, constituting an agreement between the minister and the head of a government agency (incl. Secretary General) about the targets set to be achieved during their term of employment. (State Chancellery, 2004)

Managerial public administration advances the idea of providing services outside the public sector (Laar, 2000; Ministry of Finance, n.d.e; Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001; Siseministeerium, 2010; Sootla, n.d.; Tartu Ülikool, 1999; Vabariigi Valitsuse Haldusreformi Asjatundjate Komisjon, 1999; World Bank, 1999). The key notions of indirect service delivery, marketization, privatization, and contracting out of public services are also consistent with the "load-shedding" principle in the neo-liberal model.

www.manaraa.com

Performance orientation. Discourse analysis reveals that throughout the years of transition Estonian public administration has been affected by a variety of managerial representations which promote performance management and strategic planning in the public sector. "The achievement of results-oriented public administration means introducing the practice of setting objectives and connecting them to resources, in other words, a gradual concentration from inputs to outputs. This requires the existence of an efficient system of external and internal controls which allows to evaluate the legality and effectiveness of the work of government agencies" (Laar, 2000).

The private-sector vocabulary of result-based management was advanced particularly in the early period of postcommunist transition (European Commission, 2001; Kallemets, 2002; Nunberg, 2000; World Bank, 1999). For example, the application of "effective management experience of the private sector" was seen as a priority in public administration development documents in the late nineteen-nineties (Vabariigi Valitsuse Haldusreformi Asjatundjate Komisjon, 1999; World Bank, 1999). Nevertheless, the performance discourse is strong also today, most importantly in the pronouncements of the World Bank and OECD (OECD, 2011a; Verheijen, 2007). For example,

> Performance based public management systems tend to be better able to absorb innovation and drive change. Thus, the introduction of performance based systems, even if in an incremental manner, can be a significant step forward in improving administrative capacity in complex areas such as structural fund planning. It can also significantly enhance transparency in public management. (Verheijen, 2007)

The managerialist discourse in Estonian public administration invokes a variety of different constructs related to result-based management or management by objectives. These include shifting attention from inputs to outputs and outcomes in

www.manaraa.com

public administration (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012; Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001; Public Administration Office, 1999; Sootla, n.d.), dividing large organizations into performance units (SA Poliitikauuringute Keskus PRAXIS & Tallinna Tehnikaülikooli Avaliku Halduse Instituut, 2011), introducing performance-monitoring procedures, determining performance standards and measures (OECD, 1998b; World Bank, 1999), using fixed-term performance contracts with the heads of government units (Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001; Public Administration Office, 1999; Sootla, n.d.; State Chancellery, 2004; Tartu Ülikool, 1999), and implementing performance-related remuneration systems (Ministry of Finance, n.d.e; OECD & SIGMA, 2003; OECD, 2011a; Riigikantselei Eurointegratsiooni Büroo, 2002; State Chancellery, 2004). In addition, connecting the budgeting system with performance management is another feature of the performance discourse in the analyzed texts (OECD, 2011a; Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001; Public Administration Office, 1999; State official No. 3, interview, April 19, 2012). A fragement from the recent OECD report on Estonia explains:

> Over the past 20 years, the majority of OECD governments have sought to shift the emphasis of budgeting and management away from inputs towards a focus on results, measured in the form of outputs and/or outcomes. While the content, pace and method of implementation of these reforms varies across countries and over time, they share a renewed focus on measurable results. The majority of governments in OECD countries use performance information as a means to help improve expenditure control, as well as public sector efficiency and performance. (OECD, 2011a).

Closely related to performance management are discursive practices which advance the need for planning. Even though planning was initially a taboo for post-Soviet administrators (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012; State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012; State official No. 3, interview, April 19, 2012), strategic

www.manaraa.com

planning has become a strong conceptual constellation in the managerialist discursive regime (Kasemets, 2007; Laar, 2000; Ministry of Finance, February 2006; Nunberg, 2000; OECD & SIGMA, 2003; OECD, 1998b; Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001; Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004; SA Poliitikauuringute Keskus PRAXIS & Tallinna Tehnikaülikooli Avaliku Halduse Instituut, 2011; State Chancellery, 2004; Tartu Ülikool Sotsiaalteaduslike rakendusuuringute keskus RAKE & Konsultatsiooni- ja koolituskeskus Geomedia OÜ, 2009; Verheijen, 2007). The lack of a long-term perspective in Estonian public administration is highlighted by several interviewees (Local government representative No. 2, interview, March 19, 2012; NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012; NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012; State official No. 3, interview, April 19, 2012). Says one of the interviewees:

> I have noticed that in complex situations we tend to produce one-time solutions. Not systematic, long-term, strategic solutions, but one-time solutions for concrete problems which need to be dealt with promptly. The recent financial crisis is a good example. Instead of having a long-term strategy, we tend to seek one-time solutions to specific issues of the day without grounding them in a long-term view. (Local government representative No. 2, interview, March 19, 2012)

Strategic planning along with policy-formation is a reoccurring construct in the problematization of public administration in the context of administrative capacity building in the discursive material related to the implementation of EU structural funds (Centre for Pure Development, November 1, 2011; Ministry of Finance, n.d.a; Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007; Republic of Estonia, May, 2010; State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012; Verheijen, 2007). Raising the strategic management capability of state, local governments, and NGOs is a recent capacity-building priority important for the utilization of EU structural funding (see more on Europeanization discourse below).

www.manaraa.com

Customer service orientation. A clearly discernible pattern of thought within the managerialist discourse in the analyzed corpus of texts is quality management. Client satisfaction, seamless public service delivery, and joined-up services are reoccurring ideas after the publication of the Public Administration Reform Program in 2001.

The managerialist discourse in postcommunist transition is pervaded by the idea of treating citizens as clients, and creating a customer-friendly public administration (Nunberg, 1999; State Chancellery, 2004). The emphasis is on creating a customer service culture, promoting courtesy, responsiveness, and fast service delivery, dealing with conflict resolution and public sector marketing (Academic No. 1, interview, March 29, 2012; Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012; Justiitsministeerium, 2007; Nunberg, 2000; OECD, 1997b). Says one of the interviewees:

> We expect faster, better, and more services. We are immersed in the paradigm of "my rights", not in the paradigm of "my duties" in relation to the state. Everyone has the right to demand. I have the right to expect a quick response time from the rescue services, I have the right to demand a good education for my child from an educational institution. /…/ We have started to demand more from the public sector. Since the private sector managed to implement changes faster and we became used to better-quality services, we have also become more demanding in our relations with the public sector. We expect fast service delivery, professionalism, friendliness, and humanness on par with the private sector. (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012)

Ensuring client satisfaction and meeting customer needs are frequently invoked representations for describing the tasks of public administration. Reports one of the interviewees:

www.manaraa.com

> I think administrative capacity needs to be expressed by measurable indicators such as how quickly a letter gets responded to, or how fast a case gets resolved in terms of days. On the other hand, it also needs to be expressed by non-measurable dimensions such as what kind of tone is used in the letter, and whether the letter is customer-friendly, positive, and caring. Also the manner of service delivery is important – was it just delivered, handed over, and considered done, or did it express consideration for the citizens and for their needs. /…/ It appears to me that public officials like to use complicated terms, but as customers, clients, and citizens we wish to receive specific things. We wish that streets were swept, we wish that street-lights worked, we wish that public transport was clean and accessible and would run at times when I need it, not when there is spare money in the city treasury. (State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012)

Says another interviewee:

> To put it simply, good public administration works for, let's call it a client, it works for the people. Bad public administration works for itself, in the interests of maintaining the bureaucratic machinery. *À la* working out some sort of regulations for the purposes of not making things better, but for, I don't know, for simplifying the official's decision-making, for instance. (NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012)

Quality management appears to have been a priority in public administration development in Estonia during the years of transition (Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001; Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007; Riigikantselei, 2002; Riigikantselei Eurointegratsiooni Büroo, 2002; Sootla, n.d.; State Chancellery, 2004). The most widely used quality management model in the Estonian public sector is the EU-promoted CAF model employed for self-assessment in a number of organizations (Ministry of Finance, n.d.f; State Chancellery, 2004). As one of the interviewees explains:

> The CAF model describes what an ideal public sector organization should look like. /…/ Quality management can be implemented through a number of different models, but the idea of it is how to develop a good organization which would be efficient, goal-oriented, and effective, but also concerned with employees' job-satisfaction and

www.manaraa.com

> motivation. /…/ In a way, quality management is a solution to the problem of finding the right type of organization for the public sector when we wish to talk about good public administration. (State official No. 3, interview, April 19, 2012)

In addition, there are a variety of quality management tools mentioned in the discursive material analyzed for the study. These include, for example, the creation of integrated service centers or one-stop shops (Laar, 2000; Riigikantselei Eurointegratsiooni Büroo, 2000; State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012; Tartu Ülikool, 1999; Õunapuu, n.d.). Also, the integration of the work-processes in the "back office" and the provision of joined-up services through a common public interface (Academic No. 1, interview, March 29, 2012; SA Poliitikauuringute Keskus PRAXIS & Tallinna Tehnikaülikooli Avaliku Halduse Instituut, 2011). Moreover, the utilization of information and communication technology for achieving integrated service provision (OECD, 2011a; Public Administration Office, 1999; State Chancellery, 2004). As outlined in one public administration development plan: "To provide better access to services the public services are consolidated into a physical or virtual service-centre, based on the needs and expectations of the citizens and not the logic of the structure of the government organisation" (Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001).

Another quality management practice is the introduction of public service standards (Laar, 2000; Nunberg, 2000; OECD, 2011a; Public Administration Office, 1999; Riigikantselei Eurointegratsiooni Büroo, 2001; Sootla, n.d.; State Chancellery, 2004; Tartu Ülikool, 1999; Vabariigi Valitsus, September 2000). "Public service standards (or service standards) define the minimum criteria set to public services. It means that the users of the services know and the organisation that provides the service acknowledges the requirements set to the service provided. The agency that

www.manaraa.com

provides the service enforces service standards as the work of the agency improves" (Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001).

Introduction of quality awards is another method of quality management utilized in the Estonian public sector (Ministry of Finance, 2003; State Chancellery, 2004). "Quality awards and prizes are used to disseminate 'best practices', to motivate the development of benchmarking systems for organisations and self-evaluation system" (Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001).

Quality management practices mentioned in the analyzed body of texts also include expanding the mix of services and creating opportunities for user choice (NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012; OECD, 2011a; Tartu Ülikool, 1999). "The philosophy is to create competition between providers, and stimulate public demand for improved services" (Nunberg, 2000). As one of the interviewees explains:

> Public administration needs to be citizen-centered. Citizens must have multiple options – besides electronic service delivery they should also be able to receive information from a specific public official. And some services should be performed in a way citizens wouldn't even know that was public administration. They wouldn't even need to concern themselves with it. (Local government representative No. 1, interview, April 3, 2012)

Development of consultation mechanisms with citizens is presented as an important means for receiving feedback and improving service provision (OECD, 1998b; Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001; State Chancellery, 2004; Tartu Ülikool, 1999; World Bank, 1999). Through extensive consultation with civil society organizations, businesses, and nongovernmental organizations, "governments can gain support and buy-in for their decisions, actual or planned" (OECD, 2011a). Says one of the interviewees:

www.manaraa.com

> The state is for the citizens. The state needs to engage and it is actually beneficial for the public agency to use people's resources. From this perspective, public engagement is not something that is nice to have, but it is something that is also useful and needed for the public sector itself. For, example, simply put, if a public agency is offering a service, it would be reasonable to find out occasionally how people prefer to use it. Perhaps the agency is employing staff while people prefer to use it in the form of an electronic service. Very simply, this offers an opportunity for savings! Or, perhaps there is a need to educate people how to use the service better, and it would again free up some resources. Engagement should be viewed as something also beneficial to the agency itself. (State official No. 3, interview, April 19, 2012)

Says another interviewee:

> If a citizen does not like something he or she should be able to express it and also receive a reply. As the result of this process a system would be made to work better. I think this is an important aspect and it is becoming increasingly more important. The idea is that we will make a kind of state that the people actually need. The state is us, the people, it is not some sort of machinery somewhere out there that no one understands. (State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012)

Whole-of-government approach. The whole-of-government approach is a recent counter-discourse to managerialism which emerged with the publication of the government-commissioned OECD Public Governance Review *Estonia: Towards a Single Government Approach* in 2011. The report draws attention to the extreme fragmentation and lack of co-ordination in the Estonian system of government caused by the prevalence of managerialism throughout the years of transition.

One consequence of the postcommunist administrative culture of autonomous decision-making is a severely hindered collaboration and coordination capacity to jointly solve complex public problems. The immediate reaction to the Soviet legacy, most importantly to its single-party system for planning and monitoring of public affairs, was to achieve as much independence in decision-making as possible (OECD,

www.manaraa.com

1997b). This was a favorable environment for managerialism to take root. As one of the interviewees explains:

> The origins of this go back to the pre-independence period. The shift from a command economy to a totally free society inevitably caused the pendulum to swing in the opposite direction. The word "plan" became a taboo. Civil service coordination, central control, central authority – these terms carried extremely negative political connotations. When we look at our Public Service Act and also the Government of the Republic Act, ours is a very decentralized system with very weak instruments for the center-of-government. /…/ The reason for this is the fear of a strong central government because of the very negative experience we had before regaining our independence. (State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012)

Says another interviewee:

> The fragmentation at the center-of-government could be a counter-reaction to the Soviet-era system of bureaucracy when orders were given from the top and everyone was expected to carry them out without questioning their expediency or practicality. Our public administration and civil service systems supported the creation of relatively autonomous ministries along with their administrative areas. We could call it *esprit de corps* is what we are looking for, what we have been trying to develop – a shared civil service culture. We have not been able to create such a culture in such a decentralized system of management. (State official No. 1, interview, March 21, 2012)

The central problematization of this conceptual order in public administration is the weakness of the center of government, and the absence of policy coordination mechanisms (OECD, 2011a; Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007; State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012; Verheijen, 2007). Public administration is represented as plagued by the issues of horizontal, vertical, and regional fragmentation (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012), isolation of ministries, agencies, and local government units (Centre for Pure Development, November 1, 2011; Local government representative No. 1, interview, April 3, 2012), insufficient coordination,

www.manaraa.com

needless duplication in certain functions, shattered policy development, lack of coherence in implementing sectoral policies etc. (Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004; Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007; Verheijen, 2007). Based on the assessment of one interviewee, departmentalism and autonomous management are the defining features of postcommunist public administration in Estonia:

> The lack of coordination, perhaps this attitude of departmentalism is an outcome, or a feature, that definitely characterizes postcommunist public administration in Estonia. Departmentalism, an agency-centered perspective! As little coordination as possible, as little shared decision-making as possible, as few organs for cooperation as possible – vertical top-down rule by a minister over an administrative area has been dominant. As the result of this, we have developed a very fragmented public administration. /…/ I think the transitional public administration in Estonia has reached a point where the lack of a clear state governance policy has created an incoherent, departmental system. (Academic No. 1, interview, March 29, 2012)

Each ministry with its administrative area is independent from the rest of the government. "There is no form of institutionalized cooperation which would advance coordination, the preservation of institutional memory, or the development and sharing of competencies among agencies" (Academic No. 1, interview, March 29, 2012). The structure is "silo-based" in which each ministry is an independent "kingdom" (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012; Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012; Local government representative No. 3, interview, May 16, 2012; State official No. 1, interview, March 21, 2012; State official No. 3, interview, April 19, 2012), or virtually "an administrative island" (OECD & SIGMA, 2003).

Says one of the interviewees:

> Everyone has their own silo tower and that is where everyone is administering their affairs and carrying out their activities whereas the silo tower is led by a "prince" or a

www.manaraa.com

> "plant manager" who supervises and oversees its work. Yes, one of the problems we have is fragmented ministries. (State official No. 1, interview, March 21, 2012)

Says another interviewee:

> A distinctive feature of Estonian public administration is that ministries and their administrative areas are very independent. We cannot compare them to countries such as the United Kingdom or to other similar states. /…/ Administrative areas are very, very independent. It is most likely because we have coalition governments and the Prime Minister needs to take this into account. But this has perhaps become an obstacle to carrying out reforms and achieving coordination. In our system, every administrative area is reforming itself as it deems the best. We have been trying to create better coordination, however, it is still virtually absent. (State official No. 3, interview, April 19, 2012)

Says another interviewee:

> In our system of government, we have eleven ministries today. We call them silo towers among ourselves. Everyone is sitting in their ivory tower and administering strictly their own affairs – a tunnel vision which prevents seeing anything else around you. Now let's say we need to draw up a national strategic plan, for example, Estonian Rural Development Plan. Rural development touches upon all areas of government: social sphere, public administration, agricultural production, tourism, and so on. The question is how do we draw up such a development plan? /…/ Rural development falls in between different administrative areas. (Local government representative No. 3, interview, May 16, 2012)

The joined-up government discourse is most importantly supported by OECD and SIGMA. Both agree in their evaluations that fragmentation in Estonia has gone too far. Based on SIGMA's report, "The Estonian administrative system may be considered to be on the brink of falling apart due to the structural fragmentation" (OECD & SIGMA, 2003). OECD finds that "the weak co-ordination mechanisms in the Estonian public administration, both horizontally and vertically, hinder the ability of national and sub-national governments to work together to deliver citizen-centred

www.manaraa.com

services" (OECD, 2011a). Those who are drawing on this discourse advocate the need for a joined-up government – reduced fragmentation, better horizontal and vertical coordination, joined-up policies, improved policy coherence, and enhanced collaboration between various actors across the entire system of government (Academic No. 1, interview, March 29, 2012; Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012; OECD, 2011a; OECD, 1998a; Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004 ; SA Poliitikauuringute Keskus PRAXIS & Tallinna Tehnikaülikooli Avaliku Halduse Instituut, 2011; State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012). The whole-of-government approach "requires government bodies, regardless of type or level, to work across portfolio boundaries to achieve shared goals and to provide integrated government responses to policy issues" (OECD, 2011a).

Summary. Besides the economic discursive regime, managerialist construction of public administration is another dominant order of representations in postcommunist transition in Estonia. The managerial discourse manifests itself through the discursive practices related to politics-administration dichotomy, performance management, and customer service. In the advancement of its central tenets, the managerial discursive order utilizes international standards of best practice, and is supported by global professional management expertise. At the center of the managerial identity of public officials is the concern with instrumental rationality and production of results.

Europeanization discourse. A Europeanization discourse gained prominence in Estonia since the beginning of the integration process with the European Union (EU) in 1997, and has impacted every aspect of the country's public administration during the transition (see Figure 3). The central problematization of postcommunist

www.manaraa.com

public administration according to the Europeanization discourse is a lack of Western European governance arrangements. Having "swept the place clean" and rejected everything from the Communist past in the early years of transition, Estonians knew exactly what they did not want, but had only a vague understanding of how or where to move forward, except for an abstract ideal of building a "normal" Western society (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012; Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012; Laar, 2009; Paet, 2009; State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012). As one of the interviewees explains:

> This is how we saw the problem – everything that belonged to the old system was "bad" and we were building a new system. We wanted to give up the old entirely. We gave it a negative sign and believed whatever we do has a plus sign. Even if the old was "good," it was marked by the Communist or Soviet legacy, and that was a problem. /…/ We despised the old system and loved the new one without even knowing what the new system was going to be. This dimension was an important part of the problem at that time. (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012)

In the early years of 1992-1995, the objectives of Estonian statesmen were to "redirect Estonia from the East to the West" (Laar, 2009), and "to reclaim its rightful place in Europe" (Paet, 2009). Still, policy transfer and the adoption of governance models from random Western countries was unsystematic and fragmented at that time (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012; Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012; State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012). As one of the interviewees explains:

> It was clear that at that time we did not yet have a well-developed paradigm to follow. Rather, what we had were anti-paradigms of what we did not want to be, but we did not have anything prescribed to us. We had relatively extensive freedom to choose; freedom to make mistakes. (State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012)

www.manaraa.com

Europeanization discourse: *A corpus of statements of which vocabulary and organization regularly and systematically advances Europeanization in Estonian PA.*	
Problematization: Lack of alignment with the Western European norms of governance and authority ***Power/Knowledge:*** The EU institutional expertise, the EU law, the legislative activity of the European institutions, the EU sectoral policy expertise, international economics, the standards of international good practice, the comparative know-how and best practices of the leading modern democracies, the jurisprudence of the European Court of Justice, the EU conditionality regime for accession ***Subjectivity:*** Public administrator is a "therapist"	
Privileged terms	**Oppressed terms**
• teleology, single trajectory of change, "normalization"	• contingency, multiple trajectories of change
• European Single Market, economic integration	• ecology of PA
• supranational requirements, *acquis communautaire*	• domestic demands and interests, national law
• EU institutional expertise, comparative knowledge, international economics, global best practices	• contextual knowledge, local knowledge
• EU legal approximiation, consolidation of legal and institutional frameworks, EU conditionality	• constitutionalism, national sovereignty
• European Adminstrative Space (EAS), common administrative standards, Western European models and traditions of public administration	• national politico-economic regime, historical legacy, administrative traditions
• absorption capacity of EU structural funds, project management skills, capacity to enforce EU policies	• capacity to solve public problems

Figure 3. Central tenets of Europeanization discourse in Estonian PA in transition.

The corpus analysis indicates this initial period of discursive openness and experimentation ended with Estonia's becoming a candidate country of the European Union (EU) in 1997. From this point forward, postcommunist transition process was being steered by the conceptual order of Europeanization. The goal of EU membership provided a "template" or a "compass" for Estonia's development with a set of specific conditionality criteria that needed to be fulfilled in order to advance towards pre-determined standards of political and economic development (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012; Local government representative No. 1, interview, April 3, 2012; OECD, 1998a; State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012). The teleological narrative of EU integration became the driver of the transition process. As one of the interviewees explains, the European ambition provided a "development

www.manaraa.com

mechanism" that could be systematically followed at a time when a clear direction was lacking, or a "ladder" that needed to be climbed in order to become "a better, more affluent, more democratic, and more open society" (State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012). "Estonia came out of these negotiations as a totally different country, with a European legal system and a modern and efficient administration" (Rannu, 2009b). The EU accession process was "truly a 'graduation test' for the civil service as a whole" (Hololei, 2009). "There is some truth to the saying the EU enlargement policy is the most successful policy of the Union since it manages to change, transform entire countries, if it is applied in the right way" (State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012).

After having become the member state of the EU in 2004, the normalization narrative declared the end of postcommunist transition in Estonia. According to those who employ the discourse, Estonia has become a "post-transition society" (Academic No. 1, interview, March 29, 2012; State official No. 1, interview, March 21, 2012), the country has entered a "phase of new democracy" (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012), and Estonia has become "a normal, ordinary society" (Local government representative No. 1, interview, April 3, 2012). With the step of becoming a full member of the EU and NATO, "the transition period for Estonia could be declared over" (Laar, 2009). Hence, when this discursive material is mobilized, the public administrator assumes the role of a "therapist" who is transforming the country into a "normal" European nation.

EU conditionality requirements. According to the discourse analysis, the European Union (EU) accession process set a number of requirements for the structures, processes, and competencies of public administration in Estonia. The conditions of EU membership for Estonia, and the rest of the CEE, were set out at the

www.manaraa.com

European Council of June 1993. The so-called Copenhagen membership criteria required the candidate countries to have:

- Stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and respect for and protection of minority groups;
- The existence of a functioning market economy and capacity to cope with competitive pressures and market forces within the European Union;
- The ability to take on the obligations of membership, including adherence to the aims of political, economic, and monetary union. (Nunberg, 2000)

The third criterion, the ability to take on the obligations of membership, was the key requirement for public administration. "This ability was construed as both the capacity to adopt the legal framework of the Acquis Communautaire and the administrative and judicial capacity to apply it" (Nunberg, 2000). The administrative capacity requirement was consistently reinforced by the European Commission in its opinions, and later in the regular reports which assessed the progress of the integration process (European Commission, 1998; European Commission, 1999; European Commission, 2000; European Commission, 2001; European Commission, 2002; European Commission, 2003; Nunberg, 2000; OECD, 1998a; World Bank, 1999). Ensuring a well-performing public administration became a reoccurring topic during the accession negotiations:

> This is a very important requirement for the EU as a whole and for its individual Member States. The Union has no administration at individual country level and therefore relies on each Member State to implement its decisions. In the same way, the individual Member States depend on each other to implement Community regulations, for example, on product health standards or the qualifications required to practice certain professions. (OECD, 1998a)

Still, the notion of administrative capacity in EU parlance was never defined and remains a loaded term (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012; State official

www.manaraa.com

No. 1, interview, March 21, 2012). "Although the European Commission has made clear that acceding countries will need to increase their administrative capacity, there are no explicit stipulations or standards as to the exact nature of this capacity or the means by which it should be attained" (Nunberg, 2000). Says one of the interviewees: "The Copenhagen criteria required us to have a functional market economy, a democratic state based on the rule of law, and an effective administrative system. Now we tried to figure out what this effective administrative system entailed" (State official No. 1, interview, March 21, 2012).

The EU *acquis* does not prescribe an implementation model, and remains vague about the organization of public administration leaving the matter to the member states to decide (OECD, 1998a; OECD, 1998b). Nevertheless, the acceding countries were expected to modernize their administrations to ensure effective implementation of EU law on an equal footing with the member states (Nunberg, 1999; Nunberg, 2000). Estonia needed to "develop the public services required to implement Community rules with the same guarantee of effectiveness as member states" (World Bank, 1999).

The regular reports of the European Commission, and other related discursive material gathered for the study, refer to administrative capacity in the context of the swift transposition of legal acts, the existence of structures and processes for enforcement and implementation, training and technical competence of personnel, and availability of financial resources. The requirements include the need "to strengthen the regulatory infrastructure needed to ensure compliance" (European Commission, 1999) and "[t]he reinforcement of institutional and administrative capacity, in particular regulatory and monitoring bodies" (World Bank, 1999). In one of its reports, the European Commission finds that "Estonia's inspection capacity also needs

www.manaraa.com

to be reinforced" (European Commission, 2001). Furthermore, the candidate countries "need to transpose EC legislation into the domestic legal order and then implement and enforce it" (SIGMA, 1998).

In addition, the necessary public administration infrastructure requires adequate skills and knowledge to ensure compliance with EU standards (OECD, 1998a). The European Commission emphasizes the importance of "staff training" (European Commission, 2002; World Bank, 1999), and the need "to create a body of highly qualified civil servants which can ensure the adequate implementation and enforcement of the EU acquis" (European Commission, 1998). "The most immediate implication of this demand is that Estonia will need to hire and train public employees to strengthen existing agencies, and staff new agencies" (World Bank, 1999). Says one of the interviewees:

> I imagine the purpose of the European Union was to raise the quality and values of the civil servants in postcommunist transition societies to the level of the civil servants in the rest of the old democracies – to invest in them, to accelerate their catching-up on knowledge, to promote similar understandings so we would all together be able to cheerfully plan a better tomorrow. When you have one company who has just recently crawled out of a bear's cave, it is difficult to have a civilized conversation with them behind the negotiation table. I think the noble idea behind it was to create a common background. (State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012)

The EU notion of administrative capacity also implied setting up new administrative structures, or modifying the existing ones to the needs of implementing EU requirements. The European Commission's regular reports include the following expectations. Estonia, and the rest of the CEE countries, need to set up "regulatory and monitoring bodies" (European Commission, 1998), they need "to adapt their administrative structures so as to guarantee the harmonious implementation of

www.manaraa.com

Community policies after membership" (European Commission, 1998), and they need "to ensure that the existing structures are fully capable of enforcing and implementing the acquis correctly" (European Commission, 2000). Based on the Commission's opinion, "[s]trengthening of the administrative structure will be indispensable if Estonia is to have the structures to apply and enforce the acquis effectively" (European Commission, 1998).

All in all, the technical notion of administrative capacity in the EU integration process as the ability to transpose the *acquis* to the Estonian legal system (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012; State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012) created a strong role-definition for public administration as the implementation apparatus of normative acts. The task of public administration was "to bring domestic legislation into accordance with EU law and prove that the Estonian State was administratively capable of properly implementing the support instruments" (Ristkok, 2009). Says one of the interviewees:

> One aspect of the EU's notion of administrative capacity that hasn't changed is the EU's interest in the candidate states' ability to follow the Union's law. The European Union is essentially a common legal space which functions through law and creates new law – the single market and other common policy areas can function only if the member states are implementing the legal acts and are applying them in a unified manner. So, the European Union was interested that the candidate states would increase their capacity to enforce EU's legal norms, and through that implement the EU's common policies. So, the substance of administrative capacity was first more enforcement-centered – to be able to implement legal acts. (State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012)

Even though the EU does not prescribe a public administration model for the candidate countries, the specific requirements of its sectoral *acquis* alter domestic

www.manaraa.com

institutions and impact their administrative processes. As one of the interviewees explains:

> The European Union does not have an imperative model – the EU does not prescribe a governance model for the member states, but what I am trying to say is that the EU regulations, the EU policies, have created a certain set of administrative procedures, or provided a basis for a specific type of administrative routines. The EU has very strong regulations. For example, let's take the health protection requirements which are very elaborate. These may concern water management, water infrastructure, the drinking water, the ground water, waste management etc. There are very specific requirements, for example, the EU says we must recycle a specific percentage of packaging waste – this percentage of glass, and this percentage of beverage containers, and this percentage of construction waste, and this percentage of biodegradable waste. What does this mean then? They are setting these standards by some sort of units based on which the member states are expected to report on the fulfillment of these criteria. For being able to perform their reporting obligations, the states must create systems which monitor and measure these exact same units. What I am trying to say is that the EU's regulations have brought with them a specific set of administrative procedures which Estonia needed to take over and apply. However, we did not have an opportunity to considerably influence the design of these procedures. (Academic No. 1, interview, March 29, 2012)

Civil service professionalism. One of the key requirements of the European Union (EU) during the accession process was the development of an impartial and politically neutral civil service. While the European Commission does not prescribe a specific model for the functioning of public administration, its opinions seem to implicitly suggest a preference for the classical Weberian principles in the development of the candidate countries' civil service systems (OECD, 1998a).

The EU-promoted reform discourse revolved around the existence of a legal framework, a separate Public Service Act, as a precondition for public service modernization (European Commission, 1999; European Commission, 2001; European Commission, 2002; Meyer-Sahling, 2009b; Nunberg, 1999; Nunberg, 2000; OECD &

www.manaraa.com

SIGMA, 2003; OECD, 1997a; OECD, 1998b; World Bank, 1999). The legal instrument was viewed as the best method for ensuring the creation of a professional, depoliticized civil service governed by merit and rule-based practices. "With respect to European principles of administration, a civil service law provides the basic mechanism for protecting the impartiality and promoting the professionalism of civil servants that is necessary to guarantee legal certainty as well as accountability of civil servants as individuals exercising state authority" (Meyer-Sahling, 2009b).

The positions of the European Commission on the desired civil service model in the CEE refer to the classical career system implemented in most EU countries (OECD, 1998a). Consider the following discursive fragments:

> The professionalism and efficiency of the administration depend not only on the quality of recruitment, but also on the organisation of career development. The establishment of a common framework applicable to different administrations and which sets a hierarchy of functions, grades and career development has a clarifying and harmonising effect. Career development based on the principle of rewarding merit constitutes the central element for professionalising the civil service and motivating its officials. (OECD, 1997b)

The desirability of the career system is clearly articulated in the following SIGMA document:

> Motivation and long-term commitment of individuals to working in the public sector have to be ensured with the establishment of a career system. Only detailed job descriptions, institutionalised qualification requirements, and promotion prospects made calculable by equality of treatment and performance appraisals will allow for the degree of career planning necessary to enhance the attractiveness of continued civil service employment. (OECD, 1998a)

www.manaraa.com

A similar rationale is used in yet another SIGMA document:

> A civil service system where civil servants have a specific statute regulating their right to career advancement, setting up clearly their rights and duties, providing a fair and proportionate level of wage income openly disclosed and well-regulated, and sound disciplinary provisions, makes civil servants less vulnerable to corruption, coercion and flattery and, as a consequence, contributes decisively to the value of professional integrity. (SIGMA, 1998)

This line of thinking comes into direct conflict with the prevailing managerialism in Estonia. Estonia's reform programs have emphasized the need to create a flexible, open, position-based civil service system, and bringing the terms of service more similar to those on the labor market (Justiitsministeerium, 2007; Ministry of Finance, n.d.e; Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001; Tartu Ülikool, 1999; Vabariigi Valitsuse Haldusreformi Asjatundjate Komisjon, 1999). Instead of a unified civil service system, "Estonia has not one but many civil service systems, as each ministry has developed its own approach to personnel management" (Meyer-Sahling, 2009b). Nevertheless, due to the EU pressure, the original Public Service Act, drawn up in 1994 and enforced in 1996, was based on the German career-model. As one of the interviewees explains:

> At the time it was clear that in a small state with limited human resources, which needs flexibility and speed for adjusting to different changes, it was impossible to build a career system and set up a complicated grade scale. So perhaps this first choice was not a successful one, or not a justified one. At the same time, the ideas of New Public Management started to spread, and when the act reached the implementation stage, many of its career elements were discarded, or overlooked – such things as periodic attestation, for example. /…/ On paper, we have a civil service system which is relatively regulated and oriented towards the vertical axis, however, in practice the civil service system is relatively open and very flexible. In some aspects, such as the remuneration system, even too flexible. It is hard to find a more flexible pay system than ours. (State official No. 1, interview, March 21, 2012)

www.manaraa.com

The interviewee also adds:

> So perhaps if during the transition in the mid-1990s we had had more time to analyze the practices of different states, and to think this through from the perspective of a small state, from the perspective of the needs of Estonia, then perhaps our civil service law would have been completely different. /.../ I think the reality of the transitional period in the early 1990s dictated this, that we perhaps did not make the best choice in regard to our civil service system. A little later, however, when we were analyzed in the context of the EU candidate countries, then essentially the concern was if we had a civil service law. It was one of the requirements during the accession negotiations which needed to be checked off, and no one really delved into the substance of it. We were given recommendations how to adjust our law and our system, but since it was not part of the formal *acquis*, these recommendations did not make much difference, as long as we had the law. So, perhaps we did not have the best example to follow when we were building up our civil service system. (State official No. 1, interview, March 21, 2012)

The contradiction between EU's Weberianism and CEE's managerialism has also been noticed in other postcommunist nations (Meyer-Sahling, 2009b; Verheijen, 2007). It has been found that the mindset of the CEE civil servants comes "closer to the principles of the new public management than to those of the European Rechtsstaat tradition, as reflected in the EU Treaties and interpreted by the European Court of Justice" (Meyer-Sahling, 2009b). Moreover, "the legislation adopted under pressure from the EU is not suitable for the specific political and economic conditions in Central and Eastern European states," and has led to "a general erosion of merit principles" (Verheijen, 2007). While the preference for managerialism may reflect the overall positive attitude towards the private sector and the market in post-communist societies, the nature of the EU integration process itself may have contributed to this development:

www.manaraa.com

> Tight and often very short-term timetables, the need to deliver results during the accession negotiations, and the simple fact that adjustment to EU demands inevitably implied major institutional and personnel instability in the CEE administrations during the accession preparations favoured a flexible, discretionary and, above all, speed-oriented approach to personnel management. In other words, the very nature of the EU accession process did not necessarily support the institutionalisation of European principles of administration, which require greater attention to regularity, standardisation, uniformity, and tightened managerial discretion. (Meyer-Sahling, 2009b)

This line of thought challenges the discursive order of Europeanization by declaring the traditional EU models "do not work in this context but a suitable alternative has yet to emerge" (Verheijen, 2007). The World Bank, for example, urges the CEE nations "to think outside the traditional civil service box," and find ways "to marry the emerging market culture of the new member states with the notions of merit, impartiality and equality" (Verheijen, 2007).

