

Muddled Governance in South Eastern Europe

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Overall governance framework

- ✓ SEE region consists of the former Yugoslav territory (Slovenia included), Albania, Bulgaria, Romania and Greece; Moldova and Turkey are in that group, according to certain delimitations
- ✓ Cultural and historical ties are especially evident between ex-Yugoslav countries, although we have at least two subgroups of countries within this group (Slo, Cro, BH to a certain degree; Srb, Mac, Mn)
- ✓ Common governance framework consists of:
 - ✓ The process of Europeanization
 - ✓ Modernisation policy
 - ✓ Search for national identities
 - ✓ Regional cooperation and the learning process

Europeanization and modernisation

✓ **The process of Europeanization**

- ✓ Latecomers to the Europeanization process (at least formally; exception: Greece)
- ✓ The Stabilisation and Association Agreement as an instrument based on a conditionality – BH and Kosovo ‘latecomers among latecomers’
- ✓ More and more criteria and more refined criteria fuelling administrative convergence (adjustment rather than homogenisation)

✓ **Modernisation policy**

- ✓ The aim is to complete (not to maintain) classical, Weberian administration, although modernisation policy is springing here and there
- ✓ Mix of 3Es + quality (as ‘refreshed’ NPM combination of values) + democratic, legal, social, and environmental values that have been added by good governance doctrine
- ✓ M.P. stands in contrast to old-fashioned, politicized, centralized, ineffective PA inherited from the socialist system
- ✓ More or less trapped in slow administrative development

Identities and cooperation

✓ **Search for national identities**

- ✓ Very complex history resulted in rather complex national structures
- ✓ Small and unimportant countries at the edge of large empires (Ottoman, Habsburg ...)
- ✓ Suppressed development of national identities within large empires continued in the first and second Yugoslavia
- ✓ Mix of governance traditions and reminiscences merged with the wish for independent development, but in the conditions of new conflicts
- ✓ New European identity should be adopted, although national ones are not found, enjoyed and realized

✓ **Regional cooperation and the learning process**

- ✓ One of the newly established EU accession conditions
- ✓ The Stability Pact 1999 (replaced in 2008 by the Regional Cooperation Council)
- ✓ Bottom-up process of cooperation in economy (similar language, etc.)
- ✓ Several cooperation projects (RESPA, WB HRM CoP, RCPAR ...)

Governance processes

- ✓ Many of them, aimed at healing three main governance problems – with *orientation, motivation, and implementation* – three processes can be seen as the examples:
- ✓ **Strengthening political legitimacy**
 - ✓ Mainly through introducing direct election of local mayors
- ✓ **Fostering modern HRM and HPD**
 - ✓ HRM vs. traditional, more Weberian like public personnel concept
 - ✓ Performance management as an important component of HRM
 - ✓ HPD = softer measures, focused on personnel and organisational culture development – the role of administrative education is important
- ✓ **Improving legal protection of citizens**
 - ✓ Procedural system that comprises administrative procedures, national and international court control, ombudsman, open access to PSI, etc.
 - ✓ Modernization of administrative procedural laws
 - ✓ ECHR stimulates better court protection – reforms of administrative justice

Governance in SEE

- ✓ Formal top-down approach to Europeanization prevails
- ✓ Legally bound management of public affairs has been claimed to overpower the socialist-type politicization
- ✓ Cosmopolitans need strong central state and pro-European policy to overpower nationalists
- ✓ The EU fosters regional cooperation; mutual learning is spreading up
- ✓ Direct election of mayors has only limited democratisation and leadership effects
- ✓ Politicisation, authoritarian political culture, legalistic approach to administrative education = bureaucratic behaviour
- ✓ Gap between international standards of citizens' legal protection and real situations

Conclusion: muddled governance

- ✓ Governance can be defined as a continuum between hierarchical and network type, while at the same time, there is a complementary continuum between governance within the government and governance with the influence of citizens on government
- ✓ Dominant form of governance in SEE region is hierarchical governance with stress on the central governments
- ✓ Forms of network governance and citizens' influence on governments are in the process of development
- ✓ Result is muddled, hesitating, even cheating governance
- ✓ 'Governance hole' – situation in which there are no clear ideas for resolving governance crisis – in such a situation, countries in the region rely on the EU and its recipes
- ✓ Dwindling domestic ideas about governance are complemented by the practice of evading problems characteristic for SEE countries from the European Union's perspective