European Administrative Space (EAS). Based on the results of discourse analysis, Europeanization has also manifested itself through the principles of good administrative practices commonly shared by the member states of the European Union (EU). Since in ensuring the free movement of goods, services, people, and capital each member state of the EU is dependent on the administrative performance of others, the Union functions within a common European Administrative Space (EAS) (OECD, 1998a; SIGMA, 1998).

The EAS is a metaphor for referring to the principles of good governance shared by the member states. It concerns "basic institutional arrangements, processes, common administrative standards and civil service values" (SIGMA, 1998). As explained in the following passage:

www.manaraa.com

> The EAS represents an evolving process of increasing convergence between national administrative legal orders and administrative practices of Member States. This convergence is influenced by several driving forces, such as economic pressures from individuals and firms, regular and continuous contacts between public officials of Member States and, finally and especially, the jurisprudence of the European Court of Justice. (SIGMA, 1998)

The following group of administrative law principles make up the European principles for good administration: 1) reliability and predictability (legal certainty); 2) openness and transparency; 3) accountability, and 4) efficiency and effectiveness (SIGMA, 1998). These are embedded in the institutions and administrative processes of the member states, and defended by systems of justice, including the European Court of Justice (OECD, 1998b; SIGMA, 1998).

The EAS also serves as a policy template for the candidate countries in reforming their administrative systems to meet the expectations of the EU (Meyer-Sahling, 2009b; OECD, 1998a; SIGMA, 1998). These principles provide a reference point, or a shared understanding, in regard to the otherwise vague notion of administrative capacity, even though the requirements accommodate a range of different administrative systems. According to SIGMA, the set of conditions is compatible "with the new public management as well as with the classic Weberian administration; it fits a Scandinavian tradition of administration as much as a Germanic, Anglo-Saxon or Napoleonic tradition" (Meyer-Sahling, 2009b).

The EAS principles play a significant role in the Europeanization of national public administrations. In Estonia, the so-called SIGMA principles are often-invoked criteria for describing good public administration, and keep being mentioned as the guiding assumptions for carrying out public administration reform (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012; Justiitsministeerium, 2007; Laar, 2000; Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001; State official No. 2, interview,

www.manaraa.com

May 22, 2012; State official No. 3, interview, April 19, 2012). As one of the interviewees emphasizes, adhering to these principles is an important part of functioning as the EU member state:

> After the year 2004, we have entered a new period. There is no formal European law concerning public administration, there are no directives compelling us to do things in a certain way – this belongs to the competency of the member states. Still, there is a whole series of expectations for public administration to perform in compliance with certain principles. These macro-conditions apply to us as the member state, we cannot bypass them, these are fixed and we need to follow them. (State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012)

Absorption capacity of structural funds. The findings of the corpus analysis suggest that one of the dominant roles of public administration since the accession to the European Union (EU) has been implementation of structural instruments. This reasoning pattern problematizes administrative capacity as the ability of public administration to effectively implement EU funds (European Commission, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2003; Merila & Ausmees, 2008; OECD, 1998b; Press & Rihvk, 2004; Reinthal, 2005; Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007; Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004; State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012; State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012; Verheijen, 2007; World Bank, 1999).

> EU structural assistance as the instrument of Community cohesion policy has been created for increasing the economic and social cohesion across the EU. The objective of their use is to support the harmonious, balanced and sustainable development of the Community. For this aim, the less developed countries and regions receive support for reducing their development disparities; for accelerating social and economic restructuring; and for preventing the dangers deriving from ageing of the population. (Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007)

Administrative capacity is a precondition for effective and efficient utilization of EU structural instruments (Merila & Ausmees, 2008; Press & Rihvk, 2004;

www.manaraa.com

Reinthal, 2005; Republic of Estonia, May, 2010). "Achieving the biggest impact with structural funds is to a large extent a matter of professional quality of the civil service" (Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004). Ensuring absorption capacity is crucial in order to be able to handle an increasing flow of funds:

> If they lack a strong administrative capacity, states will not only risk losing the direct benefits brought by these funds but will also risk the neglect of policy agendas in other areas owing to the sheer volume of the task of planning and implementing structural funds. This could pose significant risks in areas that are important to economic and social development but are not included under funding priorities. (Verheijen, 2007)

The discursive practices within this formation are most importantly concerned with strategic planning capacity for national, regional, and sectoral programming (Rannu, 2009a; Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007; State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012), multi-year budgeting (State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012; World Bank, 1999), project management skills (Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007; State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012), auditing and evaluation (European Commission, 2002; OECD, 1998a; Rannu, 2009a; World Bank, 1999), and the ability to mobilize social partners (Local government representative No. 2; Ministry of Finance, n.d.b; OECD, 2011a; Rannu, 2009a; Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007; Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004; Republic of Estonia, May, 2010; State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012).

According to those immersed in the discourse, the management of EU structural instruments has brought about some positive "spillover effects" to the national administrative system. For example, "A significant push in favour of engaging interest groups has come from the general regulation of European Commission structural funds, which requires engagement of social partners in

www.manaraa.com

preparing a national plan for financing measures" (OECD, 2011a). Besides, "The entire financial and internal audit system as such was born out of the need to control the implementation of the EU funds" (Mändmets, 2009). Moreover, access to EU funds helped to institutionalize multi-year planning and budgeting practices in the Estonian public administration since funding for these programs extended beyond one-year budget cycle (World Bank, 1999). Nevertheless, the absorption capacity discourse advances an orientation in public administration that is much more focused on implementation of the EU-funded projects (and through that the Union's policies) consistent with the funder's expectations, rather than on designing and carrying out systematic and sustainable solutions to complex public problems facing the Estonian society (see more on ecological discourse of public administration below).

Summary. Since becoming the candidate country for the EU membership in 1997, the postcommunist transition in Estonia has been guided by the conceptual order of Europeanization. The constellation of symbolizations which pertain to Europeanization includes the EU conditionality requirements, the EU standards for civil service professionalism, the principles of the European Administrative Space (EAS), and the absorption capacity of structural funds. The order of Europeanization rests on the narrative of "normalization" and employs disciplinary power in the application of a linear developmental approach. The subjectivity of public officials is shaped by the process of approximation to Western European models and traditions of public administration.

Technocratic discourse. Another prevalent discursive regime which constitutes Estonian public administration in transition is technocratic discourse (see Figure 4). The central issue of postcommunism in this discourse is represented as the

www.manaraa.com

lack of de-ideologized social action, and the need for rule-governed social control. The regime is most importantly supported by specialized knowledge, neutral competence, and bureaucratic expertise. Public administrators are "inspectors."

Enforcement and control orientation. The corpus analysis reveals Estonian public administration has been constituted by a discourse of technical-bureaucratic social control through enforcement of laws and regulations particularly pertaining to the application of the European Union (EU) *acquis*, and implementation of structural assistance.

Technocratic discourse: *A corpus of statements of which vocabulary and organization regularly and systematically advances technocratic thinking in Estonian PA.*	
Problematization: Lack of de-ideologized and rule-governed social control based on technical expertise ***Power/Knowledge:*** Bureaucratic expertise, specialized knowledge, neutral competence, legal expertise ***Subjectivity:*** Public administrator is an "inspector"	
Privileged terms	**Oppressed terms**
• technical social control, de-politicization of social issues, knowledge-based execution of public power	• political contestation of opinions, values, interests, and demands
• bureaucratic expertise, legal expertise, specialized knowledge, impartial, lawful, and competent decision-making, political acceptability	• multiple sources of knowledge (political, scientific, professional, practical, communal, experiential), multiple evidence bases for decision-making, partisan decision-making
• rule-governed administration, enforcement, control, inspection, surveillence, monitoring of (EU) laws and regulations, legalism	• formalism, arbitrariness, informality, personalism, use of contracts and service agreements, administrative burden of legal acts
• hierarchical accountability to elected officials, reporting obligations to the EU	• multiple lines of accountability (hierarchical, judicial, political, democratic, social, communal)
• electoral democracy, majority rule	• partocracy, party-politicization of public affairs

Figure 4. Central tenets of technocratic discourse in Estonian PA in transition.

As discussed above, Europeanization has had a major impact on the development of public administration in Estonia. In the context of EU conditionality, the EU-promoted notion of administrative capacity was first and foremost concerned with the ability to introduce and enforce legal acts (Academic No. 3, interview, March

www.manaraa.com

30, 2012; State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012). The EU *acquis communautaire* which was transposed to Estonian law amounted to almost 80,000 pages of legal texts (Laffranque, 2009). It was comprised of "the general principles of the EU acquis; EU primary law – Treaties establishing European Communities, Treaty on European Union, and their protocols and annexes; EU secondary law – Regulations, Directives, Decisions; Case Law of the European Court of Justice; and to some extent EU future law – objectives, drafts" (Laffranque, 2009). This contributed to the advancement of technical-bureaucratic language in Estonian public administration. Says one of the interviewees:

> The wave of changes in the 2000s was related to the accession with the European Union. It brought with it much stronger legal regulation – the degree of regulation in public administration has been considerably increased. It also brought with it a number of new structures, new tasks which the Estonian state had never dealt with before, but which now needed to be carried out. (Academic No. 1, interview, March 29, 2012)

The EU integration process and preparation for the use of structural instruments concentrated on the creation and strengthening of structures and units performing monitoring and control functions within the Estonian administrative system (Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001; Rannu, 2009a; Riigikantselei Eurointegratsiooni Büroo, 2000; Riigikantselei Eurointegratsiooni Büroo, 2001; World Bank, 1999). In its regular reports, the European Commission repeatedly emphasized the need to strengthen the structural units and to train the staff to carry out the functions of "enforcement," "inspection," "auditing," "evaluation," "assessment," "supervision," "surveillance," and "control" across various areas of the sectoral *acquis* (European Commission, 1998; European Commission, 1999; European Commission, 2000; European Commission, 2001; European Commission, 2002;

www.manaraa.com

European Commission, 2003). As the consequence of these developments, Estonia has inevitably moved away from the conception of a "thin state" or a "minimal state" towards much more interventionist model (Academic No. 1, interview, March 29, 2012; Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012; Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012). Says one of the interviewees:

> The philosophy that originates from Brussels is essentially the Continental European philosophy. This is not a philosophy of a "thin state", but it is a philosophy of a rather "bulky state." /…/ We are involved in a Union that presupposes a rather strong and, I would say, a massive machinery of the state capable of handling all the requirements. On the other hand, the widespread attitude among our politicians, entrepreneurs, and citizens is that state officials are freeloaders – they should have lower salaries, less benefits, and there is too many of them altogether. At the same time, if the processing of a case takes 5 months instead of 1 month, the state is perceived to be lacking administrative capacity. Here is a conflict! These expectations cannot be fulfilled simultaneously. What I am trying to say is that the discourse which has been brought about by the European Union is in conflict with the discourse of public administration we have formed until now. (Academic No. 1, interview, March 29, 2012)

The pervasiveness of the technical enforcement-oriented discursive regime in Estonian public administration is also referred to by some of the interviewees for this study in the non-profit sector (NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012; NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012; NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012). According to one NGO leader, their relationship with an implementation authority of EU funds has been characterized by unreasonable reporting obligations, over-interpretation of monitoring requirements, and disproportional use of enforcement power:

> When it comes to the funding of our association, we are under an enormous burden of reporting obligations. It has become so idiotic, so absurd that I am not coping with this on my own anymore, I had to hire additional staff to help me out with this. Our association employs 9 people out of whom 2 are dealing with reporting, reporting,

www.manaraa.com

> reporting, with answering idiotic questions: "Where does this salary number come from? Why do you have this spending here? Why have you printed these booklets? Give reasons! Justify! Provide copies! Scan papers! Send documents!" This person has attended a training workshop: "How is it related to the work you do? Why has this person attended that workshop?" Questions, questions, questions! It is a nightmare! When it comes to the monitoring of structural funds, it is particularly weird. There are probably some EU procedures which the Estonian officials, with their diligence, have over interpreted. (NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012)

According to the interviewee, the surveillance by structural funds officials over the use of EU funds is concentrating on minute technical details of spending, and fails to consider the broader goals of the instrument. The reporting requirements imposed on the nonprofit association are hindering the substantive work of the organization:

> As the leader of the organization I am already drowning in work responsibilities. I must write reports, reports, and more reports. And one more time provide answers to the officials' questions, and one more time send them documents. I am so busy doing this, I don't have time for the actual work. /…/ The officials are following the prescribed procedures to the letter: "What does this term mean? No, this law says it needs to be this way!" The whole process is lacking good sense. If you pose a direct question to them, you will never get a straightforward answer. They always find it necessary to scrutinize the law if this or that is in compliance with the requirements or not. It has become so very bureaucratic! And the officials are rather searching for excuses why not to help than finding a reason to help. (NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012)

Legalism and formalism. The technocratic discourse also manifests itself in relation to the idea of rule-governed administration in the analyzed corpus of texts. Estonian public administration appears to be simultaneously over- and under-regulated. The immediate post-independence period in the early 1990s necessitated the drawing-up and adoption of piles of laws in the course of developing a legal framework for the newly re-created state (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012; State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012). In addition to this, the 2000s and

www.manaraa.com

the accession process to the EU brought with it another wave of changes related to the harmonization of Estonian law with the Union's *acquis*. As the consequence of these developments, Estonian public administration has been dominated by "legalese" (Nunberg, 2000). It has a strong German-patterned bureaucratic streak running through it (Academic No. 1, interview, March 29, 2012). Nevertheless, the technocratic discursive regime suggests, the prevalent legalism is also accompanied by excessive formalism and arbitrary application of rules.

The mismatch between legal texts and practices is best illustrated in the area of the civil service. As discussed above, the Estonian Public Service Act has never been fully implemented and only exists on paper (State official No. 1, interview, March 21, 2012). The transition period has "favored purely legal-formal fixes to institutional problems" (Nunberg, 1999). This has led to the spread of an "implementation gap" (Meyer-Sahling, 2009b; Nunberg, 2000; OECD, 1997b; OECD, 1998b; Sootla, n.d.). The inadequate attention to the issues of implementation is also suggested in the following discursive fragment:

> Civil service laws were adopted in all New Member States before accession, as this was one of the few sine qua non of EU-related administrative capacity requirements. However, this did not imply that laws needed to be effective as of the date of membership. (Verheijen, 2007)

Similar concerns of legalism, formalism, and arbitrariness are also expressed by some of the participants interviewed for this study. According to one NGO leader, the process of decision-making by government officials in relation to nonprofit associations is non-transparent. The NGO has no idea what it can expect from interacting with the officials, its rights *vis-à-vis* the public bodies are vague, the procedural rules are perceived to be arbitrary, and up to the officials to decide:

www.manaraa.com

> The arbitrariness of the structural funds officials has become so unbearable, so sickening, they are so overbearing about the whole thing, they can do whatever they want! When I ask about their procedural rules –about the required timeframe of their inspection activities – there is no answer. They are just waving around their Structural Assistance Act which contains no procedural rules. /…/ And if I ask questions, they get angry. If I provide my arguments in response to their allegations, I disparage their work, and it is taken personally. If I dare to argue with them, they retaliate by withholding our organization's money. (NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012)

Says another NGO leader:

> As an association we would like to have partners in the government who have a clear understanding of their sphere of jurisdiction and their decision-making rights so there would be less bouncing from one direction to another. So if we wanted to reach an agreement on something, it would be very clear that we need to have a decision on this matter from this official, and we need to have a decision on that matter from that official. Currently we never know when a higher-placed organ decides to intervene and cancel all our agreements. (NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012)

Based on the perception of the interviewee, the officials are trying to avoid taking risky decisions by hiding behind legal regulations to strip themselves of having to take on tasks:

> It is also quite common for officials to refuse to act on issues within their decision-making powers by referring to lack of jurisdiction. /…/ The less you do, the fewer mistakes you can possibly make, and the smaller the chance of getting punished. Bad public administration is when an official is trying to do everything to preserve their job instead of carrying out the responsibilities for which their position was created. This is an attitude which, in my opinion, is prevailing. The officials are following their procedures to the letter: "This is not possible because this decree does not allow it!" Never is the question posed inversely: "How would it be possible?" It seems to me that currently the officials are increasingly trying to find reasons why something cannot be done instead of trying to find ways for getting things done. (NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012)

www.manaraa.com

Moreover, legalism, advanced by the technocratic discourse, comes into stark conflict with the dominant managerialist regime in Estonian public administration. Based on the sayings of some of the subjects inteviewed for this study, NPM has been a myth in Estonian public administration – it has never been systematically implemented (Academic No. 1, interview, March 29, 2012; Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012; State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012). As one of the interviewees explains:

> With regards to NPM, it has never been systematically implemented in Estonia. By no means can we compare this to such cases as the UK or New Zealand. Certain instruments of NPM have just randomly fitted into the neoliberal worldview. There have been some applications of NPM in Estonia in the form of performance-based management instruments. However, if we agree that one of the key features of NPM is agentification and decentralization of big government agencies, then the prevailing direction in Estonia has been the opposite – uniting government agencies and merging ministries. (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012)

Says another interviewee:

> NPM in Estonia is more a rhetoric of reform. It was widely used in the end of the 1990s and now more recently at the end of this decade. In rhetoric, it is very much alive in Estonia. No one labels it as NPM, but the ideas appealed to include efficiency, cost-cutting, effectiveness – undoubtedly very much alive! But, here we are talking about ideas. If we look at what has actually been happening, then NPM has rarely been expressed in action. /.../ I am trying to say there has never been a public administration reform in Estonia which would have applied NPM universally, comparable to the degree of Thatcher's reforms in the UK. What I am trying to say is that ideas have not been transformed into policies. These have been selectively implemented, but they mainly consist of rhetoric. (Academic No. 1, interview, March 29, 2012)

The discursive material gathered for this study suggests that one of the central doctrines of NPM – contractualism – seems not to have taken root in Estonian public

www.manaraa.com

administration. Among the tools used for achieving coordination, contracts and service agreements take a backseat in comparison to laws and regulations (OECD, 2011a; Riigikontroll, 2010; State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012). The policy process is focused on the need to develop legal decisions, and "there is an overreliance on legal processes compared to other aspects of policy formulation" (Nunberg, 2000). "In Estonia, laws and legislation – the most binding of the tools – appears to be most frequently relied upon to manage and co-ordinate central/sub-national relations" (OECD, 2011a). As explained by one of the interviewees:

> When it comes to delegating tasks, we are still inclined to do everything ourselves. By doing things yourself, you can rest assured that they get done. We don't know how to have contractual relationships, or how to collaborate. We need to keep everything in-house to feel secure. The same thing applies to the employer-employee relationship: if it's my employee, I can give him/her tasks 24 hours a day, and I can rest assured the job gets done. But we are lacking the kind of civilized behavior between two parties of a contract: I tell you what I wish to receive, and you deliver it to me on time and with good quality. And, if you don't, then we'll negotiate, or try to find a satisfactory solution. These negotiation skills are absent among private individuals as well as among state officials. This is where it all begins. This is not only a problem among non-profit organizations, but also in the private sector – we don't know how to collaborate among companies, carry out negotiations, or communicate and agree on what we want. We wish to keep everything in-house, or to have a cluster-based form of coordination. This is also very noticeable among private firms – we either own things or don't do them at all. How about developing a cooperative network, let's negotiate and let's be equal partners – this is very difficult to come by. Not to mention, having a representative of "power" grant an equal role to an individual citizen, citizens' association, or private firm. In Estonia, people are mocking and making fun of public-private partnerships. The City of Tallinn has experimented with some unsuccessful projects, but in principle what is so bad about it? (State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012)

De-politicization of public affairs. This study finds that the de-politicization of public affairs in Estonia occurs either through the recourse to bureaucratic expertise

www.manaraa.com

and specialized knowledge, or through partisan decision-making and other manifestations of "partocracy." The corpus analysis of texts suggests, there are certain types of knowledge privileged in the decision-making processes. The policy-making process seems to rely on a limited use of various bases of evidence apart from certain forms of expertise (OECD, 2011a). The policy formation is dominated by lawyers while information is drawn predominantly from technical knowledge (Nunberg, 2000; OECD, 2011a; World Bank, 1999). Lack of policy analysis combined with involvement of information from a very narrow group of sources has turned policy formation into a technical exercise centered around an official. According to an administrative capacity building evaluation included in the corpus analysis: "In 2007 and now, the problem is the official-centered policy making; there is very limited public discussion in the course of policy formation, and it has concentrated in a narrow circle" (Centre for Pure Development, November 1, 2011). Based on the interviews carried out for this study, input by civil society groups has been disregarded due to lack of specialized knowledge (NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012).

Moreover, partisan political knowledge appears to be the dominant evidence base for decision-making (OECD, 2011a). According to an interviewee, electoral mandate is believed to confer autonomous decision-making rights on elected officials who do not feel the need for any further consultation (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012). Within this discursive formation, politically based decision-making is prevalent in policy formation while other types of inputs, including scientific research and consultation with various interest groups, are disregarded. Also, those employing this discourse, perceive the policy making to be lacking a scientific knowledge base, and instead to be dominated by subjective beliefs and party-political lobbying (Centre

www.manaraa.com

for Pure Development, November 1, 2011). Based on an administrative capacity building evaluation included in the corpus analysis, there has been a decrease in the utilization of analytical information produced by scientists, universities and other analysts outside the government in the making of policy decisions; policy formation tends to occur in the political "back rooms" hidden from the public's view (Centre for Pure Development, November 1, 2011).

The influence of partisan politics on policy-making also inhibits a long-term perspective in policy initiatives (OECD, 1997b, OECD, 2011a). The lack of a strategic vision and the constantly shifting political priorities are also the concerns brought out by some of the participants in this study. According to one of the interviewees:

> When we tried to reach an agreement with the minister in regard to a long-term vision, and suggested we need a non-partisan strategy, the minister replied there is no such thing as non-partisan policy. There are party policies of education, but nonpartisan education policy is nonsense. What we had in mind was agreeing on a long-term vision, and laying out a strategy how to get there, so it wouldn't make a difference who the minister was. As it was in Finland during the 1970s where ministers from different political parties carried out the same strategy for 30 years, and the results are now showing. They managed to end this party political pushing and pulling where you have a new minister who declares that the previous curriculum is nonsense, and draws up a new one. Soon after the new curriculum has barely been implemented, the minister changes, and the process starts all over again. (NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012)

Says another interviewee:

> It is characteristic of Estonian politics to have one minister today, and another minister in two years. There is constant political twitching and the long-term perspective doesn't even interest anyone. The minister is interested in raising a set of populist issues while he or she is in office. No one wants to deal with the long-term vision. (NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012)

www.manaraa.com

In addition to the partisan decision making in the policy process, de-politicization of public affairs in Estonia also occurs through the growing potential for the emergence of patronage in the civil service system, and through the strengthening grip of the political parties on the non-profit sector. When this discursive material is mobilized, partisan politics is perceived to have pervaded all spheres of public affairs, and reduced political contestation of opinions and ideas. Some interviewees for this study invoke the small state factor, personalism, lack of human resources, and a very flexible and decentralized human resources management system as primary culprits for the rising concern with patronage in the civil service in Estonia (Academic No. 1, interview, March 29, 2012; Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012). According to one interviewee, the screening of the employees' lists according to their party membership by incoming ministers is a common practice at least in one government department (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012). The NGO leaders involved in this study are feeling pressured to associate themselves with political parties in order to alleviate their organizations' financial problems. According to one interviewee:

> It appears to me that during recent years the third sector has grown stronger in relation to the public sector. Still, the public sector remains resilient and does not let itself be influenced much. It is sad that in order to accomplish their goals people in the third sector have felt the need to join different political parties, so to be able to reach their objectives through active party politics. /…/ I don't think the third sector should become a part of partisan politics. I think this is dangerous. (NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012)

Says another NGO leader:

> To put it bluntly, what we have is a mafia of officials, bailiffs, and politicians. This is a straightforward description of what is going on in the Estonian state. It is a mafia! Politicians are pulling the strings and employing their own people as heads of

www.manaraa.com

> government agencies. Public officials must execute the politicians' decisions without having any rights to question them. You cannot be employed as a public official unless you have political references. It is a mafia! This is the way things work here. (NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012)

The interviewee also adds:

> I have been trying to keep our association apart from politics. I have been brave thinking if we are a human rights organization and fail to be honest and speak out what we think, then there is no need for such an association. If we are afraid to speak out in fear of losing funding, there is no point in having this organization only for the sake of money. I would rather have another job then, because I want my work to bear results. This has caused us a lot of trouble. (NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012)

Summary. The technocratic regime of public administration in transition problematizes postcommunism as a lack of de-ideologized and rule-governed social control. The discourse advances a vocabulary of public administration that is enforcement and control oriented, that is pervaded by legalism and formalism, and that is geared towards the de-politicization of public affairs. The subject positions of public administrators are limited to the enforcement and inspection of normative acts.

Ecological discourse.[9] Ecological discourse which situates public administration within its societal context has been less prevalent in Estonia during the postcommunist transition (see Figure 5). The problem of postcommunist public administration within this order is constructed as a lack of contextualization. This

[9] The term "ecology" of public administration is adopted from Gaus (2010/1947). Gaus's ecology emphasizes the relationship between public administration and its larger societal context. He enlists several ecological factors administrators should study such as people and place, physical technology, social technology or invention, wishes and ideas of the population, and catastrophe. Gaus suggests a conscious awareness of ecological factors permits administrators to respond more wisely to the demands and challenges of the external environment of their organizations.

www.manaraa.com

discursive regime privileges local-particularistic over global-universal knowledge. Public administrators who employ the discourse see themselves as "problem-solvers."

Ecological discourse: *A corpus of statements of which vocabulary and organization regularly and systematically advances ecological approach in Estonian PA.*	
Problematization: Lack of attention to the inter-relationships between public administration and its historical, technological, cultural, political, and socio-economic context ***Power/Knowledge:*** Contextual knowledge, local knowledge, particularistic knowledge of domestic interest groups, NGOs, social partners, local communities, and citizen associations ***Subjectivity:*** Public administrator is a "problem-solver"	
Privileged terms	**Oppressed terms**
• PA is working in a local environment, responding to nationally defined challenges	• PA is working in a global environment, responding to internationally defined challenges
• PA is influenced by its ecology, PA is intertwined with the fabric of society	• Europeanization, globalization
• an inward focus, government-society nexus	• an outward focus, relations with international and supranational actors
• contextual knowledge, particularistic knowledge, local experience	• comparative knowledge, scientific knowledge, global experience
• government is a policy-maker, problem identification and agenda-setting by domestic policy actors	• government is a policy-taker, problem identification and agenda-setting by external experts
• a problem-solving orientation, focus on ends	• an efficiency orientation, focus on means
• indigenous visions, contextuality of social reality, meanings, and values	• universal solutions, neutral and objective social arrangements

Figure 5. Central tenets of ecological discourse in Estonian PA in transition.

Problem-solving orientation. The construction of public administration as a provider of systemic solutions to complex public problems is rare in the corpus of analyzed texts. Nevertheless, there are some subjects who locate themselves outside the prevalent efficiency discourse and adopt a problem-solving perspective to public administration (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012; Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012; NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012; State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012). While the dominant efficiency orientation in the economic discursive regime has its focus on the means of public administration, the less frequent ecological problem-solving approach is first and foremost concerned with the ends of using public funds. As one of the interviewees explains, the notion of

www.manaraa.com

administrative capacity is often described from a very narrow perspective, mostly in economic terms: "The problem is posed merely in terms of cost-effectiveness; in relation to some narrow technocratic objectives. The approach is very simplistic" (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012). The primary goal of policy makers is saving money, not accomplishing results (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012; State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012). According to one interviewee, confusing ends with means is a key characteristic of Estonian public administration in transition:

> There is one approach in public policy-making which starts with agreeing on what needs to be done, what the expected result is going to be, and what needs to be accomplished; followed by the analysis of the kinds of measures to be applied; followed by the assessment of costs – this is an approach I have not encountered. There is another approach based on which: we have this little money, we need to get by with this, and we discard everything that does not fit into this cost framework – this is an approach which is unfortunately prevailing. (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012)

This reversed logic of "putting a cart before the horse" is also mentioned as a concern by another interviewee:

> Efficiency, economy, and speed should be secondary concerns. The decision itself, and whether it actually helps someone, should be more important. The requirements for decisions to be comprehensible, fast, and economical are self-evident. /…/ The goal of public administration is to make something better, to help someone; we want the quality of life for this person to improve. The activities of public administration include setting up a service, carrying out a study, building a structure etc. It is not uncommon for the goals and activities of public administration to be confused. (NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012)

Thus, in the analyzed corpus of texts, the discursive construct of efficiency constitutes public administration through the metaphor of the "thin state" centered

www.manaraa.com

around cost-cutting (see more on the economic discourse of public administration above). The rivaling discourse, on the other hand, is premised on the problematization of administrative capacity as the ability to utilize public resources for solving public problems. Public administration should be capable of achieving societal impacts which contribute to the alleviation and elimination of complex issues arising from its socio-economic environment. As one of the interviewees explains:

> Administrative capacity implies the skills and ability to solve society's problems. It is the ability to accomplish tasks in a manner which satisfies the society; which is consistent with the needs and expectations of the people. /…/ For me, this means that public administration is oriented towards results and the well-being of the people. It is responsive to the people's needs, it is solving society's problems, and it does this in a manner that doesn't create frustration, but helps to move things forward. (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012)

Says another interviewee:

> For me, good public administration is when we have agreed on a goal which needs to be accomplished – what needs to be done, for whom, why, and how? It has been analyzed in relation to the connected issues, and it has been arrived at there are, let's say, three options from which to choose. Following from this, we opt for the middle course because it is likely to bring about the biggest effect in relation to the desired goal. This is good public administration for me. It does not need to be popular or rational, but it must bring about the best possible impact. In my opinion, sometimes the government needs to spend if necessary; if that's what it takes to improve something. It is alright to waste a little when it comes to some things. (State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012)

The dominant construct of cost-effectiveness is rarely questioned in the analyzed group of texts; however, a critique of the prevalent concern with cost-cutting emerges as a part of the marginalized ecological discursive regime. As one of the interviewees emphasizes, in the context of Estonia, everything small is expensive:

www.manaraa.com

> What is peculiar about Estonia is that we are so small. Still, the governing of a small state requires administering the same tasks as those of any other much bigger state. Consequentially, the administrative apparatus seems to be proportionally large. It is understandable why a layperson would constantly criticize that there is an unreasonable number of public officials etc. They don't understand that keeping a public administration in a state the size of Estonia is expensive in itself. (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012)

Says another interviewee:

> The state of Estonia is not even the size of one German *Bundesland*. /…/ The question is, do we even need to keep this state if we are only concerned with counting money? (NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012)

In addition, according to those who employ this discourse, decision-making in the Estonian public administration is not based on policy analysis or impact assessment. In the words of one interviewee: "Perhaps the problem is that policy-makers are accountants whose only concern is a balanced budget" (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012). Apart from a limited assessment of costs, policy proposals are not accompanied by systematic evaluation of likely results (Centre for Pure Development, November 1, 2011; NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012; State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012). Among other things, this has led to the failure of understanding how different areas of public administration are interconnected and influence each other. According to one of the interviewees:

> Recently, I have noticed the emergence of some sort of fear which prevents people from thinking with their own heads, and pushes them to making panic-stricken decisions. The cost-cutting issue is a good example. Here is a good parallel. If you are overweight, we shouldn't reduce your weight by chopping off your arm or leg. Rather we should think how to preserve the functionality of your entire organism. We should consider putting you on a diet, or rethinking your daily menu. But just saying that, let's cut off the leg, which gives us minus 20 kg, and that will do it – it seems to have been the prevalent type of public administering in the past five years – let's cut it off!

www.manaraa.com

> The whole process is not thought through. It is not thought through how one service may impact others, or how the work of one organization might impact another. This is regretful in my opinion. (State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012)

Societal goals and challenges. In the group of texts analyzed for this study, Estonian public administration is often presented as a successful implementer of international projects such as accession to the European Union (EU), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the eurozone, but also as lacking ability to generate visions for addressing domestic social problems. With focusing on these short-term international goals, Estonia has earned the label of a "project nation": "Punching above its weight, Estonia has been making a name for itself on the international stage. To date, this has been achieved by working as a 'project nation' focused on short-term projects such as European Union, NATO and euro area accession and membership" (OECD, 2011a). Nevertheless, in the aftermath of accomplishing these transition milestones, the society is lacking a sense of direction or, as one interviewee put it, a "compass" for further action: "Throughout the entire transition process, there has been no serious debate about what we actually want from our state. What do we expect from it? This brings us back to the issue of problematization" (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012). The dominant sentiment in Estonia is that the society has arrived at its destination, the state-building/nation-building goals have been accomplished, and the Estonian state is "ready" (Local government representative No. 1, interview, April 3, 2012).

Still, there are some subjects who are employing an anti-normalization discourse (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012; NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012; State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012) (see more on the discourses of normalization and Europeanization above). The ecological representation of public administration rejects external yardsticks for the assessment

www.manaraa.com

of democratization and socio-economic development in Estonia, and rather concentrates on the need to generate internal standards, goals, and visions for what the Estonian society wishes to become. For those immersed in this discourse, transition in Estonia is not over because the nation has become a member of international clubs; rather the society remains in a state of transition since it has not been able to solve important developmental challenges manifesting themselves in complex social problems. In the assembled texts, the following unsolved societal challenges emerge in the context of the ecological discursive order: the demographic processes and the ageing of the population (Academic No. 1, interview, March 29, 2012; Justiitsministeerium, 2007; Local government representative No. 1, interview, April 3, 2012; Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007; SA Poliitikauuringute Keskus PRAXIS & Tallinna Tehnikaülikooli Avaliku Halduse Instituut, 2011; State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012), the growing dependency ratio and the increased need for social benefits to the citizens (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012; OECD, 2011a), the diminishing of the workforce due to growing emigration (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012; Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004; Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007), an unsustainable model of economic growth based on cheap inputs (Kattel, 2009; NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012), unemployment, poverty, and social exclusion (Local government representative No. 1, interview, April 3, 2012; NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012; Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004), growing regional disparities and unequal rural development (Academic No. 1, interview, March 29, 2012; Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012; Local government representative No. 1, interview, April 3, 2012; Local government representative No. 2, interview, March 19, 2012; Local government representative No. 3, interview, May 16, 2012; OECD, 2011a; Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004), lack

www.manaraa.com

of social cohesion and absence of a capable civil society (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012; State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012), inadequate social protection and unequal access to services (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012; Local government representative No. 3, interview, May 16, 2012; NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012; NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012), deficient protection of vulnerable social groups including the elderly, children, the unemployed, the disabled, rural populations, non-citizens, and ethnic minorities (Local government representative No. 1, interview, April 3, 2012; Local government representative No. 3, interview, May 16, 2012; NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012; NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012; State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012), and a lack of a long-term vision for the development of the state (Academic No. 1, interview, March 29, 2012; Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012; NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012; NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012; NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012; State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012). According to one interviewee, Estonia is still a transition country:

> We are certainly still a transition society. We still have a long way to go before developing a value-based society; a society which has very clear normative goals, a society whose members value important substantive things, and not such things as being better than their neighbor, or arriving first at some destination. Yes, based on the formal criteria, we may conclude the Estonian economy has opened up and become a part of the global economy – let's clap our hands! – but these are all external and formal criteria. How about the willingness to take into consideration the opinions of others? Or, maybe thinking about how collaboration can be better than drawing up a law? For example, the purpose of a tripartite agreement is to accomplish something together, something all parties can agree on, something no-one resists. This has value in itself and is worth striving for. Still, this type of understanding is currently lacking in society. (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012)

www.manaraa.com

As others explain, the transition is never over; it is constantly in the making (State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012; State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012). The EU has not turned out to be a safe harbor – an endpoint for the transformation process – as was hoped by many in Estonia. Says another interviewee:

> We were thinking that we were becoming a member of a club that would provide us with a safe and secure environment. But, we have recently realized this is not the case. This protected and safe environment is also, due to economic developments, influenced by change. We soon realized we need to keep fighting for our survival; for a certain balance between our sovereignty and integration. In that sense, we are still a transition society… (State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012)

In addition, the ecological approach also contains a distinct discursive order which challenges the dominant economic discourse in the analyzed corpus of texts. The rivaling anti-economic discourse contrasts the development of the business environment to the development of the living environment. Those employing the discourse dispute the dominant discursive practices of "transition" which focus on creating a place for business, and instead talk about creating a place for home. As one of the interviewees explains, the function of the Estonian state should be to take care of its people: "At the end of the day, the primary function of the Estonian state is to make sure that Estonia would be a good place to live. Otherwise, our own people will leave and we need to start looking for additional workforce from foreign countries" (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012). According to another interviewee:

> I think we are more and more concerned with whether Estonia is a good place to live. We have moved away from talking about whether the Estonian state is among the affluent to talking about whether the Estonian people are happy. We are no longer as much concerned with the GDP as the number of people who have emigrated to Finland. In other words, we have started thinking in these terms that perhaps the number of people who have left for Finland is a better indicator of the state's administrative capacity than our GDP. In our thinking, we have made a shift from a

www.manaraa.com

> focus on outputs and outcomes to wider societal impacts. (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012)

Another interviewee emphasizes the importance of citizen initiative and the will of the people to create a better place for home:

> Estonia is our home. We need to develop a sense of citizenship among our people, an awareness and readiness to take initiative. Where else do these good citizens come from who would want to do something for their home and for their environment. I think it takes another generation for the mindset to change. (State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012)

Government-society nexus. In contrast to the prevailing Europeanization discourse, ecological discourse constructs a public administration closely intertwined with the fabric of society and driven by contextual, rather than external, knowledge in its decision-making processes. These discursive practices, however, are rare in the analyzed corpus of texts. Public administration in transition has most importantly been concerned with the state's outward image at the expense of neglecting the government-society nexus. As one of the interviewees explains, judging by the output indicators, Estonian public administration has been successful. Still, the people despise their state:

> I think the Estonian public administration is doing well, judging by its outcomes. At the same time, the people don't love their state, they hate their state. I think this is the challenge we need to deal with. If the people hate the state they are living in despite the fact that it is functioning well, then it goes back to the very fundamental things. This cannot be fixed by adding an E-service here or there, or by offering a new social benefit. It has to do with much deeper, humane things. (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012)

According to another interviewee, based on the generally accepted indicators, Estonian state has been successful in carrying out an exemplar postcommunist

www.manaraa.com

transition, and integration with the world economy. This has not, however, been reflected in the sense of well-being of the people:

> What could be happening in Estonia is the fetishizing of the state. The public officials are saying the Estonian state is doing well. How can the state be doing well when its people are not? People are not doing well, they have problems. I may be concentrating on the specifics, but each drop reflects the ocean! The crisis has been declared over, and the state is doing well, but the people go on suffering, things will not get better for them, they might even get worse for them. (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012)

The neglect of the relationship between the government and society is also apparent in the sense of alienation among the citizens, and the growing attitude of "us" versus "them" in society. As explained by one interviewee: "If people were to be asked to define the meaning of 'us' and 'them', then 'them' would generally be the state. 'Us' would be perhaps 'me and my neighbors', or 'me and my family', but the state would always be 'them'" (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012). Those employing the discourse are concerned with overcoming the Soviet mentality towards the state as the "symbol of power and violence" (State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012), and developing a sense of collective responsibility and mutual trust among the citizens (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012; State official No. 1, interview, March 21, 2012; State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012).

Summary. The ecological discourse of public administration is a marginalized group of representations in postcommunist transition which, in contrast to the cost-cutting concern of the economic discourse, adopts a problem-solving approach. Instead of focusing on the teleology of Europeanization, the ecological discursive regime concerns itself with societal goals and challenges, and puts government-society relations at the center of attention. The ecological discourse proceeds from the

www.manaraa.com

need to situate the arrangements of public administration in its environment, to use contextual knowledge, and to solve problems which emerge from the fabric of society.

Democratic discourse. As the result of the discourse analysis, a democratic discourse was identified over time as an increasingly marginalized pattern of thought and practice in Estonian public administration in transition (see Figure 6). The central problematization of the democratic discursive regime is the lack of value pluralism and inclusiveness in decision-making. The democratic order rests on the "wisdom of the people," local, and communal knowledge. In regard to subjectivity, the discourse constructs an identity of the public administrator as a "reconciler" of conflicting values and opinions.

Pluralistic decision-making. Due to the strength of the economic, managerial, and technocratic discourses of public administration the idea of political contestation of values and opinions is barely discernible in the analyzed body of texts. The central constructs of the dominant transition discourse – cost-effectiveness, independent managerial decision-making, and instrumental technical rationality – do not promote inclusiveness in public administration. As one of the state officials interviewed for the study put it: "We are too big of a ship, with so many decision-making parties it is becoming terribly hard to steer it. With less parties we can steer faster and in a more operational manner. As a small country we should be able to perform more effectively" (State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012). Deliberation between multiple interests and opinions takes a backseat compared to the emphasis on speed, efficiency, economies of scale, and technical knowledge. Using "multiple voices" in the decision-making processes, and being able to synthesize many sources of information remains a challenge for the Estonian public administration within this

www.manaraa.com

discursive order (Centre for Pure Development, November 1, 2011; NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012; NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012; NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012; OECD, 2011a; Public Administration Office, 1999; State official No. 1, interview, March 21, 2012; State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012; Terk, 1998).

Democratic discourse: *A corpus of statements of which vocabulary and organization regularly and systematically advances democratic thinking in Estonian PA.*	
Problematization: Lack of value pluralism, political contestation of opinions, deliberation of issues, and inclusive decision-making ***Power/Knowledge:*** Wisdom of the people, local knowledge, practical knowledge, experiential knowledge, communal knowledge of domestic interest groups, NGOs, social partners, local communities, and citizen associations ***Subjectivity:*** Public administrator is a "reconciler"	
Privileged terms	**Oppressed terms**
• pluralistic decision-making, engagement of multiple interests and opinions, inclusiveness	• autonomous decision-making, partisan decision-making, exclusiveness
• public deliberation and political contestation of opinions, social dialogue, value pluralism	• de-politicization of issues, bureaucratization of social action, marketization of public services, instrumental rationality
• citizen participation in policy making and implementation, co-production of services	• marketization of public services
• wisdom of the people, local knowledge, practical knowledge, experiential knowledge, communal knowledge	• expert knowledge, specialist knowledge, political knowledge
• non-governmental sphere is a forum for civil society	• non-governmental sphere is a marketplace for business
• civil society and NGOs provide inputs to decision making processes, represent interests, and hold governments accountable	• civil society and NGOs used for load-shedding of government responsibilities, engaged for legitimation of decisions
• local democracy, communal decision making, cultural and social identity of communities, democratic representation and participation	• economies of scale, merging administrative divisions, centralization and concentration of power

Figure 6. Central tenets of democratic discourse in Estonian PA in transition.

Civil society and NGOs. In the analyzed corpus of texts, civil society and non-governmental organizations (NGO) are represented as lacking autonomy and sustainable funding sources to be able to provide credible inputs to the decision-making processes, to carry out advocacy work, and to hold governments accountable.

www.manaraa.com

Estonian civil society is not as vibrant as those mobilizing the democratic discourse would like it to be. Based on the analyzed discursive material, the NGO sector is described as weak, lacking capacity, and struggling to establish its credibility (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012; Liiv, 2006; Ministry of Finance, n.d.b; OECD, 2011a; Ruutsoo, 2001; State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012; Trummal & Lagerspetz, July 2001). Estonian civil society is referred to as a "project society" which functions on an *ad hoc* basis, and largely survives thanks to the enthusiasm of a handful of activists who are willing to invest their time and resources for their organizations' causes (NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012; NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012; NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012). The third sector is also portrayed as muzzled by partisan political pressure, and through the government's funding mechanisms (NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012; NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012; NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012).

The non-profit organizations in Estonia are predominantly state-funded, and/or sustain themselves through project-based activities, often related to the utilization of EU structural funds (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012; Bobkov, 2009; Eesti Mittetulundusühingute ja Sihtasutuste Liit, June 2010; Laido, Meldre & Ender, 2009; NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012; NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012; SA Poliitikauuringute Keskus PRAXIS & Kodanikeühiskonna Uurimis- ja Arenduskeskus (TLÜ RASI), October 2008a; SA Poliitikauuringute Keskus PRAXIS & Kodanikeühiskonna Uurimis- ja Arenduskeskus (TLÜ RASI), October 2008b) (see more on Europeanization above). The short-term project-based financing of various policy issues through the EU funding priorities has drawn criticism from different directions (CyclePlan, July 11, 2007; NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012; Republic of Estonia, May, 2010; SA Poliitikauuringute Keskus PRAXIS & Tallinna

www.manaraa.com

Tehnikaülikooli Avaliku Halduse Instituut, 2011; State official No. 1, interview, March 21, 2012; State official No. 3, interview, April 19, 2012; Verheijen, 2007). The already vulnerable non-profit sector is impacted particularly severely.

The project-based funding is patchy and unsustainable (CyclePlan, July 11, 2007; Republic of Estonia, May, 2010; SA Poliitikauuringute Keskus PRAXIS & Tallinna Tehnikaülikooli Avaliku Halduse Instituut, 2011). Since the majority of nonprofit organizations in Estonia are struggling to survive from one project to another (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012; NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012; NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012), the continuity and sustainability of their work is impaired. According to the interviewees, the lack of financial autonomy harms their credibility to act as serious partners to the government sector (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012; State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012). Moreover, dependence on government prevents them from performing their role as the watchdogs of democracy. According to an NGO leader: "The moment you dare to confront an issue, dare to speak candidly, dare to take action – your money is gone" (NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012). Says another NGO leader: "How do you criticize the government department who is funding your activities? The next year you will just find your money has been cut" (NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012).

Moreover, the EU funding priorities shift from one period to another, targeting very specific populations relevant to the implementation of broader EU policies while discarding others. Here is how one of the interviewees describes the experience of financing their organization through the European Social Fund (ESF):

> During the previous funding period, the priority was people with disabilities. In 2006-2008 we had a Social Fund project which targeted people with disabilities and our project was "in". We were a "cool" project. Today, people with disabilities are no

www.manaraa.com

> longer "in". When I asked what we are supposed to do now, I was told that our project already received money. In a word, money is being allocated without understanding that services cannot be provided on the project-basis. It is unthinkable that I build up a service, provide it for three years, then stop providing it for two years, and pick it up again in 2014. In fact, our organization faces a funding gap in the upcoming years since we have no place to apply for money for 2013 and probably also for 2014. (NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012)

There are also areas not covered by the EU priorities which are in significant danger of being neglected (NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012; Verheijen, 2007). One of these areas is the development of democracy. As one of the interviewees explains, the EU structural funds priorities do not contain a measure for the advancement of democracy or promotion of human rights, which leaves virtually no funding sources for this type of organizations (NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012).

In relation to the administrative capacity building measure, one of the neglected areas during the 2004-2006 funding period was the capacity of non-governmental organizations. In 2007-2014 period, the measure also targets the national associations of NGOs and social partners such as the Network of Estonian Nonprofit Organizations, the Estonian Trade Union Confederation, and the Estonian Employers' Confederation. These projects have allowed these organizations to explore some capacity-related issues of interest important for their fields of activity, however, will hardly make a difference in their overall ability to participate in the policy processes (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012). The overall financing system of the non-profits appears to be a much more significant determinant of the capacity of the civil society in Estonia.

In addition, the project-based non-profit sector is incapable of generating long-term effects since the continuity of its activities and service-provision is doubtful.

www.manaraa.com

According to an interviewee, it is not uncommon for organizations to make considerable investments, employ and train the necessary staff, and roll out an entirely new service only to close down the entire operation after the project funding ends in two or three years: "What happens to the inventory? What happens to the employees? What happens to the services that were developed and set up? Today we have a service, the next day we don't" (NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012).

According to those immersed in this discourse, the project-based approach does not permit a continuous and systematic implementation of changes in the Estonian society (CyclePlan, July 11, 2007; Republic of Estonia, May, 2010). The short-term projects financed through the EU structural funds cannot bring about continuous and sustainable improvements in the non-profit sector, or other areas important for the social and economic development of the country, unless there is a national political will to deal with these issues (NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012; State official No. 1, interview, March 21, 2012).

Citizen engagement. Citizen engagement is a reoccurring construct in public administration discourse in Estonia after the launch of the Europeanization process (Government of the Republic, February 2, 2012; Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery, 2001; Public Administration Office, 1999; Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004; SA Poliitikauuringute Keskus PRAXIS & MTÜ Balti Uuringute Instituut, October 2010; Siseministeerium, 2004; Tartu Ülikool, 1999; Uus & Vihma, 2011). Nevertheless, it appears to imply legitimation of already adopted decisions rather than inclusion of multiple interests and opinions.

Citizen engagement is a curiously isolated category of concepts in the democratic discourse of public administration. It hardly ever appears in the context of administrative capacity and is seldom brought up as part of "good" public

www.manaraa.com

administration. As one of the interviewees explains, "Public engagement is a completely separate topic in Estonia. When administrative capacity is invoked, people usually mean the technical organization of public administration. Everything that pertains to citizen engagement is a completely separate terminology. I have never seen anyone putting these two things together" (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012).

Even though public involvement appears as an EU-induced priority in the implementation of structural assistance, the nonprofit actors perceive these efforts as "window dressing" (NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012; NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012; NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012; OECD, 2011a). According to the interviewees, since the engagement of non-governmental partners is a requirement for public officials, the process is usually carried out for the purpose of ticking off an activity, and tends to have no further implications for the policy formation (NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012; NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012; NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012). As one of the NGO leaders put it, "the officials' idea of public engagement seems to be that engagement implies everyone's right to hear out the minister's opinion" (NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012). Similar criticism is invoked by the OECD in its recent report:

> A key problem is: while consultation activities are being undertaken, they tend to occur too late in the policy development process to have real effect. Public consultation usually occurs after legislation has been drafted, rather than at the concept stage. While ministries are required to consult, most often the process occurs too late for the information obtained to have any real effect or influence in the policy development process. (OECD, 2011a)

www.manaraa.com

The primary reason for the limited involvement of non-governmental actors, as cited by state officials, is the "lack of credibility" (State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012; State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012). The NGO leaders themselves argue the public officials are simply lacking willingness to consider their suggestions (NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012; NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012; NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012). As one of the interviewees explains, "Public engagement is a one-way process. You may as well tell me what you think, but that will not be taken into consideration" (NGO leader No. 2). According to another interviewee, "We are just being ignored. No arguments are given. Just ignored. We are being told our input has been received, thank you for the information. That's it. It never goes anywhere" (NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012). Moreover, the over-ideologized party-political discourse is perceived to be inadequate for facilitating a pragmatic deliberation between competing ideas (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012).

In addition, the NGO sector is talked about as lacking the capacity to provide adequate inputs to the decision-making process when approached for consultation (State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012; State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012). The problem is acknowledged by the non-profit leaders interviewed for this study who recognize the need to enhance the capability of their organizations to contribute to the policy processes (NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012; NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012; NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012). Even though this is also one of the issues targeted by the EU's administrative capacity-building measure during the current 2007-2014 funding period, the engagement practices of the EU structural funds managing authority suggest a lack of commitment to the goals of public involvement. As explained by an NGO leader

www.manaraa.com

interviewed for the study, the engagement practices of the EU structural funds officials is "a mockery":

> Recently we were given nine days to comment on a document that was sent to us. About eighty pages of EU legislative text in English. There were also some slides attached to it, also in English. Just like that – here is the next programming period, please provide your comments. (NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012)

Hence, the discursive practices of public involvement indicate a non-proportional relationship of power, knowledge, and resources between the engagers and the engaged. The discursive fragment below from an NGO leader describing a public consultation experience gives an idea of this relationship:

> I recall how the minister invited us to a meeting. We asked, on which issue? The minister's secretary said, I don't know which issue. /…/ And then at the meeting, the minister had a stack of parliament stenograms piled up on the table. Our table was empty, we were completely unprepared, we did not know what the issue was going to be. And then the minister started asking: "Here is such and such proposal made in the parliament, what do you think of it? Here is another proposal, what do you think of that?" First, the formulation of our association's opinion is a process in its own right. We could only express our personal opinions. We can't just go to the meeting and simply comment on something. We should have known in advance. The meeting made me feel horrible – the way we were summoned, the way our organization was ticked off the list that we had been engaged. The minister was literally going through the entire pile – what do you think of this, what do you think of that? We were sitting behind a bare table. They could have at least sent us the questions in advance. We would have been able to prepare, to form an opinion, to do additional research. Fortunately the questions touched upon the topics we had already discussed in our association. We had some perspective on these issues, and we managed to communicate our positions. However, the way it was done was very, very distressing. (NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012)

The majority of Estonian non-profit organizations are run by volunteers who have other full-time jobs. As one of the interviewees explains, participating in the

www.manaraa.com

policy process and sitting on workgroups is "working on your free time" which makes it even more frustrating to see how "the input we provide seems to disappear into a black hole" (NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012). Says another NGO leader:

> We have had a serious discussion within our union about whether we should even take the time to respond to the ministry's letters in the future. We are all doing this after our regular full-time jobs. It takes time to delve into an issue, it takes time to discuss the ideas among ourselves, it takes time to write it all up, and then if this letter is just some letter in a file among many which has no substantive impact – I think no-one even bothers to read it – it just goes into a file. (NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012)

Nevertheless, there are also those immersed in the democratic discourse who contrast themselves to the managerialists' vocabulary of customer-service. As one of the interviewees explains, "The state is not a restaurant, and the citizen is not a client" (State official No. 1, interview, March 21, 2012). These discursive practices, although frail and marginalized, help to define an alternative language of public administration which envisions a mature partnership between the state and the citizen. "I think this could be a kind of post-transition outcome worth striving for," says the interviewee (State official No. 1, interview, March 21, 2012).

Social dialogue. Social dialogue is a declining practice in Estonian public administration in transition and is clearly impaired by the growing party-politicization of public affairs. Based on the discursive material collected for this study, social partnership between governments, employers, and employees was a viable idea in the 1990s, but has gradually weakened ever since. According to those involved in the process, there was more social dialogue and willingness to collaborate in the early years of transition (Kallaste, 2003; NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012; Seeder, 2003; Taliga, June 9, 2005; Vare & Taliga, 2002). "In the 1990s, we reached

www.manaraa.com

about 17-18 tripartite agreements. I believe we also had something in 2001 and 2002. But since 2002 the situation has been sad. We have negotiations on the level of delegations, as the parties agree, but there is no statute or reglement, no direct statutory requirements," says one of the interviewees (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012). During the period of 1992-2003, social dialogue produced tripartite agreements pertaining to minimum wage, state unemployment allowance, basic income tax exemption, participatory democracy, a guarantee fund, and the principles of new Labor Contract Act (Taliga, June 9, 2005; Vare & Taliga, 2002). In 1996 the social partners reached the Participatory Democracy Agreement which obliged the government to consult with both unions and employers about proposed legislation pertaining to the questions of labor, employment, social affairs, and other similar issues (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012).

According to an interviewee, the beginning of the 2000s marked the start of a new chapter in the history of social partnership in Estonia. The last 9-10 years have been characterized by "either a downright disappearance or a significant decrease in the interest and willingness to reach tripartite agreements, and have substantive dialogue" (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012). In 2003, the negotiations between the unions and the government took a hostile turn with the minister arriving at the negotiation table with a proclamation: "I can promise you two things: we are not leaving this table, and I can promise you we will not reach an agreement on anything!" (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012). The social partnership structures such as the Economic and Social Council (established in 1999) and the Working Environment Council (established in 2000) are existing but inactive since "we have governments who don't need advice," explains an interviewee (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012).

www.manaraa.com

Social partnership also emerges in the corpus of texts related to Europeanization (European Commission, 1998; European Commission, 1999; European Commission, 2000; European Commission, 2001; European Commission, 2002; European Commission, 2003; Ministry of Finance, April 29, 2011; OECD, 1998b; Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004; Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007; Republic of Estonia, May, 2010; Riigikantselei Eurointegratsiooni Büroo, 2001; State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012). Even though the structural funds regulation requires the managing authority to consult "various partners, including those in the social and economic fields" (Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004), the practice is weak and under-utilized (Centre for Pure Development, November 1, 2011; OECD, 2011a). As one of the interviewees explains, the prevailing mentality of those who govern in Estonia is that an electoral mandate obviates the need for any further consultation or negotiation (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012). Notes the same interviewee:

> The idea of tripartism – the need to consult, to ask for opinions, and to reach agreements – is reasonable. It is probably part of the growing pains of our civil society and the larger political culture that social dialogue is perceived as something that constrains power: "We have an absolute mandate and you cannot prescribe to us what we will do, or won't do. We will decide this on our own." This is the kind of trend that I have observed. (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012)

The corpus of analyzed texts also suggests social dialogue is weak due to the modest capability of non-governmental actors to provide qualitative inputs (Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004; Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007; Republic of Estonia, May, 2010; State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012). As one of the state officials interviewed for this study explains, allocation of ESF money in the 2007-2014 programming period for the social partners' capacity building should help them

www.manaraa.com

develop well-argued positions grounded in evidence and, thus, enhance the quality of their inputs (State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012). Says the interviewee:

> To enhance the capacity of social partners we included them in the assistance measure. Since they were providing poor-quality inputs, there was no point in saying that we will not listen to you because what you are saying is nonsense, and your suggestions are not adequately justified. Rather, we decided to give them the means to support their positions with evidence, and join the negotiation table as equal partners. We provided them with resources to do that. Whether this has been successful or not is another question, but I think we have managed to bring about a significant change in this area. (State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012)

Local democracy. Local democracy is overshadowed by the powerful discursive constructs of cost-effectiveness and economies of scale within the economic pattern of thought. However, the right to self-government and the principle of subsidiarity remain viable alternative representations of public administration which help to define the marginalized democratic discourse.

Similarly to the practice of social partnership discussed above, local democracy appears to have been a more powerful discursive object in the early years of transition. Local governments in Estonia were restored in 1989, two years before the country formally regained its independence (Local government representative No. 3, interview, May 16, 2012; Tõemets, n.d.). Thus, local democracy preceded national democracy (Local government representative No. 2, interview, March 19, 2012; Local government representative No. 3, interview, May 16, 2012; Siseministeerium, 2001). As one of the interviewees explains, "[w]e used to be more democratic. More democratic in a sense that people had more chances to participate in the policy-making, be active on the local level, on the regional level, and on the state level. Currently, local activism has begun to wane" (Local government representative No. 2, interview, March 19, 2012). The re-established Estonian local governments were (and

www.manaraa.com

still are) safeguarded by the framework of the European Charter of Local Governments of the Council of Europe, and based on the founding principle of subsidiarity, i.e. "decisions should be made as close as possible to the level where they are being implemented" (Local government representative No. 2, interview, March 19, 2012). However, as the discursive material suggests, the pervasiveness of the economic discourse in transition has gradually marginalized the ideal of local self-government: "It has been increasingly more difficult to prove that the potential that exists on the local and regional levels will remain untapped if the decision-making power and resources are excessively centralized" (Local government representative No. 2, interview, March 19, 2012).

That there is a disparity between the responsibilities of local governments and their resource base is an issue that disparate groups in Estonian society can agree on (Local government representative No. 2, interview, March 19, 2012; Local government representative No. 3, interview, May 16, 2012; State official No. 1, interview, March 21, 2012; State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012). However, as the corpus analysis reveals, there are at least two conflicting sets of solutions. While those immersed in the economic discourse are concerned with organizational scale, the merging administrative divisions, and the centralization of power (see more on the economic discourse above), those employing the democratic discourse argue that the solution is to harness the potential of local communities and build collaborative relationships among administrative units (Academic No. 1, interview, March 29, 2012; Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012; Local government representative No. 2, interview, March 19, 2012; Local government representative No. 3, interview, May 16, 2012). The latter advances solutions to public problems which embrace the agency of the citizens and local communities while the former

www.manaraa.com

emphasizes scale, centralized decision-making power, and concentration of resources. Reports one of the representatives of local government:

> Our slogan is: "to increase the decision-making rights, capacities, and responsibilities of local governments." This means that local governments should have more tasks in various areas of local life, that we should have the capacity to complete these tasks, and for that we should have more resources and more decision-making rights to generate those resources, including having more rights to impose taxes. (Local government representative No. 2, interview, March 19, 2012)

Democratic discursive practices emphasize the importance of cooperation and collaboration between different units of government in order to improve the system of multi-level governance and interorganizational relations in Estonia. As one of the interviewees explains, "If a local government is lacking capacity to cope with some task on its own, then it must be done in cooperation with other units" (Local government representative No. 3, interview, May 16, 2012). As suggested by those who are drawing on this discourse, the forms of collaboration at regional and local levels may take a variety of forms to include: utilizing the existing associations of county municipalities, reforming the county-level administration, using the system of service districts, encouraging voluntary cooperation, and creating a better legal framework for different forms of collaboration between local governments as well as between different levels of government (Local government representative No. 2, interview, March 19, 2012; Local government representative No. 3, interview, May 16, 2012). As one of the interviewees explains, "The right to make its own decisions is the greatest value for local governments, not how much support is allocated from the state budget. It is not a case of deficient financing, it is a case of deficient management" (Local government representative No. 3, interview, May 16, 2012). Reports another interviewee:

www.manaraa.com

> On the continuum between centralization and decentralization, I am deeply convinced that a significant amount of potential for the development of Estonia lies in using decentralization. There are, of course, other ideologies which suggest concentrating resources in times of crisis. This, however, means that a large portion of the population will ask: "What then is my role? What will I do?" In my opinion, the potential for citizens' collective action does not need to be limited to dance groups, but should be used for deciding important issues. For me, the choice between centralization and decentralization is one of the most fundamental questions: how do we channel the society's energy to overcome the crisis and carry on developing? (Local government representative No. 2, interview, March 19, 2012)

Summary. The democratic discourse in postcommunist transition conceptualizes public administration through the discursive practices related to pluralistic decision-making, the promotion of the civil society and the NGOs, citizen engagement, social dialogue, and local democracy. The democratic construction of public administration problematizes postcommunism as a lack of value pluralism and inclusive decision-making. The role of the public administrator, in this marginalized order of representations, is to use multiple sources of knowledge, to promote public deliberation, and to reconcile different values and opinions.

Normative discourse. Finally, this research identifies normative discourse as the weakest discursive regime of public administration in postcommunist transition in Estonia (see Figure 7). This line of thinking proceeds from the problematization of postcommunist public administration lacking autonomous moral agency. In a normative system of representations, public administrators in Estonia ought to be subjected to the moral regime of the Constitution of the Republic and be guided by the principles of human dignity, social justice, democracy, and the rule of law (Constitution of the Republic of Estonia, §10). Hence, they are "moral actors" who make value-based choices.

www.manaraa.com

Normative discourse: *A corpus of statements of which vocabulary and organization regularly and systematically advances a normative approach in Estonian PA.*	
Problematization: Lack of autonomous moral agency for the protection and advancement of human dignity, social justice, democracy, and the rule of law ***Power/Knowledge:*** Estonian constitutional regime, international regimes of human rights, international labor rights ***Subjectivity:*** Public administrator is a "moral actor"	
Privileged terms	**Oppressed terms**
• human dignity, respect for persons, reducing suffering, showing compassion, empathy, kindness	• minimizing costs, maximizing efficiency, advancing instrumental rationality
• social justice, fairness, solidarity, reducing poverty, increasing social inclusion, equal access to services, equal opportunities, human development	• economic development, competitiveness, individual responsibility, non-interventionism, fiscal discipline, limited public spending
• democracy, representation and participation, citizen empowerment, political contestation, plurality of values and opinions, deliberation and collaboration	• autonomous managerial decision-making, partisan decision-making, marketization
• the rule of law, equal treatment, protection of human rights, combating discrimination, reducing prejudice	• formalism, personalism, arbitrariness, delivering outputs, violation of human rights, discrimination, intolerance

Figure 7. Central tenets of a normative discourse in Estonian PA in transition.

Human dignity. The representations of cost-effectiveness and instrumental rationality in the prevailing discursive regimes of public administration in transition eclipse the notion of human dignity. As explained by a government document (Justiitsministeerium, 2007), human dignity designates personhood as the ultimate value, as an end in itself and never as a means for accomplishing goals. Based on the negative definition, human dignity forbids the transformation of a person into an object of state power (Justiitsministeerium, 2007). In contrast to the features of impartiality, neutrality, and rationality of the dominant discourses, the normative construction of public administrators utilizes representations such as "empathy," "helpfulness," "reasonableness," "cordiality," "caring," and "humaneness" (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012; NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012; NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012; State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012). One of the state officials drawing on this discourse mentions the need for administrators to have a sense of empathy: "It is good if a public administrator is

www.manaraa.com

rational, however, rational is maybe too calculating for me, too emotionless, that one plus one is two and that is it. Perhaps effective is a better word, not so much rational. Rational is way too calculating" (State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012).

Others who are employing the democratic discourse say the purpose of public administrators should be to help people, not to save money, to be efficient, or to apply regulations: "Our goal is not to provide a service, our purpose is not to carry out some activity, our purpose is to help people" (NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012).

Moreover, the development of public administration in Estonia has gone through the phases of regulation and standardization, and reached the stage where it has become important to learn how to make exceptions to the rules to accommodate people's needs. Says one of the interviewees:

> The question is: when you have all the rules and regulations in place, to what extent do you allow exceptions or humanness in the system to prevent public administration from becoming too rigid? In the beginning of the transition, we had so much confusion, we tried to create as many rules as possible so we would have something according to which to orient ourselves. Currently, we have become so faithful to regulations we don't dare to, and don't want to decide anything that is not written down in rules. (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012)

According to another interviewee, the next challenge for the Estonian people as well as the public administrators is to develop a strong internal set of values, and gain the courage to defend them. Says the interviewee:

> The most negative aspect of the new capitalist order and market competition is the primitive confrontation in society and the need to be better than others. I am better than you, not that I am worth anything myself, but I am better than you. I need to compare myself to someone else, which shows how the Estonian society and the people of Estonia are lacking an internal spine. The values have not yet shifted in place, the understanding that my own worth is more important than how I look compared to someone else. /…/ The Estonian people should gain some dignity and

www.manaraa.com

> start respecting themselves, start standing up for their rights. This is definitely one of the biggest challenges. (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012)

Social justice. Social justice and collective responsibility are rarely encountered constructs of public administration in the analyzed texts. Nevertheless, the findings of the discourse analysis suggest there are viable elements of this normative counter-discourse in the Estonian public administration in transition. Since the Estonian system of governance has been impacted by the all-pervasive economic discursive regime, the issues of social safety and well-being of the people have received considerably less attention. In the group of texts studied for this research, the focus of public administrators has been on building a place for business, and integrating the national economy with the world's trading systems (see more on the economic discourse above). Rarely does the discursive material contain constructs pertaining to the need to improve social and health services, strengthening the social security net, ensuring equal access to public services, or dealing with labour relations (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012; Heidmets, 2008; Lasteombudsman, 2011; Local government representative No. 1, interview, April 3, 2012; Local government representative No. 3, interview, May 16, 2012; NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012; NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012; NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012). The discourse of social justice is put off by the discursive practices of individual responsibility and the primary role of the individual, family, and community for the care of the poor and the elderly: "Thus in Estonia, the expenditure trade-off is with social services (and also health), where expenditures are significantly lower than among other EU countries" (OECD, 2011a). At various stages of transition, the EU has expressed concern with the inadequate treatment of social issues in Estonia such as protection of minorities and integration of non-citizens; equal

www.manaraa.com

rights and opportunities for women; the right to a decent salary; social protection for the elderly; dignified treatment at work; protection against poverty and social deprivation; equal treatment of men and women in labour relations; and gender segregation of the Estonian labor market (European Commission, 1998; European Commission, 1999; European Commission, 2000; European Commission, 2003; Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004; Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007; Republic of Estonia, May, 2010). As one of the interviewees explains,

> We have people coming here every day who are not coping with their lives. They are numerous, and there are more and more of them. And they need to be dealt with. Homeless centers and municipal apartments are no luxury. These people must also have a dignified place where they can stay, where they are taught how to cope with their lives, where they are cared for. (Local government representative No. 1, interview, April 3, 2012)

In the analyzed corpus of texts, the following representations of the normative discourse occur: "justice" or "fairness" (Justiitsministeerium, 2007; Madise, 2000; NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012; NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012), "equal opportunities" (Madise, 2000; Tartu Ülikool, 1999), "equality" (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012), "solidarity" (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012; Local government representative No. 3, interview, May 16, 2012), and "collective responsibility" (State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012).

For example, some of the discursive material analyzed invokes the Constitution by which the Estonian state "is founded on liberty, justice and law, which shall protect internal and external peace, and is a pledge to present and future generations for their social progress and welfare" (Justiitsministeerium, 2007; Madise, 2000). Those employing the discourse cite the Constitution's paragraph number 10

www.manaraa.com

and the principle of "a state based on social justice": "The principle of a state based on social justice means that the state cannot abandon its citizen in the time of need" (Justiitsministeerium, 2007).

Moreover, as one of the interviewees explains, "Such instances have become increasingly more frequent when from the legal point of view, things appear lawful, however, from the point of view of justice, they appear unfair. This should be one aspect of good public administration, that decisions not only are lawful, but they are also fair" (NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012). Says another interviewee, "Things need to be fair. If we look at the Estonian State Budget Strategy, we will not find the term 'justice' in there anywhere. The text revolves around technical details: how the budget needs to be balanced, how the expenses may not exceed the revenues, but the value-based approach is missing. The values are formal or non-substantive" (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012).

Those drawing on the discourse argue that the purpose of public administration is "not profit, but the pursuit of democratically agreed-upon objectives, whereas everyone is treated equally" (Madise, 2000). In a similar vein, public administration should ensure "equal treatment, creation of equal opportunities for different groups in society" (Tartu Ülikool, 1999).

A few public administrators interviewed for the study also mention the notion of "solidarity" in their responses. According to one interviewee, "it cannot all be about money" in public administration, "based on the solidarity principle, the rural communities, the town communities as well as the state must ensure the basic necessities of their citizens are met" (Local government representative No. 3, interview, May 16, 2012). Says the interviewee:

www.manaraa.com

> Some of the resources need to be allocated for those who are weaker and frailer than us based on the principle of solidarity. Such things as health insurance, for example. Health insurance is based on the solidarity principle. There are groups in society who are unemployed, but still must be able to have access to the health insurance benefits: students, the elderly, and the uninsured. (Local government representative No. 3, interview, May 16, 2012)

Says another interviewee,

> For me, /…/ a good state is a state which advances general democratic values such as solidarity, access to services, equality, etc. For me, such an issue as equal access to public services – which is not cheap, right – is of crucial importance. Equally important is the quality of the services, the price is a secondary concern. (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012)

The construct of "collective responsibility" is virtually absent from the analyzed groups of texts. Nevertheless, the difference of the "collective" or "public good" from a simple aggregation of private interests is mentioned by one interviewee: "What is important is a morale or an *ethos* of responsibility for common welfare, not individual well-being, but common well-being. The idea that we will all win, perhaps individual you, you, you, and I will lose, but these thirty people together will win. This is a feature of a good public administrator" (State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012). The interviewee also adds, the question for the future is: "to what extent we are ready to contribute to the common good of the society, and to what extent we wish to just save ourselves" (State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012).

Democracy. As noted above, democratic discourse of public administration in transition is threatened by the ideas of bureaucratization of social action, marketization, and party-politicization of public affairs (see more on the democratic discourse of public administration above). According the principle of democracy, "the supreme power of the state is vested in, and derived from the people. The principle of

www.manaraa.com

democracy encompasses all the questions pertaining to the formation, legitimation, and control of organs, and influences all levels of the political will formation" (Justiitsministeerium, 2007). As one of the interviewees explains, "public administration must be transparent, must ensure the legitimacy of its decisions, must follow the principles of the rule of law, and must be controllable by a democratic power while simultaneously balancing the representative organs" (State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012).

Nevertheless, the occurrence of discursive practices which would mention the need for public administrators to have a sense of independent moral agency is limited in the analyzed group of texts (Academic No. 2, interview, March 12, 2012; State official No. 1, interview, March 21, 2012). Equally rare is the representation of the role of the public administrator as the cultivator and facilitator of the agency of the people, local communities, NGOs, and the civil society at large (NGO leader No. 1, interview, May 3, 2012; NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012; NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012; State official No. 1, interview, March 21, 2012; State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012). Instead, interviewees mention a sense of helplessness and apathy among the Estonian people. According to an interviewee, "the dominant mentality in society is that nothing depends on me, there is no point in trying to accomplish anything" (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012). As further explained by the interviewee, "[W]e are trying to instill in people the idea that individuals can influence things happening in society, can be responsible for generating a sense of activism, and can reject the attitude of passiveness and the mentality of expecting someone else to do things for me" (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012).

www.manaraa.com

Furthermore, the sense of powerlessness among the people is further reinforced by bureaucrat-bashing and the creation of a negative image of the state (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012; NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012). The privatization doctrine of the economic discourse rests on the discursive practices which depict the state as a "bad owner": "[T]he elected officials are digging a hole for themselves, they are actively undermining the confidence towards the state which they represent, and where they execute their power" (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012). Says another interviewee:

> One of the characteristics of the transition society is the absence of a positive concept of the state. Okay, we can look at Germany and say they have a strong positive concept of the state, or we can look at the United States and say people are more critical of the state there. Still, this is not comparable to the background we have as a transition state; where we used to have an occupied state which was governed from Moscow, and where we had an entirely hostile relationship to the state. So yes, lacking a positive concept of the state is a characteristic of a transition society. (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012)

Based on the assessment of the interviewees, since transition societies such as Estonia, are lacking an experience of democracy, the methods for getting things done remain difficult to change (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012; NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012). There might have been a shift from one ideological system to another, from a planned state economy to a liberal market economy, however, the overall culture of governance has largely remained the same. According to an interviewee:

> [T]hose people who gained power, who started building the market economy or the capitalist system, they did it by utilizing bolshevist methods. Alright, there were no *troikas*, executions by shootings, and terror, but the attitude that "you have to do what we say," or "we have the right to order and command" was there. We are lacking a culture of agreement. There is still no understanding that democracy means respect for

www.manaraa.com

> the rights of others, that the rights of minorities need to be respected, and other similar things. The dominant attitude is that I have the power, and I rule, and that's the way things are. (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012)

Says another interviewee:

> I think this is a sign of a transition society that when democratic values have not yet taken firm root in society, it is very easy to close off the debate by alluding to some technocratic calculus or some numbers, such as merging two schools together is cheaper. Very little attention is paid to the macro-quality of services, or the macro-level of things – what does this actually mean for the people consuming these services? (Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012)

The rule of law. Corpus analysis reveals the idea of the rule of law is contested by the notions of legalism and formalism within the technocratic discourse as well as by the enforcement and control orientation related to Europeanization (see more on Europeanization and the technocratic discourse above). Consistent with other elements of the normative discourse discussed above, the principle of the rule of law is enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia (§ 10). Based on the idea of the rule of law, "the authority of the state is constrained by individuals' freedom. Deduced from that are the principles of proportionality, separation of powers, legal certainty, lawfulness of administration, and legal protection by independent courts" (Justiitsministeerium, 2007). The fundamental idea here is that "administration should be conducted within a framework of law" (OECD, 1997a), that the relationship between the administrative authority and the citizen "should not depend on the will or whim of the authority but ought to be mediated by legal principles" (OECD, 1997a), and that the decision-making should be "open, transparent, and fair" (OECD, 1997a).

The concept of the rule of law is invoked in several occasions in the discursive material gathered for the study (Madise, 2000; State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012). Still, it is most often mentioned in the context of European principles of good

www.manaraa.com

governance (see more on the Europeanization discourse above), and not so much as a fundamental constitutional principle of Estonian public administration (State official No. 2, interview, May 22, 2012).

One of the areas which has recently created a considerable concern about the status of the rule of law in Estonia is the protection of human rights (Käsper & Meiorg, 2012). Poor conditions in nursing hospitals and the lack of quality in the delivery of special welfare services are two examples that are at the center of public debate. Fifty complaints regarding sixteen different welfare institutions across the country were gathered into a summary report by the Estonian Patient Advocacy Association in the Spring of 2011, after a highly-publicized case in the Keila nursing hospital was revealed by the media. The following problems with welfare services were brought to the attention of the public: failure to provide information about the treatment, care, or the prognosis to the patients or their relatives; instances of demeaning and crude treatment of patients and their relatives; negligence towards patients; instances of service providers trying to "knowingly induce patients' death by overdosing them on sedatives or by not giving them the necessary medications, by knowingly letting them catch a cold etc"; instances of the relatives of patients being "pressured into paying bribes for continuation of the service or for a better service"; and instances of the patients' personal belongings being stolen (Rekand, 2012). As summed up in the Annual Report of the Estonian Human Rights Centre (2012),

> Depending on the circumstances, it could be said that there may be cases of the most severe form of abuse – torture –in nursing care of welfare services in Estonia. There may also be cases of demeaning or inhuman detention or living conditions, disproportionate restriction of movement, degrading treatment, restraint and lack of complaint mechanisms in nursing care establishments. (Rekand, 2012)

www.manaraa.com

The case calls attention to serious deficiencies in the existence of an independent system of supervision and procedures for processing complaints in the Estonian welfare system, as well as the functioning of the rule of law in the country. As pointed out in the Human Rights Centre Report (2012):

> At the moment there is no court practice creating precedent in this field. However, based on the specifc Keila case that caused the major discussion in 2011 and the numerous complaints filed with the Estonian Patient Advocacy Association after that, it can be concluded that there are problems. Therefore, the fact that claims concerning nursing care services filed against the service providers is rather more likely a sign that denotes that filing complaints with the court is something people are afraid of or that turning to court is considered useless. (Rekand, 2012)

This is an example of the state of affairs in Estonia which does not fit the parameters of the "normalization" discourse. A few participants of the study who are employing the normative discourse invoke the notion of the "rights of persons" in their discursive practices, and argue inadequate attention has been paid to the protection of those rights (NGO leader No. 2, interview, May 18, 2012; NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012). Despite having been subjected to the disciplinary power of the EU's enlargement policy, and having "climbed the ladder" of the Union's conditionality criteria, this discursive material suggests transition societies, such as Estonia, may still have problems with ensuring the basic principles of human dignity, social justice, democracy, and the rule of law.

Summary. A normative discourse of postcommunist transition in Estonia is advanced by a group of statements which problematizes public administration as lacking autonomous moral agency. The normative regime draws on the Constitution of the Republic and its central principles of human dignity, social justice, democracy,

www.manaraa.com

and the rule of law. The discourse constructs a subjectivity of the public administrator as a moral actor who makes value-based decisions.

Modes of Subjectivity

As part of the discourse analysis, this study was also concerned with identification of subjects, and what they can say or do (see Appendix E for the stages of discourse analysis). Consistent with Foucauldian analysis, it is assumed that individual identity is influenced by discourses; that the subject is a site upon which discourses may act (Kendall & Wickham, 1999; Parker, 1992; Willig, 2001).

Discourses of Public Administration	Identities of Public Administrators
Economic discourse	Accountant
Managerial discourse	Plant manager
Europeanization discourse	Therapist
Technocratic discourse	Inspector
Ecological discourse	Problem-solver
Democratic discourse	Reconciler
Normative discourse	Moral actor

Figure 8. Discourses and identities in Estonian PA in transition.

The findings of the corpus analysis suggest, the seven discourses identified in this research shape the identity of public administrators in postcommunist Estonia. However, the findings also suggest the strong personal self-identities of some public administrators are capable of countering the constitutive power of the dominant discourses, and their mark on subjectivity. Even though there is no monolithic identity among public administrators, the results of the discourse analysis suggest the following subject positions: an "accountant," a "plant manager," a "therapist," an "inspector," a "problem-solver," a "reconciler," and a "moral actor" (see Figure 8).

www.manaraa.com

The "accountant" is a type prevalent within the economic discourse. The discursive practices revolve around cost-cutting, efficiency, monetary value, the price of public services, fiscal discipline, balanced budgets, and the need to minimize the cost of government. The "plant manager" role is defined by those who are subject to the managerial discourse. Their ways of speaking about public administration in transition involve an emphasis on instrumental rationality, the production of results, autonomous decision-making, and customer service. The "therapist" is a third subject position that was evident from the analyzed corpus of texts. These are public administrators immersed in the Europeanization discourse who consider it their job to cure the pathologies of postcommunist social arrangements *vis-à-vis* the Western European models, and guide the nation into a state of "normalcy." The "inspector" as discursive subject promotes the technocratic discourse of public administration in transition. The discourse relates to issues of enforcement, control, surveillance, and inspection of rules and regulations.

"Problem-solver" is the identity constructed by the under-utilized ecological discourse. Achieving societal impacts which contribute to the alleviation and elimination of complex issues arising from the fabric of society constitutes the gist of the problem-solver. "Reconciler" is a subject positioned in democratic discourse. These are public administrators whose discursive practices promote value pluralism, political contestation of opinions, deliberation of issues, and inclusive decision-making. Finally, the normative discourse identified in this research constructs an identity of a public administrator as a "moral actor" subjected to an internal set of values which guides his or her autonomous moral agency. In this research, public administrators as moral actors are subjects concerned with human dignity, social justice, democracy, and the rule of law.

www.manaraa.com

There are tensions between various discourses influencing the behavior of administrators. For example, it is difficult to reconcile the central role-definitions of the "accountant" and the "problem-solver" due to their contradicting approaches to the means and ends of using public funds. It is similarly hard to merge the identities of a "therapist" and a "problem-solver" whose problematizations of postcommunist transition are contradictory. Furthermore, the subjectivities of a "reconciler" and a "plant manager" proceed from the ideals of pluralistic and independent decision-making respectively. The rule-governed identity of an "inspector" is difficult to combine with that of a "moral actor" etc. Public administrators tend to employ contradictory ideas from irreconcilable frameworks to support arguments (Academic No. 1, interview, March 29, 2012; Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012; State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012). For example, it is possible to talk about the importance of engagement of citizens and social partners simultaneously with the need to diminish the circle of decision-makers on regional and local levels in order to accomplish a "better steering of the state" (State official No. 4, interview, March 27, 2012). In a similar vein, it is not uncommon that the managerial discourse is used simultaneously with the reluctance to form contractual relations (State official No. 5, interview, May 8, 2012). Also, there is a tension between the rhetoric of NPM and simultaneous merging of ministries, and a trend towards centralization, and concentration of decision-making and resources (Academic No. 1, interview, March 29, 2012; Academic No. 3, interview, March 30, 2012).

Nevertheless, the subject positions of the dominant discourses tend to converge around symbolic constellations pertaining to a sense of national pride in the independent statehood combined with a sense of accomplishment of a "normal" market democracy. Beyond this, however, the identity of public administrators in

www.manaraa.com

Estonia is fragmented, and no clear self-image emerges. Since so far, all major development visions for the country have been external, public administrators, similar to the overall sentiment in the Estonian society, are lacking a compass for setting the course for the future.

Still, the findings also show that the relationship between discourses and identities is dialectical: discourses and subjects are inseparable, they influence each other. The results of the discourse analysis demonstrate how the "problem-solvers", "reconcilers," and "moral actors" have managed to resist the constructive force of the prevailing economic, managerial, Europeanization, and technocratic discourses and their imprints on identity. Thus, the "problem solver" resists the economic discourse by arguing good public services are not cheap; the Europeanization discourse by recognizing the need to solve problems which emerge from the fabric of society instead of subjecting the nation to the teleology of "normalization"; the technocratic discourse by focusing on finding ways to get things done rather than following the rule-book to the letter.

The "reconciler" challenges the economic discourse by arguing democracy is not cheap since inclusion and deliberation take time and resources; the managerial discourse by arguing autonomous managerial decision-making is unacceptable in a democratic society whereas speed, efficiency and departmental independence need to be replaced by cooperation, collaboration, and contestation of ideas and opinions; the Europeanization discourse by facilitating the agency of citizens, communities, NGOs, and the civil society instead of defering to external expertise on setting up democratic social arrangements; the technocratic discourse by finding ways to make exceptions to the rules to accommodate various needs.

www.manaraa.com

The "moral actors" locate themselves outside the economic discourse by arguing it is alright to waste a little to ensure the basic principles of human dignity, social justice, democracy, and the rule of law; the managerial discourse by moving beyond the production and service delivery towards an *ethos* of publicness and serving the common good; the Europeanization discourse by developing an "internal spine" for judging the benefits and limitations of international/supranational prescriptions; the technocratic discourse by having an internal set of values for balancing rules against detrimental impacts on human dignity, social justice, democracy, and the rule of law.

As the result, three marginalized discourses – ecological, democratic, and normative – have emerged from this study. Their discursive practices contribute to the re-conceptualization of the vocabulary of public administration in transition.

Forms of Power/Knowledge

The fourth stage of discourse analysis in this study is concerned with exploring how discourses are related to power, institutions, and ideology (see Appendix E for the stages of discourse analysis). Consistent with the assumptions of critical discourse analysis (CDA), this study searched for the structures of power which manifest themselves in the languages of transition. The corpus analysis helped to reveal how the discourses of public administration are attached to relations of forces supporting particular types of knowledge. The findings of this research show that each discursive formation appears in the context of relations between actors who are relying on a particular set of truth claims, and a framework of institutions which validates and supports their statements (see Figures 1-7). Hence, different forms of power/knowledge yield dominant narratives about the postcommunist transition in Estonia which result in the marginalization of other narratives. The prevailing

www.manaraa.com

discursive practices produce and reproduce unequal power relations in postcommunist transition.

Consistent with the assumptions of problematization, this research explored discursive formations in the context of power relations and systems of domination which construct and normalize specific representations of postcommunist change in the Estonian public administration. The notion of problematization helped to understand how the dominant representations of solutions to the issues of postcommunist transition are related to the relations of forces who hold the power to define the problems of postcommunism. Thus, this study finds how the international regime of transition economics, along with the disciplinary power of international donor organizations such as IMF and the World Bank, and their policy instruments of "shock therapy" have helped to legitimate the narrative of postcommunist transition as a shift to the free market economy in the economic discursive order. This study also finds how transition in public administration has been constructed as the modernization of public management systems and processes consistent with the global best practices. The narrative depicting postcommunist transition in managerial terms is embedded and solidified by various international actors including foreign management consultants, foreign governments, academics, and donor organizations. Furthermore, the construction and normalization of transition as approximation to the Western European norms of governance is the central problematization within the Europeanization discourse. The Europeanization narrative proceeds from a *tabula rasa* approach and depicts a Western European model as a desirable developmental outcome for postcommunist Estonia. According to those who employ this discourse, the European standard of public administration is achieved by convergence, approximation, and harmonization based on comparative knowledge and best practice

www.manaraa.com

of the advanced democracies. The normalization narrative of postcommunist transition is supported by the EU's disciplinary power of conditionality, the Union's "hard" and "soft" law, and the entire architecture of EU institutions including the European Commission, and the European Court of Justice. Closely intertwined with the power/knowledge cluster of Europeanization is a discourse of technical-bureaucratic social control particularly pertaining to the application of the EU *acquis*, legal harmonization, implementation of structural assistance, and complying with the requirements of the European Commission. The technocratic discursive regime contains a representation of transition as the institutionalization of rule-governed social control based on technical expertise.

Consistent with the assumptions of deconstruction, this study also explored how the dominant categories of public administration maintain their force by relying on particular systems of oppositions and distinctions which favor some principles and exclude others. The privileged principles of public administration in the dominant thought-systems of transition draw their power from the categories which they exclude or oppress. The prevailing languages of public administration in postcommunist transition maintain their force by the internal logic of oppositions in which the privileged term, "the first principle," depends on suppressing and marginalizing the other (see Figures 1-4). This research finds that the central dichotomies in the economic discourse include: cost-cutting/solving public problems, economic development/human development, a place for business/a place for home, transition economics/ecology of public administration, economies of scale/local democracy, and minimal state/governmental interference. The managerialist discourse is buttressed by the following oppositions: politics-administration dichotomy/politics-administration intertwined, global management expertise/multiple sources of

www.manaraa.com

knowledge, instrumental rationality/value pluralism, performance orientation/due process, autonomous decision-making/pluralistic decision-making, customer service/co-production of services, and indirect service delivery/governmental production. The Europeanization discourse maintains the following distinctions: teleology/contingency, supranational requirements/national demands, comparative knowledge/contextual knowledge, Western European models and traditions/national politico-economic regime and administrative traditions, and capacity to enforce EU policies/capacity to solve public problems. Finally, the logic of oppositions in the technocratic discourse operates with the following categories: technical social control/political contestation of opinions, specialized knowledge/multiple sources of knowledge, rule-governed administration/formalism, hierarchical accountability to elected officials/multiple lines of accountability, and majority rule/party-politicization of public affairs.

Power/Knowledge in marginalized discourses. In contrast to the predominantly external loci of power and knowledge supporting the prevailing transition discourses of public administration in Estonia, the subjugated discursive orders identified in this research are evident in the local and indigenous frameworks of power/knowledge. The less prevalent discourses of public administration in transition which focus on the ecology, democracy, and moral agency draw on multiple evidence bases for decision-making (political, communal, scientific, professional, practical, experiential). The ecological discourse privileges the local, in contrast to, the global experience, and relies on contextual knowledge rather than comparative expertise. Within the democratic discourse, knowledge is viewed as a product of political contestation and public deliberation of ideas and opinions rather than an "off-the-shelf" formula ready to be applied. The normative discursive order outlined in this

www.manaraa.com

research has links to the Estonian constitutional regime, the European and international regimes of human rights (most importantly the UN and the Council of Europe), and the institutions of international labor rights (most importantly the ILO). The narratives of ecological, democratic, and normative discourses appear more frequently among the local interest groups, non-profit organizations, labor unions, local communities, and citizens' associations (see Figures 5-7).

In addition, while the deconstructive analytic strategy employed for this research helps to reveal the underlying architecture of the discourses, it is acknowledged that the privileged terms of the marginalized discourses cannot suppress those of the prevailing discourses since the latter belong to more powerful discursive regimes. Still, the dialectic between discourses and the modes of subjevtivity among the administrators may eventually lead to a shift in discursive practices that could alter the relationship between the terms, and make room for alternative representations of public administration in postcommunist change.

Research Questions

Research question #1. *What is the prevailing problematization of postcommunist social change in Estonia? How has the dominant representation of postcommunist transition been constructed and normalized through forms of knowledge, types of power, and modes of subjectivity?*

Based on the findings of this research, the postcommunist social change in Estonia has been constructed and normalized as "transition" in the prevailing narratives of public administration. The central problematizations of postcommunism in the dominant discursive regimes identified in this study include the lack of liberal market economy, the lack of internationally recognized management practices, the

www.manaraa.com

lack of alignment with Western European norms, and the lack of rule-governed social control based on technical expertise (see Figure 9).

Discourses of public administration	Problematizations of postcommunism
Economic discourse	Lack of liberal market economy and cost-effective use of limited resources
Managerial discourse	Lack of systems and processes for the production of desired outcomes consistent with global best practices
Europeanization discourse	Lack of alignment with the Western European norms of governance and authority
Technocratic discourse	Lack of de-ideologized and rule-governed social control based on technical expertise

Figure 9. Central problematizations of postcommunism in Estonian PA.

The dominant economic account of transition constructs the problem of postcommunism as a lack of free market institutions. The statements of the economic discourse are grounded in neoliberal economics, and are governed by the international regimes of the IMF and the World Bank. The managerial problematization of transition requires the transfer of modern management systems to the Estonian public administration consistent with the global standards of best practices. The production and consumption of texts pertaining to managerialism draws support from various international actors including the foreign management consultants, the foreign governments, academics, and the donor organizations. The Europeanization narrative of postcommunist transition constructs the problem as a lack of Western European governance models. The EU standard of public administration is achieved by convergence, approximation, and harmonization based on comparative knowledge of advanced democracies. Finally, the problematization of postcommunism in the technocratic discourse as the lack of de-ideologized social control calls for more rule-governed action, and technical expertise in Estonian public administration in transition. Hence, the discursive regimes of postcommunist public administration in

www.manaraa.com

Estonia rely on and reinforce "transition" as the assumptions of the dominant paradigm for post-authoritarian political and economic change: teleology in the movement from state to market, normalization of pathological forms of communist organization, choicelessness in the trajectories of regime change, and scientific knowledge as validation for imposing particular forms of social arrangements as universal solutions for problems of postcommunism.

Research question #2. *How is public administration constituted in postcommunist transition discourse in Estonia? How does public administration constitute the transition discourse? What are the side-effects of its role in society?*

This research treated public administration as a discursive object and identified seven discursive regimes of public administration altogether in postcommunist change in Estonia. The dominant discourses of public administration in transition are the economic discourse, the managerial discourse, the Europeanization discourse, and the technocratic discourse. The group of statements which advances economic thinking in Estonian public administration includes representations of the neo-liberal state, efficiency, economic development, the reduction of administrative burden, and the promotion of economies of scale. The managerial discourse manifests itself through the discursive practices related to politics-administration dichotomy, performance management, and customer service. The group of representations which pertain to Europeanization includes the EU conditionality requirements, the EU standards for civil service professionalism, the principles of the European Administrative Space (EAS), and the absorption capacity of structural funds. The technocratic discourse advances a vocabulary of public administration that is enforcement and control oriented, that is pervaded by legalism and formalism, and that is geared towards the de-politicization of public affairs.

www.manaraa.com

This research also found that the dominant discourses in transition have left an imprint on the subjectivity of public administrators in postcommunist Estonia. The economic discourse constructs the identity of public officials as "accountants" or the champions of competitiveness and cost-cutting. The managerial discourse shapes the subjectivity of administrators as "plant managers" concerned with instrumental rationality and production of results. Those immersed in the Europeanization discourse take up the subject position of a "therapist" whose identity is shaped by the process of approximation to Western European models and traditions of public administration. The rights and duties of public administrators as "inspectors" in the technocratic discourse are limited to the enforcement and inspection of legal acts.

The results of the corpus analysis suggest the defining role of public administrators in postcommunist Estonia has been the implementation of "transition." As the result of the powerful economic discourse, public administration in Estonia is an agent of market forces. In the course of the process of transition, public administrators have been concerned with economic development, reducing public spending, maintaining fiscal discipline, cutting taxes, and creating a non-interventionist state. These efforts of developing a favorable business environment have not always contributed to the development of a favorable living environment. The effects of the economic thinking in Estonian public administration include the appearance of a negative concept of the state, and the image of public administrators as "freeloaders." Moreover, the imperative of cost-cutting and the concern with creating a "cheap state" has neglected the issues of social protection, and equal access to services.

Furthermore, the managerial discourse rests on the assumption of politics-administration dichotomy which depicts public administration as a value-free

www.manaraa.com

apparatus for the accomplishment of predefined goals. The managerial discursive order in postcommunist transition has a Wilsonian streak which suggests that the field of administration is a field of business. Based on this assumption, the designing of a public administration along the lines of business management will help to create a system based on "scientifically" discovered principles of management, and lead to efficient government free from political meddling. Once the politics aspect has been removed, public and private management are identical. Once the ends and means of an enterprise have been separated, government's administrative machinery can be similar to that of a business organization. Hence, the central feature of the managerial discursive regime in postcommunist transition is the absence of "publicness" in public administration, or the idea that public administration is defined through the commitment to a public purpose, and through the serving of the common good. Moreover, the discursive practices related to managerial independent decision-making and customer service have detrimental effects on the development of a democratic system of governance based on inclusiveness, value pluralism, and citizens' ownership of their government.

In addition, the conceptual order of Europeanization in postcommunist transition in Estonia has constituted a public administration that excels at implementing external guidelines and requirements of international organizations while it exhibits a limited capacity to solve domestic public problems which emanate from the fabric of society. In the course of the postcommunist transition, the governments have been "policy-takers" rather than "policy-makers." Public administration lacks the ability to generate and implement internal visions for the future development of the society.

www.manaraa.com

Closely related to Europeanization, the technocratic discursive order emphasizes the importance of the enforcement, control, inspection, surveillance, and monitoring of (often externally imposed) rules and regulations. Taken to the extreme, this representation of public administration ends up advancing legalism and formalism in the Estonian system of government with limited understanding of the wider societal impacts of the execution of regulations. The rigidity of public administration implies the limited capacity of public administrators to make exceptions to the rules and accommodate the principle of humanness. Also, public officials immersed in "legalese" are reluctant to use other forms of coordination besides laws. Moreover, the technocratic discourse of public administration promotes bureaucratization of social issues which removes them from the realm of political contestation, and subjects them to technical expertise and/or partocratic decision-making.

In regard to the effects of the dominant identities of public administrators, the currently prevailing subject positions are too limited to allow a meaningful contribution to the development of the state and society in Estonia. The rights and duties of "accountants" and "inspectors" in the economic and technocratic discourses are restricted to balancing budgets and enforcing rules which are not enough for designing and implementing policies with beneficial impacts on society. These narrow role-definitions neglect the need for the policy-making skills, the skills to use multiple sources of knowledge, to engage non-governmental partners, and to set visions for the future. In the similar vein, the subjectivity of a "plant manager" relies on autonomous decision-making and overlooks the need for consultation and collaboration. The managerial identity is bound to disregard the values of due process, equal treatment, inclusiveness, and participation which are crucial for the development of a democratic form of government. The skills of a "therapist" are more often related to executing

www.manaraa.com

external requirements than finding out about and utilizing domestic demands and interests. The public officials immersed in the Europeanization discourse are more concerned with the successful implementation of international projects than solving complex public problems.

With regard to the effects of the dominant clusters of power/knowledge in the Estonian public administration in transition, the dominant discourses tend to be grounded in external sources of knowledge, and governed by foreign relations of forces. The groups of statements about public administration in postcommunist transition which are considered true and meaningful are relying on comparative rather than contextual evidence, and on global rather than local experience. The dominant discourses in postcommunist transition have an epistemological predisposition to privilege "ready-made formulas" for universal application which is particularly evident in the "best practices" approach of the managerial discursive regime. The preference for universally applicable knowledge fails to take into account the historical, political, socio-economic, and cultural context of transition societies. Moreover, the public administrator, particularly a "therapist," is perceived to possess superior know-how which contains the cure for the pathologies of the former regime and for the successful "normalization" of society. This leaves little room for the competing sets of solutions. Moreover, the dominant power relations supporting the discourses put the emphasis on the accountability to external bodies rather than to the citizens of Estonia. The focus on external requirements neglects the government-society relations, and seems to be responsible for the growing alienation of the citizens from the state, as well as the emergence of the "us" versus "them" mentality in society.

www.manaraa.com

Nevertheless, this research also found that while the constitutive power of discourses is shaping the identity of administrators, the administrators themselves are also involved in constructing and putting forward discourses about postcommunist social change. Public administration is influencing and is influenced by the ways we talk about postcommunist transition. The subjects who locate themselves outside the dominant discourses of public administration advance narratives which depict rather different stories of postcommunist transformation. A "problem-solver" is a public official who views the role of public administration as achieving societal impacts which contribute to the alleviation and elimination of complex public problems arising from the fabric of society. A "reconciler" is an administrator whose discursive practices promote value pluralism, political contestation of opinions, deliberation of issues, and inclusive decision-making in public administration. Finally, a "moral actor" is a representative of public administrators who is subjected to an internal set of values which guides his/her autonomous moral agency for the protection of human dignity, social justice, democracy, and the rule of law.

Research question #3. *What are the alternative problematizations of postcommunist social change? What are the representations of public administration inherent in marginalized accounts of postcommunist transformation?*

Besides the central problematizations of postcommunist transition in the economic, managerial, Europeanization, and technocratic discourses this research also found three alternative discursive regimes of public administration in postcommunist change. The less frequent problematizations of postcommunism include the lack of contextualization of public governance arrangements, the lack of value pluralism and inclusive decision-making, and the lack of independent moral agency for the

www.manaraa.com

protection of human dignity, social justice, democracy, and the rule of law (see Figure 10).

Discourses of public administration	Problematizations of postcommunism
Ecological discourse	Lack of attention to the inter-relationships between public administration and its historical, technological, cultural, political, and socio-economic context
Democratic discourse	Lack of value pluralism, political contestation of opinions, deliberation of issues, and inclusive decision-making
Normative discourse	Lack of autonomous moral agency for the protection and advancement of human dignity, social justice, democracy, and the rule of law

Figure 10. Alternative problematizations of postcommunism in Estonian PA.

Thus, this research found three marginalized discourses of postcommunist public administration in Estonia. In contrast to the cost-cutting concern of the economic discourse, the ecological discourse of public administration adopts a problem-solving approach. Instead of focusing on the teleology of Europeanization, the ecological discursive regime concerns itself with societal goals and challenges, and puts government-society relations at the center of attention. The ecological discourse proceeds from the need to situate the arrangements of public administration in its environment, to use contextual knowledge, and to solve problems which emerge from the fabric of society. The democratic discourse in postcommunist transition conceptualizes public administration through the discursive practices related to pluralistic decision-making, the promotion of the civil society and the NGOs, citizen engagement, social dialogue, and local democracy. The role of the public administrator is to use multiple sources of knowledge, to promote public deliberation, and to reconcile different values and opinions. The normative regime draws on the Constitution of the Republic of Estonian and its central principles of human dignity,

www.manaraa.com

social justice, democracy, and the rule of law. The discourse constructs a subjectivity of the public administrator as a moral actor who makes value-based decisions.

In contrast to the predominantly external expertise and governing mechanisms supporting the dominant discourses, the alternative discursive constructions of postcommunist public administration rely on the local and indigenous frameworks of power/knowledge. The ecological discourse privileges the local, in contrast to, the global experience, and relies on contextual knowledge rather than comparative expertise. In the democratic discourse, knowledge is viewed as a product of political contestation and public deliberation of ideas and opinions rather than an "off-the-shelf" formula ready to be applied. The normative discursive order outlined in this research has links to the Estonian constitutional regime, the European and international regimes of human rights (most importantly the UN and the Council of Europe), and the institutions of international labor rights (most importantly the ILO). The narratives of ecological, democratic, and normative discourses appear more frequently among the local interest groups, non-profit organizations, labor unions, local communities, and citizens' associations. These groups of statements provide a vocabulary for an alternative role-definition of public administration in postcommunist transition. A public administration concerned with solving complex public problems, promoting value-pluralism, and protecting the values of human dignity, social justice, democracy, and the rule of law.

Finally, to answer the primary research question of this study: *What is the role of public administration in postcommunist social change in Estonia?* The role of public administration in postcommunist change in Estonia is to implement "transition" as the global paradigm for carrying out the political and economic change. The prevailing problematizations of postcommunist transformation in Estonia have

www.manaraa.com

constructed the role of public administration through the economic, managerialist, Europeanization, and technocratic discourses. The dominant discursive practices shape the identities of public administrators as "accountants," "plant managers," "therapists," and "inspectors." In the course of transition, alternative problematizations of postcommunist change have given rise to the ecological, democratic, and normative discursive regimes. These marginalized groups of statements influence the subjectivity of public officials as "problem-solvers," "reconcilers," and "moral actors," and have the potential to re-shape the role of public administration in the postcommunist social change in Estonia.

www.manaraa.com

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Public Administration in Postcommunist Transition

The purpose of this study has been to examine the global and local discourses that have constituted public administration in postcommunist Estonia with the aim of exploring the potential for creating a more culturally sensitive and context-bound practice of public administration. The aim of this research has been to problematize and deconstruct the prominent view of postcommunist transition, and to explore its consequences for the field of public administration in Estonia. The study has examined the vocabularies which constitute public administration in transition discourses, and searched for alternative representations in marginalized accounts of postcommunist transformation.

The study asked *What is the role of public administration in postcommunist social change in Estonia?* It looked for the prevailing problematizations of postcommunist transition in Estonia, and how these have been constructed and normalized through forms of knowledge, types of power, and modes of subjectivity. The study was concerned with investigating the dialectics between the discourses of public administration in transition, and the subjectivities of administrators. The study focused on identifying the alternative problematizations of postcommunist change, and the representations of public administration inherent in these marginalized accounts.

Overall, the study finds that postcommunist social change in Estonia has been constructed and normalized as "transition" in the prevailing narratives of public administration. The dominant discursive regimes identified in this research are consistent with the general assumptions of "transition" – *teleology* in the movement from state to market (Kennedy, 2002; Kolodko, 2000; Lavigne, 2000), *normalization*

www.manaraa.com

of pathological forms of communist organization (Dauphinée, 2003, p. 198), *choicelessness* in the trajectories of regime change (Mandelbaum, 1996, p. 9; Sakwa, 1999, pp. 114-116), and *scientific knowledge* as validation for imposing particular forms of social arrangements as universal solutions for problems of postcommunism (Dauphinée, 2003, p. 194; Kennedy, 2002, p. 108). The discourses are, thus, relying on and reinforcing "transition" as the prominent global representation of post-authoritarian politico-economic change. The prevailing problematizations of postcommunist transformation in Estonia have constructed the role of public administration through the economic, managerialist, Europeanization, and technocratic discourses. The dominant discursive practices shape the identities of public administrators as "accountants," "plant managers," "therapists," and "inspectors." However, this study also finds that there are alternative narratives of postcommunist transformation in Estonia with a potential to reconceptualize the role of public administration beyond the "transition" paradigm. Alternative problematizations of postcommunist change have given rise to the ecological, democratic, and normative discursive regimes. These suppressed groups of statements influence the subjectivity of public officials as "problem-solvers," "reconcilers," and "moral actors."

This study contributes to the critical discussions of "transition," which dispute its key ideas of teleology, institutional homogeneity, universal problematization of postsocialist condition, and uniform trajectories of change (e.g. Buchowski, 2001; Buroway & Verdery, 1999a; Carothers, 2002; Dauphinée, 2003; Dryzek & Holmes, 2002; Fotaki, Böhm, & Hassard, 2010; Galasińska & Galasiński, 2010; Galasińska & Krzyzanowski, 2009; Hann, 2002a; Kennedy, 2002; Pickles & Smith, 1998; Pollert, 1999; Verdery, 1996). Similar to these studies, the research in this dissertation finds a

www.manaraa.com

discrepancy between the macro-level currents of teleology and normalization in the prevailing imaginations of postcommunist change, and the complexity of the real-life processes of social change. Even though Estonia is an exemplar of "transition" no clear signs of a teleological movement towards predictable outcomes can be observed. The real trajectories of change have been messy. The development of public administration is characterized by complexity, unpredictability, and contradictory frameworks. As the results of this study indicate, the key characteristic of public administration in transition is a lack of conceptual coherence. As one of the interviewees put it, it is a "shopping-basket" of ideals and ideas which have been randomly put to use (Academic No. 1, interview, March 29, 2012).

Alternatively, this study underscores the need to reconceptualize transition research by employing alternative lenses for investigation to unearth marginalized or overlooked aspects of the postcommunist condition. By adopting a discursive approach, this study has been able to move beyond the taken-for-granted representations of public administration floating around in the spaces of transition. Discourse analysis facilitates a frank discussion about "truth," "power," "knowledge," "normality," and ultimately the question of what public administration could be and should be in a postcommunist setting such as Estonia.

Public Administration in Post-Transition

What are the implications of the conclusions of this research for public administration and policy in Estonia, for the administrative reform strategies of the states undergoing postcommunist transformations, and for the agendas of international actors involved in facilitating and overseeing transitions?

www.manaraa.com

Implications for Estonia. With regard to the implications for Estonia, a re-problematization of postcommunism outside the framework of "transition" would be a first step towards creating a more context-bound, democratic, and explicitly value-based system of governance. Even more importantly, public administration in Estonia needs to focus on facilitating a collective process for defining the challenges of post-transition by asking the following: What are the issues of post-transition? What is the role of public administration in addressing these problems? What kind of public administration is needed for coping with the future trials of the socio-economic and political development?

Change in direction. The results of this research indicate that public administrators in Estonia are both constituted and enabled. While discourses inform the behavior of administrators, in some instances administrators resist the imprint of dominant discourses. The study finds a dialectical relationship between discourses and subjectivities. While the dominant identities of public officials are shaped by the constitutive power of the prevailing discursive regimes, some administrators are putting forward alternative narratives of postcommunist change, which have the potential to re-problematize postcommunist change. Hence, the conclusions of this study suggest that the discursive shifts in the regimes of public administration, along with the appearance of different social transformations, can only occur with the recognition and cultivation of autonomous moral agency among public administrators.

The currently prevailing identities of public administrators are too limited to allow a meaningful contribution to the development of the state and society in Estonia. The rights and duties of the "accountant," the "plant manager," the "therapist," and the "inspector" neglect the need for policy skills, democratic values, practices of collaboration, coordination, and consultation. The dominant role of a public

www.manaraa.com

administrator as the implementer of "transition" is inadequate for generating a discussion about, and carrying out the visions for the creation of a good society.

Implications for international actors. With regard to the implications for the strategies of international actors involved in carrying out or overseeing transitions, the conclusions of this study suggests a need to recognize the limitations of the currently prevailing vocabularies of international development and transition. The current registers of "transition" are hegemonic and lack complexity and nuance. They fail to move beyond the "normalization" mindset. The "normalization" discourse focuses attention on a set of prescribed and externally operationalized measurements for democracy, market economy, political rights, economic freedoms, civil society, etc., which divert attention away from what makes sense in the context of local settings. The facilitation of a successful politico-economic regime change requires a holistic approach that would embrace the diversity of experiences, as well as the particular socio-economic, political, cultural, and environmental conditions of various societies (cf. Brohman, 1995, p. 123; Carothers, 2002, p. 20; Pickel, 2002, p. 113). A successful facilitation also requires an anti-hegemonic approach that denaturalizes the Western imagination of public administration, and explores local vocabularies of governance, authority, and stateness (cf. Hansen & Stepputat, 2001). Instead of implementing the requirements of "normalization," the societies in transition need to be guided towards carrying out local problematizations of regime change, and towards finding their own languages of transformation.

Rethink knowledge. There is a need to rethink what constitutes knowledge within global public management reform. Its current discourse relies on comparative rather than contextual evidence, and on global rather than local experience. The

www.manaraa.com

dominant discourses in postcommunist transition have an epistemological predisposition to privilege "ready-made formulas" for universal application which is particularly evident in the "best practices" approach of the managerial discursive regime. Rarely can one encounter the experience of citizens, employees, and service-users as evidence for decision-making.

In the case of Estonia, the recognition that deliberative knowledge can be as valid as scientific or professional expertise is missing in the prevailing discursive regimes of transition. At present, the chance for more context-bound discourses of public administration to advance is limited.

Expand the notion of capacity. This study suggests that the apparatus of "transition" in the field of public administration may yield negative effects on the development of capable governance arrangements in societies undergoing social transformation. As the findings indicate, Estonian public administration has become very successful at carrying out international projects (EU, NATO, Euro), but exhibits less capacity in solving complex social problems at home. After the completion of the transition milestones, Estonian public administration has lost direction for further development, and is apparently lacking the capacity to articulate a vision for the future. Since the communist bureaucracy used to be an enforcement apparatus for the Party, the public administrators of postcommunist nations lack policy skills. This concern has been well documented in the literature (e.g. Goetz & Margetts, 1999; Goetz & Wollmann, 2001; Jacobs, 2004; Randma-Liiv, 2005; Rice, 1992; Verheijen, 2003). However, the Europeanization and the technocratic discourses in Estonian public administration in transition identified by this study provide evidence for the degree to which the prominent languages of transition further advance the enforcement orientation. The narrow definition of capacity as the ability to implement

www.manaraa.com

the *acquis*, the ability to fulfill the donors' conditionality criteria, and/or the ability to comply with the reporting requirements of structural funds, reinforces the image of public administration as a mechanism for enforcement and control.

In order to avoid these negative effects, care should be taken not to impose an externally defined agenda on the transition countries. Instead, these countries need help with focusing on their ecology – on the issues that are closely intertwined with, and emerge from the fabric of their societies. The resources devoted to international "technical assistance" are likely to have a more sustainable effect if channeled for the development of the transition countries' policy-making capacities, rather than their policy-taking capacities.

The effects on democratization. Those involved in carrying out and overseeing postcommunist "transition" need to acknowledge that it has had negative effects on democratization. As the findings of this study indicate, the prominent discursive regimes of transition in Estonia lionize executive level decision making over and above representative institutions and civil society organizations, divert the lines of accountability away from the citizens of Estonia to international and supranational bodies, and privilege external requirements to internally-generated inputs. This impairs democratic development because it neglects pluralistic decision-making, citizen engagement, social dialogue, and local democracy. The *ad-hoc* nature of the project-based financing of the NGOs fragments and weakens the non-profit sector and its ability to provide inputs to the decision-making processes, to perform the role of advocacy, and to hold governments accountable.

Moreover, "transition" de-politicizes social change. Similarly with the "expertization" of development efforts, the "technification" of transition allows experts to recast the problems of postcommunism into the neutral realm of science,

www.manaraa.com

thus, obscuring the political and ethical dimensions of social change (cf. DuBois, 1991; Escobar, 1984). The technocratic discourse in Estonian public administration identified in this study advances the bureaucratization of social issues, partisan decision-making and other manifestations of "partocracy." A curious byproduct of transition in Estonia seems to be the paradoxical de-politicization of social issues, on the one hand, with party-politicization of public affairs, on the other.

Finally, the geography of "transition" in and of itself can be deceiving. Estonia may formally be part of the EU, however, the work of democratization still largely remains incomplete. According to one of the NGO leaders interviewed for this study:

> After 2004 we lost all our international funders. The moment Estonia became the member state of the European Union, all those who used to finance our organization disappeared. They would say: "You have the European Union now." And that left us with only the EU money. /…/ If you take a look at the EU structural funds measures, there are about 50 of them, they do not contain a measure for democratic development or for the advancement of human rights. Human rights are a nonissue for the European Union. /…/ The funders who used to work with us took up projects in India and Africa. They would say: "These countries belong to the European Union now. These postsocialist states, they are European Union now, they don't need our help." /…/ The role of our organization is to be a watchdog, a human rights organizations, and we will carry on our work as long as possible. And when it becomes impossible, then it becomes impossible. Then we will close our organization, and it will be a sign for the society that something is fundamentally wrong. (NGO leader No. 3, interview, May 3, 2012)

The dangers of the "normalization" discourse could not be more evident here. The findings of this study lead to the conclusion that the discursive practices of the global "transition" apparatus produce misrepresentations about postcommunist societies.

www.manaraa.com

Future Research

This study has engaged in and contributed to the studies of administrative reform in postcommunist transition, to cultural studies of public administration, and to the global public management reform literature. Most importantly, this research has laid out a path for rethinking postcommunist public administration beyond the global doctrine of "transition."

Future studies need to develop new and original representations of political and economic change and images of public administration that do not solely rely on the dominant global public management discourses. Additional research is needed to identify alternative vocabularies, and assess their potential for reconceptualizing the meta-narrative of "transition."

Future research should address the following questions: What are the lessons of postcommunist public administration reform processes in helping to redefine the "transition" paradigm? To what extent is "transition" the guiding paradigm of the international development apparatus for managing political and economic transformations in post-authoritarian states beyond Estonia? To what extent is "transition" the guiding framework for public administration development in countries undergoing post-authoritarian regime change? What are the global and/or local discourses that might rival "transition"? What is the potential of these alternative discursive regimes for creating a vocabulary for the development of public administration that transcends "transition"?

Besides public administration reform, future studies need to continue to explore how the apparatus of "transition" functions in other areas of social life including civil society development, non-profit capacity-building, business management, and political development (cf. Kennedy, 2002; Sampson, 1996). The

www.manaraa.com

question that needs to be addressed is: What are the effects of the power/knowledge discourses of politico-economic change on the people, states, and societies inhabiting the spaces of "transition"?

Conclusion

The purpose of this study has been to identify the discourses that have constituted public administration in postcommunist Estonia. Overall, the study finds that while the dominant problematizations of postcommunist change are shaping the role of public administration through the economic, managerialist, Europeanization, and technocratic discourses, the alternative problematizations of postcommunism have given rise to marginalized discursive regimes with a focus on ecology, democracy, and moral agency. The findings of this study lead to the conclusion that the postcommunist social change in Estonia has been constructed and normalized as "transition" in the prevailing narratives of public administration. However, this study also finds that there are alternative narratives of postcommunist transformation in Estonia with a potential to reconceptualize the role of public administration beyond the "transition" paradigm. Future studies need to seek out non-Western representations of politico-economic change in other places of "transition" with the aim of developing an alternative vocabulary for the development of public administration capable of carrying out transformations which lead to more humane, more inclusive, and more decent societies.

www.manaraa.com

REFERENCES

Abrams, P. (1988). Notes on the difficulty of studying the state. *Journal of Historical Sociology, 1*, 58-89.

Ágh, A. (2003). Public administration in Central and Eastern Europe. In B. G. Peters & J. Pierre (Eds.), *Handbook of public administration* (pp. 536-548). London: Sage Publications.

Aligica, P. D. (2003). *Neoclassical economics and the challenge of transition: Lessons and implications of the Eastern-European economic reform experience*. IWM Working Paper 3. Vienna: IWM.

Alvesson, M. (2002). *Postmodernism and social research*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Aslund, A. (2002). *Building capitalism: The transformation of the former Soviet bloc*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Aslund, A. (2007). *How capitalism was built: The transformation of Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, and Central Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Balcerowicz, L. (1994). Understanding postcommunist transition. *Journal of Democracy, 5*, 75-89.

Batt, J. (2003). Introduction: Defining Central and Eastern Europe. In S. White, J. Batt, & P. G. Lewis (Eds.), *Developments in Central and East European politics 3* (pp. 3-22). Basingstoke, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bauer, M. W., & Aarts, B. (2000). Corpus construction: A principle for qualitative data collection. In M. W. Bauer & G. Gaskell (Eds.), *Qualitative researching with text, image and sound* (pp. 19-37). London: Sage Publications.

Berdahl, D. (2000). Introduction: An anthropology of postsocialism. In D. Berdahl, M. Bunzl, & M. Lampland (Eds), *Altering states. Ethnographies of transition in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union* (pp. 1-13) Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Berdahl, D., Bunzl, M., & Lampland, M. (Eds). (2000). *Altering states. Ethnographies of transition in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Berg, B. L. (2009). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*. Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Berger, P. L. & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. New York: Doubleday.

Bevir, M., Rhodes, R. and Weller, P. (2003). Traditions of governance: Interpreting the changing role of the public sector. *Public Administration, 81* (1), 1–17.

Bobkov, M. (2009). Kodanikeühenduste riigieelarvelise rahastamise korrastamise kontseptsioon. Siseministeerium. Retrieved from http://www.siseministeerium.ee/public/Rahkon_260309.pdf

Bonnell, V. E. & Hunt, L. (Eds.). (1999). *Beyond the cultural turn: New directions in the study of society and culture*. Berkeley: The University of California Press.

Bouckaert, G., Nemec, J., Nakrosis, V., Hajnal, G., & Tõnnisson, K. (Eds). (2008). *Public management reforms in Central and Eastern Europe.* Bratislava: NISPAcee.

Bourdieu, P, & Wacquant, L. (2001). NewLiberal speak: Notes on the new planetary vulgate. *Radical Philosophy, 105*: 2-5.

Brohman, J. (1995). Universalism, Eurocentrism, and ideological bias in development studies. *Third World Quarterly*, *16* (1), 121-140.

www.manaraa.com

Bruner, M. L. (2002). Taming "wild" capitalism. *Discourse & Society, 13*, 167-184.
Buchowski, M. (2001). *Rethinking transformation. An anthropological perspective on postsocialism*. Poznan: Wydawictwo Humaniora.
Budryte, D. (2011). Transitional regimes. In G. T. Kurian (Ed.). The *encyclopedia of political science* (pp. 1681-1682). Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.
Burawoy, M. (1992). The end of Sovietology and the renaissance of modernization theory. *Contemporary Sociology, 21* (6), 744-785.
Burawoy, M. (1999). Afterword. In M. Buroway & K. Verdery (Eds.), *Uncertain transition: Ethnographies of change in the postsocialist world* (pp.301-311). Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.
Burawoy, M. (2001). Neoclassical sociology: From the end of communism to the end of classes. *American Journal of Sociology, 106*, 1099-1120.
Buroway, M., & Verdery, K. (Eds.). (1999a). *Uncertain transition: Ethnographies of change in the postsocialist world*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield.
Buroway, M., & Verdery, K. (1999b). Introduction. In M. Buroway & K. Verdery (Eds.), *Uncertain transition: Ethnographies of change in the postsocialist world* (pp. 1-17). Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield.
Burr, V. (2003). *Social constructionism*. London: Routledge.
Campbell, D. (1998). *National deconstruction: Violence, identity, and justice in Bosnia*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
Cardona, F. (2007). Jätkusuutlik ja kodanikusõbralik avalik haldus. In K. Uus (Ed.), *Avaliku teenistuse aastaraamat 2006* (pp. 9-13). Tallinn: AS Triip.
Carothers, T. (2002). The end of the transition paradigm. *Journal of Democracy, 13* (1), 5-21.
Centre for Pure Development. (2011, November 1). Estonian human resource development OP priority axis 5 "Enhancing administrative capacity" evaluation of effectiveness and impact: Executive summary. Retrieved from http://www.avalikteenistus.ee/public/Haldusmeede/Evaluation_Report_Administrative_Capacity_Estonia_2011_-_Executive_Summary_-_Logo.pdf
Chari, S., & Verdery, K. (2009). Thinking between the posts: Postcolonialim, postsocialism, and ethnography after the Cold War. *Comparative Studies in Society and History, 51* (1), 6-34.
Chilton, P., Ilyin, M. V., & Mey, J. L. (Eds.). (1998). *Political discourse in transition in Europe 1989-1991*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Chouliaraki, L., & Fairclough, N. (1999). *Discourse in late modernity: Rethinking critical discourse analysis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Christensen, T., & Lægreid, P. (2007). Introduction – Theoretical approach and research questions. In T. Christensen, & P. Lægreid (Eds.), *Transcending new public management: The transformation of public sector reforms* (pp. 1-16). Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate.
Christensen, T., & Lægreid, P. (Eds.). (2001). *New Public Management: The transformation of ideas and practice*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
CNN. (2012, March 29). Estonia's success: Liberal regulation, strong work ethic. *Marketplace Europe, CNN*. Retrieved from: http://edition.cnn.com/2012/03/29/business/marketplace-europe-estonia-quest/index.html
Connor, W. D. (2011). Postcommunist transformation. In G. T. Kurian (Ed.). *The encyclopedia of political science* (pp. 1319-1320). Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.
Constitution of the Republic of Estonia. Retrieved from http://www.president.ee/en/republic-of-estonia/the-constitution/index.html

www.manaraa.com

Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
CyclePlan (2007, July 11). Eesti riikliku arengukava meetme 1.4 "Haldussuutlikkuse tõstmine" tulemuslikkuse ja mõjude hindamine. Retrieved from http://www.avalikteenistus.ee/public/Meetme_1.4_Piloothindamine_Lopparuanne_110707_Final.pdf
D'Orta, C. (2003). *What future for the European Administrative Space?* Maastricht: European Institute of Public Administration.
Darvas, Z. (2010). The impact of the crisis on budget policy in Central and Eastern Europe. *OECD Journal on Budgeting, 1*, 1-42.
Dauphinée, E. (2003). Faith, hope, neoliberalism: Mapping economies of violence on the margins of Europe. *Dialectical Anthropology, 27*, 189-203.
Derrida, J. (1976). *Of grammatology*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Derrida, J. (1978). *Writing and difference*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Diamond, L. (1999). *Developing democracy: Toward consolidation*. Baltimore & London: John Hopkins University Press.
Drechsler, W., & Estaga, T. (n.d.). Eeldused edukaks haldusreformiks Eestis. Retrieved from http://www.riigikantselei.ee/arhiiv/ahb/strateeg/wolfg2.htm
Drechsler, W. (2005). The re-emergence of "Weberian" public administration after the fall of New Public Management: The Central and Eastern European perspective. *Halduskultuur, 6*, 94-108.
Drechsler, W. (2009). Towards a Neo-Weberian European Union? Lisbon Agenda and public administration. *Halduskultuur, 10*, 6-21.
Dreyfus, H., & Rabinow, P. (1982). *Michel Foucault: Beyond structuralism and hermeneutics*. Brighton: Harvester.
Dryzek, J. S., & Holmes, L. (2002). *Post-communist democratization. Political discourses across thirteen countries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Dubois, M. (1991). The governance of the Third World: A Foucauldian perspective of power relations in development. *Alternatives, 16* (1), 1-30.
Dunn, W. N., & Miller, D. J. (2007). A critique of the New Public Management and the Neo-Weberian State: Advancing a critical theory of administrative reform. *Public Organization Review, 7*, 345-358.
Eesti Mittetulundusühingute ja Sihtasutuste Liit. (2010, June). Kodanikeühenduste rahastamiskogemused ja rahastustingimuste parandamine: Küsitluse kokkuvõte. Retrieved from http://www.ngo.ee/sites/default/files/files/Rahastusk%C3%BCsitluse%20kokkuv%C3%B5te.pdf
Edwards, T. (Ed.). (2007). *Cultural theory: Classical and contemporary positions*. London: Sage.
Elster, J., Offe, C., & Preuss, U. K. (1998). *Institutional design in post-communist societies: Rebuilding the ship at sea*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Eriksen, S. (2007). Institution building in Central and Eastern Europe: Foreign influences and domestic responses. *Review of Central and East European Law, 32*, 333-369.
Escobar, A. (1984). Discourse and power in development: Michael Foucault and the relevance of his work to the Third World. *Alternatives, 10* (3), 377-400.
Escobar, A. (1988). Power and visibility: Development and the invention and management of the Third World. *Cultural Anthropology, 3* (4), 428-43.

www.manaraa.com

Escobar, A. (1995). *Encountering development: The making and unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Estonian Public Service Web Portal. (n.d.). Measure 1.4: Enhancing Administrative Capacity (ESF). Retrieved from: http://www.avalikteenistus.ee/?id=12153

European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. (1998). Transition report 1998: Financial sector in transition. Retrieved from http://www.ebrd.com/pages/research/publications/flagships/transition/archive.shtml

European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. (1999). Transition report 1999: Ten years of transition. Retrieved from http://www.ebrd.com/pages/research/publications/flagships/transition/archive.shtml

European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. (2005). Transition report 2005: Business in transition. Retrieved from http://www.ebrd.com/pages/research/publications/flagships/transition/archive.shtml

European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. (2008). Transition report 2008: Growth in transition. Retrieved from http://www.ebrd.com/pages/research/publications/flagships/transition/archive.shtml

European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. (2010). Transition report 2010: Recovery and reform. Retrieved from http://www.ebrd.com/pages/research/publications/flagships/transition/archive.shtml

European Commission. (1998). Regular report from the Commission on Estonia's progress towards accession. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/key_documents/reports_1998_en.htm

European Commission. (1999). Regular report from the Commission on Estonia's progress towards accession. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/key_documents/reports_1999_en.htm

European Commission. (2000). Regular report from the Commission on Estonia's progress towards accession. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/key_documents/reports_2000_en.htm

European Commission. (2001). Regular report from the Commission on Estonia's progress towards accession. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/key_documents/reports_2001_en.htm

European Commission. (2002). Regular report from the Commission on Estonia's progress towards accession. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/key_documents/reports_2002_en.htm

European Commission. (2003). Comprehensive monitoring report on Estonia's preparations for membership. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/key_documents/reports_2003_en.htm

Evans, P., & Rauch, J. E. (1999). Bureaucracy and growth: A cross-national analysis of the effects of "Weberian" state structures on economic growth. *American Sociological Review, 64* (5), 748-765.

Fagin, A. (1998). Democratization in Eastern Europe: The limitations of the existing transition literature. *Contemporary Politics, 4* (2), 143-159.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambrideg: Polity Press.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis*. Boston: Addison Wesley.

www.manaraa.com

Fairclough, N. (2001a). Critical discourse analysis as a method of social-scientific research. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (pp. 121-138). London: Sage.
Fairclough, N. (2001b). *Language and power*. Harlow: Longman.
Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. London: Routledge.
Fairclough, N. (2005a). Critical discourse analysis. *Marges Linguistiques*, *9*, 76-94.
Fairclough, N. (2005b). Critical discourse analysis in trans-disciplinary research on social change: Transition, re-scaling, poverty and social inclusion. *Lodz Papers in Pragmatics, 1*, 37-58.
Fairclough, N. (2005c). Discourse in processes of social change: "Transition" in Central and Eastern Europe. *British and American Studies, 11*, 9-34.
Fairclough, N. (2006). Discursive transition in Central and Eastern Europe (pp. 49-72). In Shi-xu (Ed.), *Discourse as cultural struggle*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
Fairclough, N. (2007a). The contribution of discourse analysis to research on social change (pp. 25-49). In N. Fairclough, P. Cortese, & P. Ardizzone (Eds.), *Discourse in contemporary social change*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
Fairclough, N. (2007b). Strategy and discourse in globalization and development. In P. Dobrescu, A. Taranu, & A. Bargaoanu (Eds.), *Globalization and policies of development*. Bucharest: National School of Political Science and Public Administration.
Fairclough, N., & R. Wodak. (1997). Critical discourse analysis. In T. A. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse as social interaction* (pp. 259-284). London: Sage Publications.
Farazmand, A. (1999). Administrative reform in global perspectives: A symposium. *International Journal of Public Administration, 22*, 805-813.
Ferguson, J. (1994). *The anti-politics machine: "Development," depoliticization, and bureaucratic power in Lesotho*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Ferguson, J., & Lohmann, L. (1994). The anti-politics machine: "Development" and bureaucratic power in Lesotho. *The Ecologist, 24* (5), 176-181.
Flynn, M., Kay, R., & Oldfield, J. D. (Eds). (2008). *Trans-national issues, local concerns and meanings of post-socialism: Insights from Russia, Central Eastern Europe and Beyond*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case-study research. *Qualitative Inquiry, 12*, 219-245.
Fotaki, M., Böhm, S., & Hassard, J. (2010). The failure of transition: Identities, ideologies and imaginary institutions in times of global capitalist crisis. *Journal of Organizational Change Management, 23*, 637-650.
Foucault, M. (1985). *The use of pleasure*. New York: Vintage Books.
Foucault, M. (2011). *The archaeology of knowledge*. London: Routledge.
Friedman, M. (1962). *Capitalism and freedom*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Fukuyama, F. (1992). *The end of history and the last man*. London: Penguin Books.
Galasińska, A. & Krzyzanowski, M. (Eds). (2009). *Discourse and transformation in Central and Eastern Europe*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
Galasińska, A., & Galasiński, D. (2010). *The post-communist condition. Public and private discourses of transformation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
Gandhi, L. (2008). *Postcolonial theory: A critical introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

www.manaraa.com

Gardó, S., & Martin, R. (2010). The impact of the global economic and financial crisis on Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe: A stock-taking exercise. Occasional Paper Series. No. 114. European Central Bank. Retrieved from: http://www.ecb.europa.eu

Gaus, J. M. (2010). The ecology of public administration. In Stillman II, R. J. *Public administration: Concepts and cases* (pp. 80-85). Boston: Wadsworth Publishing. (Original work published 1947).

Gee, J. P. (1999). *An introduction to discourse analysis: Theory and method*. New York: Routledge.

Gergen, H. (1985). The social constructionist movement in modern social psychology. *American Psychologist*, *40* (3): 266-75.

Giordano, C., & Kostova, D. (2002). The social production of mistrust. In C. M. Hann (Ed.). *Postsocialism: Ideals, ideologies and practices in Eurasia* (pp. 74-91). London: Routledge.

Goetz, K. H. (2001). Making sense of post-communist central administration: Modernization, Europeanization or Latinization? *Journal of European Public Policy, 8* (6), pp. 1032-1051.

Goetz, K. H., & Margetts, H. Z. (1999). The solitary center: The core executive in Central and Eastern Europe. *Governance: An International Journal of Policy and Administration, 12* (4), 425-453.

Goetz, K. H., & Wollmann, H. (2001). Governmentalizing central executives in post-communist Europe: A four-country comparison. *Journal of European Public Policy, 8* (6), pp. 864-887.

Goralczyk, B. J. (2000). The post-communist world: A conceptual framework. In W. Kostecki, K. Zukrowska, & B. J. Goralczyk (Eds.), *Transformations of post-communist states* (pp. 281-300). Houndsmills, UK: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Government of the Republic. (2012, February 2). The good engagement practices. Retrieved from http://valitsus.ee/en/government/engagement-practices

Grabbe, H. (2001). How does Europeanization affect CEE governance? Conditionality, diffusion and diversity. *Journal of European Public Policy, 8* (6), pp. 1013-1031.

Gregory, R. (2007). New Public Management and the ghost of Max Weber: Exorcized or still haunting? In T. Christensen, & P. Lægreid (Eds.), *Transcending new public management: The transformation of public sector reforms* (pp. 221-243). Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate.

Guess, G. M. (1997). Symposium on public sector management in Eastern Europe. *International Journal of Public Administration, 20* (3), pp. 557-563.

Hall, S. (1997). The centrality of culture: Notes on the cultural revolutions of our time. In K. Thompson (Ed.), *Media and cultural regulation* (pp. 207-238). London: Sage Publications.

Hall, S. (2001). Foucault: Power, knowledge and discourse. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor, & S. J. Yates (Eds.), *Discourse theory and practice: A reader* (pp. 72-81). London: Sage Publications.

Hann, C. M. (Ed.). (2002a). *Postsocialism: Ideals, ideologies and practices in Eurasia*. London and New York: Routledge.

Hann, C. (2002b). Farewell to the socialist "other." In C. M. Hann (Ed.). *Postsocialism: Ideals, ideologies and practices in Eurasia* (pp. 1-11). London: Routledge.

www.manaraa.com

Hansen, T. B., & Stepputat, F. (Eds.). (2001). *States of imagination: Ethnographic explorations of the postcolonial state*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Harris, J. (2002). *Depoliticizing development: The World Bank and social capital*. London: Anthem Press.

Heidmets, M. (Ed.). (2008). Estonian human development report 2007. Tallinn: Eesti Koostöö Kogu. Retrieved from http://www.kogu.ee/public/trykised/EIA07_eng.pdf

Hesse, J. J. (1993). From transformation to modernization: Administrative change in Central and Eastern Europe. In J. J. Hesse (Ed.), *Administrative transformation in Central and Eastern Europe: Towards public sector reform in post-communist societies* (pp. 219-257). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Hesse, J. J. (1997). Rebuilding the state: Public sector reform in Central and Eastern Europe. In J.-E. Lane (Ed.), *Public sector reform: Rationale, trends and problems* (pp. 114-146). London: Sage.

Holmes, L. (1997). *Post-communism: An introduction*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Hololei, H. (2009). Estonia's preparations for accession to the European Union 1995–2004: The domestic co-ordination system. In K. Rannu. (Ed.), *Estonia's way into the European Union* (pp. 90-98). Tallinn: Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Hood, C. (1991). A public management for all seasons? *Public Administration, 69* (1), 3-19.

Howarth, D. (2000). *Discourse*. Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press.

Huckin, T. N. (1997). Critical discourse analysis. In T. Miller (Ed.), *Functional approaches to written text: Classroom applications* (pp. 78-92). Washington D.C.: United States Information Agency.

Huntington, S. P. (1991). *The third wave: Democratization in the late twentieth century.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Ietcu, I. (2006). Argumentation, dialogue and conflicting moral economies in post-1989 Romania: An argument against the trade union movement. *Discourse & Society, 17* (5), 627-650.

IMF. (1999). Republic of Estonia: Staff report for the 1999 article IV consultation (IMF Staff Country Report No. 99/59). Washington, D.C.: International Monetary Fund.

IMF. (2000). Republic of Estonia: Staff report for the 2000 article IV consultation and first review under the stand-by arrangement (IMF Staff Country Report No. 00/79). Washington, D.C.: International Monetary Fund.

IMF. (2010). Republic of Estonia: Staff report for the 2009 article IV consultation. IMF Country Report. No. 10/4. International Monetary Fund.

IMF. (2011). Republic of Estonia: Staff report for the 2010 article IV consultation. IMF Country Report. No. 11/34. International Monetary Fund.

Jabes, J. (1997). Professionalization of public servants in Central and Eastern Europe. In J. Jabes et al. (Eds.), *Professionalization of public servants in Central and Eastern Europe: Proceedings from the fifth Annual Conference held in Tallinn, Estonia, April 23-25, 1997* (pp. 7-13). Bratislava: NISPAcee.

Jabes, J. (2003). Public services in Central and Eastern Europe: Ten years of transition. In J. Finlay, & M. Debicki (Eds.), *Delivering public services in CEE countries: Trends and developments. Proceedings from the Tenth Annual*

www.manaraa.com

Conference held in Cracow, Poland, 25-27 April, 2002 (pp. 7-11). Bratislava: NISPAcee.

Jacobs, C. (2004). The challenge of public sector reform in EC accession countries: Reflections from the Baltics, especially Latvia. *Public Administration and Development, 24*, pp. 321-331.

Jaworski, A., & Coupland, N. (1999). Introduction: Perspectives on discourse analysis. In A. Jaworski & N. Coupland (Eds.), *The discourse reader* (pp. 1-44). London: Routledge.

Jenei, G., & Zupkó, G. (2001). Public sector performance in a new democratic state: The Hungarian case. *International Review of Administrative Sciences, 67*, 77-98.

Justiitsministeerium. (2007). Avaliku teenistuse moderniseerimine: Õigusvõrdlev analüüs. Retrieved from http://www.just.ee/orb.aw/class=file/action=preview/id=35433/Avaliku+teenistuse+anal%FC%FCs,+2007.03.pdf

Jürgenson, A. & Huik, H. (2005, June). Eesti Statistikaametile ja Maksu- ja Tolliametile palga ja töötasu andmete esitamisega kaasnev halduskoormus ettevõtjatele: Lõpparuanne. Tallinn: Poliitikauuringute Keskus PRAXIS. Retrieved from http://www.praxis.ee/index.php?id=135

Jürgenson, A. (2005, September). Käibemaksuga seotud halduskoormus ettevõtjatele. Tallinn: Poliitikauuringute Keskus PRAXIS. Retrieved from http://www.praxis.ee/index.php?id=135

Kalb, D. (2002). Afterword: Globalism and postsocialist prospects. In C. M. Hann (Ed.). *Postsocialism: Ideals, ideologies and practices in Eurasia* (pp. 317-334). London: Routledge.

Kallaste, E. (2003, September). National social dialogue on the formulation, implementation and monitoring of employment policies: Country Study of Estonia (PRAXIS Working Paper No. 11). Retrieved from http://praxis.ee/fileadmin/tarmo/Toimetised/toimetised_11_2003.pdf

Kallemets, K. (2002). Parema avaliku juhtimise suunas. *Riigikogu Toimetised* 6, 2002. Retrieved from http://www.riigikogu.ee/rito/index.php?id=11931&highlight=Parema,avaliku,juhtimise,suunas&op=archive2

Kamat, S. (2002). *Development hegemony: NGOs and the state in India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kandiyoti, D. (2002a). How far do analyses of postsocialism travel? The case of Central Asia. In C. M. Hann (Ed.), *Postsocialism: Ideals, ideologies, and practices in Eurasia* (pp. 238-527). London and New York: Routledge.

Kandiyoti, D. (2002b). Postcolonialism compared: Potentials and limitations in the Middle East and Central Asia. *International Journal of Middle East Studies, 34*, 279-297.

Kasemets, K. (2007). Uued tuuled strateegilises planeerimsies. In K. Uus (Ed.), *Avaliku teenistuse aastaraamat 2006* (pp. 14-17). Tallinn: Riigikantselei.

Käsper, K, & Meiorg, M. (Eds.). (2012). *Human rights in Estonia 2011: Annual report of the Estonian Human Rights Centre*. Tallinn: Ecoprint.

Kattel, R. (2009). The rise and fall of the Baltic states. *Development & Transition, 13*, 11–13.

Kendall, G., & Wickham, G. (1999). *Using Foucault's methods*. London: Sage Publications.

Kennedy, M. D. (2002). *Cultural formations of post-communism: Emancipation, nation, and war*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

www.manaraa.com

Kennedy, M. D. (Ed.). (1994). *Envisioning Eastern Europe: Postcommunist cultural studies*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Kettl, D.F. (2005). *The global public management revolution*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

Kettunen, P., & Kungla, T. (2005). Europeanization of sub-national governance in unitary states: Estonia and Finland. *Regional and Federal Studies*, *15* (3), pp. 353-378.

Kilduff, M., & Kelemen, M. (2004). Deconstructing discourse. In D. Grant, C. Hardy, C. Oswick, & L. Putnam (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of organizational discourse* (pp. 259-272). London: Sage Publications.

Klein, N. (2007). *The shock doctrine: The rise of disaster capitalism*. Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf Canada.

Knill, C. (2001). *The Europeanization of national administrations: Patterns of institutional change and persistence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kolodko, G. W. (2000). *From shock to therapy: The political economy of postsocialist transformation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Krzyżanowski, M., & Wodak, R. (2009). Theorising and analyzing social change in Central and Eastern Europe: The contribution of critical discourse analysis. In A. Galasińska & M. Krzyzanowski (Eds), *Discourse and transformation in Central and Eastern Europe* (pp. 17-39). Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Kvale, S. (1996). *InterViews. An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Laar, M. (2000). Haldusreformi ideed ja praktika. *Riigikogu Toimetised* 2, 2000. Retrieved from http://www.riigikogu.ee/rito/index.php?id=11634&highlight=Haldusreformi,ideed,ja,praktika&op=archive2

Laar, M. (2009). Estonia's new beginning. In K. Rannu. (Ed.), *Estonia's way into the European Union* (pp. 8-15). Tallinn: Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Laclau, E. & Mouffe, C. (1985). *Hegemony and socialist strategy*. London: Verso.

Laclau, E. (1993). Discourse. In R. E. Goodin & P. Pettit (Eds.), *A companion to contemporary political philosophy* (pp. 431-437). Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell.

Laffranque, J. (2009). Harmonization of Estonian law with European Union law. In K. Rannu. (Ed.), *Estonia's way into the European Union* (pp. 99-107). Tallinn: Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Lagerspetz, M., & Rikmann, E. (2009). Ethics and public good in a transforming state: A study of Estonian civil servants. *Scandinavian Political Studies, 32* (4), 402 - 421.

Laido, A, Meldre, K., & Ender, J. (2009). Suutlik sektor: Uuringu aruanne. Tallinn: Eesti Mittetulundusühingute ja Sihtasutuste Liit. Retrieved from http://www.ngo.ee/suutliksektor

Lampland, M. (2000). Afterword. In D. Berdahl, M. Bunzl & M. Lampland (Eds), *Altering states. Ethnographies of transition in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union* (pp. 209-218). Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Lane, J.-E. (2000). *New Public Management: An introduction*. London: Routledge.

Lasteombudsman. (2011). Vaesus ja sellega seotud probleemid lastega peredes. Ülevaade Statistikaameti andmete ja kohalike omavalitsuse lastekaitsetöötajate süvaintervjuude põhjal. Retrieved from http://lasteombudsman.ee/sites/default/files/ylevaade_vaesus_ja_sellega_seotud_probleemid_lastega_peredes.pdf

Lavigne, M. (2000). Ten years of transition: A review article. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, *33*, 475-483.

www.manaraa.com

Lavigne, M. (2002). The economics of the transition process: What have we learned? *Problems of Post-Communism, 47*, 16-23.

Lember, V. (2004). Limiting aspects of contracting out in transitional countries: The case of Estonian prisons. *Public Administration and Development, 24,* 425-435.

Liiv, D. (2006). Kodanikuühiskond meil ja mujal. *Riigikogu Toimetised* 13, 2006. Retrieved from http://www.riigikogu.ee/rito/index.php?id=11061&highlight=Kodaniku%C3%BChiskond,meil,ja,mujal&op=archive2

Linz, J. L., & Stepan, A. (1996). *Problems of democratic transition and consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and post-communist Europe*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.

Lippert, B., Umbach, G., & Wessels, W. (2001). Europeanization of CEE executives: EU membership negotiations as a shaping power. *Journal of European Public Policy, 8* (6), 980-1012.

Loomba, A. (2005). *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*. New York: Routledge.

Madise, Ü. (2000). Eesti riigikontseptsioon, *New Public Management* ja haldusreform. *Riigikogu Toimetised* 2, 2000. Retrieved from http://www.riigikogu.ee/rito/index.php?id=11648&highlight=%C3%9Clle,Madise&op=archive2

Mandelbaum, M. (Ed.). (1996). *Postcommunism: Four perspectives*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations.

Mandell, R. & Humphrey, C. (Eds). (2002). *Market and moralities: Ethnographies of postsocialism*. Oxford and New York: Berg.

Mändmets, R. (2009). The impact of European Union financial assistance on Estonia's accession and the lessons learned. In K. Rannu. (Ed.), *Estonia's way into the European Union* (pp. 76-81). Tallinn: Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mautner, G. (2008). Analyzing newspapers, magazines and other print media. In R. Wodak & M. Krzyżanowski (Eds.), *Qualitative discourse analysis in the social sciences* (pp. 30-53). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Maxwell, J. A. (2005). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

McKenna, B. (2004). Critical discourse studies: Where to from here? *Critical Discourse Studies, 1* (1), 9-39.

Merila, U. & Ausmees, A. (2008). Suurem haldusvõimekus. In A. Peljo (Ed.), *Avaliku teenistuse aastaraamat 2007* (pp. 55-59). Tallinn: Riigikantselei.

Mey, J. (1998). The pragmatics of transition. In P. Chilton, M. V. Ilyin & J. L. Mey (Eds.), *Political discourse in transition in Europe 1989-1991* (pp. 25-34). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Meyer-Sahling, J.-H. (2004). Civil service reform in post-communist Europe: The bumpy road to depoliticisation. *West European Politics*, *27* (1), 71-103.

Meyer-Sahling, J.-H. (2006). The rise of the partisan state? Parties, patronage and the ministerial bureaucracy in Hungary. *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, 22*, 274–297.

Meyer-Sahling, J.-H. (2009a). Varieties of legacies: A critical review of legacy explanations of public administration reform in East Central Europe. *International Review of Administrative Sciences, 75*, 509-528.

Meyer-Sahling, J. (2009b). Sustainability of civil service reforms in Central and Eastern Europe five years after EU accession (Sigma Papers, No. 44). OECD Publishing.

Meyer-Sahling, J.-H., & Yesilkagit, K. (2011). Differential legacy effects: Three propositions on the impact of administrative traditions on public administration

www.manaraa.com

reform in Europe East and West. *Journal of European Public Policy, 18*, 311-322.
Mills, S. (2004). *Discourse*. London: Routledge.
Ministry of Finance. (n.d.a). ESF measure for administrative capacity. Retrieved from http://www.avalikteenistus.ee/index.php?id=10925
Ministry of Finance. (n.d.b). Administrative capacity in Estonia. Retrieved from http://www.avalikteenistus.ee/index.php?id=12151
Ministry of Finance. (n.d.c). Rahastatavad programmed. Retrieved from http://www.avalikteenistus.ee/index.php?id=14385
Ministry of Finance. (n.d.d). Programmperiood 2007-2013. Retrieved from http://www.avalikteenistus.ee/index.php?id=12285
Ministry of Finance. (n.d.e). History and development of the Estonian public service. Retrieved from http://www.avalikteenistus.ee/index.php?id=10903
Ministry of Finance. (n.d.f). CAF 2006. Retrieved from http://www.fin.ee/doc.php?104069
Ministry of Finance. (2003). Avaliku sektori kvaliteediauhinna pilootprojekt 2003 "Arenev riigiasutus" lõpparuanne. Retrieved from http://www.fin.ee/doc.php?8587
Ministry of Finance. (2006, February). Strateegilise planeerimise käsiraamat. Tallinn: Rahandusministeerium. Retrieved from http://www.fin.ee/doc.php?104425
Ministry of Finance. (2011, April 29). Increasing the administrative capacity. Retrieved from http://www.struktuurifondid.ee/haldusvoimekuse-parendamine/
Mueller, A. (1987). Power and naming in the development institution: The "discovery" of "women in Peru." Paper presented at the Fourteenth Annual Third World Conference, Chicago.
Mueller, J. (1996). Democracy, capitalism, and the end of transition. In M. Mandelbaum (Ed.), *Postcommunism: Four Perspectives* (pp. 102-167). New York: The Council of Foreign Relations.
Nash, K. (2001). The "cultural turn" in social theory: Towards a theory of cultural politics. *Sociology, 35*, 77-92.
Nemec, J. (2008). Public management reforms in CEE: Lessons learned. In G. Bouckaert, J. Nemec, V. Nakrošis, G. Hajnal, & K. Tõnnisson (Eds.), *Public management reforms in Central and Eastern Europe* (pp. 343-371). Bratislava: NISPAcee.
Newland, C. A. (1996). Transformational challenges in Central and Eastern Europe and schools of public administration. *Public Administration Review, 56* (4), 382-389.
North, D.C. (1990). *Institutions, institutional change and economic performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Nunberg, B. (1999). *The state after Communism: Administrative transitions in Central and Eastern Europe*. World Bank Regional and Sectoral Studies No. 18779.
Nunberg, B. (2000). *Ready for Europe: Public administration reform and European Union accession in Central and Eastern Europe* (World Bank Technical Paper No. 466). Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
O'Donnell, G. & Schmitter, P. C. (1986). *Transitions from authoritarian rule: Tentative conclusions about uncertain democracies*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
OECD & SIGMA. (2003). Estonia: Public service and the administrative framework assessment, 2003. Retrieved from http://www.oecd.org/site/sigma/

www.manaraa.com

OECD. (1997a). Administrative procedures and the supervision of administration in Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Estonia and Albania (Sigma Papers, No. 17). Paris: OECD Publishing.
OECD. (1997b). Promoting performance and professionalism in the public service (Sigma Papers, No. 21). Paris: OECD Publishing.
OECD. (1998a). Preparing public administrations for the European Administrative Space (Sigma Papers, No. 23). Paris: OECD Publishing.
OECD. (1998b). Sustainable institutions for European Union membership (Sigma Papers, No. 26). Paris: OECD Publishing.
OECD (2011a). *Estonia: Towards a single government approach*, OECD Public Governance Reviews. Paris: OECD Publishing.
OECD. (2011b). *Estonia: Towards a single government approach*, OECD Public Governance Reviews, Assessment and Recommendations Paris: OECD Publishing.
Olsen, J. P. (2003). Towards European administrative space? *Journal of European Public Policy*, *10* (4), 506-531.
Olsen, J. P., & Peters, B. G. (1996). *Lessons from experience: Experiential learning in administrative reforms in eight democracies*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press.
Osborne, D., & Gaebler, T. (1997). *Reinventing government: How the entrepreneurial spirit is transforming the public sector*. Reading (Mass.): Addison-Wesley.
Õunapuu, J. (n.d.). Regionaalhalduse reformi kontseptsioon: Projekt. Retrieved from http://www.siseministeerium.ee/atp/failid/haldusreformi_projekt.rtf
Paet, U. (2009). EU as the natural setting for Estonia. In K. Rannu. (Ed.), *Estonia's way into the European Union* (pp. 6-7). Tallinn: Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Painter, M. A., & Peters, B. G. (Eds.). (2010). *Tradition and public administration*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
Parajuli, P. (1991). Power and knowledge in development discourse. *International Social Science Journal, 127*, 173-90.
Parker, I. (1992). *Discourse dynamics: Critical analysis for social and individual psychology*. London: Routledge.
Parker, I., & The Bolton Discourse Network. (1999). *Critical textwork: An introduction to varieties of discourse and analysis*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
Peters, B. G. (2001a). *The future of governing*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.
Peters, B. G. (2001b). Administrative reform in developing and transitional governments. In *The future of governing* (pp. 163-176). Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.
Peters, B. G., Pierre, J., & Randma-Liiv, T. (2011). Global financial crisis, public administration and governance: Do new problems require new solutions? *Public Organization Review, 11* (1), 13 – 27.
Phillips, L., & Jørgensen, M. W. (2002). *Discourse analysis as theory and method*. London: Sage Publications.
Pickel, A. (2002). Transformation theory: Scientific or political? *Communist and Post-Communist Studies, 35*, 105-114.
Pickles, J., & Smith, A. (Eds). (1998). *Theorizing transition. The political economy of post-communist transformation*. London: Routledge.
Piirimäe, E. (2011). Keeleline pööre. In M. Tamm (Ed.), *Humanitaarteaduste metodoloogia. Uusi väljavaateid* (pp. 33-58). Tallinn: TLÜ Kirjastus.

www.manaraa.com

Pollert, A. (1999). *Transformation at work in the new market economies of Central Eastern Europe*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Pollitt, C., & Bouckaert, G. (2004). *Public management reform: A comparative analysis*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Press, T. & Rihvk, L. (2004). Eesti haldussuutlikkuse tõstmine Euroopa Liidu struktuurifondide kaasabil. In J. Järvalt (Ed.), *Avaliku teenistuse aastaraamat 2003* (pp. 37-38). Tallinn: Riigi Teataja Kirjastus.

Prichard, C., Jones, D., & Stablein, R. (2004). Doing research in organizational discourse: The importance of researcher context. In D. Grant, C. Hardy, C. Oswick, & L. Putnam (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of organizational discourse* (pp. 213-236). London: Sage Publications.

Przeworski, A. (1991). *Democracy and the market: Political and economic reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Public Administration Bureau of the State Chancellery. (2001). Public administration reform programme of the government of the republic of Estonia. Retrieved from http://www.riigikantselei.ee/arhiiv/ahb/materjal/programeng.pdf

Public Administration Office. (1999). Starting points of the administrative reform program of the government of the republic. Retrieved from http://www.riigikantselei.ee/arhiiv/ahb/en/programeng.rtf

Rabinow, P. (1984). Polemics, politics, and problematizations: An interview with Michel Foucault. In P. Rabinow (Ed.), *The Foucault reader* (pp. 381-390). New York: Pantheon Books.

Randma- Liiv, T. (2005). Performance management in transitional administration: Introduction of pay-for-performance in the Estonian civil service. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis, 7*, 95-115.

Randma, T. (2001). A small civil service in transition: The case of Estonia. *Public Administration and Development, 21*, 41-51.

Randma-Liiv, T., & Connaughton, B. (2005). Public administration as a field of study: Divergence or convergence in the light of "Europeanization"? *Trames, 9 (59/54)* (4), 348-360.

Randma-Liiv, T., Nakrošis, V., & György, H. (2011). Public sector organization in Central and Eastern Europe: From agencification to de-agencification. *Transylvanian Review of Administrative Sciences, 35E*, 160-175.

Rannu, K. (Ed.). (2009a). *Estonia's way into the European Union*. Tallinn: Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Rannu, K. (2009b). Estonia's accession negotiations with the European Union. In K. Rannu. (Ed.), *Estonia's way into the European Union* (pp. 36-43). Tallinn: Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Rehemaa, A. (2008). Majandus- ja Kommunikatsiooniministeeriumi valitsemisala asutuste ühinemine – tähtajaks ja plaanitud mahus lõpetatud ambitsioonikas ettevõtmine. In A. Peljo (Ed.), *Avaliku teenistuse aastaraamat 2007* (pp. 17-19). Tallinn: Riigikantselei.

Reiljan, J., Timpmann, K., & Olenko, K. (2003). *Key issues in developing the public administration system of Estonia before joining the European Union*. Tartu: Tartu University Press.

Reinthal, K. (2005). Euroopa Liidu struktuurifondide avanemine Eestis: Plaanid ja tegelikkus. In K. Viks (Ed.), *Avaliku teenistuse aastaraamat 2004* (pp. 17-18). Tallinn: Riigi Teataja Kirjastus.

Rekand, K. (2012). Prohibition of torture, inhuman or degrading treatment and punishment. In K. Käsper & M. Meiorg (Eds.), *Human rights in Estonia 2011:*

www.manaraa.com

Annual report of the Estonian Human Rights Centre (pp. 7-16). Tallinn: Ecoprint.

Republic of Estonia. (2004, May 12). Estonian national development plan for the implementation of the EU structural funds: Single programming document 2004-2006. Retrieved from http://www.struktuurifondid.ee/public/suunised/RAK_290107.doc

Republic of Estonia. (2007, June 21). Estonian national strategic reference framework 2007-2013. Retrieved from http://www.struktuurifondid.ee/public/inglisekeelsed_dokumendid/Estonian_NSRF_21June07_ENG.pdf

Republic of Estonia. (2010, May). Operational Programme for Human Resource Development. Retrieved from http://www.struktuurifondid.ee/public/inglisekeelsed_dokumendid/Modified_OP_Human_Resources_May_2010_080311.pdf

Rice, E. (1991). Managing the transition: Enhancing the efficiency of Eastern European governments. Policy Research Working Paper. The World Bank.

Rice, E. M. (1992). Public administration in post-socialist Eastern Europe. *Public Administration Review, 52* (2), 116-124.

Ridley, F. F. (1995). Civil service and democracy: Questions in reforming the civil service in Eastern and Central Europe. *Public Administration and Development, 15*, 11-20.

Riigikantselei. (2002). *Avaliku teenistuse aastaraamat 2001*. Tallinn: Riigi Teataja Kirjastus.

Riigikantselei Eurointegratsiooni Büroo. (2000). Vabariigi valitsuse tegevuskava Euroopa Liitu integreerumiseks 2000. Retrieved from http://valitsus.ee/et/riigikantselei/euroopa-liit/arhiiv/tegevuskavad-ja-eduaruanded

Riigikantselei Eurointegratsiooni Büroo. (2001). Vabariigi valitsuse tegevuskava Euroopa Liitu integreerumiseks 2001. Retrieved from http://valitsus.ee/et/riigikantselei/euroopa-liit/arhiiv/tegevuskavad-ja-eduaruanded

Riigikantselei Eurointegratsiooni Büroo. (2002). Vabariigi valitsuse tegevuskava Euroopa Liitu integreerumiseks 2002-2003. Retrieved from http://valitsus.ee/et/riigikantselei/euroopa-liit/arhiiv/tegevuskavad-ja-eduaruanded

Riigikontroll. (2010). Kodanikuühendustele kultuuri-, spordi- ja noorsootöötoetuste andmine valla- ja linnaeelarvest (Riigikontrolli aruanne Riigikogule, Tallinn, 25. veebruar, 2010). Retrieved from http://www.riigikontroll.ee/tabid/206/Audit/2129/OtherArea/1/language/et-EE/Default.aspx

Ristkok, P. (2009). Domestic preparations for the utilization of European Union Structural Funds. In K. Rannu. (Ed.), *Estonia's way into the European Union* (pp. 113-118). Tallinn: Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Rose, R. (2009). *Understanding post-communist transformation: A bottom-up approach*. London: Routledge.

Rose, R., & Shin, D. C. (2001). Democratization backwards: The problem of third-wave democracies. *British Journal of Political Science, 31*, 331-354.

Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. S. (2005). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

www.manaraa.com

Ruutsoo, R. (2001). Kodanikeühiskond, kolmas sektor ja sotsiaalne kapital. *Riigikogu Toimetised* 3, 2001. Retrieved from http://www.riigikogu.ee/rito/index.php?id=11838&highlight=Kodanike%C3%BChiskond&op=archive2

SA Poliitikauuringute Keskus PRAXIS & Kodanikeühiskonna Uurimis- ja Arenduskeskus (TLÜ RASI). (2008a, October). Kodanikeühenduste riigieelarvelise rahastamise analüüs 2006-2007 (Lõppraporti II osa: Analüüsi tulemused). Retrieved from http://www.praxis.ee/index.php?id=491

SA Poliitikauuringute Keskus PRAXIS & Kodanikeühiskonna Uurimis- ja Arenduskeskus (TLÜ RASI). (2008b, October). Kodanikeühenduste riigieelarvelise rahastamise analüüs 2006-2007 (Lõppraporti I osa: Poliitikasoovitused). Retrieved from http://www.praxis.ee/index.php?id=491

SA Poliitikauuringute Keskus PRAXIS. (2009, July). Kohaliku omavalitsuse üksuste avalike teenuste lepinguline delegeerimine kodanikeühendustele: Analüüsi lõpparuanne. Retrieved from http://www.siseministeerium.ee/public/SIMDEL_raport.pdf

SA Poliitikauuringute Keskus PRAXIS, & MTÜ Balti Uuringute Instituut. (2010, October). Valitsusasutuste kaasamispraktikate analüüs: Lõpparuanne. Retrieved from http://praxis.ee/fileadmin/tarmo/Projektid/Valitsemine_ja_kodanike%C3%BChiskond/SIMKA_loppraport_v1.6.pdf

SA Poliitikauuringute Keskus PRAXIS & Tallinna Tehnikaülikooli Avaliku Halduse Instituut. (2011). Analüüsi lõpparuanne: Avaliku teenistuse koolitussüsteemi ja arenguvajaduste analüüs. Retrieved from http://www.praxis.ee/index.php?id=950

Sachs, W. (Ed.). (2010). *The development dictionary: A guide to knowledge as power*. London: Zed Books.

Said, E. W. (2003). *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books.

Sakwa, R. (1999). *Postcommunism*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Sampson, S. (1996). The social life of projects: importing civil society to Albania. In C. Hann & E. Dunn (Eds.), *Civil society: Challenging Western models* (pp. 121-142). London: Routledge.

Sarup, M. (1993). *An introductory guide to post-structuralism and postmodernism*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press.

Saussure, F. (1986). *Course in general linguistics*. LaSalle, Ill.: Open Court.

Schick, A. (1998). Why most developing countries should not try New Zealand's reforms. *World Bank Research Observer, 13*, 23-31.

Seeder, K. (2003). Sotsiaaldialoogi mudel on tugevalt riigi poole kaldu. *Riigikogu Toimetised* 8, 2003. Retrieved from http://www.riigikogu.ee/rito/index.php?id=11386&highlight=Sotsiaaldialoogi,mudel,on,tugevalt,riigi,poole,kaldu&op=archive2

Sharma, A., & Gupta, A. (2009). Introduction: Rethinking theories of the state in an age of globalization. In A. Sharma, & A. Gupta (Eds.), *The anthropology of the state: A reader* (pp. 1-41). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

SIGMA. (1998). *European principles for public administration* (Sigma Papers, No. 27). Paris: OECD Publishing.

Silverman, D. & Marvasti, A. (2008). *Doing qualitative research: A comprehensive guide*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Siseministeerium. (n.d.). Käsiraamat: Haldusterritoriaalse korralduse muutmine. Retrieved from http://www.siseministeerium.ee/29946/

Siseministeerium. (2001). Haldusreform kohaliku omavalitsuse valdkonnas: Strateegia. Retrieved from http://www.siseministeerium.ee/6229/

www.manaraa.com

Siseministeerium. (2004). Kodanikeühendused ja kodanike kaasamine Eesti kohalikes omavalitsustes. Tallinn: Siseministeerium. Retrieved from http://www.siseministeerium.ee/uuringud-ja-publikatsioonid/

Siseministeerium. (2010). Avalike teenuste lepingulise delegeerimise suunad mittetulundusühendustele: Kontseptsioon. Retrieved from http://www.siseministeerium.ee/public/Teenuste_deleeerimise_kontseptsioon_FIN.pdf

Smith, M. J. (1998). *Social science in question*. London: Sage Publications.

Smith, P., & Riley, A. (2009). *Cultural theory: An introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Sootla, G. & Roots, H. (1999). The civil service in the Republic of Estonia. In T. Verheijen & A. Kotchegura (Eds.), *Civil service systems in Central and Eastern Europe* (pp. 235-266). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Sootla, G. (n.d.). Avaliku halduse reform Eestis: Keskvalitsuse tasandi probleemid ja nende võimalikud lahendused. Retrieved from http://www.riigikantselei.ee/arhiiv/ahb/strateeg/georg3.htm

Staehr, K. (2010). The global financial crisis and public finances in the new EU countries from Central and Eastern Europe. Bank of Estonia Working Paper Series 2/2010. Retrieved from: http://www.eestipank.info/pub/en/dokumendid/publikatsioonid/seeriad/uuringud/_2010/_2_2010/_wp_210.pdf

Stark, D. & Bruszt, L. (1998). *Postsocialist pathways: Transforming politics and property in East Central Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stark, D. (1992). The great transformation? Social change in Eastern Europe. *Contemporary Sociology, 21*, 299-304.

State Chancellery (2004). *Public administration in Estonia*. Tallinn: Riigi Teataja Kirjastus.

Steinmetz, G. (1999b). Introduction: Culture and the state. In G. Steinmetz (Ed.), *State/Culture: State-formation after the cultural turn* (pp. 1-49). Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Steinmetz, G. (Ed.). (1999a). *State/Culture: State-formation after the cultural turn*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Stenning, A. (2005). Postsocialism. In T. Forsyth (Ed.). *Encyclopedia of international development* (pp. 551-553). London: Routledge.

St-Hilaire, C. (1993). Canadian aid, women and development. *The Ecologist, 23* (2), 57-63.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Taliga, H. (2005, June 9). *Trade unions and social dialogue in Estonia* (PowerPoint slides). Retrieved from http://www.fafo.no/Oestforum/Estland/taliga.pdf

Tartu Ülikool. (1999). Haldusreform Eestis: Arvamus. Retrieved from http://www.riigikantselei.ee/arhiiv/ahb/TY_arvamus_rtf.rtf

Tartu Ülikool Sotsiaalteaduslike rakendusuuringute keskus RAKE & Konsultatsiooni- ja koolituskeskus Geomedia OÜ. (2009). Riigi tasandi strateegilise planeerimise ja juhtimise analüüs: Koondraport. Retrieved from http://www.fin.ee/doc.php?104425

Terk, E. (Ed.). (1998). Estonian human development report 1998. Retrieved from http://www.tlu.ee/~teap/nhdr/1998/EIA98eng.pdf

Thadhani, R. (2005). Between monocles and veils: Thinking postcolonialism in public administration. *International Journal of Public Administration, 28*, 973-988.

www.manaraa.com

Tõemets, V. (n.d.). Külanõukogust vallaks. Retrieved from http://www.siseministeerium.ee/6772/

Tõnnisson, K. (2006). *The applicability of New Public Management principles in Estonian local government*. Tartu: Tartu University Press.

Tõnnisson, K., & Randma-Liiv, T. (2008). Public management reforms: Estonia. In G. Bouckaert, J. Nemec, V. Nakrošis, G. Hajnal, & K. Tõnnisson (Eds), *Public management reforms in Central and Eastern Europe* (pp. 93-118). Bratislava: NISPAcee.

Toonen, T. A. J. (1993). Analysing institutional change and administrative transformation: A comparative view. *Public Administration, 71*, 151-168.

Trummal, A., & Lagerspetz, M. (2001, July). The profile of Estonian civil society: A preliminary report on the Civicus index on civil society project in Estonia (Civicus Index on Civil Society Occasional Paper Series Vol. 1, Issue 6). Retrieved from http://www.siseministeerium.ee/public/The_Profile_of_Estonian_Civil_Society._A_Preliminary_Report_on_the_Civicus_Index_on_Civil_Society_Project_in_Estonia..pdf

Uus, M., & Vihma, P. (2011). Kaasav poliitikakujundamine: Juhtumianalüüs laste ja perede poliitika arendamisest Sotsiaalministeeriumis. Tallinn: PRAXIS. Retrieved from http://www.praxis.ee/index.php?id=934

Vabariigi Valitsuse Haldusreformi Asjatundjate Komisjon. (1999). Avaliku halduse arendamise alused. Retrieved from http://www.siseministeerium.ee/6229/

Vabariigi Valitsus. (1992). Eesti Rahvusliku Sõltumatuse Partei, "Isamaa" ja "Mõõdukate" koalitsioonilepe. Tallinn, 19. Oktoober, 1992. Retrieved from http://www.valitsus.ee/et/valitsus/valitsuste-loetelu

Vabariigi Valitsus. (1995). Koonderakonna ja Maarahva ning Pensionäride ja Perede Ühenduse ja Reformierakonna koalitsioonileping. Tallinn, 1995. Retrieved from http://www.valitsus.ee/et/valitsus/valitsuste-loetelu

Vabariigi Valitsus. (1997). Valitsuse tegevuse põhieesmärkide kinnitamine 1997. ja 1998. aastaks. Tallinn, 1997. Retrieved from http://www.valitsus.ee/et/valitsus/valitsuste-loetelu

Vabariigi Valitsus. (2000, September). Avalike teenuste standradid ja nende koostamise juhtnöörid. Retrieved from http://www.fin.ee/doc.php?104070

Van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse Society, 4*, 249-283.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2001). Critical discourse analysis. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen, & H. E. Hamilton (Eds.), *The handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 352-371). Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.

Van Dijk, T. A. (Ed.). (1985). *Handbook of discourse analysis*. London: Academic Press.

Vare, T., & Taliga, H. (Eds.). (2002). *Kümme aastat sotsiaaldialoogi Eestis*. Tallinn: Eesti Ametühingute Keskliit.

Verdery, K. (1996). *What was socialism, and what comes next?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Verdery, K. (2002). Wither postsocialism? In C. M. Hann (Ed.), *Postsocialism: Ideals, ideologies, and practices in Eurasia* (pp. 15-23). London: Routledge.

Verheijen, A. J. G. (2003). Public administration in post-communist states. In B. G. Peters & J. Pierre (Eds.), *Handbook of public administration* (pp. 489-497). London: SAGE Publications.

Verheijen, T. (2000). *Administrative capacity building for EU membership: A race against time?* (WRR Working Paper 109). The Hague: WRR.

www.manaraa.com

Verheijen, T. (2007). *Administrative capacity in the new EU member states: The limits of innovation?* (World Bank Working Paper No. 115). Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

Verheijen, T., & Connaughton, B. (2003). Public administration education and Europeanization: Prospects for the emancipation of a discipline? *Public Administration, 81* (4), 833–851.

Verheijen, T., & Coombes, D. (Eds.). (1998). *Innovations in public management: Perspectives from East and West Europe*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Viks, K., & Randma-Liiv, T. (2005). Facing the challenges of EU accession: Development of coordination structures in Estonia. *International Journal of Organization Theory and Behavior*, 8 (1), 67-102.

Viks, A. (2012). Eestis aastatel 1996-2009 ühinenud kohalike omavalitsuste finantsmõjude analüüs. Tallinn: Siseministeerium. Retrieved from http://www.siseministeerium.ee/public/KOV_uhinemiste_finantsmojude_analuus_1996-2011.pdf

Weber, R., & Taube, G. (1999). On the fast track to EU accession: Macroeconomic effects and policy challenges for Estonia (Working Paper of the International Monetary Fund, WP/99/156). Retrieved from http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/cat/longres.cfm?sk=3338.0

Wetherell, M., Taylor, S., & Yates, S. J. (2001). *Discourse theory and practice: A reader*. London: Sage Publications.

White, H. (1999). Afterword. In V. E. Bonnell & L. Hunt (Eds.), *Beyond the cultural turn: New directions in the study of society and culture* (pp. 315-324). Berkeley: The University of California Press.

Williams, R. (1977). *Marxism and literature*. Clarendon: Oxford University Press.

Willig, C. (2001). Foucauldian discourse analysis. In C. Willig, *Introducing qualitative research in psychology: Adventures in theory and method* (pp. 106-124). Buckingham: Open University Press.

Willis, J. W. (2007). *Foundations of qualitative research: Interpretive and critical approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Wodak, R. (2001). What CDA is about – a summary of its history, important concepts and its developments. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (pp. 1-13). London: Sage Publications.

Wodak, R., & Krzyżanowski, M. (2008). (Eds.). *Qualitative discourse analysis in the social sciences*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (Eds.). (2001). *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. London: Sage Publications.

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (Eds.). (2009). *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Wolff, L. (1994). *Inventing Eastern Europe: The map of civilization on the mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

World Bank. (1993, March). Estonia: The transition to a market economy (A World Bank Country Study 11716). Washington D.C.: World Bank.

World Bank (1996). *From plan to market.* New York: Oxford University Press.

World Bank (1997). *The state in a changing world*. New York: Oxford University Press.

World Bank. (1999). Estonia: Implementing the EU accession agenda. (A World Bank Country Study). Washington D.C.: World Bank.

Yin, R. K. (2002). *Applications of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

www.manaraa.com

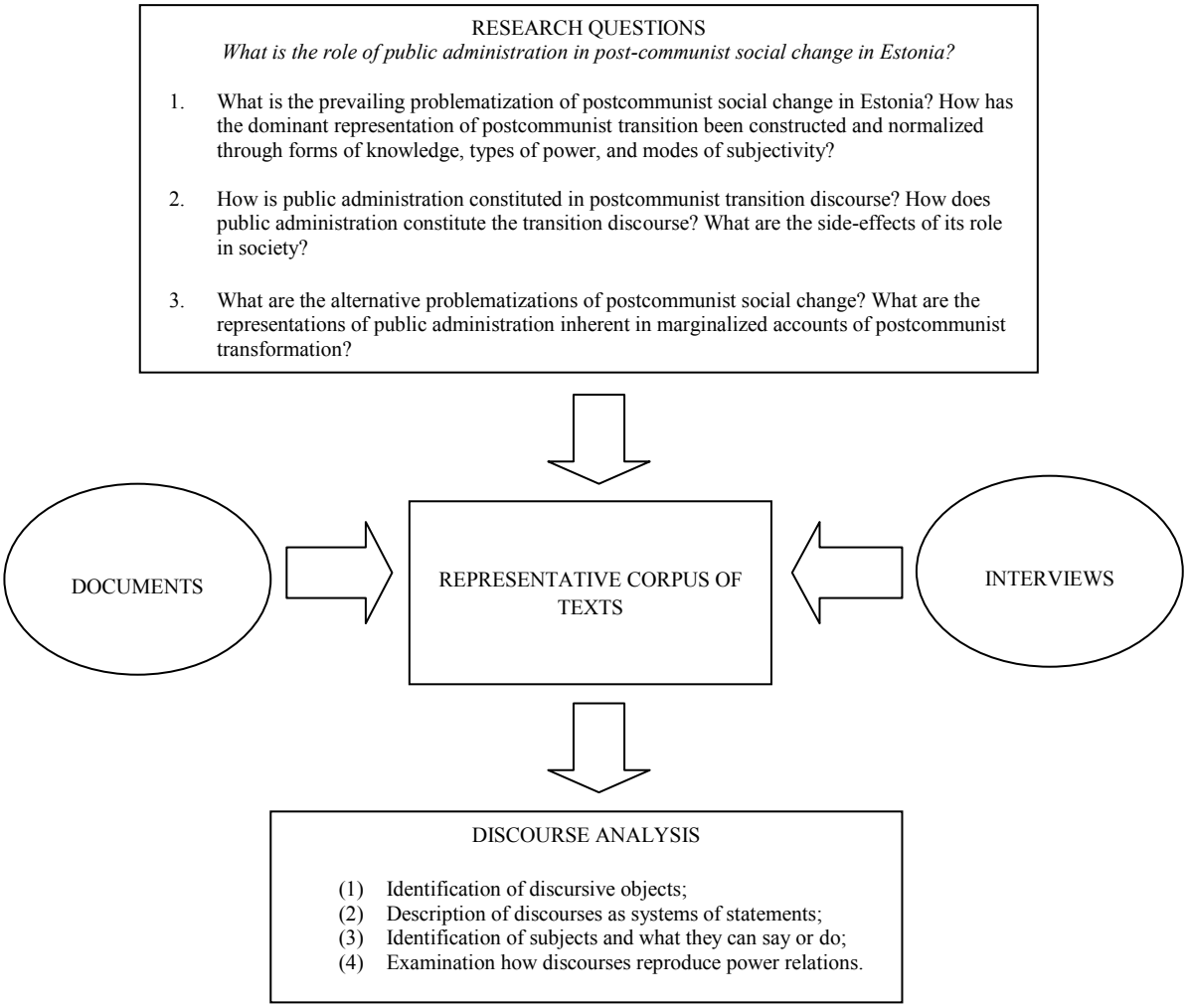
Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Young, R. (2006). Mercenaries, missionaries or … consultants? Is administrative reform in transition countries a business, religion or … surgery? Paper presented at the 14th Annual Conference of the NISPAcee, May 2006, Ljubljana, Slovenia. Retrieved from: http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/NISPAcee/UNPAN024320.pdf

Zakaria, F. (1997). The rise of illiberal democracy. *Foreign Affairs, 76* (6), 22-43.

www.manaraa.com

APPENDIX A: Conceptual Map of Research



www.manaraa.com

APPENDIX B: Results of Preliminary Corpus Analysis

I Identification of Discursive Objects

1. Public administration as a construct in the group of statements advancing ***economic thinking***
2. Public administration as a construct in the group of statements advancing the ***managerial approach***
3. Public administration as a construct in the group of statements advancing ***Europeanization***
4. Public administration as a construct in the group of statements advancing the ***ecological approach***

II Description of Discourses as Systems of Statements

1. Economic discourse

1.1. Administrative burden

- "There is too much red tape for companies and citizens involved in the use of public services" (Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007).
- "Development of better regulation will be of key importance for the improvement of the entrepreneurial environment" (Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007).
- "During the evaluation of economic impacts, the administrative burden of legislative acts will be measured among other things. For measuring and reducing administrative burden, the relevant measurement principles and methods need to be developed as well" (Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007).

1.2. Economies of scale

- "In order to achieve sufficient administrative capacity of the local governments without the increase in fiscal burden it is necessary to carry out administrative-territorial reform to unite the resources of the local governments which have smaller administrative capacity" (Public Administration Bureau, 2001).
- "Omavalitsusüksuste ühendamise idee põhineb kaalutlusel, et suuremates omavalitsusüksustes on paremad võimalused eelarverahade ja investeeringute juhtimiseks ning inimressursside kasutamiseks (eriti oluline on ametnike professionaalsuse arendamine), mis peaks parandama omavalitsusüksuste efektiivsust. Tugevnenud avalike teenuste osutamise võimega omavalitsusüksustele on võimalik üle anda omavalitsuslikke funktsioone, mis seni on olnud keskvalitsuse kanda" (Laar, 2000).

1.3. Economic development

- "The economic role of government is still vital. The competitiveness of the private sector (essential precondition for European integration), depends on the reliability, efficiency and effectiveness of the public sector" (OECD, 1998a).
- "The importance of a good civil service in international competition is nowadays recognised by governments and international organisations and particularly by the European institutions" (OECD, 1998a).
- "Consistent application of rule of law and adherence to basic political/administrative principles – such as transparency, predictability, accountability, reliability – are prerequisites for development of an efficient market economy and economic integration" (OECD, 1998b).
- "Weak institutional frameworks for the market economy have significant repercussions on economic development by increasing the costs of transactions for entrepreneurs and discouraging foreign direct investment" (OECD, 1998b).
- "In general, candidate countries are faced with a need to build institutions to complete transition to a democratic, market economy integrated into world trading systems" (OECD, 1998b).
- "Indeed, we presume that strong public administration capacity is vital to any transition country seeking a competitive position in the global economy" (Nunberg, 2000).
- "Attaining these high standards of public administration will allow CEE governments to enter the next century both as fully integrated members of Europe and as competitive participants in the world economy" (Nunberg, 2000).
- "But, as experience with the economic reform agenda began to accumulate, the centrality of the state's role in helping to formulate and implement reform grew increasingly evident. With this recognition of the importance of government institutions to the transition, attention began to turn toward public administration questions. How could the state apparatus be harnessed to help make the transition a success?" (Nunberg, 1999).
- "One of the main common aims of the Estonian state and the European Union is to reach real convergence and continuously improve the standard of living of the population. Rapid economic development serves as one of the key vehicles to achieve these goals" (Republic of Estonia, May 12,

www.manaraa.com

2004).

- "Activities co-financed from EU structural assistance should be directed to ensuring sustainable economic growth by strengthening the economy; increasing competitiveness; increasing employment and social inclusion; reducing gender inequality; and improving environmental protection and environmental quality" (Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007).

1.4. Efficiency

- "In designing an implementation approach, the most important question is to decide what to optimize" (OECD, 1998b).
- "…close attention must be paid to the relative 'value for money' of various enforcement strategies" (OECD, 1998b).
- "Such institutions must be able to implement the acquis communautaire within tight budget constraints and ensure favourable conditions for a competitive private sector" (OECD, 1998b).
- "Increasing the administrative capacity of both the public and non-profit sector would enable to use the resources more effectively and efficiently and reduce excess bureaucracy" (Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007).
- "For the purpose of guaranteeing efficiency at the fulfillment of the core functions of the state the supportive functions of administration shall be delegated to private organizations" (Public Administration Office, 1999).
- "The democratic governing of a small country costs per citizen more than the governing of a large country. In order for the citizens and enterprises to feel as well as in a large country, substantially more attention must be paid to the effective organization of governing" (Public Administration Office, 1999).
- "Up till now government agencies lack incentives for rational and economic use of the resources. The distribution of resources does not correspond to the expected results and the results themselves have been defined unclearly. In such conditions there exists wasting of money, but moreover the wasting of time, human and monetary resources in the form of doing useless and duplicating work" (Public Administration Office, 1999).
- "Viimastel aastakümnetel eri riikides toimunud avaliku halduse reformide fundamentaalsed põhjused on üsna sarnased. Ühise nimetajana on reformide ajendiks olnud majanduslikud probleemid – riik on muutunud liiga suureks ja kulukaks ning kontroll kulutuste üle ebapiisavaks. Majanduskasvu aegadel riigi õlule tulnud uute funktsioonidega on kasvanud bürokraatia keerukus ja vähenenud efektiivsus, mistõttu ei suudeta kiiresti reageerida kodanike vajadustele" (Laar, 2000).
- "Eelarveprotsessi ja finantsjuhtimise kaasajastamine on üheks võtmevaldkonnaks teel haldusreformiga taotletavale säästlikule ja efektiivsele ressursikasutusele" (Laar, 2000).

1.5. Non-interventionist state

- "Firstly, the role of government has to change. It must move away from direct production of goods and services" (OECD, 1998a).
- "A market economy requires that individual initiative be given primacy, but that it be set in a legal and administrative framework" (OECD, 1998a).
- "The underlying ideas spurring the ambitious reform attempts at replacing a nationalised, centralised and planned economic system with a market economy are, in principle, also being applied to the task of re-organising or perhaps, rather, re-founding public administration" (OECD, 1998a).
- "For enhancing administrative capacity, it is important that NGOs (inc. social partners) become strong partners for the public sector, among else for enabling a better delegation of public services" (Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007).
- "Estonia did not have the money or the desire to implement the West's generous and relatively ineffective labour policies. We decided to implement policies that would stimulate people not to remain unemployed, but rather to take their fate into their own hands" (Rannu, 2009a).
- "Instead of expecting handouts from the state, people decided to take their fate into their own hands. The government had created a favourable environment for enterprise" (Rannu, 2009a).
- "Administrative reform proceeds from the principle that the public sector must itself fulfill only these tasks, which the private and the non-profit sector cannot fulfill or which the state fulfills better" (Public Administration Office, 1999).
- "The public administration in Estonia has been greatly influenced by the decrease of the role of the state as the provider of services and the participant in economic activities and the acceptance of the ideology that the state is a regulator and helps to develop the society" (Public Administration Bureau, 2001).

2. Managerialist discourse

2.1. Quality management and customer service

- "The methodologies of quality management and management by results will be utilized more actively to

www.manaraa.com

provide public services of a higher quality; more attention paid to creating innovative administrative and management solutions in the different sectors; and the capacity of local municipalities and non-profit organizations (incl. social partners) considerably raised in the making of strategic decisions" (Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007).

- "For the purpose of making public services more citizen-friendly, the service standards shall be developed, which would guarantee to the citizen a fixed quality, for example the fixing of the maximum permitted rates of time or material expense associated with the rendering of the services. Integral service centers would help to simplify the communication of the citizen with the state, urging the departments to cooperate for the purpose of offering a better public service" (Public Administration Office, 1999).
- "The increase in services provided needs to be promoted in order to satisfy the needs of different interest groups. It requires extensive consultations with the citizens and their participation in determining the type and level of the service to be provided. Consultation and co-operation needs to be effective between the different levels of the organisation as it helps to create motivating and innovative service standards, the exchange of information must guarantee the setting of measurable and achievable results. Regular feedback aids to improve the work of the officials and the operating of the organisation and it is important in order to evenly take into account all the citizens' interests" (Public Administration Bureau, 2001).
- "The increase in quality means a shift from bureaucratic and input-centred thinking to flexible and output-centred thinking" (Public Administration Bureau, 2001).
- "Mõlemapoolset kasu tõuseb oskuslikust ja läbimõeldud valitsusväliste organisatsioonide kaasamisest teenuste viimiseks kodanikeni haldus lepingute kaudu. Kodanike kaasamisega suureneb ka avaliku halduse läbipaistvus…" (Laar, 2000).
- "Avaliku sektori juhid peavad õppima mõtlema kvaliteedikesksetes terminites, mis aitavad neil paremini mõista nii oma organisatsiooni eesmärke kui klientide vajadusi" (Laar, 2000).
- "Teine oluline initsiatiiv, mille juurutamine aitab paremini rakendada avaliku halduse printsiipe, on teenuste integreerimine ja ühtsete teeninduskeskuste loomine" (Laar, 2000).

2.2. Performance management

- "In assigning a responsibility, especially if it is to the private sector, it is necessary to determine a performance standard, i.e. how well should the responsible agency perform its tasks. This implies deciding the performance measure in relation to the goal sought and setting the performance level to be achieved" (OECD, 1998b).
- "The other major weakness is the absence of performance monitoring in Estonian public service" (Nunberg, 2000).
- "In this context, the ability of governments to transform their public administrations from centralized, party-dominated bureaucracies into modem, efficient, performance oriented ones assumes heightened importance" (Nunberg, 1999).
- "While it is unlikely that any of these countries, even those with such advantages, would be ready for a full-blown NPM system, or would necessarily want to adopt its most radical features, certain aspects of this model might be suitable to current CEE circumstances, particularly in light of changes that have already occurred" (Nunberg, 1999).
- "Therefore transition to performance management shall take place in those areas, where the results of the work of the organization can be measured or objectively evaluated. The aspiration is a cultural shift from the traditional procedural approach of public administration towards the administrative culture directed towards results, where the priority is the performance of public policies" (Public Administration Office, 1999).
- "The process of preparation of the budget must also be connected with performance management. The budget directed to results reflects general reasons for which money is allocated together with the measurable expected result" (Public Administration Office, 1999).
- "The greater tying of the salary to the work performance is a precondition for the successful implementation of performance management" (Public Administration Office, 1999).
- "The managers of independent companies are apolitical figures, who are appointed for a limited time period and who are responsible for achieving the results in their position, having right of decision in the issues of the staff, use of monetary means and work organization in the limits established with unified laws" (Public Administration Office, 1999).
- "In the budgeting process the concentration is on the results of activities financed based on strategic planning. The goal of the development is to transfer to financing based on achieved and expected results and not on the requirements of the alleged inputs" (Public Administration Bureau, 2001).
- "Pay system is made more transparent and takes more into account the performance and labour market conditions" (Public Administration Bureau, 2001).
- "Ressursside sidumine tulemustega eeldab riigi ülesannete täpsustamist – riik peaks tegelema strateegiliste ülesannetega, keskvõimule mitteomased funktsioonid peaks aga üle andma era- ja kolmandale sektorile või/ja kohalikule omavalitsusele" (Laar, 2000).
- "Eesmärk saavutada tulemustele suunatud avalik haldus tähendab eesmärkide seadmise tava

www.manaraa.com

süstemaatilist juurutamist ning nende sidumist ressurssidega, teisisõnu järk-järgulist keskendumist sisendite asemel väljunditele. See omakorda eeldab tõhusa välis- ja sisekontrollisüsteemi olemasolu, mis võimaldab hinnata riigiasutuste juhtimise seaduslikkust ja tulemuslikkust" (Laar, 2000).

2.3. Strategic management

- "Strategic management should be carried out in parallel with the NPAA process so as to minimise risks of implementation gaps and it should be linked to aid flows" (OECD, 1998b).
- "The main shortcomings in administrative capacity are caused by the poor co-ordination of public services; lack of promotion in common values, shattered policy development and a limited strategic planning that crosses beyond the borders of different spheres" (Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004).
- "There are deficiencies particularly big with respect to strategic planning" (Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007).
- "Increasing the strategic planning and management capacity in the public sector and non-governmental organizations and cooperation between them" (Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007).
- "The ministries have been poorly prepared to develop policy and initiate programs in their own area of governing in accordance with the social need. Strategic planning has not become a tradition and the proceeding from the existing strategic plans on the operational level is often impossible. There is also a lack of tradition and skill to systematically evaluate both the successfulness of the implemented policies and the need for new initiatives or correcting the existing ones" (Public Administration Office, 1999).
- "The making of strategic plans and their adherence must become a regular goal in the work of the agencies. The role of the programme documents of the Government of the Republic as a basis for strategic planning must increase" (Public Administration Bureau, 2001).
- "Nii omandab erilise tähenduse strateegiline planeerimine – vajadust kiirete lahenduste järele tuleb kombineerida pikemaajaliste eesmärkide ja plaanide väljatöötamisega" (Laar, 2000).

2.4. Politics-administration dichotomy

- "Line ministries that once intervened directly in productive activities must now exert influence through indirect regulation and policy guidance. Organizational structures must be revised to reflect this shift from a 'rowing' to a 'steering' posture. Some ministerial portfolios have become redundant or less important, necessitating the abolition or consolidation of agencies. In addition, newly acquired state functions may require the creation of newly staffed organs" (Nunberg, 1999).
- "The further separation of the formulating of the policy and the providing of services in order to guarantee a more cost effective and qualitative providing of the services" (Public Administration Office, 1999).
- "The further separation of the formulating of the policy and the providing of services in order to guarantee a more cost effective and qualitative providing of the services. The functions, which do not directly fulfill the task of policy planning of the government, the directing and leading the subordinated administration or international cooperation or EU horizontal coordination shall be taken out of the ministry and given into the competency of the boards or other independent agencies" (Public Administration Office, 1999).
- "The determining and analysis of actually fulfilled functions provides a systematic basis for transferring the functions not essential to the central administration to the private and third sector and local government" (Public Administration Bureau, 2001).
- "The employment relationship with the employees who do not fulfill the core functions of the state must be regulated by employment contract or contract for services" (Public Administration Bureau, 2001).
- "Suunavateks põhimõteteks on poliitilise ja administratiivse juhtimise selgem eraldamine ning poliitikate väljatöötamise ja elluviimise kvaliteedi tõstmine" (Laar, 2000).

3. Europeanization discourse

3.1. Absorption capacity of structural funds

- "The development of financial control systems, in particular to monitor the use of financial assistance, has been highlighted as an important issue in the European Commission Opinion on the membership applications of the central and eastern European applicants" (OECD, 1998a).
- "Achieving the biggest impact with structural funds is to a large extent a matter of professional quality of the civil service" (Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004).
- "Broadening partnership involvement in the implementation of the strategy is considered to be one of the essential principles to be followed. Particular attention is focussed on involving and strengthening non-profit sector organisations to develop people's initiative and improve their participation in the society" (Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004).
- "Relevant social partners are involved in the committees and boards in which the national policies that involve in funding both structural funds and national funds are discussed, formulated and elaborated –

www.manaraa.com

i.e. in thematic coordination. This provides relevant social partners with access to the process of fundamental and higher-level policy formulation and monitoring" (Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007).

- "Efficiently functioning administrative organization and professional and capable partner organizations are the basis for successful design and effective implementation of EU-related as well as purely domestic policies and strategies" (Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007).
- "…it is necessary to raise administrative capacity of both the public and the third sector in order to ensure success of the activities of other priorities of the NSRF and achieve the intended impact, as well as create conditions for everyday functioning of the state" (Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007).
- "The last essential line of action during the period is the improvement of the effectiveness of the implementation systems and through that the strengthening of absorption capacity and enabling of more optimal use of resources associated with administration" (Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007).
- "Also in the case of Estonia, the EU structural instruments have produced many positive 'invisible' changes – strategic multiyear planning, the involvement of various interest groups in the shaping of governmental policy, the removing of 'barriers' between agencies, more transparent administration of financial resources, and much more" (Rannu, 2009a).

3.2. Conditionality criteria for EU accession

- "The goal of EU membership provides a key reference point for steering the transition process" (OECD, 1998a).
- "The European ambition is both a lever and powerful incentive for national governments in central and eastern Europe to bring about change" (OECD, 1998a).
- "Despite the relative absence of direct powers, the European Union does influence how Member States govern themselves" (OECD, 1998a).
- "As accession approaches, the link between European integration and public administration reform seems to become stronger. Significantly, the European Commission places great emphasis in the avis on the capacity of Member States' administrations to implement the body of European law (the acquis communautaire) on schedule, although this had never been an issue in previous waves of accessions" (OECD, 1998a).
- "Indirect though it may be, the link between accession and public administration reform is nonetheless very real. Member States must be able to implement EU policies and legislation in their own countries. To do so, they must have an administration that performs well" (OECD, 1998a).
- "The administrative capacity to take on the obligations of membership has become an important criterion for EU membership. The Commission Opinion on the EU membership applications of the central and eastern European candidate Member States confirms the trend towards the increasing importance of administrative capacities as an aspect of EU membership" (OECD, 1998a).
- "Finally, perhaps the greatest influence from abroad comes as a function of CEE countries' quest to join the EU. Conformity to EU standards increasingly has driven the reorganization of ministerial functions" (Nunberg, 1999).
- "Indeed, it is likely that international technical assistance will focus increasingly on the need to build administrative capacity in CEE countries in order to meet the demands of EU negotiation and membership and to raise public administration performance standards for acceding countries to the prevailing standard for current member states" (Nunberg, 1999).
- "The relatively rapid development of the legal order created fertile ground for the development of a market economy and civil society in Estonia, thereby also significantly helping us become a normal European country" (Rannu, 2009a).

3.3. Professionalism of the civil service

- "The Opinions do not provide a specific model for the organisation and functioning of public administrations. However, they do take more definite positions on certain aspects, and in particular on the civil service" (OECD, 1998a).
- "The most that can be said that is that the Commission implicitly refers to the "classical model" prevailing in most EU countries" (OECD, 1998a).
- "The passing of a civil service legislation is, therefore, rightly seen as a vital ingredient of the reform process. A stable, competitive, accountable and democratically reliable civil service is a pre-condition for success not only of administrative reform, but for political stability and economic development as well" (OECD, 1998a).
- "Motivation and long-term commitment of individuals to working in the public sector have to be ensured with the establishment of a career system" (OECD, 1998a).
- "In modern societies based on the Rule of Law there is a growing need for predictability and equity in the way the civil service deals with citizens and businesses. This is one of the main reasons for professionalisation of the civil service, one of the common features of weberian and post-weberian administrations" (OECD, 1998a).

www.manaraa.com

3.4. European Administrative Space (EAS)

- "It is clear that a 'European Administrative Space' is now beginning to emerge. The gradual emergence of this 'space', which does not impose standards, is a logical step forward in the construction of the European Union. National governments meet, compare notes and join forces to draw up and enforce EU standards. It is quite natural that they should increasingly influence each other" (OECD, 1998a).
- "Europeanisation is not something which ends with accession. It is a continuing part of the functioning of each Member State" (OECD, 1998a).
- "Approximation means that EU Members look more and more at each other and find a source of inspiration for reforms in successes and failures of their neighbours" (OECD, 1998a).
- "Constant contact amongst public servants of Member States and the Commission, the requirement to develop and implement the acquis communautaire at equivalent standards of reliability across the Union, and the emergence of a Europe-wide system of administrative justice have led to some convergence amongst national administrations. The result is what has been described as the 'European Administrative Space' (EAS)" (OECD, 1998b).

III Identification of Subjects and What They Can Say or Do

1. Subject positions within economic discourse

- "People should be consistently explained that if the effectiveness achieved through economies of scale is not entertained, it harms mainly the interests of residents living in local governments with smaller resources" (Public Administration Bureau, 2001).
- "Therefore the aim of public administration is to achieve more with less money and people" (Public Administration Office, 1999).
- "Only countries that have taken steps to professionalize their civil services will be able to meet this challenge. Competent, professional civil services are required to formulate and implement the full range of government programs associated with the final phases of the transition into the global economy" (Nunberg, 2000).

2. Subject positions within managerial discourse

- "Moving from highly politicized command bureaucracies with little diffusion of authority and little pressure to respond to the public clearly requires enormous changes in organizational culture and management practice. Pressures to meet global and regional standards of information, access, and service compound the demand for radical shifts in bureaucratic behavior and administrative procedures. Incipient changes have begun to take place in management culture and practices in the countries studied, but change has been slow and the scope of reforms limited to specific functions rather than a more generalized reform initiative" (Nunberg, 2000).
- "In addition to such formal and procedural changes, transforming the communist party bureaucracy into a modern civil service depends equally on attitudinal and behavioral changes in the interaction between government employees and the citizen public. This means imbuing civil servants with the 'customer' or citizen orientation that currently pervades public administration development discourse" (Nunberg, 1999).
- "Up to now the orientation in filling training needs has been directed at finding solutions to everyday work-related problems, but has proved to be insufficient in preparing people for strategic management" (Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004).
- "For the administrative reform to succeed it is necessary that the officials could change their present behavior. The acquiring of new skills in budget formation, performance management, servicing the citizens, communicating with the public, for cooperation with other companies or the private or third party organizations are the conditions from which it depends whether the results of the administrative reform emerge in an expected manner or not. At the same time it is important to ensure that the traditional values of public service such as neutrality, integratedness and fairness would not disappear. Above all it depends from executive managers whether the planned changes will be implemented or not. Dealing with these issues should be the organic part of the administrative reform" (Public Administration Office, 1999).

3. Subject positions within Europeanization discourse

- "The role of public administration in the course of European unification emerges as a decisive one, not only because it is linked to institutional and other governmental mechanisms, but also because the real practical, technical and 'aesthetic' convergence of different administrative cultures is a key element of European integration" (OECD, 1998a).
- "Weak implementation and poorly drafted law places power in the hands of 'street-level' bureaucrats

www.manaraa.com

who are often underpaid, poorly trained and ill-equipped to understand their responsibilities, duties and rights" (OECD, 1998b).

- "We have long talked about Estonians historically belonging to Europe. It is nice that this claim has been reconfirmed, once again, in peoples' attitudes toward the EU. One expression of this is the high level of support for EU membership among the Estonian people. Another aspect is that, by today, any other option or course of action has become totally unimaginable" (Rannu, 2009a).
- "At the same time, accession to the EU was not a goal in and of itself, but a means of guaranteeing the country's stability, security and economic growth, improving the welfare of the population and raising the overall standard of living. On an emotional level, people wanted to, once again, be part of Europe, where we had been for centuries" (Rannu, 2009a).
- "The message was simple – since we were part of Europe and wanted to become a successful country, these things would have to be done anyway, not only because we want to accede to the European Union. All the institutions had to understand that efforts made in the name of EU accession were not something extra, but part of the entire civil service's general aim of working for the welfare of the country" (Rannu, 2009a).
- "This 'sweep the place clean' policy cut off the link to the Communist past and its traditions and opened the way to establishing a modern state system" (Rannu, 2009a).
- "If in 1992–1995 the objective was to redirect Estonia from the East to the West, then now the goal was to make this change irreversible. To achieve this, Estonia had to become a member of the European Union and NATO" (Rannu, 2009a).
- "But Estonia achieved its aims and became a full member of the European Union and NATO in 2004. With this step the transition period for Estonia could be declared over" (Rannu, 2009a).
- "The relatively rapid development of the legal order created fertile ground for the development of a market economy and civil society in Estonia, thereby also significantly helping us become a normal European country" (Rannu, 2009a).

IV Examination How Discourses Reproduce Power Relations

1. Power/Knowledge in economic discourse

- "Following the heady days when one communist regime after another was toppled in Central and Eastern Europe, international support – from the World Bank as well as other sources – was mobilized to help guide the region's journey toward the free market. These efforts gave high priority to macroeconomic stabilization and privatization, driven by an implicit model of a state that, while perhaps not fully 'withered,' as Marx had predicted, was nonetheless minimalist and hands-off in character" (Nunberg, 1999).
- "Governments and international donors alike have proceeded haltingly to support programs to strengthen the state's administrative capacity. This hesitation stemmed partly from the overwhelming urgency of economic reforms that crowded out what were perceived to be secondary reform agendas. It may also have been fueled by a wave of anti-statism that was both a reaction to the delegitimation of the communist state as well as a prevailing intellectual wind blowing in from influential quarters of the developed world" (Nunberg, 1999).
- "The priority also promotes administrative capabilities by training officials and civil servants, thus promoting smoother cooperation between the public and private sectors in economic development" (Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004).

2. Power/Knowledge in managerial discourse

- "Different kinds of management skills and expertise are needed to deal with management tasks at the interorganisational level. These include co-ordinating and integrating the work of different organisations involved in managing public policies. They also include the ability to design and develop new organisations and management systems that work effectively across organisational and national boundaries" (OECD, 1998a).
- "However, countries that have managed the transition, such as Malaysia, have found that a strategic planning unit has greatly assisted their national direction. Estonia should therefore consider the introduction of a strategic planning unit in order to develop long-range social and economic priorities and inform policymaking" (Nunberg, 2000).
- "Given the global revolution now occurring in international public management, it is important that CEE countries remain open to ideas and practices being utilized in non-European countries. Therefore, models as far-reaching as New Zealand, Japan and the United States were incorporated into the normative "bar" established for CEE countries" (Nunberg, 2000).
- "The CEE countries examined here have steered curiously clear of the NPM approach. The implicit systems and models adopted so far have been the centralized hierarchies of the Weberian tradition. The strong national and organizational cultural preferences in CEE countries for these classical traditions is

www.manaraa.com

an important and quite valid justification for these choices. But, the irony is that, unlike many developing or transitional countries, some prevailing conditions in the countries examined here might lend themselves particularly well to at least partial applications of the NPM or the 'new managerialism' more broadly" (Nunberg, 1999).

- "Considerable distance still needs to be traveled to achieve sound international practice" (Nunberg, 2000).
- "To assess individual country progress, we evaluate current public administration activities in light of international best practice" (Nunberg, 2000).
- "Because there is an overreliance on legal processes compared to other aspects of policy formulation there is no shortage of lawyers relative to management scientists or business administration graduates" (Nunberg, 2000).
- "But staff in these units have more political prowess than skill at policy analysis or preparation. If they have technical backgrounds, staff are more likely to be educated as lawyers, reflecting the highly legalistic nature of policy discussion and preparation in CEE. Moreover, policy support units are weak in forecasting and strategic planning capacity. They tend to be oriented toward short-term results, retaining an aversion to the overly centralized planning of the communist regimes" (Nunberg, 2000).
- "Thus, difficulties persist in fostering a policy mentality in line ministries, and few staff in line ministries are trained in policy formulation or evaluation techniques. Although cost-benefit and impact assessment is formally required at various levels of program development, for example, few people in the system, particular at the line level, are competent in these techniques. Even more than at the central level, the dominance of 'legalese' is overwhelming in line ministry planning and policy departments" (Nunberg, 2000).
- "At all levels of the EU accession management institutions, though, the excessive emphasis on formal legal stipulations is another concern. The focus on legal harmonization and on meeting specific European Commission requirements has obscured attention to institutional and implementation issues" (Nunberg, 2000)
- "Countries should improve core government policymaking by bolstering policy skills among staff throughout government, down to the line ministerial level, stressing cost-benefit and impact analysis over legal expertise and reinforcing the strategic, longer-term features of policy deliberation" (Nunberg, 2000).
- "Because there is an overreliance on legal processes compared to other aspects of policy formulation there is no shortage of lawyers relative to management scientists or business administration graduates. Ministries thus do not have the wide range of skills necessary to undertake cost benefit analysis..." (Nunberg, 2000).
- "In good practice countries, such as New Zealand, Australia, and Malaysia, service providers are required to define the standards of performance that the public are entitled to in areas such as speed of response, manner and courtesy of civil servants, fairness of transactions, effectiveness of complaints procedures, and value for money" (Nunberg, 2000).
- "The countries studied display a range of problems in this respect: poor mechanisms for policy coordination; inadequate preparation of inputs for policy formulation; poorly managed, non transparent decision making processes; and lack of clearly defined roles for different players in the central policy deliberation process" (Nunberg, 1999).
- "A significant share of the measure will be allocated to management capacity building projects for central government organizations. The purpose of such projects is to train civil servants in management tools and systems, which would increase their productivity, make them more adaptable with the constantly increasing requirements within public administration and on the job, and more mobile within the public sector as well as on the labour market as a whole" (Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004).
- "In addition, it will be important to increase the management capacity of the state and local government authorities and in NGOs (incl. social partners) institutions through training on organizational development" (Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007).
- "Despite the fast development after the restoration of independence the public administration as a whole in Estonia does not, even after regular construction and reforming, fully comply with the principles and practices of modern public administration. The adoption of principles of the European Administrative Space is one of the important criteria when pursuing to become a member of the European Union. The enforcement of such principles in Estonian public administration can only be achieved with a systematic and relatively long-term development that could be remarkably accelerated through the use of expedient reforms" (Public Administration Bureau, 2001).
- "International organisations and bodies of European Union emphasise greatly the role of internal control in increasing the accountability of the public sector. Internal control is a comprehensive complex of measures applied to the management of state agencies and oriented to legality and effectiveness. The existence of internal control, its effectiveness and conformity to the requirements established in the legislation is assessed and analysed by means of internal audit" (Public Administration Bureau, 2001).
- "The knowledge on quality management enables managers to set the goals of the organisation more effectively, understand the needs of the customers and the process of providing the service. The goal is to create a culture that is oriented towards continuous development and improvement, the key aspect in successful citizen-centred public administration is the people" (Public Administration Bureau, 2001).

www.manaraa.com

- "One of the most important questions is to update the skills and attitudes of the public sector leaders so that they become more oriented towards results and the implementation of changes. Management capacity in public organisations is another critical factor as the applicability of the planned changes depends on it" (Public Administration Bureau, 2001).
- "The improvement of political management mechanisms in developed countries has led to a greater separation and discrimination between public policymaking and the mechanisms of its implementation" (Public Administration Office, 2001).
- "A crucial prerequisite to the success of the reform and one of the components of administrative reform most often disregarded is to evaluate the progress and based on experience gained in the wider world" (Public Administration Bureau, 2001).
- "Haldussuutlikkuse tõstmiseks eurotasemele ja kaasaegse avaliku halduse põhimõtete juurutamiseks on tarvis 'tiigrihüpet', mis oleks seni toimunud 'loomulikust' arengust kvalitatiivselt erinev" (Laar, 2000).
- "...hea avaliku halduse aluseks võib võtta avaliku halduse printsiibid..." (Laar, 2000).
- "Vajadus professionaalsema ja paindlikuma avaliku sektori järele on tingitud ka välistest faktoritest, eeskätt süvenevast globaliseerumistendentsist. Rahvusvaheliste organisatsioonide mõju kasv, Euroopa Liit, majanduskoostöö ja vabamad kaubandusrežiimid nõuavad riigi konkurentsivõime säilitamist" (Laar, 2000).
- "Arenenud maade reformisuundumusi iseloomustavad sagedasti avaliku sektori kulutuste vähendamine, strateegilise iseloomuga funktsioonide kontsentreerumine keskvalitsusele ja institutsionaalsed ümberkorraldused, detsentraliseerimise kaudu paindlikkuse suurendamine, kvaliteetsema ja kodanike vajadustele vastavate teenuste pakkumiseks uute juhtimismeetodite ja tehnoloogiate rakendamine jne" (Laar, 2000).
- "Laiema hulga ekspertide, teadlaste ja institutsioonide töötajate ning erinevate astmete ametnike kaasamine peaks suurendama ettevõtmise õnnestumise tõenäosust - koguneb uusi ideid, paraneb kommunikatsioon ja koordineerimine ning lihtsustub reformiplaanide elluviimine" (Laar, 2000).

3. Power/Knowledge in Europeanization discourse

- "The training of civil servants in EU affairs has also started, but training programmes can only have a long-term effect once the level of turnover among civil servants, especially those with a knowledge of foreign languages and EU affairs, is reduced" (OECD, 1998a).
- "The capacities needed to secure accession and make European policies work are of various kinds. Some are operational management capacities, specific to very technical areas of policy implementation. Expert knowledge and specialist skills are needed in difference branches of agriculture, in transport, in dealing with environmental policies etc. Managing in such fields means becoming part of a policy network or regime and liaising with professional colleagues in the same field in other countries" (OECD, 1998a).
- "As well as knowing what kinds of capacities are needed to gear national administrations up to the tasks of EU accession and membership, it is essential to know how to build and develop those capacities" (OECD, 1998a).
- "The New Public Management prescriptions which have underpinned many (though by no means all) reforms are not the most appropriate for CEECs (Verheijen, 1996)" (OECD, 1998a).
- "To go even further, the introduction of business approaches in public administration, as advocated by New Public Management concepts, may well prove disastrous in systems based on a continental European tradition in which either the preconditions may not be in place or where they may be rejected due to their inherent logic" (OECD, 1998a).
- "Both officials and politicians occupying boundary roles have to become skilled at shifting backwards and forwards between acting in a national and a European context" (OECD, 1998a).
- "Accordingly, administrative capacity in this regard can be seen as having two inter-linked but distinguishable aspects: the capacity to prepare, co-ordinate and carry out the accession process itself; and the capacity to implement the acquis communautaire and operate effectively within the Union on an on-going basis" (OECD, 1998a).
- "Equipping national administrations to take on these new and difficult tasks involves a sustained commitment to public management reform and a sizeable investment in reorganisation. Transformations of this scale and complexity cannot be accomplished quickly or easily. The candidate countries will have to invest time and effort in capacity-building" (OECD, 1998a).
- "Implementation requires a public administration infrastructure with the skills, structures and systems needed to ensure compliance with EU standards and requirements" (OECD, 1998a).
- "Training of staff is an essential element in preparation. The country papers underline the importance of language training. Training in financial management skills, and in the standards and methods of internal control and audit, is equally important" (OECD, 1998a).
- "In other words, the institutions and practices of leading modern democracies, in particular among the current Members of the European Union, could provide relatively easily the basic standards to which candidate countries could aspire and the Union could agree. These institutions and practices could guide shared understanding of the reforms which should be carried out" (OECD, 1998a).
- "CEEC contacts with multilateral organisations are potent ways of reaching authoritative bodies which

www.manaraa.com

will support the cause of accession. This is true even where the CEECs are not Members of the organisation. This is for instance the case of the OECD, where only three CEECs are Members, but which, as a very important part of the network of industrialised countries, can have an important influence on the international community and particularly the EU Member States. The World Bank, which has concentrated its activity recently on supporting the process of European integration, and the IMF and the UN and its agencies should also be used to influence the process" (OECD, 1998a).

- "Through the accession period and thereafter, institutions must be sustainable and able to fulfil the obligations of membership. Furthermore, they must be able to adapt as conditions change" (OECD, 1998b).
- "Although the emphasis to date has been on building capacities to 'negotiate with Europe', that is probably not the main problem, and it is one of a transient nature. Upon accession, candidate countries will find themselves 'negotiating within Europe', a task which requires substantial co-ordination capacity and the ability to participate in both the formal and informal arenas in which EU policy making takes place" (OECD, 1998b).
- "A significant aspect of EU assistance lies in the politics of modernisation and in ensuring access to comparative information on best practice. The crucial aim is to supply access to practical experience, the main tool of which is twinning. This should be enriched by comparative analysis and access to a variety of experience, both of EU Member States and other mature democracies, in such areas of universal concern as expenditure management and oversight or centre-of-government mechanisms. As they move forward, candidates will have much to learn from each other, and it is in Europe's interest that they collaborate. External assistance should support these exchanges, which will also help to maintain contacts amongst all the candidates and with the non-candidate European countries" (OECD, 1998b).
- "…project management skills (including design, evaluation and monitoring) should be further developed…" (OECD, 1998b).
- "Candidate countries will need to modernise their administrations to meet EAS levels of reliability" (OECD, 1998b).
- "The key administrative values which need to be promoted are reliability, transparency, predictability, accountability, adaptability and efficiency. These values are not simply ideas which governments 'sell' to public servants. They must be embedded in institutions and administrative processes at all levels, and they must be defended by independent control bodies (e.g. audit), by systems of justice and judicial enforcement, by Parliamentary scrutiny and by ensuring opportunities for voice and redress to the "clients" of the public administration, namely, citizens and firms" (OECD, 1998b).
- "Despite the absence of direct powers, the European Union does influence governance within the Member States, notably by imposing obligations expressed in terms of the results to be achieved (obligation de résultat)" (OECD, 1998b).
- "Countries that are candidates for European Union (EU) accession face the complex and urgent task of building administrative institutions so that they can fulfill the 'Copenhagen criteria'. Such institutions must be able to implement the acquis communautaire within tight budget constraints and ensure favourable conditions for a competitive private sector" (OECD, 1998b).
- "To succeed in their bids for Membership of the European Union, candidate countries have not only to adopt the acquis communautaire, but also to implement it. This requires them to invest heavily in professional administration" (OECD, 1998b).
- "Acceding countries should consolidate the legal and institutional framework for a professional civil service, strengthening the provisions for merit-based practices through support for implementation and staff training…" (Nunberg, 2000).
- "CEE countries' own administrative capacity is weaker than most prior acceders, due in large part to the need to break radically with incentive systems and human resource (HR) policies of the communist period, now inadequate to the emergent systems of market capitalism and democracy" (Nunberg, 2000).
- "A growing body of literature seeks to define in broad terms which public administration capacities will be needed. In general, this literature identifies two types of necessary administrative strengthening. The first involves building the explicit management requirements of accession process itself and the direct membership responsibilities countries will have to assume in the future. The other is more diffuse but no less pressing in the collective mind of the European Commission and the Union: the enhancement of a government' stability to function with roughly equivalent competence and neutrality with current EU member state public administrations" (Nunberg, 2000).
- "It also tries to identify the critical path of actions and policies which governments will need to implement in order to reach these standards of intemational good practice, and, where possible, to highlight areas where outside assistance and advice might be useful" (Nunberg, 2000).
- "The degree to which civil servants are able to perform their duties to meet current member standards will determine how successfully they integrate into the EU system" (Nunberg, 2000).
- "Policy formulation, however, could be improved. It is unnecessarily legalistic and, in the context of EU membership, will require more considered cost-benefit analysis and impact assessment. This will necessitate the updating of policy making skills, possibly making use of the twinning arrangements to attach EU policy staff to ministries. The creation of planning or policy departments in ministries themselves could lead to significant improvement in consistency of policy submissions, by helping to track the minister's policy agenda and acting as a secretariat to the chancellor" (Nunberg, 2000).

www.manaraa.com

- "Harmonization and enforcement of European Community (EC) legislation and policies, competency in representing national interests before the EC, and ability to access financial assistance to raise country performance to attain EU standards all depend on a high level of performance over a range of government functions" (Nunberg, 2000).
- "A crucial requirement for meeting the demands of EU accession and membership is that countries have an efficient system of core cabinet decision-making to formulate clear, well informed policy on EU-related matters. In addition, such a system is essential to effective governance on issues of more general public interest" (Nunberg, 2000).
- "For ensuring the conformity of all single projects with Community policies, which are required by Article 12 of Council Regulation (EC) 1260/1999, in addition to orientations defined by the programming document and Programme Complement in relation to selection and implementation of single projects, detailed rules and procedures set by national legislation shall be observed. In situations where necessary rules and procedures have not been provided by Estonian legislation, additional rules and procedures shall be established for implementing the current programming document" (Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004).
- "Acquiring wider knowledge and skills in policy formulation and evaluation, planning, general management, human resources management, financial management, electronic records management and other areas are vital for increasing administrative capacity. These are the training subjects that courses will be developed on and delivery of which (including preparation and, in case of need, translation of, training materials) is supported from the measure" (Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004).
- "In the context of the current plan, the capacity to utilise EU Structural Funds efficiently and effectively is of primary importance, but building up its general administrative capacity forms the basis for it" (Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004).
- "In connection with the enlargement, the EU human resource policies also include the building of administrative capacities in the new member states. The priority contributes to building administrative capacity by training civil servants with the purpose of them becoming better equipped with the tools for improved policy-making and public management. Also, organisation level management capacity building projects will be supported" (Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004).
- "The general objective of the measure is to enhance administrative capacity of the central government (including county governments), municipalities and associations of municipalities. Specific objectives are:
    - To increase professional skills in the public administration;
    - To ensure sustainable and high quality public service training system;
    - To improve management quality in the public administration by supporting management capacity building" (Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004).
- "Especially on project level, conformity with the following EU policies will be ensured by means of documentary and on-the-spot checks: competition policy, environmental policy and equal opportunities policy" (Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004).
- "The officials and employees of state institutions and local municipality institutions will be supported through stipend programmes in acquiring professional knowledge in EU member states or elsewhere abroad" (Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007).

4. Power/Knowledge in ecological discourse

- "Reform can only work if it is based on perfect local knowledge of the country concerned and if those who will be implementing reform take ownership of it" (OECD, 1998a).
- "In the rare cases where implementation issues have been given explicit consideration in the reform process, it would appear that the potential for a direct application of Western experiences was viewed too optimistically as well" (OECD, 1998a).
- "What is to be discerned are similar characteristics, but the national contexts, state traditions, administrative cultures are often too different to allow for comparable responses. Convergent problem structures may prevail, but it is differentiated responses which are called for" (OECD, 1998a).
- "There are not sufficient funds available for training at the local government level, and the civil service training provision in general is scattered. Therefore, a lot of training is not tailored to specific needs of the public administration, nor is its organisation systematic enough to enable the Government to undertake major public management reforms" (Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004).
- "Gender mainstreaming is defined by the European Union as ensuring that all general measures and operations openly and actively take into account – during planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation – their effects on the respective situations of women and men. It also involves the complementary design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of specific measures and operations to promote equality and to assist women to participate and benefit equally" (Republic of Estonia, May 12, 2004).
- "In order to plan the state activities as efficiently as possible, the impacts, opportunities and threats that arise from external environment have to be taken into account" (Republic of Estonia, June 21, 2007).
- "The ability to solve social problems is low. Ministries have been built up so that cooperation between them has been formalized only on the level of management, coordination in the forming of the policies

www.manaraa.com

has been dispersed and the result is the inability to solve complex problems belonging into the governing area of several ministries" (Public Administration Office, 1999).

- "Another important goal is to increase the possibilities of the residents to participate in the work of the local government through direct and representative democracy or by increasing the possibilities for participating in the decision-making concerning matters of local life" (Public Administration Bureau, 2001).
- "To increase the transparency and openness of public administration, inter alia to increase the right of the citizens to participate in the public decision-making process" (Public Administration Bureau, 2001).

www.manaraa.com

APPENDIX C: Recruitment E-mail Text (English)

IRB #: 708-11-EP

Dear Sir or Madam,

My name is Kristina Muhhina and I'm a doctoral student in the University of Nebraska at Omaha's School of Public Administration. In my dissertation research I'm exploring global and local discourses that have shaped the development of public administration in postcommunist Estonia with the aim of exploring the potential for more context-bound and culturally sensitive practice of public administration.

I would like to conduct an interview with you about your perceptions of the evolution of public administration in postcommunist transition and the role of the European Union (EU) structural support for enhancing administrative capacity in Estonia. The interview should last approximately 60 minutes and I'm happy to meet at a place convenient for you. I would also like to tape-record the interview if possible.

Please let me know what times might work for you to meet. If you have questions or would like to talk over the phone to schedule the interview, please contact me at +372 53 XXX XXX. Thanks in advance for your time.

Sincerely,

Kristina Muhhina

www.manaraa.com

APPENDIX C: Recruitment E-mail Text (Estonian)

IRB #: 708-11-EP

Lugupeetud……,

Minu nimi on Kristina Muhhina. Ma olen doktorant Avaliku Halduse Koolis Nebraska Ülikoolis Omahas (University of Nebraska at Omaha's School of Public Administration). Oma doktoritöös uurin ma ülemaailmseid ja kohalikke diskursuseid, mis on mõjutanud avaliku halduse arengut postkommunistlikus Eestis eesmärgiga hinnata kontekstitundlikuma ja kultuurispetsiifilisema avaliku halduse loomise võimalikkust.

Teie nõusolekul soovikisn ma kutsuda Teid osalema intervjuul, mis puudutab avaliku halduse arengut postkommunistlikul üleminekuperioodil ja Euroopa Liidu struktuurifondide toetuse rolli haldusvõimekuse tõstmisel Eestis. Intevjuu kestus ei ületa 60 minutit ja viiakse läbi Teile sobivas kohas. Teie nõusolekul sooviksin ma intervjuu helisalvestada, et tagada vastuste korrektne ümberkirjutis. Teie privaatsus ja konfidentsiaalsus on tagatud vastavalt Nebraska Ülikooli teadustöö järelevalve nõukogu nõuetele.

Palun andke mulle teada milline aeg sobiks Teile kohtumiseks. Kui Teil on küsimusi või soovite intervjuu aja kokku leppida telefonitsi, palun võtke minuga ühendust telefonil +372 53 XXX XXX.

Ette tänades,

Kristina Muhhina

www.manaraa.com

APPENDIX D: Interview Protocol and Questions (English)

IRB #: 708-11-EP

Thank you for your willingness to be interviewed. It should take no more than 60 minutes of your time. Your answers will be used in dissertation research by Kristina Muhhina, a doctoral student in University of Nebraska at Omaha's School of Public Administration (IRB #: 708-11-EP). Your name will not be used in the findings. Only general profiles of interviewees may be included in the dissertation. No specific or identifying information about the respondents will be published. Only summary data will be presented to ensure confidentiality. No one other than the researcher will see the individual answers you provide. I believe this research poses no greater risk or harm to you than those encounter in daily life. I cannot ensure any personal benefits to you for your participation; however, I would be happy to provide you a copy of the final results once this research is completed. By agreeing to the interview, you are giving your consent to participate in the research. You are free to withdraw from this research at any time.

Do you have questions or concerns about this interview or the research project? Do you hereby acknowledge the above and give your voluntary consent?

If you have questions after the interview, please contact Kristina Muhhina kristinmuhhina@unomaha.edu or +372 53 XXX XXX.

Interview Questions

1. What does the EU administrative capacity building measure help to achieve?

Possible follow-up questions:

(a) What does "administrative capacity" mean? Why is it important?
(b) What is the purpose of administrative capacity building?
(c) What are the means for enhancing administrative capacity?

2. How would you assess the development of public administration in Estonia since the beginning of postcommunist transition in 1991?

Possible follow-up questions:

(a) What are the major problems of public administration in Estonia?
(b) How to improve the work of public administration?
(c) What is "good" public administration?
(d) What is "bad" public administration?

www.manaraa.com

3. What are the key ideas in the development of Estonian civil service? How would you describe an "ideal" civil servant?

Possible follow-up questions:

(a) What are the goals s/he is pursuing in his/her work?
(b) What are the most important values that guide his/her work?
(c) What kind of knowledge and skill-sets does s/he need to be good at his/her work?
(d) What is his/her relationship to politicians, citizens, entrepreneurs?

4. What are the most important challenges in Estonian society that public administration needs to engage?

Possible follow-up questions:

(a) What have been some of the most challenging problems in Estonian society in the course of postcommunist transition?
(b) What has been the role of public administration in addressing these issues?
(c) What should be its role in the future?

www.manaraa.com

APPENDIX D: Interview Protocol and Questions (Estonian)

IRB #: 708-11-EP

Aitäh, et olete nõustunud uurimistöös osalema. Läbiviidava intervjuu kestus ei ületa 60 minutit. Käesolev uurimistöö viiakse läbi doktorant Kristina Muhhina doktoritöö raames Avaliku Halduse Koolis Nebraska Ülikoolis Omahas (University of Nebraska at Omaha's School of Public Administration) (IRB #: 708-11-EP). Uurimistöö tulemuste esitamisel ei kasutata Teie nime ning intervjueerituid ei identifitseerita. Teie kohta käivaid andmeid ei avalikustata. Konfidentsiaalsuse tagamiseks esitatakse andmeid vaid agregeeritud kujul. Intervjuu käigus Teie poolt antud vastustele on juurdepääs vaid uurimstöö läbiviijal. Käesolvas uuriitsöös osalemisega võib kaasneda minimaalne risk Teie privaatsusele ja konfidentsiaalsusele. Uurimistöö läbiviija teeb endast oleneva, et neid riske maandada. Uurimistöös osalemisega Teile otsest tulu ei kaasne. Soovi korral on Teil võimalus tutvuda uurimistöö tulemustega pärast projekti lõppu. Andes nõusoleku intervjuu läbiviimiseks olete andnud nõusoleku uurimistöös osalemiseks. Teil on õigus oma osalus katkestada mistahes ajal uurimistöö läbiviimise jooksul.

Kas Teil on küsimusi intervjuu või uurimisprojekti kohta? Kas Te olete eelpool tooduga nõus ja annate oma informeeritud nõusoleku uurimistöös osalemiseks?

Kui Teil tekib küsimusi pärast intervjuud, palun võtke ühendust Kristina Muhhina'ga kristinmuhhina@unomaha.edu või +372 53 XXX XXX.

Intervjuu küsimused

1. Mida Euroopa Liidu haldusvõimekuse tõstmise meede aitab saavutada?

Võimalikud järelküsimused:

(d) Mida haldusvõimekus tähendab? Miks on see oluline?
(e) Mis on haldusvõimekuse tõstmise eesmärk?
(f) Millised on haldusvõimekuse tõstmise vahendid?

2. Kuidas Te hindaksite avaliku halduse arengut Eestis alates postkommunistliku ülemineku algusest 1991. aastal?

Võimalikud järelküsimused:

(e) Mis on avaliku halduse peamised probleemid Eestis?
(f) Kuidas avaliku halduse tööd paremaks muuta?
(g) Mis on „hea" avalik haldus?
(h) Mis on „halb" avalik haldus?

www.manaraa.com

3. Mis on võtmetähtsusega ideed avaliku teenistuse arendamisel Eestis. Kuidas Te kirjeldaksite „ideaalset“ avalikku teenistujat?

Võimalikud järelküsimused:

(e) Milliseid eesmärke ta järgib?
(f) Millistest väärtustest juhindub ta oma töös?
(g) Milliseid teadmisi ja oskusi vajab ta oma tööks?
(h) Millised on tema suhted poliitikute, kodanike ja ettevõtjatega?

4. Millised on Eesti ühiskonna kõige olulisemad väljakutsed millega avalik haldus peaks tegelema?

Võimalikud järelküsimused:

(d) Millised on olnud Eesti ühiskonna kõike olulisemad väljakutsed postkommunistliku üleminekuperioodi jooksul?
(e) Milline on olnud avaliku halduse roll nende probleemidega tegelemisel?
(f) Milline peaks olema avaliku halduse roll tulevikus?

www.manaraa.com

APPENDIX E: Stages of Discourse Analysis

Willig (2001)	Parker (1992)	Kendall & Wickham (1999)
I Identification of Discursive Objects		
Discursive constructions • Identifying discursive objects.	*A discourse is realised in texts* • Treating our objects of study as texts which are described, put into words. • Exploring connotations through some sort of free association, which is best done with other people. *A discourse is about objects* • Asking what objects are referred to, and describing them (turtles, diseases, ghosts etc.). • Talking about the talk as if it were an object, a discourse.	NA
II Description of Discourses as Systems of Statements		
Discourses • Locating various discursive constructions of the object within discourses. *Action orientation* • Examining contexts within which different constructions of the object are being deployed.	*A discourse is a coherent system of meanings* • Mapping a picture of the world this discourse presents (running in accordance with God's plans, through the operation of discourses, at the mercy of hidden conspiracies, etc.). • Working out how a text using this discourse would deal with objections to the terminology (sinful doubt, crude out-of-date materialism, receipt of Moscow gold, etc.). *A discourse refers to other discourses* • Setting contrasting ways of speaking, discourses, against each other and looking at the different objects they constitute (brains, souls, epiphenomena, etc.). • Identifying points where they overlap, where they constitute what look like the 'same' objects in different ways (secretions of neutral matter, immortal spiritual essences, rhetorical devices, etc.). *A discourse reflects on its own way of speaking* • Referring to other texts to elaborate the discourse as it occurs, perhaps implicitly, and addresses different audiences (in children's books, advertisements, jokes, etc.). • Reflecting on the term used to describe the discourse, a matter which involves moral/political choices on the part of the analyst (describing discourses about 'race' as 'racist' discourses, for example).	• The recognition of a discourse as a corpus of 'statements' whose organisation is regular and systematic. • The identification of rules of the production of statements. • The identification of rules that delimit the sayable (which of course are never rules of closure). • The identification of rules that create the spaces in which new statements can be made.

www.manaraa.com

III Identification of Subjects and What They Can Say or Do		
Positionings • Identifying subject positions that speakers can take up. *Practice* • Exploring how discourses impact what can be said or done. *Subjectivity* • Examining how discourses construct social and psychological realities.	*A discourse contains subjects* • Specifying what types of persons are talked about in this discourse, some of which may already have been identified as objects (turtles, doctors, mothers, benefactors, etc). • Speculating about what they can say in the discourse, what you could say if you identified with them (what rights to speak in that way of speaking).	NA
IV Examination How Discourses Reproduce Power Relations		
NA	*A discourse is historically located* • Looking at how and where the discourses emerged. • Describing how they have changed, and told a story, usually about how they refer to things which were always there to be discovered. *Discourses support institutions* • Identifying institutions which are reinforced when this or that discourse is used. • Identifying institutions that are attacked or subverted when this or that discourse appears. *Discourses reproduce power relations* • Looking at which categories of person gain and lose from the employment of the discourse. • Looking at who would want to promote and who would want to dissolve the discourse. *Discourses have ideological effects* • Showing how a discourse connects with other discourses which sanction oppression. • Showing how the discourses allow dominant groups to tell their narratives about the past in order to justify the present, and prevent those who use subjugated discourses from making history.	• The identification of rules that ensure that a practice is material and discursive at the same time.

www.manaraa.com